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THE SCRIBES OF THE TORAH

The Formation of the Pentateuch in Its Literary and Historical Contexts

Konrad Schmid



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Preface

Who were the scribes of the Torah? When did they write specific parts of the Torah? When, how, and why was the Torah composed? Possible answers to these questions seemed clearer and more readily available several decades ago. This, however, does not mean that we know less regarding the writing and composition of the Torah than at the end of the twentieth century. On a global scale, now we are more aware of the shortcomings and fallacies of the assumed consensus that reigned in pentateuchal scholarship from Wellhausen to Rendtorff and from Hupfeld to Van Seters. The modification and possibly even the abandonment of traditional assumptions in scholarship cannot be seriously considered as a dominant backdrop of pentateuchal research. Rather, it paves the way to more accurate and better-founded assumptions regarding the scribes of the Torah and their work. It thereby enables a better reconstruction of the historical framework of the Pentateuch's genesis.

This book does not claim to describe who the scribes of the Torah were or the nature of their work. No one is in such a position. This simply arises from the fact that we know the Torah only from copies of copies. There are simply not enough external data to clearly verify or falsify certain hypotheses about the Torah's composition. Furthermore, one can reconstruct the scribal culture from which it emerged largely only from the Torah itself.¹ What we can attempt, however, is the consideration of possible relatives and sometimes even absolute dates for the various texts and compositions in the Pentateuch. We can offer evaluations of the logic of the history of scholarship, which sometimes yielded convincing results and sometimes led the discussion astray. We can weigh possible parallels

1. See, however, Israel Finkelstein, "Jerusalem and Judah 600–200 BCE: Implications for Understanding Pentateuchal Texts," in *The Fall of Jerusalem and the Rise of the Torah*, ed. Peter Dubovský, Dominik Markl, and Jean-Pierre Sonnet, FAT 107 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 3–18.

from ancient Near Eastern cultures to help assess theories regarding the formation of the Pentateuch and the scribal culture that produced it. This is and will be an open discussion that has to include as much evidence as possible from various fields, such as literary history, comparative cultural history, historical linguistics, epigraphy, and archaeology.

The essays collected in this book have been written over the course of the past twenty years. My research on the Pentateuch goes back to the 1990s, when I was working as an assistant to Odil Hannes Steck in Zurich. He had asked me to put together a survey of recent pentateuchal scholarship for him because he was preparing a lecture course on the literary history of the Hebrew Bible. On the one hand, he felt increasingly uneasy with the traditional Documentary Hypothesis. On the other, his impression was that there were important new developments in pentateuchal research about which he wanted to be better informed. It was in 1995, that is, the last year of writing my dissertation on the book of Jeremiah, that I started to work on this survey for Steck. When I finished this research a few months later, I had a first draft of what later became my Habilitationsschrift “Erzväter und Exodus.”² Most revealing for me were the insights of Albert de Pury and Thomas Römer on the literary relationship between the ancestral stories in the book of Genesis and the exodus story in the subsequent books of the Pentateuch.³

Once my Habilitationsschrift was published in 1999 (it argued that the Priestly document was the first literary source to provide a literary link between what later became Genesis and Exodus), I quickly became aware of the works by Jan Christian Gertz and Markus Witte,⁴ who came to comparable, even similar conclusions by pursuing quite different

2. Konrad Schmid, *Genesis and the Moses Story: Israel's Dual Origins in the Hebrew Bible* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2010); trans. of *Erzväter und Exodus: Untersuchungen zur doppelten Begründung der Ursprünge Israels in den Geschichtsbüchern des Alten Testaments*, WMANT 81 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1999).

3. See, e.g., Albert de Pury, “Le cycle de Jacob comme légende autonome des origines d’Israël,” in *Congress Volume Leuven 1989*, ed. John A. Emerton, VTSup 43 (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 78–96; Thomas Römer, *Israels Väter: Untersuchungen zur Väterthematik im Deuteronomium und in der deuteronomistischen Tradition*, OBO 99 (Fribourg: Editions Universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990).

