

Forschungen zum Alten Testament

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Konrad Schmid (Zürich) · Mark S. Smith (Princeton)
Hermann Spieckermann (Göttingen)

111



The Formation of the Pentateuch

Bridging the Academic Cultures of
Europe, Israel, and North America

Edited by

Jan C. Gertz, Bernard M. Levinson,
Dalit Rom-Shiloni, and Konrad Schmid

Mohr Siebeck

JAN C. GERTZ is Professor of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament at the Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg.

BERNARD M. LEVINSON is Professor of Jewish Studies and Hebrew Bible and of Law at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis.

DALIT ROM-SHILONI is Associate Professor of Hebrew Bible at the Department of Biblical Studies, Tel Aviv University.

KONRAD SCHMID is Professor of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament at the University of Zurich.

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Table of Contents

Jan Christian Gertz, Bernard M. Levinson, Dalit Rom-Shiloni, Konrad Schmid
Convergence and Divergence in Pentateuchal Theory – The Genesis
and Goals of This Volume 1

Part One

Empirical Perspectives on the Composition of the Pentateuch

Jan Christian Gertz
Introduction 11

Christopher A. Rollston
Inscriptional Evidence for the Writing of the Earliest Texts of the
Bible – Intellectual Infrastructure in Tenth- and Ninth-Century Israel,
Judah, and the Southern Levant 15

David P. Wright
The Covenant Code Appendix (Exodus 23:20–33), Neo-Assyrian
Sources, and Implications for Pentateuchal Study 47

David M. Carr
Data to Inform Ongoing Debates about the Formation of the
Pentateuch – From Documented Cases of Transmission History to a
Survey of Rabbinic Exegesis 87

Molly M. Zahn
Innerbiblical Exegesis – The View from beyond the Bible 107

Armin Lange
From Many to One – Some Thoughts on the Hebrew Textual History
of the Torah 121

Part Two
Can the Pentateuch Be Read in Its Present Form?
Narrative Continuity in the Pentateuch
in Comparative Perspective

<i>Jeffrey Stackert</i>	
Introduction	199
 <i>Jean Louis Ska</i>	
What Do We Mean by Plot and by Narrative Continuity?	201
 <i>Yairah Amit</i>	
Travel Narratives and the Message of Genesis	223
 <i>Joel S. Baden</i>	
Why Is the Pentateuch Unreadable? – Or, Why Are We Doing This Anyway?	243
 <i>Jeffrey Stackert</i>	
Pentateuchal Coherence and the Science of Reading	253
 <i>Jean-Pierre Sonnet</i>	
Does the Pentateuch <i>Tell</i> of Its Redactional Genesis? – The Characters of YHWH and Moses as Agents of <i>Fortschreibung</i> in the Pentateuch’s Narrated World	269
 <i>Joel S. Baden</i>	
Continuity between the Gaps – The Pentateuch and the Kirta Epic	283

Part Three
The Role of Historical Linguistics in the Dating of Biblical Texts

<i>Shimon Gesundheit</i>	
Introduction – The Strengths and Weaknesses of Linguistic Dating	295
 <i>Erhard Blum</i>	
The Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts – An Approach with Methodological Limitations	303
 <i>Jan Joosten</i>	
Diachronic Linguistics and the Date of the Pentateuch	327

<i>William M. Schniedewind</i> Linguistic Dating, Writing Systems, and the Pentateuchal Sources	345
<i>Thomas Römer</i> How to Date Pentateuchal Texts – Some Case Studies	357
<i>Noam Mizrahi</i> The Numeral 11 and the Linguistic Dating of P	371
<i>Jakob Wöhrle</i> There’s No Master Key! – The Literary Character of the Priestly Stratum and the Formation of the Pentateuch	391
<i>Frank H. Polak</i> Oral Platform and Language Usage in the Abraham Narrative	405
<i>Frank H. Polak</i> Storytelling and Redaction – Varieties of Language Usage in the Exodus Narrative	443
 <i>Part Four</i> <i>The Significance of Second Temple Literature and the Dead Sea Scrolls for the Formation of the Pentateuch</i> 	
<i>Bernard M. Levinson</i> Introduction	479
<i>Sidnie White Crawford</i> What Constitutes a Scriptural Text? – The History of Scholarship on Qumran Manuscript 4Q158	483
<i>Molly M. Zahn</i> Scribal Revision and the Composition of the Pentateuch – Methodological Issues	491
<i>Reinhard G. Kratz</i> Reworked Pentateuch and Pentateuchal Theory	501
<i>Richard J. Bautch</i> Holy Seed – Ezra 9–10 and the Formation of the Pentateuch	525
<i>Sara Japhet</i> What May Be Learned from Ezra–Nehemiah about the Composition of the Pentateuch?	543

Part Five
Evidence for Redactional Activity in the Pentateuch

<i>Konrad Schmid</i>	
Introduction	563
<i>Jean Louis Ska</i>	
Some Empirical Evidence in Favor of Redaction Criticism	567
<i>Christoph Levin</i>	
The Pentateuch – A Compilation by Redactors	579
<i>Konrad Schmid</i>	
Post-Priestly Additions in the Pentateuch – A Survey of Scholarship	589

Part Six
*The Integration of Preexisting Literary Material in the
Pentateuch and the Impact upon Its Final Shape*

<i>Joel S. Baden</i>	
Introduction	607
<i>Rainer Albertz</i>	
Noncontinuous Literary Sources Taken Up in the Book of Exodus	609
<i>Itamar Kislev</i>	
The Story of the Gadites and the Reubenites (Numbers 32) – A Case Study for an Approach to a Pentateuchal Text	619
<i>Karin Finsterbusch</i>	
Integrating the Song of Moses into Deuteronomy and Reshaping the Narrative – Different Solutions in MT Deut 31:1–32:47 and (the Hebrew <i>Vorlage</i> of) LXX Deut 31:1–32:47	631
<i>David P. Wright</i>	
Source Dependence and the Development of the Pentateuch – The Case of Leviticus 24	651

Part Seven
Historical Geography of the Pentateuch
and Archaeological Perspectives

<i>Jan Christian Gertz</i>	
Introduction	685
 <i>David Ben-Gad HaCohen</i>	
Biblical Criticism from a Geographer's Perspective – "Transjordan" as a Test Case	687
 <i>Israel Finkelstein and Thomas Römer</i>	
Early North Israelite "Memories" of Moab	711
 <i>Thomas B. Dozeman</i>	
The Historical Geography of the Pentateuch and Archaeological Perspectives	729
 <i>Jan Christian Gertz</i>	
Hezekiah, Moses, and the Nehushtan – A Case Study for a Correlation between the History of Religion in the Monarchic Period and the History of the Formation of the Hebrew Bible	745
 <i>Angela Roskop Erisman</i>	
For the Border of the Ammonites Was . . . Where? – Historical Geography and Biblical Interpretation in Numbers 21	761

Part Eight

Do the Pentateuchal Sources Extend into the Former Prophets?

<i>Konrad Schmid</i>	
Introduction	779
 <i>Baruch J. Schwartz</i>	
The Pentateuchal Sources and the Former Prophets – A Neo-Documentarian's Perspective	783
 <i>Cynthia Edenburg</i>	
Do the Pentateuchal Sources Extend into the Former Prophets? – Joshua 1 and the Relation of the Former Prophets to the Pentateuch	795
 <i>Thomas Römer</i>	
The Problem of the Hexateuch	813

*Part Nine**Rethinking the Relationship between the Law and the Prophets**Dalit Rom-Shiloni*

Introduction 831

Konrad Schmid

The Prophets after the Law or the Law after the Prophets? –

Terminological, Biblical, and Historical Perspectives 841

Marvin A. Sweeney

Hosea's Reading of Pentateuchal Narratives – A Window for a

Foundational E Stratum 851

Reinhard Achenbach

The Sermon on the Sabbath in Jeremiah 17:19–27 and the Torah 873

Georg Fischer

וּתְפִשֵׁי הַתּוֹרָה לֹא יִדְעוּנִי – The Relationship of the Book of Jeremiah to

the Torah 891

Dalit Rom-Shiloni

Compositional Harmonization – Priestly and Deuteronomic

References in the Book of Jeremiah – An Earlier Stage of a

Recognized Interpretive Technique 913

John Kessler

Patterns of Descriptive Curse Formulae in the Hebrew Bible, with

Special Attention to Leviticus 26 and Amos 4:6–12 943

Mark J. Boda

Reading Zechariah 9–14 with the Law and the Prophets – Sibling

Rivalry and Prophetic Crisis 985

Jakob Wöhrle

Jacob, Moses, Levi – Pentateuchal Figures in the Book of the Twelve . . . 997

Christophe L. Nihan

Ezekiel and the Holiness Legislation – A Plea for Nonlinear Models . . . 1015

Ariel Kopilovitz

What Kind of Priestly Writings Did Ezekiel Know? 1041

Michael A. Lyons

How Have We Changed? – Older and Newer Arguments about the
Relationship between Ezekiel and the Holiness Code 1055

Tova Ganzel and Risa Levitt Kohn

Ezekiel's Prophetic Message in Light of Leviticus 26 1075

Part Ten

Reading for Unity, Reading for Multiplicity – Theological Implications of the Study of the Pentateuch's Composition

Benjamin D. Sommer

Introduction 1087

Benjamin D. Sommer

Book or Anthology? – The Pentateuch as Jewish Scripture 1091

Markus Witte

Methodological Reflections on a Theology of the Pentateuch 1109

Jean-Pierre Sonnet

The Dynamic of Closure in the Pentateuch 1121

James W. Watts

Narratives, Lists, Rhetoric, Ritual, and the Pentateuch as a Scripture . . . 1135

Contributors 1147

Ancient Sources Index

Hebrew Bible 1151

Ancient Near Eastern and Epigraphic Texts and Papyri 1190

Deuterocanonical Works 1192

Second Temple Literature 1192

Texts from the Judean Desert 1192

New Testament 1194

Rabbinic Works 1194

Early Christian Writings and Greco-Roman Literature 1195

Medieval Writers 1195

Author Index 1197

Convergence and Divergence in Pentateuchal Theory

The Genesis and Goals of This Volume

Scholarly advance in the humanities often depends less on sensational new discoveries than upon the questioning and re-evaluation of what had become unquestioned assumptions.¹

The Pentateuch lies at the heart of Western humanities. With its notions of divine revelation and social transformation through historical action, it serves as a bed-rock document for Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. It contributes powerfully to areas ostensibly far removed from religion, such as the rich literary, intellectual, political, and artistic history of European and later North American civilization, and has also influenced Africa, Asia, and South America. Yet despite nearly two centuries of scholarship, the human origins of this monument of civilization remain shrouded in the past. Indeed, recent developments in scholarship have broken down an earlier consensus, making it even more difficult to date its source documents and gain access to the compositional process by which the Pentateuch first took shape. The traditional conception of a unified, self-consistent foundation narrative that begins with creation and extends to the eve of the Israelites' entry into the promised land of Canaan has long been given up. Critical scholarship has isolated multiple layers of tradition, inconsistent laws, and narratives that could only have originated from separate communities within ancient Israel and were joined together at a relatively late stage by a process of splicing and editing.

The so-called New Documentary Hypothesis, often associated with the name of Julius Wellhausen, had dominated academic discourse on the Pentateuch since the end of the nineteenth century.² It presupposes four originally independent literary sources (the Yahwist, Elohist, Priestly, and Deuteronomic sources, identified by the sigla J, E, P, and D), each with its own set of laws and narratives, which were joined together in stages to produce the composite text of the Pentateuch. Despite challenges and modifications, the explanatory power

¹ R.J. COGGINS et al., preface to *Israel's Prophetic Tradition: Essays in Honour of Peter R. Ackroyd* (ed. R.J. Coggins et al.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), vvi.

² J. WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001 [repr. from the 6th ed., 1927]); English translation, IDEM, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (trans. J.S. Black and A. Menzies; Scholars Press Reprints and Translation Series 17; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994 [1st ed., Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1885]).

of the model long permitted it to trump rival hypotheses or to incorporate them as minor modifications of detail (such as adjustments of chronology).

Recent developments in academic biblical studies, however, jeopardize the revolutionary progress that has been accomplished over the last two centuries. Over the past forty years, the source-critical method has come under unprecedented attack. In many quarters it has been rejected entirely: many scholars claim it no longer provides a secure starting point for investigating the history of Israelite religion or the literary formation of the Pentateuch. Recent decades have witnessed not simply a proliferation of intellectual models but, in many ways much more seriously, the fragmentation of discourse altogether as scholarly communities in the three main research centers of Israel, Europe, and North America increasingly talk past one another. Even when they employ the same terminology (for example, *redactor*, *author*, *source*, *exegesis*), scholars often mean quite different things. Concepts taken for granted by one group of scholars (such as the existence of the Elohist or the Yahwist sources) are dismissed out of hand by other scholarly communities. That breakdown in a shared discourse is where this volume seeks to make a contribution, by reflecting on methodological assumptions and the theoretical models that inform the discipline.

Admittedly, the evidence for or against the Documentary Hypothesis is at best indirect because only copies of copies, in infinite regress, are preserved: the oldest complete manuscript of the Hebrew Bible, the Leningrad Codex, dates to the year 1008 CE, more than a millennium after the events depicted in the Hebrew Bible.³ As a result, all arguments are based on internal content and literary analysis rather than independent, externally datable evidence. In addition, a series of methodological and demographic revolutions in academic biblical studies has drastically changed the playing field. Although numerous factors have played a role in bringing about these changes, the three most important are that (1) archaeologists have made numerous discoveries that challenge any direct correspondence between the textual presentation and a historical reconstruction of the religion and literature of ancient Israel; (2) the discipline of “Old Testament” studies, long dominated by Protestant scholars in Europe and North America working with implicit Christian theological paradigms, has been irrevocably transformed by the emergence of Israeli biblical scholarship and by societal changes that permitted greater numbers of Jews to gain academic positions at American universities;⁴ and (3) new methodological insights

³ The Leningrad Codex is catalogued as Firkowitch B19A in the Russian National Library. See D.N. FREEDMAN et al. (eds.), *The Leningrad Codex: A Facsimile Edition* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans; Leiden: Brill, 1998).

⁴ In continental Europe, Jewish scholars could not hold tenured positions in biblical studies, because all such chairs were housed in faculties of Protestant or Catholic theology, which, according to the *Konfessionsvorbehalt*, restricted both faculty appointments and the awarding of doctoral degrees along confessional lines. Jews with interests in academic religious studies were forced into other fields, such as rabbinics or Assyriology, or into exclusively Jewish

have directed increased attention to forms of scribal creativity (such as textual reworking and commentary) and to stages of Judean history (such as the exile and the Second Temple period) that were previously marginalized. As a result, traditional paradigms have been rejected as untenable, and new perspectives are constantly being generated.

Yet, the lack of a shared intellectual discourse hampers what might otherwise be a moment of opportunity in the creative development of the discipline. In the three major centers of research on the Pentateuch – North America, Israel, and Europe – scholars tend to operate from such different premises, employ such divergent methods, and reach such inconsistent results that meaningful progress has become impossible. The models continue to proliferate but the communication seems only to diminish.

In Israeli scholarship, the Documentary Hypothesis in one or another of its classical forms continues to be highly esteemed. Some scholars working at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in particular see the future of pentateuchal scholarship in the refinement rather than the abandonment of the sources J, E, P, and D for the reconstruction of the compositional history of the Pentateuch. The Priestly texts of the Pentateuch have garnered special interest, along with the Holiness Legislation. They have been examined more profoundly in the Israeli context than elsewhere in biblical studies, and the results are revolutionary. Examining this literature against the background of cultic and legal material recovered from the ancient Near East has led to a new appreciation of the Priestly source's historical integrity, antiquity, creativity, and cultural significance. A thorough reassessment of the stages of composition of the Priestly literature has yielded an entirely new approach to the formation of this corpus and the interrelationship of its constituent parts.

The European discussion has moved in such a different direction that it has become all but unintelligible in the Israeli academic context. Scholars on the European continent predominantly view the Pentateuch as composed from thematic blocks (primeval history, ancestral history, Moses-exodus story) rather than documentary sources. Indeed, the two sources that under the older model provided the most reliable window into the earliest period of Israelite religion – the Yahwist and the Elohist – are now treated with extreme skepticism by most European scholars, who dispute their antiquity if not their very existence. European scholars focus instead on differentiating between Priestly and non-Priestly text complexes. Finally, a number of European scholars contend that there was no connection between Genesis and Exodus in any pre-Priestly texts and shift the date of much of the Pentateuch to the Persian period (539–331 BCE).

In North America, as in Israel, scholarship still largely supports the Docu-

institutions such as the Jewish Theological Seminary at Breslau (1854–1939) or the Lehrhaus in Frankfurt founded by Franz Rosenzweig in 1920 and reopened by Martin Buber in 1933. Such issues continue to affect the discipline.

mentary Hypothesis and places a large number of text complexes in the preexilic period. Because of the very different structure of graduate education, North American scholars tend to draw more intensively on ancient Near Eastern and Second Temple literature (like the Dead Sea Scrolls) in attempting to construct their models. They often contend that the current proliferation of European hypotheses is theory driven and self-generated without adequate consideration of comparative literary evidence.

In effect, three independent scholarly discourses have emerged. Each centers on the Pentateuch, each operates with its own set of working assumptions, and each is confident of its own claims. This volume seeks to further the international discussion about the Pentateuch in the hope that the academic cultures in Israel, Europe, and North America can move toward a set of shared assumptions and a common discourse.

Like the Pentateuch itself, this volume has a long and multilayered compositional history. The point of departure was an international research group entitled *Convergence and Divergence in Pentateuchal Theory: Bridging the Academic Cultures of Israel, North America, and Europe*, which was convened at the Israel Institute for Advanced Studies (IIAS) in Jerusalem from September 2012 through June 2013. For the first time in the history of the discipline, an internationally representative, long-term research group was convened at an Institute for Advanced Studies in the attempt to overcome the fragmentation in the field of academic biblical studies. The IIAS is remarkable for its commitment to interdisciplinary research and its focus on creating research teams composed of international scholars.

The research group was established to investigate the scholarly debate regarding the formation of the Pentateuch and to trace the genealogy of the three diverging academic cultures involved. By bringing together an international team composed of the leading advocates of the competing positions, and by creating a structured series of intellectual encounters, the research group attempted to break free of the intellectual impasse, foster meaningful communication, and permit new knowledge to develop. The idea and initiative for the research group came from Bernard M. Levinson, who in close collaboration with Konrad Schmid (Zurich) and Baruch J. Schwartz (Jerusalem) prepared the formal research proposal. The research group consisted of eight members: Jan Christian Gertz, Shimon Gesundheit, Sara Japhet, Levinson, Schmid, Schwartz, Dalit Rom-Shiloni, and Benjamin D. Sommer. In addition, Joel S. Baden and Jeffrey Stackert contributed as short-term guests for approximately one month each. Ariel Kopilovitz served as research assistant.

The first, extensive stage of the group's intellectual work, which took place from September to December 2012, was directed toward the investigation of the emergence of the distinct academic cultures in pentateuchal research. In this phase, each member of the group selected a publication of his or her own that was deemed characteristic of his or her work; each of these was assigned in turn

for reading and critique. These presentations contextualized the selections by providing the scholar's own view of his or her basic methodological standpoint and assumptions.

In a second phase, the group devoted a significant amount of time to the discussion of specific biblical texts, such as the Joseph story in the book of Genesis or the plague cycle in the book of Exodus. These portions of the Pentateuch provide many peculiarities and difficulties for readers, and there are different ways to evaluate these texts in terms of their historical genesis. Some of the group members defended a source-critical approach; others, while not denying that the Pentateuch is composed of sources, placed more emphasis on redactional expansions of preexisting texts. Each member of the group benefited from the rare opportunity to study these texts intensively in the company of colleagues in the field.

In the third phase, the group discussed basic differences regarding historical-exegetical methods and also turned more closely to legal texts of the Pentateuch and their early reception. Seminars were given by members of the group who had published on the dating of pentateuchal texts, on the relationship between the legal collections of the Pentateuch, and on the evidence provided by Ezra–Nehemiah for understanding the formation of the Pentateuch.

Further academic guests lecturing to the group included Ed Greenstein (Bar-Ilan University), Steven E. Fassberg (Hebrew University), Itamar Kislev (University of Haifa), Armin Lange (University of Vienna), Naphtali Meshel (Princeton University; now Hebrew University), Frank Polak (Tel Aviv University), Alexander Rofé (Hebrew University), and Emanuel Tov (Hebrew University). Invited colleagues and doctoral students from the Hebrew University helped strengthen the group's ties to the local academic community in the field of Hebrew Bible.

