THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

STUDIA IN VETERIS TESTAMENTI PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

EDIDERUNT

A -M DENIS ET M DEJONGE

VOLUMEN OCTAVUM

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS
A Commentary

LEIDEN
E J BRILL
1985

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

A Commentary

BY

H. W. HOLLANDER AND M. DE JONGE

LEIDEN
E J BRILL
1985

Library of Ruslan Khazarzar
barnascha narod ru
khazarzar skeptik net
patrologia narod ru

ISBN 90 04 07560 7

Copyright 1985 by E J Brill, Leiden The Netherlands

All rights reserved No part of this book may be reproduced or translated in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm microfiche or any other means without written permission from the publisher

CONTENTS

Preface XV

Abbreviations and References XVII
1. Manuscripts of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs XVII
2 The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs XVII
3 Bible and Apocrypha XVII
4 Dead Sea Scrolls XVII
5 Josephus XVIII
6 Philo XVIII
7 Pseudepigrapha and other Jewish and Christian writings XVIII
8 Periodicals and works cited by their title or by the author (editor) 's name XXI
9 General abbreviations XXIII

Introduction 1
1 The scope and plan of this commentary 1
1.1. Modem studies on the Testaments 1
1 2 Modern views on the Testaments 2
1 3 The plan of this commentary 8
2 The text 10
2 1 The Greek edition 10
2 2 The Greek Manuscripts 10
2 3 The Ancient Versions 11
2 4 The constitution of the text and the relationships between various textual witnesses 13
2 5 The date of the oldest attainable text 14
2 6 Consequences for the study of the present text of the Testaments 16
3 Related Hebrew and Aramaic material 17
3.1. Fragments of a Levi-text 17
3 2 Non-Levi material 20
3 3 Genre, date and provenance of the material listed under 3 1 and 3 2 21
3 4 The present Greek Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and 'Aramaic Levi' The Testaments and Qumran . . . 23
3 5. The Hebrew Testament of Naphtali 25
3 6 Midrash Wayissa'u 26
3 7 The author of the Testaments as 'collector' 27
3 8 Were the Testaments translated from Hebrew or Aramaic? 27

4 The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs as a collection of farewell discourses 29
4.1. The framework of the individual testaments 29
4 2 The biographical elements 33
4 3 The exhortatory elements 36
4 4 The predictions of the future 39
5 The ethics of the Testaments 41
5 1 Introductory remarks 41
5 2 Central elements 42
5 3 The character of the ethics of the Testaments 46
6 God and his angels and Beliar and his spirits 47
6 1 Introduction 47
6 2 God and his angels 48
6 3 God's principal opponent Beliar The evil spirits 49
7 Expectations concerning the future in the Testaments 51
7 1 General considerations 51
7 2 The S E R passages 53
7 3 The L J. passages 56
7 4 The resurrection passages . . 61
7 5 Passages dealing with an ideal saviour figure 63
7 6 Israel and the Gentiles 64
8 The Testaments in the early Christian Church 67
8 1 General considerations 67
8 2 Early Christianity and the Old Testament 68
8 3 Justin and Irenaeus on God's law and the patriarchs . . . 71
8 4 Jesus as (high-)priest . . 76
8 5 The rending of the temple-veil 79
8.6 Two minor themes (the role of Simeon, Paul in T B 11) 81
9 Origin and date of the Testaments 82
9 1 The Christian Testaments . . 82
9 2 Are the present Testaments a Christian composition or a redacted version of an 'original' Jewish document? . . . 83

The Testament of Reuben concerning thoughts 87
Introduction Main themes: the ignorance of youth and impurity 87
1,1-5 Opening passage 87
1,6–10 Theme of exhortation Reuben's sin, his punishment and repentance 88
2,1-3,8 The seven (eight) spirits of deceit together with the seven (eight) spirits given to man at creation 91
3,9–4,11 Warnings against contacts with women, which lead to impurity 96
3,11-15 Reuben's sin with Bilhah
4,8–10 Joseph's positive example

5,1–6,4 Again Beware of women 101
5,6–7 The women and the Watchers before the Flood
6,5-12 Predictions concerning the future. Levi as central figure, Judah plays a secondary role 105
7,1-2 Closing passage 108

The Testament of Simeon concerning envy 109
Introduction, Main theme envy 109
1,1–2,1 Opening passage 110
2,2 Simeon's birth and name-giving 110
2,3-5 Simeon's strength 111
2,6–14 Simeon's jealousy towards Joseph Sin, punishment and repentance 111
2,9–11 What happened at Dothan
3,1-5,3 Warnings against (the spirits of) envy and jealousy 114
4,4–6; 5,1 Joseph's positive example
5,4–7,3 Predictions concerning the future 120
5,4–6 L passage
6,1-7 The glorious future of the tribe of Simeon, Simeon's resurrection
7,1-2 L J passage
8,1-9,1 Closing passage 126
8,2 The war between the Egyptians and the Canaanites
8,3–4 The bones of Joseph guarded by the Egyptians

The Testament of Levi concerning priesthood and arrogance 129
Introduction Main themes Levi and his sons as priests, the arrogance of the sons of Levi, evident in their sins against Jesus Christ 129
Traditional material and the structure of the testament 129
1,1-2 Opening passage 130
2,1-7,4 Levi's first vision His vengeance on Shechem 131
2,1-2 Biographical notes 131
2,3-12 Levi's vision The beginning of his heavenly journey, the speech of the accompanying angel 132
3,1–4,1 Description of the seven heavens by the angel God's judgment 136
3,5–6 Angelic worship in heaven
4,2–6 Levi as God's servant The sins of his sons 141
5,1–6,2 Levi sees God in his holy temple He receives his calling 143

5,3–6 The angel commands Levi to punish Shechem He 'reveals' his identity
5,7–6,2 The end of the vision
6,3-7,4 Levi's vengeance on Shechem Various reactions Levi justifies his actions 146
8,1-19 Levi's second vision . 149
8,2-3 First investiture
8,4–17 Second investiture
8,11-17 Statement about Levi's descendants
9,1-14 Isaac instructs Levi concerning the priesthood 155
10,1-5 First S E passage (no reference to R) 158
10,3 The rending of the temple-veil
11,1-12,7 Biographical notes concerning Levi, his wife, his children and his grand-children 161
13,1-9 General exhortations obedience to the law and wisdom 164
14,1-15,4 Second S E passage (hint at R in 15,4) 167
16,1-5 Third S E R passage 171
16,1 Reference to seventy weeks
17,1–11 Description of the priesthood during seven jubilees 173
17,8–11 Description of the seventh jubilee S E R S
18,1-14 Punishment of the priests and the coming of a new priest Eschatological blessing 177
19,1-5 Closing passage 182
19,2-3 'Covenant ceremony'

The Testament of Judah concerning courage and love of money and impurity 184
Introduction Main themes courage, Judah's marriage to a Canaanite woman, love of money and impurity 184
Traditional material 185
1,1-2 Opening passage 186
1,3–6 Judah as a young man, Jacob blesses him as king . . . 186
2,1-7 Judah as a hunter 187
3,1-7,11 Judah's valiant deeds in the war against the Canaanites 189
3,1-10 First episode 189
4,1-3 Second episode 192
5,1-7 Third episode 192
6,1-2 Fourth episode 194
6,3-5 Fifth episode 194
7,1-3 Sixth episode 195

7,4–9 Seventh episode 195
7,10–11 Closing remarks 196
8,1-3 Judah's marriage to Bath-shua, their children 197
9,1-8 Judah's valiant deeds in the war against Esau and his sons 198
10,1-11,5 The wickedness of the Canaanite Bath-shua and her sons 200
12,1-12 Judah and Thamar 203
13,1-8 Introduction to the exhortations Again Judah and Bath-shua 206
14,1-8 Warnings against the drinking of wine and impurity 208
15,1-6 Warning against impurity . . 211
16,1-5 Return to the warning against the drinking of wine 213
17,1-18,6 Warnings against love of money and looking at women Prediction of the sins of Judah's sons 214
19,1–4 Warning against love of money leading to idolatry 217
20,1-5 The spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit 219
21,1–6a (Adapted) L J passage 220
21,6b–22,3 The sins of the future kings until the establishment of the true, everlasting kingship 221
23,1-5 S E R passage . . 224
24,1–6 The new king from Judah Eschatological blessing 226
25,1-5 The final resurrection of the patriarchs and of all who remained faithful to the Lord 228
26,1–4 Closing passage 231
26,3 Judah does not want to be buried as a king

The Testament of Issachar concerning simplicity 233
Introduction 233
Ἁπλότης as central theme 233
1,1 Opening passage 235
1,2-2,5 The story of the mandrakes Rachel's continency 235
3,1-8 Issachar as a 'simple' farmer 239
4,1-5,3 Exhortation to and description of 'simplicity' 242
5,1-3 'Simplicity' and the two great commandments
5,4–8 God's blessings for Issachar, Levi, Judah and Gad 246
5,7–8a L J passage
6,1–4 S.E R passage . . 248
7,1–7 Final declaration of innocence Outlook on the ideal future 249
7,8–9 Closing passage 250

The Testament of Zebulun concerning compassion and mercy 253
Introduction 253
Note on the longer and shorter versions of T Zebulun 253

The central theme εὐσπλαγχνία and ἔλεος 254
1,1-2 Opening passage 255
1,3 Zebulun's name-giving 256
1,4–7 Zebulun's compassion for Joseph .. 256
2,1-9 What hsppened at Dothan 257
3,1-3 Excursus on the money for which Joseph was sold 259
3,4–8 Excursus on the excursus what happened to Joseph's brothers when they came to Egypt 260
4,1-13 Continuation of the Dothan story 261
5,1–4 Exhortation to show mercy and to have compassion 263
5,5–7,4 Examples of Zebulun's own practice as fisherman in Canaan 265
8,1–6 New exhortation concerning compassion and mercy 268
8,4 Joseph's positive example
9,1–4 Exhortation to observe unity 270
9,5-9 Double S.E.R passage 271
9,5-7 First passage
9,8 Description of God's coming ev σχηματι ἀνθρώπου
9,9 Again, disobedience and punishment, 'until the time of consummation'
10,1-5 The final resurrection of Zebulun and of the faithful ones of his tribe 274
10,6–7 Closing passage 274

The Testament of Dan concerning anger and lying 276
1,1-2 Opening passage 276
1,3–9 Dan's anger towards Joseph 276
2,1-5 Anger blinds one's eyes 278
3,1–6 Other evil effects of anger 280
4,1-5,3 Again warnings against anger and lying ... 282
5,1-3 General exhortations the two great commandments
5,4–13 Predictions concerning the future 285
5,4–10a S E R passages interspersed with L J elements
5,6 Dan and Satan
5,10b–13 Description of the coming of a saviour Eschatological blessing
6,1-11 Various exhortations Announcement of salvation . 290
6,1-5 The battle between the angel of peace and Satan
7,1-3 Closing passage 293
7,3 Dan's prophecy concerning the sins of his sons became true

The Testament of Naphtali concerning natural goodness 295
Introduction 295
The central exhortatory theme the 'order' in God's creation 295
Note on Hebrew T Naphtali 296
1,1-5 Opening passage 297
1,2 a meal
1,6–8 Naphtali's birth and name-giving 297
1,9-12 Passage on Bilhah 297
2,1-3,5 God as a potter The order in creation which should be observed 300
2,8 Various parts and functions of the body
3,2–4c Positive example the order obeyed by the heavenly bodies
3,4d–5 Negative example Sodom and the Watchers
4,1-5 Double S E.R passage 308
4,1-3 First passage
4,4–5 Second passage
5,1-7,4 Naphtali's two visions 310
5,1 Introduction
5,2-8 First vision
5,8 New introduction list of hostile nations
6,1-10 Second vision
7,1–4 Discussion about the visions between Zebulun and Jacob
8,1-3 L.J. passage 316
8,4–10 Final exhortation 317
8,7-9 The twofold character of God's commandments another aspect of 'order'
9,1-3 Closing passage 319

The Testament of Gad concerning hatred 320
Introduction Main theme hatred 320
1,1 Opening passage 320
1,2-3 Gad, the valiant shepherd 320
1,4–2,5 Gad's hatred towards Joseph 321
1,4–9 Joseph slanders his brothers
3,1-5,2 Exhortations against hatred Its evil effects on the relations between people 324
5,3-11 Righteousness, humility and fear of the Lord destroy hatred 328
5,6–8 The power of repentance
6,1-7,7 Love, in contrast to hatred Its good effects on the relations between people 330

8,1-2 L J passage 335
8,3-5 Closing passage 336

The Testament of Asher concerning the two faces of vice and virtue 338
Introduction 338
The central theme Serve God and obey his commandments 'with a single face', two dispositions, warnings against 'doubleness' 338
1,1-2 Opening passage 341
1,3-5 God has given everything in pairs Man has to choose . . 341
1,6–9 The basically good man and the basically bad man 342
2,1-10 People of 'mixed conduct' who are basically evil . . 344
3,1-2 Exhortation to avoid 'doubleness' . . 348
4,1-5 People of 'mixed conduct' who are basically good 349
5,1–6,3 Again there are two in all things Exhortation to serve God with a single mind . . 352
6,4–6 The two angels and the two destinations 355
7,1-7 Double S.E R passage 358
7,2–4 First passage
7,5-7 Second passage
8,1-2 Closing passage 361

The Testament of Joseph concerning chastity 362
Introduction 362
Main themes endurance, chastity, respect for one's brothers 363
1,1-2 Opening passage . . 365
1,3-2,7 Introduction God's protection for Joseph in distress 365
3,1-9,5 The first story Joseph and the Egyptian woman 372
3,1–6 First episode 374
3,7-10 Second episode 374
4,1-3 Third episode 377
4,4–8 Fourth episode 377
5,1–4 Fifth episode 379
6,1-9 Sixth episode 380
7,1-8,1 Seventh episode 383
8,2-5 Eighth episode 386
9,1–4 Ninth episode 386
9,5 Tenth episode . . 387
10,1–4 Exhortation to practise chastity, purity, patience and humility of heart 390
10,5-11,1 Introduction to the second story . . 390
11,2-16,6 The second story Joseph's slavery and imprisonment 393
11,2–8 Joseph maintains that he is a slave The Ishmaelites leave him with a merchant, and Joseph becomes the merchant's steward 394

12,1-14,6 Machinations of the Memphian woman to accuse the merchant and to get Joseph in her house Joseph repeats that he is a slave 395
15,1-7 Joseph repeats that he really is a slave The Ishmaelites decide to sell him 400
16,1-6 The Memphian woman's attempts to buy Joseph 401
17,1-18,4 Exhortation. love one another and hide each other's shortcomings 403
17,4–8 Joseph's attitude towards his brothers after their arrival in Egypt
18,3–4 Joseph's exaltation after his humiliation
19,1-7 Predictions concerning the future 406
19,1–4 Joseph's vision
19,6–7 (Expanded) L J passage
20,1-6 (Expanded) closing passage 409
20,2 Joseph's bones to be brought to Canaan at the exodus
20,3 Command to bury Zilpah near Bilhah and Rachel
20,5-6 Israel and Egypt mourn for Joseph

The Testament of Benjamin concerning a pure mind 411
Introduction 411
Note on the Armenian version 412
o ἀγαθὸς ἀνήρ (ἄνθρωπος) and ἡ ἀγαθὴ (καθαρὰ) διάνοια as central thèmes 412
1,1-2a Opening passage 413
1,2b–6 Benjamin's birth and name-giving 414
2,1-5 Dialogue between Joseph and Benjamin in Egypt 414
3,1-8 Exhortation to observe the two great commandments with a good mind 416
3,1c.6–8 Joseph's example
4,1-5,5 Exhortation to follow the good man with a good mind 420
4,2-5 First description of the good man
6,1-7 Second description of the good man 425
7,1-8,1 Exhortation to flee the malice of Beliar 431
7,2 The sword as the mother of seven evils
7,3-5 Cain and Lamech
8,2-3 Description of the man with a pure mind 431
9,1-5 Predictions concerning the future 434
9,1 S E R fragment
9,2 In Benjamin's portion will be the temple, the first and the last one

9,3-5 What will happen to the first temple
9,4 The rending of the temple-veil
10,1-5 Final commandments The purpose of testaments 437
10,6–11 The resurrection of the patriarchs and of all who remained faithful to the Lord 437
11,1-5 Announcement of the coming of a 'beloved of the Lord' from Benjamin's seed 441
12,1–4 Closing passage 444
12,3 Reference to the war between the Egyptians and the Canaanites

Appendix I The Hebrew Testament of Naphtali 446

Appendix II Midrash Wayissa'u 451

Appendix III The Aramaic and Greek Levi fragments 457

PREFACE

In 1978, M de Jonge, in collaboration with H W Hollander, H J de Jonge and Th Korteweg, published *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs A Critical Edition of the Greek Text (PVTG I 2)*, Leiden (E J Brill). This book incorporated the results of the work on the text of the Testaments carried out over a number of years by the scholars involved

The present Commentary incorporates the results of exegetical and historical investigations which accompanied the work on the edition of the text and which followed upon it It is based on the new Edition and should be used alongside it

There has been no lack of studies on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs since R H Charles published his influential edition of the text in 1908 and his commentary which appeared in the same year In § 1 of the INTRODUCTION below, the reader will find an evaluation of recent research as well as references to earlier surveys of work on the Testaments and to bibliographical resources The authors have taken into account the results reached in the studies published by many colleagues while they worked further along the lines laid down in earlier publications of their own It did not seem wise, however, to burden the Commentary with surveys of recent discussions on specific topics or to sum up the arguments in favour of, or against, certain solutions § 13 of the INTRODUCTION explains the plan of the present Commentary, and the other chapters will make clear where the authors stand at present with regard to the main issues in the study of the Testaments.

The preparation and the writing of this book took place over a number of years, starting in the spring of 1979 on the basis of material already collected for other purposes Considerable progress was facilitated in the period from 1 September 1980 to 31 August 1982, when a subsidy from the Netherlands Organisation for the Advancement of Pure Research (Z W O) enabled H W Hollander to work full-time on the project He devoted much time to collecting, sifting and arranging old and new material from primary and secondary sources, and assumed responsibility for the final form of the manuscript At all stages, however, the two authors worked together very closely, and particularly during the drafting and the writing of the INTRODUCTION and of the commentaries on the individual testaments, there was constant contact between them They are jointly responsible for the results laid down in the present work On the title-page, their names appear in alphabetical order

Numerous scholars have supplied information or made critical remarks in private conversations while the work was in progress § 2 of the INTRODUCTION presupposes the work done on the Edition and for the textcritical

notes on the various passages the authors could consult records of conversations between H W Hollander, M de Jonge and Th Korteweg on difficult passages during the work on the constitution of the critical text Dr A van der Heide is responsible for Appendix I on the Hebrew Testament of Naphtali and for Appendix II on Midrash Wayissa'u Dr M E Stone and Dr J C Greenfield kindly supplied a translation of the Aramaic and Greek Levi fragments (accompanied by short notes) in Appendix III It will be followed in due course by a new edition with translation and commentary from their hand Dr M M Winter is responsible for the correction of the authors' English The authors are grateful for so much cooperation Finally, they have to thank The Netherlands Organisation for the Advancement of Pure Research (Z W O.) for a substantial grant towards the costs of publication.

For an index on Greek words the reader is referred to the Edition The extensive TABLE OF CONTENTS at the beginning of this volume may serve as subject index

Leiden, 1 December 1983 H W HOLLANDER- M de JONGE

ABBREVIATIONS AND REFERENCES

1 *Manuscripts of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*

All ***sigla*** are according to M de Jonge, in cooperation with H W Hollander, H. J. de Jonge Th **Korteweg**, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs A Critical Edition of the Greek Text (PVTG 1 2)*, Leiden 1978 (pp **XLIV-XLV**) See also INTRODUCTION 2 2 and 2 3

2 *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*

T R	T D
T.S.	T N
T.L.	T G
T Jud	T.A
T I	**T Jos**
T Z	T B

3 *Bible and Apocrypha*

(translations are according to the *Revised Standard Version)*

Gen	**Eccl**	**Tob**	**Gal**
Ex	Song	Jdt	**Eph**
Lev	**Isa**	**Esth**	**Phil**
Num	Jer	WisSol	Col
Deut	**Lam**	**Sir**	**1Thes**
Josh	Ezek	**1Bar**	2Thes
Judg	**Dan**	**LetJer**	**1Tim**
Ruth	Hos	Dan	2Tim
1Sam	**Joel**	**Sus**	**Tit**
2Sam	Amos	Bel	**Phlm**
1Kgs	Obad	**1Mac**	Heb
2Kgs	Jonah	2Mac	Jas
1Chr	**Micah**	**Mt**	**1Pet**
2Chr	Nah	Mk	2Pet
Ezra	**Hab**	**Lk**	**Un**
Neh	**Zeph**	**Jn**	**2Jn**
Esth	**Hag**	**Acts**	**3Jn**
Job	Zech	Rom	Jude
Ps(s)	**Mal**	**1Cor**	**Rev**
Prov	2Ezra	2Cor	

4 *Dead Sea Scrolls*

All abbreviations are according to J A Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Major Publications and Tools for Study (Sources for Biblical Study 8)* Missoula ²**1977**. Translations are, as a rule according to A Dupont-Sommer *The **Essene** Writings from **Qumran**,* Translated by **G.** Vermes Oxford **1961**

5 *Josephus*

(translations are according to the *Loeb Classical Library* edition)

Ant	Antiquitates Judaicae
Bell.	Bellum Judaicum
Contr Ap	Contra Apionem
Vita	Vita

6 *Philo*

(translations are according to the *Loeb Classical Library* edition)

Abr	De Abrahamo
Agric	De agricultura
Aetern mundi	De aeternitate mundi
Cher	De cherubim
Conf	De confusione linguarum
Congr	De congressu quaerendae eruditionis gratia
Decal.	De decalogo
De Jos	De Iosepho
Ebr	De ebrietate
Flacc.	In Flaccum
Fuga	De fuga et inventione
Gig	De gigantibus
Leg.	De legatione ad Gaium
Leg. all	Legum allegoriae
Migr Abr	De migratione Abrahami
Mut. nom	De mutatione nominum
Opif. mundi	De opificio mundi
Plant	De plantatione
Post Caini	De posteritate Caini
Praem. poen	De praemiis et poenis
Provid	De providentia
Quaest. in Gen	Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesin
Quaest. in Ex	Quaestiones et solutiones in Exodum
Quis heres	Quis rerum divinarum heres
Quod det pot	Quod deterius potiori insidiari solet
Quod deus	Quod deus immutabilis sit
Quod omnis	Quod omnis probus liber sit
Sacrif	De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini
Sobr	De sobrietate
Somn	De somniis
Spec leg	De specialibus legibus
Virt.	De virtutibus
Vita contempl.	De vita contemplativa
Vita Mosis	De vita Mosis

7 *Pseudepigrapha and other Jewish and Christian writings*

(references to early Christian writings not listed below are as a rule, according to G. W H Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon,* Oxford 1961, pp XI–XLV, the titles of the Acts of the the Christian Martyrs (except those mentioned below) are according to H. Musurillo *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs* Oxford 1972 Translations of the Pseudepigrapha are usually

according to R H Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English vol II Pseudepigrapha* Oxford 1913 translations of the Apostolic Fathers as well as those of other Greek authors, are according to the *Loeb Classical Library* editions)

Acta Andr	Acta Andreae
Acta Andr et Matt	Acta Andreae et Matthaei
Acta Barn	Acta Barnabae
Acta Jo	Acta Joannis
Acta Paul et Thecl	Acta Pauli et Theclae
Acta Pet et Paul	Acta Petri et Pauli
Acta Phil	Acta Philippi
Acta Pil	Acta Pilati
Acta Thadd	Acta Thaddaei
Acta Thom	Acta Thomae
Acta Xanth	Acta Xanthippae et Polyxenae
ApAb	Apocalypse of Abraham
ApAnast	Apocalypse of Anastasia
ApDidasc	Didascalie apocryphe de Notre-Seigneur Jesus-Christ
ApMarVirg	Apocalypse of Virgin Mary
ApMos	Apocalypse of Moses
ApSedr	Apocalypse of Sedrach
ApZeph	Apocalypse of Zephaniah
ApZerub	Apocalypse of Zerubbabel
ApZos	Apocalypse of Zosimus
ArabApPet	Arabic Apocalypse of Peter
ArLevi	Aramaic fragments of Levi
ArmApPaul	Armenian Apocalypse of Paul
ArEvJo	Iohannis Evangelium Apocryphum Arabice
AscenIs	Ascension of Isaiah
AsMos	Assumption of Moses
2Bar	2 (Syriac) Baruch
3Bar	3 (Greek) Baruch
Barn	Epistle of Barnabas
Ber Rabba	Bereshit Rabba
b Ber.	Babylonian Talmud, Berakoth
b Hag	Babylonian Talmud Hagigah
b Sotah	Babylonian Talmud Sotah
b Yoma	Babylonian Talmud Yoma
1Clem	1st Epistle of Clement
2Clem	2nd Epistle of Clement
ClemHom	The Clementine Homilies
ClemRecogn	The Clementine Recognitions
ConstApp	The Constitutions of the Apostles
CoptApEl	Coptic Apocalypse of Elijah
CoptApocrJos	Coptic Apocryphon of Joseph
Corp Herm	Corpus Hermeticum
Did	Didache
DoctrApp	The Doctrine of the Apostles
1En	1 (Ethiopic) Enoch
2En	2 (Slavonic) Enoch
3En	3 (Hebrew) Enoch

EpAbgari	Epistula Abgari
EpApp	Epistula **Apostolorum**
EpClem	**Epistula dementis**
EpPsTit	Epistula Pseudo-Titi
EthApEzra	Ethiopie Apocalypse of Ezra
EvBarth	Evangelium Bartholomaei
EvNic	Evangelium **Nicodemi**
ĒvPet	Evangelium Pétri
4Ezra	4 Ezra
6Ezra	6 Ezra
Fragm Targ	Fragmentary Targum
GenApocr	Genesis Apocryphon
GkApEzra	Greek Apocalypse of Ezra
GkApPaul	Greek Apocalypse of Paul
GkApPet	Greek Apocalypse of Peter
GkEvThom	Greek (Infancy) Gospel of Thomas
HebApEl	Hebrew Apocalypse of Elijah
Hebr T N	Hebrew Testament of Naphtali
Hermas	The Shepherd of Hermas
JosAsen	Joseph and **Asenath**
Jub	Jubilees
LAB	Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum
LAE	Life of Adam and Eve
LetAris	Letter of Aristeas
LetDiogn	Letter to Diognetus
LivPro	Lives of the Prophets
M Aboth	**Mishnah,** Aboth
3Mac	3 Maccabees
4Mac	4 Maccabees
MartAndrAlterum	Martyrium Andreae Alterum
MartAndrPrius	Martyrium Andreae Prius
MartMt	Martyrium Matthaei
MartPet et Paul	Martyrium Pétri et **Pauli**
MartPolyc	Martyrium Polycarpi
Midr Way	Midrash **Wayissa'u**
M Sanh.	Mishnah Sanhédrin
M Yoma	Mishnah, Yoma
OdesSol	Odes of Solomon
PJ	Paraleipomena Jeremiou
PsApJo	Pseudo-Apocalypse of John
Ps-Men	Pseudo-Menander
Ps-Phoc	Pseudo-Phocylides
PssSol	Psalms of Solomon
SentSexti	The Sentences of Sextus
SibOr	Sibylline Oracles
SlavApBar	Slavonic Apocalypse of **Baruch**
SyrApPaul	Syriac Apocalypse of Paul
SyrDidascApp	Syriac Didascalia of the Apostles
TAb	Testament of Abraham
TAd	Testament of Adam
Targ Neof	Targum Neofiti

Targ Onk	Targum Onkelos
Targ Ps Jon	Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
TEphraem	Testament of Ephraem
Tiburt Sibylle	Tiburtine Sibylle
TIsaac	Testament of Isaac
TJac	Testament of Jacob
TJob	Testament of Job
TSol	Testament of Solomon
7thVisDan	7th Vision of Daniel

8 *Periodicals and works cited by their title or by the author (editor)'s name*

Amstutz J , ΑΠΛΟΤΗΣ	J. Amstutz, ΑΠΛΟΤΗΣ. *Eine begriffsgeschichtliche Studie zum jüdisch-christlichen Griechisch (Theophaneia 19),* Bonn 1968
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt ed W Haase Berlin-New York
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
Arnim, Von *SVF*	H von Arnim (-M. Adler) *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* I-IV Leipzig 1903–1924 = Stuttgart 1968
Bauer	W Bauer, *Griechisch Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur,* Berlin [5]1958 = 1971
BDR , *Grammatik*	F Blass–A. Debrunner-F.. Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* Göttingen [15]1979
Becker, J *Untersuchungen*	J. Becker *Untersuchungen zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Testamente der Zwölf Patriarchen (Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums 8),* Leiden 1970
Berger K , *Die Gesetzesauslegung Jesu*	K Berger *Die Gesetzesauslegung Jesu Ihr historischer Hintergrund im Judentum und im Alten Testament (Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament 40),* Neukirchen-Vluyn 1972
BEThL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZ	Biblische Zeitschrift
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
Charles R H , *Text*	R H. Charles, *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* Oxford 1908 = Darmstadt 1966
Charles, R H , *Translation*	R H. Charles, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs translated from the editor's Greek text,* London 1908
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
EWNT	Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament hrsg H Balz und G.. Schneider I–III, Stuttgart 1980ff
Exp.. Times	The Expository Times
Ginzberg L *Legends*	L Ginzberg *The Legends of the Jews* I–VII, Philadelphia 1909–38
Hatch-Redpath	E Hatch–H A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the other Greek Versions of the Old Testament* I–II, Oxford 1897 = Graz 1954
HbNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HTR	The Harvard Theological Review

JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JJS	The Journal of Jewish Studies
Jonge, M de, *The Testaments*	M. de Jonge *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs A Study of their Text Composition and Origin* Assen ²1975
Jonge M de *Edition*	M. de Jonge in cooperation with H W Hollander H. J. de Jonge, Th Korteweg, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs A Critical Edition of the Greek Text (Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece I 2)*, Leiden 1978
JQR	The Jewish Quarterly Review
JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit hrsg W G Kummel et alii, Gutersloh 1973ff
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSNT	Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JThS	The Journal of Theological Studies
Kühner–Gerth, *Grammatik*	R Kühner–F Blass–B. Gerth, *Ausfuhrliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* I–II, Hannover-Leipzig 1890–1904 = Darmstadt 1966
Lampe	G W H Lampe *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* Oxford 1961
LScJ	H. G Liddell–R. Scott, *A Greek English Lexicon* A new edition revised and augmented throughout by H S Jones–R McKenzie, Oxford I 1925 II 1940 = I II 1973
Moulton *Grammar*	J H Moulton–W. F Howard-N Turner *A Grammar of New Testament Greek* I–IV, Edinburgh 1906–1976
MPG	J P Migne *Patrologia Graeca*
NT	Novum Testamentum
NTS	New Testament Studies
P O	Patrologia Orientalis
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum hrsg Th Klauser et alii, Stuttgart 1941ff.
RB	Revue Biblique
REJ	Revue des Etudes juives
RHR	Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
ROC	Revue de l'Orient Chrétien
RQum	Revue de Qumran
RScR	Recherches de science religieuse
SC	Sources chrétiennes
Sophocles	E A. Sophocles *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (From B C 146 to A D 1100)* I-II New York 1887 = 1957
StANT	Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
Studies	M de Jonge ed, *Studies on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs Text and Interpretation (Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha 3)* Leiden 1975
StUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
Suppl NT	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
Thackeray *Grammar*	H J Thackeray *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek* I Cambridge 1909 = Tel-Aviv 1970
ThDNT	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament

ThWNT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament begr G Kittel, hrsg G Friedrich **I–X,** Stuttgart 1933ff
ThZ	Theologische Zeitschrift
Vischer **R** , *Das einfache Leben*	R Vischer *Das einfache Leben Wort und Motivgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu einem Wertbegriff der antiken Literatur* Göttingen 1965
VT	Vetus Testamentum
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZKTh	Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft

9 General abbreviations

A	Armenian version	infin	infinitive
acc	**accusative**	**J (passage,** section **etc)**	*see* **L.J**
act	active		
A D	anno Domini		
ad loc	ad locum	**J L.** (passage section **etc.)**	*see* **L J.**
a o	among others		
aor	aorist		
Aq	Aquilan version of OT	L	Latin version
art cit	**articulo** citato	L (passage section **etc.)**	*see* **L J**
B C	before Christ		
cf	confer compare		
Cod.	**Codex**	1(1).	line(s)
col.	column(s)	lit.	literally
conjunct	conjunctive	**L.J** (passage **section,** etc.)	Levi-Judah (passage section, **etc.):** see **INTRODUCTION.** 4.4.2 and 7.3
dat.	dative		
E.. (element **part, etc)**	*see* **S.E R**	LXX	Septuagint
ed	edited by	masc	masculine
e.g	exempli gratia	**med.**	middle
esp	especially	MS(S)	**manuscript(s)**
etc	et cetera (i e in other **authors)**	MT	Masoretic Text
		n	**note(s)**
f(f)	following	Ngr	New Greek version
ff	*also* folio s	nom	nominative
fut	future	NT	New Testament
genit	genitive	**obj.**	object
Gr	**Greek**	Old Lat	Old Latin versions
Hebr	Hebrew	op.. cit	opère citato
hma	homoioarkton	opp	opposed to
hmt	homoioteleuton	OT	Old Testament
ib	ibidem	p(p)	page(s)
id	idem	**par**	**parallel to, and parallels**
i e	id est	pass	passive
imper	imperative	**plur**	plural
impers	impersonal	R (element part etc)	*see* S E R
indic	indicative		

r	recto
rec	recension
S	Slavonic version
S (element part etc)	*see* S E R
sc	scilicet
S E R (passage section etc.)	Sin-Exile-Return (passage section etc.): see INTRODUCTION **4 4 1** and 7 2
Serb	Serbian version
sing	singular
subj	subject
subst	substantive
s.v.	sub voce
Symm	Symmachus version of OT
Syr	Syrian version
Th	Theodotion s version of OT
tit	title
tr	translated by
t t	technical term
v(v)	verse(s)
v	*also* verso
v.l.	varia lectio
Vulg	Vulgate

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. *The scope and plan of this commentary*

1.1. *Modern studies on the Testaments*

1.1.1 Many studies have been devoted to the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, particularly in modern times For older literature, see H J de Jonge, 'Die Patriarchentestamente von Roger Bacon bis Richard Simon', *Studies* pp 3–42. On modern research, one may consult J Becker's section 'Zur Forschungsgeschichte' in his *Untersuchungen* pp 129-58; M de Jonge, 'The interpretation of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs in recent years', *Studies* pp 183-92, H Dixon Slingerland, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarche A critical history of research (Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series 21)* Missoula 1977, to be supplemented by M de Jonge's review in *JSJ* 9 (1978), 108–11. It is also useful to consult the relevant sections of G Delling's *Bibliographie zur jüdisch-hellenistischen und intertestamentarischen Literatur* 1900–1970 *(Texte und Untersuchungen 106 2)* Berlin ²1975, pp 167–71, and J H Charlesworth's *The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research (Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies 7)*, Missoula (1976) ²1981, pp 211–20; 305-7 Among recent studies, not yet listed in these surveys, stand out A Hultgård, *L'eschatologie des Testaments des Douze Patriarches I Interpretation des textes* Uppsala 1977, and *II Composition de l'ouvrage textes et traductions* Uppsala 1982, Harm W Hollander, *Joseph as an ethical model in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarche (SVTP 6)* Leiden 1981, and E von Nordheim, *Die Lehre der Alten I Das Testament als Literaturgattung im Judentum der Hellenistisch-Romischen Zeit (Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums 13)* Leiden 1980, § l, 'Die Testamente der Zwolf Patriarchen', pp 12-114 (see also pp 115-18)

1 1 2 The only commentary on the Testaments in existence is that by R H Charles, *Translation* a companion-volume to R H Charles, *Text* It concentrates on matters of textual and literary criticism and is somewhat uneven many other points of interest are simply passed over Apart from this commentary, there are only translations accompanied by short notes and comments in well-known collections as E Kautzsch's *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments* (F Schnapp), R H Charles's *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (R H Charles), *Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-romischer Zeit* (J Becker), and *De Gammeltestamentlige Pseudepigrafer* (B Otzen)

1 2 *Modern views on the Testaments*

Charles's commentary reflects the scholarship of his time and incorporates the results of his research on the pseudepigrapha in general and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs in particular The same applies to the present book it is necessary, therefore, to indicate briefly where the authors stand on matters of method, and what may be expected from their commentary

1 2 1 In § 2, it will be argued that textual criticism can do no more than offer a Byzantine text of a document circulating in Christian circles As far as we know, Origen was the first to use it, but we cannot be sure we have the text known to him In the period between Origen and the archetype of the present witnesses, there may have been developments analogous to the ones detected in the period of textual transmission we can survey, but to deal with them falls outside the province of the textual critic.

1.2.2 In § 3, it will become clear that much traditional material of diverse provenance was used in the composition of the Testaments and that (at least) in the case of T L indirect literary dependence on a written source may be assumed Scholarship has made considerable progress in identifying and collecting parallel and related material, and in this respect a new commentary on the Testaments has been overdue for a long time The equally important question How was this material used and redacted to become a more or less integrated part of the Testaments and to function within this writing? has received many different answers, because of the divergence of ideas and, according to many scholars, also the lack of coherence in the present Testaments Divergence of ideas and lack of coherence may be explained by the use of written sources and traditional material If we assume that a process of collection and compilation preceded the composition of twelve testaments (see 3 7), at least some literary seams can be explained as remains from the stage(s) preceding the actual composition When an author decided to put together admonitions, exemplary stories about the sons of Jacob and predictions concerning the future within the framework of twelve testaments, this meant use of material that varied in form and content, even if it did not always fit the author's purpose completely But even if this hypothesis is right, the variety in the biographical-parenetic sections and (particularly) in the predictions of the future of the individual testaments is astonishingly great

1.2.3. It is not surprising, therefore, that many scholars have resorted to literary-criticism in their attempts to reconstruct the literary history of the Testaments. They distinguished between sources, contributions by the author and later interpolations and additions or, because the latter seemed to be numerous and far-reaching, they tried to delineate different stages of redaction Many felt compelled to assume a process of intensive and extensive redaction, but reached very different results when they

attempted to demarcate the different stages in the history of the document

The criteria for distinction and separation have been those of other literary critics unevennesses, reduplications, sudden changes in form and content, and all the other signs of inconsistency The question has to be asked, however, whether modern critics, using the methods of scientific analysis and applying modern standards of consistency, are always in a position to determine whether there are inconsistencies or not And, next, whether inconsistencies if they exist, are more understandable if ascribed to the activities of a redactor or interpolator than if the 'original author' is held responsible for them Explaining inconsistencies by theories of gradual growth or different stages of redaction is only justified if one is able to show how the authors/redactors at the different stages in the origin of the work arrived at a consistent, or at least integrated, whole Moreover, a diachronic study of the text often leads, and in the case of the Testaments certainly has led, to a neglect of thorough synchronie analysis It is on the latter that the present commentary intends to concentrate we have to do all we can in order to explain how the Testaments *as they are* made sense to the readers for whom they were written

1 2 3 1 Amongst those who applied literary-criticism to the Testaments we have to mention first F Schnapp who wrote a dissertation *Die Testamente der Zwölf Patriarchen untersucht* Halle 1884, and whose views became influential because he contributed the section on the Testaments in E Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments II* Tübingen 1900 (reprint Darmstadt 1962), pp 458–506. After a long period in which the Testaments were regarded as Christian, he revised the thesis put forward by J E Grabe, the first editor of the text 'Testamenta XII Patriarcharum a Judaeo olim scripta, a Christiano autem postea interpolata esse' (see his *Spicilegium SS Patrum et ut haereticorum I,* Oxoniae 1698, p 134). Christian statements are removed as interpolations on the basis of a literary-critical analysis; what remains is not a unity According to Schnapp, the original Testaments consisted of descriptions of the sins or virtues of the patriarchs and exhortations connected with them Together, the descriptions and exhortations form a consistent whole, to which, however, several Jewish passages were added These are all apocalyptic or messianic in character and, in Schnapp's opinion, spoil the original document The Christian interpolators operated in these Jewish additions, interpreted them christologically and altered the text accordingly

Schnapp's thesis about the Jewish origin of the work was widely accepted, but his division of the text into an original document and Jewish interpolations was not Thus R H Charles, *Translation* pp L-LXV (cf pp 289-91 in his introduction to his translation in *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament II* Oxford 1913), likewise assumes an original document, Jewish additions and Christian interpolations, but defines them quite differently The Christian additions are reduced to a

minimum dubious textcritical arguments are adduced, and for the rest the rule is followed that anything that is not clearly Christian can be considered Jewish What remains is, again, not a unity Charles's main reason for distinguishing between the original writing and the extensive Jewish additions lies in the divergence within the predictions concerning the future For Charles the author of the original Testaments was a Chasid (for him 'a Pharisee of the early type'), upholder of the Law and the Temple, believing in the Messianic Kingdom and the resurrection in the body, and advocating a strict way of life Charles writes 'The groundwork, which consists of about eleven-twelfths of the Testaments ... presents, it must be confessed, a want of coherence at times, and the parts dealing with the duty of submission to Levi, or to Levi and Judah jointly, come in occasionally very abruptly ' This can, to a great extent, be explained by the use of 'earlier books and traditions', and by faulty transmission. Charles assumes, as we shall see (see 3.8), a Hebrew original later translated into Greek He continues, therefore, with the words: 'Notwithstanding, the present editor adheres to the idea of the unity of the book; for the two phenomena referred to - the strictly Chasid element in the book, and its loyal acceptance of the Maccabean dynasty - were exactly characteristic of the period to which our author belongs, and to none other before or after Furthermore both these parts of the book are alike universalistic in tone' (p LV)

The date of this original document can be determined rather easily T N 5,8 points to a period before the intervention of Rome in the affairs of Palestine, the exaltation of Levi as warrior of the Lord points to the period of the Maccabees, T L 8,14f. clearly points to John Hyrcanus to whom Josephus too ascribes the function of ruler, high priest and prophet of the Most High The destruction of Shechem in T L 5-7 adumbrates the capture and destruction of Samaria by John Hyrcanus The Testaments must, therefore, have been written in the last decade of the second century B C

Later readers, dissatisfied with the Maccabean high priests of their time, and hoping for an overthrow of the Hasmonean dynasty, added a number of passages denouncing the sins of the sons of Levi and Judah (T.L 10, 14–16, T Jud 17,2-18,1, 21,6–23,5, etc.). Salvation is now expected from a Messiah from Judah, as in the Psalms of Solomon The additions are dated, therefore, in the second half of the first century B C , like that writing Other additions of various unspecified dates are T R 2,3-3,2, T L 17,1-9, T Z 6,4–6; 7,1-8,3, T N 5,5, T Jos 10,5-18,4

1 2 3 2 J. Becker's approach in his *Untersuchungen* is, at least in theory, consistently literary-critical, both in the case of the removal of Christian interpolations and in the separation between a 'Grundschrift' and later Jewish additions Against Charles he maintains that Schnapp was right in removing the Christian interpolations on the basis of literary-critical arguments only Against Schnapp and Charles he argues that the exhortatory sections of the Testaments also have to be analysed

thoroughly in order to spot seams and unevennesses In his view it is wrong to think that exhortatory sections are usually composed very loosely and do not, therefore, offer many starting-points for literary-criticism Form-criticism may be a help, but only if it leads to conclusions with regard to the composition of the Testaments (see the last part of the section 'Zur Forschungsgeschichte' called 'Fazit und modus procedendi' on pp 154–8)

The result is a very detailed analysis of the twelve testaments on pp 158–372 of Becker's book which is summarized in his final chapter 'Auswertung der literarkritischen und traditionsgeschichtlichen Analyse' (pp 373–406) In the first part of this chapter ('Rückblick und geschichtliche Einordnung'), Becker recapitulates his argument that he has found (again!) three stages of development The 'Grundschrift' was consistent in composition and theology, in fact, the next part of the final chapter describes this theology at length It is hellenistic-Jewish, stems probably from Wisdom circles and is intended to give traditional parenesis From T N 5,8 (see Charles!), the use of the LXX, and the actualization of the element 'sin' in the S E.R. passages (particularly T.L. 14) which shows opposition to the hellenizing tendencies in the Jerusalem priesthood, Becker concludes that the 'Grundschrift' dates from the period between 200–175 B C , just before the Maccabean wars This 'Grundschrift' contains L.J, and S E R passages, but they do not betray a situation of fierce polemics The second stage is, significantly, called a 'Sammelbecken' The material added by several people on several occasions is extremely variegated exhortation in the style of hellenistic-Jewish homilies, new S E.R and L J passages, apocalyptic poems and visions, midrashic expositions, etc There is neither formal nor theological unity Therefore we cannot assign these passages to one later redaction Becker concludes 'Die Grundschrift wird in den ersten 3 Jahrzehnten des 2 Jahrh. v Chr entstanden sein Die zweite Schicht wird direkt anschließend uber einen langeren Zeitraum, der bis weit in das 1 Jahrh. n Chr reicht, angewachsen sein Die christliche Gemeinde hat dann frühestens mit dem beginnenden 2 Jahrh die Schrift ihrer Verkündigung durch erneute Zusätze dienstbar gemacht. Sie wuchsen langsam bis in die Zeit der Verästelung der heute bekannten Handschriften an' (p 376) Becker's results are not very satisfactory In his search for a consistent 'Grundschrift' Becker is left with an amorphous collection of material (in many testaments more extensive than the original document), the origin of which cannot be determined Becker, for all his zeal and thoroughness, has not really explained the 'Entstehungsgeschichte' of the Testaments His analysis is often useful, but, while he pulls the Testaments to pieces, he does not explain how they ever worked as a whole Explaining inconsistencies by the hypothesis of gradual growth resulting in the theory of a 'Sammelbecken', amounts to giving up the attempt to explain things completely

As to the place where this hellenistic-Jewish document may have originated, Becker rightly points to the fact that the author does not seem

to be well acquainted with the geography of Palestine The interest in Joseph and the emphasis on his virtues (particularly in the first half of his testament), and the fact that the Testaments are situated in Egypt (for obvious reasons, however) may offer some indication for an Egyptian origin, but certainty cannot be reached (p 374)

1 2.3.3 The last to address himself at great length to the question of the history of the origins of the Testaments is A Hultgârd in the two volumes of his *L'eschatologie des Testaments des Douze Patriarches* (mentioned under 1.1.1.) In his first volume, he sketches the development of the eschatological ideas in the group(s) which produced the Testaments on the basis of text-, literary-, form- and redaction-critical studies published in the second one.

At the first stage in the composition of the Testaments (see also 3 4 2 below), an anti-Hasmonean group used an ArLevi-document and other Levi-traditions to depict a future with an ideal Levi and an ideal Judsh The **L.J.** passages (at least in their original form; in some cases the pre-Testaments text can still be detected, in others influences of stage 2 are visible) stem from the same group and the same period as the S E R passages The S element in the S E R passages in T L. and T.Jud. (and T D) is analysed at great length and is thought to be directed against the sins of the Hasmoneans in the period around 100 B C Parallels are found in PssSol, some Qumran documents and 1En 91-104, and the conclusion is drawn that this stage in the composition of the Testaments must date from the beginning of the first century B C Important is the expectation of divine intervention, compared to this the hope for a new priest and a new Davidic king is only secondary The S E R passages must have formed a constitutive element of the Testaments right from the beginning A number of other eschatological ideas found expression in other parts of the Testaments, including the hope for a Davidic Messish, and the expectation of the resurrection and the last judgment. Hultgârd does not exclude the possibility of modification during successive new editions of the Testaments (see also 3.4.2 below), but all these different elements basically belong to the first stage in the redaction of the Testaments

In the first century A D a new redaction took place in circles which, although in continuity with the levitical groups which produced the original Testaments, were open to the world. They expected a central messianic figure, whom Hultgârd calls the 'Prêtre-Sauveur', and added a number of important passages in the Testaments, while, at the same time, altering some others To this stage Hultgârd reckons (the present version of) T L 18, T Jud 24,1-3, T.D 5,10–12, T.L. 8, 14f.; T R 6,8, T N 4,5, and T D 6,1-7 Of this 'priest-saviour' Hultgârd tells us 'La tendance a créer des figures d'une caractère composite apparaît nettement pour l'époque qui nous occupe Le prêtre-sauveur des *Testaments* le Fils de l'homme des *Paraboles* le personnage de Melchisedeq dans *11 Q Melch.*, et dans une certaine mesure, le messie davidique des *Psaumes de Salomon* sont les produits d'une fusion d'éléments venant des sources differentes

Les ideologies royale et sacerdotale d'Israel, le prophetisme, l'angelologie, les influences étrangeres ont tous contribué a former les grandes figures messianiques de l'epoque' (p 324)

1 2 3 4 This is not the place to enter into a further discussion with any one of the scholars whose work was briefly described Their attempts to explain the differences within the Testaments by means of a reconstruction of the genesis of the present text have led to widely divergent results The search for the historical circumstances reflected in the text, and for the group(s) responsible for the Testaments is apparently doomed to failure for lack of really clear convincing evidence There was a consensus, however, with regard to the possibility of removing the patently Christian elements as interpolations, although there is a difference of opinion with regard to their extent

1 2 4 Form- and genre-criticism have proved important for the analysis of the framework of the individual testaments (introductions and closing passages), as several scholars have demonstrated (see 4 1 1) Next, in his *The Testaments* M de Jonge described two 'patterns' which are found several times in those parts of the individual testaments which deal with the expectation of the future, he called them S.E R passages and L J passages, terms now universally adopted (see further 4.4 below). In his *Die paränetischen Formen der "Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen" und ihr Nachwirken in der frühchristlichen Mahnung Eine formgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Diss Berlin 1955, typescript), P H Aschermann for the first time distinguished various forms of exhortation in the Testaments He pointed to the 'negative descriptive series' (see, e g , T 1 4,2–6), the 'positive descriptive series' (T G 5,1), 'conditional negative descriptive series' (T D 4,3f.), 'confessions of guiltlessness' (T Z 1,4f), and also distinguished 'poems giving praise for salvation', 'conditional wisdom-saying series', 'command poems', and 'antithetical sentences' On the basis of the analysis of these forms in the Testaments and in OT and Jewish literature, Aschermann tried to prove that the Testaments derive from Jewish Wisdom circles in the first two centuries B C (see further 4 3)

Another example of the use of form-criticism is given by H W Hollander when, in his analysis of the first half of T.Jos., he finds influence of various forms found in the Book of Psalms (see *Joseph as an ethical model* .. , mentioned unter 1 1.1, pp 16–33).

It is necessary to undertake a comparative analysis of 'forms' in order to find fixed patterns of thought and expressions, as well as literary 'genres' and conventions. Our next task, however, is to determine how these forms are used within a certain document Understandably, form critics are always looking for constant elements, phenomena which recur ever and ever again in all sorts of documents of different times and places, and they try to discover the original, 'pure' forms and the 'Sitz im Leben' for them 'Forms', however, tend to lead their own lives, and may be taken over for different purposes in different situations, and they may

be varied in many ways In the case of the Testaments, it is important to pay attention to the ways in which these forms were made to serve the purpose of the author of this particular writing We may not assume, for instance, that purer or more complete forms were extant at an earlier stage of the Testaments, but were spoiled by the additions or other editorial activities of later redactors 'An oral or literary form is like a source in that once it exists, it stands at the service of whoever may wish to use it There are of course two conditions placed upon this usage First, whoever wishes to appropriate a given form (or source) must be aware that it exists, second, he must find the form suitable to his purposes' (so rightly H D Slingerland, op cit, pp 97f)

1 2 5 The delineation of sources and earlier forms of the Testaments has not led to results that are generally accepted, and literary-criticism is not likely to yield any acceptable results in the foreseeable future. Form-criticism is indeed a useful tool But since it helps us to detect traditional forms of expression employed by the author rather than the material at his disposal, one would do better to concentrate on redaction-criticism, or better still on composition-criticism This is because analysis of the editorial process is only possible on the basis of a clear delineation of sources and fixed traditions, and therefore directly related to literary- and form-criticism The central issue is: How did the author mould together those elements he took over from others and his own personal contribution to a consistent whole, serving a particular purpose? This means analyzing the Testaments as they lie before us in the form reconstructed by responsible textual-criticism, and attempting to understand them as a collection of farewell discourses which, however loosely constructed and diverse as to their constituents, must be approached as 'compositions' in their own right

1 3 *The plan of this commentary*

1 3 1 The remarks made under 1.2 3 and 1 2 5 lead to the following plan of this commentary The treatment of the individual testaments begins with an introduction dealing with the overall structure of this testament and its main theme(s) If necessary, particular problems of a general nature with regard to this testament are also discussed here

Next follows a discussion of the various sections of the testament. First, there is a (structured) translation of the Greek text, to which textcritical notes are added These deal with all textual variants of major importance, particularly with the differences between family I and family II (for details, see 2 4) A short survey of the section is then given under the heading 'Structure'. Only then do comments on the individual verses try to give a fuller picture by means of the listing of many parallels and where necessary, a short discussion of them The parallels have been taken from a great number of sources, a.o. the books of the Old and of the New Testament, the so-called apocrypha and pseudepigrapha, other Jewish and

hellenistic sources, and further early Christian literature This is not to suggest literary dependence of the Testaments on any of these writings (apart from those found in the OT/LXX), but it is a method of illustrating how terms and expressions found here are also used elsewhere, often in a wide range of documents over a long period of time In theory, it would have been possible to sketch the history of the use of these terms and expressions ('Traditionsgeschichte') in greater detail, but this would have exceeded the limits of a commentary which has to give precedence to the interpretation of the use of words (and combinations of words) within the context of the writing itself It should be stressed that in the body of the commentary parallels are always mentioned as 'objectively' as possible in a fixed order. The interesting question is where and when the same (or similar) expressions have been used by others. Questions of provenance ('is this term typically Jewish or Christian or hellenistic?') will often prove not very meaningful

So this commentary tries to analyse and demonstrate the coherence (and occasional lack of coherence) of the individual testaments, to identify the place and function of traditional material within the testaments and to clarify the meaning and background of their vocabulary The coherence and consistency of the Testaments as one single document receives attention in the comments on the individual verses where related passages in the Testaments are always mentioned first, as well as in §§ **4–7** of this INTRODUCTION

1 3.2. A few remarks will have to be made about the present INTRODUCTION Its purpose is to introduce the reader to the basic facts and the main problems of the Testaments The second and third chapters deal with the material at our disposal § 2 discusses the various textual witnesses and the problems of the constitution of a critical edition of the text of the Testaments Next, § 3 gives a survey of related Hebrew and Aramaic (and also Greek) material, and the importance of it for a better understanding of the Greek Testaments. The fourth chapter addresses itself to the problems of structure, composition and genre of the document as it lies before us The fifth, sixth and seventh chapters deal with the contents of the Testaments, trying to outline the variety and the coherence of the views found in them So, § 5 discusses the ethics of the Testaments, § 6 their views on good and evil spirits, and § 7 their expectations concerning the future The last two chapters deal with historical questions § 8 tries to answer the question how the Testaments could function meaningfully in the early Christian Church, and **§** 9 deals with the problem of their provenance Are the Testaments a Jewish document adopted to Christian use or a Christian composition? Is this question capable of final resolution?

This introduction takes into account the results of the many discussions on these topics in recent literature Yet it did not seem useful to give a short survey of these discussions or always to sum up the arguments for and against certain solutions Nor did the authors want to refer constantly

to their own contributions to the ongoing debate Readers who are interested in the background (or development) of the views of the authors or in a more detailed argumentation for the views expressed in this introduction will do well to consult earlier publications, especially M de Jonge, *The Testaments*· the various contributions to *Studies*· and the introduction to M de Jonge, *Edition*. To these should be added M. de Jonge, 'The main issues in the study of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs', *NTS* 26 (1979-80), 508-24, H W Hollander, op cit., and M de Jonge's reviews of the two volumes by A Hultgård on the eschatology of the Testaments (see 1 1 1) in *JSJ* 10 (1979), 100–102 and 14 (1983), 70–80, and of E von Nordheim, op cit , in *JSJ* 12 (1981), 112-17

§ 2. *The text*

2 1 This commentary is based on M de Jonge, *Edition*. All relevant information about the text and the textual-criticism of the Testaments can be found in the Introduction to this edition (pp XI–XLI) as well as in Part Two of *Studies* pp 45-179 (with articles by H J de Jonge, H W Hollander, M de Jonge, H E Gaylord, and Th Korteweg) Here only the most important facts and theories are mentioned

2 2 *The Greek Manuscripts*

The Testaments have come down to us in Greek and in a number of versions dependent on the Greek At this moment fifteen Greek manuscripts, containing either a continuous Greek text or excerpts, are known, none of them is older than the tenth century

a Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 133, ff 182r-205v (late XIIIth century)

b Cambridge, University Library, Ff 1 24, ff 203r-261v (late Xth century)

c Citta del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod Graecus 731, ff. 97r.-166v. (XIIIth century)

d Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod Graecus 1238, ff 350r-379v (end XIIth century) In this manuscript we find four rather long marginalia (Fm^{d}) (second half or end of the XVth century)

e Athos, Monastery of Koutloumous, Cod 39 (catalogue number 3108), ff 198r-229r. (XIth century)

f Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds grec 2658, ff lv-71v (XIth century)

g Patmos, Monastery of John the Theologian, MS 411, ff 178r-220v (XVth century)

h Mount Sinai, Monastery of St Catharine, Cod Graecus 547 (Gardthausen) = 770 (Kamil), ff lr-70r (XVIIth century) Ends with T Jos 15,7

i Mount Sinai, Monastery of St Catharine, pressmark unknown, ff lr-38r (XVIIth century[9]), only incomplete photographs available
j Mount Sinai, Monastery of St Catharine, Cod Graecus 2170 = 608 (Kamil), ff. 8r.-88r (XVIIIth century) Ends with T Jos 15,7
k Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale di S Marco, Cod Graecus Z 494 (= 331), ff 263r-264v (middle XIIIth century) Extracts in an extremely contracted handwriting
l Athos, Library of the Laura, Laura I 48 (catalogue number 1132), ff 204r-276r (XVIth–XVIIth centuries) Athos, Laura K 116 (catalogue number 1403), ff 266r-283r of the same date is a copy of this manuscript
m Ankara, Turk Tarih Kurumu, MS Graecus 60, pp 339–482 (beginning of the second half of the XVIth century) Many lacunae
n Athos, Monastery of Vatopedi, Cod 659, ff 42r.–v., 47r.–48r. (XIVth century) Two fragments only T R 3,6–5,7 and T L 3,1-10

For further details one may consult section A I of M de Jonge, *Edition* (pp XI–XXV) and the literature cited there

2 3 *The Ancient Versions*

2 3 1 The most important ancient version is the *Armenian* (A) of which over fifty MSS are known A satisfactory edition does not yet exist The edition by S Yovsēp'ianc', *T'angaran hin ew nor naxneac' I, Ankanon girk' hin ktakaranac'*, Venice 1896, pp 27-151 (English translation by J. Issaverdens, *The Uncanonical Writings of the Old Testament* Venice (1907) [2]1934, pp 267-358) is based on only five MSS, R H Charles's well-known *Text* mentions twelve MSS, and actually uses nine of them M E Stone has undertaken to publish an editio minor on the basis of eight MSS, representing four types of text (see especially his 'The Armenian Version of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs Selection of Manuscripts', *Sion* 49 (1975), 207-14, and 'New Evidence for the Armenian Version of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs', *RB* 84 (1977), 94–107). Earlier he published *The Testament of Levi* Jerusalem 1969, and *The Armenian Version of the Testament of Joseph (Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations 6 Pseudepigrapha Series 5)* Missoula 1975, he also supplied the additional material for Appendix II B in M de Jonge, *Edition,* 'Variant readings in Armenian found in the Testaments of Levi, Issachar, Zebulun (VI–X) and Joseph' Recently, A Hultgård has discussed the Armenian version at some length in chapter I of his *L'eschatologie ... II* (see 1 1.1), pp 11-52, and has given its variants in his critical edition of the eschatological passages in the Testaments on pp 239-72 of the same book

The Armenian version has received much attention in modern scholarship ever since F C Conybeare tried to show that the absence of some Christian passages from the Armenian proved that this version had been made from an original which had suffered less from Christian interpola-

tions than the existing Greek MSS (cf his article 'On the Jewish authorship of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs', *JQR* 5 (1893), 375–98) Conybeare was followed by Charles, and because of the fact that Charles's edition was the standard edition until recently, this opinion has been very influential Later studies on this version have shown that the value of the Armenian version for the reconstruction of the original Greek text is of a more limited nature The Armenian version is mentioned seven times in the apparatus of the Leiden edition in cases where its evidence proved important for the constitution of the text As to the omissions, M E Stone observes on the basis of (still) preliminary studies 'that Armenian seems to start off the translation of certain Testaments following the Greek closely, but then, part of the way through, a process of abbreviation, particularly in parenetic sections, commences' ('New Evidence ', 104) Also Hultgård notes very many abbreviations in the Armenian, yet he is far more inclined than other scholars to regard Armenian readings as original (also in the cases where A presents a longer text than the Greek witnesses) For further details, see M de Jonge, *Edition* pp XXV–XXVIII.

2 3 2 The *New Greek* version (Ngr) of the Testaments is found in one MS Biblioteca Academiei Republicii Populare Romane, Bukarest, Cod Graecus 508 (341), ff 7r-120r It proves to be based on a MS closely related to the common ancestor of *hij* and is, therefore, of minor importance from a textcritical point of view As the text of *hij* is not available after T Jos 15,7, Ngr may be used as witness for that branch of the textual tradition for the end of the Testaments, unfortunately, it omits T Jos 16,1 - T B 1,5, σφόδρα (except the title of T B) and T B 11,2, ακουων 12,4 For further details, see M de Jonge, *Edition* pp XXVIII–XXIX, and C Burchard, 'Neues zur Uberlieferung der Testamente der Zwölf Patriarchen', *NTS* 12 (1965–6), 245-58

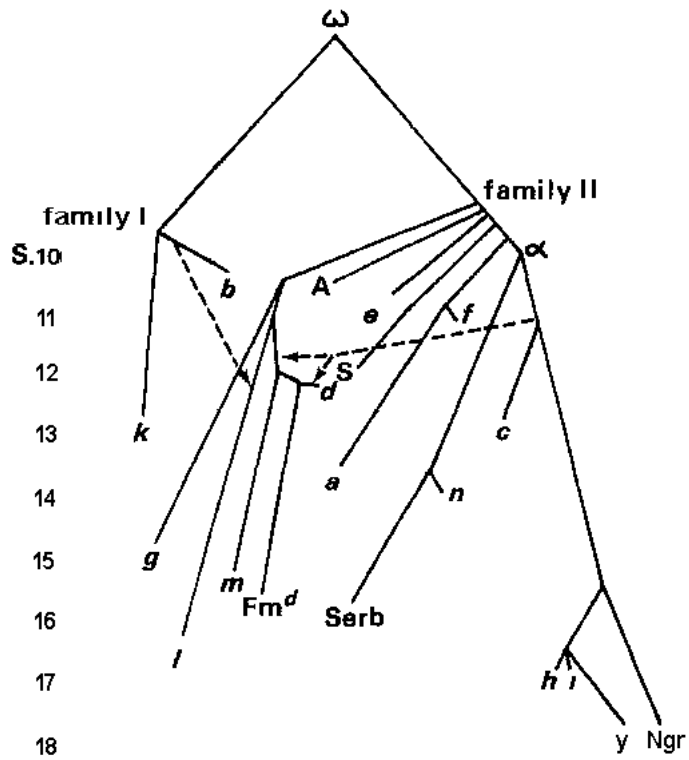
2.3.3 The *Slavonic* version (S) was used by R H Charles and regularly quoted in the apparatus of his edition Further investigations, particularly those by E Turdeanu in 1970 (see 'Les Testaments des Douze Patriarches en slave', *JSJ* 1 (1970), 148–84; and now his *Apocryphes slaves et roumaines de l'Ancien Testament (SVTP 5)* Leiden 1981, chapter 6), have shown that the Slavonic evidence, even if a more original type of text is followed than the one used by Charles, does not really help us in the reconstruction of the oldest attainable text This version, therefore, was not used for the new editio maior. Neither was the *Serbian* version (Serb), extant for T R 1-5 only and closely related to the Greek MS *n*. For further details, see M de Jonge, *Edition* pp XXIX–XXX.

2 3 4 The *Latin* version (L) goes back to Robert Grosseteste who had the Greek MS *b* brought to England It has no independent textcritical value, but was copied very often and became the parent translation for many translations in several European languages For further details, see M de Jonge, *Edition* p XXX

2 4 *The constitution of the text and the relationships between the various textual witnesses*

2.4.1. The reconstruction of a stemma codicum on the basis of the evidence of the available witnesses proved to be difficult The arguments in favour of the stemma printed here are given in section B of the Introduction to M de Jonge, *Edition* (pp XXXII1–XLI) These pages must be read against the background of *Studies* Part Two The results may be summed up as follows

a) There are two families, the first consisting of *bk*, and the second of all the remaining witnesses
b) Within family II two sub-families can be distinguished One consists of *gldm* plus Fm^d, another of Serb *nchij* Ngr Both sub-families are complex, moreover, there is secondary influence from the second sub-family on *dm* and / has many readings in common with *b*
c) Sub-family *gldm* Fm^d seems to be nearest to the basic archetype of family II; next follows A, then *e* S, *af* while the sub-family Serb *nchij* Ngr seems to be furthest removed This represents a great difference from the stemma reconstructed by R H Charles, consisting of two families a = *cht*, and ß = *aef* S + *bdg* A



2 4.2. In theory, the archetype of the present textual witnesses has to be reconstructed on the basis of the results of the reconstruction of the basic archetypes of families I and II Because of the fragmentary character of MS *k*, the oldest attainable text of family I is in most cases simply the MS *b* One would like to have other witnesses to go on, but they are just not extant As to family II it has become abundantly clear that *g l* and *e* are the most important witnesses to this family's text, while, in some cases, A gives useful corroborative evidence. *dm* give support for the establishment of the *gldm*-reading wherever they are not under the influence of the second sub-family. *af* plus the witnesses belonging to the second sub-family sometimes help us to distinguish between the individual readings of *e* and those representative of the *eaf* etc -stage in the tradition

In practice, it did not always prove easy to reconstruct the basic archetype of family II, partly because of the secondary relationships mentioned above, but mainly because of a number of variants which are not unequivocally explained by the suggested stemma In the Introduction to M de Jonge, *Edition* (p. XXXIX), the importance of internal criticism was emphasized 'Theories on relationships represented in a stemma should never lead to mechanical application of certain rules ' The editors added, however· 'Yet a consistent search for strict evidence, pointing to or excluding genealogical relationships (conjunctive and disjunctive errors), and the observation of regular patterns in the sharing of clearly secondary readings, is an indispensable help '

The comparison of the basic archetypes of family I and family II did not always lead to clear conclusions with regard to the reconstruction of the archetype In some cases the readings of family I or family II were clearly to be preferred, in a very small number of instances a text based on emendation was given Many times, however, no clear choice could be made, and in these cases the reading of family I was printed in the text Appendix I of M de Jonge, *Edition* gives a full list of variants between family I and family II with an indication of the editors's preference (or lack of preference) In the textcritical notes in this commentary these cases (with very few exceptions) are discussed, together with other important variants

2 5. *The date of the oldest attainable text*

2.5 1 The oldest Greek witness for the text given in M de Jonge, *Edition* is MS *b* dating from the Xth century In his article 'The earliest traceable stage of the textual tradition of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs', *Studies* pp 63–86, H. J de Jonge rightly remarked 'the whole surviving MS. tradition, without exception, may derive from one ninth - or tenth - century minuscule codex' (p 66) There is only one way to prove that the archetype which one tries to reconstruct was older, and that is by showing that the Testaments were transliterated not once but

twice from majuscule to minuscule script If variants in our present (minuscule) MS-tradition can be shown to be variants which must have originated at the majuscule stage, 'the archetype or last common source of the surviving textual tradition was a MS in uncial script, earlier than the ninth century, it cannot be dated more precisely, however' (p 79) In the same article H J de Jonge adduces thirteen instances where divergencies between family I and family II can be traced to different interpretations of uncial characters, and his conclusion is, therefore, that there is reason to suppose that the reconstructed Greek text ist earlier than the ninth century

2 5 2 There are only very few clear references to the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs in early Christian literature, and they do not tell us much about the actual wording of the Greek text at the time of citing Origen mentions the Testaments and refers to T R. 2-3 in his homilies on Joshua 'Sed in aliquo quodam libello, qui appellatur testamentum duodecim patriarcharum, quamvis non habeatur in canone, talem tamen quendam invenimus sensum, quod per singulos peccantes singuli satanae intelligi debeant' (Hom. 15,6 in Jos.). Jerome refers to T.N. 2,8 in Tractatus de Psalmo XV (ed G Morin, now in *Corpus Christianorum Latinorum* 78, Turnholti 1958, p 376) 'In libro quoque Patriarcharum, licet inter apocryphos computetur, ita inveni, ut quomodo fel ad iracundiam, sic renes ad calliditatem et ad astutiam sint creati Πανουργία autem id est calliditas, ut vel in bonam vel in malam partem accipiatur ...'

The Testaments are mentioned in several lists of canonical and non-canonical books in Greek, Armenian and Slavonic, but, again, they tell us little more than that the Testaments were extant at the time these lists, or their prototypes, were written It seems impossible to trace when and where the Testaments were first included in such a list For further details, see M de Jonge, *Edition* pp XXX–XXXII, and see also H W Hollander, 'The Influence of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs in the Early Church Joseph as Model in Prochorus' Acts of John', *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 9 (1978), 75-81

2 5 3 It is difficult to establish the date at which the Greek Testaments were translated into Armenian It has been argued, on linguistic and stylistic grounds, that the Armenian translation is ancient, perhaps of the seventh or even the sixth century A belongs, however, to family II going back to one minuscule codex In one important instance, the omission of a number of passages in T Z , it sides with those witnesses in that family which have the shorter text Now, if the shorter text is secondary and the result of a deliberate recensional activity, it follows that A is not only later than the ninth century, but perhaps even as late as the tenth or the eleventh; the oldest Greek witness for the shorter text is the eleventh century MS *e* The debate is not yet closed see M. de Jonge, 'Textual criticism and the analysis of the composition of the Testament of Zebulun', *Studies* pp 144–60 (defending the originality of the longer text in T Z), and M E Stone, 'New Evidence ' (see 2 3 1), 102-104

Hultgard, *L'eschatologie ... II* (see 1 1 1), chapter 1, is convinced of the originality of the short text, regards A as an independent branch of the tradition and dates the translation in the fifth or sixth century Unfortunately, no clear traces of the Armenian version of the Testaments are found in Armenian literature stemming from the period before the ninth century In view of the scarcity of references in the Greek authors of the period this is not surprising

2 6 *Consequences for the study of the present text of the Testaments*

Since Origen in his homilies on Joshua quotes the Testaments (though he realizes that the book is non-canonical), we may accept the beginning of the third century A D as the 'terminus ad quem'. Therefore it is clear that by that time a book called 'The Testament(s?) of the Twelve Patriarchs' was known in at least some Christian circles. The question as to how it became known in the early Church, and whether it is a Christian document which used much Jewish material or an originally Jewish writing adapted for Christian needs, will occupy us later (see § 9). Here it should be stressed that much may have happened in the centuries between 200 A.D. and the moment the archetype of the present textual tradition originated We have seen that this moment cannot be determined with exactitude The archetype of the present textual tradition must be older than the ninth century If the Armenian version dates from the seventh or sixth century (for which there is no conclusive proof, and which seems to be improbable on other grounds), the date may be 'pushed back' to the sixth century In any case we must reckon with differences between the text known to Origen and the one we are able to reconstruct, particularly because the biographical and exhortatory as well as the eschatological parts of the Testaments encourage, so to speak, marginal notes and small embellishments from readers and scribes, alternatively, details which had become unintelligible or seemed irrelevant may have been omitted in later times

The direct contribution of textual-criticism to the analysis of the history of the transmission of the Testaments in the period prior to the origin of the earliest accessible text is small However, there may have been parallel developments in the period before and the period after the origin of the archetype So the fact that the scribe of *k* (XIIIth century) gives extracts from the Testaments, concentrating on the passages at the end of the individual testaments which he regards as announcements of the coming of Christ, may tell us something about the reason why the Testaments were read and transmitted in a much earlier period Or, if the scribe of g (XVth century) omits the two lists of spirits in T R 2,2-3,9 (and substitutes the significant remark ἀρκεῖ μοι εις διδασκαλίαν ὑμῶν) and a similar passage in T N 2,2-8, this may lead us to assume the possibility of a lack of interest for certain details in earlier stages of the transmission of the text We can never be sure, however

Now, if it remains hazardous to use arguments from the textual history known to us for the reconstruction of the transmission of the text in the period between the beginning of the third century and the origin of the archetype of the present textual tradition, it is all the more dubious to use textcritical arguments to trace the history of the text before 200 A D, particularly in the hope of reconstructing an older Jewish document. The case for an originally Jewish writing must be argued on the basis of arguments other than textcritical ones Equally dubious is the thesis that we may assume a transition from the period of traditio-historical growth to the stage of development reflected by the textual witnesses at our disposal. It should not be forgotten that the transmission of the text of the Testaments is entirely different from that of the Christian writings collected in the New Testament, where the earliest witnesses are much nearer in time to the origin of the documents

§ 3 *Related Hebrew and Aramaic material*

3 1 Fragments of a Levi-text

3 1 1. Since the beginning of this century a number of fragments of an Aramaic Levi-text have been known these were discovered in the collections of fragments from the Cairo Genizah in the Cambridge University Library and the Bodleian Library in Oxford An editio princeps of the two fragments at Cambridge was issued by H L Pass and J. Arendzen (*JQR* 12 [1899-1900], 651–61). A Cowley and R H Charles published another fragment from Oxford (plus a corrected transcription of the Cambridge fragments in *JQR* 19 [1906–7], 566–83). The material is conveniently brought together in Appendix II1 (pp 245-56) of R H Charles, *Text* For an English translation, see Appendix 111 of this commentary In his edition Charles also published a small Syriac fragment (British Museum MS Add 17,193) corresponding to part of Cambridge fragment col d Very significant was his discovery that the second major addition found in the Greek MS *e* inserted after T L 18,2 (see 3 1 2 below) runs parallel to Bodleian fragment col b–d and to part of Cambridge fragment col c. In between there is a long passage to which we find no Aramaic parallel the equivalent of some four columns (one leaf) of the Aramaic is apparently lost

In *RB* 62 (1955), 398–406, J T Milik published a fragment consisting of part of one leaf, containing parts of two columns, together with the text of a 'Prayer of Levi' found in the Greek MS *e* as an insertion in T L 2,3 (after ἀδικία) The latter shows remarkable agreements with the Aramaic fragment which gives part of the introduction to the prayer, the end of the prayer and the introduction to a vision (cf T L 2,5ff.). Again, it is reasonable to suppose that we may rely on the Greek insertion in *e* for the content of the passages not presented in Aramaic The Aramaic fragment belongs to a scroll now called 4Q 213 TestLevi[a]. Further

fragments belonging to this scroll give the text found on Bodleian fragment col a 7-21, col d 1-15, Cambridge fragment col e 4–f 19 (plus, on the same fragment, the two last words of f), see J. T Milik, *RB 62* (1955), 399, and subsequent correction in *RB* 73 (1966), 95 n 2 Another fragment belonging to this scroll, 4Q TestLevi[a] 8 111, was published and discussed by Milik on pp 23-24 of his *The Books of Enoch. Aramaic fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford 1976, cf. *HTR* 64 (1971), 344f.). It can be compared with T L 14,3f , but the text is very fragmentary Milik has announced that he also found fragments of a second document, 4Q 214 TestLevi[b] *(RB* 73 (1966), 95 n 2); from a remark on p 214 of his *The Books of Enoch,* we may deduce that the 'tiny fragment' 4Q TestLevi[b] 1 iv is connected with part of Cambridge fragment col c and d.

Fragments of an Aramaic Levi-document were also found in the first cave at Qumran They were published and commented upon by Milik in D Barthélémy, O P and J T Milik, *Qumran Cave l (DJD l)* Oxford 1955, pp 87-91 (1Q 21,1–60). The biggest fragment, 1Q 21,3, clearly corresponds to Bodleian fragment col a 2-9. A number of other fragments, all of them very small, may also correspond to this fragment Wether 1Q 21,1 belongs just before the beginning of this fragment (so P Grelot in his article 'Notes sur le Testament arameen de Lévi (fragment de la Bodleian Library, colonne a)', *RB* 63 (1956), 391–406) remains uncertain

A full and comprehensive survey of all Genizah and Qumran material on Levi is urgently needed J T Milik has promised a book dedicated to the Testament of Levi as long ago as 1976 (see also his 'Ecrits préessséniens de Qumrân, d'Henoch a Amram' in M Delcor ed., *Qumrân. Sa piété sa théologie et son milieu (BEThL 46)* Paris–Gembloux–Leuven 1978, pp 91-106, esp p 95, in this article, Milik speaks of 'assez nombreux fragments de cinq rouleaux provenant du scriptorium qumranien, dont deux, chacun representé par un fragment isole, d'identification récente'; he also mentions 'quelques citations grecques et arabes')

Finally, we should mention the reference to a writing of Levi in CD 4,15-19 (in Hebrew!): 'The explanation of this (sc. Isa 24,17) (is that) these are Belial's three nets, of which Levi son of Jacob spoke, by which he (Belial) ensnared Israel, and which he set [be]fore them as three sorts of righteousness the first is lust, the second is riches, (and) the third is defilement of the Sanctuary Whoever escapes this is caught by that, and whoever escapes that one is caught by this.' Just how far the quotation goes is not certain, neither in the present T L nor in the existing Aramaic (or Greek) Levi-fragments do we find an equivalent Yet it is likely that CD refers to an independent Levi-document

3 1 2 The Greek Levi-fragments in MS *e* already mentioned above, are found as insertions in the text of T L. (they can be found in the apparatus of M de Jonge, *Edition)* The first is found in T.L. 2,3 after ἀδικία and has no connection with the text of the Greek testament. It gives a prayer of Levi preceded by a short introduction The second is an

addition worked into the text in 5,2 where for δέδωκα *e* reads δοθήσεται ἡ ἱερατεία καὶ τω σπέρματί σου τοῦ λειτουργεῖν τῳ υψιστῳ εν μέσω τῆς γῆς και ἐξιλάσκεσθαί σε ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀγνοίαις της γης· τοτε ἔδωκεν. The third is found after the end of T.L. 18,2 and gives a text which begins with καὶ ἀνήλθομεν ἀπὸ Βεθὴλ καὶ κατελυσαμεν εν τῃ αὐλῃ 'Αβραὰμ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν παοὰ 'Ισαὰκ τὸν πατέρα ἡμῶν (cf T L 9,1), runs parallel to the Bodleian and Cambridge fragments in the way outlined in 3 1.1, and ends, rather abruptly, with the story of the birth of Levi's son Merari (cf T.L 11,7), while the Cambridge fragment continues A further addition, in T.A. 7,2 after τῆς γῆς, gives the last part of a Christian compilation written by the same hand as that of the text of the Testaments, it is a leaf which was inserted in the codex in the wrong place

Unfortunately, we do not know what e's scribe had before him and through what channels his Greek Levi-text reached him The first addition forms a unity and is (clumsily) inserted at a place corresponding to the one it may have occupied in the alternative Greek Levi-text from which it is taken Did e's scribe (or one of his predecessors who added a note to the text he was copying) still know the context to which the inserted fragment belonged? The addition in T L 5,2 is worked into the text - by whom we do not know The third fragment is inserted at an awkward place and is clearly incomplete Why it was added here and was truncated cannot now be established

We also do not know at what time the Greek was translated from Aramaic or Hebrew The only thing we are able to say with a considerable degree of certainty is that the Greek additions and the various Aramaic fragments ultimately go back to a common ancestor

3.1 3 If we survey the contents of the Aramaic Levi-document on the basis of the existing material, we find that it contained, first of all, a prayer and a vision of Levi, more or less corresponding to what we find in T L 2-5, and a report on the expedition against Shechem found in chapter 6 (and 7) However, only very mutilated fragments of this report survive in Cambridge fragment col a and b When Bodleian fragment col a takes over, it speaks in retrospect of another vision in words which show likeness to T L 8,18f. This vision was clearly concemed with the priesthood, for the Aramaic text continues with what amounts to a very extended equivalent of T L 9, particularly Isaac's instructions for the new priest Levi The Levi-document (here represented by the Greek addition to T.L. 18,2) omits T L 10 and continues with an equivalent to chapter 11 The text continues (with the Cambridge fragment col c-f taking over) until it breaks off somewhere in a passage which sings the praise of the wise man, corresponding to T L 13. There is, as we have seen, a fragmentary text roughly corresponding to T L 14,3f , and giving an invective against the Jerusalem priesthood No further fragments related to T L are extant But as to T L 16 and 17, J T Milik assumes 'that some kind of treatment of the seventy weeks and of the jubilees was

already to be found in the Aramaic original of this Levitical document' (see also on 17,1–2a); and he adds: 'We shall never know how the author of the Aramaic Testament dealt with the final era, since chapter 18 has undergone very extensive Christian adaptation' (*The Books of Enoch*, pp 253f). Unless more material becomes available we shall not be able to define exactly what the Aramaic Levi-document contained, but that such a document existed seems certain

3.2 *Non-Levi material*

In *RB* 63 (1956), 407 n. 1, J. T Milik announced the existence of a Hebrew fragment containing Bilhah's genealogy in a much larger form than the one found in T N. 1,6–12. In his *The Books of Enoch* (see 3.1 1), p 198, he has published the text of 4Q TestNapht 1 II 4–5 corresponding to T N 1,12 In his article 'Ecrits préesséniens ....' (see 3.1.1), p 97, he tells us that 'une mélecture onomastique' allows us to conclude that there must have been an Aramaic original He now calls this text 4Q H(ebreu) Nephtali, perhaps indicating that the parallel with the Greek testament in itself does not prove that it once belonged to a Testament of Naphtali He does not see any connection with the medieval Hebrew Testament of Naphtali to be mentioned under 3 5 On pp 97-101 of the same article, Milik has given the text of two Aramaic fragments from the fourth cave at Qumran called 4Q A Ju 1 a-b where a brother of Joseph tells about the Egyptian period of his life Milik connects this with T.Jud.. 12,11f where the author of the Testaments is thought to have abbreviated considerably, in accordance with his custom.. Milik points also to some very small fragments from the third cave, published by M.. Baillet in M Baillet, J T Milik and R de Vaux, O P , *Les Petites Grottes de Qumran (DJD 3)* Oxford 1962, p. 99 (3Q H 7,1–6). Milik connects 3Q H 7 (= 3O H Ju), 6 and 5 + 3 with T.Jud 25,1 and 25,1f. respectively Recently, M. Baillet has added (with some hesitation) twenty very small fragments which may have belonged to one manuscript, 4Q 484 (see M Baillet, *Qumran Grotte 4 III* (4Q 482-4Q 520) *(DJD 7)* Oxford 1982, p. 3 Fragments 1 and 7 are tentatively connected with T Jud. 25,1f., and fragment 19 with T.Jud 24,1 or 5

This all remains extremely uncertain, and Milik's hypothesis that this Aramaic Testament is also the source of the accounts of the wars of Judah, now found in an abbreviated and disorganised form in T Jud 3-7, is as ingenious as it is unprovable until more fragments come to light Equally uncertain is the assignment (in 'Ecrits préesséniens ', pp. 101f.) of three small Aramaic fragments 4Q A Jo 1 and 4Q A Jo 2a-b to an Aramaic Testament of Joseph The first is very small, according to Milik it is related to T Jos. 14, 4f., the second two (which are connected) are bigger and correspond (in Milik's view) to T Jos 15,1-17,2

It remains highly doubtful whether, on the basis of these small fragments, the existence of *testaments* of Judah and Joseph can really be

proved or even made plausible The same applies to K Beyer's hypothesis that 4QA Jo 1 and 4 QA Jo 2 a-b belong to a 'Farewell-speech of Joseph' and 4 QA Ju 1 a-b to (a late scroll of) the Genesis-apocryphon together with 4 QA Ja 1 a-d published by Milik on pp 103-5 of his 'Écrits p'reesseniens ' (see *Die aramäische Texte vom Toten Meer* Göttingen 1984, pp 186–8) Even less is known about a Testament of Benjamin In his 'The Contribution of Qumran Aramaic to the Study of the New Testament' (originally in *NTS* 20 (1973–4), 382–407, now in *A Wandering Aramean*, Missoula 1979, pp 85-113), J A Fitzmyer has listed a number of Qumran Aramaic texts (p 101) amongst which a Testament of Benjamin (?) belonging to 'Starcky's lot' No further details are available

3 3 *Genre date and provenance of the material listed under 3 1 and 3 2*

3 3 1 The beginning and the end of the Aramaic Levi-document are missing it is very difficult, therefore, to determine its literary genre Some scholars have pointed to the evident seam between v. 81 and vv 82ff of the Aramaic fragments published by Charles (Cambridge fragment col e 1-8) In v 81 an autobiographical account ends with the words 'And all the days of my life were 1(3)7 years, and I saw my sons of the th(ird generation) before I died ' Charles has emended here the badly readable text with the help of T L 19,6 and 12,6 Then, in vv 82ff., follows an address of Levi to his sons and grandsons roughly corresponding to T L 13 As D Haupt, *Das Testament des Levi Untersuchungen zu seiner Entstehung und Uberlieferungsgeschichte* Diss Halle 1969 (typescript), pp 84, 86, 120–22, and A Hultgård, *L'eschatologie II* (see 1 1 1), pp 62f., have shown, a number of elements found in vv 82f are also used in the opening passages of the individual testaments (though only a few of them in T L 1,1). The author of the Greek testament concealed this seam somewhat awkwardly, but effectively, removing the information contained in the first part of v 81 of the fragments to the end of his testament

The transition from v 81 to v 82 shows that the Aramaic Levi-document was not quite homogeneous On the other hand, the author of the Greek T L must have had a 'Vorlage' very similar to the Aramaic Levi-document He adopted a number of phrases found here and used them in the opening passages of his testaments - but neither is the part of ArLevi which begins in v 82 a testament nor is there any indication that the entire document was J T Milik who in his article in *RB* 62 (1955) spoke of the Aramaic Testament of Levi and used the abbreviation 'Test' in his sigla of the 1Q and 4Q fragments now speaks of 'le texte original arameen du Testament (ou des Visions) de Levi' (see his 'Ecrits preessenens ...' [see 3 1 1], p 95) He has clearly made this change in the light of the 'Visions of Amram' and of a Qahat-document, fragments of which he published in *RB* 79 (1972), 77-97 We quote 'A ce titre son ouvrage,

deja essentiellement un manuel de prêtre, inspira la naissance de deux autres écrits, l'un mis sous le calame de son fils Qahat et un deuxième mis dans la bouche de son petit-fils Amram." The 4Q 'Amram-fragments give 'the words of the visions' recorded by 'Amram, son of Qahat, son of Levi, 'on the day of his death' *(RB* 79 [1972], 77) In 4Q Qahat, Qahat gives instructions to his son on the basis of the commands given originally to his father Levi, and then by Levi to the speaker (ib , 97) So 4Q 'Amram was a testament, and very probably 4Q Qahat too It should, moreover, be noted that a number of elements found in ArLevi vv. 82f and in the opening passages in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs also occur in these fragments (so, independently of one another, E von Nordheim, op cit , pp 115-18, and A Hultgârd, *L'eschatologie . . II* [see 1 1.1], pp 60–62) Yet neither 4Q 'Amram nor 4Q Qahat are called 'testament' We may not go any further than stating that the Levi-, Qahat-, and 'Amram-documents form a series of documents giving priestly final exhortations and visions, preserved in the sectarian priestly circles whose literature was hidden at Qumran (though not necessarily produced by the Qumran sect)

About the non-Levi material very little can be said with any certainty The parallel with T N mentioned above under 3 2 is concerned with a genealogy of Bilhah and need not necessarily have been part of a testament like that of Naphtali. The other fragments are too small and too difficult to interpret to provide any definite proof for the existence of Aramaic Testaments of Judah and Joseph In fact, only the Levi-Qahat-'Amram cycle remains

In his *The Books of Enoch* (see 3 1.1), pp 23f., Milik has emphasized the connection between 4Q TestLevi[a] 8 III lines 6–7 and the Enoch fragments On p 56 of his work, he draws attention to the fact that v 57 of the (Greek) fragments of Levi refers to ev τῇ γραφῇ της βίβλου τοῦ Νῶε περι τοῦ αἵματος (see also Jub 21, 10, cf 1Q GenAp col XI line 17) In his 'Ecrits preesseniens ..', p 95, he writes: 'Nous avons ainsi une tres precieuse chronologie relative trois ecrits d'Henoch anterieurs a un ouvrage noachique, cet ensemble se poursuivant et s'achevant par le Testament de Levi, qui a la fois se refère a des accusations formulees par Hénoch et, pour l'interdit du sang, au "Livre de Noé" '

3 3 2 Milik dates 4Q TestLevi[a] in the second century B C (see *HTR* 64 [1971], 344), and the oldest of the 4Q 'Amram fragments even in the first half of that century (see *RB* 79 [1972], 78) This provides us with a 'terminus ad quem' for these documents This has led A Hultgârd in his *L'eschatologie ... I* to suppose that the 'Sitz im Leben' of the Levi-apocryphon is to be sought in the priestly milieu of the temple of Jerusalem at the end of the third and the beginning of the second century B C , before the Maccabean struggle and before the beginning of the Essene movement He calls the documents under discussion 'Zadokite' rather than Essene

This remains somewhat speculative Milik goes back even further On several occasions he has announced that he will try to prove that ArLevi

is to be dated in the third century B C, 'if not towards the end of the fourth' *(The Books of Enoch p* 24), and that it is of Samaritan origin In his 'Écrits préessenıens ..', p 106 he gives as his opinion that the majority of the 'pseudepigrapha' under review in this article were of Samaritan origin, although Judean versions were made too. In the Roman period two recensions of the patriarchal writings, Samaritan and Judean, circulated freely side by side A small part of the evidence for the thesis of Samaritan origins can be found on pp 96f, 99-101, but it fails to carry conviction We shall have to conclude that many uncertainties remain about the date and provenance of ArLevi

The possibility that the Aramaic Levi goes back to a Hebrew original has been affirmed by several scholars, among them J C Greenfield and M E Stone in their 'Remarks on the Aramaic Testament of Levi from the Geniza', *RB* 86 (1979), 214–30 Milik assumes that the documents discussed in his 'Ecrits preessenıens ' were all composed in Aramaic, but translated in Hebrew (p 106, cf his remark on 4Q H Naphtali mentioned under 3 2)

3 4 *The present Greek Testaments of the Twelve Patriarche and 'Aramaic Levi' The Testaments and Qumran*

3 4 1 The Greek T L need not be directly dependent on the ArLevi-document which may be posited as the common ancestor of the existing Aramaic fragments and the Greek fragments preserved in MS *e*, yet it presupposes a 'Vorlage' very similar to that document Allowing for the many uncertainties connected with the fragmentary state of the parallel Levi-material, and the different stages of transmission represented in the available fragments, we may use it in our literary-criticism of the present T L Comparison between the various fragments and the Greek text found in the Testaments allows us to have some idea as to what the author of the Testaments may have taken over from his 'Vorlage', how the material was used and adapted, and what was omitted Such an approach is also found in D Haupt, op cit., and A Hultgård, *L'eschatologie ... II* (see 1.1.1), pp 92-123 J Becker, *Untersuchungen* pp 69-105, however, posits a more distant relationship of parallel oral traditions Consequently, he deals separately with the Qumran Levi-material and the Genizah fragments

This approach has not commanded wide support Yet it reminds us that we do not possess the 'Vorlage' of the present Greek T L Nor do we know whether the Greek testament is directly dependent on that 'Vorlage' For one thing, thanks to the scribe of *e* we know that this Levi-document (or at least extensive portions of it) existed at one time in Greek This Greek text keeps very close to the Aramaic but there may have been another form, of forms, of the text further removed from the Aramaic-Greek fragments as we know them, and the author of the Greek testament who incorporated them into the Testaments may have used the

material in such a form However speculative all this may be, it helps us to avoid oversimplification the history of transmission may have been much more complicated than we suppose It remains likely that the present T L was modelled upon a Levi-document of some sort The ArLevi-document reconstructed from the fragments may give us some idea as to how the author of the Testaments worked (in general he produced a (much) shorter text than the one found in the fragments), but many details will remain obscure It is wrong to present the author of the Testaments as collector and redactor of the material which we happen to have at our disposal

3 4 2 Another approach is equally simplistic After the Qumran fragments had been discovered and other Qumran parallels had been noted the Testaments were classified as Qumranic Alternatively, the material preserved at Qumran was thought to have influenced other groups within second- and first-century Judaism, in which it underwent parallel and different developments to those found in the Qumran sect Many variations are possible, but all theories have in common the presupposition that literary connections and knowledge of common traditional material point to more or less direct historical relations between groups in a certain period of time On this matter, one should consult chapters V and VI in H Slingerland, op cit (see 1 1 1) In his *Untersuchungen*, pp. 149-51, J. Becker has summed up no less than eleven arguments against the theory of provenance from Qumran the Testaments are, e.g., clearly not sectarian, do not emphasize secret doctrine or rules for Levitical purity and know no rigorist observation of the Law at all, their dualism is anthropologically orientated, their long discussions of virtues and sins have no parallels in Qumran, and their eschatological expectations are definitely universalistic Becker, therefore, regards the Testaments as a hellenistic-Jewish document dating (at least in its original form) from the period immediately before the time of the Maccabees

In his *L'eschatologie* *I*, pp 15-81, A Hultgård has made an attempt to give an overall picture, based on the presupposition of literary development and of historical continuity He begins with an analysis of the figure of Levi in the Levi-apocryphon and in Jubilees; his analysis leads him to the conclusion that these are Zadokite documents which influenced the views of the Qumran sect, but cannot properly be called Essene The author of the Testaments used the Levi-apocryphon, but in a different literary context (namely that of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs) and also in a different historical context. This meant a reinterpretation of the Levi-ideology. That reinterpretation took place in Levitical circles who idealized Levi as prophet and teacher of the Law There is less emphasis on his cultic functions, and his activity as warrior is reinterpreted, all emphasis is laid on the kingship of Judah This shows a definitely anti-Hasmonean tendency in the circles in which the Testaments originated, they dreamt of an ideal High Priest, and an ideal King This expectation appeared in various forms and developed slowly in the course of the

history of the group from which the Testaments originated The details need not detain us here, the important point is that the literary relationship between the Levi-apocryphon and the Testament of Levi is thought to imply some form of historical continuity, notwithstanding the differences in time and circumstances Hultgård assumes that the development of thought in the community is reflected in the present text of the Testaments He thinks that the Testaments went through several editions 'L'étude que nous venons de faire a montre la diversite des thèmes eschatologiques trouves dans les Testaments des Douze Patriarches Mais nous avons aussi souligne que leur coexistence dans un même ouvrage n'a pas besoin d'être expliquee en termes d'additions et de remaniements successives Certes, les rééditions successives des Testaments, y compris leur traduction en langue grecque, ont pu amener des modifications dans le détail Toutefois, la structure de la composition actuelle et les grands themes eschatologiques restauration d'Israël, participation des nations au salut, avènement de la Divinite, apparition du messie davidique, resurrection ont été présents des la rédaction initiale des Testaments' (p 265) This suggests a continuous development to the present form of the Testaments The translation into Greek (obviously of the twelve testaments together) is regarded as a minor detail!

Hultgård's picture of a living tradition admittedly allows for many nuances Yet it is not evident that it provides the clue for solving the problems presented by the Testaments A commentary of the Testaments will have to list many references to Qumran documents and pseudepigrapha which like 1En and Jub are now known to have been read and copied at Qumran But similarity of ideas or literary dependence does not prove a common (or at least closely related) origin or a continuous development. The only way we can determine the milieu and date of origin of the present Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs is to analyse them as a collection of twelve documents related in form and content and meant to be read as a whole. Much older material, also known from other sources, went into their making but this can never be decisive The only decisive factor is the overall picture derived from the document as we have it

3 5 *The Hebrew Testament of Naphtali*

The medieval Testament of Naphtali is known in two recensions. The first, of which three MSS are known, was published by S A Wertheimer in 1890, M. Gaster in 1893–4 and finally by R H Charles as Appendix II (pp 239–44) of his edition of the Greek text of the Testaments (see also his translation in Appendix I of his *Translation* pp 221-7) An English translation is given in Appendix I of this commentary

The second recension represented by one MS, is given by S. A Wertheimer - A J. Wertheimer, *Batei Midrashot*, Jerusalem [2]1950–53 (= 1967-68), I, pp 199–203. It bears the title 'Haggadsh on the sons of

Jacob' and gives a generally shorter text For further details and a French translation of chapters 1-7, one may consult the Appendix in A Hultgård, *L'eschatologie ... II* (see 1 1.1), pp 288-96.

There has been considerable difference of opinion as to the relationship between the Hebrew Testament (expressly called צוואת נפתלי, in the first recension) and the Greek one For this, see 'Note on Hebrew T Naphtali' attached to the Introduction to T N A detailed comparison of a number of points in the visions found in T N. 5-7 and their counterparts in the medieval Testament, the results of which can be found in the commentary below, has confirmed the thesis that both documents go back to a common ancestor At least in the case of the visions, the Hebrew text, though late, is nearer to the original than the Greek Testament, so that we can use it to obtain a good idea of the redactional activity of the author of the Testaments in the present T N

3 6 *Midrash Wayissa'u*

As Appendix I to his edition of the Greek text of the Testaments (pp 235-8), R H Charles prints the text of the first part, and in his *The Ethiopie Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees* Oxford 1895, pp 180–2, the text of the second part of Midrash Wayissa'u found in Yalkut Shimeoni I, pp 83-85, as given in A Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrasch* III, pp 1-5 Midrash Wayissa'u has been edited more recently by J Z Lauterbach in *Abhandlungen zur Erinnerung an Hirsch Perez Chajes,* ed V A Aptowitzer - A Z Schwartz, Wien 1933, pp 205-22, and cf the new edition of Yalkut Shimeoni of D Heiman a.o., II, Jerusalem 1973, pp 691–4. A parallel text of Midrash Wayissa'u is given in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel 36–37. An English translation can be found in Appendix II of this commentary The same story is found in an expanded and embellished form in the Book of Yashar (see L Goldschmidt, *Sepher hajaschar,* Berlin 1923, pp 127–45).

This midrash gives an account of a war against the Amorites like that described in T Jud 3-7 (compare also Jub 34,1-9), followed by a description of the war with Esau and his sons, like that found in T Jud 9 and Jub 37,1-38,14 It is likely that the author of the Testaments used a different redaction of the Midr Way tradition, or even a fuller account of which Midr Way is an independent partial redaction J Becker's hypothesis of 'eine mündliche relativ feste Tradition' *(Untersuchungen* p 124; cf pp 114–25) does not solve any of the problems Lately, A Hultgård, *L'eschatologie .. II* (see 1 1 1), pp 123-7, has advanced the unconvincing hypothesis of an original longer version of T Jud 3-9 (abbreviated in the present text) as source for the Midrash.

Whatever solution may eventually prove to be the most likely one, the important thing is that we realize that the author of T Jud had more material at his disposal than he actually used, and that his account of the war against the Amorites and against Esau's sons serves his main purpose

to illustrate Judah's heroic deeds We do not know in what form the material lay before him, nor through how many stages this had gone before it reached him See also 'Traditional material' attached to the Introduction to T Jud

3 7 *The author of the Testaments as 'collector'*

Much is unknown, and will probably remain so, concerning the ways in which the materials incorporated into the present Testaments reached the author of that writing, and in what form they were at his disposal The case of the visions of Naphtali and the Judah traditions mentioned in 3 5 and 3 6, is quite different from that of the Levi-document mentioned in 3.4. There is much more, e.g., the Bilhah genealogy mentioned under 3 2, traditions about Judah, his wife, his children, and Tamar in T.Jud 8, 10–12 (and in 13-19) showing points of contact with Jub, and numerous other haggadic details of various provenance scattered all over the Testaments Also with regard to the exhortations, he is to a large extent dependent on existing traditions which can, in some cases, still be distinguished see, e g , the list of seven spirits inserted in T R 2,3-3,1 which reflects Stoic conceptions, and a list of parts of the human body and his functions in T N 2,8 (par Hebr T N 10,6)

A full survey of all traditional biographical (and exhortatory) material would reveal great diversity -- which militates against direct literary dependence presupposing historical continuity The Testaments are obviously a literary composition, for which the author used traditions from various sources He was particularly interested in haggadic details concerning the sons of Jacob which he could use to illustrate his work

3 8 *Were the Testaments translated from Hebrew or Aramaic?*

If it could be proved that the Testaments in their present form (or nearly their present form) were, at one time, translated from Aramaic or Hebrew into Greek, some questions raised in the previous sections might, perhaps, be answered more easily

R. H. Charles, in fact, devotes two chspters of the introduction to his edition of the Greek Testaments to prove 1 that the Greek 'version' is a translation from the Hebrew (§ 11, pp XXIII–XXXII), and 2 that the two MS families he has reconstructed, a and ß, are derived respectively from the two lost Hebrew recensions H^{α} and H^{β} (§ 12, pp XXXII-XXXIX) Charles did not find many followers for his extremely improbable theory of a double translation from the Hebrew Nor did his first point lead to much explicit discussion M. Philonenko has accepted Charles's theory of a Hebrew original. He writes: 'Charles a magistralement demontré dans son edition que notre grec est la traduction d'un original hebreu Les manuscrits de Qumrân viennent confirmer la solidite de cette demonstration A chaque page, nous trouvons des expressions,

parfois difficilement comprehensibles en grec, qui ne sont que la traduction mecanique de tournures caractéristiques de la Regle ou de l'Ecrit de Damas' *(Les interpolations chrétiennes des Testaments des Douze Patriarches et les manuscrits de Qoumrân,* Paris 1960, p. 4)

A. Hultgård, for whom continuity in the tradition process (including the transition from Aramaic to Greek) is an essential element in his reconstruction of the genesis of the Testaments (see 3 4 2) has recently tried to adduce new arguments in favour of the theory that the original text was composed in Aramaic with hebraisms and was later translated into Greek (see his *L'eschatologie II* [see 1.1.1], pp. 164–87). According to him, semitisms are not only found in sections which go back to ancient sources originally composed in Hebrew or Aramaic (a possibility which is generally admitted), but also in many other parts, including the framework of the Testaments Hultgard admits that there are also parts which cannot be proved to be translations of a Semitic 'Vorlage', but explains those by assuming a thorough hellenization at the time these passages were translated into Greek

It should be stressed that the question is not whether certain phrases or the (greater part of the) Testaments *may* go back to a Semitic original, but to prove beyond doubt that these phrases or the (greater part of the) Testaments *must* have been translated If 'the vocabulary is Greek, (but) the idiom .. frequently Hebraic and foreign to the genius of the Greek language' (so Charles, *Text* p XXIV), this phenomenon has to be explained by the use of the LXX. In many instances, the Testaments use the LXX or presuppose its wording T Issachar's picture of its patriarch as a hard-working, God-fearing γεωργός, goes back to Gen 49,14f. LXX, Ἰσσαχὰρ τὸ καλὸν ἐπεθύμησεν ... ὑπέθηκεν τὸν ὦμον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν καὶ ἐγενήθη ἀνὴρ γεωργός (the Hebrew text speaks of a מס־עבד, 'a servant under tribute') Cf further, for instance, T L 4,3, 18,3 (Hos 10,12), T Jud 24,1 (Num 24,17), T G 2,3 (Gen 37,28), T Jos 20,3 (Gen 48,7), T.B 11,1 (Gen 49,27), and also T N 2,3 (WisSol 11,20), T G. 5,10 (WisSol 11,16) Next, an author who decided to compose a series of testaments of the sons of Jacob for an audience (whether Jewish or Christian) which knew them through the Greek Bible, may well have chosen a type of Greek which deliberately imitated that of the LXX. He may also have used semitizing constructions to enhance the 'couleur locale'

More arguments in favour of a Greek original have been put forward J Becker *(Untersuchungen,* pp 169-72) has analysed the language of the beginnings and endings of the individual testaments, without any doubt written by the man responsible for the Testaments as a collection of farewell discourses Becker reaches the conclusion that there is no clear case of translation Greek, though some semitizing constructions occur

H C Kee, in his article 'The Ethical Dimensions of the Testaments of the XII as a Clue to Provenance' *(NTS* 24 [1977-8], 259-70), has pointed out that a number of the words used for sin(s) and virtue(s) like εὐσέβεια,

ἀσέβεια, σωφροσυνη, ἁπλοτης, εὐθύτης, ἀγαθότης, as well as other terms like OTJVEOIÇ and συνείδησις are typically hellenistic terms, they are usually found in those books of the LXX of which we do not have a Hebrew original, and, in addition, in Stoic or Stoicizing ethical literature This hellenistic influence is not just superficial, as Kee demonstrates

A number of central topics in the ethics of the Testaments were studied in great detail by H W Hollander (see 1 1 1) He has listed a very great number of parallels between the exhortatory passages in T.Jos. and other pericopes where Joseph is in the picture, and hellenistic, hellenistic-Jewish and hellenistic-Christian writings

Recently, R. A Martin has made an attempt to prove the existence of a Semitic 'Vorlage' of T Jos. by applying statistical methods (see pp 105-23 in *Studies on the Testament of Joseph*, ed. G W E Nickelsburg, Jr , Missoula 1975, and compare his *Syntactical Evidence of Semitic Sources in Greek Documents* Missoula 1974). The demarcation line between 'free translation' and 'original composition in semitizing Greek' is, however, very difficult to draw, let alone to detect by statistical methods The evidence we have is overwhelmingly in favour of the thesis that the Testaments were composed in Greek

§ 4 *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarche as a collection of farewell discourses*

4.1. *The framework of the individual testaments*

4 1 1 The opening and closing passages in the individual testaments are very similar in structure and vocabulary They have been studied in detail by M de Jonge, *The Testaments* pp 110–16; J Becker, *Untersuchungen* pp 158–72; A Hultgârd, *L'eschatologie ... II* (see 1 1 1), pp 54–79, and in particular, by E von Nordheim, *Die Lehre der Alten. I* (see 1.1 1), pp 12-114 (esp pp 89-95). Besides a considerable degree of similarity we also note a great variety in details, as might be expected

As to the opening passages each testament is introduced as 'A copy of the testament (or ' .. the words') of ', we are told that the patriarch commanded these things to his sons before his death, at the age of , sometimes we hear that this is years after Joseph's death Next, the farewell scene is described sons (and grandsons or brothers) assemble at the house of the patriarch Seeing those people around him, the patriarch kisses them and starts his farewell speech with an admonition to the people present to give heed to the important things he is about to say

The many variations on this one theme need not be discussed in detail here. The beginning of T.L deviates considerably from the general pattern, because it emphasizes that Levi revealed 'all that they would do and that would befall them until the day of judgment' (1,1; cf Gen 49,1) Levi's actual parting words begin with biographical details and a description of his (first) vision In the course of the testament in which the

future plays an important role, great stress is laid on the sins of the sons of Levi, especially against Jesus Christ (three S E R passages in T L 10; 14–15; 16)

In the closing passages, there is even more variation, but again a regular pattern can be found Elements that recur frequently are· the speech is said to have come to an end (sometimes this phrase is accompanied by a final exhortation), the patriarch states that he wishes to be buried in Hebron, he dies, the sons are said to have done what their father commanded them; they lay him in a coffin and bring him to Hebron

These opening and closing passages are clearly influenced by Gen 49,1-2 29-33, and 50,24–26, and they incorporate traditional elements known from other sources E von Nordheim, op cit, pp 115-18, has rightly drawn attention to the opening passages of 4Q ʿAmram published by J T Milik (see 3 3.1), 'A copy of the book of the words of the visions of 'Amram, the son of Qahat, the son of Levi, (all that) he told his sons and that he commanded them on the day of his death in the year 136, that was the year of his death, in the year 152 of Israel's exile in Egypt' The word 'testament' is not used here, but it should be noted that also in six of our testaments the expression ἀντιγραφον λόγων is found (T S 1,1, T L 1,1, T Jud 1,1, T I 1,1, T D 1,1; T B 1,1) instead of αντιγραφον διαθήκης found in T R, T N, T G, T A, T Jos (T Z 1,1 has only ἀντιγραφον)

We may note some special features in the opening and closing passages According to T S 8,2, the sons of the patriarchs ἀνήνεγκαν αὐτὰ ev πολέμω Αἰγυπτιων κρυφῇ The same war is mentioned as 'the war of Canaan' in T B 12,3 In both testaments we hear that the sons returned to Egypt and remained there till the exodus (cf also T G 8,5). We also know this tradition from Jub 46,8-10; it was found by J T Milik in 4Q 'Amram *(RB* 79 [1972], 85) Why the Testaments mention this war only in two testaments, and why the author singled out those of Simeon and Benjamin for that purpose we do not know there is no reason to think of a later addition

There are often special elements which, whether traditional or not, enliven the general picture Judah tells his sons not to bury him in costly apparel and not to embalm him, as is the custom with those who rule as kings, he just wants to be taken to Hebron and buried there (T.Jud. 26,3). T N mentions a meal in 1,2 and 9,2 T Jos 20 gives explicit predictions about the situation in Egypt after Joseph's death, these expand the patriarchal commandments for burial and mention the great sorrow of all Israel and all Egypt

The passage in T.L 19, just before the usual concluding words, is particularly interesting Levi asks his sons, after they have heard everything, to choose either darkness or light, either the law of the Lord or the works of Beliar (v 1) The answer is introduced in the first person plural 'And we answered our father saying: Before the Lord we will walk,

according to his law' (v. 2) The father takes the Lord, the angels, himself and his sons to witnesses for this word of their mouth, and the 'we' say that they all are witnesses The example of Josh 24 (cf Deut 30,11-20) is obvious, also the use of 'we' may perhaps be explained that way (Josh 24,15ff.) To regard T L 19,1-3 as a later addition does not really help to explaining the passage The only case in which we have to accept an interpolation in the course of the transmission of the text is T D. 7,3, which falls entirely outside the usual framework and reads like a gloss of a later scribe It should be stressed, however, that there is no textcritical basis for this hypothesis.

