BIBLIOGRAPHY Annotated Bibliography of Ancient Texts Related

to the Book of Moses and JST Genesis

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Introduction

his section provides an annotated bibliography of ancient texts related to the book of Moses and the rest of JST Genesis, with a guide to currently available English translations.¹ Occasionally, French, German, or Latin translations are included, especially where good English translations are not readily available. Ancient texts only tangentially related to JST Genesis are also sometimes included here if they are deemed relevant for other reasons, or if they have been specifically cited elsewhere in the book.

The texts are grouped into categories that reflect their presumed authorship. Exact or approximate dates of authorship are given where available, but note that these often vary widely and are frequently the subject of scholarly controversy. The following abbreviations are used in connection with information about dates: ca. = *circa*, b. = born, d. = died, fl. = flourished. As in the rest of the commentary, complete publication information for cited texts can be found in the *References* section of this book. Happily, much of this literature is also available online but, due to the rapidly changing nature of such collections, we do not attempt a comprehensive catalogue of these sources here. Because, in most cases, Zoroastrian, Mandaean, and Manichaean texts are not as readily available, well-known, or accessible as Jewish, Christian, and Islamic ones, we summarize the beliefs, rituals, and sources of these in more breadth and detail.

¹ See Endnote B-1, p. 903.

Ancient Near Eastern Texts

The diversity of the settings and ideologies that played their parts in the development of this complex and voluminous literature makes it impossible to do justice to the texts and their possible relationships to JST Genesis. Because of their importance to the book of Abraham and LDS temple teachings, a separate section on Egyptian funerary documents is given below. Following this section, we describe a selection of documents drawn from two standard collections of Ancient Near Eastern texts.

In addition to these texts, we note the *Babyloniaca* (*History of Babylonia*) of Berossus, published about 290-278 BCE for the Macedonian/Seleucid king, Antiochus 1.² It has not been preserved as a complete text, but exists only in fragments cited by Greek, Jewish, and Christian writers. Book 1 records the Babylonian creation account, Book 2 the history of the ante- and post-diluvian Babylonian kings, and Book 3 the history of Babylon from Nabonassaros to Antiochus 1. An English translation of the assembled fragments can be found in Berossus, *History*.

Egyptian Funerary Documents

From what has survived of their culture, one might assume that the ancient Egyptians were obsessed with death. When most people think of Egypt, the relics of death come immediately to mind: pyramids and other great tombs; mummies that have been preserved for thousands of years; amulets, jars, statues and other items recovered from tombs. Their obsession, however, was not with death, but with eternal life.³ As Budge has explained, "The resurrection was the object of every formula, every text, every ceremony of Egyptian life…"⁴ It is also now known that some portions of these documents "were used for religious purposes while the individual was still alive."⁵ Going further, David writes: "There was no ancient division between the funerary customs and the religious practices of the living. In both spheres, the Egyptians sought to influence the gods and gain the benefits they desired."⁶

David provides a helpful summary of literary sources for ancient Egypt.⁷ The oldest written sources are the *Pyramid Texts*, dating from the 5th through 7th Dynasties of the Old Kingdom, or approximately 2300 BCE. As indicated by their name, they were inscribed on the interior of pyramids at Saqqara, nine in number. These funerary inscriptions consist of short statements or sayings, usually identified as Utterances or Spells. Each pyramid contains a different selection of these spells that came from a common catalog. In total, over seven hundred separate spells have been preserved. These texts were written to give guidance to the deceased, to provide protection in the afterlife, and to enable the deceased to join the gods.

Originally discovered by Gaston Maspero in 1881, the *Pyramid Texts* were first translated into German by Kurt Sethe, into French by Louis Speleers, and into English by Samuel A. B. Mercer. In addition to the selections in collected works described below, English

² Berossus.

³ H. W. Nibley, *Greatness*, pp. 299-300. Nibley's article provides a unique perspective on the study of Egyptian history, culture, and religion.

⁴ E. A. W. Budge, *Egyptian Religion*, p. 7.

⁵ J. Gee, Guide, p. 62.

⁶ R. David, Experience, p. 21.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 43-47. For an anthology of the full range of ancient Egyptian literature, see M. Lichtheim, Readings.

translations of the entire set of *Pyramid Texts* are available in editions edited by Faulkner⁸ and, more recently, by Allen.⁹ Allen has also edited a volume of additional middle kingdom copies of fifth and sixth dynasty *Pyramid Texts* that were assembled over the years as part of the Oriental Institute's Coffin Texts project.¹⁰ An online edition of the texts from the pyramid of Unas is available at *Pyramid*.

The *Coffin Texts* began to replace the *Pyramid Texts* at the end of the Old Kingdom. However, most of the *Coffin Texts* date from the Middle Kingdom, about 2000-1700 BCE. Like the *Pyramid Texts*, these spells were selected from a larger catalog and customized to the individual. Most of the time they were painted on the inside of the coffins, and they were available not only to royalty but also those commoners who could afford to have them produced. Sometimes additional texts might be painted on the tomb wall and funerary furniture, or written on manuscripts.

The *Coffin Texts* expanded on the *Pyramid Texts* and included more information about the afterlife and the transformation of the soul through its various stages. They also began to include illustrations and maps of the underworld. Over 1100 of these texts have been collected and published by Faulkner.¹¹

In the New Kingdom, the *Funerary Books* introduced a format that both allowed for expansion of content and also for widespread purchase by ordinary individuals. The most important of these books is the Book of the "Coming Forth by Day," more commonly known as the *Book of the Dead*. The *Book of Breathings* is the title of another book of the same genre.

The earliest editions of the *Book of the Dead* date from the 18th Dynasty of the New Kingdom, or 1550-1295 BCE. They reflected a "shift from regarding the afterlife as being achievable only via the king to a situation in which individuals increasingly made their own provisions. There was also a gradual move towards the concept of righteous living as a qualification for the enjoyment of an afterlife."¹² Like previous funerary texts, each *Book of the Dead* was created for a particular deceased individual and contained chapters selected from a master set. These chapters or Spells were compiled and recorded on a papyrus roll. One well known copy of the *Book of the Dead*, written for a scribe named Ani, was originally nearly eighty feet long. Although no two versions of the *Book of the Dead* are alike, there are several different styles that developed regionally. Some editions follow a strict order of included chapters while others follow unique patterns.¹³ Some include hieroglyphic and hieratic writing ,while others restrict themselves to hieroglyphs.

Most copies of the *Book of the Dead* include a judgment scene where the individual's heart is weighed on a balance against Maat, symbolized by a feather of truth. Any transgressions will add weight to the heart, unbalance the scale, and result in severe consequences. A set of 42 negative confessions must be truthfully made prior to one's joining the gods. These consist of a list of statements similar in spirit to the Ten Commandments, though in more detail (e.g., I have not lied, I have not robbed, I have not been a land grabber).

⁸ R. O. Faulkner, Pyramid.

⁹ J. P. Allen, Pyramid.

¹⁰ J. P. Allen, Coffin Texts.

¹¹ R. O. Faulkner, Coffin.

¹² I. Shaw et al., Dictionary, p. 122.

¹³ Gee notes: "Until Saite times (after about 672 BCE), the contents of the *Book of the Dead* were neither standardized in the selection of chapters nor in their ordering" (J. Gee, *Guide*, p. 62).

Budge published successive English editions of the *Book of the Dead*.¹⁴ He also produced a great quantity of translations of other Egyptian and Assyrian literature early in the late 19th and 20th centuries, most still readily available in reprint editions or online.¹⁵ However, Egyptian scholarship has advanced considerably since Budge made his translations. Allen¹⁶ and Faulkner,¹⁷ for example, have produced readily available modern translations. These typically begin with the spells included in well-known papyrus of Ani and then supplement the text with excerpts from other copies of the *Book of the Dead* to round out the collection.

To LDS readers, the Egyptian funerary texts of greatest interest are the ones included in the *Joseph Smith Papyri*: the *Papyrus of Hor* (a copy of the *Book of Breathings Made by Isis*, including Facsimiles 1 and 3 from the book of Abraham) and the *Papyrus of Semminis* (which included portions of the *Tshemmin Book of the Dead*). The *Papyrus of Hor* has been scrutinized carefully since 1967, when lost portions were recovered by the Church from the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The most complete and up-to-date translation is by Rhodes.¹⁸ Nibley also published an extensive commentary on the *Papyrus of Hor*, comparing it to various aspects of the *Dead* by Michael D. Rhodes is also planned for publication.²⁰ For overviews of the history and composition of the Joseph Smith Papyri, perspectives on relevant studies by Egyptologists, and the relationship of the papyri to the book of Abraham and the Kirtland Egyptian Papers, see Gee.²¹ A detailed history of the papyri also can be found in Peterson.²²

From about 600 BCE until the Christian era, some Egyptian mummies included a small disk made of papyrus, linen, metal or clay under the head. This disk is referred to as a *hypocephalus*, from the Greek words meaning "under the head." The *hypocephalus* symbolized the eye of Ra or Horus, representing the sun, and also included references to the afterlife and resurrection. More than a hundred *hypocephali* have been discovered and, like the other funerary documents described above, no two are alike. Spell 162 of the Saite versions of the Book of the Dead contain the instructions for constructing the *hypocephali*. Facsimile 2 in the book of Abraham, part of the *Joseph Smith Papyri*, is an example of a *hypocephalus*.

Rhodes has published a translation and commentary on the *hypocephalus* included in the book of Abraham as Facsimile 2.²³ The insights of Rhodes regarding Facsimiles 1-3 and the book of Abraham are also available as part of the verse-by-verse commentary on the Pearl of Great Price he co-authored with Richard D. Draper and S. Kent Brown.²⁴ Missing parts of Facsimile 2 have been reconstructed from similar *hypocephali* in the British Museum. *Hypocephali* are on display at various museums, including the British Museum, the Louvre, and the Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

¹⁴ E. A. W. Budge, *Book of the Dead*.

¹⁵ E.g, E. A. W. Budget, Book of the Dead Online.

¹⁶ T. G. Allen, Egyptian; T. G. Allen, Book.

¹⁷ C. Andrews, Book of the Dead.

¹⁸ M. D. Rhodes, Hor. See also J. Gee et al., Astronomy; K. Muhlestein, Breathings; K. Muhlestein, Understandings.

¹⁹ H. W. Nibley, Message 2005.

²⁰ M. D. Rhodes, Tshemmin.

²¹ J. Gee, Guide; J. Gee, Eyewitness; J. Gee, New Light.

²² H. D. Peterson, Story.

²³ M. D. Rhodes, *Hypocephalus Translation*; M. D. Rhodes, *Twenty Years*.

²⁴ R. D. Draper et al., Commentary.

Selections from ANET and COS

The classic collection of primary sources is Pritchard's Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament (ANET). This collection has now been superseded by a three-volume set edited by Hallo entitled The Context of Scripture (COS). COS was issued in three volumes: canonical works, inscriptions, and archival material. More than double the size of ANET, it contains up-to-date translations and more extensive commentary. Besides these two works, an invaluable survey of ancient Near East sources can be found in K. L. Sparks, Ancient Texts. The most up-to-date corpus of Sumerian texts in English translation is The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature. Other useful descriptions of sources and readings can be found in M. W. Chavalas et al., Mesopotamia; R. J. Clifford, Creation; J. D. Currid, Egypt; R. S. Hess et al., Inscriptions; J. M. Roberts, Ancient Near East; J. H. Walton, Ancient.

The 1969 edition of ANET (Third Edition with Supplement) has been used in the table below. Texts are divided into ten categories and each category is divided by nation, culture or language. We have maintained the major categories and indicated the origins of the text by the column labeled "culture." As will be seen, only a few of the major categories are relevant, with most of the references coming from the first one that includes myths, epics and other legendary materials.

Text Name	Date	Culture	Publication Reference and Comment	ANET	COS
Myths, Epics, and Leg	ends				
Memphite Theology	ca. 1300 bce or ca. 710 bce	Egyptian	While earlier studies placed the origin of the text in the Old Kingdom, prior to the Pyramid texts, more recent research posits a date no earlier than the 13 th century BCE, and possibly as late as 710 BCE (M. Lichtheim, <i>Readings</i> , 3:5). The text was recorded on the Shabaka Stone in about 710 BCE. A more complete English translation is available in M. Lichtheim, <i>Memphite</i> . For a photo and commentary, see <i>Figure</i> E1-1, p. 514	4-6 (excerpt)	1:21-23
Pyramid Text, Spell 527	Late Old Kingdom – 2400 BCE	Egyptian	Description of the derivation of the first two elements of the world from a single source as symbolized by Shu and Tefnut coming from Atum.		1:7
<i>Pyramid Text, Spell</i> 600: <i>Creation by Atum</i>	Late Old Kingdom – 2400 bCE	Egyptian	Part of dedication ritual for royal pyramids that recounts the first creation. Carved inside two Sixth Dynasty pyramids. Description of the source of matter, evolution of the sun, and the waters during the begin- ning of creation. In this case, ANET includes more material than does COS.	3	1:7-8
Coffin Text, Spell 75	First Interme- diate Period	Egyptian	Identification of the deceased with the first elements of the world.		1:8-9
Coffin Text, Spell 76	First Interme- diate Period	Egyptian	Construction of the world from the initial creation of the atmosphere.		1:10-11
Coffin Text, Spell 78	First Interme- diate Period	Egyptian	The origins of permanence and repetition as symbol- ized by Tefnut and Shu respectively. See <i>Pyramid Text</i> 527.		1:11
Coffin Text, Spell 80	First Interme- diate Period	Egyptian	Expansions of the roles of Tefnut and Shu to include death, rebirth, the creation of people and the order for the universe.		1:11-14
Coffin Text, Spell 160: The Repulsing of the Dragon	1300 bce	Egyptian	Middle Kingdom coffin text, later used in the <i>Book of the Dead</i> . Describes the victory over a dragon or snake by Ra.	11-12	1:32

COS, published in 2003 also includes excerpts from the Egyptian *Pyramid* and *Coffin Texts*. The *Pyramid Texts* are listed after the *Memphite Theology* below, as they are generally the oldest Egyptian writings. These are followed by the *Coffin Texts* and the papyrus manuscripts.

Text Name	Date	Culture	Publication Reference and Comment	ANET	COS
Coffin Text, Spell 261	First Interme- diate Period	Egyptian	The deceased is identified with the primordial source of all matter.		1:17-18
Coffin Text, Spell 335: Creation by Atum	2000 все	Egyptian	Important creation text used in the 17 th chapter of the <i>Book of the Dead</i> from 2000 to 1000 BCE. The <i>Coffin Text</i> version is better preserved than the <i>Book of the Dead</i> version (Spell 17) referenced herein.		1:15-17
Book of the Dead, Spell 17: Creation by Atum	2000 bce	Egyptian	Important creation text used in the 17 th chapter of the <i>Book of the Dead</i> from 2000 to 1000 BCE. This text is based on <i>Coffin Text</i> Spell 335.	3-4	
Coffin Text, Spell 647	First Interme- diate Period	Egyptian	The link between the statement of creation by fiat and the forces and elements that performed the creation.		1:18-19
Coffin Text, Spell 714	First Interme- diate Period	Egyptian	The role of magic or divine force in the creation.		1:6-7
Coffin Text, Spell 1130: All Men Created Equal in Opportunity	2000 все	Egyptian	A divine declaration that all have equality of opportu- nity. The text is found only on four wooden coffins.	7-8	1:26-27
Book of the Dead, Spell 117	1500 bce	Egyptian	Spell for taking the road to Rosetjau, the Netherworld. See <i>Figure</i> 4-11, p. 230.		
Book of the Dead, Spell 175: The Prime- val Establishment of Order	1500 bce	Egyptian	Chapter 175 of the <i>Book of the Dead</i> for Ani, this text describes the responsibility of Atum to bring order through the creation and the preservation of the dead.	9-10	1:27-30
Thebes as the Place of Creation	1300 bce	Egyptian	Extract from a hymn glorifying Thebes as the center of the creation and Amon Ra as the creator.	8	
Deliverance of Man- kind from Destruction	1300 все	Egyptian	Recorded on the walls of several Theban tombs, this text records the sin of mankind (plotting against the gods), the disappointment of the creator and the narrow escape from destruction by the gods. There is an implication that individuals might be saved in the future from destruction.	10-11	1:36-37
The God and His Unknown Name of Power	1300 bce	Egyptian	Isis plots to learn the secret name of Ra. It is recorded that this name was given to him before he came into being by his father and his mother.	12-14	1:33-34
Ramesside Stella	New Kingdom	Egyptian	Concise description of the first land created.		1:20
The Contest of Horus and Seth for Rule	1200 bce	Egyptian	Horus and Seth fight for dominion as replacements for Osiris (Seth's brother and Horus' father)	14-17	
Papyrus Bremner- Rhind: Repulsing the Dragon and the Creation	Ptolemaic Period	Egyptian	The evolution of the gods from Atum and an account of the triumph of Ra over Apophis and the creation by Ra.	6-7	1:14-15
Papyrus Leiden I 350	New Kingdom	Egyptian	Amon as the creator.		1:23-26
Story of Sinuhe	1800 BCE	Egyptian	Regarded by some as the greatest masterpiece of Egyp- tian literature, this is a popular story about a wealthy and successful official in exile who at last returns home. The story reflected a pattern for a common three-part literary pattern in ancient Near Eastern literature: <i>trouble at home, exile abroad,</i> and <i>happy homecoming</i> (A. Gileadi, <i>Literary,</i> p. 12; cf. J. Assman, <i>Death,</i> pp. 164-185). Nibley uses the story to point out resem- blances to the patriarchal narratives (in particular, the book of Abraham and Moses 1) that evidence both his- torical and ritual elements in the story (H. W. Nibley, <i>Message 2005,</i> pp. 81, 112-113; H. W. Nibley, <i>Abraham</i> <i>2000,</i> pp. 221-225, 243-244, 304, 419-420). Nibley also applies criteria for its historicity developed by Albright to the Book of Mormon (H. W. Nibley, <i>Lehi 1988,</i> p. 3), and compares the desert flight of Sinuhe to that of Lehi (H. W. Nibley, <i>Lehi 1988,</i> p. 47-48).	18-22	1:77-82

Text Name	Date	Culture	Publication Reference and Comment	ANET	COS
The Story of Two Brothers	са. 1225 все	Egyptian	A tale of a "conscientious young man falsely ac- cused of a proposal of adultery by the wife of his elder brother, after he had actually rejected her advances. This part of the story has general similarity to the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife" (J. B. Pritchard, <i>Two Brothers</i> , p. 23). The story pattern and the mixture of history and ritual is seen by Nibley as similar in many respects to that of Sinuhe. See H. W. Nibley, <i>Abraham</i> 2000, pp. 219-222, 224, 244, 247, 368-371, 570.	23-25	1:85-89
Enki and Ninhursag: A Paradise Myth	1500 bce	Sumerian	With many parallels to Genesis 2 and 3, the story, set in Dilmun, describes creation through impregnation by Enki, the growth and partaking of eight plants by Enki, his expulsion from Dilmun and his reconciliation and acceptance back.	37-41	
Enki and Ninmah	1500 bce	Sumerian	The creation of man from clay and a contest between Enki and Ninmah.		1:516- 519
Dumizi and Enkimdu: The Dispute between the Shepherd-God and the Farmer-God		Sumerian	Initially paralleling the Cain and Abel story, this one ends peacefully, rather than in a murder. Nibley cites Assmann's conclusion that "the perennial conflict between the farmer and the herdsman" is "most promi- nent in the Abraham legends" (H. W. Nibley, <i>Abraham</i> 2000, p. 220).	41-42	
Disputation between the Ewe and the Wheat		Sumerian	A disputation text, unusual for its lengthy cosmological preface. Paralleling aspects of Adam traditions, it also recounts how wool and wheat were divinely provided in primeval times.		1:575- 578
The Eridu Genesis, or The Deluge		Sumerian	Brief account of a flood paralleling in several respects the story of Noah. It begins with the Creation and establishment of five cities. Only one fragmentary tablet survives.	42-44	1:513- 515
The Death of Gil- gamesh		Sumerian	Survives in two sections with an indeterminate break in the middle. The first part recounts the moment Gilgamesh is told he will not live eternally in mortality, his death, and the subsequent mourning. The second surviving part lists his family and other attendants and recounts his offerings to the deities of the nether world. One interpretation has him becoming the king of the world of the afterlife.	50-52	
Inanna's Descent to the Nether World	2000-1500 BCE	Sumerian	Account of Inanna's visit to the nether world where she is stripped of all possessions, killed and left impaled on a stake for three days. She is revived and rescued by two messengers bringing the food and water of life, sent by her husband.	52-57	
The Creation Epic or Enuma Elish	2000 все	Akkadian / Babylonian	Recited annually on New Year's Day, this epic poem recounts the struggle between chaos and order and the resultant creation of the world and living things.	60-72, 501-503	1:390- 402
The Epic of Gilgamesh	2000 BCE	Akkadian / Babylonian	Gilgamesh attempts to circumvent death by learning the secret of immortality, and in the process learns of the Great Flood from its hero and survivor, Utnapish- tim. Well-preserved in several versions, the flood ac- count has many parallels to that in the Old Testament including a snake who foiled Gilgamesh's bid for im- mortality by carrying off the plant of life he had found on his quest. Although the flood account has been of most interest to scholars, the focus of the Epic itself is man's quest for immortality. For a complete English translation of this work, see A. George, <i>Gilgamesh</i> .	72-98, 503-507	1:458- 460
The Creation of Man by the Mother Goddess		Akkadian / Babylonian	Brief account of the creation of man out of clay that is mixed with the flesh and blood of a slain deity. An Assyrian version is appended in ANET.	99-100	
A Cosmological Incan- tation: The Worm and the Toothache		Akkadian / Babylonian	Brief text to cure toothaches, taken from a more an- cient source that recounts the creation of the world.	100-101	