4. Jan C. Gertz, *Tradition und Redaktion in der Exoduserzählung: Untersuchungen zur Endredaktion des Pentateuchs*, FRLANT 186 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000); Markus Witte, *Die biblische Urgeschichte: Redaktions- und theologiegeschichtliche Beobachtungen zu Genesis 1,1–11,26*, BZAW 265 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998).

approaches. Collaboration and friendship with Jan Christian Gertz and Markus Witte led to the volume *Abschied vom Jahwisten* (2002)⁵ and to the textbook *Grundinformation Altes Testament* (2006), which became quite successful in German-speaking theological education (the sixth edition was published in 2019);⁶ its third edition was also translated into English.⁷

Starting in 2003, I began attending the SBL Annual Meetings in North America. I became a member of the steering committee of the Pentateuch section, where I met David Carr, Tom Dozeman, Baruch Schwartz, Ben Sommer, and others. For a few years, I cochaired the section with Tom Dozeman, and one of the results of the collaboration with him was the volume *A Farewell to the Yahwist?* (2006).⁸

For the academic year 2012–2013, Bernard M. Levinson, Baruch Schwartz, and I put together a research team for the Israel Institute of Advanced Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem to work on the topic “Convergence and Divergence in Pentateuchal Theory: Bridging the Academic Cultures of Israel, North America, and Europe.” The group included, in addition to the three conveners, Sara Japhet, Dalit Rom-Shiloni, Jan Gertz, Shimon Gesundheit, and Ben Sommer, as well as short-term guests Joel Baden and Jeffrey Stackert. The proceedings of the conferences of this research group were published in the volume *The Formation of the Pentateuch*.⁹ Although there was some hope to bring the different discourses on the composition of the Pentateuch closer together, the main effect of this research group and its conferences was to gain a better and deeper awareness of the basic differences of the divergent methodological approaches. This comprehensive volume therefore repre-

5. Jan Christian Gertz, Markus Witte, and Konrad Schmid, eds., *Abschied vom Jahwisten: Die Komposition des Hexateuch in der jüngsten Diskussion*, BZAW 315 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002).

6. Jan Christian Gertz et al., *Grundinformation Altes Testament: Eine Einführung in Literatur, Religion und Geschichte des Alten Testaments*, 6th ed., UTB 2745 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019).

7. Jan Christian Gertz et al., *T&T Clark Handbook of the Old Testament: An Introduction to the Literature, Religion and History of the Old Testament*, trans. Jennifer Adams-Maßmann et al. (London: T&T Clark, 2012).

8. Thomas B. Dozeman and Konrad Schmid, eds., *A Farewell to the Yahwist? The Composition of the Pentateuch in Recent European Interpretation*, SymS 34 (Atlanta: SBL, 2006).

9. Jan C. Gertz et al., eds., *The Formation of the Pentateuch: Bridging the Academic Cultures of Europe, Israel, and North America*, FAT 111 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016).

sents the juxtaposition of a variety of positions, and it remains to be seen whether the next few decades can forge new consensuses from this broad outline of different perspectives.

In response to the current situation, this volume of collected essays of mine serves as an attempt to provide a broad overview to my own perspective within this conversation. Some of the texts were published originally in English; others were written in German and have now been translated into English. Unless otherwise indicated (see pp. 3 and 23), most are reprinted here with no or only slight changes or updates. The essays are arranged in the following groups: (1) The Pentateuch in the Enneateuch; (2) History of Scholarship; (3) The Formation of the Torah; (4) Genesis; (5) The Moses Story; (6) The Priestly Document; (7) Legal Texts; and (8) The Pentateuch in the History of Ancient Israel's Religion. The locations of the original publications can be found below.

My thanks go first and foremost to Dr. Peter Altmann, who translated those essays previously published in German into English and, together with Dr. Jordan Davies and Dr. Hans Decker, prepared the manuscript for publication. Mirijam Baumann and Diana Haibucher produced the indexes for this volume; I am very grateful for their work. In addition, I thank Brill, Cambridge University Press, de Gruyter, Droz, Harrassowitz, Mohr Siebeck, Penn State University Press, and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht for allowing me to reprint the articles assembled in this collection. Finally, I thank the editorial board of AIL for accepting this book for their series and especially Bob Buller and Nicole Tilford from SBL Press for their work and support.

