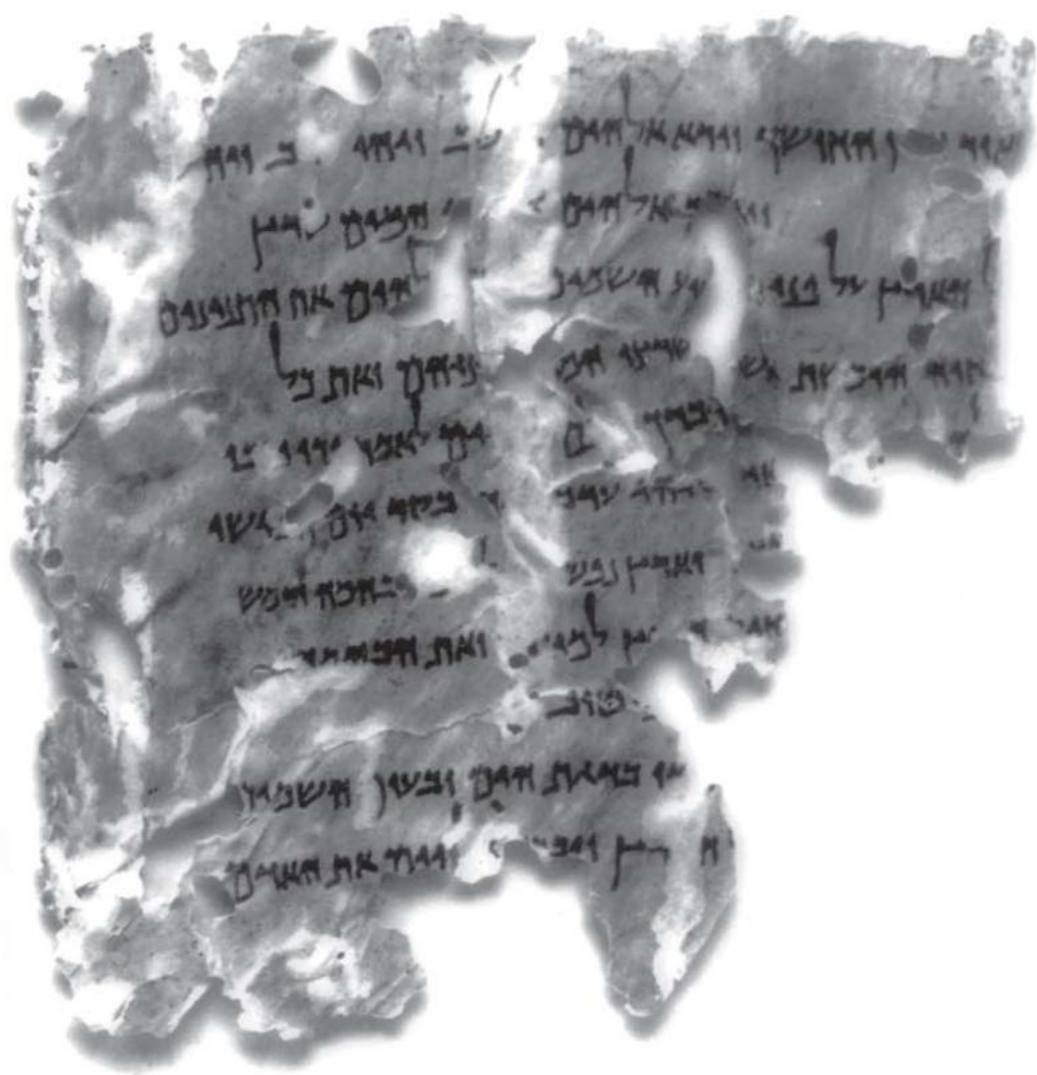


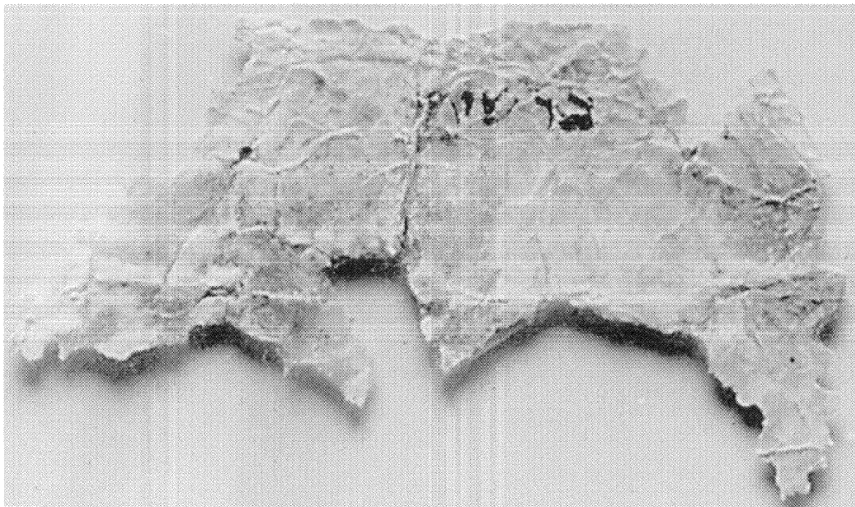
The Text of Genesis 1–11

TEXTUAL STUDIES AND CRITICAL EDITION



Ronald S. Hendel

The Text of
Genesis I–II



ברשית

4QGen^h(title)

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The Text of Genesis I–II

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Critical Edition*

Ronald S. Hendel

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Printed in the United States of America
on acid-free paper

For Frank

who taught me the pleasures of the text

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Preface

The frontispiece to this book is a fragment of the oldest preserved title page or dust jacket (*page de garde*) of Genesis, 4QGen^{h(title)}. The alert reader will note that the word בראשית has suffered a scribal error: the \aleph is missing. This mistake, motivated by the phonetic quiescence of \aleph in the speech of this period, is fairly common in the Qumran scrolls (Qimron 1986: 25–26; cf. several instances in the retelling of Genesis 1 in 4QJub^a; DJD 13, 13–14). This earliest evidence for the Hebrew title of Genesis provides a striking example of the vicissitudes of ancient texts and is an apt reminder of the simple necessity of textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible.

This work began as preparation for a commentary on Genesis 1–11 but soon grew to its own proportions. To comment on a biblical book involves, among other things, ascertaining what the text is. This leads necessarily to an examination of the extant textual evidence. If one chooses to comment on a particular biblical manuscript, such as the Aleppo Codex (as represented in the HUBP) or the St. Petersburg Codex (as represented in *BHS*), one needs a rationale for having made such a choice and for not engaging with the other textual evidence. With the ongoing publication of the Qumran biblical texts, it has become increasingly difficult for a biblical scholar to be a Masoretic fundamentalist. In other words, to comment on a biblical text requires making serious text-critical decisions, whether or not one acknowledges having made those decisions. These issues concerning the biblical text are central to the very possibility of biblical commentary in the post-Qumran age.

One of the chief contentions of this work is that the field of textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible is sufficiently mature—in terms of both the adequacy of method and the amount of reliable data—to warrant the production of fully critical texts and editions. As in comparable fields of text-oriented scholarship, the study of the versions and manuscripts ought naturally to lead to this end. I hope to show that in the case of Genesis, and by extension the other books of the Torah, such an aim is viable and pragmatic, even if by necessity never perfectly achieved. Wallace Stevens's observation that "the imperfect is our paradise" holds true for textual criticism as it does for our other forms of life.

In the course of my research I have had the benefit of the criticism and advice of several remarkable scholars: Frank Moore Cross, David Noel Freedman, Baruch Halpern, and Emanuel Tov. The resulting work is far better for their attentions, though, of course, they are not culpable for the outcome. I also wish to thank the graduate students in my 1993 textual criticism seminar at UCLA, Robert Cole, Roger Good, and Raju Kunjummen, for their dedication and acuity. James Davila was kind enough to make available to me in advance of publication his fine edition of the 4QGenesis fragments, now available in DJD 12. My thanks also to the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, and the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center, Claremont, California, for providing me microfilms of important Masoretic manuscripts.

My work on this project was supported in part by a fellowship from the National Endowment for the Humanities for the academic year 1991–92. I am grateful to this noble and embattled institution.

This book is dedicated to Frank Cross, my teacher, mentor, and friend since freshman year. The Mishnah ^ʾAbot rightly counsels: “Get yourself a teacher.” I count myself fortunate to have had such a one.

Finally, my thanks and love to Ann, who doesn’t have to read this book either, and to Eddie and Natty, who sensibly prefer books with more pictures and fewer words.

R. S. H.

January 7, 1998

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Abbreviations and Symbols

TEXTS AND EDITIONS

Major Versions (see §1.4 for sigla for the prehistory of the major versions)

- G Septuagint (G^A = Codex Alexandrinus; G⁹¹¹ = Berlin Papyrus)
Cited from J. W. Wevers, ed., *Genesis. Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum 1*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974.
- M Masoretic text (M^K = *kētib*; M^Q = *qērē*)
Cited from collation of major Masoretic texts (see §7.4).
- Q Qumran
1QGen cited from D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, *Qumran Cave I*. DJD 1. Oxford: Clarendon, 1955: 49-50.
6QpaleoGen cited from M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, eds., *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân*. DJD 3. Oxford: Clarendon, 1962: 105-6.
4QGen^{b-k} cited from *editio princeps* by J. R. Davila in E. Ulrich, F. M. Cross, et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4, Vol. VII: Genesis to Numbers*. DJD 12. Oxford: Clarendon, 1994: 31-78. See also Davila 1989.
4QCommGen^a (= 4Q252) cited from G. Brooke, et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4, Vol. XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3*. DJD 22. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996: 185-207. See also Lim 1992 and 1993.
- S Samaritan text
Cited from L. F. Giron Blanc, ed., *Pentateuco Hebreo-Samaritano: Genesis. Edición crítica sobre la base de Manuscritos inéditos*. TE 15. Madrid: Instituto Arias Montano, 1976.

Minor Versions

- Syr Syriac Peshitta
Cited from Peshitta Institute, *The Old Testament in Syriac. Vol. 1: Genesis-Exodus*. Leiden: Brill, 1977.
- Tg^O Targum Onqelos
Cited from A. Sperber, ed., *The Bible in Aramaic. Vol. I: The Pentateuch according to Targum Onqelos*. Leiden: Brill, 1959.

Tg^P Palestinian Targums (Tg^N = Neofiti; Tg^J = Pseudo-Jonathan)
 Cited from A. Díez Macho, ed., *Biblia Polyglotta Matritensia, Series IV: Targum Palaestinense in Pentateuchum. Vol. 1: Genesis*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1988.

Vg Latin Vulgate
 Cited from H. Quentin, ed., *Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam versionem. Vol. 1: Genesis*. Rome: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1926. Also cited from the *editio minor*: R. Weber, ed., *Biblica Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*. 3d ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983.

Masoretic Manuscripts and Related Materials

A Aleppo Codex (ca. 925 C.E.)
 Text no longer extant for Genesis. Details cited from textual notes of M. D. Cassuto, published in Ofer 1989.

bA Ben Asher

bN Ben Naphtali

From Mishael Ben Uzziel, *Kitāb al-Khilaf*; cited from Lipschütz 1962.

C3 Cairo Pentateuch Codex (ca. 10th century C.E.)
 MS Gottheil 18. Cited from microfilm, Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem (photographed by the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts, 1981); see Penkower 1988.

L St. Petersburg (formerly Leningrad) Codex (ca. 1009 C.E.)
 MS Firkovitch B19a. Cited from microfilm, Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center, Claremont, California (photographed by Bruce and Kenneth Zuckerman, 1993); see now D. N. Freedman, et al., eds., *The Leningrad Codex: A Facsimile Edition*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997. Also transcribed in *BHS* and Dotan 1973.

S Damascus Pentateuch Codex (ca. 10th century C.E.)
 MS 24° 5702, Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem (formerly MS Sassoon 507). Text extant from Gen 9:26. Cited from facsimile edition, D. S. Loewinger, ed., *Early Hebrew Manuscripts in Facsimile, Vol. 1: The Damascus Pentateuch, Part I*. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1978. Also cited from microfilm, Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center, Claremont, California.

V Venice edition (Second Rabbinic Bible, 1524-25)
 Edited by Jacob ben Ḥayyim from several MSS. Cited from facsimile edition, M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, ed., *Biblia Rabbinica: A Reprint of the 1525 Venice Edition*. 2 vols. Jerusalem: Makor, 1972.

Ancillary Sources

Ant *Jewish Antiquities*, by Flavius Josephus

Cited from H. S. J. Thackeray, ed. and trans., *Josephus. Vol. 4. LCL* 242. Cambridge: Harvard University, 1930.

Jub *Jubilees*

Cited from J. C. VanderKam, ed. and trans., *The Book of Jubilees. 2 vols. CSC 510-11. Louvain: Peeters, 1989.*

11QJub and 11QJub^M cited from VanderKam 1977.

LAB *Biblical Antiquities (Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum)*, by Pseudo-Philo

Cited from D. J. Harrington and J. Cazeaux, ed. and trans., *Pseudo-Philon: Les Antiquités Bibliques. Vol. 1. SC 229. Paris: Cerf, 1976.* Also Harrington, trans., "Pseudo-Philo," in J. H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Vol. 2. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985: 297-377.*

OTHER SIGLA (primarily in textual notes)

	separator in textual note: primary reading to left, secondary reading(s) with comment to right
+	plus
∩	haplography
*	reconstructed reading
< >	diagnostic conjecture
[]	restoration in lacuna of Qumran text
·	uncertain letter in Qumran text
#	fragmentary reading in Qumran text
1°	first (second, etc.) occurrence in a verse
→	changed to
§	chapter and section of this book or another reference work
	separator between textual notes in Apparatus II
cf	compare
fin	final
init	initial
mg	variant reading written in margin (only Tg ^N)
ms(s)	manuscript(s); when superscripted, ms(s) cited in apparatus of critical edition
mult	multiple occurrences
om	omitted
pm	first hand (<i>prima manus</i>)
prps	perhaps
sim	similarly
v(v)	verse(s)

PERIODICALS, REFERENCE WORKS, SERIES

- AB Anchor Bible
 ABD *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. D. N. Freedman. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
 AnBib *Analecta biblica*
 AOAT *Alter Orient und Altes Testament*
 ArB *Aramaic Bible*
 BASOR *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
 BDB F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1907.
 BHS *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, eds. K. Elliger and W. Rudolph. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1977. Genesis edited by O. Eissfeldt, 1969.
 Bib *Biblica*
 BibOr *Biblica et Orientalia*
 BIOSCS *Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*
 BN *Biblische Notizen*
 BR *Bible Review*
 BZAW *Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
 CBQ *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
 CRINT *Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum*
 CSC *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*
 CTS *College Theology Society Resources in Religion*
 DJD *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*
 DSD *Dead Sea Discoveries*
 EB *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. 15th ed. Chicago, 1992.
 EJ *Encyclopedia Judaica*. 16 vols. Jerusalem: Keter, 1971.
 GKB W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch, and G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik*. 2 vols. 29th ed. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1918-29. Reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1962.
 GKC W. Gesenius and E. Kautzsch, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*. 2d ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1910. Trans. A. E. Cowley of *Hebräische Grammatik*, 28th ed., 1909.
 HDB *A Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. J. Hastings. 5 vols. New York: Scribner's, 1899-1904.
 HKAT *Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*
 HSM *Harvard Semitic Monographs*
 HSS *Harvard Semitic Studies*
 HTR *Harvard Theological Review*
 HUBP *Hebrew University Bible Project*
 HUCA *Hebrew Union College Annual*
 HTR *Harvard Theological Review*

ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JM	P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, <i>A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew</i> . 2 vols. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1991. Rev. and trans. of Joüon, <i>Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique</i> , 1923.
<i>JNSL</i>	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JR</i>	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Supplement series, <i>JSOT</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
JSSM	Journal of Semitic Studies Monograph
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
MPI	Monographs of the Peshitta Institute, Leiden
MS	Masoretic Studies
MSU	Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens
<i>NAB</i>	<i>The New American Bible</i> , eds. L. F. Hartman, et al. Nashville: Nelson, 1971. Genesis prepared by D. N. Freedman.
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OECS	Oxford Early Christian Studies
OTS	Oudtestamentische Studiën
QH	Quaderni di <i>Henoch</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SC	Sources chrétiennes
ScrHier	Scripta hierosolymitana
SCS	Septuagint and Cognate Studies
<i>ST</i>	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
TE	Textos y Estudios 'Cardenal Cisneros' de la Biblia Poliglota Matritense
<i>TT</i>	<i>Theologisch Tijdschrift</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to <i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WC	Westminster Commentaries
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
<i>ZAH</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Althebraistik</i>
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

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Part I

Textual Studies

ואנשי כנסת הגדולה שהחזירו התורה
לישנה מצאו מחלוקות בספרים

And the men of the great synagogue,
who restored the Torah to its ancient state,
found divergences among the texts.

David Qimḥi

Introduction to Commentary on Joshua

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CHAPTER ONE

Theory, Method, Tools

1.1 THE NECESSITY OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM

The task of textual criticism begins with a recognition of the validity of Heraclitus' maxim in the transmission of texts: *πάντα ῥεῖ*, "all things flow." All texts transmitted by scribes, as by other means, change over time. The changes are, in varying proportions, conscious or accidental. Textual criticism involves isolating these changes, recording and analyzing them, correcting them when possible, and producing critical texts and editions. In essence, the textual critic attempts to reverse the accumulated flow of textual change or entropy, with the goal of reconstituting a better text.

The textual critic of the Hebrew Bible is helped immensely by the recent production of comprehensive introductions to the field, particularly the works by Tov (1981 and 1992a) and McCarter (1986). Most of the theoretical and methodological issues relevant to the task are handled splendidly by these scholars. In a time of rebirth for textual criticism in the post-Qumran era (see Goshen-Gottstein 1983), a number of issues require further thought and refinement. None is more important than clarifying the theoretical and practical necessity of textual criticism.

Many biblical scholars currently eschew the practice of textual criticism, for the most part because of a misconception of the grounds for the task. Careful reflection on the nature of the biblical text will clarify the necessity of the task. To recall Housman's barb on the text-critical obtuseness of his time: "Three minutes' thought would suffice to find it out; but thought is irksome and three minutes is a long time" (1961a: 56). A few minutes may not be too much to ask for the possibility of textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible.

The grounds for textual criticism of this text involve the very concept of the Hebrew Bible and, correspondingly, the concept of any written text. Consider, for example, any specific text of the Hebrew Bible, such as *BHS* or another

modern printed edition. While *BHS* is certainly a text of the Hebrew Bible, it cannot be maintained that it is *the* text, nor is it in any coherent sense the *final* text. This edition consists of a transcription, with critical apparatus, of a single codex, the famous one in the state library in St. Petersburg (L), which identifies itself as having been copied from good Ben Asher manuscripts around 1009 C.E. If one uses another printed edition of the Hebrew Bible, in all likelihood it descends from the Second Rabbinic Bible (V), compiled by Jacob Ben Ḥayyim from various Masoretic manuscripts and printed in Venice in 1524–25. In hundreds of details of spelling, vocalization, and Masoretic marginalia, L and V differ. Clearly, both are texts of the Hebrew Bible, and just as clearly they are different texts, neither being *the* text. To use one such text without acknowledging other important texts and manuscripts is either a sign of romantic involvement with a single text or a sign of ignorance of the fact of textual multiplicity. To adopt a single manuscript as *the* Hebrew Bible or *the* Masoretic text is tantamount to, as Wilamowitz remarked in the study of Greek texts, “idolizing one manuscript as the sole source of grace” (apud Maas 1958: 52).

A recent important translation of the Hebrew Bible illustrates this textual situation. The Jewish Publication Society published in 1985 the completed version of its new translation, which was created by a committee that included over the years a number of distinguished biblical scholars, including Orlinsky, Ginsberg, Speiser, Greenberg, and Greenfield. These scholars collaborated on what the subtitle calls “the new JPS translation according to the traditional Hebrew text.” The manuscript or edition used as the traditional text is not identified (see p. xvii). In fact, the translators did not limit themselves to a single manuscript or edition, to Masoretic texts, or solely to Hebrew texts. In explanatory notes throughout, G and other versions, major and minor, are mentioned prominently, and in a number of places the G reading is adopted in the text of the translation. For this admirable translation, the “traditional text” consists of a multiplicity of texts. I cite this textual condition not as a criticism but as a virtue of this work. This distinguished group chose not to confine themselves to a single manuscript or edition but made use of a wide range of textual data, even though their stated aim is to translate the “traditional Hebrew text.” This is a perspicuous example of the necessity of textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible. To translate a single manuscript as “the traditional Hebrew text,” in the judgment of the JPS committee, would have been a breach of trust, an act of bad faith. No single manuscript or text represents in itself the Hebrew Bible.

What, then, is the text of the Hebrew Bible? For the textual critic, as Kenney notes, “a text is not a concrete artifact, like a pot or a statue, but an abstract con-

cept or idea" (1992: 614). What we have are texts, editions, translations, and fragments. Each of these preserves a version of the text, and each version has been affected by the vicissitudes of time and transmission. The fundamental hypothesis of the textual critic is that by collating and analyzing the extant textual data a better or earlier or more original reading can at times be determined. This hypothesis holds that textual change can be reversed, at least in part. The textual critic works *toward* the idea of the text, while conscious of the fact that the text in its plenitude can never be realized. The more data and the better methods available to the critic, the better the chance of finding a solution to a particular problem, but the end of textual criticism is never at hand. Textual criticism is a process, a dialogue, rather than a completed task. A critical text, if done properly, is a better text, but it is not *the* text in itself. Hence, for both practical and theoretical reasons, we may say that the nonexistence of *the* biblical text provides textual criticism with its justification.

Literary critics, among others, ought to be aware of this textual condition when reading the Hebrew Bible. Ironically, literary critics in the biblical field are generally the most resistant to text-critical issues. Those who attempt to read the text with insight are too often blind to the problem of the very concept of the biblical text. Tanselle aptly laments the lack of such textual awareness in literary criticism generally (see also McGann 1991): "Various theories of literature have arisen from the premise that the *meaning* of verbal statements is indeterminate; but such theories remain superficial unless they confront the indeterminacy of the *texts* of those statements" (1989: 24). Attending to some problems addressed in reader-response theory, he notes:

One's response to a work is obviously conditioned by the text of it one encounters. . . . Those persons wishing simply to have an aesthetic object to respond to and analyze may not be willing to consider other texts of the work . . . but if they see, as they must, that their responses would be different if the text were different, they cannot avoid questioning the text. . . . The act of interpreting the work is inseparable from the act of questioning the text. (1989: 32)

Reflection on the theoretical constituency of the biblical text, along with cognizance of the textual differences among the extant texts, should make biblical scholars more sensitive to the necessity of textual criticism. Indeed, textual study in all its forms may be enhanced by closing the illusory gap between what used to be called lower and higher criticism.

Tov rightly emphasizes that "M and the biblical text are *not* identical concepts" (1992a: xxxviii). Awareness of this difference, and the difference that it makes, provides the grounds for textual criticism.

1.2 TYPES OF TEXT-CRITICAL DECISIONS

For the most part, the work of the textual critic consists of identifying and adjudicating among variant readings. The kinds of variants and the problems involving variants in translation documents have been expertly analyzed by Tov (1981: 73–250). The textual critic also faces an obligation to analyze textual problems where variant readings do not exist. This latter task has been evaluated differently by biblical textual critics: some regard it as a necessary part of textual criticism (Cross 1979: 50–54; McCarter 1986: 74–75; Deist 1988: 205; Tov 1992a: 351–69); others eschew it (Barthélemy 1982: *74–*77; Goshen-Gottstein 1992a: 206). With these disagreements in mind, I propose to outline some distinctions among types of textual decisions. These differences concern methodological limits in the presence or absence of textual variants. The following distinctions may help to clarify the nature of textual judgments under different evidential circumstances.

In my experience, there are four distinguishable types of text-critical decisions. These are ideal types in Weber’s sense of the term; in practice, there may be some overlap among them. The proximate goal in each case is the archetype, defined as the “earliest inferable textual state” (Kenney 1992: 616), and the original is the ideal or theoretical goal (on the relationship between the archetype and the original, see §7.1–2). In the approximate order of their frequency, the four types are as follows:

1. Adjudicating among variants to determine which is plausibly the archetype.
2. Reconstructing the archetype on the basis of the variants where none of the variants is plausibly the archetype.
3. Reconstructing the archetype in the absence of textual variants.
4. Adopting a diagnostic conjecture in the absence of textual variants.

For those who eschew textual emendation in any form, only type 1 is permissible. Types 2, 3, and 4 concern the varying possibilities of textual criticism as “the art of removing error” (from Housman’s definition of textual criticism; 1961b: 131) where the archetype is more elusive.

The following examples from Genesis 1–11 illustrate the methodological conditions for each of the four types of text-critical decision.

- 1) Gen 10:4 ררנים S (רורנים) G (*Podioi*) cf 1 Chron 1:7 (רורנים) | ררנים M; רורנים Syr

In this reading, there are three significant variants, bracketing as textually insignificant the differences in orthography (see §7.3). Two variants are distrib-

uted among M, S, and G, and a third is found in Syr (the other minor versions agree with M; see §1.3). The variations among these readings derive from a graphic confusion between \aleph and \beth , a common category of scribal error. In fact, of the four possible permutations of the two letters, three are realized among the texts: $\aleph\aleph$ (S G), $\beth\aleph$ (M), and $\beth\aleph$ (Syr); the only not realized is $\aleph\aleph$, a combination that is phonetically unlikely.

The key question for the textual critic faced by variant readings is *utrum in alterum abiturum erat?*, “which reading is the more liable to have been corrupted into the other?” (West 1973: 51–53; McCarter 1986: 72). To answer this question, one must imagine and weigh the possible arguments for and against the primacy or secondary origin of each variant.

In this verse, as in all such cases, consideration of the context is essential. Genesis 10:4 lists the sons of $\aleph\aleph$, “Ionia.” The reading shared by S and G and reflected in 1 Chron 1:7 (M and G), $\beth\aleph$, “Rhodes,” fits the requirement of context and is followed by most commentators. The M reading, $\beth\aleph$, is plausibly secondary, influenced by the more common toponym, $\beth\aleph$, “Dedan,” which occurs three verses later (Gen 10:7). Dedan is an Arabian toponym and tribe (cf. Gen 25:3; Jer 25:23, 49:8). The M reading is understandable as the result of a graphic error influenced by anticipation. The Syr reading, $\beth\aleph$, is anomalous, with no obvious referent; it may have been influenced by Aramaic $\beth\aleph$, “village.”

To argue for the priority of the M reading, one would want to find a referent for M’s $\beth\aleph$ in Ionia. Dodona, an old inland cult site, has sometimes been proposed (see Dillmann’s apt criticism of this view; 1897: 337). But the reference to $\beth\aleph$, “islands,” in the following verse makes $\beth\aleph$ a far more plausible reading. Lipiński notes that contacts between Rhodes and the Near East are attested regularly beginning in the 14th century B.C.E. (1990: 53).

In cases where there is a sound argument for the primacy of one variant and the secondary origin of the others, it is unnecessary and methodologically unsound to propose an unattested reading. Proposals such as that of *BHS* (ad loc.) “ $\aleph\aleph$ ($\aleph\aleph$)” have little to recommend them.

In Gen 10:4, the archetypal reading is most plausibly $\beth\aleph$, preserved in S, G, and the Genesis text used by the Chronicler. This instance of graphic error was noted by Jonah ibn Janah and Rashi in the 11th century (Greenspahn 1987: 249) and by many others since. The archetypal reading was corrupted in M and further in Syr. A parallel situation occurs in Ezek 27:15 with $\beth\aleph$ (G) versus $\beth\aleph$ (M); note there also a contextual reference to $\beth\aleph$, “islands.”

In type 1, where the textual critic adjudicates among variant readings, abso-

lute certainty is not attainable. The criteria for a sound decision are juridical: one examines and weighs the evidence and considers the possible textual histories. The textual critic is the arbiter among the imagined claims among the variants, weighing the claims for primacy against the countervailing arguments for scribal change. As in the comparable case of law, the best argument with regard to evidence, reason, and precedent should prevail.

An additional methodological principle provides a check on the possible abuse of this procedure. Where the arguments for the primacy of one or another variant are of roughly equal weight, or where the critic has good reason to be skeptical of the various claims to primacy, I have chosen, as a default value, to adopt the reading of M. This principle is a conservative one, causing the critic to err more frequently in favor of M than the other versions. One useful effect of this principle is that a decision in favor of a non-M variant is understood to have been made for good reason. This default principle serves both as a check on potential excesses and as a sign to readers that the differences from M in the critical text are not the result of the editor's whim.

2) Gen 5:19 *תשע מאות שנה] תשע מאות שנה M G (ετη οκτακοσια); חמש ושמנים שנה ושבע מאות S

In some instances, none of the variants is plausibly the archetype; that is, none is liable to have been corrupted into the other. In this reading from the chronology of the antediluvian patriarchs, the major versions disagree on the years Jared lived after the birth of his son Enoch: M and G read 800, and S reads 785. According to the textual analysis advanced in chapter 4, it appears that the archetypal chronology has been altered in the textual traditions ancestral to M, S, and G. To prevent Jared from living through the flood (he was not on the ark), the proto-M and proto-G textual traditions have reduced his remaining years after the birth of Enoch by 100, and the proto-S tradition has reduced this figure by 115. In proto-G, this adjustment has been made consistently for all of the antediluvian patriarchs from Adam to Lamech, so the archetype is easily ascertained by adding 100 to the G figure of 800. In proto-M and proto-S, adjustments have been made only for Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech, the three patriarchs who, according to the archetypal chronology, lived through the flood. This textual "scandal" in the archetype provides sufficient motive for the secondary adjustments in the proto-M, proto-G, and proto-S textual traditions.

In this type of text-critical decision, the archetype has not survived among the extant variants. The archetype can, however, plausibly be reconstructed by a careful analysis of the relationships among the variants. A kind of triangulation is required, yielding a reliable reconstruction of the archetype. But the recon-

struction has a different status than in those cases where no variants exist. The reconstruction of the archetype is indeed an emendation (i.e., it is an unattested reading), but its adoption has a greater degree of certainty than cases where no clear textual history is possible. Sound judgment is necessary, and certainty is of a lesser degree than in type 1.

3) Gen 9:7 *וּרְרוּ cf G^{ms} (και κατακυριευσατε)] מִן מִן מִן מִן (και πληθυνεσθε)

In some instances, there are no obvious variants, but a reconstructed archetype can be ascertained with some confidence. The textual problem in Gen 9:7 has long been noted and may have been corrected as early as the G textual groups *b* and *d* (see the first apparatus of Wevers's edition, ad loc.). It is possible, however, that Wevers has misidentified the G reading here and that the *b* and *d* groups preserve the authentic G reading (on ancient readings in these groups and the possible Lucianic affinity of *d*, see Wevers 1974: 228).

In this instance, many commentators have preferred a Hebrew reading of וּרְרוּ, "and rule." The basis for this judgment is the obvious literary relationship between Gen 9:7 and Gen 1:27 (note the sequence of verbs in Gen 1:28: פָּרוּ וּרְבוּ . . .). In light of the redundancy of וּרְבוּ in Gen 9:7 (וּרְבוּ occurs three words previously), this literary relationship make וּרְרוּ a plausible reconstruction, even in the absence of clear textual variants. The secondary reading וּרְבוּ in Gen 9:7 is easily explicable as an assimilation by reminiscence of the previous וּרְבוּ.

In this type of text-critical decision, the reconstruction of the archetype is dependent solely on good arguments and good judgment, without the benefit of variants. Its certainty is of a lesser degree than type 1 and is comparable to that of type 2.

4) Gen 4:22 <אבי כל> cf Tg^{OJ}] om M S G

The least degree of certainty obtains where a textual problem is detectable but a clear solution not ascertainable. Genesis 4:22 is a good example, where the sequence הָרֵשׁ כָּל לִטְשׁ קִין תּוֹבֵל yields no sense. The translations, ancient and modern, attempt to make some sense of the verse, generally drawing on the preceding expressions of occupation for Tubal-Cain's brothers (vv 20–21), each introduced by הוּא הִיּה אָבִי or הוּא הִיּה אָבִי כָּל (see §3.2). There lacks, however, a cogent text-critical argument for reconstructing the archetype. In this class of textual situations, the textual critic may propose or adopt a "diagnostic conjecture" (Maas 1958: 53–54; West 1973: 58). A diagnostic conjecture is an educated guess, sometimes no more than a filler or place-marker for a corrupt text.

This class of problem can lead the textual critic into “the treacherous marshland of intuition, *inneres Sprachgefühl*,” as Goshen-Gottstein colorfully cautions (1983: 398 n. 117). Many conjectures of this type have contaminated the practice of biblical textual criticism over the last century, and the scholar should be wary of them. Nonetheless, when recognized as “mere” conjecture, these blunt emendations have a place in textual criticism. Indeed, as West (1973: 59) and Tov (1992a: 353–54) point out, a number of past diagnostic conjectures has been proven to be authentic variants by subsequent manuscript discoveries.

In the apparatus to the critical text in chapter 8, reconstructions of types 2 and 3 are marked by an asterisk, *x. Diagnostic conjectures are indicated in the apparatus and the critical text by angled brackets, < x > .

Textual criticism is a field in which there is an obvious need for sound methodological principles. The essence of the task is to weigh not only the facts but also the arguments surrounding the facts. Such judgments require reason, intuition, and experience. Textual criticism is, as Tov notes, “the art of defining the problems and finding arguments for and against the originality of readings. Indeed, the quintessence of textual evaluation is the formulation and weighing of these arguments” (1992a: 309–10).

1.3 MAJOR AND MINOR VERSIONS

An important methodological issue is the distinction of value among the manuscripts. Such distinctions inevitably affect judgments on the merits of individual readings. This is the problem of “external criteria” (see Tov 1992a: 298–302; McCarter 1986: 71–72). Although primary readings may be preserved in any textual source, it is clear that some texts are, in their aggregate of readings, more valuable than others. Tov characterizes M, S, G, and Q as “the major textual witnesses” (1981: 272) because they are earliest and best sources for ancient readings. In this work, I refer to these four sources as the major versions, using the term *version* in a descriptive sense following Talmon (1975: 382 n. 3). The next best set of sources are the early translations stemming from the Common Era: Tgs, Syr, and Vg. I refer to these three sources as the minor versions.

The distinction between the major and minor versions is appropriate for a number of reasons. Chronologically, the major versions arose prior to the establishment of the rabbinic-M text as the canonical text of rabbinic Judaism. In contrast, the minor versions arose after this historic event, and they each bear its imprint (see §6.3). In addition, the variant readings in the minor versions possess a relatively greater degree of indeterminacy because of the more pronounced

exegetical *Tendenzen* in these texts. While Tov and McCarter are correct to stress that authentic variants are of value no matter what their source, in practice it is much more difficult to distinguish the authentic variants from the pseudo-variants in Tgs, Syr, and Vg.

Because of the greater indeterminacy in the readings of the minor versions, I adopt in this work the following working principle. The readings of the minor versions are used primarily as corroborating evidence for readings in the major versions. This conservative principle represents, in my experience, an accommodation of theory to practice. Although I may lose some authentic variants by adopting this procedure, it provides a useful check on promiscuous emendation (note the frequent appeal to the minor versions without support from the major versions in *BHS*). As with the principle of adopting the M reading where adjudication among the variants is inconclusive (see §1.2), this principle does not eliminate errors in judgment but rather makes the aggregate of errors more likely to be conservative (i.e., toward the major versions).

In this work, I adopt a corresponding stylistic convention concerning the difference between the major and minor versions. The testimony of a minor version is listed only where its reading diverges from M. This convention serves to reduce the clutter of textual notes and apparatus with no loss of textual information.

1.4 TERMS FOR THE PREHISTORY OF M, S, AND G

In addition to sigla for manuscripts and editions (see Abbreviations and Symbols), the textual critic needs appropriate terms to refer to the various phases in the textual histories of the manuscript traditions. In the case of the Hebrew Bible, there is no consensus on the terms to be used and the historical entities to which the terms refer, particularly for M.

There is a general consensus, however, on the utility of distinguishing between three phases in the textual history of M (see Tov 1992a: 29–36; Goshen-Gottstein 1967: 244–50). These three phases have as their points of departure the following textual events:

1. The literary and editorial completion of the original text for each biblical book (see Tov 1992a: 164–80 and §7.1–2).
2. The establishment of a canonical text for each biblical book in Pharisaic/Rabbinic Judaism.
3. The production of the classical Masoretic codices by the Tiberian Masoretes.

There is much that we do not know about the circumstances of these three turning points, but, even so, they are important moments in the history of M.

Scholars differ on appropriate terms for these phases in the textual history of M. Barthélemy uses the terms pre-Massoretic, proto-Massoretic, and Massoretic (1992: iv-v). Cross advocates the terms proto-Rabbinic, Rabbinic, and Massoretic (1979: 39-40; 1992: 7-11). Tov refers to phases 1 and 2 as proto-Masoretic and to phase 3 as Masoretic (1992a: 22-25). Although the terminological issue is not important in itself, clarity and consistency are useful.

In this work, I will use the following terms for the three phases in the history of M: *proto-M* (phase 1); *rabbinic-M* (phase 2); and *M* (phase 3). Each of these terms refers to a closely affiliated group of texts during a particular historical span. This sequence allows for clarity of reference and also a measure of symmetry with the terms used for the other major versions. For G, it is necessary to distinguish between proto-G (the textual tradition of the Hebrew *Vorlage* of G) and G. For S, it is important to distinguish between proto-S (the textual tradition of the text adopted by the Samaritans) and S. References to individual readings in this work will rarely require attention to the historical phase denoted by the term *rabbinic-M*. Hence most references will be to M or proto-M, S or proto-S, G or proto-G.

With regard to the prehistory of S, I have not followed Tov's suggestion that "pre-S" is preferable to "proto-S" on the grounds that S is characterized by distinctive editorial changes in contrast to M and G (1992a: 81-82). Certainly the transition from proto-S to S is characterized by a limited number of substitutions and expansions (primarily involving references to Mt. Gerizim), but the transition from proto-G to G is also characterized by distinctive editorial change, namely, translation into Greek. The circumstances of the transition from proto-M to rabbinic-M is less clear, though it is plausible that the choice of texts was deliberately limited to scrolls of a particular type of script and orthography (see Cross 1992: 3-9). Each of the major versions, it would seem, was established by editorial activity of one sort or another. Moreover, as has often been noted, there is also a sociological parallelism among the three texts, in that each was established in the context of a particular community—the Samaritans for S, the Greek-speaking Jews of Alexandria for G; and the Pharisees/Rabbis for M. In sum, there are enough similarities in the emergence of these texts to allow parallel terms for their prehistory.

When citing M, I will follow the stylistic convention of DJD, in which vowels and accents are unmarked. This reflects the historical practice for Hebrew texts of phases 1 and 2 and Torah scrolls to the present. When citing G,

I will follow the similar convention in DJD (though not consistent there), in which accents and breathing marks are unmarked. This reflects the practice in the earliest Greek manuscripts, including the Septuagintal texts from Qumran and Naḥal Ḥever (see DJD 8 and 9).

1.5 TOOLS FOR THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF GENESIS

In his 1902 article, "Text of the Old Testament," Strack lamented the paucity of reliable data and tools for textual criticism: "We have no MSS of the Heb. OT from the first eight centuries of the Christian era, at least none whose date is certain. Unfortunately, moreover, we are as yet without critical editions . . . of the most important early Versions (LXX, Pesh., Targg.)" (1902: 726). To our benefit, Strack's lament has been ameliorated, sometimes spectacularly so, in the course of this century. The textual critic of Genesis now has available reliable editions of all the major and minor versions. (The editions of G and Vg feature fully critical texts; the others are diplomatic editions.) We also have the advantage of the discovery of Genesis texts from Qumran and other Dead Sea sites (Murabba'at, Naḥal Ḥever) dating from ca. 125 B.C.E. to ca. 125 C.E. The history of the M textual tradition has been the subject of an abundance of research, and better manuscripts in the M family have been discovered and published. Not least important, the procedures and goals of textual criticism have been codified in important works by Tov (1981, 1992a), McCarter (1986), and others (see esp. the contributions in Cross and Talmon 1975; Trebelle Barrera and Vegas Montaner 1992; Brooke and Lindars 1992).

The following is a selection of works of particular value in the study of the text of Genesis.

Commentaries and Reference Works

Dillmann (1897) and Skinner (1930) are invaluable; Gunkel (1910) is also helpful. Most other commentaries are inconsistent or superficial on textual matters. Spurrell (1896) and Barthélemy and colleagues (1973) are of limited use for textual criticism (on the latter's flaws, see Albrektson 1994).

Major Versions

M: Yeivin (1980), Tov (1992a: 22–79), and Barthélemy (1992: vii–cxvi) are essential. Goshen-Gottstein (1963, 1967, 1992a) provides the standard treatment of the textual history of M. For variants among the 10th to 12th

century C.E. texts, Breuer (1976) provides a useful though incomplete collection. For variants in other manuscripts and printed editions, ca. 12th to 15th centuries C.E., see the apparatus in Ginsburg (1908). On the relative insignificance for textual criticism of the mass of medieval variants, with some possible exceptions, see Goshen-Gottstein (1967), Barthélemy (1992: xxxii–xlix), and Maori (1992).

- G: Wevers (1974) is a useful though terse adjunct to his magisterial critical edition. His recent companion volume (1993; cf. Hendel 1995a) is helpful for style and language in G, though he consistently underestimates the text-critical value of G (see §2.1). Similar cautions apply to Rösel (1994) and Brown (1993; cf. Hendel 1994). Harl (1986) is very useful for exegetical matters. On all text-critical matters, Tov (1981) is essential.
- S: The critical edition of Giron-Blanc replaces the old edition of von Gall. Also very useful is the parallel edition of M and S (from an 11th century manuscript) in Šadaqa and Šadaqa (1962). Purvis (1968), Waltke (1970; 1992), and Tov (1992a: 80–100) are reliable guides.
- Q: The 4QGenesis fragments are ably edited by Davila in DJD 12. Text-critical commentary is available in Davila (1989, 1990, 1992).

Minor Versions

- Tgs: The Madrid polyglot of the Palestinian Targums by Díez Macho is the most reliable and useful edition. Grossfeld (1988), McNamara (1992), and Maher (1992) are reliable guides to the rich exegesis in the Tgs. On the difficult task of discerning the history and relationships among the Tgs, see especially Alexander (1988a) and Kaufman (1994). On the Tgs in textual criticism, with some reference to Genesis, see Isenberg (1971) and Komlosh (1973).
- Syr: The murky textual history of Syr Genesis has been explored in important studies by ter Haar Romeny (1995), Koster (1993), Dirksen (1992), Isenberg (1971), and Wernberg-Møller (1962). Brock (1979) and Maori (1995) are valuable on Jewish exegetical traditions in Syr.
- Vg: On Jerome's textual sources and procedures, see Kedar (1988) and Kamesar (1993). Hayward (1995) provides text-critical commentary on Jerome's *Hebrew Questions on Genesis*.

Ancillary Sources

- Jub: VanderKam's translation includes valuable text-critical notes. On textual affinities, see VanderKam (1977, 1988).

Ant: On the affinities of the Genesis text(s) used by Josephus, see especially Brock (1992a: 309, 328) and Fraenkel (1984).

LAB: Harrington's translation includes valuable text-critical notes. On textual affinities, see Harrington (1971).

CHAPTER TWO

M and G in Genesis 1:1 – 2:4

2.1 THE VALUE OF G IN GENESIS

A new era in the modern study of G began with the publication of “A New Qumran Biblical Fragment related to the Original Hebrew underlying the Septuagint” (Cross 1953). This fragment, consisting of two columns from 4QSam^a, demonstrated (in Cross’s words) “the seriousness with which the LXX dealt with the Hebrew text in their hands, and confirms most emphatically the usefulness of the LXX for the establishment of a more nearly original Hebrew text” (1953: 25). Orlinsky clarified this newly gained perspective in a subsequent review of the field of textual criticism:

The LXX translation, no less than the MT itself, will have gained very considerable respect as a result of the Qumran discoveries in those circles where it has long—overlong—been necessary. And the LXX translators will no longer be blamed for dealing promiscuously with their Hebrew *Vorlagen*; it is to their *Vorlagen* that we shall have to go, and it is their *Vorlagen* that will have to be compared with the preserved MT. (1961: 121)

In recent years, other Qumran texts have been published that have clear affinities to G, including (in the Pentateuch) 4QExod^b, 4QLev^d, and 4QDeut^e (published in DJD 12 and 14; see Tov 1992b). Numerous important studies have refined our understanding of the history and text-critical value of G (see esp. Tov 1981, 1988; and the recent reviews of the field in Tov 1992b; Hanhart 1992; Aejmelaeus 1987).

Unfortunately, in the study of Genesis, this new perspective on G has had little practical effect. Most studies of the text of Genesis still blame the G translator for “dealing promiscuously” with M. A recent learned study by Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis*, insists that G ought to be regarded primarily as “an exegetical document” (1993: xx). Wevers assumes that M is the *Vorlage* of G (Wevers aptly calls this a “prejudice” [1993: xiii]) and therefore infers that

any deviation from M reveals the Greek translator's exegesis. He states: "Through such details a picture of the attitudes, theological prejudices, even of the cultural environment of these Jewish translators gradually emerges" (1993: xxi). Other recent works on G of Genesis hold much the same view. Rösel's study of Genesis 1-11 bears its premise in its title: *Übersetzung als Vollendung der Auslegung* ("translation as the fulfillment of interpretation," a quote from H.-G. Gadamer). For Rösel, G is "directly comparable to the Targums" (1994: 254) as an early Jewish exegetical rendering of M (1994: 247-60). Cook's studies on Genesis also belong to this genre (1982, 1985, 1987). In the light of the present state of Septuagintal studies, the working assumption of these scholars—that G is a free translation of M—is an scholarly anachronism.

In the context of our current knowledge, any adequate method for approaching G of Genesis must acknowledge the conservative qualities of G as a translation document. Aejmelaeus aptly frames this issue:

All in all, the scholar who wishes to attribute deliberate changes, harmonizations, completion of details and new accents to the translator is under the obligation to prove his thesis with weighty arguments and also to show why the divergences cannot have originated with the *Vorlage*. That the translator *may* have manipulated his original does not mean that he necessarily did so. All that is known of the translation techniques of the Septuagint points firmly enough in the opposite direction. (1987: 71)

The validity of this stance for Genesis has been demonstrated in Davila's recent studies of the 4QGenesis fragments. Davila concludes his analysis of the 4QGenesis variants in Genesis 1 as follows:

The most important general implication of the new Qumran material presented in this study is that we must take the LXX of Genesis very seriously as a source for a Hebrew textual tradition alternate to the MT. We have strong reason to believe that the translators of Genesis treated their *Vorlage* with respect and rendered the Hebrew text before them into Greek with great care and minimal interpretation. (1990: 11)

These studies undermine the view that G of Genesis is primarily an exegesis of M. Rather, G is a literalistic translation of a Hebrew *Vorlage* that varied in many details from M (or, more properly, proto-M).

It is necessary to add, however, that even the most literal translation cannot help but be an interpretation. There are no semantically neutral translations of any linguistic text (see Steiner 1975). The key to understanding the nature of a translation document is attention to the kinds and degrees of interpretation operating in the work of translation. Recent studies of the translation technique in the G Pentateuch indicate that the translator of Genesis had a consistent tech-

nique, which may be described as a compromise between strict reproduction of all the details in the Hebrew and wavering attention to the demands of idiomatic Greek (Sollamo 1995: 81–94). The G translator tended to translate each Hebrew sense unit—and very often each lexical and grammatical unit—into a Greek equivalent. Brock aptly characterizes this translation style:

As far as the individual words are concerned the translator draws—often with subtlety—on the vocabulary of contemporary Greek, but when faced with specifically Hebrew expressions (what Jerome called the language’s *ιδιώματα*) he hesitates between an idiomatic and a literal rendering. In the Pentateuch as a whole, and in Genesis in particular, it should be stressed that more often than not he chooses an idiomatic rendering, though not consistently so. (1972: 33)

The quality of this translation technique of greatest note for textual criticism is the tendency for one-to-one correspondence in G in Genesis. Whether the Greek equivalent is good Greek or translation Greek, the stability of this technique is the basis for careful retroversion of G readings to those of its Hebrew *Vorlage*.