As a preliminary capstone to its work, the group organized an international conference (bearing the same title as the research group), which took place at the IIAS on May 12–13, 2013. In addition to the members of the group, the list of chairs and speakers included an additional nineteen scholars from Israel and abroad. A second and much larger international conference, with fifty scholars on the program, entitled *The Pentateuch within Biblical Literature: Formation and Interaction*, took place at the IIAS on May 25–29, 2014. Grant applications by Dalit Rom-Shiloni and by Jan Christian Gertz were essential in funding these conferences, which could not have taken place without the generous support provided by both Israeli and German foundations committed to furthering international research: the IIAS, the Israel Science Foundation, the Fritz Thyssen Foundation, and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. Seeking to bring its goals to the attention of colleagues more broadly, the group also organized panels at the World Congress of Jewish Studies in Jerusalem (July 30–Aug. 1, 2013) and the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in Baltimore (Nov. 17–20, 2013).

This volume has been organized into ten parts, each representing a theme that the editors thought important in order to move the discipline forward. Each part has been provided with its own introduction that seeks to highlight the larger intellectual goals and rationales of the papers included. Each of the fifty-six essays, contributed by forty-nine international colleagues, has gone through a process of peer review. In the selection and organization of the ten parts, the authors have sought to reframe conventional approaches to the question of the formation of the Pentateuch, bringing to bear historical linguistics, material culture, geography, and the literature of the Second Temple period:

1. Empirical Perspectives on the Composition of the Pentateuch
2. Can the Pentateuch Be Read in Its Present Form? Narrative Continuity in the Pentateuch in Comparative Perspective
3. The Role of Historical Linguistics in the Dating of Biblical Texts
4. The Significance of Second Temple Literature and the Dead Sea Scrolls for the Formation of the Pentateuch
5. Evidence for Redactional Activity in the Pentateuch
6. The Integration of Preexisting Literary Material in the Pentateuch and the Impact upon Its Final Shape
7. Historical Geography of the Pentateuch and Archaeological Perspectives
8. Do the Pentateuchal Sources Extend into the Former Prophets?
9. Rethinking the Relationship between the Law and the Prophets
10. Reading for Unity, Reading for Multiplicity: Theological Implications of the Study of the Pentateuch's Composition

Extensive effort has been placed on bringing to bear the relationship of the prophetic corpus to the Pentateuch, with special attention to matters of inner-biblical exegesis and textual allusion as potentially providing new evidence for standard assumptions about textual dating and literary development. The question of the relation between synchronic and diachronic methodology has also been explored. The volume aims, in these ways, less to provide a set of final answers than to open a dialogue that includes proponents of multiple positions, creating a shared conversation and inviting further participation and response.⁵

⁵ The editors wish to acknowledge the international grant support that made the original research year, the two conferences, and this volume possible. Gratitude goes first and foremost to the Israel Institute for Advanced Studies (Jerusalem) for its extraordinary support and remarkable staff. The encouragement of its director, Michal Linial, who fondly called us the *Tanakhstim*, meant a great deal. Major support was also provided by the European Institutes for Advanced Studies Fellowship Program and by the European Commission under the Marie Curie Scheme. Crucial support for funding the two conferences organized by the research group and for the publication of this volume was provided by the Israel Science Foundation, the Fritz Thyssen Foundation (Cologne), and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (Bonn). Important support has been provided by the University of Zurich, Heidelberg University, the University of Tel Aviv, and the University of Minnesota. Without the dedicated, professional academic editing services provided by Sarah Shectman and the remarkable production skills of Samuel Arnet (Zurich), the volume would not have seen the light of day.

Only the reader can decide whether the research group has achieved its goals. After having devoted himself to the study of the Pentateuch for many years, Julius Wellhausen finally became weary of the field. In 1889, while teaching at Marburg, he received a *Ruf* (call) to be appointed to the chair in Old Testament at Eberhard Karls University of Tübingen, one of Europe's oldest universities. Declining that offer in a letter to the minister of culture of Baden-Württemberg, Wellhausen wrote:

Mich interessieren die Themata der Vorlesungen nicht, mich langeweilt der Pentateuch und die kritische Analyse und das Altersverhältnis der Quellen.

[I am not interested in the topics of the lectures. I am bored with the Pentateuch, critical analysis, and the relationship between the sources.]⁶

With contributions that focus closely on the biblical text while asking new questions from a full range of methodological perspectives, we hope to help the reader avoid Wellhausen's *ennui*.

Jan Christian Gertz
Bernard M. Levinson
Dalit Rom-Shiloni
Konrad Schmid

⁶ J. WELLHAUSEN, *Briefe* (ed. R. Smend et al.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 247 (letter of January 12, 1890).

Part One

Empirical Perspectives on the Composition of the Pentateuch

Introduction

Jan Christian Gertz

The reconstruction of the formation of the Pentateuch is still an equation with several unknowns. Perhaps it will always remain an unsolved riddle. In terms of external evidence, the texts and traditions combined to form the given Pentateuch are lost – most likely forever. Nearly unknown are the social and historical circumstances of the formation of the Pentateuch and its parts. And finally, we know hardly anything about the biblical writers who fashioned the narratives and laws of the Pentateuch by combining separate but complementary written traditions. What we think we know about the formation of the Pentateuch is based on internal critical analysis of the Pentateuch. The evidence for or against the Supplementary Hypothesis, the Documentary Hypothesis, and the Fragmentary Hypothesis or the various combinations thereof is, at best, indirect.

In the history of research, phenomena such as anachronisms, inconsistencies, contradictions, and thematic and stylistic variations within the books of the Pentateuch were rightly considered incompatible with the traditional view of uniform date or homogeneous authorship. They were more convincingly explained by the supposition of textual growth. It is a plausible hypothesis that the Pentateuch was formed by the combination of separate written traditions, and it is possible for modern scholarship to retrace these processes to some extent. However, beyond this general agreement on the historical growth of biblical literature, there is little consensus in scholarship on the formation of the Pentateuch. Unfortunately, estimations such as “this text is incoherent” or “this thematic or stylistic variation is in no way comparable with the suggestion of a single author” are highly subjective. An argument that some may consider self-evident may be regarded by others as weak. The evaluation of textual evidence is especially controversial concerning the ability to reconstruct the preliminary stages of the text and its literary growth precisely. Further contentious issues are the proof of textual influence and the determination of textual dependence. No less debated, of course, is the general idea of the literary history of ancient Israel, to which the respective hypotheses on the formation of the Pentateuch belong.

Reconstructing the formation of the Pentateuch is a historical issue – even if one disregards the historical question and thinks only in terms of literary analysis. As a result, it is necessary to ask for historical analogies and for the

correlation of historical phenomena:¹ are there analogies for the assumption that the Pentateuch as a whole can be divided into four sources? In the light of historically demonstrable literary processes, is it plausible to assume that the received Pentateuch is the work of a single compiler who combined nearly completely preserved sources and abstained from reworking and reformulating them? Is there an empirical basis for scholarly confidence in reconstructing the growth of the text in every detail? Is there empirical evidence for a series of unlimited smaller adaptations?

Concrete analogies would enable those doing source criticism or history of redaction to base their work on something more than subjective self-evidence. Naturally, the search for analogies is not new. Three decades ago, Jeffrey Tigay prepared the introduction to his inspiring edited volume, *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism*, at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Jerusalem. It is therefore fitting that the present volume similarly emerges out of a research year and two associated conferences convened at the same institute. In his engaging introduction, Tigay mentioned analogies adduced on the basis of Chronicles, the Qumran Scrolls, the Septuagint, ancient Near Eastern literature, and the nature of the cultural milieu in which biblical literature was produced.² Every single “empirical model” shows that ancient writers created their literary works out of distinct and overlapping written sources or by supplementing one source with another.

Concrete analogies could function as models of literary development, providing the critic with firsthand experience with compilers’ or redactors’ techniques. But where can we find appropriate analogies demonstrating more than the general conditions of literary production in the ancient Near East? Given the relative paucity of evidence from the Bible itself or the time of the formation of the early stages of the Pentateuch, the Qumran scrolls and certain postbiblical texts like the book of Jubilees become attractive as models of literary development. Yet, one cannot rule out the possibility that some of the techniques reflected in the postbiblical material are different from those used earlier by the biblical authors. The analogies are thus not perfect. They are not a “primary source” for the techniques of Israelite writers in the earlier periods. Nevertheless, analogies can show what is possible or realistic by presenting what happened elsewhere. In so doing, they can aid in evaluating the historical realism of an existing theory of the formation of the Pentateuch. Like every historical analogy, they are a proof of plausibility. They serve to indicate which compositional technique might

¹ See E. TROELTSCH, “Über historische und dogmatische Methode in der Theologie,” in IDEM, *Zur religiösen Lage, Religionsphilosophie und Ethik*, vol. 2 of *Gesammelte Schriften* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1913), 729–753.

² J. H. TIGAY, introduction to *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism* (ed. J. H. Tigay; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 1–20.

plausibly have been used by the biblical writers by demonstrating what was done in culturally and historically similar contexts.

Tigay's question has received new attention in recent research, as can be seen in the present volume. Besides the part entitled "Empirical Perspectives on the Composition of the Pentateuch," Reinhard G. Kratz and Molly M. Zahn address the question in the part "Second Temple Literature and Its Importance for the Formation of the Pentateuch." Moreover, Jean Louis Ska and Cynthia Edenburg explicitly deal with the topic in the part "Evidence for Redactional Activity in the Pentateuch."

Inscriptional Evidence for the Writing of the Earliest Texts of the Bible

Intellectual Infrastructure in Tenth- and Ninth- Century Israel, Judah, and the Southern Levant

Christopher A. Rollston

Introduction

The dating of biblical materials has long been, and shall always be, the subject of much discussion and dispute.¹ As part of some of the discussions and disputes regarding the origins of the earliest biblical materials, some very fine scholars have argued that the capacity for writing texts of substance and sophistication was simply not present in Israel or Judah prior to the eighth century BCE. For this reason, these scholars contend that the origins of the earliest biblical materials cannot antedate the eighth century BCE. For example, Thomas L. Thompson has written that “we cannot seek an origin of literature in Palestine prior to the eighth, or perhaps even better the seventh century.”² Similarly, regarding the Southern Kingdom of Judah, Israel Finkelstein states that he

¹ I am grateful to the National Endowment for the Humanities (Washington, DC), the Albright Institute of Archaeological Research (Jerusalem), and the American Center of Oriental Research (Amman) for grants, fellowships, and libraries that permitted me to conduct the research in this article. In addition, I am indebted to the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, the Amman Citadel Museum, the Israel Antiquities Authority, the Israel Museum (Jerusalem), the Rockefeller Museum (Jerusalem), the Directorate General of Antiquities of Lebanon, the National Museum of Beirut, the Harvard Semitic Museum, the British Museum, and the University of Pennsylvania for permission to collate inscriptions in their collections. As always, I am grateful to Bruce Zuckerman and Marilyn Lundberg of West Semitic Research for photographic and digital expertise and good counsel. I am also grateful to George Washington University for providing research funds for assistance with the completion of this article, to my research assistant Nathaniel E. Greene for his assistance with digital matters, and to Adam Bean for reading a penultimate version of this manuscript and making useful suggestions. Finally, I wish to thank my dear friend Bernard M. Levinson for facilitating my invitation to be part of the Jerusalem Symposium on the Pentateuch in May 2013, a presentation that formed the basis for this article.

² T.L. THOMPSON, *Early History of the Israelite People from the Written and Archaeological Sources* (SHCANE 4; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 391.

has “argued time and again [that] archaeology shows that meaningful scribal activity appeared in Jerusalem only with the rise of Judah to full statehood in the late eighth century B.C.E.” For this reason, Finkelstein concludes that the “composition of literary works” in Judah could not antedate the eighth century BCE.³ Regarding the Northern Kingdom of Israel, he has stated that “one can expect large-scale building activities such as the ones carried out at Samaria, Jezreel, and the other Omride sites and a prosperous economy to be accompanied by an advanced bureaucratic apparatus, including writing,” but he then goes on to state that “evidence of writing in the entire region in the early ninth century is sparse. In fact, not a single early ninth-century B.C.E. inscription has thus far been found in the heartland of Israel – at Samaria, Jezreel, Megiddo, Yokneam, and Taanach.” He states further that “daily administration related to the recording of agricultural output is evident in Israel only in the first half of the eighth century B.C.E., first and foremost in the Samaria ostraca.” He is, of course, aware that someone might contend that “most scribal activity was carried out on papyrus and parchment” (and thus perished during the course of time), but he argues that there is also an absence of monumental inscriptions in Northwest Semitic until “the second half of the ninth century, for example, the Mesha and Tel Dan inscriptions.” He then concludes that “literacy and scribal activity during the time of the Omrides was weak at most.”⁴ Regarding the Hebrew Bible, therefore, Finkelstein states that “assembling all available data for scribal activity in Israel and Judah reveals no evidence of writing before approximately 800 B.C.E. In fact, it shows that meaningful writing in Israel began in the first half of the eighth century, while in Judah it commenced only in the late eighth and more so in the seventh century B.C.E.” Then he asserts that “past ideas regarding the date of compilation of biblical texts were based on the testimony of the Bible and hence fell prey to circular reasoning. Recent archaeological and biblical research has made it clear that no biblical text could have been written before circa 800 B.C.E. in Israel and about a century later in Judah.” Along those same lines, he contends that “this means that the earliest northern texts, such as the core of the Jacob cycle in Genesis, were probably put in writing in the first half of the eighth century, during the period of prosperity in Judah, especially under the long reign of Jeroboam II. This indicates, in turn, that ninth-century B.C.E. and earlier memories could have been preserved and transmitted only in oral form.”⁵

³ I. FINKELSTEIN, “Digging for the Truth: Archaeology and the Bible,” in *The Quest for the Historical Israel* (ed. B. B. Schmidt; ABS 17; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007), 9–20, here 12.

⁴ I. FINKELSTEIN, *The Forgotten Kingdom: The Archaeology and History of Northern Israel* (SBL Ancient Near Eastern Monographs 5; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 113–115.

⁵ FINKELSTEIN, *Forgotten Kingdom* (see n. 4), 162–163. For similar statements in earlier publications, see also IDEM, “Digging for the Truth” (see n. 3), 14, 17. It is worth noting

Ancient Sources Index

Hebrew Bible

Genesis

- 1 249, 250, 522, 547–548, 815, 821, 901,
903, 904, 910, 991, 1100, 1132, 1140
1–2 901, 1130–1131, 1135
1–9 529
1–11 212, 213, 509, 601, 863
1:1 1130
1:1–2:4 257, 1131, 1132
1:2 1131
1:3 270, 1112, 1131
1:4 541
1:7 541
1:8 548
1:11–12 548
1:14–18 548
1:20–22 548
1:20–27 1135
1:24–25 548
1:26 280
1:26–28 548
1:28 272, 277, 625, 821, 822, 901
1:29 270–271
1:31 1131
2 249, 250, 1100
2–3 567
2:1 1131
2:2–3 874–875, 876
2:3 1131
2:4 816
2:4–25 257, 1135
2:4–3:24 1112
2:6 332
2:10–14 729–730, 731, 742–743
3:5 535
3:7 418
3:14 952
3:20 567
4 567
4:2 988
4:11 952
4:21 892
5:5 319
6 1135
6–9 205, 399, 522
6:3 1133
6:5–7 1109
6:13 848
6:18 399
6:19 105
6:19–20 1135
7:1 399
7:2 105
7:2–4 1135
7:8 1135
7:9 105
7:11 400
7:12 400, 1135
7:13 400
7:15 1135
7:17 1135
7:17–20 461
7:24 1135
8:3 105, 1135
8:5 380
8:5–11 380–381
8:6 380, 1135
8:8 381
8:9 381
8:10 381, 1135
8:11 381
8:12 1135
8:21 272
8:21–22 1109
9 270, 272, 277, 655, 849, 991, 1031
9:1 272
9:1–5 821, 822
9:3 270–271, 272, 276
9:3–5 271
9:4 277, 495
9:4–5 271

Genesis (continued)

- 9:5 272, 655
 9:6 655
 9:9 272
 9:9–10 277
 9:25–26 952
 10 366
 10:7 731
 10:8–10 205
 11 862
 11–25 863
 11:3 279
 11:7 279
 11:26–32 229
 11:26–36:43 223
 11:27–30 467
 11:27–25:10 405
 11:28 366, 548
 11:29–30 410, 415
 11:30 408, 409, 410
 11:31 229, 322, 366, 548
 11:31–32 224, 393, 394
 11:32 395, 396
 12 318, 420, 862, 1135
 12–13 512
 12–25 212, 213, 214
 12–50 205
 12:1 230, 237, 318, 410
 12:1–3 467, 509
 12:1–4 229, 360, 363
 12:1–9 414
 12:2 409
 12:2–3 230, 413–414
 12:3 944
 12:4 395, 396
 12:4–5 229, 393, 394, 396
 12:5 396, 410
 12:6 233, 568–570, 570
 12:6–7 233
 12:7 410, 535, 805
 12:8 233
 12:10 415, 570
 12:10–20 336–338, 340, 344, 411, 414,
 472, 570–571, 585
 12:10–13:2 238
 12:11 337
 12:12 337
 12:15 338
 12:16 237, 318, 411, 570–571
 12:17 570
 12:20 571
 13 420
 13:1–2 237
 13:1–17 413
 13:2 318
 13:5 396
 13:6 393, 396, 416, 417
 13:10 417
 13:10–15 1133
 13:12 416
 13:14 417, 425, 436
 13:14–17 410, 411
 13:15 417
 13:17 232, 568–569
 13:18 233, 323
 14 209, 321, 324, 585, 594, 595
 14–15 420
 14:1–24 413
 14:13 323
 14:14 232, 321
 15 233, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323–324, 338,
 410, 548, 549, 550, 585
 15:1 321, 322, 324, 408
 15:1–12 414
 15:2 321, 439
 15:2–3 321, 408, 409
 15:3 321, 324, 439
 15:3–5 410
 15:4–7 322
 15:5 321, 438, 447
 15:6 322, 324, 440, 549
 15:7 229, 321, 366, 463, 548, 805
 15:8 410
 15:9 411
 15:9–10 411
 15:12 58, 92, 93
 15:13 238
 15:13–14 550
 15:13–16 92–93, 94
 15:14 324
 15:17 92, 93, 411
 15:17–18 414
 15:18 320, 549, 805
 15:18–19 321
 15:19–21 549
 15:20 549
 16 414, 420
 16:1–2 409

Genesis (continued)

- 16:7–11 71
 16:10 535
 16:13 417
 16:15 395
 16:16 395
 17 105, 420, 512, 514, 550, 1031
 17:1 319, 395, 463
 17:1–6 414
 17:1–22 233
 17:2 549
 17:4 549
 17:4–5 550
 17:7 549, 1031
 17:7–14 413
 17:8 549
 17:13 105, 1031
 17:15–22 414
 17:17 322, 409
 17:19 105, 1031
 17:23 395
 17:23–27 413
 17:24–25 395
 18 318, 903
 18:1–15 414, 420, 430
 18:1–33 233
 18:2 174, 417, 423, 424
 18:4–5 441
 18:7 416
 18:8 416, 441
 18:9–15 411
 18:11 409
 18:12 409
 18:13–14 463
 18:16–33 414
 18:17–33 1109
 18:21 417
 18:22–33 594
 18:24 417
 18:25 901, 1112
 18:26 417
 18:28–32 440
 18:32 901
 19 209, 901
 19–20 420
 19:1–22 414
 19:3 413
 19:21 417
 20 361, 411, 472, 1135
 20–21 88
 20–22 584, 585
 20:1 237
 20:1–18 238, 414
 20:9 845
 20:14 237
 20:15 237
 21 105, 209, 318, 420
 21:1 217
 21:3 395
 21:3–5 413
 21:5 395
 21:6–21 414
 21:8 417
 21:9–10 187
 21:16 417–418
 21:17 71
 21:19 418
 21:22–24 209
 21:22–32 413
 21:24 105
 21:33 232
 21:34 237
 22 203, 319, 320, 321, 363, 903, 904
 22:1 420, 1092
 22:1–19 213, 420
 22:3 411, 934
 22:4 417, 423
 22:7 420, 438
 22:8 417, 438
 22:9 1092
 22:13 417, 423, 424
 22:14 180, 304, 417
 22:16–18 320, 324
 22:17 321
 22:18 900
 22:19 232
 22:20 229
 22:23 229
 22:30 417
 23 105, 203, 233, 354, 413, 420, 585
 23:5 354, 418
 23:5–6 354–355
 23:9 412, 939
 23:10 418
 23:11 354, 417
 23:12 418
 23:13 354
 23:14 354, 355, 418