4 1 2 In the 'body' of the testaments, between the opening and the closing passages, we usually find a short description of one or more episodes of the patriarch's life Together with a number of references to what Joseph did, they serve as illustrations for the exhortation which follows The sons should follow the good example of their father (and of Joseph) or avoid his sins Particular sins and virtues are connected with certain patriarchs and consequently the exhortatory passages in the Testaments taken together give a colourful spectrum of virtues and vices within the framework of the general admonitions to obey the law of God and the commandments of the patriarch, and to show love and compassion to one's neighbour

Of course, there are, again, exceptions to the rule T.L has hardly any exhortation proper (in fact, only in chapter 13 do we find such material), and T A. does not give biographical information, apart from the very general verse 5,4 Benjamin, in a way, does nothing but mirror Joseph's virtues His sons should imitate 'the good and holy man' Joseph (3,1)

In all the testaments, the exhortatory section is, in one form or another, connected with a prediction concerning the future of the tribe of the patriarch It will go astray either in its rebellion against Levi and Judah (some L J passages, see 4.4.2), or in apostasy as it forgets the Lord's commandments and is punished and led into exile (S E R passages, see 4.4.1) The final note, however, is always one of peace and salvation It is unnecessary to say, that, here again, a great variety in form(s) and content can be observed

The transition between the introduction and the main body of the testament is usually formed by a solemn introductory formula (T R 1,5, T S 2,1; T I 1,1; T Z 1,2, T D 1,2, T N 1,5, T A 1,2, T.Jos 1,2, cf. T.Jud. 13,1), and that between the body and the closing passage by a (sometimes very short) phrase indicating the end of the patriarch's words (T R 7,1, T S 8,1, T L 19,4, T Jud 26,4; T Z 10,6, T D 7,1, T N 9,1, T.A 8,1, T Jos. 20,4, T B 12,1) A number of times, the verb ἐντέλλεσθαι is used either to characterize the preceding speech (T R 7,1, T S 8,1; T L 19,4, T N 9,1) or to introduce the final command (T A 8,1, T B 12,1, cf T Jud 26,4, T I 7,8, T N 9,3, T A 8,2) This verb is also found in the opening verse T R 1,1, in the introductory formula T R 1,5, and in other instances where it stresses the importance of the

patriarch's moral teaching (T.R 4,5, 6,8, T S 7,3, T L 10,1, 13,1, T Jud 13,1, 17,1). The sons should give heed to what their father commands and transmit his instructions to their descendants The testamentary context is particularly clear in T S 7,3, 'Therefore, I give you all these commands, that you also may command your children that they may observe them through their generations '

The use of ἐντέλλεσθαι suggests that the Testaments have to be regarded as a collection of exhortatory writings, and that the ethical sections form the centre of the individual testaments This thesis has been defended recently by a number of scholars, amongst them E Cortes, *Los Discursos de Adios de Gn 49 a J n 13–17 Pistas para la historia de un género literario en la antigua literatura judía,* Barcelona 1976, and the studies by E von Nordheim and H W Hollander (see I I I) There are other arguments in favour of it One should point here to final exhortations like T Jud 26,1, T I 7,7, T Z 10,5, T D 6,8 10, T N 8,10, T G 7,7, T Jos 19,6; T.B. 10,3, and to those texts which express the author's views on the function of testamentary texts, T S 6,1, 7,3, T L 10,1f , T I. 6,3, T D 6,9, T.N 8,1, T G 8,1, T.B. 10,4f

The final exhortations are concerned with God's commandments, often summed up under the two headings of fear of the Lord and love to one's neighbour. If the sons of the patriarch obey God's will as expressed by the patriarch there will be a future for them The illustrations for the admonitions are taken from the patriarch's own experience The experiences of the fathers (especially those of Joseph) have a normative function for their sons: they make clear what one should do or should avoid, the readers should give heed to the patriarch's exhortations and his warnings against future sins The group of 'testamentary' passages just mentioned stress (among other things) that there is indeed a continuous line from the patriarch to the present readers. The admonitions of the patriarch, handed down through the generations as his spiritual legacy (T.S. 7,3, T B 10,4f.) carry the authority of a man who was there at the beginning of Israel's existence and make clear how the readers should respond to God's will in their lives For further remarks on this topic, see 7 1

4 1 3 Are we allowed to speak of a testament 'genre'? K Baltzer, *Das Bundesformular (WMANT 4)* Neukirchen (1960) ²1964, treated the Testaments in connection with his analysis of 'das Bundesformular' (see esp pp 142-70) E Cortes, op cit , dealt with them in the wider context of 'farewell discourses' A B Kolenkow has argued that it is not quite possible to speak of one genre we should at least distinguish between 'blessing-revelation testaments' and 'ethical testaments' The Testaments belong to the second category (A B. Kolenkow, 'The Genre Testament and Forecasts of the Future in the Hellinistic Jewish Milieu', *JSJ* 6 [1975], 57-71, and 'The Genre Testament and the Testament of Abraham', *Studies on the Testament of Abraham,* ed G W E Nickelsburg, Jr *[Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 6], Missoula

1976, pp 139-52) E von Nordheim, *Die Lehre der Alten I* (see 1 1 1), has tried to subsume a great number of writings under one 'heading' testament, but not always with convincing results, the three components 'Rückblick auf die Vergangenheit', 'Verhaltensanweisung', and 'Zukunftsaussage', which he distinguishes, are very differently distributed and connected in the writings which call themselves 'testaments' and in a number of comparable documents which bear other names The Testaments, in many ways, stand by themselves

4 2 *The biographical elements*

The biographical passages show a great variety. The impression given is that the author worked with whatever he could find, generally concentrating on the attitude of the patriarch towards Joseph or the example given by Joseph himself, but also using other OT material and Jewish traditions which could illustrate the points he wanted to make

In the beginning of a number of testaments we find details about the patriarch's birth and name-giving (T S 2,2, T L 2,1, T Jud 1,3, T I 1,2-15, T Z 1,3; T N 1,6–12; T B 1,2–6) For the most part the Testaments are directly dependent on Genesis, only in the case of T.N we know for certain that the author had special material concerning Bilhah at his disposal (see 3 2) In T I 1,2-15, the author tells the story of the mandrakes at some length, and continues it in chapter 2, emphasizing the virtue of ἐγκράτεια displayed by Rachel Also T B 1,2–6 is rather elaborate the author may have used older material here, because the date in 1,4 does not agree with those in 1,1 and 12,2f (see the notes on these verses).

Often the patriarch's attitude towards Joseph is the main biographical item in a testament, illustrating particular vices So Simeon, a strong and valiant man (2,2-5), is jealous towards Joseph and wants to kill him (2,6–11). He is punished by God and repents (2,12-14) Warnings against envy follow (chapter 3), and further details about Simeon's repentance (4,1f) Later he realizes that he is rightly kept prisoner when he and his brothers go to Egypt (4,3) By way of contrast Joseph is depicted as a good man, who does not bear any grudge towards his brothers (4,4 6) and as a beautiful person because there is no evil in him (5,1) The author goes back to Gen 37 (see particularly v. 11) and Gen 42 (see especially v 24), and will have known Jewish traditions connected with Gen 42,24 (see T.S , INTRODUCTION p 110), but the combination of 'envy' with Simeon in particular must have been his own work

In the case of Dan the biographical element is restricted to 1,4–9 where Dan confesses that he, too, was bent on killing Joseph Envy is mentioned again, but together with 'anger' No special tradition seems to have been at the author's disposal.

T.G gives the picture of a valiant herdsman who defends his flock against wild animals (1,2f ; cf T Jud 2), but this remains a minor theme

What is central is the description of Gad's attitude towards Joseph, characterized by hatred (Gen 37,4.8) The author expands Gen 37,2b, explaining what Joseph told his father conceming his brothers and why they hated him (1,4–9); after Joseph's dreams Gad hated him even more Further biographical statements, all concerned with the relation Gad-Joseph, are found in 3,3, 5,6 9-11 (again, punishment and repentance), 6,2 The connection between biography and exhortation is here particularly strong - see also 5,2 where Gad states *Καὶ* ταῦτα ἐκ rceiçaç λέγω ὑμῖν, In 2,3, Gad and Judah are made responsible for the selling of Joseph (for thirty pieces of gold) It is not clear whether and to what extent the author had recourse to special material, apart from Gen 37

The first part of T Z emphasizes that the patriarch behaved towards Joseph as a real brother In 1,4–7, Zebulun tells how much he regretted not to have told Jacob what had happened to Joseph Chapters 2 and 4 record the events at Dothan Simeon and Gad are singled out as especially hostile to Joseph (2,1, 3,2, 4,2 11), but Zebulun showed compassion (4,2) Chapter 3 gives a story about the sandals bought by the brothers with the money received for Joseph, it has no connection with the rest of the testament The material is traditional 'sandals' are also mentioned in Targ Ps Jon on Gen 37,28, what source(s) the author used for T Z 3 and to what extent he used them is, however, not clear In chapters 1, 2 and 4 we find his own story The second story (5,5-7,4) gives a picture of Zebulun as sailor and fisherman, the counterpart of Issachar, the 'simple' farmer His compassion and actual help for people in distress are stressed, Joseph's compassion and his willingness to forgive his brothers receive attention in 8,4f The theme of Zebulun the fisherman goes back to Gen 49,13, cf Deut 33,18f , but the elaboration of it is clearly the author's own work In the same way the picture of Issachar as the 'simple' farmer in T I goes back to Gen 49,14f. LXX, but is developed in such a way that it illustrates the author's ideal of ἁπλότης

In T R 1,6–10, the patriarch briefly mentions his sin with Bilhah, his punishment and repentance afterwards. Only later, in 3,11-15, does he tell what actually happened Reuben's behaviour is contrasted with Joseph's attitude towards the Egyptian woman (4,8–11). Here we may point to Gen 35,22, 49,4, and the story in Jub 33,1–9a which shows a number of parallels, but is put to a different purpose It is likely that the author had recourse to an existing tradition concerning Bilhah

T.Jos. is very detailed and relatively well-structured It concentrates on Joseph's υπομονη and σωφροσυνη in the first part, illustrated by his attitude in his struggle with Potiphar's wife (chapters 3-9, embedded in 1-2 and 10,1-5) The second part brings out Joseph's persistent efforts to cover up the sin of his brothers (chapters 11-16, embedded in 10,6 and 17) Here the author certainly used existing material, in the first case clearly of hellenistic-Jewish provenance, as to the second case we may note the praise of Joseph's pre-eminent self-restraint and his modest

reticence in Philo, De Jos 246ff (for further details, see T Jos , INTRODUCTION pp 363-5).

In T B , the patriarch, as it were, disappears behind the powerful image of his brother Joseph, the good and holy man Biographical material on Benjamin is found in T B 1 (see above) and in T B 2 which gives a dialogue between Benjamin and Joseph in Egypt, underlining Joseph's great goodness and (probably also) his willingness to save his brothers' reputation (cf T.Jos 11-16)

T L is exceptional, in that it gives much biographical material centering around two visions of Levi (chapters 2-5 and 8) Here the author clearly followed the Levi-document he knew (see 3.1 and 3.4)

The case of T Jud is similar, and yet different in other respects. We already noted the incorporation of material on the wars of the sons of Jacob with the Amorites and that against Esau and his sons (see 3 6) Chapter 1, speaking about Judah's relation to his father and mother, is little more than an introduction to Jacob's announcement 'You will be a king' (v 6) giving the central theme of this testament. It is followed by chapter 2, devoted to Judah's hunting exploits which is obviously influenced by the picture of David as a courageous defender of his flock in 1Sam 17,34–36, and perhaps also by the Samson stories in Judg Whether the author used older material here we cannot tell There is also the story of the evil consequences of Judah's marriage to the Canaanite woman Bath-shua, and his dealings with his daughter-in-law Thamar, told in chapters 8, 10–11, and 12, supplemented by a number of further details given in the course of the admonitions in the following chapters This, finally, goes back to Gen 38, but because of the parallels between the Thamar story in Jub 41 and that in T.Jud it is probable that the author of the Testaments could use existing traditional material

Traditional material behind T N 's visions in T N 5-7 has already been discussed in 3 5 There is not much further biographical material besides that in T N 1 (mentioned above), and the (stray) note in 2,1 describing Naphtali as a messenger, swift on his feet like a deer This goes back to Gen 49,21, 'Naphtali is a hind let loose', which, also in Jewish sources, is connected with the patriarch's activity as messenger. The author of the Testaments will also here go back to an existing tradition.

The Testaments clearly used a variety of biographical material in a variety of ways because it was regarded as important, particularly as illustration for the exhortations. The modem reader would sometimes have preferred a clearer separation and a more explicit connection between exhortation and illustration, and a clearer structuring of the material within each testament Even allowing for the fact that the author wanted to put in all the material which could possibly be of interest, and that in some cases he was faced with a lack of material (see the absence of any biography in T.A., and the lack of personal profile in the case of Benjamin), he might have composed a better book according to our standards However, we have to accept the situation as we find it

4 3 *The exhortatory elements*

The exhortatory elements are narrowly connected with the biographical material In fact, they are often found intertwined. Biographical data function as illustrations, for statements concerning virtues or vices and for direct exhortations. On the other hand, stories about certain events or actions of the patriarch are followed by admonitions which tell the readers what they are supposed to do or to avoid. The individual testaments do not follow a regular pattern in their treatment of biography and exhortation. it looks as if the author was not really interested in following a certain order as long as he made his exhortatory point, told the stories about the patriarchs and took care to link the former with the latter

A major advance in the study of the exhortation of the Testaments was H Aschermann's dissertation (see 1 2.4) He distinguishes various forms in the exhortatory material of the Testaments and compared them with those used in Wisdom literature and early Christian writings (for details, see 1.2 4, and cf H W Hollander, op cit [see 1 1 1], pp 11f) On the structure of the exhortatory sections in the individual testaments, however, Aschermann has very little to say (see pp. 7-10) He finds a fourfold scheme consisting of an introduction (mostly with the imperative, followed by cm / γάρ), a description of particular virtues or vices, an example and a final exhortation This is found in all testaments, often even more than once On closer inspection, there is much variation within the scheme, there are exceptions to the rule, and also individual hortatory words outside the sections delineated by Aschermann

A Hultgård, in his *L'eschatologie . II*(see 1.1 1), pp 137-58, takes a different approach Dealing with the composition of the Testaments, he attempts to define 'constitutive elements', i.e. passages which stand out because of their form, their place in the composition and their content, as well as by the fact that they occur in the majority of the testaments. Hultgård distinguishes three haggadic constitutive elements. legends connected with the birth of the patriarch, biographical summaries and biographical exhortatory haggadah Particularly the last type of material is closely connected with 'homilies', i e short disquisitions on virtues and vices, universally orientated, illustrated by haggadic examples, and connected with exhortations. Next, there are the 'didactic sections' dealing with numerous other subjects and equally linked with haggadic examples and exhortations These exhortations can be divided in general and particular ones A special position is occupied by the final exhortations (see also 4.1.2) Somewhat apart stand the declarations of innocence which are found in only few testaments, they could for obvious reasons only be incorporated in the testaments of the 'good' patriarchs, and may, therefore, also be reckoned among the constitutive elements

Hultgård's classification according to content and function within the context rather than according to form is helpful in a way, but allows for considerable variation within the constitutive elements In the end it describes the elements rather than that it explains the structure of the

individual testaments, as Hultgård himself admits on pp 152-8 These elements are really 'constitutive', they are necessary parts in the framework of the testaments, not all are equally necessary, they are distributed unevenly and their order is not fixed In some cases, elements may have been added later to an in itself already 'complete' section of a testament.

The only way to detect and remove these is literary-criticism J Becker in particular has devoted himself to a radical literary-critical analysis also of the exhortatory sections He makes an attempt 'die Paränese ... konsequent auf Risse und Unebenheiten hin abzusuchen' *(Untersuchungen* p 156) One of his results is that independent exhortatory homilies about virtues and vices belong to a second (Jewish) stage in the history of the Testamens, during which much very diverse material was added to a relatively modest Jewish 'Grundschrift' Some of them form quite extensive sections in the individual testaments, like, e g , T R 4,6–6,4, T D 2,2–4,7, T G 4,1-5,2, T A 1,3–6,6; T B 4,1-5,3 Also other lists and poems (T R 2,1f , 3,3–6,8, T Jud 18,3-5, T I 4,1-6, T B 7,2-8,1) belong to that stage (which Becker calls a 'Sammelbecken' because of its internal diversity, cf p 372) M Küchler, in his *Frühjüdische Weisheitstraditionen,* Freiburg-Göttingen 1979, pp 415-545, has accepted Becker's results with some reservations and has analysed what he calls 'early Jewish Wisdom traditions' in the Testaments, concentrating on the Wisdom material that Becker assigned to the second stage in the development of the Testaments Taking into account that this material was inserted and had to be adapted to its context, Küchler even attempted to reconstruct these 'fragments' in their original state and to study them together as products of one 'school'

It is difficult to follow J Becker in his literary-critical operations If anywhere, it is very difficult to apply the criterion of inconsistency ('Risse und Unebenheiten') with certainty in the case of exhortatory texts (see also 1.2 3) And to take together the elements which Becker regarded as inserted and study them apart is a highly questionable procedure It certainly does not explain how at the presupposed second stage the Testaments would have been read by those readers for whom they were intended and who were, no doubt, unaware of the highly complex literary history of the text before them

To prove the results of a highly complex literary-critical analysis like that by Becker is difficult, and it is equally difficult to disprove them It may be useful, therefore, to illustrate the approach in § 1 and followed in this commentary by a few examples taken from T I The first part of the biographical section (chapters 1-2) dealing with the episode of the mandrakes (cf Gen 30,14–24), and emphasizing Rachel's ἐγκράτεια (2,1, cf T N 8,8) as she wants to be with Jacob not for the sake of φιληδονία but διὰ τέκνα (2,3), ties up with the picture of Issachar in chapter 3. he is the hard-working farmer who married late and who declares καὶ οὐκ ἐνενόουν ἡδονὴν γυναικός (3,5, cf 7,2) Many parallels can be adduced from hellenistic, hellenistic-Jewish and early Christian authors (see the

notes on T I 2,3) to illustrate this widely accepted attitude towards marriage

The main virtue in T I is ἁπλότης. In other testaments also this word occupies an important place in the description of the righteous and pious man (T R 4,1, T S 4,5, T B 6) The connection of ἁπλότης and hard work on the land is also found in T R 4,1 (together with the admonition not to give heed to the beauty of women), so that there is no need to separate here the description of Issachar as farmer and the remarks on ἁπλότης, and to ascribe the latter to a later redaction of the Testaments as Becker suggests Moreover, popular philosophy, especially Cynic and Stoic thought advocated simplicity in food, clothing, dwelling and other aspects of life and idealized living in the country and working in the fields Agriculture, accompanied by hard work would make people virtuous (see T I , INTRODUCTION pp 233f) In T.I 5,1-3, Issachar's sons are commanded to keep the law of God, to obtain ἁπλότης, to love the Lord and their neighbour, to have compassion on the poor and the weak, and to devote themselves to farmwork, while they bring their offerings to God with gratitude There is a reference to a blessing by Jacob, the sons share in their father's calling (5,4-6), just as Levi and Judah were called to be priest and king respectively (5,7) After a stray verse on Gad (5,8) follows an S E R passage in chapter 6, which appositely begins with the prediction ev ἐσχάτοις καιροῖς καταλείψουσιν ot wol υμων την ἁπλότητα (v 1)

Unexpectedly, the closing passage does not follow the R element in the S E R passage Between 6,4 and the end of the testament in 7,8f , Issachar gives in retrospect an overview of his life consisting of a 'declaration of innocence' This is preceded by the mention of Issachar's age (7,1a) and concludes with an extra admonition for his sons which ends in the prediction that, if they act according to the example of their father, every spirit of Beliar will fly from them, no practice of evil men will dominate them, and all wild animals will be subjected to them The climax is the statement that they will have with them 'the God of heaven, walking together with men ev ἁπλότητι καρδίας' (7,7) The fact that at first sight T.I. 7,1-7 reads like an addition should not lead to the assumption that it was indeed interpolated in an otherwise rather 'typical' testament ('typical' in form and content) Granted similar unexpected elements in other testaments, we may suppose that the author himself wanted to emphasize what he regarded as important by means of this well-constructed passage leading up to a final exhortation and an outlook on God's future in which ἁπλότης will reign It is important to notice the connection between the biographical and the exhortatory passages, and the smooth transition from the exhortations to the predictions of the future in 6,1 Even the L J passage in 5,7, though by no means an essential element in the argumentation of this testament, receives a natural place A description of the main lines of the ethics of the Testaments will be given in § 5

4 4 *The predictions of the future*

All the testaments end with predictions of the future In these predictions, there is, again, a great variety We are able to distinguish clearly S E R passages and L J passages which may be regarded as variations upon two regular 'patterns' and can, therefore, be subjected to form-critical analysis Next, there are passages dealing with an ideal 'saviour' figure of which T L 18 and T Jud 24 (clearly related) give a rather full picture, whereas T Z 9,8 and T D 5,10–13 give only brief descriptions, directly connected with an S.E.R passage and an L J (or rather J L) passage respectively And, finally, T.Jud 25, T Z 10,1–4, T B 10,6–10 (cf T.S. 6,7, T.L. 18,14) announce a future resurrection of the patriarchs as rulers over their tribes

These four types of passages are unevenly distributed over the individual testaments, and are adapted to the different contexts Sometimes we find one type of passage combined with (elements of) another, or even one type of passage recurring twice (in T L 10, 14–15; 16 the S E R pattern is even repeated three times) As might be expected, the patently Christian elements are numerous and prominent particularly in the passages dealing with the future The resulting picture is extremely complicated, and it is not surprising that many scholars have tried to solve the difficulties by literary-critical methods Many scholars have advocated the removal of Christian interpolations and alterations But even if these are removed the remaining text shows so many unevennesses that it is still thought necessary to argue for different stages of redaction or extensive interpolations in an original document (so, e g , J Becker, *Untersuchungen* esp. pp 172-82, 403–6) or, if doubts are felt about cutting the text too drastically, to regard the present variety as the outcome of a complicated process of redaction to historical circumstances and the development of eschatological ideas in a particular group (so A Hultgard, *L'eschatologie ..I* [see 1 1 1], passim)

It will be necessary to deal with these passages in greater detail in order to find an answer to the question concerning the homogenity of the expectations concerning the future in the Testaments This problem will be treated in § 7 below Here we add only some details about the S E R pattern and the L J pattern

4 4 1 S E R passages are found in T L 10; 14–15; 16; T.Jud 18,1 + 23, T I 6, T Z 9,5-7.9; T D 5,4a + 5 6–9 (narrowly connected with L J elements), T N 4,1–3 4f.; T G 8,2 (only a fragment, following on and connected with an L J passage), T A 7,2f.5-7, T.B 9,1f (fragment)

The S E R pattern begins with an introduction The patriarch states that he knows what will happen (T I 6,1, T D 5,4, T A 7,2, cf T G 8,2) In T L 10,1, Levi tells that he has heard it from his fathers, Zebulun knows it from the writing of his fathers (T Z 9,5) Asher reads it in the heavenly tablets (T A 7,5, cf T A 2,10, T L 5,4; they are the source of Enoch's eschatological knowledge in 1En 81,1f., etc - see the note on T A 2,10) Mostly Enoch is mentioned as authority (T L 14,1,

16,1, T Jud 18,1, T D 5,6; T N 4,1, T B 9,1) In the case of T L 14 we may suppose that the reference to Enoch goes back to the source used by the author (see the fragment 4Q TestLevi[a] 8 III reconstructed by J T Milik - see 3 1.1) But generally, the references in the Testaments are of a more general nature, not only in the introductions to the S.E R passages just mentioned, but also in T S 5,4 (sins of the sons of Simeon against Levi), T L 10,5 (Book of Enoch states that the house chosen by the Lord will be called Jerusalem), and T Z 3,4 (halisa-ceremony recorded ev γραφῇ νόμου Ἑνώχ) Enoch is the great authority of the past for the sons of Jacob, who, for obvious reasons, are not able to quote from the law of Moses He is particularly authoritative in matters of the future the patriarchs stand in the true apocalyptic tradition

The second part of the S.E.R pattern mentions the sins of the sons of the patriarchs Often we find a general sentence to the effect that the tribe will transgress the commandments of the Lord T.L 14,7, 16,2, T I 6,1f., T.Z 9,5, T D 5,5, T N 4,1, T A 7,5 Sometimes it is said that these sins will take place 'in the last days' (T L 10,2, 14,1, T I 6,1, T Z 9,5, T D 5,4, cf T L 16,1), In the case of the sons of Levi in T L 14 and 16 and the sons of Judah in T Jud 23,1f. (cf 21,6–9), we find rather detailed lists of sins which (although of a rather traditional nature) have led to speculations among scholars with regard to the historical situations addressed In T Z 9,5, there is a reference to the division in the time after Solomon (yet situated 'in the last days') A few times Sodom is mentioned as an example of wickedness (T L 14,6 [+ Gomorrah], T N 4,1, cf T A 7,1, T B 9,1) In some cases the sin is clearly a sin against Jesus Christ (so in T L 10,2, 14,2, 16,3, T A 7,5, cf T Z 9,9)

The third part mentions exile and captivity among the Gentiles (T L 10,4, 15,1-3, 16,5; T Jud. 23,3; T I 6,2, T Z 9,6; T.D 5,8, T N 4,2.5; T A 7,2 6) In connection with the exile the destruction of the temple is mentioned four times (T L 15,1, 16,4f , T.Jud 23,3, T A 7,2)

In the fourth part we hear how God in his mercy makes the tribe return from captivity (T L 16,5, T Jud 23,5, T I 6,4, T Z 9,7, T D 5,9, T N 4,3 5, T A. 7,2 end + 3 7, T.B 9,2) Five times the repentance of the tribe in exile receives emphasis (T.Jud 23,5, T I 6,3, T Z 9,7, T D 5,9, T N 4,3) Twice, in T L 15,4 and T.A 7,7, we read that God will intervene for the sake of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob As to the three S.E R passages in T.L., only in 16,5, the end of the third passage, do we find a proper R element (which is clearly Christian)

For further details of the S E R passages, particularly the repetition of the pattern and the Christian elements, see 7,2

4 4 2 L J passages are found in T.R 6,5–7 8 10–12; T S 5,4–6, 7,1f.: T Jud 21,1–6a, T I 5,7-8a, T D 5,4(.6f.).10, T N 8,2, T G 8,1(+ 2a?); T Jos 19,6 Also in T L 2,11, the two patriarchs are mentioned together

The L J passages can be subdivided into two subtypes In T R 6,5-7 and T S 5,4–6 (i e in testaments which have two L J passages and no S E R passage), it is predicted that the sons of the patriarch will rebel

against the sons of Levi, their attacks will fail, for the Lord will be with Levi and Judah There are, again, many variations between these two testaments, but basically they agree All the emphasis is on Levi, and Judah is mentioned only afterwards Levi is the one who, according to T S 5,5, will wage the war of the Lord, and his victory is assured There are two passages which are comparable: T.D. 5,4 where the tribe's apostasy in the last days (S E R.!) is directly connected with rebellion against Levi and Judah, and T G 8,2 where a S E R fragment mentioning future desertion from Levi and Judah follows a L J passage belonging to the second type

In the passages of the second type, the sons of the patriarch are commanded to obey Levi and Judah (T R 6,8 10–12, T S 7,1f.; T I 5,7f.; T N 8,2f ; T G 8,1, T Jos 19,6). Special cases are T Jud 21,1–6a where the children of Judah are admonished to love Levi, and T D. 5,6f where the patriarch predicts that his sons will obey Levi (and Judah) in all sorts of iniquity The reason given for that obedience is the apecial position and function of Levi and Judah in Israel (see T R 6,8 10.11 12, T S 5,5, T Jud 21,2-6a, T I 5,7, cf T D 5,4) or the fact that the salvation of the Lord will come out of (one of) these tribes (T S 7,1f , T D 5,10, T N 8,2f., T G 8,1, T Jos 19,6, cf T L 2,11). In three of these passages which speak about future salvation, Judah is mentioned before Levi (T D. 5,10, T G 8,1, T.Jos 19,6)

To end this section we should mention the visions in T N 5–6 (see 3 5) where Levi and Judah occupy a prominent place, and where the unity of these two brothers receives attention (5,5, 6,6, note also 6,8 where Levi intercedes on behalf of his brothers). If we study the Testaments as a whole we shall have to keep these chapters in mind while studying the L J passages See further 7 3

§ 5 *The ethics of the Testaments*

5.1. *Introductory remarks*

5 1 1 In section 4 1 2 it has been argued that the Testaments have to be regarded as a collection of exhortatory writings, and that the ethical sections form the centre of the individual testaments This makes it necessary to devote apecial attention to the ethics of the Testaments, a subject which, in the past, has received fas less attention than the eschatology of this document The most helpful studies are those by R Eppel, *Le Piétisme juif dans les Testaments des Douze Patriarches* Paris 1930, P H Aschermann, op cit (see 1 2 4), H W Hollander, op cit (see 1 1 1)

5.1.2. The passages which express the author's views on the function of 'testaments' (see 4 1 2 and 7 1) make clear that the exhortations are meant to be handed down to future generations T B 10,4f. describes the teaching of the patriarchs as their inheritance, they received it from

Abraham, Isaac and Jacob who said. 'Keep the commandments of God, until the Lord will reveal his salvation to all the nations' (cf T Z 10,2) Also Enoch, Noah and Shem are mentioned, which suggests a continuous handing down of God's commandments from patriarch to patriarch (cf also Jub 7,38f ; 21,10, 45,16, 1En 82,2, 2Bar 84,9) T B 10,4f may be connected with v 3 in which the first half, 'Therefore, you must do truth and righteousness each one to his neighbour and justice unto preservation', seems to indicate what is meant by the second clause, 'and keep the law of the Lord and his commandments' The concluding verse (v 11) speaks in rather general terms about walking 'in holiness before the face of the Lord' This is typical for the Testaments as a whole Often the detailed descriptions of virtues and vices (illustrated by situations in the lives of the patriarchs) are concluded with rather general references to God's law and his commandments (T Jud 26,1, T Z 10,5, T D 5,1, 6,10, T N 8,10, T G 3,1, T Jos 19,6, cf T B 3,1), usually centering upon righteousness, truth and love towards one's neighbour (see T R 6,9, T G 7,7), or mentioning the two great commandments (T I 5,1f ; 7,6f., T D 5,2f). See further 5 2 3

5 2 *Central elements*

5.2.1. Joseph plays an exemplary role in the Testaments In his own testament he is a man who shows σωφροσύνη and υπομονη; he does not disclose his true identity for the sake of his brothers (and others) Amongst temptations and in distress he asks God for salvation, he is protected and, in the end, his ταπείνωσις καρδίας is rewarded and he is exalted by God He is also introduced as an illuminating example in a number of other testaments In T R 4,8-10, he is mentioned as an example of virtue he held aloof from rcooveia (cf T Jos 3,1-10,4). In T S 4,3-7, 5,1a, T Z 8,4f , he is a good example of one who practises ἔλεος and εὐσπλαγχνία(cf T.Jos 17,4–7) In T L 13, he is put forward as a great example of one who received δόξα after a period of distress and humiliation by being 'enthroned with kings', a reward which will be shared by Levi's sons when they listen to their father and teach and practise the law, exerting themselves to gain wisdom from it.

Moreover, Zebulun's own ἔλεος and εὐσπλαγχνία *are* illustrated by his conduct when Joseph was sold (T Z 1,5–4,13) What Simeon has to say about φθόνος and ζῆλος becomes clear when one considers his own attitude towards Joseph (T S 2-4) ψεῦδος and fruuoc are the themes of T D , and of course they are illustrated by his attitude towards Joseph (T.D. 1,4–9) Finally, also Gad's warnings against μῖσος are illustrated by descriptions of the evil effects of his hatred for Joseph Interestingly, Gad criticizes Joseph for having brought an unfavourable report of the sons of Zilpah and Bilhah to his father (1,4–2,5) In general, however, Joseph is the ethical hero of the Testaments T S 4,4 calls him 'a good man', and T D 1,4 'a true and good man'

As such Joseph also appears in T.B. 3-8, beginning with 3,1, 'Do you also, therefore, my children, love the Lord, the God of heaven and keep his commandments, following the example of the good and holy man Joseph' In fact, in this section in the last testament, the author has summed up all the scattered statements concerning his ethical ideal of man in one continuous discourse Joseph is the good man par excellence, Benjamin's ethical conduct is hardly referred to For the author, the 'good man' represents the ideal of the performance of the law he fears and loves God, he keeps the commandments and he loves his neighbour His deeds and words arise from a good and pure mind or disposition (διαβούλιον, see also T.A , INTRODUCTION p 339) In many respects, the good man's attitude is marked by an imitatio Dei His social behaviour is characterized by compassion, εὐσπλαγχνία, that means mercy on (ἔλεος) and sympathy with all, and love (ἀγάπη) towards the righteous He is 'simple' (ἁπλοῦς; see also 5 2 3), free from hypocrisy, and lives as it were the life of a hellenistic philosopher, who does not desire corruptible things, who does not care what people think of him, but who lives in peace and is always happy In oppression, the 'good man' shows mercy, holds his peace, and prays to God (see also T Jos 10,5-18,4) Such an attitude makes sinners repent and change for the better, and makes evil spirits flee from him, whereas the 'good man' himself is saved, rewarded and exalted by God He has chosen God, being at his side and walking in his ways Besides it is God who guides him, who leads him, who enlightens him and dwells in him

5 2 2 The OT background of these motifs and elements may be found in the Wisdom books and in a number of Psalms Moreover, the author of the Testaments in clearly influenced by the ethical thinking and the beliefs of Jewish-hellenism He is obviously familiar with many hellenistic ideas which have been fitted (by him or others before him) into a general Jewish context The scholar who studies the ethical passages of the Testaments and looks for parallels will find them in the Septuagint, particularly in Eccl, Prov and Sir, and to a lesser extent, in WisSol and 4Mac Many times he will have to turn to the works of other Jewish-hellenistic authors, particularly those of Philo. In a number of cases he will only find his parallels in ethical writings of hellenistic philosophers or in Christian moral writings of the second and early third centuries (which makes abundant use of hellenistic and Jewish-hellenistic ideas and examples)

The exhortation of the Testaments is of a 'general' nature For the author of the Testaments God's law consists (almost) exclusively of ethical commandments With regard to Jewish customs, for instance, it is significant that they nowhere teach the observance of the sabbath, or of circumcision, or of the dietary laws Marriage with gentile women is forbidden in the case of Levi (T L 9,10) and predicted among the sins of the sons of Levi (14,6) - both passages may ultimately go back to the Levi-document which was used here -, and Judah emphasizes the troubles

which he experienced when he married the Canaanite Bath-shua (T.Jud 8, 10–12) In the exhortatory sections, however, the author warns against women in general, but not against gentile women in particular Joseph is the man who remains faithful to the God of his fathers in the midst of temptation and persecution In the end he marries the daughter of his masters (18,3) and becomes a powerful man in Egypt No specific stipulations with regard to Joseph's wife are mentioned

5 2 3 Many sins are mentioned In fact, we find many more prohibitions and warnings against vices than detailed positive commands This agrees with hellenistic usage (see H W Hollander, op cit [see 1.1.1], p 103 n 56) Amongst the sins ποονεια stands out It is the central topic in T.R (because of the patriarch's sin with Bilhah) and of T.Jos 3,1-10,4 dealing with Joseph's attitude towards 'the Egyptian woman'. It is even mentioned in the title of T Jud which deals extensively with Judah's marital troubles and his sin with Thamar In T Jud 13,3, they are ascribed to the evil influence of τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ζήλου καὶ τῆς πορνειας (cf 14,2 3, 15,1 2, 18,2) T S 5,3f introduces ποονεία rather unexpectedly as 'the mother of all evils' T R 4,6 connects it with idolatry (cf T B 10,10) The good man does not look at a woman with a view to impurity (T B 8,2), as was clear in the case of Joseph (T Jos and T R 4,8–11) and of Issachar (T I 7,2, cf 4,4)

As an important virtue we may mention ἁπλότης, the central virtue in T I (see T I , INTRODUCTION pp 233f). To walk ev ἁπλότητι καρδίας/ψυχῆς (T R 4,1, T S 4,5, cf T I 3,8, 4,1) means clearly. ' fear our Lord with your whole heart, and walk in simplicity according to all his law' (T L 13,1) ἁπλότης means, first of all, integrity, whole-hearted obedience to God's commandments All 'doubleness' is contrary to the will of God, as T.A. makes clear (see T A , INTRODUCTION pp 338ff). Here we may also mention T.I. 5,1, 'Keep, therefore, the law of God, my children, and acquire simplicity, and walk in guilelessness (ἀκακίᾳ), not meddling with the commandments of the Lord and the affairs of your neighbour ' This is immediately followed by the two great commandments, 'love the Lord and your neighbour' These two commandments are also found together in T I 7,6f., T D 5,2f (cf T G 4,1f.; T Jos 11,1), and in T B 3,3f They also occur separately for 'to love (fear) the Lord', see T L 13,1, T Z 10,5, T.D 6,1 (cf. T.G. 3,2, 5,2.4f ; T B 10,10), the command 'to love one's neighbour' occurs in T R 6,9; T S 4,7, T.Z 8,5; T G 6,1 3, 7,7, T Jos 17,2. The central passage dealing with both commandments is T B 3,1–6. Further remarks may be found in the notes on these verses The question whether this emphasis on these two commandments is Jewish-hellenistic or Christian (or both) is discussed in 5 3

5 2 4 The exhortation of the Testaments urges men to choose between God and Beliar Levi ends his farewell speech with the words 'And now, my children, you have heard all Choose, therefore, for yourselves either darkness or light, either the law of the Lord or the works of Beliar'

(19,1) The sons promise to walk before the Lord according to his law (v. 2) One should compare T N 2,6 end, 'either in the law of the Lord or in the law of Beliar', and 3,1, 'you will understand how to hold fast to the will of God and to cast away the will of the devil' The same basic antithesis is expressed in various other ways T.S. 5,3 calls impurity 'the mother of all evils, separating from God and bringing near to Beliar' (the parallel in T R 4,6 speaks of separation from God and bringing near to idols; cf T Jos 4,5, 6,5) T I 6,1 connects forsaking the commandments of the Lord with cleaving to Beliar In T D 6,1, the patriarch admonishes his sons to fear the Lord and to beware of Satan and his spirits (see also v 2) T G 4,7 mentions a cooperation of 'the spirit of hatred' and Satan over against that of 'the spirit of love' with 'the law of God' T A. 3,2 opposes serving God and pleasing Beliar

Exhortation is here narrowly connected with warnings against evil spirits Man is in constant danger to be influenced by Beliar and his spirits and to be led astray There is only one remedy to give heed to God's commandments and to obey them whole-heartedly. In § 6 we will return to the ideas about angels and spirits in the Testaments, but here it is already to be noted that the statements about spirits serve to stress the urgency of the warnings against sin

Those who obey the Lord may be sure of his protection Again various expressions are used see T D 5,1-3, '. . that the Lord may dwell in you and Beliar may flee from you (v 1) ... having the God of peace (v 2)' (contrast T D 4,7 when the mind is disturbed by anger and lying, ' the Lord departs from it and Beliar rules over it'). T.B 3,3-5 mentions Joseph as a supreme example of one who because of his fear of God and love towards his neighbour is protected by God against all sorts of human and demonic attacks (cf 5,1f) In the description of the good man in T B 6,1–6, the author stresses that his disposition 'is not in the hand of the deceit of the spirit of Beliar, for the angel of peace guides his soul' (v 1) V. 4 adds that 'the Lord dwells in him and lights up his soul' T N 8,4 promises that the devil will flee from his sons if they work what is good, whereas the Lord will love them and the angels will cleave to them Finally, T S. 3,5 assures 'If a man flees to the Lord, the evil spirit runs away from him'

What is now real and valid for those who fear the Lord and obey him completely will become full reality in the future when Beliar and his spirits will suffer a final defeat: see T S 6,6, T L 3,3, 18,12, T.Jud. 25,3, T I 7,7, T Z 9,8 (we shall note, also, that T N 8,4 comes after the L J passage 8,1-3, and T D 5,1-3 is immediately followed by a very complicated, clearly eschatological, passage). Beliar's defeat is connected with Jesus' coming on earth as well as with his parousia, both aspects of God's final intervention in the future as seen from the standpoint of the patriarchs

5 2.5. In the passages just mentioned the patriarch shows the consequences of the choice for or against a way of life in accordance with

God's law and the patriarchal commandments, either in the immediate future or at the time of God's final intervention As was already remarked in 4.1.2, there is, of necessity, a close link between exhortation and prediction in a testamentary context We shall return to this in more detail in 7 1 1 Here we may point to two final exhortations T Jud 26,1, 'Observe, therefore, my children, the entire law of the Lord, because there is hope for all who make their ways steadfast', and T D 6,10, ' cleave to the righteousness of the law of the Lord, and my race will be saved for ever'. T.Jos 19,6 relates 'observe the commandments of the Lord' with the injunction to 'honour Judah and Levi' from whom 'the lamb of God will arise for you, by grace saving all the Gentiles and Israel'

5 2 6 Three passages require special attention T.A. 1,3-5 which speaks about 'two ways ... two dispositions .. two kinds of action . . two modes of living ... two ends' (cf 5,1-3), T A 6,4–6 which connects the 'ends of men' with an encounter with the angel of the Lord (or, of peace) and the angel of Satan (the evil spirit) respectively T Jud 20 introduces the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit which devote themselves to man (v 1) In the midst is 'the spirit of understanding of the mind' which is able 'to turn wheresoever it wishes' (v 2) The passages present many difficulties which are discussed in detail in the respective notes, and in T.A , INTRODUCTION pp 338ff It is impossible to fit them into a clear system and it is unlikely that the author of the Testaments knew an ethical catechism of the two ways in some form He was, however, familiar with the use of a two ways/two angels scheme as ordering principle for exhortation and applied it in his own way

5 2 7 Levi, the priest, and his sons are called to spread the knowledge of the law (T R 6,8, T L 4,3[, 14,4]; 9,6f ; 13,2-4) Particularly in T L., there is, however, strong criticism of the sons of Levi because of their negative attitude towards Jesus Christ (see the three S E R passages in T L 10; 14–15; and 16) Consequently, the levitical priesthood will come to an end, and a new priest will spread the true knowledge of God over the entire world (T L 18) It is interesting to note that T L 14,4 connects Jesus with τὸ φως τοῦ νόμου τὸ δοθὲν εν ὑμῖν εις φωτισμὸν παντὸς ἀνθρώπου, and accuses the sons of Levi of 'teaching commandments contrary to the ordinances of God' T L 16,3 calls him 'a man who renews the law in the power of the Most High' According to T D 6,9, the saviour of the Gentiles is 'meek and lowly, and teaching the law of God through his works' He is the one who will receive and save the children of Dan if they obey what their father has commanded them There is no discrepancy or contradiction between keeping the law and accepting Jesus Christ as saviour (see further 7 6)

5 3 *The character of the ethics of the Testaments*

In our survey of the related Hebrew and Aramaic material we concluded that the Testaments are a literary composition for which the author

used traditions from various sources This conclusion is certainly also valid for the ethical elements in the Testaments

Also with regard to the exhortation the author is to a large extent dependent on existing traditions From the parallels adduced in the commentary to elucidate many pericopes and individual verses it becomes abundantly clear that the author was well acquainted with distinctions and forms used in the various Wisdom books of the LXX, with ideas propagated in hellenistic popular philosophy and, occasionally, with notions for which we have parallels only in Christian sources It is not easy (and probably impossible) to determine the actual 'Sitz im Leben' of the material or the situation for which the author wrote more precisely To say that the material originated, or that the author lived in 'Wisdom circles' does not help us very much That he wrote to provide material for sermons in hellenistic-Jewish synagogues is not directly evident It has been suggested that he (like, e g , Philo) belonged to a hellenistic school where one used to interpret LXX-passages and discussed all kinds of related philosophical traditions (see H. W Hollander, op. cit. [see 1 1 1], pp 95-97) It is possible that he took over treatises used in school discussions, which has, for instance, been suggested in the case of T.A. 1,3-5,2 (or 1,3-6,6) in particular

One thing is certain the Testaments did not originate in a closed, sectarian community Their exhortation attributed to the sons of Jacob addressing their descendants, aims, in fact, at all people who want to know how to obey the God of Israel and the Gentiles T B. 3-8 give the picture of 'a good and holy man' to be imitated by all. The dualistic elements in the exhortation stress the importance of making fundamental decisions and choosing between good and evil, God and Beliar They do not divide mankind into two categories a small group of those who observe the law rigidly and thus correctly, and a much larger group who do not take the commandments seriously There is no reason to connect the Testaments with the community which lived at Qumran or with circles which thought along the same lines as that sect (cf. also 3 4).

The fact that the exhortation may be characterized as hellenistic-Jewish does not mean that the Testaments must have originated in hellenistic-Jewish circles Below (see 8 3), we shall discuss a number of important passages in Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho* and Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* which speak about the essentials of God's law in very general, essentially hellenistic-Jewish terms and who, in particular, focus on the two great commandments as the kernel of the law. See further 8 3 3 and 9 1 2

§ 6. God and his angels and Beliar and his spirits

6 1 *Introduction*

The exhortation of the Testaments presupposes a permanent struggle between God and the forces of evil in the world, commanded by God's

opponent who is usually called Beliar Man has to take God's side by obeying his commandments God will guide and protect the faithful and, in the end, Beliar and his servants will be destroyed completely (see 5 2.4).

The statements in the Testaments concerning good and evil forces operating in the world (and within man in particular) do not add up to a fully coherent system. This is certainly due to the fact that the Testaments are not interested in presenting an angelology or demonology as such but rather assume the existence of a number of notions and use these to accentuate their moral advices and their warnings This section aims at sketching the main lines of the picture which can be distinguished

6 2 *God and his angels*

God intervenes in the affairs of mankind, helping, punishing, revealing, teaching, etc Sometimes we hear that he does so through an angel So the Lord protects Joseph (T R 4,10, T G 2,5), while, in T S 2,8, he sends his angel to that purpose, and in T Jos. 6,7, 'the God of my fathers and the angel of Abraham' are said to be with Joseph. In T R 5,3, T L 9,6, T Jud 15,5, *the* angel of God shows important things to the patriarch involved (cf. T R 4,4), and in T R 3,15, T 1 2,1, T Jos 6,6, *an* angel of God gives information to Reuben, Jacob and Joseph An ἀγγελος δυνάμεως follows **Judah** so that he cannot be defeated (T Jud 3,10), another angel of the Lord kills Judah's son Er (T Jud 10,2) God's angels witness what happens on earth (T L 19,3, T N 8,4.6, T.Jos 19,4)

Among the angels which Levi sees on his heavenly journey 'the angels of the presence of the Lord' are the most important ones (T L 3,5 7) They are also mentioned in T.L 18,5 and (in the singular) in T Jud 25,2 (for parallels outside the Testaments, see the notes on T L 3,5 and T Jud 25,2) The angel who accompanies Levi on his journey (T L 2,6.9, 5,1 3) does not mention his name, but indicates that he is 'the angel who intercedes for the race of Israel and all the righteous' (T.L 5,6.7) He acts as a guardian angel against all evil spirits (T L 5,6). He recurs in T D **6,1–6,** after 5,4 which announces that 'an angel of the Lord' guides Levi and Judah 'because Israel will stand by them' In T D **6,1f.,** Dan's children are warned to 'beware of Satan and his spirits' and exhorted to 'draw near to God and the angel who intercedes for you' This angel is 'mediator between God and men for the peace of Israel', and it is said that 'he will withstand the kingdom of the enemy' In 6,5, the title 'the angel of peace' is used, as also in T A 6,6 and T B 6,1, where that angel occupies himself with individual people, for parallels outside the Testaments to the notion of 'guardian angel', see the notes on T L 5,6, T D 6,6, T B 6,1

We may want to ask whether *the* angel of God and the angel of the presence (sing) may be equated with 'the angel who intercedes' and 'the angel of peace', but the author is obviously not so much interested in the

protecting angel(s) as such as in the fact that Israel and the righteous (collectively and personally) are guided and protected by God

It is striking that only in one case 'the angel of Satan' is mentioned In the dualistic T.A. 6,4–6, 'the evil spirit' and 'the angel of peace' are subsumed under the general expression 'the angels of the Lord and of Satan' The opposite is the case in the passage on the two spirits in T Jud 20 where on the positive side 'the spirit of truth' occurs (used only here, in vv 1 and 5) over against 'the spirit of deceit', an expression which occurs several times (see 6 3 2)

To complete the picture it may be noted that the angels who occupy themselves with Levi's investiture as priest are simply called 'seven men in white clothing', and, also, that the Testaments know the tradition about the so-called 'fallen angels' of Gen 6,1–4 (see T R 5,6f and T N 3,5)

6 3 *God's principal opponent Beliar The evil spirits*

6.3 1 The name 'Satan' is used in T G 4,7, T.A 6,4 and, in particular, three times in T D 3,6, 5,6, 6,1. In all cases, he is the leader of one or more evil spirits Particularly striking is the statement that Satan is 'the prince' (ὁ ἄρχων) of the sons of Dan (5,6) which can be compared with the Christian notion that the Antichrist will be connected with this tribe 'The devil' (ὁ διάβολος) occurs in T.N 3,1; 8,4 6; T A 3,2 In T.S. 2,7 and T Jud 19,4, we meet ὁ ἄρχων τῆς πλάνης, an expression to be compared with τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς πλανης as it is used in the singlular in T R 3,2, T Jud 14,8, 20,1; cf. T A 6,5, and T Jos 7,4, τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Βελιάρ and T.B. 3,4. The expression o ἐχθρός is only found in T D 6,2–4. The expression 'in silence breaking the head of the dragon through water', used of Jesus Christ, goes back to an early Christian application of Ps 74(73), 13f (see note on T A 7,3)

By far the most popular name for God's main antagonist is Beliar It occurs no less than 29 times, denoting the chief of the spirits of deceit (T.R 2,2, T L 3,3, 18,12, T Jud 25,3, T.I 7,7, T Z 9,8, T D 1,7; T B 3,3) trying all along to exercise his dominion over men (T R 4,11, T D 4,7, T A 1,8; T B 6,1), who, therefore, have to choose whether they will follow him or God (see 5 2 4) The term *Belial* is found very often in the Qumran scrolls, where it also denotes God's principal opponent ruling over evil spirits and sinful men and trying to get the entire world in his power (see a o CD 4,13 15, 5,18, 8,2, 12,2, 1QS 1,18 24, 2,4f 19, 1QM 1 5; 4,2, 13,2 4 11f , etc.) *Beliar* is found in Jub (1,20;) 15,33, 2Cor. 6,15, AscenIs 2,4, 3,11, 4,2, SibOr II 167, III 63, 73, TSol D 1,2.5, LivPro (ed Th Schermann), pp 4,9, 14,16, 16,19 (all rec Epiph prior), 52,8, 54,7 (rec. Doroth), etc , EvBarth 1,11 16ff ; 4,12, etc., always as name for Satan or for the 'antichrist' (see H W Huppenbauer, 'Belial in den Qumrantexten', *ThZ* 15 (1950), 81-89; and O Böcher, ***EWNT*** I pp 508f.)

6 3.2. The word πνεῦμα is used in several ways, as might be expected It is used with the meaning 'the (human) spirit' in opposition to 'body' or

'face' (T.S 5,1, T.N 2,2, T.G 5,9, T Jos 7,2) We also find the expression 'spirit of God' in connection with Joseph, the good man, in T S 4,4, and with the one who has a pure mind (T.B. 8,2). The spirit of God is said to pass on to the Gentiles after Christ's crucifixion (T.B 9,4) In T L 18,7 11 and T.Jud. 24,2, a number of expressions are used to denote the Holy Spirit given to Christ at his baptism, and poured out by him on believers In T Jud 20,1.5, we find the expression TO πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας. In T L 2,3, Levi receives πνεῦμα CTUVEOEGDÇ (cf 18,7) before his vision T G 4,7 opposes 'the spirit of love' to 'the spirit of hatred'

In the vast majority, the word πνευμα is used in connection with evil spirits We already noted the use of TO πνευμα τῆς πλάνης in the singular and comparable expressions (see 6 3 1) Beliar is the chief of the army of evil spirits which are called πνευματα πονηρά, πνευματα τῆς πλάνης or πνεύματα τοῦ Βελιάρ. They are regarded as evil influences always ready to attack man, openly or surreptitiously No attempts at systemization are made The statement that there are four evil spirits in wine (T Jud 16,1) serves simply to underline the dangers of drunkenness The enumeration of seven spirits of deceit in T R 2-3 is the counterpart of the list of seven spirits given at creation which goes back to a Stoic division of the soul.

Individual spirits appear when special sins are discussed Several times, we notice that (personified) vices and the spirits of these vices are mentioned together, and are virtually interchangeable. By way of example we analyse the use of (the spirit of) lying and (the spirit of) anger in T D T.D. 1,3 mentions the two vices and 1,7 the evil influences of one of the spirits of Beliar, which, in 1,8, turns out to be 'the spirit of anger' 2,1 continues with a warning against 'the spirit of lying and anger', 2,2 speaks of 'anger' only, 2,4 describes an activity of 'the spirit of anger' which uses 'lying' as an ally T D 3,1 calls 'anger' evil and describes a number of its evil influences (vv. 2-5), 3,6 then concludes, 'that spirit always goes with lying at the right hand of Satan' The next chapter begins with the statement that the power of anger is vain (4,1), 4,7 ends with the words 'a twofold mischief is anger with lying', so that 5,1 is able to conclude 'depart from anger and hate lying, that the Lord may dwell in you and Beliar may flee from you '

The emphasis lies clearly on the struggle of men in their own personal circumstances with evil influences coming from outside but operating in their minds and bodies Sometimes, however, elements come in, which are more clearly mythological, particularly, 1 where Israel or entire tribes are involved (T L 5,6, T D 5,6, 6,1-5) which are assisted by a specially appointed angel (see also 6 2), and 2 where the final destruction of all evil spirits and Beliar is promised (T S 6,6, T L 3,3, 18,12, T.Jud 25,3, T Z 9,8, T D 5,10f.; T B 3,8) In the Testaments, the 'cosmic' element is important particularly in the context of the outlook on the future With the great emphasis on exhortation far more attention is paid to the ethical and psychological implications of the activities of good and evil forces operating in God's creation

§ 7 *Expectations concerning the future in the Testaments*

7 1 *General considerations*

7 1 1' As argued before (see 4 1 2 and 5 2 5), there is a close link between the exhortatory sections in the Testaments and those which predict what will happen in the future If we look again at the list of passages which formulate explicitly the patriarchs' intentions we notice that at least five of those (T S 7,3, T L 10,1f., T D 6,9, T N 8,1, T B 10,4f) emphasize that the exhortations are meant to be handed down to future generations who have to be warned and are called to repentance The patriarchs know that they will sin and be in all kinds of distress because of that (T L 10,2; T I 6,3, T N 4,1) The descendants will never be able to say that 'they did not know' and the patriarchs are not responsible for the future sins of their offspring (T S 6,1, T L 10,2) Only if the sons and their sons (etc) give heed to God's commandments and those of their father will they have a share in the future salvation (T D 6,9, T N 8,2, T G 8,1, T B 10,5)

There is undoubtedly a clear and intrinsic connection between the exhortations and the predictions of the future. Yet the nature of this connection is different in the case of the different types of passages dealing with the future

In T L 13,5f , T D 5,2, T I 7,1-7, the patriarch refers to the future to show the consequences of a certain way of life and certain actions It is easy to point to some parallels in OT Wisdom literature Yet, the only 'pure' example of this sort is T L 13,5-6, belonging to T.L. 13 which occupies a special position in the Testaments T.D. 5,1-3 resembles T L 13,5f., but is followed immediately by a very complicated, clearly eschatological passage consisting of L J -S E R -L J components T N 8,4 follows the L J passage 8,1-3, and in T I 7,1-7 the general statement in v 7 (which resembles T.N 8,4), 'Do you also these things, my children, and every spirit of Beliar will flee from you and no deed of wicked men will rule over you and every wild beast you will subdue' is followed by the very specific (Christian) phrase, 'having with you the God of heaven, walking together with men in singleness of heart '

Next, there are the S.E.R. passages discussed by O. H. Steck in his *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung des deuteronomistischen Geschichtsbildes im Alten Testament, Spätjudentum und Urchristentum (WMANT23)* Neukirchen 1967, pp 149-53 (cf J Becker, *Untersuchungen* pp 172-7, A Hultgård, *L'eschatologie .. I* (see 1.1.1), pp. 82-174) They represent an eschatological variant of the deuteronomistic view of history This pattern serves the author's purpose well It can be used to describe the entire history of Israel from the patriarchs to the present time, allows for repetition (T.N 4 and T.A. 7, cf T.Z. 9) and can be used as a model to describe eschatological judgment and salvation It emphasizes the importance of righteous

behaviour and of repentance, and it promises return and salvation after renewed obedience The descendants of the patriarch are regarded as in need of warning or in distress (cf , e.g., T I 6,3)

In this connection, it may be remarked that T.Jud 24, a passage dealing with an ideal 'saviour' figure (see 4 4), follows immediately on the R element of the S E R passage (18,1;) 23,1-5 The corresponding passage T.L 18 follows on the very difficult chapter 17 which gives a very pessimistic picture of the history of the priesthood certainly influenced by the S and E elements of the S E R pattern After this chapter, the coming of the new priest marks an eschatological turning-point The brief description of a 'saviour' figure in T.Z. 9,8 follows on an S E R passage in vv 5-7, and is, in turn, followed by an S.E. fragment in v. 9, followed by a resurrection passage in 10,1-4 T D 5,10–13 is directly connected with and influenced by a J L formula in v 10a which follows the R element of the preceding S E R passage

Also the resurrection passages fit into this general picture T Jud 25 comes directly after chapter 24 (and 23), T Z 10,1-4 follows on the S and E elements in T Z 9,9, and T B 10,6–10 at the end of the collection of testaments follow directly on the final exhortation in 10,3 and the elaborate description of the testament as a spiritual legacy given by the patriarch who is himself the spiritual heir of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (10,4f) We should also notice the final exhortation in 10,11

I is not immediately clear how the L J passages serve the exhortatory purpose of the author of the Testaments In T R 6,4, πορνεία is said to lead to ζῆλος; the connection with διὰ τοῦτο ζηλώσετε τοὺς υἱοὺς Λευί is a very external one Even such a connection is absent in T S 5,4 (ev πορνείᾳ φθαρήσονται ev Λευὶ ἀδικήσουσιν). In T I 5,7–8a, obedience to Levi and Judah is combined (but not connected with) 'walking in simplicity' (the main theme of the testament) The same applies to T.Jos 19,6 where 'observe the commandments of the Lord' is combined with 'honour Judah and Levi' (the negative counterpart is found in T.D 5,4, 'you will depart from the Lord and be wroth with Levi and fight against Judah') We do hear, however, that Levi and Judah have to be obeyed because of their special position and function in Israel, given and guaranteed by God, and because the future salvation of the Lord is directly connected with these tribes (see 4 4 2) There is severe criticism of the sons of Levi and the sons of Judah in their respective testaments (see, e.g., T L 10; 14–15; 16; T Jud 21,6–22,3; 23) and also in T D 5,6–9, yet the definitive restitution of the true priesthood and the true royal authority are expected for the future Here the statement concerning the future does not stress the consequences of the sons' future behaviour but rather gives the reasons for it (so rightly E von Nordheim, op cit. [see 1 1 1], p 106) It is not clear what obedience to Levi exercising his priestly duties and to Judah as royal tribe may mean concretely for the readers of the Testaments, nor does the fact that these two tribes are mediators of future salvation add any clarity We have to conclude that

the L.J. passages occupy a special position among the predictions concerning the future in the Testaments

7.1 2. In our analysis of the expectations concerning the future in the Testaments, we will have to say something about the great variety within and the differences between the various types of passages, as well as their very uneven distribution over the testaments and the combinations of (elements of) the various types (see 4 4) At first sight, it may seem promising to start with L J and S E R passages in their simplest and 'purest' form, for instance T I 5,7-8a and T I 6,1–4, and to try to explain all the others as the result of subsequent interpolations and redactions, by various people, Jewish and Christian, at different times answering different questions But it is not a good method to treat 'forms' as literary units and to subject them to literary-criticism forms are there to be used and to be varied, they may also be repeated and combined (or fragmented), and will be applied when and where the author feels they are apposite The same applies mutatis mutandis to the traditional elements and motifs combined in various ways in the 'saviour' and resurrection passages (see also 1 2 4) The outcome may seem extremely confusing because no aystem can be detected, but we may well ask whether uniformity in the passages dealing with the future may be expected in farewell discourses like the Testaments The really critical question is whether the actual passages in their great variety reveal, basically, one point of view The present chspter addresses itself to that question

Two aspects of this question will be of special importance First, we shall have to pay special attention to the presence of patently Christian elements in 'strategic' places Next, there is the question of the participation of Israel and the nations in God's future salvation A special section will be devoted to the second aspect (see 7 6)

7 2 *The S E R passages*

7 2 1 S E R passages are not found in T R, T S, T Jos Only fragments can be detected in T L 10, T G 8,2, T B 9,1f. The remaining testaments have 'regular' S E R passages

T L	10	[S]	E			
	14–15	[S]	E		(R)	
	16	[S]	E		[R]	+ chapter(s) (17 and) 18, 'saviour' passage
T.Jud.	18,1 + 23	S	E	r	R	+ chapter 24, 'saviour' passage
T I	6	S	E	r	R	
T Z	9,5–7	S	E	r	R	+ v. 8, brief description of 'saviour'
	9,9	[S]	E		(R)	+ chapter 10, resurrection passage
T,D	5,4a–5 6–9	S	E	r	R	+ vv 10–13, a 'saviour' passage introduced by a J L formula NB also v 4 and vv 6f contain L J elements

T N	4,1-3	S	E	r	R	
	4,4-5	S	E		H	
T G	8,2	[U	(E)			NB sin against 'saviour' from L + J
T A	7,2f	S	E		[R]	
	7,5-7	[S]	E		d	
T B	9,1f	S	(E)		(R)	NB for (E) and (R) different terminology is used, the 'return' ist followed by the advent of 'an only-begotten prophet' (v 2b, cf vv 3–5)

□: containing significant Christian elements
( ): containing only hints
r repentance

The S E R. pattern is repeated in four testaments, once in T Z, T N, and T.A, twice in T L. In all cases, Christian elements are found, though not in the same way and in the same place in the pattern

7.2,2. First, there are the three passages in T L In view of 4Q TestLevi[a] 8 III published by J T Milik (see 3.1 1), it has been argued that chapters 14–15 follow the text of the earlier Levi-document which must have been familiar to the author (see 3 4.1) The phrase ἀσεβήσετε ἐπὶ κυριον in 14,1 is clearly commented upon in v 2; the ἀσέβεια envisaged is that of the highpriests who lay their hands upon the 'saviour' of the Lord Through their ungodliness, they will no longer be able to let their light, the light of the law, shine in the world (see again the comment τοῦτον ftеXovTEc ἀνελεῖν κτλ. in v 4) A long catalogue of sins follow in 14,5-8; they are described in general terms and it is impossible to connect them with any specific period in the history of Israel, or, for that matter, with the history of Jesus Christ The E. section speaks, in rather general terms, about the devastation of God's temple, of captivity among the nations, dishonour and shame (15,1-3, see also the announcement of punishment in 14,1) A proper R passage is missing, but Levi tells his sons that because of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (and only because of them) his offspring will not be destroyed utterly (v 4).

For T L 10 which precedes the passage just mentioned, no equivalent in the Levi-fragments is extant. This chapter may, therefore, be a free composition of the author of the Testaments Whether the same applies to chapter 16 we cannot be sure because no parallel Aramaic fragments are available for the chapters after chapter 14. It is not unlikely that in chapters 10 and 16 the S.E.R. pattern is *deliberately* repeated in order to emphasize the negative reaction of the sons of Levi against Jesus Christ. In any case, the Christian elements in these chapters are much more integrated into the text than is the case in chapters 14–15. See 10,2 and 16,3 which depict the sins against Jesus Christ, and cf also 10,3 which mentions the rending of the temple-veil, 'so as not to cover your shame' (see 8 5) Chapter 10 lacks, again, a proper R passage, but finally, in the

third passage, after the announcement of the devastation of the sanctuary in 16,4f (cf 15,1 and 10,3), there is a complete R. element. It does not come as a surprise that it is clearly Christian 'until he will again visit (you) and in pity receive you through faith and water'

Repetition here does not point to later addition, but is a deliberate redactional device to stress the things that are important. The sons of Levi are singled out for their hostility against Jesus Christ (see also T L 4,2–6) Levi and his sons have been appointed to spread God's light, the light of the law, in the world (4,3f ; cf 8,2, 13, 14,3f.; see also T.R 6,8), but the sons will fail utterly, and only when a new priest arrives the light will shine again (T.L. 18,2f 9) The sons of Levi are not excluded from God's salvation (15,4 and 16,5), but it is striking that a number of texts expressly limit Levi's priestly activity to a certain period until the coming of the son of God (4,4), until God's coming to dwell in the midst of Israel (5,2, cf also T R 6,8) Levi will proclaim concerning the one who will redeem Israel (2,10), and according to 2,11, this will be the Lord who appears among men through Levi and Judah (see 7 3)

7.2 3 The repetition in T Z 9, T N 4, and T A 7 serves to show that history repeats itself. As to T Z 9 v 8 which is clearly Christian, brings a number of elements found in 'saviour' passages, combining them with the R. element in v 7 The new sin mentioned in v 9 is, consequently, a sin against Christ ('you will provoke him'), and rejection ('you will be cast away') follows This is evidently the situation in which the sons of the patriarch are considered to be at present. It will last ἕως καιροῦ συντελείας (in the next chapter, the resurrection of the patriarchs and the final judgment are described)

Also in T A 7 the first R element is related to Jesus Christ The dispersion will last 'until the Most High will visit the earth' (v 2), explained as 'and he, coming as a man, eating and drinking with men, and in silence breaking the head of the dragon through water, will, in this way, save Israel and all the Gentiles, God playing the part of a man' (v 3) Asher admonishes his sons not to disobey him, for he has read in the heavenly tablets that they will History repeats itself till 'the Lord will gather you in faith through the hope on his compassion, for the sake of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob' (v 7) In the end, the sons of Asher, like the sons of Levi (see T L 15,4) - and we may add, the entire people of Israel - will receive compassion because of the patriarchs par excellence, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob

More complicated is the case of the repetition in T N 4 The fact that the first passage (vv 1-3) uses the usual second person plural and the second (vv 4f.) the unusual third person plural might point to the secondary addition of the second passage The two S E R passages correspond, however, to the two visions (taken over from an earlier Naphtali-document, see 3 5) in chapters 5 and 6 in fact, 5,1 makes the connection through γάρ, 5,8 (not belonging to the original first vision) mentions exile and no restoration, 6,9f (at the end of the second vision)

mentions ειρηνη and ἀγαλλιᾶσθαιafter the reunion with Jacob In 7,1, Jacob regards the two dreams as a whole and concludes from Naphtali's report 'these things will be fulfilled in their season, after Israel has endured many things' It is quite feasible that the author of the present Greek testament, starting from the two visions in the document before him, did not regard them as parallel visions related to the same events (so Hebr T N 3,13, 7,4f.), but as referring to subsequent stages of the history of Israel (see also Th Korteweg, 'The meaning of Naphtali's visions', *Studies* pp 266f). He, consequently, doubled the S E R passage to match them As to the change of second to third person, we may refer to T L 19,2f.; T.Jud 21,5f., T I 5,4f where similar unexpected changes are found In T N 4, the second R element is Christian 'until the compassion of the Lord comes, a man working righteousness and working mercy unto all who are far off and who are near' (v 5), clearly referring to the coming of Jesus Christ for the nations and Israel

7.2.4 Summing up the repetition of the S.E.R pattern serves to describe the history of the descendants of the patriarchs till the coming of Jesus Christ (T N), to emphasize the sins of the priests from the tribe of Levi (and others) against Jesus Christ (T L , T.Z., T A), and to describe the history of Israel in the years between the first and the second advent (T.L ; T Z.; T.A.) In this connection, we do well to notice that in T.Jud. 23,5 the R element ('the Lord will both visit you with mercy and bring you up from captivity among your enemies') is followed and interpreted by chapter 24 which gives the picture of the ideal son of Judah, Jesus Christ The same can be said of T D 5,9 which is followed in vv 10–13 by a 'saviour' passage introduced by a J.L. formula (v. 10a). Both the introduction (see 7 3.3) and the description of the saviour's activity in vv 10b–13 are concerned with the coming of Jesus Christ, as a comparison with T Jud 24, T.Z 9,8 (and T L 18) shows In fact, the only S E R passage or combination of passages which does not have a clause or commentary referring to Jesus Christ at the end is T I 6; v 4 simply stresses the Lord's mercy 'he ... will deliver them, to bring them back into their land' Only later, at the end of 7,7, do we find the single patently Christian element in this testament

Our conclusion may be that the S E.R passages in all their variety represent a reasonable coherent and consistent picture of the future of the descendants of the patriarchs Their history of sinning, punishment and repentance finds its end and fulfilment in the coming of Jesus Christ, Saviour of the entire world In T L., T Z and T.A. where the transgressions against Jesus Christ are mentioned, the way to repentance, return and being accepted by the Lord, is left open

7 3 *The L.J. passages*

7 3 1 L J passages are not found in T Z , T A and T B In T L 2,11, the sentence 'and by you and Judah the Lord will appear among men,

saving through them the whole race of men', turns up rather unexpectedly between vv 10 and 12 which deal exclusively with Levi L J passages predicting rebellion against the two tribes are found in T R, T S, T D (and T G 8,2 fragment) In all cases, there is also an L J passage exhorting to obey Levi and Judah.

The predictions of rebellion against Levi and Judah and the exhortations to obey them are followed by descriptions of the roles assigned to the tribes (T R 6,5-7, 6,8.10–12, T S 5,4–6; T.Jud 21,1–6a; T 1 5,7-8a, cf. T.D 5,4 and the visions in T N 5–6), or by the announcement that salvation will come out of (one of) these tribes (T S 7,1f.; T N 8,2, T G 8,1; T.Jos 19,6; cf T L 2,11, T Jud 22,2; T D 5,10) On this, see also 4 4 2 and 7.1.1.

These two groups of passages have to be discussed separately It is one thing to assign a special position to Levi and Judah in the history of Israel from the time of the patriarchs onwards and have this expressed by those patriarchs in their farewell addresses to the tribes of Israel But it is somewhat different to connect the coming salvation (or saviour) with these two tribes (and, in particular, with Judah)

7.3.2 Of the first set of passages, T.I. 5,7–8a presents few problems It reminds the readers of the fact that the Lord glorified Levi and Judah, assigning the priesthood to the former and royal authority to the latter For this reason, these two should be obeyed

In the complicated chapter T.D 5, the theme of v 4 is quite straightforward rebellion against Levi and Judah is bound to fail, for an angel of the Lord will lead both tribes

T Jud 21,1-5 begins with an exhortation directed to the sons of Judah to obey Levi. The reason given is the superiority of the priesthood (a 'heavenly' affair) to the kingship (which remains earthly) The change to the second person singular in vv 5f is noteworthy (cf T.1 5,4f) We should note, however, that this passage is immediately followed by an announcement of the sins of the sons of Judah and divisions in Israel (21,7-22,1), leading to the end of Judah's kingship among men of other nations (22,2a), 'until the salvation of Israel comes', a phrase very similar to those used in the second set of passages, and followed by a clear reference to the coming of Jesus Christ (vv 2f.). The parallel to the view on the limitation of Levi's priestly activity, the sins of the sons of Levi and the coming of Jesus Christ found in T.L (see 7 2 2) is obvious There is one clear difference Jesus Christ is directly connected with Judah the predictions concerning Judah's eternal kingship are fulfilled in him (T Jud 22,3, 24)

The passages in T R and T.S. have in common that they focus Levi and mention Judah only in passing T S 5,4–6 mentions rebellion against Levi which will not succeed because 'he will wage the war of the Lord and will conquer all your hosts' (v 5) The expression 'to wage the war of the Lord' is reminiscent of 1Sam 18,17, 25,28 (cf 17,47), speaking about David, yet here it is used in connection with Levi (Judah only comes in in

the adapted version of Gen 49,7 found in the next verse) The nearest parallel to Levi as warrior for the Lord is found in T L 5–6 which may go back to an earlier description of Levi's zeal for the Lord (cf. T L 6,3) as that of a new Phinehas in the original Levi-document. He is helped by an angel (T.L. 5,3, cf. T.D. 5,4) His priesthood is, however, strictly limited to the period 'until I come and sojourn in the midst of Israel' (T L 5,2) So also the passage T S 5,4–6 cannot be taken on its own, but should be read as the introduction to the relatively long section 5,4–7,3 ending with the second L J passage containing a clear reference to the coming of Jesus Christ

T.R 6,5-12 is very complicated, because it contains two L (J) passages vv 5-7 and 8,10–12 (v. 9 is a solemn general exhortation), which are in many ways particular compared to the ones already treated In vv 5f., the opposition of the sons of Reuben is against the sons of Levi only This opposition will fail because God will avenge them (cf T S 5,5, T.D 5,4) V 7 explains that the Lord gave sovereignty (τὴν ἀρχήν)to Levi, as by afterthought Judah is added, and finally also Reuben, Dan and Joseph are mentioned as ἄρχοντες (cf. Num 2,10 18 25) V 8 enjoins obedience to Levi as the one who 'will know the law of the Lord, and will give ordinances for judgment and sacrifices for all Israel', i.e it emphasizes Levi's priesthood, but this will last only 'until the consummation of times(, the times) of the anointed highpriest, of whom the Lord spoke', a clear parallel to the picture given in T L (see 7 2 2) and especially to T L 18,1ff. (see 7 5) Levi (as priest), so v 10 continues, will bless the sons of Reuben, just as he will bless 'Israel and Judah' (v 11a). V. 11b, rather unexpectedly, takes up the theme of Levi's kingship, specified as being 'king over all the nations', followed by a reference to Levi's seed that must be worshipped 'because it (he) will die for us in visible and invisible wars and will be among you a king for ever' (v 12) Whereas Levi's priestly activity ends when Jesus Christ 'the anointed highpriest' comes (cf. T L 8,14, 18,1f.), his kingship will be realized, for ever, in that of his 'seed' Jesus Christ The composition of T R 6,5-12 is awkward (and remains awkward if we remove v 8, μέχρι - κυριος, and v 12 as later interpolations) Levi is depicted as warrior, king and priest, and is exalted as such. Yet his activities in these functions are only for a certain period His kingship 'over all the nations' becomes complete reality, for ever, in the person of Jesus Christ

Before turning to the second set of passages, we should pay attention to the visions of Naphtali in T N 5–6 Levi and Judah also play a prominent role in Hebr. T N , which in (1,8,) 7,6 makes Jacob command his sons 'not to associate with the sons of Joseph, but only with Levi and Judah' In the present Greek testament we should note that in 5,3 Levi catches the sun and Judah the moon, that they become like sun and moon (v 4) and 'laid hold of each other' (v 5) Their cooperation and unity is also stressed in the second vision (6,6)

7.3.3 The passages belonging to the second group which connect the coming of God's salvation with the tribes of Levi and Judah, all refer to Jesus Christ, but all in their own way. T S 7,1f (following on clearly Christian phrases in 6,5-7) connects God's salvation with two tribes, yet it is striking that redemption (λυτρωθησεσθε) is especially connected with Judah (cf T L 2,10f.; T Z. 9,8, both passages bear a Christian stamp). In the next verse, the salvation is said to be effected through God's raising up 'from Levi someone as a highpriest and from Judah someone as a king' In the rest of the verse it becomes evident that Jesus Christ is referred to He is connected with Levi and Judah and is called (someone as a) highpriest and (someone as a) king We should note that he is said to save 'all the Gentiles and the race of Israel' (in that order)

In T L 2,10, the promise that Levi will 'proclaim concerning him who will redeem Israel' leads to the 'standard phrase' in v 11 which is clearly Christian and slightly out of place in the present context, 'and by you and Judah the Lord will appear among men, saving through them the whole race of men'

After T Jud 22,2 (already discussed in 7 3 2) we meet T D 5,10a where the phrase 'and there will arise unto you from the tribe of Judah and Levi the salvation of the Lord' serves as a transition between the R. element in v 9 and the passage speaking about a personal saviour that immediately follows (vv 10b-13) Although σωτήριον is used, clearly a personal saviour is meant, Jesus Christ (v 13) We should note the use of ἀνατελεῖ as in T S 7,1 (see note); T N 8,2, T G 8,1, T Jos 19,6, and also T L 18,3, T Jud 24,1, T.Z 9,8, and also that Judah is mentioned before Levi T N 8,2 first enjoins unity with Levi and Judah, but next connects the expression ἀνατελεῖ σωτηρια with Judah alone, clearly, again, a saviour is meant (cf ev αὐτῷ), Jesus Christ (v 3) T G 8,1 mentions Judah before Levi, uses ἀνατέλλειν as a transitive verb with κυριος as subject and with a saviour (σωτῆρα) as object, connected with two tribes The last passage, T Jos 19,6, is clearly Christian Judah is mentioned before Levi; here, the subject of ἀνατελεῖ is ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, 'by grace saving all the Gentiles and Israel' His kingdom will be an everlasting kingdom (v 7, cf T R. 6,12)

We may conclude all passages belonging to the second group refer to the coming of Jesus Christ, who is sometimes connected with two tribes (T S. 7,1f.; T L 2,11, T D 5,10, T G 8,1, T Jos 19,6) and sometimes particularly or exclusively with Judah (T Jud 22,2; T N 8,2, cf T S. 7,1) A few times, Judah is mentioned before Levi (T D 5,10; T G 8,1; T Jos 19,6).

7.3.4 It is not easy to demonstrate the coherence and the consistency of the expectations concerning the future in the L J. passages A number of different traditions concerning Levi, and Levi and Judah were utilized and the final Christian redaction took place in a variety of ways The emphasis on Levi alone, in T R and T S , and in T L , leads to an exaltation of Levi as priest, with a clear emphasis on his teaching function

(T R 6,8, cf T L 9,8, 13,2, 14,4, see also 7 2 2) and on his zeal for the Lord (T S 5,5, cf T L 5–6). Here the Testaments may well have been influenced by the Levi-document which they knew and utilized T L 5–6 goes back to Gen 34, also Ex 32,25-29 speaks about the zeal of the sons of Levi for the Lord which leads to punitive action The zeal of Phinehas, son of Eleazar, son of Aaron, in Num 25 (cf 31,6ff.) became exemplary already in the time of Maccabees (see M. Hengel, *Die Zeloten* Leiden-Köln 1961, pp 154–88). The picture of Levi as king, found in T R 6,7 11f , may have been influenced by that of the Hasmoneans as priest-kings, however much the Levi-Judah traditions utilized elsewhere insist on separation between royal and priestly activities J. C Greenfield and M E Stone, art cit (see 3.3.2), 219, express the opinion that in the ArLevi-fragments, royal terminology is consistently applied to Levi, suggesting that Judah's role in T L may have been introduced by editorial activity They draw attention to the expression מלכות כהנותא in 1Q 21 Levi fragment 1, Cambridge fragment col c 5-7 (= vv 66f.), to which the Greek of v 67, αυτος και τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ἔσονται ἀρχη βασιλέων, ἱεράτευμα τῶ Ἰσραήλ may be compared, and to Bodleian fragment col a 15ff (= vv 9ff) where only Levi is mentioned, whereas in Jub 31 (cf T L 9,1) both Levi and Judah are blessed Here, v 15 says of the sons of Levi 'And you shall be judges and princes, and chiefs of all the seed of the sons of Jacob, they shall speak the word of the Lord in righteousness, and they shall judge all His judgments in righteousness And they shall declare My ways to Jacob and My paths to Israel. The blessing of the Lord shall be given in their mouths to bless all the seed of the beloved'

The idea of the juxtaposition of Levi and Judah, of priesthood and kingship, and the supremacy of the priesthood over the kingship is a familiar one It has been studied by a number of scholars in recent times in view of the opinions about priesthood and kingship (and about the highpriest and the Davidic king of the future) in the Qumran Scrolls One often points to Jer 33,17f , Ezek 44–46, and Zech 4,14 (, 6,9-14), also Sir 45,6–26; 47, 49,11f , 51,12 (1-16) (cf M de Jonge, *ThWNT* IX pp 502f) and Jub 31,9-23 (, 33,20) may be mentioned here There is also the common original behind the Greek and the Hebrew testaments of Naphtali to be considered Often the emphasis on juxtaposition and priestly supremacy is historically connected with the opposition against the Hasmonean priest-kings (see e g , A S van der Woude, *Die messianischen Vorstellungen der Gemeinde von Qumrân*, Assen 1957, pp 217–49; A Hultgård, *L'eschatologie ... I* (see 1 1 1), pp 58–77). We should stress that these views do not necessarily lead to the expectation of two messianic figures, as is found in some Qumran texts (see M de Jonge, 'The role of intermediaries in God's final intervention in the future according to the Qumran Scrolls', O. Michel et alii, *Studies in the Jewish Background of the New Testament* Assen 1969, pp 44–63)

In any case, there is no 'double messianism' in the Testaments Whenever a saviour figure occurs in L J passages, there is only one, and clearly Jesus Christ is referred to He is connected with Judah or with Levi or with both tribes He is the ideal highpriest who comes after the levitical priesthood has come to an end he is the ideal king in whom the prophesies concerning Judah have been fulfilled (and in whom even Levi's kingship becomes reality for ever) He incorporates God's salvation for Israel, for the nations, in short for the whole of mankind

The paths by which the diverse traditional material concerning Levi and Judah reached the Testaments will probably never become entirely clear The proposed solutions (see 1.2.3) introduce too many unknown factors Why the passages in their present Christian form display such a patchwork of forms and ideas is also difficult to explain The variety is simply there, and, as the notes below on the verses concerned show, can be elucidated by parallel phrases and ideas in early Christian literature The question of the relation between Jesus Christ and Levi will be treated in a special section (see 8.4)

7 4. *The resurrection passages*

T S 6,7 mentions Simeon's resurrection 'in joy' towards the end of the middle part of the extensive section 5,4–7,3 dealing with the future If the sons remove from themselves 'envy and all stiffneckedness' (6,2), Simeon's tribe will have a glorious future and Israel's arch-enemies will be destroyed Shem (here = Israel) will be glorified and all evil spirits will be trodden under foot Peace will reign over the earth Finally also the patriarch will arise and will praise God, because he saved men in the person of Jesus Christ (cf 6,5, '... because the Lord God is the mighty one of Israel, appearing on earth as a man and saving Adam through him'). In this section, there are only two patently Christian phrases, but they are found in strategic places. they emphasize the salvation of mankind in connection with the glorification of Shem and the resurrection of Simeon

The expression ev εὐφροσύνῃ in T.S 6,7 leads us to T L. 18,14, the last sentence of a long section describing the coming of a saviour figure (see 7 5), 'Then Abraham and Isaac and Jacob will exult and I, too, shall be glad and all the saints will put on joy', and to T Z 10,2 where 'I shall rejoice in the midst of my tribe' follows on 'I shall rise again in the midst of you' Here, it is clearly said that the patriarch will rule over his tribe, at least over those who 'have kept the law of the Lord and the commandments of Zebulun their father' In the next verse, the destruction of the sinners by fire is mentioned by way of contrast V 4 adds that Zebulun in the meantime goes away to his rest, as his fathers

Much fuller descriptions of what will happen at the time of the resurrection of the patriarchs are found in T.Jud 25 and T B 10,6–10. In T Jud 25, the resurrection of the twelve sons of Jacob is directly connect-

ed with that of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (cf T L 18,14 and T B 10,6). There will be one people of the Lord and one tongue (v 3, primarily referring to Israel), and all spirits of deceit of Beliar will be destroyed by fire. At the resurrection, there will be a reversal in the fortune of men, particularly of the oppressed (and the) pious (v 4) V 5 emphasizes the joy for Israel, contrasted with the sorrow and the weeping of the ungodly, and towards the end 'all the peoples' come into the picture they 'will glorify the Lord for ever'

The last passage, T B 10,6–10, follows on the final testamentary passage that emphasizes the spiritual legacy which the patriarch hands on to his sons So did Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (v 4, cf T L 10,1) who admonished their sons to keep the commandments of God 'until the Lord will reveal his salvation to all the nations'. That will be the time of a general resurrection and a general judgment V 6 mentions two groups of three, Enoch, Noah, Shem, plus Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, 'rising ... in gladness' V 7 then announces the resurrection of the twelve sons of Jacob, each over his tribe They will worship 'the king of heaven who appeared on earth in the form of a man of humility' Those who believed in him on earth will rejoice with him First Israel and next the Gentiles who did not believe in him when he appeared on earth will be judged (vv 8f.). We notice that in this passage, resurrection and faith in Jesus Christ are directly related The six ancient men of God mentioned in v 6 and the twelve sons of Jacob head a world-wide group of true believers The sons of Benjamin should realize that (v 11), and 'walk in holiness' before the Lord so that all Israel will be gathered to the Lord

Two of these passages (T S 6, T B 10) have Christian elements in strategic places T L 18,14 is part of a chapter which bears decisive Christian features (see 7 5) T Jud 25 follows directly on chapter 24 which is the counterpart of T L 18 (see again 7 5), and T Z 10 takes up the ἕως καιροῦ συντελείας in 9,9 which concludes the E part in the sequence S E r [R] [s] E found in 9,5-9 (see 7 2.3), which guarantees an implicit connection with the parousia of Jesus Christ

Looking for parallel passages speaking about the resurrection of the patriarchs, we note, first, that the S E R passages speak about the 'return' of the twelve tribes In T L 15,4 and T A 7,7 we hear that the Lord will be compassionate because of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. Also T B 9,2 announces that the twelve tribes and all the Gentiles will be gathered together in the last, more glorious temple in Benjamin's portion The announcement of salvation for all Israel, dispersed over the earth is a traditional element Particularly 4Ezra 13,39ff and 2Bar 78 (cf 84,8–10, and R Eliezer in M Sanh 10,3, see P Volz, *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* Tübingen ²1934 = Hildesheim 1966, p 347) emphasize that all tribes are allowed to have part in the future salvation (cf also Rev 7,4–8).