Text Name	Date	Culture	Publication Reference and Comment	ANET	COS
Adapa		Akkadian /	Four variants of a brief text that describe man's	101-103	1:449
1		Babylonian	squandered opportunity for obtaining immortality.		
			Similarities and differences with the story of Adam are		
			discussed in D. E. Callender, Adam, pp. 75-84.		
Atrahasis		Akkadian /	Four variant fragments of deluge texts.	104-106,	1:450-
		Babylonian		512-514	453
Descent of Ishtar to the Nether world		Akkadian / Babylonian	Similar to the Sumerian text describing Inanna's de- scent, this is not just a copy but an account of a similar experience from a Babylonian perspective. Shorter	106-109	1:381- 384
			than the Sumerian text, this version is also more sym- metrical (and possibly chiastic) giving a more detailed		
			account of Ishtar's return.		
A Vision of the Nether World		Akkadian / Babylonian	A vision of the nether world including the family of gods reigning there.	109-110	
The Theogony of Dunnu		Akkadian / Babylonian	Three incarnations of the City of Dunnu from a pris- tine heavenly city to an ancient capital.		1:402- 404
The Myth of Zu		Akkadian / Babylonian	Zu, after claiming to be superior to the other gods, steals the Tablet of Destinies and eventually is subdued.	111-113, 514-517	3:327- 334
Etana		Akkadian / Babylonian	Two versions (Babylonian and Assyrian) from several sources of Etana's visit to heaven.	114-118, 517	1:453- 457
The Moon that Fell from Heaven		Hittite	Brief description of the moon god's fall and the reac- tion of the other gods.	120	
Kingship in Heaven		Hittite	Origins and rivalries of gods in heaven.	120-121	
The Song of Ullikum- mis		Hittite	Description of the rivalries of the gods from the per- spective of the supreme god.	121-125	
Legal Texts					
Lipit-Ishtar Lawcode		Sumerian / Akkadian	The prologue describes how the laws that follow origi- nated with the father of the gods.	159-161	2:410- 414
The Code of Ham- murabi	са. 1760 все	Babylonian	An ancient code of laws preserved on a seven-foot stele now found in the Louvre. Hammurabi asserted that these laws came from the gods through the firstborn god, Marduk.	163-180	2:335- 353
Instructions for Temple Officials		Hittite	Dress code and sacrifice instructions.	207-210	1:217- 221
Rituals, Incantations	and Festivals				
Daily Ritual of the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak: Papyrus Berlin 3055		Egyptian	Spells and recitations for the Karnak Temple.	325-326	1:55-57
Ritual for the Repair of a Temple		Akkadian	This ritual survives in three texts, two (A and B) from Uruk, and a third (C) from Babylon. Text C includes a description of the creation and its relationship to restoring temples.	339-342	
Hymns and Prayers					
A Hymn to Amon-Re	1800-1600 все	Egyptian	Reference to Amon-Re as the eldest in heaven and firstborn of earth.	365-367	1:37-40
Amon as the Sole God		Egyptian	Dating from the 19 th Dynasty, after the Amarna period, this hymn emphasizes Amon as the sole god.	368-369	
The Hymn to Aten		Egyptian	Emphasis on Aton as the whole god during the Amarna period.	369-371	1:44-46
Berlin Hymn to Ptah	New Kingdom	Egyptian	Hymn describing the creative force of Ptah.		1:20-21
The Hymn to Osiris		Egyptian	Most complete Egyptian form of the Osiris myth.		1:41-43

Early Old Testament Manuscripts and Translations

The major groups of early Old Testament manuscripts and translations include a family of early Greek translations (*Septuagint or LXX*), translations and proto-Midrash of the Old Testament made so that Aramaic-speaking Jewish communities could also hear the words of the Hebrew scriptures in their own tongue (*Targum*), the Syriac *Peshitta*, the Latin *Vulgate*, and the Hebrew *Masoretic Text (MT)*.

Metzger²⁵ and Pelikan²⁶ each provide a good overview of the history of ancient and English versions of the Bible. In-depth discussions of historical and theological issues relating to the formation of the biblical canon can be found in L. M. McDonald et al., *Canon*.

Text Name	Date	Description	English Publication Reference
Septuagint (LXX), or Alexandrian, Version	са. 250- 150 все	A family of early translations of the Old Testa- ment into Greek deriving its name from a tradi- tion that the translation of the Pentateuch was accomplished by seventy-two Jewish scholars. It includes not only the OT but also most of the <i>Apocrypha</i> and some interesting—and prob- ably superior—variants from the <i>MT</i> on key passages. This was the version of the OT quoted in prophetic citations by the NT, and is still used by much of Eastern Orthodoxy. Overall the <i>LXX</i> shows wide agreement with the <i>MT</i> , and few vari- ants are found in Genesis. However, several areas of agreement between the <i>LXX</i> and the Qumran bible texts where both differ from the <i>MT</i> provide evidence that a separate manuscript tradition was behind each of them.	An inexpensive, though now dated, one volume translation of the LXX from the Codex Vaticanus can be found in L. C. L. Brenton, Septuagint. Oxford University Press is in the process of pub- lishing its multi-volume New English Translation of the Septuagint (NETS), based on the NRSV, for which a provisional text of Genesis has been made available online (R. J. V. Hiebert, Septua- gint). A one-volume edition of NETS appeared in 2007 (A. Pietersma et al., Septuagint), and a another English translation has been made (J. N. Sparks et al., Orthodox Study Bible). A superb French translation of the Pentateuch has also been published (C. Dogniez et al., Pentateuque). Jobes and Silva have written an excellent intro- duction to the LXX (K. H. Jobes et al., Septua- gint), and Brayford has prepared a commentary highlighting the manner in which the Greek text altered the understanding of Genesis (S. Brayford, Septuagint Genesis).
Targum Onkelos (Bavli or Babylo- nian)	ca. 300- 400	This Aramaic translation of the Old Testament got its name from a Roman convert to Judaism mentioned in the <i>Talmud</i> who at one time was thought to have composed it. It is the only one of the Targums that was given official status as a text to be read alternatively verse by verse with the Hebrew <i>Torah</i> in the synagogue. When Aramaic was no longer spoken, public use of the <i>Targum</i> ceased, except in Jewish communities in Yemen.	See B. Grossfeld, <i>Onqelos</i> . An inexpensive English version of <i>Targum Onkelos</i> can also be found in J. W. Etheridge, <i>Onkelos</i> .
Targum Yerush- almi II (Jerusalem or Palestinian or Fragmentary)	ca. 1100- 1300	This family of Palestinian targums provides an Aramaic translation of selected verses or phrases from the Hebrew scriptures, possibly intended to supplement the <i>Onkelos</i> . Although the known manuscripts are late, much of their content may date to an earlier period. The <i>Genizah</i> fragments, first published in 1930, date to the eighth/ninth century or earlier.	Klein's valuable studies are out-of-print, but may sometimes be found in used bookstores (M. L. Klein, <i>Fragment Targums</i> ; M. L. Klein, <i>Geniza</i>). Portions of these fragments are included with <i>Pseudo-Jonathan</i> in J. W. Etheridge, <i>Onkelos</i> .

BIBLIOGRAPHY

²⁵ B. M. Metzger, Translation.

²⁶ J. Pelikan, Whose Bible.

814 BIBLIOGRAPHY – EARLY OLD TESTAMENT MANUSCRIPTS AND TRANSLATIONS

Text Name	Date	Description	English Publication Reference
Targum Pseudo- Jonathan (Yerush- almi 1)	ca. 150- 900	In medieval times, this Palestinian Targum was also known as <i>Yerushalmi</i> , but through a printer's error was falsely attributed to Jonathan ben Uziel. It is a combination translation and commentary that includes material from the <i>Talmud</i> as well as from midrashic sources. Tvedtnes et al. write: "Al- though this targum reached its final form in the eighth or ninth century, because it is of Palestin- ian origin, it must date to before the mid-second century" (J. A. Tvedtnes et al., <i>Traditions, p. 65</i>).	See M. Maher, <i>Pseudo-Jonathan</i> . An inexpensive English version of <i>Targum Pseudo-Jonathan</i> can also be found in J. W. Etheridge, <i>Onkelos</i> .
Targum Neofiti 1	ca. 1504	A late though full copy of the earliest form of the Palestinian targum to the Pentateuch. The codex contains some censorship of what was seen as anti-Christian polemic.	See B. Grossfeld et al., <i>Neofiti</i> ; M. McNamara, <i>Targum Neofiti</i> , which incorporate variants from other Palestinian <i>Targums</i> in their notes.
Vulgate	ca. 405 (OT)	The Old Testament and <i>Apocrypha</i> of this influen- tial Latin translation of the Bible were produced under the direction of Jerome. It became the official Bible of the Roman Catholic Church from the Council of Trent in 1546 until 1979. Since the OT was directly translated from the Hebrew, it is a witness of the manuscripts extant at the time of its translation.	The <i>Vulgate</i> is, of course, published only in Latin. Weber's one-volume critical edition of the text has become the standard reference (R. Weber, <i>Vulgata</i>).
Peshitta	ca. 200 (OT)	This Syriac translation shows similarities to the targums and the <i>LXX</i> but is thought to be based on an independent text resembling the proto-Masoretic. It remains important to churches that are part of the Syriac tradition.	An English translation of Peshitta Genesis is available (Peshitta Foundation, <i>Bereshith Rabba</i>). The Peshitta Institute at Leiden is preparing a new annotated English translation of the Peshitta Old Testament (NEATSB, or the <i>New English Annotat-</i> <i>ed Translation of the Syriac Bible</i>) to be published by Brill. George Lamsa has also produced several volumes of English translation and commentary on the Peshitta, but his work is seen as theologi- cally biased and inaccurate by most scholars.
Masoretic Text (MT)	800-1400	Over a period of several hundred years, a group of Jewish scholars (the Masoretes) compared, standardized, and added vowel points to the text of the Hebrew scriptures. The MT has been ad- opted as the standard scriptural text of Judaism, and has been widely used in English translations of the Old Testament. For an analysis of textual variants as discussed in rabbinic sources, see B. B. Levy, <i>Fixing</i> .	The <i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i> (BHS) is the unrivaled critical edition of this text (Ameri- can Bible Society, <i>Biblia</i>). Kohlenberger has edited an interlinear Hebrew-English Old Testa- ment combining the text of the BHS with the <i>New</i> <i>International Version</i> (NIV) English translation (J. R. Kohlenberger, III, <i>Interlinear</i>).
Samaritan Penta- teuch	After 100 BCE	A sectarian redaction of the Pentateuch, with important parallels to the <i>Septuagint</i> .	No English translation exists. For backround on the text, see J. D. Purvis, <i>Samaritan Pentateuch</i> . See also S. Lowy, <i>Principles</i> .

The Old Testament Apocrypha

Although the word is commonly used to refer to stories of any kind that are of doubtful origin or veracity, "apocrypha" comes from a Greek term meaning "those having been hidden away." Here, we restrict the term to refer to the deuterocanonical (= Latin "second canon") books of the Old Testament accepted by Roman Catholics but not by most Protestant churches.²⁷ Most of these writings were included in the *Septuagint (LXX)* and were valued by early Christians and some Jewish groups who spoke Greek. However, the apocryphal books were not extant in Hebrew when the canon of the Hebrew scriptures was formed during the first two centuries CE.

In March 1833, when Joseph Smith was engaged in the translation of the Bible, he prayed to know whether he should translate the *Apocrypha* and was told:

1... There are many things contained therein that are true, and it is mostly translated correctly;

2 There are many things contained therein that are not true, which are interpolations by the hands of men.

3 Verily, I say unto you, that it is not needful that the Apocrypha should be translated.

4 Therefore, whoso readeth it, let him understand, for the Spirit manifesteth truth;

5 And whoso is enlightened by the Spirit shall obtain benefit therefrom;

6 And whoso receiveth not by the Spirit, cannot be benefited. Therefore it is not needful that it should be translated. Amen.²⁸

The *Apocrypha* are readily available in many translations and editions. English translation page numbers for the following editions of the *Apocrypha* are given below:

LXX - *The Septuagint with Apocrypha: Greek and English*, edited by Brenton. Contains parallel columns of the Greek and English text. *Apocrypha* is at the end of the volume, with separate pagination.

APOT - *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*, edited by R. H. Charles in 1913. Volume 1 contains the *Apocrypha* and Volume 2 the *Pseudepigrapha*. These are available in inexpensive paperback editions.

ARV - The Revised Version of the Apocrypha.

ARSV - The Oxford Annotated Apocrypha: Expanded Edition of the Revised Standard Version.

²⁷ Additional collections of ancient books, under the name of "New Testament Apocrypha," have also been edited and published by modern scholars (e.g., E. Hennecke et al., *NT Apocrypha*; M. R. James, *Apocryphal*). However, these are not accepted as canonical by any major Christian denomination.

²⁸ D&C 91:1-6.

Bibliography – The Old Testament Apocrypha

Text Name	Publication Reference and Comment	LXX	APOT	ARV	ARSV
2 Esdras (2, 4, 5, 6 Ezra)	Not found in the Greek, this work consists of three distinct parts (chs. 1-2, 3-14, 15-16), the most important being the second part, the <i>Apocalypse of Esdras</i> (<i>4 Ezra</i> in the Latin Vulgate), which contains seven visions. Possibly written during the reign of Domitian (91-96 CE), but in any case no later than 120 CE. A possibility for confusion is in the fact that some publications name the two "Christian additions" (i.e., chs. 1-2 and 15-16 of 2 Esdras) <i>5 Ezra</i> and <i>6 Ezra</i> respectively, while Latin manuscripts call them 2 and <i>5 Esdras</i> .		2:542- 624	21-60	23-62
The Wisdom of Solomon	A beautiful discourse on wisdom and immortality, written in Greek by an Alexandrian Jew, shortly before the Christian era.	56-73	1:535- 568	96-121	102- 127
Ecclesiasticus (Ben Sirach or the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach)	This work was written in Hebrew by Joshua Ben Sira of Jerusalem a few years before the Maccabean revolt. Translated by his grandson into Greek. A Hebrew manuscript has also been discovered.	74-121	1:316- 517	121- 183	128- 197
Baruch	Several disjointed texts modeled on the writings of the Hebrew prophets. Probably written in the first century BCE.	121- 127	1:583- 595	183- 189	198- 204
1 Maccabees	Contains a trustworthy history of the Maccabean revolt. Written by an orthodox Jew in the first or second decade of the first century BCE. This is the most valuable of the apocryphal texts from a historical perspective.	139- 182	1:67- 124	200- 241	221- 262
2 Maccabees	An abridgement of the larger five-volume history of the Maccabees by Jason of Cyrene. Probably written in the first century BCE.	183- 213	1:132- 154	241- 272	263- 293
4 Maccabees	"The book of <i>4 Maccabees</i> is a homily or philosophic discourse praising the supremacy of pious reason over passion" (<i>Fourth Maccabees</i> (<i>Wiki- pedia</i>)). For an English translation, see <i>Fourth Maccabees</i> .				

The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha

The *Pseudepigrapha* of the Old Testament consist of fifty or more documents bearing some relation to the Hebrew canon and generally thought to have been written between 200 BCE and 200 CE. Additional works of a similar nature written at later periods are also sometimes classed as pseudepigraphal.

Generally, the writings of the OT *Pseudepigrapha* are of either Jewish or Christian origin. However in analyzing a given text, it is frequently difficult to trace the relative extent of each influence.²⁹ Describing the approach of early scholars to this difficult question, Kraft observes: "M. R. James would list page after page of alleged verbal reminiscences of New Testament writings, with the conclusion that the writing being examined had made use of the New Testament and thus was Christian in its present form. In contrast, Ginzberg would list at length the parallels to known rabbinic Jewish traditions and conclude that the basic core of the writing was Jewish. We have, hopefully, come a long way in our critical awareness if not in our actual practice from simple 'parallelomania.³⁰

Pseudepigraphal writings are usually ascribed by a later author to a notable figure from the past, hence the designation *pseudepigrapha* (= Greek "false inscription"). Prominent among these are the books of Enoch, highly valued by the early Christian Church and by many of the Eastern Christian Churches today. Many of these texts contain important information, although they are generally considered less reliable than the books of the *Apocrypha*. A good number of these are of a genre called "apocalyptic" (= Greek "lifting of the veil"), a term also used to describe the New Testament book of Revelation and parts of the Old Testament book of Daniel. The apocalyptic writings of the pseudepigrapha purport to reveal the workings of the cosmos and the secrets of heaven, and are often expressed in the language of special types and symbols.

A comprehensive bibliography of pseudepigrapha research (though lacking annotated descriptions of the references) is available in L. DiTommaso, *Bibliography*. Stone supplies a useful overview of the primary and secondary literature relating to Adam and Eve in M. E. Stone, *History of the Literature*.

Page numbers for the following English editions of the Old Testament pseudepigrapha are given in the table below:

OTP - *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, edited by James H. Charlesworth in 1983. This definitive two-volume edition of the Old Testament *Pseudepigrapha* is organized by themes. The groupings are: apocalyptic works, testaments, Old Testament expansions, wisdom literature, prayers, psalms, odes, fragments of lost Judeo-Hellenistic works and histories. An introduction and commentary accompany each text.

APOT - *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*, edited by R. H. Charles in 1913. Volume 1 contains the *Apocrypha* and Volume 2 the *Pseudepigrapha*. This was the standard reference collection until OTP appeared seventy years later. Now superseded by OTP, APOT is included here because it has been referenced extensively for many years and is now available in inexpensive paperback editions.

²⁹ R. A. Kraft, Pseudepigrapha.

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 60-61.