A nuanced awareness of the relation between translation and interpretation in G of Genesis requires attention to the semantic possibilities available to the translator. Hanhart’s studies have clarified the nature of this task:

The LXX—and this is true for all the books translated—is *interpretation* only insofar as a decision is made between various possibilities of understanding which are already inherent in the formulation of the Hebrew *Vorlage* and thus given to the translator. Furthermore, the LXX is the *actualization* of the contemporary history of the translator only when the choice of the Greek equivalent is capable of doing justice both to the factuality and history of the original Hebrew witness and also to the contemporary history of the translator. The LXX is essentially *conservation*. (1992: 342–43)

The researcher needs to grasp that the G translator’s interpretive scope was limited by the semantic possibilities of the source document. Only insofar as the source document could be rendered in multiple ways in the target language can the choices made be construed as revealing the translator’s interpretive or cultural horizons.

The clearest locations of such interpretation are the obscure words and phrases in Hebrew. A paradigm example is the phrase *תהו ובהו* in Gen 1:2, an expression nearly untranslatable in any language (“unformed and void” in King James English; French has adopted the word “tohubohu”). By mapping the Greek-Hebrew equivalents (after Tov 1981: 75–76), we can see that G of Gen 1:2 is a literalistic, unit-by-unit translation, but some of the choices made may still be revealing:

η δε γη	=	והארץ
ην	=	היתה
αορατος	=	תהו
και ακατασκευαστος	=	ובהו
και σκοτος	=	וחשך
επανω	=	על פני
της αβυσσου	=	תהום
και πνευμα	=	ורוח
θεου	=	אלהים
επεφερετο	=	מרחפת
πανω	=	על פני
του υδατος	=	המים

Corresponding to תהו ובהו, the G translator wrote *αορατος και ακατασκευαστος*, “unseen and unorganized.” Scholars have noted that *αορατος* is a distinctive philosophical term in Greek, used by Plato to denote the “unseen” preexisting world of ideas (Sophist 246a–c; Theaetetus 155e; Timaeus 51a; see Hanhart 1992: 367; Harl 1986: 87; Rösel 1994: 31). This choice of a Greek equivalent expresses something of Platonic cosmology in biblical guise, perhaps joining the cosmologies of Plato and Moses, as was a commonplace in Hellenistic Jewish thought, particularly in Alexandria. Hence, we may have a glimpse of the Hellenistic conceptual world of the G translator via the translation of this obscure Hebrew phrase. Note that the phrase is rendered in two words joined with a conjunction, exactly like the Hebrew *Vorlage*. But within the constraints of a literal translation, something of contemporary Platonic cosmology may shine through.

As Hanhart stresses, exegesis in G is generally limited to the choice of the Greek equivalent. Occasionally, G softens the anthropomorphic realism of the Hebrew, as in Gen 2:7, where Yahweh breathes the breath of life *εις το προσοπον αυτου*, “into his face,” corresponding to the Hebrew *באפיו*, “into his nose.” Two instances of softening Yahweh’s anthropomorphic emotions are found in Gen 6:6, where *και ενεθυμηθη*, “and he was concerned,” renders *וינחם*, “and he was sorry”; and *και διενοηθη*, “and he meditated,” renders *ויתעצב אל לבו*, “and he grieved in his heart.” Yet, in other places, blatant divine anthropomorphisms are rendered precisely in G, as in Gen 3:8, where Adam hears the noise of Yahweh’s afternoon stroll through the Garden of Eden:

και ηκουσαν	=	וישמעו
την φωνην	=	את קול
κυριου του θεου	=	יהוה אלהים
περιπατουντος	=	מתהלך
εν τω παραδεισω	=	בגן
το δειλινον	=	לרוח היום

Yahweh's "walking around," מַתְהַלֵּךְ, is precisely translated by Greek περιπατουντος. In such instances, we see the importance to the G translator of conserving the details of the Hebrew wording. Interpretation shines through only occasionally in the choice of Greek equivalents for this passage, as in the nice rendering of בגן, "in the garden," as εν τω παραδεισω, "in the paradise."

In our analysis of the variations between M and G in Gen 1:1–2:4, we will see that G closely translates the text of a Hebrew *Vorlage* that differed in numerous small instances from proto-M. The G *Vorlage* is characterized by considerably more harmonization than M. The harmonizations shared with S and those reflected in the minor versions confirm that the harmonizations occurred in the Hebrew scribal traditions and are not attributable to the G translator (see further §5.1–2). Even though the proto-G text used by the G translator was a relatively harmonized text, in some instances it preserves readings superior to M where M has been affected by scribal errors (see, e.g., at Gen 1:9 and 2:2). Some of the most striking divergences between M and G in Genesis are in Gen 1:1–2:4. Comparison in this text is therefore a useful point of entry into the respective traits of M and G in Genesis.

Wellhausen observed long ago that G of Genesis 1 is a more developed text than M, and he discerned that this development occurred in the Hebrew textual tradition: "The variants of the Septuagint are based on a systematic revision. These, however, had already been made in the Hebrew *Vorlage*" (1899: 184, see further §2.2 at Gen 1:9). The results of this study will corroborate his perception.

2.2 SIGNIFICANT TEXTUAL VARIANTS

Gen 1:6 מים למים M S G (και υδατος)] + ויהי כן G (και εγενετο ουτος)

Gen 1:7 כן ויהי M 4QGen^{b8} S] om G

Gen 1:20 השמים M 4QGen^{bd} S G (του ουρανου)] + ויהי כן G (και εγενετο ουτος)

The case of the repeated phrase ויהי כן, "and it was so," in the creation story takes us into the issue of harmonization in the biblical textual traditions. This phrase occurs six times in M (vv 7, 9, 11, 15, 24, 30), with one additional variation (v 3: ויהי אור); hence, the phrase occurs virtually seven times in M. In G, the phrase occurs seven times (vv 6, 9, 11, 15, 20, 24, 30), with the same additional variation in v 3, hence, virtually eight times. In M, the phrase occurs on five of the six days of creation, with the fifth day the exception. In G, the phrase occurs on all six days of creation. In both versions, the phrase occurs

twice on the third day, once for each of the two acts of creation on that day, but only once on the sixth day, where the phrase is lacking in the creation of humans. The differences between M and G occur in vv 6, 7, and 20, involving the phrase's placement and daily distribution.

In vv 6-7, on the second day of creation, the phrase occurs in different places in M and G. This difference relates to the literary structure of the creation story, in which most of the acts of creation consist of a report of God's word (*Wortbericht*) + וַיְהִי כֵן + a report of God's deed (*Tatbericht*). The account of the creation of sky on the second day includes the *Wortbericht* (v 6), introduced by וַיֹּאמֶר, "he said," and the *Tatbericht* (v 7), introduced by וַיַּעַשׂ, "he made." In G, וַיְהִי כֵן occurs in the expected location (end of v 6), between the *Wortbericht* and the *Tatbericht*. In M, the placement is anomalous (end of v 7): only here in Genesis 1 does the phrase וַיְהִי כֵן occur after the *Tatbericht*.

The question faced by the textual critic is: Which reading, if any, is likely to be the archetypal or original text? Which is most liable to have been changed into the other? Because G conforms better to the overall structure of the story, it is possible that the G reading is original and that M has suffered some kind of scribal accident. There is, however, nothing in the context to motivate an accidental error in proto-M, nor is there any reason to suspect that the M reading is the result of intentional change. Conversely, it is possible that M preserves the original reading and that G is secondary. In this case, there is an obvious motive for the change in the proto-G textual tradition; as we have seen, the M reading is anomalous in context. It is plausible that a scribe in the proto-G tradition harmonized the placement of the phrase to conform with the pattern in the creation account as a whole. This act of textual harmonization yielded a more consistent and "perfect" text, as is the general motive for textual harmonization (see Tov 1985 and §5.1). On this explanation, the scribe had good motive for moving the phrase to its proper position between the *Wortbericht* and the *Tatbericht*. The M reading, unexpected as it is, plausibly preserves the original or archetypal text.

This argument for the primacy of the M reading and the harmonistic origin of the G reading accords with our understanding of the literary style of P. McEvenue has patiently traced the P narrative style, in which a tendency for structured organization and repetition is offset by consistent small variations within the pattern (1971: 185). Cassuto characterized this tendency in Genesis 1 as a general stylistic rule: "It is a basic principle of Biblical narrative prose not to repeat a statement in identical terms; with fine artistic sense, the narrator likes to alter the wording or to shorten it or to change the order of the words" (1961:

16). This style is evident in the variations on the pattern of *Wortbericht* + ויהי כן + *Tatbericht*: the first day has the variation ויהי אור with no additional *Tatbericht*, the second day has ויהי כן after the *Tatbericht*, the fifth day lacks ויהי כן (see on v 20), and the sixth day lacks a ויהי כן in the second (and final) act of creation on that day. This stylistic tendency for variation within pattern is also evident in the consistent variations of wording between the *Wortbericht* and *Tatbericht* for each act of creation after the first day. In sum, the argument for the primacy of the M reading in vv 6–7 is consonant with the literary style of the writer. This judgment agrees with Wellhausen’s perception that in Genesis 1 “consistent conformity is not the principle of the original text” (1899: 184).

The analysis of the G reading of ויהי כן in v 20 follows the same reasoning. There is no obvious motive, either accidental or intentional, for a scribe to omit ויהי כן on the fifth day, so it is difficult to think that the M reading is secondary. In contrast, there is good reason for a scribe to add the phrase here because such a change would make this day of creation conform with the dominant pattern in Genesis 1. The harmonizing impulse is good explanation for the plus in v 20 (G), as it is for the plus in v 6 (G). The M reading again is a departure from the expected pattern. This is easily explained as a product of the P writer’s style of variation within repetition.

An additional reason to think that the absence of ויהי כן in v 20 is original concerns the total number of repetitions of this phrase. The total in M is six, though it is seven if one includes the variation ויהי אור in v 3. The presence of the phrase in G of v 20 makes the total of the literal repetition of the phrase seven, though it is eight if one includes the variation in v 3. If the ויהי כן in v 20 of proto-G is due to a harmonizing scribe, this might account for the literalistic count of seven for the phrase in G (excluding in punctilious fashion the variation in v 3), whereas the original text would have included the variation in the total of seven. In both texts, seven is clearly a significant number in the literary structure of the seven days of creation (see Skinner 1930: 8–10; Cassuto 1961: 12–15).

Although I have argued for the primacy of the M readings in vv 6, 7, and 20, it is possible to envisage another scenario argued by Tov (1985: 9–10). When a phrase occurs in different places in different texts, it is possible that the archetype lacked the phrase and that scribes in the different traditions inserted the phrase independently. We would then have an instance of parallel attempts at harmonization, yielding variant texts. Tov cites the variations in M and G in vv 6, 7, and 20 as an illustration of this scribal phenomenon and suggests that the phrase was absent in all three verses of the original. Wellhausen proposed a

similar argument concerning these variants (1899: 184). This explanation is plausible and partially consonant with my explanation of the proto-G readings as an effect of scribal harmonization.

But the Wellhausen-Tov explanation has difficulty in explaining the M reading of the phrase in v 7 as a harmonization. As noted previously, the M phrase in v 7 is anomalous, giving rise to the harmonistic tendency to move it to v 6 (in G and followed by many modern commentators, e.g., Speiser 1964: 6; Schmidt 1973: 56; Westermann 1984: 78; *BHS* ad loc.). Yet to think that a harmonizing scribe in the proto-M tradition inserted the phrase in the wrong place undercuts the force of the explanation. Harmonizing pluses rarely yield a discordant text. I submit that this argument is less compelling than the previous argument that the M reading in v 7 is primary. In either analysis, however, the G readings in vv 6 and 20 derive from harmonizations in the proto-G scribal tradition and are not the free creation of the translator.

Gen 1:7 ויברל M 4QGen^{b#g} S G (και διεχωρισεν)] + אלהים G (ο θεος)

The subject of the verb ויברל, “he/it divided,” is not specified in M of this verse, and G specifies the subject as אלהים, “God.” In v 6, God says that the רקיע will function as the divider of the waters. The subject of the verb in v 7 of M is therefore ambiguous because one can as easily understand the subject to be the רקיע as God. The G reading is easily understood as an explicating plus, and there is no motive to think that the M reading is the result of an omission. In this case, the subject of the verb really is ambiguous, and commentators are divided on which should be inferred.

Gen 1:8 וירא אלהים כי טוב M 4QGen^{b#g} S G (ουρανον)] + וירא אלהים כי טוב G (και ειδεν ο θεος οτι καλον)

The formula of divine approval occurs seven times in M, including a longer variation in the last repetition (vv 4, 10, 12, 18, 21, 25, 31). The formula is lacking for only one act of creation, the creation of sky on the second day. The G reading of v 8 contains the expected approval formula. While it is possible that proto-M lost this clause by a haplography triggered by homoioarkton (וי ו-וי), it is more likely that the harmonizing tendency previously noted is responsible for this plus in proto-G.

In this explanation, the pattern of use for the approval formula, וירא אלהים כי טוב, is parallel to the pattern of use for the repeated phrase, ויהי כן. In each case, M has a total of seven repetitions, including one variation (the last and the first repetition, respectively). In contrast, G has seven repetitions of the precise

phrase in each case and does not count the variation. The G readings reflect a strict sense of organization, characteristic of the sensibility of the harmonizing scribe, while the M readings display a preference for variation within repetition that is characteristic of P's literary style. This plus in G, parallel to the cases of vv 6-7 and 20, illustrates the nature of harmonization in the proto-G tradition.

Gen 1:9 מְקוֹה 4QGen^h G (συναγωγῆν)] מְקוֹם 4QGen^b M S Jub 2:5 LAB 15:6

In Gen 1:9, there are two significant textual variations between M and G, for both of which 4QGenesis texts provide new evidence. In each case, *both* the M and G readings are attested at Qumran. An important implication of this new evidence concerns the text-critical value of G: in these cases, it is now clear that the G translator has accurately rendered a Hebrew *Vorlage* that differs from M. In this new circumstance, it is not sensible to take the position that the G translator changed the M text of v 9 in a manner coincidentally identical to the 4QGenesis readings (so Rösel 1994: 38-41).

Numerous scholars have noted that G συναγωγῆν, “gathering, collection,” in v 9 corresponds to Hebrew מְקוֹה and not מְקוֹם (e.g., Gunkel 1910: 107; Skinner 1930: 22; Speiser 1964: 6; Tov 1985: 21; Harl 1986: 90; *BHS* ad loc.). The data of the Hebrew-Greek equivalents clearly support this retroversion. Of the 47 places in Genesis where M reads מְקוֹם, “place,” G translates with *τοπος*, “place,” in 46 instances. The only exception is Gen 1:9. The consistency of the G translation of מְקוֹם in Genesis underscores the textual difference in this verse. The συναγωγῆν of G in v 9 is a precise translation of Hebrew מְקוֹה, “gathering, collection.” The correctness of this retroversion is now confirmed in 4QGen^h, which reads מְקוֹה (noted in Skehan 1969: 89-90). Interestingly, G renders מְקוֹה in the next verse (v 10) as *συστηματα*, “system, body,” showing that the G translator is less consistent in rendering uncommon words.

Given our new respect for the variant preserved in G, the question remains: Which is the better reading? The graphic difference between the two words is slight, consisting of word-final ה versus final ם. The difference of meaning is also slight, “gathering” versus “place.” A decisive argument for the preferred reading may be impossible, given the fine difference between the variants.

Davila has recently argued that the reading מְקוֹה is secondary, either a mistake or a harmonization influenced by the occurrence of מְקוֹיָה in v 9b (see later). He reasons that “it is very difficult to explain why מְקוֹם would have been substituted for an original מְקוֹה” (1990: 11). Although it is certainly possible that מְקוֹה is secondary, it is not so difficult to explain why מְקוֹם may be secondary and מְקוֹה the primary reading. A graphic confusion may account for this variation.

Graphic confusion of final ם and ה, while not commonplace, is attested in the biblical text, as demonstrated by the following examples:

- Prov 20:16 נכריה M^Q
נכרים M^K
- 1 Kings 14:31 אביה G (Αβιου)
אבים M
(sim 1 Kings 15:1,7,8 and 2 Chron 13:1–23)
- Gen 18:21 הכצעקתה M S
הכצעקתם G (ει κατα την κραυγην αυτων)
(sim Severus Scroll; Siegel 1975: 19–20)

Delitzsch lists nearly two dozen cases of ה/ם confusion in the Hebrew Bible (1920: §122a, §129a). This count may be overly generous, but the previous examples are unambiguous and show the possibility of this graphic confusion in the square script. Included in Delitzsch's list is the variation in Gen 1:9, מקוה/מקום. In the light of these data, we cannot exclude the possibility of מקוה as original in Gen 1:9 and מקום the result of a simple graphic error.

If either מקום or מקוה might be mistaken for the other by graphic error, which is the more likely direction of change? Davila aptly notes that anticipation of מקוה in 9b might motivate a misreading of מקום as מקוה in 9a. Yet another מקוה occurs in v 10. To frame an alternative suggestion, I would note that nouns and verbs from the root $\sqrt{\text{קוה}}$ function as *Leitwörter* in the narrative in vv 9–10. If we take note of this stylistic trait, then מקוה is stylistically apt as the reading here. Moreover, the word מקוה is uncommon in Hebrew, whereas מקום is very common. It is a natural tendency for scribes to mistake an uncommon word for a common word, particularly when facilitated by graphic confusion. The reverse change, from a common word to an uncommon word, is far less frequent. If we heed this natural tendency in scribal traditions, then it is plausible that מקוה was lost in proto-M of v 9 (including the proto-M text, 4QGen^b) but preserved in proto-G and 4QGen^h. This argument may be the more compelling, in which case we should prefer the reading מקוה.

Gen 1:9 ותרא היבשה ותרם מקויהם אל השמים מתחת השמים אל מקויהם ותרא היבשה 4QGen^{k#}
[היב]שה) G (και συνηχθη το υδωρ το υποκατω του ουρανου εις τας
συναγωγας αυτων και ωφθη η ξηρα) sim Jub 2:6] om M 4QGen^{bg} S

The long plus in G in the second half of v 9 is also supported by a 4QGenesis reading, as is the shorter text of M. Only the last two words of the plus, ותרא היב[שה], are preserved in 4QGen^k. The verbal form in this phrase is most easily read as a converted imperfect (*waw* + short prefix form), hence “dry land appeared.” This phrase, introducing the *Tatbericht* of this act of crea-

tion, differs from the corresponding phrase in the *Wortbericht*, ותראה היבשה (v 9a), in which the verbal form consists of *waw* + long prefix form, functioning grammatically as a purpose/result clause: “so that dry land may appear” (on this syntax, see Lambdin 1971: §107c; Waltke and O’Connor 1990: §34.6, §39.9.2). It is very unlikely that a postexilic scribe would miswrite the long prefix form in v 9a as a short prefix form, as the short form is virtually moribund in Late Biblical Hebrew (Sáenz-Badillos 1993: 129; Qimron 1986: 81). Hence, it is unlikely that the 4QGen^k reading should be understood as an erroneous writing of the *Wortbericht* of v 9a (pace Rösel 1994: 40).

The Qumran reading indicates the reliability of the G translation of its *Vorlage* of Genesis. The retroversion of the Greek (as previously) has been advocated by many scholars (e.g., Gunkel 1910: 107; Skinner 1930: 22; *BHS* ad loc.) and may be considered to be vindicated by 4QGen^k, albeit fragmentarily. Well before the discovery of 4QGen^k, however, good reasons had been given for understanding the G plus as a preservation of a Hebrew text. Wellhausen pointed to the obvious Hebraism indicated by the lack of agreement between the plural possessive pronoun, *αυτων*, and its governing noun, *το υδωρ*, which is singular in Greek. The problem of grammatical discord is solved by noting that Hebrew for “water,” מים, is plural. The G reading reflects a Hebrew text with המים governing the plural possessive pronoun (Wellhausen 1899: 184; Skinner 1930: 22; Tov 1985: 22). This is a case of a “syntactical Hebraism” (Tov 1988: 179), demonstrating the effect of the Hebrew *Vorlage*.

Tov has strengthened the argument for a Hebrew original by noting the literal, unit-by-unit Greek-Hebrew correspondences in v 9a, illustrating the translation technique of the G translator of Genesis (1985: 21–22). He also notes the differences in wording between vv 9a and 9b in G, showing that 9b has not been constructed as a harmonization with its parallel by the G translator. Important in this regard are the Greek variations of συναγωγην (= מִקְוֵה; v 9a), τας συναγωγας αυτων (v 9b), and συστηματα (= מִקְוֵה; v 10). Clearly the phrase in v 9b is not a harmonization made on the basis of the Greek text of vv 9a or v 10 (a conclusion reached also by Schmidt 1973: 104). Tov concludes that this and other “harmonizing changes and additions in ch. 1 derive from a Hebrew text rather than the translator’s harmonizing tendencies” (1985: 22).

These analyses of the G plus in v 9b as conserving a Hebrew text are compelling in themselves and are now confirmed by the partial preservation of this reading in 4QGen^k. The text-critical task of adjudicating among the Hebrew variants remains. Which reading is more likely to have given rise to the other?

It is possible that a harmonizing Hebrew scribe could have constructed a *Tat-*

bericht for v 9 where one was previously lacking. Yet Tov's arguments against understanding the plus as an inner-translational harmonization apply equally well to a possible origin in inner-Hebrew harmonization. Harmonizing pluses consistently mirror the wording of the parallel text. In this case, the variations in wording between v 9a (the *Wortbericht*) and v 9b (the *Tatbericht*) militate against this possibility (cf. G of vv 11-12, later, where the traits of secondary harmonization are apparent, the *Wortbericht* and *Tatbericht* having been precisely harmonized by a proto-G scribe). This style of variation within repetition is characteristic of the P writer and is unlikely to be the creation of a harmonizing scribe. Hence, the *Tatbericht* in v 9, as preserved in G and 4QGen^k (and presumed in Jub), should be taken as the archetypal or original reading.

How might this sequence have been lost in proto-M? Davila plausibly suggests a haplography triggered by homoioarkton, as the scribe's eye jumped from ויקרא (v 9b) to ויקרא (v 10), both of which begin with the cluster -ויק- (1990: 11). This is an attractive possibility, explaining the loss of the *Tatbericht* in proto-M by a simple scribal error. A somewhat more complicated possibility is that the scribe's eye jumped from היבשה at the end of v 9a to היבשה at the end of 9b, thereby omitting the *Tatbericht* of 9b. If in proto-M the ויהי כן was originally after the *Tatbericht*, as it is in v 7 (as noted previously), then a haplography by homoioteleuton would produce the short text of M.

To sum up the main points of the argument: (1) the G plus corresponds to a Hebrew reading which is partially preserved in 4QGen^k, (2) the longer reading is very likely the archetypal or original reading, and (3) proto-M (and other versions related to or influenced by proto-M) lost this reading by a haplography triggered by homoioarkton or homoioteleuton.

The absence of a *Tatbericht* for this act of creation in M is explicable as a textual error, which may now be remedied (as already in *NAB*; see Hartman et al. 1970: 328). God's creation of seas and dry land has its literary completion, long preserved in translation and in Qumran cave 4.

Gen 1:11 זרע M 4QGen^b S G (σπέρμα)] + למינהו G (κατα γένος και καθ' ομοιοτητα) Syr

פרי 2° M 4QGen^b S G (καρπον)] + למינו M 4QGen^b S

בו M 4QGen^b S G (εν αυτω)] + למינהו G (κατα γένος)

Gen 1:12 ועץ M S G (και ξυλον)] + פרי G (καρπιμον) Tg^P

למינהו 2° M 4QGen^b S G (κατα γένος)] + על הארץ G (επι της γης)

The creation of plants in vv 11-12 provides a paradigm example of harmonization in biblical scribal tradition. As we have seen, P's narrative style is characterized by variation within patterned repetition. This trait is consistently

manifested in the differences in wording between *Wortbericht* and *Tatbericht* in the creation story. To harmonizing scribes, however, and to many pious interpreters, inconsistencies between God's commands and their outcome are impossible. Harmonizers, whether scribes or exegetes, try to clarify the precise correspondence between God's word and deed.

In the case of vv 11–12, the variations between the *Wortbericht* and the *Tatbericht* in M are uniformly eliminated in the G reading. A harmonizing scribe in the proto-G tradition has made the text perfectly consistent by inserting four harmonizing pluses in vv 11–12:

1. לְמִינֵהוּ following זָרַע in v 11, based on לְמִינֵהוּ in v 12
2. לְמִינֵהוּ following בּו זָרַעוּ in v 11, based on לְמִינֵהוּ בּו זָרַעוּ in v 12
3. פְּרִי following וַעֲפָץ in v 12, based on פְּרִי וַעֲפָץ in v 11
4. עַל הָאָרֶץ following בּו זָרַעוּ in v 12, based on the newly expanded לְמִינֵהוּ עַל הָאָרֶץ in v 11 (change #2).

With these carefully placed insertions, the scribe has created an exact correspondence between God's command and its outcome. It is relatively easy to conclude that the perfectly harmonized text in G is secondary to the characteristically varied readings in M in these four places.

The only aspect of the G readings of vv 11–12 that derives solely from the art of the G translator is the double translation of the first לְמִינֵהוּ in each verse as *κατα γένος και καθ' ομοιοτητα*, “according to kind and according to likeness” (see Harl 1986: 91; Wevers 1993: 6; Paradise 1986: 197). The second לְמִינֵהוּ in each verse is translated more simply as *κατα γένος*. Double translation of a single Hebrew word is found occasionally in G of Genesis, as in Gen 3:14, where גִּחְוֹנֶךָ is doubly translated as *τω στήθει σου και τη κοιλια*, “your breast and belly.” This sporadic translation technique apparently aims to express more fully in Greek the semantics of the Hebrew word.

At one point in vv 11–12, M has a plus relative to G: the word לְמִינֵהוּ in v 11. Gunkel correctly notes that the word is awkward in its context in M, breaking up the phrase פְּרִי אֲשֶׁר זָרַעוּ בּו, “fruit with its seeds in it,” which recurs in v 12. It is probable that לְמִינֵהוּ is a scribal gloss in M (so Gunkel 1910: 108; Paradise 1986: 199; *BHS* ad loc.), perhaps a harmonistic insertion influenced by the parallel phrase in v 12. If so, it is not a particularly elegant harmonization.

Gen 1:14 מִשְׁמַיִם M 4QGen^{bk} S G (του ουρανου)] + עַל הָאָרֶץ S G (εις
 φανσιν της γης)

The G plus in v 14 is found also in S, indicating yet again that G accurately reflects a Hebrew *Vorlage*. The number of harmonizing pluses shared by S and

G in Genesis 1-11 suggests a common history at some point in the proto-S and proto-G traditions (see §5.2 and §6.2). In the present context, the S reading is important primarily as testimony to the G translation technique in Genesis.

As in other instances, it is also possible to demonstrate from the Greek evidence that the G reading derives from a Hebrew text. Tov has shown that harmonizations typically repeat sequences verbatim from a parallel passage (1985: 20-22). Yet, the plus in G of v 14, *εις φανσω της γης*, differs from the parallel phrase in vv 15 and 17, *ωστε φανειν επι της γης*, indicating that it is not the product of the translator's harmonization. In contrast, the Hebrew retroversion of G in v 14, **להאיר על הארץ** (= S), repeats verbatim the parallel phrase in vv 15 and 17, **להאיר על הארץ**. By this reasoning, we may conclude that the harmonized text in G of v 14 derives from a Hebrew text.

The secondary nature of this plus may be discerned by consideration of the literary context. The relevant portions of vv 15 and 17 read **ברקיע השמים להאיר על הארץ**. For v 14, M reads **ברקיע השמים**, to which a harmonizing scribe would naturally add **להאיר על הארץ**. But this harmonization of details disturbs the literary progression in these verses. Verses 14-15 relate the *Wortbericht* of this act of creation, in which two functions of the lights, **להבריל**, "to divide," and **להאיר**, "to light," are commanded in two separate clauses. (In contrast, in the *Tatbericht* in vv 16-18, these two functions, along with **למשל**, "to rule," appear in a single clause.) The plus in G and S of v 14, mirroring the parallel phrase in vv 15 and 17, results in God uttering the phrase "to light up the earth" twice in the *Wortbericht* in identical language, thus needlessly repeating himself. The plus disturbs the discourse in the *Wortbericht* and fails to respect the literary variation between *Wortbericht* and *Tatbericht*. For these reasons, the longer reading is best viewed as a harmonization of details that ironically results in a disharmonious narrative.

Gen 1:27 **ויברא בצלמו** M S] om G

God's creation of humans in v 27 is often analyzed as poetry or parallelistic prose (e.g., Dillmann 1897: 83-84; Gunkel 1910: 112; Speiser 1964: 4; and most modern translations). The parallelism of the first two clauses, in which the textual variation occurs, is unambiguous:

ויברא אלהים את האדם בצלמו
בצלם אלהים ברא אתו

Each element in the first clause is echoed in form or syntax in the second clause. The structure of the parallelism may be schematized as: A B C D / D' B A' C'. The textual variant concerns the two words at the juncture of the two clauses,

בצלמו בצלם, “in his image, in the image (of).” In the prosody of the verse, the two successive words function as chiasmic parallels.

Though it otherwise preserves the parallelistic style and syntax of the verse, G lacks an equivalent for Hebrew בצלמו. It is possible that the G reading preserves a better text and that the longer M reading is a secondary expansion (so *BHS* ad loc.). However, there is no obvious motivation for an expansion here, and it is not an easy case of dittography (note the suffix in בצלמו). Moreover, as we have noted, the word plays a stylistically definable role in the prosody of the passage. On these grounds, the M reading has the best claim to be the primary reading.

How may this reading have been lost in G? It is possible that the translator abridged the Hebrew text as “redundant” (so Lust 1991: 98; cf. Rösel 1994: 50). This is not very likely, given the translation technique of the G translator. It is far more likely that a text in the proto-G tradition suffered a haplography triggered by homoiarkton, the scribe’s eye skipping from בצל- to -בצל, thereby accidentally simplifying the text (so Frankel 1841: 69). This is an easy scribal error and accords well with our understanding of the literary passage.

Gen 1:28 M S] לאמר G (λεγω)

The difference between the M and G readings in this instance is relatively slight. Accordingly, it is difficult to find a clear argument for the primary reading. The M reading is somewhat awkward in the repetition of אלהים twice in two short clauses; hence, the shorter G reading may be preferred (so Skinner 1930: 33; Westermann 1984: 79). However, the exact correspondence of the G reading in the first part of the verse with the parallel passage in v 22, both reading ויברך אתם אלהים לאמר פרו ורבו ומלאו את, raises the suspicion that the G reading in v 28 has been harmonized with v 22. Wevers (1993: 16) and Rösel (1994: 51) regard the G reading as a harmonization made by the translator, but it is far more likely that the reading existed in proto-G, which had been affected by numerous secondary harmonizations.

Gen 1:28 G ובכל הבהמה ובכל הארץ ובכל הרמש הרמש M S] ובכל היה הרמשת
(και παντων των κτηνων και πασης της γης και παντων των ερπετων
των ερποντων)

The G reading in the second half of v 28 is easily explained as a harmonization with the parallel passage in v 26. As in G of vv 11–12 (noted previously), the *Tatbericht* (v 28) is harmonized with the antecedent *Wortbericht* (v 26).

The initial part of God's command is identical in both *Wortbericht* and *Tatbericht* in M and G of vv 26 and 28: ורדו ברגת הים ובעף השמים, "rule over the fish of the sea and the birds of the sky." The rest of God's command, the specification of land animals, is identical in the *Wortbericht* of M and G in v 26 but differs in the *Tatbericht* in v 28:

- v 26 M = G ובבהמה ובכל הארץ ובכל הרמש הרמש על הארץ
 v 28 M ובכל חיה הרמשת על הארץ
 v 28 G ובכל הבהמה ובכל הארץ ובכל הרמש הרמש על הארץ

From this comparison of *Wortbericht* and *Tatbericht*, one can see that M varies in the specification of land animals and that proto-G is identical in the two verses, with the minor exception of כל ה- before בהמה in v 28.

The reading preserved in G is a harmonization of *Wortbericht* and *Tatbericht* such that God's stated intention and his fulfillment of that intention are precisely equivalent. In contrast, the M reading reflects the characteristic style of variation within repetition in P. The harmonizing scribe in the proto-G tradition further expanded ובכל ה- to וב- in v 28 to make the mention of בהמה consistent with the other species in this sequence, all of which are modified by הכל ה-. Ironically, in adding this last harmonizing detail, the scribe upset the perfect harmonization of *Wortbericht* and *Tatbericht*.

Gen 1:29 עשב זרע M S G (χρστον σποριμον)] + מזריע? G (σπειρον)

For the עשב זרע זרע, "plants bearing seed," of M, the G equivalent is χρστον σποριμον σπειρον σπερμα, "seed-bearing plants bearing seed." It is possible, as some have suggested, that σποριμον σπειρον is a double translation of the Hebrew participle זרע, in which case there is no textual variant (Harl 1986: 97; Wevers 1993: 17). It is perhaps more likely that the G text reflects a harmonizing plus based on the parallel passage in vv 11 and 12 (Rösel 1994: 51). The parallel passage, עשב מזריע זרע, χρστου σπειρον σπερμα, differs slightly from the phrase in v 29, particularly in its use of the Hiphil participle rather than the Qal participle. In the proto-G tradition, a scribe may have added the Hiphil participle to v 29 by a harmonistic impulse, yielding עשב זרע מזריע זרע, which the G reading reproduces. It is also possible that the G reading reflects a proto-G dittography of זרע, yielding זרע זרע זרע. In either case, harmonizing plus or dittography, the G reading is most likely secondary, whereas the M reading preserves the stylistic variation of parallel passages characteristic of the original.

Gen 1:29 פרי M S G (καρπον)] + עץ M S

The M phrase, *כל העץ אשר בו פרי עץ זרע זרע*, “every tree in which there is fruit of the tree bearing seed,” is obviously disturbed by the grammatical position of the second *עץ*, “(of the) tree.” Although it is possible to view this phrase as merely awkward, it is plausibly a result of a scribal expansion. A scribe may have inserted the *עץ* after *פרי* by anticipation of the phrase *עץ (מ)פרי* in Gen 3:2 and 3:3, which also refers to God’s command to humans concerning edible fruit. The expansion of the phrase in 1:29 may have been an accident, triggered by anticipation, or it may have resulted from an intentional harmonization. Accidental error is far more common than harmonization in the proto-M tradition (see chapter 3), so the balance of probability is with the former. In either case, the M reading is plausibly a secondary expansion, and the G reading, lacking the awkward *עץ*, may best preserve the archetypal or original reading (so Gunkel 1910: 114).

Gen 1:30 ולכל 3° M S G (και παντι)] + רמש G (ερπετω)

In the specification of creeping things in v 30, M reads *ולכל רמש על הארץ*, “and for everything that creeps on the earth,” and G reads *και παντι ερπετω ερποντι επι της γης*, “and for every creeping thing that creeps on the earth.” The G reading presumes the noun *רמש* preceding the participle *רמש*, as it does in the parallel phrases in vv 26 and 28 (G), *ובכל הרמש הרמש על הארץ*. The expanded phrase in G is therefore a likely product of scribal harmonization (so Skinner 1930: 34), whereas M preserves the variation of phrase in the original.

Gen 2:2 השביעי S G (τη εκτη) Syr Jub 2:16] M השביעי

The most famous variant in the creation story concerns the day when God completed his work. The M reading, *השביעי*, “the seventh” day, is manifestly incorrect according to the narrative context. Defenders of M tend to translate the governing verb of the clause, *ויכל*, “(he) completed,” as a pluperfect, “(he) had completed,” but this tense value is very unlikely in this position (see esp. Dillmann 1897: 90; Skinner 1930: 37). The comparable examples adduced by Cassuto (1961: 61–62) and Wenham (1987: 35) are grammatically and logically sequential, not pluperfect, in Hebrew. Moreover, it is not clear that a pluperfect meaning fares any better for M (“God had completed on the seventh day the work that he had done”); one needs also to attribute an odd meaning to the preposition *-ב* (“by the seventh day,” or the like). This multiplication of dubious grammatical arguments to make sense of M does not inspire confidence.

The reading shared by G, S, Syr, and Jub, הַשְּׁשִׁי, “the sixth” day, is generally viewed as a secondary correction of a difficult original text (= M). As Skinner judiciously states, “*sixth* is so much the easier reading that one must hesitate to give it the preference” (1930: 37). Often, this secondary correction is attributed independently to scribes in each tradition. Even Tov comments, “It is impossible to determine whether the easier reading of the LXX was based on a variant הַשְּׁשִׁי or whether the exegetical tendency developed independently in all three sources [G, S, and Syr]” (1981: 128). On this point, however, there is a good case against independent exegesis. All that we know about G of Genesis inspires confidence in the translator’s intention to conserve the *Vorlage*, so a Hebrew reading, הַשְּׁשִׁי, for proto-G is warranted (so Barr 1979: 11). Moreover, to posit that scribes or translators changed the text independently in three (or four) textual traditions is extremely unlikely, given our cognizance of the numerous shared readings in G, S, and Syr (see §5.2). It is far more parsimonious to view this shared reading as derived from a common root, as is probably the case in other instances. The variant shared by G, S, Syr, and Jub is most likely a single Hebrew reading, preserved in several branches of the stemmatic tree.

Having argued for the authenticity of this Hebrew variant, the question remains; Which is preferable on text-critical grounds? The M reading, as the *lectio difficilior*, may be preferred, and the reading preserved in G, S, Syr, and Jub regarded as a secondary exegetical revision. Yet, one hesitates to give preference to a reading that makes no sense. To consider the opposite possibility, how might a text reading הַשְּׁשִׁי have given rise to a text reading הַשְּׁבִיעִי? A plausible motive can be given for such a change.

The two clauses of v 2 contain strikingly similar sequences, parallelistic in style. Consider the graphic similarity of the two sequences from the word בְּיוֹם:

- v 2a בְּיוֹם הַשְּׁשִׁי מִלֹּאכְתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה
 v 2b בְּיוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי מִכֹּל מִלֹּאכְתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה

With the exception of the stylistic variation of מִכֹּל in v 2b, the two sequences are identical but for the variation of הַשְּׁשִׁי and הַשְּׁבִיעִי. It is entirely possible that a scribe could have miswritten הַשְּׁבִיעִי in place of הַשְּׁשִׁי in the first clause, triggered by anticipation of the parallel in the second clause. This would be an accidental assimilation by anticipation. An intentional change of this kind in proto-M is far less likely. On this explanation, the reading הַשְּׁשִׁי, which admittedly makes sense in its context, may have been altered to הַשְּׁבִיעִי by a simple scribal error.

The weight of the respective arguments inclines toward the position that **הששי** is the archetypal reading and probably original. (Note the nice numerical parallelism of 6 / 7 / 7 in vv 2–3.) The reading **השביעי** is most plausibly a secondary change due to an accidental assimilation by anticipation.

Gen 2:4 אלה M S] זה ספר G (*Αυτη η βιβλος*)

The G reading corresponds to the parallel phrase in Gen 5:1, **זה ספר תולדת** (*Αυτη η βιβλος γενεσεως*). It appears that a harmonizing scribe in the proto-G tradition expanded the short Toledot formula in 2:4 to equal the longer form in 5:1, and that M preserves the original variation. Incidentally, the doubled self-reference in G, *Αυτη η βιβλος γενεσεως*, “This is the book of genesis,” is the source of the Greek name for the book (already in Philo and a Greek fragment of Jub 2:1; see Harl 1986: 32).

Gen 2:4 יהוה אלהים M S] אלהים G (*ο θεος*)

In Gen 2:4–3:24, M reads **יהוה אלהים** as the divine name 30 times. In the first three instances (2:4, 5, 7), G reads **אלהים**. Only in 2:8 does G begin to read **יהוה אלהים**. Thereafter, G reads **יהוה אלהים** (with M) 11 times and **אלהים** (contra M) 5 times. In an additional three places (3:1, 3, 5), all in direct discourse, M and G read **אלהים**. In sum, there are 15 agreements in divine name in M and G in the Garden of Eden story and 8 disagreements, all replicating the disagreement in Gen 2:4. What is one to make of this variation, which occurs just over half the time in Gen 2:4–3:24?

The easiest solution draws on the tendency for scribal harmonizations in the proto-G textual tradition. In Gen 1:1–2:3, the only divine name that occurs is **אלהים** (over 35 times), and the shift in Gen 2:4 to **יהוה אלהים** is startling to any reader. It is likely that a harmonizing scribe leveled through **אלהים** in 2:4, 5, 7 but then chose to alternate between **יהוה אלהים** (from the parent text) and **אלהים**, with some preference given to **יהוה אלהים**. In this explanation, it is the shift in divine names at the juncture of the two creation stories that poses a problem, and a harmonizing scribe attempted to ameliorate this problem by blurring the transition from one name to another.

This explanation makes sense of the variants in the light of our understanding of the textual characteristics of G and M. The opposite scenario—that G preserves the original or archetypal readings and a scribe in the proto-M tradition altered them to make a dramatic break at Gen 2:4—has no obvious reason to recommend it.

For fuller discussion of the problem of divine names, see §2.3.

Gen 2:4 מְשָׁמִים וְאֶרֶץ מִי S Tg^N Syr Vg; אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת הָאָרֶץ G (τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ τὴν γῆν)

This G reading in 2:4b conforms to the order of the parallel phrase in v 4a and 2:1, הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ, and in 1:1, אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת הָאָרֶץ. Several minor versions and S read similarly but, like M, lack the article. A harmonizing tendency appears to be at work in this widespread reading, with M apparently preserving the variation of the archetype or original. The desire to smooth over an inconsistency in the text is sufficient motive to see the reading in G and the other versions as a secondary harmonization. There is no motive for a scribe in the proto-M tradition to create inconsistency where there was none; hence, the M reading is to be preferred.

2.3 EXCURSUS: DIVINE NAMES IN G

In his work, *The Divine Names in Genesis*, Skinner noted generously that “every Old Testament scholar is aware that the Mss. of the LXX simply teem with various readings of the divine names” (1914: 2). After considering the complexities of the data, he concluded that the G variants are, for the most part, inner-Greek corruptions “due to errors that have crept in during a long series of transcriptions” (1914: 42). Hence, the G variants in the divine names have no text-critical significance. In a recent reexamination of this problem, Harl comes to a similar conclusion: “it is impossible to compare the two texts in the use of divine names” (1986: 50).

A different argument has been advanced independently in recent studies by Röseler and Wevers. In Röseler’s view, the variation of divine names in G of Genesis is due to the translator’s desire to signify different aspects of God by the terms *κύριος*, *θεός*, and *κύριος ο θεός* (1991: 374–77; 1994: 251–52). The divine attributes signaled by these names are creator and ruler (for *θεός*), lord of the chosen people (for *κύριος*), and creator of all people (for *κύριος ο θεός*). In Röseler’s theory, the G translator is a forerunner of Philo, for whom *κύριος* and *θεός* were allegorical codes for God’s sovereignty and his goodness, respectively (e.g., *De Plantatione* 86; *De Abrahamo* 124). The classical rabbis developed a different interpretation for the variation of divine names in the Bible: for them *יהוה* and *אלהים* represent the attributes of compassion and justice, respectively (e.g., *Gen. Rab.* 12.15 on Gen 2:4). The chief difference between the G translator and these later interpreters, according to Röseler’s theory, is that the G translator deliberately revised the text of Genesis in order to embed in the text his theology of divine names.

In a previous study of this issue, Wevers concluded: “there seems to be no pattern here of any kind. If this be the case, one can only assume a different parent text (or a careless translator)” (1985: 33). However, he seems to have changed his mind in his more recent *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis* (1993). In Gen 6:6–7, where G reads *ο θεος* twice in contrast to twice יהוה in M, Wevers comments that G has “avoided *κύριος* in favor of *ὁ θεός*. It is God as creator, not as covenantal Lord, who confronts the creation he had brought into being” (1993: 79). Wevers now appears to believe that the variation of divine names in G is an exegetical revision expressing the translator’s theology of divine names, as in Rösel’s theory.

In contrast to the conclusions of Skinner, Harl, and early Wevers, I submit that some sense can be made of the general pattern of divine names in G of Genesis. In contrast to Rösel and recent Wevers, I think it more likely that the variations in names in G stem from the Hebrew *Vorlage*, not from the freewheeling pen of the G translator. Harmonizing tendencies in the proto-G scribal tradition are the solution to the problem.

First, let us consider the relevant Qumran evidence. There are no fragments of Genesis that are germane to this issue but some nice instances in Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Samuel:

Num 23:3	יהוה M אלהים 4QNum ^b S G (<i>ο θεος</i>) (DJD 12: 235)
Deut 3:20	יהוה 4QDeut ^d M S אלהיכם 4QDeut ^m (יהוה אלוהיכם) G (<i>κύριος ο θεος υμων</i>) (DJD 14: 115)
Deut 31:17	אלהי M S יהוה אלהי 4QDeut ^c (יהוה אלהי) G (<i>κύριος ο θεος μου</i>) (DJD 14: 33)
1 Sam 2:25	אלהים M יהוה 4QSam ^a G (<i>κύριος</i>) (Cross 1953: 23)
1 Sam 23:14	אלהים M יהוה 4QSam ^b G (<i>κύριος</i>) (Cross 1955: 171)

These examples, which could be multiplied, support our current understanding of the text-critical value of G (see §2.1). Where the G reading of the divine name diverges from M, it is unwarranted to assume posthaste that the G translator has revised the reading of M. The character of G as conservation of its *Vorlage*, which was not identical to (proto-)M, is well established for these books.

The data on the variations of divine names in M and G for all of Genesis can be charted roughly as follows (revised from Wevers 1985: 32–33; and Rösel 1991: 363–71):

יהוה M ca. 141 times

= G (*κυριος*) ca. 104 times

] אלהים G (*ο θεος*) 22 times

] יהוה אלהים G (*κυριος ο θεος*) 14 times

] om G once (14:22; a secondary plus in M)

אלהים M ca. 167 times

= G (*ο θεος*) ca. 157 times

] יהוה G (*κυριος*) 3 times (19:29; 21:2,6)

] יהוה אלהים G (*κυριος ο θεος*) 4 times (6:12,22; 8:15; 9:12)

] om G 3 times (1:28; 31:50,53 [see Seebass 1986])

האלהים M 19 times

= G (*ο θεος*) 19 times

יהוה אלהים M 23 times

= G (*κυριος ο θεος*) 15 times

] אלהים G (*ο θεος*) 8 times

The raw data show no obvious pattern. Although G more often varies from M יהוה than from M אלהים, there are exceptions. G varies from M יהוה אלהים only in the direction of אלהים, never יהוה. The reasons for the variations are obscure.

If we narrow our scope to Genesis 1-11, however, the motives for variation may be discernible. I have suggested before that the use of אלהים in G of Gen 2:4-7, where M and S read יהוה אלהים, is explicable as a leveling through or harmonization of the name אלהים that is used exclusively up to that point (see §2.2 at Gen 2:4). The subsequent use of divine names in G of Genesis 1-11 can easily be explained as a continuation of this tendency to harmonize the variation of divine names. The motives for variation are best seen in the transitions between the following sections in Genesis 1-11:

1. Genesis 1:1-2:3. There is no variation between M and G in the use of divine names (exclusively אלהים). The textual differences in Gen 1:7, 8, 28 affect the total number of repetitions of this name in each version (see §2.2 ad loc.). The divine name אלהים occurs 35 times in M and 34 times in G.
2. Genesis 2:4-3:24. Genesis 2:4 introduces the shift in divine names from אלהים to יהוה אלהים in M (with the exception of אלהים in direct discourse), corresponding to a literary shift from the P source to J. The use of אלהים is continued by G in 2:4-7, arguably a harmonization with previous usage. Beginning in Gen 2:8, G uses the name יהוה אלהים in variation with אלהים. The use of both divine names is explicable as a compromise between harmonization with אלהים of Gen 1:1-2:3 and fidelity to יהוה אלהים of the parent text. The changes in this section are attributable to a harmonizing scribe (or scribes) in the proto-G tradition.