Explicit references to the resurrection of the twelve sons of Jacob as a group are lacking, but more is found about Abraham, Isaac and Jacob

They take part in the meal in the Kingdom of Heaven in which many of East and West will share whilst 'the sons of the kingdom' will be cast out (Mt 8,11f) In Mk 12,26f (par Mt 22,32, Lk 20,37f.), the 'I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob' of Ex 3,6 is quoted in connection with the resurrection of the dead in order to prove that this God is 'not God of the dead, but of the living' (cf also for Abraham, Lk 16,19-31) The notion that Abraham, Isaac and Jacob live before God, are in heaven, in paradise, etc. is found relatively often see, for instance, 4Mac 7,19; 13,17, 16,25 where they receive the martyrs who have obeyed the commandments of the Lord and have remained virtuous till the bitter end They are called οἱ πατριαρχαι ημων (7,19), or are mentioned together with πάντες οι rcategeç (13,17), or παντες οἱ πατριαρχαι (16,25) In Philo, Sacrif 5f , the three patriarchs live on as souls A heavenly existence of the three is presupposed in TAb 20 (A), TIsaac 2, ApZeph 14,3, 17,3, GkApEzra 5,22 (with many other OT and NT worthies), see also the (Christian) final judgment scene SibOr II 241ff The best parallel is, however, found in Justin, Dial 45,2–4 where Justin agrees with Trypho about the future resurrection of Noah, Enoch and Jacob (cf T B 10,6) together (as far as Justin is concerned) with all οι τὰ καθόλου καὶ φυσει και αἰώνια καλὰ ἐποίουν, who are acceptable to God and will be saved by Christ, and those who acknowledge Christ as Son of God. Compare 80,1f. where Justin takes up Trypho's suggestion that Christians will come together and rejoice in a rebuilt Jerusalem, together with the patriarchs, prophets and holy ones from Israel and the proselytes, and also 113, 3f where Jesus Christ brings home the dispersed people to an eternal possession, after the resurrection On these (and other) links between the Testaments and Justin, see 8 3

7 5 *Passages dealing with an ideal saviour figure*

The passages of this type need not detain us very long T L 18 and T.Jud. 24 which are closely related, are clearly Christian in their present form One should note that T L 18 announces the coming of 'a new priest' after the old priesthood has failed (see also 7 2 2) This new priest is Jesus Christ whose priesthood will be 'after the fashion of the Gentiles for all the Gentiles' (8,14), and Israel will not benefit from the light of knowledge spread by him (18,2f.9) The star which 'will arise from Jacob' announced in T.Jud 24, however, is clearly a man from Judah's seed (v 1) Also Judah's kingship will be brought to an end so that a radically new start will have to be made, but in this case, the new king is a descendant from Judah (22,2f.) T Jud 24 speaks about the same figure as T L 18 Jesus Christ. We may compare here T S 7,2 which, however, does connect Jesus Christ 'as a highpriest' with Levi, as it connects him with Judah 'as a king'. This is another way of saying that Jesus is a priest, but of an entirely different nature than the levitical priesthood which will disappear at his coming For T Z 9,8 and T D 5,10–13 which have a

number of elements in common, we may refer to the notes on these verses (and for the latter passage, also to the next section)

7 6. *Israel and the Gentiles*

If we survey the passages speaking about the future destiny of Israel (or the sons of the patriarchs concerned) and the Gentiles, we find, again, a great variety of expressions and concepts There are passages which mention the salvation of 'mankind' or 'the 'nations' in general without paying specific attention to Israel· T R 6,11, T S 6,5-7, T L 2,11 (after 2,10 f), 4,4 (after 4,3 f), 10,2, 14,2 (, 17,2), T Jud 24,6, T Z 9,8, T.D 5,11 (but see v 13), T.Jos 19,4; T B 3,8, 10,5 Sometimes, the Gentiles (or the righteous outside Israel) are mentioned after Israel (T L 5,7, T Jud 22,2, 25,5; T.D 6,7; T N 8,3; T A 7,3; T B 9,2), but a few times we find the reverse order (T.S. 7,2, T N 4,5, T.Jos 19,6, T B 3,8) In a number of cases, only Israel is in the picture T G 8,1; and the R element in the S E R passages T L 16,5, T I 6,4, T A 7,7, cf T Z 10,2 after 9,9 In the S E R passages, the Gentiles are the enemies of Israel, instrumental in its punishment, they are the symbol of immorality (T.Jud 23,2, T.D 5,5, T.N 3,3, 4,1f.; T Jos. 4,5), and even marriage with non-Israelites is forbidden for Levi and his sons (T L 9,10, 14,6) or regarded as undesirable for Judah and his sons (T Jud 8, 10–12). Yet, we find only one passage where the punishment of the Gentiles is announced, T S 6,3f which mentions the punishment of specific nations (Canaan, Amalek, the Cappadocians, the Hittites and Ham) in the context of the glorification of Shem and the salvation of mankind Another passage, T B 10,9, limits judgment and condemnation to 'all the Gentiles as many as did not believe him when he appeared on earth' (parallel with the judgment on Israel which did not believe Christ, in v 8) Finally, there are a few texts which are negative towards Iarael T L 18,9, T B 10,8 10 (but see v 11), 11,2 (but cf v 5)

This variety can be explained, if we remember that the author addresses his exhortations to the sons of the patriarchs and announces what will happen to them (= Israel) in the future Particularly in the S E.R and the L J passages, he is not only interested in Israel's final destiny, but also in the history of Israel, until, and after, the coming of Jesus Christ In this perspective God's special relation to Israel is fully recognized, and also Israel's calling to remain pure from gentile influences and, for instance, the special position of the sons of Levi and Judah in Israel. Even Israel's duty to spread the light of the law among the Gentiles receives attention (T L 14,4, T N 8,4) Israel's attitude towards Jesus Christ will be decisive it is described as negative in a number of S E R passages (see 7 2 2 and 7 2 3), which makes the Lord (the Holy Spirit) turn to the Gentiles (T L 10,3, T D 6,6; T B 9,4)

Yet Israel is not excluded from the salvation which will become full reality at Christ's parousia This has become clear in our investigation of

the S.E.R. passages (see 7 2 4). It is corroborated by the resurrection passages (see 7 4) which, in a variety of ways, stress that the patriarch will rise with (the faithful ones and believers of) his tribe In his article 'Ein Interpolator interpretiert', in C Burchard-J. Jervell-J. Thomas, *Studien zu den Testamenten der Zwölf Patriarchen,* ed W Eltester (*BZNW 36),* Berlin 1969, pp 30–61 (cf A Hultgård, 'L'universalisme des Test XII Patr ', *Ex Orbe Religionum Studia Geo Widengren oblata l (Supplements to Numen 21)* Leiden 1972, pp 192-207), J. Jervell has emphasized that the Testaments take for granted that the Gentiles have part in salvation, it is the position of Israel that leads to repeated warnings, calls for obedience and repentance, and promises of salvation Israel is to be faithful to the Lord and his commandments, and is called upon to accept Jesus Christ as 'Saviour of the world' (T L 10,2, 14,2), Saviour of the Gentiles (T D 6,9) and of Israel (T.D 6,7, T G 8,1) There is, evidently, no discrepancy or contradiction between keeping the law and accepting Jesus Christ as saviour (cf 5.2.7 and 8 2 and 3) In T L 16,3, Jesus is called 'a man who renews the law in the power of the Most High' (cf also T.L 18,2f 9 after 4,3f.; 14,3f ; and T D 6,9) The negative remarks in T L 18,9 and T B 10,8 10, 11,2 are to be explained in the light of the relatively strong emphasis on Israel's refusal to accept Jesus Christ

Nowhere else do we find the views of the Testaments expressed more clearly as in T B 10, the last chapter before the announcement of the Benjaminite Paul as apostle to the Gentiles in chapter 11 (which for obvious reasons could only be placed in this final testament; see 8 6.2) and the concluding chapter 12 We mention here again the instructive testamentary passage in vv 2-5 where the patriarch is said to have followed the example of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and the centre of their message is formulated as 'Keep the commandments of God' to which is added immediately, 'until the Lord will reveal his salvation to all the nations' (v 5) This is followed by the description of the resurrection of Enoch, Noah, Shem, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob plus the twelve patriarchs over their tribes (vv 6f.), Obedience to the law is no longer mentioned (contrast T.Z 10,2), the real important point is one's attitude to Jesus Christ at his first appearance on earth (v 7b) Also when the resurrection of all people ('some unto glory and some unto shame') is mentioned, the criterion at the judgment proves to be 'belief in Jesus Christ', in the case of Israel and in that of the Gentiles (vv 8-10) That much stress is laid on Israel's negative reaction cannot be denied (see above) Yet the chapter ends with an exhortation and a promise for Israel 'If you walk in holiness before the face of the Lord, you will again dwell safely with me; and all Israel will be gathered together unto the Lord' (v 11)

Israel has failed in its mission, and particularly the sons of Levi are singled out for their sins against Jesus Christ Yet there is salvation for those who repent and opt for renewed obedience This is also clear in another (very complicated) passage, T D 5,10b–6,10, after the (equally

complicated) passage 5,4–10a (a conglomerate of S E R and L J elements) In 5,1b Beliar is mentioned explicitly the sons of Dan must observe the commandments of the Lord in order 'that the Lord may dwell in you and Beliar may flee from you' In vv 6f., the patriarch states that he has read in the book of Enoch that Satan himself is the ruler of his sons, the sins of the sons of Levi and Judah are, like those of the sons of Dan who cooperate with them, the result of the prompting of evil spirits. Consequently, after the R element in v 9 (which mentions the temple) and the announcement of salvation from Judah and Levi (v 10a), vv 10b–11 tell us that *he* (evidently the saviour) will make war against Beliar and will give peace to those who call upon the Lord Holy ones will rest in Eden and righteous ones will rejoice over the new Jerusalem (v 12) Jerusalem will no longer endure desolation, for the Lord will be in the midst of it (v 13) From the details given it is clear that this Jerusalem is situated on earth and that Jesus Christ is meant V 13b adds: 'he who believes in him will be king in truth in the heavens' Chapter 6 continues with an exhortation to beware of Satan and his spirits (v. 1) The sons of Dan should draw near to God and the angel which intercedes for them (v 2a). Immediately the perspective is widened again this angel is called 'mediator between God and men' though 'for the peace of Israel', and he is the protagonist in the battle against the kingdom of the enemy who tries to destroy all those who call upon the Lord (vv 2b–3) Israel comes again to the fore in v. 4. the kingdom of the enemy will come to an end on the day Israel will believe (πιστεύσει). The angel is now called 'the angel of peace' who will strengthen Israel so that it will not fall into the extremity of evils (v 5) Yet the Lord will leave Israel at the time of its ἀνομία and will go to the Gentiles who do his will (v 6) The sons of Dan must avoid sin and tell their sons what they heard from their fathers in order that 'the Saviour of the Gentiles' may receive them This saviour is described as 'true and longsuffering, meek and lowly, and teaching the law of God through his works' (vv 8f). Therefore, the sons of Dan must practice 'the righteousness of the law of the Lord', and the result will be *Kai* ἔσται τὸ γένος μου εἰς σωτηριαν ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος (v 10)

In these chapters, many elements have been combined to form an extremely complicated whole Yet the main lines are clear The saving activity of God is not limited to Israel In the last resort, the battle is against Satan and his evil spirits, and all people under his sway will be rescued when they call upon the Lord Israel will need special protection, so that it will not fall into the extremity of evils There is a future for (a new) Jerusalem There will, however, be an intermediary period of lawlessness, during which the saviour will go to the Gentiles who do the will of the Lord This saviour though saviour for Israel and the Gentiles (6,7) will, therefore, essentially be a 'saviour of the Gentiles' (6,9) To him the sons of Dan must turn, they will discover that he teaches the law of God in what he does, and in view of him they must cling to the law

The moment Israel believes in Christ, Satan's reign will come to an end Israel has to remain obedient to the law, in view of Christ, the true interpreter and performer of the law So it will be saved in the end

§ 8 The Testaments in the early Christian Church

8.1. *General considerations*

Textual-criticism can only provide a Byzantine text We cannot be sure that this is exactly the text which Origen knew (see 2 6), but the fact that Origen quotes the Testaments though he knows they are apocryphal, shows that he regarded them as a document of some authority and of some antiquity. This confronts us with the question how the Testaments may have functioned in Christian circles during the first half of the third century and possibly earlier This question is all the more pertinent if we opt for a synchronie analysis and intend to explain how the Testaments made sense for the readers to whom they addressed themselves (see 1 2 3)

The question of function may not be confused with that of provenance The problem whether the present Testaments were composed in Christian circles on the basis of earlier written sources and other traditional material, or whether an extensive Christian redaction of an already existing hellenistic-Jewish document provides the best explanation of the complexity in the present Greek text, will occupy us later (see § 9) Here we are concerned with the fact that the Testaments were read in the early Christian Church before Origen and must have meant something for those who handed them down

In our analysis of the passages dealing with the future in the previous chapter (particularly that in 7 2 and 7 6) it has become clear that the Testaments are interested in the future destiny of Israel, the patriarchs address their descendants, i e Israel Their exhortations closely connected with their predictions want to show Israel the way in the present situation If it believes in Jesus Christ it lives up to the intentions of its fathers, the believers from Israel and the Gentiles will worship him together at his parousia, in the company of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and the twelve sons of Jacob

The fact that Israel is addressed does not necessarily mean that the Testaments have a Jewish audience in mind, but the preoccupation with Israel's destiny presupposes a lively interest in God's relation to Israel in the past, the present and the future The Testaments provide arguments which may be used in discussions between Christians and Jews in which the former try to convince the latter with the help of the exhortations and warnings of their own patriarchs

In this connection it is good to remember that in § 5 it was demonstrated that the exhortation of the Testaments cannot be called 'typically' Jewish or 'typically' Christian A 'good man' is someone who both loves

(or fears) God and loves his neighbour The first, love to God, is put into practice by holding God's (obviously moral) commandments The second, love to one's neighbour, which is the real aim of God's commands, requires a noble social behaviour towards all kinds of people one may meet on one's path of life under all circumstances It implies above all mercy and compassion, sympathy, forgiveness, sexual purity, steadfastness and endurance It is a behaviour that is characterized by 'singleness' or 'simplicity' and which is incited by the prospect of being rewarded and exalted by God

If we look for parallels we will find them in the Wisdom books of the LXX, particularly in Eccl, Prov and Sir, and to a lesser extent, in WisSol and 4Mac, and also in other Jewish-hellenistic literature (Philo, Josephus). In a number of cases we will only find them in ethical writings of hellenistic philosophers or in Christian exhortation of the second and early third centuries This makes it abundantly clear that the present Testaments want to stress the continuity between God's commandments as formulated and exemplified by the patriarchs, and the law to be obeyed by Israel in ancient times, as well as the exhortations directed towards the Israelites and the Gentiles in the time after God's revelation of his purpose for the whole world in the person of Jesus Christ

It is not necessary to survey the many individual parallels from Christian writings mentioned in the commentary on particular passages of the Testaments, but it will be useful to discuss a number of special points which are able to elucidate the contribution of the Testaments to the discussion within early Christianity about the meaning of the books which had become known as 'the Old Testament' and the position of Israel before and after Jesus Christ

8 2 *Early Christianity and the Old Testament*

8.2 1. The Testaments introduce the sons of Jacob as teachers of Israel and presuppose, therefore, their authority as well as that of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and also that of Enoch (see, particularly, the introduction to the S E.R. passages, see 4.4 1) The author will have had a high regard for other ancient worthies of Israel too, but could not mention them because of the pseudepigraphical stance chosen for the Testaments. So, for instance, Isaac is the one who teaches Levi the νομος κυρίου (especially the law of the priesthood) in T L 9 (clearly following the ArLevi-document here. cf Aramaic and Greek fragments vv 13ff.). And T Z 3,4 refers to what is written 'in the writing of the law of Enoch' because it could not cite Moses' words in Deut 25,5-10 The Testaments have a positive attitude towards the traditions embodied in the Scriptures shared by Israel and early Christianity, and they are concerned with the true interpretation of Torah, Prophets and Writings

According to J. Jervell, who in recent times has taken the Christian element in the Testaments seriously (though regarding them as a typical

instance of 'Interpolationsliteratur''), the concern for Israel's future destiny found in the Testaments and their familiarity with Jewish tradition also outside the OT points to a very early date for the earliest interpolations. 'Das weist auf Judenchristen hin, nicht aber auf haretische Kreise der späteren Zeit, sondern auf Judenchristen des ersten Jahrhunderts, wo das Judenchristentum noch eine „Großmacht" (nicht unbedingt numerisch!) in der Kirche war' (art cit [see 7 6], p 55) An additional argument is found in the fact that the - in Jervell's view - earliest christological interpolations (T L 16,3, T D 6,9, T.Jud 24,1 3, T L 18,1ff.; T.N 4,5, etc) picture Jesus as a righteous saviour who upholds the validity of the law and shows its true meaning (pp. 49f). Apart from our answer to the question whether the hypothesis of an extended interpolation process offers the best explanation of the problems of the complexity of the Testaments, we should note that Jervell's argumentation is in danger of becoming circular Moreover, he himself adduces evidence for the thesis that 'die früh- und altchristliche Literatur eine Reihe älteren Traditionen über das Judenchristentum und Israel enthält' (pp. 55f , and p 56 n 81) amongst which the notion that the Church is not simply a new Israel, but is formed by believers from Israel and the Gentiles The question of the precise date of the Testaments as well as that of the assignment of the Testaments to a particular group within early Christianity, cannot be solved as easily as Jervell thinks

8 2 2 The issue of the proper use of the Jewish Scriptures as Old Testament has been a very important one, not only in the first but also in the second century of the Church's existence In the collection of essays edited by E P Sanders in the book *Jewish and Christian self-definition. I The Shaping of Christianity in the Second and Third Centuries* Philadelphia-London 1980, relatively little is said about the self-definition of Christianity in relation to Judaism There are, however, a few pertinent remarks which may be repeated here First, there is the short discussion of the relation between Christianity and Judaism by A. H Armstrong in the beginning of his essay 'The Self-Definition of Christianity in relation to later Platonism' (pp. 74–99), in which he distinguishes two aspects 'one is the rejection (perhaps more gradually and after harder struggles than we are generally inclined to suppose) by the majority of Christians of the way of early Jewish Christianity; the refusal, that is, to continue as a distinctive group within Judaism, heretical and unpopular no doubt, but still unmistakably Jewish, even if with many Gentile convert members' (p 74), ' The other is the rejection by the majority Christian community of one of the most radical efforts at self-definition which has ever been made This was the attempt by the Christian Gnostics and Marcion to separate Christianity finally and utterly from Judaism by ensuring that Christians and Jews did not worship the same God' (p 75)

A second interesting aspect is pointed out in the articles by R L Wilken, 'The Christians as the Romans (and the Greeks) saw them' (pp 100–125), and by R Mortley, 'The Past in Clement of Alexandria'

(pp 186–200). Christianity needed the Jewish tradition in order to be culturally respectable in the hellenistic world Christian apologists are engaged in a three-cornered debate As Wilken puts is 'Attempts to legitimate Christian religious claims had to deal not only with the philosophical objections of pagans, but with scriptural and historical arguments offered by pagans (and Jews), but supported by the existence of a rival tradition of interpretation In any attempt to comprehend Christian efforts to achieve self-understanding and identity during the early centuries of the common era, the continuing presence of the Jews is a major, neglected factor' (p 123)

At the end of the second and the beginning of the third century, Irenaeus, Melito, Hippolytus, Tertullian and others are firmly convinced that the OT belongs to the Bible, together with those Christian writings which are considered to be apostolic That means, in practice, that the OT really is a 'Christian' book; it is correctly interpreted in the Christian tradition and wrongly understood by the Jews Anti-Jewish polemics always start with arguments from Scripture As M Simon has said 'La base commune a tous les ecrits anti-juifs reside dans une méthode identique d'argumentation le recours à l'Écriture, dont le caractere révélé et l'autorite infaillible sont reconnus par les deux parties en présence' (*Verus Israël* Paris ²1964, p 177) If we put it in the terms used by E P Sanders and his collaborators we may add anti-Jewish polemic is an essential element in the process of self-definition Christian theologians are convinced that 'Une interpretation correcte de la Bible doit suffire a faire d'eux (= les Juifs) des chrétiens, car toute verite y est contenue, et toute verite est chretienne' (ib) This applies mutatis mutandis also to the non-polemical Testaments dealing with the destiny of the Jewish people in the period after Jesus Christ

8.2.3 The various stages and the different solutions in the Christian interpretation of the OT in the second century have been described by H. von Campenhausen in his *Die Entstehung der christlichen Bibel* Tübingen 1968, chapter III, pp 76–122. The first 'orthodox' theologian who had something like 'a doctrine of Holy Scripture' was Justin Martyr he presupposes '... die luckenlose Einheit und Widerspruchslosigkeit der göttlich inspirierten heiligen Schrift Eine jüdische Vorstellung die bis dahin ohne ernsthafte Reflexion übernommen war, ist damit zum christlich-theologischen Grundsatz erhoben Zunächst freilich nur für das Alte Testament' (p 120). Central for him is the prediction-fulfilment scheme which is christologically oriented and is, at the same time, used to prove the antiquity of Christian teaching, not only in the Christian discussion with the Jews, but also in Justin's apologetic writings intended for a Gentile audience. In his concept of salvation history which enables him to look for the hidden meaning of seemingly 'dated' texts through the application of allegorical and typological methods, there is also room for the conception that certain OT commandments were only meant for the Jews in their stubbom disobedience Before Moses these commandments

were not in force and after Jesus Christ they are no longer valid for those who worship the one true God and believe in Jesus Christ And, with all its extra prescriptions and restrictions the Mosaic law intended to lead the Jews to repentance and salvation 'For in Moses' Law too those things that are' by nature good and pious and just have been laid down for those that obey and practice it, and such things as were appointed to be done on account of the hardness of the people's heart are equally recorded, which things also they that are under the Law used to practice' (Justin, Dial. 45,3, tr A L Williams) There is no doubt that all those who have practised that which is universally, naturally and eternally good will be saved (Dial 45,4) For further details, see von Campenhausen, op cit , pp 106–20 (esp pp 112-18), who emphasizes that this view on the law is equally anti-Jewish and anti-Marcionite and anti-gnostic

Justin's emphasis on the unity of God's intentions and the continuity of his ethical commands from the period of the patriarchs to the present time in which Israel and the Gentiles are called to obey Jesus Christ, ὁ καινὸς νόμος καὶ ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη καὶ η προσδοκία των ἀπὸ παντων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀναμενοντων τὰ παρὰ τοῦ fteou ἀγαθά (Dial 11,4), helps us to understand how in the Testaments the pre-Mosaic sons of Jacob could function as authorities expounding the true meaning of God's commandments to the twelve tribes of Israel, to summon them to repentance and to promise them salvation if they do God's will and turn to Jesus Christ (see 7 6) This point will require our special attention in the next section

8.3. *Justin and Irenaeus on God's law and the patriarche*

8.3.1. A good analysis of Justin's complex views on God's law in the context of his Dialogue with Trypho can be found in Th Stylianopoulos, *Justin Martyr and the Mosaic Law (Society of Biblical Literature Diss. Ser 20)* Missoula 1975 Concentrating on what is essential to our argument we note the following points

First, there is the tripartite division of the law as defined in Dial 44,2, '(Those who think and believe like Abraham know) ... all the mysteries, I mean that one commandment was appointed for piety and the practice of righteousness (εἰς freoaeßeiav xal δικαιοπραξίαν), and another command and action was in the same way spoken either as referring to the mystery of Christ or on account of the hardness of your people's heart ' Stylianopoulos (op cit , p. 55 and cf the entire section pp 53–59) speaks about a division in 1 ethics, 2 prophecy, and 3 historical dispensation Of the first category he says 'What is here involved is a body of undefined commandments which for Justin express binding universal principles This part of the Law is not at the forefront of Justin's discussion with Trypho Both Justin and Trypho seem to assume the validity of a universally binding ethical βίος' (p 56) Justin's terminology is rather vague so he speaks of τὰ καθόλου καὶ φυσει καὶ αἰώνια καλά in 45,4, cf similar terms in 23,1, 28,4, 30,1, 45,3, 47,2, 67,10 These ethical

principles, although universal and of all times, are also found in the Mosaic law which is temporary and legislated only for the Jews In 93,1f., God's universal principles ('For He exhibits among every race of men the things that are righteous at all times and in all places', τά .. ἀεὶ καὶ δι' ὅλου δίκαια *xai* πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην παρέχει ev παντὶ γένει ἀνθρώπων) are characterized as follows 'Wherefore it seems to me that it was well said by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that all righteousness and piety are fulfilled in two commandments' (see also 93,3)

Second in the context of Justin's attempts to prove to Trypho that the law is invalid as an eternal and universal criterion of salvation and that it is only meant as temporary legislation for the Jews, we encounter what Stylianopoulos calls 'a periodization of salvation history into a) a pre-Law epoch prior to Moses and to Abraham, b) a Law epoch until Christ, which is related only to the Jews, and c) the universal epoch beginning with Christ' (op cit., p 112, and cf the entire section pp 53–59). The period before Moses is not described at great length, but it is only mentioned by way of contrast Before Abraham men were not circumcized, yet they pleased God, also after Abraham many Mosaic commandments were not known and consequently not kept by a great number of people who, nevertheless, are regarded as righteous men and women (see Dial. 19,3-5, 23,3, 27,5, 29,3, 46,3, 67,7, 92,2 5). Among those named expressly are Abel, Enoch, Lot, Noah, Melchizedek, Abraham (Dial 19,3f), Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Noah, Job, Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, Leah, 'and all the other women of that kind until the mother of Moses, the faithful attendant' (46,3) In another group of passages, Justin singles out Abraham for special mention (11,5, 23,4f , 44,2, 92,3; 119,5), emphasizing his faith before he was circumcized (cf Rom 4). 'But Justin, unlike Paul, does not concentrate on Abraham alone Rather he looks from Abraham backwards to all of the Old Testament righteous, and extends the pre-Mosaic period indefinitely back to creation ... If the Mosaic Law was not necessary as criterion of righteousness prior to Moses, then, claims Justin, neither is it necessary as a prerequisite to salvation now with the coming of Christ' (Stylianopoulos, op cit., p 119) In Dial 11,2, Justin formulates his standpoint clearly 'And a law set over against a law has put an end to the one before it, and a disposition coming into existence afterwards has in like manner annulled the one before it. And as an eternal and final law was Christ given to us, and this disposition is sure, after which there is no law, or ordinance, or command' (cf 11,4) The Jews are urged to accept the new dispensation (12,2) and the new lawgiver, Christ (12,2, 14,3; cf 18,3) On the basis of a number of OT proof-texts Justin tries to show the eternity and universality of the new law promised by God (for details, see Stylianopoulos, op cit., pp 78–84). It is clear to him that this new law abrogates the old and that the new covenant annuls the former 'If the law had power to enlighten the Gentiles and all them that possess it, what need were there of a new covenant?' (Dial 122,5, cf 34,1)

Third Justin's Dialogue is the first of a long series of writings *adversus Iudaeos*, and the polemical element is pronounced Yet Stylianopoulos (op cit , pp 33–44; 165-8) has attempted to show that the Dialogue is not purely polemical, it was written for Jews (and Christians) with the purpose ' to convince Jews Hence, Justin's use of the notion of the 'eschatological remnant' (Dial 25,1, 32,2; 55,3, 64,2f.), and the discussion of the Jewish Christians in chapter 47 and the 'open ending' in chapter 142. Justin does not only know his OT well, but he is also well-acquainted with post-biblical Judaism In a way, he is also remarkably lenient towards those who continue to observe the Mosaic commandments after believing in Jesus Christ (Dial 47,1ff) He excludes these Jewish Christians who, at all cost, want to convince Gentile Christians to observe the law Even Gentile Christians who are persuaded to adopt the Mosaic law but maintain their confession of Christ, have a chance of salvation (47,4)

It does not come as a surprise then that the righteous sons of Jacob are included in the final salvation On Trypho's question (see 25,6), whether no Jew at all will have any inheritance on the mountain of God, Justin answers Those who persecuted Christ, persecute him still and do not repent, will be excluded, while 'the nations that have believed in Him, and have repented for all the sins they have committed - they shall inherit, with all the patriarchs and the prophets and the righteous men that have been born of Jacob Even though they do not keep sabbath nor are circumcized nor keep the festivals, they shall certainly inherit the holy inheritance of God' (26,1) Here we may mention again 45,2 4, 'They who did the things that universally, naturally and eternally are good are pleasing to God and shall be saved by means of this Christ at the resurrection, equally with the righteous who were before them, Noah and Enoch and Jacob and any others there may be, together with those who recognize this Christ as the Son of God ' (cf. 8 2 and 7 4) Next, there is chapter 80,1f (see also 7 4) where Justin joins Trypho in the expectation of a rebuilt Jerusalem in which Christians will rejoice with Christ, together with the patriarchs, the prophets and the holy ones from Israel and the proselytes, although he is aware of the fact that some orthodox and pious Christians do not agree with him (cf also 80,5) And finally, we should mention Dial 130,2 where Justin after quoting Deut 32,43 continues 'By saying this He means that we Gentiles rejoice with His people, I mean Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and the prophets, and in fact all from that people who are pleasing to God (καὶ ἁπλῶς τους ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ λαοῦ πάντας εὐαρεστοῦντας τω fteâ)).' In 120,5 he says clearly Christ will divide your race into two parts; some will be admitted to the coming eternal kingdom with 'the holy patriarchs and prophets', others will be punished in an inextinguishable fire with the disobedient and impenitent Gentiles

In these and other passages, Justin uses the term 'patriarchs' rather loosely to denote 'the saints' of the pre-Mosaic era as companions of the prophets He uses the word in the singular for Jacob (52,1, 54,1, 69,2,

78,8, 135,3) and Abraham (84,4), and in the plural also in the expression 'Abraham ... and the other patriarchs' (56,9, 113,4, cf 58,3) denoting not simply Isaac and Jacob but a wider circle (so clearly 126,5, 'Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and the other patriarchs') They are the ancestors of the people (100,2, 106,3; 134,1, 141,4), but at the same time of a wider community of believers they served God in the way he wanted and wants to be served by all people It was only for the Jews that extra legislation was needed, and Moses' extra regulations were valid during the period between the Exodus and the coming of Jesus Christ Patriarchs, prophets will rejoice with the righteous ones from the Gentiles and Israel in the final resurrection

8 3.2 Justin's views on the relation between pre-Mosaic believers, the Mosaic dispensation of the law and God's servants in the time after Jesus Christ are also found, with a number of variations and modifications, in the writings of other ancient Christian writers For the ideas about 'natural law' in the period before Moses, see, for instance, the survey in F Flückiger, *Geschichte des Naturrechts I* Zürich 1954, pp 284–322

A few interesting statements by Irenaeus and Tertullian may be mentioned here Irenaeus' opinion in the matter is expressed most clearly in Haer IV 13-16 Against the Marcionites he stresses the unity in God's dealings with mankind and the continuity in his commandments '.. the Lord did not abrogate the natural precepts of the law (naturalia legis), by which man is justified, which also those who were justified by faith, did observe previous to the giving of the law (quae etiam ante legisdationem custodiebant qui fide justificabantur) , but that He extended and fulfilled them' (13,1, tr A. Roberts-W H Rambaut, cf 16,5). Moses' law was given to the Israelites to keep them on the right track (see 15,2, praecepta quaedam a Moyse posita eis propter duritiam illorum et quod nollent esse subjecti, see also 14,3, 16,5), but apart from the extra constraints it aimed at the same worship of God and love for one's neighbour which God expected at the beginning 'Inasmuch, then, as all natural precepts are common to us and to them (i e the Jews), they had in them indeed the beginning and origin, but in us they have received growth and completion .. to yield assent to God, and to follow His Word, and to love Him above all, and one's neighbour as one's self (assentire enim Deo et sequi ejus Verbum et super omnia diligere eum et proximum sicut seipsum)' (13,4) When God gave the Decalogue through Moses it was to recall the Israelites to the essentials of his commands per naturalia praecepta quae ab initio infixa dédit hominibus admonens eos, hoc est per Decalogum (15,1), cf 15,2, '... so that they might obtain the gift of salvation through them (= the ordinances), while they obeyed the Decalogue (ut per eas salutarem Decalogi absorbentes hamum), and being restrained by Him, should not revert to idolatry, nor apostatize from God, but learn to love Him with the whole heart ' The fathers before Moses (16,2f) had this Decalogue in their hearts. justi autem patres, virtutem decalogi conscriptam habentes in cordibus et animabus suis,

diligentes scilicet Deum qui fecit eos et abstinentes erga proximum ab injustitia (16,3), cf further on, ' and it enjoined love to God, and taught just dealing towards our neighbour, that we should neither be unjust nor unworthy of God, who prepares man for His friendship through the medium of the Decalogue, and likewise for agreement with his neighbour' (see also 16,4) From the beginning to the very end all centres around the 'natural precepts', embodied in the Decalogue and summed up in the two great commandments At the last judgment there will be disobedient Israelites and disobedient Gentiles God has always respected man's free will, 'in order that those who do not obey Him should be righteously judged because they have not obeyed Him, and that those who have obeyed and believed on Him should be honoured with immortality' (15,2, cf 22,2 with, again, emphasis on the observance of the two great commandments) There is no reason for Christians to write the Jews off It would be against God's intention, for he did everything to make the Jews serve him Amongst a number of actions taken by God, 14,2 mentions, 'He did Himself furnish guidance to those who beheld Him not in Egypt, while to those who became unruly in the desert He promulgated a very suitable law ' One thing is, however, clear 'These things, therefore, which were given for bondage, and for a sign to them, He cancelled by the new covenant of liberty (circumscripsit novo libertatis testamento) But He has increased and widened those laws which are natural, and noble, and common to all (quae autem naturalia et liberalia et communia omnium auxit et dilatavit), granting to men largely and without grudging, by means of adoption, to know God the Father, and to love Him with the whole heart ...' (16,5), and this in all freedom Irenaeus uses the term 'patriarchs' in much the same way as Justin, i.e to denote the righteous fathers in the time before Moses (III 11,8; IV 14,2, 16,2; 21,1, 22,2, 23,1, 25,3; 26,5), in nearly all these instances he mentions them together with the prophets

Tertullian has brought a number of arguments known from Justin and Irenaeus together in his Adversus Iudaeos 2 and 3 A few significant details of his exposition are the following Tertullian begins with Adam and Eve primordialis lex data est Adae et Euae in paradiso matrix omnium praeceptorum dei (2,4), and again the two great commandments are singled out for special mention If they had loved their God they would not have acted against his command, if they had loved their neighbour, that is themselves, they would not have killed themselves by giving up immortality In 2,7f. 12-14, a number of righteous men before Moses are summed up, who are called 'patriarchs' in 2,8 and 'fathers' in 2,7, legem fuisse contendo non scriptam, quae naturaliter intellegebatur et a patribus custodiebatur It is interesting that Tertullian applies Isa 2,3f which he quotes in 3,9 to the Christians as observers of a new law Qui igitur intelleguntur alii quam nos, qui in nova lege edocti ista observamus (3,10)

More than a century later, Eusebius will devote a whole chapter in the beginning of his Ecclesiastical History (H E I 4) to prove that the doctrine of Jesus Christ is neither new nor strange, but only a revival of the true piety of those pious men who lived in ancient times amongst which Noah, Isaac and Jacob, and, particularly, Abraham are mentioned by name

8 3.3. The Testaments do not treat the problem of the validity and the content of God's precepts in the three periods of the 'history of salvation' in a systematic way What we found in 8 3 1 and 8 3 2 clearly provides the general framework in which their exhortations, warnings and predictions made sense The twelve sons of Jacob, successors to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (T B 10,3ff) were the appropriate authorities in the pre-Mosaic past to deal with the obligations and the fate of Israel in the period inaugurated by the coming of Jesus Christ They could exhort their sons to observe the essentials of the law practised by themselves and to avoid their failures, and to obey Jesus Christ, who had renewed and intensified these essentials

If Stylianopoulos is right, Justin wrote not only to polemize, but also to convince the Jews Irenaeus stresses that God wants to save all who 'feared and loved God and practised justice and piety towards their neighbours and have earnestly desired to see Christ, and to hear His voice' (Haer IV 22,2) In this context he quotes Rom 3,30 'For it is truly 'one God who' directed the patriarchs towards His dispensations and 'has justified the circumcision by faith and the uncircumcision through faith' On the other hand, one should not regard the giving of the law as 'powerless' because of the fact that there are disobedient Israelites who are lost (si autem quidam propter inobaudientes Israelitas et perditos infirmam dicat legisdationem), rather one should remember that also 'in our dispensation' many are called, but few chosen (Haer IV 15,2) The Testaments emphasize strongly that the Jews are called to share in God's salvation and point the way towards it obedience to what is really important in God's commandments and to believe in Jesus Christ

8 4 *Jesus as (high-)priest*

The tribe of Levi is the tribe of the priests, just as Judah is the royal tribe (see, e g , T I 5,7) 'As heaven is higher than the earth, so is the priesthood of God higher than the kingship on the earth' (T Jud 21,4, cf v 2), 'unless it falls away from the Lord through sin' (T Jud 21,4) That the sons of Levi sinned, and sinned against Jesus Christ, is brought home clearly in the three S E R passages in T L (10, 14f , 16) The ups and downs of the levitical priesthood are described in the fragmentary survey in T L 17 After the priesthood has come to an end the Lord will raise up 'a new priest' (T L 18,1f.). The nature of the 'new priesthood' ist indicated in T L 8,11-15 After an elaborate description of Levi's investiture as priest (8,1-10), Levi hears that his seed will be divided into three

ἀρχαι .. εις σημεῖον δόξης κυριου ἐπερχομένου. The third 'office' will be called with a new name, 'because a king will arise from Judah and will establish a new priesthood after the fashion of the Gentiles for all the Gentiles' (v 14) The king from Judah must be Jesus Christ and the new priesthood must be that of Melchizedek (see the notes on this verse)

In T R 6,8, Levi's priestly duties are limited to the period 'until the consummation of times (, the times) of the anointed highpriest, of whom the Lord spoke' It is not unlikely that Ps 110,4 is referred to In any case the (high-)priesthood of Jesus Christ is meant (cf T L 5,2 and 4,2-4)

Two further texts deserve our attention T.S. 7,2 which refers to the coming of Jesus Christ as highpriest and as king, connects him as high-priest with Levi and as king with Judah This is the only place where Jesus is said to descend from the tribe of Levi (... ἐκ τοῦ Λευι ὡς ἀρχιερέα) In T R 6,12, Jesus is called 'Levi's seed', which 'will die for us in visible and invisible wars and will be among you a king for ever.' Here he *is* connected with Levi, but clearly not in a priestly capacity.

Jesus' (high-)priesthood is the central topic in the Letter to the Hebrews which, repeatedly, refers to Ps 110 (109),4. Jesus is called high-priest also by some of the Apostolic Fathers (see Ignatius, Philad 9,1, Polycarp, Phil 12,2, MartPolyc 14,3, 1Clem 36,1, 61,3, 64,1) Justin, in his Dialogue with Trypho, calls Jesus (eternal) priest and king (see 34,2, 36,1, 96,1, 118,2, cf 42,1, 86,4), and he uses Ps 110 (109),4 in his argumentation at several occasions (19,4, 32,6, 33,1f., 63,3, 83,2, 113,5, 118,1)

For the connection between Jesus the (high-)priest and Levi, there are only few indications Attention has been drawn (see A Jaubert, 'Themes lévitiques dans la Prima dementis', *Vigiliae Christianae* 18 (1964), 193–203, cf her commentary on 1Clem in *SC* 167, Paris 1971, pp 48f) to 1Clem 31f , where αι ὁδοὶ τῆς εὐλογίας are illustrated by the examples of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob Jacob is mentioned as an example of ταπεινοφροσύνη: he left his country because of his brother and he served Laban, καὶ ἐδόθη αυτω TO δωδεκάσκηπτρον (a hapax legomenon!) τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ (31,4) From Jacob come 'the priests and all the Levites, who serve the altar of God, from him comes the Lord Jesus according to the flesh, from him come the kings and rulers and governors in the succession of Judah', and as to his other σκῆπτρα, 'they are in no small renown seeing that God promised that "thy seed shall be as the stars of heaven"' (32,2). It is interesting to note the author's interest in all the tribes, the emphasis on Levi and Judah (in this order), and the special mention of the Lord Jesus between Levi and Judah, suggesting a connection between him and both tribes This does not necessarily mean that the author regarded Jesus as a descendant of both patriarchs (the ἐξ αὐτοῦ ... το κατὰ σαρκα refers to Jacob alone)

Next, there are a few instances in Hippolytus' Commentary on the Blessings of Isaac, Jacob and Moses (see ed Brière-Maries-Mercier, *P O* 27,1-2, Paris 1954) In the section between his commentary on the

Blessing of Jacob and on that of Moses, Hippolytus comments on Deut 27,12. It is only preserved in Armenian and Georgian, but there is a (partial) parallel in a Greek fragment ascribed to Irenaeus (no 17 in ed Harvey, vol II p 487, we should note that MS Météores 573, the only extant Greek witness for the commentary on the Blessing of Jacob, attributes this writing to Irenaeus!): ἐξ ὧν ο Χριστὸς προετυπώθη, xal ἐπεγνώσθη, xal ἐγεννήθη· εν μὲν τῷ Ἰωσὴφ προετυπώθη· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Λευὶ xal τοῦ Ἰούδα τὸ κατὰ σαρκα, ὡς βασιλεὺς xal ιερευς, ἐγεννήθη ... (cf ed Brière-Mariès-Mercier, p 126). This agrees with Hippolytus' Commentary on Jacob's Blessing of Judah (ib , p 68,4–p 84,8) Judah is rightly blessed, from his tribe will David come and from David will Christ descend Hippolytus, then, brings up an objection (p 72,8-11) (Ἀλλ' ἐρεῖς), Why was not Levi blessed also? The objector adduces the following arguments ευρισκομεν γὰρ ⟨καὶ⟩ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Λευι τὸν Χριστὸν ἱερεα τοῦ πατρος δεικνυμενον, ἐπὶ (τοῦ την τοῦ Λευὶ φυλὴν πρὸς του Ἰουδα ἐπι⟩μιγῆναι την φυλην, ἵνα ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν xal βασιλεὺς xal ἱερεὺς (ὁ υἱὸς) τοῦ θεοῦ ἀποδειχθῇ. Elsewhere (Comm in Dan 1 12), Hippolytus himself tries to show how the two tribes 'merged' Through a very special exegesis of Mt 1,11 and Sus 1f. he connects Jesus with Jojakim (of royal descent) and Susanna, the daughter of Hilkia (regarded as the priest under Josiah mentioned in 2Kgs 22f). The actual expression which he uses is ουτοι (= Susanna and her brother Jeremiah!) οὖν ἐκ τοῦ γένους τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ υπαρχοντες, ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς τῆς Λευί, ἐπεμίγησαν τη φυλῇ Ἰούδα. In the Commentary under discussion, however, Hippolytus replies to the objection. Jacob knew what Annas and Caiaphas would do, and therefore he did not bless Levi Moses, in his blessings, reacted differently ἐλθὼν δὲ ο μακάριος Μωϋσῆς ΤΟΝ (Χριστὸν τον) ἐξ Ἀαρὼν xai Λευὶ γενομενον ηὐλόγησεν (ib , p 72,12-p 74,6)

Hippolytus' Commentary on Deut 33,8–11 is, again, only extant in Armenian and Georgian (ib., pp 144–6) It calls Christ priest of the Most High and invisible God, perfect priest of a perfect Father, with the two Testaments as shoulderpieces of his long robe Ps 110(109),4 is quoted, but the Davidic authorship of the Psalm is stressed and the text is given as 'You will be for me priest into eternity after the order of Melchizedek' It is followed by a reference to 1Sam 2,35 attributed to Nathan, the prophet in the time of David In the following sentence, Hippolytus connects Christ clearly with Levi In Maries' retranslation into Greek (see p 240 n 338) it runs "Cm ἤμελλεν ο Χριστὸς εκ τῆς Λευεὶ φυλῆς, ἐκ τῆς ἱερατικῆς τάξεως, ἐξ οἴκου Ἀαρών, κατὰ σαρκα γεγενῆσθαι, προανεφώνησεν Μωυσῆς λέγων ... (then follows Deut 33,8, .. xal ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῦ τῷ ἀνδρὶ τω ὁσιω interpreted with the help of Acts 2,22-24)

Hippolytus clearly connects Jesus Christ's priesthood with physical descent from Levi The rather far-fetched exegesis of Mt 1,11/Sus 1f. plus the inserted 'objection' in his Commentary on Jacob's blessing of Judah, show that this was an important point for him and his readers

It is interesting to note that early Christian theologians have devoted much attention to the differences between the genealogies in Mt 1,1-17 and Lk 3,23-38. Attempts have been made to connect Mary with the tribe of Levi, in view of Lk 1,36 which calls Elizabeth, the wife of the priest Zechariah, Mary's συγγενίς. For details, one may consult the survey in W Bauer, *Das Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der neutestamentlichen Apokryphen*, Tübingen 1909 (= Darmstadt 1967), pp 4–8, and in particular, pp 9-17. A key-witness is Julius Africanus in his Letter to Aristides (ed W Reichardt, *Texte und Untersuchungen 34,3* Leipzig 1909) He refuses to base his faith in Jesus as priest and king on theories concerning the names in the genealogies He denounces them as fteooeßeiac σμικρολογίαν, ἵνα τῇ ἐναλλαγῇ των ὀνομάτων, τὴν Χοιστοῦ βασιλείαν και ιερωσυνην συνιστωμεν, ἐπεὶ τῇ Ἰούδα φυλῇ τη βασιλικῇ ἡ τοῦ Λευὶ φυλὴ ⟨ἡ⟩ ἱερατικη συνεζυγη Ex 6,23 and 25 give two examples, . . τοῦ Ναασσων ἀδελφην την Ἐλισάβετ Ἀαροὼν ἀξαμένου καὶ πάλιν Ἐλεάζαρ την θυγατέρα Φατιὴλ καὶ ἐνθένδε παιδοποιησαμένων (for the text, see ed W Reichardt, pp 53ff.; for a commentary, ib , pp 32–42). For similar discussions in later writers, see W Bauer (see above), and see also the writing about Jesus as priest published by A Vassiliev in *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina*, Moscow 1893, pp. 58–72, esp. pp 58f.; 66 (. . ὅτι εν ΤΟΪς παλαιοῖς ἐπιμιξία γέγονε τοῦ Λευὶ και τοῦ Ἰούδα .).

We may conclude. the attitude towards Jesus' (high-)priesthood found in the Testaments, including the uncertainty whether Jesus as priest could be connected with Levi or not, is reflected in the Christian literature of the second and third centuries A D

8 5 *The rending of the temple-veil*

In two places the Testaments refer to the rending of the temple-veil In T L. 10,3, it is mentioned in the context of the sins of the sons of Levi against the Saviour of the world, Jesus Christ The priests will lead Israel astray and bring upon it great evils from the Lord (10,2) As in other **S E R.** passages, the result will be dispersion among the Gentiles (10,4) Between the general prediction in v **2** and the announcement of dispersion in v 4, there is, however, v 3, 'and you will act lawlessly together with Israel, so that he (the Lord) will not bear Jerusalem because of your wickedness, but will rend the covering of the temple, so as not to cover your shame'

The second instance is **T.B.** 9,4, where, in the context of Jesus' crucifixion (v 3), we are told, 'And the veil of the temple will be rent, and the spirit of God will pass on to the Gentiles, as a fire that is poured out' References to the descent into Hades and the ascension follow

For a collection of early Christian parallels, see M de Jonge, 'Het motief van het gescheurde voorhangsel van de tempel in een aantal vroegchristelijke geschriften', *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 21 (1966–7), 257-76 The earliest and most interesting ones may be mention-

ed here Only little need to be said about T B 9,4 The idea that at this occasion the spirit of God departed from the temple is found in Tertullian, Adversus Iudaeos 13,15; SyrDidascApp XXIII, Hilarius of Poitiers, Tractatus super Psalmos LVIII 10 (for details, see the notes on T B 9,4) This notion is related to that of the departure of the angel living in the temple, and it is in this connection that the temple-veil is sometimes, explicitly or implicitly, seen as the angel's garment So Melito, Pass 98, declares τοῦ λαοῦ μὴ περιεσχισμένου περιεσχίσατο ο ἄγγελος (v.l περιεσχίσθησαν ἄγγελοι, rightly relegated to the apparatus by the latest editor, S. G Hall, Oxford 1979) The use of the definite article is curious do Melito's hearers know about whom he is speaking (cf. Pass 17 and 20, ο τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἄγγελος at the Exodus from Egypt)? In the new fragment published by S G Hall, which is only extant in Georgian, we read, 'and angels horrified quit the temple, and seraphim cried out with their noise, [the ve]il was tom ' (tr S G Hall, p 90) M Richard, 'Témoins grecs des fragments XIII et XV de Méliton de Sardes', *Le Muséon* 85 (1972), 309-36 (see also S G Hall's apparatus on p 90) connects this with col 797, 18-30 in a homily ascribed to John Chrysostom (MPG 52 797-800), which is clearly dependent on Melito Here we find the singular (but not the article) again ἄγγελος ἐξήλατο τεταραγμένος τοῦ ναοῦ, περιεσχισμένου τοῦ καταπετασματος τοῦ οἴκου (cf. also the Syriac and Coptic homilies ascribed to Alexander of Alexandria and Athanasius respectively, see M Richard, art cit., 310ff.).

Rending one's garment is a sign of mourning, this is here connected with indignation about what happened to Jesus and it is followed by the departure of the/an angel from the temple Also dependent on Melito is Cyprianus, Adversus Iudaeos 4, angelus in paenitentiam conscisso velamine refugit, plebs sine pavore intégra veste permansit' It adds the element of penitence without really explaining it the angel is pictured as being sorry for the sufferings inflicted to Jesus, and flees In this connection, we may mention a passage in which Eznik of Kolb summarizes a point of view found among Marcionites In the translation of Eznik's De Deo by L Maries and B Ch. Mercier (*P O* 28,3–4, Paris 1959, p 664) 'Et quand il (le Dieu de la Loi) l'eut hisse en croix, disent-ils, il (le fils du Dieu bon) descendit aux Enfers, et vides les rendit Et une fois qu'il eut tire les âmes de leur sein, il (les) conduisit dans le troisième ciel a son pere. Sur ce, le Seigneur des créatures prit feu et flamme, de colère, il dechira sa robe et le voile du temple, et il enténébra son soleil; et il revêtit de noir son monde; et il s'assit en deuil, du chagrin qu'il avait ' Is the early Christian 'angel of the temple' the successor to the creator-God of Marcion?

Other authors who speak about the angel's departure are Tertullian, Adversus Marcionem 4,42, Scissum est templi velum, angeli eruptione derelinquentis filiam Sionis, and Hilarius of Poitiers, Commentarius in Mt. 23, Et deinceps velum templi scinditur, quia exinde populus est divisus in partes, et veli honor cum custodia angeli protegentis aufertur

A Jewish parallel is found in Josephus, Bell. 6,300 in a section which enumerates the portents predicting the destruction of the temple at Pentecost priests entering the inner court of the temple by night hear a voice as of a host crying, μεταβαινομεν (v l –ωμεν) ἐντεῦθεν (cf Tacitus, Historiae 5,13)

In a number of (mostly later) passages also the temple-veil itself or the temple itself are personified We mention here only ClemRecogn I 41,3f , ... velum templi scissum est, velut lamentans excidium imminens loco, and John Chrysostom, Pasch 6 (MPG 59.744), going back to Hippolytus' writing with the same title (see B. Altaner–A Stuiber, *Patrologie*, Freiburg–Basel–Wien [9]1980, p 168), ἐρράγη δε τοῦ ναοῦ το καταπέτασμα συμπασχον και μηνυον τὸν οὐράνιον ἀληθῶς ἀρχιερέα.

From these examples, it is clear that T L 10,3 represents a special variant on a well-known theme: it is God who rends the 'garment' of the temple and punishes Jerusalem by 'uncovering its shame' The nearest parallel is a statement by John Chrysostom, found in the Catena in Mt edited by P Possinus, Tolosae 1646, TO αἰσχος αὐτῶν φανερὸν γενήσεται πᾶσι (see A Pelletier, 'La tradition synoptique du 'voile dechiré' à la lumiere des realites archeologiques', *RScR* 46 [1958], 167)

8 6 *Two minor themes*

8 6 1 In a number of Jewish sources, Simeon and Levi are singled out as especially hostile to Joseph In T S , only Simeon is pictured as particularly envious and unfriendly towards his brother (see T.S., INTRODUCTION p 110). Levi is not mentioned in this connection (in fact, his place is taken by Gad), but his sons are the ones who persecute Jesus (T L. 10, 14f., 16)

Hippolytus, Ben Mos (ed Briere-Maries-Mercier, *P O* 27,1-2, pp 155-63) gives a number of reasons why Simeon was not mentioned by Moses One is that Simeon was the brother most hostile to Joseph (cf Gen 37,20), and for that reason he was imprisoned in Egypt (cf Gen 42,24) In this he is a type of the scribes who brought in a false accusation against Jesus (see esp pp 159-60) In Ben Jac (ib , pp 60–68), Hippolytus comments on the negative verdict on Simeon and Levi in Gen 49,5-7 For him the reference to Jesus' death is obvious ἐκ γαρ τῆς φυλῆς τοῦ Συμεὼν ησαν οἱ γραμματεῖς, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Λευὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς. ἐπεὶ οὖν τῇ τούτων βουλῇ xal γνώμῃ παρεδόθη ὁ Χριστὸς xal ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀνῃρέθη (p 64,6–8). The same idea is found in Hippolytus, Fr 9 in Gen , and in Tertullian, Adversus Marcionem 3,18, Adversus Iudaeos 10

8 6 2 The Testaments end in T B. 11 (after which chapter 12 gives the usual concluding passage) with a clear reference to Gen 49, 27 LXX, which is connected with the apostle Paul The xal εἰς TO ἑσπέρας διαδωσει τροφην of Gen 49,27c is commonly interpreted by Christian writers as referring to Paul's activity as apostle after his conversion (see the notes on T B 11,2) The first part of the verse is connected with Paul

in different ways Often his activity as λύκος ἁρπαξ is connected with his persecution of the Church see Hippolytus, Ben Jac 28 (ed. Brière-Mariès-Mercier, *P O* 27,1-2, p 114), Fr 52 and 81 in Gen , Tertullian, Scorpiace 13, Adversus Marcionem 5,1 (Hippolytus, Fr 52 in Gen and Tertullian, Adversus Marcionem 5,1 also refer to the persecution of David by Saul !) Ephraem, Comm. in Gen XLIII 11 pictures Paul as a 'lupus lupis, eripuitque a Maligno omnes animas' (tr R.-M Tonneau, cf the Apollinaris fragment mentioned in the note on T B 11,2) Yet, another explanation is found in Rufinus' Commentary on the Benedictions of the Patriarchs 29 (ed M Simonetti, 5C 140), Et dicitur de eo *lupus rapax*: lupus propter aviditatem dicitur ex multa enim fame Verbi Dei et inedia venit Rapax quia et ipse violenter diripit regnum Dei (cf Mt 11,12) T B 11,1 and 2 add two new interpretations of this part of Jacob's benediction in v. 1, the λύκος ἁρπαξ is connected with the unbelief of the Benjaminites (and of Israel as a whole), in v. 2, Paul is pictured as 'attacking, trampling upon' Israel with salvation which results in taking from them (= Israel) people who are then given to the συναγωγη των ἐθνῶν

§ 9 *Origin and date of the Testaments*

9.1. *The Christian Testaments*

9 1.1. With the methods used in textual-criticism we are able to reconstruct a relatively late text written in Greek and handed down by Christians (see 2.5) We know that Origen used the Testaments, but we are not in a position to establish the form of the text known to him. It is a priori likely that many changes (additions, omissions, 'corrections') took place in the period between Origen and the moment the archetype of the present textual witnesses came into being, but we cannot trace them with certainty (see 2 6) The only exception is T D 7,3 which must be regarded as a later interpolation (see 4 1 1)

9 1 2 On the basis of the reference in Origen we accept the beginning of the third century A D as the 'terminus ad quern' of the Testaments (see 2 6) This agrees with the results of our investigations in § 8, particularly those in 8 3 In the Testaments, the patriarchs of Israel exhort their sons to obey God's commandments which centre around the fear of God and the love towards one's neighbour They stress that Israel will only have a future if it obeys these commandments and believes in Jesus Christ, together with the Gentiles This is in accordance with the views of Justin, Irenaeus, Tertullian and others concerning the essential unity of God's ethical commands before and after the lawgiving on Mount Sinai, and after the coming of Jesus Christ. These laws which are natural and noble and common to all were 'increased and widened' when men were allowed to know God the Father, to love him with the whole heart 'and to follow His word unswervingly, while they abstain not only from evil deeds, but even from desire after them' The extra laws which were

binding for the Jews only, however, were cancelled 'by the new covenant of liberty' (Irenaeus, Haer IV 16,5).

In the period before Moses, 'the patriarchs' obeyed God's 'natural precepts' and therefore they are in a position to warn and to instruct the Jews 'in the period after the coming of Jesus Christ Justin refers to all who obeyed the law of God in all three periods of history when he writes, 'They who did the things that universally, naturally and eternally are good are pleasing to God and shall be saved by means of this Christ at the resurrection, equally with the righteous who were before them, Noah and Enoch and Jacob and any others there may be, together with those who recognize this Christ as the Son of God' (Dial 45,4) This, again, agrees with the attention given to the resurrection of the patriarchs and their righteous descendants in the resurrection passages (see 7 4) The expectations concerning the future (surveyed in § 7) together with essential elements of the ethics of the Testaments (discussed in § 5) fit into the general pattern provided by the analysis of Justin's and Irenaeus' views on the place of Jews and Gentiles in the history of God's dealing with mankind

9 2 Are the present Testaments a Christian composition or a redacted version of an 'original' Jewish document?

9 2 1 As was remarked in 8 1 the question of function may not be confused with that of provenance The fact that the Testaments functioned meaningfully in Christian circles at the end of the second century A D and the beginning of the third does not prove that they were composed at that time They may represent a thorough and to a considerable degree consistent reworking of an earlier Jewish writing It is, however, clear that the quest for an earlier stage (or earlier stages) in the history of the Testaments will have to start with the text as we have it before us

It is not necessary to repeat here the remarks on method made in section 1 2, but it should be stressed that the present authors remain sceptical about the practicability of literary-criticism to the Testaments and, consequently, about the conclusions reached by others along these lines The nature of the biographical, exhortatory and apocalyptic traditions used in the Testaments makes it well-nigh impossible to reach definite and unequivocal results

9.2.2 In 3 7, the study of the most important related Hebrew and Aramaic material led to the conclusion that much will remain unknown about the ways along which that material reached the author of the Testaments, and in what form it was at his disposal A full survey of the traditional biographical material reveals a great diversity The Testaments clearly used a variety of biographical material in a variety of ways, by way of illustrations for the exhortations (see 4.2) We may prefer a clearer separation and a more explicit connection between exhortation and biography, and a clearer structuring of the material within each individual

testament But who are we to decide what the author should have done, granted that he was clearly a keen collector of traditions trying to make the best possible use of all patriarchal traditions he could lay his hands on? And how can we possibly reconstruct a more original form of text, by removing possible later accretions?

Moreover, this biographical material is, in itself, not distinctively Jewish or Christian It was partly taken directly from the OT and partly derived from Jewish sources and haggadic traditions, but that does not make our document itself Jewish nor does it compel us to assume a distinctively Jewish stage in the history of the book It may be difficult to imagine how a Christian may have collected so much variegated Jewish material, but similar questions arise in the case of, for instance, Justin's Dialogue with Trypho or Hippolytus' Commentary on the Blessings of Isaac, Jacob and Moses

9 2 3 The exhortatory sections which form the core of the book cannot help us in deciding the matter of provenance or in the reconstruction of an earlier form of the Testaments They contain little or nothing that is distinctively Jewish or Christian they are clearly meant to express what is naturally and universally good, and to warn against what all men, Jews and non-Jews, Christians and non-Christians should abhor Here, again, there may have been later additions and changes, but the nature of the material makes it very difficult to detect them

9 2 4 Theoretically, the distinction between Jewish and Christian elements should come out most clearly in the case of the passages dealing with the future In § 7, it was shown that the predictions concerning the future can be divided in a number of categories, and that in each of these categories Christian elements are found in strategic places By no means, however, do we find uniformity as to form and content Yet when we asked whether the actual passages, in their great variety, revealed basically one point of view (see 7.1 2), the answers reached in the various subsections of § 7 were not disappointing In 7 2 4, the conclusion was that the S E R passages in all their variety represent a reasonable coherent und consistent picture of the future of the descendants of the patriarchs In 7 3 4, the L J passages proved to be extremely variegated, in their present state they display a veritable patchwork of forms and ideas and it is difficult to explain this variety This can, however, be elucidated by parallel phrases and ideas in early Christian literature The passages dealing with the resurrection (see 7 4), an ideal saviour figure (see 7 5) present relatively few difficulties, and also the survey of texts concerning the future of Israel and the Gentiles show a remarkable coherence of ideas, even if individual passages, like T D 5,10b–6,10 proved to be of a very complicated internal structure

9 2 5 The question of 'genre' proved to be very difficult (see 4 1.3) The Testaments, in many ways, stand by themselves, and apart from that, the fact that they may be characterized as 'farewell discourses' does not

tell anything about their provenance or help to find a more 'original' stage in their composition.

9 2 6 In conclusion, we may say that the coherence and the consistency on the level of the main ideas (see 9 1 2) suggest that the Testaments received (more or less) their present form some time during the second half of the second century in Christian circles We have no means of telling where these circles are to be located The differences in the application of haggadic material in the individual testaments may be the consequence of the variety in the sources or traditions at the author's disposal The great diversity in the handling of the eschatological pattems remains, however, difficult to explain, The S E R and L.J. passages are distributed unevenly· in a number of cases, they are combined, together and with other types of passages, and the distinctively Christian elements appear in different ways in different places. We shall have to allow for the fact that the author did not aim at uniformity and was perfectly happy to admit great variety in the individual testaments The way he used the biographical material and combined it with his exhortation shows that he dealt with themes and issues more or less as they came to him and not according to a preconceived plan In the case of the predictions of the future he followed existing pattems and had many relevant themes and traditions at his disposal which he could adapt and combine in various ways at different occasions There *is* after all, a great diversity in early Christian christology and eschatology, and the author may also here have introduced a great variety on purpose

Of necessity, much of this has to remain conjectural There is always the possibility that especially the christological and eschatological passages were subjected to later additions and revisions in the period between the beginning of the third century and the origin of the archetype of the present tradition, however difficult it is for us to detect them We must, perhaps, also allow for a composition of the Testaments in a certain Christian community as a collective enterprise taking place over a number of years We have spoken of 'the author', but that may well be a simplification. Again, however, it is difficult to see, how we would be able to reconstruct this complicated and lengthy composition process.

A fortiori, it is practically impossible to answer the question whether there ever existed Jewish Testaments in some form If they existed, we shall never be able to reconstruct them with any degree of certainty. In any case, our first and foremost task is to try to interpret the Testaments as they lie before us

-

THE TESTAMENT OF REUBEN CONCERNING THOUGHTS

INTRODUCTION

The structure and theme of this testament are relatively clear and simple. After an introduction 1,1-5 which contains more form elements belonging to the testament genre than the following eleven testaments, the patriarch formulates the central theme. the sons of Reuben should not walk in the ignorance of youth and impurity (1,6) This is followed by a short reference to his sin with Bilhah (Gen 35,22), his punishment and his repentance (1,6–10) - the experiences which form the background of his moral exhortation

All through the testament exhortations and biographical examples alternate After a long excursus in 2,1-3,8 and a short new introduction (3,9) we find exhortation (3,10) followed by the story of Reuben's sin with Bilhah (3,11-15), again exhortation (4,1) and a description of Reuben's repentance (4,2–4), then a warning against impurity (4,5-7) illustrated by the positive example of Joseph's steadfastness in the case of the Egyptian woman (4,8–11). A very straightforward warning against the wiles of women (5,1–4) ending in moral exhortation (5,5) is illustrated with the description of the sins of the women and the Watchers in the time of the Flood (5,6–7). Finally, 6,1–4 give a final exhortation before the (rather complicated) section dealing with the future (6,5-12) and the conclusion of the testament

The main theme of the testament is πορνεία. The warning against πορνεια leads to warnings against women in general (and exhortations directed to them, via their husbands and fathers in 5,5 and 6,2) The excursus 2,1-3,8 is said to be concerned with 'the works of youth' (2,1-2 and 3,8) but consists, in fact, of two lists of 'spirits', the spirits given to man at creation (2,3-3,1) and the evil spirits (3,2-7)

The title of the testament corresponds with the emphasis on διάνοια (see on 3,12) and ἔννοια (4,8 11) as the decision-making centre of human conduct

T REUBEN 1

Translation

1,1 A copy of the testament of Reuben,
the commands which he gave to his sons before' he died
in the hundred and twenty-fifth year of his life

2 When he was ill, two years after the death of Joseph,
his sons and the sons of his sons came together to visit him

3 And he said to them My children,
I am dying and go the way of my fathers
4 And seeing there Judah and Gad and Asher, his brothers, he said to them:
Raise me up, brothers,
that I may tell my brothers and my children
what things I have hidden in my heart,
for now I am on the point of passing away [2]
5 And he arose and kissed them and said weeping
Listen, my brothers, give ear to Reuben, your father,
to all the commands I give you
6 And, see, I admonish you solemnly to-day by the God of heaven
not to walk in the ignorance of youth and impurity,
to which I gave myself up and defiled my father Jacob's bed
7 For I tell you that
he (= God) struck me with a great stroke in[3] my loins for seven months,
and if our father Jacob had not prayed for me to the Lord
(I would have died) because[4] the Lord wanted to kill me
8 For I was thirty years old when I wrought the evil thing before the Lord,
and for seven months I was ill unto death
9 And in the deliberate choice of my soul I repented before the Lord for seven years
10 Wine and strong drink I did not drink
and meat did not enter into my mouth
and I did not taste any[5] pleasant food,
mourning over my sin for it was great
and such a thing shall not happen in Israel

Textcritical notes

πρὶν ἢ (*geafch*) The typical Koine use of this Ionian construction is to be preferred to πρίν (*bij*). For a somewhat similar case, see Mk 14,30

• ἐκλιπών.... εἶμι (*b*). This reading is supported by *ld* (ἐκλείπων . εἶμι) The aor participle ἐκλιπων in *b* certainly is lectio durior (cf. Sophocles, Oedipus Rex 970; Antipho I 21) ἐνέπληξε . ev (*b*) ἐν ταῖς λαγῶσί μου is to be connected with πληγὴν μεγάλην (cf, Acta Phil 40 . . ἔχουσαν πληγὴν μεγάλην ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ αὐτῆς τῶ δεξιῷ), and not with the verb ἐνέπληξε, as seems to have been the opinion of the scribes of all other extant MSS They have changed ἐν into ἐπί, and next ἐνέπληξε into ἔπληξε (or ἐξέπληξε a)

4 cm (*bef*). Omission of ὅτι (*gldmachij*) makes a lectio facilior and is to be regarded as secondary.. The addition would be inexplicable.

5 πᾶν (*bchij*). The grammatically correct' form is πάντα (so *gldmeaf*), which is, therefore to be considered as an obvious correction of πᾶν. For πᾶν followed by the acc. of a masc. subst., see Thackeray, *Grammar* pp 173–5.

Structure

1,1–5 **Introduction, longer than any of the introductions in the other eleven testaments**
Sons (vv 1-3) and brothers (vv **4-5**) are mentioned separately
1,6ab Theme of moral exhortation
1,6c Reuben's sin - short reference to Gen 35,22
1,7 The Lord's punishment; Jacob's intercession
1,8 Reuben's illness
1,9–10 Reuben's repentance

Notes

1,1 **A copy of the testament.** cf T.N 1,1, T.G 1,1, T.A 1,1, T Jos 1 1 **the commands which he gave:** ἐντέλλεσθαι (a typical element belonging to the testament genre see INTRODUCTION 4.1.2) only here at the beginning of a testament, but frequently at the end see e g T.R 7 1; T S 7,3; 8 1 T.L 19 4; T N 9 1 **before he died** cf **T.S 1,1, T L 1,1, T Jud. 1,1, T.D.. 1,1; T N.. 1,1; T.Jos.. 1,1, again a typical genre** element **in the hundred and twenty-fifth year:** all testaments, with the exception of **T.Jos.,** mention the patriarch s age either at the beginning or the end Also T.D. 1 1 has 125 (cf T G 1 1 v l)

1 2 **When he was ill:** cf T S 1,2. Compare also Gen 48 1; T.Job 1,2, 52 1 In T L 1,1; T.N.. **1,2** (and 9 2) T A 1 2 the patriarch s health is mentioned explicitly **two years after the death of Joseph.** reference to **Joseph's** death (at the age of 110 according to **Gen 50,26) also in T S.. 1,1; T.Z 1,1 (also two years); cf T L 12,7 and ArLevi v 82 his sons and the sons of his sons** cf T L 12 6 (the third generation); TJud. 8 3; Tob **particularly 14,3 BA and Jub 7,39. came together: cf. T L 1,2; TJud. 1,2 (cf** T N 1,2). Typical element of this genre. to visit him also in T S. 1,2 ἐπισκέπτεσθαι in connection with sick people also in T.Jos 1 6 Sir 7 35 Mt 25 36.43 Polycarp Phil 6 1 etc.

1,3 **I am dying: cf T.D. 2,1; T N. 1,3 and TJud 26,2; T Z 10,1, T B 10,2 Another** typical element of this genre **ἐγὼ ἀποθνῃσκω** also in Gen 48 21 50 24 **go the way of my fathers** see Jub 36 1 cf. Josh 23,14; **1Kgs** 2,1 2Bar 44,2

1,4 **his brothers:** cf. T.Jos **1,1f** where it is derived from Gen 50,24 The introduction of the brothers enables the author to introduce some more elements found in the beginning of the individual testaments and/or belonging to the testament genre **Raise me up** cf **v. 5, 'he arose'. See ἐνισχύσας ἐκάθισε in T.S 1,2 (cf Gen 48,2). what things I have hidden in my heart:** without **κουπτά** also in T.S 1 2 Cf T L 6 2 **καὶ συνετηρουν τοὺς λόγους τούτους** εν **τῇ καοδία μου** and T.L.. 8 19 **καὶ ἔκρυψα** - εν **τῇ καρδίᾳ μου** (after visions); cf. Gen 37,11 (after a dream) Dan 7 28 Th (vision); Esth 1,1(1) (LXX **dream); Lk** 2 19 (and 1,66; **cf. 1Sam 21,13); cf. TAb A** (and **B) 3, ἔκρυψεν** ὁὲ **Ἀβραὰμ τὸ μυστήριον** (of the speaking tree) The parallels suggest that the patriarch is thought to impart special revealed, knowledge. now **ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν** cf Gen 46,30 (LXX) **ἀποθανοῦμαι ἀπὸ** *roil* νῦν; Tob 11,9 **I am on the point of passing away** cf **Gen 49,33; Tob 14,11.**

1,5 he arose see v. 4 'raise me up' **kissed them** cf. T.S 1,2, T.B 1,2, T D 7 1 Typical genre element.. **Listen ... give ear to.** so-called 'Redeeinleitungsformel (von Nordheim, op. cit. (see INTRODUCTION 1.1.1) p. 93); cf T S. **2,1(; TJud 13,1);** T I **1,1; T.Z.. 1,2; T.D.. 1,2, T.N. 1,5; T A 1,2; T.Jos.. 1,2 In T L. 1,1 and T.Jos 1,2 both ἀκούσατε** and **ἐνωτίσασθε** are used For **ἐνωτίζεσθαι** in a similar context see, e g Gen 4 23 Judg 5 3 Ps 49(48),2, Job **32,10f**, WisSol **6 1f** Sir 33 19 Joel 1 2 Isa 1 2 **to all the commands I give you** see **on v. 1**

1,6 **I admonish you solemnly to-day by the God of heaven** **cf.** 6,9, **δοκῶ ὑμας τον** θεὸν **τοῦ ουρανοῦ;** Jub 36,7 The nearest parallels are found in Deuteronomy (LXX) where **διαμαρτυρεσθαι** is used in a similar way: Deut 31,28, . . **ἵνα** . **διαμαρτύρωμαι αὐτοῖς τόν τε οὐρανὸν καὶ την γῆν** ; 32,46, ". all the words **οὓς ἐγω διαμαρτύρομαι ὑμιν σημερον** ...' 4 26 **διαμαρτυρομαι ὑμῖν σήμερον τόν** TE **οὐρανὸν** καὶ **τὴν γῆν** . (= 8,19 30,19).. Compare in Paul's farewell speech at Milete in Acts 20,26 **διότι μαρτύρομαι ὑμῖν** ἐν **τῇ σημερον ἡμέρᾳ** (then follows a declaration, not an exhortation) **ἐπιμαρτυρεσθαι** is used of Samuel s last words in Sir. 46,19, **ἐπεμαρτύρατο ἔναντι κυρίου** With **acc** of God cf Xenophon Cyropaedia 8 5,25; with dat of person, cf **1Kgs** 2,42 **μαρτυρεσθαι** + **acc** (**God[s]**), cf. Jdt 7 28, ClemHom 2 21 3 Plutarch Camillus 17 (Vitae par 137 A). **not to walk in the ignorance of youth and impurity** gives the theme for the exhortation in this testament - see for 'youth T R 2 2.9; 3,8; on impurity 3,3; **4,6–8.11**; 5,3.5; 6 1.4. **πορνεία** is also of particular importance in T..Jud **(title!)**,. 13 3 (explicit connection with Reuben)· 14,2.3, 15,2; 18,2; **νεότης** in T Jud 1 4 11,1; 13 2 **the ignorance of youth.** this ignorance ('stupidity') leads to sin (cf. 2,9, T.Jud 19 3f) and is therefore, evil. In T.L.. 3,5; T.Z.. 1,5; T..G.. 5 7 the word **ἄγνοια** is used as a near synonym for 'sin'; **cf.**, e.g., Ps **25(24),7** (LXX), **ἁμαρτίας νεότητός μου** καὶ **ἀγνοίας μου μὴ μνησθῇς** (cf Job 13,26 and Ezek 23 21); Sir 23,3 (par. **ἁμαρτίαι**), 28 7·· cf. **ἀγνόημα** in **1Mac** 13 39 and Heb 9,7.. **to which I gave myself up:** for this use of the **pass** of **ἐκχεῖν**, see, e.g., Sir 37,29, 'do not have an insatiable appetite for any luxury and do not give yourself up to food';·**Philo**, Opif.. **mundi** 80; Jude **11** **defiled my father Jacob's bed:** see the terms used in Gen 49 4 The short reference to Reuben s sin is taken up in the broader exposition of **3,11–15**.

1 7 **he struck me with a great stroke.** the usual expression in the LXX is **πατάσσειν πληγὴν μεγάλην** (**Num 11,33**; **1Sam** 6,19·· 2Chr 2 14).. In Philo, Sacrif. 134 we find **πλήττειν πλ. μεγ πληγη μεγάλη** of illness, see also Deut 28 59 2Chr 2,14; also Acta Phil 40 (+ **ἐν**) **in my loins:** see the principle defined in T..G 5,10, For by what things a man transgresses by the same he is also punished (cf. WisSol 11,17); cf. the liver in the case of Gad (T G . 5,9.11·· cf.. T.S.. 2,7 4 1) the hand in the case of Simeon (T S 2 12). For this use of **loins**, see Sir 47,19 **for seven months:** cf.. v 8 eleven months in T..G.. 5,11 seven days in T S 2,12. **if our father Jacob had not prayed** intercession by Jacob also in 4,4; T..Jud.. 19 2· T.G.. 5,9 T Jos 19 2, cf. T B 3 6

1 8 **thirty years** according to Jub 28 11· 32,33, 33,1.21 Reuben was 21, 22 or 23 years old. **I wrought the evil thing before the Lord:** a common expression in the LXX; see, e.g., **1Sam** 5,19; **1Kgs** 12,24; 14,22; 2Ezra 1,37.45; Ps 51(50),6; also with **ἔναντι** (**ἐναντίον**) **κυρίου:** Deut 9 18;· 17,2 etc ;· similar but not identical expressions in T R 3 12 14 6,3; T L 7 3·· T.Jud.. 13 2;· 14,3. **ill unto death** cf Isa 38,1; 39 1

1,9 **in the deliberate choice of my soul:** cf T Jos 17,3 and **Eccl** 2 22 **I repented before the Lord:** cf. 2,1 4,4; and T S 2,13; T Jud 19,2; T G **5,6ff**

1,10 **Wine and strong drink** **any pleasant food** see esp T Jud 15 4 **μετανοησας ἐπι τούτοις οἶνον** καὶ **κρέας οὐκ ἔλαβον ἕως γήρως** Fasting **also** T S. 3,4; **T.Jos. 3,4f.**; 9 2 cf. T.I. 7,3.. A close parallel is found in Dan 10,3 (LXX), **ἄρτον ἐπιθυμιῶν οὐκ ἔφαγον.** καὶ **κρέας και οἶνος οὐκ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς** TO **στόμα μου** Compare also Lev 10,9; Num 6 3 Deut 29,6(5)·· Judg 13 4.7.14 for abstention from wine and strong drinks and 2Sam 3,35; 2Ezra 9,2; Jonah 3,7; JosAsen 10 20; Acta Joh 7 for the use of **συγεύεσθαι** in the context of fasting penitence etc. mourning over **my sin** see **e g** , Dan **10,2f** , 2Ezra 9,2 (see above).. it was great. cf T Jud.. 14,5 T G 6 5 Great sin' in **connection with sexual sin is also used in Gen 20,9; 2Ezra 8,73 83, 1En 6,3; Hermas,** Vis.. 1,8; Mand 4 1,2. **shall not happen in Israel:** cf 2Sam 13 12

T REUBEN 2,1–3,8

Translation

2,1 And now listen to me, children,
what I saw concerning the seven spirits of deceit
when I repented
2 Seven spirits were given by Beliar against man
and they are the head of the works of the behaviour of youth
3 And seven spirits were given to him at creation
that through them should be (done) every work of man
4 The first (is) the spirit of life,
with which (man's) constitution is created
The second (is) the spirit of sight,
with which desire comes
5 The third (is) the spirit of hearing,
with which teaching is given [6]
The fourth (is) the spirit of smell,
with which taste is given, to draw in air and breath
6 The fifth (is) the spirit of speech,
with which knowledge comes
7 The sixth (is) the spirit of taste,
with which the eating of foods and drinks comes,
and through them[7] strength is created,
because in food(s) is the basis of strength
8 The seventh (is) the spirit of procreation and intercourse,
with which through love of pleasure sin comes in [8]
9 Therefore it is the last (in the order) of creation,
and the first (in the order) of youth,
because it is filled with ignorance and that leads the young man
as a blind man to a pit and as a beast to a precipice
3,1 Besides all these there is an eighth spirit of sleep,
with which the ecstasy of (human) nature and the image of
death were created
2 With these spirits is mingled the spirit[9] of deceit.
3 The first, that of impurity,[10] is seated in the nature and the senses
The second, the spirit of insatiate desire, in the belly
4 The third, the spirit of fighting, in the liver and the gall
The fourth (is) the spirit of flattery and trickery,
that through officiousness one may appear gracious
5 The fifth (is) the spirit of arrogance,
that one may boast" and be haughty.
The sixth (is) the spirit of lying in destruction and jealousy,
to speak deceitful words and to conceal one's words[12] from
family and relations
6 The seventh (is) the spirit of unrighteousness,
with which theft and acts of rapacity come,

that one may cause love of pleasure in one's heart
For unrighteousness works together with the other spirits
through the receiving of bribes

7 Besides all these, the spirit of sleep, the eighth spirit,
is connected with deceit and fantasy.[13]

8 And so every young man perishes,
darkening his mind from the truth
and not understanding the law of God
nor obeying the admonitions of his fathers,
as I also suffered in my youth

Textcritical notes

6 **δίδοται** (*ldmef*).The variant **γινεται** *(bkachij)* has very probably been introduced under influence of the context (see vv 4b **6f.**).

ἐν αὐτοῖς (*bl*) The reading ev **αυτω** (*meafchij*,cf.. ev **αὐτῇ** *d)* as referring to **πνεῦμα γευσεως** (or to **γευσις** in *d)* has been introduced because of the repeated use of the sing in the context

8 **συνεισέρχεται** *(bk)* The variant **συνέρχεται** (*ldmaf*, cf **συνέρχονται** *chij*) seems to be secondary; perhaps haplography has taken place For **συνεισέρχεται**, cf also T Jud. 16 2 **παρεισέρχεται**

9 **τὸ πνεῦμα** (*bkdm*). The variant **τὰ πνευματα** (*leafchij*)certainly is lectio facilior

10 **τὸ τῆς πορνείας** *(bk)* **πνεῦμα** has been added in all other extant MSS as an explanatory addition to **τό** (cf. also **τὰ πνευματα** in many MSS in the previous verse).

11 **καυχᾶται** (*ldmeafchij*)The variant **κινῆται** *(bk)* does not seem to be intelligible

12 **καὶ κρύπτειν λόγους αὐτοῦ** (*eafhij*;cf *ldm*) *b (cf k* and c) has omitted the words **και κρυπτειν λόγους** through hmt

13 **συναπτεται πλάνῃ καὶ φαντασιᾳ** *(b)* Due to a different opinion about the construction of the verb **συναπτεται** the other MSS have introduced the nom **πλάνη καὶ φαντασια** (or the genit., *dm)* as an explanation of the eighth spirit or as a kind of apposition to the spirit of sleep

Structure

2 1-2 Introduce seven spirits of deceit, seen by Reuben when he repented (1,9-10). The connection with the preceding verses is rather formal and so is the connection with the works of youth in 2b linking the spirits with the first element of the main theme of exhortation in **1,6b**

2,3–9 Give first a list of seven spirits given at creation and human activities connected with them

2,8b–9 Connect the seventh spirit, that of procreation and intercourse with the ignorance of youth (1 6) - calling it the last of creation and the first of youth Although 2 9 provides an ending for the first list and a transition to the second list of spirits announced in 2 1-2

3,1 adds a reference to an eighth spirit, that of sleep

3,2 Connects the second list with the first via the expression **συμμιγνυται** The connection remains, however, external. The only link between the two lists is **πορνεία** mentioned as first item in the second list and clearly referred to in 2,8

3,3–6 Enumerate the seven spirits the first of which is **πορνεια** - see 1 6 second **element**, and **2,8b–9** In connection with the seventh spirit in this list **φιληδονία** is mentioned again (cf 2 8)

3 7 Adds, again, the spirit of sleep as the eighth spirit thereby providing another (external) link between the two lists

3,8 Gives the conclusion: so a young man perishes as I experienced in my youth

Notes •

2 1-2 For special insight during repentance see also T G.. 5,8.. For **the ... spirits of deceit** and the **spirits ... given by Beliar,** see also T.S. 2 7; 3 1· 6 6, T.L 3 3· 18 12 T Jud 25,3; T.I.. 4,4; 7,7; T.Z.. 9,7.9; T.D. 1 7; 6,1; T.A 6,2; T B 3,3. See also on 3 1 The number **seven** does not recur **the head: κεφαλη** as **'chief',** leader The usual meaning of **νεωτερισμός** is 'innovation 'revolutionary movement' (see LSCJ s.v..) Here **the connection** with youth **is obvious Lampe,** s v **νεωτερίζω** mentions **sub 4** 'to play **the** youth behave with youthful folly

2,3 seven spirits were given to him at creation were given is passivum divinum; for creation see vv.. 4, 9 and 3,1.. This list goes back (probably indirectly) to the Stoic division of the soul into eight parts viz the five senses and **τὸ σπερματικόν, τὸ φωνητικόν,** TO **ἡγεμονικόν-** see Von **Arnim, *S V F*.**. I no 143· II nos.. **823–833,** 836 879 (note, in particular, the many references to **Philo** listed at no 833) These parts or

functions of the soul are sometimes called **πνεύματα** and are then pictured as immaterial currents between the **ἡγεμονικόν** and the parts of the body with which they are connected (see Jamblichus de anima apud Stobaeum **ecl** I p 368,6 (Von Arnim no 826) and Aëtius **Plac.** IV 21 (Von Arnim no 836).. In **2,3–8** we find **τὸ ἡγεμονικόν** as **πνεῦμα ζωης,** four senses **(ἁφή** is omitted) and the voice, and the power of procreation.. **These** are connected with certain attitudes and activities of man **every work of him** corresponds with **. των ἔργων τοῦ νεωτερισμοῦ** in v 2

2,4 the spirit of life see Gen 2 7 (LXX), **πνοην ζωῆς** (cf **πνευμα ζωῆς** in Gen 6,17; 7,15; cf. Ezek 37,5).. Philo, Leg.. all.. **III** 161 quotes Gen 2 7 with **πνεῦμα ζωῆς** connecting it with **ψυχη** See also his commentary on this verse in Leg all I **31-42,** esp. **39-40,** As the face is the dominant element in the body, so is the mind the dominant element of the soul **(ψυχης ἡγεμονικόν ἐστιν ὁ νοῦς):** into this only does God breathe **(ἐμπνεῖ ὁ θεός),** whereas he does not see fit to do so with the other parts whether senses or organs of utterance and of reproduction for these are secondary in capacity By what then were these also inspired? By the mind evidently.. For the mind imparts to the portion of the soul that is devoid of reason a share of that which it has received from God ... (for the portion of the soul that is devoid of reason cf.. Leg.. all.. I 11) **with which (man's) constitution is created:** cf. Seneca Epistulae 121,14, hominis **autem** constitutionem rationalem **esse;** Diogenes Laertius VII **85f., ... παντὶ ζῴῳ την αὑτοῦ σύστασιν.** Cicero, De finibus III 5 (§ 16) uses the word 'status';' cf.. Tertullian s definition of the ΠΥΕΥΟΝΙΚΌΝ in De anima 15,1 id est principale, **quia** si negetur totus animae status periclitatur. **with which desire comes:** not necessarily negative, cf Philo **Quod** deus 15 but in the Testaments 'desire' connected with the eyes is valued negatively, see T.R.. 5 3 T Jud 13,6·· 14 1·· T I 7 2· T B 6 3·· 8 2 cf Prov 6 25 LXX PssSol **4,4f ,** Mt 5 28 Un 2 16 etc

2,5 with which teaching is given for the connection between hearing and teaching see Philo Conf 72 **διδασκαλίαν την δι' ἀκοῆς;** cf Sacrif. 7 Conf. 59 Migr.Abr. **38f.,** Congr 69 etc., (and also Rom **10,14–17).** **with which taste is given. γεῦσις** returns in v 7 For the idea of **ὄσφρησις** as 'fore-taster , see Plutarch, Bruta animalia ratione uti 7 (Mor 990 A), 'our sense of smell, even before we taste, is a judge';' cf Philo Mut nom.. 164 **to draw in air and breath** cf WisSol 15 15 2 2 and Aristotle De spiritu 482a 15, Philo Spec.. leg.. I 338.

2,6 the spirit of speech: corresponds to **φωνή, τὸ φωνητήριον, ὄργανον φωνητικον, λόγος** in lists of Stoic philosophers (and Philo)

2,7 **with which the eating of foods and drinks comes:** cf Plutarch, De tuenda sanitate praecepta 26 (Mor 136 F) βρωμάτων δὲ καὶ πωμάτων ... τὴν γεῦσιν, cf. Philo, Abr 148; Agric., 36; **Somn.** II 215 **strength:** in connection with eating cf. Xenophon Memorabilia 1 6,5; Philo Leg all. I 98; Somn II 9

2,8 **the spirit of procreation and intercourse.** σποροα is the equivalent of σπερματικόν γεννητικόν, σπέρμα, γόνιμον in Stoic lists For **procreation** and **intercourse**, see e.g., Plutarch De liberis educandis 3 (Mor. 1 D) τον συνουσιασμόν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς σποράς **Procreation** is a hapaxlegomenon in the Testaments; for συνουσία, see, **however**, T R 5,6; T.L 2,1-3; T N 8,8; **T Jos**, 8,2 **It is mentioned here because of its possible connection** with φιληδονία **and** πορνεία. **For** φιληδονία, **see on** T.L. 2,1-3. **In** view of the vocabulary used in 2 8 we may mention in particular **Philo**, Spec. leg. **III 113**, speaking about φιλήδονοι who do not have intercourse with their wives σπορας evExa τεκνων **but** pursue την e| ὁμιλίας ἀπόλαυσιν **sin comes in: see** 1 10 **and cf** the use of παρεισέρχεται in T.Jud 16,2.

2,8b-9 Connect the list of spirits given at creation with **1,6-10** and make a transition to the list of evil spirits which dominate the life of young people. For **ignorance**, see on 1,6, note the parallel with T.Jud. 19 4 in particular, ἐτύφλωσε γάρ με ὁ ἄρχων τῆς πλανης, καὶ ἠγνόησα ὡς ἄνθρωπος. **as a blind man to a pit and as a beast to a precipice: cf** 3 8; 4,6; and T.Jos **7,3-5**; Philo Somn. II **160f.**, he who gives way to the intoxication which is of folly ... lies prostrate and sprawling like sleepers **with** the eyes of his soul closed, unable to see or hear ... he finds no road but a pathless tract where neither eye nor hand can guide him (τυφλην καὶ ἀχειραγώγητον). He is pierced by brambles and **thornbushes and sometimes rolls over precipices** (κατὰ κρημνῶν)...'; Migr Abr **38**, Somn II 192, Abr. 84 Epictetus III 22,26.

3,1 **an eighth spirit of sleep**: comes rather unexpectedly here and in v 7 **the ecstasy of (human) nature** ἔκστασις is used in Gen 2,21 (LXX), καὶ ἐπέβαλεν ο ftsóc ἔκστασιν ἐπὶ TOV 'Αδάμ, καὶ ὕπνωσεν (cf. Gen 15 12), and in Philo's commentary on this passage in Leg all. II **31**, ἡ γὰρ ἔκστασις καὶ τροπὴ τοῦ νοῦ ὕπνος ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ; **Quis** hères 257 ἔκστασιν τὴν ἡσυχίαν καὶ ἠρεμίαν του νου. Contrary to Philo who concentrates on the νοῦς the Testaments speak about a deep sleep of (human) nature (cf PJ 5 8 14.16 **30**). **This is connected with sleep as the image of death; cf. Tertullian, De amma 42,3**, 50,1 de speculo mortis id est de **somno**; 58,3; and 43,10 imaginem mortis. Cf the many references to Greek and Latin authors in **Waszink's** edition (Amsterdam 1947), p. 460, and H Balz *ThWNT* VIII pp. **547f.**, "**Schlaf** und Tod". In the other two instances in the Testaments where ἔκστασις is used (T.S 4 8 and T.L 19 1) the word has a negative connotation: commotion confusion

3,2 **the spirit of deceit:** singular, although we would expect a plural after 2 2 and before 3 3-7. For a similar singular evil spirit par excellence see T Jud. 14,8, 20 1 T.A. 6,2; **T.Jos.** 7,4; **T B.** 3,4. **For the idea expressed in this verse one may compare Philo, Quaest** in Gen. I 75, '**And** these seven parts (= the eight parts of the soul minus the rational part, i.e. the five senses the organ of speech and the organ of reproduction) are **the causes of wickedness**'; **Quod deî. pot. 99ff.**, 'every one of the senses is an avenue for the entrance of harm'; Agric. **34ff.**; Quis **heres** 302; cf Plutarch Quaestiones convivales VII 5,3 (Mor. 705 D)

3,3-7 These seven spirits are only superficially connected with those in the first list. Next we observe that the list is not consistent: in connection with the first three spirits the location in the body **is** mentioned, but in the case of the other four their activities and consequences are summed up. Finally the sins mentioned in this list are not all those which are most prominent in the Testaments (πορνεία in T R **φθόνος** in **T S**, **φιλαργυρία in T.Jud.**; **θυμὸς** xat **ψεῦδος in** T.D.; **and μῖσος in T.G.**). **Probably, the** author took over an existing list. On sevenfold Lasterkataloge see E. **Kamlah**, *Die*

Form der Katalogischen Paranese, Tübingen 1964 pp. 110ff., 121f., 175 We should note that Athanasius, Ep.. Cast.. II (MPG 28 872ff) περὶ τῶν ὀκτὼ της κακίας λογισμῶν enumerates γαστριμαργία (gluttony) πορνεία, φιλαργυρία, ὀργή, λυπη, ἀκηδία, κενοδοξία, ὑπερηφανία which are, later on, also referred to as Τὸ πνεῦματῆς πορνείας, κτλ

3,3 **impurity** is mentioned first; cf **1,6** and 2 9 For the connection with the senses see note on v. 2 and cf. 2,4. In 3,12; 5,3.6 opp.. 6,1.2 ποονεια is especially connected with διάνοια **insatiate desire:** ἀπληστία is the opposite of ἀπλότης in T.I. 4 5· 6 1 The obvious connection with the belly is also found in **Philo**, Ebr. 22 Spec. leg. I 150 etc

3,4 **the spirit of fighting:** cf. T B. 6,4 (and T Jud 16,3).. **the liver and the gall.** cf T N 2 8 which connects the liver with θυμός and the gall with πικρία. **the spirit of flattery and trickery:** ἀρεσκεια nor μαγγανεία occurs elsewhere in the Testaments Both terms are used in connection with the wiles of women . for ἀρεσκεία, see, e.g.., Prov **31,30**, ConstApp I 8.13 and for μαγγανεία, cf.. e.g. Philo Sacrif.. 26 (the seduction by the ηδονή dressed as πορνή takes place διά .. τῶν . μαγγανειων); Plutarch, Antonius 25,6 (Vitae par 927 A) (on Cleopatra) **through officiousness:** cf. T.Jos.. 6,2 (with γοητεια as in Philo Opif.. mundi 164f.; Plutarch Quaestiones convivales VI 7,2 [Mor. 693 C]) The verb περιεργάζεσθαι in malam partem in T R 3 10 (in connection with women) **appear gracious·** cf T Jos 9 5 πανυ . ὡραία, μάλιστα κοσμουμένη πρὸς ἀπάτησιν μου

3,5 **the spirit of arrogance, that one may boast and be haughty** for ὑπερηφανία, see T.Jud. 13,2 (with καυχᾶσθαι; cf Ps 74(73) **3f.**; 94(93) **2f.**. etc.); 18,3; T D 5,6; T.G. 3,3. **Arrogance,** to **boast** and μεγαλοφρονεῖν belong to one Wortfeld; cf. K Berger *Exegese des Neuen Testaments.*, Heidelberg 1977 .pp.. 144ff **the spirit of lying in destruction and jealousy:** for **lying,** see T.D. For **jealousy,** see 6,4 and T.S. 2,7 4 5.9.. Cf.. T D 1 3 followed by 1,6 for combination of lying and jealousy. For a similar use of ἀπωλεια (in connection with ὑπερηφανία, cf the first half of this verse) see Tob **4,13**, ἐν τῇ ὑπερηφανίᾳ ἀπωλεια καὶ ἀκαταστασία πολλή; WisSol **5,7f** , ἀνομίας ἐνεπλήσθημεν τρίβοις καὶ ἀπωλείας . TL ὠφέλησεν ἡμᾶς ἡ ὑπερηφανια. Compare also the use of ὄλεθρος in 4,6 (par. 4,7.) **to speak deceitful words** πλάττειν has here the meaning to **invent,** fabricate' (LSeJ s v V); cf Philo, Aetern. mundi 142; 2Pet 2,3; Plutarch Septem sapientium convivium 7 (Mor 151 F), etc **to conceal one's words from** cf e.g., **1Sam** 3 17 (LXX), τὸ ῥημα . . μὴ δὴ κρύψῃς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ . . ἐὰν κρύψῃς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ῥῆμα ἐκ παντων τῶν λόγων

3,6 **unrighteousness:** a rather general term in this list; cf T L. 2,3, 4,2, 17,5, T.D 6,10 **theft and acts of rapacity** these terms do not receive any attention in the Testaments κλοπη is a regular feature in lists of vices see e g Sir 41,19; Philo Conf 117; Mt 15 19; Mk 7,21; Did 3 5 5 1 **love of pleasure** cf 2,8; but here connected with riches and possessions,, cf T.B.. 6,2 and Plutarch An seni respublica gerenda sit 18 (Mor. 793 E) De Stoicorum repugnantiis .34 (Mor. 1050 D); Philo Quod omnis 21, Spec.. leg I 281 Justin Dial 82 4; Clement of Alexandria, Str. VII 12 (75.3). **works together with:** cf T D 1,7; T.G 4 7 and Plutarch Quaestiones convivales IV 1 3 (Mor 662 B); De virtute morali 10 (Mor.. 449 D)· Clement of Alexandria, Paid **III** 2 (6,1) **the receiving of bribes.** usually mentioned in connection with perversion of justice, see Ex 23,8· Deut 16 19; Ps 15 5· Prov 15,27; **17,23**, etc. For the word δωροληψία, see Dio Cassius XXXIX 55 3 and ConstApp II 9,2; 17.1

3,7 Again **the spirit of sleep,** cf 3 1 this time particularly connected with **deceit and fantasy. For fantasy,** see 5 7 and T.S. **4,8f.** (with a negative evaluation of ἔκστασις in v 8 and φαντάζειν in v. 9) φαντασία is a Stoic technical term (see Von **Arnim**, 5. *V.F* II nos.. 52–70), primarily used for the impression in the soul caused by what is transmitted through the senses. The term is in itself neutral; only when one emphasizes

the deceptiveness of the senses one **will value** the φαντασίαι negatively So e g., **Philo,** Opif. **mundi 165-166** where ἡδονή is pictured as operating through *αι* αἰσθήσεις and finally subduing ὁ ἡγεμων νοῦς This may be compared to T S **4,8f** and may explain the connection with πλάνη in our verse On **sleep** in this respect, see T R 3 12 T.S. **4,8f., T Jud 18,4, and also Plato, Respublica** IX 571 C-572 A; **Plutarch, Quomodo** adolescens poetas audire debeat 1 (Mor 15 B) De virtute et vitio 2 (Mor **100 F–101** B)· De tuenda sanitate praecepta 14 (Mor 129 B) etc; Philo **Somn.** II 147

3 8 **so every young man perishes:** redactional remark cf. 2,2.9 and 4,6f. **darkening his mind:** cf T L 14,4, T G 6,2, **and the use of** τυφλοῦν **in T S 2,7, T.Jud 11,1** (τὸ διαβουλιον τῆς νεότητος), 18,3.6 19 4 T D 2,(2.)4 T G 3,3, cf T.L 13,7 T Jos 7 5 **from the truth** cf v 9 and 6 9 Truth is mentioned parallel with **the law of God,** compare T.Jud 24 3 T G **3,1, T A.** 5 4 **6,1;** T B. 10,3 **understanding:** συνιεναι ev **is a hebraizing construction found several times in the LXX, see Josh 1,7; 1Sam 18,5.14;** Ps **101(100),2,** etc **the admonitions of his fathers** see T.Jud 13,1· T.Z. 10,2 and T.G. 8 3; cf. T.Jud. 1,4, T.Jos. 3 3. The admonitions of the fathers interpret the law of God and apply it to the particular situation **as I also suffered in my youth:** forms the link with the biographical sections that follow see **4,1,** T S 4 3 T G **5,11**

T REUBEN 3,9–4,11

Translation

3,9 And now, children, love the truth and it will guard you
I teach you, listen to Reuben your father
10 Pay no heed to the face[14] of a woman,
nor be alone with another man's wife,
nor meddle with the affair(s) of women
11 For if I had not seen Bilhah bathing in a sheltered place,
I would not have fallen[15] into the great iniquity.
12 For my mind, comprehending the female nakedness,
did not allow me to sleep until I had done the abominable thing
13 For while Jacob our father was absent (having gone) to Isaac his father
and we were in Gader, near to Ephratah, house of[16] Bethlehem,
Bilhah lay uncovered[17] in her chamber, drunk and sleeping
14 And I, having entered and seen her nakedness, I did the impiety,
and leaving her sleeping I went out
15 And immediately an angel of God revealed to my father Jacob concerning my impiety,
and when he came he mourned over me, and he touched her no more

4,1 Pay no heed, therefore, to the beauty of women
and do not set your mind on their affairs
But walk in singleness of heart,
in the fear of the Lord,
and labouring in works
as well as wandering about in literature and with your flocks,

until the Lord will give you a wife, whom he wants,
that you will not suffer as I did
2 Until[18] my father's death
I had no boldness to look Jacob in his face
or to speak to any of my brothers
because of the reproach
3 Even until now my conscience presses me hard on account of my sin
4 And yet my father comforted me,
because he prayed for me to the Lord,
that the anger of the Lord might pass from me,
as the Lord showed me
From then, repenting,[19] I have been on my guard and I did not sin
5 Therefore, my children, observe[20] all the commands which I give to you,
and you will not sin.[21]
6 For impurity is a destruction to the soul,
separating it from God and bringing it near to the idols,
because it deceives the mind and the understanding,
and leads down young men to the underworld before their time
7 For impurity has destroyed many people:
because though a man be old or noble,
it makes him an object of reproach and laughter with Beliar and the sons of men
8 For because Joseph guarded himself from every woman,
and purged his thoughts from all impurity,
he found favour in the sight of the Lord and men
9 For the Egyptian woman did many things to him
and summoned magicians and offered him love potions.
But the disposition of his soul did not admit an evil desire
10 Therefore the God of my fathers delivered him from all visible and invisible death
11 For if impurity does not overcome the mind,[22]
also Beliar will not overcome you

Textcritical notes

[14] ἐν ὄψει *(b)* The variant εις ὄψιν *(gldmeafn)* is a grammatical correction.

[17] ἐνέπιπτον External evidence supports this reading (found in *bgla*) over against the variant ἔπιπτον *(dmefnchij)*. The addition ἂν *(dmfnchij)* is a stylistic correction.

[16] οἴκου *(b)*. The variants και *(ldme)* and ev *(afnchij)* instead of οἴκου have been introduced in order to remove the difficulty presented by the use of οἴκου and to give a smoother text, cf Gen 35,19 (LXX) Ἐφραθά (αὕτη ἐστὶν Βηθλέεμ). For the reading of *b* cf Micah 5 1 (LXX), Βηθλέεμ οἶκος τοῦ Ἐφραθα

[17] ἀκάλυφος *(b)* This rather rare word certainly is lectio difficilior in comparison with ἀκάλυπτος

[18] ἀχρι *(b)* The addition of ὅτι before ἄχρι *(gldmeafnchij)* is an attempt to get a smoother coonection between w.. 1 and 2

[19] **μετανοων** (*gld*, cf A). The several variants may be regarded as attempts to remove the element of repentance which seems to be out of place here but fits very well in the whole context of the testament (cf., e.g., 1,9; 2,1) Moreover, readings like **οὖν** *(b)* or **ἕως ἐννοιῶν** (*eafn*)may hardly have given rise to so many different variants

[20] **φυλάξασθε** *(b)* The use of the middle voice in such cases was very probably considered as somewhat vulgar. That may be the reason why it has been changed into the act (**φυλάξατε** *gldmeafnchij*).Cf the change of **ἐφυλαξάμην** in Mk 10,20 into **ἐφύλαξα** in Mt 19,20; Lk 18,21. See also T.L. 10,1.

[21] **ἁμαρτήσητε** *(b)*. The use of the sigmatic aor (cf T Jud. 20,5, T.I 6,3, T G. 4,6, 6,4) is to be preferred to the asigmatic form (**ἁμάρτητε**, all other extant MSS) which is more regular in Attic Greek and therefore more popular among copyists

[21] **την ἔννοιαν** *(b)* The addition of **ὑμων** (*lefn(c)hij*)seems to be secondary also in *a* it is lacking

Structure

3 9-10 Form a new introduction after the long excursus (v.. 9), followed by a threefold exhortation to avoid certain forms of contact with women, parallelled in **4,1ab**

3 11-15 Give the story of Reuben's sin with Bilhah as negative example
- vv 11-12 the previous history
- vv 13-14 the actual event (cf Gen 35 22)
- v 15 Jacob s reaction

4 1 New exhortation negative (v lab see 3 10) and positive (v **1cdefg**) Transition to vv **2–4** in v **1h**

4,2–4 Reuben's shame and subsequent behaviour (vv 2-3 4e cf 1 9-10) and Jacob s intercession (v 4a-d, cf., 1,7).. Positive example

4,5–7 Exhortation (v. 5) description of the dangers of **ποονεια** leading to death (vv **6–7**)

4,8–10 Joseph's positive example.. He was protected by the God of his fathers

4 11 Conclusion: if **ποονεία** does not get hold of you nor will Beliar. Note the use of **ἔννοια** in vv 8 and 11 (and in the title of the testament)

Notes

3,9 **love the truth** compare on 3 8 for **ἀληθεια. ἀγαπᾶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν** also in T.D 2,1, 6 8 (plus **μακροθυμίαν**) and Zech 8 19 Hermas Mand. 3,1. **and it will guard you:** cf Prov 2 11 (LXX), **βουλὴ καλὴ φυλάξει** OE ; 13,6, **δικαιοσύνη φυλάσσει ἀκάκους** **I teach you:** in the 'testament' context also in T.B. 10,4; but see T L 9,7.12; 13,2.9; 14 4 6 and compare Deut 4,1 Prov 4 11 22 21 **listen to Reuben your father** cf 1 5 2 1

3,10 **Pay no heed to the face of a woman** cf **4,1a** More explicit 5,5 speaking about the adornment of heads and faces of women See also, e.g., Plutarch, Amatorius 23 (Mor 769 C), 'just so nature has endowed women with a charming face (**χάριν ὄψεως**), a persuasive voice a seductive physical beauty and has thus given the dissolute (**ἀκολάστῳ**) woman great advantages for the beguilement of pleasure (**πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ ἀπάτην**) .'; **Philo**, Abr. 94; Vita Mosis I 296; Justin **Apol** II 11,4; Clement of Alexandria, Paid. **III** 11 (70,4), etc. **nor be alone with another man's wife** cf. 6,2 (**συνδυάζειν**). See also the description of a chaste wife in ClemHom 13,18,5, 'she never assuredly remains alone with young men (**σὺν νέοις οὐκ ἰδιάζει**) and she suspects the old', and Sir 9,9, **μετὰ ὑπάνδροου γυναικὸς μὴ κάθου το σύνολον** (cf. Prov 6,24,29, Sir 41 23). For the use of **θῆλυς** in such a context see T.R 6,1; T.I., 4 4 and also Rom **1,26f** , Epictetus I 6 9 **nor meddle with the affair(s) of women** cf **4,1b** and

T.L. 5,1 where **μὴ περιεργαζομενοι . τοῦ πλησίου τὰς πράξεις** is a characteristic of the **ἁπλοῖ**.

3 11-15 See the short notice in Gen 35,22 (in the context of vv. **16–22,27**), and the story in Jub **33,1–9a** which shares a number of parallels Some details in the story differ, and it has been used differently: T.R. uses it to warn against impurity and to emphasize the value of obedience to God's commandments. Jub connects it with the law which forbids intercourse with one s father s wife **(33,9b–20)**

3,11 in a sheltered place see Jub 33,2 Cf ClemHom 14 1 1 about baptism in a sheltered place **(σκεπινός par. ἀκατάσκοπος)**, 14,2,2. Bilhah behaves modestly Reuben **does not** The literary motif is universal, see David and **Bathsheba**, the elders and Susannah Hermas and Rhode (Hermas Vis. 1,1-2. **I would not have fallen into the great iniquity** for this use of **ἐμπιπτειν**, cf. **T.Jud. 19,1, T D 5,2**; and **ITim 6,9**; Hermas, Mand 12 1,2, Epictetus I **23,3 ἡ ἀνομία η μεγάλη**· cf on **1,10**, for **ἀνομία**, see **T L 2,3, T Z. 1,9; T.D 3,2; 6,6, T N. 4,1, T G 4,1**

3,12 mind διάνοια is used frequently in the Testaments, see T R 4,6, 5,3.6.7, 6,1.2 T.S. 3,2.5; 4,8; T.D. 2,4; T.G. 6 1 T.Jos 10,4; and particularly T.B. **tit.**; 3,2; 4 1 5 1.3 6,5.7 7,2; 8 2 discussing the qualities of the good mind. The word denotes the centre of the soul in the same way as Stoic philosophers use **διάνοια** for the **ἡγεμονικόν** On the notion of **comprehending**, cf Justin, Dial. 4,2, Clement of Alexandria Str. IV .18(116,1) Plato, Laches 194 B etc The intermediaries in this process are the senses see T.R. 5,3(; T.D. 2 4) and note on 3 7 See also on this verse for the role played by sleep **nakedness:** cf. T.Jos. 9 5 **the abominable thing:** cf. (T L **6,3;**) T.Jud 12,8 and also Lev 18 22 27 20 13 JosAsen 8 7 here parallel with '**the** great iniquity' in v 11 (cf. 1 10)

3,13 Jacob our father to Isaac his father also in Jub 33 1 on the basis of Gen 35,27 **in Gader, near to Ephratah, house of Bethlehem:** cf Gen 35 16.19 LXX Jub 32,34, 33,1 (going back to Hebr **Migdal-Eder** in Gen 35,21) See also **Micah 5,1 uncovered in her chamber, drunk and sleeping:** see Jub 33,3. The element of drunkenness is peculiar to the Testaments (cf. T.Jud 12-14); it explains why Reuben could do what he did so easily, and was not recognized. **uncovered:** in Jub **33,(4)7(8 9)** Reuben uncovered her skirt. Here the parallel with v 11 is stressed (see v 14)

3,14 In Jub 33,4 Bilhah discovers Reuben **the impiety:** cf v 15 **ἀσέβεια** used of sexual immorality also in T L 14 6 Ezek 16 43 22 11 23 27 29 35 **Philo**, Vita **Mosis** I 301 etc

3,15 an angel of God revealed to my father Jacob. necessary because Bilhah has not recognized Reuben In Gen 35 22 only "**and** Israel heard of it". Cf T I 2 1 T.Jos. 6,6. **he mourned:** in Jub 33 8 Jacob is very angry (a reminder of the rules forbidding intercourse with one s father s wife follows); here he prays for his son (1,7 4 4). Gen 35,22 LXX (in addition) **και πονηρὸν ἐφάνη ἐναντίον αυτου he touched her no more:** cf Jub 33,9.

4,1ab Compare **3,10ac. Pay no heed to the beauty of women** see T Jud 12,3; 13,5; 17,1; T.I. 4,4; and, e.g. Prov 6,25; Sir 9,8; 25 21; PssSol 16,8; Hermas Sim. 9,13,9. **do not set your mind on their affairs:** cf T L **3,5, καὶ οὐκ ἐνενόουν ἡδονὴν γυναικός walk in singleness of heart** the theme of **T I.**, Issachar is the hard working farmer who took himself a wife when he was thirty (T I. 3 5 3). See also here **labouring in works and wandering about with your flocks** The **ἐν γράμμασι** is difficult. It will mean books (see e.g., Xenophon Memorabilia 4 2,1; Philo, Sacrif. 79; Josephus, Contr. Ap **1,12**), but the context shows that particularly 'holy books' are envisaged (cf. Josephus Ant 5 61) **the Lord will give you a wife** cf Prov 19 14 Sir 26 3 14 **that you will not suffer as I did** cf 3 8

4 2 **I had no boldness to look Jacob in his face.** '**boldness**' is the attitude of one who dares to face a judge because he has done nothing wrong: **cf** , e.g., Un **3,21f.**, ἐὰν **ἡ καρδία ἡμῶν μὴ καταγινωσκῇ, παρρησιαν ἔχομεν πρὸς** TÔV **θεον** This boldness Reuben did not possess, see v.. 3; cf.. T.Jud.. 20 5 (see below) **because of the reproach** belongs to the preceding clause **(chiasm)**; see v 7; 6,3, T Jud. 13 3 (cf.. Prov 6,32, Sir 23,26, etc.).

4,3 **Even until now my conscience presses me hard on account of my sin** see WisSol 17,10 'For wickedness is a cowardly thing, condemned by its own testimony; distressed by conscience **(συνεχομένη τῇ συνειδήσει)**, it has always exaggerated the difficulties'; cf T.Jud.. 20,5, (after the witness of the spirit of truth) ..... **ἐμπεπύρισται** ὁ **ἁμαρτήσας ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας καρδιας**, xat **ἀραι πρόσωπον οὐ δύναται πρὸς** TOV **κριτην**, and **T.G.** 5,3 **οὐχ ὑπὸ ἄλλου καταγινωσκόμενος, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας καρδίας, κτλ** On conscience and **παρρησία**, see Josephus, Ant.. **2,131, οὐδὲν** .. **αὐτοῖς συνειδότες ἦγον παρρησίαν**, and Ant. 2 52 (in the context of pure sexual behaviour) **πολλὴν την ἀπὸ του συνειδότος** xai **πρὸς τὸν** fteôv **παρρησίαν** xaï **πρὸς ἀνθρώπους**; Philo Quis heres 6f For the use of **συνέχειν**, see also T.Jud.. 18 4 T Jos . 7,2;; 10,4.

4,4 On Jacob's intercession, see 1 7 **that the anger of the Lord might pass from me** cf Isa 26 20 **as the Lord showed me:** cf. 5,3 (;2,1), and T L 9 6; T.Jud. 15,5; and Ezek 11,25 (LXX), **πάντας τοὺς λόγους τοῦ κυρίου, οὓς ἔδειξέν μοι**; cf. Gen 41,39; 2Kgs 8 10..13 etc

4,5 General exhortation cf 1,1.5

4,6 **For impurity is a destruction to the soul** cf. 3 8 4,7a, and on 3,5. Destruction by impurity ·also in Prov .5,23 6 32 7,26, Sir **9,(6.)9** **ὀλεθρος** and **ὀλεθρευεσθαι** are used in connection with those who do not reverence God but honour idols (see 4 6b) in e g Prov 1,26; 21 7 Sir 39,30; and esp.. Ex 22 20(19) LXX Whoever sacrifices to any God but the Lord ... ftavotq) **ὀλεθρευθήσεται**. ClemHom **11,12,4** uses the expression **ψυχῆς ὄλεθρον ὀφείλοντες** of those who worship idols **separating it from God and bringing it near to the idols**· see T S 5,3, **η ποονεία** ..... **χωρίζουσα θεοῦ** xai **προσεγγίζουσα τῳ Βελιάρ** (cf. T.Jos 6,5; and also T.Jud 19,1; T.Jos.. 4,5).. Usually God is object of **(προσ-)ἐγγίζειν: see T D.** 6,2, and, e g , Ps 148,14; Isa 29,13; Hos 12 7,· Zeph 3 2 Jdt 8 27· and esp.. Jas **4,7f** , **ἀντίστητε** ... **τῳ διαβόλῳ** **εγγίσατε τῳ θεῷ** ...., cf **also** T.Jud.. 21 5 (see note).. On the traditional connection between impurity and idolatry see on T.N.· **3,3ff.**; cf.. T.B.. 10,10, **διὰ τῆς πορνείας** xat **εἰδωλολατρείας**. **it deceives the mind and the understanding:** for **διάνοια**, see on 3,12. For **πλανᾶν** in this context, see 5,3; T Jud 17,1; T Jos 3,9; cf T.B.. 6,3; and e.g.., Sir 9 8; Prov 7 21 25 **LXX** v.. **1** **leads down young men to the underworld**· see 2 9 and cf Prov 5 5· 7 27 **before their time:** see T.Jud 16,3 and **Eccl** 7,17 LXX

4,7 **For impurity has destroyed many people** cf. v 6a **πολλοὺς γὰρ ἀπώλεσεν** also in Sir 8,2; 28,13; **(29,17;)** 30,23; 31,25,. in the first three cases followed by a reference to a certain category of people; here the **old** and **noble** are mentioned (cf.. T Jud **15,5–6)** **an object of reproach and laughter** **see on v 2 and 6,3** **For the opposite, see v. 8c.**

4,8–10 Joseph s attitude towards the Egyptian woman (in accordance with T Jos **3–9)**, as positive example.

4,8 **guarded himself from every woman** cf Prov 6 24 7 5 PssSol 16,7; JosAsen 7 6 **purged his thoughts from all impurity:** see 6,1; T Jos 4 6; T.B. 6 5· 8 2. For **ἔννοια**, see also on T Z 1.4 **found favour in the sight of the Lord and men:** the opposite of v 7c see T.S.. 5,2, and cf Prov **3,3f.**, Sir 45 1 Lk 2 52· and with regard to Joseph T.Jos 11,6· 12,3; cf Gen 39,4.21 50,4; Acts 7,10.

4,9 **the Egyptian woman** as in T.Jos. 3 1.6; 4 3; 8 1.5 16 5 **magicians ... love potions.** love potions are a popular topic see Homer, Odyssey **10,290ff.**; Aristophanes **Thes**mophoriazusae **561**, Plutarch Antonius 60 1 (Vitae par 943 E) etc cf **τὰ φάρμακα** in

connection with the **πορνείαι** of Jezebel in **2Kgs** 9 22 LXX cf Nah 3 4 LXX For the combination **μάγοι - φαρμακοι**, see Dan 2 2; cf Did 2 2 5 1; Barn 20,1. This sentence refers to what is described more broadly in T Jos 6 **But the disposition of his soul did not admit an evil desire:** for **διαβούλιον**, see **T A.**, INTRODUCTION p 339 **admit: cf:** T.I. 4,4.6; T B 6 4; cf. Hos 4 11; Sir 51 26 **evil desire:** further only in T Jos. 3,10 **and 7,8, both times in connection with πορνεία; and also several times in Hermas** Vis 1 1,8, 1 2 4 Mand 12 2 2 etc Aristides, **Apol** 8,4.