Genesis (continued)

- 23:18 417
 24 230, 245, 315–320, 321, 322, 324, 338,
 420, 599
 24:1–21 413, 414
 24:2–3 430
 24:3 315, 317, 319
 24:3–8 317
 24:4 317, 318
 24:5 318
 24:6 317, 318
 24:7 71, 75, 315, 317, 318, 319, 320, 805
 24:8 317, 318
 24:9 430
 24:10 229
 24:10–11 355
 24:13 355
 24:14–15 355
 24:15 229
 24:17 315
 24:21 315
 24:22–67 413, 414
 24:24 229
 24:32–33 440
 24:35 318
 24:36 318, 319
 24:37–41 317
 24:38 315
 24:40 71, 75, 319
 24:47 229
 24:55 174
 24:59 319
 24:62 319
 24:63 417
 24:64 417
 24:67 105, 319, 410
 25–35 212, 214, 851, 863, 865
 25–36 213
 25:1–12 413
 25:10 412
 25:11 234, 319
 25:19–26 396–398, 857
 25:19–36:43 223
 25:20 396–398
 25:21–26 398
 25:24 1002
 25:25 987
 25:26 395, 397–398, 1002
 25:27–34 857
 25:29–34 420
 25:30–31 438
 25:31 333
 25:33 333
 26 320, 321, 361, 866, 1135
 26:1 237
 26:1–14 238
 26:2 237
 26:2–5 214
 26:3 320, 321
 26:3–5 319, 320, 324
 26:4 321, 900
 26:5 321
 26:12 234, 318
 26:12–22 237
 26:13 318
 26:18 105
 26:23–25 234
 26:24 321
 26:34 105, 395
 26:34–35 230
 27 214, 987, 1005
 27–28 866
 27:1–45 857
 27:1–33:17 420
 27:25–35 430
 27:33 157
 27:36 1002
 27:37 157
 27:38 418
 27:41–42 991
 27:41–28:5 237
 27:43 229, 394, 1005
 27:43–45 237
 27:46–28:9 230, 857
 28 319, 584, 864, 865
 28:1 319
 28:2 319
 28:3 507, 508, 521
 28:4 322
 28:6 319
 28:9 105
 28:10 394
 28:10–22 234, 857, 858, 1003–1004, 1005
 28:11–22 304
 28:13 463
 28:13–15 474
 29 1005
 29–31 860

Genesis (continued)

- 29:4 394
 29:5 229
 29:6 495
 29:11 418
 29:13 420
 29:15 1005
 29:16–17 415
 29:18 1005
 29:20 1005
 29:25 1005
 29:27 1005
 29:30 1005
 31 856
 31:3 239
 31:5–13 239
 31:6 239
 31:10 423, 424
 31:11 71
 31:11–13 239
 31:12 424
 31:13 318
 31:14–16 239
 31:20 239
 31:22–54 859–860
 31:24 239
 31:25–54 238
 31:29–30 239
 31:34–35 239
 31:38 237
 31:41 237
 31:42 239
 31:43–32:1 214
 31:45 234
 31:46 616
 31:46–51 430
 31:47 239, 860
 31:49 239
 31:51–52 239
 31:53 239, 430
 31:54 234
 32 507, 508, 521
 32:2 71
 32:2–3 234
 32:4–33 857
 32:11 991
 32:22–33 234
 32:23 373
 32:23–27 1003
 32:23–33 999, 1002–1003
 32:25 522, 858, 1003
 32:25–32 507
 32:25–33 492–496, 507
 32:26 1003
 32:29 507, 858, 1003
 32:30 494, 508, 1003
 32:30–31 508
 32:31 508
 32:31–33 1003
 32:32 495
 32:33 508
 33 991
 33:1 423
 33:1–20 209
 33:4 418, 420
 33:5 423
 33:14 991
 33:17 214
 33:18–19 235
 33:19 233, 818
 34 209, 586, 866
 35 209, 507, 864
 35:1–7 598
 35:1–8 1004
 35:1–15 858
 35:2–4 235, 239
 35:7 235
 35:8 235, 319
 35:9–12 507, 508, 521
 35:9–13 1004, 1005
 35:9–15 235
 35:11 463
 35:13 1005
 35:15 1005
 35:16–21 235
 35:19 180
 35:23 180
 35:25 180
 35:26 180
 35:27 261
 35:27–29 235, 866
 36 224, 225
 36:2–3 105
 37 215, 1137
 37–50 212, 213, 365, 866, 994
 37:1 224, 260
 37:1–2 224
 37:1–50:26 223

Genesis (continued)

- 37:2 224, 260
 37:3–11 260
 37:9 373
 37:10 105
 37:11–18 260
 37:12 234
 37:13–17 234
 37:14 260
 37:18–36 866
 37:19–20 260
 37:20 989
 37:21–22 260
 37:22 989
 37:23 260, 423
 37:24 260, 989
 37:25 260
 37:26–27 260, 261, 866
 37:26–28 262
 37:27–28 105
 37:28 105, 237, 257, 260–262, 266
 37:28–29 989
 37:29–30 260
 37:31–35 260
 37:35 105, 901
 37:36 105, 257, 260–262, 260–262
 38 210, 230, 245, 586, 866
 38:1 105
 39 246, 438
 39–50 1137
 39:1 105, 237
 39:4 246
 39:6 246
 39:7 246, 425
 39:20 990
 39:22 990
 40:13 241
 40:15 989
 40:20 241
 41:14 989
 41:38–57 237
 41:46 395
 42:1–47:27 235
 42:35–38 866
 43:3 994
 43:8–9 994
 43:8–14 866
 43:11 157, 353
 43:29 423
 44:14 994
 44:16 994
 44:18–34 994
 45:4 262
 45:5 211
 45:6 215
 45:10 574
 45:16–20 237
 46–50 224
 46:1–4 235, 237
 46:1–27 224
 46:2–4 463
 46:3 217
 46:4 463
 46:10 230
 46:27 180, 181
 46:28 574
 46:34 574
 47:1 573, 574
 47:1–5 571
 47:1–6 573
 47:1–12 571
 47:2–4 573
 47:4 572, 574
 47:5 571–574, 573
 47:5–6 572–573
 47:5–12 572
 47:6 573, 574
 47:11 572
 47:19 535
 47:23 535
 47:27 574
 47:29–30 523
 47:29–31 237
 48 586
 48:1–19 224
 48:4 805
 48:10 420
 48:13–14 319
 48:15–16 319
 48:16 71
 48:17–20 319
 48:21–22 224
 49 586, 607, 866, 1113
 49:1 507, 523
 49:29–32 237
 49:29–33 238
 49:29–50:13 239
 49:33 224

Genesis (continued)

50 225
 50:8 574
 50:15–21 992
 50:19–21 211, 215
 50:24 320
 50:24–25 237
 50:24–26 239
 50:25 598, 817, 818
 50:26 598

Exodus

1 217, 219
 1–4 611
 1–14 1137
 1–15 216, 220, 361, 565, 603, 1137
 1:1 215, 617
 1:1–6 600
 1:1–22 457, 471
 1:5 180–181
 1:5–6 617
 1:7 217, 466
 1:8 217, 617
 1:9 217, 466, 617
 1:9–12 610, 613
 1:9–34:32 617
 1:11 574
 1:12 466
 1:12–13 181
 1:13 181, 603
 1:13–14 472
 1:14 180, 181
 1:15 471, 610
 1:15–22 610
 1:17 610
 1:20 707
 1:20–21 610
 1:21 471, 610
 2 68, 209, 219, 368, 610, 822
 2–4 474, 565, 581
 2:1–10 367, 456, 610
 2:4–8 707
 2:11–14 210
 2:11–15 610
 2:11–25 456
 2:15–23 611
 2:16–22 610
 2:23 467, 610
 2:23–25 610

2:24–25 463
 3 584, 749, 820, 1135
 3–4 509–514, 611, 1135
 3:1 512, 513
 3:1–6 457
 3:1–16 457, 458, 471
 3:1–22 611
 3:1–4:18 610
 3:2 74, 473, 512
 3:5 819
 3:5–7 510
 3:6 457, 462, 463, 464, 472
 3:6–8 462
 3:6–12 463
 3:7 461, 462, 463, 465, 551
 3:7–8 461
 3:8 143, 457, 461, 463, 749
 3:9 461, 462, 463, 551
 3:9–14 513
 3:10 462, 463
 3:11–12 513
 3:12 472, 511, 512, 513, 514, 522
 3:13 180, 464
 3:13–16 510
 3:14 464
 3:14–15 74, 218, 462, 1112
 3:15 180, 457, 464, 466, 474
 3:16 461, 462, 464
 3:16–18 513, 514
 3:16–20 512
 3:17–22 457, 458, 469
 3:18 513
 3:18–22 611
 3:20–21 612
 3:21–22 512
 4 507, 598, 611
 4:1 257
 4:1–2 446
 4:1–17 456, 457
 4:2 473
 4:4–6 511
 4:5 509
 4:6 180
 4:14–16 265
 4:17 257
 4:18 467, 611
 4:18–23 456
 4:19 467, 610
 4:19–20 610, 611

Exodus (continued)

- 4:19–23 456
 4:20 459, 473, 512, 513, 611
 4:20–26 508
 4:24–26 459, 496, 507, 508, 611
 4:25 467
 4:26 467, 611
 4:27 494, 512, 513
 4:27–28 492–496, 507, 508, 514
 4:27–31 512–513
 4:28 494, 513
 4:28–31 513
 5 565, 612
 5:1–2 513
 5:1–6:1 458, 469
 5:3 458
 5:3–19 612
 6 509, 511, 512, 523, 1135
 6–7 565
 6:2 463
 6:2–3 462, 1112
 6:2–8 218, 220, 221, 222
 6:2–12 509
 6:2–13 454, 469
 6:3–8 523
 6:4 507
 6:6 221
 6:8 180, 552, 821
 6:12 339
 6:20 707
 6:26–7:6 454, 469
 7–9 565
 7–12 399, 612
 7:8–13 264, 455, 469
 7:10 264
 7:10–11 265
 7:11 264
 7:11–12 267
 7:13 264
 7:14–15 612
 7:14–18 262, 457
 7:14–25 262
 7:14–12:39 612
 7:19 458
 7:19–20 262, 459
 7:19–24 458
 7:20 262, 264, 265, 458
 7:21 262, 263, 264
 7:21–22 262
 7:22 264, 265, 267
 7:23–25 262
 7:24 262–263
 7:25–8:11 457
 7:26–29 263, 265
 7:26–8:11 263
 7:27 267
 8:1–3 263, 266
 8:2 265, 266
 8:3 263–267, 264, 265, 268
 8:3–4 266, 267
 8:3–11 263
 8:4 265, 266
 8:11 263, 264, 265
 8:12–15 265, 267, 456
 8:13 264
 8:13–19 187
 8:14 264, 265, 267
 8:15 264
 8:16–28 457
 8:18 574
 9 470
 9–10 612
 9–11 565
 9:1–7 456
 9:1–12 469
 9:1–10:2 470
 9:8–12 455
 9:9–12 187
 9:11 267
 9:12 264
 9:13–21 456
 9:13–26 469
 9:14–15 469
 9:14–17 470
 9:16 470
 9:19 470
 9:22 470
 9:22–26 456
 9:24 470
 9:25 470
 9:26 574
 9:27–35 456
 9:35 264
 10 513
 10:1–2 470
 10:3–7 456
 10:7 263
 10:8–20 456

Exodus (continued)

- 10:19 187
 10:20 187, 264
 10:21–29 457
 10:27 264
 11 867
 11:1–10 456, 469, 470
 11:2–3 612
 11:10 264
 12 218, 565, 680, 764, 867, 868, 1097
 12–13 868
 12:1–14 455
 12:1–28 820
 12:8–9 529, 680, 1097
 12:9 917, 1098
 12:10 680, 1099
 12:11 680
 12:14–17 600
 12:15 680
 12:19 680
 12:20 680
 12:21–23 457
 12:25 457
 12:29 989
 12:29–34 457
 12:33–34 612
 12:35–38 512
 12:37 400–101, 574, 612, 700
 12:37–38 205
 12:37–42 885
 12:38 570, 612
 12:38–39 470
 12:39 612
 12:40–41 401
 12:41 401
 12:42 455, 470
 12:43–50 819, 820
 13–14 565
 13:1–2 274
 13:1–10 612
 13:1–16 867
 13:2 555–556, 867
 13:3–4 613
 13:3–10 455, 470
 13:5–10 613
 13:11–15 274
 13:12–14 556
 13:17–19 455, 470
 13:17–15:22 704
 13:19 239, 598, 817, 818
 13:20 612
 13:21 73, 74, 75
 13:21–22 71, 74, 455, 470, 552
 13:22 803
 14 399, 597, 599, 749, 819–820, 820, 906
 14:1–4 454, 470
 14:4 551
 14:5–7 457
 14:7 749
 14:8 551
 14:8–10 454, 470
 14:9 551
 14:10 187, 424, 457, 551
 14:11 749
 14:11–12 457
 14:11–14 457
 14:12–17 187
 14:13–14 457
 14:14 822, 823
 14:15–18 454, 470
 14:16 551
 14:19 71, 73, 74, 75, 598
 14:19–20 457
 14:19–21 187
 14:20 74
 14:21 457, 551
 14:22 551
 14:22–23 454, 470
 14:23 551
 14:24 71
 14:24–25 457
 14:25 74
 14:27 399, 457, 551
 14:27–29 454, 470
 14:28 399
 14:29 551
 14:30–31 457
 14:31 700, 750
 15 523, 607, 756, 757, 1113, 1137
 15:1–18 609
 15:1–19 595
 15:1–21 1109
 15:5 551
 15:9 551
 15:11 75
 15:14–15 1054
 15:15 693
 15:16 58, 75

Exodus (continued)

- 15:16–20 187
 15:21 609
 15:22 188, 612
 15:22–24 750
 15:22–26 187
 15:22–27 457, 473
 15:24 749
 15:25 473, 598
 15:26 598, 756, 757
 15:27 473, 612
 16 596, 616, 819, 885
 16:1 612, 698, 707
 16:1–3 454, 470
 16:3 749
 16:3–4 552
 16:4–5 457, 596
 16:6–12 454, 470
 16:13–14 616
 16:13–15 457
 16:15–21 454, 470
 16:19–36 886
 16:21 457
 16:22–26 454, 470
 16:23 616
 16:25–28 886
 16:26 143
 16:27–31 457
 16:28 895
 16:31 616
 16:32–33 454
 16:32–35 470
 16:34 454, 458
 16:35 454, 819
 17–19 455
 17:1 612
 17:1–7 458, 473
 17:3–5 187
 17:5 459, 473
 17:6 473
 17:8–13 473, 798
 17:8–16 458
 17:9 459, 473, 700
 17:9–10 473
 17:11 699
 17:12 473
 17:14 281
 17:16 459
 18 470, 471, 598, 615
 18:1 1054
 18:1–12 455
 18:13–15 187
 18:13–27 455
 18:20 916
 18:21 699
 18:25 699
 18:27 615
 19 514, 517, 518, 903, 1098, 1136
 19–20 614
 19–22 511
 19–24 69, 468, 471, 511–512, 513, 613,
 1132
 19:1 698, 707
 19:2 612
 19:3–6 465, 468
 19:3–8 595
 19:3–19 458
 19:4 473
 19:5 901
 19:6 276
 19:9 455, 469
 19:9–10 455
 19:9–19 517
 19:10 455
 19:18 520
 19:20 552
 19:20–25 455, 469
 19:21 520
 19:25 517, 518
 20 112, 113, 506, 518, 519, 521, 901, 1136
 20–23 369, 844
 20–24 862
 20:1 517, 518
 20:2 321
 20:2–3 473
 20:2–17 141, 142
 20:5 906
 20:5–6 69
 20:7 670
 20:8 876
 20:8–11 874–875, 885
 20:10 880
 20:11 142, 547, 876
 20:12–17 515
 20:17 141
 20:18 516, 517, 519
 20:18–19 515, 517
 20:18–21 458, 516, 518–519, 521, 522

Exodus (continued)

- 20:19 278, 279, 515, 516, 519
 20:19–21 484, 515, 517, 519, 520
 20:20 517, 519, 521
 20:21 488, 516, 519
 20:22 515, 516, 517, 518, 522, 552
 20:22–23 515
 20:22–24 518
 20:22–21:25 515
 20:22–23:19 609
 20:23 72, 515
 20:23–24 52
 20:23–26 49, 50, 51, 75, 662, 664
 20:24 50, 51, 52, 63, 64, 664, 666, 678
 20:24–25 279
 20:25 52, 666
 20:26 52
 21–22 455
 21–23 279, 280, 1136
 21:1 50, 447
 21:1–22:19 52
 21:2 888
 21:2–6 49, 495, 671
 21:2–11 48, 49, 51, 110, 651, 654
 21:7–11 49
 21:12 75, 654, 656, 667, 668, 672, 678
 21:12–14 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 672
 21:12–17 48, 668
 21:13–14 50
 21:15–16 667
 21:15–17 75, 654, 655
 21:16 668
 21:17 667, 668, 681
 21:18 668, 672
 21:18–19 654
 21:18–21 657, 658
 21:18–32 48, 49
 21:19 657
 21:20–21 654
 21:21 147
 21:22 657, 664, 666, 667, 668
 21:22–23 667, 678
 21:22–25 654, 656, 657
 21:23 655, 656
 21:23–24 653
 21:23–25 653, 654, 667, 668, 678
 21:24 659
 21:24–25 656, 659
 21:25 660
 21:26–27 654
 21:28 655
 21:28–32 654
 21:29 655
 21:30 657, 672
 21:31 657
 21:32 655, 657
 21:33–34 655
 21:33–22:14 678
 21:35–36 48, 655, 665
 21:36 656
 21:37 656, 665
 21:37–22:3 48
 22:2–3 655
 22:4–5 655
 22:5–6 187
 22:6–7 48
 22:6–8 655
 22:9–12 48, 656
 22:13–14 48, 656
 22:15–16 48, 49
 22:17–19 75, 655
 22:20–23 52, 662
 22:20–26 51
 22:20–30 51, 662–663, 664
 22:20–23:8 51
 22:20–23:19 49, 50, 75
 22:22–23 64, 669
 22:22–24 952
 22:23–25 666
 22:24 52
 22:25–26 52, 662
 22:27 51, 52, 63, 661, 663, 664, 666, 667,
 668, 669, 670, 676, 678
 22:28–29 555, 556, 663, 681
 22:28–30 51, 52, 663
 22:30 276, 280, 664
 23 1099
 23:1–8 51, 53, 56, 64, 66, 662
 23:1–19 455, 470
 23:3–8 72
 23:6–7 888
 23:9 52, 662
 23:9–12 51
 23:9–19 51, 662–663, 664
 23:10–11 52, 556, 662, 666, 667, 671, 873
 23:10–12 666
 23:11 271, 666
 23:12 52, 662, 873–874, 876, 884

Exodus (continued)