3. Genesis 4–11. The pattern of variation between יהוה אלהים and אלהים in G of Gen 2:8–3:24 continues. The only exceptions to this pattern are four instances (4:3, 13; 9:26; 10:9) in which G reads the name יהוה (= M). In all other instances, G reads either יהוה אלהים (19 times) or אלהים (29 times). The variations between M and G in this section can be charted as follows:

יהוה M 26 times
 = G (κυριος) 4 times
] אלהים G (ο θεος) 8 times
] יהוה אלהים G (κυριος ο θεος) 14 times

אלהים M 26 times
 = G (ο θεος) 21 times
] יהוה אלהים G (κυριος ο θεος) 5 times

To conform with the pattern established in Gen 2:8–3:24, יהוה was expanded to יהוה אלהים or changed to אלהים (with four exceptions = יהוה), and אלהים was either unchanged (predominantly) or expanded to יהוה אלהים.

After Genesis 11, the double name יהוה אלהים is no longer used in G, and the names in the parent text are more consistently followed. Significant variation occurs only in the case of יהוה → אלהים (14 times in Genesis 12–50).

Harmonization was a common tendency in biblical scribal traditions; it is characteristic of the proto-G tradition in Genesis 1–11 and the proto-S tradition generally (see chapter 5). I have argued that the motive for harmonization in the variation of divine names in Genesis is the abrupt transition from one pattern of use to another: God's name changes from אלהים in Gen 1:1–2:3 to יהוה אלהים (predominantly) in 2:4–3:24, and then varies between יהוה and אלהים in the rest of the text. Many interpreters, including Philo, the classical rabbis, and modern critical scholars, have tried to make sense of these changes in divine name, with differing degrees of success. A scribe or scribes in the proto-G textual tradition may have been the first to try to solve this problem or at least to ameliorate its effect. The pattern of divine names in G of Genesis is explicable as a product of such scribal harmonization.

In sum, it is most plausible to regard the vast majority of G variants in the divine names in Genesis as secondary. These variants were, however, produced by a coherent method. The opposite argument—that a scribe in the proto-M tradition created the consistent source-critical pattern of divine names in M from the pattern preserved in G—is implausible. Such an event, like the hypothetical monkeys typing *Hamlet*, is an astronomical improbability. We may conclude

that the variants in divine names stemming from the proto-G text of Genesis are, for the most part, of negligible text-critical value. But they are of interest in revealing something of the conceptual world of ancient biblical scribes.

Textual Problems in M of Genesis 1–11

3.1 THE LAW OF SCRIBES: TEXTUAL CHANGE

It is nothing new to suggest that M of Genesis is an imperfect text. The *Kētib-Qērē* system implemented by the Masoretes is a text-critical apparatus designed to improve the base text, probably reflecting some kind of collation of variant readings (see Tov 1992a: 58–63; Yeivin 1980: 52–61). The Talmud records a warning to scribes to beware graphic and auditory errors when copying biblical texts:

In order that the text be perfect one must write no א for א and no א for א; no ב for ב; no ג for ג and no ג for ג; no ד for ד and no ד for ד; no ה for ה and no ה for ה; no ו for ו and no ו for ו; no ז for ז and no ז for ז; no ח for ח and no ח for ח; no curved letters for straight [i.e., final letters]; no ט for ט and no ט for ט. (*B. Šabbat* 103b)

A story about Rabbi Ishmael (ca. early second century C.E.) makes this case in more dramatic terms: “When I came to Rabbi Ishmael he said to me, ‘My son, what is your occupation?’ I said to him, ‘I am a copyist.’ He said to me, ‘My son, be careful in your work, for your work is heaven’s work; for should you omit one letter or add one letter, you will destroy the entire universe’” (*B. Erubin* 13a). One can see that great care was taken in the transmission of the rabbinic-M text, but there remained a certain anxiety about the commission of scribal errors.

To the traditional הלכות ספר תורה, “laws of (writing) Torah scrolls” (Yeivin 1980: 36–38), Goshen-Gottstein has added a text-critical supplement: the “law of scribes” (1957: 198 n. 3; 1965: 17; 1967: 275). By this law, he means that all scribes at all times and places make certain predictable kinds of errors, most of them accidental, including such commonplaces as graphic confusion, ditto-graphy, and haplography. It is to the effects of this law in M of Genesis 1–11 that we now turn.

The significant types of scribal error or change in M of Genesis 1–11 can be classified as follows:

- graphic confusion: Gen 1:9; 2:12; 4:18; 10:3; 10:4; 11:30
- simple haplography or dittography: Gen 2:11; 4:7; 5:23; 5:31; 8:10
- haplography by homoioteleuton or homoioarkton: Gen 1:9; 1:26; 2:20; 5:3
- word misdivision: Gen 8:14 (with other consequent errors)
- assimilation by reminiscence or anticipation: Gen 1:29; 2:2; 7:20; 9:7
- parablepsis: Gen 1:14; 4:8; 4:22; 4:26 (twice); 8:19; 10:5; 11:31
- orthographic modernization: Gen 2:15; 4:7; 9:21
- harmonization: Gen 1:11; 4:26; 7:3; 7:6; 7:22; 8:17
- explication: Gen 2:23; 3:6; 3:22; 4:25; 6:16; 7:2; 7:14 (twice); 8:22; 9:10 (twice)
- editorial revision: Gen 5:18, 19, 25, 26, 28, 30, 31; 11:17

By “simple” haplography or dittography, I refer to the accidental change of a single letter (either two letters written singly or one letter written doubly). By parablepsis (“wrongly seen”), I refer to an apparently unmotivated error. Otherwise, my terminology is essentially equivalent to that of McCarter (1986: 26–61) and Tov (1992a: 236–85) in their exemplary treatments of the kinds of textual change in biblical texts.

3.2 TEXTUAL CHANGE IN M

Gen 1:9 מקוה 4QGen^h G (συναγωγη)] מקום M 4QGen^b S Jub 2:5 LAB 15:6
Perhaps a graphic confusion (ה/ם); see §2.2.

Gen 1:9 ותרא היבשה ותרם מקויהם אל השמים מתחת השמים ויקוו המים 4QGen^{k#} (ותרא [היב]שה) G (και συνεηχθη το υδωρ το υποκατω του ουρανου εις τας συναγωγας αυτων και ωφθη η ξηρα) sim Jub 2:6] om M 4QGen^{bs} S

A haplography by homoioarkton (–ויק– ∩ –ויק–) or possibly by homoioteleuton (היבשה ∩ היבשה); see §2.2.

Gen 1:11 פרי 2° M 4QGen^b S G (καρπον)] + למינו M 4QGen^b S
Perhaps a harmonizing plus with למינהו 2° v 12; see §2.2.

Gen 1:14 ולשנים 4QGen^k G (και εις εμνατους) Syr] ושנים M S

A parablepsis. This minor variant is of interest because of the testimony of a 4Q fragment. In the coordinated series of four nouns in the construction . . . והיו ל, “they shall be(come),” M and S lack the preposition ל before the last noun in

the series, ושנים. Grammatically, one would expect the preposition before all four nouns, which one finds in G, Syr, and now 4QGen^k. The grammatically correct and now clearly attested reading is to be preferred (so Davila 1990: 11; but correct his S reading there and in DJD 12: 77 to ושנים).

Gen 1:26 ובבהמה M S G (και των κτηνωων)] + ובכל הארץ M S G (και πασης της γης); + ובכל חית הארץ Syr

Perhaps a haplography (-ה- ל-ה- ו-ה-). The lists of animals in vv 24, 25, 26, 28, and 30 vary significantly in diction, yet they are semantically equivalent in referring to all animals. These variations were at times subject to scribal harmonizations (see §2.2 at Gen 1:28, 30). In v 26, the phrase ובכל הארץ occurs between ובבהמה and ובכל הרמש as an object of human rule. While humans are told to subdue the earth (וכבשה) in v 28, the reference to “all the earth” seems odd in the zoological context of v 26. For this reason, most commentators prefer the reading of Syr in v 26, ובכל חית הארץ, thereby seeing a reference to land animals, as suggested by the context (so Dillmann 1897: 81; Gunkel 1910: 112; Skinner 1930: 30; Speiser 1964: 7; Schmidt 1973: 127; Westermann 1984: 79; *BHS* ad loc.).

A problem with preferring the Syr reading is the possibility that Syr has a harmonistic text in this section of the list in vv 26 and 28. Whereas M and S list ובבהמה in v 26 and ובכל חיה in v 28, Syr lists both terms in both verses (for the different harmonistic reading of G in v 28, see §2.2):

- | | |
|------------|----------------------------|
| v 26 (M S) | ובבהמה ובכל הארץ |
| v 26 (Syr) | ובבהמה ובכל חית הארץ |
| v 28 (M S) | ובכל חיה . . . הארץ |
| v 28 (Syr) | ובבהמה ובכל חיה . . . הארץ |

It may be that the Syr readings in both verses have been expanded to harmonize with each other and with the comparable lists in vv 24 and 25, which include both terms (v 25: חית הארץ and הבהמה; v 24: ארץ והיתו and בהמה). As a general rule, it is precarious to rely on a reading attested solely in one of the minor versions (see §1.3). In this case, the precariousness is magnified by the possibility that Syr has a harmonistic reading.

A more prudent solution is to posit that the anomalous phrase ובכל הארץ, shared by all the major versions, is an early scribal error. It may be a harmonizing or explicating plus, intended to include the earth under human rule in v 26 as it is in v 28 (note that וכבשה, “and subdue it [the earth],” precedes the blessing to rule over the animals). Perhaps more likely (since accidental), it may be the

result of a haplography of an original phrase, **וּבְכַל הַרְמֵשׁ הַרְמֵשׁ עַל הָאָרֶץ**, in which the scribe's eye jumped from **וּבְכַל הַ** to **הָאָרֶץ**, triggered by the identical sequence **הַ-ל-הַ**. To complete this explanation, the corrupt phrase may then have been corrected by the insertion of the correct (original) phrase, yielding a final text: **וּבְכַל הָאָרֶץ וּבְכַל הַרְמֵשׁ הַרְמֵשׁ עַל הָאָרֶץ**. This solution, while conjectural, is perhaps more satisfactory than the alternatives: either staying with the the dubious reading of the major versions or preferring the probably harmonistic reading of Syr.

Gen 1:29 **פְּרִי מִן הַיָּם** M S G (*καρπον*)] + **פְּרִי עֵץ** M S (om G)

Perhaps an anticipation of **פְּרִי עֵץ** (3:2 and 3:3); see §2.2.

Gen 2:2 **הַשְּׁבִיעִי** S G (*τη εκτηη*) Syr Jub 2:16] **הַשְּׁבִיעִי** M

An anticipation of **הַשְּׁבִיעִי** v 2 (note the similar phraseology in both halves of v 2: **מֵלֶכֶת אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה . . . בַּיּוֹם**); see §2.2.

Gen 2:11 **הַחַיִּילָה** S^{mss}] **הַחַיִּילָה** M S

A simple dittography with graphic confusion of **הַ/חַ**. Elsewhere, the land of *Ḥavilah* is written without the definite article, which is expected for a proper noun (Gen 25:18; 1 Sam 15:7; cf. Gen 10:7, 29). The presence of the definite article in 2:11 is easily accounted for by a simple dittography, aided by **הַ/חַ** confusion.

Gen 2:12 **הַיָּא** M^Q S Tg^P Syr] **הַיָּא** M^K T^O (mult)

A graphic confusion of **יָ/יָ**, a *qērê perpetuum* in the Pentateuch. This frequent error occurs seven times in M^K of Genesis 1–11 (2:12; 3:12, 20; 4:22; 7:2; 10:11, 12). The correct form, **הַיָּא**, occurs three times in M^K of Genesis, at Gen 14:2; 20:5; and 38:25. According to the Masoretic note at these vv, the correct form occurs 11 times in M^K of the Pentateuch. This is a systematic error limited to this form, in which graphic confusion triggered the assimilation of **הַיָּא** to **הַיָּא**. Cross has proposed a plausible paleographic context for this scribal error: “In one style of [early Herodian] script *waw* and *yod* were not distinguished . . . the error must have been introduced when such a manuscript in later Herodian times was copied when *yod* had shortened, and to the scribe the older form of *yod* looked like *waw*” (personal correspondence, 10/12/92). In one instance in Genesis, a Qumran fragment preserves the correct form where M has the *qērê perpetuum* (4QGen^f at Gen 48:7; see Davila 1992: 174 n. 21).

Gen 2:15 ה- (2×)] ה- (2×) M (לעבדה ולשמרה : 2×)] ה- (2×) M

The problem in this verse concerns the proper interpretation of the ה *mater* and is therefore a problem of vocalization and not of text as such. Nonetheless, it illustrates a problem of orthographic modernization, in which an unmodernized text was misunderstood. Numerous commentators have noted that ג, the referent of the pronominal suffixes on the infinitives לעבדה ולשמרה, is a masculine noun and requires the suffix to be -ô (Kuenen 1884: 138 n. 1; Gunkel 1910: 10; Skinner 1930: 66; GKC §122.1). The easiest explanation of the M vocalization is that the final ה was read as a *mater* for -â in the reading tradition fixed by the Masoretes, according to the standard orthography in postexilic texts. Grammatically, it is preferable to read the final ה as a *mater* for -ô, following the earlier, preexilic orthography (on this orthographic change, see Freedman 1962: 93; Andersen and Forbes 1986: 183–85; Barr 1989a: 208).

Gen 2:20 וּלְעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם וְלִכְלֵל עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם G (και πασιν τοις πτελεινοις) Tg^J Syr Vg] M S וּלְעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם

A haplography by homoioteleuton (-ל ן -ל). Although the reading of M and S is certainly possible, the context seems to require כל before עוף השמים, as is the case for the other animals listed, הבהמה and הית השדה. The loss of כל would be an easy haplography in an original reading ולכל because the scribe's eye need only skip from ל to ל (see Gunkel 1910: 11; Skinner 1930: 68; Speiser 1964: 15; *BHS* ad loc.).

Gen 2:23 לקחה M S G (ελημφθη)] + זאת M S (om G Syr)

An explicating plus. In the man's parallelistic discourse about the newly created woman, the demonstrative pronoun זאת occurs three times in M but only twice in G (and Syr). The third זאת is plausibly an explicating plus, specifying the subject of the passive verb לקחה. The subject is implicit; hence, this small plus may illustrate the scribal tendency to make the implicit explicit. With respect to parallelistic style, the rhythm and end rhyme of the line may lend support to this text-critical decision: // כי מאיש לקחה

Gen 3:6 וּנְחַמְדָּהּ M S G (και ωραιον)] + העץ M S (om G Vg)

An explicating or harmonizing plus (cf. העץ 1° v 6). The three subordinate clauses expressing the woman's changed perceptions of the tree are stylistically parallel in M of v 6:

כי טוב העץ למאכל
וכי תאוה הוא לעינים
ונחמד העץ להשכיל

The common object of perception is specified in the three clauses as הָעֵץ , הָרֶא , and הָעֵץ , respectively. Though G preserves a unit-by-unit correspondence in other respects, it lacks the last הָעֵץ , raising the suspicion that this word is secondary in M. An interesting stylistic progression in the three clauses heightens this suspicion: the first two clauses are marked with כִּי , but in the third clause כִּי is only implied. It would be stylistically apt, in view of this ellipsis in the third clause, for the subject of the clause also to be implied. The brevity of the third clause as $\text{וַנִּחְמַד לְהַשְׁכִּיל}$ may stylistically accentuate the end point of the woman's perception. In a clause with an implied subject, it is plausible that a scribe might secondarily supply the subject. The evidence of G suggests that this was the case in proto-M. Because there is no motive for a haplography in G, it is reasonable to conclude that the M reading has been expanded by the explication of the subject in the third clause.

Gen 3:22 וּלְקַח M S G ($\kappa\alpha\iota\ \lambda\alpha\beta\eta$)] + גַּם M S (om G Syr^{mss})

An explicating plus (cf. 3:6). Yahweh's fear that the man "will reach out his hand and take (וּלְקַח) from the tree" has been realized once before, when the woman "took (וּתְקַח) from its fruit and ate" (3:6). A scribe apparently added גַּם to וּלְקַח in v 22 to create an explicit link with the previous taking of forbidden fruit in v 6. A simple "also" binds the story together more clearly and perhaps softens the problem of the absence of the tree of life in the earlier events of Genesis 3 (see the commentaries).

Gen 4:7 * רֹבֵץ] רֹבֵץ M 4QGen^{b#} S G ($\eta\sigma\upsilon\chi\alpha\sigma\sigma\upsilon$)

A simple haplography of תַּת . Skinner notes of this difficult verse that "it is nearly certain that the obscurity is due to deep-seated textual corruption" (1930: 107). The problem with the clause $\text{לְפֶתַח חַטָּאת רֹבֵץ}$, "sin crouches at the door," is the lack of agreement between the feminine noun חַטָּאת and the masculine participle רֹבֵץ . This problem of lack of concord recurs for the masculine pronominal suffixes of תִּשְׁקֹתוֹ and תִּמְשַׁל בּוֹ in the following clause (see next entry).

One possible solution is to read רֹבֵץ as a noun, "croucher-demon" (or the like), functioning as a predicate nominative: "sin is/shall be a croucher-demon at the door" (so Cassuto 1961: 210–11; Speiser 1964: 32–33; and, with reservations, Westermann 1984: 299–301; Wenham 1987: 105–6). The metaphor of sin as a croucher-demon would be plausible in Mesopotamia, where the *rābiṣu lemnu*, the "evil Rābiṣu-demon" (or "evil croucher-demon"), is a malevolent spirit who ambushes his victims in everyday places (see Barré 1995). But there

are at least two serious problems with reading רבץ as a noun here: (1) to take רבץ, understood as a predicate nominative, as the antecedent of תשקתו and תמשל בו is grammatically difficult in that one would expect the pronominal suffixes to refer to the subject of the clause (Barré 1995: 1289); (2) no “croucher-demon” (Rābiṣu/Rōbēs) is attested in any West Semitic religion, including the Bible. With the variety of West Semitic malevolent spirits and demons available, it is difficult to think that in this verse Yahweh casually alludes to a minor Mesopotamian demon.

A far simpler analysis follows Skinner’s insight that the problem is a text-critical one. The most plausible text-critical solution is that tentatively advanced by Dillmann (1897: 189; Driver 1946: 158), that an original sequence, חטאת תרבץ, became חטאת רבץ by a simple haplography of תת. This simple and elegant solution requires no grammatical or mythological inconcinnities and yields the apt and memorable admonition, לפתח חטאת תרבץ, “sin crouches at the door.”

Gen 4:7 *חַטָּאת (2×: בַּה, תְּשׁוּקָתָהּ) | חַטָּאת (2×: בּוּ, תְּשׁוּקָתוֹ) 4QGen^b (בוּ only) M S

An orthographic modernization. The problem in 4:7 is analogous to that in 2:15. The referent of the pronominal suffixes is חטאת, a feminine noun. In M, both suffixes have a final ו mater, indicating the masculine suffix -ō. Dillmann aptly suggests the restoration of תשוקתה and בה for the M readings תשוקתו and בו (1897: 189). While few have adopted this suggestion (only Driver 1946: 158), it is an economical and elegant solution. In this case, we can suppose that a text with the older orthography of final ה (for -â) has been wrongly modernized to final ו (for -ō). An incorrect orthographic modernization is the easiest solution to this problem, yielding a reconstructed reading of two ה matres.

Gen 4:8 וַיֹּאמֶר קַיִן אֶל אָבִי אָבֶל וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו וְיָמֹר וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו S G (Διελθωμεν εις το πεδιον) T^P Syr Vg] om M 4QGen^b

A parablepsis. The mystery of what Cain said to Abel has long exercised biblical interpreters (see most elaborately Tg^P). Something is missing in the text, a point noted in some M manuscripts by a *pisqâ bēʿemṣāʿ pāsūq*, a section division in the middle of a verse (see Tov 1992a: 53). Some have tried to make sense of the M phrase ויאמר קין אל חבל אחיו, “Cain said to his brother Abel,” by construing ויאמר as something other than “(he) said” (e.g., Cassuto 1961: 213–15; but see the apt cautions of Dillmann 1897: 189–90). But ויאמר occurs six times in the Cain and Abel story, each time in the same syntactic position (clause-initial), and clearly each time it means “(he) said.” To posit a different meaning for one of these six occasions is unwarranted in view of the consistent

grammar of the text. Most commentators have concluded that the absence of a quote following ויאמר indicates a corrupt text. As Dillmann observes, “It is yet as good as certain that the author cannot have so written” (1897: 189–90).

In contrast to *M*, 4QGen^b, and Tg^O, all the other major and minor versions share the reading נלכה השרה (Hebrew in *S*), “Let us go to the field” (on the Syriac rendition, פקעתא, “valley,” see Brock 1979: 216–17.) This reading is either the archetype (or original) or a popular secondary correction. Skinner (1930: 107), Driver (1905: 65), and others (Speiser 1964: 29; *BHS* ad loc.) prefer the longer text as the original reading, while the majority of commentators are noncommittal.

The first step in adjudicating among the variants is to determine whether there is a scribal mechanism by which one reading gave rise to the other. One can imagine that a text with an obvious gap might be supplied with a filler such as נלכה השרה. It seems curious, however, that so many texts would have supplied the same filler, particularly one so nondescript. If, conversely, a text originally read נלכה השרה, how might this phrase have been lost? A plausible solution, suggested by Robert Cole (oral communication), is that a scribe lost this phrase by accidental assimilation to a similar sequence in the second half of the verse. Note the following correspondence of sequences:

- v 8a קין אל הבל אחיו נלכה השרה ויהי
v 8b קין אל הבל אחיו ויהרגהו

It is plausible that a scribe may have accidentally anticipated the second sequence, קין אל הבל אחיו ויהי, before resuming with ויהי of the first sequence. Such an explanation would account for the loss of נלכה השרה in *M* by ordinary scribal error.

Our new respect for the non-*M* versions in the post-Qumran era—plus a plausible explanation for scribal error in *M*—yields the most likely conclusion that the short text of *M* is secondary and that the archetypal or original reading is נלכה השרה, preserved in *S*, *G*, and most of the minor versions.

Gen 4:18 מוחיאל 1–2° *M* (2° only); sim *S* (מוחיאל 1–2°) *G* (Μαυηλ 1–2°); cf vocalic pattern of Vg (Maviahel 1–2°)] מוחיאל 1–2° *M* (1° only) Tg^P (1–2°); מחואל 1–2° *Syr*

A graphic confusion of ו/י. Two variant readings of the name of Irad’s son are preserved by *M* in successive clauses: מוחיאל ומחיאל. The *M* vocalization appears to read both variants as “destroyed (one) of God,” from מוחה, using the passive adjectival patterns *qatûl* and *qatîl*. As Skinner notes, the most likely analysis of the name according to ordinary Hebrew onomastics is from the root

√היה, probably מְחַיֶּיֶאֱל (Piel) or מְחַיֶּיֶאֱל (Hiphil), either form meaning “God preserves my life” (or “enlivens me”) or “God is my preserver/enlivener” (1910: 117; similarly Hess 1993: 41–43). The alternate reading in M, מְחַיֶּיֶאֱל, is easily attributable to a ו/י confusion, perhaps motivated by anticipation of the vocalic pattern of מְחַיֶּיֶאֱל, the following name in v 18.

Conversely, it is possible to argue that מְחַיֶּיֶאֱל preserves the older allomorph √הוה, like the name הוה, Eve (so Layton 1997: 25–26). In this explanation, the variant form מְחַיֶּיֶאֱל could be the product of linguistic modernization. Adjudicating between these two arguments is not simple because both phenomena—ו/י confusion and archaic traits in personal names—are attested in Genesis 1–11. It may be easier to prefer the solution with the simpler change of graphic confusion.

Gen 4:22 <אבי כל>] om M S G

A parablepsis. Most commentators recognize that the text is awry in v 22. The phrase תּוֹבֵל קִיֵּן לְטַשׁ כָּל הָרֶשׁ נַחֲשֵׁת וּבְרוּז is disturbed, presumably missing אָבִי כָּל or הוּא הִיָּה אָבִי כָּל, judging from the parallel descriptions of Tubal Cain’s two older brothers (vv 20–21; cf. the renderings of Tg^O: הוּא הוּה רִבְהוֹן דְּכָל; and Tg^J: רַב לְכָל). As a diagnostic conjecture in the absence of textual variants or a plausible reconstruction of textual change (see §1.2), it is feasible to read אָבִי כָּל after תּוֹבֵל קִיֵּן, yielding the phrase תּוֹבֵל קִיֵּן אָבִי כָּל לְטַשׁ כָּל הָרֶשׁ נַחֲשֵׁת וּבְרוּז. If this or something like it was the original text, then one might see how the phrase אָבִי כָּל הָרֶשׁ could have been inserted as an explicating gloss for the rare לְטַשׁ כָּל (similarly Freedman 1952: 192). This solution to the problem is possible, though it bears little weight in the absence of supporting textual data.

Gen 4:25 אָדָם M S G (Αδამ)] + עוֹר M S (om G)

An explicating plus (cf. 4:1). Adam and Eve’s second reported sexual congress is linked to the first report in M (= S) and G, but by different means: M reads “Adam knew his wife again,” with a simple עוֹר providing an explicating link between the two events; G provides continuity by a harmonizing expansion of the archetype אִשְׁתּוֹ, “his wife,” to אִשְׁתּוֹ הוּה, “Eve, his wife,” after the sequence in 4:1. Notably, the G text of 4:25 is not precisely harmonized to 4:1, as it preserves the different word order (verb-initial). Thus, even though G has been expanded by הוּה (and elsewhere in the verse by וְהָהָר) to harmonize with 4:1, it preserves the rest of the text of 4:22, in which עוֹר (M) is conspicuously lacking. Because there is no motive for the loss of this word in G, it is reasonable to regard it as an explicating plus in the proto-M tradition.

Gen 4:26 ולשת M S G (καὶ τῶ Σηθ)] + גם הוא M S (om G)

A harmonizing plus with ילדה הוא גם (4:22) and ילד גם הוא (10:21). The notice of Seth's fatherhood has attracted a גם הוא, "him too," from the parallel phrases in which Zillah and Shem have children. Each of these phrases occurs after a previous notice of birth; in each phrase, the parent's name (Seth, Zillah, Shem) occurs in clause-initial position as a nominative absolute (*casus pendens*), and in the cases of Seth and Shem the verb ילד is a Qal passive (though vocalized as a Pual). In view of these similarities, it is easy to see how a scribe might have filled out the phrase for Seth with גם הוא. The absence of this remark in G of 4:26 indicates that it is a secondary expansion shared by M and S.

Gen 4:26 זֶה G (οὗτος) T^P Syr Vg 11QJub^M 3.2 (= Jub 4:12)] אִז M S

A parablepsis, perhaps with a simple haplography (-ה-ה-). The variation of זֶה versus אִז is not great. If זֶה was the original, then one may account for the lost ה by simple haplography in the sequence -ה-ה- and for the addition of א as a secondary correction. Conversely, one might imagine that אִז became זֶה by a random loss of א and a dittography of ה. One can only construct a sound argument for the preferred reading on the basis of the grammatical and semantic context (see next entry).

Gen 4:26 החל S Syr cf 11QJub^M 3.2 (ריאשׁוֹן)] הוּחַל M G
(ηλπισεν, from √חל)

A parablepsis. The sequence in M, אִז הוּחַל לְקַרְא, "then was begun to call on (the name of Yahweh)," seems ungrammatical and semantically obscure in its context. The phrase הוּחַל זֶה has textual warrant and is a plausible archetypal reading (so Dillmann 1897: 210; Gunkel 1910: 54; Skinner 1930: 126). The grammatical construction of החל + ל + infinitive is found in two other J texts in Genesis 1–11: הוּחַל לְהִיּוֹת (Gen 10:8) and וַיְהִי כִּי הוּחַל הָאָדָם לְרַב (Gen 6:1). This consistent usage supports reading הוּחַל (with S and G) as Hiphil, not Hophal (note, however, that G reads the verb as a Hiphil of √חל, "to hope for"), and reading זֶה as the governing pronoun, referring to Enosh as the one who "began to call on the name of Yahweh."

Gen 5:3 *בֵּן] om M S G

A haplography by homoioarkton (-ב- ו-ב-). The verb וַיִּוְלַד, "he begot," requires an object, as it has in the other 35 occurrences of the form in the Book of Generations (סֵפֶר תּוֹלְדוֹת) of Genesis 5 and 11. It is possible that the object, בֵּן, is implied by the verb and its context (so Dillmann 1897: 223; Speiser 1964:

40). It is also possible that the original text read *בן ויולר בן* (cf. 5:28) and that *בן* has been lost (so Skinner 1930: 130). The latter possibility is explicable by a simple scribal error. In an original sequence of *בן ברמותו בן ויולר*, it would be easy for a scribe's eye to skip from *ב* to *ב*, thereby losing *בן*. The symmetrical cluster of letters in this reading, *-רבנבר-*, makes this haplography quite plausible. Although this would be an early scribal error, inherited by all the major versions, it seems to be an easier solution than a unique instance of an implied object for *ויולר*.

Gen 5:18 62 S | 162 M G

An editorial revision; see §4.2.

Gen 5:19 *900 | 800 M G; 785 S

An editorial revision; see §4.2.

Gen 5:23 *וייהי* S G (*και εγενετο*) | *וייהי* M

A simple haplography with a graphic confusion of *י/ו*. The formula *וייהי כל ימי* PN, "all the days of PN were . . .," occurs seven times in M of Genesis 5 (vv 5, 8, 11, 14, 17, 20, 27). In two other instances, the initial word of the formula in M is *וייהי* (vv 23 and 31). Because the plural noun *ימים* requires the plural verb *וייהי* (so S and G), it is clear that M's *וייהי* in these two instances is an error, most likely the result of a simple haplography of *י* aided by *י/ו* confusion.

Gen 5:25 67 S | 187 M; 167 G

An editorial revision; see §4.2.

Gen 5:26 *902 | 782 M; 653 S; 802 G

An editorial revision; see §4.2.

Gen 5:28 *88 | 182 M; 53 S; 188 G

An editorial revision; see §4.2.

Gen 5:30 *665 | 595 M; 600 S; 565 G

An editorial revision; see §4.2.

Gen 5:31 *וייהי* S G (*εγενετο*) | *וייהי* M

A simple haplography with a graphic confusion of *י/ו*; see the previous discussion at 5:23.

Gen 5:31 753 G | 777 M; 653 S

An editorial revision; see §4.2.

Gen 6:16 ופתח M S G (τῆν δε θύραν)] + התבה M S (om G)

An explicating plus. God's instructions to Noah on the construction of the ark include building an entry or doorway. Where M reads ופתח התבה בצידה, "make the entrance of the ark in its side," the literalistic G text lacks the equivalent of התבה, "the ark." That the ark is the object of construction has already been specified earlier in the verse, and it is clear that the instruction to make a פתח בצדה, "entrance in its side," refers to the ark. The pronominal suffix "its" makes this identification unambiguous. Nonetheless, an explicating scribe appears to have inserted התבה to make this identification crystal clear.

Gen 7:2 לא טהרה M S G (μη καθαρων)] + היא M (הוא) S (om G)

An explicating plus. In the instruction to take a pair of each unclean animal into the ark, the governing verbal phrase, תקח לך, "take," is implicit from the previous clause in v 2a. To clarify the stylistic ellipsis in this command, an explicating scribe apparently added היא after the prepositional phrase, ומן הבהמה, אשר לא טהרה, to clarify that it is this group to which the implicit command pertains. As in previous instances, this explicating plus is unnecessary for all but the most punctillious reader.

Gen 7:3 על M S G (επι)] + פני M S (om G, sim Tg^J)

A harmonizing plus with על פני כל הארץ (8:9, 1:29). The absence of פני in this phrase in G indicates that M has an expanded reading. This is the sole instance in Genesis of the phrase על כל הארץ, "on the whole earth"; the longer phrase על פני כל הארץ, "on the face of the whole earth," occurs several times. In the flood story, the longer phrase occurs in 8:9 in connection with the dove (note the birds in 7:3). In the creation story, the longer phrase occurs in connection with זרע, "seed," as in 7:3. These similarities in diction make it plausible that a scribe in the proto-M tradition has harmonized the phrase in 7:3, whether wittingly or accidentally, to the familiar longer phrase in the other verses.

Gen 7:6 היה M S G (εγενετο; ην G^A)] + מים M S G (υδατος) (om G^A)

A harmonizing plus with מים על הארץ (6:17). The word מים, "water," in 6:17 and 7:6 is often taken to be an explicating gloss for the infrequent term מבוול, "flood." Alternately, it may be, as Skinner puts it, "a peculiar case of nominal apposition" (1930: 162). The case is difficult to decide on a textual or grammatical basis, as Skinner observes.

In 6:17, the sequence **הַמַּוּל מַיִם** is attested in all versions and hence is either an original apposition or an early gloss. In the absence of textual variants, it is prudent to accept this reading as the archetype or original (so Tov 1985: 281 n. 71). In 7:6, the use of **מַיִם** is much more awkward, as the verb **הָיָה** intervenes between the two nouns, yielding a fractured syntax: **וְהַמַּבּוּל הָיָה מַיִם עַל הָאָרֶץ**, “and the flood was water on the earth.” The word **מַיִם** seems clearly intrusive in this sentence. Because a major codex of G, G^A (Alexandrinus), lacks a corresponding term for **מַיִם** in this verse, there is some textual warrant for regarding the word as secondary in M. With most commentators (Gunkel 1910: 142; Westermann 1984: 391; McCarter 1986: 32–33; *BHS* ad loc.), it is feasible to regard **מַיִם** in 7:6 as a secondary expansion. This plus may be regarded as a harmonizing link with **הַמַּבּוּל מַיִם** in 6:17, creating a verbal continuity between God’s stated intention (6:17) and the realization of that intention (7:6). In this respect, the attempt to harmonize the two verses is comparable to the harmonizations of *Wortbericht* and *Tatbericht* in Genesis 1 (see §2.2).

In this explanation, I have cited the reading of G^A, which lacks *ὕδατος* = **מַיִם**. However, both the critical editions of Wevers and Rahlfs prefer the reading of G⁹¹¹ (Berlin Papyrus) to that of G^A in 7:6b. The two texts read as follows:

G⁹¹¹ *καὶ ὁ κατακλυσμός ἐγένετο ὑδάτος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*

G^A *καὶ ὁ κατακλυσμός ἦν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*

The variation is *ἐγένετο ὑδάτος* = **הָיָה מַיִם** (G⁹¹¹) versus *ἦν* = **הָיָה** (G^A). According to Wevers’s apparatus, most of the other Greek manuscripts have readings related to that in G⁹¹¹, and only one (54) other than G^A lacks *ὕδατος*. Although the preference for the reading of G⁹¹¹ is certainly defensible, it is also arguable that in this case the reading in G⁹¹¹ (and the related readings) reflects a correction of a G^A-type reading toward M. In text-critical terms, it is easier to account for the textual change from *ἦν* (G^A) to *ὕδατος* (G⁹¹¹) than vice versa in this case. Wevers has shown that G⁹¹¹ shares a number of readings with M against G, thus suggesting “the possibility of a prehexaplaric revision towards the Hebrew” (1974: 220–22). In light of this situation, I would suggest that *ὕδατος* in 7:6 is another instance of a secondary revision of G toward M and that the reading in G^A is plausibly the preferred G reading.

Gen 7:14 init] + **הַמָּה** M S (**הֵם**) (om G)

An explicating plus. The pronoun **הַמָּה**, lacking in G, in the entry procession of v 14 can be identified compellingly as an explicating gloss. This pronoun refers back to the entrants listed in v 13 (Noah and his family), joining them to the list of animals in v 14. But in v 15 we are told, **וַיִּבְאוּ אֵלַי נְחֹשֶׁת אֶלְנֵת אֶל הַתְּבֵה**, “they

came to Noah into the ark.” Clearly, the subject of this verb is the list of animals in v 14. The *המה* that is prefixed to this list implies that Noah and his family also “came to Noah into the ark.” Not only is it impossible for Noah to come to Noah, but Noah and family have already entered the ark in v 13 (*בא נח אל התבה* . . .). The attempt to complete the list of ark entrants in v 14 with *המה* only serves to disrupt the logical continuity of the narrative. The textual evidence and the sense of the narrative mutually support the judgment that the pronoun is a scribal explicating plus.

Gen 7:14 *fin*] + *כל צפור כל כנף* M S (om G)

An explicating plus (cf. *כל צפור כל כנף* Ezek 17:23). This curious phrase, lacking in G, is in apposition to the previous phrase, *וכל העוף למינהו*, “every flying creature (or bird) according to its kind.” Cassuto observes nicely that “the significance of this apposition is not at first glance quite clear” (1964: 90). Dillmann plausibly suggests that the second phrase “singles out the bird species proper from the mass of the *עוף*” (1897: 279), that is, clarifies that not all “flying things” entered the ark, only winged birds. Presumably, this specification has been added to exclude other flying things, such as insects. The wording of this explicating phrase may be borrowed from Ezek 17:23. Again in this case, the textual evidence coheres with the semantic and grammatical superfluity of the phrase to identify this reading as an explicating plus. It is worth noting that this scribal explication of the kinds of flying creatures on the ark anticipates the considerable exegetical interest in such details in later periods (see Lewis 1968).

Gen 7:20 *גברו* G (*ψωθη*)] *גברו* M S

A reminiscence of *גברו המים* v 19. The root $\sqrt{\text{גבר}}$ is used four times in the flood story in M (7:18, 19, 20, 24). On only one of those occasions, 7:20, G reads a form of $\sqrt{\text{גבה}}$ rather than a form of $\sqrt{\text{גבר}}$. In the three verses where M and G agree (7:18, 19, 24), the meaning of the verb is “be strong” or “prevail.” In 7:20, the meaning of the verb refers to the height of the waters. Although “be strong” is possible in v 20, it is more likely that the reading in M, *גברו המים*, was caused by an accidental reminiscence of the phrase *גברו המים* in v 19. The difference of only a single letter between *גברו* and *גבהו* makes such reminiscence an easy error. A graphic confusion of *ה/ר* may have contributed to this change. Skinner (1930: 165) rightly prefers *גבהו* here.

Gen 7:22 *נשמת* M S G (*πνοη*)] + *רוח* M S (om G Vg)

A harmonizing plus with *רוח חיים* (6:17, 7:15). Most commentators have recognized that the phrase *נשמת רוח חיים* in 7:22 is a conflation of two

synonymous phrases, נשמת חיים and רוּחַ חיים, meaning “breath of life.” Because the phrase with נשמת occurs in J (Gen 2:7) and the phrase with רוּחַ occurs in P (Gen 6:17; 7:15), it is usually concluded that נשמת חיים is the original reading of 7:22, a J text (Dillmann 1897: 280; Gunkel 1910: 63; Skinner 1930: 154; Westermann 1984: 392). It seems to have escaped notice that this argument is more forceful than it seems in that the G reading provides direct textual warrant.

Where M has נשמת רוּחַ חיים in 7:22, G reads πνοη ζωης. This is the same wording as in G of 2:7, where M has נשמת חיים. In contrast, in the verses where M has רוּחַ חיים (6:17; 7:15), G reads πνευμα ζωης. The lexical choices in G are consistent here and elsewhere in Genesis: πνοη corresponds to נשמה; πνευμα corresponds to רוּחַ. Given the lexical regularity of G, the absence of πνευμα = רוּחַ in 7:22 indicates that the *Vorlage* lacked this word. The textual data of G support the frequent analysis that רוּחַ in 7:22 is a secondary expansion, harmonizing the phrase נשמת חיים with the two occasions in the flood story where רוּחַ חיים is used. This is yet another case of the harmonization of God’s word (6:17; P) and its fulfillment (7:22; J). We may conclude that this harmonizing plus was not the work of the redactor of the flood story, R^{JEP} (pace Westermann 1984: 392) but was added by a harmonizing scribe in the proto-M (or proto-S) textual tradition.

Gen 8:10 ויחל G (καὶ ἐπισχων) | ויחל M S (also v 12) 4QCommGen^a

A simple haplography of יי (cf. ויחל v 12). The verb יחל, “to wait,” occurs clearly only in the Piel and Hiphil (*BDB* 403–4). In 8:12, the form ויחל is probably to be read as a Piel (though oddly it is vocalized in M as a Niphal). In v 10, the form ויחל is vocalized as a Hiphil, but if it were Hiphil the form should be ויחל. With Dillmann (1897: 286), Skinner (1930: 156), and others (e.g., *BHS* ad loc.), it is probable that an original ויחל in v 10 became ויחל by a simple haplography of יי.

Gen 8:14 ועשרים יום 4QCommGen^a Jub 5:31 | ועשרים יום M S; ועשרים G (εἰκαδὶ)

A word misdivision with a graphic confusion and simple haplography of יי, with secondary corrections. The differences between M, G, and other texts in the flood chronology of Genesis 7–8 have long been noted, but it has not been observed that the differences are explicable by text-critical means (see Hendel 1995b). The chief difference is the variation between the 17th day (שבעה עשר יום) of the month and the 27th day (שבעה ועשרים יום) for three key dates of the flood: Gen 7:11, 8:4, and 8:14. The textual variations are as follows:

- 7:11 **יום** שבועה עשר יום M S 4QCommGen^a (שבועה עשר בן) Jub 5:23
 שבועה ועשרים G (εβδομη και εικαδι)
- 8:4 **יום** שבועה עשר יום M S 4QCommGen^a (שבועה עשר בחודש)
 שבועה ועשרים G (εβδομη και εικαδι)
- 8:14 **יום** שבועה ועשרים M S
 יום שבועה עשר יום 4QCommGen^a Jub 5:31 G^{mss} (επτακαιδεκατη ημερα)
 שבועה ועשרים G (εβδομη και εικαδι)

The variations in 7:11 and 8:4 are identical, with the G reading differing from that shared by all the other versions and ancillary sources (Jub and 4QCommGen^a). There are two differences between the two readings: (1) the numerical difference of 17 versus 27 and (2) the presence or absence of the word **יום**. To the textual critic, the two differences are mutually intelligible. In all three verses, G lacks **יום** (*ημερα*), the only three cases of 150 in Genesis where G lacks a corresponding term for **יום** (Hendel 1995b: 76–77). In these three cases, the G reading is easily explained as the result of simple scribal error in which the two words **יום עשר** were misread as **עשרים** (with a secondary correction of -). A scribe (or scribes) committed a simple haplography of **יו**, two letters barely distinguishable in the square scripts of the Hellenistic period, and a word misdivision. The archetype of the G reading is clearly **יום שבועה עשר יום**, as it is in M and the other versions for 7:11 and 8:4.

The third verse, 8:14, is somewhat more complicated. The situation for G is the same, presupposing an archetypal reading **יום שבועה עשר יום**. This archetypal reading may be preserved in two ancillary sources, 4QCommGen^a and Jub 5:31, though it appears also in some G manuscripts (see apparatus in Wevers's edition; note the consistent representation of **יום** as *ημερα*). Where G reads **עשרים**, presupposing an archetype of **יום עשר יום**, M and S read **עשרים יום**. The most viable solution of this variation is that an archetypal **יום עשר יום** was misread as **עשרים** (so G) and then secondarily corrected to **יום עשרים** (M S). Alternatively, it is also possible that the final **יום** was the result of a dittography of the original **יום**. In this explanation, we can trace the textual history from an archetypal reading **יום שבועה עשר יום** to the variant readings preserved in the versions. Hence, it is reasonable to prefer in 8:14 the reading **יום שבועה עשר יום**, indirectly attested in G and possibly preserved in 4QCommGen^a and Jub, over the variant in M.

In this text-critical analysis, we not only arrive at a plausible solution for all the variants in 8:14 but also solve the problem of the flood chronology in P: the flood begins on 2/14 (Gen 7:11) and ends on 2/14 (Gen 8:14), a complete year. For other implications concerning the calendar of P (probably lunisolar) and the later solar calendar of 1 Enoch, Jub, 11QTemple, and Qumran sectarian literature, see Hendel 1995b.

Gen 8:17 אתך 2° M S G (μετα σεαυτου)] + ושרצו בארץ M S (om G)

A harmonizing plus with *שרצו בארץ* (9:7). In M of 8:17, God says of the animals after the flood, *ושרצו בארץ ופרו ורבו על הארץ*, “Let them swarm on the earth, and let them be fruitful and multiply on the earth.” Here G lacks the first clause, *ושרצו הארץ*. As Skinner notes (1930: 167), G probably has the better text; M appears to have been expanded by a harmonization with the comparable blessing to humans in 9:7, *פרו ורבו שרצו בארץ*. Because there is no motive for haplography in G, its reading is to be preferred. Hence, we may take as the archetype or original in 8:17 *ופרו ורבו על הארץ*. This blessing has been expanded in proto-M or proto-S to harmonize God’s parallel blessings to animals and humans in the postdiluvian era.

Gen 8:19 - כל העוף וכל הרמש ה- S G (και παν πετεινον και παν ερπετον) Syr]
כל הרמש וכל העוף כל M; om כל העוף Vg

A parablepsis. The chief variation here consists of the order of *כל העוף*, “all the birds,” and *כל הרמש*, “all the creeping things.” Because the verse continues with the phrase *רומש על הארץ*, it is natural to think that the reading of S and G, *כל הרמש הרומש על הארץ*, “all the creeping things that creep on the earth” (cf. 7:14; 1:26), is the archetype or original (so Gunkel 1910: 147; Skinner 1930: 167; Speiser 1964: 53; *BHS* ad loc.). For some unknown reason, M appears to have suffered a metathesis of *כל הרמש* and *כל העוף*, and someone has secondarily adjusted the text by adding *כל* before *הארץ* (probably influenced by 1:30 *כל רומש על הארץ*). The separation of the noun *רמש* from the participle *רומש* in the M enumeration of animals makes little sense and is most plausibly a corruption of the reading shared in S, G, and Syr. Note also that Vg has suffered a haplography in this sequence (*וכל ׀ וכל*).

Gen 8:22 init] + ער M S (om G Vg)

An explicating plus. The *ער* in God’s promise that the cycles of nature will never cease appears to be connected to the verbal negation, *לא ישבתו*, “will not cease.” The *ער* emphasizes that these will “never again” cease, with the construction, *לא . . . ער* (BDB, 729). Twice in v 21, one finds the more usual construction, *לא . . . עור*. In view of the absence of this clarifying adverb in G, it may be identified as a probable explicating plus, influenced by the grammatical construction of the previous verse.

Gen 9:7 *וּרְבוּ cf G^{mss} (και κατακυριευσατε)] וּרְבוּ M S G (και πληθυνεσθε)

A reminiscence of *וּרְבוּ* v 7 (cf. *וּרְבוּ* 1:28). The imperative *וּרְבוּ*, “multiply,” occurs twice in the divine command in the major versions of 9:7. Many com-

mentators, possibly going back to Greek scribes in the inner-G tradition, have corrected the second of these to וררו, “rule,” based on the obvious allusion to the blessing in 1:28, where one finds the phrases פרו ורבו and וררו in close proximity (Gunkel 1910: 150; Skinner 1930: 171; Speiser 1964: 57; *BHS* ad loc.; Westermann 1984: 460). It is possible that the inner-Greek variant *κατακυριευσατε* (= ררו) is the original G reading, as the families *b* and *d* elsewhere have affinities with the pre-Hexaplaric papyri 911 and 962, and *d* may reflect in part the old Lucianic G text (Wevers 1974: 228). In this possibility, the G reading (= ררו) is the original, superior reading. In any case, the difference between וררו and ורבו is a single letter, making assimilation by reminiscence an easy error. It is not likely that a graphic confusion of ב/ב aided this change, though such a confusion is possible in some periods.

Gen 9:10 הארץ M S G (της γης)] + אתכם M S (om G Vg)

An explicating plus. After the phrase כל נפש החיה אשר אתכם, “every living thing that is with you,” a scribe appears to have added another אתכם to the similar phrase ובכל חית הארץ, “and all (wild) creatures of the earth.” This word is lacking in G. It is plausibly an explicating plus, an attempt to clarify what is implicit in the text.