Apocalyptic Literature and 1 Enoch 200 1 (The Ethiopic Apocallyptic Literature) 100 0 lypse of Enoch) 100 0	 This is the oldest of three so-called books of Enoch. Portions of this work were found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. Over forty manuscripts of this work have survived in Ethiopic (<i>Ge'ez</i>) and fragments have been found in Aramaic, Greek and Latin. Barker observes: "The oldest text fragments are from the third century BCE, but Isaiah knew something like <i>1 Enoch</i>, and so the tradition must be a lot older" (M. Barker, <i>Hidden</i>, p. vii). <i>1 Enoch</i> may be divided into five sections and an appendix as follows: <i>Chapters</i> 1-36: An introduction discussing the final judgment of the righteous and wicked and a narrative concerning the fallen angels, their corruption of men, and various visions of Enoch. <i>Chapters</i> 37-71: The Similitudes (parables) of Enoch that deal with the coming judgment, the resurrection, and the Messiah. <i>Chapters</i> 72-82: An astrological treatise concerning the future history of the world and Israel. <i>Chapters</i> 91-104: Enoch's testament. <i>Chapters</i> 105-108: Appendix containing fragments of the <i>Book of Noah</i> and editorial comments. 	1:5-89	2:188-281
1 Enoch 200 r (The Ethiopic Apoca-100 c	 This is the oldest of three so-called books of Enoch. Portions of this work were found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. Over forty manuscripts of this work have survived in Ethiopic (<i>Ge'ez</i>) and fragments have been found in Aramaic, Greek and Latin. Barker observes: "The oldest text fragments are from the third century BCE, but Isaiah knew something like <i>1 Enoch</i>, and so the tradition must be a lot older" (M. Barker, <i>Hidden</i>, p. vii). <i>1 Enoch</i> may be divided into five sections and an appendix as follows: <i>Chapters</i> 1-36: An introduction discussing the final judgment of the righteous and wicked and a narrative concerning the fallen angels, their corruption of men, and various visions of Enoch. <i>Chapters</i> 37-71: The Similitudes (parables) of Enoch that deal with the coming judgment, the resurrection, and the Messiah. <i>Chapters</i> 72-82: An astrological treatise concerning the future history of the world and Israel. <i>Chapters</i> 91-104: Enoch's testament. <i>Chapters</i> 105-108: Appendix containing fragments of the <i>Book of Noah</i> and editorial comments. 	1:5-89	
	Nickelsburg (G. W. E. Nickelsburg, <i>1 Enoch</i>), and he and VanderKam have also produced a new translation of all the chapters, lacking commentary (G. W. E. Nickelsburg et al., <i>1 Enoch</i>).		
2 Enoch 100 (The Slavonic Apoca- lypse of Enoch, The Secrets of Enoch)	 Known from twenty Slavonic manuscripts, none of which is a complete text of 2 Enoch. In each case the manuscript is a different work that is quoting part of 2 Enoch. 2 Enoch is basically a midrash on Genesis 5:21-32 and can be divided into two parts: Chapters 1-68 describe how Enoch was taken up through seven heavens and then returned to report on what he had learned. Chapters 69-73 deal with the life of Enoch's successors and ends with the birth of Melchizedek shortly before the Flood. 	1:91- 221	2:431- 469
Treatise of Shem 100-	BCE This text, attributed to Shem, describes dependencies between the house of the Zodiac in which a particular year begins, and the characteristics of that year. It contains twelve chapters, one for each sign of the Zodiac. One fifteenth-century Syriac text has survived. The original language was probably Semitic.	1:473- 486	
3 Baruch (Greek 100- Apocalypse of Baruch)	300 In this text Baruch weeps over the destruction of Jerusalem. The Lord sends an angel to comfort him and show him the mysteries of heaven. He is led through five heavens and then returned to earth. This work is preserved in three fami- lies of Slavonic manuscripts and a Greek manuscript that is the source of the Slavonic.	1:653- 679	2:533- 541
Apocalypse of Abra- ham	 An ascension text with striking parallels to the book of Moses. Chapters 1-8 describe Abraham's youth and encounter with his father's idolatry. Chapters 9-32 describe Abraham's ascension and a series of seven visions ending with the victory of the just. "The author of the text seems to be using the narrative to explain why Jerusalem was destroyed in 70 CE" (J. A. Tvedtnes et al., <i>Traditions</i>, p. 52). Known from six Slavonic manuscripts, the original text was probably Hebrew. The first English publication of selections from this text was made in the Church's <i>Improvement Era</i> periodical in 1898 (E. H. Anderson et al., <i>Abraham</i>). Kulik has developed new readings for the text (A. Kulik, <i>Retroverting</i>). See D. J. Larsen et al., <i>Vision of Moses</i> for parallels with Moses 1 and reproductions of the beautiful color illustrations from the <i>Codex Sylvester</i>. Jared Ludlow and Hugh Nibley have also written about parallels with the LDS books of Abraham and Moses (J. W. Ludlow, <i>Visions</i>; H. W. Nibley, <i>To Open</i>). 	1:681- 705	
Apocalypse of Adam 1-40	An apocalypse narrated by Adam to his son Seth shortly before his death. Covers the story of the Fall, Flood and destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah from a Gnostic view. Preserved as the last part of Codex V of the Coptic <i>Nag</i> <i>Hammadi Codices</i> .	1:707- 719	

Text Name	Date	Publication Reference and Comment	OTP	APOT
Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs	200-100 bce	A document purporting to contain the final utterances of the twelve sons of Jacob modeled after the last words of Jacob in Genesis 49. Most include predictions of the future of Israel. Originally Jewish, with later Christian additions. Five Greek manuscripts.	1:775- 828	2:296- 367
Testament of Abraham	1-200	Abraham's tour of the world and vision of the judgment prior to his death. His soul is conducted to heaven after a reluctant departure from earth. "Although a Jewish text, it was only preserved by Christians" (M. Barker, <i>Revelation</i> , p. 396). Two recensions, the first and longer one in Romanian and the second in several Greek copies. Later versions also available in Slavonic, Romanian, Coptic, Arabic and Ethiopic.	1:871- 902	
Testament of Jacob	100-300	An angel takes Jacob on a tour of hell and heaven prior to his death. His soul is taken to heaven and Joseph embalms his body. Based on an Arabic text with some pieces from Coptic and Ethiopic texts.	1:913- 918	
Testament of Moses (Assumption of Moses)	1-100	Farewell exhortation from Moses to Joshua prior to his death. Contains a pre- diction of the history of his people. From one Latin Palimpsest (= manuscript with earlier writing effaced to accommodate later writing), with almost half of the manuscript lost.	1:919- 934	2:414- 424
Testament of Adam	100-500	This text is divided into three sections, an <i>Horarium</i> (hours of the day and night), prophecy and a list of nine different orders of heavenly beings. A Christian version of an earlier Jewish text (M. Barker, <i>Hidden</i> , p. vii), it is based on a Syriac text in its current form in three recensions, having survived in eight manuscripts.	1:989- 995	
Expansions of the Old	Testament	and Legends		
Jubilees	200-100 BCE	The book of <i>Jubilees</i> , sometimes called <i>Little Genesis</i> , purports to be an account of revelations to Moses while he was on Mt. Sinai for forty days. It recounts much of the material found in Genesis and Exodus, but some of the differences are so striking that it has been called a "Rewritten Bible" (H. L. Strack et al., <i>Introduction</i> , p. 235). It covers the Creation, Adam, Noah, Abraham, Jacob, and the story of Moses himself. Barker observes: "Most summaries of history in the Hebrew scriptures focus on Moses and the Exodus but omit Sinai; they are the exact opposite of the <i>Apocalypse of Weeks</i> [in <i>Jubilees</i>]. Scholars have suspected for some time that Sinai and Exodus were originally distinct traditions, interwoven only after the destruction of the first temple, and with the Exodus narrative predominating rather than temple tradition, which underlies the Sinai story" (M. Barker, <i>Hidden</i> , p. 38). <i>Jubilees</i> was originally written in Hebrew. The Hebrew text was translated into Greek and Syriac. The Greek text was translated into Latin and Ethiopic. No Hebrew (outside of Qumran), little or no Syriac and only fragments of the Greek text bave survived. About one-fourth of the Latin text is extant, the only complete text being the Ethiopic. Many small Hebrew fragments were found at Qumran. In addition two of the <i>Dead Sea Scrolls</i> (The <i>Genesis Apocryphon</i> and the <i>Damascus Document</i>) show influence from <i>Jubilees</i> .	2:35-142	2:11- 82
Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah	200 bCE- 400 CE	This is a composite work that divides easily into two parts. The first five chap- ters form a work now called <i>The Martyrdom of Isaiah</i> and the last six chapters another work containing an account of a heavenly Ascension or Vision of Isaiah. Inserted into the <i>Martyrdom</i> is yet another work (3:13-4:22) sometimes called the <i>Testament of Hezekiah</i> . There are a number of smaller additions and other changes to the text. The <i>Martyrdom</i> is a Jewish work. The <i>Ascension</i> and <i>Testament</i> sections are considered later Christian additions. The <i>Martyrdom</i> , originally written in Hebrew was translated into Greek, the language of the later additions. The entire text was translated from Greek to Ethiopic, Latin, Slavonic and Coptic. Only in Ethiopic has the entire text survived.	2:143- 176	2:159- 162

Bibliography – The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha

Text Name	Date	Publication Reference and Comment	OTP	APOT
Joseph and Aseneth (Joseph and Asenath)	100 BCE- 200 CE	A long tale attested in many manuscript sources that tells of how Joseph came to marry Aseneth, "a foreign Hamitic girl, daughter of an idolatrous priest" (C. Burchard, <i>Joseph</i> , p. 177). Sixteen Greek manuscripts have survived along with about seventy other manuscripts in Syriac, Armenian, Latin, Slavonic, Ruma- nian and Ethiopian. The Greek manuscripts fall into four distinct groups. For discussions about the possibility of ritual elements in the work, see R. D. Chesnutt, <i>Food</i> ; A. J. M. Wedderburn, <i>Baptism</i> , pp. 157-158. For example, Seaich notes that the three gifts given to Aseneth from Joseph as he kisses her three times "correspond to the three 'tokens' (<i>ankh</i> , <i>djed</i> , and <i>was</i>) bestowed in the Egyptian form of the Sacred Embrace" (J. E. Seaich, <i>Ancient Texts 1995</i> , p. 858 n. 642).	2:177- 247	
Life of Adam and Eve and the Armenian Adam literature (Apocalypse of Moses (Greek), Vita (Latin))	1-100	This is perhaps the most important and extensive work of the primary Adam literature. The Greek and Latin texts narrate events after Adam and Eve leave the Garden of Eden, focusing on their relationship with Seth including death- bed recollections about the Fall and instructions to their posterity. Twenty- three manuscripts have been located so far. These fall into five main varia- tions. In addition to the Greek and Latin manuscripts there are more recently discovered texts in Armenian, Slavonic, and Georgian. The original text was most likely Hebrew with the Greek translated from the Hebrew and the Latin from either of these. Charlesworth includes parallel translations of the Greek and Latin texts, which have significant differences. Anderson and Stone, who have each published extensively about the Adam literature, have edited a parallel column edition of the <i>Life</i> with all five major recensions (G. A. Anderson et al., <i>Synopsis</i>). A variety of additional Armenian texts relating to the life of Adam and Eve can be found in W. L. Lipscomb, <i>Armenian</i> ; M. E. Stone, <i>Armenian Apocrypha 1982</i> ; M. E. Stone, <i>Armenian</i> <i>Apocrypha 1996</i> .	2:249-295	2:134- 154
Pseudo-Philo (Liber Antiquitatum Bibli- carum, Book of Bibli- cal Antiquities)	са. 135 все- 70 СЕ	This important Latin text expands upon biblical stories of Adam until the time of David. Jacob's comprehensive but expensive Latin text, English translation, and commentary is the best resource for scholars (H. Jacobson, <i>Pseudo-Philo</i>). See also B. N. Fisk, <i>Remember</i> ; F. J. Murphy, <i>Pseudo-Philo</i> .	2:297- 377	
Ladder of Jacob	1-100?	The <i>Ladder of Jacob</i> has not survived as a separate text, but only as part of other Slavonic works, specifically the <i>Tolkovaja Paleja</i> or <i>Explanatory Palaia</i> . The <i>Ladder of Jacob</i> is an elaboration of Jacob's dream at Bethel. It includes visions and prophecies. The last chapter, now considered a separate work, contains messianic prophecies.	2:401- 411	
Prayers, Psalms and C	Odes		1	
Prayer of Joseph	1-100	The <i>Prayer of Joseph</i> maintains that the patriarch Jacob was the earthly incarna- tion of the angel Israel. Originally containing 1100 lines, only three fragments containing nine Greek sentences have survived.	2:699- 714	
Prayer of Jacob	1-400	The <i>Prayer of Jacob</i> may be divided into four invocations, three petitions and one injunction. The only existing text is a fourth-century papyrus written in Greek, thought to be the original language.	2:715- 723	
Odes of Solomon	80-120	Once thought to be Gnostic, the <i>Odes of Solomon</i> are now considered to be a collection of very early Christian hymns. Excerpts are found in the <i>Pistis</i> <i>Sophia</i> and in Lactantius. Partial copies of the Odes are found in a few manu- scripts. Fragments of 42 (although none of Ode 2) have survived. The original language is probably Syriac although strong cases have also been made for Greek and Hebrew. Nibley cites lengthy passages from the <i>Odes of Solomon</i> that echo LDS temple themes (H. W. Nibley, <i>Message 2005</i> , pp. 477-485).	2:725- 771	

The following pseudepigraphal works share these characteristics:

- They are of Jewish origin.
- They were composed in Greek and in literary forms known elsewhere in Greek literature.
- They are not truly pseudepigraphal, that is they were not written in another's name, although, by accident, some may now be falsely ascribed to another.
- They are only fragmentarily preserved, usually as a quotation in another work.
- Although the qualifications of some works are open for debate, Charlesworth in **OTP** has chosen to err on the side of acceptance, thus making them easily available for study.

Author Name	Date	Publication Reference and Comment	OTP
Philo the Epic	300-100	Six fragments, containing 24 lines, of an epic poem that recounts the binding of Isaac (Genesis 22) and God's blessing towards Joseph. The last three fragments focus on Jerusalem and the city's water supply. The work is known to us only because of extracts cited by the Christian historian Eusebius.	2:781-
Poet	bce		784
Pseudo-Eupol-	before	In the discussion of Abraham in Eusebius' <i>Praeparatio Evangelica</i> , he includes two fragments, one attributed to Alexander Polyhistor. Scholars have assigned these fragments, both from Polyhistor's <i>On the Jews</i> , to a Pseudo-Eupolemus. The first deals with Abraham as a teacher of astrology, with Enoch attributed as its inventor, and the second traces Abraham's lineage back to a race of giants.	2:873-
emus	100 BCE		882
Cleodemus	before	This work deals with the descendants of Abraham through Keturah (Gen 25:1-4). It has survived as a quotation in Josephus' <i>Antiquities</i> 1.239-241 and in Eusebius' <i>Praeparatio Evangelica</i> 9.20.2-4.	2:883-
Malchus	100 bce		887
Artapanus	300-100 bce	Three fragments that deal with exploits in Egypt of Abraham, Joseph and Moses. Abraham teaches the Egyptians how to study the stars, Joseph teaches measurement and organization of the land, and Moses is identified with Mousaeus the teacher of Orpheus. These fragments were preserved in Eusebius' <i>Praeparatio Evangelica</i> 9.18, 23 and 27.	2:889- 903

The Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Related Texts

Dating from the first two centuries BCE, these texts include copies from almost all the books of the Old Testament, Hebrew copies of some of the *Apocrypha*, and some texts found nowhere else. They were discovered in a series of caves near the site of Qumran on the cliffs overlooking the Dead Sea. The first discoveries of *Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS)* came from caves, now numbered I through XI. Scholars now include among this collection writings from other areas around the Dead Sea. This includes texts found at Masada, Nahal Hever and Wadi Murabba'at. LDS perspectives on the Qumran texts are included in D. W. Parry et al., *LDS Perspectives*; D. W. Parry et al., *Questions*; and J. E. Seaich, *Mormonism*.

The Dead Sea Scrolls

The *DSS* recovered so far consist of seven nearly complete scrolls and about 25,000 fragments, many of which are smaller than a postage stamp. These fragments make up about 930 scrolls which, because there were sometimes multiple copies, yield about 500 distinct texts or documents. About 200 of the scrolls are copies of biblical texts. The latest inventory of the extant scrolls appears in E. Toy, *Scribal Practices*.

The official publication for the scrolls is the Oxford University Press series *Discoveries in the Judean Desert*, here abbreviated *DJD*. Unfortunately, the texts published in *DJD* are scattered in a non-systematic fashion among many volumes, making analysis difficult. The *DJD* series has now been superseded by *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader* (*DSSR*), which presents for the first time all the non-biblical Qumran texts classified according to their genres, together with English translations, in six volumes. The *DSSR* is co-edited by Donald W. Parry of Brigham Young University and Emanuel Tov, editor-in-chief of the *DSS* publication team. Available both in hardback and in a relatively inexpensive paperback edition (D. W. Parry et al., *Reader*), the precisely-rendered Hebrew-Aramaic texts in *DSSR* were also the basis of the FARMS database of Brigham Young University. *DSSR* represents the most complete and up-to-date edition of the *DSS*, including twenty-five previously unpublished texts.

The following table lists the scrolls in order by series designation. Some of the publication reference information, especially for the biblical scrolls, is an abbreviated summary taken from M. A. Hoselton's detailed list of *DSS* contents.³¹ Each row of the table below contains the following columns:

Series Designation - The official scroll designation.

Abbreviation - The official abbreviation is shown in parentheses; other titles may also be listed.

Publication Reference and Comment - The official publication for the scroll. Also contains explanations.

Types - A symbol in this column indicates the type of scroll.

- ß Biblical text (not usually included in the English editions of the DSS).
- a Apocryphal, that is, texts from the traditional OT Apocrypha.
- **p** Pseudepigraphal, that is, texts from or related to the OT Pseudepigrapha.
- m Messianic texts. Some references directly refer to a Messiah, some are oblique.

³¹ M. A. Hoselton, Inventory.

Y - Included in exhibition at BYU in 1997 and published in G. M. Bradford, *Ancient Scrolls* (*ASDS*).³²

Much of the value of the copies of biblical works is in the information that they shed on the textual development of the Old Testament. It was long thought that *LXX* suffered from translation errors where it differed from the standard *MT*. The *DSS* biblical texts contain Hebrew manuscripts that in some cases follow the *LXX*, showing that there was an independent Hebrew textual transmission behind the *LXX* translation. Similar Hebrew originals have been found for some of the variations in the Samaritan *Peshitta*. Frank Moore Cross believes that these three recensions are the result of geographical separation between different groups (F. M. Cross, *Library*). The Samaritan *Peshitta* was developed in Palestine, the *LXX* in Egypt, and the *MT* in Babylon. Thus the *DSS* appears to provide access to the roots of these three textual traditions.

English translation page numbers for the following editions of the scrolls are included in the table:

AFU – *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible*, edited by M. Abegg, Jr. et al., combines multiple copies of scrolls containing biblical writings into a continuous text. There is no index, but each chapter has a footnote listing the scrolls by verse and indicating the source. Variant readings, including comparisons with the *LXX* and *Peshitta*, are shown in the footnotes. The text also includes references to some of the more important apocryphal and pseudepigraphal works.

MT - *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, edited by Florentino Garcia Martinez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, is the best reference for the identification of specific *DSS* documents. All texts are published separately in both Hebrew and English on facing pages. Nearly all of the small scraps and fragments are included. biblical texts are not included but a reference to each is placed in sequence. Some translations are newer than what appears in *FGM*. An index is provided at the end of the volume.

FGM - *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*, edited by Florentino Garcia Martinez, is the best English-only reference for the identification of specific documents. All texts are published separately. An extensive index (from which much of the information in the table below derives) is provided at the end of the volume.

GV - *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, edited by Geza Vermes, has an excellent introduction. Multiple copies of texts are combined. Where texts represent amalgamations the page numbers are italicized. Significant variants are included as separate texts.

WAC - *The Dead Sea Scrolls, A New Translation*, edited by Wise, Abegg, and Cook, takes great care to reproduce all variants of liturgical texts. Multiple copies of texts are combined, but the sources are identified. Where multiple copies exist, the best fragments are pieced together to make a one serial text. Where texts represent amalgamations, the page numbers are italicized. This edition includes an introduction and some commentary on each work.

By purchasing *AFU* and *MT* one has the most complete English translation of all of the *Dead Sea Scrolls* that are printed for the general reader. In addition one also has a copy of the Hebrew text of the non-biblical Dead Sea Scrolls. *FGM* is listed because of its wide availability, but *MT* is superior to it. *GV* and *WAC* are competent translations for the reader who is interested in the text and message of the Dead Sea Scrolls but who is not as concerned

³² In 1997 the Kingdom of Jordan loaned Brigham Young University four *Dead Sea Scrolls* for an exhibit on Masada. These scrolls had previously been unavailable except through photographs. In addition the exhibit featured several other texts, four from Masada and a Bar Kokhba text. The translations and commentary are published in G. M. Bradford, *ASDS*.

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about what text came from what specific scroll. These latter translations do provide some alternate readings based on different parallel manuscripts.

For an illuminating survey and analysis of treatments of material from Genesis in the Qumran library, see M. J. Bernstein, *Contours*.