4,10 delivered han from all visible and invisible death: see T.Jos 1,7, 4 3.8, 10,3, and particularly, T S 2 8 T G 2 5 At the background. Ps **56(55),14(13); 33(32),19 visible death:** refers to the attacks of others particularly his brothers; **invisible death** refers to the food prepared by the Egyptian woman (T.Jos. 6) see also 6 12

4,11 gives a conclusion after the examples of Reuben and Joseph. **does not overcome ... will not overcome** for this use of **κατισχυειν**, see T D 5 2· T.Jos 6 7 and WisSol 7,30. The author stresses the connection between Beliar and **πορνεία** as he did in 2 2 with **regard to the connection between Beliar and νεωτερισμός; cf.** T.S 5 3

T REUBEN 5,1–6,4

Translation

5,1 Evil are women, my children,
because, having no power or strength over man,
they use wiles trying to draw him to them by gestures,
2 and whom she cannot overcome by strength,
him she overcomes by craft
3 For also concerning them the angel of the Lord told me,
and he taught me
that women are overcome by the spirit of impurity more than man,
and in their heart they plot against men,
and by their adomment they deceive first their minds,
and by their glance they sow the poison,
and then they take them captive by the (accomplished) act
4 For a woman cannot force a man
5 Flee, therefore, impurity, my children,
and command your wives and daughters
that they do not adorn their heads and faces,[23]
because every woman who uses these wiles has been reserved for eternal punishment
6 For thus they bewitched the Watchers before the Flood
as these looked at them continually,
they lusted after one another,
and they conceived the act in their mind,
and they changed themselves into the shape of men,
and they appeared to them when they were together with their husbands

7 And they, lusting in their mind after their appearances,
bore giants;
for the Watchers appeared to them as reaching unto heaven
6,1 Beware, therefore, of impurity,
and if you wish to be pure in mind,
guard your senses from every woman.
2 And command the women likewise not to associate with men
that they, too, may be pure in mind
3 For the continuous meetings,
even though the impious deed is not performed
are to them an irremediable disease
and to us an eternal reproach of Beliar.
4 For impurity has neither understanding nor piety in itself,
and all jealousy dwells in its desire

Textcritical note

23 The words rcooç **ἀπάτην** *(+* **τῆς** *ldm)* **διανοίας** *(gld(m)eafnchij)* which are not found in *b* may have been added under the influence of the context (see vv **2f , 6f.;** cf also T Jos 9 5) Moreover it is hard to find a reason why they would have been omitted

Structure

5 1-4 Warn against women who are more easily overcome by the spirit of impurity than men and try to conquer man by all sorts of devices

5 5 Gives a double warning one directed to Reubens children to flee impurity and one directed to their wives and daughters (via the sons) not to adorn themselves

5,6–7 Mention the case of the women who had intercourse with the Watchers before the Flood, by way of negative example

6,1-2 A repeated warning (cf.. 5 5) directed to men (v.. 1, flee impurity) and to women (v 2 not to associate with men).. Aim in both cases:: **καθαρεύειν τῇ διανοίᾳ**

6 3-4 End this section with a warning against continuous meetings and a reference to the evil effects of **πορνεία.** V 4b mentions **ζῆλος** to connect this section with the following (v.. 5b **ζηλώσετε)**

Notes

5 1-2 4 In these verses **δυναμις** is used in the sense of physical strength.. See **no power or strength** (v.. 1), **overcome by strength** (v 2), **force** (= **βιάζεσθαι)** in v 4 For **ἐξουσία** (power) in a similar context see e.g., Sir 33,20. Women are the weaker sex also according to **Philo,** see., e g., Vita Mosis I 8 **γυνὴ δια φυσεως ἀσθένειαν.** To **force** (v. 4) in such contexts normally refers to an action of a man. see Deut 22 25.28 (LXX) *Καὶ* **βιασάμενος κοιμηθῇ μετ' αὐτῆς; Esth** 7,8; Philo, De Jos. 51, etc **to draw (ἐπισπᾶσθαι)** in v 1 is used of men and women:: Jdt 12 12; Philo, Virt., 41 Plutarch, An seni respublica gerenda sit 9 (Mor. 789 B); Clement of Alexandria, Paid **III** 2 (5,1), etc For **overcome (καταγωνίζεσθαι),** cf.. the use of **ἀγωνιζεσθαι** in T Jos 2 2 (see note) Women are **evil (πονηρός** in first position receives emphasis; cf. **T D**, 1,3, 3,1, and Sir 13 24 14 8; Hermas, Mand 2,3) and use different means to reach their goal, **they use wiles (δολιεύονται):** cf **T.R** 5 5 T.Jos. 3 9; Plutarch Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat 4 (Mor.. 20 B) they try to reach their goal by **craft (ἀπάτη):** cf **T Jud**

11,2; 12 3 13 3; T Jos 9 5 Jdt 10,4; Sus 56 Plutarch Bruta animalia ratione uti 7 (Mor 990 C), etc **In T.R.** 5,5, **T.Jud** 12,1 3, **T Jos** 9,5 **there is a direct connection** with adornment, a theme introduced in v 3 **by gestures.** ev σχήμασι is difficult to **translate T.Jud.** 12 3 **has the expression** διὰ τοῦ σχηματος τῆς κοσμήσεως. R H **Charles,** *Translation* ad **loc.,** prefers the translation outward attractions' and adds 'σχῆμα embraces everything in a person that strikes the senses, i e the figure, bearing attire gestures actions. Cf. also Clement of Alexandria Paid, HI 11 (68 1 and 79,4).

5,3 **the angel of the Lord told me** cf 4,4. and T L 9 6 T.Jud 15 5 The patriarch's exhortation goes back to divine instruction and should be taken very seriously. **are overcome by the spirit of impurity** for 'overcome', see T.Jos. 7 8 and **Philo,** Abr 188; Spec. leg I 114; 2Pet **2,19f.,** Justin, **Apol** II 5(4) 3 etc **the spirit of impurity:** see on 3 3. **they plot against men·** μηχανᾶσθαι is common in this context see Plutarch De tuenda sanitate praecepta 7 (Mor 126 A); Philo Virt. 42, Spec. leg. II 43 Clement of Alexandria, Paid. **III** 2 (5 1) etc This plotting takes place **in their heart,** and leads to (outward) action. For **adornment,** see on vv. 1-2; cf Jdt 10,4; 12,15; Jer 4,30; **1Tim** 2 9 **1Pet** 3 1-4, Philo, Sacrif. 21, etc. They first deceive the **minds,** see on 3,12 and 4 6 One should note the use of **διάνοια** in the immediate context (opp. Ἐν ἔργῳ) vv 6 and 7 and 6,1.2. **by their glance:** see on 2,4, and Philo, Virt 40· Clement of Alexandria Paid. **III** 11 (68 1) **they sow the poison,** i.e. the poison of desire/impurity cf. ApMos 19,3, ἔθετο (sc. the serpent) δε ἐπὶ ΤΟΥ καρπόν, ... τὸν ἰὸν τῆς κακιας αὐτοῦ, τουτ' ἔστιν Τfjς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτοῦ; ClemHom 11,15,1, ὄφις, ος ἐνέσπειρεν ὑμῖν τὴν ἄκαρπον ἐπιθυμίαν; Philo Opif **mundi 157f ,** Clement of Alexandria, Paid., HI 11 (81,4) Asterius **Soph.,** Hom 6 9 in PS 5 (ed. M. Richard, Oslo 1956, p. 80). For ἰός in **the** Testaments, see further T G 5,1; 6,3.5 (in connection with μῖσος); **T.A** 1,9. **they take them captive** see also Jdt 16,9, τὸ κάλλος αὐτης ἠχμαλώτισεν ψυχὴν αὐτου; cf. Philo Sacrif 26· and **Eccl** 7,26 (LXX), δεσμοὶ χεῖρες αὐτῆς; Philo Virt. 36 ἡδονῇ δ'ἁλωτὸν ἄνθρωπος καὶ μάλιστα συνουσία τῃ πρὸς γυναῖκα; Vita Mosis I 296

5,4 See above on 5 1-2.4 Compare Judith's thanksgiving psalm in Jdt 16 (esp. vv. 5ff.) where God is praised because Holofernes was not overcome by young men Titans or giants, but ev χειρι frnXEiaç i e ev κάλλει ποοσώπου αὐτῆς, a fact valued very positively in that context

5,5 This section ends with a double exhortation the obvious warning to flee impurity and the command to warn wives and daughters against adornment· cf. 6,1.2 **has been reserved for eternal punishment:** cf T G. 7 5 but, particularly 2Pet 2,4, παρεδωκεν εἰς κρίσιν τηρουμένους (cf. 2,9; 3,7) and Jude 6 εἰς κρίσιν μεγάλης ἡμέρας τετηρηκεν, statements which concern the angels who sinned with women about to be mentioned in **vv 6–7!**

5,6–7 By way of negative example we now hear about the women and the Watchers before the Flood For further details about **the Watchers,** see on T.N. 3,5. Here the story is told with great emphasis on the (evil) initiatives of the women. In this context they had to be the seducers, not the seduced In Gen 6 2 the Watchers' are attracted by the beauty of the daughters of men. In **1En** 8,1 it is the angel Azazel who teaches **a.o** bracelets, and ornaments and the use of antimony and the beautifying of the eyelids and all kinds of costly stones' (see also Syncellus' **version!),** and compare Tertullian De **cultu** feminarum 1 2 2 10 reffering to this chapter

5,6 **they bewitched the Watchers** fteXyEiv a poetical word is used of the Sirens in Homer Odyssey **12,39f 44** (cf Plutarch, Quaestiones convivales IX 14,6 (Mor 745 E); Marcellus 17,11 (Vitae par. 307 E)). Compare lEn 19,2, καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν των παραβάντων ἀγγέλων EIÇ σειρῆνας γενήσονται (by way of punishment) The result is predictable: the Watchers react as men might do **they looked at them continually:** taken up in 6 3

Cf. Philo Leg. all III 16, if thou hast caught sight of beauty (καλλος ἰδών) and been captivated by it . , fly secretly from the vision of it (ἀπὸ τῆς φαντασίας αὐτοῦ) . for to keep on recalling anything (al γαρ συνεχεῖς ὑπομνησεις) is the way to engrave on the mind distinct outlines of it which injure the mind (τὴν διανοιαν) . . **they lusted after one another:** for the ἐπιθυμία of the fallen angels, see, e g , 1En 6,2, 15,4, ClemHom 8,12ff., Acta Thom 32; EpPsTit (ed D de Bruyne *RB* 37 (1925) 47-72) 53 Athenagoras, Leg 24,5. **they canceived the act in their mind:** cf. 3,12 (see note) Note διάνοια (see on 5,3) **they changed themselves into the shape of men** μεταχηματίζεσθαι of Satan in 2Cor 11, 13–15, TJob 6 4 ὁ Σατανας μετασχηματισθεὶς εἰς ἐπαίτην; 17 2 23,1; TSol 20 13; ArabApPet (tr. A Mingana *Woodbrooke Studies* , Cambridge 1927-1934, fasc 7) p 277; cf Philo, Quaest. in Gen 92; ClemHom 8,13,1, εἰς την ἀνθρώπων φυσινέαυτους μετεβαλον **and they appeared to them when they were together with their husbands:** although the angels change themselves into the shape of men they operate through 'appearances' (συνεφαίνοντο; φαντασίας, and ἐφαίνοντο in v 7 see on 3 7) For συνουσία, see on 2 8 For similar terminology used in connection with the revelations of Christ under the old dispensation see Justin Dial. 128,1 und 2 (certain people maintain that the Power which came from God and appeared to men is called) . . δόξαν οἑ, ἐπειδη εν ἀχωρήτῳ ποτὲ φαντασίᾳ φαίνεται, ἄνδρα ὁἔ ποτε καὶ ἄνθρωπον . , ἐπειδὴ ἐν μορφαῖς τοιαύταις σχηματιζόμενος φαίνεται αἷσπερ βούλεται ὁ πατήρ.

5 7 **lusting in their mind** and **after their appearances** see v 6 **giants:** already in Gen 6 4 and a main theme in myths going back to Gen 6 (e.g., Jub 5,1; 20 5; 1En 6ff., 12ff , 106). This size is explained by the nature of the appearance of the Watchers to the women, cf. 2En 18,1 of human appearance and their size was greater than that of great giants); SibOr I 87-103; cf. ClemHom 8 15 **reaching unto heaven:** cf. Dan 4 11 Th (of a tree; cf. vv 20 22) Philo, Conf 113 (of a tower); Acta Jo IV (ed. M R James *Texts and Studies V 1*, Cambridge 1897) (of Jesus); EvPet 40 (of angels).

6 1-2 The parenesis of 5 5 is repeated. Main theme in both verses: **to be pure in mind** (διάνοια); see 4 8 **senses:** see 3 3 and on 3 7 **from every woman** see on 3 10 **to associate:** cf. ἰδιάζειν in 3,10

6 3 **continuous meetings:** see 5,6 and cf Sir 42,12; ConstApp IV 14,3 **the impious deed:** cf. 1 8 3 12.14 (ἀσέβεια); ἀσέβημα as in Lev 18 17 **an irremediable disease:** cf. Philo, Quod omnis 76 on the Essenes who avoid the cities and the people who dwell therein, for they know that their company would have a deadly effect upon their own souls, like a disease brought by a pestilential atmosphere (εἰδότες ἐκ τῶν συνόντων ὡς ἀπ' ἀέρος φθοροποιοῦ νόσον ἐγγινομένηπροσβολὴν tyuxaiç ἀνίατον) ; Philo often uses the expression νοσος ἀνίατος, both literally and metaphorically (see Cher. 2, 10, Spec. leg I 174; III 11; 28; Post. Caini 71; Abr 182; De Jos 191; Ebr. 140). **an eternal reproach of Beliar** see 4 2.7. For ὄνειδος .. αἰώνιον, see Ps 78(77), 66

6,4 **For impurity has neither understanding nor piety in itself:** the exhortation ends with a negative characterization of πορνεία. σύνεσις and εὐσέβεια (opp. ἀσέβεια / ἀσέβημα in 3,14.15 and 6,3) together also in Prov 1,7, Isa 11,2, Philo, De Jos. 246, 1Clem 32,4, Athenagoras Leg. 7 3 Cf. the combination of εὐσέβεια and ἀλήθεια in T.I. 7 5 Prov 6 32 qualifies the adulterer as having no sense (LXX 6t ἔνδειαν φρενῶν); in Sir 25,2 an adulterous old man is called ἐλαττούμενον συνέσει. **all jealousy dwells in its desire:** ζῆλος will primarily be mentioned here because of ζηλώσετε in the next verse Also in T Jud 13 3 ζῆλος and πορνεία are mentioned together (cf T.I. 4,4f.) Both are connected with ἐπιθυμία; ζῆλος is here not so much 'jealousy as 'bad desire and zeal'; cf Philo Spec leg IV 82, 1Clem 3 4 ClemHom 3 25 1 (cf Jas 4 2 2Clem 4 3)

T REUBEN 6,5-12

Translation

6,5 Therefore you will be jealous against the sons of Levi
and you will **seek**[24] to be exalted over them,
but you will not overcome
6 For God will avenge them
and you will die a terrible death
7 For to Levi did the Lord give the sovereignty
and to Judah
and with them also to me and to Dan and to Joseph,
to be **for**[25] rulers
8 Therefore I command you to listen to Levi,
because he will know the law of the Lord,
and will give ordinances for judgment and sacrifices for all Israel,
until the consummation of times (, the times) of the anointed **highpriest**,[26] of whom the Lord spoke
9 I bind you by oath by the God of heaven,
to do truth each one to his neighbour,
and bear love each one for his **brother**[27]
10 And approach Levi in humbleness of heart,
that you may receive a blessing from his mouth
11 For he will bless Israel and Judah
Because him the Lord has chosen to be king over all the nations
12 And prostrate **yourselves**[28] before his seed
Because it (he) will die for us in visible and invisible wars
and will be among you a king for ever

Textcritical notes

[24] ζηλώσετε *(leaf)* .. ζητησετε (*glaf*) The future tense must be original The aor. **imper**, ζηλώσατε (*bkgmchij*) and ζητήσατε (*behij*) do not make sense and may have been introduced when a copyist thought that after διὰ τοῦτο the admonitions of the previous verses (vv 1f.) would be continued

[25] εις (all MSS except *bk*). **The variant ἐπί** *(bk)* **does not seem to make sense in this text.**

[26] ἀρχιερέως χριστοῦ (*bgeafc*).This reading supported by many important MSS is original Moreover, ἀρχιερέως is attested also by *ld*, while χριστου is found also in *klhij*.

[27] καὶ ἀγάπην ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ. This phrase has been omitted in *b* through *hmt*. The addition of ἐχέτω (*gdm*) or ἔχειν (*chij*) makes a smoother text and is to be regarded as secondary. Likewise the individual variants in *leaf*.

[28] προσκυνησατε (*bmhij*).The future tense (προσκυνήσετε *geaf*)may have been introduced under the influence of the immediate **context** (vv 11 and 12b) V 10 (ἐγγίσατε), however supports the use of the aor imper

Structure

This is a double **L.** passage which has certain connections with the **L J.** passages in the

Testaments (see INTRODUCTION 4 4 2 and 7.3.2) Its structure is rather complicated The general exhortation in v. 9 separates vv. 5-8 and vv 10–12.

6 5 Transition via ζῆλος-ζηλώσετε (rather than through **δια τουτο**) Prediction of the future negative attitude of Reuben's sons towards **Levi**

6,6 God will avenge Levi and the sons of Reuben will die

6,7 For God has given **την ἀρχήν** to Levi and also to Judah (also to Reuben Dan **Joseph)**

6 8 Second **δια τοῦτο.** command to obey Levi because of Levi s priesthood until the consummation of times with a (new) anointed highpriest

6 9 General exhortation

6,10 New exhortation to approach Levi in humbleness of heart

6,11 He will bless Israel and Judah and has been chosen to rule over all the nations

6 12 Exhortation to adore his seed that will die for us and be an eternal king

In general; Levi is the central figure here Judah is only mentioned in passing (v 7b and in v 11a, but here not as a person) Levi is priest (for a certain period v 8c) and king (for ever vv 11b,12)

Notes

6,5 **you will be jealous against the sons of Levi** a similar prediction in T S 5 4 T D 5 4 T G. 8,2.. **and you will seek to be exalted over them** cf. T S. 7,1, UT) **ἐπαίρεσθε ἐπι τὰς δύο φυλὰς ταύτας** (Levi and Judah) **T Jud** 21,1 **μὴ ἐπαίρεσθε ἐπ' αὐτόν** (Levi) For the connection between **ὑψοῦσθαι** and **ἐπαίρεσθαι**, see, e.g PS 37(36) 35 **1Mac** 1 3 **you will not overcome:** see T.S 5 5 (.... **πρὸς Λευί**), and T D 5 4 (**πρὸς αὐτούς** = Levi and Judah). This usage of the verb is frequent in the LXX, see esp Jer 1,19; 15,20; 20,10; Jeremiah's adversaries will not prevail against him because God is with him Ps **129(128),2.** Israel's adversaries **will** not overcome because God is with Israel, and cf. PssSol 17 39: no one (in Israel) will prevail against God's Anointed With this **compare:**

6,6 **God will avenge them:** cf T.L. 5 5 (Levi will wage the wars of the Lord); T D 5 4 (an angel of the Lord guides Levi and Judah). For **ποιειν τὴν ἐκδίκησιν** + genit. see **T.Jos** 20 1 (God **subj.**), T.L. 2 2 (man subj.); and Lk 18 7f. (God **subj.**), cf Jer 11 20 20,12 **you will die a terrible death** (**ἀποθνήσκεσθαι** frequently in the LXX mostly in connection with punishment: Gen 2,17; 3,4; **Num** 26,65; Judg 13,22; **1Sam** 14 39 44; Jer **33(26),8.** Ezek 28 8 etc. The idea of punishment is emphasized by the added **πονηρῷ**, see Ps 34(33), 22 Sir **28,21.**

6,7 **For to Levi did the Lord give the sovereignty** **ἀρχή**s directly connected with **βασιλεια** in Isa **9,5f.**; Dan 2,37 LXX and Dan 7.14 Th Judah, the regular candidate for kingship in L.J. passages (see INTRODUCTION 4.4.2 and 7.3), is added as by afterthought. In third instance Reuben Dan and Joseph are mentioned as **ἄρχοντες** The selection of these three may go back to Num 2 10.18.25 (see **A S.** van der Woude *Die messianischen Vorstellungen der Gemeinde von Qumran*, Assen 1957 p. 103). **to be for rulers:** cf Micah 5 1 **ἐκ σοῦ** um **ἐξελευσεται τοῦ εἶναι εἰς ἄρχοντα** ἐν **τῷ Ἰσραηλ** In **T Jud.** 25,1; **T.Z.** 10,2 all patriarchs are pictured as leaders of their tribes at the resurrection On Levi's kingship see further below on vv., 11 and 12.

6 8 A renewed therefore' introduces a new subsection. The exhortation **listen to Levi** is not so much connected with what precedes as with what follows: Levi s activities as priest. **he will know the law of the Lord:** cf. T.L. **13,3f.**, **πᾶς ὃς γνωσεται νόμον θεοῦ ... ἀκουσαι** νομον **ἐκ τοῦ στοματος αὐτου**; cf. Prov 9 10 LXX (= 13,15 LXX) TO **γὰρ γνῶναι** νόμον **διανοίας ἐστὶν ἀγαθῆς.** Here 'to know the law' is privilege and duty of the priesthood together with **judgment** See Deut **17,8ff** , **19,16ff** ; 2Chr **19,8ff** , Ezek

44,23ff., Sir 45 17, Jub 31,15, etc.. **sacrifices for all Israel** this central task of the priesthood is mentioned many times in the OT: see e.g., Lev 4,13ff ; 9,7; 16,5ff.; Num 15,22ff , see further Sir 45 16; Heb 5,1ff., etc.. **until the consummation of times:** cf 1En 2 2 ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μεχρι τελειωσεως; 10,14; 16 1 25,4; and 2Bar 27,15, 29,8; 30,3. Clearly the end of times is meant. **of the anointed highpriest.** cf T S. 7,2, ἀναστήσει γὰρ κύριος ἐκ τοῦ Λευὶ ὡς ἀρχιερέα. T.L 18,2, ἱερέα καινόν. For the terminology used see Lev 4 3 (ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ κεχρισμένος); 4,5 16; 6 22(15) (ὁ ἱερεὺς ο χριστός); 2Mac 1,10 (των χριστῶν ἱερέων) The future **highpriest** at Qumran is called anointed in the expression משיחי אהרון וישראל in 1QS 9,11. **This** is the only certain instance. A similar expression (with singular משיח) in CD 12,23f., 14,19, 19,10f., cf. 20,1 (disputed) The idea of an anointed highpriest is often found in connection with Jesus Christ; cf Heb 2,17; 3,1; 4,14f., etc.; 1Clem 36 1; 61,3; 64 1 Justin, Dial. .33 2 86,3f. (αὐτός .... βασιλεὺς καὶ Χριστός καὶ ἱερεὺς καὶ ἄγγελος ... ἀρχιερέα αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε), 116,1; Clement of Alexandria Str II 5 (21,4), etc Levi's priestly activity is limited to the time before Christ's advent.. The same idea is found in T L.: see 4,4· 5,2; 8,14· 18,1-2 (new highpriest *nor* directly connected with Levi); cf the S.E.R passages in T.L. 10· 14–15; 16 **of whom the Lord spoke** for ov εἶπε, see e g Mk 14 71 Jn 1 15 **Does** the author refer to PS 110?

6,9 **I bind you by oath by the God of heaven.** see 1,6. The now following exhortation is very general and has no direct connection either with the preceding or with the following verses **to do truth each one to his neighbour:** see 3,9 and T.D 5 2 ἀλήθειαν φθεγγεσθε ἕκαστος προς TOV πλησιον αυτοῦ, (and 5,3, ἀγαπᾶτε TÔV κυριον ... και ἀλλήλους), T.B. 10 3 ποιήσατε ... ἀλήθειαν και δικαιοσύνην ἕκαστος μετα *roi)* πλησίον αὐτοῦ. Cf Zech 8,16 (LXX), λαλεῖτε ἀληθειαν ἕκαστος προς TOV πλησίον αὐτοῦ (Eph 4 25!). The expression ποιειν ἀλήθειαν is found in T.B 10,3, T.I 7 5· and in, e.g. Gen 47,29; Josh 2,14; 2Sam 2,6 Isa 26 10; PssSol 17,15; Tob 4,6; Jn 3 21 Un 1,6; IClem 31,2 **and bear love each one for his brother** see T.S. 4,7; T.G. 6 1 and T.D.. 5 3 (see above). Cf.. Lev 19,18, and Zech 7 9 (LXX) ἔλεος xal οἰκτιμον ποιεῖτε ἕκαστος πρὸς TÔV ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ.

6,10 **And approach Levi in humbleness of heart:** the opposite of υψωθῆναι in v 5 humility also in T.Jud 19 2 (ἡ ταπείνωσις ψυχῆς); T.G.. 5 3; T Jos 10 2 *(ev* . ταπεινώσει καρδιας); cf. 2Chr 33 12,23; PS 34,13f. LXX; Isa 58 3· Sir 2,17; 7,17; PssSol 3,8; Mt 18,4; IClem 53,2, 55,6; Barn 3 1 etc. **that you may receive a blessing from his mouth:** blessing as belonging to the tasks of the priesthood see Lev 9 22; Num 6,23ff , 2Chr 30,27; and esp.. Deut 18,5 LXX, (ὅλη φυλῇ Λευί v. 1) . cm αὐτὸν ἐξελέξατο κύριος ... λειτουργεῖν καὶ εὐλογεῖν; 21 5· Sir 45,15; 11O Temple 60,11; Jub 31,15. For the terminology used here, see Sir 50 20 δοῦναι εὐλογίαν κυριου ἐκ χειλέων αὐτοῦ 21, . ἐπιδέξασθαι την εὐλογίαν

6,11a Takes up v 10.. **Israel and Judah:** probably refers to the entire people of Israel; it cannot well refer to the person or the tribe of Judah

6,11b Speaks again about Levi's kingship (referred to in v 7) The ὅτι hangs in the air, possibly the author wanted to connect it with v 10a. **han the Lord has chosen:** ἐν αὐτῷ ἐξελέξατο is a hebraism frequently found in the LXX, see, e.g. 1Sam 16,9f., 1Chr 28,4f · 2Chr 6,6, Neh 9 7. 'To choose' is used for Aaron Levites and priests (see e g Deut 18,5 LXX· Num 17,5; 1Chr 15 2 Ps 105,26 Sir 45 16 and T.Jud. 21,5) as well as for David as king (see, e.g., 2Sam 6 21; 1Kgs 8,16; 1Chr 28,4 (LXX), καὶ ἐξελέξατο κυριος ... ev ἐμοί . εἶναι βασιλέα ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ εἰς TÔV αἰῶνα) **Here,** future royal authority is granted to Levi **to be king over all the nations:** cf Dan 7,14 esp Th, xal αὐτῷ (one like a Son of Man) ἐδόθη ἡ ἀρχή . . xal ἡ βασιλεία, xal πάντες οι Xaoî ... αὐτῷ δουλευσουσιν· ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ ἐξουσια αἰώνιος; cf. PssSol 17,30–31, and Justin Dial 74 3

6 12 **And prostrate yourselves before his seed** cf. T.B. 10,7. **προσκυνουντες** TOV **βασιλέα τῶν οὐρανῶν τον ἐπὶ γῆς φανέντα μορφῇ ἀνθρώπου ταπεινώσεως;** and Gen 49,8 (but here **Judah!**). **his seed** clearly not meant collectively, but as referring to one person; cf. Gen 4,25; 21 13; Deut 25 5; **1Sam** 1 11; 2Sam 7,12; **1Chr** 17,11; and Gal 3 16 **it (he) will die for us** see **T A** 2 3 T B 3,8. The expression is used very often of Jesus Christ, see **Jn 11,50f , 18,14,** Rom 5,6ff. **(ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀπέθανεν);** 14 15, 2Cor 5,15; **1Thes** 5,10 Ignatius Trail. 2,1 **(δι' ἡμᾶς);** Rom 6 1 Polycarp Phil 9 2 etc. The king over all the nations who will die for us cannot be anyone else than Jesus Christ. **in visible and invisible wars** cf. 4,10 (of Joseph) Visible refers to conflicts with men **'invisible'** to the war with Beliar and his spirits; see T.D. 5,10 and cf. Eusebius Comm in **Pss.**, Ps 90, ...TWV **διὰ Χριστοῦ τελειουμένων, καὶ νικώντων δι' αὐτοῦ τοὺς νοητοὺς ἐχθρούς, ἀρχὰς δηλαδὴ καὶ ἐξουσίας, καὶ τους κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους** TOUTOU, xal **τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας,** xal **αὐτὸν** TOV **ἀλιτηριον Σατανᾶν . . ῥύσομαι γὰρ αὐτόν . ἐκ** TWV **εἰρημένων ὁρατῶν** TE **καὶ ἀοράτων ἐπιβουλων . .** , cf Eusebius, **Ecl.** I 14; D.E V 2 Athanasius, **Qu** Script 77 Asterius **Soph , Hom.** in Ps 7 (20f.) (ed M. Richard, Oslo 1956, pp. 100f.). **and will be among you a king for ever** cf. T B 10,7; T.D. 5,13; **and T.Jos.** 19,7, **η γὰρ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ βασιλεία αἰῶνος ἥτις ου παρασαλεύεται ἡ δὲ ἐμὴ βασιλεία** Ἐν **ὑμῖν ἐπιτελεῖται** , (cf. T.B 9,1). See also again Dan 7 14. The expression **βασιλεὺς** TWV **αἰωνων** is used of God (several times) and of Jesus Christ; in **1Tim** 1,17 according to some commentators, including John Chrysostom Hom. 4,2 in **1Tim.**; Theodoretus Cyrrhensis, on **1Tim** 1,17; cf. Methodius Sym et Ann 6; 10 **τῇ Μητοὶ τοῦ βασιλέως** TWV **αἰώνων** Christ s eternal kingship is mentioned in other terms in Rev 11,15. We may mention here in particular Justin Dial 34 2 **τὸν αιώνιον βασιλέα, τοῦτέστιν τὸν Χριστόν . βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱερευς . παθητὸς γενόμενος πρῶτον,** ἔΐτα **εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνερχόμενος καὶ πάλιν παραγινόμενος μετὰ δόξης** xaî **αἰώνιον την βασιλείαν** ἔXWV and 74,3, o (God) **τοῦτο** TO **σωτήριον ὑπὲρ του ἀνθρωπείου γένους ποιήσας,** TOV xat **μετὰ** TO **σταυρωθῆναι ἀποθνησκοντα** xal **βασιλεύειν πάσης τῆς γῆς Levi's** kingship is eternal, because the kingship of Jesus Christ (his seed) is eternal his priesthood is only for a limited period. For comparable aspects of the **christology** of the Testaments see INTRODUCTION **7 2.2; 7.3.2, 7.5.**

T REUBEN 7

Translation

7,1 And Reuben died, having given these commands to his sons
2 And they placed him in a coffin,
until they brought him up from Egypt
and buried him in Hebron in the double cave,
where his fathers were

Notes

7 1 **having given these commands** see on **1,1.**

7,2 **they placed him in a coffin:** cf T L 19,5 (also **σορος,** as in Gen 50 26) T.S 8,1; T Z 10,6 use the word **θήκη,** T B. 12 2 **παραθήκη.** **they brought him up ἀναφέρειν** is also used in T S 8 2 T D 7 2 T B. 12,1, and cf 2Sam 21,13. More often **ἀνάγειν** is found (see on T.S. 8 2) **in the double cave.** cf. T.L 7,8 **ἐν τῳ σπηλαίῳ μετὰ** TWV **πατέρων αὐτου;** cf Gen **49,29ff.;** 50 13 **where his fathers were** see on T.Z. 10 7

THE TESTAMENT OF SIMEON CONCERNING ENVY

INTRODUCTION

As in the case of T R, the structure of T S is relatively simple In chapter 1 we find the usual introduction, it has many elements in common with that in T R After a summons to give heed to the words of the patriarch (2,1) a biographical passage follows Simeon, son of Jacob and Leah, was strong and valiant, this is a positive quality because valour is a gift of God (2,2-5) Simeon's strength proved to be hardness in the case of Joseph whom he approached with jealousy and envy; if he had had his way he would have killed Joseph (2,6–11). Punishment and repentance follow Simeon realizes the bad effects of φθόνος (2,12-14) This section leads over to a parenetic passage warning against envy (chapter 3), the only remedy (as Simeon experienced) is 'fear of the Lord' Chapter 4 consists of exhortation interspersed with biographical references: to Simeon who repented and realized that he was rightly kept a prisoner in Egypt, and to Joseph who, as a good man, did not bear any grudge against his brother(s) The exhortatory passages end in 5,1-3, with a final reference to Joseph and a very general exhortation combined with a warning against πορνεια, 'the mother of evils'

Next, there are a number of predictions concerning the future an L passage in 5,4–6 speaking about future πορνεία and resistance against Levi; a prediction of future bliss, including the resurrection of Simeon (chapter 6) and an L J passage (7,1-3). This testament ends with a rather elaborate concluding passage (chapters 8 and 9)

φθόνος as central theme

The main theme of this testament is rightly indicated by manuscripts *bgldme* as περὶ φθόνου. Φθόνος is used here together with ζῆλος and with little difference of meaning In fact, in chapter 2 we first hear of Simeon's jealousy of Joseph (v 6) and of the evil influence of 'the spirit of jealousy' sent by 'the prince of deceit' (v 7). It is only from 2,13-14 onwards that φθόνος and φθονεῖν are used. This may be explained by the fact that in the description of the relation between Joseph and his brothers in Gen 37, which is followed in 2,6–11, the word ζηλοῦν is used (v 11) The ζῆλος of the brothers leads to their desire to kill Joseph (Gen 37,18.20, cf v. 26), in this testament attributed to Simeon in particular (2,7.11) In chapters 3 and 4 the patriarch emphasizes that φθόνος governs the entire life of the man who envies and does not allow him to have any rest until the object of envy is discarded. Also in other testaments envy is a prominent vice It is directed against those who proaper (T G 3,3, 4,5; 7,2, T B 4,4) It is connected with hatred (T D 2,5, T G 4,5; T Jos 1,3 (cf 1,7 and 10,3) - that is, under the circumstances, hatred against Joseph) In T B 7,5, 8,1 φθόνος is mentioned together with

μισαδελφία In T B 7,2 it is the first of all evils of which the sword given by Beliar is the mother.

Ζῆλος, jealousy, has many elements in common with φθόνος, not only here but also in T.G. 7,2–4, T B 4,4 φθονεῖν and ζηλοῦν are used together, with practically the same meaning Ζῆλος and ζηλοῦν are, however, also used positively in T L 6,3 ('I was jealous because of the abomination which they had wrought in Israel') and T.A. 4,5 ('zeal for God'). On φθόνος (and ζῆλος) in Greek philosophy, see E Milobenski, *Der Neid in der Griechischen Philosophie (Klassisch-Philologische Studien 29),* Wiesbaden 1964 For 'envy' in hellenistic moral philosophy, in hellenistic Jewish writings and in the Testaments, see also L.T. Johnson, 'James 3:13–4:10 and the *topos* ΠΕΡΙ ΦΘΟΝΟΥ', *NT 25* (1983), 327–47.

It is perhaps worth noticing that φθόνος and ζῆλος occur together in 1Clem 3–6 and are said to lead to ἀδελφοκτονία (4,7, cf Philo, De Jos 13) Among the examples given are Cain and Abel (cf T B. 7,4f.!) and Joseph and his brothers (in 4,1–6 and 9 respectively).

In this testament Simeon is singled out as especially hostile towards Joseph This agrees T Z 2,1, 3,2, 4,2.11 where he is mentioned together with Gad, who in his testament is said to have been governed by μῖσος (T.Gad tit. and passim) Like Simeon, Gad is a valiant warrior. He helps Judah (T Jud 5,2, 9,6, cf T I 5,8), just as Simeon helps Levi at Shechem (T L 2,2, 6,4) and Judah (T Jud 6,5) T S. 4,3 connects Simeon's imprisonment in Egypt (cf Gen 42,24) with his desire to kill his brother A similar connection is made in Targ.Ps Jon on Gen 42,24 (cf Philo, De Jos 175-177 and Hippolytus, Ben. Mos. [ed Brière-Mariès-Mercier, P O 27, 1-2] pp 159f.). In a number of Jewish sources Simeon and Levi are mentioned as eapecially hostile to Joseph see, e g , Targ.Ps Jon. on Gen 37,19, Fragm Targ. and marginal note in Targ Neof on Gen 49,6 For other references, see L Ginzberg, *Legends* V p 328 n. 34 and 41, p 348 n. 215 Ginzberg (see n 34) thinks that in the Testaments the combination Simeon–Levi was deliberately altered into that of Simeon-Gad in order to save Levi

T SIMEON 1-2

Translation

1,1 A copy of the words of Simeon,
the things which he said to his sons before he died'
in the hundred and twentieth year of his life,
in which year Joseph died
2 For they came to visit him when he was ill
and he summoned his strength and sat up and kissed them,
and he said to them[2].
2,1 Listen, children, listen to Simeon your father,
to the things which I have in my heart
2 I was begotten by Jacob my father as his second son
and Leah my mother called me Simeon,
because the Lord had heard her prayer

3 I became very strong,
I did not shrink from any achievement
nor was I afraid of any deed
4 For my heart was hard
and my liver was immovable
and my bowels were without sympathy.
5 Because valour also has been given from the Most High to men,
in their souls and in their bodies
6 And at that time I was jealous of Joseph,[3]
because our father loved him;
7 and I set my liver against him to kill him
because the prince of deceit sent the spirit of jealousy
and blinded my mind
so that I did not regard him as a brother
and did not spare Jacob my father
8 But his God and the God of his fathers sent his angel
and delivered him out of my hands.
9 For when I went to Shechem to bring ointment for the flocks,
and Reuben to Dothan, where our necessanes and all our stores were,
Judah our brother sold him to the Ishmaelites
10 And when Reuben came (back), he was grieved,
for he wanted to bring him safely back to the father
11 But I was angry with Judah,
that he had let him go away alive,
and for five months I remained angry with him because of this affair.[4]
12 And God impeded me
and withheld from me the action of my hands,
for my right hand was half withered for seven days
13 And I knew, children,
that because of Joseph this had happened to me,
and I repented and wept, and I prayed to the Lord,
that I might be restored[5]
and hold off from all pollution and envy and all folly
14 For I knew
that I had devised and evil deed before the Lord and Jacob my father[6]
on account of Joseph my brother in that I envied him

Textcritical notes

[1] ftavEIv (*b*) This reading is lectio durior The variant ἀποθανεῖν (*glmeaf*)was introduced because of parallel passages (see at T R 1,1).

[5] αὐτοῖς *(b)* This word has been left out in *gldmeafchij*, perhaps because it was considered superfluous or even disturbing Cf T R 15

[3] **τὸν Ἰωσήφ.** The reading of *b* (**τῷ Ἰωσήφ**) is obviously wrong **ζηλοῦν,** *to* be envious **of,** takes the **acc.** It can be constructed **also** with the dat., but in that case the meaning is different (**cf.**, e.g., **Num** 25,13 LXX) This together with the fact that the cognate verb **φθονεῖν** can be constructed with a dat., may have led to the introduction of the dat in *b*

[4] *im* TW tóyu) **τούτῳ** (*lme*; cf. *gd*). This phrase seems to be original (cf 4 6 **T.G.** 1,8). It has been omitted in ***bafchij*** either because it was regarded as superfluous or just because of **hmt.**

[5] **ἀποκατασταθῶ** *(leaf,* cf. **κατασταθω** g). The introduction of my hand (in the **acc.** in *b* in the nom in ***dmchij***) seems to be secondary (influence from Mk 3,5, Lk 6 10), but one caonot wholly exclude the possibility that the reading **ἀποκατασταθῶ** is an attempt to meet the context (**ἀπόσχωμαι**).

[6] **τοῦ πατρός** HOD *b* wrongly omits **μου**

Structure

1,1-2,1 Introduction ending with the summons to listen to what Simeon has to say

2 2 Simeon's birth and name-giving

2,3–5 Simeon s strength and valour. His hardness is viewed positively valour is a gift from the Most High

2,6–8 Because of his jealousy towards Joseph under the influence of the prince of deceit and his spirit of jealousy Simeon wants to kill Joseph God and his angel however deliver Joseph out of his hands

2,9–11 What happened near Dothan Judah sells Joseph in the absence of Reuben and Simeon who react differently Simeon is and remains angry with Judah

2,12 God's punishment for Simeon

2,13–14 Simeon's repentance leading to insight into the evil nature of **φθόνος**

Notes

1,1 (A copy) **of the words:** cf. **T.L. 1,1**, **T Jud** 1,1; T I 1 1 T D 1 1 **T B 1,1** **before he died:** an element belonging to the genre see on T R 1.1. **in the hundred and twentieth year of his life, in which year Joseph died** for the reference to Joseph's death see on T R. 1 2 The information given here agrees with that in Gen 50 22.26 (Joseph died at the age of 110) and Jub 28 13 24 (Joseph was born ten years after Simeon)

1,2 **they came to visit him when he was ill:** see on T R 1 2 **and he summoned his strength and sat up** cf Gen 48 2 (LXX) **καὶ ἐνισχύσας Ἰσραὴλ ἐκάθισεν ἐπι τὴν κλίνην** **and kissed them** see on T R 1 5

2,1 **Listen, children, .. the things I have in my heart:** see on T R 1 5 for the Redeeinleitungsformer, and on T.R 1 4 for the last part of this sentence.

2,2 **I was begotten by Jacob:** cf T.N. 1 6f (**ἐγεννήθην**), with **ἐτέχθην** in T.L. 2,1 T I 1 2 T.B 1 2 **as his second son·** cf T.Jud 1 3f (fourth), T I 1 2 (fifth) T G 1 2 (ninth) **and Leah my mother called me Simeon, because the Lord had heard her prayer:** taken from Gen 29,33. The prayer may be envisaged as a prayer for children cf T B 1 4 and Gen 25 21 **1Sam 1,9ff**, etc For name-giving and explanation of name, see also T.Jud. 1 3 T I 1,15 T Z 1,3; T.N 1 6 T B 1 6 In none of these cases is there a need to assume knowledge of the Hebrew OT

2,3–5 Strength and valour are attributed to Simeon because of his share in the battle at Shechem see Gen **34,25ff.**; Jub 30,4; T L 2 2; 6,4; T.Jud 6 5

2 3 **I became very strong** cf T.Jud 1,4, **ὀξὺς ἤμην καὶ σπουδαῖος;** T N 2 1 **κοῦφος ἤμην τοῖς ποσί μου,** T G 1 2 **ἤμην ἀνδρεῖος** **I did not shrink** **nor was I afraid**

δειλιαν and **φοβεῖσθαι** are found together in Deut 1 21 31 6 8 Josh 1 9 8 1 **10,25,** Ps **27(26),1,** always in the context of strife and war.

2,4 **For my heart was hard·** cf. Gen 49 7 **(LXX),** (of Simeon and **Levi's wrath.)** **ἐσκληρύνθη** (used with a negative connotation) For **σκληρός,** harsh, hard, cf. 2Ezra 2 22; Isa 19 4 LetAris 289 Mt 25,24, etc **and my liver was immovable:** cf. 2,7; 4 1 as well as T G 2 1; **5,9–11** Contrast T Z 2,4: Zebulun's liver is 'poured out in compassion for Joseph According to T R 3 4 the liver is the seat of the spirit of fighting T.N 2 8 connects liver and wrath **and my bowels were without sympathy** contrast again T Z 2 4 and **7,2f**

2,5 **Because valour also has been given from the Most High to men** cf WisSol 6 3 **ὅτι ἐδόθη παρὰ κυρίου r) κράτησις ὑμῶν καὶ ἡ συναστεία παρα ὑψίστου,** and also Mt 9 8 **ἐδόξασαν τὸν θεὸν τον δόντα ἐξουσίαν τοιαυτην τοῖς ἀνθρώποις** **in their souls and in their bodies** probably the emphasis lies on 'in their bodies' Simeon is altogether hard'. For the correspondence between soul/spirit and body see **4,8–9,** T D 3 1-2 and T.N. *2 2«*

2,6 **I was jealous of Joseph, because our father loved him** see T S INTRODUCTION pp 109f Besides Gen 37 11 and **37,3f** we may mention Josephus Ant 2 10 **τουτω παρὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν η** TE **τοῦ πατρὸς στοργη φθόνον ἐκίνησε**

2,7 **and I set my liver against han** see on v 4 In the LXX we usually find **στηρίζειν τὸ προσωπον** (or **τοὺς ὀφθαλμους) ἐπί,** cf Amos 9,4, Jer 3 12 21,10, Ezek 13,17· 14,8 15,7 21,2 7 25,2; 28 21; 29,2; 38,2. These expressions were deliberately altered to meet the context. **to kill him** cf Gen. 37,18 20.26 and T.Z. 1 7 2; 4,2.11; T D **1,4 7ff** , T G. **2,1f.4;** 6 2 T Jos. 1 4 **the prince of deceit·** the same expression in T.Jud 19 4 **ἐτύφλωσε γάρ με ο ἄρχων τῆς πλάνης**(cf T D **5,5f.)** Cf also **τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς πλάνης (sing.!)** in T R 3 2 T.Jud 14,8; 20 1 T A 6 2 T Jos. 7 4 T B 3 4. Clearly Beliar is meant see on T R 2 2 For parallels see **Ascenls** 2 4 for the angel of lawlessness who is the ruler of this world is Beliar ... (cf. also 4,2); 1QM **17,5f.,** the prince of the kingdom of wickedness **', Tiburt.Sibylle (lat.),** 'surget princeps iniquitatis .. magister erroris', see further Mt 9 34, 12 24; Mk 3,22· Lk 11 5, **ὁ ἄρχων των δαιμονίων; TSol** 2 9 3,5; 6,1; D 7 2 5 o **ἄρχων τῶν δαιμόνων,** Jn 12,31· 14 30 **16,11,** o **ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τουτου,** Ignatius, Eph 17 1; 19,1; Magn 1 2 Trail. 4,2; Rom. 7,1; **Phld.** 6,2, ó **ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου.** **the spirit of jealousy:** cf TÔ **πνεῦμα** TOÜ **φθόνου** in 3 1 and 4,7. **and blinded my mind** cf T Jud 11 1· 18,3.6, 19 4 (see above)· T.D 2 4 T G 3 3· **T Jos 7,5 and also** T L 13,7; T.D 2 2 similiarly **σκοτίζειν is used in** T R 3 8 and T G 6 2 and **σκοτουν** in T D 2,4. One may also compare WisSol 2,21 Un 2,11 Hermas Mand. 5,2,7; Philo, Ebr 108 222; **Decal.** 67 **Spec.leg** I 54; 332; De Jos. 254· Migr.Abr. 69· Virt 179, Plutarch, De superstitione 8 (Mor. 169 A)· Epictetus I 18,6 for blinding through passions vices and idolatry **I did not regard him as a brother:** cf. T D 2 3

2,8 **But his God and the God of his fathers ... delivered him out of my hands** a sterotyped phrase; see on T R 4,10 For to deliver out of someones hands, see Ps **31(30),16;** 71(70),4; 82(81),4, **97(96),10,** WisSol 2 18 Esth 4 17(z) LXX, JosAsen 12 10 28,3; cf 1QH 2 34f **sent his angel:** just as the prince of deceit operates through his spirits God works through his angel. See also T.Jos 6,6f. and cf 2Chr **32,21f.;** 2Mac **15,22f.,** Dan 3 95 LXX (and **Th), 6,23 Th,** Acts 12 11 see also Gen 48 16 and Ps **34(33),**7f

2,9–11 The story of what happened near Dothan gives a few extras compared to Gen **37,12-30**

2,9 **I went to Shechem** **Reuben to Dothan** these two places are mentioned in the Gen story Simeon s absence is necessary to explain why he did not get the chance to kill

Joseph, it is mentioned only here (and note the contrast with 4,2). Reuben's absence is implied in Gen **37,29f.** and explained in Josephus **Ant.2,31,** he departed in search of grounds suitable for pasturage'. **Judah our brother sold him: in** accordance with Gen 37 25-28. The Testaments use **πωλεῖν** for the selling of Joseph also in T Z 2 9 T Jos 15,4; 16,1; T.B., 2,1. For **πιπράσκειν, πρᾶσις** in this context see on 4,2

2,10 Explains Gen 37,29f. **And when Reuben came (back), he was grieved.** cf. Gen 37 29 (LXX), **διερρηξεν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ;** see also Josephus Ant. 2 34 **'Rubel ceased** from lamentation **he wanted to bring him safely back to the father:** cf. Gen 37,22 and Josephus, Ant., 2 34 . . **νύκτωρ** *ἐπὶ* **τὸν λάκκον ἐλθων σωσαι, τὸν Ἰωσηπον . .** For **διασῴζειν πρός,** see Josephus Ant. 5 15 Acts 23 24

2,11 **I was angry . . . that he had let him go away alive** cf. T.Z. 4,11 The reader is expected to notice the contrast between Reuben's attitude and that of Simeon.

2,12 **God impeded me** **συμποδιζειν** is used in connection with God's enemies in Ps 18(17),40; 20(19),9; 78(77) 31. **and withheld from me the action of my hands:** for **κωλύειν τι ἀπό τινος,** see Gen 23,6, **Lk** 6,29. **for my right hand was half withered for seven days:** see on T R. 1 7 The principle is expressed in **T G** 5,10; if Simeon had killed Joseph he had done so by hand (cf. v 8) See also **1Kgs** 13,4; Zech 11,17 Acta Phil **17,(of** a highpriest who wishes to scourge Philip) **καί . . ὅλη η χειρ αυτου ἐξηρανθη, Acta Thom 51.**

2,13 **And I knew** **that because of Joseph this had happened to me.** cf. v. **14,** 3 4 4,3, and T G. 5,6. **and I repented and wept, and I prayed to the Lord:** cf. on T R **1,9–10** For weeping about sins and praying see Ezra 10,1; Neh 1 4 2Ezra 8,88. **that I might be restored:** for **ἀποκατασταθῆναι** of a withered hand see Mt 12,13; Mk 3,5; Lk 6,10 **all pollution:** **μολυσμός** in an ethical sense also in **e.g ,** Sir 21,28; Isa 59 3 LetAris 166; 2Cor 7,1. **and envy:** finally the central word of this testament is used - see also 2,14, **3,1ff.;** 4,5.7; 6 2 (see T S., INTRODUCTION pp **109f.)** **φθόνος** with regard to Joseph is also mentioned in Josephus Ant., 2,10.13.27; Philo, De Jos. 5; Athanasius Fr. Pss **Comm ,** Ps **36,31ff.,** ὁ **Ἰωσηφ, ὑπὸ φθόνου** καὶ **συκοφαντίας πολεμήθεις;** De patientia 5 etc. **and all folly.** for **ἀφροσύνη** as 'sin', see e.g., **T L.** 7 3 Ps **38(37),6,** 69(68),6 Prov 5 5 LXX 5 23 19,3 **Eccl** 7 25 Job 1 22 4 6 Lam 2 14 WisSol 12 23 Mk 7 22 **1Clem** 13 1; Hermas Sim. 9,15 3

2,14 **For I knew: see v. 13** **that I had devised an evil deed:** see T B 3 6 Cf. for such an expression WisSol 3 14 TJob 49 1 Philo **Mut nom** 240 Mt 9 4 Epictetus I 3 1 4 Enchiridion 21

T SIMEON 3,1–5,3

Translation

3,1 And now, my children,
be aware of the spirits of deceit and of envy
2 For envy also rules over the entire mind of man,
and does not let him either eat or drink or do any good thing,
3 Always[7] it suggests him to kill him who is envied
and he who is envied always flourishes,
but he who envies fades away
4 For two years of days I afflicted my soul with fasting in the fear of the Lord,
and I learnt
that deliverance from envy comes by the fear of God

5 If[8] a man flees to the Lord,
the evil spirit runs away from him
and his mind becomes light,
6 and from then onwards he sympathises with him who is envied
and he does not condemn those who love him
and so he ceases from (his) envy
4,1 And my father asked concerning me,
because he saw that I was sullen,
and I said
I am pained in my liver
2 For I mourned more than all
because I was guilty of the selling of Joseph
3 And when we went down to Egypt,
and he bound me as a spy,
I knew that I was suffering justly
and I was not sad
4 But Joseph was a good man
and he had the spirit of God in him,
being compassionate and pitiful
he did not bear malice against me,
but he even loved me, as his other brothers
5 Beware, therefore, my children, of all jealousy and envy,
and walk in singleness of soul
and with a good heart,
keeping in mind your father's brother,
that God may give you also grace and glory and blessing upon your heads,
as you saw in his case
6 All his days he did not reproach us concerning this affair,
but he loved us as his own soul,
and beyond his own sons he glorified[9] us,
and he bestowed upon all of us riches and cattle and fruits
7 Do you, therefore, my beloved[10] children, also love each one his brother, with a good heart
and put away from you the spirit of envy
8 For this makes savage the soul
and destroys the body,
it gives anger and war to the mind"
and stirs (it) up to deeds of blood,
and leads the mind into frenzy,
and does not allow prudence to act in men,[12]
moreover, it takes away sleep
and gives tumult to the soul
and trembling to the body

9 For even in sleep some malicious jealousy deludes him and devours him,
and with evil spirits it disturbs his soul,
and it causes the body to be startled,
and the mind to awake from sleep in confusion
And as having an evil and poisonous spirit
so he appears to men
5,1 Therefore, Joseph was comely in appearance and beautiful to look upon,
because no wickedness dwelt in him
-- for the face makes manifest some of the trouble of the spirit -
2 And now, my children,
make your hearts good before the Lord
and make your ways straight before men,
and you will find grace before God and men
3 And be aware of acting impurely,
because impurity is the mother of all evils,
separating from God and bringing near to Beliar

Textcritical notes

7 πάντοτε *(bg)*. As lectio difficilior the asyndetic construction seems to be original. The variant **ἀλλὰ πάντοτε** *(ldmeafchij)* is an attempt to get a smoother text

8 **ἐάν** *(bk)* **The addition of γάρ in** *gldmeafchij* **is another attempt to get a smoother text**

* **ἐδόξασεν** The variant **καὶ ἐδόξασεν** *(b)* seems to be secondary. The scribe of *b* connected **ὑπὲρ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ** with the previous **ὡς την** *tyvyipr* **αὐτοῦ**, after which he **needed** the addition of another **καί** before the verb **ἐδόξασεν**

10 **ἀγαπητά** *(b)*. It is lacking in *(g)ldmeafchij* Perhaps it has been left out because of **hma**. It is the only place in the Testaments where we find this epithet with **τέκνα** (HOD) which is another reason to regard *b* as **original**

11 **τῷ διαβουλίῳ** *(eaf*; cf. *chij)* The dat. is to be preferred to the **acc** (**τὸ διαβούλιον** *bgldm*) which certainly is secondary (cf also the variant rcapexei **τὴν ψυχὴν** *gdmhij* at the end of this verse).

12 ev **ἀνθρώποις** *(gdmeaf)* *b* has wrongly left out ev (see . -ιν ev av)

Structure

3,1 Warning against the spirits of deceit in general and the spirit of envy in particular
3,2-3 The evil effects of **φθόνος**; it leads to murder (see previous chapter!)
3,4–6 Fear of the Lord delivers from envy - as Simeon knows from experience The relationship between the one who envies and the one who is envied is restored
4 1-3 Simeon's sorrow after his repentance He accepts his imprisonment in Egypt as **punishment**
4 4 Reference to Josephs compassion and love also for Simeon
4,5 Renewed warning against **ζῆλος** and **φθόνος**, and exhortation to live in singleness of soul and with a good heart following Joseph expecting God's blessing as in the case of Joseph
4 6 Again Josephs love and his care for all his brothers

4,7 Again direct exhortation and warning against φθόνος
4,8-9 Effects of φθόνος in the life of man (with regard to *tynyr*\ σωμα, διάνοια, συνεσις, νοῦς) also during man s sleep
5 1 Joseph, free of any inward disturbance, was a beautiful person!
5 2-3 General exhortation Be good before God and men and find grace before them Abstain from πορνεία, the root of all evil Transition to vs 4

Notes

3,1 **the spirits of deceit:** see on T R 2,1-2 The spirit of envy (see also 4,7) is clearly one of the many evil spirits.

3,2 **For envy also rules:** vice and the spirit of that vice are interchangeable, see INTRODUCTION 6.3.2 For rules over, cf. T.D 4 7 (Beliar subj.) T A 1,8 (id.); cf also Philo, Leg all III 187 ' because passion rules and lords it (κυριευει) over promiscuous hordes that have drifted together without purpose or meaning ..'; SentSexti 41. See further T.D. 3 2, (ὁ ftunoç) ... τῆς ... ψυχῆς κατακυριευει, and Hermas, Mand 12 2 3 ὅσοι δὲ ἂν κατακυριευθῶσιν υπ' αὐτῶν (= των ἐπιθυμιῶν των πονηρῶν). eat drink do any good thing: for the same combination, see Eccl 3,12f. LXX

3,3 **to kill** see on 2 7 **flourishes:** for this meaning of ἀνθεῖν, see, e.g Job 14 2 Ps 90(89) 6· 92(91),13, Hos 14 6 Sir 39,14· Philo Plant 159 Quod omnis 73 Plutarch De sera numinis vindicta 7 (Mor 553 B), Praecepta gerendae reipublicae 10 (Mor 804 E) **fades away:** refers to vs. 2b μαραίνεσθαι and composita are often used with ἀνθεῖν - ἄνθος, see Job 15,30, Philo Somn I 11, De Jos 130, Spec leg I 311; 325; Gig. 29; Jas 1,10f., Plutarch Praecepta gerendae reipublicae 10 (Mor 804 E) 'Fading away' because of one's feelings or passions is found in, e g Philo Somn II 109 ' .. For he deemed it a grievous shame to suffer any fair blossom of the soul to be withered (μαρανθῆναι)... by the streams which the Egyptian river of passion (TWV παθῶν), the body pours forth ...'; ClemHom 13,1,1, υπο λύπης μαρανθέντα; 17 2 5 φροντίδι τοῦ παθεῖν τι μαραίνεται; Plutarch, Amatorius 19 (Mor. 765 B)

3,4 **For two years of days** a hebraism see Gen 41,1, 2Sam 14,28 Jer 28(35),3, 1Mac 1,29 cf Gen 25 7 and 47 8 **I afflicted my soul with fasting:** cf 2,13 and the reference there to T.R. 1,9 and 10 Fasting is practised by Joseph in T.Jos. 3,4; 4,8; 9,2; 10,1. For the formulation ἐκάκωσα εν νηστειᾳ την ψυχην μου, cf. Ps 35(34),13 (LXX), ἐταπείνουν εν νηστειᾳ την *tyv)(T)*\ μου; 69(68),11 (LXX), συνέκαμψα εν νηστειᾳ την ψυχήν μου κακοῦν and ταπεινοῦν are parallels in Ps 38(37),9 (LXX) For κακοῦν τὴν ψυχήν, see Num 30 14 (LXX) (cf. 29,7). Compare also Philo Congr 107, to those who afflict and belittle themselves (τοῖς ἑαυτοὺς κακοῦσι καὶ συστέλλουσι) and are not puffed up by vaunting and self-pride **and I learnt:** ἔγνων as in 2 13.14; 4 3 T.G. 5 6 In T G 5,4–6 we find a similar idea (ὁ φόβος τοῦ υψιστου νικᾳ τὸ μῖσος!). **deliverance from envy:** for a similar use of λύσις, see Hesiod Theogonia 637 (λύσις ἔριδος); cf Philo Mut.nom 72 (λύπης ἡ φόβου κατάλυσις).

3,5 **If a man flees to the Lord:** this expression is used for a person in distress humbly asking God for help: see Esth 4,17 (k) LXX and Ps 143(142),9; cf JosAsen 12,7; 13,1 The reference therefore is to Simeon s attitude in 2 13 and 3,4a **the evil spirit runs away from him:** see T I 7 7 T D 5 1 T N 8 4 T B 5 2 and cf Tob 8 3 S καὶ ἀπέδραμεν τὸ δαιμόνιον

3,6 **he sympathises** contrast 2 4 my bowels were without sympathy and 3 3 For συμπαθεῖν see on T B 4,4 **ceases from (his) envy** after the evil spirit has run away Again a direct connection between vice and spirit of this vice

4,1-3 **Tnke up the theme of Simeon's repentance in 2,12-14**

4 1 **that I was sullen.** for σκυθρωπος, see Gen 40,7, Neh 2 2 v.l.. In Ps 35(34), 14 38(37),6ff ; 42(41),10; 43(42) 2 and JosAsen 10 7 we find σκυθρωπάζειν in connection with sorrow repentance and fasting **I am pained in my liver:** see 2,4.7 and 3,4 perhaps also 2 12 (and the principle behind it)

4 2 **I mourned:** cf 2,13 and see on T.R.. 1,9 and 10 **because I was guilty of the selling of Joseph** contradicts 2 9 11 πιπράσκειν, πρᾶσις, etc. are used in connection with Joseph in T.Z.. 4,3ff.10; T.D.. 1,5 T.N.. 7,4; T G 1,8, 2,3; 5 11 T Jos 1 5- 10 6 (cf 16 2) also in Ps 105(104),17; WisSol 10,13; Philo, De Jos.. 270 etc

4,3 **and he bound me as a spy** from Gen 42,24 and 42,9.11 14 16 31 34; see further T.S. INTRODUCTION p 110 **I knew** again ἔγνων, see on 2 13 **that I was suffering justly.** cf. T.R 3,8, 4,1

4 4 The picture of Joseph given in this verse and in v 6 (cf 5 1) agrees with that in T.Z 8,4–5 and T.Jos.. 17,4–7 **was a good man: see T D .1,4, and, in particular, T B.; see** T.B., INTRODUCTION pp.. 412f.. **he had the spirit of God in him.** see Gen 41,38 **being compassionate and pitiful:** see T Z.. 8,4. These (and related) words are often used in the parenetic passages of the Testaments in particular in T Z.;.see T Z , INTRODUCTION pp 254f **he did not bear malice** see T Z 8 4f and cf Gen 50 15-17 **but he even loved me: see v.. 6 and T.Jos. 17,4–5**

4,5 **Beware of all jealousy and envy** see T S , INTRODUCTION pp 109f , and on 2 6 and 2,13 **walk in singleness of soul and with a good heart:** a very general positive exhortation (as often in the Testaments).. ἁπλότης is the central virtue in T I For '(with) a good heart, see v.. 7 and T.Z. 7 2 and 1Chr 29 19 Prov 14,33 Eccl 9,7, Jdt 8,28; Sir 26 4 30 25(33,13); PssSol 3 2 Lk 8 15 Having a good heart' is one of the features of the wise and righteous **man. keeping in mind your father's brother, that God may give you:** see T Jos. 9 3 10,3; 18,1; cf.. T B.. 4,1. as **you saw in his** case cf. T.G 3 3

4 6 **he did not reproach he loved us** see again T Jos 17,4–5, T Z 8 5 **as his own soul** see T B 4,3.5 cf 1Sam 18,1.3 (LXX A), and Lev 19 18 34 (LXX, ως σεαυτόν) **and beyond his own sons - and fruits:** see T.Jos. 17,5-7.. **he glorified us he bestowed upon all of us:** cf. Josephus, Ant 2 197, κτησιν πολλην ἐχαρισατο The subject of δοξάζειν and χαρίζεσθαι is often a monarch see Esth 3,1, 6,6ff.; Dan 1,20 and 2 6 (LXX) 1Mac 2,18, 10,65.88, etc., and Esth 8,7, 2Mac 1,35; 4Mac 11,12 respectively

4 7 **love ... with a good heart** again a general exhortation drawing a conclusion after 4,4–6 See T Z.. 8 5 and T R.. 6 9 **and put away from you the spirit of envy:** corresponds with v 5a For the use of ἀφίσταναι in such a context see Eccl 11,10, Sir 30 23 38,10

4,8–9 Describe the evil effects of (the spirit of) φθόνος One should note the correlation **between** *ynyr'l* and σῶμα in vv. 8ab hi and 9bc see on 2,5.

4,8 **makes savage the soul** ἀγριοῦν etc. are not used in the LXX in connection with persons, but it is so found in Greek and Jewish Hellenistic literature Savage' is the man who is ruled by passions see Philo, Praem poen. 59 (on Esau and Jacob) 'One was wild (ἄγριον) and indocile brimful of fierce temper and lust (θυμοῦ . . ἐπιθυμίας), who to sum up armed the unreasoned part of the soul to war against the rational. The other was gentle and kindly (ἥμερον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον)', Spec leg HI 138; Josephus, Ant.. 16,63; Diodorus Siculus 19,6,6 οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τα μεν διὰ τὴν πλεονεξίαν, τὰ δὲ διὰ τὸν θυμὸν ἠγριωμένοι τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνῄρουν....; cf. also Ignatius Eph. 10,2 and Acta Jo 112 **destroys the body:** passions 'destroy', see Philo, Quod deus 136, των φθειρόντων ... παθων την διάνοιαν; Hermas Mand. 10,1,2, η λύπη . . καταφθείρει τον ἄνθρωπον it gives anger and war to the mind cf T.G 5 1 '(hatred, coupled with lying) ..... teaches slander and wrath and war (ὀργην καὶ πόλεμον) and violence'; cf 6,1ff.; T.Jud.. 16,4f.; and T D.. 5,2, 'and so you will not fall into pleasure and confusions (ταραχάς) but you will be in peace and no war (πόλεμος) will prevail over you

Compare also **Philo, Congr** 176, He judges it most profitable for him who chooses war **(πόλεμον)** instead of peace who by reason of **his** inward tumult and rebellion **(ταραχήν)** is armed as it were with the weapons of war ....."; Jas **3,14-4,2** (in connection with **ζῆλος**); **1Clem** 46 5 Why are there strife and passion and divisions and schisms and war **(πόλεμος)** among **you?**", see also H Windisch *Die katholischen Briefe* (*HbNT 15*) Tübingen ²**1930**, pp **26f.**, for further parallels For **ταραχή** used in some of these **parallels**, see v 9 The verb **παρέχειν** used here in v 8h (cf T.D. 2,4; 3,2; T.G 5 7) is found in a similar context in Plato Phaedo 66 B-D, **μυρίας ... ἀσχολίας παρέχει τὸ σῶμα ...** xal **γὰρ πολέμους καὶ στάσεις** xal **μαχας οὐδὲν ἄλλο παρέχει ἢ τὸ σῶμα** xal cd **τούτου ἐπιθυμίαι . . θόρυβον παρέχει καὶ ταραχην** xal' **ἐκπλήττει ..**, Respublica IX 572 AB **stirs up to deeds of blood:** cf. T D 4 2 and e.g. Plutarch Quomodo adulator ab **amico** internoscatur 17 (Mor 59 E) ev TW **πρὸς ὀργὴν ἑτέρους παροξύνειν** (cf also 28 [Mor 69 **A**]; Amatorius 3 [Mor. 750 **A**]; SentSexti 343). **παροξύνειν** is used parallel to **ταράττειν**. see T.D. 4 2· and Plutarch Coniugalia praecepta 45 (Mor.. 144 E); Quaestiones convivales III 8 2 (Mor 656 E and 657 A), **leads the mind into frenzy:** see on T.Jud. 19,1 '(love of money) makes him who has it **εἰς ἔκστασιν ἐμπεσειν'**. For **ἐξίσταναι** parallel to **ταράττειν**, see Epictetus II 22,6, '**you** are frequently bewildered **(ἐξίστασαι)** and disturbed **(ταράττῃ)** by your external impressions ...' **does not allow prudence to act in men (οὐκ) ἐᾷ** is found regularly in a context dealing with the inward confusion of men; see, e.g. Plutarch De recta ratione audiendi 5 (Mor. 39 EF), the envy **(φθόνος)** that is directed against a speaker . does not suffer the person in such a mood even to pay attention **(οὐδὲ προσέχειν ἐᾷ)** to what is being said but it confuses and distracts his **mind (τὴν διάνοιαν)**..... **ταραττομένην** xal **τρέμουσαν**'; De superstitione 1 (Mor 164 **F-165** A) Plato Respublica IX 572 A Philo **Leg.all. III** 160 For **σύνεσις**, see T R 6 4 T L 4 5 13,2; T.Jud 14,7 20 2 T Z 6 1 **it takes away sleep:** cf. Prov 4,16 and PssSol 4,16 for this expression; T.Jud 18 4 uses **ἀφιστᾷ**; see further v. 9 **gives tumult to the soul:** some striking parallels are found in the works of Philo.. See, **e.g „Mut.nom.** 72 What surgery has it for the passions which agitate and confound the soul **(παθῶν, ἃ κλονεῖ** xal **συγχεῖ τὴν ψυχήν)?'; Leg.all.** II 90 'for in truth the conduct of the virtuous man leans on discipline as on a rod settling and allaying the tumult and tossing of the soul **(τὸν κλόνον** xal' **σάλον τῆς ψυχῆς)'**; see also **Spec.leg.** I 292· Cher.. **12f** ; Leg.all. **III** 53· **Post.Caini** 22· 32 Conf 69 **and trembling to the body:** cf. Plutarch, De recta ratione audiendi 5 (Mor 39 F) quoted on v 8· Philo Quod **det.** pot.. 119· **Praem poen.** 72 (on Cain, commenting Gen 4,12)

4 9 On this verse, see the commentary on T.R.. 3,7.. **some malicious jealousy ... devours him:** contrast Ps **69(68),10** (LXX), **ὅτι ὁ ζῆλος τοῦ οἴκου σου κατέφαγεν με** (cf Jn 2,17).. **with evil spirits it disturbs the soul:** cf. 5,1; T.L. 13 6 T.Jud 14,3 T.Z. 8 6 T.D.. 4 2.7 T.G.. 6 2· T.A.. 6,5; T.Jos.. 7 5 . For **'disturbance'**, see also on v. 8 and on T.B.. 6,5. **and it causes the body to be startled:** interestingly there is a parallel in Galenus (ed C.. G **Kuhn**, Leipzig 1821-33.,vol., 16 p.. 221) where **ἐκθροεῖσθαι** is used together with dreams and fantasies (of ill people) **λέγω τὰ ἐνύπνια ... ὡς ἐκθροεῖσθαι τῶν ὕπνων αὐτούς, ἀναπηδῶντας ἢ φθεγγομένους διὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῶν φαντασμάτων to awake from sleep in confusion:** for **διυπνίζεσθαι**, see, e.g., TAb A 5 ClemHom 2 1 1 8 3 1 14.J 1 17,14,7. as **having an evil and poisonous spirit: ἰός** and **ἰοβόλος** are often used metaphorically see e g Ps 13,3 LXX; 140(139),4; TJob 43,8.12; Jas 3 8 etc See also on T R..5,3..A special connection with envy is found in Aeschylus, Agamemnon **832ff.**, Yes, rare among men are those to whom it is natural to respect **ἄνευ φθόνου** a friend who is fortunate since the venom of malevolence besetting the heart **(δυοφρων** yap ἰὸς **καρδίαν προσήμενος)**, doubles the load to the owner of the **disease:** at one and the same time he is weighed down by his own sorrows and groans at the sight of the **other's** prosperity' see also Philo Leg 48 For envy

(φθόνος) has never gained the mastery over the habitable world . . . But like a venomous reptile (ἰοβόλου τρόπον ἑρπετοῦ) it creeps into tiny hiding places . . . - John Chrysostom, **Hom.** 55 3 in **Jo** . frnoîov γάρ εστιν ἰοβόλον ο φθόνος; cf. Plutarch, **Quaestiones** convivales V 7 3 (Mor 681 EF) so **he appears to men**· a consequence of the correspondence between soul and body found in vv **8–9**, see on 2 5. For face corresponding to heart/mind, cf 4 1; 5,1; T N. 2 6; T.Jos. 7 2 Cf Prov 15 13 Sir 13,26; 26,4, **Neh** 2,2, and, again Plutarch Quaestiones convivales V 7 3

5,1 Again, Joseph is mentioned as a positive counterpart **comely in appearance and beautiful to look upon**· see Gen 39 6 (LXX) καλὸς τῷ εἴδει καὶ ὡραῖος τῇ ὄψει, and also T N. 1 7f and T Jos. 18,4; Jub 39,5. **no wickedness dwelt in him:** contrast 4 9 πνεῦμα πονηρόν, and note 4,4 'he had the spirit of God in him

5,2 **make your hearts good:** cf Ἐν ἀγαθῇ καρδίᾳ in 4 5 7 **make your ways straight:** see Sir 2,6 πιστεύσον αὐτῷ . . . riftwov τὰς ὁδούς σου (cf. with God as subject 37,15 49,9). Sir 2,2 has the expression εὐθύνειν την καρδίαν; cf. Josh 24 23 and εὐθύτης καρδίας in T.I. 3 1 T G 7 7; cf T I 4,6. **and you will find grace before God and men:** see on T R. 4,8. Note the Lord . . . . men/God . . . . men' in this verse.

5,3 **be aware of acting impurely** the author now mentions, rather unexpectedly, πορνεία, according to **T.R.** 3 3 the first among the spirits of deceit. **the mother of all evils**· an expression used in T B 7 2 in connection with the sword. For a similar use of μητηρ, cf Tob 4 13; Philo **Leg. all. III** 131 Spec leg IV 231 **separating from God and bringing near to Beliar** see on T R 4 6

T SIMEON 5,4–7,3

Translation

5,4 For I have seen in the writing of Enoch
that your sons will be destroyed with you[13] in impurity
and will do harm to Levi with the sword,
5 but they will not prevail against Levi,
because he will wage the war of the Lord
and will conquer all your hosts,
6 and they will be few in number, divided among Levi and Judah,
and there will be none[14] of you for sovereignty,
as also my father Jacob prophesied in his blessings

6,1 - Behold I have told you all things beforehand,
that I may be acquitted of the sin of your souls -

2 But if you remove from yourselves envy and all stiff-neckedness,
my bones will flourish as a rose in Israel
and my flesh as a lily in Jacob,
and my odour will be as the odour of frankincense (or of the Lebanon)
and holy ones will be multiplied[15] from me as cedars for ever
and their branches will stretch afar off.
3 Then the seed of Canaan will perish
and there will not be a remnant to Amalek
and all the Cappadocians will perish
and all the Hittites will be utterly destroyed

4 Then the land of Ham will fail
and the whole nation will perish
Then the whole **earth**[16] will rest from trouble
and all (the world) under heaven from war
5 Then Shem will be glorified,
because the Lord God is the mighty one of Israel,
appearing on earth as a man
and saving Adam through him
6 Then all the spirits of deceit will be given to be trodden under foot
and men will rule over the evil spirits
7 Then I shall arise in joy
and I shall bless the Most High because **of**[17] his marvellous works,
for God, taking a body and eating with men, saved men
7,1 And now, my children,
obey Levi,
and through Judah you will be redeemed
And do not exalt yourselves against those two tribes,
because from them the salvation of God will arise for you
2 For the Lord will raise up from Levi someone as a highpriest
and from Judah someone as a king,
God and man
This **one**[18] will save all the Gentiles and the race of Israel
3 Therefore, I give you all these **commands**,[19]
that you also may command your children
that they may observe them through their generations

Textcritical notes

[13] **μεθ' υμων** *(b)* This reading is original over against the smoother **μεθ' ὑμας** (***glaf***, cf *dm*). See v 5 **νικήσει πᾶσαν παρεμβολὴν ὑμων**

[14] **οὐκ ἔσται.** The reading of *b* (without **οὐκ**) does not make **sense.**

[15] **πληθυνθήσονται** (***gldmafchij***) The sing (**πληθυνθησεται** *b*) is wrong the verb is not a parallel with the previous **ἀνθήσει . . ἔσται**, but is to be connected with a new subject ftyiOL

[16] **ἡ γη πασα** *(b)*. **πασα ἡ γη** (***ldeafchij***; cf., *g*) give the words in the more usual **order** (cf also the following Jtàoa **ἡ** for **οὐρανόν**); this is consequently lectio facilior and secondary

[17] ev *(b)*. The reading **ἐπί** (***gldmeafchij***) is a stylistic **correction.** ev and **ἐπί** have the same meaning in this context (cf., e.g. Ps **150,1f.**; Sir 11,2).

[18] **οὗτος** (all **MSS** except ***bi***), **οὕτως** *(bi)* is just an orthographic variant. Subject of **σωσει** is not **κύριος**, but the one who will be God and man

[19] **πάντα ταῦτα** (***ld***). The omissions of **ταυτα** (***bm***), of **πάντα** *(eafb)* and of **πάντα ταυτα** (***ghij***) seem to be secondary

Structure

The section dealing with the future is, in fact, a triptych **5,4–6** form an L. passage, similar to T.R., **6,5-8**, warning against future sins against the tribe of Levi; Judah is mentioned only in passing (v. 6). 7,1-2 is an L.J. passage proper: exhorting to obey these two tribes, because **God's** salvation will come from them 62-7 is a prophecy in hymnic form particular to T.S

dealing with the glorious future of the tribe of Simeon, and Simeon's resurrection. 6,1 and 7 3 are typical testamentary elements connecting exhortation and prediction. In detail:

5 4 Reference to the writing of Enoch Prediction of destruction through impurity (link with v 3) and war against the tribe of Levi

5,5 Levi will prevail, as fighter for the Lord

5,6 **The** sons **of** Simeon will **be** brought **to** nothing **- as Gen 49,5-7 has** made clear

(6,1)

6 2 If the sons of Simeon will take away **φθόνος(!)** and stiff-neckedness there will be a glorious future for them

6,3–4ab Final destruction of the enemies of Israel

6 4cd-5 Peace on earth and glory for **Shem.**.Reference to the incarnation and the salvation of mankind

6 6 Subjection of evil spirits

6,7 Resurrection of Simeon.. Again, a reference to the incarnation and the salvation of mankind. **Note** the repetition of **τότε** in vv 4(2x),5 6 and 7

7,1 Exhortation to obey Levi and Judah not to resist them it is from them that **God's** salvation will come

7 2 Explanation of v 1. reference to *God and man* as a highpriest and as a king from Levi and Judah who will save the Gentiles and Israel

(7 3 Also transition to 8 1)

Notes

5,4 **For I have seen in the writing of Enoch:** see T L. 10,5 14 1 (see also note), 16,1, T.Jud 18 1 T.D. 5,6; T N 4 1· T B 9 1 Enoch **is** mentioned as an authority concerning the future - mainly in S E.R.. passages (see INTRODUCTION.4.4.1). For T.Z. 3,4, see on this verse. In **1En** 12,3.4 15,1; 92,1; Jub 4 17ff Enoch is the first scribe to write down Gods revelations to mankind. Jub **7,38f.**, 10,17; 21,10 emphasize that his knowledge is handed down through **Methusalah-Lamech-Noah-his** children The Testaments emphasize; this tradition has gone on until the days of the sons of Jacob.. See also the parallel expression the writing of the fathers in T Z 9 5; cf T L 10 1 and Jub 21 10 **χαρακτήρ** (only here in the Testaments) may also mean 'written document (see Lampe s v sub 8) **will be destroyed.** cf. T.G.. 8 2 **in impurity: see v 3 will do harm to Levi:** cf T R 6,5 **For ἀδικεῖν ἐν, cf 2Chr 26,16, Ezek 17,20(LXX, non-B); Ps 44(43),18.**

5 5 **they will not prevail against Levi:** see, again, T.R. 6,5 **he will wage the war of the Lord** cf. T.R 6 12 The terminology is reminiscent of that used in connection with David see **1Sam** 18 17 (LXX non-B) **πολέμει τούς πολέμους κυρίου,** 25 28 cf 17 47 see however, also Cyril of Jerusalem, Procatech 10, ινα **πολεμον κυριου πολεμήσῃς** (sc the catechumen) 'ἵνα **νικήσῃς ἀντικειμένας ἐνεργείας**

5,6 **few in number:** in the OT God makes his enemies **ὀλιγοστός** -οι, cf. Obad 1,2(Edom) Isa 16,14(Moab) Ezek **29,15(Egypt);** and this is also Israel's punishment when it disobeys God, see Lev 26 22· Sir 48 16 (parallel: in Lev 26 33 and Sir 48 15 dispersion· cf **ἐπιμεριζομενοι** in our verse) See also Justin Dial.. 136 1 **divided among Levi and Judah:** adapted from the curse on Levi and Simeon in Gen 49 5-7; see Gen **49,7(LXX), διαμεριῶ αὐτούς** ev **Ἰακωβ** xai **διασπερῶ αὐτους** ev **Ἰσραήλ.** Judah is mentioned here only secondarily. **and there will be none of you for sovereignty·** contrast Judah in Gen 49,10 (LXX) **οὐκ ἐκλείψει ἄρχων ἐξ Ἰουδὰ** xai **ἡγούμενος as also my father Jacob prophesied in his blessings** cf. T L 6,6; T.I. 5 6; T.N. 2,1 In Gen 49 1 Jacob announces that he will tell what will befall them in days to come; Gen 49 28 (LXX) sums up: xai **ευλόγησεν αὐτους, ἕκαστον κατα τὴν εὐλογιαν αὐτου εὐλόγησεν αὐτους.**

6,1 Gives the reason for the patriarch s predictions concerning the future the sons have to be warned - and to warn their children by handing on the commandments see 7 3 T L 10,1; T I 6 3 T.D., 6,9; T N 4,1; 8,1; T.G., 8,1; T A 7,4; T B **10,4f.**; see INTRODUCTION 7 1 1. **Behold I have told you all things beforehand** cf Mk 13,23 Mt **24,25. that I may be acquitted of the sin of your souls:** see T.L 10 2 cf 14,2. For the terminology used here, cf Sir 26,29 Rom 6 7, Hermas Vis 3 9 1 For **the sin of your souls** cf **Micah** 6,7.

6,2 Returns to **φθόνος:** removal of envy will lead to a glorious future. **if you remove from yourselves:** cf. the use of **ἀφαιρεῖν** in Isa 1,16 Ezek 45,9 **and all stiff necked ness. σκληροτράχηλος** and **σκληρύνειν τὸν τράχηλον** denote sin and apostasy, disobedience against God and his commandments. It is used in connection with Israel in e.g **Ex 33,3.5; 34,9 Deut 9,6 13 10,16 Neh 9 16f 29 Jer 7 26 17,23 19 15 IBar 2,30** PssSol 8 29 Acts 7,51 and individual sinners Prov 29,1; Sir 16,11 See on this word K Berger, Hartherzigkeit und Gottesgesetz (Mc. **10,5)', *ZNW*** 61 (1970) **1–47. my bones will flourish as a rose will stretch afar off** taken by themselves clauses **2b–d** could refer to Simeon s resurrection but in view of 2a and 2ef it is more likely that they describe the future glory of the tribe; Simeon's own resurrection is not mentioned before v 7. Parallels to various motifs in (this part of) the present verse are found in Sir **39,13f ,** Listen **to me o you** holy **sons (υἱοὶ ὅσιοι), and bud** like **a rose** (tbç **ῥόδον)** growing by a stream of water send forth fragrance **(ὀσμήν)** like frankincense **(ως λίβανος),** and put forth blossoms like a lily **(καὶ ἀνθήσατε ἄνθος** tbç **κρίνον).** Scatter the fragrance **(ὀσμην) ..** One should also compare Sir **24,8 13–17** in the description of Wisdom's dwelling in Israel **'(8)** And he said: Make your dwelling in Jacob and in Israel receive your inheritance . . (13) I grew tall like a cedar in Lebanon **(ὡς κέδρος ἀνυψωθην** ev TW **Λιβάνῳ)**.... **(14)** and like rose plants in Jericho **(καὶ ὡς φυτὰ ῥόδου** ev **Ἰεριχω)** ... (15) ... I gave forth the aroma **(δέδωκα ὀσμήν)** of spices ... and like the fragrance of frankincense in the tabernacle (tbç **λιβάνου ἀτμὶς** Ἐν **σκηνῇ)** (16) Like a terebinth I spread out my branches **(ἐξέτεινα κλάδους μου),** and my branches are glorious **and** graceful **(καὶ οἱ κλάδοι** nou **κλάδοι δόξης καὶ χάριτος)** ... (17) . . **and my** blossoms **(καὶ τὰ ἄνθη μου)** became glorious and abundant fruit'. Interesting too is the description of Simon the highpriest in Sir 50 see v. 8, 'like roses **(ὡς ἄνθος ῥόδων)** in the days of the first fruits, like lilies (tbç **κρίνα)** by a spring of water, like a green shoot on Lebanon **(ως βλαστὸς Λιβάνου)** on a summer day'; cf v. 12 where Simon **is** said to be surrounded by a garland of brothers, he was like a young cedar on Lebanon (tbç **βλαστημα κέδρων** ev **τῷ Λιβάνῳ),** and they surrounded him like the trunks of palm trees Next Ps **92(91),13** (LXX) is of importance, **δίκαιος ὡς φοίνιξ ἀνθησει, ὡσει κέδρος** f) **ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ πληθυνθήσεται,** and Hos **14,6f.** (LXX) in **the** description of what will happen when Israel returns to the Lord, he shall blossom as the lily **(ἀνθήσει ως κρίνον) ..** his shoots shall spread out **(πορευσονται** oi **κλάδοι αὐτοῦ) ..** and his fragrance like Lebanon (xcd **η ὀσφρασία αὐτοῦ ὡς Λιβάνου)',** cf also Song **2,1f** 4,11 5,15 JosAsen 16,16 (ed. C Burchard). The picture of the glorious future for those who obey the Lord as found in our verse is clearly painted in traditional colours The introduction of my bones and my flesh may have been influenced by the image of healing' of flesh and bones found in Prov 3,22a LXX and by that of the impairing of flesh and bones found in Ps 38(37),4; PssSol 4 19 13,3; cf Lam 3 4. It is not entirely clear whether **λιβάνου** should be capitalized (and translated of the Lebanon) or not (and consequently be translated **'frankincense').** Hos 14 7 Song 4 11 refer to the odour of Lebanon in Sir 24 15 39 14 clearly frankincense is meant. At the same time Sir 24 13 speaks about a cedar on the Lebanon (same image in Ps **92[91],13)** a little before v 15 (see here v 2e after 2d) and also Sir 50 9 introduces **λίβανος** as frankincense

after **Λίβανος** = Lebanon in v 8 Did the author of the Testaments really choose between the two possible meanings? On **(stretch) afar off,** see Sir 24 32 Wisdom will make instruction shine **ἕως εἰς μακράν**

6,3 **Then** .. is repeated in v.. 4(2x), v 5, v. 6 and v 7 Cf. T.B **10,6–10.** This repetition is typical also for other apocalyptic passages See Isa **35,5–6; 1En 25,4–7,** 10,13.18 and **11,1-2;** Mt 24 9ff (cf Mk **13,14.21.26f.;** Lk **21,20ff.);** Did **16,4–8.** Punishment (by **God)** of foreign nations which are hostile to Israel on or before the Day of the Lord is a regular feature in the predictions of the prophets. The verbs **ἀπόλλυναι** and **ἐξολεθρεύειν,** used in the present verse and v 4a recur regularly also together see, e g Amos 1,8; Jer 47(29) 4 Ezek 25,7..16 For **Canaan** as enemy of Israel, see T.L 7 1 T Jud 11,1.. In the OT the Canaanites are often mentioned together with the Hittites (see below); in Num 14,25.43.45 we find Canaanites + Amalek (cf. also 13 29) **Zeph** 2,5 mentions Canaan and the Philistines (cf also Zech 14,21); see also on v.. 4. **the seed of Canaan will perish** same expression used of Amalek in Num 24,20 (see below) and of Moab in Num 21 30 LXX **Amalek** again one of the recognized enemies of Israel see e g., Ex **17,8–16;** Deut **25,17ff.;** Judg 3,13; 6 3 33 10,12 **1Sam** 14,48 **15,2ff ,** 28,18.. Note also Bileam's curse on Amalek in Num 24 20 (LXX) **καὶ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτῶν ἀπολεῖται.** For Amalek as enemy to be destroyed at the end of days see Targ.Ps..Jon. Neof.,, Fragm Targ on Num 24 20 and - by Jesus Christ - especially Barn 12,9; Justin **Dial.** 49,7f. (commenting on Ex **17,14–16);** cf also G H. Dix, The Messiah ben Joseph *JThS* 27 (1926) **130–43;** C C Torrey The Messiah Son of Ephraim *JBL* 66 (1947) 253.. **and there will not be a remnant.** for this use of **(ἐγ-) κατάλειμμα,** see 2Kgs 10 11; Ezra 9,14, Jer 11 23; cf Isa 14 22.30, Jer 27(50),26, Jub **24,30. The Cappadocians are the Philistines, see Deut 2,23; Amos 9,7; cf. Jer 47(29),4.** The Philistines and their country will be destroyed: Zeph **2,4f.;** Amos 1,8; Zech 9,6; Isa **14,28–31;** and particularly Jub **24,28–33** The **Hittites** were inhabitants of Canaan who fought Israel; they are often mentioned together with the Canaanites and others see Gen **15,20f.;** Ex 3,8.17; 13,5, 23 23 28 34 11 Num 13 29 (+ also Amalek) Deut 7 1 20 17; Josh 3 10 9,1; 11,3 etc.; **Neh** 9 8

6,4 **the land of Ham will fail:** with **Ham** Egypt is meant, cf PS 78(77),51; 105 (104) 23 27 106 (105),21-22; cf.. Jub 8,22-24 **will fail: ἐκλείπειν** is used in similar context in Zeph **1,2f.;** 2,9 LXX; Isa 7,8; 21,16 Jer 51(28),58.. For this prediction the curse on Canaan because of Ham s mistake in Gen 9 22ff. is important, cf. Jub **7,10ff.** and 22 21 For, owing to the transgression of Ham, Canaan erred and all his seed shall be destroyed from the earth and all the residue thereof, and none springing from him shall be saved on the day of judgment'; see also **10,30–33** **the whole earth will rest from trouble** see T.L.. 18,4, **καὶ ἔσται εἰρήνη ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ;** and cf.. Isa 2 4; 11,9; Micah 4 3; 5,3(4) Zech 8 12; and also 2Bar 72-74 (Messianic peace after the destruction of the enemies, 72,6). **from trouble from war:** for this combination, see T.Jud 16,5; T.D 5 2 **Philo,** Abr.. 27 Quis **heres** 244; Leg.. 68; **113** **all (the world) under heaven** see also T L.. 18,4.. **ἡ ὑπ' (ὑπὸ** TÓV) **οὐρανόν** is a regular expression in the LXX Parallel to **ἡ γῆ** it is found **in** Job **1,7** LXX; 5,10; 28,24; 34,13; Prov 8,28f **πᾶσα η ὑπ' οὐρανόν / ἡ ὑπ' οὐρανόν πασα** is found in Job 28,24; 41,2(3) in connection with God s creation and sovereign rule; in TAb A 15 in connection with God's power and judgment; in **1Bar** 5,3 it is used in the context of future salvation (the whole world will see Jerusalem's **splendour)**

6,5 **Then Shem will be glorified Shem** stands over against Ham He is an ancestor of Israel. Gen **11,10ff.; 1Chr 1,24ff.;** and also Philo, **Mut.nom.** 189 Justin Dial. 139,3.. He is blessed in Gen **9,26–27;** cf Jub **7,11f ,** 19,27 and especially 8,12. Shem is also mentioned in T.B 10 6 (cf Jub 19 27) So clearly Israel will be **glorified,** cf Isa 44 23

(LXX), ἐλυτρωσατο ο θεὸς τὸν Ἰακωβ, καὶ Ἰσραηλ δοξασθήσεται (cf 45,25, 60,7). As in v 4 the scope widenes to include the entire earth and mankind (**Adam**); cf. Sir 49,16, appearing on earth as a man: cf. v. 7 and 7 2 **T L.** 2 11 T Jud 24,1; T.I. 7,7; T.Z. 9,8; T D 5,13; T.N 4,5; 8,3; and in particular **T.A.** 7,3, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν ὡς ἄνθρωπος, T.B. 10,7, ΤΟΥ ἐπὶ γῆς φανέντα μορφῇ ἀνθρώπου; and T B 10 9 The Testaments use here standard Christian terminology: see, e.g., Justin, **Apol** II 10 1 Dial. 85,1 **Hippolytus**, Antichr. 6 ἐν σχήματι ἀνθρώπου ἐφάνη ὁ κύριος; Clement of Alexandria Exc. Thdot. 4,1; Origen, **Cels.** I 68; Athanasius, Fr. Pss. **Comm.**, Ps 67,17 ὁ Θεός ... ὀφθῆναι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις; id., PS **113,13**; Joannes Malalas, Chron. X (ed B G Niebuhr, Bonn 1831 p 228) ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐφάνη ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ ἔσωσε ΤΟΥ ἄνθρωπον saving Adam through him: the ἐν αὐτῷ is awkward; cf T.L. 2 11 σῴζων ἐν αὐτοῖς (Levi and **Judah**) πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων On **Adam**, see e.g. Gregorius Naz **Carm.** I 2.38.166 (after incarnation death and résurrection) πρὸς ζωὴν παλίνορσον Ἀδὰμ καὶ κῦδος ἀνάξῃ, Procopius **Gaz.**, on Gen 1,27 and on Isa **7,10ff** ὁμολογήσεις ΤΟΥ θεὸν Ἐν ἀνθρωπείᾳ μορφῇ πεφηνότα, ΤΟΥ Ἀδὰμ ἀνακτίζοντα

6,6 **Then all the spirits of deceit - rule over the evil spirits:** see T L 18 12 καὶ 6 Βελιαρ δεθήσεται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ δώσει ἐξουσιαν τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτου τοῦ πατεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρα πνευματα; T.Z. 9 8 Βελιάρ ... πᾶν πνεῦμα πονηρὸν πατηθησεται; T.L. 3 3 T.Jud 25,3. The devil (and his spirits) will be destroyed at the end of times: see, e.g., 1QS 3,18; **4,18–23**; 1QM 17 5-6; 18,1; AsMos 10,1; Jub 23,29; **1En** 10 6 Lk 10,17ff. (cf. PS **91[90],13!**); Jn 12,31; Rev 20,10; Justin Dial. 76,6; Eusebius Comm in **Pss.**, Ps 90,13 **Athanasius Hom. in Mt 21:2,7f. For** εἰς καταπάτησιν, see also T.Jos 19,3 ἀπωλεσεν εἰς καταπάτησιν; cf. **2Kgs** 13,7 T.L. 10,4 uses εἰς καταπατημα (cf Isa 5 5, 14 25, etc.).

6,7 **I shall arise in joy:** resurrection of patriarchs also in (T L. **18,13–14**;) T.Jud. 25; T.Z. 10 2 T.B. **10,6ff.**; see INTRODUCTION 7.4. ευφροσυνη also occurs in T.L **18,14**; T.Z. 10,2; cf T D. 5,12. T.B. 10,6 uses ἀγαλλίασις. The noun (εὐφροσύνη) and related verb are also used for future joy in Isa 25 6.9; 26,19 (LXX), ἀναστήσονται οἱ νεκροί . εὐφρανθήσονται οι ἐν τῇ γῇ; 56 7 60.15 65,18; 66.10 etc.; also in 1En 25,6, 51,5, 2Bar 30 2 ApMos 13,4. **and I shall bless the Most High** as eschatological motif also in Tob **14,6f.**; 1En 27,3ff **because of his marvellous works:** θαυμάσια often refer to God's saving activity: see, e g Ps 9 2 40(39),6; **71(70),17**; **72(71),18**, 75,2(74 3) **77(76),12.15**; cf. Mt 21 15. As subject for praise they are mentioned in **1Chr** 16,9.12; Ps **26(25),7.12**; **72(71),18**, 96(95),2f **for God, taking a body:** see v. 5 and 7 2 Again, standard Christian terminology see e.g., Origen Dial. 1,11 Athanasius, Inc. 9 32, ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν πάντων ἔλαβε σῶμα, 45; Ar. 1,42 Ep. Epict. 12 **eating with men.** see T.A. 7,3. μετὰ ἀνθρώπων ἐσθίων καὶ πίνων emphasizes Jesus Christ's real humanity; cf. Ignatius Trail 9 1 ὃς ἀληθῶς ἐγεννήθη, ἔφαγέν TE καὶ ἔπιεν; Athanasius, Ep. Epict 11 ὡς αὐτὸς ἐσθίων, καὶ πίνων, καὶ κοπιῶν, καὶ ἀποθνῃσκων, Inc et c Ar. 22, cf. also Origen, Sel. in **Ezech** 4 9

7 1 In this L J passage obedience to Levi (so v. 1a), and implicitly to Judah (v **1d**), is motivated by the fact that God's final salvation will be connected with these two tribes **obey Levi:** cf T I 5,8, **and through Judah you will be redeemed:** cf. T.L. **2,10f.**, καὶ περὶ τοῦ μελλοντος λυτροῦσθαι ΤΟΥ Ἰσραὴλ κηρύξεις· καὶ διὰ σοῦ καὶ Ἰουδὰ ὀφθήσεται κυριος ...; T.Z 9 8 ἀνατελεῖ . αὐτὸς λυτρώσεται; both passages bear a clearly Christian stamp; cf. Lk 24 21 ὁ μέλλων λυτροῦσθαι ΤΟΥ Ἰσραήλ. For λυτροῦν / λύτρωσις in connection with Jesus **Christ**, see e g. Lk 1.68, 2,38, Tit 2 14, Heb 9 12 Barn **14,5f.**, Justin, Dial 86 6 **do not exalt yourselves against:** see T Jud. 21 1 (μὴ ἐπαίρεσθε) and T R 6 5 (ζητησετε ὑψωθῆναι). **because from them the salvation of God will arise for you** see T D 5 10 T N 8 2 T G 8 1 T Jos 19 6 For ἀνατέλλειν

(ὑμῖν ... ἐξ), see Num 24 17 (LXX), ἀνατελεῖ ἄστοον ἐξ , Mal 4,2 (3,20 LXX) xai ἀνατελεῖ ὑμῖν ἥλιος δικαιοσύνης, Zech 6 12 (LXX), ἄνηρ .. 'Ανατολή àvaTEXEÎ (cf Heb 7 14 ὅτι ἐξ 'Ιούδα ἀνατέταλκεν ὁ κυριος ἡμῶν), texts regarded as fulfilled ın Jesus Chrıst by early Chrıstıan authors: so, e.g. Justin Dıal. 106 4 121,2 Apol I 32,12ff. (emphasis on Jesus descent from Judah via Isa 11 1.10); Origen Cels. I 59 VI 79 Comm. in Jo XXXII 24(16); Eusebius, D E. V 29, VII 3· IX 1 When ἀνατέλλειν occurs in L.J. passages Judah is mentioned *first* or *alone* see T.D. 5,10 (τὸ σωτηριον κυρίου subj.); T.N. 8 2 (Judah only σωτηρια subj.); T G 8 1 (κύριος subj. σωτῆρα obj.); T Jos 19 6 (ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεου subj.) Our verse forms an exception ın thıs regard, but ıt connects redemption wıth Judah in clause c For ἀνατέλλειν ın T L 18,3, T Jud. 24,1 (Num 24,17 LXX!), T Z 9,8 (Mal 3,20!), see on these verses τὸ σωτηριον Tot) θεοῦ used of future salvation also in T.Jud 22 2 T D 5,10 (see above) T.B. 9 2 10,5; cf σωτηρία in (T.L 17,2,) T D 6,10· T N. 8 2 (see above) T B 3 8 (11,2) We may compare here e.g. Lk 2,30–32 (cf. PS 98[97] 2f.) and 3 6 (cf Isa 40 5 LXX)

7,2 **the Lord will raise up:** gıves a further explanatıon (γάρ!) of the last two clauses of v 1 For thıs use of ἀνίσταναι, see Deut. 18 15.18 (prophet); Jer 23,5 (LXX), καὶ ἀναστησω τω Δανὶδ ἀνατολὴν δικαίαν, καὶ βασιλεύσει βασιλεύς, cf also Jer 30(37),9, Ezek 34,23; PssSol 17,21 (ın all cases [son of] David!) In Num 24,17 (LXX) ἀνατελεῖ is parallel wıth ἀναστήσεται (this form of ἀνίσταναι ıs also found in T L 8 14 and T.Jud. 24,1). Also these OT texts just mentıoned are related to Jesus Chrıst by early Christian authors. see, e g , Acts 3,22; 7,37, Clement of Alexandria, Paıd I 7 (60,3) (all Deut 18 15)· Eusebius, D. E I 3 7 VII 3 (Jer 23,5 with 37 9 and Mal 4,2, Zech 6 12), etc **someone as a highpriest ... someone as a king·** one person is meant (see οὗτος in the last clause): Jesus Chrıst; cf Irenaeus Fr. 17 ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Λευι xai τοῦ 'Ιούδα το κατὰ σάρκα, ὡς βασιλευς xai ἱερευς, ἐγεννηθη, ıdentıcal wıth Hıppolytus Ben Mos (ed Brière-Maries-Mercıer P O 27 1-2), p 126 See also Hıppolytus, Ben Jac. 12 *(P O* 27,1-2, p 52), τὸν ἐκ 'Ιουδα γενόμενον TOV ἐκ τοῦ Λευὶ ἱεοέα τοῦ πατρὸς ευρισκομενον; ıd., p 72 ἵνα ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν xai βασιλεὺς xai ἱερεὺς (ὁ υἱὸς) TOÜ ftEoü ἀποδειχθῇ **God and man:** see, e.g. Irenaeus, Fr IX ın Analecta Sacra, ed J B Pıtra II p 208 Κυριος xai Θεός, τουτέστι Θεὸς xai ἀνθρωπος, Χριστὸς 'Ιησοῦς, Clement of Alexandrıa Prot I (7 1) αὐτὸς οὗτος ο λογος, ο μονος ἄμφω, θεός τε xai ἄνθρωπος; Origen Dıal 1,14f , 2,11 Athanasıus, Apoll. 1,13 ConstApp VII 26,3. **all the Gentiles and the race of Israel** also in T Jos 19 6 and T B 3 8 the Gentiles are mentıoned before Israel.

7,3 See on 6 1 **through their generations** also ın the OT the expressıon εἰς τὰς γενεὰς αὐτῶν ıs (nearly always) used ın connection wıth the keeping of (God's) commandments: see, e.g Gen 17,9; Ex 12,42; 31,16; 40,15; Lev 7,36; Num 15 38 18 23 (cf also εις γενεὰς υμων in the same context ın Ex 12 17· 27 21 etc)

T SIMEON 8–9

Translatıon

8,1 And Sımeon made an end of commandıng hıs sons
and he slept with hıs fathers, being a hundred and twenty years old
2 And they laıd him ın a coffin of incorruptible (acacıa-) wood
to carry up hıs bones to Hebron;
and they brought them up secretly durıng the war of the Egyptıans

3 For the Egyptians guarded the bones of Joseph in the treasure-house of the palace [20]

4 For the sorcerers had told them
that on the departure of the bones of Joseph
there would be darkness and gloom in the whole land of Egypt[21]
and a very great plague to the Egyptians,
so that (even) with a lamp no one would recognize his brother.