Gen 9:10 fin] + לכל חית הארץ M S (om G)

An explicating plus (cf. ובכל חית הארץ v 10). This final phrase of 9:10, lacking in G, appears to be an explication of the previous phrase, מכל יצאי מכלה, “of all that exited the ark.” The meaning of this clarifying gloss is obscure (similar to the gloss in 7:14, discussed earlier). Dillmann’s attempt to make sense of it is instructive: “any which went out of the ark, in respect of, i.e., namely, all the animals of the earth” (1897: 296) The secondary nature of this gloss is evident by comparison with the virtually identical phrase earlier in the verse, ובכל חית הארץ, which appears to refer to wild animals, while the final phrase must refer to all the animals. Dillmann’s decipherment shows also the oddity of the series of prepositions in this sequence (מכל . . . לכל). Again, the grammar and the textual evidence correspond in the judgment that this is an explicating plus. Ironically in this case, as in several others, the explicating plus tends to add less clarity rather than more. This is not uncommon for scholarly annotations (Merton 1965).

Gen 9:21 אהלה M^K] אהל M^Q S

An orthographic modernization. The M text of 9:21 illustrates the process of orthographic modernization of the final mater ה- to ו-. The compilers of the

Kētib-Qērē apparently consulted texts with modernized and unmodernized readings of this word. For some unknown reason, the form with the older orthography was retained in the *Kētib* (perhaps this was the majority reading or that of the base text), and the modernized reading was taken as the *Qērē*. This purely orthographic variant shows the type of modernization that caused problems in 2:15 and 4:7 (discussed previously).

Gen 10:3 ריפת 1 Chr 1:6 (M) cf Syr (ריפר)] ריפת M S G (Pιφαθ) 1 Chr 1:6 (G)

A graphic confusion of ר/ר. Lipinski has argued plausibly that this word corresponds to *dahyu-pati*, a Persian title meaning “chief of the people/region” (1990: 49–50). In Elamite texts at Persepolis, this term is written as *da-a-ú-bat* (plus an affix, *ti-iš*) and *da-i-bat* (plus *ti-iš*). The term may also be found in an Assyrian inscription of Esarhaddon with reference to a local Medean chief (under the logogram EN.URU). The association of ריפת with the Scythians (אשכנז) in v 3 may be explained by the joint presence of Medes and Scythians in Anatolia during 590–585 B.C.E. (Lipinski 1990: 50).

Lipinski has also argued that the following name in M, תגרמה, ought to be read תגרמה, after a Cimmerian ruler referred to in Assyrian as *Tug-dam-me-i* and in Greek as Lygdamis (1990: 50). The forces of Tugdamme were active in Anatolia from 652 to 636 B.C.E. If this analysis is correct, then תגרמה has also suffered a ר/ר confusion. The absence of textual variants, however, warrants a cautious preference for the existing reading, though it may be historically incorrect.

Gen 10:4 רדנים S (רודנים) G (Ροδιοι) 1 Chr 1:7 (רודנים)] רדנים M; רודנים Syr

A graphic confusion of ר/ר; see §1.2.

Gen 10:5 <אלה בני יפת>] om M S G

A parablepsis. Dillmann notes, “Since the author in vv 20 and 31 concludes each of the other peoples with a subscription, and always shows himself very uniform in the use of his formulae, we expect here also an אלה בני יפת” (1897: 337–38; also Gunkel 1910: 153; Skinner 1930: 200; *BHS* ad loc.; and most others). The subscription formula has some variation to it, but Dillmann’s point is apposite. Compare the slight variations in order and phrasing:

- v 5 אלה בני יפת < בארצתם איש ללשנו למשפחתם בגויהם >
- v 20 אלה בני חם למשפחתם ללשנתם בארצתם בגויהם
- v 31 אלה בני שם למשפחתם ללשנתם בארצתם לגויהם

As Dillmann and others observe, the first part of v 5, **מֵאֵלֶּה נִפְרְדּוּ אֵיִי הַגּוֹיִם**, can only refer to the Mediterranean peoples of v 4 (the sons of Javan), and the second half of v 5 includes all the sons of Japheth. The alternative explanation, that the descent of the **אֵיִי הַגּוֹיִם**, “islands of the nations,” refers to all the sons of Japheth is implausible (pace Horowitz 1990). So, the missing part of the subscription can be placed with some confidence. This solution, although it lacks direct textual support from the versions, is compelling. However, in the absence of textual evidence or a cogent explanation of scribal error, this reading must be labeled a diagnostic conjecture.

Gen 11:17 370 G J 430 M; 270 S

An editorial revision; see §4.3.

Gen 11:30 **יֶלֶד** S J | **וְלֶדֶת** M cf **לְהוֹלִיד** G (*εστεκνοποιει*)

A graphic confusion of **י/ו**. The noun **יֶלֶד**, “child,” occurs more than 100 times in the Hebrew Bible, including 20 times in Genesis, and only here is it written with initial **ו** instead of **י**. Although **wald-* is the ancestral proto-Semitic form (preserved in Arabic and Ethiopic), the shift of word-initial *waw* → *yod* is one of the characteristic phonological features of the Northwest Semitic language group. This shift occurred by the early second millennium B.C.E., as evidenced by Northwest Semitic names attested in Egyptian and Akkadian texts (see Huehnergard 1992: 159). It is hardly conceivable that in one instance of more than 100 in the Hebrew Bible we find the proto-Semitic or proto-Northwest Semitic form intact. It is far more likely that M has suffered a simple graphic confusion of **י/ו** (so tentatively Skinner 1930: 237).

This reading, **אֵין לֶה וְלֶד**, has an interesting *Nachgeschichte*. In (proto-)G, this reading is reflected with an additional error of word misdivision, such that **אֵין לֶה וְלֶד** was misread as **אֵין לְהוֹלֶד**, “unable to give birth,” an understandable error given the hapex **וְלֶד**. In Qumran and Rabbinic Hebrew, the word **וְלֶד** takes on a special meaning, “embryo” (Qimron 1986: 99). At a later time, this textual and semantic development apparently influenced some eastern M manuscripts at 2 Sam 6:23, where Kennicott records the variant, **לֹא הָיָה לֶה וְלֶד** (*BHS ad loc.*).

Gen 11:31 **וַיֵּצְאוּ אִתָּם** S (**וַיִּצְיֵא**) G (*εξηγαγεν αυτους*) Vg | **וַיֵּצְאוּ אִתָּם** M

A parablepsis. The statement in M, **וַיֵּצְאוּ אִתָּם**, “they went with them,” makes no sense (see Dillmann 1897: 412; Skinner 1930: 166; Emerton 1994: 177–79). The reading in S and G, **וַיִּצְיֵא אִתָּם**, “he sent them,” makes grammatical sense, though we are surprised at the end of v 32 to find that Terah, who

“sent them,” is also in Haran. The Syr text printed in the London Polyglot of 1654 (ed. Walton) reflects a reading **וּצָא אִתָּם**, “he went with them,” which makes best sense of all, but this is from a minor Syr manuscript. On text-critical grounds, the reading of S and G, which is grammatically and semantically possible, is preferable to the reading of M. The difference between these two variants is simply the placement of a *ו* *mater*. It is possible that **וּצָא** suffered a simple haplography of **וּי** (וּי), with the requisite *ו*/*י* confusion, and a scribe in the proto-M tradition wrongly corrected the form to plural, **וּצָאוּ**, perhaps anticipating the plural forms **וּיבֹאוּ** and **וּיִשְׁבוּ** that follow in v 31. This is the easiest and best supported solution (and followed by most commentators). Note that S has modernized the form of **וּצָאוּ** from jussive (or old preterite) to imperfect, a frequent type of linguistic revision in S.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Chronologies of Genesis 5 and 11

4.1 THE PROBLEM

The problem of the ages of the ancestors in Genesis 5 and 11 is hinted at by Josephus in an intriguing aside: “The reader should not examine the ages of the individuals at death, for their lifetimes extended into those of their sons and of their sons’ descendants, but should confine his attention to their dates of birth” (*Ant* 1.88; trans. Thackeray). If one examines the ages of these individuals at death, one discovers the scandal that in G (and its congeners) Methuselah survives the flood by 14 years (see §4.2 on Josephus’s biblical *Vorlage*). Further, as Eusebius of Caesarea first observed in his *Chronicle*, the chronologies of Genesis 5 and 11 diverge significantly among M, S, and G. Jerome notes in his *Hebrew Questions on Genesis*: “this is a celebrated question, and one which has been publicly aired in argument by all the churches” (Hayward 1995: 35). For Jerome, this problem provided a prime opportunity to argue for the *hebraica veritas*, against the sins of G. Augustine defended G as inspired Holy Writ, though even he felt compelled to admit: “One thing remains certain: Methuselah did not live on after the Flood” (*City of God* 15.11; trans. Bettenson [Penguin]), reluctantly following M in this instance.

The problem of the death of Methuselah in G is emblematic of the problem of the different chronologies in M, S, and G of Genesis 5 and 11. In what follows, I will examine and refine the solution advanced by Klein (1974a), that the variant chronologies of M, S, and G are the result of conscious and systematic revisions of Genesis 5 and 11, motivated by problems implicit in the ages of the individuals at death, as Josephus cautioned. Most remarkably, these problems were solved independently in the textual traditions ancestral to M, S, and G. The nature of these chronological problems can be sketched as follows.

In the antediluvian chronology from Adam to Noah in Gen 5:3–32, three patriarchs—Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech—die in or near the year of the flood

in all the major versions. In S, all three die in the year of the flood. In M, Methuselah dies in the year of the flood, and Jared and Lamech die earlier. In G, Jared and Lamech die before the flood, and Methuselah survives the flood by 14 years. It is notable that only for these three patriarchs do the numbers of M and S diverge. When one considers these variations among the versions, the suspicion arises that the death of these three patriarchs and the date of the onset of the flood may once have clashed, as they still do for Methuselah in G. If in the archetypal chronology of Genesis 5 Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech survived the flood, this problem would provide sufficient warrant for scribes to correct the text by adjusting the chronology. This is the solution proposed by Klein: “the original chronology implied that three patriarchs lived through the flood, and this was resolved in quite different ways” (1974a: 263).

The narrative of the flood story precludes the possibility that these men survived the flood. The only humans saved from the flood are Noah, his wife, his sons, and his sons’ wives (Gen 6:18; 7:7, 13; 8:18); after the flood, “there remained only Noah and those with him on the ark” (Gen 7:23). There is no room in the narrative for other human survivors. Recent studies of this issue by Hughes and Etz agree with Klein on this point: “The coincidence between the year of Methuselah’s death and the year of the flood in MT’s chronology, and similar coincidences in the case of Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech in SP’s chronology, seem to have resulted from application of the minimum adjustment that would ensure that these ancestors died before the start of the flood” (Hughes 1990: 14; similarly Etz 1993: 172–75). This is a plausible explanation for the chronological variants in Genesis 5 that is far more appealing than the complicated algebra of most treatments (see the reviews of scholarship in Dillmann 1897: 217–22; Skinner 1930: 134–36; Wenham 1987: 130–34, 250–51; Hughes 1990: 6 n. 1; Etz 1993: 177 n. 13).

As for the postdiluvian chronology from Shem to Abraham in Gen 11:10–32, an examination of the ages of these individuals at death uncovers another potentially disturbing result. In the M chronology, Noah, Shem, and *all* the post-diluvian patriarchs are still alive during Abraham’s lifetime, and several survive him. This circumstance explains why in rabbinic traditions it is possible for Isaac to study Torah with Shem and for Jacob to study with Eber (e.g., *Gen. Rab.* 56.11; 63.10; 68.5). This problem was noted by Dillmann: “One can scarcely imagine it to have been part of our author’s conception that Noah did not die till Abraham was fifty-eight years old, or that Shem lived on till after Jacob’s birth, and that Eber was still alive after the death of Abraham” (1897: 399). Klein proposes that in the scribal traditions ancestral to S and G this overlap of

generations was perceived as a problem. He posits that the “numbers were given originally without their implications for absolute chronology being fully noted. When the difficulties with this absolute chronology were noted, corrections were made in the archetype behind LXX and SP” (1974a: 259; similarly Etz 1993: 184).

In contrast, Hughes argues that the adjustments in S and G for the post-diluvians of Genesis 11 reflect larger chronological concerns, either to emphasize the date of the founding of the Samaritan Temple at Mt. Gerizim (S) or to highlight the date of the exodus (G) (1990: 237–38, 240–41). If, as I will argue later, Klein’s solution more easily accounts for the data, the theory of two or more complicated chronological systems secretly pointing toward historical events is unnecessary (especially since the numbers do not quite fit the scheme in each case; see Hughes 1990: 240, and later here).

This motive for the chronological variants of Genesis 5 and 11—that the ancestors’ ages originally extended across narrative boundaries—is consistent with the widely held view that these genealogical texts derive from an originally independent document, the ספר תולדת אדם, “Book of the Generations of Adam” (Gen 5:1; see Cross 1973: 301–5; Wallace 1990; Carr 1996: 70–73). When the P writer or redactor integrated this work into the narrative context, he may not have perceived (or may have been unconcerned with) the implicit chronological conflicts. It remained for later scribes to detect the problems and to incorporate their textual solutions.

Most modern treatments of the textual and chronological problems of Genesis 5 and 11 begin with “the working hypothesis . . . that the original chronology is identical with that of the MT” (Larsson 1983: 401). As we have seen (§2.1 and *passim*), this hypothesis is no longer tenable. It is necessary to examine all of the textual data and explore the textual relationships among all the significant variants, with the ideal of arriving at the archetypal or original set of readings. As Skinner aptly notes in this regard, “A presumption in favour of MT would be established only if it could be shown that the numbers of S and G are either dependent on MT, or involve no chronological scheme at all” (1930: 136). This standard also applies to the occasional scholarly preference for the chronologies of G (Ewald 1869: 276 n. 1) or S (for Genesis 5: Budde 1883: 111; Dillmann 1897: 220).

Among modern studies of Genesis 5 and 11, only those of Klein, Hughes, and Etz come reasonably close to the goal of accounting for most or all of the textual data. Hence, it is notable that their reconstructions of the archetypal numbers are nearly identical, with the primary exception of the dates for Lamech

(see §4.2; Hughes also makes an adjustment for Methuselah; see §4.3). If by careful method it is possible to reconstruct a parent text that can by normal scribal events give rise to the extant readings in the chronologies of Genesis 5 and 11, then we can claim that the textual problem has been solved and can draw appropriate inferences.

4.2 GENESIS 5:3–32

The textual data and the proposed archetype are charted in table 4-1. With the exception of the numbers for Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech, there is a clear pattern among the textual variants: M and S are identical, and G differs by $b + 100$ and $r - 100$. Because these variations in G cancel out in their sum, the number for t is identical in M, S, and G.

The increase in the figure for b in proto-G ($b + 100$) serves to delay the onset of the flood (A.M. 2242 in G), and the corresponding decrease in r preserves the original set of lifespans. By this simple systematic adjustment, the G chronology manages to have all of Noah's ancestors die before the flood, with the curious exception of Methuselah. This mishap may be an unintended consequence of a systematic application of the revision. For Methuselah to have died at or before the flood, a scribe would have had to alter the system, and this may have seemed too radical for a systematizing scribe. As the Church Fathers noted, the death of Methuselah remains a problem in G.

In light of the probability that the G variants for b and r are the result of systematic revision, we may posit that the archetypal numbers in all cases except Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech are preserved as follows:

$$b = M S (G - 100)$$

$$r = M S (G + 100)$$

$$t = M S G$$

Because this consistent pattern of agreements and disagreements is lacking in the textual variants for Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech, their cases require individual analysis.

Jared

The variants for Jared's t (Gen 5:20) are 962 (M), 847 (S), and 962 (G). Because agreement between M and G preserves the archetype for t elsewhere, 962 is plausibly the archetype here. In S, the value of $t = 847$ ensures that Jared dies in the year of the flood (A.M. 1307 in S). This is likely a secondary revision of t .

Table 4-1. The Chronology of Gen 5:3-32: Major Versions and Archetype

		M	S	G	Archetype
Adam	<i>b</i>	130	130	230	130
	<i>r</i>	800	800	700	800
	<i>t</i>	930	930	930	930
	A.M.	(1-930)	(1-930)	(1-930)	(1-930)
Seth	<i>b</i>	105	105	205	105
	<i>r</i>	807	807	707	807
	<i>t</i>	912	912	912	912
	A.M.	(130-1042)	(130-1042)	(230-1142)	(130-1042)
Enosh	<i>b</i>	90	90	190	90
	<i>r</i>	815	815	715	815
	<i>t</i>	905	905	905	905
	A.M.	(235-1140)	(235-1140)	(435-1340)	(235-1140)
Kenan	<i>b</i>	70	70	170	70
	<i>r</i>	840	840	740	840
	<i>t</i>	910	910	910	910
	A.M.	(325-1235)	(325-1235)	(625-1535)	(325-1235)
Mehalel	<i>b</i>	65	65	165	65
	<i>r</i>	830	830	730	830
	<i>t</i>	895	895	895	895
	A.M.	(395-1290)	(395-1290)	(795-1690)	(395-1290)
Jared	<i>b</i>	162	62	162	62
	<i>r</i>	800	785	800	900
	<i>t</i>	962	847	962	962
	A.M.	(460-1422)	(460-1307)	(960-1922)	(460-1422)
Enoch	<i>b</i>	65	65	165	65
	<i>r</i>	300	300	200	300
	<i>t</i>	365	365	365	365
	A.M.	(622-987)	(522-887)	(1122-1487)	(522-887)
Methuselah	<i>b</i>	187	67	167	67
	<i>r</i>	782	653	802	902
	<i>t</i>	969	720	969	969
	A.M.	(687-1656)	(587-1307)	(1287-2256)	(587-1556)
Lamech	<i>b</i>	182	53	188	*88
	<i>r</i>	595	600	565	*665
	<i>t</i>	777	653	753	753
	A.M.	(874-1651)	(654-1307)	(1454-2207)	(654-1407)
Flood	A.M.	(1656)	(1307)	(2242)	(1342)

b = age at begetting

r = remainder

t = total lifespan

A.M. = year after creation (*anno mundi*)

The variants for Jared's b (Gen 5:18) are 162 (M), 62 (S), and 162 (G). Because S and G preserve the expected relationship for b (where $G = S + 100$), the archetype is plausibly 62. In M, the value of $b = 162$ delays the onset of the flood by 100 years, ensuring that Jared dies before the flood. This value is likely a secondary revision of b .

These revisions in M, S, and G account for all the textual variation for Jared, yielding the archetypes: $b = 62$, $r = 900$, and $t = 962$.

Methuselah

The case of Methuselah has the same pattern of agreements and disagreements as Jared. The variants for Methuselah's t (Gen 5:27) are 969 (M), 720 (S), and 969 (G). The number shared by M and G is plausibly the archetype, as is the pattern elsewhere. In S, the value of $t = 720$ places the death of Methuselah in the year of the flood. This is likely a secondary revision.

The variants for Methuselah's b (Gen 5:25) are 187 (M), 67 (S), and 167 (G). In S and G, there is the expected relationship for b , yielding an archetype of $b = 67$. In M, the value of $b = 187$ delays the onset of the flood so that Methuselah dies in the year of the flood (A.M. 1656 in M). This is likely a secondary revision.

These revisions in M, S, and G account for all the textual variation for Methuselah, yielding the archetypes: $b = 67$, $r = 902$, and $t = 969$.

In the similar strategies of revision for Jared and Methuselah, the G readings conform to its consistent system of revising $b + 100$ and $r - 100$, M has raised b by 100 and 120, and S has lowered t by 115 and 249. The revisions in M and S ensure that Jared and Methuselah do not survive the flood, and the systematic revision in G achieves this result for Jared but, famously, not for Methuselah.

Lamech

In the case of Lamech, a discernible pattern of agreements and disagreements is lacking. Therefore, a solution is more difficult to ascertain.

The variants for Lamech's t (Gen 5:31) are 777 (M), 653 (S), and 753 (G). Because the number in S has Lamech die in the year of the flood, the S figure is likely a revision, as in the previous two cases. It is not clear whether the variation between S and G (100 years) is significant. In M, $t = 777$, which is likely a secondary figure influenced by the fate of the other Lamech in Gen 4:24, whose vengeance is 77 compared to Cain's sevenfold (so Dillmann 1897: 221; Klein 1974a: 261; and others). The reading in M for Lamech's t may be an intentional revision (so Hughes 1990: 15) or an accidental assimilation by reminiscence of 4:24:

4:24 (M) למך שבעים ושבעה

5:31 (M) למך שבע ושבעים שנה ושבע

Because the values for Lamech's t are arguably secondary in M and S, the archetypal reading is most plausibly that of G, as is the case in every other instance in Genesis 5. Hence, we may prefer the G evidence for the archetype of Lamech's $t = 753$, though because of the absence of agreement with S or M there is more uncertainty than in the other cases.

The archetype for Lamech's b (Gen 5:28) is also difficult to isolate because of the absence of pattern among the variants: 182 (M), 53 (S), and 188 (G). In this instance, the reconstructions of Klein, Hughes, and Etz diverge because of the unclarity of the data. Klein relies on the consistency of the G revision formula ($b + 100$) to suggest an archetype of $b = 88$. He proposes that the divergent numbers for b in M and S are the result of scribal errors. For M's figure, he posits a revision of $b + 100$ (as in the case of Jared in M), yielding 188, with a subsequent change to 182 by an accidental assimilation by reminiscence of Gen 5:26 (Methuselah's r):

5:26 (M) למך שתים ושמונים שנה

5:28 (M) למך שתים ושמנים שנה

This scenario of assimilation by reminiscence is plausible and would easily yield the text in 5:28 (M). The proposal that the revised figure in proto-M was 188 ($b + 100$) is only a guess, though it would provide an easy textual basis for this scribal error.

Klein suggests that the scribal error behind the S figure, $b = 53$, is an assimilation by anticipation of Lamech's archetypal t in 5:31 (preserved in G as noted previously):

5:28 (S) למך שלש וחמשים שנה

5:31 (G) למך שלש וחמשים שנה

This, too, is an easy scribal error and accounts well for the S reading. Hence, from an archetype of Lamech's $b = 88$, one can account for the extant readings by the expected systematic revision in G and by simple scribal errors in M and S. This result is far from certain, but it is plausible.

In contrast to this solution, Hughes relies on the consistency of S in preserving the archetype for b elsewhere in Genesis 5 to yield an archetype of $b = 53$. However, if the S figure is the archetype, G should read 153, whereas it reads 188. Hughes is puzzled by the unexpected extra 35 years in G, noting that "this adjustment was not required for purposes of chronological harmonization" (1990: 15) and finds no motive for it. Hughes then suggests that proto-M had the same number as proto-G for Lamech's b , but reduced it by 6 years to make it

a multiple of 7. He admits that this too is a “somewhat complex adjustment” (1990: 15). Hughes later indicates that his chief motive for preferring S rather than G (-100) in his reconstruction of Lamech’s b is that the S reading yields a round number for the archetype of Abraham’s birthdate (if coupled with a 2-year adjustment to Methuselah’s chronology; see later). According to Hughes’s reconstruction of the original Priestly chronology, Abraham is born in A.M. 1599. By appeal to the custom of postdating, Hughes concludes that “Abraham’s first year was 1600 from creation” (1990: 21). For this reason, he argues against Klein’s reconstruction of Lamech’s $b = 88$ (from G -100), because in that case “1600 A.M. loses its significance, and Abraham is born insignificantly in either 1632 or 1634 A.M.” (1990: 21). Because it is not clear why 1600 A.M. should be an appropriate date for Abraham’s birth, and Hughes relies on questionable maneuvering to get to this date, his argument carries little weight. Text-critically, his argument is additionally flawed by having no plausible explanation for the readings in M and G.

In contrast to the solutions of Klein and Hughes, Etz tentatively prefers M for the reconstruction of Lamech’s b , though (like Klein) he suggests that it has been revised upward by 100, as in the case of Jared. He posits an archetype of $b = 82$ (M -100) because it “fits the pattern of nearly all the other numbers, in all forms of the text. 74 of the 81 numbers are values divisible by 5, or divisible by 5 with 2 added” (1993: 175). This argument, too, has little text-critical significance; like Hughes’s proposal, it fails to account for two of the three readings.

The archetype of Lamech’s b is ambiguous and contested, and a clear determination may not be possible. In view of the alternative arguments, one should prefer the explanation that most easily accounts for all the data. Because Klein’s proposal meets this standard and Hughes’s and Etz’s do not, one should tentatively prefer the reconstruction that Lamech’s $b = 88$, derived from the G reading. The readings of S and M are plausibly the result of ordinary scribal errors. In this case, it is reasonable to prefer G as a basis for establishing the archetype of Lamech’s b , though in the absence of a clear relationship with the readings in M or S, there remains a considerable degree of uncertainty.

Aside from the residue of uncertainty in the numbers for Lamech, the archetypal numbers for the chronology of Genesis 5 are easily ascertainable by this analysis, predicated on the desire of ancient scribes to have the antediluvian ancestors of Noah die at or before the year of the flood. In proto-G, the solution adopted was to revise upward by 100 years each year of begetting, thereby delaying by 900 years (100×9) the date of the onset of the flood. In proto-M

and proto-S, the textual revisions were confined to the ages of the three problematic patriarchs, Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech. Proto-M revised upward the year of begetting for each of the three, and proto-S revised downward the year of death for each of the three. By these three different strategies of revision, the problem was solved, with the notorious exception of Methuselah in G. By identifying the problem and the strategies adopted to solve it, it is possible to reconstruct with some confidence the archetypal chronology of the text ancestral to M, S, and G.

Minor Versions and Ancillary Sources

The testimony of the minor versions (Tgs, Syr, Vg) adds little to the picture, as they consistently agree with M. The testimony of the ancillary sources (Jub, Ant, LAB) is more interesting, as these texts show some mixing among the chronologies of the major versions. The affinities of the ancillary sources are most easily shown by comparing the values for b and the year of the flood (the year of the flood = the sum of the b 's), charted in table 4-2.

The chronology of *Jubilees* (Jub) has close affinities with S, as one can see particularly by the near agreements in the numbers for Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech and by the same year for the flood. Jub generally indicates the ages of begetting by listing the year according to its system of jubilees, but for Methuselah and Lamech it lists only the date of marriage, so the ages at begetting for these two are only approximate. The agreement of Jub with S is complicated by the fact that in the postdiluvian chronology it agrees with G in the inclusion of Kenan II (see §4.3). Hence, the biblical chronology used in Jub has close affinities with S, but in a significant expansion in the postdiluvian sequence it agrees with G.

Josephus's *Jewish Antiquities* (Ant) 1.83–88 agrees in its dates of begetting for the most part with G, with the notable exception of the date for Methuselah, which agrees with M. Fraenkel argues that this deviation from G is explicable by the widely held view that Josephus's biblical *Vorlage* was a G text that had been partially revised toward M (1984: 181–85, 198–99). The revision of 167 (G) to 187 (M) is widespread in G manuscripts and is plausibly a prehexaplaric revision. The revision of Methuselah's b to 187 in these G mss enables Methuselah to die before the year of the flood, thereby solving the notorious problem in G. The hypothesis that Josephus used a revised G text in this chronology may find some support by other instances in Genesis where Ant agrees with Aquila or other revisions of G (e.g., at Gen 1:1 Ant $\epsilon\kappa\tau\iota\sigma\epsilon\nu$ = Aquila, against G $\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$; see Brock 1992a: 328, 335 n. 13).

Table 4-2. The Chronology of Gen 5:3–32: Ancillary Sources

	Jub 4:7–28	Ant 1.83–88	LAB 1:2–22
Adam	130	230	—
Seth	98	205	105
Enosh	97	190	180
Kenan	70	170	170
Mehalel	66	165	165
Jared	61	162	162
Enoch	65	165	165
Methuselah	ca. 67	187	187
Lamech	ca. 53	188	182

	Jub 5:22–23	Ant 8.61	LAB 3:6
Flood, A.M.	1307/8	1662	1652

	S	G	M
Adam	130	230	130
Seth	105	205	105
Enosh	90	190	90
Kenan	70	170	70
Mehalel	65	165	65
Jared	62	162	162
Enoch	65	165	65
Methuselah	67	167	187
Lamech	53	188	182
Flood, A.M.	1307	2242	1656

In Ant 8.61, a chronological notice attached to the construction of the Solomonic Temple, Josephus is clearly using an M-type chronology. The date of the flood according to Ant 8.61 is A.M. 1662 and, with some textual reconstruction, the related chronology at Ant 10.147 might read a date of A.M. 1656 (Fraenkel 1984: 177–80). These readings indicate either the use of a revised G text or the use of M.

The chronology of Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities* (LAB) agrees for the most part with G but also has a number of M readings. LAB agrees with M in the dates of *b* for Seth, Methuselah, and Lamech but agrees with G for all the others (with a 10-year difference for Enosh, likely a scribal error). Because LAB was probably written in Hebrew before its translation into Greek (and thence Latin; see Harrington 1971), these numbers may reflect a Hebrew text with some affinities to the G *Vorlage* in this section (so Harrington 1971: 8, 16), or they may be due to the Greek translator of LAB, who may have consulted a revised G text (so Brock 1992a: 318, 337 n. 29). The mixed readings may be

better explained by the latter hypothesis, which would provide a scenario similar to that in Ant 1, namely, the common use of revised G texts in the early centuries C.E.

The testimony of the ancillary sources allows us to detect the use of a Hebrew text of Genesis with affinities to proto-S in the mid-second-century B.C.E. (Jub) and possibly the use of revisions of G toward M in the first century C.E. and later (Ant and LAB).

4.3 GENESIS 11:10–32

The textual data and the proposed archetype are charted in table 4-3. The chronological variants in Genesis 11 occur primarily in the sequence from Arpachshad to Nahor, with one variant in the numbers for Terah.

The deviations between M and S and between M and G are regular during the span from Arpachshad to Nahor, with four exceptions that require further analysis. If we consider the relations to the numbers of M, the consistent pattern from Arpachshad to Nahor is as follows:

- S: $b + 100$ (50 for Nahor)
- $r - 100$ (50 for Nahor)
- G: $b + 100$ (50 for Nahor)

As we have seen in the revisions of Genesis 5, the effect of raising b is to delay a future event by the sum of the b 's. It is plausible, therefore, that proto-S and proto-G have delayed the birth of Abraham by 650 (S) or 650 + 130 (G with Kenan II) years in order to solve the problem of the overlap of generations noted previously (§4.1). According to M (and the proposed archetype), all of the post-diluvian patriarchs plus Noah are alive at Abraham's birth, and three (Shem, Shelah, and Eber) survive him. If, following Dillmann and others, we identify this as a problem implicit in the archetypal chronology of Genesis 11, this circumstance provides ample motive for the revision of this chronology in proto-S and proto-G. Conversely, there is no identifiable motive for scribes in the proto-M tradition to reduce the numbers for b in this series, which would create the problem of contemporaneous generations at the time of Abraham.

By this reasoning, we may conclude that the archetypal numbers are preserved as follows:

- $b = M$
- $r = M G$

Table 4-3. *The Chronology of Gen 11:10-32: Major Versions and Archetype*

		M	S	G	Archetype
Shem	<i>b</i>	100	100	100	100
	<i>r</i>	500	500	500	500
	<i>t</i>	—	600	—	—
	A.M.	(1556-2156)	(1207-1807)	(2142-2742)	(1242-1842)
adjustment		+ 2	+ 2	+ 2	+ 2
Arpachshad	<i>b</i>	35	135	135	35
	<i>r</i>	403	303	430	403
	<i>t</i>	—	438	—	—
	A.M.	(1658-2061)	(1309-1612)	(2244-2674)	(1344-1747)
Kenan II	<i>b</i>	—	—	130	—
	<i>r</i>	—	—	330	—
	A.M.			(2379-2839)	
Shelah	<i>b</i>	30	130	130	30
	<i>r</i>	403	303	330	403
	<i>t</i>	—	433	—	—
	A.M.	(1693-2126)	(1444-1877)	(2509-2969)	(1379-1812)
Eber	<i>b</i>	34	134	134	34
	<i>r</i>	430	270	370	370
	<i>t</i>	—	404	—	—
	A.M.	(1723-2187)	(1574-1978)	(2639-3143)	(1409-1813)
Peleg	<i>b</i>	30	130	130	30
	<i>r</i>	209	109	209	209
	<i>t</i>	—	239	—	—
	A.M.	(1757-1996)	(1708-1947)	(2773-3112)	(1443-1682)
Reu	<i>b</i>	32	132	132	32
	<i>r</i>	207	107	207	207
	<i>t</i>	—	239	—	—
	A.M.	(1787-2026)	(1838-2077)	(2903-3242)	(1473-1712)
Serug	<i>b</i>	30	130	130	30
	<i>r</i>	200	100	200	200
	<i>t</i>	—	230	—	—
	A.M.	(1819-2049)	(1970-2200)	(3035-3365)	(1505-1735)
Nahor	<i>b</i>	29	79	79	29
	<i>r</i>	119	69	129	119
	<i>t</i>	—	148	—	—
	A.M.	(1849-1997)	(2100-2248)	(3165-3373)	(1535-1683)
Terah	<i>b</i>	70	70	70	70
	<i>r</i>	—	—	—	—
	<i>t</i>	205	145	205	205
	A.M.	(1878-2083)	(2179-2324)	(3244-3449)	(1564-1769)
Abraham	A.M.	(1948-2123)	(2249-2424)	(3314-3489)	(1634-1809)

b = age at begetting

r = remainder

t = total lifespan

A.M. = year after creation (*anno mundi*)

In the four cases where M and G differ on the value of r (Arpachshad, Shelah, Eber, Nahor), there is a possibility that scribal error has affected one or both versions. Klein has argued plausibly that the following scribal errors affected proto-G (three instances) and proto-M (one instance).

1. The variants for Arpachshad's r (Gen 11:13) are 403 (M), 303 (S), and 430 (G). The S value follows the expected formula ($r - 100$) for an archetype of 403 (= M). The G reading reflects a minor textual change from שלש → שלשים.
2. The variants for Shelah's r (Gen 11:15) are 403 (M), 303 (S), and 330 (G). The M and S values again indicate an archetype of 403. The G reading apparently reflects the same minor textual change from שלש → שלשים (perhaps assimilated to 11:13 or vice versa) and a change from ארבע → שלש in the hundreds position (perhaps a reminiscence of the שלשים/שלש two words previously).
3. The variants for Eber's r (Gen 11:17) are 430 (M), 270 (S), and 370 (G). In this case the G and S values indicate an archetype of 370, and it is the M reading that is anomalous. Klein suggests that the M reading has been affected by the number of Eber's b in v 16. I would suggest that the number of Shelah's r in v 15 adds to the possibility of confusion:

11:15 עבר שלש שנים וארבע מאות שנה

11:16 עבר ארבע ושלשים שנה

11:17 עבר . . . שלשים שנה וארבע מאות שנה

The occurrence of *וארבע מאות שנה* and *שלשים שנה* (plus another *שלש* and *ארבע*) in vv 15–16, all prefaced by the name *עבר*, make it plausible that the reading in v 17 has been assimilated to these phrases, yielding the secondary reading of 430 in M.

4. The variants for Nahor's r (Gen 11:25) are 119 (M), 69 (S), and 129 (G). For Nahor S and G follow the formula of $b + 50$, and S reduces r by this amount. The expected S formula of $r - 50$ yields an archetype of 119. The G reading reflects a minor textual change from עשרים → עשרה.

Allowing for the plausibility of these four scribal errors, the pattern noted previously accounts for all the textual variants in the chronology, with the exception of one variant for Terah and the curious inclusion of Kenan in G.

Terah's Death

The variants for Terah's t (Gen 11:32) are 205 (M), 145 (S), and 205 (G). As many commentators have noted, the lifespan of Terah in M creates a problem in the Genesis narrative (see recently Emerton 1994). Gen 11:32 relates that "Terah died in Haran." Immediately thereafter, Yahweh calls Abraham to the

promised land (12:1–4). The narrative sequence implies that Terah died before Abraham's call and journey. But Gen 12:4 states that Abraham was 75 when he left Haran, in which case Terah was still alive according to the numbers in M and G, being only 145 at the time (Terah's $b + 75 = 145$). The apparent contradiction between the narrative sequence and the lifespan of Terah was felt in rabbinic and patristic traditions (e.g., *Gen. Rab.* 39.7; Jerome, *Questions*, at 12:4 [Hayward 1995: 43–44, 148–49]; Augustine, *City of God* 16.15; note that some medieval M mss had an inverted *nun* [antisigma] at 11:32 [so Rashi and the Masora parva of V], a scribal mark indicating a verse out of sequence [Tov 1992a: 54 n. 34]). The proto-S tradition solved the problem textually by revising Terah's t to 145. By this revision, Terah dies in the year of Abraham's departure, in concord with the sense of the narrative. (It is possible, though not necessary, that the S reading is reflected in Acts 7:4 and Philo, *Mig.* 177; see Emerton 1994: 171.) The alternative possibility, that proto-M and proto-G raised an archetype of 145 by 60 years, has no textual or exegetical motive and would have created an obvious narrative problem. The archetype is therefore most plausibly 205 (= M G).

The problem implicit in the year of Terah's death provides additional evidence for the proposal that the chronological problems of Genesis 5 and 11 are an accidental result of the combination of the ספר תולדות אדם with the preexisting Genesis narrative. In this instance, the implications of Terah's numbers conflict with a chronological notice in P (Gen 12:4b).

Kenan II

The inclusion of a second Kenan (Καιναν) in the G chronology at Gen 11:12–13 is a curious plus. As most commentators have observed, this is almost certainly secondary for several reasons: Kenan has already appeared in Gen 5:9–14 (son of Enosh); his numbers in Genesis 11 (G) duplicate those of his son, Shelah; and he is absent at this point in the genealogy of 1 Chron 1:18, 24 in both M and G (Dillmann 1897: 397; Gunkel 1910: 155; Klein 1974a: 258; Hughes 1990: 9). A plausible motive for the insertion of Kenan in this list (and in the corresponding point between Arpachshad and Shelah in 10:22–24) is the desire to harmonize the literary structure with that of Genesis 5, where the genealogy lists ten generations, ending with Noah (so most commentators). The addition of Kenan II in Genesis 11 yields a parallel list of ten generations, ending with Abraham. In this explanation, the inclusion of Kenan II in proto-G is another reflex of its harmonistic tendency regarding literary structure, as in Genesis 1 (see §2.2). The evidence of Jub (see later) corroborates the view that the insertion of Kenan II into this genealogical sequence occurred in the Hebrew textual tradition.

Other Harmonizations

A harmonistic tendency in G and S is also discernible in the filling out of the chronological formulae in Genesis 11 on the basis of the parallel formulae in Genesis 5. At the end of each entry, G consistently adds וימת, “and he died,” as is the case in Genesis 5. S harmonizes the text more completely by including the formula and number for the total lifespan along with a statement of death (וייהי . . . שנה וימת . . . כל ימי), again parallel to Genesis 5.

It is possible that the formulaic structure of the original ספר תולדת אדם was consistent from Adam through Lamech or Abraham; if so, then the harmonizations of proto-G and proto-S in this regard may partially reconstruct the original document. There is no obvious reason, however, for the redactor to have truncated the original genealogical document. It is also possible that the genealogy from Shem to Abraham was a secondary supplement to the ספר תולדת אדם (so Carr 1996: 72 n. 47).

The Two-Year Gap

Another problem in the chronology of Genesis 11 concerns the statement, attested in all versions, that Shem fathered Arpachshad at the age of 100 “two years after the flood” (Gen 11:10). Because Noah fathered Shem at the age of 500 (Gen 5:32) and was 600 in the year of the flood (Gen 7:6), we expect Shem to have been 100 in the year of the flood, not two years later. Most commentators conclude from this contradiction that the phrase “two years after the flood” is a gloss, though its motive is obscure (Dillmann 1897: 401; Skinner 1930: 232; Hughes 1990: 18; cf. Budde 1883: 109).

Hughes speculates that the two-year gloss is “a chronological correction made after 2 years had fallen out of [the] antediluvian chronology through some process of textual corruption, when it was noticed that the remaining figures no longer added up to the correct totals required by Priestly tradition” (1990: 18, 22). He speculates further that the lost two years had originally belonged to Methuselah’s *b*, and he therefore supplies these extra two years in his reconstruction of the archetype for Methuselah’s *b*, yielding 69 rather than the expected 67 (see previously). Other unlikely solutions for the two-year gap have also been proposed (see the survey in Wenham 1987: 250).

In view of the other chronological problems attributable to the combination of the narrative and the ספר תולדת אדם, I suggest that this problem has a similar etiology. The flood story specifies that Noah, his wife, his sons, and his sons’ wives enter the ark (Gen 7:7, 13) and that only they exit the ark (Gen 8:18; all P texts). As the glossator must have noticed, these statements (particularly 8:18)

preclude the birth of a child during the year of the flood. Men and women exit the ark, but no infants. Yet, according to the chronology in Gen 5:32 and 11:10, this is Shem's 100th year, when Arpachshad is born. This implicit problem provides ample motive for a scribe to add an explicating gloss specifying that Arpachshad was born two years after the flood, not in the year of the flood. To make the text consistent, the glossator should have revised Shem's *b* two years upward (or revised upward Noah's *b* or age at the flood), but this was not done, leaving the problem of the two-year gap. (After formulating this solution I found that it had already been proposed by Budde [1883: 109] but not taken up since.)

This implicit clash between the flood narrative and Shem's *b* is sufficient motive for the gloss in Gen 11:10. This reading, while late in the compositional history of Genesis, is attested in all versions and hence is an archetypal reading. It is possible that this early gloss stems from the redactor who combined the ספר אדם תולדת אדם with its narrative context. Whoever incorporated this explicating gloss, its presence is explicable by the same literary history that caused the other chronological problems in Genesis 5 and 11.

Minor Versions and Ancillary Sources

The testimony of the minor versions and ancillary sources is also of interest for the history of the chronology in Genesis 11. The minor versions consistently agree with M, with the sole exception of Vg at 11:13 (Arpachshad's *r*) where Vg reads 303 (= S) rather than the expected 403 (= M). This reading may reflect a simple haplography in the underlying Roman numerals, reading CCCIII rather than CCCCIII.

The affinities of the ancillary sources are less clear than in Genesis 5. The numbers for Jub, Ant, and LAB are charted in table 4-4. (Jub and Ant provide data for *b* only; LAB has six *b*'s and *r*'s.)

For Jub, the only chronological agreements with the major versions are the two-year adjustment and Terah's *b*, for which all texts agree. The numbers for Arpachshad through Nahor are unique, varying in the range between the values in M and S/G. No rationale has yet been proposed for these values in Jub. Jub agrees with G in the inclusion of Kenan II between Arpachshad and Shelah (but not on the date for Kenan's *b*). This striking agreement would seem to indicate that this plus existed in Hebrew manuscripts of the second century B.C.E., the time of the composition of Jub. Some have argued the insertion of Kenan II is secondary in Jub, added by its Greek translator under the influence of G, but the divergence in the chronologies of Jub and G make this a difficult supposition (see further VanderKam 1988: 75–80; 1995: 96). The evidence of Jub for the

Table 4-4. The Chronology of Gen 11:10-32: Ancillary Sources

	Jub 8-11	Ant 1.148-51	LAB 4:12-15
adjustment	+2	+12	—
Arpachshad	65	135	—
Kenan	57	—	—
Shelah	71	130	—
Eber	64	134	—
Peleg	32	130	—
Reu	108	130	$r = 119$
Serug	57	132	29; $r = 67$
Nahor	42	120	34; $r = 200$
Terah	70	70	70

chronology of Genesis 11, consisting for the most part of unique numbers and a significant plus shared with G, is curiously inconsistent with the evidence in Genesis 5, where Jub shows clear affinities with S.

Ant 1.148-51 for the most part reproduces the numbers of G with the following exceptions: 12 for the two-year gap (probably a scribal error), 120 for Nahor's *b* (probably a scribal error influenced by Nahor's $r = 129$), a switch in the numbers for Reu and Serug (should be 132 and 130), and the absence of Kenan II (see Fraenkel 1984: 186-90). The most significant variation from G is the absence of Kenan II, which may reflect a G text revised toward M. Because few G manuscripts lack Kenan II and those that do have hexaplaric affinities, Fraenkel argues for the possibility that Josephus himself made this correction toward M (1984: 189). Because the chronology in Ant 1.83-88 shows other signs of having been based on a revised G text (see §4.2), it is possible that Josephus's Greek *Vorlage* lacked Kenan II in Gen 11:12-13.

The numbers of LAB are as puzzling as those in Jub. With the exception of Terah, whose *b* agrees in all the texts, the numbers given are unique. Harrington (1971: 8) notes the likelihood of confusion in the manuscripts of LAB in which the numbers are represented by Roman numerals. This observation may account for the obscurity of the few numbers provided in this section of LAB.

The testimony of the ancillary sources is therefore mixed. Only Ant preserves a textual profile consistent with its version of the chronology in Genesis 5. The situations of Jub and LAB suggest the possibility of varying degrees of editorial revision, scribal error, or both. If editorial revisions have been made, no consistent pattern is discernible. It is conceivable that some of the unique numbers derive from unknown biblical texts, though this possibility seems unlikely in view of their textual affinities in Genesis 5.

4.4 RECENSIONS OF GENESIS

I have argued that the chronological problems of Genesis 5 and 11 are easily accounted for by the theory that a redactor incorporated a document, the ספר תולדת אדם, “Book of the Generations of Adam,” into the preexisting text of Genesis without harmonizing the chronological data of the two documents. From this perspective, we can discern clearly the chronological clashes that motivated the various scribal revisions. As first systematically worked out by Klein, the initial problems were (1) a contradiction between the lifespans of three antediluvians (Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech) and the onset of the flood and (2) the coexistence of all of the postdiluvian generations (including Noah and Shem) during the lifetime of Abraham. The first problem was solved in the textual traditions ancestral to M, S, and G by three different strategies of revision for the chronology of Gen 5:3–32. The second problem was solved in the textual traditions ancestral to S and G by two overlapping strategies of revision for Gen 11:10–32; M shows no signs of revision in this chapter.

I have also argued that two other chronological problems derive from this initial textual situation: (3) an apparent contradiction between Lamech’s lifespan and the implicit sense of the narrative sequence of 11:31–12:4 and (4) a contradiction between Shem’s age at the birth of Arpachshad and the date of the flood. The third problem was solved in proto-S by reducing Lamech’s lifespan so that he dies in the year of Abraham’s journey (the problem is unresolved in M and G). The fourth problem was solved by a redactor or scribe by an explicating plus specifying that Arpachshad was born two years after the flood. This plus is in all versions and therefore belongs to the archetype of Genesis, prior to the differentiation of the textual traditions of Genesis.

The identification of these chronological problems and their ancient solutions has several implications for our understanding of the Genesis text. First, a coherent reconstruction of the textual history of Genesis 5 and 11 allows us to recover the archetype of the text with a high degree of plausibility. Second, the textual history allows us to gain some perspective on the literary and redactional history of Genesis 5–11, particularly regarding the redaction of the ספר תולדת אדם into its literary context. Third, this analysis provides some perspective on the relationships among M, S, and G and their ancestral textual traditions. It is to this matter of textual relationships that we now turn.

One of the most complex and contested issues in biblical textual criticism in the post-Qumran era has been the construction of an adequate theoretical model for the textual relationships among the major versions. While I defer a con-

sideration of methodological problems (see §6.1), one particular issue is relevant to the chronological revisions in Genesis 5 and 11. A much-debated question is whether M, S, and G represent three different text-types in the Pentateuch (so Cross 1964, and most recently 1985 and 1992) or whether they are “just three texts of the O.T. similar to other texts which were current in the Second Temple period,” with only the proto-S texts identifiable as a distinctive group (Tov 1982 [quote from p. 24], and most recently 1992a: 155–63 and 1995).

In the light of the textual history just reconstructed for the chronologies of Genesis 5 and 11, one important implication is that M, S, and G are each representative of a different recension of Genesis. While this insight is not new (see Roberts 1951: 191, cited in Tov 1982: 17 n. 27; Klein 1974a: 263), its significance has not been fully assimilated in recent discussions of the Pentateuchal text.