Series	Abbreviation	Publication Reference and Comment	Т	AFU	MT	FGM	GV	WAC
1Q1	(1QGen) 1QGenesis	D. Barthélemy, <i>DJD</i> I, Oxford 1955, 49-50, pl. VIII. Nineteen fragments with remains of Genesis. Contains Genesis 1:18-21; 3:11-14; 22:13-15; 23:17-19; 24:22-24.	ß	6-8, 10				
1Qap- Gen ar	(1Q20) 1QGenesis Apocryphon	Original publication in N. Avigad et al., <i>Apocryphon</i> . Rewritten version of Genesis in Aramaic that could rightly be called "the oldest prototype of both [Targum and Midrash] available to us" (H. L. Strack et al., <i>Introduction</i> , p. 236). One of the original group of seven manuscripts retrieved by the Tacâmireh. <i>IQapGen</i> ar is one of the four acquired by Athanasius Yeshue Samuel.			28-49	230- 237		
1Q21	(1QTLevi ar) 1QTesta- ment of Levi	J. T. Milik, <i>DJD</i> I, 87-91, pl. XVII. Remains of an Aramaic work related to the Aramaic <i>Testa-</i> <i>ment of Levi</i> from the Cairo <i>Genizah</i> , and to the Greek <i>Testament of Levi</i> , which forms part of the <i>Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs</i> .	р		56-59	266	524- 525	
1Q23	(1QEnGiants ^a ar) 1QEnoch Giants ^a ar	J. T. Milik, <i>DJD</i> I, 97-98, pl. XIX. Published as remains of an Aramaic apocryphon, they were later identified by Milik as a copy of the <i>Book of</i> <i>Giants</i> in Milik, <i>Books</i> , 301-302.	р		62-65	260		247
1Q24	(1QEnGiants ^b ar) 1QEnoch Giants ^b ar	J. T. Milik, <i>DJD</i> I, 99, pl. XX. Aramaic apocry- phon; according to Milik, <i>Books</i> , 309, possibly another copy of the <i>Book of Giants</i> .	р		64-65			
1QS	(1QS) 1QRule of the Com- munity (Community Rule, The 'Son of God' Text, and, occasionally still, The Manual of Discipline)	Published in M. Burrows (ed.), <i>The Dead Sea</i> <i>Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery</i> , New Haven, CN: The American Schools of Oriental Research, 1950, vol. II/2, (<i>Manual of Discipline = 1QS</i>). There is no II/1. This manuscript contains a de- scription of a sectarian group whose beliefs and practices resembled those of an ancient pacifist sect known as the Essenes, as noted by Eliezer Sukenik of Hebrew University in 1948. When this cave was reexplored in 1949, fragments of many other scrolls were found including what seemed to be an appendage to this same Essene- like work. In the first century CE, Pliny the Elder located a group of Essenes on the western shore of the Dead Sea somewhere above En Gedi. This congruence, along with the seem- ingly obvious connection between the pottery found in the caves and in the nearby ruins, are what first led de Vaux to propose the hypothesis that the entire library and Qumran itself were products of the Essenes. One of the original seven manuscripts retrieved by the Tacâmireh, <i>IQS</i> is one of the four acquired by Athanasius Yeshue Samuel. Nibley cites lengthy passages of the <i>Rule of the</i> <i>Community</i> that echo LDS temple themes (H. W. Nibley, <i>Message 2005</i> , pp. 461-475).	m		68-69	3-19	126-143	

Series	Abbreviation	Publication Reference and Comment	Т	AFU	MT	FGM	GV	WAC
1Q28a	(1QSa) 1QRule of the Congregation (1QRule of the Community, Community Rule, The Sectarian Rule of the Community, The 'Son of God' Text, and, occasionally still, The Manual of Discipline)	D. Barthélemy, <i>DJD</i> I, 108-118, pls. XXIII- XXIV. Appendix to the <i>Community Rule</i> , 1 <i>QS</i> , eschatological in content. Adjuncts to the <i>Rule of the Community</i> (1 <i>QS</i>), published in <i>DJD</i> I as 1 <i>Q28a</i> and 1 <i>Q28b</i> . M. Burrows (ed.), <i>The Dead Sea Scrolls of St.</i> <i>Mark's Monastery</i> , vol. II, fasc. 2: <i>The Manual</i> <i>of Discipline</i> , New Haven, CN: The American Schools of Oriental Research, 1951. <i>Community</i> <i>Rule</i> , cols I-XI. 1 <i>Q28a</i> and 1 <i>Q28b</i> are usually assumed to be appendices to 1 <i>QS</i> . They were discovered during subsequent digs in cave 1 conducted by Lankester Harding and Roland De Vaux several years after the first seven manuscripts were discovered there. By that time the cave had obviously been 'excavated' both by the Bedouin and by the monks of Syrian monastery of St Mark, or their agents. (G. M. Bradford, <i>ASDS</i> , <i>pp</i> . 18-21).	Ym		98- 103	126-128	157-160	144- 147
2Q21	(2QapMoses?) 2QA- pocryphon of Moses	M. Baillet, <i>DJD</i> III, 79-81, pl. XV. Remains of a dialogue of Moses with God.			214- 217	281		
4Q1	(4QGen-Exod ^a) 4QGenesis-Exodus ^a	J. R. Davila, <i>DJD</i> XII, 1-30, pls. I-V. Copy that contains combined remains of Genesis and Exo- dus. Contains Genesis chapters 8:20-21;, 22:14; 27:38-39, 42-43; 34:17-21; 35:17-29; 36:1-13, 19- 27; 37:5-6, 22-27; 39:11-23; 40:1; 45:23; 47:13- 14; 48:2-4, 15-22; 49:1-5 and Exodus chapters 1:3-17, 22; 2:1-5; 3:8-16, 18-21; 4:4-9, 26-31; 5:1, 3-17; 6:4-21, 25; 7:5-13, 15-20; 8:24-26; 9:8.	ß	9-16, 20-22, 25-34, 36-37				
4Q5	(4QGen ^e) 4QGenesis ^e	J. R. Davila, <i>DJD</i> XII, 47-52, pl. X. Copy of Genesis from a textual type similar to MT and the Samaritan text. Contains portions of Genesis chapters 36:43; 37:1-2, 27-30; 40:18-23; 41:1-8, 35-44; 42:17-19; 43:8-14; 49:6-8.	ß	15-19, 22				
4Q6	(4QGen ^f) 4QGenesis ^f	J. R. Davila, <i>DJD</i> XII, 53-55, pl. XI. Remains of one column with Genesis 48:1-11.	ß	21				
4Q7	(4QGen ^g) 4QGenesis ^g	J. R. Davila, <i>DJD</i> XII, 57-60, pl. XII. Two frag- ments of Genesis 1-2. Contains Genesis 1:1-11, 13-22; 2:6-7 or 18-19. Has a number of interest- ing variants from the MT.	ß	7				
4Q9	(4QGen ⁱ) 4QGenesis ⁱ	J. R. Davila, <i>DJD</i> XII, 65-73, pl. XIII. Copy of Genesis of a textual type close to the Samaritan text. Contains portions of Genesis chapters 41:15-18, 23-27, 29-36, 38-43; 42:15-22, 38; 43:1-2, 5-8; 45:14-22, 26-28.	ß	17-20				
4Q11	(4QpalaeoGen-Exod ¹) 4QGenesis-Exodus ¹	P. W. Skehan, E. Ulrich, J. E. Sanderson, <i>DJD</i> IX, 17-50, pls. I-VI. A manuscript in palaeo-He- brew script with remains of Genesis 50:26 and Exodus 1-36. Contains Exodus 1:1-5; 2:10, 22- 25; 3:1-4, 17-21; 8:13-15, 19-21; 9:25-29, 33-35; 10:1-5; 11:4-10; 12:1-11, 42-46; 14:15-24; 16:2-7, 13-14, 18-20, 23-25, 26-31, 33-35; 17:1-3, 5-11; 18:17-24; 19:24-25; 20:1-2; 22:23-24; 23:5-16; 25:7-20; 26:29-37; 27:1, 6-14; 28:33-35, 40-42; 36:34-36. Contains an additional 26 fragments too small or too poorly preserved to identify with certainty.	ß	22, 25-29, 36, 39-40, 42-44, 47, 49-51, 54-55, 57-58, 62-63, 65, 73				

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Series	Abbreviation	Publication Reference and Comment	T A	FU MT	FGM	GV	WAC
4Q158	(4QRPª) 4QReworked Pentateuch ^a	J. M. Allegro, <i>DJD</i> V, 1-6, pl. I. Paraphrase of Genesis 32:25-32; Exodus 24:27-28; Genesis 32:31 (?); Exodus 3:12; 24:4-6; 19:17-23; 20:19- 22; Deuteronomy 5:29; 15:18-20:22; Exodus 20:12, 16, 17; Deuteronomy 5:30-31; Exodus 20:22-26; 21:1, 4, 6, 8, 10; 21:15, 16, 18, 20, 22, 25, 32, 34, 35-37; 22:1-11, 13; 30:32, 34.		304- 309	219- 222	442- 443	200- 204
4Q180	(4QagesCreat A) 4QAges of Creation A	J. M. Allegro <i>DJD</i> V, 77-79, pl. XXVII. Com- mentary on salvation history and on the periods of sin, starting from the fall of the angels. J. T. Milik suggests that this and <i>4Q181</i> are part of a single work.		370- 373	211- 212	520	238- 239
4Q181	(4QagesCreat B) 4QAges of Creation B	J. M. Allegro DJD V, 79-80, pl. XXVIII. Docu- ment which describes the destiny of the chosen and the damned.		372- 375	212- 213	229	239
4Q201	(4QEn ^a ar) 4QEno- ch ^a ar	Originally published in J. T. Milik, <i>Enoch</i> , pp. 139-163, 340-343, pls. I-V. Copy of <i>Book of Watchers</i> from <i>1 Enoch</i> . Remains of <i>1 Enoch</i> 1:1-6; 2:1-5, 6; 6:4-8:1; 8:3-9:3; 9:6-8; 10:3-4, 21-11:1; 12:4-6; 14:4-6.	р	398- 405	246- 248	514	
4Q202	(4QEn ^b ar) 4QEno- ch ^b ar	Originally published in J. T. Milik, <i>Enoch</i> , pp. 164-178, 344-346, pls. VI-IX. Copy of the <i>Book of Watchers</i> from <i>1 Enoch</i> . Remains of <i>1 Enoch</i> 5:9-6:4; 6:7-8:1; 8:2-9:4; 10:8-12.	р	404- 409	248- 250		
4Q203	(4QEnGiants ^a ar) 4QBook of Giants ^a ar	Originally published in J. T. Milik, <i>Enoch</i> , pp. 310-317, pls. XXX-XXXII, pp. 178-217, 346-353, pls. IX-XV. Copy of the <i>Book of Giants</i> .	р	408- 411	260- 261		
4Q204	(4QEn ^c ar) 4QEnoch ^c ar	Originally published in J. T. Milik, <i>Enoch</i> , pp. 178-217, 346-353, pls. IX-XV. Copy of the <i>Book</i> of <i>Watchers</i> , the <i>Book of Giants</i> , the <i>Book of Dreams</i> and the <i>Letter of Enoch</i> from <i>1 Enoch</i> . Remains of <i>1 Enoch</i> 1:9-5:1; 6:7; 10:13-19; 12:3; 13:6-14:19; 14:18-20; 15:11(?); 18:8-12; 30:1-32:1; 35; 36:1-4; 89:31-37; 104:13-106:2; 106:13-107:2.	p	412- 421	250- 254	514- 515	
4Q209	(4QEnastr ^k ar) 4QAs- tronomical Enoch ^b ar	Originally published in J. T. Milik, <i>Enoch</i> , pp. 278-284, 340-343, pls. XXV-XXVII, XXX. Copy of the <i>Astronomical Book</i> from <i>1 Enoch</i> . Remains of a synchronous calendar and of other passages corresponding to <i>1 Enoch</i> 76:13-77:4; 78:9-12; 79:3-5 + 78:17-79:2; 82:9-13.	p	430- 439	445- 448	515	
4Q210	(4QEnastr ^c ar) 4QAs- tronomical Enoch ^c ar	Originally published in J. T. Milik, <i>Enoch</i> , pp. 284-288, pls. XXVIII, XXX. Copy of the <i>Astronomical Book</i> from <i>1 Enoch</i> . Remains of <i>1 Enoch</i> 76:3-10; 76:13-77:4; 78:6-8.	р	438- 441	448- 449		
4Q211	(4QEnastr ^d ar) 4QAs- tronomical Enoch ^d ar	Originally published in J. T. Milik, <i>Enoch</i> , pp. 296-297, 359, pl. XXIX. Copy of the <i>Astronomical Book</i> from 1 Enoch. Remains of three columns which would follow <i>1 Enoch</i> 82:20.	р	440- 443	449- 450		
4Q212	(4QEn ^g ar) 4QEnoch ^g ar	Originally published in J. T. Milik, <i>Enoch</i> , pp. 245-272, 360-362, pls. XXI-XXIV. Copy of the <i>Letter of Enoch</i> from <i>1 Enoch</i> . Remains of <i>1 Enoch</i> 91:10(?), 18, 19; 92:1-2; 92:5-93:4; 93:9-10; 91:11-17; 93:11-94:2.	р	442- 445	258- 259		
4Q215	(4QTNaph) 4QTesta- ment of Naphtali	M. E. Stone, <i>DJD</i> XXII, 73-82, pl. V. A Hebrew <i>Testament of Naphtali</i> not related to the <i>Testament of Naphtali</i> that forms part of the <i>Testaments of the XII Patriarchs.</i>	р	454- 457	270- 271	528- 529	260- 261
4Q216	(4QJub ^a) 4QJubilees ^a	J. C. VanderKam, J. T. Milik, <i>DJD</i> XIII, 1-22, pls. I-II. The oldest extant copy of the book of <i>Jubilees</i> . Copied by two different scribes.	р	458- 465	238- 240		

Series	Abbreviation	Publication Reference and Comment	Т	AFU	MT	FGM	GV	WAC
4Q246	4QAramaic Apoca- lypse, 4QPsDan A ^{a.} 4QSon of God	E. Puech, <i>DJD</i> XXII, 165-184, pl. XI. Fragment of an apocalyptic work in Aramaic which uses the titles <i>Son of God</i> and <i>Son of the Most High</i> , previously known as 4QPsDan A ^a , 4Q243 and 4QSon of God.	m		492- 495	138	577	269- 270
4Q249	(4QpapCryptA MSM) 4QCryptic A: Midrash Sefer Moshe	S. Pfann, <i>DJD</i> XXXV. Commentary on Genesis in Cryptic script, copied on papyrus. Many fragments have been preserved, but small in size. The title of the work, <i>Commentary on the</i> <i>Book of Moses</i> , is located on the back, not in the cryptic but in the square script.			496- 497			
4Q252	(4QcommGen A) 4QCommentary on Genesis A	G. Brooke, <i>DJD</i> XXII, 185-207, pls. XII-XIII. This fragment contains a commentary on Gen- esis 49:10. The first columns of the manuscript are a paraphrase of Genesis 6.	m		500- 505	213- 215	461- 463	275- 277
4Q364	(4QRP ^b) 4QReworked Pentateuch ^b	E. Tov, S. A. White, <i>DJD</i> XIII, 197-254, pl. XIII-XXI.			718- 719	222- 224	443	325- 326
4Q368	(4QapocrPent A) 4QApocryphon Penta- teuch A	D. Dimant, <i>DJD</i> XXX. Fifteen fragments, of which three are good-sized, of a narrative work related to the Pentateuch.			726- 731			
4Q369	(4QPEnosh ?) 4QPrayer of Enosh (?)	H. Attridge, J. Strugnell, <i>DJD</i> XIII, 353-362, pl. XXXVII. A good fragment with remains of two columns and other lesser fragments of an apocryphal composition related to the generations before the Flood.			730- 733		511- 512	329- 330
4Q370	4QExhortation Based on the Flood	C. Newsom, <i>DJD</i> XIX, 85-97, pl. XII. 732-733. Exhortation based on the story of the Flood, of which only two columns have been preserved.			732- 733	224- 225	518- 519	330- 331
4Q414	(4QRitPur A) 4QRitual of Purification	E. Eshel, <i>DJD</i> XXXV. Baptismal Hymn, 4 fragments.			842- 845	439		391
4Q422	4QParaphrase of Gen- esis and Exodus	T. Elgvin, E. Tov, <i>DJD</i> XIII, 417-444, pls. XLII- XLIII. Minute remains of a biblical paraphrase.			884- 887		446- 447	391- 393
4Q424	4QSapiential Text	<i>The Sons of Righteousness</i> , two fragments of another wisdom composition.			888- 891	393- 394	414- 415	393- 394
4Q464	4QExposition on the Patriarchs	E. Eshel, M. Stone, <i>DJD</i> XIX, 215-230, pl. XXVIII. Fragments of an exposition on the patriarchs.			942- 943			402
4Q471b	4QSelf-Glorification Hymn ^a	E. Eshel, <i>DJD</i> XXIX. Fragment containing the <i>Song of Michael</i> .			952- 953			
4Q502	(4QpapRitMar) 4QRi- tual of Marriage	M. Baillet, <i>DJD</i> VII, 81-105, pls. XXIX-XXXIV. Fragments of a ritual for a joyous celebration, interpreted by Baillet as a wedding ritual and by Baumgarten as a celebration in which the protagonists are old men and women.			994- 997	440- 441		407- 408
4Q503	(4QpapPrQuot) 4QDaily Prayers ^a	M. Baillet, <i>DJD</i> VII, 105-136, pls. XXXV, XXXVII, XXIX, XLI, XLVIII, XLV and XLVII. Remains of a liturgical composition with prayers for each day of the month. Remains preserved of prayers for 15 days, between the 4 th and the 26 th .			998- 1007	407- 410	371- 372	409- 410
4Q504	(4QDibHam ^a) 4QWords of the Lumi- naries ^a	M. Baillet, <i>DJD</i> VII, 137-168, pls. XLIX-LIII. Copy of a liturgical work, of which the title, <i>Words of the Luminaries</i> , has been preserved on the back of fragment 8, and contains prayers for every day of the week (the beginning of the prayer of Wednesday and of the sabbath have been preserved).			1008- 1019	414- 417	364- 367	411- 414
4Q521	4QMessianic Apoca- lypse	E. Puech, <i>DJD</i> XXV, 1-38, pls. I-III. Wisdom text that exhibits belief in the resurrection, also called <i>The Messiah of Heaven and Earth</i> . Remains preserved in five fragments.	m		1044- 1047	394- 395	391- 392	421- 422

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Series	Abbreviation	Publication Reference and Comment	Т	AFU	MT	FGM	GV	WAC
4Q529	4QWords of Michael ar	Aramaic work with the title <i>Words of the Book</i> of which Michael spoke to the Angels. Two fur- ther copies have been preserved in 4Q to which belong the fragments from 6Q23.			1060- 1063	125	523	427
4Q530	(4QEnGiants ^b ar) 4QBook of Giants ^a	Another copy of the <i>Book of Giants</i> . Parallel passage to Moses 6:40.	р		1062- 1065	261- 262	516- 517	248- 250
4Q531	(4QEnGiants ^c ar) 4QBook of Giants ^c	Another copy of the Book of Giants.	р		1064- 1067	262	517	247- 250
4Q540	(4QapocrLevi ^a ar?) 4QApocryphon of Levi ^a ar	Work described by Starcky as an Aramaic work of Aaronite content and edited by Puech as another copy of the Aramaic <i>Testament of Levi</i> .	p m		1078- 1079	269		258
4Q577	4QText Mentioning the Flood	E. Puech, <i>DJD</i> XXV, 195-203, pl. XV. Small fragment.			1124- 1125			
6Q8	(6QpapEnGiants ar) 6QGiants ar	M. Baillet, <i>DJD</i> III, 116-119, pl. XXIV. Pub- lished as a Genesis apocryphon, it was identified by Milik, <i>The Books of Enoch</i> , 300-301, 309, as another copy of the Aramaic <i>Book of Giants</i> .	р		1148- 1149	262		248- 249
7Q4, 8, 11-14	(7QpapEn gr) 7QEnoch	M. Baillet, <i>DJD</i> III, 143-144, pl. XXX. Greek copy of the <i>Book of Enoch</i> . Many of these have also been ascribed to various biblical texts, many from the New Testament. The various authors are not always in agreement as to which fragment goes with which biblical text. Jose O'Callaghan claims, in a minority, that fragment 8 contains James 1:23-24.	ß		1162- 1163			
11Q12	(11QJub) 11QJubilees	F. Garcia Martinez, E. J. C. Tigchelaar, A. S. van der Woude, <i>DJD</i> XXIII, 207-220, pl. XXVI. Copy of the book of <i>Jubilees</i> .	р		1204- 1207	241- 242		
11Q13	(11QMelch) 11QMechizedec	F. Garcia Martinez, E. J. C. Tigchelaar, A. S. van der Woude, <i>DJD</i> XXIII, 221-241, pl. XXVII. Eschatological <i>pesher</i> (= Jewish interpretative commentary), based on Leviticus 28, with the angelic form of Melchizedek as the protagonist.			1206- 1209	139- 140	500- 502	456- 457
11Q19	(11QTemple ⁴) (11QT ⁵) 11QTemple Scroll ⁴	Describes the features of an ideal temple to be established by God in the last days, and the laws and rites associated with it. This is the longest scroll in the collection. A complete edition of the Temple Scroll is published in Y. Yadin, <i>Temple Scroll</i> .			1228- 1289	154- 179	192- 219	459- 492

Other Related Texts

The following table lists documents that are either related to the DSS or that come from the surrounding area. They are sometimes also listed near the scroll they relate to, but are repeated here so that they can easily be identified as belonging to collections separate from the Dead Sea Scrolls. Seventeen scroll fragments have been found at Masada. A collection of texts from the Bar Kokhba period was found in the Cave of Letters at Nahal Hever. This cave is designated *5/6Hev* because it has two entrances. Another collection was found in the Wadi Murabba'at.