9,1 And the sons of Simeon wept for their father according to the law of mourning
And they were in Egypt until the day of their departure from Egypt by the hand of Moses

Textcritical notes

[20] των βασιλείων (W). The variant TWV βασιλέων (*deafchij*) is lectio facilior. The reading of *bl* (βασίλεια meaning palace') makes good sense. Cf also T.Jos. 9 2

[21] γῃ Αἰγύπτῳ (*d*). γῇ (also in *e*) seems to be original over against τῃ (6) or τῇ γῃ (*lafchij*) The dat. Αἰγυπτῳ (also in *b*) is to be preferred to the genit. Αἰγυπτου (*eaf*; cf Αἰγυπτίων *l*) which is lectio facilior Cf also Ex 12 30 (LXX) ev πάσῃ γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ

Structure

Besides the usual elements in the concluding passages of the individual testaments T S has some extra information: a) on the war of the Egyptians as occasion for bringing the bones of the patriarchs (minus Joseph) to Hebron (8 2c); b) on the careful guarding of Joseph s bones and the reasons given for that (8,3–4), c) the sons of the patriarchs remain in Egypt until the exodus (9 1)

Notes

8,1 And Simeon made an end of commanding his sons note the connection with 7,3 and compare **T.L.** 19,4; T B 12,1 (and Gen 49 33) For the terminology, see Deut 31,1 LXX and 32,45 (LXX) καὶ συνετέλεσεν Μωυσῆς λαλων ...; cf Jub 22,25 **and he slept with his fathers** no exact parallel in the Testaments.. It is used of the death of kings in 1-2 Kings ans 1-2 Chronicles see **1Kgs** 2,10 (David after his farewell speech); 11,43, 14,20.31, etc The expression κοιμασθαι μετα TWV πατέρων occurs also in Gen 47 30 Deut 31,16; cf. Jub 10,15.. **a hundred and twenty years old:** see on 1,1

8,2 they laid him in a coffin: θήκη also in T Z 10,6 (not used in the LXX in this sense), cf T B 12,2 παραθήκη. **T.R.** 7,2 and T.L 19,5 use σορός (cf. Gen 50,26) **incorruptible (acacia-) wood:** ξύλα ἄσηπτα is in the LXX the regular translation of עֲצֵי שִׁטִּים (acacia-wood) see e g Ex 25,5.10 13.28; Deut 10 3 always in connection with the tabernacle, the ark and the altar **to carry up they brought them up** ἀνάγειν is also used in T.Jud 26,3 T.I. 7,8 T.Z. 10 7 T G. 8 5 **T A.** 8,2, T.Jos. 20,2f., T B 12,3; cf. Josh 24,32 (LXX) καὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ Ἰωσὴφ ανηγαγον οι υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου. For ἀναφέρειν, see on **T.R.** 7,2. **secretly during the war of the Egyptians:** cf T.B. 12,3, ἀνήγαγον τα ὀστᾶ TWV πατερων αὐτῶν ev κρυφῇ, ev τῷ πολέμῳ Χανάαν This is dated in the ninety-first year after the entrance into Egypt see also T.G 8 5, και μετὰ πέντε ἔτη (i e after Gad's death at the age of 127) According to **Josephus, Ant** 2,199f

the bodies of Joseph s brothers were carried **some** time afterwards **(μετὰ χρόνον)** by their descendants to Hebron and buried there (cf. Acts 7 16). Joseph's bones were only brought to Canaan later in accordance with the oath mentioned in Gen **50,25** Jub **46,9–10** mentions a war between the kings of Egypt and Canaan, and the burial of the bones of the brothers minus Joseph in Hebron.. **Amram** remains in Hebron at this occasion - a fact also found in 4Q 'Amram [b] 1,1-8 (see J.. T.. **Milik,** *RB* 79 [1972] 85) Even the date given in T.B.. 12 3 and T G 8 5 agrees with that in Jub 46 9 (connected with those in Jub 28,20 and 45,1)

8,3 **guarded the bones of Joseph**· cf. Gen 50 26 and Jub 46,6, cf. L. Ginzberg *Legends* V p 376 n 438.. **in the treasure-house of the palace:** cf. T.Jos 9,2; Ps **105(104),30** (LXX) **ἐν** ΤΟΙÇ **ταμιείοις των βασιλέων** (BA* **βασιλείων) αὐτῶν;** Philo, De Jos 258

8,4 **sorcerers: ἐπαοιδοί,** also in Ex 7 11.22; **8,7(3)** 18f.(14f.). **darkness and gloom in the whole land of Egypt**· ἐν **πάσῃ γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ** and similar expressions recur time and again in Ex 7-12;· exactly the same wording in Ex 12,30 (LXX).. **darkness** is in particular mentioned during the ninth plague (Ex **10,21ff.**; cf WisSol 17,1-18,4); see also T Jos 20,2 where Joseph promises that the Lord will be ev (pom when his children will bring his bones to the promised land and Beliar ἐν **σκότει εσται μετα των Αἰγυπτίων** **and a very great plague to the Egyptians.** for **πληγη** in connection with Egypt see T.D 5 8 Ex 11,1(12,13) **1Sam** 4 8 Jdt 5,12; **Philo,** Sacrif. 134 **(πλήγη μεγάλη),** etc. The expression **πλήγη μεγάλη σφόδρα** is found in Num 11 33 Judg 11,33; **1Sam** 4,10; 6 19 19 8 LXX; Job 2,13; Rev 16 21 **no one would recognize his brother** see Ex 10,23

9 1 **wept for their father** cf T.Jos. 20,5 and Gen 50,1; Num 20,29· Deut 34 8 **1Mac** 9,20 **according to the law of mourning:** this expression is formed in analogy of **ὁ** νόμος **τοῦ πάσχα** in Ex 12 43 ο νόμος **τῆς ὁλοκαυτώσεως** in Lev 6 9(2) ο νόμος **τῆς θυσίας** in Lev 6 14(7) etc but it does not itself occur in the LXX **And they were in Egypt until the day of their departure from Egypt** cf T B. 12,4. **by the hand of Moses** ev **χειρὶ Μωυσῆ** is found often in the LXX· see esp.. Num 33 1 (LXX) **ὡς ἐξῆλθον ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου σὺν δυνάμει αυτων** ev **χειρὶ Μωυσῆ καὶ Ἀαρων;** cf. Ps **77(76),21**

THE TESTAMENT OF LEVI CONCERNING PRIESTHOOD AND ARROGANCE

INTRODUCTION

The content and structure of T.L differ considerably from those of the other testaments The biographical element dominates in the first part of the testament. After the introduction to the testament in chapter 1 and some biographical details in 2,1-2, 2,3–6,2 give an elaborate description of a vision of Levi including a heavenly journey 6,3-7,4 tell the story of what happened at Shechem (Gen 34) and reflect upon it Chapter 8 recounts a second vision, while chapter 9 concentrates on Isaac's instructions to Levi as priest. Chapters 11 and 12 give biographical details concerning Levi's children and grandchildren, and Levi's life Only chapter 13 is devoted to direct exhortation emphasizing righteousness and wisdom (in 19,1-3, there is a solemn pledge of Levi's sons to walk in accordance with the law of the Lord)

Much attention is paid to the predictions of the future, in particular to the description of the future sins of the sons of Levi (see chapters 10; 14f.; 16; 17; and already 4,4–6), and the announcement of a new priest (chapter 18) Chapter 19 forms the conclusion of the testament

The title of the testament found in *bldmef* (cf *g)* rightly mentions priesthood as an important theme Levi's two visions are concerned with his investiture as priest, priesthood is also the subject of chapters 9 and 18 Many of the chapters dealing with the future are concerned with the shortcomings and sins of Levi's descendants and their attitude is, no doubt, envisaged in the καὶ υπερηφανιας ('and arrogance') of the testament's title One should note that 1,1 tells us that the testament is concemed with 'all that they (the sons of Levi) would do and that would befall them until the day of judgment' For the author of the present testament, the emphasis clearly lay on the predictions concerning the future as much as on the moral exhortation of the book Clearly Levi's sons are the central figures in Israel. Therefore, their sins and God's judgment on these sins are very important Here we should already note that the sins mentioned in 4,4, 10; 14f ; 16 are clearly sins against Jesus Christ, and also that the new priest of chapter 18 is not connected with the tribe of Levi

Traditional material

The structure of T L is not very clear Why, for instance, is Isaac's instruction in chapter 9 followed by a chapter dealing with sins and punishment, which runs parallel to chapters 14f., and chapter 16, and why should there be so much repetition in the descriptions of sin and punishment? Why do we find biographical passages in chapters 11f , explicitly introducing Levi's children in 12,6 as 'the third generation'?

Comparison with existing Aramaic and Greek fragments of various provenance may offer at least some explanation A full description of the parallel material can be found in the INTRODUCTION 3 1-3 It consists of Aramaic fragments from Qumran caves 1 and 4 and from the Cairo Genizah, as well as Greek material (partly parallel to the Aramaic) inserted in the text of T L found in MS *e* at 2,3, 5,2 and 18,2 In the INTRODUCTION 3 1–3, we argued that these fragments witness to the existence of one Aramaic Levi-document roughly corresponding to T L 2-9; 11-12, 13, and, perhaps, also 14 The document, preserved only very fragmentarily, may have contained more material corresponding to the present testament of Levi, but we cannot be certain

It is likely that the present T L was modelled upon a Levi-document resembling the Aramaic Levi-document we are able to reconstruct (however imperfectly) Comparison between the various fragments and the Greek text found in the Testaments allows us to have some idea as to what the author may have taken over from his 'Vorlage', how he adapted it and what he added or omitted Yet we should keep in mind that we do not have the direct 'Vorlage' of T L before us Nor do we know in what language the author of the Testaments could consult his material

T LEVI 1

Translation

1,1 A copy of the words of Levi,
which he enjoined on his sons before his **death,**[1]
according to all that they would do
and that would befall them until the day of judgment

2 He was in good health when he called them to him,
for it had been revealed to him that he would die
And when they were gathered together,
he said to them

Textcritical note

[1] **πρὸ τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ** (*glef*; cf *dm*), omitted in *bac* through **him** A reference to the coming death of the patriarch (but worded in different ways) is also found in T.R. 1 1 T S 1,1, T Jud 1,1, T D 1,1, T N 1,1; T Jos 1,1

Structure

Introduction to the testament Note the emphasis in v 1 on the future deeds of the sons of Levi their fate and the day of judgment (cf. 3,2f.; 4,1; 15 2 18 2)

Notes

1 1 **A copy of the words cf.** T S 1 1 T Jud 1,1, T I 1,1, T.D 1,1, T B 1 1 **which he enjoined on** cf **T.Z** 1 1· T.N 1,1, T B 1 1; it corresponds with **διαθηκη** in T.R. 1,1; T N 1,1; T G 1,1; T A 1,1; T Jos. 1 1 **before his death** a typical element of this genre (see textcritical note 1) **all that they would do** clearly their evil deeds are

envisaged, cf 10,2, all your ungodliness and transgression which you will commit at the consummation of the ages'· T.Jud 18,1, 23,1, T.Z.. 9 5·· T.N.. 4,1.. **that would befall them:** cf. Gen 49 1 (LXX) **ἵνα ἀναγγείλω ὑμῖν, τί ἀπαντήσει ὑμῖν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν;** **1En** 91 1; TJac 5 Compare also Deut 31,29; Dan 10,14. Here in particular God s retribution will be meant (see esp.. Deut 31,29).. **until the day of judgment:** for **ημέρα κρίσεως** at the end of times see Jdt 16,17; **PssSol** 15,12 lEn **22,13; 100,4,** 3Bar **1,7, Mt 10,15; 11,22.24, 2Pet 2.9, etc.. God's judgment on the sins of men plays an** important role in this testament (see under STRUCTURE)

1 2 **He was in good health:** cf. T.N. 1,2; T A 1 2; T.L 7 9 and also Deut 34,7; Jub 35 7f **for it had been revealed to him that he would die** in the testament situation the speaker knows that he is going to die In T R 1.3, T Jud 26 2· T Z 10,1· T.D. 2 1 T N.. **1,3f.**, T.B.. 10.2., the patriarchs announce their death.. In T N 1 4 (see note) we may suppose a vision during the preceding night· cf. Jub 35 6

GENERAL REMARK ON THE STRUCTURE OF **T L** 2 7

The chapters 2-7 form a unity, however great the variation in the constituent parts may be A short survey of this very difficult section of T L. may be given here

2,1f. give, very briefly, some biographical details, leading up to a general reference to Levi's action at Shechem (Gen 34). This action is described and reflected upon in 6,3-7,4, and commanded in the last section of Levi's vision by the accompanying angel (see 5,3, and cf v 4, immediately after God has appointed Levi as priest in **5,1f.**).

2,3f. give an introduction to the vision. Levi, pasturing the flocks in Abelmaul, 'sees' the wickedness of mankind and asks to be saved. It corresponds to 4,2-6

In 2,5, the vision proper begins Levi, welcomed by the angel who is to accompany him, sees three heavens **(2,6–8)** and hears about another four (2,9), and about his forthcoming priestly task **(2,10–12)**

3,1-8 is entirely devoted to a description of the seven heavens by the angel, leading up to an account of the contrasting reactions of angels and mankind when God appears **(3,9f)**

4,1 describes in an excursus God's judgment on unbelieving and unrighteous men at the death of Jesus Christ This is followed by the announcement that God has heard Levi's prayer in 2,3f He will be God's priest until the coming of Jesus Christ against whom his sons will sin **(4,2–6)**

5,1f. describe Levi's encounter with the Holy One, and his calling

5,3–6 mention the final conversation with the angel who commands Levi to execute vengeance on Shechem

5,7–6,2 give a description of the end of the vision and Levi's reaction to it.

Finally, 6,3-7,4 describe the Shechem episode plus commentary on Levi's action

T **LEVI** 2

Translation

2,1 I, Levi, was conceived in Haran
and born there,
and after that I came with my father to Shechem

2 And I was a young man of about twenty years of age,
when, with Simeon, I avenged our sister Dinah on **Hamor**.
3 And when we were feeding the **flocks**[2] in Abelmaul,
the spirit of understanding of the Lord came upon me,
and I saw all men corrupting their way
and that unrighteousness had built for itself walls
and lawlessness sat upon towers
4 And I felt grief for the race of the sons of **men**[3]
and I prayed to the Lord that I might be saved
5 Then a sleep fell upon me
and I beheld a high mountain
(that was the mountain of the Shield in Abelmaul),
6 and behold, the heavens were opened
and an angel of God said to me: Levi, enter!
7 And I entered from the first heaven into the second one,
and I saw there a water hanging between the one and the other
8 **And**[4] I saw a third heaven, far brighter and more **brilliant**[5] than these two,
for in it there was also a boundless height
9 And I said to the angel
Why so?
And the angel said to me
Do not marvel at these,
for you will see four other heavens, more brilliant and incomparable,
when you ascend there.
10 For you will stand **near**[6] the Lord
and will be his minister
and will declare his mysteries to men
and will proclaim concerning him who will redeem Israel
11 And by you and Judah the Lord will appear among men,
saving through them the whole race of men
12 And from the Lord's portion will be your life,
and he will be your field, vineyard, fruits, gold, silver

Textcritical notes

[2] εποιμαινομεν (*bl*). This reading is slightly more difficult than ἐποίμαινον (*dmeafchij*; cf *g*) in view of the use of the first person **sing.** in the direct context.
τῶν υἱῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων (*gldfhij*; cf. c) Omission of υἱῶν των (*bkme*) will be due to **hmt.** or to an attempt to meet the standard expression **τὸ γένος** TUV **ἀνθρώπων.**

[3] **καὶ.** The addition of **ἔτι** (*g(l)meafchij*) seems an attempt to give a somewhat smoother text (**καὶ εἶδον . καὶ ἔτι εἶδον . . .**).

[5] **καὶ φαιδρότερον** (*glmefchij*) omitted in *bka* through hmt

" ou ἐγγυς (*geaf*) This reading emphasizing the role of Levi himself (cf 5 2 8 3) is preferable to the variant σύνεγγυς (*bkl*)

Structure

2 1-2 **Levi's** birth in Haran and his removal to **Shechem** A general reference to his (and Simeon's) vengeance on **Hamor**

2,3–4 General vision: the sins of men. Levi s prayer to be saved (answered in 4 2-6)

2,5 Vision of heavenly journey. Starting-point: a high mountain

2,6 The opening of the heavens the meeting with the accompanying angel

2 7-8 The first three heavens

2 9 The angel announces yet four heavens (more brilliant and incomparable)

2,10–12 The angel announces Levi s priesthood (in heaven and on earth) Note v 11 Levi will proclaim the coming of the saviour of Israel and mankind

Notes

2,1 **I ... was conceived in Haran and born there** see Gen 29 34 Jub 28 14 **after that I came with my father to Shechem** see Gen 33 18 Jub 30 1

2,2 **a young man of about twenty years of age** see 12 5 **when, with Saneon, I avenged our sister Dinah on Hamor** see **5,3f.; 6,3–7,4,** a general reference to the story found in Gen 34 and Jub 30 and cf Jdt **9,2ff** For **ποιεῖν τὴν ἐκδίκησιν ἀπό** , **cf** Judg 11 36 LXX B

2,3 **when we were feeding the flocks in Abelmaul:** see v 5 and cf 6,1. The author assumes that Abelmaul is in the neighbourhood of Shechem; cf Judg 7,22; **1Kgs** 4 12; 19,16, **Abel-Mehola** (south of Beth-Shean). 4Q 213 **TestLevi**[a] II 13 situates Levi s vision (not the preceding prayer) in Abel-main (cf. 2Chr 16,4) The author of the Testaments probably took over names from his 'Vorlage' without having an exact notion of their geographical location See also J T Milik s attempts to explain the data in *RB 62* **(1955), 403–5, and in his 'Ecrits preessénienes ...'** (see INTRODUCTION **3 1 1), pp. 96f ,** leading to entirely different results **the spirit of understanding of the Lord came upon me** The expression **πνεῦμα συνεσεως** is also found in 18 7 (cf 8 2) where it is used in connection with the granting of permanent, life-long knowledge, as in Ex 31 3 35 31; Deut 34,9; Isa **11,2,** Sir 39,6; Sus 63; Justin Dial 87 4; the spirit of God is and remains on someone (Isa 42,1, 61 1; cf Zech 7,12, etc.). Only here and in Sus 45 the expression is used in connection with a limited unique experience cf also 4Ezra 5 22 ... spiritum intellectus Compare the use of 'the spirit (of God) came upon .' in Num 24,2; **1Sam** 19,20.23; 2Chr 15,1; 20 14; Ezek 2,2; 11,5 (cf **1En** 91,1; Jub 25,14; 31 12) etc. in connection **with** prophecy, special knowledge of the future visions and extasis One should note that 4Q 213 **TestLevi**[a] I 14 (fragment MS *e* at 2 3 v 8) is concerned with permanent knowledge. **I saw all men corrupting their way** cf Gen 6,5, "The Lord saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth" (cf vv **11** and 12). **ὁραν** for a visionary experience is also found **in** Jer 1,11 **1ff.;** Amos 7,8 8 2; Zech 4,2 etc On the expression **ἀφανίζειν ὁδόν** cf. **1**En 8,2 (Syncellus version), **καὶ ἐγένετο ἀσέβεια πολλὴ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἠφάνισαν τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτῶν.** On the subject-matter, cf. **T.I.** 1,11. **The description reminds of the situation before the Flood (see also 2En 34), but Levi's** vision is concerned with the sins of mankind before the final judgment **(cf.,** e.g., 4Ezra **4,27ff.,** 5,2.10; **9,19ff.;** lEn **91,6f.;** Dan 12 4 LXX). For a comparison of the two **periods, see 1En 91,5–11; Lk 17,26f , Mt 24,37-39. Note also the special attention** devoted to the Watchers in the Testaments (T.R. **5,6f.;** T N 3,5). **unrighteousness had built for itself walls and lawlessness sat upon towers:** for the image used here, cf. PS

55(54), **10f.**, Zech 5,6ff. (LXX) 4Q Test 26 and contrast Prov 9 1 (LXX) **η σοφία ὠκοδόμησεν ἑαυτῇ** οἶκον

2 4 **I felt grief ...:** also in T.G. 1,7 (in a different context) **for the race of the sons of men:** for TO **γενος τῶν ἀνθρώπων** (see also textcritical note 3), see v 11 and T Jud 21,6 (see note) **I prayed to the Lord that I might be saved:** i e at the impending judgment Cf Noah at the Flood in **1En** 106,16 (cf Ezek 14 14.20). The prayer of Levi found in MS *e* at 2,3 (and partly in 40 **TestLevi[a]**) is mentioned before the vision and is concerned with Levi s perfect obedience and service protected from all evil influences. Vv 3f in their context (1 2 **3 2f** , 4 1) deal with crisis and judgment. The angel's answer to the prayer in 4,2 however, shows acquaintance with the contents of the prayer in the fragments (see note on 4,2).

2,5 **I beheld a high mountain.** θεᾶσθαι is used of visions in e g lEn 21,2f 7 22 5 23 2 24,2; TAb A 4; 5; 9 The high mountain (cf 4Q **TestLevi[a]** II 13ff) is the place where the vision takes place as well as an element of the vision cf T N. 5,1. A mountain is a favourite location for visions, dreams and encounters with God: see esp. lEn 17,2, and 2Bar 13,1; Mt **17,1ff. par.**; Rev 21 10 etc., and, of course the traditions concerning Moses on Mount Sinai. **the mountain of the Shield in Abelmaul. see v. 3, and 6,1**

2,6 **the heavens were opened:** cf. 4Q **TestLevi[a]** II 17f. (which also mentions an angel) and T L **5,1**, see further 18,6 T Jud 24,2; Ezek 1 1 JosAsen **14,3**, 2Bar 22,1, Mt 3,16 (par Lk 3,21), Hermas, Vis. 1,1,4, etc.; cf Rev 4,1 See A. F Segal Heavenly Ascent in Hellenistic Judaism Early Christianity and their Environment', ***ANRW*** II 23 2 (1980) pp. **1333–94**, esp. 1352-64; F. L Lentzen-Deis Das Motiv der Himmelsöffnung" in verschiedenen Gattungen der Umweltliteratur des Neuen Testaments" *Biblica* 50 (1969) **301-27. an angel of God: see v. 9; 5,1.3.5-7 (and the notes on 5,5-7). For descriptions** of heavens (often together with the account of a heavenly journey) see lEn **14–16**, 71; 2En 3ff. (A ten heavens; B seven heavens); 3En 17; 3Bar **2ff.**; ApAb 19; 21 (seven **heavens); ApMos 37; AscenIs 7ff. (seven heavens); ApSedr 2; EvBarth 2,13, 4,17.30.61** (seven heavens) ApDidasc 21 (ed F Nau, *ROC 2nd series 2(12)* (1907) 225-54); b Hag. 12b (seven heavens), etc. See W Bousset *Die Himmelsreise der Seele* ***(Archivfur Religionswissenschaft 4*** (1901)., pp.. **136–69; 229–73** (= Darmstadt 1971); H. Windisch *Der Zweite Korintherbrief*, Göttingen 1924 = 1970 pp **366–80**; H. Bietenhard *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum* ***(WUNT 2)***, Tübingen **[2]1954**

2,7 **from the first heaven into the second one.** cf. b. Ber. 58b (the first heaven, called **'Vilon'** (see b Hag. 12b) is 'a curtain'; if it is rolled up the second heaven becomes visible). **a water hanging between the one and the other:** "the waters which are above the firmament are meant see Gen 1 7 Ps 148 4 Jub 2,4.6 lEn 54,8; 2En 3,3; 3Bar 2 1, Rev 4,6, 15,2. In 2En 3 3 and 3Bar 2,1, the water is also mentioned in connection with a heavenly journey and the first heaven.

2,8 **far brighter and more brilliant.** see v 9 Each following heaven is brighter than the preceding ones, cf Ascenls 7, 19f.27.31ff., **8 1 21 25 in it there was also a boundless height.** cf **Ps 103(102),11; Sir 1,3; 17,32; 1Clem 36,2, ConstApp II 22,13, Ascenls 7,18.28. The distance between (some of) the heavens increases..the heavens themselves become higher**

2,9 **Do not marvel at these** a traditional motif in apocalyptic; see lEn 25,1; Rev **17,6f.**; Hermas. Sim **8,1,4 for you will see four other heavens, more brilliant and incomparable** for a similar argument cf e g 3Bar 2 6 **Δεῦρο καὶ ὑποδείξω σοι μείζοναμυστηρια; 5,3; Ascenls 8,25**

2 10 **For you will stand near the Lord:** cf fragment MS *e* at 2,3, v. 17 **γενέσθαι σοι ἐγγυς,** ArLevi v 18 The expression may be taken literally in this context, but it has certainly a liturgical meaning too (cf T.Jud. 21,5 and note). Levi's priestly service on earth is carried out in the presence of God; cf. Jub 30,18; 31 14 and **1QSb** 4 24ff. (in the blessings for the priests) **thou shalt** be as an Angel of the Face in the dwelling-place

of holiness for the glory of Elohim of hos[ts ...] ... [and thou shalt] be in the company of God, ministering in the royal palace and decreeing fate in the company of the Angels of the Face .' Observing the heavenly liturgy (see e.g. 1En 71 3Bar 11ff.; AscenIs 8ff.) has become being called to participate in it (cf. 2En 21f.) **will be his minister:** see 4 2 and fragment MS *e* at 2,3, v. 11, **εἶναί σου δούλος και λατρεύσαι σοι καλῶς λειτουργειν** and cognate words often have the meaning of cultic service of priests and others (Ex 28,35.43, etc.; Isa 61,6; Sir 7 30 LetAris 95; Heb 8 2 1Clem 41 2 etc.); in connection with the sons of Levi: e.g., Num 8,22; 16,9 18 6, Deut 10 8; 18,5.7; 1Chr 15,2; 2Chr 29,11; Ezek 40,46; ConstApp II 25,5ff., and esp T.L 4,2, 11Q Temple 60,10f., Jub 30 18 31,14 1QSb 4 24f **will declare his mysteries to men.** For God's mysteries, see on T Jud. 16,4. In Daniel, **μυστήριον** 'takes on for the first time a sense which is important for the further development of the word namely that of an eschatological mystery a concealed intimation of divinely ordained future events whose disclosure is reserved for God alone ... and for those inspired by His Spirit'. See Dan 2,28f.47, 4,9 Th. The word is, in particular used in apocalyptic where mysteries are hidden realities, prepared in heaven and kept there, and shown to the visionary on his heavenly journey under the guidance of an angel (see G. Bornkamm *ThWNT* IV pp. 809–34, esp pp 821ff.; the quotation is from *ThDNT* IV pp. 814–15) Cf. e g. 1En 41 1 103,2; 104 10.12 106,19; 2Bar 81,4, 4Ezra 14,5; GkApEzra 1 5 3Bar 1 8 and also Rev 10,7 17,5.7 The seer must proclaim the mysteries on earth in 1En 13,8 SlavApBar 17 Take Baruch to the earth that he may tell to the sons of men all the secrets of God which he has seen and heard " (tr W R Morfill); SyrApPaul 50 (to tell the mysteries in order that people may repent); EvBarth 4,66, **παντι ἀνθρωπῳ χρη ⟨με⟩ ἀποκαλύψαι τὰ μυστηρια ταῦτα,** ApAnast (ed. R. Homburg Lipsiae 1903) p 4,6ff. For the didactic function of Levi, see the notes on T.R. 6 8, T.L. 13 As the next clause shows our verse connects 'declaring of the mysteries with the proclamation of the coming saviour, i.e Jesus Christ; cf. 1En 46 2 (the mysteries in connection with the coming redeemer). For **μυστήριον** used in connection with Jesus Christ, see, e.g., 1Cor 2,1f.7f., Col 1 26 2 2 Eph 3,9 Rom 16 25 Justin Apol I 13 4 Dial. 74,3; 91 1 **will proclaim concerning him who will redeem Israel** see on T S. 7,1, and cf esp Lk 24,21 Without any doubt Jesus Christ is referred to. **κηρύσσειν** is often used in connection with God s final intervention; cf. Joel 2,1; Zeph 3,14; Zech 9 9 Mk 1 4 par., 1,14f. par., Lk 4,18ff. (Isa 61 1), and in particular with Jesus Christ. (Lk 4,18ff.,) Acts 8,5; 9,20; Rom 10,14 1Cor 1 23; 15,12 etc. Levi remains priest but the emphasis is on his didactic and prophetic function. For **κηρύσσειν** by priests, see also 3Bar 16,4.

2,11 **And by you and Judah the Lord will appear among men:** explains v. 10d, just as that clause explains v 10c The introduction of Judah in accordance with the I J pattern (cf T S 7 1 T D 5,10 T G 8,1 T.Jos. 19,6), comes unexpectedly. **will appear among men** cf T Z 9,8; T N 8 3. **ὀφθῆναι** is used of God in Gen 12 7 17 1 18 1 Ex 6,3; PJ 7 18 3Bar 3,6; Acts 7 2, etc. It is used for the incarnation by Clement of Alexandria, Exc. Thdot 4,1. Ο **κύριος ... ουχ ως ἄγγελος ὤφθη, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄνθρωπος** cf. Athanasius, Fr Pss Comm., PS 67 17 id. PS 113 13 Apoll. 1 13, Eusebius Comm in Pss., PS 83,8f., etc **saving through them the whole race of men:** cf. T.S. 6,5.7; 7,2 T Jud 24,6; T.N. 8,3; T A 7,3; T.Jos. 19 6 T B. 3 8 Note the transition from 'Israel in v 10d to 'the whole race of men' here. **through them** the stereotyped use of the third person plur. is strange here. For the expression **γενος ἀνθρώπων,** see on v 4

2,12 **And from the Lord's portion will be your life:** see 8,16 God is the portion of the Lévites; see, e.g , Num 18,20, Deut 10,9; 18,1f., Josh 14,4, 18,7, Ezek 44,28, Sir 45,20ff.; Jub 31 16, and Philo, Quod det. pot. 62 'For these (the Lévites) earth and sea and air, yea moreover heaven and earth and all the world was deemed a portion of too little worth The Creator alone was deemed meet for them

T Levi 3,1–4,1

Translation

3,1 Listen, therefore, regarding the seven heavens
The lower is for this cause more gloomy,
since it sees[7] all the unrighteous deeds of men
2 The second has fire, snow, ice,
ready for the day of the ordinance of the Lord in the righteous judgment of God;
in it are all the winds of the afflictions for vengeance on the lawless ones
3 In the third there are the powers of the hosts,
those which are ordained for the day of judgment
to execute vengeance on the spirits of deceit and Beliar
But the (heavens) down to the fourth above these are holy.
4 For in the highest of all dwells the Great Glory in the holy of holies far beyond all holiness
5 In the (heaven) next to it there are the angels of the presence of the Lord,
those who minister and make propitiation to the Lord for all the sins of ignorance of the righteous,
6 and they offer to the Lord a pleasant odour, a reasonable and bloodless offering
7 And in the (heaven) below there are the angels
who bear the answers to the angels of the presence of the Lord
8 And in the (heaven) next to it there are thrones, authorities,
in which always praises are offered to God
9 When, therefore, the Lord looks upon us,
we are all shaken,
and the heavens and the earth and the abysses are shaken at the presence of his majesty
10 But the sons of men who have no perception of these things sin and provoke the Most High
4,1 Now know, therefore,
that the Lord will execute judgment upon the sons of men,
because when the rocks are being rent
and the sun quenched
and the waters dried up
and the fire is cowering
and all creation is shaken violently
and the invisible winds are melting away
and[8] Hades despoiled at the suffering of the Most High,
men will be unbelieving and will persist in doing unrighteousness,
therefore, they will be judged with punishment

Textcritical notes

οὗτος ὁρᾷ οὗτος is found in ***bk***; omission (all other MSS) **seems** to be secondary The variant **παρα** *(b)* instead of **ὁρᾷ** (***ldmeafnchij*** cf. *g)* is obviously wrong

8 **καί** (***gdmeafchij***) The omission of **καί** in ***bkl*** must be accidental

Structure

3,1a (The accompanying angel is still speaking) Description of the seven heavens announced

3,1bc The first heaven

3 2 The second heaven

3,3abc The third heaven NB the first three heavens are all concerned with the sins of mankind (the lawless ones), and those elements which will execute Gods judgment on them and on the evil spirits plus Beliar There is no direct connection with the description of the three heavens given in **2,6–8**

3 3d Introduces the next four heavens (enumerated in the order **7–6–5–4)** which are called holy (cf. **more** brilliant and incomparable in 2 9)

3 4 The highest heaven with God

3 5-6 The sixth heaven with the angels of the presence worshipping and making propitiation for the sins of the righteous

3,7 The fifth heaven **with** the angels who bear answers to the angels of the presence

3,8 The fourth heaven with the thrones and authorities who offer continuous praise

3 9-10 The manifestation of God's majesty: the angels heaven earth and abysses are shaken, but the sons of men do not take notice

4 1 The result (introduced with the second person **plur** imper.): Gods judgment (see 3 1-3) on persistent sinners who do not believe, even when all sorts of cosmic catastrophes occur at the suffering of the Most High i e the crucifixion of Jesus Christ

Notes

3 1 **more gloomy:** contrast **2,8f** **since it sees all the unrighteous deeds of men** see 2 3 cf 3Bar **8,4f.**; GkApEzra **4,40f.**; GkApPaul 4f

3,2 The second has fire, snow, ice ... the winds cf Ps **147,16ff.(5ff.)**, Dan 3,62ff **LXX**, Job **38,22ff.**; **1En 41,3ff.**; **60,11ff**, **69,22f.**; 2En **5f**, EvBarth **4,31ff.**; ApDidasc 21, b **Hag 12b**; **Treatise of the heavenly halls (Jellinek,** *Bel ha-Midrasch* **II, pp. 40–47; tr.** A Wunsche *Aus Israels Lehrhallen* **III** 1 pp **33–47,** esp. p. 39), etc. For fire' connected with thunder and lightning, cf also Ex 9,24, Ps 78(77),48 105(104),32 148,8; Rev 8 7. Fire ice snow etc function here as instruments in God's punishment of the wicked: cf Job **38,23** (LXX), **... ἀπόκειται δέ σοι εἰς ὥραν ἐχθρῶν, εἰς ἡμέραν πολέμου** και **μάχης**; Sir **39,28f.** (cf **40,9f.**); and esp. **Joel** 2 30 **(3,3)**; 1En 100,13; Rev 8,7, **etc** **the day of the ordinance of the Lord:** the day on which God commands them to punish the wicked. Cf. Sir **43,13, προστάγματι αὐτοῦ κατέσπευσεν χιόνα καὶ ταχυνει ἀστραπὰς κρίματος αὐτοῦ**; LivPro (ed. Th Schermann) p. 94,22f. **rec.** an. (on Elijah), **κἀκείνους ἀνήλωσε** TÓ **πῦρ ἐκ προστάγματος κυρίου** Here the eschatological **judgment (cf. εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως in v. 3) is meant. See also the righteous judgment of God δικαιοκρισία** (cf. 15,2) **δικαιοκρίτης** (as epithet of God) is used in connection with the punishment of sinners (see 2Mac 12,41; ConstApp I 6,11 Hippolytus Antichr 49), and in an eschatological sense in 1En 27,3; 60 6 and esp. Rom 2,5. **of the afflictions: ἐπαγωγαί** (plur) means distress misery and is used in connection with the **punishment of sinners in, e g , Sir 10,13; 23,11, 40,9, cf 1En 100,13, 'the snow-storms**

. . with all their plagues ' **for vengeance on the lawless ones** see v **3**, cf Sir **39,28f , 40,10** It is used of the final judgment in 18,1; T D 5 10

3,3 **the powers:** see on T Jud., 25,2. They are heavenly beings one of the (seven) categories of angels: cf 2En 20,1; TAd 4 5 (ed S E. Robinson, Chico 1982); see further H Bietenhard, op cit., pp. **101ff** **of the hosts:** for God's **παρεμβολή (angels!)**, cf Gen **32 1f (2f.)**; 2En 17, and in the context of God's final intervention: Joel 2,11; **1En** 1,4; cf Rev 20,9. So also in T.L. 3.3. which refers to the final battle against Beliar and the evil spirits. **for the day of judgment.** referring to the final judgment; see e g Isa 34 8; Jdt 16 17; PssSol 15,12; lEn 22,11.13; **3Bar** 1,7 Mt **11,22.24**, etc.; 2Pet 2,9, 3,7 etc **to execute vengeance on the spirits of deceit and Beliar.** For the general thought see on T S 6,6. For the expression **ποιεῖν ἐκδίκησιν** ἐν see 5 3 **T Jos** 15 5 and also e.g., Ex 12,12; **Num** 33 4, etc. **But the (heavens) down to the fourth above these are holy. οι** οέ refers to heavens not to angelic beings For **ἅγιος** as epithet of (a) **heaven(s)**, see Ps 20(19),7; WisSol 9 10 lEn 15 3

3,4 **the Great Glory** God; see lEn 14 20 xal' **ἡ δόξα ἡ μεγαλη ἐκάθητο ἐπ' αυτῷ**, 102 3 **AscenIs (9,37,)** 10,16, 11 32 and cf. 2Pet 1,17; **1Clem** 9,2 **in the holy of holies:** the name of the innermost part of the temple (Ex **26,33f.; 1Kgs** 6,16 etc.) In 3Bar prologue 2 it seems to refer to the entire temple Here, the (innermost part of the) heavenly temple is meant; cf SibOr III 308; Heb 9 12 **(τὰ ἅγια**, MS P + **τῶν ἁγίων)**, 10 19; and 8 2 9 24 Rev **8,2ff.**, Ignatius **Phld. 9,1**, b Hag 12b etc See also on 2 10.

3,5 **the angels of the presence of the Lord:** see v. 7, and T Jud 25,2 where the **sing.** is found (see note) **who minister and make propitiation to the Lord.** For **λειτουργεῖν**, see on 2 10 Also **ἐξιλάσκεσθαι** is a technical term used in connection with priesthood see, e g Ex 30,10; Lev 1,4; 4 20.26.31.35; 5 6.10 13. The two terms are combined also in e g Sir **45,15f.**, ConstApp VIII 5,6. See also the addition in MS *e* at 5,2 **for all the sins of ignorance of the righteous** For **ἄγνοια**, see on T R 1,6. Here, the meaning is clearly sins of **ignorance:** cf. Lev 5 18 (LXX) **ἐξιλάσεται περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ ἱερευς περὶ τῆς ἀγνοίας αυτου, ης ηγνοησεν** xal **αὐτὸς οὐκ ᾔδει, καὶ ἀφεθήσεται αυτῳ**, PssSol 3 8 **ἐξιλάσατο (sc o δίκαιος) περὶ ἀγνοίας.**

3,6 **a pleasant odour** used in connection with a sacrifice that pleases God in Ex 29,18.25.41 Lev **1,9 13 17**; 2,2.9 12, etc; **Eph** 5,2, etc **a reasonable and bloodless offering:** these terms are often found in early Christian literature; see M de Jonge *The Testaments pp* **48f**, and Lampe s v **ἀναίμακτος** and ftuoia sub 6 und 9 They are used in connection with prayer and worship in general: see (Rom **12,1,**) Athenagoras, Leg. 13 4 xal' **προσφέρειν, δέον ἀναίμακτον** ftuoíav **τὴν λογικην προσάγειν λατρείαν;** Eusebius D E., I **6,50, ἀναιμῶν καὶ λογικῶν** ftuaicov **I C.** 16,9; Origen, **Cels.** VIII 21, and also in connection with the eucharist; see ConstApp II 25,7 **ὦ επίσκοποι, ἐστὲ τῷ λαῷ ὑμων ἱερεῖς λευῖται, οἱ λειτουργοῦντες . .** xai rcoooàyovTe **αὐτῳ τὰς λογικας** xal **ἀναιμακτους θυσίας διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου ἀρχιερέως . . , VI** 23 5 **ἀντὶ** fruoiaç **της δι' αἱμάτων την λογικὴν** xal **ἀναίμακτον** xal' **τὴν μυστικήν** , VIII 5 7, 46,15 Eusebius D.E., I 10 29 A very interesting parallel to this verse is found in Cyril of Alexandria Heb. 5:5 (MPG 74 973B), **οὕτω φαμὲν** cm, **καίτοι μυρίους ἔχων** (Jesus Christ) EV **οὐρανῷ τους ἱερουργοῦντας αὐτῷ, τας νοητὰς δηλονότι** xal **ἀναιμακτους θυσιας, υμνους** xal **δοξολογίας,** xal' **τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἱερωσύνην ποιεῖται δεκτήν ἀποσώζων πανταχοῦ τοις τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος μέτροις τὰ πρέποντα . .** , and cf **also Ambrosius** De sacramentis IV 6 27

3 7 **who bear the answers** cf Sophronius of Jerusalem Or 2,26 (MPG **87.3249B**), **ἐγὼ** (an angel) **λάτρις εἰμι Θεοῦ**, xal **λειτουργος ἀποκρίσεων** ('. . ac responsa **ferendi** fungor munere) translated by Lampe s v **ἀπόκρισις** sub 3 as 'commission business affairs' Here in all probability man s response to God his deeds are referred to cf 3Bar

12ff, where it is told that angels bring the (good) deeds of men to Michael GkApPaul **7ff**, **προσαγουσιν τὰ ἔργα τῶν ἀνθρωπων** In vv **6f**, we find a combination of several ideas.. First, angels worship and offer sacrifice in heaven: see b. Hag. 12b; ApDidasc 21 **ἕτεροι ἄγγελοι εἰσιν οἱ κρατοῦντες τὰς φιάλας τῶν θυμιαμάτων**; Origen, Or. **11,1** (about Raphael), **... προσφέροντες περὶ Τοβὴτ** καὶ **Σάρρας λογικὴν ἱερουργίαν τῷ θεῷ**; Cyril of Alexandria Heb. 5:5 (see above on v 6); and see also on 2,10. Cf H **Bietenhard**, op cit., pp **123ff.**, and see 11Q **ŠirŠabb** fragments **8–7** (and A.. S van der Woude's comments in the **editio** princeps. ***AOAT* 211** (1982), 311-37 esp.. **328f**, 332).. Secondly, there is the intercession by angels in heaven. see **5,6f.**, T.D. 6 2; and cf Job **33,23ff.**; **Zech** 1,12; **1En** 15 2 39 5 40 6; TAd 2 6; Origen Or.. 11,1.. We also find the notion that angels bring man s prayers before God in Tob 12 12 15 Rev 5 8 8 3 Clement of Alexandria Exc Thdot 27 2 Origen Or **11,1**

3,8 **thrones, authorities:** again, two categories of angels (cf v 3 **δυνάμεις**); see e g 1En 61 10; 2En 20,1; **Ascenls** 7 21.27, **TSol 20,15**; D 8 6 TAd 4,4.8; Eph 1 21; Col 1,16. **in which always praises are offered to God** For hymn and praise as offering, see Ps **50(49),14 23; 107(106),22;** Hos 14 3 Philo Plant 126 LetAris 234 Heb 13,15; Justin, Dial.. 117 Angels who sing God's praise are found in Isa 6,3; 1En **40,3f.**; **61,10ff.**; 2En 17; 19,6, 21,1; 3Bar 10,7; Ascenls **7,15ff**; ApZeph in Clement of Alexandria, Str V 11 (77 2); Cyril of Alexandria Heb 5:5; b Hag 12b etc

3,9 **When the Lord looks upon us ... at the presence of his majesty.** The author uses terms traditionally connected with theophany and judgment, but the judgment is not mentioned explicitly before 4,1. The verb **σαλεύειν / σαλεύεσθαι** occurs in the context of theophany in e g., Judg **5,4f.**; Ps **96(95) 9ff.**; **97(96),2ff.**; **98(97),7ff.**; **104(103),32**; Micah 1 4 Nah **1,3ff**, Hab 3 6 Jdt 16,15; 1QH **3,32ff**; AsMos **10,4f.**; Sir **16,18f.**; 43,16. In Ps 104(103) 32 (cf.. Amos 9,4); Hab 3,6, Sir **16,18f**, **ἐπιβλέπειν** is used, with God as subject God's judgment is mentioned in Ps **96(95),9ff.**; **97(96),2ff.**; **98(97),7ff.**, Micah 1 4 Nah **1,3ff.**; Jdt 16 17 Sir **16,18f.**; and also in Hab. 3 6 1QH **3,32ff.**; AsMos **10,4ff.**; 1En 1 5ff. On God s **'majesty'** see on 18 8

3,10 The angels in heaven react as the entire creation they tremble are shaken, in God s **majestic presence Only 'the sons of men' do not take heed, continue sinning and** provoke the Most High (cf. **2,3f**, **3,1f**) **have no perception of these things** cf Athenagoras Leg. 15,4, **ἀναισθητεῖν τοῦ ὄντως** fteou ClemHom 10 13 3 **11,23,3** **provoke the Most High:** see on **T A.** 2,6

4 1 **Now know, therefore** The second person **plur imper** comes unexpected (the **sing** in ***gchij*** is clearly lectio facilior), because from **2,9b** onwards the angel is the speaker and Levi the one who receives the information Is the angel pictured here as addressing Levi and his brothers, i.e. all Israelites together, or does Levi warn his sons? Or is it an aside of the author (redacting traditional material before him) directed towards his readers? In the following description of the judgment the fcrcl **τω πάθει τοῦ ὑψίστου** and the **reminiscenses** of Mt **27,45 51ff.** connect it with the death of Jesus **the Lord will execute judgment upon the sons of men** see on 3,9f (and note on 1,1). The theme recurs at the end of this verse, **they will be judged with punishment** This time, the final judgment is meant (cf **T.R.** 5,5 **T.G.** 7 5; T.B. 7 5) Men so the author emphasizes **will be unbelieving and will persist in doing unrighteousness,** also after Jesus' death: see **(2,3- 3,1,) 3,10 (cf 1En 101,7, but you sinners that are on earth do not fear Him'),** and T.Z.. 10 3 T.B.. **10,8f**; contrast Mt 27,54! The middle part of the verse consists of an elaborate description of the events which accompany the judgment.. **when the rocks are being rent:** cf. **1Kgs** 19 11 (LXX), (at a theophany) **... πνεῦμα μέγα κραταιὸν διαλῦον ὄρη** καὶ **συντρῖβον πετρας ἐνώπιον κυρίου,** Nah 1,6 (LXX) at **πέτραι διεθρυβησαν**; Jdt 16,15, **πέτραι .. τακήσονται** (at God's judgment); **and** esp **Mt 27,51,**

at πετραι ἐσχισθησαν (at the death of Jesus Christ). For are being rent', cf. also Zech 14,4; 1En 1,7 the sun quenched at God s (final) judgment, cf. Isa 13,10; Amos 8 9 Joel 2,31(3,4); 3(4),15; Zeph 1 15 AsMos 10,5; Mt 24,29 par.; Rev 6,12 and in connection with Jesus' death. Mt 27,45 par (esp Lk 23,45 τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλιπόντος). the waters dried up at the (final) judgment, cf. Nah 1,4 (LXX), ἀπειλῶν ftaXooori xai ξηραίνων αὐτήν, he dries up all the rivers...'; Joel 1,20; AsMos 10 6 cf also Jdt 16 15 4Ezra 6,24; lEn 101,6f.; Rev 16,12.. the fire is cowering and all creation is shaken violently If the fire 'draws back this means the end of life and the end of the world Fire is essential for life (Sir 39,26 4Ezra 4,9; cf. WisSol 13,2).. If light ('the sun'), water earth ('rocks'), air ('the winds') and fire fail, the kosmos is doomed (cf. also SibOr II 187ff., esp. 206f , xai TÓTË χηρεύσει στοιχεῖα ποόπαντα τὰ κόσμου ἀὴρ γαῖα ftâXaooa φαος πόλος ἥματα νυκτες). the invisible winds are melting away The meaning of this clause is uncertain (see also D. Haupt, op. cit. [see INTRODUCTION 3.3.1], pp 45f.). τήκεσθαι is traditionally used in connection with the (final) judgment: see Jdt 16 15 lEn 1,6; 2Pet 3 12; 2Clem 16,3; GkApPet fragment in Macarius Magnes, Apocr. IV 7 and cf. also Ps 97(96),5; Micah 1 4; Nah 1,6; Hab 3,6.. One step further is the idea of a total conflagration of the world: see SibOr II 187ff.; III 83ff.; V 512ff., etc and see P. Volz, *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* Tübingen ²1934 = Hildesheim 1966 pp. 335f cf. already Isa 34 4 LXX B.. Destruction of the world means destruction of all its constituent elements (2Pet 3,12, στοιχεῖα καυσουμενα τηκεται); therefore it is possible that πνευματα refers to the winds representing the element 'air'; cf., e.g., Philo, Opif. mundi 80 . rainfalls.. . hail.... snow .. violent winds (βια πνευμάτων), for water and air (ὕδωρ xai ἀήρ) can in many ways change the fruitfulness of crops into barrenness ' πνεῦμα is connected with air in Philo Cher. 111; Epictetus III 13,14f.; Corp. Herrn. I 9; 16. For invisible in connection with winds cf e.g., Eccl 11,5; Sir 16,21, Jn 3,8, Xenophon, Memorabilia 4,3,14 For the idea that the winds or the air disappear at the end, cf. SibOr II 207 (see above) Hades despoiled at the suffering of the Most High: clearly going back to Mt 27 51ff. and the notion of Jesus" descent to and preaching in the underworld; cf 1Pet 3,19 and see on T.B.. 9 5.. For the expression σκυλευειν TÓV ᾅδην, see Philo Carpasianus Cant., 126 (MPG 40 100B), ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ ... ἡ θεότης σκυλεύσασα TÔV ᾅδην; Cyril of Alexandria, Jon. 19 (MPG 71.625A), (Jesus Christ) . . εἶτα σκυλεύσας TÓV ᾅδην, καὶ τοῖς èxÊÎoe διακηρύξας πνεύμασι, καὶ τὰς ἀκινήτους πύλας ἀνείς, ἀνεβίω πάλιν, Eulogius of Alexandria Palm. 8 (MPG 86 2925B), Cyril of Alexandria Ep., 45; Athanasius, Pass 25, etc. A connection between Jesus' descent to Hades between his death and resurrection with the liberation of the righteous dead and a cosmic catastrophe (inspired by Mt 27,51ff.) is also found elsewhere: see esp Athanasius, Ar 3 56; Ep., Adelph., 3; Pass 25 Τοῦτο ÔÈ οὐ κατὰ γνώμην ἀπέβαινε TW διαβόλῳ· xal γαρ ὃν ἐφοβεῖτο γενέσθαι flavaTov, τουτον ἀπέθανεν ο Κύριος, κἀκεῖνος ἐσκυλεῦται ... Ἅμα γὰρ ἀπέθανεν, ἡ μὲν κτίσις ἀνήλιος yéyovE . . f) γῆ ἐσείσθη, xai αἱ πέτραι ἐσχίσθησαν, οἱ στρατιῶται, σὺν τοῖς πυλωροῖς τοῦ ᾅδου κατέπτηξαν . xai γὰρ πολλα μνημεῖα ἀνεῴχθησαν, xai ἠγέρθησαν τουτων οἱ νεκροί Compare also the statement about the 'indignation' of the entire creation concerning the death of Christ in the early Christian literature enumerated by W Bauer *Das Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der neutestamentlichen Apokryphen* Tübingen 1909 (= Darmstadt 1967), pp. 226–30, in particular Melito, Fragment 13 (see its reconstruction by M. Richard, as given in the edition by S G. Hall, Oxford 1979, p. 80) ἐτρόμησεν η γη . . ἔφυγεν ὁ ἥλιος. . τὰ στοιχεια ἀπεστράφη, xai ἡ ἡμερα ἠλλοιώθη. . ἐξεπλάγη η κτίσις ξενιζομένη. For πάθος in connection with Jesus Christ, see Barn 6 7 Ignatius, Eph 20,1, etc.; Justin Dial. 40,3, etc.; Origen, Comm. in Mt. XII 43; Eusebius Comm. in Pss., Ps 68,4f. (the last two instances in connection with Mt 27,50–52). The identification of the suffering of Jesus Christ with that of the Most High is striking

T LEVI 4 2-6

Translation

4,2 The Most High, therefore, has heard your prayer
to separate you from unrighteousness
and that you should become to him son and a servant and a minister of his presence
3 You will light up a bright light of knowledge in Jacob,
and you will be as the sun to all the seed of Israel
4 And a blessing will be given to you and to all your seed,[9]
until the Lord will visit all the nations in the tender mercies of his son[10] for ever
But your sons will lay hands upon him to do away with[11] him
5 Therefore also, counsel and understanding have been given to you
to instruct your sons concerning him
6 For he who blesses him will be blessed,
but they who curse him will perish

Textcritical notes

[9] **παντι τῶ σπέρματι σου** (*kdmeafc*).τῶ may have been omitted in *bl* under the influence of the previous verse. Cf also 7,1; 8 16

[10] **υἱου** (*leafchij*;cf. *gdm*) The variant *moι (bk)* is obviously wrong

[11] **ἀποσκολοπίσαι** *(bk)*, undoubtedly lectio difficilior over against **ἀνασκολοπίσαι** (all other MSS). The latter ('to impale crucify see, e.g., Herodotus I 128,2; III 132,2; 159,1; **Philo,** Post Caini 61 Somn. II 213 De Jos 96; 98 Acta Andr **13f.**, etc) is often used in connection with Jesus Christ· see, e.g Lucianus De Morte Peregrini 13 Hippolytus Haer. VII 38 Origen **Cels.** II 36, LivPro (ed Th Schermann), p 52,3 rec. Doroth (on Daniel); p. 80 6 rec. an (on Daniel) etc. **ἀποσκολοπίζειν,** however is rarely used and is found in the Aquilan version of Ps 68(67),5; 119(118) 118, Isa 57,14. Its meaning is first of all to clear a way make one's way through' Aquila uses it parallel with **ἀποσκευάζειν** in Isa 57 14 a verb which also means 'to get rid of, kill'. It may be assumed, therefore that in Ps **118,118** Aquila uses **ἀποσκολοπίζειν** in the same sense of getting rid of someone which also seems the meaning in **T L.** 4,4.

Structure

The emphasis on the sins of men (3,10; 4 1 end) leads back to **Levi's** prayer in **2,3-4**

4,2ab The angel tells Levi that his prayer has been heard
4,2c He will be priest
4 3 He will give light to Israel
4 4a The blessing will be for him and his descendants
4 4b until the coming of the Lord,
4 4c whom the sons of Levi will discard
4,5 Levi must, therefore instruct his sons concerning him
4,6 One's attitude to him is decisive

Notes

4 2 **has heard your prayer** see on 2 4 In detail however the present verse does not correspond to 2 4b but to (a number of elements in) the prayer found in MS *e* at 2 3 and the

corresponding Aramaic fragments **to separate you from unrighteousness** see fragment MS *e* at 2,3, vv 7 10 14 **that you should become to him a son of his presence:** see fragment MS *e* at 2 3 vv 11, 17; cf. **T.Jud.** 24 3. **In** Jewish and Christian texts, 'son(s) of God is used for Israel, the king the righteous, the faithful believer (cf. Bauer s.v. **υἱός** sub **Ιcγ**, Lampe s.v. sub C 1-2, etc.). **υἱὸς** ftEoῦ is used for the individual righteous and pious one in WisSol 2,18, Sir 4,10; PssSol 13,9, JosAsen 6 2 6; 13,10; 21 3 etc. **a servant and a minister,** fteoõjicov is used especially of Moses (Ex 4 10; 14 31 **Num** 11 11 **12,7f.; Philo,** Sacrif. 12; Heb 3,5; Barn 14,4; **1Clem** 4 12; 43,1 etc.) but also of Job (Job 1 8 LXX A 2 3; **42,7f.**; TJob 37,8; 42 5 ConstApp VIII 12,23) Ezra (ConstApp VIII 22 4) and Abraham Isaac Jacob (Deut 9 27) It is used of priests and Lévites (Tob 1,7 S [cf. **BA**], Philo, **Quod** det. pot. 62, Spec. leg. I 242; cf ConstApp VIII 5,4). So also here because of the combination with **λειτουργός (see on** 2,10) cf the addition in MS *e* at 5,2. **of his presence** in connection with cultic functions also in e.g., Ps 42(41),3; Zech **8,21f., Mal** 1,9 Heb 9 24

4,3 **You will light up a bright light of knowledge** cf 18 3 **φωτίζων φῶς γνώσεως** (of the new priest) T.B. 11,2 (of Paul). Cf Hos 10 12 LXX **φωτίσατε ἑαυτοῖς φως γνώσεως** , ConstApp II 5,7, which applies this text to the activity of the **επίσκοπος, ἐν πολλῇ διδαχῇ πλουσίως τρέφῃς καὶ ποτίζῃς τὸν λαόν σου τὸν φωτισμὸν τοῦ νόμου;** Origen Mart. 47. For further instances see Lampe s.v. **φως** sub IIG6c; cf. also 4Ezra 14,25 et ego accendam in corde tuo lucernam intellectus quae non extinguetur quoadusque finiantur quae incipies scribere **1QSb** 4 27, (about the priest) '... may He make of thee a torch [to shine] upon the world in Knowledge and to enlighten the face of many'; **11Q Ps**[a] DavComp 2ff (of David); Jub 31,15. The nature of Levi's light is not specified but 2,10; 18,3; T B. 11,2 and the immediately following verses 4bc-5 suggest that the knowledge which he imparts is concerned with God's revelation culminating in Jesus Christ (see also on 18 3). In 14 4 19 1 'light' and 'law' belong together (see on 14 4) **as the sun to all the seed of Israel** this metaphor is also used in 14,3; 18,4; cf **1QSb** 4,27 Jub 31,15, and also in, e.g., Isa 42.6, 49.6, Mt **5,14ff** , Rom 2 19; Phil 2,15.

4,4 **a blessing will be given to you and to all your seed** cf. **1QSb (1,3,)** 3 25; Jub 30,18 **31,13f** **until the Lord will visit all the nations:** see T Jud. 23,5, **T.A.** 7,2 (of Christ's first advent); cf. T.B 9 2 and T.L 16 5 The 'all the nations' corresponds to 'the earth in T.A. 7 2 **in the tender mercies of his son:** cf 16.5 **οἰκτιρήσας;** T.Jud 23,5, **ἐν ἐλέει;** and T.Z. 8,2 (see note); T.N 4.5 (see note). Levi's priesthood is limited to the period before Jesus Christ (see also 5 2; 8,14 **18,1f.**; T.R. 6,8). **But your sons will lay hands upon him:** the theme of the S E.R. passages in chapters **10, 14f.**; 16 The same expression is used in 14,1; cf. Gen 22 12; Ex 7,4; 2Sam 18,12 etc.; and with Jesus Christ as object, in Mt **26,50 par.**; Jn 7,30.44; Justin Dial. 93 4; 95 4 etc. Also in Lk 20 19 and Justin Dial. 40,4, **οἱ (ἀρχ-)ιερεῖς** are the ones who lay hands on Jesus Christ. **to do away with him:** see textcritical note 11

4,5 **counsel and understanding have been given to you:** cf. fragment MS *e* at 2,3, v 8; 4Q 213 **TestLevi**[a] I 14. Here the purpose of God's gift is narrowed down by **to instruct your sons concerning him.** See 2,10; cf. Neh 8,9 (LXX), καὶ **οἱ Λευῖται οι συνετιζοντες τὸν λαόν.** The combination **βουλή - σύνεσις** is found in Job 12 13 Prov 9 10 Isa 11 2 PssSol 17,37; Philo., Leg. all. **III** 205 **Hermas,** Vis. 1,3,4 etc

4 6 **For he who blesses him will perish** cf Gen 12 3 (the blessing of Abraham); 27,29 (Jacob), Tob 13 12 (Jerusalem); Jub 25 22 26 24 (Jacob); 31 17 (Levi); 31,20 (Judah) **will perish** connects this verse with the announcement of God's judgment in v 1 and elsewhere

T Levi 5,1–6,2

Translation

5,1 And the angel opened to me the gates of heaven,
and I saw the holy temple and the Most High upon a throne of glory

2 And he said to me
Levi, I have given to you the blessings of the priesthood,
until I come and sojourn in the midst of Israel

3 Then the angel brought me down to the earth
and he gave me a shield and a sword
and said
Execute vengeance on Shechem because of Dinah,
and 1 will be with you,
because the Lord has sent me

4 - And I destroyed the sons of Hamor at that time,
as it is written in the heavenly tables -

5 And I said to him
I pray you, Lord, tell me your name,
that I may call upon you in a day of tribulation

6 And he said
I am the angel who intercedes for the race of Israel
that God(?) will not smite them utterly,
for every evil spirit attacks it.

7 And after that I awoke as it were from a sleep
and I blessed the Most High and the angel
who intercedes for the race[12] of Israel and all the righteous

6,1 And when I was going to my father,
I found a brass shield,
therefore, also, the name of the mountain is Aspis (Shield),
which is[13] near Gebal to the right of Abila.

2 And I kept these words in my heart

Textcritical notes

[12] τὸ γενος (*gdmcaf*) The acc. may have been changed into the genit (τοῦ γένους *bkl*) under the influence of the following πάντων τῶν δικαίων. Cf also ὁ παραιτουμενος TO γενος Ἰοραηλ in the preceding verse

[13] ὁ ἐστιν (*gldmeafchij*) The variant cm (*b*) may have been introduced either through a mechanical error or in an attempt to make it correspond with the preceding διό . .

Structure

5,1 The angel opens the gates of heaven and Levi sees God in his holy temple
5,2 God appoints Levi as priest (until the coming of Jesus Christ cf. 4,4)
5 3 The end of the heavenly journey The angel commands Levi to punish Shechem

5 4 Parenthetic remark **Levi** did destroy Shechem Reference to the heavenly tables
5,5-6 Levi asks the name of the angel.. He is the guardian angel of Israel
5 7 The end of his dream.. Levi praises God and the angel NB the angel is now said to intercede for Israel and all the righteous
6,1 On his way home Levi finds a shield Explanation of the name Aspis (cf 2,5)
6,2 Levi keeps these words in his heart (cf the end of the second vision in 8,19)

Notes

5 1 **the angel opened to me the gates of heaven** see 2,6, and F L Lentzen-Deis's article mentioned there There is no clear indication that chapter 5 assumes more than one heaven For gates (**πυλαι θύραι**) of heaven in a general sense, see Gen 28 17 (sing.), 3Mac 6,18 **1En** 9,2.10 ApZerub (ed /tr L. Lévi, *REJ* 68 [1914] **129–60**, 69 [1919] **108–21**; **71 [1920], 57-63**; **64–65**), p **131 (text) = pp. 144f.. (tr.), 'Alors une voix** m'interpella des portes du ciel'; Rev 4 1 (sing.); ConstApp VIII 46,16 etc If special gates are meant (of sections in heaven or more heavens) this is made clear in the context (cf TAb A **10f.**; 3Bar 2 2 5; 3,1; 6 13; 11,2.5; 15 1 1En 14,12 15 25, etc **I saw the Most High** Seeing God forms the climax of a heavenly journey: **cf.**, e.g 1En **14,18ff**, 2En **22ff.**; 3Bar **11ff.**; **AscenIs** 9,27ff T L 3,4 places God in the seventh heaven but no such specification is given here.. **the holy temple:** as God's dwelling-place see Ps 18(17),7 (LXX), **ἤκουσεν ἐκ ναοῦ ἁγίου αυτοῦ φωνης μου**; Hab 2,20 (LXX) **ο δὲ κύριος** ἐν **ναῷ ἁγίῳ αὐτοῦ**; Micah 1,2; Rev 11,19, **14,15 17**; b. Hag 12b cf. T L. 3 4 and 18,6. **a throne of glory**: a well-known expression used of God's throne in Jer 14,21, 17,12, WisSol 9 10, 1En 9,4. A throne of God in heaven is further mentioned in **1Kgs** 22,19; Isa 6,1; Ezek 1,26; Ps **47(46),9**; 1En **14,18f.**; 2En 22,2; AsMos 4 2 Interestingly, also in Rev 16,17 this throne is situated in the heavenly temple

5,2 **he said to me:** it is God himself who commissions Levi; cf 1En 15 2En 36 and also Isa 6 Ezek 1-3 ApAnast (ed R Homburg Lipsiae 1903), p **31,3ff** **I have given to you the blessings of the priesthood:** see 2,10; 4,2ff.; 8,2f.10; 9,3; **T.Jud** 21,2; T.I 5,7, and also Sir **45,6ff.20ff.**; Jub 30 18; **Philo**, Fuga 74; Heb 7 5.. For the expression **εὐλογίας τῆς ἱερατείας**, cf.. Origen **Hom** 12 3 in **Jer.**, **εὐλογίαι . . ἱερατικαί** **until I come and sojourn in the midst of Israel.** For the limitation of the period of the levitical priesthood, see on 4,4.. The OT knows the promise that God **will** dwell in the midst of his people in Jerusalem: see esp Ezek 43 7.9 (LXX) **κατασκηνώσει τὸ ὄνομά μου** ἐν **μέσῳ οἴκου Ἰσραηλ τὸν αἰῶνα . κατασκηνωσω** Ev **μέσω αὐτῶν τὸν αἰωνα**; **Joel** 2 27 **Zeph** 3 15; Zech 2 10(14) (LXX) **ἰδου ἐγὼ ἔρχομαι** καὶ **κατασκηνωσω** ev **μέσῳ σου**, 8 3 8 LXX cf.. **also PssSol** 7 6 **ApMos** 13,4, Rev 21,3.. The verb **παροικεῖν** is not found in this context, but see the reference to Christ's sojourn among men in Cyril of Alexandria, **Glaph.** Ex 1:8 **(MPG 69.409B), τῶ δι' ἡμᾶς καθ'ἡμας καὶ** ἐν **τώδε τῳ κόσμῳ παρῳκηκοτι Χριστῷ** The Testaments see the OT promise fulfilled in Jesus Christ (see also T.D. 5,13 and note). This is a common belief in the early Church Eusebius D.E. V 26; VIII 4 Athanasius, Annunt. 12 Asterius **Soph**, Hom 1 in Ps 14 (ed. M Richard, Oslo 1956 p. 206), etc.; cf.. Jn 1,14

5 3 **Then the angel brought me down to the earth** cf. 1En 81,5; 2En 38 1 3Bar 17 2 **he gave me a shield and a sword** cf. 6 1. The arms serve to carry out a new commission given by the **angel** **Execute vengeance on Shechem because of Dinah,** see 2 2 For the expression **ποιεῖν ἐκδίκησιν** ev see on 3,3. **I will be with you** cf **T Jos** 6 7 **because the Lord has sent me:** see on T S 2,8

5,4 This remark in parenthesis anticipates the account in **6,3–7,4** **I destroyed the sons of Hamor** **συντελεῖν** in this sense is also found in e.g., **1Sam** 15,18; 2Sam **22,38**, 2Chr 20 23 Ps 119(118) 87 **as it is written in the heavenly tables** the law of Moses

including Gen 34 had not yet been written in the time of the patriarchs. See further on **T.A. 2,10, compare also T L 6,8. Contrary to Gen 34, 49,5-7; cf Josephus, Ant.** 1,337-42: here (and in **6,3–7 4**) a positive view is taken of the Shechem episode. This is also the case in Jub 30 (see esp w. **5f., 17f.,** 23 with the emphasis on Levi); Jdt 9,2-4 (central figure: Simeon) Theodotus in Eusebius, P.E. IX 22 esp. **22,4–11** (Simeon takes the initiative). See also R Pummer Genesis 34 in Jewish writings of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods', ***HTR*** 75 (1982) 177-88 and the parallel article Antisamaritanische Polemik in jüdischen Schriften aus der intertestamentarischen Zeit', *BZ* 26 (1982) **224–42** There is a close connection between **Levi's** priesthood and his battle for **God'.** so also Jub 30; compare Phinehas in Num 25; Sir 45 23f. Levi s priestly activity only begins after the vengeance on Shechem: see 12 5 after the visions concerning the future here and in chapter 8 (cf 9 3, Jacob s dream).

5,5 **tell me your name:** cf Gen 32,29; Judg **13,17f.; AscenIs** 7,3; LAB **42 10** **in a day of tribulation** God helps the righteous ones in a day of **tribulation':** cf Gen 35 3; 2Sam 22 19; Ps 20(19),2, **50(49),15** (LXX) **καὶ ἐπικάλεσαί με** ἐν ἡμέρᾳ tfXupEuç **(and more** often in the Psalms): Sir 3 15 51,10 **ἐπεκαλεσάμην κύριον .. μή με ἐγκαταλιπεῖν** ἐν ἡμέραις ftXiiJjEiòç; Nah 1,7. Or does the text refer to the final eschatological tribulations (cf., e.g Dan 12,1; Zeph **1,15)?**

5 6 **the angel who intercedes for the race of Israel.** V 7 significantly adds and all the righteous , (also) outside Israel, cf. **T D** 6,2 and see INTRODUCTION 6 2 Traditionally Israel's guardian angel is Michael: see Dan 10,13.21 12,1; 1QM **17,4ff.;** 3En 44 10 HebApEl (ed. .M Buttenwieser Leipzig 1897) p.. 15 (= p.. 61 tr) cf also **Zech** 1 12 and **1En** 20 5 + v 1) See also L Ginzberg *Legends* VII Index sub Michael the guardian angel of Israel . L Ginzberg *Legends* I p.. 387; V 306f. mentions a rabbinic tradition according to which Michael conducts Levi to heaven and presents him to God who blesses him with the priesthood (Pirke R. Eliezer 37 Targ. Ps. Jon. on Gen 32,25) **that God(?) will not smite them utterly:** cf.. **T D.** 6,5, **μὴ ἐμπεσεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τέλος κακων** The subject of **παταξαι** is not **indicated** but the verb is often used for God's punishment of Israel because of its sins. see Ex 32,35, Isa 57,17, 60,10, Jer 2 30 Hos 6 1 Amos 3 15; 4,9; Micah 6 13 etc. God does not destroy Israel utterly.. cf., e g Amos 9 8 LXX, **οὐκ εις τέλος ἐξαρῶ τὸν οἰκον 'Ιακώβ;** 2Chr 12 12 Ps 103(102),9 Dan 3 34 LXX; Jdt 7.30; cf.. WisSol 16,5.6 (contrast 19 1) etc. **every evil spirit attacks it.** clearly with the purpose to make it sin

5,7 **I awoke as it were from a sleep** par 8 18 (cf ArLevi v 7) cf. T.N 1 3 and **1Kgs** 3 15 1En 13 9 2Bar 37,1, etc **I blessed the Most High** after a dream see on T N 1 4 and cf 3Bar 17 3 (after a heavenly journey)

6,1 **I found a brass shield** cf. 5 3 (in the vision) **the name of the mountain is Aspis (Shield), which is near Gebal to the right of Abila:** see the introduction to the vision (2,3.5) With Gebal' the mountain **Ebal (עֵיבָל,** LXX **Γαίβαλ)** opposite the Garizim near Shechem must be meant: see e.g., Deut 11,29 27,4.13; Josh 8,30.33 (9,2a.d). 'Abila' is perhaps a short form of Abelmaul (2 3 5): cf Josephus, Ant. 8,352 connecting Elisha with **'Αβέλα (1Kgs** 19,16 LXX **'Αβελμαούλ[α])**

6,2 **And I kept these words in my heart.** par. 8 19 (after the second vision), and ArLevi v. 7 For this expression, see Sir 13,12; Dan 4 28 LXX (after explanation of dream) róc **ἤκουσε την κοίσιν τοῦ ὁράματος, τους λόγους** ev **τῇ καρδίᾳ συνετήρησε;** 7,28 Th (after vision and explanation), **καὶ τὸ ῥῆμα** Ev **τῇ καρδίᾳ** um) **συνετήρησα** (cf. **8,26f.),** Lk 2 19.. **διατηρεῖν** is used in Gen 37,11 LXX, Lk 2,51, **κουπτειν** (T L 8 19) in TAb A 3 (twice) and B 3 **εκρυψεν τὸ μυστήριον** ev Tfj **καρδίᾳ αὐτου**

T LEVI 6,3-7,4

Translation

6,3 I advised my father and Reuben my brother
that he would tell the sons of **Hamor** to be circumcised,
because I was zealous because of the abomination which they had wrought in Israel
4 And I killed Shechem first,
and Simeon (killed) Hamor
5 And after that the brothers came and smote the city with the edge of the **sword.**[14]
6 And father heard it and was wroth and was grieved
in that they had received the circumcision and had died after that,
and in his blessings he did otherwise
7 For we had sinned,
because we had done this thing against his will,
and he had become **ill**[15] on that day
8 But I saw
that God's sentence upon Shechem was for evil
because they wished to do to Sarah **also**[16]
as they did to Dinah our sister,
but the Lord prevented them
9 And in the same way they had persecuted Abraham our father while he was a stranger
and **trampled**[17] the flocks against him while they were big with young
and maltreated very seriously Jeblae his home-born slave
10 And in the same way they did to all strangers,
taking their wives with force and banishing **them.**[18]
11 But the wrath of the Lord had come upon **them,**[19] definitely
7,1 And I said to father
Do not be angry, Lord,
because by you the Lord will set at nought the Canaanites
and he will give their land to you and your seed after you
2 For from this day on Shechem will be called a city of imbeciles,
for as a man **mocks**[20] a fool, so we mocked **them;**
3 because also they had wrought folly in Israel to **defile**[21] our sister
4 And taking our sister from there we departed and came to Bethel

Textcritical notes

[14] ῥομφαίας (*blm*) Both this reading and the alternative μαχαιρας (*gdeafchij*) may be original The change into μαχαιρας was perhaps made under the influence of Gen 34,26 LXX

15 **ἐμαλακίσθη** (*bc*). This reading is to be preferred to the alternative **ἐμαλακίσθην** (*ldmeafhij*) since it is unlikely that Levi would get ill after having killed the Shechemites together with Simeon and the other brothers, which was by order of God himself

16 **και** (*gldmefchij*). The variant **εἰς** (*b*) can hardly be correct.

17 **κατεπατησαν** (*bl*) Both this reading and the alternative **κατεπόνησαν** (*dmeafchij*) may be original

18 **αυτούς** (*b*) This refers to the strangers (**τους ξενους**, cf. also **αὐτῶν** in the same verse) and is surely preferable to **αὐτάς** (*lchij*).

1 **ἡ ὀργη κυρίου** *in'* **αὐτους** (*bl*) The change into **ἐπ' αὐτους η ὀργὴ κυριου** (*gdm*; cf *eafc*) has been made under the influence of **1Thes** 2,16.

20 **χλευάσαι** (*b*), lectio difficilior over against **χλευάσει** (*gleafci*, cf *hj*) For such a use of the optative cf., e g., Deut 1,44.

21 **μιᾶναι** (*b*). The alternative **μιάναντες** (*gldmeafchij*) gives a smoother text

Structure

The vengeance on Shechem

6,3–5 Levi's zeal
- v 3 the advice to ask circumcision
- v 4 Levi and Simeon take the lead
- v 5 the brothers follow

6 6 Jacob s reaction
- v 6ab anger and sorrow
- **v. 6c no blessing in Gen 49.5 7**

6,7ab Levi admits: this was done against Jacob s will

6,7c Excuse: Jacob was ill that day

6,8–11 Levi 'saw' that God had decreed this (inclusion vv 8b and 11)
- v 8cde their planned outrage against Sarah
- v 9abc their outrage against Abraham and Jeblae
- v **10ab** their outrage against all strangers and their wives

7 1 3 Levi's defence against his father
- v **1cd** God will give the land of the Canaanites to Jacob and his descendants
- vv 2 3 Shechem was rightly **'mocked'**, because they did a foolish thing

7 4 Departure to Bethel the scene of Levi's second **vision**

Notes

6,3 I advised my father and Reuben my brother only in this version of the story Reuben is mentioned here as eldest brother **that he would tell the sons of Hamor to be circumcised**: in Gen 34 15 MT, the sons of Jacob tell Shechem and Hamor this, in Gen **34,15** LXX Simeon and Levi. Here Levi advises his father and Reuben. Jacob negotiates with Shechem and his son in Theodotus in Eusebius P.E., IX 22 5ff The circumcision is not mentioned at all in Jub 30 Josephus Ant **1,337ff**, LAB 8 7 **because I was zealous:** see Jub **30,18**, Jdt 9,4 cf. **T.A.** 4,5 **ἐν ζηλῳ θεοῦ πορεύονται** (see note). Compare further also **Num** 25,11.13 **(Phinehas)**; **1Kgs** 19,10.14 (Elijah) **2Kgs 10,16** (Jehu); Sir 45 23 (Phinehas) **1Mac** 2,24ff **(Mattathias)**, etc. **because of the abomination which they had wrought in Israel:** cf Gen 34 7 (LXX) **αἰσχημον ἐποίησεν ἐν Ἰσραήλ**, Jub 30 5 For this expression used here see T R 3.12 (see note) T Jud **12,8**; T Z 9,5

6,4 In Gen 34,26, Simeon and Levi slay Shechem and Hamor. The specific statement that Levi killed Shechem and Simeon Hamor finds a parallel in Theodotus in Eusebius P.E.

IX 22,10f Theodotus mentions Simeon first however **first** corresponds **with after that** (v. 5).

6,5 **the brothers came and smote the city with the edge of the sword** Gen 34 27-29 mention plundering by all the brothers. Cf again, Theodotus in Eusebius, P.E. IX 22 11 **πυθομένους δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἑτέρους ἀδελφοὺς τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτῶν ἐπιβοηθῆσαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκπορθῆναι** For **the** expression **πατάσσειν** ev **στόματι ῥομφαίας,** see also Josh 8 24; Judg 1,8.25; 18,27; 20 37.48; 21,10, **1Sam** 22,19, Jdt 2,27.

6,6 **And father heard it and was wroth ...:** this is implicit in Gen 34 30 Jub 30 25 and explicit in Josephus Ant. 1 341. **they had received the circumcision:** see v 3; Gen **34,24 and the summary of Theodotus in Eusebius, P E IX 22,8 in his blessings he did otherwise: see Gen 49,5-7, and see on T S 5,6**

6 7 **against his will:** this is implied in Gen 34 it is explicit in Josephus Ant 1 340 **πραξαντες δε ταῦτα διχα τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς γνωμης** For **παρὰ γνωμην,** cf also **T G** 1 6 **he had become ill on that day** an attempt to explain why Jacob did not stop the action of his sons

6,8 But I saw again, Levi has the disposal of supernatural knowledge **that God's sentence upon Shechem was for evil:** cf. Jub 30,5, for judgment is ordained in heaven against them ...' (cf 30 23) On God s **ἀπόφασις,** see TAb A 13 (cf.. B 11); **TSol** 20,12. By way of explanation for God's judgment, a list of outrageous attempts and attacks of the Shechemites is given (cf Theodotus in Eusebius P E IX 22,9). **they wished to do to Sarah: cf Gen 20,1-18 where the Shechemites are not involved. but the Lord prevented them** cf T S 2 12 T Z 2 8

6,9 **they had persecuted Abraham** not mentioned **in** Gen. For **T.L.,** the Shechemites are identical with the Canaanites (7,1), cf. also Shechem as a Canaanite city in the account of the wars of the Canaanites against Jacob and his sons (T.Jud., **3–7;** see T.Jud. **4,1;** cf Josephus Ant. 1,337 and LAB 8 7). **while he was a stranger** see Gen 17 8 20 1 21 23.34; 23 4; 35 27 where LXX prefers **πάροικος/παροικεῖν.** **trampled the flocks ... big with young:** so that the flocks are bound to die out cf the atrocities against pregnant women mentioned in, e.g **2Kgs** 8,12, 15,16, Hos 14,1 Amos 1,13. **Jeblae his home-born slave:** unknown; in Gen **15,2f.,** Eliezer is Abraham s **οἰκογενής.**

6,10 **taking their wives with force.** For **ἐν δυναστείᾳ,** see also **2Kgs** 14,15; Ps 66(65) 7 78(77),26; Sir 15,18; and esp. Ezek 22 25 LXX; TSol 20,13.

6,11 This verse forms an 'inclusio' with v. **8b** **the wrath of the Lord had come upon them, definitely** see **1Thes** 2,16 in a different, **eschatological** context For similar expressions see **Num** 12 9 (LXX) **ὀργὴ** tti>ux>ti **κυρίου ἐπ' αὐτοῖς;** 2Chr 19 2 (LXX) **ἐγένετο ἐπὶ** oe **ὀργὴ παρὰ κυρίου,** 25,15, 28,9, 32,26, PS 78(77),21 31; Zech 7,12; **Eph** 5,6, etc For **εἰς τέλος,** see on 5,6

7 1 **Do not be angry:** returns to 6,6 **by you the Lord will set at nought the Canaanites** refers to the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites. Cf. the use of **ἐξουδενοῦν/ἐξουθενοῦν** with God as subject in Ps 53(52),6, **108(107),14,** Jdt 13,17, and also Ps 44(43),6 Compare **T A.** 7.2. **he will give their land to you and your seed after you.** this well-known promise (see e.g., Gen 12 7; **26,3f.;** 28,13; Ex **6,3f.)** is explicitly connected with the destruction of the people of Canaan in e.g., Ex **33,1f.;** Deut **4,37f.;** Josh 1,2ff.

7,2 **a city of imbeciles:** cf Sir 50,26, **ο λαὸς ο μωρὸς ὁ κατοικων ἐν Συκίμοις** (cf Deut 32,21 LXX).

7,3 **they had wrought folly in Israel:** cf 6,3 For **ἀφροσυνη,** see on T S 2 13 The word is used for sexual **sins** in Deut 22,21; Judg 19 23 (cf 20,6 LXX A) 2Sam 13,12 **to defile our sister:** see Gen 34 5.13.27; and cf also **Philo,** Migr. Abr. 224, **Συχέμ, Ἐμωρ υἱος ὢν, ἀλόγου φύσεως - καλεῖται γὰρ Εμὼρ ὄνος - ἀφροσύνην ἐπιτηδευων καὶ συντραφεις ἀναισχυντίᾳ;** see also Mut. nom **193 (Συχὲμ ὁ ἔγγονος ἀνοίας) - 195 (οι . ἄφρονες),** and 199f

7 4 **taking our sister from there** see Gen 34,26, Jub **30,24,** Josephus Ant 1 340 Theodotus in Eusebius P E IX 22 11 **we departed and came to Bethel** see Gen **35,1ff.6;** Jub **31,1ff.;** Josephus Ant 1 342

T LEVI 8

Translation

8,1 And there again I saw a happening similar **to**[22] the former
after we had spent seventy days
2 And I saw seven men in white clothing, saying to me
Arise, put on the robe of the priesthood
and the crown of righteousness
and the breastplate of understanding
and the garment of truth
and the plate of faith
and the turban of (giving) a sign
and the ephod of prophecy
3 And each of them carried these things and put them on me,
and said·
From now on become a priest of the Lord, you and your seed,
for ever
4 And the first anointed me with holy oil
and gave to me a staff of judgment
5 The second washed me with pure water
and fed me with bread and wine, most holy things,
and put round me a holy and glorious robe
6 The third clothed me with a linen vestment like an ephod
7 The fourth put round me a girdle like (a) purple **(robe)** [23]
8 The fifth gave to me a branch of rich olive
9 The sixth put a crown on my head
10 The seventh put on **me**[24] a diadem of the priesthood
And they filled my hands with incense
that I might serve as priest to the Lord,
11 and they **said**[25] to me
Levi, your seed will be divided into three offices,
for a sign of the glory of the Lord who is to come
12 And he who believes will be the first,
no portion will be greater than he
13 The second will be in the priesthood
14 The third, he will be called with a new name,
because a king will arise from Judah
and will establish a new priesthood after the
fashion of the Gentiles for all the Gentiles
15 And his presence will be marvellous
as that of a **high**[26] prophet from the seed of Abraham
our father

16 Every desirable thing in Israel will be for you and your seed,
and you will eat everything beautiful to see,
and your seed will divide among themselves the table of the Lord
17 And from them there will be highpriests and judges and scribes,
because the holy place will be guarded on their command
18 And when I awoke I understood
that this (vision) was like the former
19 And I hid this also in my heart
and I did not tell it to anybody on earth

Textcritical notes

22 **πραγμα ωσπερ** *(bk)*, lectio difficilior over against **δοαμα ως** *(gldmeafchij)*.With the reading **πρᾶγμα** in *bk* one may compare Hermas Sim 9,2,5, **μεγάλα καὶ ἔνδοξα πράγματα ἔβλεπον** (cf. Vis. 3 4 1 **μεγάλως καὶ** ftauu aaT(I>ç **ἔχει** TÒ **πρᾶγμα τοῦτο)** and the use of **ἔργον** in **1En** 21,2.7 in a similar context

23 **πορφύρᾳ** *(bk*, **cf. πορφυρίδι** g) Both this reading and the alternative **πορφυρας** *(ldeafchij)*may claim originality.

24 **μοι** *(geafchij)*.The words **τῇ κεφαλῇ** will have been added in *bk* under the influence of the preceding verse.

25 **εἶπαν** *(bk)* Both this reading and the alternative **λέγουσι** *(gldmeafchij)* may be original,

26 **ὑψηλου** *(bk)* lectio difficilior over against **ὑψίστου** ('of the Most High') found in all other **MSS.** The coming of Jesus Christ is compared with that of a great prophet not just a prophet (of the Most High).

Structure

The main lines in this chapter are clearer than the details

8 1 Introduces the second vision, emphasizing that it corresponds to the first

8 2-3 Correspond to **8,4–17.** Levi's investiture as priest by seven angels is described in two **stages**

vv 2-3a the men in white clothing appear. **Levi** is to put on the priestly vestments (seven!) handed over, severally, by the angels

v 3b statement concerning Levi's priesthood and that of his descendants

8 4–17 Second investiture different more elaborate and combined with anointing washing and giving of food (vv **4–5)** Some elements are clearly 'royal (vv. 4 7 and 8)

vv 11-17 statement about Levi's descendants which forms a distinct unit

v 11**bc** three offices' of Levi's descendants connected with the coming of the Lord

vv 12-15 the three 'offices in succession; emphasis on the first and third

v 12 a believer

v 13 a priest

v 14 a new priest, when a king will arise his appearance will be as that of a great prophet (v. 15)

v 16 the privileges of the levitical priesthood

v 17 three functions of Levi's sons, they will be highpriests, judges and scribes

8,18–19 The end of the vision It corresponds partly to 6 2 (the end of the first vision)

Notes

8 1 **I saw a happening:** see textcritical note 22 as **the former:** cf. v. 18 and Hebr T N 7,4f , Gen 41 25 Philo De Jos 100 107 **πρὸς ἔλεγχον βεβαιοτέρας πιστεως** The

repetition of dreams guarantees that they will become true cf Artemidorus Oneirocr 4 27; Herodotus I **107f.**

8 2 **seven men in white clothing.** For the number of seven cf ArLevi v. 7. The seven men in white are, of course angels cf 2Mac 11,8 **ἐφάνη** .... **ἐν λευκῇ ἐσθῆτι,** Mt 28,3, **Mk** 16,5; Jn 20,12; Acts 1,10, etc.. Descriptions of the vestments of the (high)priests may be found in Ex 28; **29,5ff.; 39,1ff. (36,8ff.);** Lev **8,7ff.;** 16 4; Sir **45,7ff.;** LetAris **96ff.,** Josephus Bell **5,231ff.;** Ant **3,151ff.; 184ff.; 214ff.; Philo,** Vita Mosis II **109ff.; Spec.** leg. I 84ff., M **Yoma** 7,5. The descriptions vary, also in the names used to denote the different parts T.L. is clearly not interested in cultic affairs; hence the variations and the lack of coordination between vv. 2f. and **4–11** and the lack of logic in the sequence of the actions of the angels. **the robe of the priesthood:** the **כתנת** (of the priests and the highpriest) is meant; the **LXX** translates **χιτων** (except in **Neh 7,70 72, χοθωνωθ** and Sir 45,8, **ποδήρης), στολή** is found as translation in Isa 22,21 (but not in the context of priesthood). LetAris 96 mentions **ποδήρης χιτών;** Josephus Ant 3,153 **χεθομένη** and **ποδήρης χιτών;** Bell 5 231 and Philo Vita Mosis **II** 109 speak of a **ὑποδύτης.** Here in **T L.,** a general term (cf also **ιερατείας)** is used See fragment MS *e* at 18,2 v 19 **την στολὴν τῆς ἱερωσύνης,** Josephus, Ant. 3,211 **την στολὴν τὴν ἱεράν,** Philo Leg. 296 2Ezra 4 54 **τὴν ἱεροατικὴν στολήν;** Eusebius, H.E. X 4 2 **the crown of righteousness** perhaps the **עטרת** of the highpriest is meant cf. Sir 45,12 **στέφανον χρυσοῦν ἐπάνω κιδάρεως** The word **στέφανος** is not used by the LXX in the Ex and Lev passages. See also M **Aboth** 4,13, **כתר כהונה** ('the crown of the **priesthood**'), Josephus Ant. 3 172 **στέφανος χρύσεος** connected or perhaps even identical with the plate of gold (TO **πέταλον),** see 3,157 178; Bell. 5,235; Philo Vita Mosis II 114 **χρυσοῦν** ... **πέταλον ὡσανεὶ στέφανος ἐδημιουργεῖτο;** Eusebius H.E. X 4,2, TOV **οὐράνιον τῆς δόξης στέφανον.** The expression **στέφανος δικαιοσυνης** is found in LetAris 280 (in connection with **kingship),** 2Tim 4,8. **the breastplate of understanding: λογεῖον/λόγιον** is in the LXX the term which translates **חשן** It is found several times in the Ex passages Lev 8 8, Sir 45 10 and also in Josephus Ant.. 3,163 Philo, Vita Mosis II **112f.;** 125, etc Spec. leg I 88 LetAris 97 **λόγιον συνέσεως** reminds of **λογεῖον της κρίσεως/τῶν κοισεων** in Ex **28,15.23ff.(29f.);** Sir 45,10. The term understanding may refer to the ability of the priests to interpret God's will and predict the future by means of the **Urim** and Tummim kept in the breastplate (one should note that **λόγιον** [also] means **oracle')** **the garment of truth** the **מעיל,** a garment worn (amongst others) by the highpriest, is meant. In the LXX, the word is translated by **ποδήρης** (Ex 28,4; 29,5) - but this word is also **the** translation **of חשן** (Ex **25,6[7];** 35,9) **and אפוד** (Ex 28,31) - **and ὑποδύτης** (Ex 28,31.34; **39,22ff.(36,30ff.);** Lev 8,7.. See also LetAris 96 Josephus Bell 5 231 Ant 3 159; Philo, Spec. leg. I 85 **93f ;** Vita Mosis II **117f ; 120f.;** 133; 143, etc. **the plate of faith:** in the LXX, **πέταλον** is usually the translation of the **ציץ** of the highpriest (Ex 28,36; **39,30[36,37],** Lev 8 9 cf. also Sir 40,4 [here **στέφανος];** 45 12) The word also translates **גזר** in Ex 29,6, and **פס** in Ex 39 3(36,10). See also LetAris 98 Josephus Bell. 5 235 **(στέφανος);** Ant. 3,178 **(τελαμων);** Philo. Vita Mosis II **114;** 116; and 132 where we have a (somewhat remote) parallel to the expression **πέταλον τῆς πιστεως:** the golden plate on which the graven shapes of four letters, indicating, as we are told the name of the Self-Existent, are impressed meaning that it is impossible for anything that is to subsist without invocation of Him; for it is His goodness and gracious power which **join and compact all things'** **the turban of (giving) a sign: μίτρα, in the LXX** translates **מצנפת,** worn amongst others, by the highpriest (Ex **28,37[33];** 29 6 39,28.31 **[36,35.38];** Lev 8,9). The Hebrew word is also translated by **κίδαρις** (Ex 28,4.39; **39,28[36,35],** used besides **μίτρα;** Lev 16,4; Sir 45,12). See also LetAris 98 **(κίδαρις,** distinct from **μίτρα);** Josephus Bell. 5 235 **(τιάρα);** Ant. 3,157 **(πίλος),** 172 (id.); Philo Vita Mosis II **116 (μίτρα,** distinct from **κίδαρις);** 131 **(κίδαρις)** The addition 'of (giving)

a sign is not clear: does it refer to the future? Compare ' of understanding and .. of prophecy' in this verse. **the ephod of prophecy:** the אֵפוֹד is worn, amongst others, by priests and **highpriests.** The usual translation in the LXX is ἐπωμις; ἐφούδ/ἐφώδ is found in **1Sam** 2 18, 22,18 See also Sir 45,8 (ἐπωμίδα as translation of מְעִיל), Josephus, Bell., 5,233 (ἐπωμίς); Ant., 3,162 (ἐφώδη/ἐπωμίς)· Philo Vita **Mosis** II 109 111· 113; 122; 130· 133 143 (all ἐπωμίς). For of **prophecy',** see Josephus Ant. 3,192 where it is told that Aaron is appointed as highpriest, ... διὰ τὴν προφητείαν; cf Philo Abr 98 (ἱερωσύνη and προφητεία as supreme privileges of Israel).
The seven genitives which follow the various vestments and qualify the priesthood rather than the vestments reflect the views of the author of the testament on the priesthood. It is difficult to detect a consistent picture. The emphasis on understanding', 'prophecy (and compare perhaps also '[giving] a sign) points to a combination of priestly and prophetic functions (cf. **T L. 2,10f.**, 4 5; and Levi's knowledge as the result of visions also in 6 8) For Levi as prophet, see also JosAsen 22 8, 23,8 26,7. See also H W **Kuhn,** *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil (StUNT 4)* Göttingen 1966, pp. 145ff

8,3 **and said: cf v 1 1** **become a priest of the Lord, you and your seed, for ever** cf 2 10; **4 2ff**, 5,2; and Jub 32,1 see also fragment MS *e* at 18,2, vv. 48f. and 51

8,4 **anointed me with holy oil** The expression ἔλαιον ἅγιον is used in Ex **30,25.31,** 37,29(38,25); Lev 21,12· **Num** 35,25 ·Sir 45 15, all in connection with the anointing of a (high)priest, and in Ps 89(88),20 (the anointing of a king) and Acta **Thom** 67 ConstApp III **16,2ff.**; VII 22,2 (all in connection with the anointing of a neophyte). The anointing of a (high)priest is mentioned in the passages just cited and also in Ex 29,7 21 **40,12ff.**, Num 3,3; **Philo,** Fuga 110 Vita Mosis II 146· Josephus, Ant. **3,197f.**, **205f.**, ConstApp III 16,3. The anointing of a king (see above, Ps 89[88],20) figures also in **1Sam** 10,1; 16,1.13; **1Kgs** 1,39; **2Kgs** 9,3.6; ConstApp III 16,3. Finally anointing is mentioned in the case of a person who becomes a Christian (see the passages cited above and further e g., Acta Thom 25, 27) The meaning of χρίεται χρίοματι εὐλογημένῳ ἀφθαρσίας (together with eating of bread and drinking of the cup) in JosAsen 8 5 15 4 is disputed **gave to me a staff of judgement.** The ῥάβδος is an eminently royal attribute: see on T. Jud 12 4 For of judgment' cf **το λογεῖον τῆς κρίσεως** (see on v. 2), and **κοιται** in v. 17

8,5 **washed me with pure water.** ὕδωρ καθαρόν is found in Num 5 17 (cf Philo, Spec leg. **[II 58f.),** Job 11 15; Ezek 36,25; JosAsen 14,17; 18,7; Heb **10 22;** and in the context of the investiture of a **(high)priest,** Philo, Vita Mosis II 143, λουει τὸ πρῶτον αὐτοὺς ὕδατι πηγῆς TW καθαρωτάτῳ καὶ ζωτικωτάτῳ κἄπειτα τὰς ἱερὰς ἀναδίδωσιν ἐσθῆτας ... For washing in this connection see further Ex 29,4· 40,12, Lev 8,6; Josephus Ant, 3,205 (+ anointing). **fed me with bread and wine.** Bread plays a role in the consecration ceremony of (high)priests as wave offering and as food for the priests: see, e.g., Ex 29 esp. vv. 2 **23ff.**, **32ff**; Lev 8 26f.31f. Cf. also the Slavonic Apocryphon of the Priesthood of Methusalem, Nir and **Melchizedek** 3 (ed G. N. Bonwetsch *Die Bücher der Geheimnisse Henochs*, Leipzig 1922, **Anhang,** pp 107-21), '. Und es eilte Noah und Nir, und sie wuschen den Knaben (Melchizedek) und kleideten ihn in die Kleider des Priestertums und sie gaben ihm das Brot des Priestertums (p. 115) Bread (or grain) and wine belong to the things of which first fruits should be given to the priests (Num 18,12 Deut 18,4; Philo Spec. leg. I **132ff**, etc.) Apart from that one should note that 'bread and wine' are supposed to relieve the primary needs of man; cf. Gen 14,18 Judg 19 19 Prov 9 5; **Eccl** 9,7, Song 5,1 LXX; Lk 7,33 cf Dan 10 3; JosAsen 15,14 etc. **most holy things·** ἅγια ἁγίων is used several times in the LXX for the parts of the offering which had to be eaten by the priests: see Lev 2 10 **6,17(10) 25(18).** 29(22), and more often; cf. Num 18,10; Ezra 2,63; **Neh** 7 65 **a holy and glorious robe:** see v 2 and Ex 28 2ff (LXX) στολὴν ἁγίαν εἰς δόξαν, **35,19,** 40 13· Lev

16,32 Sir 45 10 and also **1Mac 10,21** (of Jonathan) All activities of the first angels in these verses (with the exception of the giving of the staff) are connected with the consecration and cultic activities of the priests

8 6 linen vestment the terms **βυσσινη στολή/βύσσος** (fine linen) are used in connection with priestly clothes in general (see, e.g., Ex 28,39; **39,27ff.[36,34ff.]**; LetAris 87 Josephus, Ant. 3,153) and especially, in connection with the ephod (cf. v 2); see Ex 28 6; 39,2(36,9); Josephus, Bell.. **5,232f.**; **Philo.** Vita Mosis II 111..

8,7 a girdle: ζώνη is found as translation of **אבנט** in descriptions of the clothes of priests; see Ex **28,4.39f.**; 29 9; 39,29(36,36); Lev 8,7.13; 16,4; LetAris 97; Josephus Ant.. **3,154ff.**, 159. See also on T.Jud.. 12,4 for the girdle of kings (a) **purple (robe): 'purple'** (as material) is used for priestly clothes **a.o.** for the girdle (see Ex 28,5.8 15 33; 39 2.3.5.8 **24.29[36,9.10 12.15 31.36]** Sir 45,10 Philo, Vita Mosis II 111; Josephus Ant. 3,154 etc.).. **πορφύρα** as 'purple robe' is a symbol of dignity (LetAris 320; Lk 16 19) especially of royal dignity (2Ezra 3,6; Dan 5,7.16.29; **1Mac** 8 14; 10,62.64; Philo Mut.. Nom 93 JosAsen 5,6; Mk 15,17.20). It is connected with the highpriesthood in the case of the Hasmoneans Jonathan and Simon (**1Mac** 10 20, **14,43f**)

8,8 a branch of rich olive see JosAsen 5 7 **εἶχεν ἐκτεταμένον κλάδον ἐλαιας και** *ty* **πληθος καρπου Ev αὐτῷ; and also Herodotus VII** 19 1 **ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἐστεφανῶσθαι ἐλαίης θαλλῷ, ἀπὸ δὲ της ἐλαίης τοὺς κλάδους γῆν πᾶσαν ἐπισχεῖν**; cf 2Mac 14 4 For fatness in connection with olives see Judg 9 9 JosAsen 5 7 (ed C Burchard) Rom **11,17**, and also Zech 4,14

8 9 a crown on my head:. see on v 2 See also JosAsen 5 6 **στέφανος χρυσὸς ἐπὶ της κεφαλης αυτοῦ**; **1Mac** 10,20

8,10 a diadem of the priesthood For **διαδημα** as symbol of kingship see on T Jud 12 4 Philo compares the **μίτρα/κίδαρις** of the highpriest with the royal **διαδημα** in Fuga **[11]** Vita Mosis II **116; 131.** In our **text.** the usual **διαδημα βασιλείας** (Isa 62 3 **TSol** D 7,4; ConstApp XIII 20,3) is replaced by **διάδημα ἱερατείας.. they filled my hands with incense.** The usual expression is to fill the hands", **מלא את־ידים** (LXX **πληρουν** [or **ἐμπιπλᾶν/τελειοῦν**] **τὰς χεῖρας**). It denotes entrusting (the priesthood) to ...; cf Ex 28,41; 29,9; 32,29, Lev 8,33; 16,32; Judg 17,5.12; **1Kgs** 13,33 (cf. **2Chr** 13,9, 29,31); Sir 45,15; and also Jub 32,3; ArLevi v.. 9 Here we find the addition **θυμιάματος. that I might serve as priest to the Lord:** see Ex 28,1 4 29 1 (LXX) **ὥστε ἱερατευειν μοι αὐτούς**; 29,44, 30,30; 31,10, Lev 7,35, 16,32, **Num** 3,3, etc.; Sir 45,15.. **It is remarkable** that in this description of Levi's consecration as priest a number of royal elements have come in (**ῥάβδος, πορφυρα κλάδος ἐλαίας, διάδημα**) See also on v 14 T R **6,7 11f**., and INTRODUCTION 7.2.2

8,11 your seed will be divided into three offices. Vv.. 12-14 connect these three offices with three periods in history; the links with Levi are not made explicit.. Vv 16f. describe the privileges and functions of Levi and his sons (mentioning three functions in detail) without a division in periods The present text clearly goes back to a more simple Vorlage'; unfortunately we do not possess any parallels in the Aramaic (or Greek) fragments **for a sign of the glory of the Lord who is to come** For this use of **ἐπέρχεσθαι**, see Justin, Dial.. 51 2 ,.....**Ἰωάννης μὲν προελήλυθε . και Χριστός ἐπελθων** .. The following interpretation of the three **ἀρχαί** indeed views them in the **perspective of the coming of Jesus Christ.**

8,12 he who believes. Abraham (cf. Rom 4; Gal 3) but also wider the believers in the time before the priesthood i e before Aaron and Moses; see INTRODUCTION 7 4 and 8.3, and see further ConstApp VI 12 13; Eusebius D E I 5f **no portion will be greater than he κλῆρος** is particularly used in connection with priests and Levites (see on 2 12 T I **5,7f**) The polemical element here is evident

8,13 in the priesthood the period of Israel is characterized by the priesthood

8,14 he will be called with a new name: see Isa 62,2; 65,15 (LXX), **τοῖς δε δουλευουσιν αυτῳ κληθησεται ὄνομα καινόν** (cf Rev 2,17 3 12) In the early Church the new name of Isa 62 2· 65 15 was seen as referring to the Christians: see, e.g., Eusebius D.E., II 3 H.E. I 4,3f., **τοῦτο καινὸν ὄντως ὄνομα τὸ Χριστιανῶν**; Theodorus Heracleensis Fragm. in **Is.**, Isa 62 2· ib. Isa 65 15 **a king will arise from Judah:** see on T S., 7 2 **will establish a new priesthood** (cf 18,1f) refers to Christ's own priesthood and that of the Christians in his Church **... after the fashion of the Gentiles for all the Gentiles.** refers to the priesthood of Melchizedek over against that of Moses and Aaron.. See Heb (esp. chapter 7 cf.. on T.R. 6 8); Justin Dial. 33 Melchizedek is a priest of the uncircumcized, so according to Ps 110(109),4, Jesus Christ will be **τον αἰωνιον ἱερέα καὶ κύριον τῶν** ev **ἀκροβυστιᾳ** (who will also receive and bless those from the circumcision who believe in him); cf Tertullian, Adversus Marcionem 5 9,9., .. Christus propriùs et legitimus dei antistes praeputiati sacerdotii pontifex turn in nationibus constitutus· Melito, Pass 68, 'he that delivered us . from tyranny to eternal royalty, and made us a new priesthood **(καὶ ποιήσας ἡμας ἱεράτευμα καινον)** and an eternal people personal to him (tr. S G Hall Oxford 1979) see also Eusebius. Comm in **Is.**, Isa 22,15-19, D.E. V 3, ... **κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδὲκ ἱεράσθαί φησιν αὐτον, πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Μωυσέως διάταξιν ἱερέως, ἤτοι τοῦ Ἀαρὼν ἢ καί τινος τῶν ἐξ ἐκείνου . οὐδὲ τελος ἕξειν ἔμελλεν τῆς ἱερωσύνης οὐδε μόνοις Ἰουδαίοις** aXXà **καὶ πάσιν ἔθνεσιν καταστησεσθαι ...**; Athanasius Synops., 68..

8,15 his presence for **παρουσια** as term for the first advent of Jesus Christ, see T.Jud 22,2, and Ignatius **Phld.** 9 2· Justin, **Apol.** I.52 3· Dial. 14,8; 40,4, etc. (see also Lampe s v sub B3a) as **that of a high prophet** For Jesus as prophet, see also T.B.. 9,2; and e g., Mt 21,11.46· Lk 7 16 24 19 Jn 4,19, 6 14 ClemHom 1 19; **Origen,** Hom 1,12 in Jer.; Athanasius Dial Trin.. 5 1 (see also Lampe s.v.. sub III). The epithet 'high' is particular. **from the seed of Abraham**· in connection with Jesus, see Mt **1,1**, Lk 3 34 **Gal** 3,16, etc.. Abraham had already been mentioned in connection with group 1 our father: see 6,9; 15,4; **ArLevi** v.. 11; Jub 22,16; 25,5; and also Rom **4,1.12 16f.**; Gal 3 29

8,16 Every desirable thing in Israel will be for you and your seed. probably a reference to the first fruits and tithes cf.. **Num 18,8–32**, Deut **18,1-8**, see also T.Jud. **21,5**, the choice things of the sons of Israel **beautiful to see:** for the expression, see **1En** 24,5, **your seed will divide among themselves the table of the Lord.** For **τράπεζα** see T.Jud. 21 5 (par.. **ἀπαρχάς**) Not so much the table of the shewbread, which might be eaten by the priests (so Lev **24,5ff.**, etc.), but the **altar**, and the parts of the offerings reserved for them (cf. e.g., Ezek 40 **40ff.**; 41,22; 44,16; **Mal** 1 7.12 (LXX **τράπεζα κυρίου**). For **διανέμειν**, cf. Philo Spec leg IV 98 'For he bids them to take samples of their corn wine, oil and live-stock and the rest as first fruits and apportion **(διανέμειν)** them for sacrifices and for gifts to the officiating priests'; Quis **heres** 195, the distributions made to the priests from the gifts'.. See also, in general. ArLevi v..4; Sir **45,20f.**; Jub 31,16,

8,17 from them there will be highpriests and judges and scribes: cf Deut **33,9f.**; **1Chr 23,4f**, **γραμματεις (שֹׁטְרִים) καὶ κριταί (וְשֹׁפְטִים)** .... **πυλωροί**, etc (cf. 26,29); **2Chr** 34,13 (LXX) **ἀπὸ τῶν Λευιτῶν γραμματεῖς** xai **κριταὶ καὶ πυλωροί**, Ezra 7,25 (LXX) **κατάστησον γραμματεῖς** xai **κριτάς** (cf.. Deut 16,18); **1QSa** 1 24 'the chiefs **(שָׂרִים)**, the judges **(שופטים)** and the officers **(שׁוֹטְרִים)**'; Jub 31,15, 'judges and princes and chiefs There is a certain emphasis on the teaching function of the sons of Levi here (see also on T.R.., 6,8 and T.L.. 13) **because the holy place will be guarded on their command** For **τὸ ἅγιον** as the holy place' see Ex 28,30.35; Lev 6 30(23); 10,18; 16,2.3, etc, The Lévites take care of and guard **(φυλάσσειν)** the entire temple including the holy place see Num 1 53· **3 7f 28 32 38**, **18,4f**; 31 30 47 **1Chr** 9 19 23· 23 32 Ezek **40,45f**,

44,8.14f., 48 11 etc **ἐπὶ του στόματος αὐτῶν** is a **hebraism (על פיהם)** in coonection with priests see e g **Num** 27 21· Deut 21 5· **1QSa** 1 23

8,18 when I awoke see 5 7 and ArLevi v 7 **this (vision) was like the fomer** see **on v 1**

8,19 I hid this also in my heart see on 6 2 and cf ArLevi v 7

T LEVI 9

Translation

9,1 And after two days I and Judah went **up**[27] with our **father**[28] to Isaac
2 And the father of my father blessed me according to all the words of my visions which I had seen
And he did not want to come with us to Bethel
3 And when we came to Bethel,
my father Jacob saw in a vision concerning me
that I should be a priest for them to God
4 And after having risen early in the morning
he paid tithes of all to the Lord through me
5 And we came to Hebron to **dwell**[29] (there)
6 And Isaac called me continually to put me in remembrance of the law of the Lord,
as the angel of God had shown to me
7 And he taught me the law of the priesthood,
of cereal offerings, burnt offerings, first fruits, freewill offerings, and peace offerings
8 And each day he was instructing me
and was busy on my behalf before the Lord
9 And he **said**[30].
Beware, child, of the spirit of impurity,
for this will **continue**[31]
and will defile the holy things by your seed
10 Take, therefore, for yourself a wife,
while you are still young,
one who has no blemish
and has hot been defiled
and is **not**[32] of a race of strangers or Gentiles
11 And before entering the holy place, bathe,
and when you offer (the sacrifice), wash,
and when you finish again the sacrifice, wash
12 **Offer**[33] to the Lord of twelve trees which always have leaves,
as also Abraham taught me
13 And offer a sacrifice to the Lord of every clean beast and clean bird
14 And offer the first of all first fruits and of **wine.**[34]
And you shall salt every sacrifice with salt

Textcritical notes

[27] **ἀνεβημεν** *(bk)* Both this reading and the alternative **ἀνέβην** (*gldmafchij*) may be original

[28] **τοῦ πατρος** (*gldmeafchij*) The variant **τὸν πατέρα** *(b)* cannot be correct.