- 23:13 51, 52, 63, 72, 661, 662, 663, 664,
 666, 668, 678
 23:14 666
 23:14–19 51, 52, 273, 680
 23:15 273, 274
 23:17 274, 275
 23:17–19 663
 23:19 276, 279, 663, 664, 681
 23:20 58, 60, 63, 66, 71, 72, 73, 598, 820
 23:20–21 66
 23:20–28 61
 23:20–29 66
 23:20–33 47–85
 23:21 63, 66, 73
 23:21–22 55–56, 66, 72
 23:22 60, 61, 66
 23:23 58, 59, 60, 61, 66, 72, 73
 23:24 61, 63, 66
 23:25 53, 54, 63, 66
 23:25–26 53, 66
 23:26 53, 54
 23:27 59, 60, 66, 75
 23:27–28 58, 59, 66, 73
 23:28 61, 66, 72, 789
 23:29 70
 23:29–30 61, 66, 68, 699
 23:31 61
 23:32 62, 66, 70
 23:32–33 61
 23:33 66, 70
 24 281, 511
 24:1–2 101
 24:1–11 457
 24:3 281
 24:3–8 65, 101, 281, 507, 511
 24:4–6 522
 24:4–7 282
 24:4–8 468, 511, 512, 514
 24:7 281, 806, 1127
 24:9–11 101, 468, 613
 24:12 281, 646–647, 901
 24:13 798
 24:16 876
 25–29 592
 25–31 192, 341, 592, 613, 907, 1136
 25–40 522, 592
 25:1–31:17 647
 25:8 1032
 25:10 473
 25:10–22 615, 906
 26:3 341
 26:7 376
 26:8 376
 26:33 158
 26:34 158
 26:34–36 187
 28:3 1129, 1130
 28:16–17 187
 28:19–20 187
 29 514
 29:19–20 522
 29:20–22 187
 30 511
 30:37–38 187
 31:1–3 187
 31:3 1129, 1130
 31:6 1130
 31:12–17 877, 883, 890
 31:13 885
 31:14 886
 31:17 885
 32 72, 74, 363–364, 613, 748, 1131
 32–34 273, 274, 613, 614, 615, 869
 32:1 71, 72
 32:1–8 458
 32:4 274, 275, 363–364
 32:5 273
 32:6 273
 32:7 274
 32:8 273, 274, 275
 32:10–14 93, 94
 32:11–12 613
 32:13 93, 274, 275, 805
 32:15–30 458
 32:16 175, 459
 32:23 71, 72
 32:29–33 613
 32:34 71, 72, 73, 598
 32:34–35 75
 33 616
 33–34 74, 614, 1131
 33:1 74, 75, 275, 614
 33:1–22 458
 33:2 71, 72, 73, 75, 76, 598, 614
 33:3 71, 74, 75, 574, 598, 613
 33:3–6 74, 75, 614
 33:4 71, 75, 598, 613

Exodus (continued)

- 33:5 274, 275, 574, 613
 33:6 275, 613
 33:6–11 75
 33:7 276, 706
 33:7–11 76, 275, 276, 614, 616, 617, 706
 33:8 616
 33:10 76, 616
 33:11 798, 803
 33:12–17 613, 614
 33:12–23 74
 33:16 157
 33:18 74, 472
 33:22 74
 34 70, 273, 274, 275, 277, 613, 614, 844,
 868, 877, 903
 34:1 75, 281, 459
 34:1–4 455, 470
 34:1–5 458
 34:2–3 74
 34:4 74, 459
 34:5 75
 34:5–8 1109, 1112
 34:5–9 74
 34:5–10 458
 34:6 901
 34:6–7 74, 458, 613, 1112, 1113
 34:6–16 534
 34:7 248, 906
 34:9 74, 613, 901
 34:10 614
 34:10–16 69
 34:11–16 69
 34:11–27 71, 598
 34:11–28 458, 470
 34:12 70
 34:12–15 70
 34:14–26 273, 274
 34:15 70
 34:16 69
 34:17–26 69
 34:18–26 273, 874, 1098–1099
 34:19–20 273, 867–868
 34:19–26 1099
 34:20 273
 34:21 874, 876, 877
 34:23 274, 275, 877
 34:26 279
 34:27 459, 614
 34:27–28 455
 34:28 281
 34:28–29 75
 34:29–32 613
 34:29–35 454
 34:32 614, 615, 617
 34:33–35 614
 35–39 341
 35–40 192, 193, 592, 613, 907, 1131, 1136
 35–49 592
 35:1–36:7 455
 35:2 143
 35:3–5 187
 35:4–5 445
 35:6–9 445
 35:11 1033
 35:31 1130
 35:35 1130
 36:10 341, 342
 36:14 376
 36:15 376
 36:32–38 187
 36:34 310
 37:29 187
 38:1–7 187, 277
 38:26 700
 39–40 1121, 1130–1131, 1132
 39:8–19 187
 39:21 189–190
 39:32 1121, 1128, 1131
 39:42–43 1128, 1129, 1134
 39:43 1131
 40 514
 40:16–33 1128
 40:17 193, 707
 40:18 190
 40:18–33 1033
 40:20 193
 40:22 193
 40:29 277
 40:33 1131
 40:34 1134
 40:34–35 1033

Leviticus
 1–3 602
 1–7 607, 876, 1136
 1–15 370
 1–16 1015

Leviticus (continued)

- 1:1 276
 1:1–8 126
 1:4 968
 4:13 926
 5:1 952
 5:1–5 916
 5:6 926
 5:7 926
 5:12 157
 5:15 926
 7:18 968
 8–9 602
 8–10 592
 8:36 1128
 10:7 1128
 11 276, 277, 280, 539
 11–15 602
 11:1–2 187
 11:17 187
 11:21–24 187
 11:32 187
 11:40–42 187
 11:44–45 187, 527, 539
 13–14 659
 13–15 495, 876
 13:6–8 187
 13:15 187
 13:17–18 187
 13:51–52 187
 15:31 916
 16 602
 16:11–12 187
 16:20–22 677
 16:21 679
 17 276, 277, 1015, 1056
 17–26 1055–1074
 17–25 976, 1065
 17–26 276, 370, 533, 602, 680, 861, 954,
 1015–1039
 17:4 1034
 17:10–13 495
 17:11 277, 278
 17:14 277
 17:15 280
 18 538, 932, 933
 18–20 1056
 18–22 532, 541–542
 18–26 1015
 18:6–23 541
 18:20 1023, 1047
 18:24 541
 18:24–25 555
 18:26–28 187
 18:26–30 541
 18:27 541
 18:28 541
 19:3 890
 19:7 968
 19:8 669
 19:12 670
 19:19 534
 19:26 1023, 1025
 19:30 890
 20 538, 932, 933
 20:2 535
 20:2–5 669
 20:7 669
 20:9 681
 20:10 932
 20:20 1047
 20:22–26 527, 531, 532–535, 537–542
 20:24 533, 538, 539, 541, 934
 20:24–25 278
 20:25 533
 20:26 533, 541
 21 658, 660, 661, 681
 21–22 1056
 21:2 933
 21:6 670
 21:6–9 542
 21:17–23 658
 21:18 659, 660
 21:19 659, 661
 21:20 659
 21:21 659
 21:21–23 659
 21:22 659
 21:23 659
 22 681
 22:1–9 926
 22:1–16 924, 926
 22:4 535
 22:10 926
 22:11 926
 22:12 926
 22:13 926
 22:14 926

Leviticus (continued)

- 22:14–16 542, 924, 925, 926, 927
 22:15–16 926
 22:16 542, 927
 22:20 659
 22:20–25 658
 22:21 659
 22:22 659
 22:23 659, 661, 968
 22:24 659
 22:25 968
 22:27 968
 22:27–28 663
 22:27–29 680–681
 22:29 890
 23 680, 889
 23–25 680, 1056
 23:3 877, 888, 890
 23:4 750
 23:8 680
 23:10 680
 23:10–14 679
 23:10–21 679–680
 23:11 680
 23:14 680
 23:15 680, 1099
 23:15–16 679
 23:16 680
 23:17 680
 23:17–22 679
 23:18 680
 23:19 680
 23:20 680
 23:21 680
 23:23 679
 23:30 1042
 23:32 874
 23:34 526
 23:35–36 554
 23:36 917
 23:37 890
 23:39 554
 23:39–43 554
 23:42 526
 23:42–44 187
 24 70, 651–682, 681
 24:1–2 187
 24:2 149, 188
 24:10–11 664–665, 667, 670, 678
 24:10–15 679
 24:10–23 652, 678, 681
 24:11 670
 24:14 655, 674, 676, 677, 679
 24:15 665, 666, 667, 668, 670, 676
 24:15–16 661, 666, 667, 668, 670
 24:15–17 668, 680
 24:15–22 679
 24:16 659, 661, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669,
 670, 671, 678, 682
 24:17 654, 655
 24:17–18 654, 665, 668
 24:17–21 654, 659, 667, 675
 24:17–22 653, 667, 677
 24:18 654, 655, 656, 657
 24:19 658, 672, 675, 679
 24:19–20 654, 672
 24:20 655, 658, 679
 24:21 665
 24:22 682
 24:23 674, 679
 24:29 655
 25 603, 667, 680, 889
 25:2–7 666, 672
 25:3–4 666
 25:4 666
 25:7–9 187
 25:8 109, 110, 111
 25:36 1024
 25:36–37 1024
 25:37 1024
 25:38 322
 25:39–46 671
 25:43 1069
 25:44–46 603
 25:46 935
 26 358, 369, 370, 590, 831, 902, 903,
 943–984, 955, 956, 958, 1026,
 1027–1029, 1032, 1035, 1041–1054,
 1047, 1055–1074, 1056, 1075–1084
 26:1–2 1041
 26:1–39 945
 26:2 890
 26:2–35 979
 26:3 1043, 1069, 1082
 26:3–13 962, 1021, 1026, 1027, 1029–
 1035, 1034, 1038, 1041–1042
 26:3–33 978, 979
 26:3–39 1044, 1046

Leviticus (continued)

- 26:3–45 979, 980
 26:4 902, 957, 962, 1027, 1028, 1031, 1043
 26:4–5 1027
 26:4–6 1069, 1070
 26:5 1027, 1029, 1043
 26:6 957, 962, 1027, 1043
 26:6–8 962
 26:7 1043
 26:9 969, 970, 1030, 1031, 1043, 1044
 26:9–12 1030, 1033–1034, 1038
 26:11 902, 957, 962, 970, 1030, 1033,
 1034, 1043, 1071
 26:11–12 1034, 1043
 26:12 276, 902, 971, 1030, 1034, 1044,
 1071
 26:13 1021, 1022, 1027, 1029, 1069, 1070
 26:13–39 1067
 26:14 962, 964, 979, 1042
 26:14–23 962
 26:14–33 949
 26:14–38 1067
 26:14–39 965, 969, 1042, 1065, 1066, 1067
 26:15 902, 951, 962, 969, 981, 1043, 1082
 26:16 1043
 26:17 957, 962, 964, 1043
 26:17–28 187
 26:18 962, 969, 979, 1042
 26:19 957, 962, 1043, 1047, 1069
 26:20 962, 1043
 26:21 962, 969, 1042
 26:22 1043
 26:23 902, 962, 969, 1042
 26:23–24 962, 964
 26:24 962, 964
 26:25 962, 964, 969, 971, 1043, 1047, 1071
 26:26 962, 1043, 1068, 1083
 26:27 962, 969, 1042
 26:27–28 962, 964
 26:27–39 971, 972
 26:28 962, 964
 26:29 1082
 26:30 902, 964, 981, 1022, 1042, 1043,
 1047, 1053, 1071, 1072
 26:30–31 957, 962, 1071
 26:30–32 187
 26:30–33 1022
 26:31 977, 1043, 1061, 1080
 26:31–32 1067
 26:31–33 965, 1043, 1047
 26:33 902, 962, 1068, 1080, 1081
 26:33–34 979
 26:33–35 978, 1067
 26:33–37 978, 1067
 26:34 968
 26:34–35 977–978, 980, 983, 1066, 1067
 26:34–43 886
 26:35–39 978
 26:36 1043, 1081
 26:36–37 962, 979
 26:36–39 965, 979
 26:36–45 978
 26:37 1044
 26:37–38 978
 26:38 1042
 26:38–39 1042, 1043, 1044, 1046
 26:39 982, 1042, 1044, 1048, 1052, 1058,
 1059, 1066, 1067, 1068, 1081
 26:39–40 978, 1067
 26:39–41 1052
 26:39–45 972
 26:40 962, 971, 972, 979, 982, 1082
 26:40–41 962, 971, 972, 973, 982, 1050,
 1052
 26:40–43 971, 1067
 26:40–45 903, 967, 971, 972, 977–978,
 979, 980, 981, 983, 1042, 1048–1054,
 1065, 1066, 1067, 1076, 1081–1082
 26:41 962, 964, 965, 968, 971, 972, 1082
 26:42 969, 971, 1082
 26:43 889, 902, 971, 981, 982, 1082
 26:43–44 978, 1067
 26:44 973, 977, 981, 1042, 1051, 1067
 26:44–45 969, 971, 973, 978, 1067
 26:45 971, 1054, 1082
 26:46 615, 982
 27:11 934
 27:34 187, 615, 1128

Numbers

- 1–3 1136
 1–10 868, 869
 1:1 276, 707
 1:1–5 187
 1:46 700
 1:53 916
 1:54 1128
 2 622

Numbers (continued)

- 2:34 1128
 3:11–13 868
 3:26–30 187
 4:47–49 187
 4:49 188
 5:11–31 938, 940, 952
 5:28 535
 5:30 432
 6:22–26 368
 7 1136
 7:1 187, 188
 7:72 375
 7:78–80 187
 8:11–12 187
 8:19 868
 8:20 1128
 8:22 1128
 9:1 707
 9:5 1128
 9:13 669
 9:15 187
 9:15–23 576
 9:17–19 187
 9:22–23 187
 10:2–3 187
 10:11 698, 707
 10:12 691
 10:29 614, 615
 10:29–32 615
 10:29–12:8 475
 10:32 615
 10:33 73, 575, 576
 10:33–35 473
 10:33–36 615, 617
 10:34 575, 576
 10:34–36 574–576
 10:35 574, 576
 10:35–36 574, 575, 576
 10:36 574, 575
 11 616, 747, 749
 11:1 575
 11:1–3 747, 750
 11:1–35 617
 11:4–6 748
 11:4–17 615
 11:4–34 615, 616, 700
 11:6 750
 11:7–8 616
 11:7–9 616
 11:8 616
 11:9 616
 11:10 615, 616
 11:11 615
 11:11–12 75, 93
 11:11–14 471
 11:12 93, 615
 11:13 615
 11:14 615
 11:14–17 75, 93
 11:16 76, 636, 699
 11:16–17 471, 616
 11:20 74
 11:20–21 614
 11:21 700
 11:24 699
 11:24–27 76
 11:24–29 616
 11:24–30 75, 93, 471
 11:28 700, 798
 11:30 76
 12 1009
 12:1–8 789
 12:1–16 706
 12:2 706
 12:4–5 76
 12:7 549, 700
 12:9–15 76
 12:16 691
 13 569
 13–14 206, 220, 818–819
 13:2 569
 13:3 691
 13:12 187
 13:13 187, 188
 13:14–15 187
 13:15 188
 13:16–25 187
 13:17 569
 13:21 569
 13:22 361
 13:26 691, 703
 13:29–30 187
 13:30 934
 14 819
 14:4 552
 14:8 805
 14:11–21 94

Numbers (continued)

- 14:11–25 93
 14:14 74
 14:16 74, 93
 14:18 74
 14:19 74
 14:21–22 74
 14:22–23 74
 14:23 74, 93
 14:23–24 818
 14:24 807, 934
 14:25 707, 708
 14:31 96
 14:34 220
 14:44 473, 803
 15 278, 540
 15:20 706
 15:20–21 706
 15:26–28 187
 15:32–25 883, 890
 15:37–41 278
 15:40 278
 15:41 278
 16 249, 250, 496
 16–17 696, 705
 16:14 934
 17–18 859, 868, 869
 17:20–24 187
 17:24–25 697
 17:26 1128
 17:27–28 697
 18 1063
 18:5 916
 18:8–12 923, 924
 18:15 555, 556
 18:19 924
 19:1–22 707
 20 702, 748
 20–21 693, 695, 705, 709, 859
 20:1 698, 703, 706, 707, 708
 20:1–13 748
 20:3 697
 20:4 697
 20:4–5 748
 20:5 746–747, 749
 20:6 697
 20:8 697
 20:8–9 697
 20:8–11 552
 20:10 697
 20:12 697, 748
 20:14 692, 703
 20:14–16 703
 20:14–21 692, 701, 746
 20:16 71, 73, 692
 20:17 699
 20:18 702
 20:20–21 702
 20:21 702, 747
 20:22 693, 703, 706
 20:22–27 693
 20:22–29 697, 746
 20:22–22:1 689
 20:24 697
 20:27 1128
 21 688, 717, 720, 745–760, 748, 751, 758,
 759, 761–776, 902
 21–22 724
 21–24 475
 21:1–3 219, 691, 769
 21:4 690, 693, 694, 701, 746, 747
 21:4–5 747
 21:4–9 746, 747, 748, 750, 753–758
 21:5 746, 748, 749
 21:5–9 694
 21:6 746, 747, 750, 753–754
 21:7 747
 21:8 746, 754
 21:8–9 747
 21:9 746, 754
 21:10 690, 694
 21:10–11 693, 694, 764, 765, 769, 774–775
 21:10–30 219
 21:11 690, 693, 694, 766, 768
 21:11–12 768
 21:11–13 695
 21:12 691, 693, 748
 21:12–13 690, 695, 764, 765, 768
 21:13 691, 693, 695, 705, 761, 766, 768
 21:13–15 696
 21:16 689, 691
 21:16–19 693
 21:18 693
 21:18–20 690, 691, 764, 765, 768
 21:20 698, 761, 766, 1010
 21:21 695, 699
 21:21–25 692
 21:21–30 692

Numbers (continued)

- 21:22 699
 21:23 691, 693, 723
 21:23–26 718
 21:24 695, 719, 761, 767
 21:25 695, 717, 719
 21:26 692, 695, 699, 719
 21:27–30 692, 718, 771
 21:28 695
 21:28–29 902
 21:29 38, 699, 719
 21:32 695
 21:33 1010
 21:33–35 94, 626, 699, 1010
 21:34 699
 21:42 698
 22 720
 22–24 219, 581, 698, 721, 723, 944, 1009
 22:1 761, 1010
 22:1–2 766
 22:2 699, 1010
 22:2–24:25 1010
 22:3 699
 22:4 699
 22:5 699
 22:6 699
 22:22–35 71
 22:36 720–721
 22:41 698
 23–24 1113
 23:10 433
 23:13–14 693
 23:14 694, 698
 23:21 1112
 23:23 756
 23:28 698
 23:63 694
 24:2 423
 24:7 535
 24:15–17 147
 24:17 902
 25 629, 1013
 25:1 797
 25:9–34 918
 25:12 1012, 1031
 25:12–13 1012, 1013
 26:3 694
 26:23–24 99
 26:51 700
 26:59 707
 27 339, 769
 27:1–11 340, 627, 933
 27:3 933
 27:7 934
 27:8 934
 27:8–11 933, 934
 27:11 187, 188, 933, 935
 27:12 689, 769
 27:14 703, 706
 27:18 1129
 27:18–23 798
 27:20 614
 28–29 554
 28:9–10 877
 29 554–555
 29:20 375
 30:1 279
 31:2 174
 31:8 703
 31:12 694
 31:31 1128
 32 619–629, 726, 774, 805
 32–33 902
 32:1 613, 624
 32:1–38 620, 621, 623
 32:2 622, 624, 626, 627
 32:3 38
 32:4 626
 32:4–5 626
 32:5 626, 627, 805
 32:6 624
 32:7 805
 32:7–15 623, 628
 32:9 805
 32:13 816–817, 817
 32:16 621
 32:16–19 622
 32:17 621, 622, 805–806
 32:18 626, 628
 32:19 626
 32:20 628
 32:20–21 627–628
 32:20–23 628
 32:20–24 622, 626
 32:21 627, 628
 32:22 625, 626, 627, 628
 32:22–29 821, 822
 32:23 621, 623

Numbers (continued)

32:24 621
 32:25 621
 32:25–27 622
 32:26 805
 32:27 621, 627
 32:28 625
 32:28–30 622
 32:28–32 625, 626
 32:29 621, 622, 625, 627–628
 32:29–30 621, 622, 628
 32:30 621, 623, 625
 32:31 621, 625, 626, 1128
 32:31–32 621–622, 625
 32:32 625
 32:33 620, 621, 624, 626, 628, 716
 32:33–38 714
 32:34–38 621, 624, 715–716, 773
 32:38 38
 32:39 620
 32:39–42 620, 626
 32:40 620
 32:41–42 620
 33 205, 688, 691, 693, 697, 709, 772
 33:3 698
 33:3–37 689
 33:5–48 690
 33:8 551
 33:12–14 691
 33:18–30 691
 33:36 706
 33:36–37 703
 33:37 689
 33:37–49 693
 33:38 698, 707
 33:38–39 697
 33:41–42 691
 33:41–48 689
 33:41–49 689
 33:44 769
 33:46–47 902
 33:47 38
 33:50–56 1042
 33:53 935
 34–35 785
 34:1–38 629
 34:16–29 625
 34:20 319
 35 672, 918, 933

35:9–34 672, 785

35:11 672
 35:11–15 919
 35:15 672
 35:16–18 672
 35:17 672
 35:21 672
 35:30 672, 933
 35:31 672
 35:31–32 672
 35:33 931
 35:33–34 928, 931
 36 341
 36:1 339, 342
 36:1–2 187, 188
 36:1–12 339–340
 36:2 339
 36:3 339
 36:10 1128
 36:13 1128
 36:26 805