Text Name	Related	Publication Reference and Comment	AFU	FGM	WAC
Mt. Athos MS	4Q213	Remains of an Aramaic work related to the <i>Testament of Levi</i> from the Geniza and the Greek <i>Testament of Levi</i> that forms part of the <i>Testaments of the 12 Patriarchs</i> .			251- 258
(CTLevi ar) Cairo Geniza Text A Cambridge	4Q213	Remains of an Aramaic work related to the <i>Testament of Levi</i> from the Geniza and the Greek <i>Testament of Levi</i> that forms part of the <i>Testaments of the 12 Patriarchs</i> .		50-57 in MT	252- 258
(CTLevi ar) Cairo Geniza Text A Bodleian	4Q213	Remains of an Aramaic work related to the <i>Testament of Levi</i> from the Geniza and the Greek <i>Testament of Levi</i> that forms part of the <i>Testaments of the 12 Patriarchs</i> .		50-57 in MT	253- 258
Mas1 ^j Mas Gen, Mas Jub	Genesis or Jubilees	Two small fragments similar to part of Genesis or <i>Jubilees</i> . Includes the title <i>Prince of Hatred</i> . Photograph and translation in ASDS :30. Contains Genesis 46:7-11. Talmon believes it to be part of <i>Jubilees</i> , others Genesis.	20		
Mur 1 Mur Gen		Fragments of Genesis, containing 32:3-5, 29-30, 32-33; 33:1; 34:5-7, 30-31; 35:1, 4-7. Probably from the same scroll as Mur Exodus and Mur Numbers described below.	11-13		
Mur ? Mur(?)Gen		Contains Genesis 33:18-20; 34:1-3.	12		
P. Fouad Gk 266 Rahlfs/Gottingen no 942		Discovered in Cairo. Contains Genesis 3:10-12; 4:5-7, 23; 7:17-20; 37:34-36; 38:1, 10-12.			
Sdeir Gen		Contains Genesis 35:6-10, 24-29; 36:1-2, 5-17	13-14		

Jewish Texts

Non-Mormon scholar Krister Stendahl noted that "there is no other Christian community or community out of the Judeo-Christian tradition which has as positive and non-anti-Semitic ways of speaking about the Jews as have the Mormons."33 Former Israeli prime minister David Ben-Gurion likewise said that "there are no people in this world who understand the Jews like the Mormons."34

Many of the writings below are considered to be part of the Oral Torah, a body of law and commentary that is said to have been handed down with the written Hebrew Torah from the time of Moses. Starting in about 200 CE parts of this material were written down in a series of works centered around the Talmud. The midrash constitutes a vast body additional commentary, reflections, and narrative. Medieval commentaries, philosophical writings, and mystical texts are included in separate sections below. All these writings, in addition to the scriptures, form the basis for modern Judaism, however different branches of Judaism vary in their understanding of how these texts should be interpreted and applied. For a comprehensive compendium summarizing classic talmudic and midrashic sources along with detailed bibliographic information, see Stemberger's update of Strack's classic volume.³⁵ For a highly-readable overview of all these writings, see Holtz.³⁶ The "Jastrow Dictionary" is an invaluable aid to the study of the *Talmud*, targums, and midrash for English speakers.³⁷

Author	Date	Description	English Publication Reference
Philo Judaeus of Alexandria	20 BCE- 50 CE	Tvedtnes et al. write: "Philo Judaeus, a Jewish priest of the first century CE, lived in Alexandria, Egypt, and excelled in both Greek philosophy and Jewish lore Philo was largely ignored by Jews but was preserved because Clement of Alexandria, quoted his work with such ap- probation." Later Christians studied his work "as a means of reconciling the Old Testament with Greek philosophy" (J. A. Tvedtnes et al., <i>Traditions</i> , p. 35; cf. W. J. Hamblin et al., <i>Temple</i> , pp. 57-60, 99-100). Not to be confused with Philo the Epic Poet or Pseudo-Philo. Barker makes a case that core elements of Philo's teachings were a part of First Temple Judaism, and that he was primarily transposing these teachings into the language of the philosophers (M. Barker, <i>Angel</i> , p. 216; cf. M. Barker, <i>Imagery</i>).	The standard edition of Philo's works is readily available as part of the Loeb Classical Library in ten volumes and two supplements. Volumes 1-6 deal with issues in the book of Genesis and volume 6 also contains a valuable <i>Life of Moses</i> (<i>De Vita Mosis</i>). Volumes 7-10 deal with a variety of other topics, including a work On the Virtues (<i>De Virtutibus</i>) Philo, Virtues. Volume Supplement 1 contains Questions and Answers on Genesis, while Volume Supplement 2 contains Questions and Answers on Exodus. An inexpen- sive one-volume edition of nearly all of Philo's writings is available in Philo, <i>Works</i> .
Flavius Jose- phus	37-ca. 101	"Flavius Josephus was a Jewish priest and general who witnessed the destruction of the Jerusalem temple in 70 CE. One of his major works was <i>Antiquities of the Jews</i> , which recounts stories known from the Bible and other Jewish (and some Greek) literature from the time of Adam until the mid-first century" (J. A. Tvedtnes et al., <i>Traditions</i> , p. 47). Barker, however, warns that he was "hardly an impartial observer" (M. Barker, <i>Revelation</i> , p. 399), and Bloom cautions that the history, especially of events contemporary to his own times, is "suspect, because he had been Joseph ben Matthias, a leader of the Jewish Revolt, who saved his own life by fawning upon the Flavian emperors: Vespasian, Titus, Domitian Jo- sephus looked on calmly as Jerusalem was captured, its Temple destroyed, its inhabitants slaughtered" (H. Bloom, <i>Names Divine</i> , p. 17).	The most common English translation of the works of Josephus is Whiston's frequently-re- printed 1737 version—which has been updated by Maier. Maier also produced a condensation of Josephus' works (F. Josephus, <i>Essential Works</i>). Another translation appears in the Loeb Classic Library series (F. Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i>). See the studies in T. W. Franxman, <i>Genesis</i> and L. H. Feldman, <i>Hellenization</i> for accounts of how the account of Genesis was reshaped by Josephus in its retelling.

Jewish Writers of the First and Second Centuries CE

34 Cited in E. T. Benson, Message to Judah.

35 H. L. Strack et al., Introduction.

36 B. W. Holtz, Sources.

37 M. Jastrow, Dictionary.

Talmudic Literature

Text Name	Date	Description	English Publication Reference
Mishnah	ca. 200	A code of laws promulgated by Judah the Patri- arch, and traditionally thought to comprise "the oral law that was given to Moses atop Mount Sinai as a complement to the written law or <i>Torah</i> given at the same time" (J. A. Tvedtnes et al., <i>Traditions</i> , p. 62). The <i>Mishnah</i> is formed into six divisions that further comprise 63 tractates. The divisions are Agriculture, Appointed Times, Women, Damages, Holy Things and Purities. The <i>Mishnah</i> is the foundation for the two <i>Talmuds</i> and a primary source for Rabbinic Judaism. Next to the Hebrew Bible, the <i>Mishnah</i> is the major canonical document of Judaism.	The two most popular English translations are J. Neusner, <i>Mishnah</i> and H. Danby, <i>Mishnah</i> . Neusner's translation holds more strictly to the Hebrew text.
Pirqe Avot (Pirke Aboth, Pirkei Avos, The Sayings of the Fathers)	ca. 250	This work was produced about a generation after the <i>Mishnah</i> and it explains the origin of the Oral <i>Torah</i> at Mt. Sinai. It is usually published as part of the <i>Mishnah</i> .	Included with the <i>Mishnah</i> as part of the Dam- ages division. A separate English translation with detailed commentary is available in M. Lieber, <i>Pirkei Avos</i> . A related text, compiled between the seventh and ninth century but probably composed in the third or fourth century, the <i>Avot</i> <i>de-Rabbi Nathan</i> (<i>The Fathers According to Rabbi</i> <i>Nathan</i>) is usually included in the collection of minor tractates of the <i>Talmud</i> (J. Goldin, <i>Fathers</i> ; J. Neusner, <i>Rabbi Nathan</i>). It is a haggadic work with many unique elements that constitutes a kind of homiletical exposition of <i>Pirqe Avot</i> .
Tosefta	ca. 400	This work is a collection of supplements to the <i>Mishnah</i> . It contains commentary on 39 of the <i>Mishnah</i> 's 63 tractates.	Neusner has produced a two-volume English translation (J. Neusner, <i>Tosefta</i>).
Talmud Yerushalmi (Jerusalem or Pales- tinian or Talmud of the Land of Israel)	ca. 400	This <i>Talmud</i> covers the first four divisions of the <i>Mishnah</i> : Agriculture, Appointed Times, Women and Damages.	The two available English translations of the <i>Tal- mud Jerushalmi</i> have been produced: one edited by Neusner (J. Neusner, <i>Palestinian Talmud</i>) and an extensively annotated version by ArtScroll/Me- sorah, with some volumes still in publication (G. Zlotowitz, <i>Talmud Yerushalmi</i>). Neusner's transla- tion approach has met with mixed reviews.
Talmud Bavli (Baby- lonian)	ca. 600	The <i>Bavli</i> covers the second through fifth divi- sions of the <i>Mishnah</i> : Appointed Times, Women, Damages and Holy Things. In addition, the Bavli contains extensive exceptical commentary on the <i>Torah</i> and other scriptures. Written during a period of Jewish prosperity, the <i>Bavli</i> is consid- ered more extensive and authoritative than the <i>Yerushalmi</i> .	Four English editions of the <i>Talmud Bavli</i> are available: Epstein's 1948 30-volume Hebrew- English version for Soncino Press (CD-ROM version also available), Hendrickson's 2006 reprint of Neusner's 22-volume translation with an accompanying CD-ROM but no Hebrew or Aramaic text, the lavish 73-volume Schottenstein edition (G. Zlotowitz, <i>Talmud Bavli</i>), and the (incomplete) Steinsaltz edition that updates the traditional commentary layout. The Epstein and Neusner editions are the least expensive. Edited from a traditional Orthodox perspective, the Schottenstein edition is the choice of those with some knowledge of Hebrew, though it should be noted that its interpretation often follows tradition rather than a word-by-word translation of the text. The (out-of-print) Steinsaltz edition favors the needs of novices.
Gemara	ca. 400	The Aramaic part of the <i>Talmud</i> or commentary on the <i>Mishnah</i> . "Gemara, the 'completion' of the study, was added to each section of the <i>Mishnah</i> and thus the <i>Talmud</i> 'study' was formed" (M. Barker, <i>Revelation</i> , <i>p</i> . 399).	Included in editions of the <i>Talmud</i> .

Midrash

Midrash has been defined by van der Heide as "a rabbinic *statement* coupled with a *quotation* from the Scriptures."³⁸ The *Exegetical Midrash* is generally composed of short comments on individual verses of the Bible that have been collected from the teachings of the sages. The *Homiletical Midrash* is derived from sermons on a particular verse or passage. The *Soncino Midrash Rabbah* is the classic ten-volume source for rabbinic commentary of an exegetical and homiletical nature on the five books of the *Torah* and the five *Megilloth* (The Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther).³⁹ The works of *Narrative Midrash* recount and expand upon the biblical narrative with stories about scriptural characters or individual rabbis. Several excellent secondary collections of *Aggadah* are available in English. In such collections, various versions of narrative tales from primary sources are usually combined and the language is smoothed over in the interest of fluent storytelling.

Text Name	Date	Description	English Publication Reference
Exegetical Midrash			
Asatir (Secrets)	Before 250-200 BCE	"A Samaritan document also known as the <i>Secrets of Moses</i> , known from both Samaritan and Arabic versions. A midrashic text, it combines biblical and traditional stories about the history of the earth, from the time of Adam to the death of Moses, and is thought to have been compiled no later than 250–200 BCE. The Samaritans also wrote a <i>pitron</i> , or commentary, on the <i>Asatir</i> in Arabic, but the date this commentary was composed is unknown" (J. A. Tvedtnes, <i>Hidden Books</i> , p. 230).	Gaster's English translation is currently out of print (M. Gaster, <i>Asatir</i>).
Genesis Rabbah (GenR)	ca. 425	A collection of rabbinic commentaries on the book of Genesis, written in Israel. It incorporates a wide span of rabbinical and pseudepigraphal material relating to <i>Jubilees</i> , the <i>Testaments of the</i> <i>Twelve Patriarchs</i> , and the <i>Life of Adam and Eve</i> .	Volumes 1 and 2 of the <i>Soncino Midrash Rabbah</i> (H. Freedman et al., <i>Midrash</i>). Neusner has pro- duced a more recent three-volume translation and commentary (J. Neusner, <i>Genesis Rabbah</i>).
Exodus Rabbah (ExoR)	900- 1000	A collection of rabbinic commentaries on the book of Exodus.	Volume 3 of the <i>Soncino Midrash Rabbah</i> (H. Freedman et al., <i>Midrash</i>).
Numbers Rabbah (NumR)	800- 1200	A collection of rabbinic commentaries on the book of Numbers.	Volumes 5 and 6 of the <i>Soncino Midrash Rabbah</i> (H. Freedman et al., <i>Midrash</i>).
Yalkut Shim'oni (Simon's Selections)	1050- 1300	A midrashic thesaurus on the entire Old Testa- ment.	No English edition is available.
Homiletical Midras	h		
Pesikta de Rav Kahana (PRK)	ca. 400	This is a midrash for readings at festivals and special Sabbaths. <i>Pesikta</i> means "sections" or "chapters."	Braude's excellent English translation is avail- able from the Jewish Publication Society (W. G. Braude et al., <i>Kahana</i>).
Pesikta Rab- bati (PesR) (Pesikta Gedolah or Pesikta)	ca. 200- 600	This is a midrash for readings at festivals and special Sabbaths. It includes references to many items of biblical and post-biblical legend.	Braude's fluent English translation is available from Yale University Press (W. G. Braude, <i>Rab-</i> <i>bati</i>).
Tanhuma or Yelam- medenu	400-900	A homiletical midrash on the Pentateuch often ascribed to Rabbi Tanhuma. A variant version with a somewhat different textual history is named <i>Yelammedenu</i> , from the phrase "Let our master teach us."	Excerpts are available in an inexpensive edition (C. F. Horne, <i>Medieval</i>). The full text can be found in a three-volume edition (J. T. Townsend, <i>Tanhuma</i>). Bregman has made an exhaustive comparison of the various versions of the Tan- huma and related texts (M. Bregman, <i>Tanhuma-Yelammedenu</i>).
Aggadot Bereshit	900- 1000	Twenty-eight homilies on Genesis. Unfortunate- ly, the beginning of the work, relating to Genesis 1:1-6:4, is missing.	No English edition is available.

38 A. van der Heide, *Midrash*, p. 44.

39 H. Freedman et al., *Midrash*.

Text Name	Date	Description	English Publication Reference
Narrative Midrash		*	
Midrash Wa-Yissau	Before 130	Describes conflicts of the sons of Jacob with the Amorites and Esau (Genesis 35:5, 36:6).	No English edition is available. However, a partial translation of the last part of the midrash describing the events prior to the Messianic age can be found in J. C. Reeves, <i>Wa-Yosha</i> ² .
Seder Olam Rab- bah (SOR or Seder Olam or The Order of the World)	Before 600	A chronology of time from the beginning through Hadrian, though incomplete after the time of Alexander the Great. It may have been prepared as an aid for computing the time of the Creation. Ascribed to Talmudist Rabbi Jose ben Halafta, with later alterations.	Available in an inexpensive print-on-demand ver- sion from Xulon Press (K. Johnson, <i>Seder Olam</i>), and in an edition edited by H. W. Guggenheimer, <i>(Seder Olam)</i> .
Seder Olam Zutta	500-800	Called <i>zutta</i> (= smaller) to distinguish it from <i>SOR</i> , this chronology seems to be intended to show that Jewish leaders during the exile were descendants of David.	No English edition is available.
Pirkei de Rabbi Eliezer (PRE)	650-900	A narrative midrashic text containing a collec- tion of sayings attributed to Rabbi Eliezer, son of Hyrqanos, who lived in the first and second centuries CE. Many older traditions are included in the work.	The sole English translation of this work, G. Friedlander, <i>Pirkei</i> , is difficult to find. Ouaknin provides an up-to-date French translation (MA. Ouaknin et al., <i>Rabbi Éliézer</i>).
Leqah Tob	1079- 1108	A midrash on the Pentateuch and five <i>Megillot</i> written by Tobiah Eliezer.	No English edition is available.
Sekhel Tob	1139	A midrashic anthology on the Pentateuch, pos- sibly Italian in origin.	No English edition is available.
Chronicles of Jerahmeel	1100- 1200	A medieval compilation "made by Jewish chro- nographers, who drew upon the Bible, midrashic sources, and earlier chronicles, both Jewish and non-Jewish. It was purportedly written by Jerah- meel ben Solomon. It was certainly known by the fourteenth century: Rabbi Eleazar ben Asher the Levite, who lived in the Rhine provinces, in- cluded it in the compilation <i>Sefer ha-Zikhronot</i> " (J. A. Tvedtnes et al., <i>Traditions, p. 129</i>).	For an English translation, see Jerahmeel ben Sol- omon, <i>Chronicles</i> . "Some verses, or paragraphs, were incorrectly numbered in Gaster's edition, mistakenly giving the appearance that parts of the text were omitted" (J. A. Tvedtnes et al., <i>Tradi- tions</i> , p. 129).
Sefer ha-Yashar (Toledot Adam or The Book of Jasher)	ca. 1000- 1500	Pseudepigraphic history from Adam to the Exodus. This book should not be confused with other books of the same name (e.g., <i>Sefer</i> <i>ha-Yahshar</i> (Rabbenu Tam) (S. Shokek, <i>Yashar</i>)), with the <i>Book of Jasher</i> referred to in Joshua 10:13 and 2 Samuel 1:18, or with the fraudulent book of <i>Pseudo-Jasher</i> , purportedly written by the English monk Alcuin.	Inexpensive reprints of Noah's 1840 translation (e.g., M. M. Noah, <i>Jasher</i> ; M. M. Noah et al., <i>Jasher</i>) are plentiful. Though this book has been frequently cited in LDS literature since the time of Joseph Smith, better sources exist for the material of greatest interest. For a history of its publication and of its use in LDS contexts, see E. J. Brandt, <i>Jasher</i> .
Bereshit Zutta	1200- 1300	A compilation of midrashic commentary on the Pentateuch. Unfortunately, there is no com- mentary on Genesis 1:23-8:16, except for a single page on 3:6-8.	No English edition is available.
Midrash ha-Gadol (The Great Mi- drash) (MHG)	1200- 1400	Of Yemeni origin, this aggadic midrash on the Pentateuch incorporates many otherwise lost sources.	No English edition is available.
Collections of Agga	dah		
Ein Yaakov (Ein Yisrael)	1516	A collection of all the aggadic material in the <i>Babylonian Talmud</i> , compiled by Rabbi Yaakov ibn Chaviv in the fifteenth century, and finished by his son Rabbi Levi ibn Chaviv.	A five-volume Hebrew-English version was pre- pared by Rabbi Shmuel Tzvi-Hirsch Glick in 1921. However, the only complete translation in English currently available is Y. i. Chaviv, <i>Ein Yaakov</i> .
The Book of Legends (Sefer ha- Aggadah)	1902	Contains a valuable collection of stories about biblical characters and rabbinic sages arranged by theme.	Collected and arranged by Bialik and translated into fluent English by Braude (H. N. Bialik et al., <i>Legends</i>).
Legends of the Jews	1909- 1937	This monumental heavily-footnoted seven- volume work reveals the rabbinical thought process at work in the process of midrash as it traces multiple strands of detail in biblical stories in chronological arrangement.	Available in a reasonably priced paperback edi- tion. Available by individual volume or as a set (L. Ginzberg, <i>Legends</i>).

Bibliography – Jewish Texts

Text Name	Date	Description	English Publication Reference
Mimekor Yisrael	1939- 1945	In contrast to Bialik's and Ginzberg's focus on ancient texts, Bin Gorion gathers his tales from texts composed in the early Middle Ages and thereafter.	Unfortunately, the three-volume English transla- tion of Bin Gorion's work is no longer in print (M. J. B. bin Gorion et al., <i>Mimekor</i>), though smaller collections of Bin Gorion's stories can be found in single volume editions (e.g., M. J. B. bin Gorion et al., <i>Mimekor Abridged</i>). An earlier German version of the larger work with an overlapping collection of stories was reprinted for many years as <i>Die Sagen der Juden</i> , which can often be found in used bookstores.
Hebrew Myths: The Book of Genesis	1964	The result of a collaboration between English poet and scholar Robert Graves and Jewish anthropologist Raphael Patai, the book goes be- yond midrashic sources to explore other ancient associations to biblical stories.	The book is currently out of print but used versions can still be found (R. Graves et al., <i>Myths</i>).
The Bible As It Was	1997	This is a more limited and less expensive version of <i>Traditions of the Bible</i> .	J. L. Kugel, Bible As It Was.
Traditions of the Bible	1998	With a focus on some two dozen stories in the Pentateuch, Kugel shows how the early Bible interpreters shaped the meaning of the texts and passed these ideas to future generations. Unlike the other collections listed here, the author pre- serves the original wording of each source cited.	J. L. Kugel, <i>Traditions</i> .
Tree of Souls; The Mythology of Judaism	2004	In this eruditely commented and comprehen- sively-indexed collection of midrash organized by theme, Schwartz has assembled a copious selection of traditions into a highly-readable volume.	H. Schwartz, <i>Tree</i> .
Folktales of the Jews: Tales from the Sephardic Disper- sion	2006-	Over a period of decades, Dov Noy assembled a collection of more than 20,000 tales from Israeli immigrants as part of the Israel Folktale Archives (IFA). Although some include biblical characters, very few relate directly to the Jewish scriptures.	The first volumes of a projected five-volume set of selections from the IFA collection with in-depth commentary have now appeared in English (D. Ben-Amos et al., <i>Folktales</i>).

Medieval Bible Commentators and Philosophers

The Middle Ages were a high point of scholarship and writing in Judaism. Fortunately, as Greenstein observes: "Sectarian schisms within the Jewish fold and external pressure, mainly Christian persecution, upon the Jews had the effect of stimulating, not repressing, Jewish expression."⁴⁰ At this time, the nature of scriptural commentary evolved from the characteristically homiletical mode of midrash to that of *peshat*, a way of understanding scripture in terms of its wider historical and literary context. During this same period, Jewish philosophers also attempted to harmonize faith and reason as they considered a broad set of problems in theology, science, and ethics. These scholars are often affectionately referred to by acronyms built out of initials from their names, e.g., Rasag = RAbbi SAadi Gaon. For excellent overviews of medieval Bible commentary and philosophy, see E. L. Greenstein, *Commentaries* and N. M. Samuelson, *Medieval*.

Consistent with the ancient reading formula of "two parts Scripture, one part *targum*," the traditional Jewish "Rabbinic Bible" or *Mikraot* (*Miqra'ot*) *Gedolot* (= Great Readings) contains Masoretic notes, the *Targum*, *Talmud* citations, and extensive commentary by several of the most prominent medieval commentators—headed by Rashi. The first three volumes of A.

⁴⁰ E. L. Greenstein, Commentaries, p. 214.