If a recension is defined as “a textual tradition which contains some sort of editing of earlier texts” (Tov 1992a: 155) or “an edition of an ancient text involving a more or less systematic revision of an earlier text form” (Cross 1985: 139), then it is clear that M, S, and G in Genesis 5 and 11 belong to three different recensions of Genesis. Tov is correct in stressing that M, S, and G are simply three texts and are not the “central texts” around which all other texts revolve. But the evidence of Genesis 5 and 11 indicates that the differences among these three texts are not chance differences among any three texts but are derived from three different revisions of Genesis. The particular texts in which these revisions were first incorporated are the hyparchetypes for M, S, and G.

Notably, these revised texts were produced some time after the inception of the textual transmission of Genesis, that is, after the “original text” had been produced by the writers and editors of Genesis, and after the time of the textual archetype ancestral to all extant texts of Genesis (on this periodization of textual history, see Tov 1992a: 171–77). These were not three literary editions that were incorporated successively into one or more scribal traditions (as in most other cases of multiple editions in the Bible) but revisions made in three different scribal traditions during the period of the textual transmission of Genesis. In the systematic revisions of the chronologies of Genesis 5 and 11, the scribes in the different traditions acted as “a minor partner in the creative literary process” (Talmon 1975: 381), but the result was not three successive editions of a book, as the word *edition* is generally understood, but three recensions of the book, created synchronically, as it were, in three different streams of textual transmission.

We are justified, therefore, in defining the relationships among M, S, and G

in Genesis as that of three texts belonging to three different recensions of Genesis. None of these three texts is itself the hyparchetype of the recension; rather, each is a later text, as is shown by the instances of probable scribal error in each version of Genesis 5 and 11 (as noted previously).

It is possible, as Klein proposes, that the overlap in the strategies of revision in S and G of Genesis 11 indicates a common ancestor, a hyparchetype ancestral to two of the recensions. The common formula for raising the postdiluvian b 's ($b + 100$ for Arpachshad to Serug; $b + 50$ for Nahor) may have been "added to a Hebrew archetype before the differentiation into the local texts" (1974a: 257–58). It is also possible that this strategy of revision could have occurred independently because raising the b 's by 100 is a revision found in all three recensions at various points (proto-M uses this strategy for Jared and possibly Lamech). But the shared deviation in the formula in the case of Nahor is so specific that a common textual ancestor is very plausible. This coincidence of revision in S and G may be a small basis on which to posit a common ancestor, but it is worth considering, particularly if additional evidence can be found to support this possible history (see §5.2 and §6.2).

The combined testimony of the major versions, the minor versions, and the ancillary sources on Genesis 5 and 11 indicates that there is evidence for three recensions—no more, no less. This is perhaps surprising. If M, S, and G are the chance survivors of a plethora of ancient texts, it would seem odd that each represents a different recension of Genesis. Despite a theoretical possibility of a fourth or fifth recension of Genesis, there is no evidence in the versions or ancillary sources of Genesis 5 and 11 for them. The only possible testimony might be Jub or LAB in the postdiluvian chronology, but there may be other explanations for these numbers (including scribal error), and they are not derivable from any systematic revision. If there were only three recensions of Genesis and the surviving major versions represent each of the three, then this circumstance deserves some attention. This may be a purely random result of historical chance, or it might involve some deliberate choices by the individuals or groups who transmitted or adopted the various texts. Whatever the reason, it is notable that M, S, and G are distinctly separable on the matter of the chronologies into three different recensions, with no clear evidence from any other source of a trace of another recension.

Harmonizing Tendencies in S and G

5.1 HARMONIZING THE TORAH

The harmonization of inconsistencies in the Bible has a long history in biblical exegesis and pedagogy. Philipp Melanchthon, in his inaugural lecture of 1518, expressed forcefully the modern distaste for such reader's aids: "Now away with so many frigid petty glosses, these harmonizings and 'disharmonies' and other hindrances to intelligence" (apud Hall 1963: 40). Yet, it is arguable that the practice of harmonization has been necessary in maintaining the vitality of the Bible in Judaism and Christianity for more than two millennia. Without the possibility of making sense of the innumerable inconsistencies or contradictions in the Bible, a coherent sense of the Bible's religious authority is perhaps impossible. Hence, we find that the study of the Bible itself is hedged about with restrictions in many periods of Jewish and Christian history, as illustrated by the Talmudic dictum: "Keep your sons from Scripture" (*B. Berakot* 28b; see Talmage 1987).

Harmonizations of the Bible are also found in the biblical books themselves, indicating that the practice of harmonization has its roots in the biblical period. A clear example is 2 Chron 35:13, where the Chronicler harmonized parallel laws concerning the Passover sacrifice (see recently Fishbane 1985: 135–36). According to Exod 12:8–9 the Passover sacrifice is to be roasted (צלי אש), not stewed (מבשל במים). According to Deut 16:7 it is to be stewed (ובשלת), in conformity with the usual method for cooking sacrificial meat (see Weinfeld 1972: 217). The Chronicler harmonized these two texts by writing, ויבשלו הפסח באש, כמשפט, "they stewed the Passover sacrifice in fire, according to the law" (2 Chron 35:13). In this new formulation, the contradiction between the texts of Exodus and Deuteronomy is overcome, and the harmonization claims the status of law. Fishbane observes that "on the face of it, the logic of this ritual statement is absurd, since one does not boil meat *in* fire; and the attribution that the

ritual was done ‘according to the law’ is presumptuous, since there is no ‘law’ to which the preparation refers” (1985: 135). Yet, to the Chronicler, the oddity of the revision was apparently less important than the principle of harmonizing discrepant texts. This point is emphasized by Fishbane: “the Scriptural harmonization in 2 Chr 35:13 and its later—rabbinically inspired—one are clear corollaries of one and the same principle: that the Pentateuchal Torah of Moses is integral and indivisible” (1985: 136). By means of harmonization, the Torah’s diversity is transmuted into unity.

These two parallel but contradictory Torah texts, which the Chronicler harmonized in his literary composition, were also harmonized in the proto-G textual tradition. In Deut 16:7 of G, there is a notable plus in the culinary instructions for the Passover sacrifice, *και εψησεις και σπησεις* (= *ובשלת וצלית*), “You shall stew and roast.” A scribe in the proto-G tradition accomplished in Deuteronomy what the Chronicler achieved in Chronicles: the accommodation of Exod 12:8–9 and Deut 16:7. In Deuteronomy, as in Genesis (see §2.2), the harmonizations in G are attributable to its Hebrew *Vorlage*, not to the interventions of the Greek translator (see Tov 1992b: 17–20). The testimony of the G Pentateuch, therefore, indicates that Hebrew texts of the Pentateuch with harmonizations of parallel verses were in circulation by the mid-third century B.C.E. Pentateuchal manuscripts from the second and first centuries B.C.E. with numerous harmonizations are also known from Qumran (e.g., 4QpaleoExod^m, 4QNum^b; see Sanderson 1986; Jastram 1992; Tov 1992a: 85–100).

In an important article on harmonizations in biblical texts, Tov has clarified important aspects of this textual phenomenon. His definition is useful and precise: “The procedure of harmonization can be expressed schematically as the change, addition or omission of a detail in some MSS of text A according to a parallel text B” (1985: 10). To this definition as involving change, addition, or omission, he adds the following qualifications: “However, as expected, in biblical MSS harmonizing omissions occur very rarely, if at all. In biblical MSS, harmonizing additions are more frequent than harmonistic changes. This situation is easily understandable, as the degree of intervention in the text is more limited for additions than for changes” (1985: 11).

These remarks are borne out in the identifiable harmonizations in Genesis 1–11. Rarely does one find a harmonizing minus. Harmonizing changes are fairly common. But by far the largest category is harmonizing pluses. As Tov acutely observes, the addition of a word or phrase to make the text internally consistent was more acceptable in scribal circles than the deletion or alteration of existing text. Harmonization tends to be additive; it equalizes texts by filling in the gaps

in parallel texts. The scope of scribal intervention was limited by this rule of scribal hermeneutics: one did not subtract from Scripture; one perfected it by means of strategic supplementation.

Tov's classification of the major types of textual harmonization (1985: 6–10) is helpful in illustrating the variety of harmonizations in the versions of Genesis 1–11.

1. Harmonization of syntactical incongruities. A good example is Gen 1:24, where the archaic form *והייתו ארץ* (M) is revised to *והית הארץ* (S) in harmony with the parallel phrase *הית הארץ* in v 25.
2. Harmonization of minor contextual differences. This is the largest category of harmonizations in Genesis 1–11. A typical example is Gen 1:14, where *השמים* (4QGen^{bk} M S G) is filled out with *הארץ על הארץ* (S G) in harmony with the parallel phrase *הארץ על הארץ* in vv 15 and 17.
3. Harmonization of command and fulfillment. This type is frequent in the creation and flood stories, where commands and fulfillments often differ in wording. For example, in Gen 1:11–12 of G, the command (v 11) and the fulfillment (v 12) are perfectly harmonized, while M and S preserve most of the variation of the original.
4. Harmonization of references to earlier statements. This type, where a passage refers to an earlier statement that is lacking in the text, does not occur in Genesis 1–11. For examples elsewhere in Genesis (31:11–13; 44:22; S supplies the earlier statements), see Tov 1985: 8.
5. Harmonization of differences in major details. This is a rare category, for as Tov notes, “there are too many major differences between the laws and stories in the Pentateuch, so that any attempt to harmonize between them would result in a major rewriting of the Bible” (1985: 9). This is precisely what occurs in the genre of the “rewritten Bible” (e.g., Jub, Ant, LAB). One harmonization of major differences occurs in S of Gen 10:19, where the borders of Canaan, “from Sidon toward Gerar, as far as Gaza, and toward Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, and Zeboiim, as far as Lasha” (M G) are harmonized with the descriptions in Gen 15:18 and Deut 11:24 (= Deut 34:2), yielding a major harmonization: “from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates, to the Western Sea” (S).
6. Harmonization of schematic descriptions. This type is found in the G version of Genesis 1 and in S and G of the postdiluvian genealogy. The transposition and interpolation of the phrases *ויהי כן* and *וירא אלהים כי* yield a highly symmetrical literary structure in the creation story of G

(see §2.2 at Gen 1:6, 8, 20). In the postdiluvian genealogy of Genesis 11, S and G fill out the text in varying ways to harmonize with the structure of the antediluvian genealogy of Genesis 5 (see §4.3)

The exegetical background of these various types of textual harmonization lies in the desire to perfect God's word by correcting or smoothing over discrepancies in Scripture. Frankel refers to this tendency as "the effort to complete the text" ("das Streben den Text zu vervollständigen"; 1841: 78). Tov observes that "the scribes who inserted the harmonizations acted within a scribal-literary tradition which facilitated and promoted the insertion of harmonizing details" (1985: 15). As indicated in the lists in the next sections, this type of textual intervention was far more common in the proto-S and proto-G traditions than in the proto-M tradition. In Genesis 1–11, G has the greatest number of individual harmonizations, roughly 90. This accords with Frankel's observation that G of Genesis has 270–280 harmonizations, far more than any other Pentateuchal book (1841: 79). In Genesis 1–11, S has roughly 40 harmonizations, less than half the number of G. But the most extensive single harmonizing pluses are found in S (at 10:19 and 11:11–25). In contrast, M has a mere 6 harmonizations, all in minor details.

The differences in the degree of harmonization among these three textual traditions are striking and no doubt reflect the textual hermeneutics of the respective scribal groups. It is probably no coincidence that the Pentateuchal text of M has a more conservative (that is, earlier) orthography than S and its congeners; in these matters, the proto-M scribes, by the Hellenistic period, tolerated less intervention in the text than their counterparts in the other textual traditions.

Tov has suggested that the background for the harmonization of biblical texts lies in the influence of "rewritten Bible" texts such as 4QReworked Pentateuch (4Q158 + 4Q364–67). He posits that "harmonizing additions like those in the Sam. Pent. are not likely to have originated in a manuscript tradition. Rather, they originated in a *literary* environment of rewritten texts such as 4Q158" (1985: 18). Although the influence of such texts on scribal harmonizations in biblical manuscripts is certainly possible, I would suggest that Tov has drawn his lines of influence too sharply. Both types of textual production—harmonized biblical mss and "rewritten" literary texts—are marked by the desire to perfect the Torah by the process of harmonizing discrepancies. But it is difficult to say that texts like 4Q158 came first. As we have seen, the Chronicler in the Persian period is already harmonizing discrepant Pentateuchal texts. The testimony of G indicates that harmonized Pentateuchal manuscripts were in circulation by the

mid-third century B.C.E. The chronology of known texts may indicate that the direction of influence is more likely the reverse of Tov's suggestion, namely, from scribal harmonizations in biblical manuscripts to full-blown literary rewritings and expansions in the "rewritten Bible" genre of the second century B.C.E. and later (see Alexander 1988b; Tov 1994b). Whatever their mutual influences may have been, and whatever their differences in degrees of textual intervention (see the careful formulation of Sanderson 1986: 270–76), both types of textual activity are foreshadowed by the interpretive work of the Chronicler, Ezra, and others (see Fishbane 1985) who were the first to "meditate on His Torah day and night" (Ps 1:2).

5.2 HARMONIZATIONS SHARED BY S AND G (\neq M)

Gen 1:14 4QGen^{bk} M S G (του ουρανου)] + להאיר על הארץ S G (εις
 φαουσιν της γης)

A harmonizing plus with להאיר על הארץ vv 15, 17; see §2.2.

Gen 2:4 M] ארץ ושמים S Tg^N Syr Vg; את השמים ואת הארץ G (τον
 ουρανον και την γην)

A harmonization with השמים והארץ v 4; see §2.2.

Gen 2:23 M] מאישה S G (εκ του ανδρος αυτης) Tg^O Jub 3:6

Perhaps an explicating plus or a harmonization with לאישה 3:6.

Gen 2:24 M G (εσονται)] + שניהם G (οι δυο) Tg^P Syr Vg sim S (היהו
 משניהם)

A harmonizing plus with ויהיו שניהם v 25.

Gen 7:2 1–2° M] זכר ונקבה 1–2° S G (αρσεν και θηλυ) Tg^{OP} Syr
 Vg

Harmonized with זכר ונקבה vv 3, 9; 6:19; 6:20 (G).

Gen 7:2 M S G (δυσ)] + שנים S G (δυσ) Syr Vg

A harmonizing plus with שנים שנים 7:9, 15; cf. 6:19–20 (G).

Gen 7:3 M S G (του ουρανου)] + הטהור S G (των καθαρων) Syr^{mss}
 LAB 3:4

A harmonizing plus with הטהורה הטהורה v 2, and העוף הטהור 8:20.

Gen 8:3 M] מקץ S G (μετα)

A harmonization with מקץ v 6, or a simple haplography with graphic confusion (ה/ח).

Gen 8:21 עור לקלל M | עור לקלל S G (επι του καταρρασασθαι) Syr Vg
A harmonization with the sequence of עור להכות v 21.

Gen 9:2 נתנו M | נתתיו S; נתתי G (δεδωκα) Tg^N
A harmonization with נתתי v 3.

Gen 10:32 נפרדו M S G (δισπαρησαν)] + איי S G (νησοι)
A harmonizing plus with נפרדו איי הגוים v 5.

Gen 11:8 העיר M | ואת העיר ואת המגדל S G (την πολιν και τον πυργον) Jub
10:24
A harmonization with את העיר ואת המגדל v 5.

Gen 11:11-25 fin] + וימת S G (και απεθανεν)
A multiple harmonizing plus with וימת Gen 5:8, 11, 14, 17, 20, 27, 31, sim
5:5, 23, sim 11:32. This formulaic plus recurs in 11:13 (2× in G), 15, 17,
19, 21, 23, 25; see §4.3.

5.3 HARMONIZATIONS SHARED BY S AND M (≠ G)

Gen 1:11 פרי 2° 4QGen^b M S G (καρπον)] + למינו 4QGen^b M S
Perhaps a harmonizing plus with למינהו 2° v 12; see §2.2.

Gen 4:26 ולשת M S G (και τω Σηθ)] + גם הוא M S (om G)
A harmonizing plus, cf. גם הוא ילדה v 22 and ילד גם הוא 10:21; see §3.2.

Gen 7:3 על M S G (επι)] + פני M S (om G, sim Tg^J)
A harmonizing plus with על פני כל הארץ 8:9; see §3.2.

Gen 7:6 היה M S G (εγενετο; ην G^A)] + מים M S G (υδατος) (om G^A)
A harmonizing plus with על הארץ המבול מים 6:17; see §3.2.

Gen 7:22 נשמת M S G (πνευμα)] + רוח M S (om G Vg)
A harmonizing plus with רוח חיים v 15; 6:17; see §3.2.

Gen 8:17 אתך 2° M S G (μετα σεαυτου)] + ושרצו בארץ M S (om G)
A harmonizing plus with שרצו בארץ 9:7; see §3.2.

5.4 HARMONIZATIONS IN S ALONE (≠ M G)

Gen 1:24 וחית הארץ M | וחית הארץ S
A linguistic modernization and/or harmonization with חית הארץ v 25.

Gen 3:16 בעצבון M] בעצבון S

A harmonization with עצבונך v 16.

Gen 4:25 ותקרא M] ויקרא S 11QJub 1:2 (= Jub 4:7)

A harmonization with ויקרא את שמו v 26.

Gen 6:20 רמש M] אשר רמש על S; הרמש הרמש על G (*των ερπετων των ερποντων επι*)

S: a harmonizing plus with אשר רמש על הארמה 7:8; G: a harmonizing plus with הרמש הרמש על הארץ 8:17 (listed in §5.5).

Gen 7:16 זכר ונקבה M S G (*αρσεν και θηλυ*)] + זכר ונקבה S

A dittography or perhaps a harmonizing plus with שנים שנים v 15.

Gen 9:15 חיה M S G (*ζωσης*)] + אשר אתכם S Syr

A harmonizing plus with חיה אשר אתכם v 12.

Gen 10:19 מצירן באכא גררה עד עזה באכה סרמה ועמרה וארמה וצבים עד לשע M G
(*απο Σιδωνος . . . εως Λααα*)] מנהר מצרים עד הנהר הגדול נהר פרת
ועד הים האחרון S

A harmonization with מנהר מצרים עד הנהר הגדול נהר פרת Gen 15:18, and מנהר מצרים עד הים האחרון Deut 11:24 = Deut 34:2 (boundaries of promised land).

Gen 11:11–25 fin] + מאות שנה (#) (PN) ויהיו כל ימי S

A multiple harmonizing plus with מאות שנה (#) (PN) ויהיו כל ימי Gen 5:8, 11, 14, 17, 20, 27, 31; sim 5:5, 23; sim 11:32. This formulaic plus recurs in vv 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25; see §4.3.

Gen 11:14 ויהי שלח M] ויהי שלח S

A harmonization with the clause-initial word order of vv 15–26 (12 times).

Gen 11:31 ואת מלכה S] ואת מלכה S

A harmonizing plus with מלכה . . . שרי v 29.

Gen 11:31 כלתו M G (*την νυμφην αυτου*)] כלתו S

A harmonization of number; see previous entry.

Gen 11:31 ונחור M S G (*Αβραμ*)] + ונחור S

A harmonizing plus with ונחור ונחור v 29.

Gen 11:31 בניו M G (*του υιου αυτου*)] בניו S

A harmonization of number; see previous entry.

5.5 HARMONIZATIONS IN G ALONE (\neq M S)

Gen 1:6 fin] + ויהי כן G (και εγενετο ουτος)

Transposed from v 7; a harmonization with ויהי כן vv 9, 11, 15, 24, 30; cf. v 3; cf. 1:20 (G); see §2.2.

Gen 1:8 שמים 4QGen^{b#g#} M S G (ουρανον)] + וירא אלהים כי טוב G (και ειδεν ο θεος οτι καλον)

A harmonizing plus with וירא אלהים כי טוב vv 10, 12, 18, 21, 25, sim vv 4, 31; see §2.2.

Gen 1:11 זרע 4QGen^b M S G (σπερμα)] + למינהו G (κατα γενος και καθ' ομοιοτητα) Syr

A harmonizing plus with זרע למינהו v 12; note the double translation in both vv; see §2.2.

Gen 1:11 בו 4QGen^b M S G (εν αυτω)] + למינהו G (κατα γενος)

A harmonizing plus with בו למינהו v 12; see §2.2.

Gen 1:12 ועץ M S G (και ξυλον)] + פרי G (καρπιμον) Tg^P

A harmonizing plus with פרי ועץ v 11; see §2.2.

Gen 1:12 למינהו 2^o 4QGen^b M S G (κατα γενος)] + על הארץ G (επι της γης)

A harmonizing plus with על הארץ v 11; see §2.2.

Gen 1:20 fin] + ויהי כן G (και εγενετο ουτος)

A harmonizing plus; cf. 1:6 (G); see §2.2.

Gen 1:28 ויאמר להם אלהים M S] לאמר G (λεγων)

A harmonization with לאמר v 22; see §2.2.

Gen 1:28 ובכל הבהמה ובכל הארץ ובכל הרמש הרמש M S] ובכל היה הרמשת G

(και παντων των κτηνων και πασης της γης και παντων των ερπετων των ερποντων)

A harmonizing plus with ובכל הארץ ובכל הרמש v 26; see §2.2.

Gen 1:30 ולכל 3^o M S G (και παντι)] + רמש G (ερπετω)

A harmonizing plus with ובכל הרמש הרמש vv 26, 28 (G); see §2.2.

Gen 2:4 אלה M S] זה ספר G (Αυτη η βιβλος)

A harmonization with זה ספר תולדת 5:1; see §2.2.

Gen 2:15 האדם 4QGen^b M S G (τον ανθρωπον)] + אשר יצר G (ον επλασεν)

A harmonizing plus with אשר יצר האדם v 8.

- Gen 2:17 תאכל 4QGen^{b#} M S] G תאכלו (φαγεσθε)
A harmonization with 3:3 תאכלו ממנו.
- Gen 2:17 תמות M S] G תמותו (αποθανεισθε)
A harmonization of number; see previous entry.
- Gen 2:18 אעשה 4QGen^{bh} M S] G נעשה (ποιησωμεν) Vg Jub 3:4
A harmonization with 1:26 נעשה.
- Gen 3:2 מפרי M S G (απο καρπου)] + כל G^{mss} (παντος) Syr
A harmonizing plus; cf. 1. מכל עץ.
- Gen 3:10 שמעתי M S G (ηκουσα)] + G מתהלך (περιπατουντος)
A harmonizing plus with 8. בגן מתהלך.
- Gen 3:17 לא תאכל M S] G לבלתי אכל (τουτου μονου μη φαγειν)
A harmonization with 11. לבלתי אכל; note the emphatic translation in both instances.
- Gen 4:18 מתושאל 1-2° M S] G מתושלה 1-2° (Μαθουσαλα)
A harmonization with 5:21-27. מתושלה.
- Gen 4:25 את 1° M S] + G חוה (Ευα) Syr
A harmonizing plus with 1. את חוה אשתו.
- Gen 4:25 אשתו M S G (την γυναικα αυτου)] + G ותהר (και συλλαβουσα) Syr
A harmonizing plus with 1. אשתו ותהר ותלד.
- Gen 4:25 שת 1° M S G (Σηθ)] + G לאמר (λεγουσα) Vg sim Tg^{ON(mg)J}
A harmonizing plus with 5:29. לאמר.
- Gen 5:27 מתושלה M S G (Μαθουσαλα)] + G אשר חי (ας εζησεν)
A harmonizing plus with 5. אשר חי.
- Gen 5:32 נח M S G (Νωε)] + G שלשה בנים (τρεις υιους) LAB 1:22
A harmonizing plus with 10. נח שלשה בנים.
- Gen 6:15 אתה M S] G את התבה (την κιβωτον)
A harmonization with 1. תעשה את התבה.
- Gen 6:19 init] + G ומכל הבהמה ומכל הרמש (και απο παντων των κτηνων και απο παντων των ερπετων)
A harmonizing plus with 17. ומכל הבהמה ובכל הרמש (exit from ark).

- Gen 6:19 שנים M S G (δυσ)] + שנים G (δυσ) Syr
 A harmonizing plus with שנים שנים 7:9, 15; cf. 6:20 (G) and 7:2 (S G).
- Gen 6:20 מהעוף M S (מן העוף)] מכל העוף G (απο παντων των ορνεων των πετεινων)
 A harmonizing plus (with double translation) with העוף למינהו 7:14; cf. 1:21. כל עוף כנף למינהו.
- Gen 6:20 ומן M S] ומכל G (και απο παντων)
 A harmonizing plus with הבהמה v 19 (G).
- Gen 6:20 רמש M] רמש על S; הרמש הרמש על G (των ερπετων των ερποντων επι)
 S: a harmonizing plus with הרמש על האדמה 7:8 (listed at §5.4); G: a harmonizing plus with הרמש על הארץ 8:17.
- Gen 6:20 שנים 6QpaleoGen M S G (δυσ)] + שנים G (δυσ) Syr
 A harmonizing plus; cf. 6:19 (G) and 7:2 (S G)
- Gen 6:20 להחיות M S G (τρεφεισθαι)] + אתך זכר ונקבה G (μετα σου αρσεν και θηλυ)
 A harmonizing plus with זכר ונקבה אתך v 19.
- Gen 7:2 מכל M S] מן G (απο) Syr
 A harmonization with הבהמה v 2.
- Gen 7:3 ומעוף אשר לא טהור שנים שנים זכר ונקבה M S G (και θηλυ)] + זכר ונקבה G (και απο των πετεινων των μη καθαρων δυο δυο αρσεν και θηλυ)
 A harmonizing plus with זכר ונקבה ואתו v 2.
- Gen 7:8 init] + ומן העוף G (και απο των πετεινων)
 A harmonization with the sequence of 6:20.
- Gen 7:9 אתו M S] אתו G (αυτω)
 A harmonization with אתו אלהים 6:22; cf. 7:16.
- Gen 7:11 רבה M S 4QCommGen^a] om G
 Perhaps a harmonization with 8:2.
- Gen 7:13 אתם M S] אתו G (μετ' αυτου) Tg^{N(mg)}J Syr
 A harmonization with אתו אל התבה v 7.
- Gen 7:16 אתו M S] את נח G (τω Νωε) (after אלהים)
 A harmonizing or explicating plus; cf. את נח v 9.

- Gen 7:17 יום M S G (ημερας)] + וארבעים לילה G (και τεσσαρακοντα νυκτας)
A harmonizing plus with לילה וארבעים v 12.
- Gen 7:20 ויכסו M S G (και επεκαλυψεν)] + כל G (παντα)
A harmonizing plus with כל ויכסו v 19.
- Gen 7:20 ההרים M S G (τα ορη)] + הגבהים G (τα υψηλα) Syr^{mss} Jub 5:26
A harmonizing plus with ההרים הגבהים v 19.
- Gen 7:23 פני M S G (προσωπου)] + כל G (πασης)
A harmonizing plus with כל פני v 3.
- Gen 7:24 ויגברו M S 4QCommGen^a] ויגבהו G (και υψωθη)
A reminiscence or harmonization with גבהו v 20, and/or perhaps graphic confusion (ה/ו).
- Gen 8:1 הבהמה M S G (των κτηνων)] + וכל העוף וכל הרמש G (και παντων των πετεινων και παντων των ερπετων); ואת כל העוף Syr
A harmonizing plus with וכל העוף וכל הרמש v 19 (exit from ark); cf. 6:19 (G).
- Gen 8:7 הערב M S G (τον κορακα)] + לראות הקלו המים G (του ιδειν ει κεκοπακεν το υδωρ)
A harmonizing plus with לראות הקלו המים v 8.
- Gen 8:12 אחרים M S G (ετερας)] + ויסף G (παλιν)
A harmonizing plus with אחרים ויסף v 10.
- Gen 8:13 שנה M S G (ετει)] + להי נח 4QCommGen^a G (εν τη ζωη του Νωε)
A harmonizing plus with להי נח 7:11.
- Gen 8:13 התבה M S G (της κιβωτου)] + אשר עשה G (ην εποιησεν)
A harmonizing plus with אשר עשה v 6.
- Gen 8:13 חרבו 2^o M S G (εξελιπεν)] + המים מעל G (το υδωρ απο)
A harmonizing plus with המים מעל חרבו v 13.
- Gen 8:18 ובניו ואשתו M S] ובניו ואשתו G (και η γυνη αυτου και οι υιοι αυτου)
Syr
A harmonization with the sequence of v 16.
- Gen 8:19 החיה M S G (τα θηρια)] + וכל הבהמה G (και παντα τα κτηνη) Syr
Vg
A harmonizing plus with החיה ואת כל הבהמה v 1.

Gen 8:21 האדם M S G (του ανθρωπου)] + רק G (επιμελως)
A harmonizing plus with רק רע 6:5.

Gen 8:21 כל M S G (πασαν)] + בשר G (σαρκα)
A harmonizing plus with בשר כל 9:11, 6:17, 19.

Gen 9:1 fin] + וררו בה G (και κατακυριευσατε αυτης)
A harmonizing plus, cf. *וּרְרוּ בַּהּ v 7, and . . . וּרְרוּ בַּ 1:28.

Gen 9:7 ומלאו את הארץ M S] שרצו בארץ G (και πληρωσατε την γην) Vg
A harmonization with ומלאו את הארץ v 1 and 1:28.

Gen 9:11 מבוול 2° M S G (κατακλυσμος)] + מים G (υδατος)
A harmonizing plus with מים מבוול 6:17; cf. 7:6 (M); 9:15.

Gen 9:11 לשחת M G (του καταφθειραι)] להשחית S (also v 15); + כל G
(πασαν)
S: a linguistic modernization (Piel → Hiphil); G: a harmonizing plus with
לשחת כל v 15.

Gen 9:12 אללהים M S G (ο θεος)] + אל נה G (προς Νωε) Syr
An explicating or harmonizing plus with אל נה v 17.

Gen 9:14 קשת M S] קשתי G (το τοξον μου) Vg LAB 3:12
A harmonization with קשתי v 13.

Gen 9:16 בין אלהים M S] ביני G (ανα μεσον εμου)
A harmonization with ביני v 15, sim vv 12, 17.

Gen 10:22 fin] + וקינן G (και Καιναν)
An editorial revision and harmonizing plus; cf. קינן Gen 5:9–14, following
entry at v 24, and 11:12 (G sim Jub 8:1); see §4.3.

Gen 10:24 ילד M S G (εγεννησεν)] + את קינן וקינן ילד G (τον Καιναν, και
Καιναν εγεννησεν)
An editorial revision and harmonizing plus; see previous entry and §4.3.

Gen 11:1 fin] + לכל G (πασιν)
A harmonizing plus with שפה אהת לכלם v 6.

Gen 11:31 מאור M S 4QCommGen^a] מארץ G (εκ της χωρας)
A reminiscence or harmonization with בארץ כשרים v 28 (G).

Gen 11:32 תרה 1° M S G (Θαρχα)] + בחרן G (εν Χαρραν)
An anticipation or harmonizing plus with תרה בחרן v 32.

CHAPTER SIX

Toward the Textual History of Genesis

6.1 PROBLEMS OF METHOD

The first systematic attempt to construct a textual history of the Hebrew Bible, that of J. G. Eichhorn, states the nature of the task succinctly:

A complete history of the Hebrew text would enumerate, with reference to causes and consequences, all the essential and accidental changes, whether for good or evil, which it has undergone in the process of thousands of years and in its passage through men's hands, from the time of its first composition down to the latest periods. (1888: 114 = German 3d ed., 1803)

If a textual history maps “all the essential and accidental changes” through time, then what we require first is a collection and analysis of the secondary readings. In this formulation, textual history is (to oversimplify only slightly) a history of error.

Modern methods for constructing textual histories have refined this view but generally affirm the significance of textual error in historical inquiry. In this area, “error” is used as a shorthand for “readings of secondary origin,” including intentional changes as well as accidental (West 1973: 32). One difference between the procedures of textual history (*historia textus*) and textual criticism per se (*critica textus*) is that in the former errors are of primary importance and in the latter they are to be removed (see Chiesa 1992a: 264–67).

The dominant method in modern textual history is the stemmatic or genealogical method, which relies primarily on the identification of shared errors among texts. This method is most closely associated with the work of Karl Lachmann and others in the early nineteenth century (see Kenney 1974: 98–129) and is refined in the modern guides of Maas (1958) and West (1973). This procedure for determining the relationships among texts is succinctly summarized by West:

It will be possible to deduce their relationship from the pattern of agreements and disagreements among them; only it is important to realize that what is significant for this purpose is not agreement in true readings inherited from more ancient tradition, but agreement in readings of secondary origin, viz. corruptions and emendations, provided that they are not such as might have been produced by two scribes independently. (1973: 32)

Maas calls the shared secondary readings by which one can trace stemmatic relationships *Leitfehler* or “indicative errors,” defined as “errors which can be utilized to make stemmatic inferences” (Maas 1985: 42–45, quote from p. 42). As West emphasizes, these are secondary readings unlikely to have been produced independently in different textual traditions. Hence, not all errors may serve as indicative errors. For example, many types of accidental error (including graphic confusion, word misdivision, haplographies, and other common types) are generally weak candidates for indicative errors because they are commonly produced in different texts independently. One requires distinctive errors in order to construct a reliable textual history.

Where indicative errors are shared by two texts, they serve as “conjunctive errors,” indicating a degree of filiation between the texts. Where indicative errors are not shared, they serve as “separative errors,” distinguishing different branches of the textual stemma (Maas 1958: 42–43). It is also common to find cross-contamination or “horizontal transmission” of readings, where one text has been revised by readings from a text in a different branch of the stemma (West 1973: 14, 38). The possibility of horizontal transmission complicates the use of indicative errors because, in any given case, the stemmatic relationship indicated may be horizontal rather than vertical. This is a major methodological problem for some works (e.g., Eusebius’s *Ecclesiastica Historia*) for which the majority of manuscripts have been affected by horizontal transmission (Kenney 1974: 138–39). A degree of horizontal transmission is indicated by the pattern of indicative errors in S, as we will see later.

The major alternative to the use of indicative errors to determine textual relationships is the statistical method, whereby one catalogues all agreements and disagreements among texts, irrespective of whether the readings are primary or secondary (see West 1973: 46–47; Metzger 1992: 163–69; Polak 1992). The advantage of this approach is the elimination of the subjective element in adjudicating between primary and secondary readings. All variants are counted, and a statistical profile is generated for the percentages of agreements and disagreements among texts. Although the statistical method may have some advantages over the genealogical method (primarily in its promise of objectivity), it also has some serious flaws. West observes:

The trouble with this kind of analysis is that it is not clear what useful conclusions can be drawn from it. Two manuscripts may be grouped together just because they show no particular tendency to agree with any manuscript more than any other, in other words because they are equally promiscuous, even if they have no special similarity with each other textually. In some cases it is evident that the taxa reflect real affinity-groups, in others it does not. (1973: 47)

Tov has recently expressed a similar criticism of a statistical method that counts all agreements and disagreements equally:

While in the past I was more inclined to give equal importance to agreements and disagreements, claiming that MSS cannot be closely related if they both agree and disagree much, I recently started to realize that two MSS can be closely related even if they disagree much. After all, in the putative stemma of the MSS there is room for differing readings if they occurred after the point at which the two sources separated from each other. (Tov 1992c: 19)

The chief problem with the statistical method is that it doesn't necessarily indicate textual filiation. The degree of relatedness may be obscured by statistics as much as clarified by them. Unique readings, in particular, are largely irrelevant for establishing filiation; as Tov notes, they occur after the point of branching from the closest allied text. Chiesa rightly emphasizes this point: "in order to prove the existence of a connection between two witnesses one has to discover at least one both monogenetic and one disjunctive error. The *lectiones singulares*, the unique readings, have no weight at all" (1992a: 267).

We may conclude that where massive horizontal transmission is unlikely and indicative errors are identifiable, the genealogical method is preferable to the statistical method. For constructing a textual history, the identification and analysis of indicative errors provide the best available method.

In recent work on the textual history of the Hebrew Bible, particularly that on the affinities of the Qumran biblical manuscripts, one finds advocates for both the genealogical and statistical methods of textual history and for eclectic mixtures of the two. In three important discussions of method presented at the Madrid Qumran Congress, Cross (1992), Tov (1992c), and Chiesa (1992a) presented converging arguments in favor of the genealogical method and the analytic priority of indicative errors. Cross draws an analogy from modern genetics:

Manuscripts have bad genes and good genes. Bad genes are secondary or corrupt readings which have been introduced into a manuscript by a scribe and copied and recopied by scribes in his vicinity or who otherwise had access to his manuscript or one of its descendants. A cluster or long list of bad genes—secondary readings and errors—held in common by two manuscripts require filiation as an explanation. . . .

Both good genes and bad genes have significance in writing the history of the text. However, primary data for establishing filiation is the sharing of a significant group of bad genes. (1992: 7, 8)

Tov notes that his current position essentially agrees with Cross's (1992c: 18–19), and Chiesa gives some valuable background on the history of this method and its application to biblical texts (1992a: 266–67).

This methodological position represents a departure from the primarily statistical methods used by Cross and Tov in earlier work, where they list statistics for all agreements and disagreements among the texts in order to infer relationships (e.g., Tov 1982: 21–22; Cross 1955: 171–72; 1995: 132–37 [unchanged from 1961 ed.]). Their recent emphasis on indicative errors and clusters of errors represents a methodological advance on this statistical approach. One notable result of their mutual refinement of method is that they now agree on the textual affinity of 4QSam^a and G, an issue of long contention (Cross 1992: 6–7; Tov 1992b: 19; Tov 1992c: 30–33).

There remain advocates for the statistical method. Polak (1992) has made a thorough statistical analysis of the portions of Exodus, Leviticus, and Samuel that coincide with 4QpaleoExod^b, 11QpaleoLev, and 4QSam^a. While I am unable to follow (or fully comprehend) the details of his statistical method, I would note that his attention to shared secondary readings in order to establish textual relationships makes his an eclectic method, incorporating aspects of “objective” statistical analysis and “subjective” genealogical analysis (1992: 256–57, 264–65). Davila (1993) has made a statistical analysis of the portions of Genesis and Exodus for which there are 4Q manuscripts, though he, too, distinguishes between agreements in primary and secondary readings and hence uses an eclectic method. In both cases, their method fails to discriminate among the secondary readings for indicative errors. As Chiesa rightly emphasizes, “In textual criticism what matters is not the *number* of agreements and disagreements between the various witnesses, but the *nature* of their variant readings and/or errors” (1992a: 267).

In the light of these methodological considerations, I propose to analyze a sizeable and clearly delineated set of indicative errors in Genesis 1–11 in order to ascertain the textual relationships among the versions. The most distinctive and abundant readings suitable for this task are the harmonizations (see chapter 5) and the chronological revisions (see chapter 4). Both of these groups of data consist of secondary readings with a strong claim to be indicative errors. Although some of the shared harmonizations or shared chronological revisions

may have been produced independently, most seem sufficiently distinctive to be classified as indicative errors, suitable for making stemmatic inferences. In view of the possibility that a given error might not be indicative, I will proceed by analyzing the shared clusters of indicative errors in order to establish textual filiation.

6.2 STEMMATIC RELATIONSHIPS

The data for indicative errors among the harmonizations in Genesis 1-11 are as follows (compiled from §5.2-5):

M = S 6 instances
 M = G 0 instances
 S = G 13 instances

The figure for S = G includes the series of shared pluses in Gen 11:11-25 (+ יימת) as one error. If one were to count each repetition of this plus, the total would be 20 shared indicative errors for S and G.

These data indicate strongly that M and G belong to distinct branches of the textual stemma, with no shared indicative errors in this set. In contrast, the data indicate that S has affinities to both M and G, though the affinities to G are more pronounced (by a ratio of roughly two to one).

The stemmatic data for S require one of the following historical scenarios:

1. A common hyparchetype with M and horizontal transmission of readings from proto-G text(s).
2. A common hyparchetype with G and horizontal transmission of readings from proto-M text(s).
3. No common hyparchetype; derivation by horizontal transmission from proto-M and proto-G texts.
4. No common hyparchetype; derivation from proto-M text(s) and horizontal transmission of readings from proto-G text(s).
5. No shared hyparchetype; derivation from proto-G text(s) and horizontal transmission of readings from proto-M text(s).

On the basis of the data from the harmonizations, it is impossible to prefer one scenario to another.

The data from the editorial revisions of the chronologies in Genesis 5 and 11 allow us to refine this analysis. The data for indicative errors among the chronological revisions in Genesis 5 and 11 are as follows (compiled from §4.2-3):

M = S	0 instances
M = G	0 instances
S = G	7 instances

The figure for S = G consists of the seven shared secondary readings for the postdiluvian *b*'s (age at birth of son) from Arpachshad to Nahor. The agreements in this series are sufficiently distinctive, particularly in the shared change in revision for Nahor (see §4.4), to be likely candidates for indicative errors. The figure for M = G excludes the agreements of M and G for Jared's *b* and *r*; as argued previously (§4.2), these numbers are probably the result of independent strategies of revision and therefore have no stemmatic value.

The conjunction in seven instances of chronological revision for S and G, plausibly indicating a common source, does not in itself alter the implications derived from the data for harmonizations. But the results from our analysis of the chronological revisions in Genesis 5 and 11 (§4.4) make it possible to refine the historical picture and to limit the stemmatic possibilities. In view of the three distinctive, systematic revisions of these chronologies, it is reasonable to conclude that M, S, and G in Genesis are representatives of three distinct recensions. Further, the seven shared revisions in S and G suggest the possibility of a common hyparchetype for the proto-S and proto-G recensions. The demonstration that each revision has its own internal consistency and cannot be derived from either of the others (with the provision of a possible hyparchetype for the seven shared revisions in S and G) eliminates scenarios 3, 4, and 5 from the possible histories of proto-S. The chronological revisions in S are revisions of a text akin to the archetype and not revisions of the revisions in proto-M or proto-G.

Having excluded scenarios 3, 4, and 5 from the stemmatic possibilities, we turn to the relative merits of scenarios 1 and 2. One possibility, suggested by Klein (1974a: 257–58), is that the seven chronological revisions shared by S and G are attributable to a common ancestor and that the other systematic revisions in proto-S and proto-G are subsequent (and independent) recensional layers. This proposal is consistent with scenario 2. In this case, the indicative errors shared by S and M would be attributable to horizontal transmission, in which readings from proto-M text(s) were inserted into proto-S text(s) sometime during the histories of these two recensions. However, as noted before, this series of shared secondary readings may be too slim a basis on which to base such a solution. One would like more data to posit with confidence a common hyparchetype for G and S.

The plausibility of scenario 2 has been argued by many scholars, beginning with Gesenius's *De Pentateuchi Samaritani* in 1815 (see Waltke 1970: 228–32;

1992: 934; Tov 1981: 268–71). Since the discovery of the Qumran biblical manuscripts several scholars (esp. Cross, Waltke, Purvis, and Jastram) have defended this hypothesis. The best data come from 4QExod^b and 4QNum^b, which have affinities of varying degrees with G and S. Cross has argued that these two manuscripts stem from old Palestinian texts that were common ancestors of S and G (Cross 1964: 287; 1966: 84 n. 15). Although this position has yet to be fully detailed (see the recent editions of these two texts in DJD 12), this possibility for other books of the Pentateuch complements the possibility of a hyparchetype for proto-S and proto-G in Genesis.

Some other data relevant to this issue come from the chronologies in Jub. As noted before (§4.2–3), Jub has close affinities with S in Genesis 5 and shares the plus of Kenan II with G in Genesis 11. The hypothesis of a hyparchetype for proto-S and proto-G would make sense of this situation in Jub. It is possible that Jub preserves readings from a text descended from the proto-S hyparchetype that still preserved the old Palestinian plus of Kenan II. But there are also other possible histories that would explain the affinities of Jub (see later).

Although a clear picture of the textual history of the proto-S recension of Genesis remains underdetermined by the data, we have found some plausible reasons to prefer scenario 2. The horizontal transmission of readings from proto-M texts is historically plausible, as there is evidence for such horizontal transmission in the revisions of G toward proto-M texts in the first century B.C.E. and later (see Tov 1992a: 143–45; and §4.2 for Josephus). In a recent study of 4QNum^b, Jastram characterizes the extent of such horizontal transmission of readings:

Though there is some evidence that the Samaritan text was revised toward the Masoretic at some point in its history, the evidence also shows that it was not revised toward the Masoretic text in such a way that its longer readings were excised. The Samaritan text, even after revision, still contained the major interpolations for which it is known. (1992: 180)

Revisions toward proto-M may have concentrated on small differences rather than large and were more likely sporadic than systematic.

Davila (1993) argues that M and S of Genesis belong to the same text-type, a position consistent with scenario 1. But his eclectic statistical method does not identify indicative errors and does not distinguish between vertical and horizontal transmission, and it is difficult to see how his method can be used to distinguish between scenarios 1 and 2. Moreover, his textual data do not include the chronologies in Genesis 5 and 11, in that Qumran manuscripts are lacking for these chapters. These are the chapters that establish most clearly the different recensional histories of M and S.

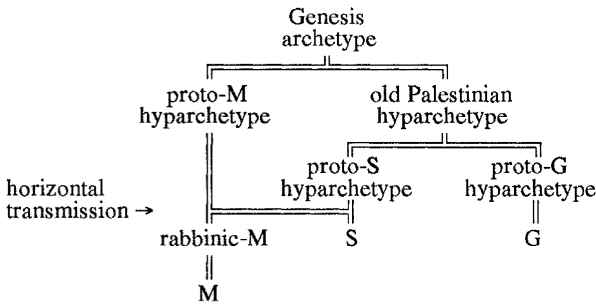


Figure 6-1: *Stemmatic Model for Genesis 1-11*

In adjudicating between scenarios 1 and 2 for the textual history of S in Genesis 1-11, it is reasonable to prefer scenario 2. Certainty is not possible, but there are more and better arguments for this scenario, given the parameters set by the pattern of indicative errors analyzed previously.

A plausible stemma for Genesis 1-11 may therefore be sketched, bearing in mind a residue of uncertainty (figure 6-1). Like all textual stemma, this one represents “a ‘servicable’ stemmatic relationship, meaning ‘not necessarily historically exact’” (West 1973: 39). Although the reality was probably more complex, this is a minimal schema that plausibly represents parts of the reality. This is not history as it really happened but a model for history, a minimalist genealogy of errors.

There is at least one area in this stemma that is certain to have been more complex in history, that is, the cul-de-sac area between S, G, and the old Palestinian hyparchetype. Although we do not at present have evidence for more than two hyparchetypes at this level, texts such as Jub and LAB suggest the possibility of other branchings and occasions for horizontal transmission. The textual affinities of Jub have been the subject of two important studies by VanderKam (1977 and 1988), in which he notes the abundant affinities of Jub with both S and G. He has argued that “if there was a Palestinian family of texts of which the LXX and Sam are two representatives and Jubilees a third, then it must have been a very loose conglomeration of divergent texts” (1988: 84). I would differ with VanderKam’s emphasis on unique readings and his primarily statistical method (see §6.1), but the picture of many Palestinian texts in circulation in the Second Temple period with varying degrees of affinity to S and G is very plausible. Horizontal transmission is always a factor where texts of different ancestry are in close proximity. As Cross emphasizes: “Recensionally distinct texts are fragile creations; one text, coming in contact with another, immediately

dissolves into a mixed text. One set of corrections and centuries of development are destroyed in a twinkling” (1964: 299). There are doubtless more branchings and horizontal transmissions than we can document from the present state of the data. But I suspect that they would more likely fill in and complicate this stemma than erase it.

6.3 AFTER 70: RABBINIC-M AND THE MINOR VERSIONS

Among the Qumran texts, 4QGen^b is our closest exemplar to the proto-M text(s) chosen by the Pharisees cum Rabbis to be their canonical Genesis. Of the roughly 300 words preserved in 4QGen^b, the consonantal text fits squarely within the minimal range of variation among our major M manuscripts (see §7.4). There are two orthographic variants among the major M manuscripts for these readings, and in both cases 4QGen^b agrees with one or more M texts:

1:15 למארת 4QGen^b V] למאורת C3 L

1:21 עוף 4QGen^b C3 L] עף V

Sometime, somewhere, a Genesis text closely related to 4QGen^b became the canonical text for rabbinic Judaism, the hyparchetype of all medieval texts of M. Concerning the circumstances of this choice, we are wholly ignorant (see Albrektson 1978; Goshen-Gottstein 1992b: 208–9), though it may be significant that all the biblical manuscripts found at other Dead Sea sites—including Genesis manuscripts from Murabba‘at (DJD 2: 75–77) and thereabouts (Burchard 1966 [= Sdeir 1]; Puech 1980 [= Mur?])—are rabbinic-M texts.