Deuteronomy

1 377–378, 819
 1–3 876
 1–4 448
 1–11 902
 1:1 638, 642, 698, 704
 1:1–2 784
 1:1–5 205
 1:1–31:13 639
 1:1–34:12 784
 1:2 374, 378
 1:3 278, 375, 378, 1123–1125, 1129
 1:4–4:44 784
 1:6–8 552
 1:7 808
 1:7–8 801
 1:8 934
 1:8–17 471
 1:9–18 1124
 1:13 1130
 1:21 934
 1:30–32 71
 1:33 552
 1:35–36 818–819, 819
 1:38 798
 1:39 96, 97, 934
 1:40 707, 708

Deuteronomy (continued)

- 1:46 692, 703
 2 765–766, 770–771, 774
 2–3 768
 2:1 692, 702
 2:4–8 701
 2:8 692, 766, 767
 2:9 717
 2:9–33 716–717
 2:13 692
 2:14 748
 2:16–23 766, 767, 772
 2:19 717
 2:24 187, 705, 766, 692
 2:24–36 692
 2:25 702
 2:26 692
 2:27 766
 2:28–29 702, 704
 2:32 692, 723
 2:36 187
 2:37 766
 3:1–3 94
 3:1–7 699
 3:8 699
 3:8–20 805
 3:11 159
 3:12 715
 3:12–18 715, 716
 3:12–20 624
 3:14–17 715
 3:16–17 715
 3:17 693, 694, 699
 3:18 321, 805, 806
 3:19 805
 3:20 627
 3:21 798
 3:27 423, 425, 699
 3:28 798
 4 307
 4–5 902, 1098
 4:1 934
 4:2 557
 4:11 143
 4:14 278
 4:19 423, 424
 4:25–31 639, 640
 4:27–28 238
 4:29 903
 4:31 321
 4:34 906
 4:38 1099
 4:41 919
 4:41–43 918
 4:43 805
 4:44–26:19 280
 4:45–26:19 784
 4:49 693, 699
 5 112, 113, 506, 518, 519, 521, 636, 901
 5–26 647
 5:1 877
 5:1–6:1 136, 143, 488
 5:4 519
 5:5 143, 519
 5:6 321
 5:6–21 141
 5:8 141
 5:9 141
 5:9–10 876
 5:12 143, 876, 880
 5:12–15 874–875, 884
 5:13–14 875
 5:14 141, 143, 876, 880
 5:15 142, 143, 884
 5:18 141
 5:19 141
 5:20 141
 5:21 141
 5:22 143
 5:22–24 519
 5:22–31 518, 519, 522
 5:23–31 278
 5:24 520
 5:24–26 520
 5:24–27 515, 516, 517, 518, 519–520
 5:24–31 516
 5:25 520, 1127
 5:25–31 278, 280
 5:26 520
 5:27 279, 515, 806, 1126
 5:27–28 521
 5:28 877
 5:28–29 515, 517
 5:28–30 520–521
 5:28–31 515
 5:29 516, 520–521, 903
 5:29–33 903
 5:30–31 515, 516, 517, 521

Deuteronomy (continued)

- 5:31 279, 877, 951
 5:32 802
 5:33 903
 6 368
 6–8 876
 6:3 877
 6:4–9 368
 6:22 551
 7 69, 70, 71, 902, 926
 7:1 69, 537
 7:1–3 541
 7:1–4 230
 7:1–5 69
 7:2 69
 7:3 69, 537, 553, 555
 7:4 69, 555
 7:5 69, 751
 7:6 69, 539, 540, 923, 925, 926, 938
 7:8 69, 321
 7:9–10 69
 7:11–12 69
 7:13 69
 7:13–14 69
 7:15 69
 7:16 69, 1080
 7:17–21 69
 7:18–19 69
 7:20 789
 7:21 69
 7:22 70
 7:22–26 69
 7:23–24 69
 7:25–26 69
 8–10 448
 8:1–5 488
 8:4 552
 8:5–10 136, 143
 8:6 143
 8:7 143
 8:11 951
 8:15 754
 8:18 321
 9 748
 9:1 280
 9:4–5 1099
 9:22 747
 10 902
 10:1–5 281
 10:6 697, 707
 10:15 549
 10:22 180, 181
 11 876
 11:24 802
 11:24–25 800, 801
 11:31 934
 12 277, 279
 12–18 368
 12–26 875
 12:1 321
 12:5–6 556
 12:6 555
 12:8–12 810
 12:20 1099
 13 67, 368, 673, 674, 676, 677, 906
 13:1 270
 13:1–5 1124, 1125
 13:4 1124
 13:5 673
 13:6 674
 13:7–12 673
 13:9 1080
 13:10 673, 676
 13:10–12 673
 13:11 673
 13:12 674
 13:14 906
 13:17 849, 906
 14 277, 280
 14:2 539, 540
 14:3–20 280, 539
 14:3–21 280
 14:8 1099
 14:20 280
 14:21 280, 539, 540, 664
 15 671
 15:1 875, 888, 940
 15:1–2 556
 15:12 875, 940
 15:12–17 110
 15:12–18 495, 651, 671
 15:15 495
 15:19–23 659
 15:21 659
 16 680, 1097
 16:1–17 680
 16:3–4 680
 16:6–7 917, 1097

Deuteronomy (continued)

- 16:7 529, 680, 1098
 16:8 873, 875
 16:8–9 680
 16:13 526
 16:15 554
 16:18 636, 916
 16:18–20 916
 17 674, 675, 676, 677
 17–18 1124
 17:1 659
 17:2–7 672, 673, 674, 675, 679
 17:5 673
 17:5–7 673, 674, 679
 17:6 673, 677, 679
 17:7 673, 676
 17:8–9 916
 17:8–13 916
 17:9 916
 17:9–22 1124
 17:12 806
 17:14 817
 17:14–20 816, 817
 17:18 169
 17:18–20 803–804
 17:19 645, 895
 18 518, 521, 756
 18:12 1099
 18:15 846, 884, 1006, 1124, 1133
 18:15–22 877, 1125
 18:16–17 516
 18:16–18 885
 18:18 516, 521, 1006
 18:18–21 516
 18:18–22 515, 516, 517
 18:19 806
 19 672, 674
 19:1–3 918
 19:1–13 672
 19:2 919
 19:13 1080
 19:15 672, 673, 677, 679
 19:15–21 672, 677, 679
 19:16–21 672, 679
 19:19 672, 674, 675, 677, 679
 19:20 674
 19:20–21 187
 19:21 675, 677, 679, 1080
 20:1 187
 21:11–14 541
 21:19 674
 22:22 932
 22:23–27 932
 22:24 674
 23:1–9 849
 23:2 659
 23:2–3 659
 23:3 537
 23:4–6 559
 23:5–6 721
 23:6 907
 24 932
 24:1 931
 24:1–4 849, 905, 928, 929, 930, 932, 933,
 938, 940
 24:2 931
 24:4 929, 931, 932
 24:9 707
 24:16 248
 24:17 941
 25:11–12 665, 677
 25:12 1080
 25:13–14 887
 25:13–15 887
 25:13–16 886
 26–34 902
 26:5–9 582, 824, 826
 26:9 805
 26:17 951
 26:19 926
 27 103
 27:1–26 784
 27:15–26 944
 28 67, 358–359, 368, 369, 647, 816, 817,
 902, 903, 908, 948, 949, 950, 953,
 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 979
 28–30 955
 28:1 957
 28:1–68 945
 28:1–69 784
 28:6 879
 28:8 957
 28:9 926
 28:15–68 1045–1046
 28:16–19 944, 957
 28:19 879
 28:22 1047
 28:24–25 957

Deuteronomy (continued)

- 28:29 803
 28:36–37 238
 28:38 535
 28:48 903, 957
 28:49 903, 904
 28:58 895
 28:59–68 896
 28:64–68 238
 28:65 957
 28:69 447, 876
 28:69–30:20 634
 29:1 642, 644
 29:7 805
 29:8 802
 29:9 644
 29:12 100
 29:21–27 238
 30 307, 908
 30:1–7 238
 30:1–10 639, 978, 1046
 30:2 976
 30:3 639
 30:3–4 307
 30:6 965, 976
 30:10 976
 30:12–13 1126
 30:19 1134
 30:19–20 1126
 30:20 100
 31 276, 640, 1125, 1126
 31–32 631–650, 903
 31–34 642
 31:1 631, 634, 640, 642, 645, 649
 31:1–6 633
 31:1–8 73, 789
 31:1–43 632
 31:1–32:47 632–634, 637, 638, 640–642,
 645, 646
 31:2 649
 31:2–6 641
 31:2–8 798
 31:3 71, 73
 31:6 71, 73
 31:6–8 801
 31:7–8 633, 641
 31:8 71, 73
 31:9 281, 631, 633, 634–635, 636, 641,
 642, 643, 644, 647, 649
 31:9–13 636, 784
 31:10 554, 635, 647, 649
 31:10–13 633, 641, 642
 31:12 803, 895
 31:14 633, 641, 643, 649, 798
 31:14–15 633, 635, 638, 640, 641
 31:14–21 643
 31:14–23 635, 643
 31:14–24 789
 31:15 76
 31:16 1125
 31:16–21 633, 635, 638, 641
 31:16–22 640
 31:17 639
 31:18 639
 31:19 635, 637, 645, 649
 31:19–22 281
 31:21 635
 31:22 633, 635, 637, 638, 641, 643, 644,
 649
 31:23 633, 635, 640, 641, 643, 649, 798,
 801
 31:24 281, 643, 644, 647, 650, 1131
 31:24–27 635–636
 31:24–29 634, 641, 643, 644
 31:24–32:44 635, 638
 31:25 636, 650, 789
 31:25–27 784
 31:26 650
 31:26–29 636
 31:27 1125
 31:28 636, 644, 650, 789
 31:28–29 636
 31:29 647, 784
 31:30 634, 637, 641, 644, 647, 650, 789
 31:30–32:44 644
 32 595, 647, 769, 903, 1113, 1117
 32:1–33 637, 789
 32:1–43 193, 634, 641
 32:1–44 1109
 32:4–6 553
 32:8 137–138, 139, 140, 180, 194, 640
 32:9–10 193
 32:22 903
 32:23–24 1083
 32:34–43 637
 32:35 58
 32:37–43 193
 32:39 640

Deuteronomy (continued)

- 32:42 926
 32:43 138–140, 193, 194, 640
 32:44 634, 637, 641, 642, 644, 645, 646,
 647, 650
 32:45 634, 637–638, 642, 645, 650
 32:45–47 639, 784
 32:46 650, 895
 32:46–47 634, 638, 642
 32:48–52 1133
 32:49 689, 700, 769
 32:51 697, 706
 33 607
 33:2 343
 33:8–11 148, 1013
 33:9 1013
 33:9–10 1013
 34 219, 448, 581, 769, 815, 1132, 1136
 34:1 700, 769, 1133
 34:1–4 1133
 34:1–5 700
 34:1–12 784
 34:4 1112
 34:5 700, 799
 34:7 475, 1133
 34:7–9 1133
 34:8–9 813, 815
 34:9 798, 806, 1121, 1123–1125, 1126,
 1127, 1129, 1130, 1132–1133, 1134
 34:10 845, 846, 1006, 1133
 34:10–12 640, 813, 815, 1123
 34:11 551
 34:12 1128
- Joshua*
- 1 795–812, 1122
 1–5 811
 1:1 799, 807
 1:1–2 808
 1:1–9 822, 823
 1:1–18 812
 1:2 800, 804, 807, 822, 823
 1:2–5 635
 1:2–9 799, 800
 1:3 800, 802, 806, 822, 823
 1:3–4 800, 802
 1:3–5 801
 1:3–6 801–802, 808
 1:3–8 804
- 1:4 800, 807
 1:4–6 801
 1:5 800, 806, 807
 1:5–6 801
 1:6 635, 801, 802
 1:7 802, 803, 806, 807
 1:7–8 802, 803–804, 808, 809, 846
 1:8 802, 803, 807, 808
 1:9 804
 1:9–11 808
 1:10–11 799, 804
 1:10–12:24 635
 1:11 804
 1:12 805
 1:12–15 799
 1:12–17 808
 1:12–18 799, 805
 1:13 805, 807, 846
 1:14 805, 807
 1:15 807
 1:16–17 1127
 1:16–18 799
 1:17 800, 806, 807
 1:17–18 806
 1:18 806, 808
 2 475, 805
 2–12 816, 817
 2:1 797
 2:9 58
 3–4 816, 817, 819–820, 820
 3–5 810
 3–10 822, 823
 3:1–5:12 811
 3:2 804, 812
 3:6 71
 3:14 319
 4:2 934
 4:19 820, 821
 5 819, 860
 5:1–10 820
 5:2–9 820
 5:10–12 820, 821
 5:11 750
 5:12 819
 5:13 423, 820
 5:13–15 71, 819, 820
 6–8 810
 6:4 873
 6:7 71

Joshua (continued)

- 6:15 873
 6:16 873
 6:26 952
 7 951, 955
 8:34 803
 8:35 637, 1127
 8:35–40 103
 9:22–23 952
 10 475, 810
 10:10 71
 10:28–39 822, 823
 10:28–42 822, 823
 10:40–42 822–823
 10:42 822, 823
 11:12 1127
 11:15 1127
 11:16–23 822, 823
 11:23 822, 823
 12–13 622
 12:3 693, 699
 12:6 805
 13 307, 774
 13–19 822, 823
 13–22 785
 13:1–7 635
 13:9–12 715, 716
 13:15–28 773
 13:15–31 715
 13:15–32 715
 13:20 693, 699
 14 820
 14–21 635
 14:1 625
 14:1–2 821
 14:1–15 819
 14:13–14 818–819, 819
 15:51 374
 17:4 625
 18 821
 18:1 625, 820, 821, 822
 18:7 620
 19:51 625, 821
 20 917–919, 918, 919
 20:1–3 918
 20:4–6 918
 20:6 918
 20:7 919
 20:7–8 918
 20:7–9 785, 918
 21:1 625
 21:43 822
 21:43–45 810, 822, 823, 824
 22 774
 22:1–6 627
 22:9–34 308, 629
 23 69, 70, 823, 824
 23:1–3 823
 23:4 70
 23:5 70
 23:6 802, 803
 23:7 70
 23:9 823
 23:9–13 70
 23:10 70
 23:11 70, 823
 23:13 70
 23:14–16 823
 23:16 70
 24 69, 70, 598, 599, 817, 818, 823–824,
 824, 825–826
 24:1 824, 826
 24:2 231
 24:3 535, 823, 825
 24:3–14 823, 824
 24:5 97, 101, 825
 24:5–7 97
 24:6 97
 24:6–7 97, 823, 825
 24:8 70, 823, 825
 24:9–10 823, 825
 24:11 70, 823, 825
 24:12 70, 823, 825
 24:17 70
 24:18 70
 24:19 70
 24:24 70
 24:25 70, 96, 97, 101, 528, 823, 825
 24:26 823, 825
 24:28 789
 24:29 821
 24:29–30 822
 24:31 825
 24:32 239, 598, 817, 818

Judges

- 1:26 808
 2:1–5 61, 71, 73, 598

Judges (continued)

2:1–7 69
 2:2 70
 2:3 70
 2:6–22 823, 824
 2:7 1126
 2:8–9 822
 2:12–14 98–99
 2:16 98–99
 2:20 822, 823, 880, 885
 2:20–23 69
 3 721
 3:4 880, 885
 3:9 98–99
 3:11 822, 823
 3:30 822, 823
 4:14 71
 5:23 71, 945
 5:31 822, 823
 7:4 434
 8:28 822, 823
 10–11 234
 10:1 99
 10:3–5 99
 11 768, 771, 772
 11:1–11 719
 11:11 234, 704
 11:11–31 720
 11:13 772
 11:16 704, 707, 708, 709
 11:16–18 772
 11:17 692, 701, 702, 703
 11:17–20 692
 11:18 701, 705
 11:19–22 692
 11:19–23 772
 11:24 704
 11:25–26 719, 720
 11:30–31 704
 11:32–33 719
 11:34–40 720
 13 206
 13:2 415
 13:6 71
 13:9 71
 14:15 873
 16 206
 17–21 308
 18:30 240

19:17 423
 21:18 945

1 Samuel

1 868
 1–7 868
 1:1 868
 1:2 415
 2:5 415
 2:16 333
 2:27–36 790
 3 868
 4–6 724
 6 755
 6:13 423
 8 816, 817
 8:7–9 279
 9:27 333
 12:8 73
 13 790
 13:20 549
 14:21 944
 14:24–46 951
 14:49 415
 15 790
 15:23 158
 15:26 158
 16 790
 20:34 135
 22:14 549
 24 438
 25:24 428
 29:9 71

2 Samuel

5:8 91
 7:5–11 279
 7:11 91, 98
 7:15–16 91
 8:11 821, 822
 11–20 1137
 12:18 873
 13:34 423
 14:17 71
 14:20 71
 15:25 91
 16–18 103
 18:24 423
 19:28 71

2 Samuel (continued)

21 790, 951
 22 955
 22:46 309
 24:16 424
 24:16–17 71
 24:24 939

1 Kings

1:31 427
 1:51 333
 2 815
 2:3 802
 2:27 790
 3 94–95
 3–15 445
 3:4 95
 3:22 339
 5:15–8:66 91
 6:14 459
 6:38 374
 8 810, 951, 954–955, 956, 958–959
 8:10 95
 8:12–13 576
 8:31 959
 8:31–32 952
 8:33 958, 959
 8:34 309
 8:35 958, 959
 8:37 953
 8:46–53 307
 8:47–48 958
 8:53 576
 8:58 880, 885
 9:8 1081
 11 816, 817
 11:7 38
 11:33 38
 12 759, 815, 816
 12:25 858–859
 12:25–13:34 859, 869
 12:28 363–364
 13 790
 13:3 322
 14:29 204
 16:16–28 38
 16:31 39
 16:34 790
 18 992

19 522
 19:5–8 71
 19:13 987
 19:15–16 41
 19:17 41
 19:35 71
 20 39, 40, 576
 20:1–6 40
 20:29 873
 20:34 39, 40
 21 522, 576
 21:3 935
 21:4 935
 21:10 670
 22 39, 857, 859, 864
 22:1 40
 22:5 333, 334

2 Kings

1:1 38
 1:8 987
 3 724, 857, 864
 3:1 41
 3:4–5 38
 3:4–27 722
 3:5–6 38
 3:6–27 38
 3:24–25 722, 723
 3:27 722
 4:23 875, 879
 4:37 428
 8 864
 8:7–13 41
 8:15 41
 8:16–24 864
 8:18 865
 8:20–22 858
 8:25 41
 8:26 864
 8:26–28 41
 8:26–29 44
 9 522
 9–10 859
 9:1–6 41
 9:14–15 41
 9:21–29 42
 9:29 374
 9:32 425
 10:32–33 864

2 Kings (continued)

10:32–34 42
 10:33 620, 805
 11 879–880
 11–12 445
 11:5 875
 11:7 875, 880
 11:7–9 879
 11:9 875, 880
 11:10–12 879
 12:17–18 42
 13:1–9 42
 13:10 45
 14–25 445
 14:1–22 857, 865
 14:7 858
 14:22–25 865
 14:23–29 857, 865
 15:8–12 870
 15:13–16 870
 15:17–24 870
 15:23–26 870
 15:27–31 870
 15:29 240
 15:30 870
 16:18 875
 17 726, 859
 17:1–6 240, 870
 17:13 880, 885, 1124
 17:14 885, 1125
 17:23 877, 1124
 17:28 727
 17:32 726, 727
 18:4 748, 751–753, 752, 754, 758–759
 18:9–12 240
 18:32 240
 19:5 547
 19:14 330
 19:17 42, 44
 19:22–32 240
 19:35–37 240
 21:10 1124
 22–23 816, 817
 22:13 803
 23 364
 23:4–20 752
 23:8 790
 23:13 38
 23:16–20 790

23:21–23 95–96
 23:36 374
 24:2 1124
 24:8–17 240, 387
 24:18 374
 25 815, 816
 25:2 376
 25:25–26 241
 25:27 241
 25:27–30 241, 304, 365