J. Rosenberg, *Mikraot* contain an English translation of this extensive work.⁴¹ Mesorah/ ArtScroll has also produced a two-volume edition of Genesis with extensive commentary.⁴² The Conservative movement has published a new edition and commentary called *Etz Hayim* (= Tree of Life),⁴³ and the perspective of the Reformed tradition is embodied in W. G. Plaut, *Commentary*. Also of value is the Jewish Publication Society's *Jewish Study Bible*, a one-volume work and commentary.⁴⁴

Name	Date	Description	English Publication Reference
Saadiah Gaon (Rasag1)	882- 942	A defender of rabbinic tradition, Gaon was the first, besides Philo, to make a systematic attempt to integrate Jewish theology and Greek philosophy. He translated the Hebrew Bible into Arabic, adding his commentary. <i>Gaon</i> is a title that was given to the heads of two Babylonian academies beginning in 609 and continuing until 1040.	Gaon's commentary on the <i>Torah</i> is not available in English, though it is sometimes cited in compilations.
Abraham Ibn Ezra (Ibn Ezra)	1089- 1164	More technical and less spiritual in orientation, this Spanish exegete excelled in so many fields that he was called <i>The Wise</i> , <i>The Great</i> and <i>The Admirable Doctor</i> .	See A. b. M. Ibn Ezra, <i>Genesis</i> .
Shlomo Yitzhaki (Rashi)	1040- 1105	Rashi made his living in northern France growing grapes, but became a devoted scholar of the Hebrew scriptures. It is hard to overestimate the influence of his commentaries, which are still among the most widely read due to their learned style and sensitive spirituality. While his style is eclectic, he is restrained in the use of <i>aggadah</i> .	The impressive Sapirstein edition of Rashi's commentary has been published by Artscroll/ Mesorah both in an inexpensive and a lavish edition (Rashi, <i>Genesis Commentary, Exodus Commentary</i>).
Shmuel ben Meir (Rashbam)	ca. 1085- 1174	French biblical commentator and son of Rashi's daughter, he was a pioneer in <i>peshat</i> . His views often contradicted those of Rashi (who sometimes amended his commentary accordingly) and those of his own time. He was often called on to defend Judaism in public debates.	For a translation of his commentary on Genesis, see S. Ben Meir, <i>Meir</i> .
Joseph ben Yitzchak Bekhor Shor (Bekhor Shor)	ca. 1100- 1200	Though belonging to the same French exegetical tradi- tion as Rashi, and a student of his grandson Rashbam, Bekhor Shor strove for rational explanations rather than creative midrash to account for duplicate stories and miraculous events in the scriptures.	No English edition of his commentary on Genesis is available.
Moses ben Maimon (Rambam or Mai- monides)	1135-1204	Maimonides was a brilliant rabbi and physician who grew up in Spain and has become the most famous of the medieval Jewish philosophers. His tombstone states: "From Moses to Moses, there was no one like Moses."	Maimonides' writings are readily available in many editions. Although he wrote many volumes of talmudic and biblical commentary, his most well known work is <i>Guide for the Per- plexed (Moreh Nevuchim)</i> , an attempt to deal with conflicts between Aristotelian thought and theology. Controversial in its time, it is now highly esteemed, particularly in Orthodox Judaism. His 14-volume code of the Jewish oral law, the <i>Mishneh Torah (Yad ha-Chazaka</i> = The Strong Hand), is considered his masterwork (M. Maimonides, <i>Code</i> ; M. Maimonides, <i>Mish- neh</i>). The best overview of his life and works is H. A. Davidson, <i>Maimonides</i> .
David Kimhi (Kim- chi or Qimchi or Radak)	ca. 1160- 1235	Born in Provence, France, Kimhi's commentary on Genesis emphasizes moral and ethical implications of the stories. Although he tends toward straightforward interpretations of the words themselves, he advances a mystical interpretation of the story of Adam and Eve.	Portions of Kimhi's commentary are available within E. Munk, <i>Hachut</i> .

41 The Jewish Publication Society has published a volume of their own version of the *Miqra'ot Gedolot* for Exodus (M. Carasik, *Exodus*). It is unknown whether they will continue the series with volumes on other books of the *Torah*.

42 R. M. Zlotowitz et al., Bereishis.

43 D. L. Lieber, Etz Hayim.

44 A. Berlin et al., Jewish.

Bibliography – Jewish Texts

Name	Date	Description	English Publication Reference
Moshe ben Nach- man (Ramban or Nachmanides)	1194- 1270	Like Maimonides, Nachmanides was a Spaniard, a physician, and a <i>Torah</i> scholar. Though he differed with Maimonides on many points, he tried to avert schism between his supporters and opponents. His commentaries contain significant haggadic ele- ments and are also the first to incorporate kabbalistic thought.	See Ramban, Torah Commentary.
Levi ben Gershom (Gersonides or Ralbag)	1288- 1344	A controversial philosopher, mathemetician, theo- logian, and astronomer from Provence, Gersonides insisted on the role of reason in understanding all truth, including the <i>Torah</i> .	Ralbag's most well-known work, <i>The Wars of the Lord</i> , has been translated in S. Feldman, <i>Wars</i> . A parital English translation is available in J. J. Staub's <i>The Creation of the World According to Gersonides</i> .
Yitzchak ben Yehuda Abravanel (Abrabane or Abar- banel)	1437- 1508	Born in Portugal as part of a distinguished family, Abravanel died in exile in Italy. He was not only a scholar but also a statesman and defender of the faith during the time of the Inquisition. His commentaries are known for the fact that they took social and politi- cal issues no less than theological ones into account. After his death, his works were frequently published by appreciative Christian scholars.	Although excerpts from his commentaries are often included in rabbinic Bibles, no integral edition of his work is available in English. However, Schiffers has translated Abravanel's commentary on Genesis 1:1-6:8 into French (I. Abravanel, <i>Abravanel</i>).
Obadiah ben Jacob Sforno (Sforno)	ca. 1475- 1550	The most famous member of an Italian family of scholars and rabbis, his commentary on the <i>To-rah</i> took advantage of his skills as a philologist to construct the meaning of the text. Sforno's attitudes toward mystical interpretation influenced his judicious selection from earlier exegetes. His commentary is still popular today.	Sforno's two-volume commentary on Genesis is available in English in O. b. J. Sforno, <i>Torah</i> <i>Commentary</i> .

Mystical Texts

The mystical tradition in Judaism has a long tradition, stretching back to beginnings in at least the talmudic period, flowering in kabbalistic writings dating from the 12th century, and continuing to the present. Scholem has written the classic surveys of this literature,⁴⁵ but a more recent four-volume by Joseph Dan on Jewish mysticism better situates the texts and incorporates important later scholarship.⁴⁶ An accessible introduction that provides additional background understanding for these writings can be found in L. Fine, *Kabbalistic Texts*. An excellent two-volume source reader by Blumenthal is available⁴⁷ as well as an anthology composed from an eclectic perspective, edited by Dan.⁴⁸ A concise overview of Jewish mysticism is provided by Hamblin.⁴⁹ See also the bibliographic survey by Karr.⁵⁰

Text Name	Date	Description	Publication Reference
Sefer Hekhalot (Book of Palaces), 3 Enoch, The Hebrew Apocalypse of Enoch, Pirq Rabbi Yishmael (Chapters of Rabbi Ishmael), or The Book of Rabbi Ishamel the High Priest	400-600	 3 Enoch is a late manuscript attributed to Rabbi Ishmael (d. ca. 132 CE) who ascended to heaven and received revelations from Metatron (Enoch). Seven manuscripts have survived. It can be divided into four sections: Chapters 1-2 describe the ascension of Ishmael. Chapters 3-16 describe how Metatron, who says he is Enoch, was translated from earth to heaven and exalted above the other angels. Chapters 17-40 describe the organization and activities of the heavens. Chapters 41-48 describe a tour of various heav- enly marvels (cosmology, eschatology, souls in various states) given to Ishmael by Metatron. 	Appears in P. Alexander, <i>3 Enoch</i> . Summarized in J. Dan, <i>Heart</i> , pp. 61-73.

45 G. Scholem, *Trends*; G. Scholem, *Kabbalah*.

⁴⁶ J. Dan, Mysticism.

⁴⁷ D. Blumenthal, *Merkabah*; D. Blumenthal, *Philosophic*.

⁴⁸ J. Dan, Heart.

⁴⁹ W. J. Hamblin et al., *Temple*, pp. 81-87.

⁵⁰ D. Karr, Notes.

Text Name	Date	Description	Publication Reference
Hekhalot Rabbati (The Greater Palaces or Pirkei Hekhalot) (HR)	200-800	An account of a heavenly ascent by Rabbi Ishmael to God's throne chariot (<i>merkabah</i>). Seven heavens and seven throne halls are described, and dangers are overcome by the recital of specific formulas.	An English translation of chapters 15-29 with commentary appears in D. Blumenthal, <i>Merkabah</i> , pp. 53- 91. A good overview can be found in J. Dan, <i>Heart</i> , pp. 49-54.
Hekhalot Zutreti or Hekhalot Zutarti (The Lesser Palaces)	200-800	An account of the heavenly ascent of Rabbi Akiva.	There is no complete version avail- able in English, however a selec- tion of significant passages from this work appear in D. J. Halperin, <i>Chariot</i> .
Merkabah Rabbah (The Great Chariot) or Shi'ur Qomah (Measurement of the [Divine] Body)	ca. 600 or earlier	A mystical exegesis of the <i>Song of Songs</i> , revered by Rabbi Akiva but repulsive to Maimonides. The immense measures of the body of God have been discussed in light of the huge statures attributed to Adam and other OT patriarchs.	Cohen has produced a book of analysis and a book of texts and recensions in English (M. S. Co- hen, <i>Liturgy</i> ; M. S. Cohen, <i>Texts</i>). Unfortunately, both are now out- of-print. A full translation can be found in D. Meltzer, <i>Shiur Qoma</i> .
Baraita de Ma'aseh Bereshit (Baraita on the Work of Creation)	ca. 700- 800	Mystical speculation on the first chapter of Genesis.	See J. Hirschman, Baraita.
Solomon ben Yehudah Ibn Geirol	ca. 1021- 1070	Born in Spain, Geirol is known for his <i>Keter Malkhut</i> (= The Crown of the Kingdom, ca. 1060), a hymn praising God and his Creation.	Published in J. Dan, <i>Heart</i> , pp. 81-94; S. i. Gabirol, <i>Crown</i> .
Ma'aseh Merkabah (Account of the Chariot)	ca. 1100- 1200	The work contains a collection of hymns that were heard and recited during an ascent, presented by Rabbi Akibah and Rabbi Ishmael. The text may have been used as a form of ritual instruction.	A translation and analysis of the text can be found in N. Janowitz, <i>Poetics</i> . See also Joseph Dan's sum- mary J. Dan, <i>Heart</i> , pp. 55-60.
Sefer Yetsirah (Book of Cre- ation)	ca. 700- 900	This text is considered one of the forerunners of kabbalistic thought and is traditionally ascribed to Abraham. It is called the <i>Book of Creation</i> because it provides the words God used for bringing the world into existence. It exists in several versions.	An inexpensive English transla- tion of this book can be found in A. Kaplan, <i>Sefer Yetzirah</i> , and Blumenthal has prepared a ver- sion with valuable diagrams (D. Blumenthal, <i>Merkabah</i> , pp. 13-44). A substantial excerpt can be found in P. Mordell, <i>Sefer Yetsirah</i> .
Sefer ha-Bahir (Book of Bright- ness)	ca. 1176	A brief, loosely-organized collection of speculations about God in the form of scriptural commentary that appeared in Provence. It contains Gnostic ele- ments and describes the ten <i>Sefirot</i> —attributes or lights that comprise the life of God. The <i>Sefirot</i> are the foundation of kabbalistic thinking. "[P]ortions of it appear to come from a much earlier work, the <i>Sefer Raza Rabbah</i> " (J. A. Tvedtnes et al., <i>Traditions</i> , p. 50).	An inexpensive translation has been published (A. Kaplan, <i>Bahir</i>). A substantial excerpt can be found in J. Neugroschel, <i>Bahir</i> .
The Zohar (Sefer ha-Zohar or Book of Splendor)	1275- 1500	The most famous work in the kabbalistic tradi- tion. The <i>Zohar</i> is a commentary on the <i>Torah</i> and, though attributed to Shimon bar Yohai, its core was probably composed by Moses de Leon, who drew on fragments of more ancient works. This work achieved near canonical status by the sixteenth cen- tury. Green has produced an up-to-date introduction to the <i>Zohar</i> (A. Green, <i>Guide</i>).	Superseding the older edition from Soncino Press (H. Sperling et al., <i>Zohar</i>), Matt's lucid new trans- lation of the Zohar with extensive notes has set a new standard (D. C. Matt, <i>Zohar</i>).
Midrash Konen	1601	A mystical midrash on the creation of the world.	No English edition is available.
Yalkut Reubeni	Before 1673	A collection of kabbalistic interpretations of the Pentateuch.	No English edition is available.
Sefer Rezial Hamelach (The Book of the Angel Rezial)	ca. 1700	This book was said to have been given to Adam by the Angel Rezial. Much of its material may date to several centuries earlier. Besides descriptions of the seven heavens, it contains a wide variety of magical lore and a long version of <i>Shi'ur Qomah</i> . It also incorporates the kabbalistic work <i>Sefer ha-Razim</i> (<i>Book of the Mysteries</i> or <i>Book of Secrets</i>).	For an English translation, see S. Savedow, <i>Rezial. Sefer ha-Razim</i> is separately published in M. A. Morgan, <i>Sefer ha-Razim</i> .

Christian Texts

New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha and Related Writings

These books were excluded from the New Testament canon. Some of these texts are also included in the Nag Hammadi or Gnostic collections. An excellent online resource for New Testament Apocryphal writing is *New Testament Apocrypha*. An overview of current views on this literature can be found in S. J. Shoemaker, *Apocryphal*. The most convenient published source for translations of these texts is the two-volume *New Testament Apocrypha (NTA)* edited by Edgar Hennecke and Wilhelm Schneemelcher. Originally published in German as *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen* by Hennecke in 1904, a second edition was produced in 1924 and a third in 1959. The English edition of 1963-1965 contains English translations of the texts from the original, rather than from the German.⁵¹ Hennecke originally compiled this work to update M. R. James' *Apocryphal New Testament (ANT)*. Page numbers for both *NTA* and *ANT* are referenced in the table below.

Text Names	Date	Description and Comments	NTA	ANT
Secret Gospel of Mark	ca. 100	Of controversial provenance, this purported excerpt of a letter from Clement contains a brief account of the raising of Lazarus and of Jesus teaching the mysteries of the kingdom to a youth. Readily available in M. Smith, <i>Secret Gospel</i> . Subsequent research is documented in J. Dart, <i>Decoding</i> .		
Protevangelium of James (Infancy Gospel of James)	By the third cen- tury CE	This book contains a number of very early traditions about the life of Mary and the birth of Jesus. Parts were incorporated into the <i>Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew</i> (Pseudo-Matthew, <i>Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew</i>) and the <i>Gospel of the Birth of Mary</i> (A. Roberts et al., <i>Nativity of Mary</i>). A more recent English translation with commentary can be found in M. Barker, <i>Infancy Gospel of James</i> .	1:370- 388	38-49
Gospel of Nicodemus (Acts of Pilate and Christ's Descent into Hell)	ca. 350	The so-called <i>Gospel of Nicodemus</i> is composed of two originally independent parts. The <i>Acts of Pilate</i> , which exists in Greek and Latin versions, was implausibly said to have been derived from official Roman records. The Latin appendix describing <i>Christ's Descent into Hell</i> , perhaps the most well-known account of the story of the "Harrowing of Hell," was popular among early Christians.	1:444- 484	94-165
The Acts of John	ca. 150-200	About two thirds of this work, which was probably about the length of Matthew, has survived. John's visits to Ephesus and his death are recorded. A prayer circle at the Last Supper and other incidents surrounding the time of the Passion are also included. Some scholars date the work to the fourth century.	2:188- 259	228- 270
Apocalypse of Peter	ca. 100-150	"An early Christian document attributed to the apostle Peter, known only from quotes by early church fathers and a few fragments" (J. A. Tvedtnes, <i>Hidden Books</i> , p. 229).	2:663- 683	505- 524
Apocalypse of Paul	By the fourth century	"A document attributed to the apostle Paul, describing his vision of the heavens alluded to in 2 Corinthians 12:1–4. It was known to St. Augustine in the fourth century CE. It was widely distributed and is known from manuscripts written in Greek (the original), Syriac, Latin, Coptic, Armenian, and Old Church Slavonic" (J. A. Tvedtnes, <i>Hidden Books</i> , p. 229). An English translation of a Coptic fragment can be found in G. W. MacRae et al., <i>Paul</i> .	2:755- 798	524- 555
Évangile des Douze Apôtres (Gospel of the Twelve Apostles)	500-600	French translation in E. Revillout, <i>Évangile</i> . Nibley translates liberal portions into English in H. W. Nibley, <i>Christ</i> , pp. 416-428. <i>NTA</i> calls this a "collection of sixteen independent Coptic fragments arbitrarily grouped under a fictitious title" (<i>NTA</i> , 1:271), but Nibley sees them as a connected forty-day manuscript (H. W. Nibley, <i>Christ</i> , p. 416). Not to be confused with the no-longer-extant <i>Gospel of the Twelve Apostles</i> referred to by the Church Fathers (<i>NTA</i> , 1:263-264) and possibly to be identified with the <i>Gospel of the Ebionites</i> (<i>ANT</i> , p. 10). Neither does it have anything to do with J. R. Harris, <i>Gospel</i> (purportedly from a manuscript hidden in Tibet that was "channeled" to the author).		

The Church Fathers

These texts represent the writings of early Christian leaders, following the apostolic period.⁵² They are usually divided into authors who wrote before the Council of Nicaea, held in 325 CE,

⁵¹ E. Hennecke et al., *NT Apocrypha*. Page numbers below are to the third edition. An English (1991/1993) fifth edition has now appeared. J. K. Elliott, *Apocryphal* has now superseded both *NTA* and *ANT*.

⁵² Kelly and Saint-Laurent have assembled a useful study of resources for the study of early Christianity, with a

referred to as the Ante-Nicene Fathers and those who wrote during and after, referred to as the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Included with the Ante-Nicene Fathers are some of the New Testament Apocryphal texts and a few Pseudepigraphal texts. Some medieval Christian writers are also listed in the table.

Far from dismissing the value of these writings, the Prophet Joseph Smith regretted the fact that the "character of the old churches [had]... been slandered" and said that he valued the many "old Catholic church traditions" that were consistent with teachings of the restored Church.⁵³ Edward Stevenson also reported the following:

While looking over our copy of a large English *Book of Martyrs*,⁵⁴ [Joseph Smith] expressed sympathy for the Christian martyrs and a hope for their salvation. He asked to borrow the book, promising to return it when he should meet us again in Missouri. On returning it he said, "I have, by the aid of the Urim and Thummim,⁵⁵ seen those martyrs. They were honest, devoted followers of Christ, according to the light they possessed. They will be saved."⁵⁶

The most frequently cited scholarly editions of the writings of the Church Fathers are the *Patrologia Graeca* (written in Greek, with Latin translations) and the *Patrologia Latina* (written in Latin). Translations and commentary for most of the writings of the Early Christian Fathers can be found online at *Early Church Fathers*.

The *Patrologia Graeca (PG)* were edited by Jacques-Paul Migne and published in 161 volumes plus a seprate index from 1857 to 1866.⁵⁷ Although many of the early church leaders wrote in Greek, Latin became the predominant language of the Church by the third century CE. Notable authors include Clement, Eusebius, Origen, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Gregory of Nyssa. *PG* includes material dating up to 1439, the time of the Council of Florence.

The *Patrologia Latina (PL)*, published by Migne between 1844 and 1855, included 217 volumes of works written in Latin, along with some Greek works translated into Latin.⁵⁸ Indices were published between 1862 and 1865. These texts cover a time period of nearly 1000 years, essentially ending in 1216 CE. It was Migne's intent to incorporate additional works from the reformation. Although he commenced this effort, it was never completed. Prominent authors in this collection include scholars such as Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine, and Popes such as Cornelius, Constantine I, and Innocent I. Other authors include Charles the Bald, Anselm, Abelard, Thomas Becket, and Godfrey de Bouillon.

A third collection, the *Patrologia Orientalis (PO)*, consisting of works written in Syriac, Armenian, Arabic, Coptic, Amharic, Georgian, and Slavonic replaced the *Patrologia Syriaca* series that began in 1894 with two original volumes.⁵⁹ Volume 41 was published in 1984.

The most inexpensive and accessible series containing an English translation of the early church fathers is published in 38 volumes by Hendrickson. This edition has also been sold as three separate sets: *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* (A. Roberts et al., *ANF*, 10 Volumes), *The*

particular focus on English-language titles (J. F. Kelly et al., *Tools*). Unfortunately, temple studies have been neglected in the *Handbook* in which this chapter is included—only a single relevant entry in the index appears ("Jerusalem temple").

⁵³ J. Smith, Jr., Teachings, 16 June 1844, p. 375; J. Smith, Jr., Words, 16 June 1844, pp. 381-382; cf. p. 411 n. 48.

⁵⁴ J. Foxe, Martyrs.

⁵⁵ At that time (1834), it is more likely that Josesph Smith used a seerstone.

⁵⁶ Edward Stevenson, cited in H. L. Andrus et al., They Knew (2004), p. 83.

⁵⁷ J. P. Migne, Patrologiae Graeca.