[29] **καταλύσαι** *(b)*. The alternative **καταμεῖναι** (*gldmeafchij*) may be regarded as an attempt to avoid a word with many nuances of meaning

[30] **ἔλεγεν**. The addition of **μοι** (*dmafchij*) is obviously secondary The addition of **μη** *(b)* is a mistake due to the fact that the verb **προσέχειν** may mean to pay heed to (cf **μη προσεχετε** in T R 3,10; 4,1, etc.), and to beware of (+ **απο**; cf., e.g., T.D. 6,1)

[31] **ἐνδελεχιεῖ** *(b)* Both the future of the verb **ἐνδελεχιζειν** and the present tense of **ἐνδελεχεῖν** (**ἐνδελεχεῖ** *gldmeaf*) may claim originality.

[31a] **μηδέ . μηδέ** *(b)*. Since the first **μηδέ** is original (it is supported by *ldme*, over against **μητε** in *afchij*), there is no reason to doubt the originality of the second **μηδέ** (over against **μητε** in *gldmeafchij*). The endings **-δε** and -TE are often confused in MSS (cf Moulton *Grammar* III p 340), moreover, '**μήτε** cannot follow **μηδέ**' (LScJ s.v. sub **A2**)

[3] **ἀναγε** *(b)*.. Both this reading and the alternative **ἀνάγαγε** *(gldmeafchij)* may be original.

[34] The addition of (**τῷ**) **κυρίῳ** in *gldeaf* (cf *chij*) took place under the influence of parallel phrases in the previous verses

Structure

9 1-2 Visit of **Levi**, Judah and Jacob to Isaac (in Hebron) Isaac blesses **Levi** according to his visions

9,3–4 In Bethel Jacob receives a vision concerning Levi s priesthood He brings tithes of everything through Levi

9,5–14 The family **goes** to Hebron to dwell there

- vv **6–8** general description of Isaac's instructions to Levi concerning the priesthood
- vv **9–14** detailed instructions (in direct speech)
  - v *9* no impurity
  - v 10 no marriage with a woman who is in any way defiled
  - v 11 ablutions connected with offerings
  - v 12 use of twelve trees
  - v 13 sacrifices of clean animals and birds
  - v 14a first fruits
  - v 14b salting of sacrifices

One should note that v.. 9d refers to the future defilement of the temple (and temple-service) by Levi's sons This phrase introduces chapter 10 (cf chapters **14–15** and 16)

Notes

9 1-5 There is a parallel to these verses in ArLevi vv **8–12** (fragment in MS *e* at 18 2 begins with v 11) There are a number of points of contact with Jub 31-32. The exact relationship between these three accounts cannot be established with certainty (see **D.** Haupt, op.. **cit.** [see INTRODUCTION 3.3.1], pp. **66–71**) T.L. is nearest to ArLevi in form and style, but presupposes a number of details found in Jub

9 1 I and Judah - to Isaac: so also Jub 31,5; in ArLevi v 8 only Levi s journey is mentioned.. The journey is not mentioned in Gen 35

9,2 the father of my father blessed me: so also ArLevi v 8 and Jub 31 12-17 which give a blessing for Levi followed by one for Judah in vv. **18–20. according to all the words of my visions which I have seen:** clearly **redactional he did not want to come with us to Bethel** see Jub 31 27 which gives the reason Isaac feels he is too old for the journey

9,3–4 **when we came to Bethel:** see Jub **31,30ff.** (and cf ArLevi vv. **9f.**). **my father Jacob - to God:** cf. ArLevi v. 9 where after a vision Jacob tithes everything he possesses and makes Levi priest. In Jub **32,1,** Levi receives a dream after which Jacob gives tithes (v 2) and makes Levi the tenth son (counting from the yet unborn Benjamin backwards), priest to the Lord (v 3). **In** T L Jacob receives divine information with regard to Levi's status For **εἶδεν** . ἐν **ὁράματι,** see 11,5, T Jud 3 10; and e g., Dan 8,2; Acts 10 3 **he paid tithes:** as fulfilment of his vow in Gen 28 22 cf ArLevi v 9 Jub **32,2 4ff**

9,5 **we came to Hebron to dwell (there)** see Gen 35,27; ArLevi v 11 Jub 33 21

9,6–14 For this section we may compare the much longer instructions of Isaac to Levi in ArLevi vv. **13–61,** and those of Abraham to Isaac in Jub 21 (cf **ὡς κἀμὲ Ἀβραὰμ ἐδίδαξεν** in v. 12b). The tradition of the fathers is handed down from generation to generation (see INTRODUCTION 7.1.1), and what Isaac teaches is the **νόμος κυρίου** (v 6) **T.L. is nearer to ArLevi than to Jub, but is considerably shorter, clearly because cultic** regulations are no longer relevant to the readers Vv. **6–8** use indirect speech these verses serve as introduction to what follows and as an (indirect) reference to the many instructions omitted by the author (vv. 6 and 8 emphasize that Isaac instructed Levi day after day, v 7 gives a list of **offerings).**

9,6 **Isaac called me continually** cf v 8 It is an element not found in ArLevi and Jub **to put me in remembrance of the law of the Lord.** Levi and his sons were called to be teachers of the law (see on 8 17 13,1 **T.R.** 6 8 and cf Jub 21,5). **as the angel of God had shown to me:** see T R . 5,3 (cf. 4,4), T.Jud. 15,5. The expression is little more than a general reminder of the preceding visions but serves to emphasize the divine authority behind Isaac's teaching

9,7 **he taught me the law of the priesthood** summarizes what follows; see ArLevi vv 13 15 (fragment in MS e at 18,2, **ἤρξατο διδάσκειν μετὴν κρίσιν ἱερωσύνης . . . διδάξω σε)** (the law of) **cereal offerings, burnt offerings, first fruits, freewill offerings, and peace offerings** compare the list in Lev 7,37 (LXX), ὁ **νόμος τῶν ὁλοκαυτωμάτων καὶ** ftuoïaç . . **καὶ τῆς θυσίας τοῦ σωτηρίου.** 'cereal offerings': **θυσια** is often used as a general **term (so also v. 13), but in Lev 2,1-16; 6,14–23 (7-16); 7,37 it is used as translation for** מִנְחָה. burnt offerings': **ὁλοκαύτωμα = עוֹלָה; cf. Lev 1,3–17; 6,9–13 (1–6);** 7,37. 'first fruits cf., e.g., **Num 18,8ff.25ff.** (in connection with **tithes)** freewill offerings. **ἑκούσιον = נְדָבָה;** see Lev **7,16;** 23,38, Num 15,3; 29 39 Deut 12 6. 'peace offerings': **θυσία σωτηρίου = שֶׁלֶם;** see Lev **3,1-17; 7,11-21.37.**

9,8 **was busy on my behalf before the Lord:** (again) new compared to ArLevi and Jub (see on v 6) **ἀσχολεῖσθαι,** 'to be occupied', is used of spiritual activity in Sir 39 1 Justin **Apol.** I 63,17, Tatian **Orat** 27,3, Epictetus III 5,16

9,9 **Beware, child, of the spirit of impurity:** see ArLevi v 16 (fragment in MS *e* at 18,2, **πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ . . ἀπὸ πάσης πορνείας)** and cf vv 17f. and also Jub **21,21-23.** Warnings against (the spirit of) impurity are numerous in the Testaments, esp. in T.R. **and** T.Jud., **For προσέχειν ἀπό, see** T.D 6,1, **Sir** 6 13, **11,33,** etc.; **Mt** 7,15; **10,17,** etc **this will continue and will defile the holy things by your seed** not in ArLevi or Jub but a redactional sentence introducing chapter 10 Idolatry and sexual impurity are closely connected (see on T.N. **3,3ff.**; T.B 10,10). T. L follows the tradition which regards the destruction of the temple and the exile as a punishment for the sins of the priests: **see,** e g , 2Chr 36,14 (LXX) **καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς . . . ἐμίαναν τὸν οἶκον κυρίου τὸν** ἐν **Ἱερουσαλήμ** . . ., 2Ezra 1,47 Ezek 22,26 (LXX) **οἱ ἱερεῖς αὐτῆς ἠθέτησαν νόμον μου καὶ ἐβεβήλουν τὰ ἅγιά μου;** Zeph 3,4. See also the remarks about the pollution of the holy place by Israel or Judah as a whole in Isa 43 28 LXX; Jer 7,30; Ezek 5,11; **23,38f.**; and cf. Lev 20 3 **1Mac** 1 46 PssSol 2 3

9 10 **Take ... for yourself a wife** cf. ArLevi v 17, and do you take for yourself a wife of my family ' **while you are still young:** probably in order not to give ποσνεία a chance For youth and sexual sins see esp. **T R.** (see on 1 6); cf. also **T.L.** 11,1: Levi marries at **the age of eighteen** **one who has no blemish** **Gentiles:** much more elaborate than ArLevi v 17. In the background stands Lev 21.7.13-15 strangers' ἀλλόφυλοι, is practically a synonym of ἔθνη (see also on T.Jud. 22,2)

9,11 Also ArLevi vv **19–21** (cf vv 26 and **53–55**) knows three ablutions, one before entering the sanctuary one when one puts on the priestly garment before approaching the altar, and one immediately before offering. The fragment in MS *e* at 18 2 uses first λούειν, next two times νίπτειν. Jub **21,16–18** (cf. ArLevi vv **53–55** in MS *e* only) mentions washings before entering the temple and before and after the actual act of offering T L., is less clear as to the second and third washings Does the author refer to **ablutions** just before and after the offering as in Jub? ἀπαρτιζειν means "to complete but also "to accomplish perform (a rite)" (see Lampe s.v.). In the background stands Ex **30,19–21**; cf. 40,31f. (38 27), Ex mentions only two washings (LXX νίπτεσθαι) For the use of λούειν (usually washing of the whole body) and νίπτειν (usually washing of a part of the **body, the hands for instance), see L Rosso, 'Un'antica variante del libro di Tobit (Tob., VII,9)', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 50 (1976) 83ff**

9,12 **Offer to the Lord** The use of ἀνάγειν (see **1Kgs** 3,15 Acts **7,41**, etc) could suggest that the wood itself had to be offered. It has to be used as firewood on the altar (cf. Lev **1,7f.12.17**; 3,5; 6,12[5] etc.). **twelve trees which always have leaves:** see the list in ArLevi vv 22-25 (where the Genizah fragment and MS *e* differ), and in Jub 21,12-14 which mentions fourteen trees a number also given in **1En** 3 1 and Geoponica 11,1 (ed. H Beckh Leipzig 1895) as **also Abraham taught me** see ArLevi vv 22 50 57 and **Jub** 21

9 13 **every clean beast and clean bird** The LXX knows the combinations θηριον - πετεινόν (Gen 2 19; **6,19f.**; Lev 17,13; Deut 28 26; **1Sam** 17,46; Ps **50(49),10f.**; Dan 4,12; Sir 17 4 **etc.**), and κτῆνος - πετεινόν (Gen **7,2f.**, Lev 20,25 **1Sam** 17,44) cf. esp. Gen 8,20 (LXX), καὶ ἔλαβεν (Noah) ἀπὸ πάντων TWV κτηνῶν TÛV καθαρῶν καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων TWV πετεινῶν TWV καθαρῶν xcu ἀνήνεγκεν ὁλοκαρπώσεις ἐπὶ TO θυσιαστηριον On clean and unclean animals see e g Lev 11 Deut 14 3-20 Only the former may be used for sacrifice

9,14 **the first of all first fruits and of wine** On first fruits in general see, e.g Lev 2,12, **23,9ff.**; **Num 15,19ff.**; **18,8ff** , Deut **26,1ff.** The expression ἀπαρχὴ πρωτογενηματος (-άτων) is found in Ex **23,19**; Sir 45,20; cf. also Ezek **44,30**; Tob 1,6 ἀπαρχὴ OIVOD is found in Num 18,12; Deut 18,4; 2Chr 31 5; cf Neh 10 37ff. (38ff.); Jdt 11,13. **you shall salt every sacrifice with salt:** see ArLevi v. 29 (cf. vv. 26 and 37); Jub **21,11.** This goes back to Lev 2,13 see also Ezek 43,24 11Q Temple **20,13f.**, Tĕ'ĕzāzā Sanbat (tr W Leslau, New Haven-London **[3]1963**) p. 31 Salt shall not be omitted in the sacrifice of the Sabbath of God

T. Levi 10

Translation

10 1 Now therefore **observe**[35] the commands which I give to you children
because whatever things I have heard from my fathers I have declared to you

2 I am clear from all your ungodliness and transgression,
which you will commit at the consummation of the ages against the Saviour of the world,
acting impiously,
leading Israel astray,
and stirring against it great evils from the Lord,
3 and you will act lawlessly together with Israel,
so that he (the Lord) will not bear Jerusalem because of your wickedness,
but will rend the covering of the temple,
so as not to **cover**[36] your shame
4 And you will be scattered as captives among the Gentiles,
and you will **be**[37] for a reproach and for a **curse**[38] and for a trampling under foot
5 For the house which the Lord will choose, will be called Jerusalem,
as the book of Enoch the righteous contains

Textcritical notes

[35] **φυλάξασθε** *(b)*. See textcritical note 20 on T.R. 4,5

[36] **κατακαλύπτειν** *(b)*, lectio difficilior over against the more usual **καλύπτειν** *(gldmeaf* cf **καλύψαι** *chij)*, which may also have been introduced through **haplography**

[37] **ἔσεσθε.** The addition of **ἐκεῖ** *(gldmeaf* cf *chij)* is **epexegetical** The **lectio brevior** *(b)* is to be preferred

[38] **καὶ εἰς κατάραν** *(lde(a)fchij)* It is omitted in *bgm* through **hma**

Structure

This chapter which has no counterpart in the Aramaic or Greek fragments is the first part of a number of chapters dealing with Sin Exile and finally Return They form a redactional unity· see T L., INTRODUCTION p. 129, and in more detail, INTRODUCTION 7 2 2

10 1 General exhortation Explanation of the principle of a testament

10,2a Levi's innocence

10,2b–3a The sins of his offspring against Jesus Christ

10,3b–4 God's punishment: the rending of the temple-veil dispersion

10 5 Explains (note **γάρ)** that God has to act because he has chosen Jerusalem

Notes

10,1 **Now, therefore, observe the commands which I give to you, children** general exhortation. For **ἐντέλλεσθαι** in such a context (and similar ones), see INTRODUCTION 4.1.2 (and note on T R 1,1) **whatever things I have heard from my fathers, I have declared to you** the sons have to be warned (and to warn their children by handing on these commandments); see on T S 6,1; T B 104 (and T L **9'**), and INTRODUCTION **7 1.1. For the use of ἀναγγέλλειν, see T Z 5,1, 7,1, and also Gen 49,1 (LXX), συνάχθητε,** Eva **ἀναγγείλω ὑμῖν;** Deut 30,18; Job 27,11; 32 10, Dan 11 2 Th

10,2 **I am clear from ....** cf 14,2, **ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ἰσραὴλ καθαρὸς ἔσται . T S 6,1,** and similar declarations of innocence concerning the patriarch s own past (e.g. T.I. 7,1-6; T Z 1,4) **The** expression **ἀθῷος ἀπό** is found **in, e g , Num 5,31, Job 10,14, Mt 27,24,**

1Clem 59,2 **all your ungodliness and transgression ... acting impiously** cf 14,1f.4, **T A.** 7 5. In the OT (LXX) ἀσέβεια and ἀσεβεῖν are frequently used to characterize Israel's attitude towards God see e g , Isa 59,13; Jer 2,8; 3,13 Dan 9 5; Hos 7,13 8,1; Micah 1,5.13; 3 8 **Zeph** 3,4 (of **priests!**). **at the consummation of the ages** similar expressions are found in T.Z 9 9 T.B. 11,3. For the one found here see e.g., Heb 9,26. **the Saviour of the world,** Jesus Christ: see 14,2, T B 3,8, and Jn 4,42; Un 4 14 it is a common title for Jesus in the writings of the Church Fathers. **leading Israel astray:** in the OT (LXX) πλανᾶν is mostly used to characterize the actions of the prophets and other leaders of Israel. see e g. 2Chr 33,9, Isa 3 12; 9,15 30,20 **LXX;** 41,29 LXX; Jer 23,13.32 (vv 11 33 and 34 mention prophet and **priest** together); Ezek **13,1ff.10;** Micah **3,1ff** As the priests **sin** along with the other leaders and with the people itself (v 3a and cf e g., the examples given on 9,9), the emphasis on the deception by the priests is understandable. In this testament the sons of Levi are often mentioned as sinning against Jesus Christ (see on 4 4) **stirring against it great evils from the Lord:** compare the use of ἐπεγείρειν with God as subject and distress as object in **1Sam** 3 12 2Chr 21 16 Job **10,17** LXX Isa 13 17 Amos 6 14; Zech 9,13 Great evils' (κακὰ μεγαλα) is often found in texts dealing with the exile; Jer **26(33), 19,** 32(39),42; 44(51) 7 Dan **9,12;** Bar 2 2 v.1

10,3 **you will act lawlessly together with Israel:** see v. 2 and cf. T.D., 6,6, EV καιρῷ ἀνομίας τοῦ Ἰσραήλ **so that he (the Lord) will not bear Jerusalem because of your wickedness. The** subject of βαστάξαι and the following σχίσαι must be God **The** expression ἀπὸ προσώπου πονηρίας ὑμῶν is found in the Greek translation of Jer in connection with the exile and the destruction of Jerusalem as punishment of God; see Jer 4,4; 9 6 LXX; **44(51),3.22,** συκ ἠδύνατο κύριος ἔτι φέρειν ἀπὸ προσώπου πονηρίας πραγμάτων ὑμῶν. **will rend the covering of the temple:** see T.B. 9 4 Mt 27 51 par.. On this theme in early Christian literature, see INTRODUCTION § 5 The temple-veil is called ἔνδυμα, **'garment',** here in view of the typical interpretation of the event found here. **so as not to cover your shame** the expression ἀποκαλύπτειν (μὴ [συγ]καλύπτειν) ἀσχημοσύνην occurs frequently in connection with sexual sins; see Lev **18,6ff , 20,11 17ff** , Ezek 23,10.18; 16,36; Sir 26,8.. Israel's (or Jerusalem's) shame is uncovered by God by way of punishment for these sins: see Ezek 23 29 **16,(8)37** (God **subj.**); Lam 1,8, Hos 2 2(5) (God **subj.**); 2 8f (11f.) (God subj.)

10,4 **you will be scattered as captives among the Gentiles:** a typical **E.lement** in the S.E.R pattern' cf. esp. 15 1 17 9 T.Jud 23 5 T I 6 2 T.Z **9,6;** T.D. 5 8 T N 4 2 5 **(;5 8:** 6 7); T.A. 7,2; T.Jos. 19,2 **you will be for a reproach and for a curse:** see again in the context of the exile and the destruction of Jerusalem Jer 24 9 **(LXX),** ἔσονται εἰς ὀνειδισμόν . **και εις κατάραν, 44(51),8 12.** ὀνειδισμός (cf. T.L. 15,2; T. Jud 23 3) also in this context in **Neh** 1,3; Jer **23,40;** 25,9 LXX **51(28),51; 42(49),18;** Lam **5,1. Dan 9,2 LXX; 9,16; Bar 2,4; 3,8, and** κατάρα **(cf. T L. 16,5) in Isa 64,10(9), Jer** 26(33),6; Dan 9 11; Zech 8 13 **and for a trampling under foot** see Isa 5 5; **22 5, Lam 2,8; Ezek 36,4.**

10,5 This verse introduced by γάρ, is probably added to explain why God acted as described in v 3 **the house which the Lord will choose, will be called Jerusalem:** see 15 1 and T Z. 9,8. The expression ... ὃν ἂν ἐκλέξηται κύριος is found in Deut 12 5.11.14 18 21 **26 14,23ff ; 15,20; 16,2.6f.11.15f.;** 17 8 10 26 2 31,11 (and Josh 9 27). The **place** (τόπος) which the Lord will choose, is Jerusalem as the only one where offerings may be presented to him That **Jerusalem is 'chosen'** by God we also find in several places; of these, **2Kgs** 21 7 23,27 **2Chr** 6,34.38 33,7 (cf. Tob 1 4) mention city and **temple** (ὁ οἶκος) together Also the temple alone is said to be chosen by God, **2Chr** 7,12.16 **1Mac** 7,37. In **1En** 89,40.50.54.56.66.72 the house' in the vision refers to **Jerusalem as the book of Enoch the righteous contains** cf **T S.** 5 4 T.L 14 1 16 1 T.Jud., 18,1

T Z 3 4 T D 5 6 T N 4 1 T B 9 1 (see INTRODUCTION 4.4.1) 'Enoch the righteous is also found in T Jud 18 1 T.D. 5,6, T.B. 9 1 δίκαιος is often used as epithet of OT saints (see Lampe s v sub B2); of Henoch, cf EpPsTit 274 Enoch iustus

T LEVI 11–12

Translation

11,1 When, therefore, I took a wife, I was twenty-eight years old,
and her name was Melcha
2 And she conceived and bore (a son)
and she called his name Gersam,
for we were sojoumers in our land,
for Gersam means sojourning
3 And I saw conceming him
that he would not be[39] in the first rank
4 And Kaath was born in the thirty-fifth year, towards sunrise
5 And I saw in a vision
that he was standing on high in the midst of[40] all the congregation,
6 therefore I called his name Kaath,
which is the first place of majesty and instruction
7 And as a third she bore me Merari in the fortieth year of my life,
and since his mother gave birth with difficulty,
she called him Merari,
which is my bittemess,
for also he died [41]
8 And Jochebed was born in the sixty-fourth year in Egypt,
for I was renowned then in the midst of my brothers
12,1 And Gersam took a wife,
and she bore him Lomni and Semei.
2 And the sons of Kaath (were) Ambram, Isaar, Hebron, Oziel.
3 And the sons of Merari (were) Mooli and Omousi.
4 And in my ninety-fourth year Ambram took Jochebed my daughter to him to wife,
for they were born on the same day, he and my daughter
5 I was eight years old when 1 went to the land of Canaan,
and eighteen years when I killed Shechem,
and at nineteen years I became priest,
and at twenty-eight years I took a wife,
and at forty years I went to Egypt
6 And behold,[42] my children, you are a third generation
7 Joseph died in (my) hundred and eighteenth year

Textcritical notes

[39] ἔσται *(b)* The alternative ἔστιν (*ldmeatch(i?)*) may have been introduced under the influence of ἵστατο in v 5

40 **μεσος** (*b*). Both this reading and the alternative **μεσον** (*ldmeafch*(*i*?)*j*) may claim originality, though **μέσος** is slightly durior

41 **ἀπέθανεν** (*b*). Both this reading and the variant **ἀπέθνησκεν** (*ldmeaf*) may be original

42 **ἰδού. The addition of τέκνα μου in** *b* **directly after ἰδού causes an unwanted duplication**

Structure

11,1–8 Levi's wife and children
- v 1 Levi's wife Melcha
- vv. 2-3 birth of Gersam Explanation of his name Levi 'sees' that he will not be the first
- vv. **4–6** birth of **Kaath** Explanation of his name Levi sees that he is in the midst of the congregation Levi gives the name.. Again: explanation of it (v 6)
- v 7 birth of Merari Explanation of his name (double)
- v. 8 birth of Jochebed.. Explanation of her name

12 1-4 Levi's sons and their children
- v 1 children of Gersam
- v 2 children of Kaath
- v 3 children of Merari
- v 4 marriage between Ambram son of Kaath and Jochebed Explanation why Ambram married his aunt

12,5 List of events in Levi's life and their dates (from the entrance in Canaan to the entrance in Egypt)

12,6 The children are addressed as third generation } **loose remarks**

12,7 Joseph's death in Levi's 118th year

Notes

The genealogical information in these chapters corresponds to that found in ArLevi vv 62-82 (the Greek is extant for vv 62-69 the Aramaic begins in v.. 66).. The fragments give a longer and more detailed text which helps to understand T.L. better. Yet, because of significant differences the Vorlage used by the author of T L.. must have been different from the fragments we know In the OT **Levi-genealogies** are found in Gen 46 11 Ex **6,16–25, Num 3,17–39; 26 57-62; 1Chr 6 (see also Jub 44,14; Josephus, Ant.. 2 178).**

11,1 **twenty eight years old:** cf 9 10 and 12,5, **Issachar** was thirty (see T I 3,5). **Melcha**: cf Jub **34,20, "Melka,** of the daughters of Aram": ArLevi v 62 Melcha, daughter of Bethuel the son of **Laban,** my mother s brother (cf Gen **11,29,** 22,20.23; 24,15.24.47 where Melcha is the mother of Bethuel Laban s **father!).** ArLevi v. 17 insists that Levi should take a wife from his family (cf 9 10).

11 2-8 The descriptions of the birth of Levi's children follow roughly the **same** outline which differs from that found in ArLevi. For details, see J Becker *Untersuchungen* pp. **96f ,** D.. **Haupt,** op.. cit. (see INTRODUCTION **3.3.1)** pp 77f There is a clear chronological interest (cf Jub 16,13; 19,13; **28,11ff.,** etc.).

11,2 Cf ArLevi vv 63 and 65 **she conceived and bore** cf T.I. 1 15; T B 1,4. **she called his name** cf v 7 (over against v. 6) T.N. 1 11, and also Gen **19,37f.; 29,32ff.;** 30,6.8 etc **Gersam** = Hebr. גֵּרְשׁוֹם or גֵּרְשׁוּן usually transliterated **Γηρσών** or **Γεδσών** in the LXX but **1Chr** 15 7 BS **Γηρσάμ. Γηρσάμ** is also used for the son of Moses in, e.g., Ex 2 22.. **for we were sojourners in our land; for Gersam means sojourning:** there is a word-play between גֵּרְשׁוֹם and גֵּרִים as in Ex 2 22 18 3 in connection with the son of Moses.. Compare the complicated v.. 63 in the Greek fragment Our verse refers to the 'sojourning of Jacob's sons in Canaan before the journey to Egypt and the exodus (cf e.g. Gen 37 1 Ex 6 4 see also on T L 6 9)

11,3 Cf. ArLevi v 64. **I saw concerning him:** see also v 5 Levi receives special insight into the future (see 2 3 8 2). **that he would not be in the first rank** much clearer in ArLevi v 64 that he would be cast out he and his seed from the office of the priesthood **(ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἱερωσυνης)'**.. 'The first rank is for the second son Kaath father of Ambram father of Aaron ancestor of the priests to whom the Lévites are subordinate (see vv 5f [ArLevi v 67] and 12,4 [ArLevi vv. 75f.], which show a special interest in Kaath and Ambram). Note also the existence of 4Q **'Amram** and 4Q Qahat among the writings of Qumran (see INTRODUCTION **3.3.1**)

11 4–6 Cf. ArLevi vv 66–68

11,4 **Kaath was born in the thirty fifth year** ArLevi v 68 thirty-fourth (a different **tradition?)** **towards sunrise:** so also ArLevi v 68 (MS *e* **ἐπ' ἀνατολῆς ἡλίου).** According to ArLevi v 65, the birth of Gersam took place towards sunset' **(ἐπὶ δυσμὰς ἡλίου).** Birth at sunrise is evidently regarded as a good omen

11 5 **I saw in a vision** see **on v 3** **he was standing on high in the midst of all the congregation:** here and in ArLevi v 67 there must be a word-play on **קָהָת** (cf the interpretation of **יִקְהַת עמים** fil in Gen 49 10 as and to him will be the gathering of the nations'; for details see J C Greenfield and M. E. Stone, art cit. [see INTRODUCTION 3 3.2], 223) and **קָהָל** In the LXX **συναγωγής** several times found as a translation of **קָהָל** (see Lev 4 13.14.21, 16,17, **Num** 10 7 etc). **τὰ ὑψηλα** = 'the high **places'**: cf e g. T.Jud 6,5.. Perhaps the meaning is that the priests are on a platform in the midst of the congregation of Israel (cf Plutarch, Eumenes 17,6 (Vitae par 594 A) ev **ὑψηλῳ τινι καταστάς . εἶπεν)**

11,6 **I called his name Kaath** now the father gives the name (after a **vision!**), cf. Gen 21,3, Tob 1,9 S **the first place of majesty and instruction.** cf., **again** the Aramaic and the Greek of ArLevi v.. 67 which speak about the **highpriesthood** (the Greek adds **αὐτὸς καὶ τὸ σπερμα αὐτοῦ ἔσονται ἀρχὴ βασιλέων, ἱεράτευμα τῶ Ἰσραήλ).** For **μεγαλεῖον,** majesty , see Sir 45 24 **ἵνα αὐτῶ ᾖ καὶ τω σπέρματι αὐτοῦ ἱερωσυνης μεγαλεῖον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας** That **συμβιβασμός** should be translated as 'instruction may be argued in view of Lev 10,11 (LXX), **συμβιβάσεις** (Aaron with his sons) **τους υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ πάντα τὰ νόμιμα, & ἐλάλησεν κύριος . . . .** and the emphasis on the teaching activity of the sons of Levi in this testament (see esp chapter 13). On the central position for Kaath see on v 3

11,7 Cf. ArLevi vv 69f **since his mother gave birth with difficulty:** compare the birth of **Benjamin** in Gen 35,16., where the LXX uses the term **ἐδυστόκησεν.** **she called him Merari, which is my bitterness:** at the background there is the word-play between **מְרָרִי** and **מָרָר** (LXX **πικραινειν).** Cf ArLevi v. 69 where the Aramaic knows no less than three variations on the 'bitterness theme; the Greek breaks off after **ἐκάλεσα τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Μεραρί· ἐλυπήθην γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ** **for also he died** cf Rachel's death (LXX, **ἀπέθνησκεν)** in Gen 35,16. Here, however, **ἀπέθανεν** (v.1 **ἀπέθνησκεν)** refers to Merari, which is evidently wrong in view of 12.3 ArLevi v 69 explains Levi's 'bitterness" in a doublet by the expressions **הוא מית/ימות,** "he seemed about to die/was dying (so J C Greenfield and M. E Stone art cit., 222).. **T L** may have misunderstood an equally difficult "**Vorlage'**; L. Ginzberg *Legends* II p 261 V p. 396 (n. 33) mentions a tradition concerning which Levi had two wives, one of which was **Jochebed's** mother.. This tradition arose obviously to explain how Ambram could marry his father s sister and does not presuppose acquaintance with a tradition that Melcha died after having given birth to Merari

11,8 Cf ArLevi vv 71f **in Egypt.** cf. 12.5, **Num** 26 59 **for I was renowned then in the midst of my brothers:** an implicit explanation of the name Jochebed via the word-play **כָּבוֹד–יוֹכֶבֶד (δόξα → ἔνδοξος).** Cf. ArLevi v 71, for glory **for** Israel', which **may**

refer to the fact that Jochebed was to be the mother of Moses and Aaron (Ex 6,20 **Num** 26 59) The 'I was renowned in our text may be concerned with Levi's priestly glory

12,1-3 Cf ArLevi vv **73f , and Ex 6,16–20, Num 3,17-20, 1Chr 6,16–19(1–4). The names in** ArLevi follow the MT those in T L (MS *b)* the LXX (where the MSS show some variety)

12,1 **Gersam** took a wife note the parallel **with 11,1f.** **Lomni** = Hebr., לִבְנִי; LXX **Λοβενί;** for the exchange of **μ** and β see e g MT לִבְנָה = LXX **Λοινά** or **Λοβνά/ Λοβενά** in **2Kgs** 8 22; 19,8 2Chr 21,10, etc

12,2 **Ambram: the LXX has ᾽Αμράμ or ᾽Αμβράμ Isaar: the LXX has Ἰοσαάρ or Ἰσαάρ**

12,3 **Omousi:** the LXX has **᾽Ὀμουσί** or **Μουσί.**

12,4 Cf ArLevi vv 75-77 (which includes an etymological explanation of the name Ambram) Already in Ex 6,19 and Num 26,59, the marriage between Ambram and Jochebed is mentioned after the list of **Levi's** sons and their children. See also on 11 3 and 11 8 **they were born on the same day** not in the OT see ArLevi v 77 and cf T.N **1,9** (Rachel and Bilhah).

12,5 This verse sums up the most important stages in Levi's life beginning with his arrival in Canaan and ending with his departure to Egypt There is a parallel in ArLevi vv **78–81,** which concludes with **And** all the days of my life were 1(3)7 years and I saw my sons of the th(ird generation) before I died' (v 81). The text is not always readable (the numbers have been reconstructed with the help of v 6 below and cf. 19,4; Ex 6 16) The author of T L has obliterated the clear division in his Vorlage' corresponding to that between ArLevi vv. 81 and 82 (see further on v 6f.) and removed the mention of the end of Levi's life to the last chapter of his testament (see also INTRODUCTION 3.3 1) **eight years old** ArLevi v 78 (wrongly) **'eighteen';** the Syriac fragment 'eight'. **eighteen years:** ArLevi v. 78 and the Syriac fragment also **'eighteen'** **when I killed Shechem:** see 2,2 ('about twenty years) **5,3f.; 6,3–7,4** **nineteen years** so also ArLevi v. 79 and the Syriac fragment. **I became priest:** first vengeance on Shechem, then priesthood. **twenty-eight years** as in **11,1,** cf. ArLevi v 79 and the Syriac fragment **forty years:** so also the Syriac fragment ArLevi v. 80 (wrongly),'forty-eight'.

12,6–7 Cf ArLevi vv. **81-82** T.L. postpones the mention of the end of Levi s life and makes Levi address his sons of 1,1 as 'the third generation Cf also Gen 50 23 (LXX) **καὶ εἶδεν Ἰωσὴφ Ἐφραὶμ παιδία ἕως τρίτης γενεᾶς,** and Job 42 16

12 7 **Joseph died in (my) hundred and eighteenth year:** for similar references to Joseph's death see on T.R 1 2 Here, the remark is somewhat discordant; in the corresponding verse ArLevi v. 82 a new didactic speech of Levi is dated in his **118th** year the year in which Joseph died

T LEVI 13

Translation

13,1 And now, my children, I command you
that you fear our **Lord**[43] with your whole heart,
and walk in simplicity according to all **his**[44] law
2 And do you, too, teach your children letters
that they may have understanding all their life,
reading unceasingly the law of God

3 For everyone who knows the law of God
will be honoured,
and he will not be a stranger wherever he goes,
4 yea, he will gain many friends, more than his parents
and many men will desire to serve him
and to hear the law from his mouth
5 Work righteousness, my children, on earth
that you may find it in heaven
6 And sow good things in your souls
that you may find them in your life
For when you sow evil things,
you will reap every trouble and affliction
7 Get wisdom in the fear of God with diligence,
for though there be a leading into captivity
and cities and lands be destroyed
and gold and silver and every possession perish,
nobody can take away the wisdom of the wise man,
save the blindness of ungodliness and the mutilation (that comes) of sin,
8 for it will be to him a glory even among enemies
and a fatherland in a strange country
and will prove a friend in the midst of foes
9 If he teaches these things and practises them,
he will be enthroned with kings,[45]
as was also Joseph our brother

Textcritical notes

[43] TOY **κυριον ἡμῶν** *(b)*, changed into **κυριον** TOY **θεον ἡμων** (*gldmafchij*)cf. *e)* under the influence of phrases like **ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας** in Deut 6,5 (LXX) and elsewhere

[44] **αὐτοῦ** (*gldmeafchij*).The variant **αὐτων** *(b)* is obviously wrong

[45] **βασιλέων** (*gldefchij*).The variant **βασιλεως** *(bma)* seems to make the general statement into a specific reference to the situation of Joseph and is consequently secondary

Structure

The only straightforward exhortatory passage in this testament

13,1 General exhortation: fear God and walk in simplicity 'in accordance with God's law

13,2 Teach your children how to read that they may receive understanding in studying the law

13,3–4 The **good** effects of the knowledge of the law

13,5–6 Work righteousness again the good effects

13,7-8 Get wisdom in the fear of God. Nobody can take it from you whatever happens

13 9 Reward for faithful teaching: royal dignity as that of Joseph

Notes

This exhortatory chapter finds its counterpart in ArLevi vv 82-95. There are a number of common themes and expressions, but the parallelism is less pronounced than in chapters 11 and 12 The main topics in Levi's speech in ArLevi are truth **(קושטא)** and wisdom **(חוכמה);** in T.L. 13, the law of God and wisdom (subordinate to it) occupy a central position On this question, **see esp. D** Haupt, **op. cit.** (see INTRODUCTION **3.3.1), pp 86–89, H** W Hollander op. **cit.** (see INTRODUCTION **1.1.1)**, pp. 61f.

13,1 I command you see 10,1. **fear our Lord** see T Z 10 5 T D 6 1 **T B. 3,3** (see note); 10,10; and also T.G. 3,2; 5 5 T Jos. 2,4. **with your whole heart** not found elsewhere in the Testaments; cf., e g Deut 4,29 6 5 10,12, 11 13 etc; 2Chr 15 12 Jer 24,7 Mk 12 30 **par.**; 2Clem 3 4 Justin, **Apol** I 16,6 Dial. 93,2, etc **walk in simplicity** for **ἁπλότης,** see **T I**, INTRODUCTION pp 233f according to **all his law** cf. **19,2**

13,2 teach your children letters: cf Dan 1,4 GkEvThom 15,1; and Plutarch Vitae **decem** oratorum VI Aeschines (Mor 840 B) cf. also ArLevi v. **(88;)** 90 **that they may have understanding all their life** For **σύνεσις,** see also **2,3; 4,5, 8,2 T.Z.** 6,1 combines **συνεσις** and **σοφία** (see also e.g., Ex **35,31.35; 1Chr** 22,12; Job **28,20**; Ps 49(48),3 Prov 24,3; Jdt 8 29), which is important in view of the **σοφία . . ev φόβῳ** fteou which introduces the topic of vv. 7f **reading unceasingly the law of God:** see also Sir **15,1ff.**, The man who fears the Lord **(ὁ φοβούμενος κύριον)** will do this, and he who holds to the law **(τοῦ νόμου)** will obtain her (wisdom) ... she will feed him with the bread of understanding **(συνέσεως)** and will give him the water of wisdom **(σοφίας)** to drink **'**; Prov **9,10–10a** LXX (wisdom, understanding, fear of the Lord, knowing the law) **2,2ff.**; see also Deut **4,6ff.**; Ps **37(36),30f**; Sir **24,23ff.**; cf. 6,37; 2Bar 44,14 **46,3ff**, 77,16 On **'reading',** see **Sir**, prologue *4 oil* **μόνον αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας** (sc. the Law and the Prophets) **δέον ἐστὶν ἐπιστήμονας γίνεσθαι**; cf. **Deut** 17 19 For reading the law unceasingly cf e.g., Josh 1,8; 1QS 6,6f

13,3–4 Cf. ArLevi v 91. **will be honoured** see, again, Sir **15,1ff., esp** v 6 He **will** find gladness and a crown of rejoicing and will acquire an everlasting name **37,23f**, **39,9ff.; 44,10ff** **he will not be a stranger wherever he goes:** see also v 8. At the background stands the hellenistic idea of the wise man as a world-citizen: **cf.**, e.g. Plutarch De exilio 7 (Mor. 601 E) **οὔτε ξένος**; 17 (Mor 607 E) Epictetus III **24,66.153ff.**, Philo Conf. 106 Spec. leg I 97 Quod **omnis** 145 etc **he will gain many friends:** see on T B. 5,1 **will desire to serve han** see Sir 10,25, **Philo,** Leg. all. **III** 192ff **all to hear the law from his mouth:** see **1Kgs** 4 29ff, **(5,9ff.)**; cf. Sir **25,9** These verses give the picture of the sons of Levi as the honoured teachers of the law: see on T R. 6,8; T L 8 2 17 **9,6f**; 11 6 and in the OT Deut **31,9ff**; Neh **8,3ff**, **9,3f**, 2Ezra 9,37-55.

13,5–6 Work righteousness: see esp T B **10,3, ποιησατε ..... δικαιοσυνην,** Isa 56,1, Jer 22,3; Ezek 45,9; Tob 13 8 BA. **sow good things** this well-known metaphor is also used in Job 4,8; Prov **11,21** LXX 22 8; Sir 7,3; Hos **8,7;** 10 12 3Bar 15 2 2Cor 9 6 Gal 6,7f **on earth in heaven** is followed by **in your souls in your life** (probably not **'life** with God [cf. Gal 6 8], but life on earth). Those who sow good things in themselves, will encounter good from others. Therefore also as contrast **you will reap every trouble and affliction ταραχή** and **θλῖψις** are also combined in T.B. 7 2 (see note). Cf. also ArLevi v. 87.

13 7 **Get wisdom:** cf. Prov **4,4f.**, 17 16; Sir 51,25. . **in the fear of God** see on **vv 1 and 2. though there be a leading into captivity ... nobody can take away the wisdom of the wise man** see Plutarch De tranquillitate animi 17 (Mor. 475 E); De exilio 17 (Mor 607 EF) , And yet for a plant one region is more favourable than another for

thriving and growth but from a man no place can take away happiness as none can take away virtue or wisdom (**ἀνθρώπου δε ουδεὶς ἀφαιρεῖται τόπος ευδαιμονιαν, ώσπερ οὐδὲ ἀρετὴν ουδὲ φρόνησιν**) ', Musonius Dissertationes 9 See also ArLevi vv. 94–95. **save the blindness of ungodliness and the mutilation (that comes) of sin:** cf Theophilus **Autol.** 1 7, **διὰ την τύφλωσιν τῆς ψυχης καὶ πηρωσιν τῆς καρδίας σου** For such a use of **πήρωσις (-οῦν)**, see also e g **Philo,** Post Caini 21 Acta Phil 25; MartAndrPrius 16

13,8 **it will be to him a glory:** cf WisSol 6 12 **λαμπρὰ καὶ ἀμάραντός ἐστιν ἡ σοφια** **and a fatherlimd in a strange country ... a friend in the midst of foes:** see also on **v.** 3 If the wise man has to give up fatherland family and friends he will find that every country is his home and that wisdom itself is his fatherland on this idea, see Philo, Fuga 76, **πατρίδα οἰκεῖν την ἐπιστημην ἑαυτοῦ ... δεδώρηται** (God **subj.**); Abr. 31 **πατρὶς οὐδεμία ἐστὶν ἑτέρα σοφῳ** cm UT] **ἀρεταί;** Virt. 190 The combination **πατρις–φιλος** is standard in hellenistic texts dealing with these themes **cf.,** e.g. Epictetus II 17,24, 22,18; IV 1 153· Enchiridion 32 3·· and also Philo Leg all. II 85 Migr Abr **217; Spec. leg I 52; 68, etc**

13 9 **If he teaches these things and practises them** a very general remark, referring to what has been said in the entire chapter (not to vv. .7f in particular). **he will be enthroned with kings** see Job 36,7 'He does not withdraw his eyes from the righteous but with kings upon the throne he sets them for ever (LXX, **καὶ μετὰ βασιλέων εἰς** ftgóvov ...), and they are exalted (cf.. **1Sam** 2,7); WisSol **6,20, ἐπιθυμια ... σοφίας ἀναγει ἐπὶ βασιλείαν;** 2Ezra 3,7; 4,42; Philo Sobr. 57 Migr Abr 197 Mut nom **152, Diogenes Laertius VII 122; see also Von Arnim,** *S.V.F.* **III. pp. 157-60 as was also Joseph our brother** cf Gen **41 39ff.** For Joseph, see also ArLevi v 90. The point of comparison here seems to be not so much his wisdom as his faithfulness to God and his perseverance in distress followed by a reward in the form of a king's throne (cf. **T Jos); see H W Hollander. op** cit. (see INTRODUCTION 1 1 **1), pp 60–62.**

T. Levi 14–15

Translation

14,1 And now, children, I have learnt from the writing of Enoch
that at the end you will act impiously against the Lord,
laying hands (upon him) in all wickedness,
and your brothers will be put to shame because of you,
and you will be a laughing-stock to all the Gentiles.

2 For also our father Israel will **be**[46] pure from the ungodliness of the highpriests,
who will lay **their hands** upon the Saviour of the world.

3 Heaven is purer than the earth
and you are the lights of **heaven,**[47] as the sun and the moon.

4 What will all the Gentiles do,
if you are darkened through ungodliness
and bring a curse upon our race
- because of which the light of the **law**[48] (came)
which was given among you to enlighten every man -
wishing to kill him,

teaching commandments contrary to the ordinances of God

5 You will rob the offerings of the Lord
and steal from his portions
and before sacrificing to the Lord take the choice things,
eating contemptuously with harlots,

6 you will teach the commandments of the Lord out of covetousness,
pollute married women,
defile virgins of Jerusalem,[49]
be joined with harlots and adulteresses,
take to wives daughters of the Gentiles,
purifying them with an unlawful purification,
and your union will be like Sodom and Gomorrah in ungodliness,

7 and you will be puffed up because of the priesthood,
exalting yourselves against men,
and not only thus, but puffed up also against the commandments of God

8 you will mock the holy things,
jesting contemptuously.

15,1 Because of this, the temple which the Lord will choose, will be desolate in uncleanness,
and you will be captives throughout all the Gentiles,

2 and you will be an abomination among them
and will receive reproach[50] and everlasting shame from the righteous jugdment of God,

3 and all who see you will flee from you

4 And if it were not for the sake of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob our fathers,
not one of my seed would be left on earth

Textcritical notes

46 ἔσται (*bkl*), lectio difficilior over against ἐστιν (*gdmeafchij*) probably introduced as soon as the future tense was regarded as somewhat illogical. Cf. also 10,2, εἰμι.

47 οὐρανοῦ (*bkl*). The alternative Ἰσραήλ (*gmeafchij*) removes the connection between v 3a and b and may have been introduced under the influence of v 4

48 νομου (*gmeafchij*) The introduction of κόσμου (*bki*; cf. *ld*) seems to be secondary due to the context (τοῦτον θέλοντες ἀνελεῖν) and of course the terminology found in, e g Jn 8,12, 9 5

49 Ἱερουσαλημ (*bk*) Both this reading and the alternative Ἰσραήλ (*glmeaf*) may be original.

* ὀνειδισμόν (*bk*) The alternative ὄνειδος (*gldeafchij*) may be original as well. Elsewhere too, there is a confusion in MSS between both words see e g T R 4 7 T L 10 4 Ps 119(118),39; Sir 27,28; Jdt 5 21

Structure

This is the second passage in T L dealing with Sin Exile and the hope of Return See also on T L. 10

14 1 Introduction. The book of Enoch gives insight into the future
- v **1bc** future sins (against Jesus Christ); cf. 14,2-8, esp w **2–4**
- v 1(d)e future punishment; cf. 15 1-3. V. 1d is parallel with v 4c

14,2-8 Future sins
- w **2–4** sins against Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world the light of the law (vv 2ab; 4[de]fg). The **ἀσέβεια** of the **highpriests**, the sons of Levi, (vv. 2a and 4b) is contrasted with the purity of our father Israel' (v. 2a) the purity of heaven **(v. 3a), and the 'light-giving' sons of Levi (v. 3b) 'Darkening' of the sons of Levi is** bad for the nations (v. 4a) and a curse for Israel (v 4c)
- vv 5-8 general description of sins
  - v 5 sins connecting with the service in the temple
  - v 6a greed in teaching Gods commandments
  - v **6b–g** sexual sins. Note ἐν **ἀσεβείᾳ** at the end
  - vv 7-8 conceitedness and contempt (see v 5d) against men and God

15 1-3 Punishment
- v 1a the temple destroyed
- vv **1b–3** the fate of the people

15 4 Outlook on salvation because of the fathers Abraham Isaac and Jacob

Notes

14,1 I have learnt introduction of the S E R passage **ἔγνων** also in 16,1, T Z 9,5, T G 8,2, elsewhere, mostly **οἶδα** is used T Jud. 17,2 6 T I 6,1, T.D. **5,4;** T.A. 7 2 also **ἀνέγνων:** T.Jud 18 1 T.D. 5,6; T N 4 1 T.A. 7 5 once **ἑώρακα:** T.S. 5 4. **from the writing of Enoch** see on T S 5,4. **at the end** cf T G 8,2 **you will act impiously:** see on **10,2.** **laying hands:** cf. 4 4 **in all wickedness:** cf 16,3; T.D. 5 5. **your brothers will be put to shame:** cf. 15,2. **αἰσχύνη** and **αἰσχύνεσθαι** are also used in connection with Israel's punishment in the exile in Ezra 9 7 Isa 29,22; Jer 2,26; **3,24f.;** 22 22 51(28),51; Dan 3 33 LXX Th **9,7f.;** Hos 10 6 **you will be a laughing-stock:** cf also Ps 43,14 LXX A; 79(78) 4

14,2 our father Israel will be pure from ... cf. 10,2 (see note). For the use of **καθαρὸς απο,** see Prov 20,9 Tob 3,14; Sus 46 Th PssSol 17,36, Acts 20,26 **the ungodliness of the highpriests** For ungodliness' see vv 1 and 6, and 10 2. Among the sons of Levi whose **sins** against Jesus are predicted (4,4; 10,2; 16,3) the highpriests are singled out here for special mention: see the passion-narratives in the Gospels and also, e.g., Hippolytus, Ben Jac 14 (**ed Brière-Mariès Mercier,** *P.O* 27,1-2, p 64) **. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Λευὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεις ... ὑπ' αυτων** (scribes and highpriests) **ἀνῃρέθη . .** Acta Pet et Paul 41 Acta Thadd 6 **will lay their hands: see v. 1.** **the Saviour of the world: see on** 10,2

14,3 J T. **Milik** has compared 40 **TestLevi**^{a} 8 III with vv. 3f. Unfortunately, this text is very fragmentary and consequently, does not contribute much to the interpretation of this passage (see INTRODUCTION **3.1.1).** **Heaven is purer than the earth** cf T.Jud 21,4 **ως ὑπερέχει οὐρανὸς τῆς γῆς** T B. 8 3 On the **'purity'** of heaven or sun, moon stars, see Ex 24,10; Sir 43,1; **Philo,** Opif. **mundi** 114 **ὑπὸ τοῦ καθαρωτάτου της οὐσίας οὐρανοῦ; Plant** 20; **De Jos** 145; **Decal** 134, 155, Spec. leg. IV 235; Virt 85, contrast Job 15 15 (LXX), **οὐρανὸς δὲ οὐ καθαρὸς ἐναντίον αὐτου** (God); 25,5 **you are the lights of heaven, as the sun and the moon:** see on 4 3. Note that v 4ab imply that all nations are intended to benefit from these lights

14,4 **if you are darkened** see on T.R. 3 8 and T.S. 2 7. **through ungodhness.** see on v. 1 **bring a curse upon our race:** see 10,4; 16,5. ἐπάγειν κατάραν is also found in e.g. Gen 27 12 Justin, Dial 55,2. **because of which the light of the law (came) which was given among you to enlighten every man:** an anakolouthon. Cf. Isa 49,6 The expression **το φῶς του νόμου** is taken up by **τοῦτον** in the next **clause.** For the light of the law see e.g., Ps **119(118),105;** Prov 6 23 WisSol 18 4, **δι' ὧν ἤμελλεν τὸ ἄφθαρτον νομου φῶς τω αἰῶνι δίδοσθαι;** LAB 33,3; 2Bar 17,4; 59,2 ConstApp II 5,7; Hippolytus, Consumm. 46; see also S Aalen, *Die Begriffe 'Licht' und 'Finsternis im Alten Testament, im Spätjudentum und im Rabbinismus,* Oslo 1951, pp. 183ff **The** light of the law that is given through and among the sons of **Levi** on behalf of Israel yet to enlighten every man is Jesus Christ (vv. **4f.**). For Jesus Christ as light see 18,3; T.Z. 9,8 and e g., **Mt** 4,16; Jn 1 9 (ὁ **φωτίζει παντα ἄνθρωπον);** Jesus Christ is called 'a man who renews the law in 16,3 (see note). For Christ as law see Lampe s.v. **νόμος** sub **IIC9h,** some examples: Hermas Sim. **8,3,2,** . **νόμος θεοῦ ἐστιν ὁ δοθεὶς εις** ὅλον **τὸν κόσμον** ὁ ὃς **νομος οὗτος υἱὸς θεοῦ ἐστι.** Justin, Dial. 11 2 4 43 1 etc. **wishing to kill him** see 4,4; 10,2; **14,1f.;** 16,3. **teaching commandments contrary to the ordinances of God:** see on **T A.** 7,5, and compare also CoptApEl 1,13 For 'the ordinances of God' cf **T Jud 13,1** Disobeying Jesus Christ means disobeying God's ordinances.

14 5-8 These verses (cf. also 9 9; 10,2, **16,1f**) go back to and take up points from the numerous passages in the OT which describe and denounce the sins of the priests

14,5 **You will rob take the choice things:** compare the description of the conduct of the sons of Eli in **1Sam** 2 12-17.29. **eating ... with harlots:** cf 9,9 (see note) and 14 6 see esp. Hos 4,7-14. . **contemptuously:** cf. v. 8, and **1Sam** 2,17; Zeph 3 4 **Mal** 1 6ff 2Mac 4 14 **τοῦ μὲν νεὼ καταφρονοῦντες** mi **τῶν θυσιῶν ἀμελοῦντες.**

14,6 **you will teach the commandments of the Lord out of covetousness:** cf. **Micah 3,11,** and also **1Tim** 3.3.8, Tit 1 7 11 **1Pet** 5,2, Acts 30 33 Polycarp Phil **11,1f.,** etc **pollute daughters of the Gentiles.** a full list of sexual sins with married women (for **ὕπανδρος,** see on T R 3 10) virgins prostitutes and Gentile women (contrast 9 10; cf Gen 24,3; 28,1.6; Deut 7,3; Jub 20 4, etc., and esp. Ezra **9,1f.12; 10,10f.; Neh 10,30[31])** **purifying them with an unlawful purification:** to cleanse pronounce clean' is the task of the priests (see esp. Lev **13f.**) **your union will be like Sodom and Gomorrah in ungodliness** a well-known theme in the Testaments: see T.N. 3 4 (see note); 4 1; T A 7,1; T.B 9 1, καὶ **Γόμορρα** is added only here. For **μεῖξις** as carnal union, see T Jud 14 3. For **ἀσέβεια** used for a sexual sin see on T R. 3,14

14 7 **you will be puffed up exalting yourselves ... puffed up φυσιοῦσθαι (φυσιαν, φυσᾶν)** and **ἐπαίρεσθαι** are often found together (see e.g. **Philo,** Spec. leg. I 293 Virt. 173; Epictetus I 8 10) **puffed up also against the commandments of God:** see v 4

14,8 **you will mock the holy things.** see 9,9 **contemptuously** see v. 5

15,1 **the temple which the Lord will choose:** see on **10,5** **will be desolate** cf. 16,4, and also 17,10; **T Jud.** 23,3; T.D. 5,13; T.A. 7,2. For the use of **ἔρημος** and cognate words in connection with the temple see Lev 26,31 Hag 1 9; Dan 4,22 LXX; 8,11 13 9 17 Th; Tob 14 4 **1Mac** 1 39 etc. **in uncleanness** qualifies **'desolate':** cf **16,4f.,** **μεμιαμμένα ουκ καθαρός,** and also e.g. Lam 1 9 Ezek 7 20. **you will be captives throughout all the Gentiles** see on 10,4.

15,2 **you will be an abomination among them:** cf. 2Mac 1 27 **τους δουλευοντας ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, τους ἐξουθενημένους καὶ βδελυκτούς;** and also e g., Isa 49,7. **will receive reproach** see on **10,4.** **everlasting shame:** see on 14 1 For **αἰσχύνη αἰώνιος,** see also Isa 54,4; Dan 12,2. **the righteous judgment of God:** see on 3,2 There the word refers to the final judgment

15,3 **and all who see you will flee from you.** similarly Nah 3 7 (LXX) **και ἔσται πᾶς ὁ ὁρῶν σε** (Nineveh!) **ἀποπηδήσεται ἀπὸ σοῦ**, PS 31(30),12 (LXX) **οἱ θεωροῦντές** ne **ἔξω ἔφυγον ἀπ'ἔμου**

15,4 **And if it were not for the sake of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob our fathers:** cf **T A** •7,7, and also Ex 2 24 Dan 335 LXX, Th . **καὶ μη ἀποστήσῃς** TO **ἔλεόν σου ἀφ' ἡμῶν δια Αβραάμ και διὰ Ἰσαάκ . καὶ Ἰσραηλ**, **1Bar** 2,34, PJ 6,18. The **reference is clearly to God's promise to the fathers concerning their offspring (see the** next clause and 7 1). **not one of my seed would be left on earth. καταλειπειν** is often used in connection with those who are left over after the punishment of the people, in particular, after the exile cf e g., Deut 4,27 28 62 **Neh 1,2f , Isa 4,2f , 10,20;** 11 11 **37,31f.;** Jer 42(49) 2· **1Bar** 2 13 Sir 48 15f.

T Levi 16

Translation

16,1 And now I have learnt in the book of Enoch
that for seventy weeks you will go astray
and profane the priesthood
and pollute the sacrifices,
2 and you will make void the law
and set at naught the words of the prophets,
in perverseness persecute righteous men
and hate godly men,
loathe the words of faithful men,
3 and a man who renews the law in the power of the Most High
you will call a deceiver,
and, at last, you will kill him, as you suppose,
not knowing that he would be raised up,
taking innocent blood, in wickedness, on your heads.[51]
4 Because of him your holy place will be desolate,
polluted to the ground,
5 and your place will not be clean,
but among the Gentiles you will be for a curse and for dispersion,
until he will again visit (you)
and in pity receive you through faith and water

Textcritical note

[51] **κεφαλάς** *(bkd)* The sing. **κεφαλῆς** (*gleafchij*) seems to he secondary and may have been introduced under the influence of Acts 18 6.

Structure

The last **S.E.R. passage This** time the R section is fully **developed**

16,1a Introduction Cf. 14 1

16,1b–3 Future sins of the sons of Levi

v **1b** seventy weeks (cf. chapter 17)

v **1cd** sins in connection with priestly activities (cf 14 5-8)

v 2 sins against the law and the prophets, persecution of righteous men
v 3 sins against Jesus Christ the **renewer** of the law (cf. **14,2–4**). V 3e is a prelude on the description of punishment in v 4

16,4–5b Punishment (cf. 15,1-3)
vv **4–5a** the fate of the temple (cf. **15,1a**)
v **5b the fate of the people (cf. 15,1d–3)**

16,5cd Return God receives in his pity all who believe and are baptized

Notes

16,1 I have learnt in the book of Enoch see on 14,1 **for seventy weeks** see on 17,1 **pollute the sacrifices** cf 9 9 14 5 T Jud 18 5 and esp also PssSol 2 3 8 12 **ἐμίαναν τὰς θυσίας**

16,2 you will make void the law cf. 14,4.7 and Ezek 22.26 Hos 4 6 Zeph 3 4 **set at naught the words of the prophets:** law and prophets belong together Here, the reference is clearly to the prophets as men who address the people, not as authors of books (see 'righteous men godly men faithful men" in the following clauses); see also T.Jud 18 5 and T D. 2,3 (see note). For the actual words used here see esp 2Chr 36,16 (LXX), **ησαν μυκτηρίζοντες τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ** xal **ἐξουδενουντες τους λόγους αὐτοῦ** xal **ἐμπαίζοντες ἐν τοῖς προφήταις αὐτοῦ** (cf also **1Thes** 5 20). **in perverseness:** cf **T I** 4,4 (see note, and see on T.Jud 14,1). **persecute righteous men:** see **T.Jud** 21 9 **διώκειν** is a standard element in the **tradition** of 'das gewaltsame Geschick der **Propheten'** (see the study of O H Steck mentioned in INTRODUCTION 7 1.1) see, e.g., Jub 1 12; Mt 5 12; 23,34, **Lk** 11 49; Acts 7 52; Barn 5 11 Ignatius, Magn. 8,2 (see further O. H Steck, op. cit., esp pp. 31 n 2, 105 n. 4 161). Here, the phrase **hate godly men** is added (cf. T Jud. 18 5 **λόγῳ εὐσεβείας προσοχθίζει**) as well as **loathe the words of faithful men** (cf esp Amos 5 10 [LXX] **λόγον ὅσιον ἐβδελυξαντο,** Ps 56[55],6)

16,3 a man who renews the law cf. Barn 2 6 **ο καινὸς νόμος τοῦ κυρίου ημῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ** . . , Justin, Dial. 11,2.4; 12 3 34,1; 43,1; Eusebius, **Comm** in **Is.**, Isa 51 4 D.E. I 4; Athanasius Exp. in Pss PS **39,7ff.**, etc. For 'the new law as Christian law given by Jesus Christ see Lampe s v **νομος** sub IIC9 s.v. **νομοθέτης** sub 2 and s.v. **νομοθεσία** sub A4. See also on T.L. 14,4. **in the power of the Most High.** cf. Lk 1 35. **you will call a deceiver:** see Mt 27,63, **ἐκεῖνος ο πλάνος** (the highpriests and Pharisees are speaking); Acta **Thom** 48 **ο καλούμενος πλάνος** (Jesus Christ); Justin, Dial. 108,2; Eusebius, D.E. **III** 2 **you will kill him.** cf 4,4; 10,2; **14,1f.4** Next to to persecute' is also to kill' a regular element in the tradition concerning the prophets described by O H. Steck in his book (see on v. 2), pp 15 n. **1**; 31 n 2, 102 n. 2; **160f.**, 193f. n 4 284 n. 3 Also here this tradition is used 'um die Tötung Jesu in die Geschichte der von Mose über die Propheten bis in die Gegenwart permanenten Halsstarrigkeit des Gottesvolkes zu stellen' (O. H Steck op. cit., p. 267); cf , e.g., Mk 12,6ff. **par** , Acts 7,52; IThes 2 15, Justin, Dial 16,4 **that he would be raised up.** For **ἀνάστημα,** see Jdt 12,8, where Judith asks God to direct her way for the raising up of his people **(κατευθῦναι τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῆς εις ἀνάστημα των υἱῶν τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτου)** **taking innocent blood, in wickedness, on your heads:** cf 14,4 and (for **εν κακιᾳ**) 14 1 For innocent blood', see on T.Z. 2 2. As parallels can be mentioned 2Sam 1 16 **1Kgs** 2 37, Ezek 33,4, Acts 18,6; in connection with the death of Jesus Christ cf Mt 23,35 (in the **'prophet-tradition'**); 27,4 and esp 27,25 Acts 5,28

16,4 your holy place will be desolate cf. 15 1 **polluted:** see, again, 15,1, and cf. PS **79(78),1**, Ezek 7 24; 25,3; and Jdt 9,8; **1Mac** 2 12; 3,51; 4,54; 2Mac 8,2; 10,5 which **all** emphasize that the Gentiles are responsible for the pollution and destruction of the

temple **to the ground.** cf Isa 26,5 (LXX), **κατάξεις ἕως ἐδάφους,** TJob 5,2 (MS V)· LivPro (ed Th Schermann) pp. 84 18 **85,10f. rec. an.,** 20 4 **rec.** Epiph prior (on **Jonah)**

16,5 **your place will not be clean:** cf 15 1 **among the Gentiles you will be for a curse:** cf ·10,4 **for dispersion** cf **T A.** 7 2 6 **διασκορπισθήσεσθε,** and also Deut **30,1ff.; Neh** 1 8 Jer 9 16(15) 24 9 (LXX), **εἰς διασκορπισμόν,** Ezek 12,15· 20 23, 22,15· 28,25; Tob 3 4 S 13 5 S etc **until he will again visit (you):** see 4 4. **in pity:** cf T.Jud. 23 5 T.I. 6,4; T Z 9 7; T D 5 9 T N 4 3 and also Deut 4 31 30,3; **1Kgs 8,34.48ff.,** **2Chr 30,9**; **Jer 12,15, PssSol 8,27f , Tob 13,5, 14,5; 2Mac 2,18, PJ 4,8** **receive you:** see on **T.A** 4 3 **through faith and water:** to believe and to be baptized are often connected see Mk 16,16; Acts 8 13 **19,2ff.;** Heb 10,22; Justin Dial. 138 3 **δι' ὕδατος και πιστεως καὶ ξύλου** **ἐκφεύξονται την μέλλουσαν ἐπέρχεσθαι τοῦ** *ftgOV* **κρίσιν**

T LEVI 17

Translation

17,1 And because you have heard concerning the seventy weeks,
hear also concerning the priesthood,
2 for in each jubilee there will be a priesthood
In the first jubilee the first who is anointed to the priesthood will be great
and he will speak to God as to a father,
and his priesthood will be wholly true to the **Lord,**[52]
and in the day of his gladness he will arise for the salvation of the world
3 In the second jubilee he who is anointed will be conceived in the mourning for loved ones,
and his priesthood will be honoured,
and he will be glorified among all men
4 And the third priest will be received in sorrow
5 And the fourth will be in pain,
for unrighteousness will continue against him exceedingly,
and all Israel will hate, each one his neighbour
6 The fifth will be received in darkness,
7 likewise also the sixth and the seventh
8 And in the seventh (jubilee) there will be pollution,
about which 1 cannot speak before the Lord **and**[53] men,
for they who do these things will know
9 Therefore they will be taken captive and become a prey,
and the **land**[54] and their property will be destroyed
10 And in the fifth week they will return to their desolate country
and they will renew the house of the Lord
11 And in the seventh week the priests will come,
(who are) **idolators,** contentious, lovers of money,
arrogant, lawless, lascivious, **abusers** of children and beasts

Textcritical notes

[51] πλήρης μετα κυριου (*gdeafchij*).The scribe of *b* (πλήρης μετα φόβου κυριου) has not noticed the Semitic background of the phrase See the note on this verse

[53] κυρίου και *(b)* These words are omitted in *gldeafchij*, probably because they make the sentence rather cumbersome

[54] ἡ γῆ *(b)* αὐτῶν may have been added in *gldeafchij* under the influence of the words ἡ υπαρξις αὐτῶν

Structure

17,1–2a Transition (reference to seventy weeks in T L 16 1) and introduction a story about the priesthood according to jubilees will follow

17,2b–11 **Mention seven jubilees (7 x 7 = 49 weeks)**

- v 2b–e first jubilee: priesthood great and true to the Lord
- v 3 second jubilee: priesthood honoured and full of glory
- v 4 third priest in sorrow
- v 5 fourth priest in pain (description in three clauses as in vv 2 and 3)
- v 6 fifth priest in darkness
- v 7 sixth and seventh priests, as the fifth
- vv 8–11 description of the seventh jubilee according to the S E R scheme followed by new S (introducing new punishment and the coming of a new priest in chapter 18)
  - v 8 sin
  - **v 9 exile and destruction**
  - v 10 return to the country and renewal of the temple (fifth week)
  - v 11 sins of priests (seventh week)

There is clearly a decline of the priesthood and a steady deterioration in the state of the people with the exception of a short period in the fifth week of the seventh jubilee At the end of the seventh jubilee things will become very bad, and God will intervene with the sending of a new priest. Much remains, however unclear this chapter clearly gives (an) extract(s) of a longer text which is no longer extant see the summary statement in vv. 1-2a the short notes on the third and fifth priests the pro memoria remark on the sixth and seventh, and the relatively extensive though stereotyped description of the events in the seventh jubilee, immediately before God's final intervention. For a more detailed discussion see on vv 1-2a

Notes

17 1–2a **because you have heard concerning the seventy weeks** see 16,1 introducing chapter 16 dealing with the sins of the priests and their consequences until the time God will visit his people: See also vv. 10f. below **hear also concerning the priesthood; for in each jubilee there will be a priesthood** somewhat strange, because also the preceding chapters deal with the priesthood. Presumably the new aspect is that the history of the priesthood is now to be described according to jubilees. Seventy weeks = seventy weeks of years = ten jubilees = 490 years seven jubilees (divided into weeks) = 343 years Both systems are found in literature connected with Qumran: see esp) **T Milik** *The Books of Enoch* (see INTRODUCTION 3.1.1), pp. 61ff., 245-72; R. T. Beckwith, The significance of the calendar for interpreting Essene chronology and eschatology', *RQum* 38 (1980) 167-202; K Koch Die mysteriösen Zahlen der judäischen Könige und die apokalyptischen Jahrwochen *VT* 28 (1978) 433-41; J. Halevy *Te'ezaza Sanbat*, Paris 1902 esp pp 184–6 (tr of EthApEzra) Jub 4 18 speaks of 'a

week of jubilees (to be connected with a priestly roster? so J T Milik, op cit pp 61f.) Seventy weeks and ten jubilees are found more often: see Dan 9,24–27, 4Q 180–181 (J T. Milik pp. 249–52); 1En 89,59–90,25, Ps-Ezekiel document 4Q 384–390 (J. T. Milik pp. 254f); 11Q Melch 7 (in Milik's reconstruction in *JJS* 23 [1972] 96–109). J T Milik also connects this with the 'ten weeks' in 1En 93,3–10, 91,11-17 (to which there are significant parallels in fragments belonging to 4Q En[g]; see J. T. Milik, op. cit. passim; cf. also 4Q 247 [J. T Milik p 256]) In the 1En passage, 'history' takes up seven weeks 'eschatology' another three T L 16,1 and 17 1 mention 'seventy weeks but because T.L. 16 follows the usual S.E.R pattern, we cannot be sure whether the 'Vorlage' (if any; see INTRODUCTION 3.1.3) had a detailed description of those seventy weeks or ten jubilees. T.L 17 2-11 is clearly an extract of a source which gave an account of seven jubilees The vagueness of the descriptions in this chapter makes it impossible to reconstruct the Vorlage' (pace R T. Beckwith, art. cit., 173-81). It seems that the author of the Testaments used the material known to him to illustrate once again the good beginning and, especially the gradual decline of the levitical priesthood. When it comes to describing the final period before the arrival of the new priest Jesus Christ, the author resorts to the familiar S E.R. pattern this time expanded to S E.R.-S. The author is not interested in details, only in the general trend, which makes it difficult to interpret this chapter. There does not seem to be any relation with early Christian interpretation of Dan 9,24–27, according to which Daniel speaks of the time from the exile to that of the emperor Augustus. Jesus Christ is the ἅγιος ἁγίων of Dan 9,24 there are again highpriests from the time of the reconstruction of the temple until Hyrcanus II who was killed by Herod (Dan 9 26). The highpriests appointed by Herod were not in the right line and therefore, do not count See for this interpretation, Hippolytus, Comm. in Dan. IV 30–35; Clement of Alexandria, Str I 21 (125ff); Origen, Princ. IV 1 5 Eusebius H E I 6 11 D E VIII 2 (Julius Africanus!); Ecl. III 46 Athanasius Inc 39f ; Qu. Ant. 137,2.

17 2b–e **the first who is anointed to the priesthood** For the anointing of the highpriest, see on 8 4. In Lev 4 3 ο κεχρισμένος is used of the highpriest; in Lev 4,5.16; 6,22(15), etc., ο χριστός is connected with ἱερεύς **he will speak to God** as **to a father:** underlines the special relationship between him and God, his father, cf 2Sam 7,14 1Chr 17,13 (son of David); 22,10 28,6 (Solomon); Ps 89(88) 27 (the king from David) Jer 31(38),9 (Israel, Ephraim); Mal 1 6 (the priests!), Lk 2 49 (Jesus), etc **wholly true to the Lord:** at the background is the Hebrew expression תם *tiʔy*, translated in the LXX by τέλειος μετά / πρός (1Kgs 8 61; 11 4 15,3.14) cf the expression καρδια πλήρης in which πλήρης renders שלם (2Kgs 20,3; 1Chr 29 9 2Chr 15,17; 16,9; 19,9, 25,2; cf. 1Mac 8,25) **the day of his gladness:** over against mourning' (v. 3) 'sorrow' (v. 4) pain' (v. 5), and 'darkness' (v 6). Similar expressions are found in Num 10,10 (LXX) εν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ευφροσυνης ἡμῶν; Song 3 11 (LXX), εν ἡμέρᾳ ευφροσυνης καρδίας αὐτοῦ; Esth 9,22 1Mac 7,48 over against ἡμέρα θλίψεως (Ps 59[58],17; 77[76],2), ἡμέρα ὀργης (Lam 1 12 2,1[2] etc.) ἡμέρα κακῶν/κακώσεως (Ps 18[17],19; 27[26],5; Jer 51[28],2, etc.). **he will arise.** ἀναστήσεται is probably meant as he arises as in 8,14, T Jud. 24,1; T.B 11,2, and not in the context of 'resurrection in gladness a well-known theme in those passages which speak about the future resurrection of the patriarchs (T S 6,7; T Jud. 25,1; T.Z. 10,2; T.B. 10,6–8) **for the salvation of the world.** ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ also in Sir 46 1; 2Mac 7,25; 3Mac 7,22; TJob 3 5; Acta Phil 138 see also T B 3,8 ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ ἐθνῶν καὶ Ἰσραήλ (about Jesus Christ), and Justin Dial. 91 4 ConstApp VII 25,2; VIII 33,6; ClemHom 12,7,5; 20,19,3. For the expression σωτηρία κόσμου, see WisSol 6,24; and in connection with Jesus Christ; ConstApp VIII 33,6; ClemHom 12 7,5 ὁ κύριος ἡμων ο ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου ἐληλυθώς; 20 19 3 It is not clear who is meant in our verse

According to T L 2-9 it should be Levi; perhaps the one who 'will speak to God as to a father may be connected with 4,2.. But it remains strange that the author would make Levi speak here in the third person. Or is Moses meant, or Aaron, or **Melchizedek**? We should note also that the expressions used in this verse may suggest that the first anointed priest was a type of Jesus Christ.

17,3 **he who is anointed:** see **on v. 2b** **(will be conceived) in the mourning for loved ones** (alternatively, of [his] loved **ones')** Cf. Jer 6 26; Amos 8,10. The remark is obscure there may be here a reference to Israel's distress in Egypt.. L. Ginzberg, *Legends* V p. 396 n. 36 mentions the etymology of Aaron **אהרון** as standing for **אה הרון,** woe to this pregnancy but his sources are late **will be honoured** **will be glorified among all men** cf 4Mac 5,35, **ἱερωσύνῃ τιμια** mi **νομοθεσίας ἐπιστημη,** and see on T.L 13 3f

17,4 **will be received in sorrow:** see vv. 6 and 5a Meaning and reference are uncertain **Does παραληφθησεται** refer to his appearance on earth or to his being taken away?

17,5 **will be in pain** cf Isa 19,10 LXX WisSol 4 19 for the same expression.. **will continue against him exceedingly:** one would expect a verb after **προσθήσει;** cf. **1Chr** 17,9 (LXX), **καὶ** οὐ **προσθήσει ἀδικία** *mil* **ταπεινῶσαι αὐτόν.** **all Israel will hate, each one his neighbour:** cf Deut **19,11,** Lev 19 17; Tit 3 3 and as part of the disarray before the end Mt 24,10 Did 16 4.. Note the emphasis on **ἀγαπάν πλησίον αὐτοῦ** in **T.I. 5,2, T.B 3,3f (cf. ἀγαπᾶν ἀλλήλους in T Z 8,5; T D 5,3; T G. 6,1 3; 7,7, T Jos** 17,2)

17,6 **will be received in darkness** see on v 4 For ev **σκότει,** see on **T Jos.** 2 4

17,8 **there will be pollution:** see 9 9 16 1 where the sons of Levi are made responsible for the pollution of the temple and the offerings.. Cf. also on T.B. 8,2f. for defilement' as a situation of the heart, particularly also in the form of sexual impurity.. The pollution meant in our verse will be unparalleled. **before the Lord and men** ...: for similar parallelism between God and men, see on T R 4.8; T Jos.. 15,5; T.B.. 6,7.. Levi cannot speak about those who are responsible for the defilement (his offspring?) and who will be fully aware of what they are doing

17,9 **they will be taken captive** see 10,4, 15 1 **become a prey** **προνομή** is used in connection with exile: see 2Kgs 21 14 Isa **6,13LXX,** 10 6 42 22 Ezek 34 28 **36,4f ,** and 2Ezra 8 74 **παρεδόθημεν** **εἰς ῥομφαίαν καὶ αἰχμαλωσίαν καὶ προνομήν** **the land and their property will be destroyed** **ἀφανίζειν** and **ἀφανισμος** are often found in descriptions of exile' with 'the land' see Jer 12,11 (LXX), **δι' ἐμὲ ἀφανισμῷ ἠφανίσθη πᾶσα η γῆ;** 25,11 (LXX) **ἔσται πᾶσα ἡ γῆ εἰς ἀφανισμόν,** Ezek 6 14 **12,19f.,** 15 8 25 3 **36,34ff.;** Zech 7 14 For 'their property will be destroyed see T Z 8 6

17,10 **they will return.** For this use of **ἐπιστρεφειν,** see Ezra 2,1; **Neh** 7 6 Jer **31(38),16, 44(51),14.28,** Zech 10,9, 2Ezra 5,8, Tob 14,5 etc In T.I. 6 4, T.N 4 3 T Z 9 7 the verb is used transitively, with God as subject **to their desolate country.** see T Jud **23,3, γης ἐρήμωσιν** (see note); **T A.** 7 2 (see note) and cf **also** T.D 5,13; T.L. 15 1 **16,4.** **they will renew the house of the Lord.** For **ἀνακαινοποιεῖν,** see also 16,3. For **οἶκος κυρίου,** see 10 5 T.I. 2 5 (see note).. The theme of the reconstruction of the temple is of course prominent in the OT see e g., Ezra **1,2ff ; 3,1ff** (cf 2Ezra **2,2ff.; 5,46ff.),** Hag 1 2.8, Zech 1 16 **6,12ff ,** Tob 13,11; 14,5.

17,11 Another list of sins of priests (cf. **14,5ff.).** The Lasterkatalog' in this verse contains a number of hellenistic terms which occur only here in the Testaments Significantly, the first **is idolators.** Apostasy and idolatry are the root of all sins: see e g T N 3,3ff (see notes); T Jud . 19,1; 23,1 T B 10 10 **contentious:** cf **μάχη** in T.R 3 4 T Jud 16 3 T B 6 4 **lovers of money** see **φιλαργυρία** in T Jud **tit ;** 18 2 19 1 **(** **πρὸς**

εἴδωλα ὁδηγεῖ), and cf **T.L.** 14,6, ev **πλεονεξίᾳ** **arrogant** see **ὑπερηφανία** in **T L** tit (characterizes the attitude of the priests towards God's commandments **[14,7f.]** and Jesus Christ **[16,2f.]),** T R 3 5 (see note) T Jud 13,2; 18,3 T D 5,6 T.G 3 3 **lawless** see esp 2,3; 10 3 (cf 14 4.7; 16,2); 18,9. **lascivious·** cf **ἀσελγεία** in T Jud 23,1 (with 'idolatry' see also note). **abusers of children:** see, e.g. Did 2,2, Barn 10 6 19 4· Tatian **Orat** 8 1 Justin Dial. **95,1, εἰδωλολατροῦντα καὶ παιδοφθοροῦντα**

T LEVI 18

Translation

18,1 And after vengeance on them will have come from the Lord,
the priesthood will **fail.**[55]

2 Then the Lord will raise up a new priest,
to whom all the words of the Lord will be revealed,
and he will execute a judgment of truth upon the earth in course of time

3 And his star will arise in heaven, as a **king,**[56]
lighting up the light of knowledge as by the sun of the **day;**[57]
and he will be magnified in the world until his assumption

4 He will shine as the sun on the earth
and will remove all darkness from under heaven,
and there will be peace on all the earth

5 The heavens will exult in his days
and the earth will be glad
and the clouds will rejoice,
and the knowledge of the Lord will be poured out upon the earth as the water of the seas,
and the angels of the glory of the presence of the Lord will rejoice in him

6 The heavens will be opened,
and from the temple of the glory there will come on him holiness by a voice of a father
as from Abraham, Isaac's father

7 And the glory of the Most High will be uttered over him,
and the spirit of understanding and sanctification will rest upon him in the water

8 He will give the majesty of the Lord to his sons in truth for ever,
and there will be no one succeeding him for generations and generations for ever

9 And during his priesthood
the Gentiles will be multiplied in knowledge upon the earth
and will be enlightened through the grace of the Lord,
but Israel will be diminished through ignorance
and will be darkened in grief

During his priesthood[58]
all sin will fail
and the lawless will rest in evil,
but the righteous will rest in him.
10 And he will open the gates of paradise
and will stop the threatening sword against Adam
11 And he will give to the saints to eat from the tree of life
and the spirit of holiness will be upon them.
12 And Beliar will be bound by him,
and he will give power to his children to tread upon the evil spirits

13 And the Lord will rejoice in his children
and the Lord[59] will take pleasure in his beloved for ever
14 Then Abraham and Isaac and Jacob will exult,
and I, too, shall be glad,
and all the saints will put on joy

Textcritical notes

[55] ἐκλείψει ἡ ἱερατεία *(e;* cf. / and *dafchij)*. *b*'s reading τῇ ἱερατείᾳ cannot be correct

[56] βασιλεύς *(bkeac)*. Cf. the following φωτίζων and the masc. subj. in the next phrases. The previous (ἄστρον) αὐτου may have been the reason for the introduction of βασιλέως instead of βασιλεύς in *gdfhij*.

[57] ὡς ἐν ἡλίῳ ἡμέρας *(e)* ως seems to be left out in *bkafhij* (over against *gec*; cf. *d*) through haplography The reading ἐν ἡλίῳ ημέρας is supported by *bk(d)*, and is most probably original (over against .... ev ἡλίῳ ἡμέρα in *gafchij*)

[58] τὰ ἔθνη ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης αὐτοῦ is omitted in *bk* through hmt

[59] κυριος *(bk)* It was omitted (in *gideafchij*) because the word was considered superfluous

Structure

18,1 Brings the S.E.R. S. sequence in 17,8–11 to an end After punishment the levitical priesthood will come to a definite end

18,2 Announcement of the coming of a new priest The words of the Lord will be revealed to him He will execute a righteous judgment on earth

18,3-4 His coming and activity on earth described in terms of spreading light of knowledge (see also v 5d)

18,5abc Reaction of the cosmos (heavens, earth clouds): joy

18,5d Consequences for men: the knowledge of the Lord

18,5e Reaction of angels: joy

18,6–7 God, his father gives him holiness glory and the spirit of understanding at his baptism

18,8–12 The effects of the coming of the new priest
- v. 8a he gives the majesty of the Lord to his sons for ever
- v 8b (he will have no successor)
- v 9abc the Gentiles will receive light
- v 9de Israel will be in darkness
- v 9fg sin will come to an end
- v 9hi the final destination of the lawless and the righteous
- v 10 he opens the gates of paradise

v 11a he gives to eat from the tree of life
v 11b the spirit will be on the saints
v 12a Beliar will be bound
v 12b his children will tread on evil spirits

18,13 The Lord rejoices in his children

18 14 Abraham Isaac Jacob Levi and all the saints will rejoice

There are a number of direct parallels between this chapter and T Jud 24

Notes

18,1 **after vengeance on them will have come from the Lord** For ἐκδίκησις, see 3 2 3 (see notes) cf also Jer 50(27),15 (LXX) ὅτι ἐκδίκησις παρὰ θεοῦ ἐστιν, 11 20 20 12 **the priesthood will fail:** see 8 14, and cf Eusebius Comm. in Is., Isa 22,15-19; D E VIII 2 τὴν τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν ἱερέων τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς πάλαι διαπορεπόντων ἔκλειψιν ἀναφωνεῖ.

18,2 **Then the Lord will raise up a new priest.** τοτε as in v 14 T.S. 6,3–7; T.Jud 24,5; T B 10,6–9. For ἐγερεῖ, see Judg 2,16 18, 3,9.15; cf ἀναστήσει in T.S. 7,2 (see note). For 'a new priest' see on 8 14 **to whom all the words of the Lord will be revealed:** cf. 1Sam 3,7 (LXX) ποὶν ἢ γνῶναι θεὸν καὶ ἀποκαλυφθῆναι αὐτῷ (Samuel) ῥῆμα κυριου; Dan 10,1 Th "The words of the Lord" are probably God's plans for the future cf., e.g., Isa 45,23 Jer 1 9; 19,2; 29(36),10; 43(50),1; Ezek 11,25 (LXX), ἐλάλησα . . πάντας τους λόγους τοῦ κυριου, οὓς ἔδειξέν μοι; 2Ezra 1 22; Rev 17,17. These plans are revealed to Jesus Christ, and seem to be concerned primarily with the final judgment (cf 4 1) to be executed by him (cf. T.Jud 24,6) **a judgment of truth:** cf Dan 3,28 LXX Th., κριμα ἀληθείας; ArLevi v., 15; fragment MS *e* at 2,3, v. 18 **in course of time:** cf. Eccl 11,1 (LXX), ὅτι εν πλήθει τῶν ἡμερῶν (Hebr. בְּרֹב הַיָּמִים) εὑρήσεις αὐτόν (bread), Zech 8,4 and also Gen 38,12; 1Sam 7 2

18,3 **his star will arise in heaven** For ἀνατέλλειν, see on T S 7 1 and for ἀστρον on T.Jud 24,1. Here it is *his* star ... *in heaven*. the reference is most probably to Mt 2,2ff.; cf Ignatius, Eph. 19,2; Justin, Dial. 106,4; Hippolytus, Comm. in Dan I 9, see also the combination of Num 24 17 and Mt 2 2ff. in, e.g. Origen Cels. I 59f.; Fr 24 in Mt (Mt 2,1) Mt 2 2ff and the comments on this verse stress Jesus kingship: see as a king. For Jesus as king, see on T.R. 6,12, T S 7,2, T L 8,14, T B 10,7; cf also T.Jud 24,5, T Jos 19,7 **lighting up the light of knowledge:** see on 4,3. For divine light communicated to mankind in Christ's advent, cf. Jn 1,9; 2Clem 1,4; Justin, Dial. 122,1, etc. and esp. ConstApp VIII 37,6, ... δι' οὗ (Jesus Christ) ἐφώτισας (God subj.) ἡμᾶς φῶς γνώσεως καὶ ἀπεκαλυψας ἡμῖν σαυτόν; Origen Comm in Jo., XIII 48 (Jesus Christ) φωτισαντος αὐτοῖς τὸ φῶς τὸ τῆς γνωσεως τῆς πάσης γραφῆς. as by the sun of the day: see again on 4,3; cf. TJob 31 5 ου Εἶ ὁ ὡς ο ἥλιος της ἡμέρας εν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ Cf the sun as φῶς ἡμέρας in e.g., Isa 60,19; Jer 31.35 (38,36); see also Amos 8,9 **he will be magnified.** μεγαλύνειν is used with God and Jesus Christ as objects: see e g Ps 35(34) 27; 40(39),17; 69(68),31; 70(69),5; Mal 1 5; Lk 1 46; Acts 10,46; and Acts 19,17; Phil 1,20 Here, Jesus is 'magnified' during his stay on earth until his assumption. For the ἀνάλη(μ)ψις of Jesus Christ see Lk 9 51 (cf the use of ἀναλαμβάνειν in Acts 1,2.11 22; Mk 16.19 and 1Tim 3 16), MartAndrPrius 1 ConstApp V 20,2.4; VII 39,5; VIII 33 4; 46,15; Justin apud Eusebium H.E. II 13 3 etc.; cf. AsMos 10,12; PssSol 4 18

18,4 **He will shine** see on T.Jud 24,5 **as the sun** see v 3, and cf Rev 1 16 and Melito Fr 8b,4, Now if the sun with stars and moon bathes in Ocean why may not Christ also bathe in Jordan? King of heavens and creation's Captain Sun of uprising who appeared both to the dead in Hades and to mortals in the world he also alone arose a

Sun out of heaven (ed./tr.. S.. G Hall, Oxford 1979), OdesSol 11,13, 15,2. **will remove all darkness:** see v.. 9, and T.G.. 5 7 ('darkness' par.. 'ignorance'; cf.. Ignatius Eph. 19,3, ἄγνοια καθῃρεῖτο); cf. T.L.. 19,1 (and T.B. 11,2). See also Isa 9,1; 58,10, 42,16 (LXX) ποιησω αὐτοῖς τὸ σκότος εἰς φως (applied to Jesus Christ in Eusebius **Comm.** in **Is**., Isa 42,16) **from under heaven** see on T.S.. 6,4 **there will be peace on all the earth**· see, again, on T.S 6 4 and on T D.. 5,(9.)11

18,5 **The heavens will exult ... the earth will be glad ... the clouds will rejoice:** the entire cosmos (heaven and earth) rejoices in God's greatness; revealing itself in judgment and salvation; so in the OT **1Chr** 16,31, Ps 96(95),11f., 97(96),1; Isa 44,23; 45,8 (here also the clouds') 49,13; Joel 2 21· cf also Dan 3,58f.73f., and in the Testaments: T.Jos 19 4 **the knowledge of the Lord will be poured out upon the earth as the water of the seas:** see vv. 3 ·and 9; T.B. 11,2; cf. ·also Justin, Dial. 14,1; 69 6 πηγὴ ὕδατος ζῶντος παρα fteoîi Ev τῇ ἐρήμῳ γνώσεως θεοῦ τῇ τῶν ἐθνων γῇ ἀνέβλυσεν οὗτος ο Χριστός. To pour out like water is a well-known expression see esp Hos 5 10 (LXX), ἐπ' αὐτους ἐκχεῶ ως ὕδωρ *m* ὄρμημά μου, Isa 11,9 (LXX), ὅτι ἐνεπλήσθη ἡ σύμπασα τοῦ γνωναι τὸν κυριον ὡς ὕδωρ πολὺ κατακαλύψαι ftaX'âooaç (applied to the Church in Eusebius, Comm.. in **Is**., Isa 11,9); Hab 2,14; **1Q** pHab 11,1· **1En** 49,1 'For wisdom is poured out like water' (on the chosen one)· cf Sir 21 13· and see also on T Jud.. 24 2 and T.B.. 9 4 **the angels of the glory of the presence . .** For angels of the **presence'**, see on 3,5, and on **T.Jud** 25,2, where we also find αἱ δυναμεις τῆς δόξης, and Greek fragment Jub 2,2-24 (= Epiphanius, Mens.. 22), ἄγγελοι πρὸ προσώποι ν xal ἄγγελοι τῆς δόξης. For future joy (cf T Jos 19,4) see also on vv. 13f

18,6 **The heavens will be opened:** see on 2,6 and T.Jud.. 24 2 **the temple of the glory:** cf Dan 3,53 LXX Th EV τῶ ναῳ τῆς ἁγίας δόξης σου. On the heavenly temple where the 'Glory (God) dwells, see on 3,4;· 5,1. **there will come on han holiness** see esp Ps 132(131),18 LXX ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτὸν (ΤΟΥ χριστόν μου) ἐξανθήσει τὸ ἁγίασμά μου (connected with Jesus Christ in e.g. Eusebius D E IV 16; VI 12; VII 2; **Ecl.** II 14); cf also Ps 93(92),5; PssSol 11,7 (par., δόξα; cf.. v 7 below) **by a voice of a father:** see on T.Jud., 24,2.. Cf Mt 3,16f. par., καὶ ἰδοὺ φωνὴ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν λέγουσα· οὗτός ἐστιν ο υἱός HOD; also Justin, Dial. 88,8; and esp. Origen, Fr. 342 in Mt (Mt 16,1) τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀνεῳγμένους xal την πατρικην φωνὴν λέγουσαν . ; Eusebius Comm in Pss., Ps 67,10ff.; Comm.. in **Is**., Isa 40,3; E Th I 9 **as from Abraham, Isaac's father:** added because of the patriarchal setting.

18,7 **the glory of the Most High will be uttered over him** a singular expression See Isa 42 8 (LXX), την δόξαν μου ἑτερῳ ου δωσω, applied to God's imparting his glory to Jesus Christ by Justin Dial 65,1ff. and Eusebius, Comm.. in **Is**., Isa 42,8 and cf.. Justin Dial. 42,1 δι' ὧν (the twelve apostles) τῆς φωνῆς ἡ πᾶσα γῆ τῆς δόξης xal χάριτος του fteoû xal τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπληρωθη **and the spirit of understanding and sanctification will rest upon him** see, again T.Jud 24 2 and Mt 3,16 par (in particular Jn 1,32f xal ἔμεινεν ἐπ' αὐτόν); cf. also Isa 11,2 LXX (and **1Pet** 4 14 cf T B 8 2) 1En 49,3.. For πνεῦμα συνέσεως, see on 2,3,· cf.. ἐν πνευματι ἁγίῳ . ἐν βουλῇ συνέσεως in PssSol 17,37. For the spirit of sanctification see vv 6 and 11 **in the water:** cf. the reference to the baptism of the believers in 16 5; T.A. 7 3

18,8ff Turn to the effects of the coming of the new priest

18,8 **He will give the majesty of the Lord to his sons:** see on T.Jud.. 24,3., μεγαλωσυνη is used to denote God's mighty power: see 3 9 and e.g Ps 145(144),3.6; 150 2 and esp Sir 44,2, πολλὴν δόξαν ἔκτισεν ο κύριος, τὴν μεγαλωουνην αὐτοῦ ἀπ' αιωνος (note the parallel, cf.. v. 7 above) **for ever** is explained by the following clause **there will be no one succeeding him.** Jesus Christ is an eternal priest (v 9): cf Heb 5 6 7 3,17 21.24, etc.; Justin, Dial. 42,1 ἀπὸ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ αἰωνίου ἱερέως Χριστοῦ, and Athanasius Ar 2 9 'Ἀαρὼν μεν ἔσχε τους διαδεχομενους ... ὁ δὲ Κύριος

ἀπαράβατον καὶ ἀδιάδεκτον ἔχων τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην **for generations and generations:** the **sing.** is more common (see e g Ps **49[48],12; 79[78],13,** etc) but the **plur** is found in Prov 27,24 LXX A Lk 1,50. Cf also T S. 7,3; T.Z. 10,3

18 9 **will be multiplied** a sign of God s blessing (cf e g Gen 17 2.20· 22 17 Deut 6,3 Ps 107[106],38;· Jer 23,3, Zech 10,8, Dan 3,36 LXX, **Th,** JosAsen 21 4) Here, the emphasis lies on the growth of the number of Gentiles (over against Israel) who will **'know':** cf T B 11,2. **in knowledge will be enlightened: see vv. 3 and 5,** T B. 11,2;· and **cf. T G. 5,7 through the grace of the Lord:** cf **T.Jud.** 24,2 **πνευμα χάριτος,** T Jos. 12,3, 19,6, and **also** T B. 4,5. **Israel will be diminished through ignorance and will be darkened in grief** cf. "ignorance' par. darkness" in T. G. 5,7, see also T.L 18,4 and 14 4 On negative statements about Israel (and their context), see INTRODUCTION 7 6 **all sin will fail:** a well-known theme in Jewish predictions concerning God s future: see e g PssSol 17 27 4Ezra **6,27f., 7,113f.;** 2Bar 73,4; Jub **4,26,** 23,29 **1En** 69,29; 91,8.11.14.17 **92,5,** 100 5 **εως ου ἐκλείπῃ τὰ κακὰ καὶ ἁμαρτία** ...; compare also T.D.. **5,10–13** (see notes) **the lawless will rest in evil:** over against the following clause this must refer to the disasters (cf 6 8 **εἰς κακά**) which will be the destination of the lawless. In **T A.** 6,3, 'dwelling therein and resting therein' (in what is really good) **καταπαυειν** ev is used differently. **but the righteous will rest in him καταπαυειν** and **κατάπαυσις** are often used to denote the final rest (like **ἀναπαύειν** and **ἀνάπαυσις;** see on T.D. 5,12): **cf.,** e g JosAsen 8,11 22,9; Heb **3,7–4,13.** For 'to rest in Jesus Christ cf.. Clement of Alexandria, Str. I 5 (32,4), **την ... προπαιδείαν τῆς** Ev **Χριστῷ ἀναπαύσεως γυμνάζειν τὸν νοῦν.** The last clause is explained and illustrated in vv. **10–12** (see again T.D **5,10–13,** esp v. 12)

1K,10f **And he will open the gates of paradise ... And he will give to the saints to eat from the tree of life:** cf 4Ezra 7,123; **8,52,** vobis **enim** apertus est paradisus plantata est arbor vitae; lEn **25,4f., τότε δικαίοις** zat **ὁσίοις δοθήσεται** ο **καρπὸς αὐτοῦ** (of a special fragrant tree) **τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς εἰς ζωήν** ...(cf **32,2ff.),** 3En 23,18, CoptApEl 3,60; 2Bar 51,11;· ApMos 13,4;· 28,4; Rev 2,7; 22,2.14.19 **See also LAE 42,5, Christus introducet** patrem tuum Adam in paradisum ad arborem misericordiae **Gadla Adām** (tr. A Dillmann Göttingen 1853) p. 36, 'werde ich dir von der Frucht des Lebensbaumes geben p. 38 p 58; cf. 3Bar 4,15. See further J Jeremias *ThWNT* V pp **763–71. The gates of paradise' are mentioned in LAE 31,1, 37,1, 40,1, cf.. also** SibOr III 770 Also the **sing.** occurs so e g ApAnast (ed R Homburg, Lipsiae 1903) p 22,15, **ἔξωθεν δὲ τῆς πόλης (sc τοῦ παραδείσου);** Acta Pil (EvNic) 9(25). **the tree of life:** the same term in Gen 2,9; 3,22.24 LXX.. **will stop the threatening sword against Adam** see again, Gen 3 24 LXX **ἔταξεν τὰ χερουβὶμ** καὶ **τὴν φλογίνην ῥομφαίαν την στρεφομένην φυλάσσειν την ὁδὸν τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς ... cf** ApMos 28 3· Acta Pil 137 etc. The themes of w **10f.** are found together in Origen Hom in **1Sam 28,3–25,** IX (Jesus Christ is the way and the door) **..ὁδός ἐστιν ἐπὶ** TO **ξύλον της ζωῆς . Then, a combination of Isa 43,2 and Gen 3 24 leads to the conclusion, . ὥστε διὰ τουτο περιέμενον οἱ μακάριοι ἐκεῖ, οἰκονομίαν ποιοῦντες καὶ μη δυνάμενοι ὅπου τὸ ξύλον της ζωῆς, οπου ὁ παράδεισος ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅπου θεὸς γεωργός, ὅπου** ot **μακάριοι** καὶ exXEXTol καὶ **ἅγιοι θεοῦ γενέσθαι;** and Athanasius Qu Ant. 137 9 .. καὶ **τὴν φλογίνην ῥομφαίαν την καθ' ἡμων στρεφομένην παύσῃ,** καὶ **την ὁδὸν ἡμῖν** τοῦ **παραδείσου ἀνοίξῃ** See further P. Athanas Recheis, *Engel Tod und Seelenreise* (*Temi e Testi 4),* Roma 1958 pp **162f.;** 168;· 183f. **the saints:** also in v 14; see T.I 5 4; T.D.. 5 12 **the spirit of holiness will be on them** see vv 6 and 7 The term **πνεῦμα ἁγιωσυνης** is further found in Rom **1,4.**

18 12 **And Beliar the evil spirits:** see on T.S 6,6 and T Z. 9,8, and note esp. Lk **10,19f., ἰδου δέδωκα ὑμῖν την ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πατειν ἐπάνω ὄφεων** καὶ **σκορπιων τὰ πνεύματα ὑμῖν ὑποτάσσεται** ...;· Justin Dial 76 6· Athanasius Hom in Mt 21 2 7f

will be bound Often one finds the idea that the **power(s)** of evil will be bound in prison (cf. Isa 24,22) awaiting the final **judgment:** so the fallen angels and their leader in **1En** 10,4, **δήσον** τὸν **Ἀζαήλ; 10,11f.**; 13,1; 14,5; **18,16**; 21,3.6; 2En 7,1; 2Bar **56,13**, Jub 5 6; 10 7 11; Jude 6, etc.; cf also Rev 20,2 (and Mk 3,27 **par.**; Melito Pass. 102 I am the one says the Christ I am the one that destroyed death and triumphed over the enemy and trod down Hades and bound the strong one and carried off man to the heights of heaven . ' [tr **S G.** Hall, Oxford **1979**])

18,13 the Lord will rejoice ...: cf Isa 62,5; 65,19; Zeph 3,17 all speaking of God's joy over Israel's future salvation (cf also lEn 90 33.38) **will take pleasure in** For this use of **εὐδοκεῖν, see on** T Jos 4 6 **his beloved:** see, e.g., Ps 60(59),7, 108 (107),7, 127(126),2; Rom 1 7 **11,28, 1Clem** 8 5, **for o ἀγαπητός in the sing., see on** T B 11 2

18,14 will exult .. shall be glad ... put on joy About future joy at the resurrection of the patriarchs see on T.S. 6,7; T Jud. 25,4; cf. v 5 above. For the use of **ἐνδύεσθαι,** cf **Job 29,14 (δικαιοσύνην); Ps 35(34),26 (αἰσχυνην); 132(131),9 16 18; Prov 31,25, etc.,** and also **1Cor 15,53f** , Col 3 12 etc · Hermas Vis 3 12 2· 4 1 8 etc **all the saints· cf. v. 11**

T Levi 19

Translation

19,1 And now, my children, you have heard all
Choose, therefore, for yourselves either darkness or light,
either the law of the Lord or the
works of Beliar

2 And we answered our father saying
Before the Lord we will walk, according to his law

3 And our father said:
The Lord is witness,
and his angels are witnesses,
and I am witness,
and you are witnesses
concerning the word of your mouth
And we said
(They are all) witnesses

4 And thus Levi ceased commanding his sons
and he stretched out his feet
and was gathered to his fathers,
after he had lived a hundred and thirty-seven years

5 And they laid him in a coffin
And afterwards they buried him in Hebron by the side of Abraham
and Isaac and Jacob

Structure

19,1 At the end of his exhortations Levi confronts his sons with the fundamental choice between God and Beliar

19,2 The sons (we) choose the Lord and his law

19,3 God, his angels, **Levi,** his sons are witnesses to this solemn promise
19,4–5 Levi dies, is put in a coffin and is buried afterwards

Notes

19,1–3 Levi's final exhortation is a summons to make a basic **choice. Vv. 1b–3** provide an extra element compared to the usual closing passages in the Testaments; whether it goes back to the closing passage of ArLevi we cannot tell The passage reminds of the so-called "covenant formula" (see **K** Baltzer op cit. [see INTRODUCTION **4.1.3**]), and shows parallels especially with Josh **24,14–22** Perhaps the use of we in vv 2f is a form element taken over from Josh **24,14ff.** See also INTRODUCTION 4 1 1 For the dualism which is found here, see also on **T.A. 1,3–5** and **6,4–6**

19,1 **Choose ... for yourselves:** cf.. Josh 24 15 (LXX) **ἕλεσθε ὑμῖν ἑαυτοῖς σημερον, τίνι λατρεύσητε** ..; Deut 26,17 (LXX), **τὸν θεὸν εἵλου σήμερον εἶναί σου θεον** . .; and Deut 30,15.19 (the choice between life and death good and evil blessing and curse together with the exhortation to choose life, for the opposition death-life, see also Jer **21,8f.**; Sir **15,14ff.**; SibOr VIII 399; **1En 94,1ff.**; TAb A **11ff.**; 2Bar 46,3; Mt **7,13f.**; Did **1ff**) **either darkness or light:** cf 18 3f 9 T.N. 2 10; T.Jos 20,2; T B. 5 3 and Prov 2,13; 1QS **3,18ff.**, 2En **30,15f.**; EpApp 39 Barn **18ff.**; and also 2Cor **6,14f** **either the law of the Lord or the works of Beliar** cf. T..N. **2,6.10**; T. B 5,3 6 7 Rom 13 12 **ἀπαθωμεθα οὖν τὰ ἔργα τοῦ σκότους, ἐνδυσώμεθα [δὲ] τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ φωτός**; Un 3 8 **ἵνα λυσῃ τὰ ἔργα** TOU **διαβόλου** (cf. Jn 8,41); **TSol** S 1,4.6 Hermas Mand 7,3; 12 6 2 etc

19,2 Cf Josh **24,16–21** **Before the Lord we will walk:** cf. **1Kgs** 2 4 8 23 25 9 4 2Chr 34,31; Isa 38,3; Tob 3 5; Jdt 13,20. **according to his law** cf 13,1.

19,3 **The Lord is witness - (They are all) witnesses:** cf. Josh 24 22 (LXX) **Μάρτυρες ὑμεῖς καθ' ὑμῶν** ., and further **Gen** 31 44 LXX **ο ftEÔçμάρτυς ἀνα μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ σοῦ** (at the covenant between Laban and Jacob) **1Sam** 20,23.42 LXX (David-Jonathan) Jer 42(49),5; and esp.. **1Sam** 12 5f.. (LXX) **Μάρτυς κύριος ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ μάρτυς χριστὸς αυτοῦ σήμερον** ... xal' **ειπαν Μάρτυς**; Ruth **4,9ff.** **the word of your mouth** cf. **Eccl 10,12f.**; Isa 11,4; Jer 9 12(11) 20(19); Jdt 2,3; PssSol 17,24.35; PJ 9,17 lEn **100,9**; see also on **T D** 1,2.