Isaiah

2:5–22 65
 2:10 65, 66
 2:19 65, 66
 2:21 65, 66
 5 981
 5:20–25 983
 5:24 894
 5:25 956, 957, 958, 959
 5:25–29 954, 956, 958, 959, 979
 5:25–30 1043
 6 759
 6:10 967
 6:13 536
 9–10 981
 9:1–6 240
 9:7–10:4 954, 956, 957, 958, 959, 979, 983,
 1043
 9:11 958
 9:11–12 959
 9:12 967
 9:16 958, 959
 9:20 958, 959
 10:4 958, 959
 11:12 307
 14:29 754
 15 724
 15:1–16:1 716
 15:4 718
 16:8–9 718
 19:22 967
 24:5 931
 24:22 989
 29:22 435
 30:6 754
 31:6 967
 37:21–32 240
 37:36–38 240

Isaiah (continued)

40 304
 40–48 434
 40–55 434
 40–66 331, 335, 354, 426, 427
 40:1–2 982
 40:26 425, 426
 41:8–9 435
 41:9 435
 41:10 354
 41:14 435
 41:16 1080
 41:18–19 436
 42:1 324
 42:15–26 436
 43:5 434
 43:6 435
 43:11 833
 43:14 427, 434
 43:19–20 436
 44:15 426, 434
 44:17 426, 434
 44:19 434
 45:6 434
 45:14 426
 45:17 434
 46:4 434
 46:6 426, 434
 46:7 434
 46:8 434
 48:10 434
 49 434
 49–55 434
 49:6 435
 49:7 427
 49:12 434
 49:18 426
 49:21 436
 49:23 427
 51:2 436
 51:5 436
 51:6 426, 436
 51:9 434
 51:22 354
 52 774
 52:2 889
 52:4 889
 52:6 889
 52:12 71

52:13 889
 53:4 434
 53:11 434
 54:3 935
 55:10 427
 56–66 312, 434
 56:1–7 849
 56:7 535
 58:8 71
 58:12–14 888
 59:8 310
 59:21 803
 60:4 426
 60:4–11 881
 60:7 535
 60:14 427
 61:4–7 881–882
 61:8–9 535
 61:9 535, 882
 61:10 882
 63:9 71
 65:9 427, 535
 65:22–23 535
 65:23 535
 66:11 354
 66:18–21 535
 66:19 366
 66:22 535
 66:22–24 535
 66:23 426, 874, 887

Jeremiah

1:1–4 900
 1:3 377
 1:5 899
 1:9 884, 910
 1:15 878
 1:16 895
 2–10 927
 2:2 923
 2:2–3 923–924
 2:3 922–927, 932, 937, 938
 2:5 893
 2:6 216
 2:8 837, 891–893, 896, 898, 899, 900, 909,
 910, 911
 2:20–25 938, 940
 3 905
 3:1 929, 930, 931, 938, 940

Jeremiah (continued)

- 3:1–2 932
 3:1–5 849, 922, 928–933, 937
 3:2 425, 931
 3:4 929
 3:4–5 928, 929, 930, 932
 3:5 929
 3:9 931
 3:12 905, 929
 3:12–23 967
 3:16 906
 3:16–17 906
 3:17 906
 4 904
 4:2 900, 904
 4:14 426
 4:23–25 900–101, 904
 4:23–26 910
 5 902, 904
 5:1 901
 5:2 1080
 5:4 901
 5:14 910
 5:15 903, 904
 5:24 902
 6:8 426, 902
 6:16 894
 6:19 894
 7 724, 896
 7:2 878
 7:9 899, 901, 932
 7:22 901
 7:22–23 905, 906
 7:23 901, 902, 903
 7:24 880
 7:26 880, 886
 7:28 886
 7:34 902
 8:8 894, 898, 909
 9:2 899
 9:3 437
 9:5 899, 909
 9:11 894
 9:11–12 895
 9:12 894, 895, 896, 897, 898
 9:23 899
 11:3 944
 11:4 880, 885
 11:8 880
 11:25 880
 13:14 1080
 13:15–17 1080
 13:20 426
 13:27 426
 14:7–9 930
 14:19 902
 14:19–22 930
 15:1 907
 15:5 426
 15:6 1080
 15:14 903
 16 901
 16:2 901
 16:5 901
 16:10–11 895
 16:11 895–896
 16:14 901
 16:14–15 906
 16:15 901
 16:19 910
 17 877–890, 884
 17:1 898
 17:5–7 952
 17:10 434
 17:19–20 878
 17:19–27 884–885, 905
 17:20 879
 17:21 886
 17:21–22 881
 17:21–23 880
 17:23 886
 17:24–27 889
 18:16 1081
 18:18 896, 898
 19:1–3 878
 19:4 899
 19:8 1081
 19:15 886
 20:14–16 944
 21:5 906
 22:1 878
 22:1–2 878
 22:4 880
 22:18–30 769
 22:24–30 240
 22:30 879
 23 992
 23:7–8 576, 906

Jeremiah (continued)

- 23:9–32 910
 23:11 931
 23:13–15 932
 23:15 931
 23:40 576
 24 900
 24:1 240
 24:7 899
 25 576
 25:4 880
 26 445, 724, 896
 26–52 354
 26:4 896, 897
 27:5–8 936
 27:20 240
 28:4 240
 28:14 903
 29:1 330
 29:2 240
 29:7 907
 29:13 903
 29:25 330
 29:29 330
 30 906
 30–31 897
 30:8 1029
 30:16 926, 936
 30:18 849, 906
 30:21 906
 31 900, 978
 31:15 901
 31:22 907, 911
 31:27 535
 31:29–30 906
 31:31 907
 31:31–34 897, 899, 909
 31:32 899
 31:33 896, 897, 898, 899, 901
 31:33–34 899, 909
 31:34 899, 901
 31:35–37 930
 32:7 934
 32:16–25 936
 32:17–21 547
 32:20 551
 32:22 805
 32:23 897
 32:33 886
 32:39 903
 33 536, 537
 33:4 898
 33:10–11 890
 33:14–26 536–537, 537
 33:15–16 536
 33:17–18 536
 33:18 890
 33:20 435
 33:22 536
 33:23–26 930
 33:26 536
 34:8–22 932
 34:12 940
 34:14 880
 34:18 411
 35:13 886
 36–43 445
 36:30 879
 37:8 1029
 37:16 989
 38 990
 38:6 989
 38:6–7 989
 38:9–11 989
 38:13 989
 38:33 898
 39:2 377
 39:23 898
 41:1 905
 41:5 905
 41:16–18 241
 42–44 906
 44 897
 44:3 899
 44:5 880
 44:10 897, 900
 44:23 897, 900
 46–51 576
 46:9 892
 46:18 473
 48 902
 48:1–6 724
 48:1–47 716
 48:2 718
 48:10 944
 48:21–24 724, 902
 48:22 689, 902
 48:30–37 724

Jeremiah (continued)

48:34 718
 48:45–46 902
 49:1–2 922, 933–936, 937, 938
 49:1–6 935
 49:2 936, 938
 49:32 1080
 49:36 1080
 50:15 354
 50:16 892
 51:10 898
 51:23 898
 52:1 374
 52:5 377
 52:30 241

Ezekiel

1–24 1081
 1–39 1036
 1:1 240
 4–24 1023
 4:16 1068
 4:17 1048, 1058, 1059, 1068
 5–9 1080
 5:2 1069
 5:5–6 1078
 5:5–17 1078–1083, 1083
 5:6 1082
 5:6–7 1079
 5:7 1078, 1082
 5:7–17 1078
 5:8 1053
 5:9 1079, 1082–1083
 5:10 1068–1069, 1079, 1080, 1081, 1082
 5:11 1080
 5:12 1069, 1080
 5:13 1080
 5:14 1053, 1080
 5:15 1079
 5:16–17 1083
 6 1052–1053
 6:2 1053
 6:2–7 1071
 6:3 1022
 6:3–6 1022
 6:4 1022
 6:4–5 1053
 6:5 1022, 1071, 1072
 6:6 1072

6:14 310
 7:2–3 848
 7:4 1080
 7:8 1080
 7:9 1080
 7:24 1069
 8:12 1058
 8:18 1080
 9:5 1080
 9:9 1058
 9:10 1080
 11:9 1079
 12:14 1069, 1080
 13:10 1082
 14:5 1079
 14:21 953
 16:30 354
 16:60 1082
 17:12 240
 17:20 1082
 17:21 1069
 18 1063
 18:3 1048
 18:6 1023
 18:7 310
 18:8 1024
 18:9 310
 18:11 1023
 18:12 310
 18:15 1023
 19:9 354
 20 216, 884, 1054, 1063
 20:5 216
 20:7–8 1054
 20:8 1080
 20:9 1054
 20:10–13 884
 20:13 1082
 20:14 1054
 20:16 1082
 20:17 1080
 20:21 1080
 20:22 1054
 20:40 1028
 20:41 1053
 22 1063
 22:11 1023
 22:12 1024
 22:16 1053

Ezekiel (continued)

- 23:10 1079
 24:14 1080
 24:21 1047, 1069
 24:33 1048
 25:11 1079
 26:1 377
 27:13 366
 27:19 366
 27:24 354
 27:29 892
 28:22 1079
 28:25 1028, 1053
 28:26 1079
 30:6 1047, 1069
 30:14 1079
 30:18 1047, 1069
 30:19 1079
 30:20 375
 31:1 375
 33 1046–1052, 1050, 1076
 33:1–9 1051
 33:2 1047
 33:5 1046
 33:10 1046, 1048, 1050, 1058, 1059
 33:11–20 1050
 33:12–20 1052
 33:15 1047
 33:17 1049
 33:20 1049
 33:24 364, 437, 810
 33:25 1023, 1047
 33:25–26 1022–1023
 33:26 1023, 1047
 33:27 1023
 33:27–29 1023
 33:28 1047, 1069
 33:28–29 1047
 34 1027–1029, 1037–1038, 1068,
 1069–1070
 34:4 1069
 34:10 1028
 34:11–16 1028
 34:23 1028, 1037
 34:23–24 1026, 1035, 1037
 34:23–30 1038
 34:23–31 1027, 1038, 1039
 34:24 1028, 1036
 34:25 1026–1027, 1029
 34:25–28 1070
 34:25–29 1069
 34:25–30 1021, 1026, 1028, 1030, 1034–
 1035, 1036, 1067, 1069, 1070
 34:26 1027, 1028
 34:26–27 1027
 34:27 1021, 1022, 1027, 1028, 1029, 1070
 34:28 1027, 1029
 34:31 1026
 36 965, 1050–1051
 36–40 1019, 1037
 36:3 1082
 36:11 1024
 36:16–36 1051
 36:20–23 1053
 36:22 1084
 36:23–38 1019
 36:27–35 1084
 36:34 1081
 37 1019, 1029, 1037–1038
 37:14 1037
 37:15–19 1037
 37:15–23 1037
 37:15–28 1037
 37:20–23 1037
 37:22 1037
 37:23 310, 1030
 37:24 1028, 1030, 1032, 1035, 1036, 1037
 37:24–25 1032, 1036, 1037
 37:24–28 1026, 1029–1039
 37:25 1028, 1029, 1030, 1032, 1036, 1037
 37:25–28 1030
 37:26 1030–1035, 1071, 1083
 37:26–27 1030, 1032, 1033–1034, 1071,
 1076
 37:26–28 1071
 37:27 1030, 1032, 1033, 1071
 38–39 1019, 1063
 38:4 892
 38:17 1028
 39:27 1053
 39:28 307
 40–48 1032, 1033, 1034, 1060, 1061
 40:2 1033
 40:4 158
 40:49 377
 42:13 924
 43:7 1034
 43:8 1080

Ezekiel (continued)

44:7 1082
 44:9 1082
 44:22 542
 45:17 874
 48:8–22 1032, 1033

Hosea

1–14 856
 1:1 854, 856
 1:2–5 854
 1:2–2:3 856
 1:2–3:5 853
 1:2–14:9 856
 2:4–15 930
 2:4–3:5 856
 2:4–14:9 856
 2:9 930
 2:15 930
 2:16–25 930
 3:1–5 930
 3:5 982
 4:1–19 856
 5:1–7 856
 5:1–14:9 856
 5:8–12 855
 5:8–7:16 856
 5:13 855
 5:15 926
 5:25 982
 7:8–10 855
 7:11–12 855
 8:1–14 856
 8:7–14 855
 8:9 855
 9:1–9 856
 9:1–14:1 856
 9:3 855
 9:10–17 856
 10:1–8 856
 10:5–8 855
 10:6 855
 10:9–11:11 857
 10:14 855
 11:11 855
 12 851, 852, 856, 857, 870, 997, 998–1007,
 1014
 12:1 998, 1002
 12:1–2 857, 858, 998, 1001, 1002

12:1–15 856, 857
 12:2 855, 1001
 12:3 857, 1001
 12:3–5 999
 12:3–7 857, 998, 1001, 1002–1007, 1011
 12:4 437, 474, 507, 999, 1002, 1003,
 1004
 12:4–5 999, 1003, 1004
 12:4–7 1004
 12:4–9 857
 12:5 474, 507, 858, 998, 999, 1002, 1003,
 1004–1005
 12:6 474, 998
 12:6–7 858
 12:7 998, 999–1000, 1001, 1004
 12:8 888, 998, 1001, 1002
 12:8–9 859
 12:8–11 859
 12:8–12 1001, 1002
 12:8–14 1000
 12:9 474
 12:10 216, 859
 12:10–12 859
 12:11 859
 12:12 859–860
 12:12–13 860
 12:13 437, 474, 1005, 1006
 12:13–14 1000–1001, 1002, 1004, 1005,
 1006, 1007, 1011
 12:14 1006–1007
 12:15 1002
 13:1–14:1 857, 861
 13:4 216
 14:2–9 855, 857, 861
 14:4 855, 861
 14:10 857

Joel

4:8 262

Amos

1:1–2:16 960
 1:3 967
 1:4 926
 1:6 967
 1:7 926
 1:8 967
 1:9 967
 1:10 926

Amos (continued)

1:11 967
 1:12 926
 1:13 967
 2:1 967
 2:4 894, 967
 2:5 892
 2:6 967
 2:6–7 887
 2:7 941
 2:8 972
 3–6 967
 3:1 216
 3:1–2 960
 3:1–4:13 960
 3:1–6:14 960
 3:3–6 960
 3:3–8 960
 3:7–8 960
 3:9–12 960
 3:13–15 960
 4 955, 958, 959
 4–5 1046
 4:1–3 960
 4:4–5 960
 4:4–13 960
 4:4–5:2 1042
 4:5 960
 4:6 957–962, 974, 1042
 4:6–11 943, 945, 956, 957, 961, 963–964
 4:6–12 943–984
 4:7 961, 962, 974
 4:7–8 969, 1042
 4:8 961, 962, 974
 4:8–11 958, 959
 4:9 961, 962, 974, 1042
 4:10 961, 962, 974, 1042
 4:11 958, 961, 962, 974, 977, 1042
 4:12 943, 960, 963, 972, 974, 981–982,
 1042
 4:13 943
 5:1–2 1043
 5:1–17 960
 5:1–6:14 960
 5:2 887
 5:4 967
 5:4–5 888
 5:5 967
 5:6 967

5:11 945, 952
 5:14 967
 5:18 887
 5:20 887
 5:21 887
 5:23 887
 6:8 887, 888
 6:13 717, 725
 7 992
 7–9 857, 887
 7:8 1043
 7:14 987–988
 8:2 848, 849, 888
 8:4 887, 888
 8:4–7 886–887, 888
 8:4–14 887–888
 8:5 879, 888
 8:6 887, 888
 8:7 888
 8:9–10 887
 8:12 967
 8:13–14 887
 8:14 724
 9:7 216

Jonah

1:3 180
 4:2 211

Micah

1–3 1008
 2:12 307
 4–7 1008
 6 997–998, 1007–1011, 1014
 6:3 1008, 1009
 6:3–5 1007–1011
 6:4 216, 1008–1011
 6:5 1009, 1010, 1011
 6:9–12 886
 6:11 888
 6:11–16 945
 6:14–15 945
 7:20 435

Nahum

2:14 1079

Habakkuk

3:5 470

Haggai

1:3–11 945, 949, 950
 1:5–11 945
 2:10–14 528
 2:15–17 949, 950
 2:16–17 945

Zechariah

1–8 362, 920, 985, 995–996
 1:3 996
 1:3–4 966
 1:7 375
 7:7 996
 7:12 528, 996
 9–10 989, 990, 993, 994
 9–14 831, 985–996
 9:1 986, 992, 993
 9:1–8 989
 9:1–17 989, 993
 9:9–10 989
 9:11 985, 988–990, 993–994, 995
 9:12 989
 9:13 366, 989, 994
 9:15 626
 10:1–2 994
 10:1–3 993
 10:4–12 989, 993
 10:6 994
 10:7 994
 11 989
 11:1–3 993
 11:4–16 993, 995
 11:5 988
 11:17 993
 12–14 986, 989, 994–995
 12:1 986, 993
 12:1–13:6 993
 12:2–13:6 986, 993
 13:1 986
 13:1–6 986, 994
 13:2 986, 994
 13:3 986, 994
 13:4 987, 988
 13:4–5 985, 986–988, 989, 994–995
 13:4–6 987
 13:5 987–988
 13:7–9 986, 988, 993
 14:1–21 986, 993
 14:16–19 554

Malachi

1:6–14 1011
 1:6–2:9 1011
 1:14 944
 2 998, 1011–1013
 2:1–9 1011
 2:4–6 1011–1013
 3:1 71
 3:22 846

Psalms

1:2 803
 8 1063
 8:5 1063
 12:2 432
 18 432
 18:46 309
 29:1 139
 34:22 926
 36:7 174
 39 1063
 46:3–4 473
 55:5 58
 59:6 319
 60:36 935
 68:2 576
 68:26 174
 72–73 1063
 72:17 900
 74:11 833
 77:9 432
 78 547
 78:48 470
 78:50 470
 78:51 470
 89:31 894
 97:7 139
 98:8 473
 103:9 929
 104 548
 104:10 473
 105 365, 547
 105:32 902
 106 547
 106:38 931, 932
 107 1063
 114:3–6 473
 119:34 895
 119:44 895

Psalms (continued)

119:53 894
 119:55 895
 119:136 895
 136:1–6 547
 139 1063
 144:13 333
 145:13 434
 151 362

Job

1:5 670, 945
 1:11 945
 2:5 945
 2:9 670, 945
 2:12 423
 3:1–9 945
 3:2 418
 7:17–18 1063
 9:34 58
 15:14 1063
 25:6 1063
 31:5–40 952
 42:13–14 415

Proverbs

4:2 895
 6:7 636
 11:1 887, 888
 11:9 932
 16:1 279
 17:10 965
 19:19 667
 19:29 1079
 20:2 58
 20:21 331
 20:23 887, 888
 28:4 894–895
 29:18 895

Ruth

2 211
 2:10 211
 3 211

Song of Songs

4:8–6:10 136
 4:13 333

Qoheleth

1:10 434
 12:5 434

Lamentations

2:9 833
 3:53 989
 5:7 434

Esther

2:5–6 240
 2:8 338
 8:3 339

Daniel

2:4 434
 9 547, 976
 9:5 547
 10:20 366
 11:2 366
 12:6 432

Ezra

1–6 525
 3:2 553, 558
 3:4 554
 3:4–5 554
 3:8 558
 4:7 353
 5–6 529
 6:12 526
 6:18 526, 553, 558
 7 726
 7–8 525
 7–10 529, 544
 7:6 553
 7:7 530
 7:10 553
 7:26 526
 9 555, 976
 9–10 230, 525–542
 9:1 526, 533, 537, 541
 9:1–2 533, 537, 558–559
 9:1–5 537, 538, 539, 540, 542
 9:1–15 531
 9:2 526, 533–537, 539, 541, 925
 9:3–15 559
 9:4 526

Ezra (continued)

9:6 542
 9:6–15 538
 9:11 541
 9:11–12 537, 538, 555
 9:12 553, 555
 9:13 542
 9:14 537
 10 557
 10:2–3 559
 10:3 526, 553, 558
 10:19 532, 542
 10:44 531

Nehemiah

1:1–7:5 544
 2:1–10 890
 5:1–12 888
 5:5 888
 8 349, 526, 544, 726
 8–9 525
 8:1 526, 552, 553
 8:2 553
 8:3 553
 8:7 553
 8:8 526, 553
 8:9 553
 8:13 553
 8:13–18 554
 8:14 526, 558
 8:14–15 552
 8:15 554
 8:18 526, 554, 558
 9 98, 100, 545–552, 823, 824, 976,
 1114–1115
 9:3 553
 9:5 546
 9:6 546, 547–548, 823, 825
 9:7 229, 366, 550
 9:7–8 546, 548–550, 823, 825
 9:8 549–550
 9:9 549, 823, 825
 9:9–11 546, 551
 9:11 551, 823, 825
 9:12 546, 552
 9:12–23 546
 9:12–37 552
 9:13 546, 1098