⁵⁸ J. P. Migne, Patrologiae Latina.

⁵⁹ R. Graffin, Syriaca; R. Graffin et al., Orientalis.

Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers Series I (P. Schaff, *NPNF-1*, 14 Volumes) consisting of writings from Augustine and Chrysostom, and *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers Series II* (P. Schaff et al., *NPNF-2*, 14 Volumes) consisting of Greek Fathers from Eusebius to John of Damascus, and Latin Fathers from Hilary to Gregory the Great.

Only a limited selection of authors and writings that either have been directly cited or are otherwise judged to be of relevance to the text of Genesis are included below. For a more complete list of sources and a valuable collection of patristic commentary on Genesis 1-11, see Louth's volume in the *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture* series.⁶⁰ Many of the capsule summaries below are excerpted from this volume. See also Sheridan's companion volume on Genesis 12-50.⁶¹ For an overview of this literature and its setting, see F. Young et al., *Early Christian Literature*. See also S. A. Harvey, *Early Christian*, especially pp. 957-977.

Author	Selected Writings	Date	Description and Comments	English Translations
Clement of Rome (pope)	<i>Epistula i ad Corinthios</i> (<i>Epistle to the Corin-</i> <i>thians</i>)	Regn. 92-101?	Clement is reputed to be the third or fourth pope (depending on whether Peter is counted), and the first of which something is known. His letter to the Corinthians was written to urge unity in the face of quarrels and schisms.	A. Roberts et al., <i>ANF</i> , 9:229-249
Ignatius of Antioch	Epistle to the Trallians, Epistle to the Ephesians, Epistle to the Philadel- phians	d. ca. 110-112	"Bishop of Antioch who wrote several letters to local churches while being taken from Antioch to Rome to be martyred. In the letters, which warn against heresy, he stresses orthodox Christology, the centrality of the Eucharist, and the unique role of the bishop in preserving the unity of the church" (A. Louth et al., <i>Genesis 1-11</i> , p. 188).	A. Roberts et al., <i>ANF</i> , 1:49-58, 1:66-72, 1:79-85
Polycarp of Smyrna	Epistle to the Philip- pians, Martyrdom of Polycarp	ca. 69- 155	"Bishop of Smyrna who vigorously fought heretics such as the Marcionites and Valentinians. He was the leading figure in Roman Asia in the middle of the second century" until he was martyred (A. Louth et al., <i>Genesis 1-11</i> , p. 191). He may have known the Apostle John.	A. Roberts et al., <i>ANF</i> , 1:33-36, 1:39-44
Justin Martyr (of Flavia Ne- apolis in Palestine)	Dialogus con Tryphone (Dialogue with Trypho)	ca. 100/110- 15, fl. ca. 148-161	"Palestinian philosopher who was converted to Chris- tianity, 'the only sure and worthy philosophy.' He trav- eled to Rome where he wrote several apologies against both pagans and Jews, combining Greek philosophy and Christian theology; he was eventually martyred" (A. Louth et al., <i>Genesis 1-11</i> , p. 189).	A. Roberts et al., <i>ANF</i> , 1:194-270
Sextus Julius Africanus	The Extant Fragments of the Five Books of the Chronography Chronography of Julius Africanus	ca. 160- 240	Little is known about the life of Julius Africanus. This work contains a fragmentary chronography from Adam through Jacob, followed by more detailed overview of Moses and Jesus. Interesting detail on the descendants of Cain versus Seth, the Babylonian captivity, and the death of Cleopatra. It includes an ex- planation of the Seventy Weeks prophesied by Daniel.	A. Roberts et al., <i>ANF</i> , 6:130-138
Irenaeus of Lyons	Adversus haereses (Against Heresies), Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching (Proof of the Apostolic Preaching)	b. ca. 150, fl. 180- 199, d. ca. 202	Bishop of Lyons, and "a disciple of teachers who had known St. John" (M. Barker, <i>Hidden</i> , p. x). His <i>Against</i> <i>Heresies</i> is an important refutation of Gnosticism. His long-lost <i>Demonstration</i> was rediscovered in 1904.	Irenaeus, <i>Proof;</i> Irenaeus, <i>Demonstration;</i> Irenaeus, <i>Heresies.</i>
Theophi- lus of Antioch	Apologia ad Autolycus	d. ca. 183-185	"The one undoubted extant work of Theophilus is his <i>Apologia ad Autolycum</i> , in three books. Its ostensible object is to convince a pagan friend, Autolycus, a man of great learning and an earnest seeker after truth, of the divine authority of the Christian religion, while at the same time he exhibits the falsehood and absurdity of paganism" (<i>Theophilus</i>).	A. Roberts et al., <i>ANF</i> , 2:89-121

60 A. Louth et al., *Genesis 1-11*.

61 M. Sheridan, Genesis 12-50.

Author	Selected Writings	Date	Description and Comments	English Translations
Clement of Alexandria	Stromateis (Stromata, Miscellanies), Exhorta- tion to the Greeks (Exhortation to the Heathen)	b. ca. 150, fl. 190- 215	"A highly educated Christian convert from paganism, head of the catechetical school in Alexandria, and pio- neer of Christian scholarship" (A. Louth et al., <i>Genesis</i> <i>1-11</i> , p. 186). He was the teacher of Origen.	A. Roberts et al., <i>ANF</i> , 2:299-568, 2:171-206
Tertul- lian of Carthage	Adversus Judaeos (Against the Jews, An Answer to the Jews), Adversus Marcionem (Against Marcion), De corona (On the Crown), De anima (On the Soul), De Baptismo (On Baptism), De Oratione (On Prayer)	ca. 155/160- 225/250, fl. ca. 197-222	"Brilliant Carthaginian apologist and polemicist who laid the foundations of Christology and trinitarian or- thodoxy in the West, though he himself was estranged from the main church by its laxity" (A. Louth et al., <i>Genesis 1-11</i> , p. 192).	A. Roberts et al., <i>ANF</i> , 3:151-173, 3:93-104, 3:181-235, 3:271-475, 3:669-679, 681-691
Origen of Alexandria	De prinicipiis (On first principles), Homilae in Genesim (Homilies on Genesis), Homilae in Leviticum (Homilies on Leviticus), Contra Cel- sum (Against Celsus), Commentary on John	b. 185, fl. ca. 200- 254	"Influential exegete and systematic theologian. He was condemned (perhaps unfairly) for maintaining the preexistence of souls while denying the resurrection of the body, the literal truth of Scripture, and the equality of the Father and the Son in the Trinity" (A. Louth et al., <i>Genesis 1-11</i> , p. 190).	Origen, <i>Genesis and</i> <i>Exodus</i> ; Origen, <i>Leviticus</i> <i>1-16</i> ; A. Roberts et al., <i>ANF</i> , 4:239-384, 4:395- 669, 10:297-408.
Pseudo- Clement	Recognitions, Homilies	Before 231	These two overlapping books, sometimes called together the <i>Clementina</i> or the <i>Preachings of Peter</i> , describe the conversion of Clement of Rome and his travels with the Apostle Peter. They purport to contain many of Peter's teachings. <i>Homilies</i> is preserved in the original Greek, while <i>Recognitions</i> exists in a Latin translation. Fragments exist in other languages and in citations by other writers. It is presumed that both books are derived from an older, longer source. The dating of this literature has been highly controversial. Tvedtnes concludes that <i>Recognitions</i> must predate 231 (J. A. Tvedtnes et al., <i>Traditions</i> , p. 185). Most scholars see these writings as arising from a sect of Jewish Christianity, and some see a possible rela- tionship to the Ebionites or Nazarenes. Non-Mormon scholar David Flusser writes: "The Ebionites held inter- esting doctrines including the corporeality and visibil- ity of God, as well as the denial of predestination, fixed election, and original sin. They affirmed the honorable role of Adam and Eve, and likewise affirmed the expia- tory death of Jesus as the Messiah and the Christ, as would the Latter-day Saints today. In these teachings, they show a remarkable similarity to the teachings of Joseph Smith who claimed he was returning to the pristine Jewish-Christian faith. In their dynamic un- derstanding of human nature and the Christian faith, the faith of these Jewish-Christians closely resembles that of the Latter-day Saints, an astonishing coinci- dence that is surely good for a normative approach to both faiths" (D. Flusser, <i>Jewish-Christian</i> , p. 67).	F. S. Jones, <i>Recognitions</i> ; A. Roberts et al., <i>ANF</i> , 8:77-211, 8:223-346
Novatian of Rome	De Trinitate (On the Trinity)	Fl. 235- 258	"Roman theologian, otherwise orthodox, who formed a schismatic church after failing to become pope. His treatise on the Trinity states the classic Western doc- trine" (A. Louth et al., <i>Genesis 1-11</i> , p. 190).	A. Roberts et al., <i>ANF</i> , 5:611-644
Victo- rinus of Petovium (Pettau)	Fragment of Tractatus de Fabrica Mundi [On the Creation of the World]	d. ca. 304	Victorinus was a Bishop of Pettau. This work contains an expansion of Genesis creation account with inter- pretations based on 1 John and the book of Revelation.	A. Roberts et al., <i>ANF</i> , 7:341-343

Author	Selected Writings	Date	Description and Comments	English Translations
Methodius of Olym- pus	From the Book Con- cerning Matter (Con- cerning Free Will)	d. ca. 311	A fragment of a work defending the proposition that matter is created and is not the cause of evil. Preserved by Eusebius and quoted by Origen in his arguments against the Gnostic Marcionites.	A. Roberts et al., <i>ANF</i> , 6:356-363
Lucius Caelius (or Caecilius?) Firmianus Lactantius	Divinarum Institu- tionum (The Divine Institutes, The Divine Institutions)	ca. 240- ca. 320	Lactantius, a Latin-speaking North African, was a highly-skilled apologist and rhetorician. <i>Divinarum</i> <i>Institutionum</i> , his most important work, "was intended to point out the futility of pagan beliefs and to establish the reasonableness and truth of Christianity as a response to pagan critics. It was also the first attempt at a systematic exposition of Christian theology in Latin, planned on a scale sufficiently broad to silence all op- ponents" (<i>Lactantius</i>).	A. Roberts et al., <i>ANF</i> , 7:9-223
Euse- bius of Caesarea (Eusebius Pamphi- lus)	Life of Constantine, Ecclesiastical History (History of the Church), Onomasticon	b. ca. 260/263; fl. ca. 315-340	"Bishop of Caesarea, partisan of the emperor Constan- tine, and first historian of the Christian church. He argued that the truth of the gospel had been foreshad- owed in pagan writings, but had to defend his own doctrine against suspicion of Arian sympathies" (A. Louth et al., <i>Genesis 1-11</i> , p. 187). Eusebius' unfinished <i>Life of Constantine</i> , while filled with partisan rhetoric, is an invaluable account of the life of this Roman emperor, who turned from being the greatest persecu- tor of the Church to its most important supporter. His <i>History</i> , while suffering from the same defects, presents much information not found elsewhere. The <i>Onomas-</i> <i>ticon</i> is a glossary of scriptural names and places.	Eusebius, Onomasti- con; Eusebius, History; Eusebius, Constantine; P. Schaff et al., Nicene and Post-Nicene 2, 1:73-403, 1:405-610
Athana- sius of Alexandria (Athana- sius the Great, Pope Athanasius 1)	Incarnation	293-373	As a church leader and theologian, Athanasius is most remembered for his role in the Arian controversy at the Council of Nicaea. He vigorously attacked the idea of Arianism that the Son was subordinate to the Father. Though successful in anathematizing the followers of Arius at the Council, support for these ideas waxed and waned, and Athanasius was frequently exiled throughout his life because of his teachings.	Athanasius, Incarnation.
Cyril of Jerusalem	Catechetical Lectures	ca. 315- 386; fl. ca. 348	Cyril was a Bishop of Jerusalem. Nibley cites lengthy passages of the section containing the <i>Lectures on the</i> <i>Ordinances (Mystagogikai Katecheseis)</i> that echo LDS temple themes (H. W. Nibley, <i>Message 2005</i> , pp. 515- 524; cf. J. E. Seaich, <i>Ancient Texts 1995</i> , pp. 878-879; J. A. Tvedtnes, <i>Rituals</i>). He notes that these lectures took place just as "the cult of the temple enjoyed a spectacu- lar albeit specious revival. These particular lectures contain 'the fullest account extant' of ordinances in the church at that crucial period The apostolic fathers are full of oblique references to the ordinances; they understand their extreme importance but are not in a position to talk freely about them And so ancient ordinances survive as fossils buried in a deep matrix of rhetoric, philosophy, and art" (H. W. Nibley, <i>Message</i> 2005, pp. 515, 522, 524).	H. W. Nibley, <i>Message</i> 2005, 1-5:23, pp. 515-524; P. Schaff et al., <i>Nicene and</i> <i>Post-Nicene</i> 2, pp. 1-157.
Ephrem the Syrian	Commentary on Genesis, Hymns on Paradise, Hymns for the Feast of the Epiphany, Hymns on Virginity and on the Symbols of the Lord, Commentary on the Diatessaron	b. ca. 307; fl. 363- 373	"Syrian writer of commentaries and devotional hymns which are sometimes regarded as the greatest speci- mens of Christian poetry prior to Dante" (A. Louth et al., <i>Genesis 1-11</i> , p. 187).	Ephrem the Syrian, <i>Epiph-any</i> ; Ephrem the Syrian, <i>Virginity</i> ; Ephrem the Syr- ian, <i>Commentary</i> ; Ephrem the Syrian, <i>Para- dise</i> ; Ephrem the Syrian, <i>Poems</i> ; Ephrem the Syr- ian, <i>Diatessaron</i>
Gregory of Nazianus (the Theo- logian, or Nazian- zen)	Orations, Dogmatic Poems	329-389	Influential in both the Western and Eastern churches, Gregory was one of the most highly-trained and ef- fective Christian writers and orators of his time. His thinking was influential in elucidating the relationship among the members of the Trinity. Along with the two brothers Basil the Great and Gregory of Nyssa, he is known as one of the three Cappadocian Fathers.	Gregory Nazianzen, Ora- tions, Poetry.

Author	Selected Writings	Date	Description and Comments	English Translations
Basil the Great of Caesarea	Homilae in hexaemeron (The Hexaemeron), De spiritu sancto (On the Spirit)	b. ca. 330; fl. 357- 379	"One of the Cappadocian fathers, bishop of Caesarea and champion of the teaching on the Trinity pro- pounded at Nicaea in 325. He was a great administra- tor and founded a monastic rule" (A. Louth et al., <i>Genesis 1-11</i> , p. 186).	P. Schaff et al., <i>Nicene and</i> <i>Post-Nicene 2</i> , 8:1-50, 8:51-107
Gregory of Nyssa	De opficio hominis (On the Creation of Man), Diologus de anima et resurrectione (On the Soul and the Resur- rection), The Great Catechism	ca. 335- 394	"Brother to Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa was born in 335 or 336 CE in Cappadocia (in modern Turkey). He authored more than thirty works that have been preserved through the centuries" (J. A. Tvedtnes et al., <i>Traditions</i> , p. 187). "He is famous for maintaining the equality in unity of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit" (A. Louth et al., <i>Genesis 1-11</i> , p. 188).	P. Schaff et al., <i>Nicene and</i> <i>Post-Nicene</i> 2, 5:386-427, 5:428-468, 5:471-509.
Bordeaux Pilgrim	Travels	333	This anonymous pilgrim provided the earliest Christian account of a visit to the Holy Land.	In Egeria, <i>Travels</i> , pp. 22-34
Egeria (Etheria)	Egeria's Travels	381-384	Egeria, a medieval nun, produced a "diary rediscovered in 1884 that describes a pilgrimage to the Holy Land" (M. Barker, <i>Hidden</i> , p. xii).	Egeria, <i>Travels</i>
John Chrysos- tom	In Genesim [homilae 1-67] (Homilies on Genesis), In Genesim [sermons 1-9] (Sermons on Genesis); Commen- tary on Job	344/354- 407; fl. 386-407	Bishop of Constantinople and champion of orthodoxy, Chrysostom was "one of the most prolific writers among the early church fathers" (J. A. Tvedtnes et al., <i>Traditions</i> , p. 193).	J. Chrysostom, Homilies on Genesis; Job
Jerome	Tractatus lix in Psalmos (Homilies on the Psalms), LIber quaes- tionum hebraicarum in Genesim (Hebrew Questions on Genesis), Letters, Vulgate Trans- lation of the Bible	ca. 347- 420	Jerome "has left a substantial corpus of writings, including several commentaries on the Bible, although he is best known as the scholar who translated the Bible into the Latin <i>Vulgate</i> " (J. A. Tvedtnes et al., <i>Traditions</i> , p. 194). "He defended the perpetual virginity of Mary, attacked Origen and Pelagius and supported extreme ascetic practices" (A. Louth et al., <i>Genesis 1-11</i> , p. 188).	Jerome, Homilies; Jerome, Questions on Genesis; P. Schaff et al., Nicene and Post-Nicene 2, 6:1-295, 6:486-487; R. Weber, Vulgata
Augustine of Hippo	The City of God, De Genesi ad litteram (On the Literal Interpreta- tion of Genesis), Against the Two Letters of the Pelagians	354-430; fl. 387- 430	"Following his conversion from Manichaeism to Chris- tianity, Augustine became bishop of Hippo, in North Africa (Tunisia)." In his writings against the pelagians, he formulated the doctrines of original sin and predes- tination. He wrote <i>The City of God</i> "to defend Christi- anity to the heathens after the sack of Rome (written 413-426)" (J. A. Tvedtnes et al., <i>Traditions</i> , p. 200).	Augustine, <i>Literal</i> ; P. Schaff, <i>Nicene and</i> <i>Post-Nicene 1</i> , 2:1-511, 5:373-434
Quodvult- deus of Carthage	Book of Promises and Predictions of God	d. ca. 450	A deacon of Carthage and friend of Augustine, his name means "Whatever God wants." He attempted to "show at length how the New Testament fulfilled the Old Testament" (A. Louth et al., <i>Genesis 1-11</i> , p. 191).	Quodvultdeus, <i>Promesse</i> ; Quodvultdeus, <i>Homilies</i>
Pseudo- Dionysius the Areop- agite	De coelesti hierarchia (The Celestial Hierar- chy)	ca. 482- ca. 532; fl. ca. 500	"[A]uthor of four mystical writings, probably from the late fifth century, which were the foundation of the apophatic school of mysticism in their denial that any- thing can be truly predicated of God" (A. Louth et al., <i>Genesis 1-11</i> , p. 187). <i>The Celestial Hierarchy</i> describes the nine ranks of angels that mediate between God and humankind" (M. Barker, <i>Hidden</i> , p. xii).	Pseudo-Dionysius, Hierarchy
Ancius Manlius Severinus Boethius	De Consolatione Phi- losophiae (The Consola- tion of Philosophy)	ca. 480- ca. 525	Boethius was a Christian educator, statesman, theolo- gian, and philosopher of the late Roman empire whose <i>Consolation of Philosophy</i> "was for centuries the most influential book ever written in Latin" (C. S. Lewis, <i>Image</i> , p. 75).	A. M. S. Boethius, Con- solation
Bede the Venerable (Bede of Jarrow)	On the Temple, An Ecclesiastical History of the English People (Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum)	673-735	"One of the most learned men of his age Born in Northumbria, at the age of seven Bede was put under the care of the Benedictine monks of Saints Peter and Paul at Jarrow and given a broad classical education in the monastic tradition" (A. Louth et al., <i>Genesis 1-11</i> , p. 186).	Bede, <i>Ecclesiastical;</i> Bede, <i>Temple</i>
Hugh of St. Victor	De sacramentis christianae fidei (On the Sacraments of the Christian Faith)	ca. 1078- 1141	Mystic and philosopher with numerous and diverse writings. <i>De sacramentis</i> is his most well-known work.	Hugh of Saint Victor, De Sacramentis

Author	Selected Writings	Date	Description and Comments	English Translations
Martin of Leon	Septuagesima	ca. 1130- 1203	Martin of Leon was a priest and canon regular of the Augustinian order. His <i>Septuagesima</i> has not been translated into English.	J. P. Migne, <i>Patrologiae</i> <i>Latina</i> , 208
Thomas Aquinas	Summa Theologica	ca. 1225- 1274	Prolific medieval theologian and philosopher, Thomas Aquinas attempted to unify faith and reason at a time when Aristotle's works had newly made their appear- ance in Latin. Best known for the <i>Summa</i> , his massive volume on Christian doctrine, he produced some 60 other works in his short life of less than 50 years.	T. Aquinas, <i>Summa</i>

Other Christian Writings

These are texts that are not included in the above groupings.