19,4 **ceased commanding his sons:** cf. esp Gen 49,33, and see on T.S. 8,1 For 'commanding cf. 10 1 13 1 **he stretched out his feet.** cf T.I. 7 9; T.Jos 20,4, and see on T G 8 4. **was gathered to his fathers:** a well-known biblical expression which occurs only here in the Testaments cf. Gen 49 29.33 (LXX) **ἐγὼ προστίθεμαι πρὸς τὸν ἐμὸν** Xaov . **προσετέθη πρὸς τὸν λαὸν** *amoV* Deut 32,50, **1Mac** 2 69 **προσετέθη πρὸς τους πατέρας αὐτοῦ**; Jub 23 1 etc

19,5 **they laid him in a coffin:** see on **T.R** 7,2. **afterwards** also in T Z. 10 7 **by the side of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob** cf. esp T D 7 2 see on T.Z 10 7

THE TESTAMENT OF JUDAH CONCERNING COURAGE AND LOVE OF MONEY AND IMPURITY

INTRODUCTION

In view of the fact that Levi and Judah are often mentioned in the Testaments as leading tribes, it does not come as a surprise that also the Testament of Judah is very long We note that at the very beginning Judah is introduced as king. 'my father Jacob promised me, saying· You will be a king, prospering in all things' (1,6)

The biographical section of the testament (chapters 2-12) begins with a vivid description in chapter 2 of Judah's speed and strength in dealing with wild animals There are some parallels with T G 1,3 but whereas Gad is a shepherd defending his flock against wild beasts, Judah is not only that but also a very succesful hunter The next section (chapters 3–7) deals with the wars between Jacob and his sons against Amorite kings, alternating between 'I' and 'we', the story stresses Judah's courage, strength and inventiveness in warfare (3,1–6, 4,1-2, 5,2-3, 6,5, 7,2.5–6). Chapter 9 adds a story of the war between Jacob and Esau (with their sons) where, again, Judah's initiative at a crucial moment is emphasized (9,5). Chapters 2, 3–7 and 9 are covered by the expression περὶ ἀνδρείας of the testament's title(s) found in *bldm, k, g ef* The biographical details of these chapters do not, however, play any part in the exhortations or the predictions of the future which follow

This is different in the case of chapters 8, 10–11 and 12 dealing with the problems resulting from Judah's marriage to the Canaanite woman Bath-shua (cf. Gen 38). Chapter 8 gives only a short story, at the chronologically suitable place (cf 7,10, 9,1-2), the following chapters go into more detail introducing Thamar, a daughter of Aram, not from Canaan and, therefore, unacceptable to Bath-shua and her sons Er and Onan (10,2.6) All three die because of their wickedness (10,2 5.[6]; 11,5) and Judah is left with Shelah who in the meantime married a Canaanite wife thanks to his mother (11,3), and Thamar Chapter 12, then, tells the well-known story found in Gen 38,12-26 The events recorded in these chapters are thoroughly commented upon in the exhortatory section in chapters 13-19 which follow In the biographical part there are already some hints In 11,1 Judah's youth is blamed, his drunkenness is hinted at in 8,2 and mentioned in 11,2, 12,3 6, and 12,4 emphasizes that Judah gave away his royal insignia, but it is only in the following chapters, which add more biographical details where necessary, that the testament goes to the heart of the matter Some themes stand out impurity is mentioned in 13,3, 14,2f., 15, love of money in 13,4–5, 19, and the two vices occur together in chapters 17-18 and in the title of the testament (for φιλαργυρία, see on 18,2) Much attention is paid to the evil effects of drunkenness which is said to stimulate evil desires (13,6; 14, 16) Two further major points are

Judah disobeyed the commandments of his father(s) (13,7, 17,3f., cf 1,4) and thereby those of God (13,7; 14,6; cf 16,3f ; 18,6), and in this way he endangered his royal prerogatives (15,2.3.6, 17,3–6).

The latter theme connects the exhortatory middle part of the testament with the predictions of the future in chapters 21-25 In between we find chapter 20 treating the influence of the spirits of truth and of evil on man's heart Already in 17,2–6, Judah announces that the sins of his sons will endanger the kingship entrusted to him and his tribe Two things stand out before his mistake in marrying Bath-shua, Judah was obedient to his father (17,3f.; 1,4) and (in the end) his kingship will stand, in accordance with the blessing of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (17,5f.; 1,6) These two themes return in the last section of the testament· 21,1–6a gives an L.J. passage emphasizing Levi's supremacy over Judah, it is followed by a rather elaborate description of future sins of Judah's descendants (21,6b–22,2a), but this, in turn, is followed by the announcement of the coming of 'the God of righteousness' who will make true God's oath concerning the never failing royal dignity 'from my seed' (22,2b–3) Next, chapter 23 gives an S E R passage, the R part of which is elaborated by the description of a man 'from my seed' who will rule Judah's sons and, in fact, the entire earth, in peace and righteousness (chapter 24) Chapter 25 announces the resurrection of the patriarchs and those who obey and glorify the Lord

Chapter 26 gives the usual concluding passage with, in v. 3, the express command not to bury Judah as one will bury future kings

Traditional material

Special attention should be paid to the traditional material embodied in chapters 3–7 and 9 (see also INTRODUCTION 3 6) For a great number of details we have to refer to the commentary on these chapters, but some general remarks are in order here The problems involved have been discussed fully in M de Jonge, *The Testaments* pp. 60–66, 70–71, and J Becker, *Untersuchungen* pp 114–25; see also L Ginzberg, *Legends* I pp. 408–11; V p 315 n 292 and James C Vanderkam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, Missoula 1977, pp 218–38 and cf G Schmitt, *Ein indirektes Zeugnis der Makkabäerkämpfe. Testament Juda 3-7 und Parallelen* Wiesbaden 1983

The war with the Amorites (cf. Gen 48,22 and Targ PS Jon on Gen 48,22) is also described in Jub 34,1-9 and in the first part of the Midrash Wayissa'u which is found in the Yalkut Shimeoni I, pp 83f., the Chronicles of Yerahmeel 36 and - expanded and embellished - in the Book of Yashar

The account in Jub 34 is very short, the stories in T.Jud and the Midrash run parallel and have many things in common, although there are also important differences T.Jud., centering around the figure of this patriarch, is less concemed with the clarity in the description of the course of events than is Midrash Wayissa'u. Nor does the testament show much knowledge of the geogrsphy of Palestine A number of details only become intelligible if compared with the more elaborate picture given in the Midrash We may, therefore, use the Midrash in the interpretation of T Jud 3–7, as it helps us to recognize the most salient features of the

story given in the testament But we are not in a position to determine the exact nature, form or extent of the written or oral tradition at the disposal of the author of the Testaments and its relationship with the source(s) of the Midrash Wayissa'u (or Jub 34,1-9)

In the case of the war with Esau and his sons, T.Jud 9 gives a very succinct account over against the longer stories in Jub 37,1-38,14 and the second part of Midrash Wayissa'u which is found in the Yalkut Shimeoni I, pp 84f , the Chronicles of Yerahmeel 37, and in the Book of Yashar

What the author of the testament had before him is, again, not clear, but it is evident that in chapters 3-7 as well as in chapter 9 he was acquainted with traditional material and wanted to incorporate it in his description of Judah's life It could serve to highlight Judah's (royal) courage, even if it could not be used in the exhortatory section which was to follow

With regard to chapters 8 and 10–12 we cannot point to parallel traditional material, one should note, however, that Jub 41 which, like these chapters, 'retell' Gen 38, shows a few common points (see the commentary on these chapters)

T JUDAH 1

Translation

1,1 A copy of the words of Judah,
the things which he said to his sons before he died
2 They gathered and came to him
and he said to them
3 I was the fourth son born to my father
and my mother[1] named me Judah, saying
I give thanks to the Lord,
because he has given me also a fourth son
4 I was sharp and keen in my youth,
and I was obedient[2] to my father in everything
5 and I blessed[3] my mother and the sister of my mother
6 And it came to pass when I became a man,[4]
that my father Jacob promised[5] me, saying
You will be a king, prospering[6] in all things

Textcritical notes

[1] ἡ μητηρ μου *(b)* The variants Λεία *(g)* and Aeta η μητηρ uou (*ldmeachij*;cf *f*) are epexegetical

[2] υπήκουον (*gldechij*)seems to be preferable though the alternative (ἤμην) ὑπακούων (*baf*)cannot be excluded

εὐλόγουν *(b)*. The reading ἐτιμων (*gldeafchij*)was introduced under the influence of Ex 20,12; Deut 5,16 and similar passages

[4] ἡνδρωθην *(b)*. Both this reading and the variant ἠδρυνθην (*glac*, cf ἠνδρυνθην*fhij*) may be original See also on T I 3,1

ηὔξατο (*bchij*), lectio difficilior over against **ἐπηύξατο** (*gldmeaf*) which may have been introduced as a stylistic correction

[6] **κατευοδούμενος.** The variant in *b* (**και εὐοδουμενος**) seems to be just a mistake

Structure

1,1 Framework of the testament
1,2 Introduction
1,3 Birth and name-giving
1,4–5 Idealizing characterization of Judah as a young man Emphasis on obedience to parents
1 6 When Judah becomes a man Jacob promises royal authority and prosperity (as recompense for obedience)

Notes

1,1 (A copy) **of the words:** cf. T.S. 1 1 T.L. 1 1 T.I.. 1 1 T D. . 1 1 **T B 1,1 before he died** an element of this genre compare T R 1 1 T S 1 1· T L 1 1 T D 1 1 T N **1,1; T Jos. 1,1**

1,2 they gathered: cf T R 1 2 T L 1 2; T.N 1 2

1,3 the fourth son: cf T S 2 2 (second); T I 1,2 (fifth)· T.G.. 1 2 (ninth).. **and my mother named me Judah, saying·** for name-giving and explanation of name, see also T S.. 2,2; T I 1 15 T Z. . 1 3 T N. . 1 6 T B. . 1,6. . I **give thanks to the Lord, because he has given me also a fourth son:** see Gen 29 35 (And she conceived again and bore a son and said') (LXX) **νυν ἔτι τοῦτο ἐξομολογήσομαι κυρίῳ· διὰ** TOÜTO **ἐκάλεσεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰούδα** For **ἀνθομολογεῖσθαι** with God as object see e g Ps **79(78),13,** Dan 4 37 LXX· Lk 2,38.

1 4 I was sharp and keen: cf T.G.. 1 2 **ημην ἀνδρεῖος** (cf **ἀνδρεία** in the title of **T Jud** in ***bldm, k, g ef*) ὀξύς** may also mean swift'; in that case the reference is to the description of Judah s exploits in chapter 2 (cf T G 1,3) **I was obedient to my father in everything: see 17,3–5, explicitly connected with Judah's βασιλεία Contrast 13,7 (cf. T R 3,8, Deut 21,18). See also T Jud. 13,1 (and T G 8,3).**

1,5 I blessed my mother ...: contrast Prov 30 11.. The background for **vv 4–5** is clearly found in Ex 20 12 Deut 5 16

1,6 And it came to pass ... that: καὶ ἐγένετο ... καί, a hebraizing construction often found in the LXX and related literature cf **B.D.R ,** *Grammatik* § 442 4 **You will be a king.** cf **17,3–5** (see on v 4) **prospering in all things** cf PS 1 3 Ignatius Magn 13 1· cf.. Tob 4 6 K

T. JUDAH 2

Translation

2,1 And the Lord showed me favour in all my works,
both in the[7] field and in the home,
2 as I saw when[8] I raced a hind,
and having caught it I prepared (it as) a meal for my father
3 I used to master the roes in the chase
and to overtake all that was in the plains
1 overtook a wild mare,
and having caught it I tamed it.

4 And I slew a lion
and snatched a kid out of its mouth
I took a bear by its paw
and rolled it away into a pit,
and every beast, when it turned upon me, I rent it like a dog

5 I raced the wild boar
and gaining advantage over it when I ran, I tore it to pieces

6 A leopard in Hebron leapt upon (my) dog,
and having caught it by the tail I hurled it,
and it was broken in the district of Gaza

7 I took a wild ox feeding in the field[9] by the horns
and whirling it around and stunning it, I cast it from me and killed it

Textcritical notes

[7] **ἐν τε τῷ** (*dmeaf*).Haplography will have been the reason for the omissions of TE in *g* and **τῳ** in *blchij*.

[8] **ὡς εἶδον** ÖTE The reading **ὡς εἶδον** (*b*) is surely lectio difficilior over against the alternative **οἶδα** (*gldmeafchij*)**ὅτι** (all MSS including *b*) will be corrupt for ÖTE

[9] **εν χωρᾳ** (*ea*). Both this reading and the variant **χώραν** (*gl*) may be original **χωρᾳ** (*b*) is surely corrupt

Structure

2 1 Introduction of this section
2 2-7 Judah s swiftness and strength in dealing with wild animals
vv 2-3a hind and roe (food for father)
v 3cd wild mare (tamed)
vv **4–7** lion bear wild boar leopard wild ox (killed)
General statements in vv 3b and 4e

Notes

2,1 **And the Lord showed me favour in all my works** compare the deuteronomistic phrase (used in connection with the fulfilment of God's commandments), **... ἵνα εὐλογήσῃ** OE **κύριος** o ftEOc **σου** ἐν **πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔργοις, οἷς** ἐὰν **ποιῇς** (Deut 14,29 [LXX] cf **15,10, 16,15, 23,20[21],** 24,19; 30,9 and also Tob 4,6). For **δίδοναι χάριν** with God as **subject,** see, e g , Prov 3,34; Tob 7,17 BA, cf also Sir **37,21**; Gal 2,9, etc

2 2-7 **See also T G.** 1 3

2,2 **I raced:** see v 5 and T G 1,3 **κατεδίωκον** **having caught it:** see vv 3 and 6, and T G 1 3 **πιάζων** **I prepared (it as) a meal for my father:** cf. T.I 3,1.6 T Z 6,3.7

2,3 **to master:** see **ἐκράτησα** in v 7 (and **1Sam** 17,35) **all that was in the plains:** see v 4e, and T G 1 3, **πᾶν θηρίον,** cf the expression **τὰ θηρία τοῦ πεδίου** in Ezek 34 8 38,20, 39,4.17, cf 33,27

2,4 **I slew a lion:** see T G 1,3 **and snatched a kid out of its mouth** see T G 1,7 **a bear** see T.G. 1 3 Here, as in T.G., we find clear references to David s activity as a shepherd in **1Sam 17,34–36.** **took** **by its paw** see again T G 1 3 **I rent it like**

a dog cf. Judg 14 6 (LXX A) (Samson) **διέσπασεν αὐτόν** (the lion) **ὡσεὶ διασπάσαι ἔριφον αἰγῶν.**

2,5 I raced see v 2

2,6 A leopard: see T G 1 3 **having caught it by the tail** cf v 4 (by its paw) and v 7 ('by the horns') **I hurled it:** cf. T.G. 1,3, **ἠκόντιζον αὐτό.** **it was broken in the district of Gaza** at a very considerable distance from **Hebron.** Is there any connection with Samson s carrying the gates of Gaza to the mountain before Hebron (Judg 16,1-3 so R. H Charles *Translation* ad **loc**)?

2,7 **whirling it around and stunning it·** cf T G 1,3, **γυρευων ἐσκότουν.**

GENERAL REMARK ON THE STRUCTURE OF T JUDAH 3-7
(see also the Introduction to this testament)

The chapters 3-7 form one story divided into a number of episodes. There are indications of time (5,1, 6,3, 7,1), probably remains of a fuller scheme of seven days (as is found, with some differences, in Midrash Wayissa'u). If we take into account geographical remarks and sentences clearly serving as conclusion we are still able to arrive at a number of seven episodes 3,1-8, 4,1-3, 5,1-7, 6 ,1-2; 6,3–5, 7,1-3, 7,4–9. Redactional sentences are found in 3,9–10 and 7,10–11, they serve to connect this section with the rest of the testament

T JUDAH 3

Translation

3,1 And when the two kings of the Canaanites came against the flocks,
sheathed in armour
and a multitude of people with them,
I rushed single-handed upon (the) king (of) Hazor[10] and seized him,
and striking him on the greaves I dragged him down
and so I killed him

2 And the other, (the) king (of) Tappush sitting upon (his) horse -
I killed him,
and so I scattered all the people [11]

3 As for Achor, the king, a giant,[12] hurling javelins before and behind
as he sat on horseback,
I took a stone of 60 pounds weight
and struck the horse and killed it

4 And fighting with Achor for two hours I killed him,
and after having cleft his shield in two[13] I chopped off his feet

5 And as I was stripping off his breastplate,
behold, eight men, companions of his, began to fight with me

6 Rolling up, therefore, my garment tight in my hand
and slinging stones at them,
I killed four of them,
but the others fled

7 And Jacob my father killed Beelisah, the king of all kings,
a giant in strength, twelve cubits high
8 And trembling fell upon them
and they ceased fighting and left us
9 Therefore, my father was free from anxiety in the wars,
because[14] I was with my brothers.
10 For he saw in a vision concerning me
that a mighty angel followed me in all things,
that I should not be overcome

Textcritical notes

10 Ἀσουρ *(lea;* cf. *d)* The reading Σουρ (bgf) arose through **haplography,** cf. Ezek 16 28 LXX and the variant in MS A.

11 λαον *(b).* The additions of αὐτῶν (*gdafc*)and αυτου (*lehij*)are epexegetical.

14 ανδρα γιγάντων (*bl*), lectio difficilior over against ἄνδρα γίγαντα (*gdeafchij*)It may be regarded as a hebraism cf. **2Kgs** 2 7 LXX ἄνδρες ὁ ὁ τῶν προφητῶν, and **1Kgs** 18 4 LXX, frvooaç προφήτας; see also Deut 1,28 LXX, υἱους γιγάντων

13 μερίδας *(b)* The alternative μερη (*gldeaf*)is lectio facilior.

1 ὅτι (*dachij*). which follows logically on v 9a beginning with διὰ τουτο. The alternative ὅτε (*blef*)is therefore corrupt

Structure

First episode

3,1a Introduction; the approach of two kings
3,1b–d ***Judah*** kills the king of **Hazor**
3 2a-b *Judah* kills the king of Tappuah
3,2c Seemingly concluding remark: all people scattered
3,3–4 *Judah* kills **Achor**
3,5–6 *Judah* kills four of Achor's companions four others flee
3,7 *Jacob* kills Beelisah
3,8 **End of the war**
3,9–10 Redactional: Jacob is not afraid because Judah helps his brothers in the wars He knows by revelation that a mighty angel protects Judah

Notes

3 1 **the two kings of the Canaanites:** Gen 48,22; Jub and Midr Way. speak of Amorites, the Book of Yashar of Canaanites and Amorites! See 7,2, Amorites' but 7,11 again Canaanites Also chapters 8 **10-12** emphasize the wickedness of the Canaanites (but see again 12 2). The fighting takes place at Shechem where according to Jub Midr Way and the Book of Yashar Jacob and his sons had settled (cf Gen **37,12f).** T.Jud tells this only in 4,1. **against the flocks** so also Jub 34,2.5 Midr Way. 36,12 (ed Charles p. **238** l. 18) mentions the restitution of stolen cattle at the end of all hostilities **I rushed** cf Midr. Way. 36,2 (p 235 l. 14) in the description of Judah's attack on the king of **Tappuah.** **Hazor:** the LXX equivalent of חצור is **Ἀσώρ** or **Ἀσῶρ** (see Josh **11,1 10f.13; 12,19, etc.; Neh 11,33; 1Mac 11,67, etc.; cf Josephus, Ant. 13,158, etc**) Here the name is probably regarded as the proper name of the king but it is the name

of a place, either the well-known town in the North of Galilee or a small village near Shechem is meant. **the greaves:** cf. **1Sam** 17 6 **(Goliath!).**

3,2 **Tappuah:** Hebr. תפוח is the name of a city located just south of Shechem LXX **Θαφφού, Ταφού(γ), 'Αταφούτ** (Josh 12,17 16 8; cf **1Mac** 9,50 **Τεφῶν;** Josephus Ant 13 15 Τοχόα) **sitting upon his horse** cf Midr Way 36 2 (p 235 1 11) Cf v 3

3,3 **Achor** clearly regarded as the name of the king himself An **'Αχώρ** (Hebr **עָכוֹר)** is mentioned in Josh 15,7; Isa 65,10; Hos 2,14(17); cf. Josh 7,24.26 as the name of a valley There seems to be no connection. The names in the other sources do not help us in this case. After the explicit two kings' in v. **1,** the appearance of a third one comes as a surprise. There must have been corruption in the tradition before T Jud. We should note that the story about Achor corresponds to the continuation of the story about the king of Tappuah in Midr Way **a giant:** cf. Midr Way 36 2 (p 235 1 12) he was a mighty ... man' **(גבור)** In Sir 47,4, **γίγας** is used of Goliath **hurling javelins before and behind as he sat on horseback:** cf. Midr Way 36 2 (p 235 11. **11f.),** '... throw his javelins with both hands from horseback in front and behind'. For **ἔμπροσθε καὶ ὄπισθεν,** cf 2Chr 13 14; **Rev** 4 6 **I took a stone of 60 pounds weight:** see Midr. Way 36 2 (p 235 1 14) **λίτσα** = lat libra (cf., e.g. Jn 12 3 19,39)· the Roman pound (327 45 gr.). **struck the horse, ἀκοντίσας (ἔδωκε).** Cf Midr Way 36 2 (p 235 11 **14ff),** where however, the king himself is hurt. Compare also JosAsen 27 3 5 where Benjamin kills the son of Pharao and his fifty companions by hurling stones

3,4 This stage of the battle is described more elaborately in Midr **Way ,** where **a o** Judah s shield is cleft (36,3· p 236 1. 2)

3,5 **his breastplate:** cf v 1 **τεθωρακισμένοι** **eight men** Midr Way 36 4 (p 236 11 4f) mentions 'nine'.

3,6 **Rolling up ... my garment tight in my hand:** In order to strike? cf. 2Kgs 2 8 (LXX) **καὶ ἔλαβεν Ἠλίου τὴν μηλωτὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ εἴλησεν καὶ ἐπάταξεν τὸ ὕδωρ** Or is there some confusion with a sling? **slinging stones at them** cf **1Sam** 17,40.49 (David-Goliath) (LXX) **λίθους ... καὶ ἔθετο . σφενδόνην αὐτοῦ** ev **τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ... ἔλαβεν . . λιθον ἕνα καὶ ἐσφενδόνησεν καὶ ἐπάταξεν** (cf Sir 47,41) See also 7 5 below In Midr Way 36 4 (p 236 1 5) Judah throws a stone I P **illed four of them:** in Midr. Way 36 4 (p. 236 1 7), Judah kills eight adversaries, after Levi has killed the king of Gaash A flight is mentioned later, after Jacob's intervention (see v 7 below)

3,7 **And Jacob my father killed Beelisah** Jub 34 7 mentions six kings Midr. Way 36 4 **(p. 236 1 8) Zerori,** king **of** Shiloh **Βεελισά may be the** result **of an (earlier) corruption** of **בעל שילה** ('Lord of **Shiloh**'); cf 6,2, **Σιλώμ.** The Hebr. **שִׁלֹה** is rendered **Σηλώ(μ), Σιλώμ** in the LXX cf., **e.g ,** Josh 18,1; Judg 18,31; 21,12; **1Sam** 1 9 etc **the king of all kings:** Nebuchadnezzar is called 'king of kings in Dan 2 37 (and 3 2 LXX). **a giant in strength:** cf Ps **33(32),16** (LXX), **γίγας** ou **σωθήσεται** ev **πλήθει ἰσχύος αὐτου;** Sir 16 7 **twelve cubits high·** according to **1Sam** 17 4 MT Goliath was six cubits and a span (LXX **τεσσάρων πήχεων καὶ σπιθαμῆς,** with variants) Beelisah was in any case regarded as a super Goliath

3,8 **trembling fell upon them:** cf Ex 15 16 Jdt 15 2 and also **1Mac** 7 18 **1Clem** 12 5 **they ceased fighting and left us:** a somewhat unusual construction; see **1Mac 11,50,** **καὶ παυσάσθωσαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πολεμοῦντες ἡμᾶς καὶ τὴν πόλιν,** cf v 6 **ἔφυγον,** and Midr. Way. 36,4 (p 236 1 9)

3 9–10 Clearly redactional; cf. T L 9 3, **εἶδεν** o **πατηρ** um) **Ιακωβ ἐν ὁράματι περὶ ἐμοῦ, ὅτι ἔσομαι αὐτοῖς εἰς ἱερέα προς** TÔV fteóv and T R 3 15 **a mighty angel** cf the guardian angels in T.S. 2,8· T L 5 6 7 T D 5 4 6 2 3 4 T Jos 6 7 and perhaps also **T Jud.** 25,2

T JUDAH 4–5

Translation

4,1 And in the south there came upon us a war greater than that in Shechem
And joining in battle array with my brothers I pursued a thousand men
and I killed of them two hundred men and four kings
2 And I went up against them upon the wall
and killed two other kings
3 And so we liberated Hebron
and took all the spoil of the kings

5,1 The next day we departed to Areta, a city, strong and walled and inaccessible,
threatening us with death
2 Now, I and Gad approached on the east side of the city,
but Reuben and Levi on the west and the **south.**[15]
3 And those who were on the wall, thinking that we were alone,
were drawn against us
4 And so the brothers **secretly**[16] climbed up the wall on both **sides**[17] by stakes,
and entered the city, while the men did not know it
5 And we took it with the edge of the sword
and we took those who had taken refuge in the tower,
after having set fire to the tower with them (inside)
6 And as we were departing,
the men of Tappuah set upon our spoil,
and delivering it up to our **sons**[18]
we fought with them as far as Tappuah
7 And we killed them also
and burnt the city
and took as spoil all that was in it

Textcritical notes

[15] **και νότου** *(bl)*, omitted in *gdeafchij* in an attempt to make the two parts of the verse correspond (**ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ... ἀπὸ δυσμων**)

[16] **λάθρᾳ** The individual variant **λαθραῖοι** (ft) may have been introduced through dittography

[17] **ἐξ ἑκατέων** *(bl)* Both this reading and the alternative **ἐξ ἑκατέρων τῶν μερων** *(gdeafchij)* may be original

[18] rcacaoovxEc **αὐτὴν** TOÎÇ **υἱοῖς ἡμῶν** *(gldeaf)* The reading **παραλαβόντες αὐτήν, σὺν** TOIÇ **υἱοῖς ἡμων** *(b)* does not make much sense

Structure

Chapter 4 Second episode. **Again,** Judah is the central figure
v 1 he kills two hundred men plus four kings

v 2 he kills yet two kings
v 3 the battle is situated in Hebron conclusion Now the **plur** is used Judah + brothers (see v. 1)

Chapter 5 Third episode. Judah and his brothers
v 1 **introduction;** expedition against Areta
vv 2-5 the capture of the city through a stratagem
vv **6–7** a fight with the men of Tappuah The adversaries are killed and the city is captured

Notes

4,1 **in the south there came upon us a war greater than that in Shechem:** finally Shechem is mentioned as the place where the battle of chapter 3 took place. Likewise Hebron (in the south!) is mentioned as new place of action only in v 3 below. Midr Way 36,5 (p 236 11. 12f) mentions a more difficult battle around Hazor, waged by the sons of Jacob. **I pursued a thousand men and I killed of them two hundred men and four kings:** in Midr. Way 36 4 (p. 236 1 10), Judah kills 1000 men during the pursuit of the enemy to Hazor Later on at the capture of Sartan (**Ἀρετά**), Judah is said to have killed 200 men (36 7; p. 237 1 7) The slaughter of four kings (explicitly mentioned by name) is ascribed to Jacob (36,6; p 236 11 **14f**)

4,2 **I went up against them upon the wall:** comes unexpectedly because no city has as yet been mentioned. Cf Midr Way. 36,6 (p 236 1 15) **and killed two other kings:** in Midr Way. 36 6 (p 236 1 17) Judah kills four mighty men The Midrash gives a much more elaborate story

4,3 **And so we liberated Hebron:** that obviously had been captured by the enemy Hebron was already mentioned in 2 6: the name does not occur in chapter 9 where we would expect it (see note on **9,1–2a**). **the spoil of the kings** must mean: the spoil taken by the kings: for **αἰχμαλωσία**, see further 5 6 6 3 7 8

5,1 **The next day** cf 6,3; **7,1**(; 9 6) see *General remark on the structure of T* ***Judah*** *3 7* (p 189). **we departed to Areta** cf. Midr. Way 36,7 (p 236 1. 22) The following day they went to Sartan Jub 34,4 7 mentions a town called Saragan Is this **צָרְתָן (1Kgs 7,46[33]**; cf. **4,12)?** **a city, strong and walled and inaccessible, threatening us with death:** cf Midr. Way 36 7 (p 236 1 24 - p 237 1 2) a town built upon a height. There was no room to approach the wall because the rampart was strong and very high and there was no place to capture it ...' **threatening us with death** see on T.Jos. 3 1

5,2 Midr Way 36 7 (p. 237 11 2f.) gives a different picture. '... they subdued it on that same day and got upon the walls The first to climb them was Judah on the east and Gad came on the west, Simeon and Levi climbed up on the north and Reuben and Dan on the south (next, Naphtali and **Issachar** are mentioned)

5,3–4 Have no equivalents in Midr. Way As in **6,4f** , 7,2f the cunning of Judah and his brothers is highlighted **were drawn against us:** cf Philo Leg 215 To draw (**ἐφέλκεσθαι**) all these myriads into war against him '

5 5 **we took it with the edge of the sword:** cf T.L. 6 5 **ἐπάταξαν τὴν πόλιν ἐν στόματι ῥομφαίας** The expression **πατάσσειν** (ἐν) **στόματι ῥομφαίας/μαχαίρας** is standard in the OT/LXX, esp., in Joshua and Judges; in Judg 1,8; 18,27, it is used together with burning as here **... those who had taken refuge in the tower, after having set fire to the tower ...:** for similar narratives, see 2Ezra 1 52; **1Mac** 5 5 **καὶ ἐνεπύοισε τοὺς πυργοὺς αὐτῆς** ev **πυρὶ συν πᾶσιν** TOÏÇ **ἐνοῦσιν** , 5,65 16,10; 2Mac 10,36; and esp Judg 9,50ff (LXX) (**Abimelech**) **προκατελάβετο αὐτήν** (Thebez) xal **πύργος ἦν ὀχυρὸς ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πόλεως, xal ἔφυγον** èxEÎ (all **the people**) .. **xal ἤγγισεν Ἀβιμέλεχ ἕως τῆς θύρας τοῦ πυργου ἐμπρῆσαι αὐτὸν** èv **πυρί**. Midr. Way **does** not mention a

fire, but tells that **Judah** killed no fewer than 200 men on the roof of the tower (36 7 p. **237 ll. 6f.; cf.** 4 1 above)

5,6–7 Tappuah see on 3 2 Also Midr.-Way.. 36,8 (p . 237 1 10) tells that the sons of Jacob went to Tappuah, because the men of Tappuah had gone out to rescue the spoil from their hands. **spoil:** cf. 4,3, 6,3, 7,8. **we fought with them** **συνάπτειν** is also used in this sense in 6 2 and further in, e.g., Deut 2 5.9.19.24 Judg 20,20 (LXX B).. **burnt the city: cf. v. 5** **took as spoil all that was in it:** in combination with burning also in e g , **Josh 8,27f , 11,13f , 1Mac 1,31,** 5,28 35

T JUDAH 6

Translation

6,1 And when I was at the waters of Kozeba,
the men of **Jobel** came against us to battle
2 And we fought with **them**[19]
and we killed their allies from Shiloh
and we did not give them passage
so that they could come in against us
3 And the men of **Makir**[20] came upon us the fifth day to take the spoil;
and attacking them we overcame them in a fierce battle,
because there was a host of mighty **men**[21] among them
And we killed them before they had gone up the ascent
4 But when we came **to**[22] their city,
their women rolled upon us stones from the brow of the hill
on which the city stood
5 And hiding ourselves beneath at the back
I and Simeon reached the heights
and we destroyed the whole city

Textcritical notes

[19] **συνήψαμεν αυτοις.** The reading **συνήψαμεν αυτους** *(b)* must be corrupt and the variant **συνάψαντες ἐτρέψαμεν αὐτούς** (***gleaf***;cf.. *d)* is an attempt to remove this grammatically incorrect construction

[20] **οἱ ἀπὸ Μαχίρ.** *b* wrongly omits ot

[21] **δυνατῶν** All **MSS** seem to be corrupt. The occurrence of the word **δυνατός** in *b* (**δυνατοί**) and ***gld*** (**δυνατόν**) points to the originality of that word A genit **plur.** is found in *eaf* (**δυναστῶν**)

[22] **ἡλθομεν** ev (*d*) Both **ἡλθομεν** *(bd)* and **ἤκομεν** (***gleafchif***)may be original though the construction with ev makes the former reading slightly more **difficult.** ἐν is omitted in *b* (cf ***a***) through **hmt**

Structure

6 1-2 Fourth episode
vv 1-2a introduction;' war with the men from Jobel
v **2b–d** battle with their allies from Shiloh·' killing of the latter

6,3–5 Fifth episode (v 3a on the fifth day)
v 3 battle with the men from Makir· their death
vv **4–5** capture of their city; again a stratagem
Judah is mentioned in vv. la and 5a however, the brothers do everything together

Notes

6,1 **at the waters of Kozeba** cf 12 3 For a similar indication of place, see Josh 11,5.7 (LXX) **ἐπὶ του ὕδατος Μαρρων** **ἐπὶ** TÔ **ὕδωο M** , 15 9· 18,15; Judg 5 19 **Kozeba:** perhaps the place mentioned in **1Chr** 4,22 as belonging to the descendants of **Shelah,** the son of Judah (Hebr. **כֹּזֵבָה,** LXX **Χωζηβά),** cf **'Kezib'** in Gen 38,5. **Jobel** may be a corruption of Arbe'el mentioned in Midr. Way 36 8 (p 237 1 11)· cf Hos 10 14 **1Mac** 9 2 **Ἀρβηλα; Josephus,** Ant. 12 421· Vita 188 311 etc

6 2 **we fought with them** see on 5 6 **their allies from Shiloh:** see on 3 7 Midr Way 36,8 (p 237 1 14) mentions the men from Shiloh too but puts this battle on the following day (the **third!)** **we did not give them passage so that they could come in against us** cf. Midr. Way. 36 8 (p 237 1 16) and did not allow them to stand **up '**

6,3 **Makir:** perhaps a contraction of **שביר** (or **שכיר**) **מחנה** in Midr Way 36 9 (p 237 1 18) Jub 34,4 has Maanisakir (cf v 7, Amanisaker). Shakir may be Sychar (Jn 4 5) near Shechem **the fifth day:** in Midr Way 36,9 (p 237 1 18), it is the fourth **the spoil:** cf 4 3 5 6 7 8 **in a fierce battle** a stereotyped phrase· cf e g., 2Mac 10,29 12,11 3Mac 1,4. **we killed them before they had gone up the ascent:** so also Midr Way. 36 9 (p 237 11. **19f.)**

6,4–5 Compared to Midr **Way ,** T Jud. has a different and, again, longer story, to illustrate the inventiveness of the sons of Jacob (cf. **5,3f.**; 7,2f.) including Judah (I and Simeon **')** **rolled upon us stones** cf Prov 26 27 **we destroyed·** cf 7 3 T L 13 7

T JUDAH 7

Translation

7,1 And the next day we were told
that Gaash, the city of the kings was **coming**[23] against us with a mighty host
2 Now, I and Dan, pretending to be Amorites
went[24] as allies into their city
3 And in the depth of the night when our brothers came,
we opened the gates for them
and destroyed all the men and their substance,
and taking for a prey all that was theirs
we took down their three walls
4 And we drew near to Thamna,
where the hostile kings had all taken refuge
5 Then, being insulted, I was enraged,
and I rushed against them to the summit
and they kept slinging against me stones and darts,
6 and had not Dan my brother fought with me,
they would have killed me

7 Now, we came upon them with wrath,
and they all fled,
and passing by another way they beseeched my father,
and he made peace with them;
8 and we did no harm to them,
but we made a truce with them
and we gave them back all the spoil.
9 And I built Thamna
and my father Rambael
10 I was twenty years old when this war happened
11 And the Canaanites feared me and my brothers

Textcritical notes

23 **Γαὰς πόλις βασιλέων ... ἔρχεται** *(af; cf. e)* The parallel passage in Midr Way makes the reading of *b* **(αἱ πόλεις των δυο βασιλέων ... ἔρχονται)** unacceptable. Moreover, ITWI is the name of a town not a king and consequently the reading **. . βασιλεύς** *(ld; cf g)* must be secondary

24 **ἠλθομεν** *(ba)*. Both this reading and the alternative **εἰσήλθομεν** *(gldefchij)* may be original

Structure

7,1–3 Sixth episode
v 1 introduction the approach of the men **of** Gaash announced
vv 2-3 the capture of the city through a stratagem

7,4–9 Seventh episode
v 4 **introduction.** all enemy kings have fled to Thamna
vv **5–6** Judah attacks helped by Dan
v 7ab joint attack of all brothers flight of the inhabitants
vv 7c-8 Jacob signs a peace treaty
v 9 Judah builds Thamna Jacob builds Rambael

7,10–11 Redactional remarks
v 10 Judah s age (cf. **9,1f ;** 12,12)
v 11 the Canaanites (cf. 3 1) fear Judah and his brothers

At the end of the story Judah is singled out again: see v 2 (with Dan) w 5f (also with Dan) **v 9 and v 11**

Notes

7 1 **the next day** see 5 1 **6,3(;** 9 6) Midr Way 36,10 (p. 237 1] 24f.) which tells more or less the same story (repeating the name Amorites again) dates this event on the fifth **day'** The city is called **גזעש;** Jub 34 4 Gaas (cf v 7 Gagaes); the biblical **געש** (LXX **Γαάς)** - see Josh 24 30; Judg 2 9; 2Sam 23 30; **1Chr** 11,32 - is located near the site of Joshua's tomb in the vicinity of Shechem **the city of the kings:** see v. 4, cf Josh 11 12 (LXX) **πάσας τὰς πόλεις των βασιλέων** Midr. Way 36 10 (p. 238 1. 1): **'one** of the towns of the Amorite kings **with a mighty host.** ev **ὄχλῳ βαρεῖ** also in **Num** 20,20; **1Mac** 1,17.20.29

7 2-3 Again T.Jud concentrates on the stratagem used (cf. **5,3f ; 6,4f)** **their three walls'** mentioned rather late in the story Midr Way 36 10 (p 238 11 2f.) mentions them right at the beginning of the **siege**

7,4 **Thamna:** cf v 9, and **Midr.** Way. 36,12 (p. 238 l. 19), Jub 34,8, Tamnatares. Hebr. תִּמְנָה (LXX, Θαμνά, Θαμνάθα) probably refers to a place near Lydda in the mountains of Ephraem: cf., e.g., Josh 19,50; 24,30; Judg 2,9; 1Mac 9,50. Midr. Way does not give any equivalent of this verse. Vv. 5-8 run parallel to the rest of the story of the capture of Gaash in the Midrash

7,5 **Then, being insulted, I was enraged, and I rushed against them to the summit.** Midr Way 36,10–11 (p 238 l.1 3–5) tells a fuller story 'And (the inhabitants) began to defy and to reproach the sons of Jacob. .Then Judah waxed wroth .... and he was the first to jump with all his might upon the wall'. **they kept slinging against me stones and darts:** cf 3 6 and esp.. 1Chr 12,2 LXX, σφενδονῆται ἐν λίθοις καὶ τόξοις Midr Way 36,11 (p 238 l 7) .. threw stones at him For the whole picture, see also 6,4

7,6 Midr Way (in the Chron. Yer version) ascribes the necessary help to Jacob, but later Dan is mentioned as the first of the brothers to climb the wall to assist Judah (36,11; p 238 l 9)

7,7 **they beseeched my father:** in Midr Way.. 36,12 (p. 238 ll. 15ff), **all Amorites assemble** on the sixth day to ask for peace a request which is granted. **and he made peace with them:** also in Jub 34,9: 'And (he) made peace with them.'

7,8 **we made a truce with them:** cf. Midr Way 36,12 (p. 238 l 19): They levied taxes **and we gave them back all the spoU:** in Midr. Way. 36,12 (p. 238 l. 19), the Amorites **are the subject** Cf **Jub 34,8f.. Jacob gets his cattle back and asks a tribute.**

7,9 **Thamna:** see v. 4. **Rambael:** probably corrupt for Arbael (see on 6,1 'JobeP).. Midr Way 36,12 (p 238 ll 19–20) mentions Timnah and Arbe'el; Jub 34,8, Ruben (Robel?) and Tamnatares.

7,10 **twenty years old:** cf 9,1f , 12 12 The age practically agrees with the one to be deduced from Jub 28,15; 34,1

7,11 **the Canaanites:** see on 3,1

T Judah 8

Translation

8,1 And I possessed much cattle also,
and I had as chief herdsman Hirah the Adullamite
2 When I went to him I saw Barsan, the king of Adullam
And he made a feast for us
and persuading me he gave me his daughter Bath-shua to wife
3 She bore me Er and Onan and Shelah;
two of them the Lord killed childless,
for Shelah kept alive
and you are his children

Structure

This chapter gives an introduction to what is reported in more detail in chapters 10–11 (12) and taken up in the exhortatory section. Cf. Gen 38,1-5. The author gives this in the chronologically appropriate place Judah will have married between his twentieth (7,10) and fortieth (9,2) year Compare e.g the dates for Levi: 28 (T L 11 1 12 5) and for Issachar: 30 (T I 3,5)

8,1 Introduces Hirah

8,2 Introduces Barsan who makes Judah marry his daughter Bath-shua

8,3ab Bath-shua s three sons: two killed by God
8 3cd The descendants of the remaining one are addressed directly

Notes

8,1 **I possessed much cattle** standard remark: cf e g., Gen 13 2 26 14 30 43 Num 32,1; 2Chr 26 10 Cf., also Gen 38,12 where **Judah** is said to go up to his sheepshearers with Hirah the Adullamite. **as chief herdsman Hirah the Adullamite**· see Gen 38,1,.12.20 (v.. 12 LXX, **αὐτὸς καὶ Ἱρας** ὁ **ποιμὴν αὐτοῦ** ὁ **Ὀδολλαμίτης;** cf. v.. 20 and Jub 41 14); **ποιμην** must go back to a reading רעהו (cf. Old **Lat.; Vulg.)** instead of רעהו (so MT· cf. Targ.. Onk.., Neof Ps **Jon** , Syr).

8,2 Cf Gen 38,2 **Barsan** is not mentioned in other sources (the LXX knows a **Βαρόα** as king of Gomorrah in Gen 14 2) which is not surprising because in Gen, Judah s wife is named daughter of **Shua** . All ancient versions take it that way except the LXX which calls the daughter **Σαυά (1Chr** 2,3 LXX **τῆς θυγατρὸς Σαυᾶς).** Jub 34,20 mentions Betasuel;· 41,7 Bedsuel. **he made a feast for us** **persuading me** prepares the warnings against drunkenness which are to follow in 13 6 14· 16 (cf. 11 2· 12 3,6) **και ἐποίησεν ἡμῖν πότον** is a well-known expression. cf. Gen 19,3; 40,20; Judg 14 10 etc **he gave me ... to wife:** ·again, a standard expression: see T N.. 1 11 (cf. T Jos. 18 3) and Gen 16,3; 29,28; 30,4.9; 34,8.12 etc

8,3 **She bore me Er and Onan and Shelah:** cf. Gen 38,3-5.. **two of them the Lord killed childless**· cf Gen **38,6–11,** and Num 26,19(15); **1Chr** 2,3.. See also T.Jud 10 and 11 3 below.. **you are his children**· cf Num 26 20(16) **1Chr** 4 21-23 Judah addresses his grandchildren (see also on T.R 1 2)

T JUDAH 9

Translation

9,1 Eighteen years we abode at peace,
our father and we[25] with his brother Esau
and his[26] sons with us,
after we had come from Mesopotamia, from Laban
2 And when the[27] eighteen years were fulfilled, in the fortieth year of my life,
Esau, the brother of my father, came upon us with a mighty and strong people
3 And he fell by the bow of Jacob
and was taken up dead on Mount Seir;
and as he went he died above Eiramna
4 And we pursued the sons of Esau
They had a city with an iron wall and brass gates,
and we could not enter it,
but encamping around we besieged them
5 And when they did not open (to us) after twenty days,
I set up a ladder, while they were looking, and (I put) my shield upon my head,
and I went up withstanding stones up to the weight of three talents;
and after I had gone up I killed four mighty men of them

6 And the next day Reuben and Gad went in and killed sixty[28] others
7 Then they asked from us terms of peace,
and having taken counsel[29] with our father we received them as tributaries
8 And they gave us two hundred cors of wheat, five hundred baths of oil, fifteen hundred measures of wine,
until we went down to Egypt

Textcritical notes

[28] **και ἡμεις (*bld*)**, omitted in ***geafchij*** in an attempt to get a better parallel with the next clause in the same verse

[26] **αὐτοῦ**, wrongly omitted in *b*

[27] **τῶν**, omitted in *be* perhaps through **hmt.**

[28] **ἑξήκοντα (*bl*)**, changed into **ἓξ** in ***gdmeafchij*** very probably because it was considered as somewhat beyond proportion after v 5, **ἀνεῖλον τέσσαρες** ..

[29] **γενόμενοι βουλῆς (*baf*,** cf *g*). The genit abs. construction **(γενομένης βουλῆς [μετά] *l(d)mchij*)** is certainly lectio facilior For the reading of *baf* cf e g Dio Cassius XXXVI 28 2 **τούτῳ βουλῆς γεγονότι**

Structure

9 1-2 Introduction; Esau s attack and the period before
9,3 Death of Esau
9,4 Pursuit of the sons of Esau siege of their city
9,5 Judah s bravery
9,6 Reuben and Gad s exploits
9 7-8 Peace and peace-conditions

Notes

9,1–2a **Eighteen years ... in the fortieth year of my life:** for similar chronological details, see **7,10f , 12,11f.** The first number agrees with that which can be found in combining Jub 34 9 (the year of the peace with the Amorites) and Jub 36,21; 37 14 (the beginning of the war with Esau); the last number practically agrees with what we can deduct from Jub **28,15 and 36,21; 37,14. Jub, as Midr Way., put this war at the time when Jacob** mourned for Leah **we abode at peace** cf Gen 33 Jub 29 13; 35; and 37 5 **after we had come from Mesopotamia, from Laban** cf Gen 31,1-21 esp. vv **17f ,** 33 18 Mesopotamia' is used in the LXX for (Paddan-) Aram in the Hebrew text Jub and Midr. Way. situate the war around Hebron

9 2b **came upon us with a mighty and strong people:** cf ev **ὄχλῳ βαρεῖ** in 7,1 and Midr Way. 37,1 (ed Charles p 180 1 4) came with a mighty host warriors A much fuller story is found in Jub **37,6–15.**

9 3 **And he fell by the bow of Jacob:** cf Midr Way 37,5 (p 181 11 4f) and Jub 38 2 **was taken up dead on Mount Seir:** Mount Seir is traditionally the country of Esau and **his offspring: see Gen (14,6,) 32,3(4); 33,14.16; 36,8f., etc.; Jub 38,9, Midr Way. 37,14** (p 182 11. **4ff.)** **and as he went he died above Eiramna** can hardly be reconciled with the preceding statement. Two traditions are combined here Jub **38,8f.** speaks of a death and burial (by Jacob) on the hill of Aduram Midr. Way. 37 5.14 (p. 181 11. **4f.;** p 182 11 4ff.) mentions Arudin as place where Esau s sons brought their father The Midrash says first that some say that he did not die there (37 5 p 181 11 **4f)** Later (37 14

p 182 11. 4ff.), we hear that the sons of Jacob buried Esau at Arudin, but again it is added that according to others Esau fled with his sons to the mountains of Seir. With **Aduram/Arudin** 'Αδωραίμ / 'Αδωρά will be meant, = biblical אֲדוֹרַיִם: 2Chr 11,9; Josephus, Ant. 8,246; 13,207.257 (captured as Edomite city by John Hyrcanus). It is situated a few miles south west of Hebron. **Elramna** remains obscure

9,4 **And we pursued the sons of Esau:** so Jub 38,9 and Midr. Way. 37 14 (p 182 11. 4ff.) at the end of the story Jub 38,4–8 first give an account of the victory of the besieged sons of Jacob over the sons of Esau: Midr Way. 37 6 (p. 181 11. 5ff.) also gives an elaborate description of this battle; here, however, in 37 7 (11. 9–11), we find inserted a fragment which shows some parallels to the story of the beleaguering of the sons of Esau by the sons of Jacob found in T. Jud Then Judah strengthened himself for the battle and he Naphtali and Gad entered the host and captured the iron tower. They caught on their shields the stone pieces which were hurled at them The sun was darkened through the hurling of the stones, and the shooting of the arrows which were shot at them, and the catapults which were throwing at them **an iron wall** cf. the Midr Way. fragment just quoted and 2Mac 11 9; LetAris 139 etc., **brass gates** see also Ps 107(106),16, Barn 11 4 (cf Isa 45 2) etc **encamping around we besieged them** the same terminology is found in Josh 10 31 34 (LXX) πεοιεκάθισεν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐπολιόρκει αὐτήν

9,5 **I set up a ladder.** usual element in such stories cf 1Mac 5,30, λαὸς πολύς ... αἴροντες κλιμακας καὶ μηχανάς ...; Thucidides III 20–23, V 56,5, etc., (I put) my shield upon my head ... withstanding stones: see the Midr. Way fragment quoted on v 4; cf. 6,4 7 5 For ἀποδέχεσθαι, to sustain, hold out against cf Polybius 3,43,3; 5,51 1 **three talents:** the word τάλαντον (cf T.Jos. 18,3) is here used as a (varying) measure of weight, Judah is supposed to have sustained at least 80 kg.. **I killed four mighty men of them:** cf. 3 6-4 1 Midr. Way. 37 7 (p .181 11. 11ff.) has different figures

9,6 **the next day** cf. 5,1; 7,1; **Reuben and Gad:** Jub 38,5 and the Midr. Way. fragment quoted on v. 4 (as well as p. 181 1 12) single out Naphtali and Gad **sixty** Midr Way has again different figures.

9,7 **they asked from us terms of peace** so Jub 38,10–14 and Midr. Way 37,14 (p 182 11 8f.). For the expression ἐρωτᾶν τὰ πρὸς εἰρηνην, see Lk 14,32; cf ἐρωτᾶν τὰ εἰς εἰρήνην = to greet, ask about a person's well-being' (1Sam 10,4; 30,21; 2Sam 8 10 [cf 11,7]; 1Chr 18 10), where in the case of opponents the element of submission may be implied. See W. Foerster *ThWNT* II p 410 **having taken counsel with our father** cf. Jub 38,11f.; see also 7,7f

9,8 The details of the peace treaty are only found here. **cors of wheat:** κορος = כֹּר. For κόρος πυροῦ, see e g 1Kgs 5 11(25); 2Chr 27 5 (in the context of treaty and tribute) Ezra 7,22; 2Ezra 8,20. **baths of oil:** the LXX uses βάδος / βάτος = בַּת; see, e.g Ezra 7,22 (LXX), εως οἴνου βάδων ἑκατὸν καὶ ἕως ἐλαίου βάδων ἑκατόν βέθ / βαίθ is also found in e.g. 1Kgs 5,11(25) (LXX) βὲθ ἐλαίου κεκομμένου **fifteen hundred measures of wine** in the LXX μετοον is used for several measures; cf., e.g. 2Chr 2,10(9) (LXX), (in the context of a treaty) καὶ οἴνου μετοων ΕΪΧΟΟΙ χιλιάδας καὶ ἐλαίου μέτρων ΕΪΧΟΟΙ χιλιάδας. **until we went down to Egypt** cf 12 11 and Jub 38,13, 41 22

T. JUDAH 10–11

Translation

10,1 After these things my son Er took to wife Thamar from Mesopotamia, a daughter of Aram

2 But Er was wicked and he was in a **difficulty**[30] concerning Thamar,
because she was not from the land of Canaan
And an angel of the Lord killed him in the night of the third **day.**[31]
3 And he had not known her on account of the craftiness **of** his mother,
for he did not want to have children by her
4 In the days of the wedding-feast I gave Onan to her in levirate marriage,
and he also, in wickedness, did not know her,
though he spent with her a year
5 And when I threatened him,
he went in unto her, but spilled the seed on the ground,
according to his mother's command,
and he also died in wickedness
6 And I wanted to give Shelah also to her,
but my wife Bath-shua did not permit it,
for she wrought evil against Thamar,
because she was not of the daughters of Canaan as she herself **was.**

11,1 And I knew that the race of Canaan is wicked,
but the disposition of youth blinded my heart
2 And when I saw her pouring out wine,
I was deceived owing to the intoxication of wine,
and I met her
3 While I was away,
she went and took for **Shelah**[32] a wife from the land of Canaan
4 And knowing what she had done I cursed her in the anguish of my soul
5 And she also died in the wickedness of her sons

Textcritical notes

[30] **ἠπορεῖτο** *(b)* Both this reading and the alternative **ἠπόρει** (*gldmeaf*) may be original

[31] **τῇ τριτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ νυκτί** *(b)*. The variant **τῇ τριτῃ νυκτι** (*gldeaf*) is lectio facilior.

[32] **ἔλαβε τῷ Σηλώμ** (*dmachif*) The reading of *b* (**ἐλάβετο** 1) is corrupt (**ἔλαβε τῷ → ἐλάβετο**).

Structure

These chapters give the continuation of chapter 8 Cf Gen **38,6–10 12,** Jub 41,1-5. Main theme: the evil consequences of Judah's marriage to a Canaanite woman Note the repetition of **πονηρός** and derivatives in **10,2 (3)4 5 6, 11,1 5**

10,1-3 The story of Er

v 1 he marries Thamar, a daughter of Aram
v 2 he is wicked, he is killed by an angel of the Lord
v 3 he did not know her - on account of his mother s wicked desire

10,4–5 The story of Onan
v 4 he does not perform the duties connected with a **levirate** marriage
v 5 he does not obey Judah, but his mother he dies 'in wickedness'

10,6 Bath-shua does not permit Shelah to marry Thamar; the reason: Thamar is not a Canaanite

11 1-2 Flashback on Judah s union with Bath-shua he knew that the race of Canaan is wicked, but was blinded by the disposition of youth and intoxicated by wine

11,3 Bath-shua finds a Canaanite wife for Shelah

11,4 Judah curses her

11,5 She dies "in the wickedness of her sons

Notes

10,1 my son Er see 8,3; cf **Gen 38,6 from Mesopotamia, a daughter of Aram** about Mesopotamia and Aram see on T.L. **1,5** Thamar is called a daughter of Aram also in Jub **41,1**, therefore a non-Canaanite and not wanted by the Canaanite Bath-shua as wife for her sons. According to Rabbinic sources Thamar was a daughter of **Shem:** cf Targ. Ps Jon. on Gen 38,6; Ber. Rabba 85 10 and other sources mentioned by L Ginzberg *Legends V* p. 333 n. 79 cf p 334 n 82 See also R **Bloch, 'Judah** engendra Phares et Zara de Thamar Matth 1 3 *Melanges bibliques rédiges en l'honneur de Andre Robert* Paris 1959, pp 381-9. Shem was Aram s father (Gen 10,22) the Rabbinic sources mention him because he was a priest and so it may be explained that Judah could order Thamar to be burnt, a punishment which according to the Law was reserved for the adulterous daughter of a priest (cf Gen 38 24 Lev 21,9) T.Jud 12,5 uses the neutral term 'to **kill'**; cf Jub 41,17-19.28

10,2 Er was wicked: cf Gen 38 7 **1Chr** 2,3 Jub 41,3 **because she was not from the land of Canaan** introduces the theme of chapters **10–12**, cf. Jub 41,2 **an angel of the Lord killed him.** see Gen 38 7 (LXX), **καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸν** o fteoç (cf **1Chr** 2 3) An avenging angel is mentioned in Isa 37,36; 2Mac 15 22 Acts 12 23 etc

10,3 he had not known her: for **γινώσκειν** in this sense see on **T.L. 1,15** Cf. Jub 41,2 Targ Ps Jon. on Gen 38 7 and Ber Rabba 85 4 **on account of the craftiness of his mother:** cf vv 5 and 6 and Jub 41 2 7 For **πανουργία,** cf. T.I 1 11 On the mother's influence see also *Opus imperfectum* on Mt 1 3 (MPG 56.615).

10,4 In the days of the wedding-feast: L Ginzberg. *Legends* II p. 33 paraphrases before the week of the wedding festivities for Er had elapsed, cf Tob 6,14 the girl has been given to seven husbands and ... each died in the bridal chamber (cf 3,8). **gave Onan to her in levirate marriage:** cf Gen 38,8 Jub 41,4. **in wickedness:** repetition of the main theme see also Gen 38,10.. **though he spent with her a year:** extra element cf **Gadla Adam** (tr A Dillmann Göttingen 1853) p 123 '... wohnte mit ihr zusammen viele Tage.

10,5 when I threatened him: again 'extra' **he went in unto her, but spilled the seed on the ground:** cf Gen 38,9; Jub 41,5. **according to his mother's command:** see **on v. 3. he also died in wickedness:** cf Gen 38 10; Jub 41,5 and see 11,5; for similar expressions, see Deut 24,16 **2Kgs** 14 6 **1Chr** 10 13 Prov 24 9 LXX Jer 31(38) 30 Ezek 18 18; Jn 8 21.24 etc

10,6 And I wanted did not permit it. not in Gen but see Jub **41,6f. because she was not of the daughters of Canaan as she herself was see v 2, and** Jub 41,2

11,1 that the race of Canaan is wicked: cf Gen 28 8 (LXX), **ὅτι πονηραί εἰσιν αἱ θυγατέρες Χανάαν the disposition of youth blinded my heart:** on the special dangers of youth see T.R 1 6 2 2.9; 3 8 (see the notes on these verses). T.Jud.. 1,4; 13 2 mentions the strength of youth. For **τυφλοῦν** (cf. 18,3.6; 19 4) see on T S.. 2,7.

11,2 These details are added according to the exhortatory needs of the author cf 8 2 **13,3–8;** 14,6; 17 1. **when I saw her pouring out wine:** see on **13,5.** **I was deceived:** cf 12,3, 13,3, and **ἀπάτη** in T R 5,2 (see note), and **ἀπάτησις** in T Jos 9,5 owing to the intoxication of wine **μέθη** and related words are used frequently: 12,3.6; 14,1.3.4.8, 16,2. See also T R 3,13, T I 7,3 **I met her:** **συμπίπτειν** in this sense also in 13,3.7, T Jos 9,5.

11,3–5 Give a number of details which are not found in Gen 38 or in Jub **41**

11,3 **she ... took for Shelah a wife:** for this expression see on T. Jos. 18,3.

11,4 **I cursed her in the anguish of my soul** cf Sir 4,6 **ὀδύνη ψυχῆς** also in T Z 9 6 (and Isa 38,15)

11,5 **she also died:** cf Gen 38,12, Jub 41,7 **in the wickedness of her sans:** cf 10,2-5

In conclusion.. Targ.. Onk and Targ.. Ps. Jon on Gen 38,2 make Judah's wife the daughter of a merchant to avoid the awkward fact that Judah married a Canaanite. In other Jewish sources Judah is blamed for this transgression of the Law (see R., **Bloch,** op.. cit., p 383 n 2 **and L Ginzberg,** *Legends* **II p 32, V p. 333 n 77). The Testaments accept Judah's marriage** to a Canaanite as a fact, show its evil consequences and use Judah s misbehaviour as a starting-point in the exhortatory section of Judah's testament

T. JUDAH 12

Translation

12,1 And after these things, while Thamar was a widow,
she heard after two years
that I was going up to shear the sheep,
she adorned herself in bridal array,
and sat in the city of Enan[33] by the gate
2 - For it was a law of the Amorites
that she who was about to marry should sit in impurity
by the gate for seven days
3 Now, having become drunk at the waters of **Kozeba,**
I did not recognize her because of the **wine,**
and her beauty deceived me through the fashion of the adorning
4 And turning aside to her I said
Let me go in unto you!
And she said to me
What will you give me?
And I gave her my staff and my girdle and the diadem of kingship,
and I went in unto her, and she **conceived** [34]
5 And not knowing what she had done
I wanted to kill her;
but she privately sent the pledges and put me to shame
6 And when I called her I heard also the secret words
that[35] I spoke in my drunkenness while sleeping with her.
And I could not kill her, for it was from the Lord.
7 But[36] I said
Perhaps she did it deceitfully,
having received the pledge from another woman

8 But I did not again come near her until my death,
because I had done this abomination in all Israel
9 And they who were in the city said
that there was no harlot in the **gate;**[37]
for having come from another place she sat for a while in the gate
10 And I **thought**[38] that nobody knew that I had gone in unto her
11 And after this we came to Egypt, to Joseph, because of the famine
12 I was forty-six years old, and seventy-three years I lived there

Textcritical notes

33 ev **Ἔναν** Tfj **πόλει** (*ec*; cf. *gl*. Misunderstanding of the name of the town may have led to the introduction of the variants **ἀπέναντι** Tfj **πόλει** *(b)* and **ἔναντι** (èv *f)* Tfj **πόλει** *afhij*(as a grammatically **incorrect construction** changed into **ἀπέναντι τῆς πόλεως** in ***ldm***).

34 **συνελθὼν αὐτῇ, συνείληφεν** *(b;* cf *l)* Both *g* (**συνῆλθον αὐτῇ**) and ***dmeafchij*** (**ὡς συνῆλθον αὐτῇ, συνείληφεν** with some minor variants in ***dmhij***) try to remove the grammatically very hard construction in ***bl***.

35 **οὓς,** after **λόγους** (***geaf***).Most probably, *bl* have overlooked the word (perhaps omitted through **hmt.**) and added it later on (before **ἐλάλησα**) to correct their **mistake**

36 **δέ** *(b)*.. The lack of clarity in this passage makes it hard to decide which text is original the reading of *b* or the variant **γάρ** (***geaf***;cf. ***ldm***)

3 Tfj **πύλῃ** The reading **τῇ πόλει** *(bl)* can hardly be correct and may have been introduced under the influence of the preceding èv T fj **πόλει ...**

38 **ἐνόμιζον** The individual variant **ἐνόμιζεν** *(b)* must be a corruption

Structure

This chapter gives the story of Thamar corresponding to Gen 38 12-26, cf Jub **41,8–28.** It is supposed that the reader knows the biblical story: in vv.. 5-10, Judah looks back and comments on a number of details which are only mentioned in passing

12,1 Introduction Judah goes up to shear his sheep Thamar sits down in the gate
12,2 Explanation: the custom of the Amorites
12,3–4 Judah has intercourse with Thamar; he is drunk and is deceived through her beauty Judah s gifts (v.. 5 'pledges) Thamar conceives
12,5–6 Judah wanted to kill Thamar but discovered what really happened He could not kill her, it was from the Lord
12,7 Judah did not believe Thamar at first
12,8 Judah never touched Thamar any more
12,9 There was no harlot in the gate, the people said That was right
12,10 Judah thought that nobody knew it
12,11–12 Departure to Egypt Judah s age

Notes

12 1 **while Thamar was a widow** cf Gen 38 11 14 19; Jub 41 6 9 **after two years** cf Jub **41,7** and 8 one year after **Bath-shua's** death **that I was going up to shear the sheep** cf Gen **38,12f** , Jub 41 8 **she adorned herself in bridal array, and sat in the city of Enan by the gate** cf. Gen 38 14 LXX **.... περιεβάλετο θέριστρον** καὶ **ἐκαλλωπίσατο καὶ ἐκάθισεν πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις Αἰνάν;** Jub 41,9. For **κόσμος** and related words in connection with the seduction by women, see on T R 5 3 5 (and cf

T Jud. 12,3, 13 5 T.Jos.. 9,5).. The Hebrew phrase **בְּפֶתַח עֵינַיִם** in Gen **38,14** (cf. v 21) has given rise to many speculations in Jewish sources (see L. Ginzberg, *Legends* V p 334 n.. 84): there, the interpretation of **עֵינַיִם** as 'eyes' is found.. This is reflected in T Jud 14,5, '... **I** was not ashamed of the multitude in the city **ὅτι** ev **ὀφθαλμοις πάντων ἐξέκλινα πρὸς τὴν Θαμάρ** ' which, again may be connected with 12,10

12,2 **For it** was a law of **the Amorites** in his *Translation,* R.. H Charles points to Herodotus I 199 who records the custom practised by the Assyrian women who offered their virginity to the goddess Mylitta (= Aphrodite).. It seems to be our author s interpretation of **קְדֵשָׁה** (= a woman consecrated to a god hierodule) in Gen 38 21.22;· see **τελισκομένη** in v 9, and cf Deut 23,17.. See also M C Astour **'Tamar** the Hierodule - an essay in the method of vestigial motifs *JBL* 85 (1966), **185–96**

12,3 **at the waters of Kozeba** see on **6,1.** **I did not recognize her:** cf. Gen 38,15 In Gen, this is ascribed to Thamar s disguise here to Judah's drunkenness Cf Josephus Ant. **1,301,** where Jacob does not recognize Leah **. . συνελθὼν ... ὑπὸ μεθης καὶ σκότους and her beauty deceived me through the fashion of the adorning:** for **ἀπατᾶν, etc ,** cf 11,2;· for the danger in the beauty of women cf 13 5 17 1 T I 4 4· and T R 4 1 (with note) for **σχηματης κοσμήσεως** (see also v 1), cf. T.R 5 1

12,4 Cf Gen **38,16–18;** Jub **41,10–12** And I gave her: only in v 5 it becomes clear that the gifts are pledges and not remuneration **my staff ... my girdle ... the diadem** cf 15 3 where the meaning of these objects is explained. Gen 38 (and Jub 41) mention seal (LXX, **δακτύλιον),** cord (LXX **ὁρμίσκος)** and staff (LXX, **ῥάβδος).** T.. Jud looks for typically royal attributes: for **ῥάβδος, see e.g., Esth 4,11, 5,2; 8,4** (cf. JosAsen 14 8); also Philo **Mut.nom.** 135 connects the staff which Judah gave to Thamar with kingship.. For **ζωνη** as royal symbol, see, e g Job 12,18 LXX; cf. JosAsen 10 11 13 3 18,4.. For **διάδημα,** see e.g., 2Ezra 4 30;· Esth 6 8 v.l.; Isa 62 3; **1Mac** 6,15; cf. JosAsen 10,11, 13,4.. We should note that in T.L.. 8 4.7.10 the same three attributes recur in the description of Levi's investiture as priest.

12,5 **not knowing what she had done I wanted to kill her** following on **and she conceived** in v 4 'jumps' from Gen 38 18 to v 24 (which both mention Thamar's pregnancy);· cf Jub 4 1 1 2 **161** **she privately sent the pledges and put me to shame** cf. Gen 38,25; Jub **41,18** For **κατησχυνε,** cf the use of **αἰδεῖσθαι, αἰδώς, αἰσχύνειν, ἀναισχυντία** in **14,3–8; 15,1; 16,2**

12,6 **I heard also the secret words that I spoke in my drunkenness** cf 16 4 where the same situation is said to have arisen in the case of Bath-shua (see note) **it was from the Lord** for the terminology cf., e.g., Ps 118(117) 23 (LXX) **παρὰ κυρίου** ÈYÉVETO **αυτη** See also Targ.. Neof. on Gen 38 25, **Fragm.** Targ and Targ Ps Jon on Gen 38,26 which introduce a heavenly voice to give this assurance.

12,7 **But I said:** the function of this remark is not entirely clear: is it an attempt to explain v 6ab? Thamar could have got the pledges from someone else but the secret words she must have heard herself

12,8 **I did not again come near her untU my death** cf Gen 38,26, Jub 41,20 and T R. 3,15 Jub 33,9 at the end of the Bilhah story For **ἐγγίζειν,** cf., e.g., Tob 6 15 S **because I had dane this abomination in all Israel:** cf T.R. 3,12 (see note); T L 6,3, see also on T Jud.. 23 2

12,9 Mentioned here, again by way of afterthought.. Cf Gen 38,21f. Jub **41,14f.** For harlot' = **τελισκομένη,** see on v 2 **for having come - in the gate** explains why the people of the city could have said so Thamar came 'from another **place'** and was there only a short time..

12,10 See on v. **1;** it is directly connected with 14 5

12,11 Cf 9 8 and Jub 41 22 (reference to the end of the seven years of prosperity in Egypt)

12,12 For Judah's age, cf.. 7,10; 9,2 **forty-six years old:** according to Jub 28,15; 45,1, Judah was forty-three He lived in Egypt seventy-three years so that he died when he was 119 (see 26,2)

T JUDAH 13

Translation

13,1 And now, whatever I command you,
listen, **children,**[39] to your father,
and keep all my words,
to perform the **ordinances**[40] of the Lord
and to obey the **commandment**[41] of the **Lord**[42] God
2 And do not walk after your lusts,
nor in the **devices**[43] of your dispositions, in the arrogance of your heart,
and do not boast of the deeds of the **strength**[44] of your youth,
for this also is evil in the eyes of the Lord
3 **For**[45] when I, too, boasted of the fact
that in wars no comely woman's face had deceived me,
and reproved Reuben my brother because of Bilhah my father's wife,
the **spirit**[46] of jealousy and impurity arrayed itself in me,
until I met Bath-shua the **Canaanite** and Thamar who was espoused to my sons
4 And I said to my father-in-law
I will take counsel **with**[47] my father
and so will I take your daughter
But he showed me a boundless store of gold on his daughter's behalf,
for he was a king.
5 And after having adorned her with **gold**[48] and pearls,
he let her pour out wine for us at the meal,
with the beauty of women
6 And the wine turned away my eyes
and pleasure blinded my heart
7 And becoming enamoured with her I met her
and I transgressed the commandment of the Lord
and the commandment of my fathers,
and I took her to wife
8 And the Lord rewarded me according to the disposition of my heart,
inasmuch as I had no joy in her children

Textcritical notes

[39] τέκνα *(b)*.. The additions of HOD and Ἰουδά in *gldmeafchi* are probably epexegetical

[40] τὰ δικαιώματα *(b)* Both this reading and the variant *navra* τὰ δικαιώματα (*gldmeafchif*) may be original, though addition of πάντα is more likely

41 **ἐντολῆς** *(b)* The **plur.** frvtoXccic *(ge)* or **(τὰς) ἐντολάς** (*lmafchi*, cf *j*) may have been introduced under the influence of the preceding **(τοὺς λόγους μου) τὰ δικαιώματα κυρίου**

42 **κυριου** (*bm*) **Both this reading** and the **omission** of the word (*gleafchij*) may be **original**

43 **ἐν ἐνθυμήσεσι** (*e*, cf *hij*). The word ev will have been left out in *bdf* through **haplo**-graphy

44 **ἔργοις ἰσχύος** (*b*). *gdeaf* **have** placed **ἰσχύι** before (xal) **ἔργοις** (or **ἔργον**) due to the fact that it links up more easily with the preceding **καυχᾶσθαι** (cf e g Jer 9 22). The variant **ἔργοις καὶ ἰσχύι** (*chij*) is certainly secondary For the text of *b* cf., e.g., Sir 45,12

45 **γάρ** *(b)* As soon as a scribe understood **ἐπειδή** as causal and not temporal **γαρ** had to be deleted (*gldmeafchij*).

* **τὸ πνεῦμα.** The addition of **καί** before **τὸ πνεῦμα** (*geafchij*; cf *d*) was due to the not very transparent structure of this long **sentence.**

1 **συμβουλεύσομαι** (*gleaf*; cf *dm* and *chij*) The individual variant **συμβουλευσω** *(b)* can hardly be correct; but cf **T L** 6,3.

48 **χρυσῳ** (*bl*) **Both χρυσῳ and** the alternative **χρυσίῳ** (*gdmeafchij*) may be original though the latter may be lectio facilior

Structure

13 1-2 Introduction to the exhortations; general statements
- v 1 the words of the father convey the commandments of the Lord
- v 2 warning against lusts, arrogance boasting in youthful strength

13,3 **Judah's negative example: because of his boasting (in the Bilhah-case) he was made** to sin with Bath-shua and Thamar. Note the role played by **τὸ πνεῦμα του ζήλου** xal **τῆς πορνείας**

13,4–8 The story of Judah and Bath-shua
- v 4 her riches
- **v 5 her beauty**
- v 6 the evil effect of wine
- v 7 result transgression of the commandment of the Lord (and of the fathers - cf **v 1)**
- v 8 Gods punishment (cf chapter 10)

Notes

13,1 **keep all my words:** the words of the patriarch convey the commandments of the Lord cf v 7 (and **1,4),** and T.R. 3,8; T.Z 10,2.. **to perform the ordinances of the Lord** cf T.L.. 14,4. The same expression in Lev 25 18 Deut 6 24· 26 16·· 27 10· **2Kgs** 17 3 Ps **119(118),112,** Ezek 5,7, 20,24.

13,2 **do not walk after your lusts:** see Sir **18,30–19,3** where among other things wine and **women are mentioned; cf. also Sir 5,1f.;** 2Pet 2,10; Hermas, Vis 3,7,3 **nor in the devices of your dispositions·** cf. Jer 3,17 (LXX) (in the future) **. οὐ ποιευσονται ἔτι ὀπίσω των ἐνθυμημάτων τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν τῆς πονηρᾶς;** 7 24 (LXX) **. ἀλλ' ἐπορευθησαν** ev **τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασιν τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν** της **κακῆς Here ἐνθυμηματα** is the translation of Hebr **שְׁרִירוּת,** obduracy hardness of heart'; see K Berger **'Hartherzigkeit und Gottes Gesetz (Mc 10,5)', *ZNW*** 61 (1970), 1-47 **in the arrogance of your heart** emphasizes the element of obduracy For this expression, see **Obad** 1 3 (LXX) **υπερηφανια τῆς καρδίας σου,** cf. the use of **τολμηταί** and **αὐθάδεις** in 2Pet 2 10 and **τολμηρός** in Sir 19 2f For **in ... arrogance ... do not boast,** see also on T R 3 5 **do not boast of the deeds of the strength of your youth see v 3, and**

cf chapters 1-7 and 9 For boasting of one s strength cf Jer 9,22 (LXX) **καὶ μὴ καυχάσθω** ο **ἰσχυρὸς** ev **τῇ ἰσχύι αὐτου; 1Sam 2,9f.;** Ps 48 7 LXX; PJ 4 7 **for this also is evil in the eyes of the Lord:** similar expressions are always found in coonection with disobedience to God or idolatry; cf **T R** 1 8 (and note).

13,3 **no comely woman's face had deceived me** cf 11,2 12,3; 17,1. It is, again a well-known theme: see Sus 56 PssSol 16 8 Hermas Sim. 9 13 9 and in connection with **εὔμορφος**· Sir 9,8, **ἀπόστρεψον ὀφθαλμὸν ἀπὸ γυναικὸς εὐμόρφου;** Philo **Abr** 93 Vita Mosis I 296 etc., Hermas Sim. 9,13 8 Justin Dial. 134,1, Epictetus IV 9 3 etc **reproved. ὄνειδος, ὀνειδισμός** also in **T R.** 4 2.7, 6,3. **because of Bilhah:** see T.R **1,6–10;3,11-15;4,2–4 (and Gen 35,22)** **the spirit of jealousy and impurity:** jealousy and impurity are also mentioned together in T.R. 6 4 (see note). The spirit of impurity' also in 14 2; and T R 3,3; 5,3; **T L.** 9,9; T D 5 6 **I met.** cf on 11 2 **Bath shua the Canaanite and Thamar:** cf chapters **10–12**

13,4 **a boundless store of gold:** cf LetAris 82, 114; **Philo,** Spec. leg IV 158; Plutarch Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata Gaius Caesar 1 (Mor. 205 F) It is mentioned because of the warnings against **φιλαργυρία** which are to follow in **(17,1;)** 18,2; 19,1 **he was a king:** cf 8 2

13,5 **having adorned her with gold and pearls.** cf 12,1.3, and see **1Tim** 2,9, **κοσμεῖν ἑαυτάς, μὴ** ev **πλέγμασιν καὶ χρυσίῳ ἢ μαργαριταις,** Rev 17,4; Plutarch Coniugalia praecepta 48 (Mor. 145 E); Acta **Thom** 112; ClemHom **13,16,1ff.** On the evil effects of adornment of women, cf. T R 5,1-5. See also **1Pet** 3,3 **he let her pour out wine for us at the meal:** see 8 2; **11,2;** and cf. Esth 1,3ff. (Ahasverus gives a banquet shows the riches of his royal glory serves much wine and finally wants to show his wife's beauty)

13,6 **the wine turned away my eyes** see 11,2 and 14 1 (see note) **pleasure blinded my heart** cf **14,1f** For the use of **ἀμαυροῦν** in this sense, see WisSol 4 12; Philo **Spec leg.** IV 191 ' to abstain from strong drink ..... that no poison to derange the mind and the tongue should steal in and dim **(ἀμαυρώσῃ)** the eyes of understanding **Quod** omnis 11; Leg. 2; SentSexti 345

13,7 **I met her:** as in v. 3. **I transgressed the commandment of the Lord ... of my fathers** the same juxtaposition in v 1 (see note). V. 4 tells what Judah should have done. As to the content of the commandments of the fathers cf. Gen 24,3; 28 6.8, and Tob 4 12 (in connection with **πορνεία), πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ, παιδίον, ἀπὸ πάσης πορνείας καὶ γυναῖκα πρωτον λαβὲ ἀπὸ του σπέρματος των πατέρων σου.** For the divine command see Deut **7,3f.**, cf. also T.L 14,6; T Jud. 14,6 cf **16,3f.,** 17 1, 18,6. In the case of Thamar his daughter-in-law Judah uncovered the covering of his sons **shame';** see 14,5, **ἀνεκάλυψα κάλυμμα ἀκαθαρσίας υιων** nou Jub 41 23 and cf Deut 22 30(23 1) 27,20; Isa 47 2 Hos 2,12

13,8 **And the Lord rewarded me according to the disposition of my heart.** cf Judg 1 7 2Sam 22 21 Ps 18(17), 21.25 **103(102),10,** Hos 4 9 12 2(3) **I had no joy in her children** as told in chapter 10

T JUDAH 14

Translation

14,1 And now, my children, be not drunk with wine,
for wine turns the mind away from the truth
and throws in (it) the passion of lust
and leads the eyes into error

2 For the spirit of impurity has wine as minister with regard to the pleasures of the mind,
for these two also take away the strength of man
3 For when a man drinks wine to drunkenness,
it disturbs the mind with filthy thoughts (leading) to impurity
and heats the body to carnal union
and when the cause of the lust is present,
he performs the sin and is not ashamed
4 Such is wine, my children,
that he who is drunk is not ashamed in front of anybody
5 For, behold, it made me also err,
so that I was not ashamed of the multitude in the city
in that before the eyes of all I turned aside to Thamar
and wrought a great sin
and uncovered the covering of my sons' shame
6 After I had drunk wine,
I did not respect the commandment of God
and took a Canaanite woman (to wife).
7 Therefore, he who drinks wine needs discretion, my children,
and this is discretion in drinking wine,
that a man should drink
so long as he preserves modesty
8 But when he goes beyond this limit,
it (the wine) throws the spirit of deceit into the mind,[49]
and makes the drunkard to talk filthily
and transgress the law
and not to be ashamed
but even boast of his shame
thinking that it is something good

Textcritical note

[49] **ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὸν νοῦν τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς πλάνης.** The addition of **καὶ ποιεῖ** after vow in *b* is due to dittography

Structure

14,1a Direct exhortation warning against wine

14,1b–3 The alliance between wine and **ποονεία.** Two series of effects of wine v **1bcd** and v. 3bcde **The expression συκ αἰσχύνεται** in v. 3e introduces:

14,4–6 Warning against loss of any sense of shame because of drunkenness, illustrated with the examples of Judah and Thamar (v 5) and Judah and Bath-shua (v. 6)

14 7-8 The need for discretion in drinking wine (v. 7) The observation of the right limit (v. 8a; cf. chapter 16) Again: warning against the evil effects of wine (vv **8b–g**)

The exhortation concerning the drinking of wine will be continued in chapter 16

Notes

14,1 **be not drunk with wine:** cf. Prov 23,31 LXX Eph 5 18 **wine turns the mind away from the truth** cf 13 6 and T I 4,4.6 In the LXX **διαστρέφειν** is often used in connection with the sinner s evil ways: see e g **Deut** 32 5; Judg 5 6 Prov 6 14; 8,13 10,9; 11 20; 16 30 Sus 8f LXX 56 **Th, τὸ κάλλος ἐξηπάτησέν σε, και ἡ ἐπιθυμία διέστρεψεν την καρδίαν σου. διαστρέφειν + ἀπό** in Acts 13 8; LivPro (ed. Th Schermann) p 92 4f. **rec. an.,** (Solomon's wives) **διαστρέψουσιν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ κυρίου.** For truth with the connotation of the law of God cf T R 3,8, **πᾶς νεώτερος, σκοτίζων τὸν νοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ μη συνίων ἐν τῳ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ. throws in (it) the passion of lust.** for a similar use of **ἐμβάλλειν** (used transitively as in v 8) see, e.g., **Philo,** Post. Caini 156 Congr. 16 Justin Dial. 82 3 Here **ἐπιθυμία** - as in v. 3 - denotes sexual desire in particular cf 16 1 **leads the eyes into error:** opp T.G. 5 7 (repentance) **φωτίζει τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς ... καὶ ὁδηγεῖ τὸ διαβούλιον πρὸς σωτηριαν,** and cf 2Ezra **3,18** For the connection between impurity and the eyes see **also on T.R. 2,4**

14,2 **For the spirit of impurity has wine as minister with regard to the pleasures of the mind** drinking of wine or drunkenness and sexual desire are also combined in Sir 9 9 and Philo Agric 37 Gluttony is naturally followed by her attendant sexual indulgence **(ἡ συνουσίας ἡδονή) . .** For when men have been loaded up with overeating and strong drink and heavy intoxication **(μέθης),** they are no longer able to control themselves but in haste to indulge their lusts **(πρός . τὰς ἐρωτικὰς μίξεις ἐπειγόμενοι)** they carry on their revels ...; cf. Hos **4,11;** Sir 19 2; **26,8f ,** 3Bar **4,16f ,** Philo Ebr. 209 Plutarch De liberis educandis 16 (Mor. 12 B); De **amore** prolis 4 (Mor 496 F), For such a use of **διάκονος** (not referring to a person), cf Tatian, **Orat.** 19 2 Clement of Alexandria Paid. II 7 (53,1); Str. II 17 (77,5); Epictetus III 7,28, etc **for these two also take away the strength of man:** cf. Sir **31,30, πληθυνει μέθη** fruuôv **ἄφρονος . . ἐλαττῶν ἰσχὺν καὶ ποοσποιων τοαυματα**

14,3 **drinks wine to drunkenness:** for this expression cf Tob 4 15 Joel 1 5 LXX, Hag 1,6. **disturbs the mind.** see T S 4 9 T D. 4 2 and note on T.B. 6,5 **with filthy thoughts** 'filthy *fevnacóc,* is often used with a sexual connotation: see e g , Justin **Dial.** 116,1; Acta **Thom** 13; 43 (cf. 12; 88); Acta Jo 35; 69 **carnal union μεῖξις** only here and in T.L 14 6 **(the cause of) lust:** see **on v 1. he performs the sin** see v 5 12,8; and T.R 1 8.10, 3 12.14 6,3. **is not ashamed.** for the position of such a **phrase al the end of a sentence, see Tob 14,9 S; Philo, Cher 95; ClemHom 19,19,7** (quoted **below). ουκ αἰσχυνεται** introduces a new theme expanded in the following verses: see v. 4 **οὐδένα αἰδεῖται;** v 5 **μη αἰσχυνθῆναι;** v 6, **οὐκ αἰσχυνθην;** v. 8, **μη αἰσχύνεσθαι; 15,1, οὐκ αἰσχύνεται, 16,2, μὴ αἰδούμενοι . ἀναισχυντία;** and positive 14 7 **ἕως** ÖTE **ἔχει αἰδῶ;** 16 2 **αἰδούμενοι.** Wicked and godless men have no shame amongst them are those who commit sexual sins. See, **e g ,** Philo, Vita Mosis I 302 ' . one of his race offering sacrifice and visiting a harlot not with his head bowed down towards the ground, nor trying in the usual way to make a stealthy entrance unobserved by the public, but flaunting his licentiousness boldly and shamelessly (HET **ἀναισχυντου** ftodooDc) and pluming himself as though his conduct called for honour instead of scorn ...'; ClemHom 19,19,7, 'Thus also the Britons publicly cohabit in the sight of all, and are not ashamed **(ἐμφανῶς ἐπὶ πάντων κοινωνοῦσι καὶ οὐκ αἰδοῦνται)'**; cf. Philo Abr 94 Sacrif. 21 ClemHom **6,18,1f.,** Tatian **Orat. 34,2f ,** Plato **Respublica IX 571 D, and also Plutarch, Septem sapientium convivium 15 (Mor** 158 F) whereas their carnal delights they veil behind the screen of night and deep darkness feeling that to share this pleasure openly is shameless **(ἀναίσχυντον)** and **bestial.'**

14,5 **it made me also err** cf the use of **πλάνη** in v 1. **so that to Thamar.** see the note on 12,1 (cf v 10). [turned aside" also in 12 4 **wrought a great sin:** see 12 8 and **Jub** 21,23. **uncovered the covering of my sons' shame:** see the note on 13 7

14,6 See, again, on 13 7

14,7 **he who drinks wine needs discretion** see e.g., Prov 31,4 LXX, ... **μετὰ βουλης οἰνοπότει;** Philo, **Leg.all III** 155 **(συν λόγῳ ...)** Plant. 162 **(δεῖται πολλης ἐπιμελείας);** Plutarch, Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata, Dionysius the **Elder** 10 (Mor 176 A) **(... .μετ' εὐλαβείας).** For **σύνεσις,** 'discretion see also T R 6,4, T.S 4 8 T.L 4 5, 13,2 (together with knowledge of God's law) T.Z. 6,1. Discretion shows in **preserving modesty;** cf. **Sir 31,27 ἐὰν πίνῃς αὐτὸν ἐν μέτρῳ αὐτοῦ ...** Philo **Fuga** 32 But you will drink in moderation (χοις **μετριοις)** ...!; Plant. 162; **Leg all. III** 155 Plutarch De tuenda sanitate praecepta 19 (Mor 132 B) Ouaestiones convivales III introd (Mor. 645 **A)**

14,8 **when he goes beyond this limit:** for this use of **ὅρος,** see also 16,1 (cf. T.G 7 4) It is a typical Greek term: see Plato Respublica II 373 D εαν χαι **ἐκεῖνοι ἀφῶσιν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ χρημάτων κτῆσιν ἄπειρον, ὑπερβάντες τὸν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὅρον,** Plutarch De tuenda sanitate praecepta 7 (Mor. 126 A) (in a discussion about overeating) the inexpensive things keep the appetite to its natural limits of moderation **(μέτρων),** but the arts of the chefs ..., are constantly advancing and enlarging the bounds of enjoyment **(τοὺς ὅρους τῆς ἡδονῆς)** ...., Philo, **Spec leg. III** 49, Post. Caini 180, and also Clement of Alexandria Paid. II 2 **(22,4–24,1), ἀλλὰ** χαὶ **τούτοις ὅρος ἔστω τοῦ ποτοῦ** .... **ὕβριν** ..... **οἴνῳ δὲ ἀμέτρῳ ἡ μὲν γλῶττα παραποδίζεται, παρίεται** δὲ χα **χείλη.** **throws the spirit of deceit into the mind** cf v. 1. **makes the drunkard to talk filthily** cf v. 3, and Philo, Leg.all. III 155 **Somn** II 165 **to transgress the law** cf. v 6 **not to be ashamed but even boast of his shame:** for **ἀτιμία** in the context of sexual misbehaviour see e.g Hos 4,18; Rom 1,26. On 'boasting', see **Philo,** Vita Mosis I 302 quoted on v.. 5, Leg.all.. II **65f** , '... **ἀναισχυντία,** then, is peculiar to the worthless man **αἰδως** to the man of worth ... when the mind uncovers shameful things which it ought to hide from view **ἐπαυχῶνχαι σεμνυνόμενος ἐπ' αὐτοῖς';** Conf **116ff** , cf. 2Cor 10,8.

T JUDAH 15

Translation

15,1 He who acts impurely is not aware when he suffers loss
and is not ashamed when put to dishonour
2 For even if a man is king when he acts impurely,
he goes away stripped of his **kingship**[50]
having become the slave of impurity
as I myself, being stripped
3 For I gave my staff, that is the stay of my **tribe,**
and my girdle, that is the power,
and the diadem, that is the glory of my kingship
4 And repenting these things
I did not take wine or **meat**[51] until my old age
nor did I see any joy.
5 And the angel of God showed me
that women have dominion over king and **beggar**[52] alike,
for **ever;**[53]

6 and from the king they take away the glory
and from the valiant man the power
and from the beggar even that little which is the stay of his poverty

Textcritical notes

50 In these verses the text of *b* is corrupt: **ζημιούμενος - πορνεύων has been** omitted through **hmt** , and this omission certainly led to the additions of **καί** (before **γυμνούμενος)** and **ουκ** (before **ἐξέρχεται).**

51 **κρέας** *(b)* The **plur κρέα (*gleafchij*)** is to be regarded as a stylistic correction Cf also T.R. **1,10**

52 καὶ **βασιλεῖ καὶ πτωχῷ** *(b)*.. The dat.- construction (cf. *e* and ***f)*** is lectio difficilior. The variant καὶ .. **κἂν (*gldeafchij*** cf. .m) may have been introduced for reasons of style

5' **ὅτι ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος (*gdeaf*)**.The text of ***bl* (ἕως** *roi)* **αἰῶνος ὅτι)** cannot be correct

Structure

15,1 Main theme: **πορνεία.** He who acts impurely is not aware of what awaits him and **is** not ashamed

15,2 Example:: a king like Judah

15,3 Judah gave everything away

15,4 He repented and fasted

15,5–6 An angel revealed the influence of **women,** over king and beggar alike repetition of elements of v 3 in v 6

Notes

15,1 πορνεια, the second issue in chapter 14 becomes temporarily the main theme. **He who acts impurely ... is not ashamed** cf note on 14,3 The rest of this verse introduces the example given in v 2 **when put to dishonour.** for **ἀδοξία** as a consequence of impurity cf T R 4 7 and **Philo,** Virt. 37 Plutarch De liberis educandis 16 (Mor 12 C)

15,2 having become the slave of impurity: for such a use of **δουλουσθαι,** see T.Jos 7 8 4Mac **3,2;** 13 2 Philo Leg all II 29' Quod **omnis** 159' Tit 2 3' Justin **Apol** II 5 4 etc..

15,3 Refers back to 12 4 for the objects and their symbolism see the note on this verse When Judah gave his royal attributes to Thamar he lost, as it were his kingship. In his descriptions of Judah s meeting Thamar in Congr **124ff ; Somn.** II 44f (cf. **Mut nom.** 135) Philo calls Judah king

15,4 And repenting .. I did not take wine or meat see note on T.R., 1 10 cf 19 2 below **nor** did I see **any joy:** contrast 16 2 cf. **Eccl** 9,7 Sir 9,10; Jdt 12,13

15,5 And the angel of the Lord showed me: see on T R 5 3 (cf the entire chapter T R 5) **that women have dominion** cf. 2Ezra **4,14ff 22** **king and beggar allke** cf 2Ezra 3 19..

15,6 The three elements mentioned in this verse correspond to those in v 3. The valiant man had to be introduced besides king and beggar to reach the number of three

T JUDAH 16

Translation

16,1 Observe, therefore, my children, the limit in wine,
for there are in it four evil spirits
of lust, of burning desire, of profligacy, of filthy lucre
2 If you drink wine in gladness,
(do so) being modest, in the fear of **God.**[54]
For when you drink wine without modesty and the fear of God departs,
then drunkenness arises and shamelessness steals in
3 Otherwise, do not drink at **all**[55]
in order that you do not sin in words of outrage and strife and slander and transgression of the commandments of God and perish before your time
4 Even the mysteries of God and men does wine reveal to aliens,
as I too revealed the commandments of God and the mysteries of Jacob my father to the Canaanite **Bath-shua,**
to whom God told not to reveal them
5 And wine is a cause also of war and confusion

Textcritical notes

54 . . **αἰδούμενοι** (*geaf*), obviously lectio difficilior over against **αἰδσύμενοι, ζήσεσθε** (*b*) and **ἐστὲ αἰδσύμενοι** (*chij*)

55 **εἰ** oe **μη, μηδὲ ὅλως πιετε** All MSS are corrupt The reading of *b* (**εἰ** oe **μηδὲ ὅλως πιετε,** cf *gl*) has left out **μή** through haplography The other MSS have introduced all kinds of emendations

Structure

16 1 Return to the theme: (the limits of) wine continuation of **14,7–8**
v la direct exhortation
v **1b** enumeration of four evil spirits connected with wine

16,2-3 Three options:
v 2ab to drink wine in gladness modest and fearing God
v 2cd to drink wine immodestly etc · then drunkenness followed by shamelessness
v 3 not to drink at all

16,4–5 Wine reveals secrets of God and man Example: Judah and Bath-shua Wine causes war and confusion

Notes

16 1 **the limit in** wine **see an 14,8 of lust:** cf 14,1.3. **of burning desire:** for **πυρωσις** in a sexual sense, see Clement of Alexandria Str. **III** 12 (82,4); cf **1Cor** 7,9, **κρεῖττον γάρ ἐστιν γαμεῖν ἢ πυροῦσθαι. of profligacy: ἀσωτία** with a sexual connotation also in Prov **7,11**; 2Mac 6,4, it is used in connection with drunkenness in Eph 5 18· cf Philo Plant, 101., **of filthy lucre.** cf. **1Tim** 3,8, **μὴ οἴνῳ πολλῷ προσέχοντας,** UT] **αἰσχροκερδεῖς;** Tit 1 7 Plutarch Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat 13 (Mor 34 D) combines o **ἄσωτος** and o **αἰσχροκερδης**

16,2 **If you drink wine in gladness:** see **Eccl** 9 7 Sir 9,10, **31,27f.;** cf. 2Ezra 3,20, Jdt 12,13 **Philo,** Somn II 167 **being modest, in the fear of God:** an obvious combination: cf. Philo **Mut.nom.** 201 **1Tim** 2,9 **when you drink wine without modesty** also Sir 31 27-30 combines the positive and the negative **shamelessness steals in** cf **T R** 2,8, **συνεισέρχεται ἡ ἁμαρτια.**

16,3 **do not drink at all** cf. Prov 31,4f LXX **μετὰ βουλῆς οἰνοπότει· οι δυνάσται θυμωδεις εἰσίν, οἶνον δὲ μή πινέτωσαν, ινα μη πιοντες ἐπιλάθωνται τῆς σοφίας** **in words of outrage and strife and slander** wine unlocks the mouth and unbridles the tongue (Philo Somn II 165) For **ὕβρις,** cf Philo **Flacc.** 136 **μέθη** xai **παροινίαι καὶ ἡ τούτων ἔκγονος ὕβρις** ; Plutarch Septem **sapientium** convivium 2 (Mor. 148 A), **Quaestiones** convivales IX 14 7 (Mor 746 E) Strife' **μάχη,** with this connotation is found in T.R. 3 4 T.G.. 6 5; T.B 6 4 For 'slander cf Plutarch Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata, Dyonisius the Elder 10 (Mor 176 B) **διὰ μέθην κακολογησαντα.** For the combination **ὕβρις - συκοφαντια,** see also T G 5 1 **μάχη and συκοφαντία** are found together in Epictetus IV 5 31f.. (cf. T.B.. 6,4). **and transgression of the commandments of God:** cf. 13 7 14 6 18,6; and (positive) 13 1

16,4 **Even the mysteries of God and men does wine reveal to aliens:** cf.. **τους** ev **μυστηρίῳ λόγους** in 12 6 revealed by Judah to Thamar. See, e g Philo, Plant.. 176, If one would not act reasonably in entrusting a secret to a drunken man' Sir 22,22; **27,16f.21** regard the disclosure of secrets as sinful **μυστήρια θεοῦ** also in WisSol 2 22· 3Bar 1 8· Philo **Leg all III** 3 **1Cor** 2 1 4 1 Col 2 2 Rev 10 7; cf T L 2,10; Sir 3 19 Philo Leg.all **III** 71. **to whom ...:** the relative **οἷς** refers to **ἀλλοτρίοις;** the example of Judah revealing secrets to the 'alien Canaanite woman Bath-shua (cf 13 7· 14 6) is given in an awkward **place**

16,5 **wine is a cause also of war and confusion** for such an expression see Philo Plant 148, **ἐπεὶ μανίας** xai **παραφροσύνης αἴτιος** o **οἶνος** As to the content see Plutarch, Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur 27 (Mor 68 D) **πρὸς ὀργὴν διὰ τὸν** olvov . . **ἡ μέθη . . . ἔχθραν ἐποίησε,** and 2Ezra 3,22, 3Bar 4,17 The phrase gives a variation on the traditional motif that the passions and desires are **the** cause of war and confusion (see note on T.B 6,5): see in particular Philo Abr 27 .. since its opposite unnatural movement **(τὴν παρὰ φύσιν κίνησιν** - the Stoic definition of **πάθος),** proves to be the cause of turmoil and confusion and factions and wars **(ταραχῶν** xat' **θορυβων στάσεῶν** TE xai **πολέμων αιτίαν εἶναι συμβέβηκεν)',** Plato Phaedo 66 C ClemHom 4 20,3

T JUDAH 17-18

Translation

17,1 I command you, therefore, my children,
not to love money
nor to gaze upon the beauty of women,
because also for the sake of money and beauty I was led
astray to Bath-shua the Canaanite

2 For I know
that because of these two you, my race, will be in wicked-
ness;

3 for they will change even wise men among my sons
and make the kingdom of Judah to be diminished,

which the Lord gave to me because of my obedience to my father
4 For I never grieved a word of Jacob my father because I did all things whatsoever he said
5 And Abraham my father's father blessed me, to be king over Israel,
and Isaac blessed me in like manner
6 And I know
that from me the kingship will be established
18,1 For I have also read in the books of Enoch the righteous
what evils you will do in the last **days.**[56]
2 Beware, therefore, my children, of impurity and love of money
Listen to Judsh, your father
3 Because these things draw you away from the law of God
and blind the disposition of the soul
and teach arrogance
and do not let a man have mercy on his neighbour,
4 they rob his soul of all goodness
and oppress him with toils and troubles
and drive away his sleep
and devour his flesh,
5 and they hinder the sacrifices of God
and do not remember the blessings
and do not obey a prophet when he speaks
and resent a word of **godliness.**
6 For being a slave of two passions contrary to the commandments of God
he cannot obey **God,**[57]
because they have **blinded**[58] his soul,
and he walks in the day as in the night

Textcritical notes

[56] ev **ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις** (*gldeaf*, cf *ch(i?)j*). The construction **ἐπ' ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις** *(b)* caonot be **correct**

[57] ftecp **υπακουειν.** The somewhat complicated construction of the verse (**δυο πάθη,** not ftecp as the object of **δουλευων**) has led to the introduction of another fteou before **υπακουειν** in *b*. Instead of **υπακουειν** *(b)* all other witnesses read **ὑπακοῦσαι,** which may be original as well

[58] **ἐτύφλωσαν** *(M)* Both this reading and the variant **ἐτύφλωσε** (*geafchij*) may be original

Structure

17 1 Direct exhortation: warning against love of money and looking to the beauty of women Example· Judah and Bath-shua

17 2-3 Prediction of sins of the sons of the patriarch.. Result the end of Judah s kingship given to him because of his obedience to his father

17,4–5 Description of Judah's obedience (cf **1,4–5)** Blessing of Abraham and Isaac (cf 1 6)

17 6 Kingship from **Judah** will be established

18,1 New prediction of sins

18,2 New exhortation: warning against **ποονεία** and **φιλαργυρία** Note the inclusio **between 17,1-2 and 18,1-2**

18,3–5 List of evil effects of **ποονεία** and **φιλαργυρία**

18 6 These two **πάθη** are against the commandments of God The man who is blinded by them walks in the night

The predictions concerning the future (introduced by **οἶδα** in 17,2.6, or **ἀνέγνων ἐν βίβλοις Ἑνώχ** in 18 1) resemble those in S.E.R.. passages (as the one in chapter 23).. Like these they underscore the importance of the warning and illustrate the evil effects of sins. In **17,3–6,** the dangers for Judah s kingship and the conviction that it will stand are emphasized (as in **21,6b–22,3)**

Notes

17,1 See on 13,4f. (and 13,3b). **not to love money** cf **Eccl** 5 9 (LXX) **ἀγαπῶν ἀργυριον οὐ πλησθήσεται ἀργυρίου,** and Sir 31,5.

17,2 **I know** introduction to passages concerning the future, see on T L 14,1. **yon will be in wickedness:** see on T.G. 8 2; there **πονηρία** is followed by **κάκωσις** and **διαφθορά; cf. also Neh 1,3.**

17,3 **for they will change** obviously in **malam** partem' cf. the use of **ἀλλοιοῦν** in T N 3 2 3 (see also the note on T.N 3,2). Contrast **TJob** 49,1, **καὶ ἔσχεν τὴν καρδίαν ἀλλοιωθεῖσαν ὡς μηκέτι ἐνθυμεῖσθαι τὰ κοσμικά;** 50 2 **καὶ αὐτῆς ἡ καρδία ἠλλοιοῦτο ἀφισταμένη ἀπὸ των κοσμικῶν** For evil influences that make wise men foolish see e g Deut 16 19 (LXX) **τὰ γὰρ δῶρα ἀποτυφλοῖ ὀφθαλμοὺς σοφων** (cf. Sir 20 29); Eccl 7,7 (LXX) **ἡ συκοφαντία περιφέρει σοφὸν** καὶ **ἀπόλλυσι την καρδίαν εὐτονίας αὐτοῦ.** **and make the kingdom of Judah to be diminished** the kingdom of Judah introduces the theme of vv. **4–6** For **σμικρύνειν,** cf T N 4,3 (punishment in diaspora) **which the Lord gave to me because of my obedience to my father** cf **1,4–6.**

17,4 Cf 1,4. For this use of **λυπεῖν** (to grieve by **disobedience'),** see **also** Tob 4 3 ApSedr 14 10; LetDiogn 11 7 etc

17,5 Cf 1 6 where Jacob blesses Judah **Abraham my father's father** somewhat strange in T.L.. 9 2 my father's father is clearly Isaac (who however refers to Abraham s teaching in 9,12) **Isaac blessed me:** cf T.L. **9,1f** , and cf Jub **31,4ff.,** esp 18ff On Judah's kingship see also T R. 6 7 T.S 7 2 T.Jud 21 6 22 3 T I 5 7 and cf T Jud 15.

17,6 **that from me the kingship will be established** cf **1Sam** 24,21 (LXX), (spoken to David) **βασιλευων βασιλεύσεις** καὶ **στήσεται** εν **χερσίν σου βασιλεία Ἰσραήλ** (contrast 13 14)

18,1 **I have ... read in the books of Enoch the righteous:** see on T S. 5,4 **ο δικαιος** as epithet of Enoch also in T L 10,5 (see note); T.D.. 5,6; T B 9 1 **in the last days** see on T Z 8,2.