9:13–20 823, 825
 9:14 546, 553
 9:15 546, 552
 9:16 886
 9:16–21 546
 9:17 552, 886
 9:19 335, 552, 823, 825
 9:20 552
 9:21 552
 9:22 546, 823, 825
 9:23 546
 9:24 823, 825
 9:24–25 546
 9:25 823, 825
 9:26 553
 9:26–28 98–99
 9:26–31 546
 9:28 332
 9:29 553
 9:32–37 546, 1115
 9:34 432, 553
 10 557, 890
 10:1–28 557
 10:29 553
 10:29–30 557
 10:30 553, 557
 10:31 553, 555, 556, 558
 10:31–32 557
 10:32 556, 883, 886
 10:33 558
 10:33–40 557
 10:34 558
 10:35 148, 149, 181, 526, 553, 558
 10:36–38 558
 10:37 555, 556
 10:38–40 558
 11:1–2 544
 12 183
 12:11 183
 12:22 183
 12:25–36 889
 12:27 890
 12:27–43 544
 12:31 890
 12:38 890
 12:40 890
 13 557, 890
 13:1 553, 558

Nehemiah (continued)

13:1–2 559
 13:1–3 553
 13:4–31 544
 13:15 880, 881
 13:15–16 886
 13:15–22 890
 13:17 883
 13:19 880, 881
 13:19–20 883
 13:23–30 230

1 Chronicles

1–9 98, 99, 529
 2:21–22 99
 5:6 240
 5:26 240
 6:1–15 868
 7:1 99
 7:18 99
 9:17–27 879
 12:14 375
 13:1 637
 16:40 916
 17:10 98
 21:22 939
 22:12 895
 22:18 625
 23:31 555
 24:12 375
 25:18 376
 27:14 376

2 Chronicles

1:3–6 95

5:11 97
 5:11–13 95
 5:13 97
 6:25 309
 7:8–9 917
 8 97
 12:1 894
 14:3 432
 15:3–5 98–99
 15:8 319
 16:12 757
 18:4 333
 19:4–11 915–916, 916
 19:8 916
 19:10 916
 19:11 916
 24:10 1079
 24:24 1079
 25:4 916
 30:16 916
 31:1 753
 32:1 240
 32:9 240
 32:17 330
 32:21–23 240
 35 97
 35:1–2 95–96
 35:12 1098
 35:13 529, 917, 1097–1098
 35:17–19 95–96
 36:5 374
 36:9–10 240
 36:11 374
 36:16 353
 36:20–21 976, 982

Ancient Near Eastern and Epigraphic Texts and Papyri

Abibaʿl of Byblos Inscription 22
 Ahiqar (CAP 216) 418
 Aḥiram Sarcophagus Inscription 18, 20
 Amman Citadel Stela 26–27
 ʿAqhat 408, 421
 Arad Inscriptions 33, 34, 334
 Assyrian Inscriptions 366
 Atraḥasis 1107
 Azarbaʿl Inscription 20
 Baʿal Cycle 421
 Balua Stela 712–713
 Bavian Inscription (Sennacherib) 56, 57,
 59, 61, 62, 81
 Bentresh Stela 227
 Berlin P 11 367 881
 Black Obelisk 42–43, 851, 852, 853–854
 Broken Statue of Shalmaneser III 43
 CAP 216 (Ahiqar) 418

- Chester-Beatty IV Papyrus 757
CTU
 1.4 419, 427–428
 1.10 419
 1.14 415
 1.17 418
 1.23 418
 Deir Alla Inscription 720, 864
 Elephantine Letters 330
 Elephantine Ostraca
 CG 152 881
 CG 205 881
 Eleusis Stela 882
 Eliba'l Inscription 22
 el-Kerak Inscription 25–26, 33, 37, 721,
 724
 Enuma Elish 1107
 IV 130 459
 V 88 419
 VI 1107
 VII 1107
 Exaltation of Inanna 462
 Gezer Calendar 31
 Gilgamesh Epic 207, 227–228, 367, 1107
 Pennsylvania Tablet IV 137 416–417
 Hammurabi. *See* Laws of Hammurabi
 Ishba'l Jar Inscription 28, 29
 KAI
 191 (Mesha Stela) 24–25, 34, 37,
 38–39, 61, 696, 713–714, 723–724,
 725, 864
 202 (Zakkur Stela) 43–44, 316
 Kefar Veradim Inscribed Bowl 30–31
 Kirta 408, 410, 411
 KTU
 1.100 756
 1.107 756
 Kuntillet 'Ajrud 34, 413
 Kurbail Statue Inscription 42
 Kurukh Monolith 39–41
 Lachish Letters 330, 334, 413
 Laws of Hammurabi 1107
 Prologue 53, 54, 55
 47:59–73 52
 47:59–49:17 50
 47:59–51:91 51
 47:75–78 52
 47:76–80 63
 47:93–48:2 52
 48:3–58 52
 48:34–58 52
 48:59–74 56, 63
 48:59–94 50
 48:59–49:16 53
 48:59–49:44 51
 48:59–51:91 76–77
 49:2–5 56, 63
 49:2–17 50
 49:16–51:91 53
 49:18–22 56, 63
 49:18–52 50
 49:18–51:91 50
 49:45–51:91 51
 ¶ 117 48, 49
 ¶ 148–149 49
 ¶ 196–201 657
 ¶ 206–208 657
 ¶ 209–210 657
 ¶ 251 657
 ¶ 282 49
 Epilogue 945
 Leiden I 350 Papyrus 757
 Letter to Aššur (Sargon II) 56, 57, 58, 59,
 80–81
 Mari Letters 430, 690
 Masada Inscription 152, 449
 Mesha Stela (KAI 191) 24–25, 34, 37,
 38–39, 61, 696, 713–714, 723–724,
 725, 864
 Middle Assyrian Laws 49, 665
 Nash Papyrus 121, 130, 154
 Qeiyafa Ostracon 28, 29
 Rassam Decagon/Cylinder 56, 57, 58, 59,
 60, 61, 62, 83–85
 RIMA
 2 A.0.99.2 56, 57, 62, 63, 78
 2 A.0.101.17 56, 57, 59, 62, 78–79
 3 A.0.102.2 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 79–80
 RINAP
 3.120 366
 4.60 366
 4.1 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 62, 81–82
 4.98 56, 57, 58, 59, 62, 83
 SAA XI.14 690
 Sargon II (Letter to Aššur) 56, 57, 58, 59,
 80–81

- Shalmaneser III, Broken Statue of 43
 Samaria Ostraca 35–36
 Sefire
 1A 418, 945
 2A 945
 Sennacherib (Bavian Inscription) 56, 57,
 59, 61, 62, 81
 SH 809 690
 Shipiṭbaʿl Inscription 22
 Siloam Inscription 413
 Song of Release 429
 Story of Sinuhe 226–227
 Sumerian King List 204
 Tale of Woe 227
 Tel Dan Stela 22–24, 44, 864
 Tell Ataruz Inscription 36–37
 Tell Fekherye Inscription 945
 Tel Rehov Inscriptions 31–33, 34
 Tel Zayit Abecedary 31
 Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon 67, 369,
 675–676, 945
 Wenamun 226
 Yehimilk of Byblos Inscription 21–22
 Zakkur Stela (KAI 202) 43–44, 316

Deuterocanonical Works

- Wisdom of Solomon*
 10:1–11:1 1115
 16:5–12 756
 16:7 756
 14:20 893
 15:1 892, 893
 38:1–9 757
 44:1–49:50 1115
Sirach
 4:17 434
1 Esdras
 9:36 531

Second Temple Literature

- Aramaic Levi*
 16–18 536
 22–25 536
 16:25–26 536
 25:3 536
 28:6 495
 48:2–3 508
Jubilees
 12 1117

Texts from the Judean Desert

- CD (Damascus Document) 116, 118,
 340–341, 1116
 1QDan^b 153
 1QDeut^a 154
 1QDeut^b 145, 154, 631
 1QExod 154
 1QGen 154
 1QH^a (Hodayot) 118
 1QIsa^a 147, 152, 156, 310
 1QM (War Scroll) 118, 379–380
 1QpaleoLev–Num^a 147, 154
 1QpHab 432
 1QPs^b 147
 1QS (Community Rule) 116, 118, 147,
 432
 2QExod^a 145, 154
 2QExod^b 154
 2QJer 156
 2QNum^a 154
 2QpaleoLev 153
 4QBarkhi Nafshi^a 153
 4QCant^a 136
 4QDan^a 155
 4QDan^b 155, 156
 4QDeut^a 153
 4QDeut^b 144, 154

- 4QDeut^c 144, 154
 4QDeut^d 145, 154
 4QDeut^e 145, 171
 4QDeut^f 145, 154
 4QDeut^g 145, 154, 171
 4QDeut^h 145, 148, 154, 631
 4QDeutⁱ 145, 154
 4QDeut^j 137, 138, 139, 145, 154
 4QDeut^{kl} 145, 147, 154, 156
 4QDeut^{k2} 145, 147, 154, 156
 4QDeut^l 154
 4QDeut^m 154
 4QDeutⁿ 136, 141–143, 145, 154, 488
 4QDeut^o 145, 154
 4QDeut^p 154
 4QDeut^q 137, 139, 145, 154, 180, 192,
 193–194
 4QEschatological Hymn 147
 4QExod^b 145, 154
 4QExod^c 145, 154
 4QExod^d 154
 4QExod^e 154
 4QExod–Lev^f 144, 145, 153, 189–190,
 191, 193, 194, 195
 4QFlorilegium 488, 489
 4QGen^b 145, 154, 171
 4QGen^c 145, 154
 4QGen^d 154
 4QGen^e 145, 154
 4QGen^f 145, 147, 154
 4QGen^g 145, 147, 154
 4QGenⁱ 145, 154
 4QGen^k 154
 4QGen–Exod^a 145, 154, 180–181
 4QIndividual Thanksgiving A 147
 4QIsa^c 147, 156
 4QJer^a 145, 160, 189
 4QJer^b 145
 4QLam 156
 4QLev^b 145, 154
 4QLev^c 145, 154
 4QLev^d 145, 154, 192
 4QLev^e 145, 154
 4QLev^g 154
 4QLev–Num^a 144, 153, 156
 4QLXXDeut 131
 4QLXXLev^{a–b} 131
 4QLXXNum 131
 4QLXXNum¹⁰⁵ 162
 4QMMT^b 153
 4QNarrative G 147
 4QNum^b 145, 154, 156, 188, 190
 4QpaleoDeut^f 145, 154
 4QpaleoExod 111
 4QpaleoExod^m 145, 154, 190, 514
 4QpaleoGen^m 153
 4QpaleoGen–Exod^l 145, 154
 4QPersonal Prayer 147
 4QpIsa^b 152
 4QpNah 152
 4QPs^a 156
 4QPseudo-Ezekiel 118
 4QQoh^a 156
 4QRP 103, 487
 4QSam^a 135, 505
 4QSam^b 145, 152, 189
 4QSam^c 147, 156
 4QS^d 153
 4QS^j 153
 4QT^b 182
 4QTestimonia 147–148, 149, 488, 489
 4QtgLev 131
 4QTQahat ar 147
 4QXII^c 156
 4QXII^e 160
 4Q158 183–185, 480, 483–489, 491–500,
 502–524
 1–2 492–500, 507, 508, 509, 511, 521,
 522
 3 523
 4 507, 509, 511, 512, 522
 5 522
 5–12 511
 6 514–515, 516, 517, 521
 6–9 514–517
 7 516
 7–9 515, 516, 517, 518, 521, 522
 10–12 522
 13 511
 14 523
 4Q176 1063
 4Q252 (4QCommGen A) 152, 380–382
 4Q255–264 432
 4Q266–273 432
 4Q364 (4QRP^b) 154, 156, 187, 485, 486,
 488, 503, 504
 4Q364–367 183–184, 185, 484–485,
 502–524

- 4Q365 (4QRP^a) 136, 149, 154, 156,
181, 182, 183, 185, 186–188, 190,
194–195, 486, 488, 503, 504
4Q365a 185–186, 187, 188
4Q366 (4QRP^d) 154, 485, 486, 488
4Q367 (4QRP^e) 145, 154, 486, 488
4Q390 117
4Q522 153
5QDeut 137, 144, 153
6QpaleoGen 147, 154
7QpapLXXExod 131
8QGen 154
11QLev^b 154
11QM 147
11QpaleoLev^a 154
11QPs^a 156
11QT^a 101, 103, 112, 116, 136, 149,
181–182, 186, 187, 188, 194, 340
11QT^b 188
11QtgJob 170
ArugLev 154
ḤevLev 145, 154, 171
ḤevDeut 154
ḤevNum^b 145, 154, 171
8ḤevXII gr 137, 162
MasDeut 132, 145, 154, 171
MasEzek 132
MasLev^a 132, 145, 154, 171
MasLev^b 132, 145, 154, 171
MurDeut 154
MurGen–Exod 145, 154, 171
MurLev 145, 154, 171
MurNum^a 145, 154, 171
MurXII 145
Mur
1:2 334
42:2 152
SdeirGen 145, 154, 171
SeDeut 154
SeNum^b 145, 171

New Testament

Acts

7:2–4 229

Hebrews

11 1116

Rabbinic Works

Mishnah

- m. Berakot 176
m. Kelim 165, 166
m. Megillah 177, 1093
m. Mo'ed Qaṭan 167, 168
m. Šabbat 177
m. Sanhedrin 169
m. Soṭah 103, 165
m. Yoma 165

Tosefta

- t. Baba Meši'a 166, 176
t. Kelim 166
t. Šabbat 170
t. Sanhedrin 168

Jerusalem Talmud

- y. Megillah 173, 176
y. Šabbat 170, 177–178
y. Sanhedrin 168–169
y. Šeqalim 167, 168, 169
y. Ta'anit 169–170, 171, 648

Babylonian Talmud

- b. Baba Batra 169
b. Berakot 175, 176
b. 'Erubin 175, 1094
b. Giṭṭin 1094
b. Ketubbot 167, 169, 176
b. Makkot 1049
b. Megillah 152, 167
b. Mo'ed Qaṭan 167
b. Nedarim 174, 175
b. Pesahim 177
b. Šabbat 170
b. Soṭah 165

Midrashim and Minor Tractates

- 'Abot de Rabbi Nathan 175
'Aggadat Berešit 1092
Genesis Rabbah 176, 203, 1092
Leviticus Rabbah 175
Midrash Bereshit Rabbati 127
Midrash Tanḥuma
Lekh lekha 233

Midrash Tanhuma (*continued*)
 Vayyera 1092
 Miqra'ot Gedolot 1094

Sifre Numbers 575
 Song of Songs Rabbah 495

Early Christian Writings and Greco-Roman Literature

Josephus
Against Apion 163, 164
Jewish Antiquities 113, 164, 183, 241,
 648, 703
Jewish War 164
The Life 164

Eusebius
Onomasticon 685, 699, 703

Hecataeus of Abdera
Aegyptiaca 357

Hecataeus of Miletus
Periodos Ges 736–737

Herodotus
Histories 225, 754

Hesiod
Catalogue of Women 204
Theogony 204

Homer
Iliad 210–211
Odyssey 206, 225, 228

Justinian
Digest 569

Origen
Hexapla 175

Ovid
Fasti 408

Pseudo-Xenophon
Constitution of the Athenians 882

Tatian
Diatessaron 103, 212

Virgil
Aeneid 206

Medieval Writers

Benjamin of Tudela 225
 Hazquni, Abraham 1124
 Ibn Ezra, Abraham 104, 319, 358, 1124
 Levi ben Gershom 1126

Nahmanides (Ramban) 233
 Rashi 104–105, 106, 262, 817, 935,
 1095–1096, 1102

Author Index

- Aaron, D. H. 431
Achenbach, R. 601–602, 623, 720, 750, 885
Ackroyd, P. 834
Aharoni, Y. 741
Aitken, K. 421, 422, 946
Albeck, C. 165
Albertz, R. 71, 616, 617, 720
Albrecht, J. E. 255, 256
Alexander, P. S. 731, 741
Allegro, J. 483, 487
Alt, A. 739, 815
Alter, R. 438, 440
Amir, Y. 1100, 1103
Amit, Y. 235–236
Anbar, M. 824
Andersen, F. I. 960, 961, 962, 974
Andersen, H. C. 208
Anderson, B. W. 530
Arico, A. F. 26
Artus, O. 620
Assmann, J. 727
Aster, S. Z. 59, 65, 66, 75
Astruc, J. 246–247, 249, 460, 580, 583, 590
Athas, G. 22
Auld, A. G. 94, 366
Aurelius, E. 749

Bacon, B. W. 693, 695, 707
Baden, J. S. 74, 75, 101, 201–202, 213, 411, 589, 603–604, 614, 616, 623, 747, 819, 1008, 1091, 1096–1097, 1107
Baentsch, B. 620, 621, 1056–1057, 1059, 1064, 1065
Barbiero, G. 276
Bar-On, S. *See* Gesundheit, S.
Barstad, H. M. 972
Barton, J. 460, 844–845
Baumgartner, W. 409
Bautch, R. J. 480–481
Beauchamp, P. 1122
Becker, U. 823
Beckett, S. 450
Becking, B. 529
Bedford, P. R. 951
Beit-Arié, M. 124
Bendavid, A. 382
Benet, W. R. 225
Ben-Gad HaCohen, D. 696
Ben-Porat, Z. 990
Benzinger, I. 780
Berlejung, A. 61, 65
Berlin, A. 462
Berman, J. 369
Berner, C. 456, 471, 517, 519, 565, 603, 611, 612, 747–748, 750
Bernhardt, K. H. 722
Bernstein, M. J. 487
Beyerle, S. 746
Bickert, R. 720
Biran, A. 22
Blank, S. H. 945, 947
Blau, L. 164, 170
Bleek, F. 590, 795
Blenkinsopp, J. 148, 348–349, 536
Block, D. I. 1031, 1079, 1080
Blum, E. 71, 73, 273, 276, 319, 402, 435, 436, 587, 589, 597–599, 608, 609, 781, 799, 818, 956, 999, 1001
Boccaccio, G. 207, 208
Boda, M. 547, 552, 834, 955, 966, 968, 973, 1050
Braiterman, Z. 1095
Braulik, G. 638, 807
Brettler, M. Z. 300
Brichto, H. C. 947
Brockelmann, C. 386
Brooke, A. E. 184
Brooks, P. 1121, 1123
Broshi, M. 182
Brown-Guttoff, S. E. 901
Brueggemann, W. 1101, 1122
Buber, M. 3, 1100