Text Name	Date	Description	Publication Reference
Subject Matter Rela	ted to Ger	nesis	
Letter of Barnabas	ca. 140	This letter "was originally attributed to Barnabas the Levite (Acts 4:36; 13:2) and was rediscovered in 1859, included in the New Testa- ment of the Sinai Codex, the oldest known Bible. It gives a Jewish Christian perspective on many issues, such as the Sabbath and the temple" (M. Barker, <i>Hidden</i> , p. x).	A. Roberts et al., <i>ANF</i> , 1:137- 149
Didache	ca. 140	Purported to contain teachings of the original Twelve Apostles, the <i>Didache</i> is a brief handbook of instructions that was used in the training of new converts. It "intertwines Jewish ethics with Christian liturgical practice to form a whole discourse on the 'way of life" (A. Louth et al., <i>Genesis 1-11</i> , p. 187).	B. D. Ehrman, <i>Didache</i> ; A. Roberts et al., <i>ANF</i> , 7:391-383
Shepherd of Hermas (Pastor of Hermas)	ca. 140- 155	"Written by a former slave and named for the form of the second angel said to have granted him his visions, this work was highly esteemed for its moral value and was used as a textbook for catechu- mens in the early church" (A. Louth et al., <i>Genesis 1-11</i> , p. 192).	C. Osiek, <i>Shepherd</i> ; A. Roberts et al., <i>ANF</i> ; 2:9-58
Second Letter of Clement (so-called) (2 Clement)	ca. 150	"The earliest surviving Christian sermon, probably written by a Corinthian author" (A. Louth et al., <i>Genesis 1-11</i> , p. 191).	A. Roberts et al., <i>ANF</i> , 9:251-256
Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi (Testament of our Lord)	ca. 350	This document purports to be "the words of our Lord Himself, and to tell what He said to the disciples after His resurrection and before His ascension. It is supposed to be the last Will or Testament which he gave them, and to provide them with rules for the conduct of their work." (J. Cooper et al., <i>Testament</i> , p. 3). Written, perhaps, about 350, it exists in several Syriac recensions as well as in an Ethiopic translation. A fragment of the apocalyptic prelude also exists in Latin translation.	J. Cooper et al., <i>Testament</i>
Apostolic Constitu- tions	ca. 380	Presumed to have been compiled in Syria, these writings constitute the "largest collection of ecclesiastical law that has survived from early Christianity The work consists of eight books. The first six are an adaptation of the <i>Didascalia Apostolorum</i> , written in Syria about AD 250 The seventh contains a paraphrase and enlargement of the <i>Didache</i> " (<i>Apostolic Constitutions</i>). The eight book contains a mix of additional material.	A. Roberts et al., <i>ANF</i> , 7:387- 508
The Discourse on Abbaton (How Abbaton, the angel of death, became the king of all mankind)	Before 385	This book was copied from an existing document in the library of Jerusalem by Timothy, the fourth-century Patriarch/Archbishop of Alexandria (E. A. W. Budge, <i>Cave</i> , p. 54). <i>Abbaton</i> signifies the Angel of Death, the main purpose of the text being to explain how death came to rule among mankind. Contains valuable material on the foreordained mission of the Savior and Satan's rebellion.	Timothy of Alexandria, <i>Discourse</i> ; Timothy of Alex- andria, <i>Abbaton</i>
Life of Abel	ca. 450- 550	"In the <i>Syriac Life of Abel</i> , either Adam is considered unworthy of performing his priestly function after his Fall, or the phenomenon of priesthood in general is relegated to the reality 'after and outside Paradise,' with Cain and Abel given the appellation 'first priests'" (S. Ruzer, <i>Abel's Blood</i>).	S. Brock, Abel

Text Name	Date	Description	Publication Reference
The Book of the Cave of Treasures (Arabic: Me'arath Gazze; Ethiopic: Ba'ata Mazagebet)	ca. 500	This text is "one of the most significant of the secondary Adam books" (M. E. Stone, <i>History of the Literature</i> , p. 91). The work dates in its current form to perhaps the sixth century, but with a substantial core of elements plausibly originating in the school of St. Ephrem (d. 373). On the question of dating, see C. Leonhard, <i>Date</i> , who posits a later date than Ri (A. S-M. Ri, <i>Commentaire de la Caverne</i> , p. 86). The book's name is "probably a double allusion, namely, to the Book as the storehouse of literary treasures, and to the famous Cave in which Adam and Eve were made to dwell by God after their expulsion from Paradise, [in] which gold, and frankincense, and myrrh [brought from the Garden of Eden were] laid up"—antici- pating the gifts of the Magi to the Christ child that symbolized the recovery of what mankind had lost (E. A. W. Budge, <i>Cave, Introduc-</i> <i>tion</i> , p. 16; cf. p. 69 See also M. Barker, <i>Hidden</i> , p. 25; D. Wilson, <i>Conflict</i> , pp. 46-49; <i>Excursus 53: Comparative Explorations, The Cave</i> <i>of Treasures</i> , p. 669). The cave can be seen in temple terms as a sort of replacement for the Garden of Eden, affording them protection from the world in their state of vulnerability, and providing privacy and security for the treasures that were kept therein (D. Wilson, <i>Conflict</i> , pp. 50-51; cf. J. M. Lundquist, <i>Fundamentals</i> , pp. 655-659). The narration summarizes sacred history through the resurrection of Christ, but the greatest attention is given to the early chapters of Genesis. The author endeavored to show how the mission of Christ was foreshadowed by the events and types of Old Testament History (E. A. W. Budge, <i>Cave</i> , pp. 33-39). Later Christian tellings of these stories (e.g., <i>The Book of Adam and Eve</i> , <i>The Book of The Bee</i>) drew extensively from portions of this earlier work.	An English translation was made in 1927 by Budge and is currently available in reprint editions. A more recent French translation and a com- mentary is available for the Syriac recension (A. SM. Ri, <i>Caverne Syriaque</i> , A. SM. Ri, <i>Caverne Syriaque</i> , A. SM. Ri, <i>Commentaire de la Caverne</i>). A modern French translation also exists for the Georgian recension (C. Kourcikidze et al., <i>Caverne Géorgienne</i>).
The Book of Adam and Eve (The Con- flict of Adam and Eve with Satan)	ca. 600- 900	In its current form, the text dates to no sooner than the seventh cen- tury (M. E. Stone, <i>History of the Literature</i> , p. 98), and no later than the ninth (J. A. Tvedtnes et al., <i>Traditions</i> , p. 219). However, despite its late dating, "Turdeanu argues that this work is, in terms of the themes discussed, closest of all the secondary Adam literature to the primary Adam writings" (cited in M. E. Stone, <i>History of the LItera- ture</i> , p. 99). Book 1 covers events from the Garden of Eden through the early years of Adam and Eve in exile. Eight confrontations with Satan are described. It ends with the death of Abel. Book 2 continues the story of conflicts with Satan and the narration of events to the time preceding the Flood, and Books 3 and 4 continue the story to the coming of Christ. A major object of Book 1 "is to connect the first Adam with the coming of the second, Christ; five thousand five hundred years after Adam's fall in Eden, and in fulfillment of the promise then made him of a Savior" (S. C. Malan, <i>Adam and Eve</i> , p. v). See D. Wilson, <i>Conflict</i> for a discussion of temple symbolism in this text.	Malan's 1882 English transla- tion is available separately (S. C. Malan, <i>Adam and Eve</i>) or as part of the much-reprinted popular edition of Platt (R. H. Platt, <i>Forgotten</i> ; R. H. Platt, <i>Lost and Forgotten Books</i>). The edition by Platt contains only the first two of the four Books, and lacks the notes of Malan.
History of the Creation and Transgression of Adam	After 400	Part one of the Armenian <i>Cycle of Four Works</i> . The cycle presents "an expanded version of the biblical account of the primordial history recorded in Genesis 1-11," focusing almost exclusively on events in the lives of Adam, Eve, and their immediate descendants (W. L. Lipscomb, <i>Armenian</i> , p. 13). This first work opens with the creation and revolt of the rebellious angels and continues to the point after the Fall where Adam and Eve are brought out of darkness into the light of this world.	W. L. Lipscomb, Armenian, pp. 108-127, 241-245, 261- 266.
History of the Expulsion of Adam from the Garden	After 400	Part two of the Armenian <i>Cycle of Four Works</i> . It gives an account of Satan's deception and the <i>cheirograph</i> of Adam. God promises deliverance through Christ.	W. L. Lipscomb, Armenian, pp. 128-141, 246-248, 267-269
History of Abel and Cain, the Sons of Adam	After 400	Part three of the Armenian <i>Cycle of Four Works</i> . The story of Cain and Abel, the killing of Cain by Lamech, and the good news of Seth's birth.	W. L. Lipscomb, Armenian, pp. 142-171, 249-254, 270-275
Concerning the Good Tidings of Seth	After 400	Part four of the Armenian <i>Cycle of Four Works</i> . The story of the seduction of the Sethites, the Flood, the covenant with Noah, and the settlement of his descendants.	W. L. Lipscomb, <i>Armenian</i> , pp. 172-205, 255-260, 276-282
History of the Re- pentance of Adam and Eve	After 400	The penance of Adam and Eve, and the stories of Cain and Abel, the gathering of Adam's descendants, Seth's quest for oil, and Noah's preservation and burial of Adam's bones at Golgotha.	W. L. Lipscomb, Armenian, pp. 210-233

Text Name	Date	Description	Publication Reference
The Words of Adam to Seth	After 400	"Adam tells Seth the story of his sin, for which Seth fasts and prays and is rewarded with a life-giving branch from the garden and the promise of Christ. Seth then tells the same story to his son [Enosh or Enoch]. Like Seth, Enoch responds with a penitent act, fasting and planting a garden, for which he is rewarded with translation" (W. L. Lipscomb, <i>Armenian</i> , p. 40).	W. L. Lipscomb, <i>Armenian</i> , pp. 206-209
Book of the Rolls (Kitab al-Magall)	ca. 500- 1100	Tvedtnes et al. describe this as "an Arabic text that claims to have been 'one of the hidden books of Saint Clement the Apostle, disciple of Simon Cepha" (fol. 89b), or Clement of Rome. It was probably written in Greek, somewhere between the sixth and twelfth centuries by a Christian seeking to defend Mary the mother of Jesus from Jewish criticisms, although only the Arabic version is known" (J. A. Tvedtnes et al., <i>Traditions</i> , p. 207).	Passages about the Creation, the Fall, and the Life of Adam and Eve from Margaret D. Gibson's long out-of-print translation have been re- printed as part of a collection by S. Day (see M. D. Gibson, <i>Rolls 1901</i>).
Chronicle of Symeon Logothetes (Symeon Meta- phrastes)3	ca. 950- 1050	Symeon is best known for his ten-volume "Lives of the Saints"— known as the <i>Menologion</i> because it was organized around the twelve months of the year. One of the principal sources for middle Byzantine history, his <i>Chronicle</i> includes a selection of Old Testament stories. This work "has been published under various names, includ- ing Theodosios of Melitene (or Melissenos) and Leo the Grammar- ian. Symeon relies heavily on George Hamartolos" (J. A. Tvedtnes et al., <i>Traditions</i> , p. 249). <i>Logothete</i> (= Greek "one who accounts, calculates or ratiocinates") was an administrative title given to responsibles in the Byzantine Empire. The epithet <i>Metaphrastes</i> (from Greek <i>metáphrasis</i> = compi- lation) comes from his role in assembling a book of the Saints' lives.	The first volume of a two- volume critical edition has appeared (S. Wahlgren, <i>Symeonis</i>). An English trans- lation by Walter K. Hanak from the Old Church Slavic text is currently in prepara- tion. Hogel has produced a monograph about the life and working methods of Symeon (C. Hogel, <i>Symeon</i>).
Caedmon Manu- script (MS Junius 11)	ca. 1000	Parts of Genesis, Exodus and Daniel in Old English verse, illustrated with many Anglo-Saxon drawings—48 for Genesis alone. Parts of the Genesis work appear to be a translation from a 9th-century Old Saxon original. The original manuscript is at the Bodleian Library in Oxford. The former attribution of the poems to the cowherd Caedmon is inac- curate and is no longer credited. Franciscus Junius, the Junius of the manuscript, published the first edition of its contents in 1655.	Doane has produced critical editions of the Genesis verse (A. N. Doane, <i>Genesis A</i> ; A. N. Doane, <i>Genesis B</i>). High- quality images of the manu- script are available online for private study (<i>Manuscript</i> <i>Junius</i>).
Hortus Deliciarum (Garden of De- lights)	ca. 1175	Herrad of Hohenbourg was a twelfth-century abbess under whose di- rection the comprehensive and copiously illustrated compendium of knowledge and salvation history called <i>Hortus Deliciarum</i> (Garden of Delights) was assembled. Preserved for centuries at the Augustinian monastery of St. Odile at Hohenbourg, it was placed in the municipal library of Strasburg about the time of the French Revolution. Though it was tragically destroyed during the siege of Strasburg in 1870, portions of the text and illustrations had been previously copied, enabling the later reconstruction and publication of the work.	Published in a lavish over- sized two-volume edition, un- fortunately now out-of-print (R. Green et al., <i>Hortus</i>).
Book of the Bee	ca. 1222	Tvedtnes <i>et al.</i> describe the book as being "written in Syriac by the Armenian-born bishop Shelemon (Solomon) of Basra (fl. ca. 1222 CE)[. It] uses the Bible and early commentaries on the Bible. It is closely related to the <i>Book of the Cave of Treasures</i> , the <i>Book of the Rolls</i> , and the <i>Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan</i> " (J. A. Tvedtnes et al., <i>Traditions</i> , p. 272).	Budge's English translation is available in reprint editions (Shelemon, <i>Book of the Bee</i>).
Vita Adae et Evae	ca. 1300	A mid-15 th -century manuscript in the National Library in Vienna, whose original by Lutwin was probably written in the early 14 th century. The Middle High German text was composed in the form of poetry, and is thought to be based on an unidentified Latin source incorporating elements "not included in any of the known versions of the <i>Vita Adae et Evae</i> [Latin <i>Life of Adam and Eve</i>]" (MB. Halford, <i>Eva und Adam</i> , p. 37; cf. p. 95. See also M. E. Stone, <i>History of the</i> <i>Literature</i> , p. 119).	See Halford's study and English translation (MB. Halford, <i>Eva und Adam</i>).
Rhymed History (Concerning the Creation of the World)	1300- 1400	A poem "by the renowned medieval Armenian poet Yovhannes T'lkuranc'i" containing "many exegetical and apocryphal expansions of the Genesis traditions" (M. E. Stone, <i>Selections</i> , pp. 167-168).	The English translations of selections from this work contains events from creation to the translation of Enoch (M. E. Stone, <i>Selections</i>).

Text Name	Date	Description	Publication Reference
Kebra Nagast (The Glory of the Kings)	1300- 1400	Tvedtnes et al. write that this "fourteenth-century Ethiopic document that claims to be based on an early Coptic text supposedly translated into Ethiopic by a man named Isaac. The colophons of manuscripts of the text claim that an Arabic version was translated from Coptic in the 409 th year of mercy, when Gabra Maskal (also called Lalibala) was king of Ethiopia (1314-1344)" (J. A. Tvedtnes et al., <i>Traditions</i> , p. 277).	The translation by Budge is available in reprint editions (E. A. W. Budge, <i>Kebra</i>).
The Book of the Mysteries of the Heavens and the Earth; Discourse Concerning the Mystery of the Godhead and the Trinity; Another Discourse Concern- ing the Birth of Enoch	ca. 1400	In its current form, the four works of the otherwise unknown Ethiopian author, Bakhayla Mika'el (Basalota Mika'el, Zosimas) and his son Isaac, are thought to be a product of the fifteenth century (B. Mika'el, <i>Book</i> , p. xxix). Purporting to be a revelation given by the angel Gabriel, <i>The Book of the Mysteries</i> explains hidden meanings of biblical narrative that continues through the resurrection of Christ, and briefly describes the signs of the Second Coming. A second work is an <i>Interpretation of the Vision of St. John</i> . The discourses on the <i>Godhead</i> and <i>Enoch</i> are shorter collection of miscellaneous Old Testament and New Testament explanations.	See B. Mikaèl, <i>Book</i> for an English translation. This was the last translation completed by Budge before his death.
Leabhar Breac	ca. 1411	Compiled in Ireland, this book contains, among other texts, stories of the <i>Creation of Adam</i> and of the <i>Creation and Fall</i> . These stories probably date from 900-1200. The story of Adam's having been created from seven components probably derives from a parallel account in <i>2 Enoch</i> 30:8.	M. Herbert et al., <i>Irish Apoc-</i> <i>rypha</i> , pp. 1-7.
Liber Flavus Fergu- siorum	ca. 1400- 1500	Compiled in Ireland, this book contains, among other texts, <i>The Fall</i> of Lucifer and the Fall of Adam, <i>The Penance of Adam</i> , <i>Distance of the</i> <i>Garden of Eden to the House of the Trinity, The Two Sorrows of the</i> <i>Kingdom of Heaven.</i> These stories probably date from 900-1200.	M. Herbert et al., <i>Irish Apoc-</i> <i>rypha</i> , pp. 8-21.
Adamgirk'	1401- 1403	Three epic poems in Armenian about Adam and Eve by Arakel of Siwnik' with typological components relating to the passion and death of Jesus Christ.	English translation in M. E. Stone, <i>Adamgirk</i> .
Concerning the Death of Adam	1624, 1634, 1666		M. E. Stone, Armenian Apocrypha 1996, pp. 209-212. No English translation is available.
Armenian Adam Fragment 1	1624, 1634, 1666		M. E. Stone, <i>Armenian Apoc-</i> <i>rypha 1996</i> , <i>p. 212</i> . No Eng- lish translation is available.
Armenian Adam Fragment 2			M. E. Stone, <i>Armenian</i> <i>Apocrypha 1996</i> , pp. 10-11. No English translation is available.
History of the Forefathers, Adam and His Sons and Grandsons	1689	Closely related to <i>Repentance</i> and to a lesser extent to the <i>Armenian Cycle</i> (M. E. Stone, <i>Armenian Apocrypha 1996</i> , p. 181), the story begins with Adam's departure from the garden and continues with the story of Enoch, including the account of the stele.	M. E. Stone, Armenian Apoc- rypha 1996, pp. 180-200
On the Fall of Adam	1700- 1800	A poetic dialogue between God and Adam after the Fall.	M. E. Stone, Armenian Apoc- rypha 1996, pp. 3-7
Concerning Adam and Eve and the Incarnation	1657- 1659	The document contains an expanded version of the biblical story of Adam and Eve, followed by a life of Christ drawn from the Gospels. It includes a story of Adam and Eve's contract with Satan (<i>cheirograph</i>). The text is closely related to the <i>Cycle of Four Works (Transgression</i> and <i>Expulsion</i>).	M. E. Stone, Armenian Apoc- rypha 1996, pp. 8-79
History of Adam and His Grandsons	1697	A brief chronology from Adam to the temple of Solomon.	M. E. Stone, Armenian Apoc- rypha 1996, pp. 80-100
Armenian Adam Story 1	1686	A version of the story of the <i>cheirograph</i> of Adam and the promise of Redemption through Christ.	M. E. Stone, Armenian Apoc- rypha 1996, pp. 101-108
Armenian Adam Story 2	1686	A story of Adam and Eve with an hour-by-hour chronology of their activities. An important objective is to show that as Adam sinned on a Friday, Christ was crucified on a Friday.	M. E. Stone, Armenian Apoc- rypha 1996, pp. 109-113

Text Name	Date	Description	Publication Reference
Question	1686	This Armenian Christian document "comes from a miscellany that was copied or compiled by one Markos in 1686" (J. A. Tvedtnes et al., <i>Traditions</i> , p. 286). It contains a narrative from the time of Adam through the wars of Gog and Magog in the last days.	M. E. Stone, Armenian Apoc- rypha 1996, pp. 114-134
The Eras of the World	1686	Composed of three chronological lists: <i>Concerning the Six Millennia,</i> <i>The Eleven Periods</i> , and <i>The Times of the Patriarchs.</i>	M. E. Stone, Armenian Apoc- rypha 1996, pp. 135-140
Abel and Other Armenian Pieces	1624, 1634, 1666	"Although the author of this Armenian text is unknown, the scribes of the miscellany from which it is taken were Sargis and Amiras of Erznka, who copied the manuscript in 1624, 1634, and 1666" (J. A. Tvedtnes et al., <i>Traditions</i> , p. 287).	M. E. Stone, Armenian Apoc- rypha 1996, pp. 141-157
The Sethites and the Cainites	1600- 1700	Excerpted from a miscellany, this text contains a longer version of an account similar to <i>Question</i> about the Cainites and Sethites.	M. E. Stone, <i>Armenian Apoc-</i> <i>rypha 1996</i> , pp. 201-206
Sermon Concerning the Flood	1657- 1659	Contains apocryphal expansions of the stories from the time of Cain and Abel to the time of the command for Noah to build the ark.	M. E. Stone, Armenian Apoc- rypha 1996, pp. 174-179
The Sons of Noah and the Genera- tions from Adam	1660	An expanded form of the traditions of the <i>Cave of Treasures</i> and the <i>Chronicle of Michael the Syrian</i> describing the descendants of the sons of Noah and the divisions of the earth among them (cf. e.g., Genesis 10; 2 Chronicles 1:5-21; O. S. Wintermute, <i>Jubilees</i> , 7:13-19, p. 69).	M. E. Stone, <i>Signs</i> , pp. 219-245.
Descendants of Adam		A brief fragment about the sons of God and the daughters of men, a description of Enoch's righteousness, and a genealogy until the time of Noah.	M. E. Stone, Armenian Apoc- rypha 1982, pp. 84-87
Lists	1624, 1634, 1666	The published text includes four lists: 72 Languages, Twelve Nations which Know Writing, Names of the Patriarchs, and Names of the Wives of the Forefathers and Patriarchs.	M. E. Stone, Armenian Apoc- rypha 1996, pp. 158-166