We may infer something of the textual history of Genesis after the rise of rabbinic-M by attention to the testimony of the minor versions, Tgs, Syr, and Vg. We do not know the precise time when the archetypes of the Tgs and Syr were made (ca. first to second centuries C.E.; see Kaufman 1994; Brock 1992b: 794), but it is significant that many non-rabbinic-M readings are preserved in these versions. We do know when Jerome made his Vg translation of Genesis (ca. 400 C.E.), and numerous non-rabbinic-M readings are preserved in his work also. The data for the harmonizations in the minor versions of Genesis 1–11 that are shared with either S or G are as follows (compiled from §5.2–5):

Tg ^O	3 instances
Tg ^N	7 instances, including 2 from Tg ^{N(mg)}
Tg ^J	5 instances
Syr	20 instances
Vg	10 instances

In numerous instances, the harmonization in S, G, or both is shared by more than one of the minor versions or by a minor version and an ancillary source. These instances of multiple agreements are significant, as the chance reproduction of such readings is minimal. Clustered agreements in harmonizations occur in the following 13 cases:

- Gen 2:4 את השמים ואת הארץ G (τον ουρανον και τη γην) S Tg^N Syr Vg; M] ארץ ושמים
- Gen 2:18 נעשה G (ποιησωμεν) Vg Jub 3:4 4QGen^{bh} M S] אעשה
- Gen 2:23 מאישה S G (εκ του ανδρος αυτης) Tg^O Jub 3:6 M] מאיש
- Gen 2:24 והיו M G (εσονται)] + שניהם G (οι δυο) Tg^P Syr Vg sim S (היה) (משניהם)
- Gen 4:25 ש^{1°} M S G (Σηθ)] + לאמר G (λεγουσα) Vg sim Tg^{ON(mg)J}
- Gen 7:2 זכר ונקבה 1-2° M] 1-2° S G (αρσεν και θηλυ) Tg^{OP} Syr Vg איש ואשתו
- Gen 7:2 שנים M S G (δυο)] + שנים S G (δυο) Syr Vg
- Gen 7:3 השמים M S G (του ουρανου)] + הטהור S G (των καθαρων) Syr^{mss} LAB 3:4
- Gen 7:13 אתם M S] אתו G (μετ' αυτου) Tg^{N(mg)J} Syr
- Gen 7:20 ההרים M S G (τα ορη)] + הגבהים G (τα υψηλα) Syr^{mss} Jub 5:26
- Gen 8:19 החיה M S G (τα θηρια)] + וכל הבהמה G (και παντα τα κτηνη) Syr Vg
- Gen 8:21 לקלל עור M] לקלל S G (ετι του καταρασασθαι) Syr Vg עור לקלל עור
- Gen 9:14 הקשת M S] קשתי G (το τοξον μου) Vg LAB 3:12

In most of these instances, we can reasonably infer that the minor versions were translating Hebrew texts with non-rabbinic-M readings. There are other such instances in which the minor versions share readings with S or G against M, but those on this list are particularly notable as clusters of shared errors.

We may conclude that the history of non-rabbinic-M texts did not end at 70 C.E. (allowing, of course, for the persistence of S and G in their respective communities). Texts with varying affinities continued to circulate in the following generations, and their traces remain visible in numerous readings in the minor versions (for other examples, see Hendel, in press; Kedar 1988: 322). Other faint traces may survive in rabbinic exegetical literature (see Maori 1992). The survival of such texts is not historically surprising because rabbinic Judaism spread slowly after 70 C.E., attaining political and social dominance in Judea only in the third century C.E. or later. Synagogues, where Torah scrolls were read, may have come under rabbinic control as late as the seventh century C.E.

(Cohen 1987: 221–24). In view of this historical process, it is not surprising that some biblical texts preserved old readings that varied from rabbinic-M.

6.4 EXCURSUS: THE VOCALIZATION OF מִסְרָת

The textual history of Genesis before the printing press era comes to completion with the work of the Tiberian Masoretes, who perfected a system for the vocalization and annotation of the biblical text (ca. 7th to 10th centuries C.E.). The traditional Hebrew text, M, owes its name to the בעלי המסרת, “Masters of the (textual) tradition.” Perhaps ironically, scholars still disagree on the spelling and vocalization of the word מִסְרָת, from which comes the name of the text. Sometimes M is the “Masoretic” text, from מִסְרָת; sometimes it is the “Massoretic” text, from מִסְרָת (for surveys of this issue, see Mulder 1988a: 105–6; Dotan 1971: 1418–19; Roberts 1951: 40–42). While the difference of ס, versus ס in these words may seem inconsequential, the labors of the בעלי המסרת were often over just such minutiae, and attention to this detail may therefore be fitting tribute to their work.

Wilhelm Bacher argued more than a century ago that “the pronunciation מִסְרָת has no historical justification” (1891: 790). Bacher’s argument is compelling, though it has not been widely adopted. In the following, I will reformulate and refine his position and reexamine the relevant data.

In Rabbinic Hebrew, מִסְרָת (usually *plene* מִסְרָת) means “tradition.” The most famous example, and one of the earliest, is *M. ’Abot* 3.13, מסורת סיג, לתורה, “Tradition is a fence around the Torah.” This saying, attributed to Rabbi ‘Aqiba, is a response to one of the leitmotifs of the tractate, the saying of the Men of the Great Synagogue in *M. ’Abot* 1.1, עשו סיג לתורה, “Make a fence around the Torah.” Both sayings, in turn, implicitly refer to the authoritative exegetical traditions, which extend in an unbroken line back to Moses and Sinai (*M. ’Abot* 1.1): משה קבל תורה מסיני ומסרה, “Moses received the Torah from Sinai and transmitted it” The verb “transmit, hand down” is מָסַר (for the semantic history of this verb, see Ben-Hayyim 1965: 211–13). Clearly, according to the logic of the tractate, the noun מִסְרָת refers to that which has been transmitted (מָסַר) from Moses and Sinai (cf. Neusner 1994: 674–75). The same meaning for מָסַר is found in Qumran Hebrew, as in the intriguing parallel to *M. ’Abot* 1.1 in the Damascus Document (CD 3.3), where Abraham transmits God’s commandments to his heirs, וימסור לישקה וליעקב, “he transmitted [God’s commandments] to Isaac and Jacob.”

The grammatical question concerning מִסְרָת in this context is not its meaning,

which is unambiguous, but its form. There are many nominal patterns available for a noun related to the Qal verb *מָסַר*. The pattern *qātōlet* is not one of them, however, as it is the pattern for the infinitive absolute, and the pattern *qattōlet* is exceedingly rare (only *בְּצִרְתָּ, בְּפָרְתָּ, בְּפָרְכָתָּ* in Biblical Hebrew) and is unproductive in postbiblical Hebrew (Bacher 1891: 788 n. 1). What possible reason could there be for “tradition” to be written *מִסְרָת*?

The only plausible reason is that there was a noun already of this form that was taken to mean “tradition.” This noun is *מִסְרָת* in Ezek 20:37, a hapax legomenon. The sentence reads (with Masoretic vocalization), *וְהִבֵּאתִי אֶתְכֶם, בְּמִסְרַת הַבְּרִית*. Translations of this sentence vary. Greenberg renders it “I will lead you into the obligation of the covenant,” which is almost certainly correct (1983a: 362; 1983b: 38–41). The form of the noun *מִסְרָת* is explicable by a derivation from $\sqrt{\text{אסר}}$, “to bind,” with the attenuation of the \aleph and compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel. Hence, the development of the form is **ma’sōret* → *māsōret*, from the nominal pattern *maqṭōlet*. (There are seven other nouns of this pattern in the Hebrew Bible; see JM §88Lj.) This analysis has been accepted by many grammarians from the 10th century C.E. to the present (Greenberg 1983b: 38–39). For most Jewish readers, however, this word was thought to mean “tradition.” The Theodotionic revision of G translates *מִסְרָת* as *παράδοσει*, “tradition.” (Compare Aquila, who literalistically or etymologically translates as *δεσμοίς*, “bonds.”) Targum Jonathan and Rashi also concur in understanding this word in Ezekiel as “tradition.” Because there is no dissenting view in rabbinic literature, the concurrence of Theodotion, the Targum, and Rashi indicates that the standard view in rabbinic Judaism was that *מִסְרָת* in Ezek 20:37 meant “tradition.” Bacher states this argument clearly: “the Targum, when it is unopposed by any other explanation in the literature of tradition, is sufficiently convincing, especially as its translation is supported by Theodotion, and as Rashi gives evidence for the maintenance of the traditional view” (1891: 788).

The key question is whether the בעלי המסרת of Tiberias believed that *מִסְרָת* in Ezek 20:37 meant “tradition.” From the vocalization of *מִסְרָת*, we may infer an etymology from $\sqrt{\text{אסר}}$, thereby accounting for the peculiar form. But even if from $\sqrt{\text{אסר}}$, could it still be taken to mean “tradition”? Greenberg has noted a saying in the Talmud that in two instances uses the word *מִסְרָת* and in two others uses the word *שבועה*, “oath” (1983b: 40). He uses this case of synonymy to argue that *מִסְרָת* may be read here as “oath,” as is its probable original meaning in Ezek 20:37. But it is probably more likely that this synonymy indicates that *מִסְרָת* as “tradition” could also be taken as “binding tradition,” and therefore

שבועה, “oath,” could be a natural alternative. The semantic range indicated by this synonymity suggests that מסרת in Ezek 20:37 could easily be derived from אסר, as the vocalization indicates, and still be semantically informed by מסר, as the use of the word in rabbinic Judaism indicates.

We are therefore warranted to conclude that מסרת is the Masoretic vocalization of the noun מסרת, meaning “tradition,” with the extended meanings “binding, authoritative tradition” and “(Masoretic) textual tradition.” There is no evidence before the 17th century for any other vocalization of מסרת, and reason enough to believe that the Masoretes, like their peers, read the phrase מסרת הברית in Ezek 20:37 as “tradition of the covenant” or the like. To posit an unrelated noun מסרת meaning “tradition,” from √מסר, has no linguistic or historical basis, as Bacher pointed out. It is linguistically preferable, and far more economical, to see מסרת in Ezek 20:37 as the parent of the Rabbinic Hebrew מסרת, “tradition” (which was understood to be related to √מסר by synchronic reanalysis), rather than to separate the two and derive the latter from an unproductive nominal pattern in postbiblical Hebrew.

Etymology does not restrict semantic development in Hebrew words. As Barr observes regarding the vocabulary of Qumran Hebrew, “we find old words of the Bible, probably long archaic, reused with senses which have come to be attached to them through exegetical tradition” (1989b: 90). Once we allow for this process of exegetical cum semantic development, the etymological objection to Bacher’s argument vanishes (pace GKC §3b n. 1; GKB 1. §3d; JM §16 n. 2).

The linguistic and historical evidence suggests that the Masoretic vocalization of מסרת is given in Ezek 20:37. In M, the word is vocalized מסרת. There is no cogent reason to think that this was not the noun for “tradition” at the time of the בעלי המסרת. These textual scholars were therefore the בעלי המסרת, and their biblical version (M) is the Masoretic text.

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Part II

Critical Edition

וכשאתה מלמד את בנך למדהו בספר מוגה

And when you teach your son,
teach him from a corrected scroll.

B. Talmud, *Pesahim* 112a

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Introduction to the Critical Edition

7.1 RATIONALE FOR A CRITICAL (ECLECTIC) EDITION

Outside the field of Hebrew Bible, there is little doubt concerning the purpose of textual criticism. Maas states unequivocally, “The business of textual criticism is to produce a text as close as possible to the original (*constitutio textus*)” (1958: 1). The current article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* begins, “The technique of restoring texts as nearly as possible to their original form is called textual criticism” (Kenney 1992: 614). The production of critical texts by means of the analysis of manuscripts, the adjudication among variant readings, and, when necessary, the reconstruction or conjecture of better or original readings is the purpose of textual criticism. Aside from this goal, there is little justification for the labors of the textual critic.

In the field of the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible, few scholars adhere to this goal. The exceptions are notable. Against Goshen-Gottstein’s claim that “the reconstruction of the *Urtext* is not the supreme goal” (1965: 12), Cross contends that “the supreme goal, or rather the only goal of textual criticism is the reconstruction of the *Urtext*, however slowly or cautiously we may be required to move forward in its pursuit” (1979: 51). More recently, Borbone (1990) and Chiesa (1992a and 1992b) have reiterated this position. Yet, such statements are uncommon. More often, one finds that the critic’s aim is to produce diplomatic editions of M, as is the case for *BHS* (and its future replacement, *BHQ*), HUBP, and other projects. For the massive HUBP edition, Goshen-Gottstein states that the object is “to present nothing but the facts” (1965: 7). This is a curiously positivistic goal for an activity that calls itself criticism, which by definition involves making judgments in evaluating the evidence. A critic, from Greek *κριτικός*, is one “able to discern and decide.” The textual critic is one who exercises an educated judgment concerning the textual data, not an antiquarian collector presenting the reader with a bewildering plethora of “facts.”

In his *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, Tov presents a detailed consideration of the theoretical and practical problems involved in making fully critical editions of the Hebrew Bible. Tov admits that “textual criticism aims at the ‘original’ form of the biblical books” (1992a: 288), defining the original form for this purpose as “the copy (or textual tradition) that contained the finished literary product and which stood at the beginning of the process of textual transmission” (1992a: 171). He qualifies this aim as follows: “Even if this aim can be accomplished in only a few details, it would at least appear to be correct on a theoretical level, and must therefore be adhered to” (1992a: 180). Thus far, Tov is in agreement with the goals and procedures of textual criticism generally, namely, “textual critics aim at establishing critical or eclectic editions of texts” (Tov 1992a: 289).

But Tov further claims that there is an essential difference in the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible, precluding the production of fully critical texts and editions. He gives both theoretical and practical reasons for this unique situation:

It is evident that the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible differs from the textual criticism of other compositions, for there have been relatively few attempts to reconstruct the original text of a biblical book, for theoretical as well as practical reasons: the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the ancient translations cannot be reconstructed satisfactorily, and often it is impossible to make a decision with regard to the originality of readings. Because of these problems, most of the existing critical editions are diplomatic. . . . In these diplomatic editions the exegete should not expect to find a finished product comprising the conclusions of text-critical scholars, but rather, the raw materials which will aid him to form his own opinion based upon the available textual evidence. (1992a: 289)

Let us examine these reasons individually.

First, Tov observes that there have been relatively few attempts to make fully critical editions of biblical texts. This historical fact does seem to make the Hebrew Bible unique among ancient texts. A notable exception is Borbone’s recent edition of Hosea (1990), in which he admirably carries out the text-critical task for this textually challenged book. Tov notes, however, that most modern commentaries include a “virtual” critical text in their translations and notes and that numerous scholars have produced critical texts for individual units or pericopes of the Hebrew Bible (1992a: 372 n. 2). The exceptions to the rule are therefore sufficiently numerous to raise doubts about its necessity or desirability. Cross accounts for the lack of work in this area to “the prestige of the *textus receptus*” and, more important, to “the inertia which slows scholars from changing methods . . . which have grown habitual in their scholarly prac-

tice" (1979: 50). In other words, the fact that critical editions have not been made in great number in the past does not mean that this situation is warranted. In light of the availability of the Qumran manuscripts and the important methodological advances made in the field in recent decades, one could easily argue that the production of critical texts is a glaring desideratum in the field.

Second, Tov gives as the theoretical reason for this state of affairs: "the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the ancient translations cannot be reconstructed satisfactorily." It may be somewhat ironic that this statement comes from Tov's pen, for he has been instrumental in the formulation of sound procedures for the reconstruction of the *Vorlage* of G in books where the translation technique is sufficiently literal to permit such reconstruction (see 1981 and most recently 1992b). As long as one adheres to the methodological prescriptions and cautions propounded by Tov, one is warranted to examine G as a source for authentic textual variants. And, as Tov has shown extensively, in many instances this can be done satisfactorily. This theoretical difficulty, therefore, which may have been profound in the pre-Qumran era, has been clarified to the point that it has become part of the task of textual criticism, not an insoluble problem that necessarily precludes that task.

Third, Tov gives a practical obstacle for the production of critical texts: "often it is impossible to make a decision with regard to the originality of readings." This is true. But I would note that this is the case for any ancient work, whether Homer, Sophocles, the New Testament, or Genesis. The difficulty of adjudicating among variant readings is, in its very essence, the difficulty of textual criticism. That is why it is called textual criticism and not textual inventory. Textual criticism involves "the necessity of judging variant readings and forms of a text on their intrinsic merits in the light of the information available" (Kenney 1992: 619). Where a decision on the basis of intrinsic merits is impossible, the critic as a general rule may prefer the reading that has the best extrinsic merit, that is, the reading from the best manuscript. We have shown that in the case of Genesis this is M. I have argued previously that where a reasonable decision cannot be made, the M reading is the prudent default position (see §1.2). Reynolds and Wilson nicely articulate this principle, along with an apt definition of "best manuscript": "Since the best manuscript is that which gives the greatest number of correct readings in passages where there are rational grounds for decision, it is more likely than the others to give the correct reading in passages where no such grounds exist" (1974: 195). Instances where a decision is impossible are not unique to the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible. A textual critic learns to deal prudently with these situations.

I have pointed out some of the chief deficiencies in the reasons—historical, theoretical, and practical—adduced by Tov to justify the view that “textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible differs from the textual criticism of other compositions” when it comes to the production of critical texts and editions. Chiesa is quite right to insist that “it seems quite unnecessary to postulate an *ad hoc* status for the Biblical writings alone” (1992a: 265). It may be relatively harder to produce critical texts for the Hebrew Bible than for the New Testament or Homer, in part because of the limitations involved in retroverting G, but, in books where G has a reliably literal translation technique, the degree of difficulty is within our means.

Some books of the Hebrew Bible are more amenable to the production of critical texts than others. The books of the Pentateuch have the greatest abundance of textual resources, given the reliability of the G translation technique and the existence of S. The Qumran texts in the Pentateuch are valuable not only in themselves but in the light they shed on the textual value of S and G. The minor versions and ancillary sources are also valuable in the Pentateuch, particularly for corroborating variants in S and G. In other parts of the Hebrew Bible, the textual resources are not as rich, and the problems for producing critical texts and editions are relatively greater.

In light of the increase of evidence and the advances in method in the post-Qumran era, Cross observes that “many barriers hindering the practice of a genuine eclectic criticism have fallen in our day” (1979: 51). Fully critical editions, by which I mean critical texts with critical apparatuses that document the judgments made in constituting the text, are justifiable and desirable for books of the Hebrew Bible, particularly for Genesis and the other Pentateuchal books. Many scholars will continue to follow the view that “the student of the Bible text must be content to deal with facts” (Goshen-Gottstein 1992b: 206). Genuine textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible must discriminate among the facts, which implies (by definition) the production of fully critical editions.

7.2 THE CRITICAL TEXT

Wevers nicely defines the nature of a critical text in his comments on his edition of G: “The printing of a critical text . . . is the presentation by an editor after weighing all the textual evidence at his disposal of the earliest reconstruction of the text possible, an approximation to the original insofar as that is reasonable” (1974: 186). The concept of the “original,” of which the critical text is an ap-

proximation, requires some careful unpacking. An allied concept, necessary for delimiting the textual nature of the “original,” is the “archetype.”

The archetype is the “earliest inferable textual state” (Kenney 1992: 616). As Tov notes, there is always a “possibility of a large interval of time between the date of the archetype, reconstructed from the existing evidence, and the original composition” (1992a: 167). The archetype of Genesis is the state of the text that we try to infer by adjudicating among the variants of the extant versions. But sometimes the archetype does not preserve the readings of the original. Where this is detectable, one can resort only to conjecture to cure the error and approximate the original. In the critical text presented here I have adopted diagnostic conjectures, that is, readings not inferable from the existing readings, in two places (at Gen 4:22 and 10:5). There are, no doubt, other places where the archetype differs from the original, but these cases are either undetectable or insufficiently strong to warrant diagnostic conjectures. There are probably instances where a gloss or explicating plus exists in the archetype that was not in the original (the explicating *לְמַן* in Gen 9:4 might be an example), but the margin of uncertainty is sufficiently large that it is best to include these in the critical text. The critical text, while it approximates the original, more nearly approximates the archetype. It is impossible to say how close or distant the archetype is to the original; by definition, we lack the textual data to tell. An optimist would hope that the archetype of Genesis was a good text, itself approximating the original.

Although the archetype is, in theory, achievable by text-critical methods, the original is an ideal goal, which is to say that it is an abstract and logically unachievable goal. As in the method of calculus, it is the limit toward which one strives but never completely reaches. The critical text is an approximation of the ideal, but it is never finished; it is necessarily a work in progress. As the Mishnah notes of Torah study generally: *לא עליך המלאכה לגמור*, “it is not given to you to complete the work” (*M. 'Abot 2.20*). This is clearly the case for the production of critical texts.

The original—the ideal goal behind the critical text—is admirably defined by Tov as “the copy (or textual tradition) that contained the finished literary product and which stood at the beginning of the process of textual transmission” (1992a: 171). Although, as Wellhausen noted, “it is difficult to find the boundary where literary history ends and textual criticism begins” (apud Albrektson 1994: 31), Tov’s definition serves well to pinpoint the historical situation at which textual criticism aims. The original text, for the purpose of textual criticism, is a text that once existed and that we attempt to reconstitute by

removing the accumulation of scribal errors and changes. The critical text is a “reconstruction of what no longer exists” (Kenney 1992: 614), which is to say that it is a work of historical inquiry, guided by historical method.

In the case of the Hebrew Bible, the ideal of the original text is often complicated by issues of canon. Barthélemy makes a distinction between literary authenticity and canonical authenticity, the former belonging to the “original” text and the latter belonging to “the most ancient text . . . that functioned as a sacred book for a community” (1982: *77). Tov makes a comparable distinction when he states that the aim is to reconstitute the original text, but in the form or edition that was canonized in the Jewish *Tanakh* (1992a: 177–79). Although such issues may be relevant in the books for which there are multiple editions preserved among the textual versions, therefore requiring decisions about *which* original text to reconstitute (see Ulrich 1992; Sanders 1991; Tov 1992a: 313–49), these problems arguably do not bear on Genesis.

In fact, it may be possible to specify the point at which the original text of Genesis emerges into view in literary and canonical form. With all the requisite caveats concerning our understanding of the literary history of the Pentateuch, it is arguable that the publication of the Pentateuch—that is, the point when it was made public (and authoritative)—is narrated in Nehemiah 8 (see Fishbane 1985: 107–29; Williamson 1987: 90–98):

On the first day of the seventh month, Ezra the priest brought the Torah (הַתּוֹרָה) to the congregation—the men, women, and all who could understand. He read it aloud in the public square before the Water Gate from dawn to midday, to the men, women, and those who could understand. The ears of all the people were attentive to the Book of the Torah. (Neh 8:2–3)

Fishbane (1985: 108) notes that, given a few assumptions, the date for this event can be specified as October 2, 458 B.C.E. While I would not press the point too strongly, this event of the publication of the Torah to the people of Jerusalem may serve as a literary approximation of the original text that no longer exists but serves as our ideal for textual criticism. This is the biblical image of the text that “contained the finished literary product and which stood at the beginning of the process of textual transmission.” It is also canonically “the most ancient text . . . that functioned as a sacred book for a community.” This is the picture of what Freedman calls “the earliest Bible” (1987).

From the understanding of the nature of the archetype and the original text of Genesis that I have sketched, the status of the critical text as “an approximation to the original insofar as that is reasonable” should be clear. Although it is conventional to regard such a critical text as an “eclectic” text in that the readings

adopted come from a variety of manuscripts, from a historical perspective it is more correct to regard the manuscripts as eclectic and the critical text as an attempt to reverse the eclectic agglomeration of primary and secondary readings. As Borbone nicely observes in his critical edition of Hosea: “This text—except of course for the erroneous evaluations of the writer, which the benevolent reader can remedy using the apparatus—will be more certain and less ‘eclectic’ than the text of a single ms” (1990: 26).

In the critical text, I have retained the Masoretic vocalization for readings preserved in M (see §7.4). Primary readings not in M are unvocalized, making them easily recognizable. Other notations included in the critical text are paragraph markers (from ms C3) and chapter and verse numbers. Masoretic accents are not included in the critical text because of the technical limitations of my computer software and the minimal pragmatic value of such variants (see Goshen-Gottstein 1965: 42).

7.3 APPARATUS I: SIGNIFICANT TEXTUAL VARIANTS

Variants from the critical text are catalogued and commented upon in Apparatus I, on the page facing the Hebrew text. Only significant variants are included. A cursory comparison of M and S will show many more variations in spelling, in the presence or absence of conjunctive ׀ or the particle ׀א, and other minor textual changes. By limiting the variants listed, I am exercising editorial subjectivity, but the alternative is to overwhelm the reader with minor variants. In this choice, I am following the advice of Goshen-Gottstein in his discussion of the textual data germane to a critical apparatus (1965: 23). As an additional limit on the clutter of the apparatus, I have listed the testimony of the minor versions only where they diverge from M (see §1.3). Hence, the default or unmarked value for the minor versions is agreement with M. By use of this convention, the apparatus is made less bulky with no loss of information.

Text-critical comments on the secondary reading(s) follow the semicolon. The language of the comments is necessarily terse, but I have tried to make them explanatory, not cryptic. Fuller discussions of many secondary readings are found in part I, particularly in §2.2 (Gen 1:1–2:4), §3.2 (secondary readings in M), and §4.2–3 (chronologies of Genesis 5 and 11). No apology is necessary for including comments on the secondary readings, as this is the essence of the text-critical task. Even Goshen-Gottstein, with his avowed purpose of producing a critical edition that “present[s] nothing but the facts” (1965: 7), produced apparatuses thoroughly informed by his text-critical judgment. Though he states

that “the ‘comment’ is part of the fact-finding process” (1965: 25), it clearly represents his evaluation of the facts, to the limited degree he allows himself. The text-critical comments are *in nuce* the justification for the readings included in the critical text. Hence, they are the core of the enterprise.

In the instances where the reading in the critical text is a reconstruction (see §1.2), the reading is signaled in the apparatus by an asterisk *. Nine reconstructions are included in the critical text. Of these, four consist of a single letter (4:7 [3×]; 9:7), one consists of two letters (5:3), and four are numbers in the chronologies (5:19, 26, 28, 30). There are also two diagnostic conjectures included in the critical text (see §1.2), both widely accepted in the scholarly literature (4:22; 10:5). The two diagnostic conjectures are marked in the apparatus and in the critical text by brackets < > .

The abbreviations and sigla used in Apparatus I have been selected from those used in the DJD editions of biblical texts, the Göttingen Septuagint, the HUBP, and Maas (1958). The format for the apparatus derives largely from the DJD style. Parentheses are used to enclose relevant data (such as the Greek of G) following the siglum for that text. The only serious departure from these standard works is my use of ordinary type for the abbreviations of the major and minor versions. The major versions, M, S, G, and Q, are represented by abbreviations of a single capital letter, and the minor versions, Tgs (Tg^O, Tg^N, Tg^J; Tg^P = Tg^N + Tg^J), Syr, and Vg, are represented by abbreviations of two or three letters. The ancillary sources, Jub, Ant, and LAB, are represented by abbreviations (or acronyms) of three letters. These typographical decisions lend some clarity and order to the citation of the textual evidence and eliminate the needless obscurity of Gothic letters and other sigla.

7.4 APPARATUS II: MASORETIC VARIANTS

Variants in spelling, punctuation, and vocalization among the major Masoretic sources from the 10th and 11th centuries C.E. are catalogued in Apparatus II, below the Hebrew text. Where the critical text diverges from M, the apparatus still lists all variations among the Masoretic texts (e.g., at 4:18; 5:25, 26). Collation of the major texts shows that the variations are minimal, limited almost exclusively to *plene* versus *defectiva* spelling, the use or nonuse of *dageš*, and the use or nonuse of *ḥaṭep* vowels.

The use of Masoretic manuscripts in a critical text requires a somewhat different strategy than is available for the other major versions. As Orlinsky observed, “There never was, and there never can be, a single fixed masoretic

text of the Bible" (1966: xviii). The idea of a critical Masoretic text runs into insuperable problems, such as the variations in *dageš* and *ḥatep* vowels just mentioned and in the differences in paragraphing among all the major Masoretic manuscripts. The decision of the HUBP to use the Aleppo Codex as the best text of M is also not available for Genesis; since the fire in the Aleppo synagogue in 1948, only a photograph of a page of Genesis remains (Wickes 1887: frontispiece).

For my Masoretic sources, I have collated all the available M manuscripts dated to the 11th century C.E. and earlier as our oldest and best exemplars of the Tiberian Masoretic tradition(s) (see the descriptions in Yeivin 1980: 12–30; Tov 1992a: 46–47). The manuscripts collated are:

- C3 Cairo Pentateuch Codex, ca. 10th century C.E.
- L St. Petersburg (formerly Leningrad) Codex, ca. 1009 C.E.
- S Damascus (formerly Sassoon) Pentateuch Codex, ca. 10th century C.E. (extant from Gen 9:26)

In addition, I have collated the printed edition of the Second Rabbinic Bible (V, printed in Venice in 1524–25), from which derives the traditional *textus receptus* (see Goshen-Gottstein 1992a: 221–26). According to Penkower's dissertation, this edition was "based upon Sephardic manuscripts that were close to the text of the accurate Tiberian manuscripts such as L and A" (Tov 1992a: 78). I have also included variants from the list of differences between Ben Asher (bA) and Ben Naphtali (bN) compiled by Mishael Ben Uzziel in the 10th or early 11th century (Lipschütz 1962).

Where the Masoretic sources diverge, I have given preference to C3, a recently rediscovered Pentateuch codex corrected and authorized by Mishael Ben Uzziel (see Penkower 1988). In the absence of A in Genesis, C3 is probably our best representative of the Ben Asher tradition. In that Mishael Ben Uzziel was a Masoretic authority, I think it reasonable to accept this text as a close approximation to the Tiberian ideal. Where it is discernible, I have also included the testimony of the original (uncorrected) text of C3, designated as C3^{pm}; this text shows affinities with the Ben Naphtali tradition (Penkower 1988: 69–72). The corrected text of C3 is consistently close to A in the portions preserved in both (Deut 28:17–34:12), although there are minor differences, most notably in the Masorah and in the general nonuse of *ḥatep* vowels under nonguttural consonants (Penkower 1988: 66–67).

To illustrate this minor difference, I have catalogued the variations in use of *ḥatep* vowels among C3, L, S, and A in Gen 26:34–27:30 (the section of A preserved in the photograph in Wickes 1887). The variants are found in the Piel of \sqrt{brk} :

27:19 תבִּרְכֵנִי C3 S | ךְּ A L
 27:23 ויבִּרְכֵהוּ C3 S L | ךְּ A
 27:27 ויבִּרְכֵהוּ C3 S | ךְּ A L
 27:29 ומבִּרְכֵךְ C3 S | ךְּ A L

In these instances, C3 and S preserve the earlier system in which nongutturals with vocal *šewa*⁹ are not marked with a *ḥatep* vowel, whereas A (consistently) and L (three out of four) reflect the more developed system (see Yeivin 1980: 282–84; but cf. Apparatus II at Gen 2:14). As a point of reference, the Cairo Prophets Codex (C), pointed by Aaron Ben Asher's father, Moshe, consistently writes these forms with a simple *šewa*⁹ (Yeivin 1968: 39).

Concerning the placement of furtive *pataḥ*, C3 and L tend to place it under the letter preceding the guttural where it is a *mater lectionis*, as in וִיבִרְכֵהוּ or וִיבִרְכֵהוּ, but under the guttural where it is not, as in וִיבִרְכֵהוּ. This practice in C3 and L agrees with that in A (Yeivin 1968: 21–22). In my edition, I have adopted the familiar typographic convention of placing the furtive *pataḥ* below the guttural.

Where C3 contains an obvious error, I have preferred the unanimous reading of the other sources (note the superfluous *dageš* in C3 of 8:9 and 8:10). Even the best Masoretes made mistakes (note the superfluous *dageš* in A of 5:18; listed in Ofer 1989: 316). In the many areas of C3 with erasures and corrections, the presence or absence of *dageš* or *maqep* is often difficult to discern; hence, my collation of these details is not exact.

For the designation of open (פְּתוּחָה) and closed (סְתוּמָה) paragraphs in the critical text, I have also followed C3. They are marked in C3 with often-elaborate rectangular designs. I have indicated these divisions by a series of squares with the type of paragraph division indicated in brackets, □□[פ]□□ or □□[ס]□□. Following the precedent of HUBP, I have not burdened the apparatus with the numerous variations among the Masoretic manuscripts in paragraphing. All of the major Masoretic manuscripts diverge, and no sound basis is available for preferring one set to another (see Tov 1992a: 50–51).

The sigla for the Masoretic texts are from Yeivin (1980: 15–21; similarly Tov 1992a: 46–47), and the format for Apparatus II is generally drawn from the Masoretic apparatus of HUBP. I have retained the well-entrenched siglum L for the text still commonly called the Leningrad Codex or *Leningradensis* (cf. Barthélemy [1992: vii–viii], who uses siglum F for Firkovitch). In deference to recent history, I urge that textual critics refer to this important text by its correct toponym, St. Petersburg, hence the St. Petersburg Bible Codex. This was its designation for nearly half a century from its first description in 1875 (see Strack 1902: 728). Stalin renamed the city Leningrad in 1924 (it was Petrograd from 1914), but it is St. Petersburg once more.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Critical Text and Apparatuses

- 1 5 יום 1° M S G (ημεραν)] יומם 4QGen^g Tg^{OP} Syr; dittography (מזמ) or prps explication (יומם = “daytime”), cf 8:22
- 6 fin] + ויהי כן G (και εγενετο ουτος); transposed from v 7, harmonization with ויהי כן vv 9, 11, 15, 24, 30, cf v 3, cf below v 20
- 7 ויברל 4QGen^{b#g} M S G (και διεχωρισεν)] + אלהים G (ο θεος); explicating plus
 כן 4QGen^{bg} M S] om G; transposed to v 6
- 8 שמים 4QGen^{b#g#} M S G (ουρανου)] + וירא אלהים כי טוב G (και ειδεν ο θεος ουι καλον); harmonizing plus with וירא אלהים כי טוב vv 10, 12, 18, 21, 25, sim vv 4, 31
- 9 יקוו 4QGen^b M S G (συναχθητω)] יקאו 4QGen^g; parablepsis
 השמים 1° 4QGen^b M S] לשמים 4QGen^g Tg^J; linguistic modernization (LBH construction: -ל תחת)
 מקוה 4QGen^h G (συναγωγην)] מקום 4QGen^b M S Jub 2:5 LAB 15:6; prps graphic confusion (ה/ם)
 (ותרא היבנשה) 4QGen^{k#} יקוו המים מתחת השמים אל מקויהם ותרא היבשה G (και συναχθη το υδωρ το υποκατω του ουρανου εις τας συναγωγας αυτων και ωφθη η ξηρα) sim Jub 2:6] om 4QGen^{bg} M S; haplography by homoioarkton (ויק- ן ויק-) or prps homoioteleuton (היבשה ן היבשה)
- 11 זרע 4QGen^b M S G (σπερμα)] + למינהו G (κατα γενοσ και καθ' ομοιοτητα) Syr; harmonizing plus with זרע למינהו v 12, note double translation in both vv
 ועץ S G (και ξυλον) Tg^J Syr Vg] עץ 4QGen^b M; parablepsis
 פרי 2° 4QGen^b M S G (καρπον)] + למינו 4QGen^b M S; prps harmonizing plus with למינהו 2° v 12, cf next entry
 בו 4QGen^b M S G (εν αυτω)] + למינהו G (κατα γενοσ); harmonizing plus with למינהו בו v 12, cf previous entry
- 12 ועץ M S G (και ξυλον)] + פרי G (καρπιμου) Tg^P; harmonizing plus with פרי ועץ v 11
 למינהו 2° 4QGen^b M S G (κατα γενοσ)] + על הארץ G (επι της γης); harmonizing plus with על הארץ v 11
- 14 השמים 4QGen^{bk} M S G (του ουρανου)] + להאיר על הארץ S G (εις φασειν της γης); harmonizing plus with להאיר על הארץ vv 15, 17
 [ים ולש 4QGen^k G (και εις ενιαυτους) Syr] ושנים M S; parablepsis
- 20 ישרצו 4QGen^b M S] [יש]רצו 1QGen; dialectal variant (Qimron 1986: 50–53)

1 1 בְּרֵאשִׁית בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת הָאָרֶץ: 2 וְהָאָרֶץ הָיְתָה
 תְּהוֹ וְבָהוּ וְחֹשֶׁךְ עַל־פְּנֵי תְהוֹם וְרוּחַ אֱלֹהִים מְרַחֶפֶת עַל־פְּנֵי הַמַּיִם:
 3 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְהִי אוֹר וַיְהִי־אוֹר: 4 וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הָאוֹר כִּי־טוֹב וַיַּבְדֵּל
 אֱלֹהִים בֵּין הָאוֹר וּבֵין הַחֹשֶׁךְ: 5 וַיִּקְרָא אֱלֹהִים לְאוֹר יוֹם וּלְחֹשֶׁךְ קָרָא
 לַיְלָה וַיְהִי־עֶרֶב וַיְהִי־בֹקֶר יוֹם אֶחָד: 6 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְהִי
 רְקִיעַ בְּתוֹךְ הַמַּיִם וַיְהִי מַבְדִּיל בֵּין מַיִם לְמַיִם: 7 וַיַּעַשׂ אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הַרְקִיעַ
 וַיַּבְדֵּל בֵּין הַמַּיִם אֲשֶׁר מִתַּחַת לְרְקִיעַ וּבֵין הַמַּיִם אֲשֶׁר מֵעַל לְרְקִיעַ וַיְהִי־כֵן:
 8 וַיִּקְרָא אֱלֹהִים לְרְקִיעַ שָׁמַיִם וַיְהִי־עֶרֶב וַיְהִי־בֹקֶר יוֹם שֵׁנִי: 9 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יִקְווּ הַמַּיִם מִתַּחַת הַשָּׁמַיִם אֶל־מְקוֹה אֶחָד וְתִרְאֶה הַיַּבְשָׁה
 וַיְהִי־כֵן וַיִּקְווּ הַמַּיִם מִתַּחַת הַשָּׁמַיִם אֶל מְקוֹיהֶם וַתֵּרָא הַיַּבְשָׁה: 10 וַיִּקְרָא
 אֱלֹהִים לַיַּבְשָׁה אָרֶץ וּלְמְקוֹה הַמַּיִם קָרָא יַמִּים וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים כִּי־טוֹב:
 11 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים תְּדַשָּׂא הָאָרֶץ דָּשָׂא עֵשֶׂב מְזֵרִיעַ זֶרַע וְעֵץ פְּרִי עֵשֶׂה פְּרִי
 אֲשֶׁר זֶרַע־בוּ עַל־הָאָרֶץ וַיְהִי־כֵן: 12 וַתּוּצֵא הָאָרֶץ דָּשָׂא עֵשֶׂב מְזֵרִיעַ זֶרַע
 לְמִינֵהוּ וְעֵץ עֵשֶׂה־פְּרִי אֲשֶׁר זֶרַע־בוּ לְמִינֵהוּ וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים כִּי־טוֹב:
 13 וַיְהִי־עֶרֶב וַיְהִי־בֹקֶר יוֹם שְׁלִישִׁי: 14 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְהִי
 מְאֹרֶת בְּרְקִיעַ הַשָּׁמַיִם לְהַבְדִּיל בֵּין הַיּוֹם וּבֵין הַלַּיְלָה וְהָיוּ לְאֹתוֹת וּלְמוֹעֲדִים
 וּלְיָמִים וּלְשָׁנִים: 15 וְהָיוּ לְמְאֹרֶת בְּרְקִיעַ הַשָּׁמַיִם לְהָאִיר עַל־הָאָרֶץ
 וַיְהִי־כֵן: 16 וַיַּעַשׂ אֱלֹהִים אֶת־שְׁנֵי הַמְּאֹרֶת הַגְּדֹלִים אֶת־הַמְּאֹר הַגָּדֹל
 לְמַמְשֶׁלֶת הַיּוֹם וְאֶת־הַמְּאֹר הַקָּטָן לְמַמְשֶׁלֶת הַלַּיְלָה וְאֵת הַכּוֹכָבִים: 17 וַיִּתֵּן
 אֹתָם אֱלֹהִים בְּרְקִיעַ הַשָּׁמַיִם לְהָאִיר עַל־הָאָרֶץ: 18 וּלְמַשֵּׁל בַּיּוֹם וּבַלַּיְלָה
 וּלְהַבְדִּיל בֵּין הָאוֹר וּבֵין הַחֹשֶׁךְ וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים כִּי־טוֹב: 19 וַיְהִי־עֶרֶב
 וַיְהִי־בֹקֶר יוֹם רְבִיעִי: 20 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יִשְׂרְצוּ הַמַּיִם

1 3 C3 L] יהי V || 9 L V] יקוו C3 (see Yeivin 1968: 49; 1980:

285–86) || 12 C3 V] עשה L || 14 C3 L] השמים V ||

15 C3 L] למאורת V || 18 C3 V] ולהבדיל L

- 1 20 fin] + ויהי כן G (*και εγενετο ουτος*); harmonizing plus, cf above v 6
- 22 לאמר 4QGen^{b#d} M S G (*λεγων*)] ויאמר להם Syr; harmonizing plus with להם ויאמר v 28, cf below v 28 (G)
- ירב 4QGen^b M] ירבה 4QGen^g S; linguistic modernization (jussive form → imperfect form, frequent in S)
- 24 ארץ וחיתו M] וחית הארץ S; linguistic modernization and/or harmonization with חית הארץ v 25
- 26 ובבהמה M S G (*και των κτηνων*)] + ובכל הארץ M S G (*και πασης της γης*); + ובכל חית הארץ Syr; corrupt phrase, prps haplography (-ה- ל- ח-ל-); Syr adds harmonization with וחית הארץ v 25; correct phrase follows (ובכל . . . הארץ)
- 27 מצלם M S] om G; haplography by homoioarkton (בצל- ח בצל-)
- 28 ויאמר להם אלהים M S] לאמר G (*λεγων*); harmonization with לאמר v 22, cf above v 22 (Syr)
- ושמים M S G (*του ουρανου*)] + ובבהמה Syr; harmonizing plus with ובבהמה v 26
- ושמים ובבהמה ובכל הארץ ובכל הרמש M S] ובכל חיה הרמש (*και παντων των κτηνων και πασης της γης και παντων των ερπετων των ερποντων*); harmonizing plus with ובכל הארץ ובכל הרמש v 26
- 29 עשב זרע M S G (*χορτον σποριμον*)] + מזריע? G (*σπειρον*); harmonizing plus with עשב מזריע vv 11-12, or prps dittography (זרע זרע)
- פרי M S G (*καρπον*)] + עץ M S (om G); prps anticipation of עץ פרי 3:2 and 3:3
- 30 ולכל 3 ° M S G (*και παντι*)] + רמש G (*ερπετω*); harmonizing plus with ובכל הרמש vv 26, 28 (G)
- 2 2 הששי S G (*τη εκτη*) Syr Jub 2:16] השביעי M; anticipation of השביעי v 2 by anticipation, note similar phraseology in both halves of v 2 (. . . ביום מלאכתו אשר עשה)
- 4 אלה M S] זה ספר תולדת G (*Αυτη η βιβλος*); harmonization with זה ספר תולדת 5:1
- 4 אלהים M S] אלהים G (*ο θεος*); (mult) prps harmonization with divine name of 1:1-2:4a; frequent but not consistent in G, see below 4:1
- את השמים ואת הארץ G (*τον ουρανον και την γην*); harmonization with השמים והארץ v 4
- 9 אלהים M S G (*ο θεος*)] + עור G (*ετι*); explicating plus, cf 1:11-12, sim 2:19

שָׂרָץ נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה וְעוֹף יְעוֹפֵף עַל־הָאָרֶץ עַל־פְּנֵי רְקִיעַ הַשָּׁמַיִם: ²¹ וַיִּבְרָא
 אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הַתַּנִּינִם הַגְּדֹלִים וְאֵת כָּל־נֶפֶשׁ הַחַיָּה הַרְמֵשֶׁת אֲשֶׁר שָׂרְצוּ הַמַּיִם
 לַמַּיִנָּה וְאֵת כָּל־עוֹף כְּנָף לַמַּיִנָּה וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים כִּי־טוֹב: ²² וַיְבָרֶךְ אֹתָם
 אֱלֹהִים לֵאמֹר פְּרוּ וּרְבוּ וּמְלֵאוּ אֶת־הַמַּיִם בַּיַּמִּים וְהָעוֹף יִרֶב בָּאָרֶץ:
²³ וַיְהִי־עֶרֶב וַיְהִי־בֹקֶר יוֹם חַמִּישִׁי: □□[פ]□□ ²⁴ וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים
 תּוֹצֵא הָאָרֶץ נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה לַמַּיִנָּה בְּהֵמָה וּרְמֵשׁ וְחַיֵּת־אָרֶץ לַמַּיִנָּה וַיְהִי־כֵן:
²⁵ וַיַּעַשׂ אֱלֹהִים אֶת־חַיֵּת הָאָרֶץ לַמַּיִנָּה וְאֶת־בְּהֵמָה לַמַּיִנָּה וְאֵת כָּל־רְמֵשׁ
 הָאֲדָמָה לַמַּיִנָּה וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים כִּי־טוֹב: ²⁶ וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים נַעֲשֵׂה אָדָם
 בְּצַלְמֵנוּ כְּדְמוּתֵנוּ וַיְרִדּוּ בְּדַגַּת הַיָּם וּבְעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם וּבְבְּהֵמָה וּבְכָל־הַרְמֵשׁ
 הַרְמֵשׁ עַל־הָאָרֶץ: ²⁷ וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הָאָדָם בְּצַלְמוֹ בְּצֶלֶם אֱלֹהִים בָּרָא
 אֹתוֹ זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה בָּרָא אֹתָם: ²⁸ וַיְבָרֶךְ אֹתָם אֱלֹהִים וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם אֱלֹהִים פְּרוּ
 וּרְבוּ וּמְלֵאוּ אֶת־הָאָרֶץ וּכְבֹּשׁוּהָ וַיְרִדוּ בְּדַגַּת הַיָּם וּבְעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם וּבְכָל־חַיָּה
 הַרְמֵשֶׁת עַל־הָאָרֶץ: ²⁹ וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים הִנֵּה נָתַתִּי לָכֶם אֶת־כָּל־עֵשֶׂב זֶרַע זֶרַע
 אֲשֶׁר עַל־פְּנֵי כָל־הָאָרֶץ וְאֶת־כָּל־הָעֵץ אֲשֶׁר־בוֹ פְּרִי זֶרַע זֶרַע לָכֶם יִהְיֶה
 לְאֹכְלָהּ: ³⁰ וְלִכְלֵי־חַיֵּת הָאָרֶץ וְלִכְלֵ־עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם וְלִכֹּל רוֹמֵשׁ עַל־הָאָרֶץ
 אֲשֶׁר־בוֹ נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה אֶת־כָּל־יֶרֶק עֵשֶׂב לְאֹכְלָהּ וַיְהִי־כֵן: ³¹ וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים
 אֶת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה וְהִנֵּה־טוֹב מְאֹד וַיְהִי־עֶרֶב וַיְהִי־בֹקֶר יוֹם הַשֵּׁשִׁי:
 □□[פ]□□