- Budde, K. 780, 815
 Buis, P. 944, 978, 981
 Bultmann, R. 1122
 Burney, C. F. 704, 789
 Burrows, M. 1063, 1064, 1070
 Büttner, M. 734
- Calvin, J. 1056
 Carmichael, C. 51, 662
 Carpenter, J. E. 246
 Carr, D. M. 87, 93, 94, 104, 113, 352, 400,
 407, 428, 431, 492, 497, 501, 525,
 528, 529, 603, 613, 838, 915, 917,
 938, 939, 940, 1017, 1091, 1098, 1106,
 1136–1137
 Cascardi, A. J. 1145
 Cassuto, U. 233, 243, 247, 563
 Charles, R. H. 236
 Chavel, S. 671, 677, 681, 790
 Childs, B. 1099, 1100–1101, 1102, 1105
 Cholewiński, A. 679
 Clark, D. R. 773
 Clements, R. E. 814
 Clines, D. J. A. 148, 411, 596–597, 1121
 Coats, G. W. 235
 Cogan, M. 39, 81, 853
 Coggins, R. J. 972
 Cohen, C. 353
 Cohen, Y. 429
 Cohn, R. L. 212–213
 Collins, J. J. 355–356
 Conrad, J. 449–450, 451
 Conroy, C. 422
 Coote, R. B. 960
 Cornelius, I. 732
 Cornill, C. H. 779, 1059, 1062
 Corwin, R. 328
 Crane, A. S. 1020, 1036, 1037
 Crawford, S. W. 183–184, 185, 187, 480
 Crenshaw, J. L. 18, 956, 961, 978
 Cross, F. M. 35, 38, 102, 152, 153, 183,
 284, 408, 421, 483, 484
 Cryer, F. H. 296, 301
 Cuddon, J. A. 225
- Dällenbach, L. 281–282
 Danby, H. 167
 Daube, D. 569
 Davies, G. I. 17, 698
- Davies, P. R. 296, 298, 350–351
 Davis Parker, H. D. 19, 26, 32, 33
 Deferrari, R. J. 452
 deGroot van Houten, C. 1084
 Delitzsch, F. 300, 307, 1058
 Delnero, P. 87
 De Rossi, J. B. 179
 Dickey, E. 298–299
 Dijkstra, M. 864
 Di Lella, A. A. 893
 Dilke, O. A. W. 736–737
 Dillmann, A. 1066
 Dombrowski, B. W. W. 385
 Dombrowski, F. A. 385
 Donner, H. 597, 742, 743
 Dozeman, T. B. 460, 688, 761, 808, 866
 Driver, S. R. 314, 328, 379, 626, 1056,
 1064, 1066, 1068, 1069, 1070
 Duhm, B. 1001
 du Mesnil, A. 452
 Duvall, J. S. 893
- Edenburg, C. 13, 362
 Ehrensward, M. 302, 428, 432
 Eichhorn, J. G. 249, 460, 589, 590
 Eichler, B. L. 658
 Eichrodt, W. 1116
 Eissfeldt, O. 359, 594–595
 Elliger, K. 314, 956, 1067
 Erisman, A. R. 691, 697, 744
 Eshel, E. 134, 141
 Even-Shoshan, A. 892
 Ewald, G. H. A. 405, 406, 407, 409, 567,
 833, 1121
- Fabry, H.-J. 975
 Fantalkin, A. 530
 Finkelstein, I. 15–16, 17–18, 351
 Finnegan, R. 421, 438
 Fischer, G. 934, 935, 939, 962, 965, 982,
 1128
 Fischer, H. 739
 Fishbane, M. 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 115,
 270, 272, 276, 281, 492, 665, 837,
 918, 919, 920, 924, 925, 926, 927,
 930, 939, 941, 1098
 Flinders Petrie, W. M. 699
 Flury-Schölch, A. 900
 Fohrer, G. 595, 1017, 1062, 1066, 1067

- Fokkelman, J. P. 209, 210
 Foley, J. 422–423
 Forster, E. M. 202–203, 207–208, 211, 221, 222
 Fox, M. V. 895
 Frankel, Z. 191
 Freedman, D. N. 38, 151, 189, 960, 961, 962, 974
 Frevel, C. 1133
 Friedman, R. E. 696, 697
 Fritz, V. 819
 Frolov, S. 1132
 Fronzarolio, P. 459
 Fuller, R. E. 134
- Galling, K. 435
 Gass, E. 719
 Gass, H. M. 299
 Geiger, G. 159, 592
 Gentry, P. 125
 George, A. R. 207
 George, L. 842, 843, 844
 Gerstenberger, E. 949, 972, 973, 974, 978
 Gertner, M. 1004
 Gertz, J. C. 402, 463, 465, 475, 599, 600, 612, 818
 Gese, H. 303
 Gesenius, H. F. W. 190, 295, 328, 329, 333
 Gesundheit, S. 273, 274, 874, 1098
 Gevirtz, S. 386, 947
 Giesebrecht, F. 379, 383
 Gillman, A. 1094
 Ginsberg, H. L. 287, 1067
 Ginsburg, C. D. 123, 128
 Ginzberg, L. 208
 Giuntoli, F. 574
 Goldstein, R. 308
 Gordis, R. 164, 168
 Gordon, C. 301
 Goren, Y. 227
 Gottlieb, L. 295
 Graf, K. H. 249, 359, 391, 583, 592, 619, 842, 1015, 1059, 1075, 1087
 Gräfenhan, A. 591
 Graffy, A. 1048, 1049
 Graham, W. A. 107
 Graupner, A. 286
 Graupner, M. 963, 975
 Gray, G. B. 623
- Grayson, A. K. 39, 42
 Green, W. H. 243, 283, 284
 Greenberg, M. 285, 470, 612, 1022, 1048, 1059, 1077, 1080–1081
 Greenfield, J. C. 312
 Greenstein, E. L. 472, 1094
 Gressmann, H. 563–564, 609
 Grimm, J. 208
 Grimm, W. 208
 Grund, A. 874, 876
 Grünwaldt, K. 1059, 1069–1070
 Gunkel, H. 208–209, 234, 247, 318, 406, 443, 460, 564, 582, 593–594, 609
- Hadjiev, T. S. 963, 976, 977, 978
 Haldeman, S. S. 453
 Hale, K. 450
 Halliday, M. A. K. 254
 Halpern, B. 37
 Hanhart, R. 137
 Haran, M. 378, 694, 706, 783, 790, 793, 1062, 1091
 Harford-Battersby, G. 246
 Harris, R. 104, 1092
 Hartley, J. E. 971
 Hasan, R. 254
 Havrelock, R. 744
 Hayes, C. 534
 Hays, J. D. 893
 Hehn, J. 467
 Hendel, R. 408, 474
 Hengstenberg, E. W. 845
 Herr, L. G. 770, 773
 Hertzberg, H.-W. 595
 Heschel, A. J. 1099, 1103
 Higham, T. 776
 Hillers, D. R. 948
 Hirth, F. 703
 Hobson, R. 87
 Hoffman, Y. 372
 Hoftijzer, J. 322
 Holladay, W. L. 537, 930, 931, 933, 936
 Hölscher, G. 815
 Holzinger, H. 458
 Hornkohl, A. 295
 Horowitz, W. 736
 Houston, W. J. 1122, 1138
 Huffines, M. L. 453
 Hughes, J. 597

- Hupfeld, H. 249, 580, 583
 Hurowitz, V. A. 56, 865
 Hurvitz, A. 295, 296–300, 307, 308, 309,
 310, 311, 313, 328–329, 331, 339, 345,
 348, 350, 352, 355, 371–372, 373,
 378, 379, 382, 385, 389, 1032
 Hutton, R. R. 680
 Hyatt, J. P. 930

 Ilgen, K. D. 583
 Isaac, E. 734, 738
 Iser, W. 765

 Jackson, B. S. 51, 662
 Jacob, B. 565, 590, 612
 Jamieson-Drake, D. 17
 Japhet, S. 98, 182, 481, 529, 532, 541
 Jefferson, A. 1123
 Jenks, A. W. 696
 Jeremias, J. 956, 958, 961
 Ji, C.-H. 36
 Johnson, W. M. 542
 Joosten, J. 89, 296, 313, 318, 323–324,
 355, 427, 471, 708

 Kalisch, M. M. 1057
 Kallai, Z. 232, 743–744
 Kara, J. 468
 Kasche, G. H. 737–738
 Kaufman, I. T. 35, 36
 Kaufman, S. A. 347, 501
 Kaufmann, Y. 348, 360, 837, 1077, 1084
 Kautzsch, E. 311
 Kearney, P. J. 1131
 Keel, O. 758–759
 Kegel, M. 845
 Kellogg, R. 202
 Kennicott, B. 133, 179
 Kessler, J. 831, 834, 1046
 Kilian, R. 1066
 Kim, D.-H. 295, 306, 348
 Kim, K.-R. 191
 Kirkpatrick, P. G. 422
 Kittel, R. 780
 Kiuchi, N. 970
 Klein, A. 1071
 Klein, R. W. 99
 Kletter, R. 770
 Klostermann, A. 1016, 1059, 1068, 1069

 Knauf, E. A. 296, 362, 367, 716, 726, 802,
 809, 819, 820, 821, 822
 Knohl, I. 307, 602–603, 933
 Knoppers, G. N. 958
 Köckert, M. 885
 Kong, L. 734
 Kopilovitz, A. 1075, 1076, 1083
 Körting, C. 885, 886
 Kratz, R. G. 114, 116, 117, 118, 480, 492,
 538, 591, 602, 1136
 Krause, J. J. 802, 804
 Kropat, A. 328
 Krüger, T. 874
 Kuenen, A. 249, 359, 583, 585, 591, 593,
 595, 619, 814, 833, 1016, 1057, 1058,
 1060, 1064, 1065, 1087
 Kugel, J. 1092, 1143
 Kutscher, E. Y. 164, 296, 310, 328

 LaBianca, Ø. S. 773
 Labov, W. 348
 Lagrange, M.-J. 571
 Lai, H.-C. 534, 536
 Lämmert, E. 409
 Lange, A. 131, 134, 136
 Lemaire, A. 18
 Lemche, N. 296, 300
 Leuchter, M. 537, 680
 Levenson, J. D. 234, 1098, 1103
 Levin, C. 342, 396, 599, 879, 1060, 1061,
 1117
 Levinas, E. 1094
 Levine, B. A. 361, 372, 373, 623, 969,
 978, 1063, 1067
 Levinson, B. M. 108, 119, 244, 269, 271,
 273, 369, 496, 525, 603, 665, 925,
 954, 1139
 Levita, E. 127–128
 Levitt Kohn, R. 940, 941, 1016, 1050,
 1070
 Levy, T. E. 776
 Lieberman, S. 164
 Lilly, I. 1020–1021
 Lindblom, J. 834
 Lipiński, E. 935
 Lipschits, O. 241, 540
 Liverani, M. 37
 Loewenstamm, S. E. 384, 459, 624
 Lohfink, N. 632, 636, 643, 645

- Long, B. O. 929, 933
 Lord, A. B. 421, 422–423
 Luckenbill, D. D. 62, 81
 Lundbom, J. R. 936
 Lust, J. 1020, 1036, 1037
 Luzzatto, S. D. 224
 Lyons, M. A. 1016, 1017, 1018, 1019, 1028,
 1047, 1048, 1081, 1083

 Machholz, C. 102
 Mackie, T. P. 1018, 1021, 1022, 1024
 Maier, C. 877, 890, 891, 893, 894, 898
 Malamat, A. 240
 Mankowski, P. V. 383
 Mann, T. 243, 1122
 Marböck, J. 893
 Margalit, B. 288
 Markl, D. 1128
 Marquis, L. M. 621, 622, 623, 624, 626,
 628
 Mason, R. A. 834, 835
 Mathews, K. 189
 Mayer, W. 80
 Mays, J. L. 974
 Mazar, A. 32
 McCarthy, D. J. 862
 McKane, W. 930, 935, 936
 McKay, J. 853
 McKenzie, S. L. 529
 Meyers, C. L. 988, 990
 Meyers, E. M. 988, 990
 Michaelis, J. D. 738
 Milgrom, J. 277, 345, 348, 355, 538, 670,
 924, 925, 927, 962, 967, 968, 970,
 971, 972, 973, 976, 978, 1028, 1033,
 1061
 Millard, A. R. 18
 Miller, C. L. *See* Miller-Naudé, C.
 Miller, J. M. 765, 768, 771
 Miller-Naudé, C. 295
 Milstein, S. 87
 Milton, J. 450, 451
 Mizrahi, N. 296, 299
 Moers, G. 226–227
 Moore, G. F. 704
 Morgan, R. 844–845
 Morrow, W. 48
 Mowinckel, S. 1140
 Müller, R. 87, 100, 1067, 1070, 1071

 Naudé, J. A. 296
 Naveh, J. 22, 312
 Na'aman, N. 40, 725–726, 751
 Neef, H.-D. 71, 1004
 Nelson, R. D. 822, 918, 948
 Neusner, J. 166, 1140, 1141
 Newman, D. 729
 Nicolet, C. 740
 Niditch, S. 428
 Nihan, C. 277, 532, 602–603, 652, 654,
 655, 658, 659, 665, 667, 670, 671,
 672–673, 677, 679, 681, 682, 810,
 970, 971, 972, 973, 975, 979, 980,
 1028, 1061, 1063, 1071, 1072, 1073,
 1075, 1076
 Nöldeke, T. 1133
 North, F. 933
 Noth, M. 102, 314, 365, 579, 594, 608,
 611, 614, 626, 629, 686, 689, 695, 698,
 705, 706, 721, 739, 767, 780, 781, 792,
 798, 815, 826, 927, 1133, 1137
 Nurmela, R. 834

 O'Banion, J. D. 1143
 O'Brien, E. J. 255–256
 Ólafsson, S. 296
 Olson, D. 1131–1132
 Osumi, Y. 66
 Oswald, W. 519
 Otto, E. 460, 601, 602, 603, 640, 659, 717,
 810, 819, 876, 906, 1003, 1004, 1063,
 1065, 1133

 Pakkala, J. 87, 91, 100, 101
 Pardee, D. 422
 Pardes, I. 226
 Park, C. C. 732
 Parker, S. B. 408
 Parry, M. 421
 Paton, L. B. 1056, 1059, 1060, 1063, 1064,
 1068
 Paul, S. M. 312, 350, 434, 960, 962, 974,
 978, 981
 Pedersen, J. 300
 Peels, H. G. L. 971
 Perlitt, L. 1133
 Perrault, C. 208
 Petersen, D. L. 949, 951
 Pfeiffer, H. 999, 1001

- Piccirillo, M. 742
 Polak, F. H. 296, 329, 419
 Polzin, R. 313, 314, 338, 345, 349
 Popper, J. 359, 591, 592–593
 Pritchard, J. B. 226, 864
 Pury, A. de 366, 474, 1130

 Qimron, E. 329

 Rad, G. von 224, 360, 363, 393, 582–583,
 780, 826, 834, 861, 862, 1115, 1121
 Redford, D. 365
 Reinmuth, T. 882
 Reisner, G. A. 35, 36
 Rendsburg, G. A. 296, 301, 313, 315–316,
 347, 386
 Rendtorff, R. 283, 315, 589, 596, 608,
 780, 781
 Rezetko, R. 295, 296, 308, 345, 348, 349,
 371, 428, 432
 Ringgren, H. 964
 Rofé, A. 315, 316, 319, 338, 620, 789, 916,
 917, 918, 919
 Rogland, M. 276
 Rollston, C. A. 17, 19, 34
 Römer, T. 408, 436, 437, 538, 602, 747,
 748, 810
 Rom-Shiloni, D. 238, 929, 960, 980, 1029
 Rooper, M. F. 296, 297
 Rosenzweig, F. 1099–1100, 1102,
 1103–1105, 1108
 Roskop, A. E. *See* Erisman, A. R.
 Routledge, B. 771, 772, 773
 Rudolph, W. 583, 584
 Ruprecht, E. 596, 598
 Rütterswörden, U. 754
 Ryssel, C. V. 379

 Sagi, A. 1095
 Saltman, A. 128
 Sanford, A. J. 258–259
 Sass, B. 17–18, 755
 Schart, A. 887
 Schechter, S. 340–341, 1106
 Schmid, K. 218, 363, 402, 475, 814, 832,
 901, 1133
 Schmid, W. 452
 Schmidt, L. 628, 715, 716, 718, 721
 Schmitt, H. C. 814
 Schmitt, R. 755
 Schniedewind, W. 33–34, 297
 Scholes, R. 202
 Schottroff, W. 946
 Schunck, K.-D. 883
 Schwartz, B. J. 73, 260, 604, 619, 669,
 925, 1047, 1080, 1083, 1091, 1096,
 1105, 1107, 1138, 1139
 Schweid, E. 1097
 Schwienhorst-Schönberger, L. 63, 67, 68
 Seebass, H. 395, 602, 626, 627, 628, 715,
 746, 766
 Seeligmann, I. L. 915–917
 Seetzen, U. 739
 Segal, M. 184–185, 485–486, 488, 489
 Seow, C.-L. 296
 Seybold, K. 932
 Siegel, J. P. 127
 Simon, R. 246, 249, 460
 Simpson, C. A. 780
 Sivan, D. 354
 Ska, J. L. 281, 360, 407, 409, 410, 444,
 460, 1122, 1132
 Skehan, P. W. 193–194, 483, 893
 Skinner, J. 224
 Smend, R. 395, 584, 595–596, 780, 845,
 848, 1058, 1065
 Smith, M. S. 472
 Smith, W. C. 1101
 Soggin, J. A. 961
 Soja, E. 740–741
 Sommer, B. D. 119, 323, 496, 921, 940,
 1114
 Sonnet, J.-P. 1088
 Southwood, K. 534
 Speiser, E. A. 286
 Sperber, D. 763
 Sperling, S. D. 346
 Spieckermann, H. 885, 886
 Spinoza, B. de 249, 358, 543, 795, 814
 Stackert, J. 114, 119, 671, 845, 969, 970,
 973, 980, 1083
 Stade, B. 1008
 Staerk, W. 780
 Stead, M. R. 834, 990
 Steck, O. H. 107
 Stegemann, H. 146, 186–187
 Sternberg, M. 440
 Steymans, H.-U. 368

- Stipp, H.-J. 91
 Stromberg, J. 1021
 Strugnell, J. 184, 484, 487, 517
 Stump, R. W. 734
 Sturt, P. 259
 Sumner, W. A. 705
 Sun, H. 1072
 Swanson, D. D. 182
 Sweeney, M. A. 866, 869, 988, 989
 Swift, J. 225
- Tadmor, H. 39
 Tal, O. 530
 Talmon, S. 111
 Talshir, D. 329, 346, 348
 Talstra, E. 955
 Teeter, D. A. 137
 Tertel, H. J. 91
 Thiel, W. 877
 Thiselton, A. 947
 Thomas, R. 422, 423
 Thompson, T. L. 15, 296, 862
 Tigay, J. 12, 13, 501
 Tigchelaar, E. J. C. 187
 Tollington, J. 834
 Tooman, W. 1035
 Toorn, K. van der 135, 281, 352
 Tov, E. 88, 103, 130, 131, 134, 151, 152,
 153, 167, 183–184, 185, 187, 188, 484,
 485, 486, 487, 503–504, 575, 576,
 803, 1025
 Tuan, Y. F. 734
 Tuell, S. 1062
 Turner, V. 472
- Ullendorf, E. 362
 Ulrich, E. 111, 132, 150, 185, 193–194,
 486
- VanderKam, J. C. 185
 Van Seters, J. 232, 318, 352, 407, 408,
 422, 435, 567–568, 583, 589, 626,
 701, 717, 767, 768, 780, 796, 824,
 862, 1117
 Vatke, W. 842, 843, 844, 845, 1087
 Veenhof, K. R. 946
 Veijola, T. 363, 580, 885, 886
 Vervenne, M. 179, 284–285
 Vielhauer, R. 1001
- Vismann, C. 1143
 Vollmer, J. 1001
 Volz, P. 584, 933
 Vorländer, H. 364
 Vroom, J. 654
 Vyhmeister, W. K. 776
- Watts, J. W. 1088
 Wazana, N. 744
 Weimar, P. 395, 465
 Weinfeld, M. 877, 954, 1129
 Weiss, M. 440, 960
 Wellhausen, J. 1, 7, 94, 249, 314, 348, 355,
 360, 383, 467, 557, 563, 567, 568, 571,
 576, 577, 582, 583, 590–592, 593,
 596, 604, 614, 698, 761, 780, 814,
 815, 820, 821, 824, 833, 841, 842,
 843–844, 861–862, 1015, 1016, 1017,
 1057, 1058, 1060, 1061, 1062, 1065,
 1066, 1072, 1075, 1087, 1105, 1133,
 1136
 Wendland, E. R. 993
 Wenham, G. 224, 230, 238, 439
 Westermann, C. 204, 205, 224, 230, 231,
 235, 237, 408, 573
 Wette, W. M. L. de 358–359, 368, 449,
 1087, 1111
 Wevers, J. W. 137, 192, 631
 White, S. A. *See* Crawford, S. W.
 Whitt, W. D. 1003, 1004
 Whybray, R. N. 407, 563, 590
 Wiegand, H. E. 272
 Williamson, H. G. M. 552
 Witte, M. 590, 601, 1088–1089
 Wöhrle, J. 834, 887
 Wolff, H. W. 360, 956, 957, 958, 961, 966,
 967, 972, 975, 1006
 Wright, J. K. 733
 Wright, R. M. 296
 Würthwein, E. 722
 Wüst, M. 716
 Wyatt, N. 288
- Yeivin, I. 178
 Yoo, P. Y. 1132
 Young, I. 295, 296, 300, 301, 332, 345,
 348, 349, 371, 387, 427, 428, 432
 Younker, R. 773
 Yun-Sin, S. 434

- Zacuto, A. 128
Zahn, M. M. 87, 90, 185, 480, 487, 488,
489, 514, 521, 522
Zakovitch, Y. 117, 229, 440, 939, 1052,
1133
Zenger, E. 814
Zevit, Z. 295
Zimmerli, W. 314, 591, 1017, 1018, 1024,
1032, 1037, 1052, 1058, 1067
Zimmern, H. 383
Zsolnay, I. 57