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Konrad Schmid

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1. "Buchtechnische und sachliche Prolegomena zur Enneateuchfrage." Pages 1–14 in *Auf dem Weg zur Endgestalt von Gen-II Regum: Festschrift Hans-Christoph Schmitt zum 65. Geburtstag*. Edited by Martin Beck and Ulrike Schorn. BZAW 370. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006.
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17. “Die Rückgabe der Verheissungsgabe: Der ‘heilsgeschichtliche’ Sinn von Genesis 22 im Horizont innerbiblischer Exegese.” Pages 271–300

- in *Gott und Mensch im Dialog: Festschrift für Otto Kaiser zum 80. Geburtstag*. Edited by Markus Witte. BZAW 345.1. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004.
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- im Alten Testament.* FAT 77. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011.
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Abbreviations

A ³ P	Artaxerxes III, Repairs to the Palace of Darius
AASF	Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae
ÄAT	Ägypten un Altes Testament
AB	Anchor (Yale) Bible
ABD	Freedman, David Noel, ed. <i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
ABIG	Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte
ABRL	Anchor (Yale) Bible Reference Library
ABS	Archaeology and Biblical Studies
abs.	absolute
ACEBT	<i>Amsterdamse Cahiers voor Exegese in bijbelse Theologie</i>
ADPV	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJSL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i>
AnBib	Analecta Biblical
ANEM	Ancient Near East Monographs
ANEP	Pritchard, James B., ed. <i>The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament</i> . 2nd ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
ANET	Pritchard, James B., ed. <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> . 3rd ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969.
Ant.	Josephus, <i>Jewish Antiquities</i>
ANTZ	Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Theologie und Zeitgeschichte
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
Apoc. Ab.	Apocalypse of Abraham
ArOr	<i>Archiv Orientalni</i>

<i>AP</i>	Cowley, Arthur C. <i>Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.</i> Oxford: Clarendon, 1923.
<i>ATANT</i>	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
<i>ATD</i>	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
<i>ATM</i>	Altes Testament und Moderne
<i>ATSAT</i>	Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament
<i>AzTh</i>	Arbeiten zur Theologie
<i>b.</i>	Babylonian Talmud
<i>B. Qam.</i>	Baba Qamma
<i>BA</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
<i>BaF</i>	Baghdader Forschungen
<i>BaM</i>	<i>Baghdader Mitteilungen</i>
<i>BBB</i>	Bonner biblische Beiträge
<i>BEATAJ</i>	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums
<i>BETL</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium</i>
<i>BEvT</i>	Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie
<i>BHH</i>	Reicke, Bo, and Leonhard Rost, eds. <i>Biblische-historische Handwörterbuch: Landeskunde, Geschichte, Religion, Kultur.</i> 4 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962–1966.
<i>BHS</i>	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i>
<i>BHT</i>	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BibB</i>	Biblische Beiträge
<i>BibEnc</i>	Biblical Encyclopedia
<i>Bib. hist.</i>	Diodorus Siculus, <i>Bibliotheca historica</i>
<i>BibInt</i>	<i>Biblical Interpretation</i>
<i>BibLeb</i>	<i>Bibel und Leben</i>
<i>BibSem</i>	The Biblical Seminar
<i>BibS(N)</i>	Biblisches Studien (Neukirchen)
<i>BJS</i>	Brown Judaic Studies
<i>BK</i>	<i>Bibel und Kirche</i>
<i>BKAT</i>	Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament
<i>BL</i>	<i>Bibel und Liturgie</i>
<i>BN</i>	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
<i>BThSt</i>	Biblisch-Theologische Studien
<i>BTZ</i>	<i>Berliner Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>BWANT</i>	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament

BWAT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament
BZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift NS</i>
BZABR	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für altorientalische und biblische Rechtsgeschichte
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CahRB	<i>Cahiers de la revue biblique</i>
CANE	Sasson, Jack M., ed. <i>Civilizations of the Ancient Near East</i> . 4 vols. New York, 1995. Repr. in 2 vols. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2006.
C. Ap.	Josephus, <i>Contra Apionem</i>
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBH	Classical Biblical Hebrew
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CC	Covenant Code (Exod 20–23)
CH	Codex Hammurabi
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CHJ	The Cambridge History of Judaism
ConBNT	Coniectanea Biblica: New Testament Series
ConBOT	Coniectanea Biblica: Old Testament Series
COS	Hallo, William W., and K. Lawson Younger Jr., eds. <i>The Context of Scripture</i> . 4 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1997–2016.
CRAI	Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres
CrStHB	Critical Studies in the Hebrew Bible
CTH	Laroche, Emmanuel. <i>Catalogue des textes hittites. Études et commentaires</i> 75. Paris: Klincksieck, 1971.
CurBR	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
DB	Darius I, Besitun Inscription
DBAT	<i>Dielheimer Blätter zum Alten Testament und seiner Rezeption in der Alten Kirche</i>
DBAT.B	Dielheimer Blätter zum Alten Testament und seiner Rezeption in der Alten Kirche Beihefte
DDD	Toorn, Karel van der, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst, eds. <i>Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible</i> . 2nd ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999.
DEa	Darius I, Gandj Nameh/Elvend

DISO	Jean, Charles-François and Jacob Hoftijzer, eds. <i>Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest</i> . Leiden Brill, 1965.
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DMOA	Documenta et monumenta Orientis antiqui
DNa	Darius I, Naqš-e Rustam inscription
DNP	Cancik, Hubert, and Helmuth Schneider, eds. <i>Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike</i> . Stuttgart: Metzler, 1996–.
DSac	Darius I, Susa, inscriptions a and c
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
DZc	Darius I, Suez, description of the Red Sea canal
EBib	Études bibliques
ECC	Eerdmans Critical Commentary
EdF	Erträge der Forschung
EHLL	Khan, Geoffrey, ed. <i>Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics</i> . 4 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
EHS.T	Europäische Hochschulschriften Reihe 23, Theologie
EncJud	Skolnik, Fred, and Michael Berenbaum, eds. <i>Encyclopedia Judaica</i> . 2nd ed. 22 vols. Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007.
ErIsr	<i>Eretz Israel</i>
EstBib	<i>Estudios bíblicos</i>
ET	English translation
ETR	<i>Etudes théologiques et religieuses</i>
EvT	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FB	Forschung zur Bibel
FoiVie	<i>Foi et vie</i>
frag(s).	fragment(s)
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GAT	Grundrisse zum Alten Testament
Gen. Rab.	Genesis Rabbah
GKC	Gesenius, Wilhelm. <i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i> . Edited by Emil Kautzsch. Translated by Arthur E. Cowley. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1910.
HACL	History, Archaeology, and Culture of the Levant
HAL	Koehler, Ludwig, Walter Baumgartner, and Johann J. Stamm. <i>Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexicon zum Alten Testament</i> . 3rd ed. Leiden: Brill, 1995, 2004.

<i>HALOT</i>	Koehler, Ludwig, Walter Baumgartner, and Johann J. Stamm. <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament.</i> Translated and edited under the supervision of Mervyn E. J. Richardson. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
<i>HAW</i>	Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft
<i>HBS</i>	Herders Biblische Studien
<i>HBT</i>	<i>Horizons in Biblical Theology</i>
<i>HCOT</i>	Historical Commentary on the Old Testament
<i>HBAI</i>	<i>Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel</i>
<i>Hen</i>	<i>Henoch</i>
<i>Hist.</i>	Herodotus, <i>Histories</i> ; Thucydides, <i>Histories</i>
<i>HKAT</i>	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
<i>HSM</i>	Harvard Semitic Monographs
<i>HSS</i>	Harvard Semitic Studies
<i>HThKAT</i>	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
<i>HTS</i>	Harvard Theological Studies
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<i>IECOT</i>	International Exegetical Commentary on the Old Testament
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
impf.	imperfect
inf.	infinitive
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
<i>JAJ</i>	<i>Journal of Ancient Judaism</i>
<i>JAJSup</i>	Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements
<i>JANER</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Religions</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JBTh</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für biblische Theologie</i>
<i>JCS</i>	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JNSL</i>	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages</i>
<i>Joüon</i>	Joüon, Paul. <i>A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew</i> . Translated and revised by T. Muraoka. 2 vols. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1991.
<i>JSHRZ</i>	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
<i>JSJSup</i>	Supplements to the <i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
<i>JSNTSup</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplements</i>
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>

JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplements
JSP	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplements
JSRC	Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
Jud	<i>Judaica (Buenos Aires)</i>
JudUm	<i>Judentum und Umwelt</i>
KAI	Donner, Herbert, and Wolfgang Röllig. <i>Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften</i> . 2nd ed. 3 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1966–1969.
KD	<i>Kerygma und Dogma</i>
KHC	Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament
KStTh	Kohlhammer Studienbücher Theologie
KTU	Dietrich, Manfried, Oswald Loretz, and Joaquín Sanmartín, eds. <i>Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit</i> . Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995.
KUB	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghaköi
KUSATU	Kleine Untersuchungen zur Sprache des Alten Testaments und seiner Umwelt
LÄ	Helck, Wolfgang, Eberhard Otto, Wolfhart Westendorf, eds. <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> . Weisbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972.
LAE	<i>Life of Adam and Eve</i>
LBH	Late Biblical Hebrew
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LD	<i>Lectio Divina</i>
LE	<i>Laws of Eshnunna</i>
Leg.	Philo, <i>Legum allegoriae</i>
LH	<i>Laws of Hammurabi</i>
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LSAWS	Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic
LU	<i>Laws of Ur-Nammu</i>
LXX	Septuagint
MC	Mesopotamian Civilizations
MdB	<i>Monde de la Bible</i>
Meg.	Megillah
MT	Masoretic Text
MTZ	<i>Münchener theologische Zeitschrift</i>
Mus	<i>Le Museon</i>

MVAG	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft
NAWG	<i>Nachrichten (von) der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen</i>
NBL	Görg, Manfred et al., eds. <i>Neues Bibel-Lexikon</i> . Zurich: Benziger, 1991–2001.
NCB	New Century Bible Commentary
NEchtB	Neue Echter Bibel
NS	new series
NSK.AT	Neuer Stuttgarter Kommentar Altes Testament
NTG	Neue theologische Grundrisse
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
ÖBS	Österreichische Biblische Studien
OBT	Overtures to Biblical Theology
OEANE	Meyers, Eric M., ed. <i>The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East</i> . 5 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
Opif.	Philo, <i>De opificio mundi</i>
ORA	Orientalische Religionen in der Antike
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTS	Oudtestamentische Studiën
per.	person
pf.	perfect
PFES	Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society
pl.	plate
QD	Quaestiones Disputatae
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
RBL	<i>Review of Biblical Literature</i>
RBS	Resources for Biblical Studies
RGG	Betz, Hans Dieter, ed. <i>Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> . 4th ed. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998–2007.
RGG ²	Bertholet, Alfred, ed. <i>Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> . 2nd ed. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1927–1932.
RGG ³	Galling, Kurt, ed. <i>Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> . 3rd ed. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1957–1962.
RHPR	<i>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses</i>
RIDA	<i>Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité</i>
RivB	<i>Rivista biblica italiana</i>

RIA	Ebeling, Erich, et al., eds. <i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i> . 15 vols. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1928–2018.
RPP	Betz, Hans Dieter, et al., eds. <i>Religion Past and Present</i> . 14 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2007–2014.
RPT	Religion in Philosophy and Theology
RQ	<i>Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte</i>
RTP	<i>Revue de théologie et de philosophie</i>
s.	singular
SAA	State Archives of Assyria
SANT	Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testaments
SAT	Schriften des Alten Testaments in Auswahl
SBAB	Stuttgarter biblische Aufsatzbände
SBB	Stuttarter biblische Beiträge
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLStBL	Society of Biblical Literature Studies in Biblical Literature
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SBTS	Sources for Biblical and Theological Study
ScEs	<i>Science et esprit</i>
SCS	Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SEÅ	<i>Svensk exegetisk årsbok</i>
Sem	<i>Semitica</i>
SemeiaSt	Semeia Studies
SESJ	Suomen Eksegeettisen Seuran julkaisuja
SFSHJ	South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism
sg.	singular
SHANE	Studies in the History (and Culture) of the Ancient Near East
SHAW	Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 2
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions (supplements to <i>Numen</i>)
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SJOT	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
Sof.	Soferim
SP	Samaritan Pentateuch
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
Str-B	Strack, Hermann L., and Paul Billerbeck. <i>Kommentar zum</i>