¹ 2 וַיִּכְלוּ הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ וְכָל־צְבָאָם: ² וַיִּכַּל אֱלֹהִים בַּיּוֹם הַשֵּׁשִׁי
 מְלֹאכְתוֹ אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה וַיִּשְׁבַּת בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי מִכָּל־מְלֹאכְתוֹ אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה:
³ וַיְבָרֶךְ אֱלֹהִים אֶת־יוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי וַיְקַדֵּשׁ אֹתוֹ כִּי בּוֹ שָׁבַת מִכָּל־מְלֹאכְתוֹ
 אֲשֶׁר־בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים לַעֲשׂוֹת: □□[פ]□□ ⁴ אֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדוֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם
 וְהָאָרֶץ בְּהַבְרָאָם בַּיּוֹם עָשׂוֹת יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אָרֶץ וּשְׁמַיִם: ⁵ וְכֹל שֵׁיחַ הַשָּׂדֶה
 טָרֵם יִהְיֶה בָּאָרֶץ וְכָל־עֵשֶׂב הַשָּׂדֶה טָרֵם יִצְמַח כִּי לֹא הִמְטִיר יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים
 עַל־הָאָרֶץ וְאָדָם אֵין לַעֲבֹד אֶת־הָאֲדָמָה: ⁶ וְאֵד יַעֲלֶה מִן־הָאָרֶץ וְהַשִּׁקָּה
 אֶת־כָּל־פְּנֵי־הָאֲדָמָה: ⁷ וַיִּיצֵר יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הָאָדָם עֶפְרָ מִן־הָאֲדָמָה וַיַּפֵּחַ
 בְּאָפִיו נִשְׁמַת חַיִּים וַיְהִי הָאָדָם לְנֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה: ⁸ וַיִּטַּע יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים גֶּן־בְּעֵדֶן
 מִקְדָּם וַיִּשֶׂם שֵׁם אֶת־הָאָדָם אֲשֶׁר יָצָר: ⁹ וַיִּצְמַח יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים מִן־הָאֲדָמָה

|| V ב | C3 הבהמה 25 || V עף | C3 ל | עוף 21 || V ג | C3 L הגדלים 21

|| V כ | C3 L כי 23 || V ד | C3 L ורדו 28 || C3 (not consistently

thereafter) V S (from 9:26) ו | L || V פני | L פני 6

- 2 11 חוילה $S^{mss} G$ (Ευιλιατ)] החוילה $M S$; prps dittography with graphic confusion (ח/ה)
- 12 היא $M^Q S Tg^P$ Syr] ההוא $M^K Tg^O$; (mult; Gen 2:12; 3:12; 3:20; 4:22; 10:11; 10:12, etc.) graphic confusion (ו/י), frequent in Pentateuch: *qêrê perpetuum*
 טוב $M S G$ (καλον)] + מאד S ; exegetical plus
- 14 ושם $M S$] om G ; haplography by homoioteleuton (שם- ן שהם-) reminiscence of ושם הנהר v 13
 הרקל $4QGen^b M$] הרקל S ; weakening of guttural
- 15 האדם $4QGen^b M S G$ (τον ανθρωπον)] + אשר יצר G (ον επλασεν); harmonizing plus with האדם אשר יצר v 8
 ה- (2×: ולעברה ולשמרה)] ה- (2×) M ; older orthography of final ה for -ô, vocalized in M as -â, cf below 4:7, 9:21
- 17 תאכל $4QGen^{b\#} M S$] תאכלו G (φαγεσθε); harmonization with תאכלו ממנו 3:3
 תמות $4QGen^b M S$] תמותו G (αποθανεισθε); harmonization of number, see previous entry
- 18 אעשה $4QGen^{bh} M S$] נעשה G (ποιησωμεν) Vg Jub 3:4; harmonization with נעשה 1:26
- 19 אלהים $4QGen^b M S G$ (ο θεος)] + עוד $S G$ (ετι); explicating plus, cf 1:24–25, sim 2:9
- 20 עוף ולכל G (και πασιυ τοις πετεινοις) Tg^J Syr Vg] ולעוף $M S$; haplography by homoioteleuton (ל- ן ל-)
- 23 מאיש M] מאישה $S G$ (εκ του ανδρος αυτης) Tg^O Jub 3:6; prps explicating plus, or harmonization with לאישה 3:6
 לקחה $M S G$ (ελημφθη)] + זאת $M S$ (om G Syr); explicating plus
- 24 והיו $M G$ (εσονται)] + שניהם G (οι δυο) Tg^P Syr Vg sim S (והיה משניהם); harmonizing plus with והיו שניהם v 25
- 3 1 ויאמר $4QGen^{k\#} M S G$ (και ειπεν)] + הנחש G (ο οφεις) Syr; explicating plus
 אף $M S$] האף $4QGen^k$; linguistic modernization or dittography (ה-ה-)
- 2 מפרי $M S G$ (απο καρπου)] + כל G^{mss} (παντος) Syr; harmonizing plus, cf מכל עץ v 1
- 3 העץ $M S G$ (του ξυλου)] + הזה S ; explicating plus
- 6 ונחמד $M S G$ (και ωραιον)] + העץ $M S$ (om $G Vg$); explicating or harmonizing plus with העץ v 6
 ויאכל M] ויאכלו $S G$ (εφαγον); explicating or harmonizing plus with ויאכלו vv 1, 3 (cf 2:17, G), or dittography (ו-ו)

כִּלְעֵץ נִחְמַד לְמַרְאֵה וְטוֹב לְמֵאֲכָל וְעֵץ הַחַיִּים בְּתוֹךְ הַגֵּן וְעֵץ הַדַּעַת טוֹב וְרַע: ¹⁰ וַיְהִי יֵצֵא מֵעֵדֶן לְהַשְׁקוֹת אֶת־הַגֵּן וּמִשָּׁם יִפְרֹד וְהָיָה לְאַרְבַּעַה רְאשִׁים: ¹¹ שֵׁם הָאֶמֶד פִּישׁוֹן הוּא הַסֹּבֵב אֶת כָּל־אֶרֶץ חוּלָה אֲשֶׁר־שָׁם הַנְּהָב: ¹² וְזֶהב הָאֶרֶץ הִיא טוֹב שֵׁם הַבְּדֹלַח וְאֲבֵן הַשֹּׁהַם: ¹³ וְשֵׁם־הַנְּהָר הַשְּׁנַי גִּיחוֹן הוּא הַסֹּבֵב אֶת כָּל־אֶרֶץ כּוּשׁ: ¹⁴ וְשֵׁם הַנְּהָר הַשְּׁלִישִׁי חַדְקַל הוּא הַהַלֵּךְ קְדַמַת אֲשׁוּר וְהַנְּהָר הַרְבִּיעִי הוּא פָּרַת: ¹⁵ וַיִּקַּח יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הָאָדָם וַיְנַחֲהוּ בְּגֵן־עֵדֶן לְעֹבְדָה וּלְשִׁמְרָה: ¹⁶ וַיִּצַו יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים עַל־הָאָדָם לֵאמֹר מִכָּל עֵץ־הַגֵּן אָכַל תֹּאכַל: ¹⁷ וּמֵעֵץ הַדַּעַת טוֹב וְרַע לֹא תֹאכַל מִמֶּנּוּ כִּי בְיוֹם אֲכָלְךָ מִמֶּנּוּ מוֹת תָּמוּת: ¹⁸ וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים לֹא־טוֹב הִיּוֹת הָאָדָם לְבַדּוֹ אֶעֱשֶׂה־לּוֹ עֹזֵר כְּנֶגְדּוֹ: ¹⁹ וַיִּצַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים מִן־הָאָדָמָה כָּל־חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה וְאֵת כָּל־עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם וַיָּבֵא אֵל־הָאָדָם לְרֹאוֹת מַה־יִּקְרָאוּ לוֹ וְכָל אֲשֶׁר יִקְרָאוּ לוֹ הָאָדָם נָפֵשׁ חַיָּה הוּא שְׁמוֹ: ²⁰ וַיִּקְרָא הָאָדָם שְׁמוֹת לְכָל־הַבְּהֵמָה וּלְכָל עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם וּלְכָל חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה וּלְאָדָם לֹא־מָצָא עֹזֵר כְּנֶגְדּוֹ: ²¹ וַיִּפֹּל יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים תְּרַדְמָה עַל־הָאָדָם וַיִּישָׁן וַיִּקַּח אַחַת מִצְלָעֹתָיו וַיִּסְגֹּר בָּשָׂר תַּחְתָּנָה: ²² וַיִּבֶן יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הַצֶּלַע אֲשֶׁר־לָקַח מִן־הָאָדָם לְאִשָּׁה וַיֵּבְאֶה אֶל־הָאָדָם: ²³ וַיֹּאמֶר הָאָדָם זֹאת הִפְעַם עָצָם מֵעַצְמִי וּבָשָׂר מִבְּשָׂרִי לְזֹאת יִקְרָא אִשָּׁה כִּי מֵאִישׁ לָקַחְתָּ: ²⁴ עַל־כֵּן יִעֲזֹב־אִישׁ אֶת־אָבִיו וְאֶת־אִמּוֹ וְדָבַק בְּאִשְׁתּוֹ וְהָיוּ לְבָשָׂר אֶחָד: ²⁵ וַיְהִי שְׁנֵיהֶם עֶרְוִים הָאָדָם וְאִשְׁתּוֹ וְלֹא יִתְבַּשְׁשׁוּ:

3 ¹ וְהַנְּחַשׁ הָיָה עֶרּוֹם מִכָּל חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים

וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־הָאִשָּׁה אַף כִּי־אָמַר אֱלֹהִים לֹא תֹאכְלוּ מִכָּל עֵץ הַגֵּן: ² וְתֹאמַר

הָאִשָּׁה אֶל־הַנְּחַשׁ מִפְּרִי עֵץ־הַגֵּן נֹאכַל: ³ וּמִפְּרִי הָעֵץ אֲשֶׁר בְּתוֹךְ־הַגֵּן אָמַר

אֱלֹהִים לֹא תֹאכְלוּ מִמֶּנּוּ וְלֹא תִגְעוּ בוֹ פֶּן־תָּמוּתוּן: ⁴ וַיֹּאמֶר הַנְּחַשׁ

אֶל־הָאִשָּׁה לֹא־מוֹת תָּמוּתוּן: ⁵ כִּי יֹדַע אֱלֹהִים כִּי בְיוֹם אֲכָלְכֶם מִמֶּנּוּ וּנְפָקוּחוֹ

עֵינֵיכֶם וְהָיִיתֶם כַּאֱלֹהִים יֹדְעֵי טוֹב וְרַע: ⁶ וְתָרָא הָאִשָּׁה כִּי טוֹב הָעֵץ

לְמֵאֲכָל וְכִי תֵאֵוָה־הוּא לְעֵינַיִם וּנְחַמֵּד לְהַשְׁכִּיל וּתְקַח מִפְּרִיו וּתֹאכַל וּתִתֵּן

גַּם־לְאִשָּׁה עִמָּה וַיֹּאכַל: ⁷ וּתְפַקְחָנָה עֵינֵי שְׁנֵיהֶם וַיִּדְעוּ כִּי עִרְמָם הֵם

וַיִּתְּפְרוּ עַל־הַ תְּאֵנָה וַיַּעֲשׂוּ לָהֶם חֲגֹרֹת: ⁸ וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ אֶת־קוֹל יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים

|| 7 V L 3 C || כנגדו 18 || L ה V 3 C || אעשה 18 || V L 3 C || הרביעי 14

|| 5 L 3 C || ידע 5 || N ב בתוך L 3 V C || בתוך 3 3 || V L ק 3 C || לקחה 23

|| 5 V יודע || V L 3 C || אכלכם 5 ||

- 3 9 לו M S G (αυτω)] + ארם G (Αδαμ) Syr; explicating plus
- 10 ויאמר M S G (και ειπεν)] + לו G (αυτω); explicating plus
 שמעתי M S G (ηκουσα)] + מיתהלך G (περιπατουτος); harmonizing plus
 with מיתהלך בגן v 8
- 11 ויאמר M S G (και ειπεν)] + לו G (αυτω); + לו יהוה Syr; explicating
 plus
 עירם M] ערום 1QGen ([ער]ום) S; linguistic modernization, sim vv 7, 10
 (S)
- 15 ישופך M S] ישכך G (τηρησει); graphic confusion (פ/כ), see next entry
 תשופנו M S] תשוכנו G (τηρησεις); graphic confusion (פ/כ), see previous
 entry
- 16 והרנך M S] והריונך G (και στεναγμον σου) Jub 3:24; exegetical
 revision, or prps graphic confusion (ר/ג)?
 בעצב M] בעצבון S; harmonization with בעצבונך v 16
 תשוקתך M S] תשובתך G (η απостροφη σου) Tg^{ON} Syr Jub 3:24; exegetical
 revision, or prps graphic confusion (ק/ב)?, sim 4:7
- 17 לא תאכל M S] לא תאכל G (τουτου μονου μη φαγειν); harmoniza-
 tion with לא תאכל v 11, note emphatic translation in both instances
 בעבורך M S] בעבורך G (εν τοις εργοις σου) Vg; graphic confusion
 (ר/ר), cf below 8:21
- 19 לחם M S] לחמך G (τον αρτον σου); explicating plus
 עפר 2^o M G (γην)] עפרך S; explicating plus, or prps dittography with
 graphic confusion (ך/ר)
- 22 ולקח M S G (και λαβη)] + גם M S (om G Syr^{mss}); explicating plus, cf
 ותקח מפריו 3:6
- 24 וישכן M S G (και κατακισεν)] + אתו G (αυτον); explicating or exegetical
 plus, see next entry
 ערן M S G (τροφης)] + וישם G (και σταξεν); explicating or exegetical
 plus, note the variant distribution of objects with verbs
- 4 1 יהוה M S] אלהים G (θεου); (mult) frequent in G, see above 2:4

מִתְהַלֵּךְ בְּגֵן לְרוֹחַ הַיּוֹם וַיִּתְחַבֵּא הָאָדָם וְאִשְׁתּוֹ מִפְּנֵי יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים בְּתוֹךְ עֵץ
 הַגֵּן: ⁹ וַיִּקְרָא יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אֶל־הָאָדָם וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ אַיֶּכָּה: ¹⁰ וַיֹּאמֶר אֶת־קִלְךָ
 שָׁמַעְתִּי בְּגֵן וְאִירָא כִּי־עִירַם אֲנֹכִי וְאֶחְבֵּא: ¹¹ וַיֹּאמֶר מִי הֲגִיד לְךָ כִּי עִירַם
 אֶתָּה הַמֶּן־הָעֵץ אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִיךָ לִבְלֹתִי אֲכַל־מִמֶּנּוּ אֲכַלְתָּ: ¹² וַיֹּאמֶר הָאָדָם
 הָאִשָּׁה אֲשֶׁר נָתַתָּה עִמָּדִי הִיא נָתַנָּה־לִּי מִן־הָעֵץ וְאָכַל: ¹³ וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה
 אֱלֹהִים לָאִשָּׁה מַה־זֹּאת עָשִׂית וְתֹאמְרִי הָאִשָּׁה הִנְחֵשׁ הַשִּׂיאֲנִי וְאָכַל:
¹⁴ וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אֶל־הַנְּחֹשׁ כִּי עָשִׂיתָ זֹאת אֲרוּרָה אַתָּה מִכָּל־הַבְּהֵמָה
 וּמִכָּל חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה עַל־גַּחְנוֹךָ תֵּלֵךְ וְעַפְרָ תֹאכַל כָּל־יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ: ¹⁵ וְאִיבָה
 אִשִּׁית בִּינְךָ וּבֵין הָאִשָּׁה וּבֵין זָרְעֶךָ וּבֵין זָרְעָהּ הוּא יִשׁוּפֶךָ רֹאשׁ וְאַתָּה
 תִּשׁוּפֶנּוּ עֶקֶב: □□[ס]□□ ¹⁶ אֶל־הָאִשָּׁה אָמַר הַרְבֵּה אַרְבֵּה עֲצָבוֹנְךָ
 וְהַרְבֵּךְ בַּעֲצָב תִּלְדִּי בָנִים וְאֶל־אִישׁךָ תִּשְׁוֹקֶתְךָ וְהוּא יִמְשָׁל־בְּךָ:
 □□[ס]□□ ¹⁷ וְלָאָדָם אָמַר כִּי־שָׁמַעְתָּ לְקוֹל אִשְׁתְּךָ וְתֹאכַל מִן־הָעֵץ אֲשֶׁר
 צִוִּיתִיךָ לֵאמֹר לֹא תֹאכַל מִמֶּנּוּ אַרְוִרָה הָאָדָמָה בַּעֲבוּרֶךָ בַּעֲצָבוֹן תֹּאכְלֶנָּה כָּל
 יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ: ¹⁸ וְקוֹץ וְדַרְדַּר תַּצְמִיחַ לְךָ וְאֲכַלְתָּ אֶת־עֵשֶׂב הַשָּׂדֶה: ¹⁹ בְּזַעַת
 אִפְיֶךָ תֹּאכַל לֶחֶם עַד שׁוֹבֶכָה אֶל־הָאָדָמָה כִּי מִמֶּנָּה לָקַחְתָּ כִּי־עֶפְרָה אַתָּה
 וְאֶל־עֶפְרָה תָּשׁוּב: ²⁰ וַיִּקְרָא הָאָדָם שֵׁם אִשְׁתּוֹ חַוָּה כִּי הִיא הֵיטָה אִם כָּל־חַי:
²¹ וַיַּעַשׂ יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים לָאָדָם וְלָאִשְׁתּוֹ כְּתַנּוֹת עוֹר וַיְלַבֵּשֵׁם: □□[פ]□□
²² וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים הֵן הָאָדָם הָיָה כְּאֶחָד מִמֶּנּוּ לָדַעַת טוֹב וָרָע וְעַתָּה
 פְּנוּ־יִשְׁלַח יָדוֹ וְלָקַח מֵעֵץ הַחַיִּים וְאָכַל וְחַי לְעֹלָם: ²³ וַיִּשְׁלַחֵהוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים
 מִגֵּן־עֵדֶן לְעַבֵּד אֶת־הָאָדָמָה אֲשֶׁר לָקַח מִשָּׁם: ²⁴ וַיִּגְרַשׁ אֶת־הָאָדָם וַיִּשְׁכֵּן
 מִקֶּדֶם לְגֵן־עֵדֶן אֶת־הַכְּרָבִים וְאֵת לֵהט הַחֲרֹב הַמִּתְהַפֵּכֶת לְשָׁמֵר אֶת־דַּרְךְ עֵץ
 הַחַיִּים: □□[ס]□□

¹ 4 וְהָאָדָם יָדַע אֶת־חַוָּה אִשְׁתּוֹ וַתְּהַר וַתֵּלֵד אֶת־קַיִן וַתֹּאמֶר קָנִיתִי
 אִישׁ אֶת־יְהוָה: ² וַתִּסֶּף לָלֶדֶת אֶת־אָחִיו אֶת־הָבֶל וַיְהִי־הֶבֶל רֹעֵה צֹאן וְקַיִן
 הָיָה עֹבֵד אֲדָמָה: ³ וַיְהִי מִקֵּץ יָמִים וַיָּבֵא קַיִן מִפְּרִי הָאָדָמָה מִנְחָה לַיהוָה:
⁴ וְהֶבֶל הֵבִיא גַם־הוּא מִבְּכֹרוֹת צֹאנוֹ וּמִחֻלְבֵּהֶן וַיִּשַׁע יְהוָה אֶל־הֶבֶל
 וְאֶל־מִנְחָתוֹ: ⁵ וְאֶל־קַיִן וְאֶל־מִנְחָתוֹ לֹא שָׁעָה וַיַּחַר לְקַיִן מְאֹד וַיִּפְּלוּ פָּנָיו:
⁶ וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־קַיִן לָמָּה חָרָה לְךָ וְלָמָּה נָפְלוּ פָּנֶיךָ: ⁷ הֲלוֹא אִם־תֵּיטִיב

□□[ס]□□ || LV כי | C3 כי 17 || V צ | C3 L עצבונוך 16 || V כ | C3 L אכל 11

□□[פ]□□ || V 2° | C3 L 2° כי 19 || V כל | C3 L תאכלנה 17

V ב | C3 L ומחלבהן 4 4

- 47 לפתח M S] לנתח? G (διελης); prps graphic confusion (פ/נ)?
 *תרבץן] רבץן 4QGen^{b#} M S G (ησυχασσον); simple haplography (תת)
 *ה־ (2×: בה, תשוקתה, בַּה־)] ה־ (2×: בו, תשוקתו, בּו־) 4QGen^b (only בו) M S;
 orthographic modernization: older orthography for final -â (also for final -ô) revised to newer orthography for final -ô
 תשוקתו 4QGen^{b#} M S] תשובתו G (η αποστροφη σου) Tg^O Syr; exegetical revision, or prps graphic confusion (ק/ב)?, sim 3:16
- 8 השרה S G (Διελθωμεν εις το πεδιον) Tg^P Syr Vg] om 4QGen^b M;
 parablepsis, prps by anticipation of similar sequence in following clause:
 . . . קין אל הבל אחיו ויה . . .
- 10 ויאמר 4QGen^{b#} M S G (και ειπεν)] + אלהים G (ο θεος); + לו יהוה Syr;
 explicating plus
 רמי M] דם S G (αιματος) Tg^{ON} Syr Jub 4:3; linguistic modernization or
 revision, see next two entries
 מעקים 4QGen^{b#} M] צעק S G (βοα) Syr; linguistic revision, see previous
 entry
- 11 רמי M] דם S G (αιμα) Tg^{ON} Syr; linguistic revision, see v 10
- 15 לכן M S] לא כן G (Ουχ ουτως) Syr Vg; linguistic or exegetical revision
- 16 נוד M S] ניד G? (Ναιδ); prps graphic confusion (י/ו)
- 18 עירד 1-2° M S] עירד G (Γαιδαδ); עירד Syr; graphic confusion (ר/ד), cf
 ירד 5:18-20
 מחיאל 1° cf M (מחיאל) S (מחיאל) G (Μαηηλ) and vocalic pattern of
 Vg (Maviahel)] מחויאל M; graphic confusion (י/ו), prps by anticipation
 of vocalic pattern of מתושאל v 18
 מתושאל 1-2° M S] מתושלח G (Μαθουσαλα); harmonization with
 מתושלח 5:21-27
- 20 אהל ומקנה M S] אהלי מקנה G? (εν σαηναις κτηνοτροφω); prps word
 misdivision with graphic confusion (י/ו), cf אהלי מקנה 2 Chron 14:14
- 22 <אבי כל>] om M S G; parablepsis, cf Tg^O (הוא הוה רבהון דכל) and Tg^J
 (רב לכל)
- תובל 2° M S] תובל 2° G (θοβελ) LAB 2:9; corruption of name, cf
 תובל 1° rendered in G as θοβελ και ηη
- 25 אדם M S G (Αδαμ)] + עוד M S (om G); explicating plus with v 1, see
 next two entries

שָׁאת וְאִם לֹא תִיטֵיב לִפְתַּח חֲטָאת תִּרְבֵּץ וְאֵלֶיךָ תִּשׁוּקָתָהּ וְאַתָּה תִּמְשָׁל־בָּהּ:
 8 וַיֹּאמֶר קַיִן אֶל־הֶבֶל אָחִיו נֹלְכָה הַשְּׂדֵה וַיְהִי בְהִיּוֹתָם בַּשָּׂדֶה וַיִּקָּם קַיִן
 אֶל־הֶבֶל אָחִיו וַיְהַרְגֵהוּ: 9 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־קַיִן אֵי הֶבֶל אָחִיךָ וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא
 יָדַעְתִּי הֲשֹׁמֵר אָחִי אָנֹכִי: 10 וַיֹּאמֶר מָה עָשִׂיתָ קוֹל דְּמֵי אָחִיךָ צֹעֲקִים אֵלַי
 מִן־הָאֲדָמָה: 11 וְעַתָּה אָרוּר אַתָּה מִן־הָאֲדָמָה אֲשֶׁר פָּצְתָהּ אֶת־פִּיהָ לְקַחַת
 אֶת־דְּמֵי אָחִיךָ מִיָּדְךָ: 12 כִּי תַעֲבֹד אֶת־הָאֲדָמָה לֹא־תִסָּפֵף תִּתֵּן־כֹּחָהּ לָךְ נָע וְנָד
 תִּהְיֶה בְּאָרֶץ: 13 וַיֹּאמֶר קַיִן אֶל־יְהוָה גְּדוֹל עֲוֹנִי מִנְּשָׂא: 14 הֵן גֵּרַשְׁתָּ אֹתִי
 הַיּוֹם מֵעַל פְּנֵי הָאֲדָמָה וּמִפְּנֵיךָ אֶסָּתֵר וְהָיִיתִי נָע וְנָד בְּאָרֶץ וְהָיָה כָּל־מֹצְאֵי
 יְהַרְגֵנִי: 15 וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ יְהוָה לִכֵּן כָּל־הַרְגַּ קַיִן שִׁבְעָתַיִם יִקָּם וַיִּשֶׂם יְהוָה לְקַיִן
 אוֹת לְבִלְתִּי הַכּוֹת־אֹתוֹ כָּל־מֹצְאוֹ: 16 וַיֵּצֵא קַיִן מִלְּפָנֵי יְהוָה וַיֵּשֶׁב בְּאָרֶץ־נוֹד
 קְדֵמַת־עֵדֵן: 17 וַיֵּדַע קַיִן אֶת־אִשְׁתּוֹ וַתֵּהָרֵ וַתֵּלֶד אֶת־חַנוּךְ וַיְהִי בְנָה עִיר
 וַיִּקְרָא שֵׁם הָעִיר כְּשֵׁם בְּנוֹ חַנוּךְ: 18 וַיִּוָּלֵד לְחַנוּךְ אֶת־עֵירֵד וְעֵירֵד יָלַד
 אֶת־מַחִיִּיאֵל וּמַחִיִּיאֵל יָלַד אֶת־מֶתוּשָׁאֵל וּמֶתוּשָׁאֵל יָלַד אֶת־לָמֶךְ:
 19 וַיִּקְחֵלוּ לְמֶךְ שְׁתֵּי נָשִׁים שֵׁם הָאֶחָת עֵדָה וְשֵׁם הַשֵּׁנִית צֵלָה: 20 וַתֵּלֶד
 עֵדָה אֶת־יִבְלֵ הוּא הָיָה אָבִי יֵשֶׁב אֶהֱל וּמִקְנָה: 21 וְשֵׁם אָחִיו יִבְלֵ הוּא הָיָה
 אָבִי כָּל־תִּפְשׁ כְּנוּר וְעוּגָב: 22 וְצֵלָה גַם־הִיא יָלְדָה אֶת־תוֹבֵל קַיִן <אָבִי כָּל־
 לִטְשׁ כָּל־חֶרֶשׁ נְחֹשֶׁת וּבְרֹזֶל וְאַחֹת תוֹבֵל־קַיִן נַעֲמָה: 23 וַיֹּאמֶר לְמֶךְ לְנָשָׁיו
 עֵדָה וְצֵלָה שְׁמַעַן קוֹלִי נָשִׁי לְמֶךְ הָאֲזוּנָה אִמְרָתִי כִּי אִישׁ הִרְגֵתִי לִפְצָעֵי וַיִּלְד
 לְחַבְרָתִי: 24 כִּי שִׁבְעָתַיִם יִקָּם־קַיִן וְלְמֶךְ שִׁבְעִים וְשִׁבְעָה: 25 וַיֵּדַע אָדָם

- 4 25 את 1° M S] + חוה G (Ευα) Syr; harmonizing plus with את חוה אשתו v 1
 1
 אתו M S G (την γυναικα αυτου)] + ותהר G (και συλλαβουσα) Syr;
 harmonizing plus with ותהר ותלד v 1
 ויקרא את M] ויקרא S 11QJub 1.2 (= Jub 4:7); harmonization with ויקרא את
 שמו v 26
 ש 1° M S G (Σηθ)] + לאמר G (λεγουσα) Vg sim Tg^{ON(mg)J}; harmo-
 nizing plus with לאמר 5:29
- 26 ולשת M S G (και τω Σηθ)] + גם הוא M S (om G); harmonizing plus, cf
 גם הוא ילדה v 22 and גם הוא ילד 10:21
 זה G (ουτος) Tg^P Syr Vg 11QJub^M 3.2 (= Jub 4:12)] אז M S; para-
 blepsis, prps with simple haplography (-ה -ה)
 החל S Syr cf 11QJub^M 3.2 ([ריאשון]) (= Jub 4:12)] הוחל M G (ηλπισεν,
 from √חל); parablepsis, cf construction: (inf. cst.) לחל 6:1; 10:8
- 5 3 130 M S] 230 G; revision of chronology
 *בן] om M S G; haplography by homoioarkton (-ב ן -ב)
- 4 800 M S] 700 G; revision of chronology
- 6 105 M S] 205 G; revision of chronology
- 7 807 M S] 707 G; revision of chronology
- 9 90 M S] 190 G; revision of chronology
- 10 815 M S] 715 G; revision of chronology
- 12 70 M S] 170 G; revision of chronology
- 13 840 M S] 740 G; revision of chronology
- 15 65 M S] 165 G; revision of chronology
- 16 830 M S] 730 G; revision of chronology
- 18 62 S] 162 M G; revision of chronology
- 19 *900] 800 M G; 785 S; revision of chronology
- 20 962 M G] 847 S; revision of chronology
- 21 65 M S] 165 G; revision of chronology
- 22 300 M S] 200 G; revision of chronology
- 23 ויהי S G (και εγενετο)] ויהי M; simple haplography with graphic con-
 fusion (ו'), cf below v 31
- 25 67 S] 187 M; 167 G; revision of chronology

אֶת־אִשְׁתּוֹ וַתֵּלֶד בֶּן וַתִּקְרָא אֶת־שְׁמוֹ שֵׁת כִּי שֵׁת־לִי אֱלֹהִים זָרַע אַחֵר תַּחַת
הַבַּל כִּי הָרְגוּ קַיִן: ²⁶ וַלְשֵׁת יָלַד בֶּן וַיִּקְרָא אֶת־שְׁמוֹ אָנוּשׁ זֶה הַחַל לְקָרָא
בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה: □□[פ]□□

¹ 5 זֶה סֵפֶר תּוֹלְדֹת אָדָם בְּיוֹם בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים אָדָם בְּדַמּוֹת אֱלֹהִים עָשָׂה
אֹתוֹ: ² וַזָּכַר וַיִּנְקְבָה בְרָאָם וַיִּבְרָךְ אֹתָם וַיִּקְרָא אֶת־שְׁמָם אָדָם בְּיוֹם הַבְּרָאָם:
³ וַיְחִי אָדָם שְׁלֹשִׁים וּמֵאָת שָׁנָה וַיּוֹלַד בֶּן בְּדַמּוֹתוֹ כַּצְּלָמוֹ וַיִּקְרָא אֶת־שְׁמוֹ
שֵׁת: ⁴ וַיְהִי יָמֵי־אָדָם אַחֲרֵי הוֹלִידוֹ אֶת־שֵׁת שְׁמֹנֶה מֵאֹת שָׁנָה וַיּוֹלַד בָּנִים
וּבָנוֹת: ⁵ וַיְהִי כָל־יְמֵי אָדָם אַשְׁר־חִי תִשַׁע מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה וּשְׁלֹשִׁים שָׁנָה וַיָּמָת:
□□[ס]□□ ⁶ וַיְחִי־שֵׁת חֲמִשׁ שָׁנִים וּמֵאָת שָׁנָה וַיּוֹלַד אֶת־אָנוּשׁ:

⁷ וַיְחִי־שֵׁת אַחֲרֵי הוֹלִידוֹ אֶת־אָנוּשׁ שִׁבְעַ שָׁנִים וּשְׁמֹנֶה מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה וַיּוֹלַד
בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת: ⁸ וַיְהִי כָל־יְמֵי־שֵׁת שְׁתַּיִם עֶשְׂרֵה שָׁנָה וּתְשַׁע מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה
וַיָּמָת: □□[ס]□□ ⁹ וַיְחִי אָנוּשׁ תְּשַׁעִים שָׁנָה וַיּוֹלַד אֶת־קַיִן: ¹⁰ וַיְחִי
אָנוּשׁ אַחֲרֵי הוֹלִידוֹ אֶת־קַיִן חֲמִשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה שָׁנָה וּשְׁמֹנֶה מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה וַיּוֹלַד
בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת: ¹¹ וַיְהִי כָל־יְמֵי אָנוּשׁ חֲמִשׁ שָׁנִים וּתְשַׁע מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה וַיָּמָת:
□□[פ]□□ ¹² וַיְחִי קַיִן שִׁבְעִים שָׁנָה וַיּוֹלַד אֶת־מֶהֱלֵלָאֵל: ¹³ וַיְחִי קַיִן
אַחֲרֵי הוֹלִידוֹ אֶת־מֶהֱלֵלָאֵל אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה וּשְׁמֹנֶה מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה וַיּוֹלַד בָּנִים
וּבָנוֹת: ¹⁴ וַיְהִי כָל־יְמֵי קַיִן עֶשֶׂר שָׁנִים וּתְשַׁע מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה וַיָּמָת:
□□[ס]□□ ¹⁵ וַיְחִי מֶהֱלֵלָאֵל חֲמִשׁ שָׁנִים וּשְׁשִׁים שָׁנָה וַיּוֹלַד אֶת־יֶרֶד:

¹⁶ וַיְחִי מֶהֱלֵלָאֵל אַחֲרֵי הוֹלִידוֹ אֶת־יֶרֶד שְׁלֹשִׁים שָׁנָה וּשְׁמֹנֶה מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה
וַיּוֹלַד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת: ¹⁷ וַיְהִי כָל־יְמֵי מֶהֱלֵלָאֵל חֲמִשׁ וּתְשַׁעִים שָׁנָה וּשְׁמֹנֶה
מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה וַיָּמָת: □□[ס]□□ ¹⁸ וַיְחִי־יֶרֶד שְׁתַּיִם וּשְׁשִׁים שָׁנָה וַיּוֹלַד
אֶת־חֲנוּךְ: ¹⁹ וַיְחִי־יֶרֶד אַחֲרֵי הוֹלִידוֹ אֶת־חֲנוּךְ תְּשַׁע מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה וַיּוֹלַד בָּנִים
וּבָנוֹת: ²⁰ וַיְהִי כָל־יְמֵי־יֶרֶד שְׁתַּיִם וּשְׁשִׁים שָׁנָה וּתְשַׁע מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה וַיָּמָת:
□□[ס]□□ ²¹ וַיְחִי חֲנוּךְ חֲמִשׁ וּשְׁשִׁים שָׁנָה וַיּוֹלַד אֶת־מֶתוּשֶׁלַח:
²² וַיְתֵהֱלֶךְ חֲנוּךְ אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים אַחֲרֵי הוֹלִידוֹ אֶת־מֶתוּשֶׁלַח שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה
וַיּוֹלַד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת: ²³ וַיְהִי כָל־יְמֵי חֲנוּךְ חֲמִשׁ וּשְׁשִׁים שָׁנָה וּשְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת
שָׁנָה: ²⁴ וַיְתֵהֱלֶךְ חֲנוּךְ אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים וַאֲיַבְנוּ כִּי־לָקַח אֹתוֹ אֱלֹהִים:
□□[פ]□□ ²⁵ וַיְחִי מֶתוּשֶׁלַח שִׁבְעַ וּשְׁשִׁים שָׁנָה וַיּוֹלַד אֶת־לָמֶךְ: ²⁶ וַיְחִי

- 5 26 *902] 782 M; 653 S; 802 G; revision of chronology
- 27 מתושלח M S G (Μαθουσαλα)] + אשר חי G (ας εζησεν); harmonizing plus with אשר חי v 5
969 M G] 720 S; revision of chronology
- 28 *88] 182 M; 53 S; 188 G; revision of chronology, with scribal errors in M and S; M: *188 → 182 by reminiscence of שתים ושמונים שנה v 26; S: *88 → 53 by anticipation of שלש וחמשים שנה v 31
- 29 ינחמנו M S] ינ(י)חנו G (διαναπαυσει) LAB 1:20; simple haplography with graphic confusion (מ/נ), or exegetical revision (note √גחם and √עצב in 5:28 and 6:6)
- 30 *665] 595 M; 600 S; 565 G; revision of chronology, with M affected by scribal errors in vv 28, 31
- 31 ויהי S G (εγενοντο)] ויהי M; simple haplography with graphic confusion (ו/י), cf above v 23
753 G] 777 M; 653 S; revision of chronology, with scribal error in M; M: *753 → 777 by reminiscence of שבועים ושבעה in 4:24 (Song of Lamech)
- 32 נח M S G (Νωε)] + שלשה בנים G (τρεις υιους) LAB 1:22; harmonizing plus with נח שלשה בנים 6:10
- 6 1 פני M S] om G Vg; parablepsis
- 3 ידון M S] ידור 4QCommGen^a G (καταμεινη) Tg^O Syr Vg Jub 5:8; linguistic modernization, or prps graphic confusion (ן/ר)
אדם M S G (ανθρωποις)] + הזה G (τουτοις) sim Tg^O; explicating plus
- 4 וילדו M] ויולידו S; linguistic modernization (Qal → Hiphil, frequent in S)
- 7 ער 2° M S] -ומ- G (και απο) Vg; linguistic modernization, cf unmodernized 7:23 (G)
- 14 עשה M S G (ποιησεν)] + לכן? G (ουν); explicating plus, or dittography with parablepsis (לכן לך)
- 15 אתה M S] את התבה G (την κιβωτον); harmonization with תעשה את התבה v 14
- 16 ופתח M S G (την δε θυραν)] + התבה M S (om G); explicating plus

מתושלח אחרי הולידו את־למך שתים שנים ותשע מאות שנה ויולד בנים
 ובנות: ²⁷ ויהיו כלימי מתושלח תשע וששים שנה ותשע מאות שנה
 וימת: □□[ס]□□ ²⁸ ויחי־למך שמנה ושמונים שנה ויולד בן:
²⁹ ויקרא את־שמו נח לאמר זה ינחמנו ממצע־שנו ומעצ־בון ידינו מן־האֲדָמָה
 אשר אֲרָרָה יְהוָה: □□[ס]□□ ³⁰ ויחי־למך אחרי הולידו את־נח
 חמש וששים שנה ושש מאת שנה ויולד בנים ובנות: ³¹ ויהיו
 כלימי־למך שלש וחמשים שנה ושבע מאות שנה וימת: □□[ס]□□
³² ויהי־נח בן־חמש מאות שנה ויולד נח את־שם את־חם ואת־יֶפֶת:
 6 ¹ ויהי כִּי־החל הָאָדָם לָרֵב עַל־פְּנֵי הָאֲדָמָה וּבָנוֹת יָלְדוּ לָהֶם:
² ויראו בני־הָאֱלֹהִים אֶת־בָּנוֹת הָאָדָם כִּי טֹבֹת הָנָה וַיִּקְחוּ לָהֶם נָשִׁים מִכָּל
 אשר בָּחָרוּ: ³ ויאמר יהוה לא־יִדּוֹן רוּחִי בָאָדָם לְעַלְמָם בְּשָׁגֵם הוּא כְּבָשָׂר
 וְהָיוּ יָמָיו מָאָה וָעֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה: ⁴ הַנִּפְלִים הָיוּ כְּאַרְץ בְּיָמַי הָהֵם וְגַם
 אחרי־כֵּן אֲשֶׁר יָבֹאוּ בְנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים אֶל־בָּנוֹת הָאָדָם וַיָּלְדוּ לָהֶם הַמָּה הַגְּבֵרִים
 אשר מְעוֹלָם אָנְשֵׁי הַשָּׁמַיִם: □□[ס]□□ ⁵ וירא יהוה כִּי רָבָה רַעַת
 הָאָדָם בָּאָרֶץ וְכָל־יֶצֶר מַחְשַׁבַת לִבּוֹ רָע כָּל־הַיּוֹם: ⁶ וַיִּנְחַם יְהוָה
 כִּי־עָשָׂה אֶת־הָאָדָם בָּאָרֶץ וַיִּתְעַצֵּב אֶל־לִבּוֹ: ⁷ ויאמר יהוה אֲמַחֶה
 אֶת־הָאָדָם אֲשֶׁר־בָּרָאתִי מֵעַל פְּנֵי הָאֲדָמָה מֵאָדָם עַד־בְּהֵמָה עַד־רֶמֶשׂ
 וְעַד־עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם כִּי נַחַמְתִּי כִּי עָשִׂיתִם: ⁸ ונח מצא חן בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה:
 □□[פ]□□ ⁹ אֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדֹת נֹחַ נֹחַ אִישׁ צַדִּיק תָּמִים הָיָה בְּדֹרֹתָיו
 אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים הִתְהַלְךְ־נֹחַ: ¹⁰ ויולד נח שְׁלֹשָׁה בָנִים אֶת־שָׁם אֶת־חָם
 ואת־יֶפֶת: ¹¹ ותשחת הָאָרֶץ לִפְנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים וַתִּמְלֵא הָאָרֶץ חָמָס: ¹² וירא
 אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הָאָרֶץ וְהִנֵּה נִשְׁחָתָה כִּי־הִשְׁחִית כָּל־בָּשָׂר אֶת־דְּרָכָו עַל־הָאָרֶץ:
 □□[ס]□□ ¹³ ויאמר אֱלֹהִים לָנֹחַ קַח כָּל־בָּשָׂר בָּא לִפְנֵי כִּי־מִלְאָה הָאָרֶץ
 חָמָס מִפְּנֵיהֶם וְהִנְנִי מִשְׁחִיתָם אֶת־הָאָרֶץ: ¹⁴ עֲשֵׂה לָךְ תֵּבַת עֲצֵי־גֹפֶר קָנִים
 תַּעֲשֶׂה אֶת־הַתֵּבָה וְכִפְרֹת אֹתָהּ מִבַּיִת וּמְחוּץ בַּכֹּפֶר: ¹⁵ וְזֶה אֲשֶׁר תַּעֲשֶׂה
 אֹתָהּ שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת אַמָּה אָרְךָ הַתֵּבָה חֲמִשִּׁים אַמָּה רָחְבָּהּ וּשְׁלֹשִׁים אַמָּה
 קוֹמָתָהּ: ¹⁶ צֹהַר תַּעֲשֶׂה לַתֵּבָה וְאֶל־אַמָּה תִּכְלְנָהּ מִלְּמַעַלָּה וּפֶתַח בְּצִדָּהּ
 תָּשִׂים תַּחְתָּיִם שְׁנַיִם וּשְׁלֹשִׁים תַּעֲשֶׂה: ¹⁷ וְאֵנִי הִנְנִי מְבִיא אֶת־הַמַּבּוּל מִיָּם

אררה 29 || V] 3 L C3 ומעצבון 29 || V C3^{pm} ושמנים] C3 L ושמונים 26
 תכלנה 16 || V] ה C3 להם 4 || V] 3 L בשגם 63 || V] ר C3 L
 L] ל V C3

- 6 17 תחת לשחת M] להשחית S; linguistic modernization (Piel → Hiphil)
- 19 init] + ומכל הבהמה ומכל הרמש G (και απο παντων των κτηνων και απο παντων των ερπετων); harmonizing plus with ומכל הרמש 8:17 (exit from ark)
- שנים M S G (δυσ)] + שנים G (δυσ) Syr; harmonizing plus with שנים 7:9, 15; cf below 6:20, 7:2
- יהי M G (εσονται)] והיה S; parablepsis with graphic confusion (ו/י)
- 20 מהעוף M] מן העוף S; מכל העוף G (απο παντων των ορνεων των πετεινων); S: linguistic modernization; G: harmonizing plus (with double translation) with העוף למינהו 7:14, cf כנף למינהו 1:21
- ומן M S] ומכל G (και απο παντων); harmonizing plus with ומכל הבהמה v 19 (G)
- ומכל S G (και απο παντων) Tg^{O(mss)}P Syr Vg] מכל M; parablepsis, prps anticipation of מכל 2°
- רמש M] אשר רמש על S; הרמש הרמש על G (των ερπετων των ερποντων επι); S: harmonizing plus with אשר רמש על הארמה 7:8; G: harmonizing plus with הרמש הרמש על הארץ 8:17
- הנהו 2° M] למיניהם 6QpaleoGen (למי[ניהם]) S G? (κατα γενος αυτων); linguistic revision, see previous entry, cf construction of 1:21
- שנים 6QpaleoGen M S G (δυσ)] + שנים G (δυσ) Syr; harmonizing plus, see above v 19
- להחיות M S G (τρεφεισθαι)] + אתך זכר ונקבה G (μετα σου αρσεν και θηλυ); harmonizing plus with ונקבה וזכר להחית אתך v 19
- 7 1 יהוה M] אלהים S Syr; יהוה אלהים G (κυριος ο θεος); infrequent in S, cf below v 9 (S), and above 4:1 (G)
- 2 מכל M S] מן G (απο) Syr; harmonization with ומכל הבהמה v 2
- 2 1-2° M] זכר ונקבה S G (αρσεν και θηλυ) Tg^{OP} Syr Vg; harmonization with ונקבה וזכר vv 3, 9, 6:19, 6:20 (G)
- 2 לא טהרה M S G (μη καθαρων)] + היא M (הוא) S (om G); explicating plus
- שנים M S G (δυσ)] + שנים S G (δυσ) Syr Vg; harmonizing plus, cf 6:19
- 3 השמים M S G (του ουρανου)] + הטהור S G (των καθαρων) Syr^{mss} LAB 3:4; harmonizing plus with הטהרה הטהרה v 2, and העוף הטהור 8:20
- ומיעוף אשר לא טהור שנים שנים זכר ונקבה G (και απο των πετεινων των μη καθαρων δυσ δυσ αρσεν και θηλυ); harmonizing plus with ומכל הבהמה אשר לא טהרה היא שנים איש ואשתו v 2
- על M S G (επι)] + פני M S (om G, sim Tg^J); harmonizing plus with על פני כל הארץ 8:9

עַל־הָאָרֶץ לְשַׁחַת כָּל־בָּשָׂר אֲשֶׁר־בוּ רוּחַ חַיִּים מִתַּחַת הַשָּׁמַיִם כָּל
 אֲשֶׁר־בָּאָרֶץ יִגּוּעַ: ¹⁸ וְהִקְמַתִי אֶת־בְּרִיתִי אִתְּךָ וּבֵאתָ אֵל־הַתְּבֹה אִתָּהּ וּבְנִיךָ
 וְאִשְׁתְּךָ וּנְשֵׁי־בְנֵיךָ אִתְּךָ: ¹⁹ וּמִכָּל־חַי מִכָּל־בָּשָׂר שְׁנַיִם מִכָּל תְּבִיא
 אֶל־הַתְּבֹה לְהַחִיֵּת אִתְּךָ זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה יִהְיוּ: ²⁰ מִהַעוֹף לְמִינֵהוּ וּמִן־הַבְּהֵמָה
 לְמִינָהּ וּמִכָּל רֶמֶשׂ הָאֲדָמָה לְמִינֵהוּ שְׁנַיִם מִכָּל יָבֹאוּ אֵלֶיךָ לְהַחִיֵּת:
²¹ וְאִתָּהּ קַח־לְךָ מִכָּל־מֵאֲכָל אֲשֶׁר יֹאכֵל וְאֶסְפַּת אֵלֶיךָ וְהָיָה לְךָ וּלְהֵם
 לְאֹכְלָהּ: ²² וַיַּעַשׂ נֹחַ כְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה אֹתוֹ אֱלֹהִים כֵּן עָשָׂה: □□[פ]□□
 7 ¹ וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה לְנֹחַ בֹּא־אִתָּהּ וְכָל־בֵּיתְךָ אֶל־הַתְּבֹה כִּי־אִתְּךָ רְאִיתִי
 צַדִּיק לְפָנַי בְּדוֹר הַזֶּה: ² מִכָּל הַבְּהֵמָה הַטְּהוֹרָה תִּקַּח־לְךָ שְׁבָעָה שְׁבָעָה
 אִישׁ וְאִשְׁתּוֹ וּמִן־הַבְּהֵמָה אֲשֶׁר לֹא טְהוֹרָה שְׁנַיִם אִישׁ וְאִשְׁתּוֹ: ³ גַּם מִעוֹף
 הַשָּׁמַיִם שְׁבָעָה שְׁבָעָה זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה לְחַיֵּי־זָרַע עַל כָּל־הָאָרֶץ: ⁴ כִּי לִימֵים
 עוֹד שְׁבָעָה אָנֹכִי מִמְטִיר עַל־הָאָרֶץ אַרְבָּעִים יוֹם וְאַרְבָּעִים לַיְלָה וּמַחִיתִי
 אֶת־כָּל־הַיְקוּם אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתִי מֵעַל פְּנֵי הָאֲדָמָה: ⁵ וַיַּעַשׂ נֹחַ כְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר־צִוָּהוּ

19 C3p^m להחית | C3 L V | C3p^m להחיות || 20 C3 L V | C3p^m להחיות ||

72 C3p^m הטהרה | C3 L V | הטהורה

- 7 6 היה M S G (εγγεστο; ην G^A)] + מים M S G (υδατος) (om G^A); harmonizing plus with המבול מים על הארץ 6:17
- 8 init] + ומן העוף G (και απο των πετεινων); harmonization with sequence of 6:20, see next entry
ומן העוף M S] om G; transposed to init v 8
- 9 אלהים M G (θεος)] יהוה S; cf above v 1
נה M S] אתו G (αυτω); harmonization with אתו אלהים 6:22, cf v 16
- 11 יום M S Jub 5:23] עשרים G (εικαδι); word misdivision with simple haplography and graphic confusion (ר/י), sim 8:4, 14
רבה M S 4QCommGen^a] om G; prps harmonization with 8:2
- 13 אתם M S] אתו G (μετ' αυτου) Tg^{N(mg)J} Syr; harmonization with אתו אל התבה v 7
- 14 init] + המה M S (הם) (om G); explicating plus
fin] + כל צפור כל כנף M S (om G); explicating plus, cf כל צפור כל כנף Ezek 17:23
- 16 זכר ונקבה M S G (αρσεν και θηλυ)] + זכר ונקבה S; dittography, or prps harmonizing plus with שנים שנים v 15
- 16 אתו M S] את נה G (τω Νωε) (after אלהים); harmonizing or explicating plus, cf את נה v 9
fin] + את התבה G (την κιβωτον) sim Tg^J, cf Tg^N; explicating plus
- 17 יום M S G (ημερας)] + וארבעים לילה G (και τεσσαρακοντα νυκτας); harmonizing plus with וארבעים לילה v 12
- 20 גבהו G (υψωθη)] גברו M S; reminiscence of המים גברו v 19, cf ויגברו המים vv 18, 24, or prps graphic confusion (ה/ר)?
ויכסו M S G (και επεκαλυψεν)] + כל G (παντα); harmonizing plus with כל ויכסו v 19
ההרים M S G (τα ορη)] + הגבהים G (τα υψηλα) Syr^{mss} Jub 5:26; harmonizing plus with ההרים הגבהים v 19
- 22 נשמת M S G (πνομη)] + רוח M S (om G Vg); harmonizing plus with רוח חיים v 15, 6:17
- 23 פני M S G (προσωπου)] + כל G (πασης); harmonizing plus with כל פני v 3
- 24 ויגברו M S 4QCommGen^a] ויגבהו G (και υψωθη); reminiscence or harmonization with גבהו v 20, and/or prps graphic confusion (ה/ר)
- 8 1 המה M S G (των κτηνων)] + וכל העוף וכל הרמש G (και παντων των πετεινων και παντων των ερπετων); Syr; harmonizing pluses with וכל העוף וכל הרמש v 19 (exit from ark), cf above 6:19 (G)

יִהְיֶה׃ ⁶ וְנַח בְּנֵי־שֵׁשׁ מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה וְהַמְּבֹל הָיָה עַל־הָאָרֶץ׃ ⁷ וַיָּבֵא נֹחַ וּבְנָיו
 וְאִשְׁתּוֹ וּנְשֵׁי־בָנָיו אִתּוֹ אֶל־הַתְּבֵה מִפְּנֵי מִי הַמְּבֹל׃ ⁸ מִן־הַבְּהֵמָה הַטְּהוֹרָה
 וּמִן־הַבְּהֵמָה אֲשֶׁר אֵינָנָה טְהוֹרָה וּמִן־הָעוֹף וְכָל אֲשֶׁר־רָמַשׁ עַל־הָאֲדָמָה׃
⁹ שְׁנַיִם שְׁנַיִם בָּאוּ אֶל־נֹחַ אֶל־הַתְּבֵה זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּה אֱלֹהִים אֶת־נֹחַ׃
¹⁰ וַיְהִי לְשִׁבְעַת הַיָּמִים וּמִי הַמְּבֹל הָיוּ עַל־הָאָרֶץ׃ ¹¹ בַּשָּׁנָה שְׁשִׁמָּאוֹת שָׁנָה
 לַחַיֵּי־נֹחַ בַּחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁנַיִ בְּשִׁבְעָה־עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ בַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה נִבְקָעוּ כָּל־מַעֲיֵנֹת
 תְּהוֹם רַבָּה וְאַרְבַּת הַשָּׁמַיִם נִפְתְּחוּ׃ ¹² וַיְהִי הַגֶּשֶׁם עַל־הָאָרֶץ אַרְבָּעִים יוֹם
 וְאַרְבָּעִים לַיְלָה׃ ¹³ בְּעֶצְם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה בָּא נֹחַ וְשֵׁם־וָחַם וַיִּפֹּת בְּנֵי־נֹחַ וְאִשְׁתּוֹ
 נָח וּשְׁלֹשֶׁת נְשֵׁי־בָנָיו אִתָּם אֶל־הַתְּבֵה׃ ¹⁴ וְכָל־הַחַיָּה לְמִינָהּ וְכָל־הַבְּהֵמָה
 לְמִינָהּ וְכָל־הָרֶמֶשׁ הָרֹמֵשׁ עַל־הָאָרֶץ לְמִינָהּ וְכָל־הָעוֹף לְמִינָהּ׃ ¹⁵ וַיָּבֹאוּ
 אֶל־נֹחַ אֶל־הַתְּבֵה שְׁנַיִם שְׁנַיִם מִכָּל־הַבֶּשֶׂר אֲשֶׁר־בּוֹ רֹיחַ חַיִּים׃ ¹⁶ וְהַבָּאִים
 זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה מִכָּל־בֶּשֶׂר בָּאוּ כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּה אֱלֹהִים וַיִּסְגֹּר יְהוָה בַּעֲדוֹ׃
¹⁷ וַיְהִי הַמְּבֹל אַרְבָּעִים יוֹם עַל־הָאָרֶץ וַיִּרְבוּ הַמַּיִם וַיִּשְׂאוּ אֶת־הַתְּבֵה וַתָּרֶם
 מֵעַל הָאָרֶץ׃ ¹⁸ וַיִּגְבְּרוּ הַמַּיִם וַיִּרְבוּ מְאֹד עַל־הָאָרֶץ וַתִּלָּךְ הַתְּבֵה עַל־פְּנֵי
 הַמַּיִם׃ ¹⁹ וְהַמַּיִם גָּבְרוּ מְאֹד מְאֹד עַל־הָאָרֶץ וַיִּכְסּוּ כָּל־הַהָרִים הַגְּבוּהִים
 אֲשֶׁר־תַּחַת כָּל־הַשָּׁמַיִם׃ ²⁰ חֲמֵשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה אַמָּה מִלְּמַעְלָה גָּבְהוּ הַמַּיִם וַיִּכְסּוּ
 הַהָרִים׃ ²¹ וַיִּגְוַע כָּל־בֶּשֶׂר הָרֹמֵשׁ עַל־הָאָרֶץ בַּעוֹף וּבַבְּהֵמָה וּבַחַיָּה
 וּבְכָל־הַשָּׂרֵץ הַשָּׂרֵץ עַל־הָאָרֶץ וְכָל הָאָדָם׃ ²² כָּל אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁמַת חַיִּים בְּאַפָּיו
 מִכָּל אֲשֶׁר בָּחַרְבָּה מֵתוֹ׃ ²³ וַיִּמַּח אֶת־כָּל־הַיְקוּם אֲשֶׁר עַל־פְּנֵי הָאֲדָמָה
 מֵאָדָם עַד־בְּהֵמָה עַד־רֶמֶשׁ וְעַד־עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם וַיִּמַּחוּ מִן־הָאָרֶץ וַיִּשְׂאֵר אַרְיֵנֹחַ
 וְאֲשֶׁר אִתּוֹ בַּתְּבֵה׃ ²⁴ וַיִּגְבְּרוּ הַמַּיִם עַל־הָאָרֶץ חֲמִשִּׁים וּמֵאוֹת יוֹם׃
⁸ וַיִּזְכֹּר אֱלֹהִים אֶת־נֹחַ וְאֶת כָּל־הַחַיָּה וְאֶת־כָּל־הַבְּהֵמָה אֲשֶׁר אִתּוֹ
 בַּתְּבֵה וַיַּעֲבֹר אֱלֹהִים רוּחַ עַל־הָאָרֶץ וַיִּשְׁכּוּ הַמַּיִם׃ ² וַיִּסְכְּרוּ מַעֲיֵנֹת תְּהוֹם

- 8 2 מ ויכל S; linguistic modernization or revision
- 3 מ G (πορευομενον . . . ενεδιδου)] הלכו ושבו S; linguistic modernization (inf. abs. → perfect, frequent in S), sim vv 5, 7
 מ M] מקץ S G (μετα); harmonization with מקץ v 6, or simple haplography with graphic confusion (ח/ה),
- 4 מ S sim 4QCommGen^a] עשרים G (εικαδι) Vg; word misdivision with simple haplography and graphic confusion (ו/י), sim 7:11, 8:14
 מ G (Αραραατ)] הררט S 4QCommGen^a (הוררט); weakening of guttural, prps with assimilation to הרי
- 5 מ G (πορευομενον ηλαττονουτο) 4QCommGen^a] הלכו וחסרו S; linguistic modernization, cf vv 3, 7
 מ S G] + באחד G (εν δε τω ενδεκατω); dittography (באחד באחד)
- 7 מ S G (τον κορακα)] + לראות הקלו המים G (του ιδειν ει κεκοπακεν το υδωρ); harmonizing plus with לראות הקלו המים v 8
- 7 מ] יצא ושב S; linguistic modernization, cf vv 3, 5
- 9 מ S G (επι)] + כל G (παντι); anticipation of כל v 9
- 10 מ S] ויחל G (και επισχων)] ויחל M S (also v 12) 4QCommGen^a; simple haplography (י), cf ויחל v 12
- 12 מ S G (στερας)] + ויסף G (παλιν); harmonizing plus with אחרים ויסף v 10
- 13 מ S G (ετει)] + לחיי נח 4QCommGen^a G (εν τη ζωη του Νωε); harmonizing plus with לחיי נח 7:11
 מ S G (της κιβωτου)] + אשר עשה G (ην εποιησεν); harmonizing plus with התבה אשר עשה v 6
 מ S G (εξελιπεν)] + מעל G (το υδωρ απο); harmonizing plus with חרבו מעל v 13
- 14 מ S; ועשרים G (εικαδι); G: word misdivision with simple haplography and graphic confusion (ו/י); M S: same, with prior dittography (יום יום) or secondary correction of יום, cf 7:11, 8:4
- 15 מ S] ויאמר G (και ειπεν); harmonization with ויאמר אלהים 9:8

וַאֲרֵבַת הַשָּׁמַיִם וַיְכַלֵּא הַגֶּשֶׁם מִן־הַשָּׁמַיִם: ³ וַיָּשְׁבוּ הַמַּיִם מֵעַל הָאָרֶץ הַלֹּדֶךְ
 וַיָּשׁוּבוּ וַיַּחֲסְרוּ הַמַּיִם מִקְצֵה חֲמִשִּׁים וּמֵאֵת יוֹם: ⁴ וַתִּנְחַח הַתֶּבֶה בַּחֲדָשׁ
 הַשְּׁבִיעִי בְּשִׁבְעֵה־עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֲדָשׁ עַל הָרִי אָרָרֶט: ⁵ וְהַמַּיִם הָיוּ הַלֹּדֶךְ
 וַחֲסוּר עַד הַחֲדָשׁ הָעֲשִׂירִי בְּעֲשִׂירִי בְּאַחַד לַחֲדָשׁ נִרְאוּ רֵאשֵׁי הַהָרִים:
⁶ וַיְהִי מִקֵּץ אַרְבָּעִים יוֹם וַיִּפְתַּח נֹחַ אֶת־חַלּוֹן הַתֶּבֶה אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה: ⁷ וַיִּשְׁלַח
 אֶת־הָעֶרֶב וַיֵּצֵא וַיָּצֵא וְשׁוֹב עַד־יָבֹשֶׁת הַמַּיִם מֵעַל הָאָרֶץ: ⁸ וַיִּשְׁלַח
 אֶת־הַיּוֹנָה מֵאֵתוֹ לִרְאוֹת הַקָּלוֹ הַמַּיִם מֵעַל פְּנֵי הָאָדָמָה: ⁹ וְלֹא־מָצְאָה הַיּוֹנָה
 מְנוּחַ לְכַף־רַגְלָהּ וַתָּשָׁב אֵלָיו אֶל־הַתֶּבֶה כִּי־מַיִם עַל־פְּנֵי כָל־הָאָרֶץ וַיִּשְׁלַח
 יָדוֹ וַיִּקְחֶהּ וַיָּבֵא אֹתָהּ אֵלָיו אֶל־הַתֶּבֶה: ¹⁰ וַיִּיחַל עוֹד שְׁבַעַת יָמִים אַחֲרַיִם
 וַיִּסֹּף שְׁלַח אֶת־הַיּוֹנָה מִן־הַתֶּבֶה: ¹¹ וַתָּבֵא אֵלָיו הַיּוֹנָה לָעֵת עָרֵב וְהִנֵּה
 עֲלֵה־זֵית טָרֵף בִּפִּיהָ וַיֵּדַע נֹחַ כִּי־קָלוּ הַמַּיִם מֵעַל הָאָרֶץ: ¹² וַיִּיחַל עוֹד
 שְׁבַעַת יָמִים אַחֲרַיִם וַיִּשְׁלַח אֶת־הַיּוֹנָה וְלֹא־יָסְפָה שׁוֹב־אֵלָיו עוֹד: ¹³ וַיְהִי
 בְּאַחַת וָשֶׁש־מְּאוֹת שָׁנָה בְּרֵאשׁוֹן בְּאַחַד לַחֲדָשׁ חָרְבוּ הַמַּיִם מֵעַל הָאָרֶץ וַיִּסַּר
 נֹחַ אֶת־מִכְסֵה הַתֶּבֶה וַיֵּרָא וְהִנֵּה חָרְבוּ פְּנֵי הָאָדָמָה: ¹⁴ וּבַחֲדָשׁ הַשְּׁנִי
 בְּשִׁבְעֵה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֲדָשׁ יָבֹשָׁה הָאָרֶץ: □□[פ]□□ ¹⁵ וַיַּדְבֵּר אֱלֹהִים
 אֶל־נֹחַ לֵאמֹר: ¹⁶ צֵא מִן־הַתֶּבֶה אַתָּה וְאִשְׁתְּךָ וּבְנֵיךָ וּנְשֵׁי־בְנֵיךָ אִתְּךָ:

- 8 17 **הוצא** M^K] **היצה** M^Q; **הוצייה** S; M^Q: graphic confusion (ו/י); S: linguistic modernization (jussive form → imperfect form, frequent in S)
אתך 2° M S G (*μετα σεαυτου*)] + **ושרצו בארץ** M S (om G); harmonizing plus with **שרצו בארץ** 9:7
- 18 **ואשתו ובניו ואשתו** M S] **ואשתו ובניו** G (*και η γυνη αυτου και οι υιοι αυτου*) Syr; harmonization with sequence of v 16
- 19 **החיה** M S G (*τα θηρια*)] + **וכל הבהמה** G (*και παντα τα κτηνη*) Syr Vg cf LAB 3:4; harmonizing plus with **וכל הבהמה** **ואת כל החיה** v 1
 -**הרמש** S G (*και παν πετεινον και παν ερπετον*) Syr] **וכל העוף** Vg; M: metathesis of **העוף** and **כל הרמש**, with additional **כל**; Vg: haplography by homoioteleuton (**וכל ן וכל ן וכל**)
- 21 **עוד לקלל עור** M] **עוד לקלל** S G (*ετι του καταρασσασθαι*) Syr Vg; harmonization with sequence of **עוד להכות** v 21
אסף עור M S] **אסף עור להכות** G (*δια τα εργα*); graphic confusion (ר/ד), cf 3:17
הארם M S G (*του ανθρωπου*)] + **רק** G (*επιμελωσ*); harmonizing plus with **רק רע** 6:5
- 21 **כל** M S G (*πασαν*)] + **בשר** G (*σαρκα*); harmonizing plus with **בשר** כל 6:17, 19
- 22 init] + **עד** M S (om G Vg); explicating plus
- 22 **ויום** M G (*ημεραν*)] **יומם** S; dittography (**זמנ**) or explication, cf 1:5
- 9 1 **fin**] + **ורדו בה** G (*και κατακυριευσατε αυτης*); harmonizing plus, cf ***ורדו בה** v 7, and **ורדו ב-** 1:28
- 2 **נתנו** M] **נתתיו** S; **נתתי** G (*δεδωκα*) Tg^N; harmonization with **נתתי** v 3
- 5 init] + **ואך** M G (*και γαρ*) (om S); reminiscence of **אך** v 4
ואך M G (*και γαρ*)] om S; prps haplography by homoioarkton (**את ן אך ן אך**)
ומייד ן מייד M S] om G; haplography by homoioteleuton (**ומייד ן מייד**)
- 6 **הארם ן בארם** M S] om G Vg; haplography by homoioteleuton (**הארם ן בארם**)
- 7 **שרצו בארץ** M S] **ומלאו את הארץ** G (*και πληρωσατε την γην*) Vg; harmonization with **ומלאו את הארץ** v 1 and 1:28
 ***ורדו** cf G^{mss} (*κατακυριευσατε*)] **ורבו** M S G (*και πληθυνεσθε*); reminiscence of **ורבו** v 7, cf **ורדו** 1:28
- 10 **הארץ** M S G (*της γης*)] + **אתכם** M S (om G Vg); explicating plus
fin] + **לכל חית הארץ** M S (om G); explicating plus, cf **חית הארץ** v 10

17 כִּלְיֵהַחִיָּה אֲשֶׁר־אַתָּה מִכְּל־בְּשָׂר בְּעוֹף וּבַבְּהֵמָה וּבְכָל־הַרְמֵשׁ הַרְמֵשׁ
עַל־הָאָרֶץ הוּצָא אִתָּךְ וּפְרוּ וּרְבוּ עַל־הָאָרֶץ: 18 וַיֵּצֵא נֹחַ וּבָנָיו וְאִשְׁתּוֹ
וּנְשֵׁי־בָנָיו אִתּוֹ: 19 כִּלְיֵהַחִיָּה וְכָל הָעוֹף וְכָל הַרְמֵשׁ הַרְמֵשׁ עַל־הָאָרֶץ
לְמִשְׁפַּחְתֵּיהֶם יֵצְאוּ מִן־הַתְּבֹה: 20 וַיִּבֶן נֹחַ מִזְבֵּחַ לַיהוָה וַיִּקַּח מִכָּל הַבְּהֵמָה
הַטְּהוֹרָה וּמִכָּל הָעוֹף הַטְּהוֹר וַיַּעַל עֹלֹת בַּמִּזְבֵּחַ: 21 וַיִּרַח יְהוָה אֶת־רִיחַ
הַנִּיחֹחַ וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־לִבּוֹ לֹא־אֶסְףּ לְקַלֵּל עוֹד אֶת־הָאָדָמָה בְּעִבּוֹר הָאָדָם
כִּי יֵצֵר לִב הָאָדָם רַע מִנְעֻרָיו וְלֹא־אֶסְףּ עוֹד לְהַכּוֹת אֶת־כָּל־חַי כַּאֲשֶׁר
עָשִׂיתִי: 22 כִּלְיֵמי הָאָרֶץ זָרַע וְקָצִיר וְקָר וְחָם וְקָיִץ וְחֹרֶף וַיּוֹם וְלַיְלָה לֹא
יִשָּׁבְתוּ:

9 1 וַיְבָרַךְ אֱלֹהִים אֶת־נֹחַ וְאֶת־בָּנָיו וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם פְּרוּ וּרְבוּ וּמְלֵאוּ
אֶת־הָאָרֶץ: 2 וּמוֹרָאֲכֶם וְחַתְּכֶם יִהְיֶה עַל כָּל־חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ וְעַל כָּל־עוֹף
הַשָּׁמַיִם בְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר תִּרְמֹשׁ הָאָדָמָה וּבְכָל־דְּגֵי הַיָּם בְּיַדְכֶם נִתְּנוּ: 3 כָּל־רְמֵשׁ
אֲשֶׁר הוּא־חַי לָכֶם יִהְיֶה לְאֹכְלָהּ כִּי־רַק עֵשֶׂב נִתְּתִי לָכֶם אֶת־כָּל: 4 אֲך־בְּשָׂר
בְּנִפְשׁוֹ דָמוֹ לֹא תֹאכְלוּ: 5 וְאֲך־ אֶת־דַּמְכֶם לְנַפְשֹׁתֵיכֶם אֲדַרְשׁ מִיַּד כָּל־חַיָּה
אֲדַרְשְׁנֹו וּמִיַּד הָאָדָם מִיַּד אִישׁ אַחִיו אֲדַרְשׁ אֶת־נַפְשׁ הָאָדָם: 6 שִׁפְךָ דָם
הָאָדָם בְּאָדָם דָמוֹ יִשְׁפָךְ כִּי בְצַלֵּם אֱלֹהִים עָשָׂה אֶת־הָאָדָם: 7 וְאַתֶּם פְּרוּ
וּרְבוּ שִׂרְצוּ בָאָרֶץ וּרְדוּ־בָהּ: 8 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים אֶל־נֹחַ
וְאֶל־בָּנָיו אִתּוֹ לֵאמֹר: 9 וְאֲנִי הִנְנִי מְקִים אֶת־בְּרִיתִי אִתְּכֶם וְאֶת־זֶרְעֲכֶם
אֲחִרֵיכֶם: 10 וְאַתִּי כָל־נַפְשׁ הַחַיָּה אֲשֶׁר אִתְּכֶם בְּעוֹף בְּבֵהֵמָה וּבְכָל־חַיַּת
הָאָרֶץ מִכָּל יֵצְאֵי הַתְּבֹה: 11 וְהִקַּמְתִּי אֶת־בְּרִיתִי אִתְּכֶם וְלֹא־יִכָּפֵר כָּל־בְּשָׂר

18 L] C3 V הטהורה || L ויצא] C3 V ויצא || L] C3 L הטהר 20 || L] C3 L לא 21 || V הטהור

- 9 11 מְבוּל 2° M S G (κατακλυσμος)] + מִים G (υδατος); harmonizing plus with מְבוּל מִים 6:17, cf 7:6 (M), 9:15
 לַשַּׁחַת M G (του καταφθειραι)] להִשְׁחִית S (also v 15); + כָּל G (πασαν); S: linguistic modernization (Piel → Hiphil); G: harmonizing plus with לַשַּׁחַת כָּל v 15
- 12 מֵאלֹהִים M S G (ο θεος)] + אֵל נָח G (προς Νωε) Syr; explicating or harmonizing plus with אֵל נָח v 17
- 14 הַקֶּשֶׁת M S] קֶשֶׁתִי G (το τοξον μου) Vg LAB 3:12; harmonization with קֶשֶׁתִי v 13
- 15 חֵיהָ M S G (ζωης)] + אֲשֶׁר אַתְּכֶם S Syr; harmonizing plus with אֲשֶׁר אַתְּכֶם v 12
- 16 לִזְכֹּר M G (του μνησθηραι)] לְאֻזְכָּרָה S Tg^O Syr; linguistic revision
 מֵאלֹהִים M S] בִּינִי G (αγα μεσον εμου); harmonization with בִּינִי v 15, sim vv 12, 17
- 21 אֱהִיָּה M^K] אֱהִלֹּ M^Q S; orthographic modernization
- 22 אֲבִיו M S G (του πατρος αυτου)] + וַיֵּצֵא G (και εξελθων) Vg; explicating plus
- 10 2 וַיֹּן M S G (και Ιωσαν)] + אֵלִישָׁה G (και Ελισα); anticipation of וַיֹּן אֵלִישָׁה v 4
- 3 רִיפַת 1 Chron 1:6 cf Syr (ריפר)] רִיפַת M S G (Ριφαθ); graphic confusion (ר/ר), cf Persian *dahyu-pati*
- 4 תְּרִישִׁי M S G (θαρσις)] תְּרִישִׁיהָ 1 Chron 1:7; reminiscence of preceding word-final ה of אֵלִישָׁה; note reverse process (anticipation of -Ø) in S: אֵלִישׁ תְּרִישִׁי
- מֵרִדְנִים S (רודנים) G (Ροδιοι) 1 Chron 1:7 (רודנים)] מֵרִדְנִים M; Syr; graphic confusion (ר/ר), prps (in M) with anticipation of רִדְן v 7
- 5 < אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי יַפֶּת >] om M S G; parablepsis, cf. vv 20, 31
- 7 סַבְתָּה M S] סַבְתָּא 1 Chron 1:9; assimilation to word-final א of סַבְתָּא, סַבְתָּכָא, v 7, see next entry
 רַעְמָה 1-2° M S] רַעְמָא 1-2° 1 Chron 1:9; see previous entry
- 8 יִלְדֵי M] הוֹלִידֵי S; linguistic modernization (Qal → Hiphil, frequent in S)

עוד ממי המבול ולא־יהיה עוד מבול לשחת הארץ: ¹² ויאמר אלהים זאת
 אות־הברית אשר־אני נתן ביני וביניכם ובין כל־נפש חיה אשר אתכם
 לדורת עולם: ¹³ את־קשתי נתתי בענן והיתה לאות ברית ביני ובין הארץ:
¹⁴ והיה בענני ענן על־הארץ ונראתה הקשת בענן: ¹⁵ וזכרתי את־בריתי
 אשר ביני וביניכם ובין כל־נפש חיה בכל־בשר ולא־יהיה עוד המים
 למבול לשחת כל־בשר: ¹⁶ והיתה הקשת בענן וראיתה לזכר ברית עולם
 בין אלהים ובין כל־נפש חיה בכל־בשר אשר על־הארץ: ¹⁷ ויאמר אלהים
 אל־נח זאת אות־הברית אשר הקמתי ביני ובין כל־בשר אשר על־הארץ:
 □□□□ ¹⁸ והיו בני־נח היצאים מן־התבה שם וחס וחס וחס וחס וחס וחס הוא
 אבי כנען: ¹⁹ שלשה אלה בני־נח ומאלה נפצה כל־הארץ: ²⁰ ויחל נח
 איש האדמה ויטע כרם: ²¹ וישת מן־היין וישכר ויתגל בתוך אהלה:
²² וירא חם אבי כנען את ערות אביו ויגד לשני־אחיו בחוץ: ²³ ויקח שם
 ויפת את־השמלה וישמו על־שכם שניהם וילכו אחרנית ויכסו את ערות
 אביהם ופניהם אחרנית וערות אביהם לא ראו: ²⁴ וייקץ נח ממינו וידע
 את אשר־עשה לו בנו הקטן: ²⁵ ויאמר ארור כנען עבד עבדים יהיה
 לאחיו: ²⁶ ויאמר ברוך יהוה אלהי שם ויהי כנען עבד למו: ²⁷ ויפת אלהים
 ליפת וישכן באהל־ישם ויהי כנען עבד למו: ²⁸ ויחיינח אחר המבול שלש
 מאות שנה וחמשים שנה: ²⁹ והיו כל־ימי־נח תשע מאות שנה וחמשים
 שנה וימת: □□□□ [פ]□□

¹ 10 ואלה תולדת בני־נח שם חם ויפת ויילדו להם בנים אחר
 המבול: ² בני יפת גמר ומגוג ומדי ויון ותבל ומשך ותירס: ³ ובני גמר
 אשכנז ודיפת ותגרמה: ⁴ ובני יון אלישה ותרשיש כתיים ורדנים: ⁵ מאלה
 נפרדו איי הגוים <אלה בני יפת> בארצותם איש ללשנו למשפחתם
 בגויהם: ⁶ ובני חם כוש ומצרים ופוט וכנען: ⁷ ובני כוש סבא וחווילה
 וסבתה ורעמה וסבתכא ובני רעמה שבא וודן: ⁸ וכוש ילד את־נמרד הוא
 החל להיות גבר בארץ: ⁹ הוא־היה גבר־ציד לפני יהוה על־פני יאמר
 כנמרד גבור ציד לפני יהוה: ¹⁰ ותהי ראשית ממלכתו בבל וארף ואכד

9 L | C3 יהיה 15 || L | V | C3 בענני 14 || V | C3 אשר 1° V | C3 אשר 12 9
 V | C3 בחוץ 22 || V | C3 ויפת 18 || V | C3 הקימתי | C3 הקמתי 17 || V | C3
 || L | C3 עשה 24 || V | C3 עשה 24 || V | C3 1-2° | C3 1-2° אחרנית 23 || V | C3
 10 3 V | C3 S אשכנז 3 || L | C3 S V | C3 אשכנז 3 10
 1-2° V | C3 S | C3 1-2° רעמה 7 || L | C3 S | C3 1-2° רעמה 7 10

- 10 12 רסן M S J | רסן G (Δασεμ); graphic confusion (ר/ר), cf. Akkadian *risnu*
- 13 לודים M S | לודיים 1 Chron 1:11 (M^K); dittography, cf M^Q לודים
- 15 חת M | החת S; החתי? G (τον Χετταιον) Syr Vg; harmonization with gentilics of v 16
- 19 מנהר מצרים עד הנהר | מוצירן . . . לשע M G (απο Σιδωνος . . . εως Λασηα) S; הגדול נהר פרת ועד הים האחרון מנהר מצרים עד harmonization with Gen 15:18, and עד הים האחרון Deut 11:24 = Deut 34:2 (boundaries of promised land)
- 22 fin | + וקינן G (και Καιναν); editorial revision and harmonizing plus, cf קינן Gen 5:9-14, and below v 24 and 11:12 (G sim Jub 8:1)
- 23 ׀ M S G (και υιοι Αραμ) | om 1 Chron 1:17 (M); haplography by homoioteleuton (׀ ארם); note extensive haplography by homoioteleuton in G of 1 Chron 1:17-24 (ארפכש׀ד ׀ ארפכש׀ד)
- מש M | משא S; משך G (Μοσοχ) 1 Chron 1:17; prps harmonizations; S: cf משא v 30 and Gen 25:14 (son of Ishmael); G and Chron: cf משך v 2
- 24 ילד M S G (εγενηθησεν) | + ילד G (τον Καιναν, και Καιναν εγενηθησεν); editorial revision and harmonizing plus, see above v 22
- 25 ילד M G (εγενηθησεν) | ילדו S; linguistic modernization (sg. → pl.)
- 27 ׀ M and 1 Chron 1:21 | איזל S G (Αιζηλ) |; graphic confusion (י/י)
- 28 ׀ M | עיבל S Vg G^{mss} (Γεβαλ) 1 Chron 1:22 | graphic confusion (י/י), cf עיבל Gen 36:23; note haplography in G (׀ ואת ׀ ואת)
- 32 נפרדו M S G (διδεσπαρησεν) | + איי S G (νησοι); harmonizing plus with נפרדו איי הגרים v 5
- 11 1 fin | + לכל G (πασιν); harmonizing plus with שפה אחת לכלם v 6
- 8 העיר M | ואת המגדל ואת העיר ואת המגדל S G (την πολιν και τον πυργον) Jub 10:24; harmonization with ואת העיר ואת המגדל v 5

וכלִנָּה בְּאֶרֶץ שְׁנַעַר: ¹¹ מִן־הָאָרֶץ הַהִיא יֵצֵא אֲשׁוּר וַיְבַן אֶת־נִינּוּה
 וְאֶת־רַחֲבַת עִיר וְאֶת־כְּלַח: ¹² וְאֶת־רֶסֶן בֵּין נִינּוּה וּבֵין כְּלַח הִיא הָעִיר
 הַגְּדֹלָה: ¹³ וּמִצְרַיִם יָלַד אֶת־לוּדִים וְאֶת־עַנְמִים וְאֶת־לֵהָבִים וְאֶת־נַפְתָּחִים:
¹⁴ וְאֶת־פְּתָרְסִים וְאֶת־כַּסְלָחִים אֲשֶׁר יֵצְאוּ מִשָּׁם פְּלִשְׁתִּים וְאֶת־כַּפְתָּרִים:
 □□□□ ¹⁵ וּכְנַעַן יָלַד אֶת־צִידֹן בְּכָרוֹ וְאֶת־חֵת: ¹⁶ וְאֶת־הַיְבוּסִי
 וְאֶת־הָאֲמֹרִי וְאֶת־הַגְּרִגְשִׁי: ¹⁷ וְאֶת־הַחִוִּי וְאֶת־הָעֲרֻקִי וְאֶת־הַסִּינִי:
¹⁸ וְאֶת־הָאֲרֻדִי וְאֶת־הַצְּמֹרִי וְאֶת־הַחֲמָתִי וְאֶחָד נָפְצוּ מִשְׁפָּחוֹת הַכְּנַעֲנִי:
¹⁹ וַיְהִי גְבוּל הַכְּנַעֲנִי מִצִּידֹן בְּאֶכָה גְרָרָה עַד־עֵזָה בְּאֶכָה סְדֵמָה וְעַמְרָה
 וְאֲדָמָה וְצִבְיִים עַד־לָשָׁע: ²⁰ אֵלֶּה בְנֵי־חָם לְמִשְׁפַּחְתָּם לְלִשְׁנָתָם בְּאֶרְצָתָם
 בְּגוֹיָהֶם: □□[ס]□□ ²¹ וְלָשָׁם יָלַד גַּם־הוּא אֲבִי כָל־בְּנֵי־עֵבֶר אַחִי יִפֶּת
 הַגְּדוֹל: ²² בְּנֵי שָׁם עֵילָם וְאֲשׁוּר וְאַרְפַּכְשָׁד וְלוּד וְאַרְם: ²³ וּבְנֵי אָרַם עוּץ
 וְחוּל וְגֵתֵר וְמוֹשׁ: ²⁴ וְאַרְפַּכְשָׁד יָלַד אֶת־שֶׁלַח וְשֶׁלַח יָלַד אֶת־עֵבֶר:
²⁵ וְלַעֲבֵר יָלַד שְׁנֵי בָנִים שָׁם הָאֶחָד פֶּלֶג כִּי בְיָמָיו נִפְלְגָה הָאָרֶץ וְשָׁם אַחִיו
 יֶקֶטָן: ²⁶ וַיִּקְטַן יָלַד אֶת־אֶלְמוֹרַד וְאֶת־שֶׁלֶף וְאֶת־חַצְרָמוֹת וְאֶת־יֵרָח:
²⁷ וְאֶת־הַדּוֹרַם וְאֶת־אוּל וְאֶת־דִּקְלָה: ²⁸ וְאֶת־עוּבֵל וְאֶת־אַבִּימָאֵל
 וְאֶת־שָׁבָא: ²⁹ וְאֶת־אוּפֵר וְאֶת־חִוִּילָה וְאֶת־יֹבָב כָּל־אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי יֶקֶטָן: ³⁰ וַיְהִי
 מוֹשְׁבָם מִמִּשְׁא בְּאֶכָה סַפְרָה הַר הַקָּדָם: ³¹ אֵלֶּה בְנֵי־שָׁם לְמִשְׁפַּחְתָּם
 לְלִשְׁנָתָם בְּאֶרְצָתָם לְגוֹיָהֶם: ³² אֵלֶּה מִשְׁפַּחַת בְּנֵי־נֹחַ לְתוֹלְדֹתָם בְּגוֹיָהֶם
 וּמֵאֵלֶּה נִפְרְדוּ הַגּוֹיִם בְּאֶרֶץ אַחַר הַמַּבּוּל: □□[פ]□□
 11 ¹ וַיְהִי כָל־הָאָרֶץ שְׁפָה אַחַת וּדְבָרִים אֶחָדִים: ² וַיְהִי בְּנִסְעָם
 מִקֶּדֶם וַיִּמְצְאוּ בִקְעָה בְּאֶרֶץ שְׁנַעַר וַיֵּשְׁבוּ שָׁם: ³ וַיֹּאמְרוּ אִישׁ אֶל־רֵעֵהוּ
 הִבֵּה נִלְבְּנָה לְבָנִים וְנִשְׂרָפָה לְשִׂרְפָה וְתִהְיֶה לָהֶם הַלְּבָנָה לְאַבְן וְהַחֲמֹר תִּהְיֶה
 לָהֶם לְחֵמֶר: ⁴ וַיֹּאמְרוּ הִבֵּה נִבְנֶה־לָּנוּ עִיר וּמִגְדָּל וְרֵאשׁוּ בְשֵׁמַיִם
 וְנַעֲשֶׂה־לָּנוּ שָׁם פֶּן־נִפּוּץ עַל־פְּנֵי כָל־הָאָרֶץ: ⁵ וַיִּרַד יְהוָה לִרְאוֹת אֶת־הָעִיר
 וְאֶת־הַמִּגְדָּל אֲשֶׁר בָּנוּ בְנֵי הָאָדָם: ⁶ וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה הֵן עִם אֶחָד וְשָׁפָה אַחַת
 לְכֻלָּם וְזֶה חַחֲלָם לַעֲשׂוֹת וְעַתָּה לֹא־יִבְצֵר מֵהֶם כָּל אֲשֶׁר יִזְמוּ לַעֲשׂוֹת:
⁷ הִבֵּה נִרְדָּה וְנִבְלָה שָׁם שִׁפְתָם אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ אִישׁ שִׁפְת רֵעֵהוּ: ⁸ וַיִּפֹּץ
 יְהוָה אֶתָם מִשָּׁם עַל־פְּנֵי כָל־הָאָרֶץ וַיַּחְדְּלוּ לִבְנֵת הָעִיר: ⁹ עַל־כֵּן קָרָא
 שְׁמָהּ בָּבֶל כִּי־שָׁם בָּלַל יְהוָה שִׁפְת כָּל־הָאָרֶץ וּמִשָּׁם הִפִּיצָם יְהוָה עַל־פְּנֵי

- 11 11-25 fin] + מאות שנה וימת (#) (PN) S; + ויהיו כל ימי G (*και απεθανεν*); (mult S and G); S: harmonizing plus with (PN) ויהיו כל ימי מאות שנה וימת (#) Gen 5:8, 11, 14, 17, 20, 27, 31, sim 5:5, 23, sim 11:32; G: harmonizing plus with וימת in same vv of Gen 5; these formulaic pluses recur in S and G in vv 13 (2× in G), 15, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25
- 12 35 M] 135 S G; revision of chronology
שלח M S] קינן G (*Καιναν*) Jub 8:1; editorial revision, cf קינן Gen 5:9-14, see 10:22 and following entries
- 13 שלח M S] קינן G (*Καιναν*); see previous entry
403 M] 303 S; 430 G; S: revision of chronology; G: *403 → 430 by reminiscence or anticipation of שלשים, vv 12, 14
fin] + ויחי קינן שלשים שנה ומאת שנה ויולד את שלח ויחי קינן אחרי הולידו וימת ויחי קינן שלשים שנה ויולד את שלח שלשים שנה ויולד בנים ובנות וימת G (*και εξησεν Καιναν ετη εκατον τριακοντα και εγεννησεν τον Σαλα. Και εξησεν Καιναν μετα το γεννησαι αυτον τον Σαλα ετη τριακοσια τριακοντα, και εγεννησεν υιους και θυγατερος, και απεθανεν*) sim Jub 8:5; editorial revision, cf number of antediluvian patriarchs in Genesis 5 (10 total); Kainan's ages (130, 330) harmonized from Shelah's (130, 330) vv 14-15
- 14 חי ושלח M] ויחי שלח S; harmonization with clause-initial word order vv 15-26 (12 times)
30 M] 130 S G; revision of chronology
- 15 403 M] 303 S; 330 G; S: revision of chronology; G: *403 → 330 by reminiscence or anticipation of שלשים, vv 14, 16, and anticipation of ושלש מאות v 17 (G)
- 16 34 M] 134 S G; revision of chronology
- 17 370 G] 430 M; 270 S; S: revision of chronology; M: *370 → 430 by reminiscence of ושלשים שנה, v 16
- 18 30 M] 130 S G; revision of chronology
- 19 209 M G] 109 S; revision of chronology
- 20 32 M] 132 S G; revision of chronology
- 21 207 M G] 107 S; revision of chronology
- 22 30 M] 130 S G; revision of chronology
- 23 200 M G] 100 S; revision of chronology
- 24 29 M] 79 S G; revision of chronology
- 25 119 M] 69 S; 129 G; S: revision of chronology; G: *119 → 129, prps עשרה → עשרם by graphic confusion (ה/ם)

כָּל־הָאָרֶץ: □□[פ]□□ ¹⁰ אֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדֵת שָׁם שָׁם בְּיַמֵּי אֲדָם וַיֻּלְּד
 אֶת־אַרְפַּכְשָׁד שְׁנַתִּים אַחַר הַמְּבּוּל: ¹¹ וַיְחִי־שָׁם אַחֲרֵי הוֹלִידוֹ אֶת־אַרְפַּכְשָׁד
 הַמֵּשׁ מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה וַיֻּלְּד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת: □□[פ]□□ ¹² וַאֲרַפְכְּשָׁד חֵי
 חֲמֵשׁ וּשְׁלֹשִׁים שָׁנָה וַיֻּלְּד אֶת־שֵׁלַח: ¹³ וַיְחִי אַרְפַּכְשָׁד אַחֲרֵי הוֹלִידוֹ
 אֶת־שֵׁלַח שְׁלֹשׁ שָׁנִים וְאַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה וַיֻּלְּד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת: □□[פ]□□
¹⁴ וְשֵׁלַח חֵי שְׁלֹשִׁים שָׁנָה וַיֻּלְּד אֶת־עֵבֶר: ¹⁵ וַיְחִי־שֵׁלַח אַחֲרֵי הוֹלִידוֹ
 אֶת־עֵבֶר שְׁלֹשׁ שָׁנִים וְאַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה וַיֻּלְּד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת: □□[ס]□□
¹⁶ וַיְחִי־עֵבֶר אַרְבַּע וּשְׁלֹשִׁים שָׁנָה וַיֻּלְּד אֶת־פֶּלֶג: ¹⁷ וַיְחִי־עֵבֶר אַחֲרֵי
 הוֹלִידוֹ אֶת־פֶּלֶג שִׁבְעִים שָׁנָה וְשֹׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה וַיֻּלְּד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת:
 □□[ס]□□ ¹⁸ וַיְחִי־פֶלֶג שְׁלֹשִׁים שָׁנָה וַיֻּלְּד אֶת־רְעוּ: ¹⁹ וַיְחִי־פֶלֶג אַחֲרֵי
 הוֹלִידוֹ אֶת־רְעוּ תֵשַׁע שָׁנִים וּמֵאוֹתִים שָׁנָה וַיֻּלְּד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת:
 □□[פ]□□ ²⁰ וַיְחִי רְעוּ שְׁתַּיִם וּשְׁלֹשִׁים שָׁנָה וַיֻּלְּד אֶת־שְׂרוּג: ²¹ וַיְחִי
 רְעוּ אַחֲרֵי הוֹלִידוֹ אֶת־שְׂרוּג שִׁבְעַת שָׁנִים וּמֵאוֹתִים שָׁנָה וַיֻּלְּד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת:
 □□[ס]□□ ²² וַיְחִי שְׂרוּג שְׁלֹשִׁים שָׁנָה וַיֻּלְּד אֶת־נְחֹר: ²³ וַיְחִי שְׂרוּג
 אַחֲרֵי הוֹלִידוֹ אֶת־נְחֹר מֵאוֹתִים שָׁנָה וַיֻּלְּד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת: □□[ס]□□
²⁴ וַיְחִי נְחֹר תֵשַׁע וְעֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה וַיֻּלְּד אֶת־תְּרַח: ²⁵ וַיְחִי נְחֹר אַחֲרֵי
 הוֹלִידוֹ אֶת־תְּרַח תֵשַׁע־עֶשְׂרֵה שָׁנָה וּמֵאוֹת שָׁנָה וַיֻּלְּד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת:
 □□[ס]□□ ²⁶ וַיְחִי־תְּרַח שִׁבְעִים שָׁנָה וַיֻּלְּד אֶת־אַבְרָם אֶת־נְחֹר
 וְאֶת־הָרָן: ²⁷ וְאֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדֵת תְּרַח תְּרַח הוֹלִיד אֶת־אַבְרָם אֶת־נְחֹר וְאֶת־הָרָן

- 11 28 באור M S | בארץ G (*εν τη χωρα*); reminiscence of בארץ v 28, cf v 31, 15:7, Neh 9:7 (all G)
- 30 לה ילד S | לה ולד M; להול(י)ד G (*εστεκνοποιει*); M: graphic confusion (ו/י); G: graphic confusion (ו/י) with word misdivision
- 31 שרי M S G (*Σαραν*) | + ואת מלכה S; harmonizing plus with . . . שרי מלכה v 29
- כלתו M G (*την συμφην αυτου*) | כלותו S; harmonization of number, see previous entry
- אברם M S G (*Αβραμ*) | + ונחור S; harmonizing plus with ונחור אברם v 29
- בנו M G (*του υιου αυτου*) | בניו S; harmonization of number, see previous entry
- אתם ויוצא אתם S (*ויציא*) G (*εξηγαγεν αυτους*) Vg | ויצאו אתם M; parablepsis; note linguistic modernization in S (jussive form → imperfect form, frequent in S)
- מאור M S 4QCommGen^a | מארץ G (*εκ της χωρας*); reminiscence or harmonization with בארץ כשדים v 28 (G)
- ויבאו M S | ויבוא G (*και ηλθεν*) sim 4QCommGen^a (ויבוא); metathesis (או) or exegetical revision
- וישבו M S | וישב G (*και κατακτισεν*); see previous entry
- 32 תרה 1° M S G (*Θαρα*) | + בחרן G (*εν Χαρραν*); anticipation or harmonizing plus with תרה בחרן v 32
- 205 M G | 145 S cf Acts 7:4 and Philo, *Mig.* 177; revision of chronology

וְהָרֵן הוּלִיד אֶת־לוֹט׃ ²⁸ וַיָּמָת הָרֵן עַל־פְּנֵי תְּרַח אָבִיו בְּאֶרֶץ מוֹלְדֹתוֹ בְּאוּר
 כְּשָׂדִים׃ ²⁹ וַיִּקַּח אַבְרָם וְנַחֲוֹר לָהֶם נָשִׁים שָׁם אֵשֶׁת־אַבְרָם שָׂרִי וְשֵׁם
 אֵשֶׁת־נַחֲוֹר מִלְכָּה בַת־הָרֵן אֲבִי־מִלְכָּה וְאֲבִי יִסְכָּה׃ ³⁰ וַתְּהִי שָׂרִי עֲקָרָה אֵין
 לָהּ יָלֵד׃ ³¹ וַיִּקַּח תְּרַח אֶת־אַבְרָם בְּנוֹ וְאֶת־לוֹט בֶּן־הָרֵן בְּנֵי־בְנוֹ וְאֵת שָׂרִי
 כְּלָתוֹ אֵשֶׁת אַבְרָם בְּנוֹ וַיּוֹצֵא אֹתָם מְאוּר כְּשָׂדִים לְלֶכֶת אֶרְצָה כְּנַעַן וַיָּבֹאוּ
 עַד־תְּרֵן וַיֵּשְׁבוּ שָׁם׃ ³² וַיְהִי יְמֵי־תְּרַח חָמֵשׁ שָׁנִים וּמְאָתַיִם שָׁנָה וַיָּמָת תְּרַח
 בְּתָרֵן׃ □□[פ]□□

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