	<i>Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch.</i> 6 vols. Munich: Beck, 1922–1961.
StSam	<i>Studia Samaritana</i>
StudBib	<i>Studia Biblica</i>
sup.	supplement
SVTG	<i>Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum</i>
SymS	<i>Symposium Series</i>
T. Levi	<i>Testament of Levi</i>
TA	<i>Tel Aviv</i>
TANZ	Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter
TB	Theologische Bücherei
TBN	Themes in Biblical Narrative
TDOT	Botterweck, G. Johannes, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry, eds. <i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> . Translated by John T. Willis et al. 15 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974–2006.
TdT	Themen der Theologie
THeth	Texte der Hethiter
ThSt	Theologische Studien
ThW	Theologische Wissenschaft
ThWAT	Botterweck, G. Johannes, Helmer Ringgren, Heinz-Josef Fabry, and Holger Gzella, eds. <i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i> . 9 vols. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1970–2015.
Timocr.	<i>Demosthenes, In Timocratem</i>
TJT	<i>Toronto Journal of Theology</i>
TLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
TP	<i>Theologie und Philosophie</i>
Transeu	<i>Transeupratène</i>
TRE	Krause, Gerhard, and Gerhard Müller, eds. <i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i> . 36 vols. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977–2006.
TRu	<i>Theologische Rundschau</i>
TSAJ	Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
TSK	<i>Theologische Studien und Kritiken</i>
TTZ	<i>Trierer theologische Zeitschrift</i>
TUAT	Kaiser, Otto, et al, eds. <i>Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments</i> . Gütersloh: Mohn; Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1984–.
TWNT	Kittel, Gerhard, and Gerhard Friedrich, eds. <i>Theologische Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i> . Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1932–1979.

<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
<i>TZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>UCOP</i>	University of Cambridge Oriental Publications
<i>UF</i>	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
<i>UTB</i>	Uni-Taschenbücher
v	verso
<i>VAB</i>	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek
<i>VF</i>	<i>Verkündigung und Forschung</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
<i>VTSup</i>	Supplements to <i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
<i>Vulg</i>	<i>Vulgata</i>
<i>VWGTh</i>	Veröffentlichungen der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft für Theologie
<i>WAW</i>	Writings of the Ancient World
<i>WBC</i>	Word Biblical Commentary
<i>WD</i>	<i>Wort und Dienst</i>
<i>WMANT</i>	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
<i>WO</i>	<i>Welt des Orients</i>
<i>WUB</i>	<i>Welt und Umwelt der Bibel</i>
<i>WUNT</i>	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>XEa</i>	Xerxes I, Gandj Nameh/Elvend, inscription near a waterfall
<i>XPa</i>	Xerxes I, Persepolis, gate of all nations
<i>XPb</i>	Xerxes I, Persepolis, stairs of the Apadana
<i>XPc</i>	Xerxes I, Persepolis, palace of Darius
<i>XPd</i>	Xerxes I, Persepolis, stairs of the palace of Xerxes
<i>XPh</i>	Xerxes I, Persepolis, “ <i>Daiva inscription</i> ”
<i>XVa</i>	Xerxes I, Van inscription
y.	Jerusalem (talmud, Mishnah)
<i>ZABR</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte</i>
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZBK</i>	Zürcher Bibelkommentare
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
<i>ZDPV</i>	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>
<i>ZEE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für evangelische Ethik</i>
<i>ZKT</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie</i>
<i>ZSS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte</i>
<i>ZTK</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>