18,2 **Beware ... of impurity and love of money** (see **T Jud ,** tit) returns to the command in 17 1.. Warnings against impurity also in T R 6,1; T.S. 5,3 **φιλαργυρία** here and in 19,1; and see **1Tim** 6,10 **(ῥίζα ... πάντων τῶν κακῶν);** 2Clem 6,4; Polycarp Phil. 4,1 (and also 2,2; 4,3; 6,1); hellenistic parallels are mentioned by Bauer s v A cognate vice is **πλεονεξία (see on T.I 4,2)**

18,3 **draw you away from the law of God** see 13,7; 14,6; cf. Philo Virt. 182, The proselytes become at once temperate . superior to the desire for money and pleasure, just as conversely the rebels from the holy laws **(τους τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων ἀποστάντας)** are seen to be . ' **blind the disposition of the soul:** cf. 11 1 18 6 19 4 see further on T.S.. 2,7 **and teach arrogance:** for this use of **ἐκδιδάσκειν,** see T D 1,3; T G 5,1; cf Sir **33,28,** WisSol 8,7, 4Mac 5,23f. For arrogance see on 13,2.. **and do not let a man have mercy on his neighbour** see T.Z. 5,1 (and T.Z.. passim) cf. Sir 18,13

18,4 **they rob his soul of all goodness:** see **Eccl 4,8,** 'a person who has no one, either son or brother yet there is no end to all his toil and his eyes are never satisfied with riches so that he never asks ... (LXX) **καὶ τίνι ἐγὼ μοχθῶ καὶ στερίσκω τὴνψυχ|ν μου ἀπὸ ἀγαθωσυνης';** **and oppress han with toils and troubles** for the use of **συνέχειν,** see on T.Jos.. 1,5.- The combination **μόχθος - πόνος** also in Num 23,21; Ezek 23 29, WisSol 10 10; cf.. 2Ezra 4 22.. See again Eccl 4 8 (and **5,14f).. and drive away his sleep** see Sir **31(34),1, ἀγρυπνία πλουτου ἐκτηκει σάρκας,** xal **ἡ μέριμνα αὐτοῦ ἀφιστᾷ ὕπνον,** cf. also Eccl 5 11 (LXX), xal **τῳ ἐμπλησθέντι** *toi)* **πλουτῆσαι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀφίων αὐτὸν** Toi) **υπνωσαι** The motif that one cannot sleep because of all sorts of (unholy) desires is also found in T R.. 3,12; T S 4,8f **and devour his flesh:** see, again Sir **31(34),1;** cf. Eccl 4 5 (LXX) ὁ **ἄφρων ... ἔφαγεν τὰς σάρκας αὐτοῦ;** for **καταδαπανάω** see WisSol 5 13, ev OE **τῇ κακία ἡμων κατεδαπανήθημεν;** Hennas, Mand.. **12,1,2** One should note that the parallels taken from Ecclesiastes and Jesus Sirach explicitly speak of the dangers of wealth

18,5 The four evil effects mentioned in this verse are concerned with religious duties On this verse see also K Berger *Die Gesetzesauslegung Jesu* p 220 n. 2 (and p. 219) **they hinder the sacrifices of God** the background is to be found in the traditional motif that passions are hindrances to man in doing good see, e g., 4Mac 1 4· **Philo,** Vita Mosis II 24, Methodius Res.. I 30 Plutarch De recta ratione audiendi 5 (Mor 39 D) cf. SentSexti 108a. **do not remember the blessings:** forgetting **(οὐ μιμνήσκεσθαι)** God and his mighty deeds is typical of the people of **Israel:** see Judg 8,34; Neh 9,17; Ps 78(77),42, **106(105),7;** Isa 17 10 57,11, 66,9; in PssSol 4,21 14,7 it is mentioned as typical for sinners **do not obey a prophet when he speaks.** see **T.L** 16,2 and T.D. 2 3 **ἐὰν προφητης κυριου, παρακούει** (subj. the man who is driven and blinded by anger); cf **Deut 18,19** Again, it is traditionally Israel that does not listen to God's prophets: see e g 2Chr 36,16; Jer 26(33),5; **Dan** 9 6 **resent a word of godliness** cf Lev **26,14f** (LXX) **ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ὑπακούσητέ** nou ... **ΤΟΪΟ κρίμασίν μου προσοχθίσῃ ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν.**

18,6 **being a slave of two passions** cf Philo **Leg.all** III 240 EI **μέλλω, φησί, δουλεύειν πάθει** ; Abr 164 **αι μὲν σαοκὶ** xal **ΤΟΪΟ σαρκὸς πάθεσιν ἐδούλευσαν,** SentSexti 75a cf also **T A** 3,3, 6,5; Philo, Cher 71· Tit 3 3 etc **he cannot obey God: cf v 3a they have blinded his soul: cf v. 3b he walks in the day as in the night.** cf the imagery in Rom **13,12f.** (; cf **1Thes** 5 5) **Koimesis** Mariae (ed M. Jugie *P.O.* 19 3 **[1926])** 10 **εὗρε τοὺς οἰκέτας εν νυκτὶ ὡς εν ἡμέρᾳ**

T JUDAH 19

Translation

19,1 My children, love of money leads to idols,
because, when led astray through money, (men) name gods (beings) who are not,
and it makes him who has it to fall into frenzy

2 For the sake of money I lost my children,
and without the repentance of my flesh
and the humiliation of my soul
and the prayers of Jacob my father
I would have died childless
3 But the God of my fathers, the compassionate and merciful, forgave me,
because I did it in ignorance
4 For the prince of deceit blinded me
and I was ignorant as a man
and as flesh corrupted through sins,
and I recognized my own weakness
while thinking myself invincible

Structure

19,1 The dangers of **φιλαργυρία** (cf 18,2): idolatry and frenzy
19,2 Judah's example, without repentance and intercession he would have died childless
19 3a God's forgiveness
19,3b–4 Judah's ignorance and weakness which he finally recognized

Notes

19,1 **love of money leads to idols:** cf. Col 3,5, **πλεονεξία ἥτις εἰδωλολατρία,** cf. Eph 5 5 Polycarp Phil **11,2,** si quis non se abstinuerit ab **avaritia,** ab idololatria coinquinabitur **See also Did 3,2–6** for this **use of ὁδηγεῖ (in v 4, ... εἰς τὴν εἰδωλολατρίαν). Cf. T.R.** 4 6 on impurity: **χωρίζουσα** fteoü **καὶ προσεγγίζουσα τοῖς εἰδώλοις;** T.S. 5,3. **name gods (beings) who are not.** well-known terms in Jewish and Christian anti-pagan polemics for **ὀνομάζειν,** see e.g WisSol 14,8, **τὸ** ὀὲ **φθαρτὸν** fteoç **ὠνομάσθη,** Aristides **Apol** 13,8· Athenagoras Leg 5,1, for **τους μη ὄντας θεούς,** see e.g LetJer 14 **ὅθεν γνώριμοί εἰσιν οὐκ ὄντες θεοί;** 22 28 49ff 64 71 Aristides Apol 8,4. **to fall into frenzy:** cf T.S. 4,8, (the spirit of envy) **εἰς ἔκστασιν ἄγει τὴν διάνοιαν** In both cases **ἔκστασις** is used to denote great confusion and commotion (contrast the use in T.R 3 1) and seems to be an extreme form of **ταραχή** (see on T.B 6 5) To fall into' as in T R 3 11· T D **5,2.**

19,2 **For the sake of money I lost my children** cf **13,4f ,** 17,1; and chapter 10 **the repentance of my flesh** cf. **15,4,** and also T.R 1 9 2 1 4,4; T S 2,13; T G 5,6; and Jub **41,23–25** **the humiliation of my soul.** cf T R 6 10 (see note)· T Jos 10 2 **the prayers of Jacob my father:** as in T.R. 1,7· 4,4, **T G.** 5,9, cf. **T.B 3,6.** **I would have died childless:** cf Lev 20 20f (as punishment for sexual sins)· **1En** 98 5 (for sins) Sir 16 3; Lk 20,29

19,3 **the God of my fathers** an expression used in other places in the context of Joseph s deliverance by God T R 4,10 T S 2,8, T.G. 2 5 T.Jos. 1 4, 6,6f. (cf T D 1 9 T.Jos. 2 2) **the compassionate and merciful:** a well-known epithet of God see on T.Z. 9,7 **because I did it in ignorance:** explained in v. 4; cf Jub 41,25 he turned from **his sin and** from **his** ignorance **On ἄγνοια, see on** T R 1 6

19,4 **the prince of deceit.** see on T S 2,7. **blinded me** cf **11,1;** 18,3 6 **as a man as flesh** cf T.Z. 9 7 T.G. 7 2, contrast T Jos. 2 5 **corrupted through sins** for the theme passions or sins destroy **men',** see on T.S 4,8. **I recognized my own weakness:** cf e g Job 37 7 (LXX) **ἵνα γνῷ πᾶς ἄνθρωπος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀσθένειαν,**

WisSol 9 5 Hermas Mand 4 3 4 **thinking myself invincible** cf the boasting in **13,2f** , 14 8

T JUDAH 20

Translation

20,1 Recognize, therefore, my children,
that two spirits devote themselves to man,
the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit,
2 and in the midst is the spirit of understanding of the mind
(to which it belongs) to turn wheresoever it wishes
3 And the works of truth and the works of deceit are written upon the breast of man,
and the Lord knows each of them,
4 and there is no time at which the works of men can be hidden,
because on his own **breast**[59] they have been written down before the Lord
5 And the spirit of truth testifies all things and accuses all,
and the sinner is burnt up from out of his own heart and cannot raise his face to the judge

Textcritical note

59 **(ἐν στηθει ὀστέων) αὐτοῦ.** The reading **αὐτός** in *b* is the result of a scribal error

Structure

This chapter comes, somewhat unexpectedly, at the end of the paraenetic section We may compare the position of the section on the two angels of the Lord and of Satan in T.A **6,4–6,** describing their role when the soul departs (see the notes on these verses). The closest parallel as to content is found in T B 6 1 The disposition of the good man is not in the hand of the deceit of the spirit of Beliar; for the angel of peace guides his soul

20,1-2 The activity of the spirits of truth and deceit on man **τὸ πνεῦμα της συνέσεως τοῦ νοος** decides on the direction to be taken

20,3–4 All man's works of truth and of deceit are written down in himself they cannot be hidden from God Note the inversion

20 5 The spirit of truth as accuser the sinner is burnt up from inside God as judge

Notes

20,1 **Recognize, therefore** see also e.g., Sir 9,13; Justin, Dial. 117,4. **the spirit of truth** in the Testaments only here and in v 5. Cf 1QS 4,21; Jn 14,17; 15,26; 16,13; and esp Un 4,6, **ἐκ τούτου γινωσκομεν τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς πλάνης** (cf Un 5 6) Hermas, Mand. 3,4 cf. **5,1,1–4** **the spirit of deceit** is mentioned in T R **3,2, T.Jud 14,8; 25,3 (+ τοῦ Βελιάρ),** T.A 6,6 **(see on T.A. 6,4); cf. T.Jos. 7,4,** T B 3,4; and cf Hermas Mand **5,1,1–4.** The expression occurs also regularly in the plural

20,2 **the spirit of the understanding of the mind** cf the use of **συνεσις** in 14,7. For **πνεῦμα συνέσεως (κυρίου)**, see **T L** 2 3 187 where however the understanding is the result of a special revelation Cf Ex 31 3 (LXX) and 35 31 (LXX) where a **πνεῦμα** fteîov **σοφίας** xal **συνεσεως και ἐπιστήμης** is the source of Bezalel s special skills; in Deut 34 9 (LXX), Joshua is filled with a **πνεῦμα συνέσεως**; cf. Daniel in Sus 44 LXX; and also Isa 11,2; Justin, Dial **39,2.** In Sir 39 6, the **πνεῦμα συνέσεως** is given to every wise and law-abiding man. In our verse, 'the spirit of understanding of the mind seems to denote the decision-making centre in any man. It is the equivalent of **διαβούλιον** in T B., 6 1 (see also T Jud., 13 2 [cf. **11,1]**; 18 3) and in T.A. in particular (see T.A INTRODUCTION p 339). Compare also **Philo,** Opif mundi 154, '. while by the tree that is cognisant of good and evil things **(καλων** xal **πονηρῶν)** he signifies moral prudence the virtue that occupies the middle position **(φρόνησιν τὴν μέσην)**, and enables us to distinguish things by nature contrary the one to the other **to turn wheresoever it wishes:** cf. T A 1,6.8 eav **οὖν ἡ** *fyvx i* fteXfl ev **καλῷ** . eav oe frv **πονηρῷ κλίνῃ τὸ διαβούλιον** . (see also on T A 1 8)

20,3 **are written upon the breast of man** cf. Prov 3 3 LXX A **γράψον** oe **αὐτας** (good faith and loyality) **ἐπὶ** TO **πλάτος της καρδίας σου**; 7 3 Jer **31,33**; and cf. T.Jud. 20 4 **the Lord knows each of them** see on T.Z., 5 2 (cf T N 2,5; T G 5,3; T B 6 6)

20,4 **and there is no time at which the works of men can be hidden** see, e.g Job 34,21f (LXX) **αὐτος γὰρ ὁρατής ἐστιν εργων ἀνθρώπων, λέληθεν** oè **αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ὧν πράσσουσιν, οὐδὲ ἔσται τοπος του κρυβῆναι τοὺς ποιοῦντας τὰ** avoua, Jer **16,17,** WisSol 1,8; 17,3; Sir **17,15.19f.**; 39 19; LetAris **132f.**; Philo Conf 120; **Somn** I 91; **1Clem** 21 3; Polycarp, Phil., 4,3; Justin **Apol** I 12,3. **on his own breast.** a translation of ἐν **στήθει ὀστέων αὐτοῦ**; for **ὀστέων,** cf perhaps the use of עצם in Ez 24,10; Job 21,23

20,5 **the spirit of truth testifies all things and accuses all.** for the combination of **μαρτυρεῖν** and **πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας,** cf. Jn 15,26f (as to content, see **16,8–11: ἐλέγξει).** **Here,** however there is a very close link with man s conscience **and the sinner is burnt up from out of his own heart** cf. T.G. 5,3, being reproved not by another but by his own heart **(... ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας καρδίας)**'; cf. also T.R 4 3. We may point here to Josephus Contr Ap., **2,218,** **ἕκαστος αὑτῷ** TO **συνειδὸς ἔχων μαρτυροῦν**; Rom 2 15 cf **also** Philo, **Decal.** 87 For every soul has for its birth-fellow and house-mate a monitor **(ἔλεγχος)** . . whose nature is ever to hate evil and love virtues who is its accuser and its judge in one **(κατήγορος ὁμοῦ** xal **δικαστής)** . .'; Quod **det.** pot., **22f.,** ' .. simply man', the most proper title of a mind endowed with reason and articulate utterance This man dwelling in the soul of each of us, is discovered at one time as king and governor at another as judge and umpire of life's contests. Sometimes he assumes the part of witness or accuser **(μάρτυρος ἢ κατηγόρου),** and all unseen convicts us **(ἐλέγχει)** from within ...'; De Jos 215; Spec.leg I 235 IV 6; see also **Quod** deus 135 **and cannot raise his face** for this expression cf also 2Sam 2,22

T JUDAH 21 22

Translation

21,1 And now, my children, love Levi,
that you may abide,
and do not exalt yourselves against him,
that you may not be destroyed utterly

2 For to me the Lord gave the kingship
and to him the priesthood,
and he set the kingship beneath the priesthood
3 To me he gave the things upon the earth,
to him the things in the heavens
4 As heaven is higher than the earth,
so is the priesthood of God higher than the kingship on the earth,
unless it falls away from the Lord through sin
and is dominated by the earthly **kingship** [60]
5 For also the Lord has chosen him rather than you to draw near to him and to eat of his table, the first fruits, the choice **things**[61] of the sons of Israel
6 But you will be king in **Jacob**[62]
and you will be for **them**[63] as a sea
for as on the sea just and unjust men are tossed about,
some being taken captive, others growing rich,
so also every race of men (will be tossed) on you
some are in danger of being taken captive, others will grow rich plundering
7 For those who reign as kings will be like seamonsters,
swallowing men like fishes,
they will **enslave**[64] free daughters and sons,
they will plunder houses, lands, flocks, money,
8 and they will wrongfully feed ravens and cranes with the flesh of many,
and they will advance in evil, uplifted in covetousness
9 And false prophets will be like tempests,
and they will persecute all righteous men
22,1 But the Lord will bring upon them divisions one against the other,
and there will be continuous wars in Israel,
2 and among men of other nations my kingship will be brought to an end,
until the salvation of Israel **comes,**
until the appearing of the God of righteousness,
to give Jacob rest in peace, and all the Gentiles
3 And he will guard the might of my kingship for ever,
for the Lord swore to me with an oath
that my kingship will not **fail**[65] **from**[66] my seed all the days, for ever

Textcritical notes

60 eav - βασιλείας[2] has been omitted in *bd* through **hmt.**

61 ἐντρυφήματα (*b*; cf g and *l*), lectio difficilior over against ἐντρυφημάτων (*deafchij*)

62 ou - Ἰακώβ, omitted in *b* through **hma.**

63 αὐτοῖς *(ba)*. The metaphor given in this verse seems to be in favour of this reading and not of the variants fai' αὐτῆς / αὐτόν (*ld*) and ἐν αὐτοῖς (*efchij*; cf *g)*

[64] **καταδουλωσουσιν** (all MSS except *b*) The reading **καταδουλοῦσιν** *(b)* is due to a mechanical error

[65] **ἐκλεῖψαι** *(kd)*, *to* be preferred to the individual variant **ἐκλείψειν** *(b;* cf. *l*), because the infin. fut has (almost) disappeared in Koine Greek and is confused with the infin aor (cf. Moulton *Grammar* I pp. 151; 204 n 2 B.D R *Grammatik* § 350.

[66] **ἐκ** *(deafhj)* The alternative **καί** *(bkgl)* can hardly be original The context rather asks for **ἐκ.**

Structure

21,1–6a Gives an L J passage adapted to the situation in which **Judah** is the speaker
v. 1 exhortation: love **Levi**
vv **2–6a** Levi received the priesthood Judah the kingship; the one is higher than the other hence the exhortation to the sons of Judah to love Levi

21,6b–f The metaphor of the sea; elaborated in:

21,7-8 **The** sins **of** those **who** reign **as** kings: **'(they)** will **be** like . ', and

21,9 False prophets as storms: **'(they)** will be like . '

22 1-2a Punishment the end of kingship

22,2b–3c The coming of the salvation of Israel peace for Israel and the Gentiles everlasting kingship for Judah s seed

Notes

21,1 **love Levi:** cf. T R 6 8 10 T S 7,1; T.L. 5,8; T.N. 8,2; T.G. 8,1; T Jos. 19 6 **that you may abide:** cf PS 5 6 **do not exalt yourselves against him** see T.S. 7,1 and T R 6,5. **that you may not be destroyed utterly** cf. T.Jos. 5 2 and the prediction in T.R. 6,6. In the LXX the verb **ἐξολεθρεύειν** is often used in connection with the punishment for sinners: see e.g., Ps 37(36) 9 **(LXX), οἱ πονηρευόμενοι ἐξολεθρευθήσονται** (cf. w 22 28 34 38)

21,2 **For to me the Lord gave the kingship and to han the priesthood** see T I. 5 7 For Judah s kingship, see T.Jud 1,6, 12 4 **15,2f., 17,5f.; 22,2f.;** 24 5 and for Levi's priesthood see T.L. 5,2; 8,2f.10 9 3 **he set the kingship beneath the priesthood** cf. Philo, Leg. 278, '... kings, most of whom had the title of highpriest who considered their kingship inferior to the priesthood **(τὴν βασιλείαν τῆς ἱερωσυνης ἐν δευτέρᾳ τάξει τιθέμενοι),** holding that the office of highpriest is as superior in excellence to that of king as God surpasses men. For the office of one is to worship God **(θεοῦ** fteoajiEiav), of the other to have charge of men **(ἐπιμέλειαν ἀνθρωπων)';** cf Virt 54 ConstApp II 34 4 VI 2,1; John Chrysostom **Hom** 4 5 in Is 6:1 and also **1QSa** 2,11-12 and (perhaps) the fragment 1Q 21,1.

21,3 **the things upon the earth ... the things in the heavens** **Philo** emphasizes the opposition God-men (see on the preceding verse), here we find the distinction between things on earth and in heaven as in WisSol 9,16 Eph 1,10; Col 1,16.20.

21,4 **as heaven is higher than the earth** cf. T.L. 14 3 **καθαρὸς** ο **οὐρανὸς** teeg **τὴν γῆν καὶ ὑμεῖς** (the sons of Levi) **οἱ φωστῆρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ** **the priesthood of God ... the kingship on the earth** see the notes on vv 2 and 3 **unless it falls away from the Lord through sin:** cf. the S E R passages in T.L. 10 **14-15;** 16 The mention here remains general For **ἀποπιπτειν θεοῦ / κυρίου,** cf e g Philo Agric 171 Athenagoras Leg 22 9.12

21,5 **the Lord has chosen him rather than you** the second person singular is used here and in the next verse; cf. T.I. 5 4f (see on **T I.,** *Structure of T. Issachar 5,4–8,* pp. **246f.).** On the election of Lévites and Aaron for priestly service see Deut 18 5 (cf. 21 5) **1Chr**

15 2 Ps 105(104),26 Sir 45 16 **to draw near to him** cf T.D 6,2; T.Jos. 6 5 (cf T.R.. 4,6 T.S.. 5,3) but here the expression is used with a cultic connotation; see (of priests and Lévites), e.g., Ex 19,21f.. (LXX) **οἱ ἱερεῖς** ot **ἐγγίζοντες κυρίῳ τῳ** fte<j> 24,2; Lev 10,3; 21,21; Ezek 40 46; 42,13 etc **and to eat of his table:** see on T L 8,16 **the first fruits** reserved for the priests/Levites in **Num 18,8ff.**; Deut **18,1ff.**; Ezek **44,28-31**; Sir 45,20 **the choice things of the sons of Israel** cf **Eccl** 2 8 (LXX) **εντρυφήματα υἱῶν τοῦ ἀνθρωπου**

21,6 **and you will be for them as a sea:** a rather bold metaphor For the sea as symbol of instability and danger, cf Isa 57,20; **1En 101,4f.; Philo,** Sacrif. 90 Gig. 51; Eph 4,14 Jas 1,6.. **just and unjust men:** without any discrimination cf Ecel 9 2; Mt 5,45 **are tossed about.** see on T N 6,4f. **every race of men τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων** is often used in connection with Gods universal creative, sustaining saving or judging activity; see e g 2Mac 7 28 LetAris 17; 190 257; 259; Philo, Quod deus 81; 3Bar 4,15; 6,6; GkApEzra 3,6; Justin Dial 93 1 **plundering:** see on T D 5 7 This theme is now developed in vv. 7-9

21,7 **will be like seamonsters, swallowing men like fishes:** cf. JosAsen 12,10 **(ed.** M. **Philo**-nenko) (about the devil) **... μήποτε ἁρπάζῃ με ὡς λύκος.... καὶ ἐμβάλῃ με..... εἰς τὴν καταιγίδα της θαλάσσης καὶ μή με καταπιέτω τὸ κῆτος τὸ μέγα (ed** C Burchard slightly different); note that also **ἁρπάζειν** and **καταιγίς** are used For **κῆτος + καταπίνειν** (after a storm) see Jonah 2 1 (cf. Tob 6 2). In Ezek 19,3.6 (LXX) (in a lamentation for the princes of Israel) **ἀνθρώπους ἔφαγεν,** in 22 25 (LXX) tyuxàç **κατεσθίοντες;** cf lEn 103,11.15. **they will enslave - houses, lands, flocks, money** cf. the criticism of the behaviour of kings in **1Sam 8,10-18 (vv. 11,** 13, 17 [LXX] **τοῖς υἱοῖς ὑμῶν λήμψεται . τὰς θυγατέρας υμων λημψεται . . xal ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθε αὐτῷ δοῦλοι,** vv. 14 17 [LXX] **τους ἀγροὺς υμων . . λήμψεται .. καὶ τὰ ποίμνια ὑμων ἀποδεκατώσει**)

21,8 **and they will wrongfully feed ravens and crimes with the flesh of many** birds eat the flesh of people who have been killed: see e.g., Gen 40,19 **1Sam** 17 44; Ps 79(78),2 **Rev 19,21, etc. κόραξ and ἴβις are mentioned together in Lev 11,15 17, Deut 14,14.16,** and see esp. in the description of God's punishment in Isa 34,11 (LXX), **ἴβεις καὶ κόρακες κατοικήσουσιν** ἐν **αυτῇ.** **they will advance in evil:** cf 2Tim 2 16 3 13 **uplifted** cf T R 6 5 T Jos 10 5 17 8 in **covetousness:** see on T D 5 7 and on 19,1 above

21,9 **false prophets will be like tempests καταιγις** is often used as description of the troubles of a man in distress. see e g Ps 55(54),9; **69(68),3.16,** Prov 1,27 Isa 5,28, 57,13; JosAsen 12 10 The false prophets (mentioned only here in the Testaments) will cause trouble to men For the sins of prophets (sometimes together with priests and kings), see, e.g., Isa 9,14 28,7, Jer 2,8.26 13 13 32(39) 32 Ezek 22,28, see also Jer **23,9ff.**; Ezek **13,2ff.**; and particularly Lam 4 13 (LXX), **... των ἐκχεόντων αἷμα δίκαιον** Cf. **they will persecute all righteous men** in our verse (see also on T L 16,2).

22,1 **the Lord will bring upon them: ἐπάγειν** with God as subject also in T Z. 10,3, T.N 4 2 T.G.. 5,9, T.B 7 3 (in all cases in connection with punishment) **divisions:** see **on T.Z.. 9,2 (.3.5)** **continuous wars in Israel:** cf. **1Kgs** 12,21; 14,30, **15,6f.16f.32, 2Kgs** 16. The references are very general; if a particular period is meant, it is that of the kings after Solomon

22,2 **among men of other nations ἀλλόφυλος** is also used in T L. 9,10, **ἀπὸ γένους ἀλλοφύλων ἢ ἐθνῶν,** cf Acts 10 28 Compare Sir 49 5 where the kings of Judah are said to have given **. . τὴν δόξαν αὐτων ἔθνει ἀλλοτρίῳ** **my kingship will be brought to an end** cf T D 6,4 and Dan 5,27 LXX In T.B. 9,1 (see note) the kingship is taken away at the time of the **exile.** **until the salvation of Israel comes** cf. T.L. 5 2 T N 4 5 more frequently the salvation of the **Lord/God**: T.S. 7,1; T D

5,10; T B 9,2 10 5 but cf. T.N 8 2 T G 8 1 **τὸ σωτήριον Ἰσραηλ** also in Ps 14(13),7, 53(52) 7 (LXX), parallel to ev **τω ἐπιοστρέψαι κυριον τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ.** **until the appearing of the God of righteousness:** παουσία also in T L 8,15 (see note) 'The God of righteousness' also in Mal 2,17, PssSol 8,26; Tob 13,7; cf also Ps 4,2, **1En** 90 40 106 3 Jub 25 15.21 1QH fr 7,8. In the PssSol and Tob passages, it denotes the God who judges and is able to bring a turn in the future of Israel. In view of v 3a (over against 'the Lord' in v 3b) Jesus Christ must be meant in our verse; cf 24,1 6 T Z. 9 8 T.N 4 5 **to give Jacob rest in peace, and all the Gentiles** Jacob is parallel to Israel in v 2 note the addition of the Gentiles here (see T L 5,7, T.Jud. 25,5; T.N 8,3; T D 6,7, T A 7 3 T B 9 2 cf. also the note on T.S. 7 2). For **ἡσυχάζειν as a** contrast to war, cf Judg 3,11.30, 5 31; 8,28 **1Chr**22,9; 2Chr 14,1; 23,21, etc.; and esp Jer 46(26) 27 (LXX) (Jacob ., Israel) . . **διότι ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ σῴζων σε μακρόθεν** nat **τὸ σπέρμα σου ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀναστρέψει Ἰακὼβ** xal **ἡσυχάσει** .. xal **οὐκ ἔσται** o **παρενοχλῶν αὐτόν.** For the motif of rest and peace for Israel see further Isa **32,17f** , 40 Jer 23 6 **33,15f** For ev **εἰρήνῃ** cf 24,1 T L 18 4 T D 5 9.11, 6 2· and also T N 6,9f.

22,3 **he will guard the might of my kingship for ever:** eternal kingship realized in Jesus Christ also in T R **6,11f** , cf T.Jos 19 7 At the background are the promises to David and his family cf. 2Sam **7,12ff.; 1Kgs** 9,5, **1Chr 17,11ff** , 22 10 28 7 2Chr 7 18 Ps **89(88),5.36ff** , **132(131),11f.; 1Mac** 2,57; Sir 45,25, 4Q PB 3f The expression **τὸ κράτος βασιλείας μου** also in Jdt 2 12 **for the Lord swore to me with an oath:** in connection with David **2Sam** 3,9· Ps **89(88),4f.36ff.; 132(131),11f.;** and Acts 2,30 (directly connected with Jesus Christ), PssSol 17,4 (see below). **that my kingship will not fail from my seed all the days, for ever·** see again PssSol 17,4, xal **σὺ ὡμοσας αὐτῷ** (David) **περὶ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτοῦ εἰς** TOV **αἰῶνα τοῦ μη ἐκλείπειν ἀπέναντί σου βασίλειον αυτου.** See also Gen 49 10 (LXX) **οὐκ ἐκλείψει αρχων ἐξ Ἰούδα** (cf 40 PB 1) often connected with Jesus Christ in the early Church see e.g Justin **Apol.** I 32,1f ; 54,5 Dial 52,2, 120 3 Hippolytus Ben Jac 17 **(ed Brière–Mariès–Mercier,** *P O* 27,1-2, p 80), Antichr 9, see also on T Jud 24,4, **βλαστός**

T JUDAH 23

Translation

23,1 I have much grief, my children,
because of the lewdness and witchcrafts and idolatries
that you will practise against the kingdom,
following[67] mediums, soothsayers and demons of deceit

2 You will make your daughters singing girls and harlots
and you will mingle in the abominations of the Gentiles

3 For which things' sake the Lord will bring upon you
famine and pestilence,
death and an avenging sword,
siege and dogs of enemies for tearing to pieces
and revilings of friends,
destruction and blighting of the eyes,

slaughter of children and carrying off of wives,
plundering of possessions,
burning[68] of the temple of God,
laying waste of the **land**,
enslavement of yourselves among the Gentiles,

4 and they will castrate some of you to be eunuchs for their wives

5 And when you turn to the Lord with perfect **heart**,[69]
repenting and walking in all the commandments of God,
the Lord will both visit you with mercy
and bring you up™ from captivity among your enemies

Textcritical notes

[6] **ἐξακολουθοῦντες (*kgldeafchij*)**, to be preferred to **ἀκολουθοῦντες** (W) as it is found in the representatives of both **family** I and II

[68] **ἐμπυρισμόν** *(bef)*. The alternative **ἐμπρησμόν** (*gdachij*; cf *l*) may have been introduced for reasons of style; cf. LSeJ s v **ἐμπυρισμός**.

[69] ev **τελείᾳ καρδίᾳ (*geafchij*; cf. *ld*)**. The reading **εὐτελείᾳ καρδίας** *(b)* cannot be correct

[70] **ἀναγαγῇ (*gdeaf*; cf. *chij*)**. The variant ev **ἀγάπῃ (*bl*)** makes the whole clause rather cumbersome

Structure

An S.E.R., passage without the usual introductory sentence (but see 17 2 6 18 1) and with a repentance element in v 5ab

23,1-2 Sins: primarily idolatry and sexual sins
23,3–4 Exile and punishment
23 5 Repentance and return

Notes

23,1 **lewdness .. idolatries:** cf T.L. 17,11, WisSol **14,26f.**, Gal **5,19f**, **1Pet** 4,3, etc For **witchcrafts** in connection with sexual sins, see on T.Jos. 6 1 **following mediums, soothsayers ..:** **ἐξακολουθεῖν** with a negative connotation also in T.L 6,2; T.Z 9,5; T N 3,3; see esp. Lev **19,31** (LXX), **ουκ ἐπακολουθήσετε ἐγγαστριμύθοις;** 20 6 (cf. v 27); Deut 18,10.11.14 (LXX) (a list of **βδελύγματα ἐθνῶν** - see v 2 below) **οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται** ev **σοι ... κληδονιζόμενος ... ἐγγαστρίμυθος ... ουτοι κληδόνων ἀκούσονται** , 2Chr 33,6 (cf 2Kgs 21,6). **demons of deceit:** **δαίμων** is used only here; the usual expression is **πνευμα πλανῆς**

23,2 **your daughters singing girls and harlots:** cf., e g., Hos **4,13f**, Ezek 16 PssSol 2 13, **you will mingle ...:** see 2Ezra 8,67 **ἐπεμίγη τὸ σπέρμα τὸ ἅγιον εἰς τὰ ἀλλογενῆ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς** ; 8,84; cf. Ezek **16,37**; Ps 106(105),35 **the abominations of the GentUes** cf T D. 5 5; see Deut 18,10.14 mentioned above; the expression is often used in connection with the sins of the kings of Judah and the entire people: see **1Kgs** 14 24 **2Kgs** 16,3 21,2; 2Chr 28,3 33 2 **36,14**.

23,3 **will bring** : for **ἄγειν** (cf. **ἐπάγειν** in, e.g., 22,1), see also 2Chr 33,11; 36,17; Isa 31,2. **famine and pestilence, death sword:** 'famine' and 'pestilence' is a well-known

combination see Herodotus VII 171,2 Plutarch De fortuna Romanorum 9 (Mor 322 A); **Philo,** Vita Mosis I 110 II 16; Lk 21,11 etc. For famine' plus death and sword see Jer **44(51),13;** Ezek 5 12.17; **6,11f.;** 7 15; 12,16; 14,21; cf 2Chr 20 9; Sir 39 29f (see below); 40 9 PssSol 13 2 15,7; Rev 6,8; for famine plus death', see further Jer 14,12.15; 15 2; 16,4; 21 7 etc., and for famine plus **'sword':** Jer 38(45) 2 **42(49),17.22; 44(51),12.18.27; 1Bar** 2,25, etc. For **an avenging sword,** cf Sir 39,30 **ῥομφαία ἐκδικοῦσα (εἰς ὄλεθρον ἀσεβεῖς);** see also Jer 50(27) 21 LXX and Lev 26,25 **siege: πολιορκία,** will have to be taken literally cf e.g. Jer 19 9; it is used as a metaphor for anguish' in Prov 1 27 (par **θλῖψις)** **dogs ... for tearing to pieces:** see Jer 15 3 (LXX), **τοὺς κύνας εἰς διασπασμόν** **of enemies: opp of friends. revilings:** cf. T L 10,4 15,2. **destruction** (cf T.B. 7,2). see Jer **44(51),12** LXX **ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ** xal ev **λιμῷ ... εἰς ὀνειδισμὸν** xat' **εἰς ἀπώλειαν;** PssSol 17,22. **blighting of the eyes:** see Lev 26,16 (LXX), (in an announcement of God's punishment) **σφακελίζοντας τους ὀφθαλμοὺς υμων;** Deut 28,32 Philo **Praem.poen.** 143 **slaughter of children and carrying off of wives:** see also T L 6 10 and cf Jer **6,11f.;** Ezek 9 6 30,17; Jdt 4 12 16,4, **1Mac** 1,32 3,20 5 13 and esp 2Mac 5 13 **ἐγίνετο δὲ νέων και πρεσβυτέρων ἀναίρεσις, ἀνήβων τε καὶ γυναικῶν καί τέκνων ἀφανισμός, παρθένων τε** xal **νηπιων σφαγαί.** **plundering of possessions:** cf T.L 17 9 and Heb 10,34 together with **burning of the temple** of God in **2Kgs** 25,9; 2Chr 36,19; Jer 52 13 Josephus, Ant. **10,146ff.;** and esp 2Ezra 1,52 **ἐνεπύρισαν** TÓV **οἶκον τοῦ κυρίου,** 4,45 6 15 (all in descriptions of the destruction of the temple by the Babylonians). **laying waste of the land:** see T L 17,10 **ἐπιστρέψουσιν εἰς γῆν ἐρημώσεως αὐτῶν,** and cf **T.D.** 5 13; **T.A** 7,2; T L 15,1; 16,4. Similar expressions in Jdt 8 22 **τὴν ἐρήμωσιν τῆς κληρονομίας ημῶν;** PJ 3 9 **ἀφανισμόν τῆς πόλεως** xal **τὴν ἐρήμωσιν.** **enslavement of yourselves among the Gentiles** cf T.I. 6 2 T N 4 2 and also Jer 25 11 (LXX) **δουλεύσουσιν** ev TOÏÇ **ἔθνεσιν;** 2Mac 1 27.

23,4 Cf. **2Kgs** 20,18

23,5 **when you turn to the Lord** for the repentance element in the S.E R context, see on T I **6,3–4.** **with perfect heart:** also in **1Kgs** 8 61; 11,4 15,3.14 **1Chr** 28,9 (always in connection with complete obedience to God and his commandments contrast: worship of idols). **walking in all the commandments of God:** cf. T.Jos 18 1, and see on T.Jos.. 4 5 (ev **νόμῳ κυρίου σου πορευόμενοι)** **the Lord will visit you with mercy** for 'visitation see T.L 4 4 16 5 T A 7 2 T B 9,2, for God's mercy see T L . 16,5 T.I.. 6,4 T.Z. 9 7 T.D. 5 9, T.N. 4 3 **and bring you up** cf Jer 16,15 (LXX), **Ζῇ κύριος ὃς ἀνήγαγεν τὸν** oïxov **Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ γῆς βορρᾶ** xal **ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν χωρῶν, οὗ ἐξώσθησαν** exeî; **31(38),9.** **captivity among your enemies** cf T.L. 10 4 15 1 **17,9,** T D 5 8 13 T N 4 2 5 8 T Z **9,6**

T JUDAH 24

Translation

24,1 And after these things a star will arise to you from Jacob in peace
and a man will arise from my seed like the sun of **righteousness,**[71]
walking with the sons of men in meekness and righteousness,
and no sin whatever will be found in him

2 And the heavens will be opened to him
to pour out the blessing of the spirit of the holy Father,
and he will pour out the spirit of grace upon you,

3 and you will be sons to him in truth
and you will **walk**[72] in his commandments from first to last
4 This (is) the branch of God Most High
and this (is) the fountain unto life for all flesh
5 Then the sceptre of my kingdom will **shine,**
and from your root a stem will arise,
6 and in it a rod of righteousness will arise to the nations
to judge and save all who call upon the Lord

Textcritical notes

[71] **ὁ ἥλιος τῆς δικαιοσύνης** *(bk)*. The alternative **ἥλιος δικαιοσύνης** (*gldFm*[d]*meafchij*)may have been introduced under the influence of **Mal** 3 20 LXX (cf T Z. 9,8).

[72] **πορεύσεσθε (*bm*).** Both this reading and the variant **πορεύεσθε** (*kglde*)may be original

Structure

By way of an appendix to the R element in the S E R passage the author gives the **picture** of the ideal son of Judah, clearly Jesus Christ (cf 22 2-3)

24,1 The ideal descendant of Judah
24,2–3 He will receive the spirit and impart the spirit to you as his sons who obey him
24,4 He is the branch of God and the fountain of life for everybody
24,5–6 His royal dignity a rod of righteousness for the nations judging and saving all who **call upon the Lord**

The chapter corresponds to T L 18

Notes

24 1 **a star will arise to you from Jacob in peace and a man will arise ..:** cf Num 24 17 LXX **ἀνατελεῖ ἄστρον ἐξ Ἰακωβ, καὶ ἀναστήσεται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ Ἰσραήλ;** Mal 4 2 (3,20) (LXX), **καὶ ἀνατελεῖ ὑμῖν ... ἥλιος δικαιοσύνης;** Zech 6,12 On the use of **ἀνατέλλειν** in the Testaments in connection with Jesus Christ see on T S 7 1 In peace, cf 22,2; T L 18,4; here parallel to **like the sun of righteousness:** see **Mal** 4 2 (3,20) just quoted (cf T.Z. 9 8 T.L. 18,4). This text is applied to Jesus Christ in the early Church see Acta Phil 115, Hippolytus Antichr. 61, Clement of Alexandria, Prot XI (114,3) Origen **Cels**, VI 79, etc. **from my seed:** cf Num 24 7 (and **1Kgs** 1 48 LXX) **walking with the sons of men** see on T I 7,7, and T D **5,3** **in meekness and righteousness** cf Zech 8,8 (LXX), **ἐγω εσομαι αὐτοῖς εἰς θεὸν** ev **ἀληθείᾳ**καὶ **ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ** For **the πραότης** of Jesus Christ, see on T D 6,9. **πραοτης** and **δικαιοσύνη** together also in PS 45(44) 5· Zech 9 9 **and no sin whatever will be found in him** cf Isa 53 9 PssSol 17 36 2Cor 5 21 Heb 4 15 **1Pet** 2 22 etc cf also T B 3 8 **ἀναμάρτητος.**

24 2 **... the heavens will be opened to han to pour out the blessing of the spirit of the holy Father:** see T L **18,6f.**, and the stories about Jesus baptism in Mt **3,16f.** and par. Cf. Mal 3,10 (LXX), ἐὰν **μη ἀνοίξω ὑμῖν τοὺς καταρράκτας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἐκχεῶ ὑμῖν τὴν εὐλογίαν** HOD Holy Father', cf. Jn 17,11; Did 10,2· OdesSol 31,5 Origen **Comm** in Jo. XX 22, etc **he will pour out the spirit of grace upon you:** see T L **18,11** The phrase reminds of Acts 2,1ff.17ff.33, and Jn 15 26 16 7ff (and **14,16f 26);** see also Eusebius E **Th III** 5f For 'the spirit of grace cf Zech 12 10 and Heb 10 29· **1Clem** 46 6

24,3 **you will be sons to him in truth:** cf T L 18,8 **αὐτὸς δωσει . τοῖς υἱοις αὐτοῦ εν ἀληθείᾳ;** cf 2Cor 6 18 (2Sam 7,14); Rev 21,7 The normal view is, of course that believers are sons of God. In truth' stresses the reliability of the promise **you will walk in his commandments.** for this expression cf. Lev 26 3 **1Kgs** 8 61 Hermas, Sim 5 1,5, and esp Ezek 11 20 (and v 19) 37 24 **from first to last:** cf 2Chr 9 29· 12,15 **16,11; and 1QS** 9,10; CD 20,31

24,4 **the branch of God Most High:** the branch' is an allusion to Gen 49,9, applied to Jesus Christ as king from the tribe of Judah in Justin Dial 52,2 ConstApp VI 11 10 Hippolytus Ben Jac 16 **(ed.** Brière-Mariès-Mercier, *P.O.* 27 1 2, p 76); **Antichr.** 8 etc., **the fountain unto life** cf. "**the** tree of life' in T.L 18,11 The expression fountain of life' is used for God in Jer 17,13 (see also 2 13; Ps **36[35],10);** in connection with Christ, see Justin Dial **69,5f.;** Clement of Alexandria Prot X (110 3), **πηγὴ ζωοποιός;** Eusebius Ē Th I 8· 20 **πηγὴ ζωῆς.**

24,5–6 **the sceptre of my kingdom·** cf.. **Num** 24 17 MT (cf.. v 1), for the wording see WisSol 10,14; for the content, see 22,3 above For Jesus himself as sceptre, see **1Clem** 16,2. **will shine:** cf T L 18,4; Isa **9,2(1)** (LXX) **.. φῶς λάμψει ἐφ' ὑμᾶς** (understood as an allusion to the coming of Jesus Christ in e.g Mt **4,15f.);** cf Justin, Dial 113,5, **οὐτός ἐστιν** ὁ frv **Ἱερουσαλὴμ αἰωνιον φῶς λάμπειν μέλλων;** 121,3.. **from your root a stem will arise, and in it a rod of righteousness will arise:** cf. Isa **11,1** (LXX) **καὶ ἐξελευσεται ῥάβδος ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης Ἰεσσαί,** καὶ **ἄνθος ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης ἀναβήσεται** (cf v 10) applied to Jesus Christ in the early Church: see e.g., Rev 5 5 22,16; Justin **Apol.** II **32,12f.;** Dial. 86 4 87 2 ConstApp VI 11,10 Hippolytus, Ben. Jac 16 **(ed** Brière **Mariès–Mercier,** *P.O* 27,1 2, p..76), Antichr.. 8. For 'a rod of righteousness cf.. PS **45(44),7f ,** and Heb **1,8f.;** Justin, Dial.. 56,14·· 63 4.. **ῥάβδος** as symbol of kingship also in 12,4.. **to the nations:** cf.. also Isa **11,10** **to judge and save all who call upon the Lord:** for the eschatological judgment see T L 18,2; T.B.. 10,8f All who call upon the Lord also in Joel 3,5(2 32) Acts 2 21·· Rom **10,12f. οἱ ἐπικαλούμενοι** (obj.: God the Name, etc.) also in T D. 5,11 6 3, and Ps 86(85) 5· 99(98),6; **145(144),18;** PssSol 2 36; 9,6; 2Tim 2,22; Hermas, Sim 9 14,3 etc

T JUDAH 25

Translation

25,1 And after these things Abraham and Isaac and Jacob will arise unto life,
and I and my brothers will be chiefs of our tribes in Israel
Levi first, I second, Joseph third, Benjamin fourth,
Simeon fifth, **Issachar** sixth, and so all in order,

2 And the Lord will **bless**[73] Levi,
the angel of the presence (will bless) me,
the powers of the glory Simeon,
the heaven Reuben,
the earth Issachar,
the sea Zebulun,
the mountains Joseph,
the tabernacle Benjamin,
the luminaries Dan,
Eden Naphtali,

the sun Gad,
olive[74] Asher.
3 And there will be one people of the Lord
and one tongue,
and there will be no longer any spirit of deceit of Beliar,
because it will be cast into the fire for ever and ever,[75]
4 And those who have died in grief will arise in joy
and those who were in poverty for the Lord's sake will be made rich
and those who were in want[76] will be fed
and those who were in weakness will be strong
and those who died for the Lord's sake will awake to life
5 And the deer of Jacob[77] will run in joyfulness
and the eagles of Israel will fly in gladness,
but the ungodly wil lament
and the sinners[78] will weep,
and all the peoples will glorify the Lord for ever

Textcritical notes

[73] εὐλογησει (*gdmef*) The future tense is preferable to εὐλόγησε found in *bchij*.

[74] ἐλαία (*b*, cf A) Introduction of ἡ σελήνη (*gldmefchij*) instead of ἐλαία may have been suggested by the context. For the text of *b*, cf Deut 33 24

[75] εἰς ΤΟΝ αἰῶνα καὶ ἐπέκεινα (*gldmef*) lectio difficilior over against the more usual ΕΙÇ ΤΟΝ αἰῶνα (*bchij*). For the text of *gldmef*, cf. Micah 4,5.

[76] πενία (*b*) Both this reading and the alternative πείνᾳ (*dmef*) may be original

[77] Ἰακώβ (*bgl*), to be preferred to Ἰωσήφ (*defchij*; cf T Jos 19 2) since Ἰακώβ . . . Ἰσραήλ is frequent in such parallelismi membrorum

[78] ot ἁμαρτωλοί (all MSS except *bl*) *bl* wrongly omit the article that is certainly demanded by the context

Structure

25,1 The resurrection of Abraham Isaac and Jacob and the twelve patriarchs (note the order!)
25,2 Blessings for the twelve patriarchs (Levi and Judah are again mentioned first but the other names are given in a different order)
25,3ab There will be one people of God
25,3cd The evil spirits will be destroyed
25,4 Reversal of fortune at the end of times for those who are afflicted
25,5ab Joy for Israel
25,5cd Sorrow for sinners
25,5e All nations will glorify the Lord for ever

Notes

25 1 Resurrection passages (see INTRODUCTION 7.4) are also found in T.S. 6 7 T Z **10,2f.**, T B **10,6–8**, cf T L. 18 14 **Abraham and Isaac and Jacob.** also in T L 18,14, T B 10 6 **I and my brothers** cf T.L. 18 14 T B 10 7 **will be chiefs of our tribes in Israel** see T Z 10 2, T B 10 7 **Levi I Joseph Benjamin ... Simeon**

Issachar: the selection of these six will go back to Deut 27,12, cf. also **Philo,** Fuga 73 'the six best over the blessing ...' There is a change of order, Levi and Judah, Joseph and Benjamin, obviously because of their importance in the Testaments plus Simeon and Issachar as the remaining ones Cf also Philo, Fuga 74 **της γὰρ βασιλείου καὶ ἱερωμένης φυλῆς** ot **ἡγεμόνες** ev **τῇ προτέρᾳ τάξει χορεύουσιν . .**

25,2 This verse mentions the patriarchs in a different order, with the exception of the first two Levi and Judah; Simeon plus partner Reuben follow then, Issachar plus partner Zebulun Joseph plus Benjamin, and finally the pairs **Dan-Naphtali** and Gad-Asher the sons of the concubines.. There is at least at the beginning a clear hierarchy in the 'powers that bless the patriarchs: God, his angel the heaven the earth, etc.; there are also a few references to Gen 49 and Deut 33 **the angel of the presence:** the **plur.** is found in T.L 3 5 7 and Jub 2,2.18 15 27; 31,14; **1En** 40,3; 1QH 6,13; **1QSb 4,25f ;** the **sing** in Jub 1 27,29; 2,1, 3En 3,2 (Metatron as angel of the presence).. This angel may be the same as the one mentioned in T.L. **5,6f ,** T.D 6 2 cf. also T.Jud. 3 10 T.D . 5,4; T.Jos. 6,7; and T A.. 6 6; T B.. 6,1; see also K Berger, *Das Buch der Jubiläen* **(*JSHRZII 3*),** Gütersloh 1981 on Jub 1,27 **the powers ...:** see e g Dan 3,61 **LXX/Th;** Philo Conf 171 Rom 8,38; **1Pet** 3 22 etc **the earth Issachar** cf Gen 49 15 and T I 3ff. **the sea Zebulun** cf Gen 49 13 Deut 33,19, and T Z **5,5–6,8** **the mountains Joseph** cf Deut 33 15? **the tabernacle Benjamin** the temple was in the territory of this patriarch: cf Deut 33 12 and see on T B 9 2 **Eden Naphtali: τρυφή** is frequently found in the LXX as translation of **עֵדֶן** = **'Eden'.** cf Gen **3,23f.;** Ps 36(35),9 **139(138),11,** Joel 2,3; Ezek 28 13; 31,16.18. Is this connection inspired by Deut 33,23 or is there confusion with Asher (cf. Gen 49 20 [LXX] **δώσει τρυφήν)?** **olive Asher** cf. Deut 33 24

25,3 **there will be one people of the Lord and one tongue** this refers to the righteous primarily those in Israel, but see v. 5e; cf Jer 30,22; Ezek 37 22 and also 2Bar 30,2, '. . and they (the souls of the righteous) shall come forth and a multitude of souls shall be seen together in one assemblage of one thought and the first shall rejoice and the last shall not be grieved. For **γλῶσσα** parallel to **λαός,** cf. Dan 3,2 **LXX.4.7,** Rev 5 9 7 9 etc.. **there will be no longer cast into the fire:** see T.S 6 6 (see note); T L 3 3; 18,2; T.Z 9 8 and see esp lEn 10 6 ev **τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς μεγάλης τῆς κρίσεως ἁπαχθήσεται (sc.** Azazel) **εἰς** TOV **ἐνπυρισμόν** For **ἐμβάλλειν** in such a context see lEn 98,3; Lk 12,5; for **πῦρ,** cf T.Z 10 3 **for ever and ever εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα** xat **ἐπέκεινα** is also found in Micah 4 5 LXX

25,4 For the reversal of the fortune of men at the resurrection cf lEn 96 3 103 1-104 4 2Bar 51-52; ApMos 39; Mt **5,3–12;** Lk **6,20–23** (cf vv. **24–26**) **who have died in grief** cf Mt 5,4; Lk 6 21 **will arise in joy:** cf.. v. 5ab ev **ἀγαλλιάσει . .** ev **χαρᾷ;** cf T L 18,5.14; T N 6,10 T.Jos 19,4; T.B. **10,6–7;** and also **εὐφραίνειν, ευφροσύνῃ** in T S 6 7; T.L. 18,5.13 14 T.Z.. 10,2; T D 5 12 **who were in poverty** cf., Mt 5,3, Lk **6,20** **who were in want:** cf Mt 5 6 Lk **6,21** **who died for the Lord's sake:** cf 4Mac 16,25, **οἱ διὰ τὸν θεὸν ἀποθνήσκοντες ζῶσιν τῷ θεῷ ὥσπεο Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ καὶ πάντες** ot **πατριάρχαι,** Mt 5 11; 16 25 par

25,5 **the deer of Jacob will run ... the eagles of Israel will fly:** also in T.Jos **19,2,** the twelve tribes are compared to twelve **ἔλαφοι.** See also Isa 40 31 (LXX) ot oè **ὑπομένοντες τὸν θεὸν ἀλλάξουσιν ἰσχύν, πτεροφυήσουσιν ὡς ἀετοί, δραμοῦνται** xal ou **κοπιάσουσιν;** cf also lEn 96,2 And in the day of the tribulation of the sinners, your children (those of the righteous) shall mount and rise as eagles.' **in joyfulness ... in gladness** see on v. 4 **the ungodly will lament ... the sinners will weep:** cf T.Z 10 3 and also lEn 103 7 SlavApBar **15–16,** and see the resting-place of the righteous and their glory and joy and delight and again see the resting-place of the wicked their tears and

sighs and worms that never sleep (tr W R Morfill) Lk 6 25 ApMos 39 **Hippolytus,** Consumm. 38f **all the peoples will glorify the Lord for ever**· cf Ps 22(21),28 67(66),4.6; **117(116),1;** 148,11; Tob 13,13; and **1En** 10,21, **xal ἔσονται πάντες λατρεύοντες οἱ λαοὶ xal εὐλογοῦντες παντες ἐμοι xal προσκυνοῦντες**

T JUDAH 26

Translation

26,1 Observe, therefore, my children, the entire law of the Lord,
because there is hope for all who make their **ways**[79] steadfast
2 And he said to them
I die before your eyes to-day, a hundred and nineteen years old
3 Let nobody bury me in costly apparel
nor tear open my belly,
because those who reign as kings will do this
And carry me up to Hebron with you
4 And having said these things Judah fell asleep
And his sons did according to all hat he had commanded them,
and they buried him in Hebron with his fathers

Textcritical note

[79] **τας ὁδοὺς αὐτῶν. αὐτοῦ** (all MSS) must be corrupt for **αὐτῶν.** The corruption has led to the introduction of **τὴν ὁδόν** (*bl*)instead of **τὰς ὁδούς** (*gdmeafchij*).

Structure

26,1 Concluding exhortation
26,2 Announcement of death age of the patriarch
26,3 Special instructions not to embalm the body usual command to bury the body in **Hebron**
26,4 Death and burial by the sons of the patriarch according to his instructions

Notes

26,1 **Observe the entire law of the Lord** cf T.I. 5 1, T.Z. 5 1 10,2, T.D 5,1, T A 6,3, T.Jos. 19,6 T B 3,1; 10 3 5 **because there is hope**· i e. on salvation, cf. T D 6 10· T.G. 4,7, and also 2Clem 17 7 contrast lEn 98 14. So there is a coonection here with **25,4–5.** **who make their ways steadfast** cf. Ps 119(118),5 (LXX) **ὄφελον κατευθυνθείησαν** at **ὁδοί μου του φυλάξασθαι τα δικαιωματά σου;** Prov 4 26· **13,13a** LXX PssSol 8 6

26,2 **I die ... to-day:** see on T R **1,3,** for **σημερον,** cf T R 16 T D 14 **a hundred and nineteen years old** see on 12,12

26,3 **Let nobody bury me in costly apparel:** Judah refuses special (royal) honour; cf Acta Phil 143, (Philip **speaks.**) **ἐγὼ** δὲ **ὑπάγω πρὸς τὸν κύριον**· xal **λάβε τὸ σῶμά μου** xal **ἐνταφίασον αὐτὸ** ev **χαρταις συριακαῖς,** xal **μὴ ἐπιβάλῃς μοι ὀθόνην λινῆν, ὅτι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου ἐν σινδόνι ἐνειλήθη.** 'Costly apparel' is often viewed negatively, with regard to women who try to seduce men (**Philo,** Virt 39 **Sacrif.** 21 also **1Tim** 2 9) and

in general **(Philo, Somn** I **224f ;** also Plutarch Lacaenarum apophthegmata Unknown 9 [Mor. 241 **D]).** **nor tear open my belly·** as was practised in the course of the most expensive embalming a procedure of the Egyptians: cf. Herodotus II 86 esp 86,4 **μετὰ** ος **λίθῳ Αἰθιοπικῷ ὀξέϊ παρασχισαντες παρὰ τὴν λαπάρην ἐξ ων εἵλον τὴν κοιλίην πᾶσαν, ἐκκαθήραντες** δὲ **αὐτὴν καὶ διηθήσαντες οἴνῳ φοινικηίῳ** αὖτις **διηθέουσι θυμιήμασι τετριμμένοισι .** **carry me up.** see on T.S. 8,2

26 4 **And his sons did ...:** cf T N **9,3; T. A 8,2** **with his fathers:** see on T Z 10 7

THE TESTAMENT OF ISSACHAR CONCERNING SIMPLICITY

INTRODUCTION

In this testament Issachar is depicted as a farmer (γεωργός) as in Gen 49,14–15 LXX Its main theme is simplicity (ἁπλότης), a word incorporated in the title of the testament in *bldm*.

After the usual introductory passage (1,1-2) chapters 1 and 2 give details about Issachar's birth and his name-giving, retelling the story of the mandrakes (Gen 30,14–18 LXX) In this connection chapter 2 emphasizes Rachel's continency (ἐγκράτεια). Later she gave birth to two sons because she was not led by lust of pleasure (φιληδονία) In chapter 2 the author is also influenced by Gen 30,19–24.

Chapter 3 deals with the patriarch's life and work as a farmer - a theme suggested by Gen 49,14–15 LXX and also found in Philo, Leg all I 80, Migr Abr 221, cf Hippolytus, Ben.Jac. 21 (ed. Brière-Mariès-Mercier, *P O* 27,1-2, pp 86–90) and Origen, Comm in Pss, Ps 8,1 Jacob's blessing is explicitly referred to in 5,6 (cf 5,4–5, 3,2)

Chapter 3 which praises Issachar's simplicity is followed by exhortations in the next Issachar's sons are admonished to be single-minded and a description of the single-minded man is given, further exhortations are added in 5,1-3. Next follows a reference to the blessings bestowed on Issachar (5,4–5 and 6), on Levi and Judsh (an L.J. passage in 5,7) and on Gad (5,8).

Chapter 6 gives an S E.R. passage, mentioning the abandoning of simplicity as special sin Chapter 7 returns to Issachar's exemplary life. we find an elaborate declaration of innocence in 7,2(lb)-7 ending with a reference to the two great commandments, practised by Issachar and to be obeyed by his sons.

The concluding section 7,8–9 contains the usual remarks about the patriarch's death and burial

Ἁπλότης as central theme

A very useful study of the notion of 'simplicity', 'single-mindedness' is that by Joseph Amstutz, *ΑΠΛΟΤΗΣ. Eine begriffsgeschichtliche Studie zum jüdisch-christlichen Griechisch (Theophaneia 19)* Bonn 1968 He deals with the Testaments on pp 64–85 (of which pp 72-85 are devoted to T I in particular) It may be useful to repeat some of his conclusions on the use of ἁπλότης in Jewish and Christian literature

After an examination of the use of the word in the Greek Bible Amstutz remarks In einer fest umrissenen Situation, der Beteuerung des ungerecht Verfolgten, ist ἁπλότης Unschuld, Fehl- und Schuldlosigkeit in den Augen Gottes Sie ist ein Attribut dessen, der in Gesetz und Willen Gottes den Kanon seines Lebens gefunden hat Schließlich bezeichnet ἁπλότης die „Integrität" des Frommen, der ganz, ungeteilt und vorbehält-

los Gott gehört in Gehorsam und Ergebenheit Sein ganzes Wesen (nichts davon fehlt) ist einbegriffen in dieser einen (alle anderen Interessen vernichtigenden) Entschiedenheit Diese letzte Bedeutung scheint ursprünglich jüdisch und auf das Griechisch der jüdisch-christlichen Überlieferung beschränkt zu sein' (p 41) This idea of 'integrity' is very important in postbiblical literature: 'Aus dem Gesagten dürften zwei Dinge deutlich geworden sein, einmal, daß die Qumrantheologen, wie das Spätjudentum überhaupt, „Integrität" als Gehorsam („mit ganzem Herzen") dem Gotteswillen („seinem ganzen Gesetz") gegenüber verstanden haben' (p 95) With regard to the Testaments in particular, Amstutz concludes: '... die uber die Testamente hin zerstreuten *ἁπλότης*-Aussagen haben ihre ausdrücklichen Parallelen im Test.Iss. Entsprechend darf ... als gesichert gelten, daß Kap 3ff des Test.Iss. in haggadischer, paränetischer und apokalyptischer Weise nur eines zu geben beabsichtigen das Porträt des vir simplex . . Die Einfachheit des Frommen ist geknüpft an das „einfache Leben des Bauern" ... mühsame Arbeit auf Feld und Weide ... Es wird als von Gott zugewiesen angenommen, und der damit gegebene Dienstauftrag Gott gegenüber (Erstlinge), der Großfamilie und den Armen gegenüber wird fraglos bejaht Die Härte dieses Lebens hat aber auch den Sinn die Konkupiszenz ... zu vernichten und so den Menschen freizumachen, dem Willen Gottes Folge zu leisten Umgekehrt ist mit demselben Leben die Gefährdung durch Neid und Mißgunst impliziert ... Neidische Mißgunst ebenso wie hinterhältige Duplizität sind ihm fremd ... Der Fromme geht ganz auf im Willen Gottes . . Er liebt Gott und den Nächsten' (pp 84f.).

For what precise reason did ἁπλότης become the central virtue in this particular testament? The Testaments took the picture of Issachar as farmer from Gen 49,14–15 LXX and were aware of the positive appreciation of the farmer's life and virtues in Greek and hellenistic thought, as has amply been documentated by H Hommel, 'Das Hellenistische Ideal vom einfachen Leben', *Symbola* l, Hildesheim–New York 1976, pp 256–73 and esp. by R Vischer in his book *Das einfache Leben. Wort- und motivgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu einem Wertbegriffler antiken Literatur* (Göttingen 1965). The ideal of simplicity was a topic in popular philosophical, more precisely Cynic and Stoic thought Simplicity in food, clothing, dwelling and other aspects of life had to be pursued Above all living in the country and working in the fields seemed to meet this ideal Agriculture accompanied by hard work makes people virtuous One example on p 114 R Vischer quotes Poseidonios' description of ancient Roman virtues, πάτριος μὲν γὰρ ην αὑτοῖς ... καρτερια καὶ λιτὴ δίαιτα xal τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρὸς τὴν κτησιν ἀφελὴς Kal ἀπερίεργος χρησις, ἔτι δὲ εὐσέβεια μὲν frauuttatí] περὶ TO δαιμόνιον, δικαιοσύνη δὲ xal πολλὴ τοῦ πλημμελεῖν εὐλαβεία πρὸς παντας ἀνθρώπους μετὰ τῆς κατὰ γεωργίαν ἀσκήσεως (in Athenaios, Deipnosophistae 274a) For the use of ἁπλοῦς in this (and other) context(s), see Vischer pp 10–22. For further examples, see the commentary on chapters 3 and 4 For ἁπλοῦς / ἁπλότης over against διπλοῦς (as used in T B. 6,6–7) and διπρόσωπος (found in [T D 4,7,] T A 2,2 3 5 7 8, 3,1 2, 4,1 3 4, 6,2), see T A , INTRODUCTION pp 338ff

T ISSACHAR 1-2

Translation

1,1 A copy of the words of Issachar
After having called his sons he said to them
Listen, children, to Issachar your father,
give ear to (his) words, you **beloved**[1] of the Lord
2 I was born as the fifth son to Jacob, in exchange for the mandrakes
3 For **Reuben**[2] brought the mandrakes from the field,
and Rachel, meeting him before, took them
4 But Reuben wept and at his voice my mother Leah came out
5 - Now these (mandrakes) were **sweet-smelling**[3] apples
which the land of Aram produced on a high place below a ravine of water -
6 Rachel said.
I shall not give them to you,
for they will be to me instead of children
7 - Now there were two apples -
And Lesh said
Let it suffice you that you have taken the husband of my virginity,
would you take these also?
8 But she said
Behold, Jacob shall be yours this night for the mandrakes of your son
9 But Leah said to her
Do not boast or vaunt yourself,
for Jacob is mine and I am the wife of his youth
10 But Rachel said
How so? For he was betrothed to me **first**[4]
and for my sake he served our father for fourteen years
11 What can I do for you?
For the craft and the cunning of men have multiplied,
and craft proapers on earth
If not, you would not be seeing the face of Jacob,
12 for you are not his wife, but by craft you were led in in my place
13 And my father deceived me, and removing me that night, he did not let me see (it, **him**?),
for if I had been there this had not happened
14 And Rachel said
Take one mandrake, and for this one I shall hire him to you for one night

15 And Jacob knew Leah,
and she conceived and bore me,
and on account of the hire I was called Issachar
2,1 Then an angel of the Lord appeared to Jacob, saying
Two children will Rachel bear,
because she has despised intercourse with a man and has chosen continency
2 And if my mother Lesh had not paid[5] the two apples for the sake of intercourse,
she would have borne eight sons
Therefore she bore six, and Rachel bore the two,
because on account of the mandrakes the Lord visited her
3 For he saw that for the sake of children she wished to have intercourse with Jacob
and not for lust of pleasure.
4 For on the next day she gave Jacob up again,
in order that she might receive also the other mandrake
Therefore, on account of the mandrakes, the Lord listened to Rachel
5 For though she desired them she did not eat them,
but she dedicated them in the house of the Lord,
offering them to the priest of the Most High
who was there at that time

Textcritical notes

1 ἠγαπημένοι *(b)* is supported by the variant ἠγαπημένα (*ld*), grammatically correct referring to τέκνα. The reading of *b* is lectio difficilior ἠγαπημένου (*meafchij*) is an attempt to meet the context (parallelismus membrorum cf. T.Jos. 1,2)

2 Ῥουβήμ is found in all witnesses except *b* whose reading Ἰακώβ is obviously wrong

3 For 'sweet-smelling *b* and *l* use εὐώδημα. LSCJ only mention εὔοσμος (εὔοσμα is found in *dmeafchij*) and εὐώδης.

4 ἐμοὶ πρῶτον ἥρμοσται (*b*). Only *b* regards ἥρμοσται as a pass.; the other witnesses take it in the more usual med sense (see ἐμέ in *ldmeafc*). πρῶτον is found in *bdm*. πρωτον (σου) in *dm* has been corrected to πρότερος (*l*), πρστέραν (*eaf*) or προτερον (*chij*); σοῦ (missing in *b*) is probably an addition

5 ἀπέδω *(b)* Leah paid the two apples for the sake of intercourse while Rachel sold (ἀπέδοτο) Jacob to her sister (v 4)

Structure

1,1 Superscription and introduction
1,2 Theme of chapter 1, clear inclusio with v 15b
1,3–15a Explanatory story, following Gen 30,14–18 LXX with significant (dramatizing) changes and additions
vv. 3–6 Rachel meets Reuben and *takes* the mandrakes
v 5 explanatory note about mandrakes
v 7a additional note there were *two* mandrakes see 1 14 and 2 4 (cf 2 2)

vv 7b–14 extended discussion between Rachel and Leah, bringing in details from Gen 29,15–30

1,15 Jacob has intercourse with Leah and she gives birth to Issachar Issachar's name

2,1 An angel of the Lord announces the birth of two children of Rachel, because of her ἐγκράτεια

2,2 Contrast with Leah, who will not have eight sons, but six

2,3–5 Illustration of Rachel's ἐγκράτεια; what happened with the second mandrake, Rachel's piety in offering the mandrakes to God Chapter 2 refers, freely, to the order of events in Gen 30,19–24

Notes

1,1 (A **copy) of the words:** cf TS 1,1, TL. 1,1; T.Jud 1,1, TD 1,1, TB. 1,1. **Listen ... give ear to ...: see on T.R. 1,5. beloved of the Lord:** an expression used in OT/LXX for pious men of the past So for Benjamin in Deut 33,12, for the Israelites in general (Jdt 9,4); for Abraham (Dan 3,35 LXX); for Moses (Sir 45,1) and Samuel (Sir 46,13) Cf also Deut 32,15 (Jacob . . . ο ἠγαπημένος)

1,2 **as the fifth son:** cf TS 2,2 (second); T.Jud 1,3f (fourth); T.G. 1,2 (ninth)

1,3–4 Explanatory story (see γάρ!), cf Gen 30,14 LXX Rachel intervenes and takes the mandrakes (cf vv 7,14 and 2,4) **Wept ... at his voice:** cf **Gen 21,16–17** LXX, Deut 1,45, etc

1,5 **Sweet-smelling apples:** cf Gen 30,14 LXX and Song 7,14. For Rabbinic speculations on the meaning of **dudaim,** see e.g., Ber.Rabba 72,2 and Rashi on Gen 30,14 **the land of Aram:** the Hebrew Bible speaks of Paddan-Aram and Laban the Aramean, the LXX of Mesopotamia (cf Jub 27,10.12f , 29,12) and Laban the Syrian In the Testaments, see T Jud. 9,1 and 10,1, 'Thamar from Mesopotamia, a daughter of Aram' (cf. Jub 9,5)

1,6 Extra, compared to Gen 30,14–18.

1,7a Mention of two mandrakes necessary as introduction to 2,4, cf 1,14, 2,2

1,7bcd **Let it suffice you:** see on v 9, cf Gen 30,15 LXX, οὐχ ἱκανόν σοι **the husband of my virginity:** cf τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς TOV παρθενικόν (Joel 1,8 LXX), γυνὴ παρθενίας (Sir 15,2), and ὁ ἐκ παρθενίας σου γαμετης (Acta Thom 114) Cf Jer 3,4 LXX

1,9 **Do not boast:** cf 1Kgs 21,11 LXX (with preceding ἱκανούσθω, cf v 7 above) **wife of his youth:** cf. Prov 5,18, Mal 2,14f. (and Sir 15,2)

1,10 How so· τί οὖν introduces an objection **betrothed to me:** cf. Prov 19,14 LXX, 2Cor 11,2 **he served our father:** cf. Gen 29,15 18.20 25.30; 30,26 29; 31,6 41 The **fourteen years** are mentioned in Gen 31,41, there they are connected with two daughters, but the view that Jacob, in fact, served this period for Rachel is in tune with the story in Gen. See also Asterius Soph., Hom 1,13 in Ps 12 (ed M Richard, Oslo 1956, p 179), τὰ δεκατέσσαρα δι' αὐτὴν (Rachel) ἐδούλευσεν

1,11 **What can I do for you:** this seems to be the right translation in view of Gen 27,37; 1Sam 20,4, 2Sam 21,3, 2Kgs 4,2 **For the craft , , . have multiplied:** see v 12, 'in craft' and v 13, 'deceived me' For the expression used here, cf Gen 6,5 (LXX), ὅτι ἐπληθύνθησαν αἱ κακίαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς **and** 1En 16,3. craft and **cunning:** see 2Cor 4,2; 12,16; πανουργία also in T Jud 10,3, TN 1,6. **seeing the face of Jacob:** cf TZ. 4,5 and T.R. 4,2, TD 2,2 'To see the face of is a standard expression in the OT, see Gen 32,21(20), 33,10, 43,3 5, etc , and cf also Acts 20,25 38, etc.

1,12 **led in:** cf Gen 29,23

1,13 **removing me:** for this use of μεθίσταναι, cf Sus 56, TSol 20,6 **he did not let me** see the object is not quite certain, but Rachel is certainly subject of the verb 'to see', cf TR 3,12; TD 1,9

1,14 And Rachel said repetition after v 10 cf e g Jub 28 6 8 **one mandrake** see on v 7a **hire him:** cf Gen **30,16**

1,15 Cf Gen 30,17.. For to **know' (γινώσκειν)** in this **sense,** see Gen 4 1 17 25 etc For v 15b cf Gen 30 18 Name-giving also in T S 2 2 T Jud 1 3 T Z 1 3 T N 1 6 T B 1 6

2,1 An angel appeared to cf Ex 3,2, Judg 6,12; 13,3; Tob 12,22 Lk 1,11; Acts 7,30 **despised:** the verb **διαπτύειν** is not found in LXX, **Philo,** NT and Apostolic Fathers, but see Plutarch De virtute et vitio 4 (Mor 101 C) and Dio **Chrysostom** XXXVIII 38 **intercourse** cf. **T.R.** 2 8 5,6, T Jos. 8,2 For **συνουσία** in opposition to **ἐγκράτεια,** see T.N. 8 8 and Aristides, **Apol.** 15 6 Acta Phil 119. For **ἐγκράτεια / ἐγκρατεύεσθαι** with regard to sexual relations see T N 8,8; Philo, Somn II 106; Abr. 253 **Leg.all.** HI 237 **1Cor** 7 9 Tatian **Orat.** 29,1 ClemHom 3,26 4 **Epictetus,** Enchiridion 10 cf II 10,18 Plutarch Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat 12 (Mor. 33 A). **has chosen ἐκλέγεσθαι** of deliberate choice of the good over against rejection of evil cf Deut 30 19 (life), Isa **7,15f ;** Justin, Apol. I 44 1 contrast Barn 21,1

2,2 Leah sells two apples for two nights with Jacob and 'loses' two children Instead of eight sons for Leah and none for Rachel the division will now be six for Leah and two for Rachel It is interesting to note that Ber. Rabba 72 3 and 5 reproaches Rachel for giving up Jacob for two mandrakes and says that because of that she would lose two tribes. Leah's motive on the contrary was none other than to produce tribes and therefore God blessed her with Issachar and Zebulun This presupposes a division four-four as starting point **visited ἐπεσκέψατο,** cf. **ἐμνήσθη** and **ἐπήκουσεν** in Gen 30,22 (see v 4) The verb is used in Gen 21 1 in the case of Sarah and in **1Sam** 2 21 in the case of Hannah.

2,3 lust of pleasure: φιληδονία in connection with sex also in T R 2 8 The word is often used as opposition of **ἐγκράτεια** The idea that the only purpose of marriage is the procreation of the children is often found in hellenistic, Jewish hellenistic and early **Christian literature,** see e.g., **Philo, Spec.leg. III 113;** De Jos.. 43, **Josephus, Bell 2,160f** (a second **τάγμα** of the Essenes); Contr.. Ap.. 2,199; Justin, Apol.. I 29,1; Athenagoras Leg.. 33,1; Minucius Felix Octavius 31 5; Clement of Alexandria, Str. **III 7 (57f.);** Musonius, Dissertationes 12, 13A; 14.. See J. Stelzenberger *Die Beziehungen der frühchristlichen* ***Sittenlehre*** *zur Ethik der Stoa* München 1933 pp **403–38.**

2,4 Explains vv. 1 and 3 **... again:** the use of **προστίθεναι / προστίθεσθαι** forrcaXi/vor a similar adverb is a typical and very frequent construction in the LXX (see Thackeray *Grammar* pp **52f)** For **listened to,** see Gen 30 22 (cf. note on v. 2)

2,5 She desired them did not eat them contrast Josephus, Ant 1,307 **δι' ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ βρώματος γενομένη** as characterization of Rachel when she **sees** Reuben bringing the mandrakes to his mother **she dedicated them in the house of the Lord:** cf **1Sam** 31,10; Micah 4,13; Jdt 16,19 2Mac 5 16; LetAris 19; 37; 40; Lk 21 5 Philo mentions dedications in connection with the temple by Jews and non-Jews in Quod **det pot.** 20 Plant.. 126; **Decal** 133; Leg 151 157 280 Dedications to pagan temples see Plato **Phaedrus** 235 **D,** Plutarch Quaestiones convivales VIII 4 (Mor 724 B); De Pythiae Oraculis 8 (Mor 398 A); Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata, Cicero 2 (Mor. 204 E) Apophthegmata Laconica, Cleomenes 18 (Mor 224 B) Acta **Thom** 77; ClemHom 9 17,3.. Dedication of fruits of trees is mentioned in Lev 19,24 Philo Plant. 119. In Congr.. 93 Philo characterizes Abram's gifts to Melchizedek, priest of God Most High (Gen **14,18–20)** as **ᾧ** (God) **καὶ τας δεκάτας χαριστήρια τῆς νίκης ἀνατίθησι** This usage **may** explain **the use of ἀνέθηκεν here, and** that **of ἱερεῖ ὑψίστου in the** next phrase **the Most High: ὕψιστος** frequently refers to God in the Testaments. In connection with Melchizedek (Gen 14,18) this title occurs often, see e.g., Philo, **Leg.all. III 82, Heb 7,1, Justin, Dial 19,4, 33,2; 113,5 in the house of the Lord:** cf T.L 17,10

and Ex 23 19 34 26 Deut 23 19 **1Sam** 1 7 24 3,15· 2Sam 5 8 **1Kgs** 7 26 31 34 etc **offering them to the priest:** cf 3,6 and Lev 2,8 12,6, 14,23 **who was there at the tàne:** cf. the expression èv **ταῖς ἡμέραις εκείναις** used of a judge (in the future) in Deut 17,9 12· 19,17 - in all cases mentioned together with priests - and of a priest in Deut 26,3 (cf Josh 20,6 LXX, A).. Jdt 4,6 mentions 'Joakim the high priest, who was in Jerusalem at that time (cf. **6,14f.**). The expression wishes to emphasize the unbroken continuity in the succession of priests - to which the priest of the Most High' in T.I belongs It should be observed that Hippolytus Trad ap.. 3 emphasizes the continuity between priests and bishops;; in a prayer at the consecration of a bishop God is addressed as o **προοριόας** TE COT' **ἀρχῆς γένος δίκαιον ἐξ 'Αβραάμ, ἄρχοντάς** TE **καὶ ἱερεις καταστησας, τό** TE **ἁγιασμά σου μη καταλιπῶν ἀλειτούργητον.** The same chapter mentions the apostles oι **καθίδουσαν την ἐκκλησίαν κατὰ τόπον ἁγιάσματός σου (Latin· qui constituerunt ecclesiam per** singula **loca** sanctificationem **tuam) εἰς δόξαν καὶ αἰνὸν ἀδιάλειπτον τοῦ ὀνόματός σου.** Note also that Did **13,3–7** requires the offering of first fruits to the prophets (as your high priests') or to the poor Hippolytus, Trad. ap 31 gives a prayer to be spoken by the bishop when fruits are offered to him by the believers as first fruits Chapter 32 enumerates the variant kinds of fruits including apples

T ISSACHAR 3

Translation

3,1 When, therefore, I grew up, my children,
I walked in uprightness of heart,
and I became a farmer for my fathers and my brothers,
and I brought in fruits from the fields according to their season
2 And my father blessed me, seeing that I walk in simplicity
3 And I was not a busy-body in my affairs,
nor wicked[6] and malicious against my neighbour,
4 I did not slander anyone
nor did I censure the life of a man
walking (as I did) in singleness of eyes
5 Therefore, at the age of thirty I took myself a wife,
for my labour wore away my strength,
and I did not think of pleasure with a woman,
but because of my toil sleep overcame me
6 And always my father rejoiced in my simplicity,
for if I laboured on anything,
I offered all the choice fruit and all the first fruit,
first through the priest to the Lord,
then to my father, and then I myself (took from it)
7 And the Lord doubled the goods in my hands
And also Jacob knew that God aided my simplicity,
8 for upon everyone who was poor and everyone who was oppressed
I bestowed the good things of the earth in singleness of heart

Textcritical note

6 πονηρός is found in *bl*. The other extant MSS read φθονερός, which is lectio facilior as a specification of the more general term πονηρός, parallel to βάσκανος. For the combination φθονεῖν (φθόνος, φθονερός) - βασκαίνειν (βασκανία, βάσκανος), cf e g **Philo, Agric.** 112; Cher 33; **Mut.nom.** 95; 112; **Somn** I 107 Plutarch De recta ratione audiendi 5 (Mor 39 D) De capienda ex inimicis utilitate 9 (Mor 91 B) 10 (Mor 92 C)

Structure

This chapter gives an autobiographical account of Issachar as a farmer whose life is characterized by ἁπλότης and εὐθύτης (again a very general virtue). The chapter leads up to the exhortation found in 4 1-5,3.. **5,2b–3** followed by a reference to Issachar's blessing in **5,4–5 6 return to the theme of chapter 3**

3 1-2 Give the general picture. .Issachar who works as a farmer also for his family is blessed by his father because of his virtuous life (cf.. v 7 and **5,4–5.6)**

3,3–4 Consisting of two times two negative clauses followed by a positive one They describe the faults which man should avoid Via the expression **ἐν ἁπλότητι ὀφθαλμῶν** the attention focusses on

3 5 **Issachar's** attitude towards women In two parallel phrases we are told that labour and toil, the farmer s lot made that he did not pay any attention to women and married late (cf. 2 3 and 7 2)

3,6–8 The hard-working farmer offers to God (cf.. 2 5 and 5,3), helps his father (cf.. v.. **1**), and the needy (cf 5 2b and 7 5) God doubles his goods therefore Jacob rejoices in his son s simplicity

Notes

3,1 When I grew up OTE **οὖν ἠδρύνθην,** cf **T Jud** 1 6 **ως ἠνδρώθην** Normally **ἀνδροῦσθαι** is used in the sense of to become a man grow **up' ἀδούνειν** (to ripen mature') is found in the LXX see e.g., Ex 2,10, Judg 11,2· 13,24· **2Kgs** 4,18. **I walked in uprightness of heart.** for **εὐθύτης,** see also 4 6 (again par.. **ἁπλότης);** T.G.. 7,7. **πορεύεσθαι** with ev **ἁπλότητι** in v 4 4 1 (cf 5 1 **ἐν ἀκακίᾳ);** T R 4,1; **T.S.** 4,5; T.L. 13 1. **εὐθυτης,** contrary to **ἁπλότης,** is rarely found with moral connotations outside the LXX or quotations from the LXX.. For ev **εὐθυτητι καρδίας,** see **1Kgs** 3,6; Ps **119(118),7**; PssSol 2,15 **'Uprightness'** implies the true service of God over against idol worship (Josh 24,14· **1Kgs** 3 6· **9,4ff.);** also the true observance of the law (Ps 119[118] 7f.. plus vv.. 2 and 10 **1Kgs** 3 6 9,4ff. and also Hermas Vis. **3,5,3)** Next **εὐθύτης** and **εὐθύς** are characteristic of the pious man in general; so many times in the Psalms see e,g Ps **26(25),11f** where ev **ἀκακίᾳ** not) and ev **εὐθύτητι** occur in parallel phrases. **Also** for the **author of the Testaments 'uprightness' means serving God by keeping his commandments.** Like **ἁπλότης** it denotes integrity complete obedience to God (see **T.I.**, INTRODUCTION pp **233f.).** **and I became a farmer:** see Gen **49,14–15** LXX. An interesting parallel is found in **Philo, Leg.all.** I 80, '. but of him who is engaged in noble deeds Issachar is the figure for he submitted his shoulder to labour and became a tiller **of the soil"'** (cf **Migr. Abr.** 221) **See also 5,3 and 6,2**

3,2 And my father blessed me· see 5 6 (and **4–5);** T.N.. **2,1.** **seeing that I walk in simplicity:** see vv 6a and 7b The coonection between farming and simplicity is not argued by our author but assumed and explained in terms of service to God and help for people in need.. For the connection between farming and a simple virtuous life see **R** Vischer *Das einfache Leben*

3,3 **not a busy-body:** περιεργια also in T.R. 3,4, T.Jos 6 2 For a similar construction followed by ev, see Sir 3 23, ev **τοῖς περισσοῖς τῶν ἔργων σου μὴ περιεργάζου** **Philo,** Abr. 21 connects **περιεργία** and **βασκανία** as is done in this verse: 'His ears he keeps alert in meddlesome curiosity **(περιεργίας),** ever eager to learn his neighbour's affairs, whether good or bad, and ready with envy **(φθονεῖν)** for the former and joy at the latter; for the worthless man is a creature naturally malicious **(βάσκανον),** a hater of good and lover of evil **(φιλοπόνηρον)** ' For **περιεργία** together with **φθόνος,** see also Epictetus II 21,3. Simple life is characterized by **ἀπερίεργος χρησις** in Poseidonios apud **Athenaios, Deipnosophistae** 274a (see p 234 above). **wicked and malicious:** see textcritical note 6. For **πονηρος** together with **βάσκανος,** see Sir **14,3–10;** Philo **Mut.nom.** 112; Plutarch Praecepta gerendae reipublicae 28 (Mor 821 C); Acta Thom 100. **βασκανία** coupled with **ζῆλος** returns in 4 5

Notes

3,4 **nor did I censure.** cf. T.G. 3,3 (he who hates) **τὴν ἀλήθειαν ψέγει . καταλαλίαν ἀσπάζεται βίος** = way of life. **in singleness of eyes** cf. 4,6, T B 4 2 See esp Mt **6,22f.;** Lk 11 34ff (opposition **fatXouc - πονηρός);** cf. Mt 20 15; **and see C. Edlund,** *Das Auge der Einfalt. Eine Untersuchung zu* ***Matth.*** *6 22 23 und Luk* ***11,34–35,*** Uppsala **1952, J. Amstutz, *ΑΠΛΟΤΗΣ*,pp 96–102.**

3,5 The connection between the eyes (v 4 end) and lust leading to fornication is found in 7 2 **(οὐκ ἐπόρνευσα** ev **μετεωρισμῳ ὀφθαλμῶν μου)** and particularly T.B. 6,2-3 (see **notes).** 'Singleness of the eye' leads to chastity. **wore away my strength: κατεσθίειν τὴν ἰσχύν** also in Hos 7 9 (LXX) On **κόπος** and **κάματος** (see also **ἔκαμνον** in v., 6) in the life of a farmer, see e.g., Philo Opif.mundi 167; **Spec.leg.** II 207; **Praem poen.** 156. **I did not think of pleasure with a woman** cf. T.R. 4 1 where too, this is opposed to walking in singleness of heart and is accompanied with the exhortation to wait for the spouse whom the Lord will give For **ἐννοεῖν** + **acc** , see also e.g 4 5 Job 15 LXX Philo, Quod det.pot. 97.

3,6 A particularly interesting parallel to this verse together with v 8 is found in Sir 7,27-36 which combines honouring father and mother with fear of the Lord and offerings (including first fruits) through the priests and care for all who are in need or any kind of distress Cf also TJob 15 4ff Offering to God also in 2,5 and 5 3 care for the needy also in 5 2b and 7,5 **the choice fruit and all the first fruit:** the term 'first fruit **(πρωτογένημα)** is very common in the LXX and later Jewish literature, in the context of a well-known religious custom It is not found in the NT the Apostolic Fathers and the Apologists. We may, however remind of the use of **ἀπαρχή** (used in 5 6) in Did 13 3 and Hippolytus, Trad. ap. 31 (see note on 2,5) **ὀπώρα** occurs only three times in the LXX, and never in connection with sacrifices (Jer **40[47], 10.12,** 48[31] 32). It is found in later literature (JosAsen 4 4 Philo, Agric 15; 152; Virt. 95 Rev 18 14; Plutarch **Quaestiones** convivales IV 6 2 [Mor. 671 **D],** V 8 1.3 [Mor. 683 B E] etc.) denoting the fruits of the fields, and is often mentioned together with wine, oil and similar products One **parallel,** Philo, Virt. 95 deserves to be quoted in **full:** 'The laws bid us give as first fruits to the officiating priests tithes of corn and wine and oil and domestic animals and wool and bring from the autumn produce of the fields **(ἀπό .... τῆς κατ' ἀγροὺς ὀπώρας)** and the other tree fruits offerings proportional to their gains in full baskets with hymns composed in honour of God ...'

3,7 **and the Lord doubled:** this theme is particularly found in traditions concerning Job, cf Job 42,10 (LXX) **... ἔδωκεν δὲ** ο **κύριος διπλᾶ δσα ἦν ἔμπροσθεν Ἰὼβ εἰς διπλασιασμόν** and TJob 4 7 44 5; 53,8 (subscript in MS V) Job was rewarded because he was steadfast in his troubles and did not give up his trust in God but also his generosity

towards the poor is mentioned (see on v. 8) **in my hands** for a similar expression see e.g. Gen 39 3.23; **1Mac** 14 36 and also T Jos 11 7 12 2

3 8 **poor ... oppressed:** helping the **poor** is a well-known theme in the OT and Jewish and Christian literature cf 5 2 7,5, T.Jos 3,5, T B 4 4 and also in TJob 9 3.6, 10 6 11,3.11; 12,1; 13,4; 32,2f. This help is often carried out in the provision of food see TJob 10,6 12,1; 13,4 and T.Jos. 3 5 **Philo., Spec.leg.** II 105; Virt. 90 97 On the **oppressed** and the help they need, see T Z. 7,1 (and following verses); T B 5,1; Sir 4 4 (and 7 27-36 mentioned above at v .6); **1Tim** 5 10; Did 5 2 = Barn 20,2; Ignatius, **Smyrn.** 6,2 **the good things of the earth.** see Ezra 9,12, Isa 1 19, 2Ezra 8,82, TJob 17,3; Philo **Quod det.pot** 156 There is a clear parallel between Issachar and Zebulun, see T.Z. 6 1-7 1. Zebulun fishes for this father's house (6 3 and 7) gives freely to all who are in need **(6,4–5)** Therefore the Lord makes him catch much **fish** ο γὰρ μεταδιδοὺς τῶ πλησίον λαμβάνει πολλαπλασίονα παοὰ κυρίου (6 6) Further remarks on Zebulun's help for the needy are found in T Z 6 7 and 7 1

T. ISSACHAR 4,1–5,3

Translation

4,1 And now, listen to me, children,
and walk in singleness of heart,
for I have seen (that) all the pleasure of the Lord (rests) upon it
2 The single (-minded) man does not covet gold,
he does not overreach his neighbour,
he does not desire a variety of food,
he does not want varied apparel,
3 he does not plan to live a long time,
but he only waits for the will of God,
4 and the spirits of deceit have no power against him
For he does not look to welcome the beauty of a woman lest he would pollute his mind with perversion,
5 no envy will invade his thoughts,
no malice will make his soul pine away,
nor does he think of money-getting[7] with insatiable desire
6 For he walks in uprightness of life
and looks at all things in simplicity,
not welcoming with the eyes bad things[8] that come from the deceit of the world
lest he would see anything in the commandments[9] of the Lord in a perverted way
5,1 Keep, therefore, the law of God, my children,
and acquire simplicity,
and walk in guilelessness,
not meddling with the commandments of the Lord
and the affairs of your neighbour

2 But love the Lord and your neighbour,
show **mercy**[10] to the poor and the weak
3 Bow down your **back** to farming,
and be at work in the works of the earth in all sorts of farm work,
offering gifts to the Lord with thanksgiving

Textcritical notes

7 Both **πορισμόν** (6) and the alternative reading **περισπασμόν** (*gldmeafchij*), 'worry 'distraction may claim originality The ***b*-reading** is perhaps to be preferred since the use of **περισπασμός** may have been influenced by passages like **Eccl** 2,26; 4,8; 5 13. Cf **T.G.** 7 6

8 **ὀφθαλμοῖς πονηριας** *(b)*. **πονηριας** is **acc. plur.** (cf the use of the **acc** in v 4), or - less probably - genit. sing. (cf T.B. 6,4) Because **it is the** object **of ἐπιδεχόμενος, ὀφθαλμοῖς** must be the right reading **πονηρίας** is supported by g and / the variant **πονηρούς** in ***dmeafchij***is clearly secondary.

9 **διεστραμμένως τι των ἐντολῶν** *(b)* All other MSS have tried to give an easier reading **τι** is left out in all other witnesses; the adverb is found in / **τῶν ἐντολῶν** in g and /

10 **ἐλεᾶτε (*b*). *gdmeafchij***have **ἐλεήσατε,** and / has **ἐλεεῖτε.** They try to avoid the later form **ἐλεᾶν** which is also found in **T.A.** 2,6 and Prov 21 26.

Structure

4 1 In the direct exhortation addressed to the sons of the patriarch the ev **ἁπλότητι καρδίας** of 3 8 is taken up. The author returns to it in 5 1-2 plus v 3 The intervening passage gives a description of the single **(-minded)** man

4 2-3a Five negative sentences with οὐ mentioned after the object and before the verb are followed by

4,3b A sentence with positive content

4,4a Which is corroborated by a negative phrase

4,4b–5 Again four negative sentences follow (with one **ἵνα μη** phrase in **4c)** The ou is now the first word

4 6ab Two parallel positive phrases followed by

4,6cd A negative one summing up the five plus four negative descriptions (cf. **3,3–4)** under the heading bad things that come from the deceit of the world The following **ινα μη - sentence runs parallel to that of** v 4c **Whereas the negative descriptions are precise** and detailed (and can be shown to have parallels in hellenistic ethics) the positive elements are rather general, emphasizing the religious foundation of the ethical behaviour The positive elements are taken up in the direct exhortation in 4 1 as well **as in 5,1–3**

5,1a **Mentions 'keeping the law of God' (cf 4,3b 6d and 5,1d),** 5,2 **concentrates on loving** the Lord and one's neighbour

5,1bc Mention **ἁπλότης** and **ἀκακία** together (cf the combination of **εὐθύτης** and **ἁπλότης** in 4,6)

5,2b–3 Return to the themes of chapter 3 care for the poor (3 8) the work of a farmer (3 passim) and the offering of gifts to the Lord (3 6)

Notes

4,1 **the pleasure of the Lord.** cf T.D. 2,3, **ἐπείρασα . . . ὅτι καλὸν** fc(p **καὶ εὐαρεστον**

4,2 The combination of ideas expressed in the four negative phrases constitutes a hellenistic topos In his book R Vischer mentions many examples of descriptions of the simple life

which advocate simple food plain clothing modest houses. **πλεονεξία** is a sin which comes with desire, and it is sparked off by living luxuriously (see R Vischer *Das einfache Leben,* pp 50 56, 70 79 87 **159ff**) Musonius Rufus in his Dissertationes speaks, for instance, about food (18 A and B) about clothing and shelter (19), and about furnishings (20) Some quotations.. he believed that the beginning and foundation of temperance lay in self-control in eating and drinking **(τὴν ἐν σίτοις καὶ ποτοις ἐγκράτειαν)**' (Diss. 18 A ed Hense p. 94, tr C E Lutz); ' Since in the matter of food and drink pleasure **(ἡδονή)** accelerates its pace alarmingly (ib., p 98) Wearing one chiton is preferable to needing two, and wearing none but only one cloak is preferable to wearing one Also going barefoot is better than wearing sandals, if one can do it' (Diss.. 19, p.. 107);' 'In general, whatever a natural cave would offer, furnishing a moderate shelter for man this our houses ought to furnish for us (ib., p 108) Attacking luxury in the furnishings within the house Musonius states. 'luxury **(τὸ τρυφᾶν)** destroys both body and **soul,** causing weakness and impotence in the body and lack of self-control and cowardice in the soul. Furthermore luxury begets injustice **because** it **also begets** covetousness **(καὶ μὴν καὶ ἀδικίαν τίκτει τρυφή, ὅτι καὶ πλεονεξίαν)**' (Diss. 20 p 113). A man who needs much for himself cannot help others 'Thus he would in all ways be unjust toward his city, toward his friends, and towards the gods, in failing to do what is his duty to do' (ib., p 114). In Diss.. 11 Musonius advocates the life of a farmer, particularly that of a shepherd, as most appropriate for a philosopher.. 'What is there to prevent a student while he is working from listening to a **teacher speaking about self-control or justice or endurance? (τοῦ διδασκάλου ... ἀκούειν** TL **ἅμα περὶ σωφροσυνης** fi **δικαιοσύνης ἢ καρτερίας λέγοντος;)**' (p. 60). **he does not covet gold:** cf 7 3 T.Jud. 17,1; T.B 6 2f **he does not overreach his neighbour:** cf **T.A.** 2,6, **πλεονεκτῶν** TÓV **πλησίον,** cf T.B. 6,2, ... **οὐ λυπεῖ τον πλησίον** The neighbour' is a central figure in Jewish and Christian ethics. **ἐπιθυμεῖν (ἐπιθυμία) - πλεονεκτεῖν (πλεονεξία) is a** more **or** less fixed combination **see** e.g. Philo, De Jos.. 216· Spec., leg.. I 270· Virt 100· Col 3 5; **1Thes 4,5f.;** Barn 19 6 Hermas Mand., 6 2,5; 8,5. On **πλεονεξία,** see also Musonius Dissertationes 20 ed Hense p 113 quoted above **he does not desire a variety of food:** see e.g., Strabo VII **3,7f.,** **ποικιλίαν ἀντὶ τῆς ἁπλότητος** (R Vischer *Das einfache Leben,* p 121).. **ποικίλος** in relation to food also in **Philo,** Ebr. 217· De Jos. 93· Plutarch De tuenda sanitate **praecepta** 15 (Mor. 129 F) Quaestiones convivales IV 4 2 (Mor 667 DE).. **ἐφίεσθαι** does not occur in LXX, NT or Apostolic Fathers;· it is a Greek word taken over by **Jewish hellenistic and later Christian writers. For desiring food it is also used in, e.g.,** Philo, Ebr 214; Justin, Dial 20,3 On the whole see Hermas Mand 6,2,5, ' . When ill temper or bitterness come upon you know that he (the angel of wickedness) is in you. Next the desire of many deeds and the luxury of much eating and drinking and many feasts, and various and unnecessary foods **(ποικίλων τροφῶν** [v.l. **τρυφῶν]** καὶ **οὐ δεόντων),** and the desire of women and covetousness **(πλεονεξία)** . When, therefore these things come into your heart know that the angel of wickedness is with you,' **he does not want varied apparel:** Dio Chrysostom mentions that the Cynic Diogenes rejected a great many things but took care to have a sufficient supply of food and moderate clothing (καὶ **τροφῆς ὅπως εὐπορήσει τῆς ἱκανῆς ἐπεμελεῖτο** καὶ **ἐσθῆτος τῆς μετρίας** - VI 30f.. discussed by Vischer, pp.. **79–83)**

4 3 **he does not plan ... waits for the will of God:** two motifs seem to be combined here First, the thought that the righteous single-minded man should not ask God for a long life (for this meaning of **ὑπογράφειν,** see LSJ s.v sub II 2 and Lampe s.v. sub 9). This is very probably derived from the story of Solomon who asked for wisdom instead of wealth or a long life or the lives of his enemies **(1Kgs 3,10f.** [LXX] **ἡμέρας πολλάς .. πλοῦτον . ψυχὰς ἐχθρῶν σου;** cf 2Chr **1,11** [LXX] **πλοῦτον χρημάτων . . δόξαν ..**

τὴν ψυχὴν τῶν ὑπεναντίων .. ἡμέρας πολλάς). The second motif is waiting for the will of God in whose hand all things are, cf T G. **7,1ff.,** particularly v. 2b, **κυρίῳ** δὲ **ὕμνον προσφέρετε, τῷ παρέχοντι τὰ** καλὰ **καὶ συμφέροντα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις.** Cf. Jas 4,15, εαν ὁ **κύριος** θελήσῃ. For this notion see G. Schrenk *ThWNT* III pp. **46f ;** 53ff For the idea that man cannot take his future in his own hands, see Ps 39(38) 6 Prov 27,1; Sir 11,19; WisSol **2,1ff.,** Ps-Phoc **116f.; Philo,** Leg.all. **III 227f.;** 4Ezra 7 61. **a long time: χρόνοι μακροί,** also in WisSol 4 13; Philo Abr. 254; De Jos 118; 261 etc; Plutarch De defectu oraculorum 20 (Mor 420 E).

4,4 Waiting for the will of God in simplicity makes that the spirits of deceit' (cf T R 2 1 T S 3,1, T Z. 9 7; T D 5 5 T N. 3 3; T A. 6,2) will have no hold on a person. Cf. 7,7 T D. 5,1; T N. 8,4 T B. 3,4, 5 2; the evil spirits will be destroyed at the end of times **(T.S. 6,6; T.L. 3,3; T Jud. 25,3;** T Z **9,8), but are powerful now. Given the oscillation** between vices and the related spirits (see INTRODUCTION 6.3.2) the author will think in concreto of the faults mentioned in the preceding and the immediately following series of negative descriptions **have no power against him:** for **ἰσχύειν πρός τινα,** see Ps 13(12),5; **Dan 7,21 Th,** PssSol **7,6, TSol 15,11 look to** welcome: **εἶδεν ἐπιδέξασθαι** is parallel to **ἐπιδεχόμενος ὀφθαλμοῖς** in v 6 For a similar use of **(ἐπι-)δέχεσθαι,** see T R. 4,9 **οὐκ ἐδέξατο . ἐπιθυμίαν πονηράν;** Prov 10,8; Hos 4,11; Sir 51,26 (cf 36,21); LetAris 236; Philo Opif.mundi 73 **the beauty of a woman;** warnings against the beauty of women" are often found in the Testaments see T.R. 3,10 4 1 **6,1f ,** T Jud. 12 3; 13 5; 17 1 **lest he would pollute his mind:** cf T.B. 8,2, 'He who has a pure **(καθαράν)** mind in love does not look at a woman with a view to impurity for he has no defilement **(μιασμόν)** in his heart ...' (see note) **with perversion:** parallel: in a perverted way" (v. 6) **διαστρέφειν** is used in T Jud 13 6 and 14,1 in connection with wine (and fornication) see note on T Jud 14 1 and cf. esp Prov 10,9 opposing the one 'who perverts (LXX, **διαστρέφων)** his ways to the one **'who** walks in integrity (LXX **πορεύεται ἁπλῶς)'**

4,5 will invade: see for this use of **ἐπέρχεσθαι,** Sir 26,28, cf. **Num** 5 14 30 **envy malice:** see on 3 3 above. On **ζῆλος** over against **ἁπλότης,** see also **T S. 4,5. make his soul pine away** cf. Sir 18,18; 31,1, **ἀγρυπνία πλούτου ἐκτήκει σάρκας;** Plutarch De sera numinis vindicta 27 (Mor. 566 A) ' . informing him as he did so that the intelligent part of the soul is dissolved away **(ἐκτήκεται)** and liquefied by pleasure **(τῆς ἡδονῆς)** . ' **In** Lev 26 16; Ps 39,11 (38 12) the expression is used for the **'dissolution'** of **man's** soul by **God's** punishments **think of money-getting:** for **ἐννοεῖν,** see on **3,5. πορισμος** occurs only twice in the LXX (WisSol 13 19; 14 2) It can have a neutral meaning (making a living) used in connection with sailors businessmen etc., but it is also used in a negative sense, cf Philo, Vita contempl., 66 and, especially Plutarch De cupiditate divitiarum 4 (Mor 524 DE) where the word is combined with **φιλοπλουτία** and *fauriania* (as **here!)** For **ἀπληστία,** see e.g. Plato Respublica 562 B Leges VIII 831 D; Plutarch De virtute et vitio 4 (Mor. 101 C) De vitando **aere** alieno 5 (Mor. 829 D) and Tatian, **Orat. 11,1, . . βασιλεύειν** οὐ θέλω, **πλουτεῖν** ou **βούλομαι ... πορνείαν μεμίσηκα, ναυτίλλεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀπληστίαν οὐκ ἐπιτηδεύω ....** **Insatiable desire** is also used in 6 1 parallel to **κακουργία** and as opposition to **ἁπλότης** and **ἀκακία.**

4,6 in uprightness of life ... in simplicity: see on 3 1 and 3 4. For **welcoming with the eyes and in a perverted way,** see on v 4 above The expression **"deceit** of the world (not found in LXX NT Apostolic Fathers or Philo; one time in Justin Dial. 113,6 as parallel to **ἀκροβυστία)** characterizes the real nature of all the evils mentioned in this chapter. Cf. **τὰ πνεύματα τῆς πλάνης** in v. 4

5 1-2 The direct exhortation continues in a very general way. On **acquire simplicity,** see T.L. 13 7 **σοφίαν κτήσασθε** ἐν **φόβῳ** τοῦ (and its context). **walk in guilelessness: cf 6,1; for the** combination **ἁπλότης - ἀκακία, see** also Philo Opif mundi 156, 170;

Hermas Vis. 1 2 4 2 3 2 3 8,5.7, 9,1, Sim 9,5,2, 24,2 Theophilus, **Autol.** 2,25 (see also J Amstutz, **ΑΠΛΟΤΗΣ**, pp.. **39f.**; 50; 83; **136f.**). The expression **πορεύεσθαι ἐν ἀκακίᾳ** is found in Ps **26(25),1.11; 84(83),12**; cf Hermas Vis. 2,3,2. **not meddling with:** for **περιεργία**, see on 3,3.

5,2 **But love the Lord and your neighbour** sum up the essential in keeping the law of God (v 1a). The author comes back to **this** in **7,6–7** On 'the two great commandments in the Testaments see on T B 3 3 The love for one's neighbour is specified as **show mercy to the poor and the weak** (see on T B 4,4); with this phrase the author returns to 3,8. Likewise, in 5 3 he takes up again other themes of chapter 3

5,3 **Bow down your back to farming recalls** Gen 49 15 **(LXX, , ὑπεθηκεν τὸν ωμον αὐτου εἰς το πονεῖν)** Cf. v. 5 **ἐν πόνοις**, and **κάματος** and **κόπος** in 3,4. **be at work in the works of the earth:** cf. Jer 14,4 LXX and **1Chr** 25 1 **offering gifts to the Lord:** see on 3 6 The expression **δῶρα (δῶρον) προσφερειν** (to God) is often found in the OT/LXX see e.g.. Lev 1,2.14; 2 1 4 11, 4 23.32 7,13.38; **Num** 5,15 **7,10ff**; 9 7 13 15 4 28 2 see further also **Philo**, Ebr 118; Mt **5,23f**; 8 4; Heb 5 1; **8,3f**; 9 9

T ISSACHAR 5,4–8

Translation

5,4 Because with the first fruits of the earth the Lord blessed you[11]
even as he blessed all the saints from Abel until now
5 For no other portion is given to you than that of the fatness of the earth
whose fruits are raised by toil.
6 **Because**[12] our father Jacob blessed me with blessings of the earth and first fruits
7 And Levi and Judah were glorified among the sons of Jacob,
for (to them) the Lord gave an inheritance among them,
and to the one he gave the priesthood
and to the other the kingdom
8 Do you, therefore, obey them
and walk in the simplicity of your father.
For also to Gad it has been given to destroy the bands that come against Israel

Textcritical notes

11 **εὐλόγησέ σε.** The aor., found in *bac* is to be preferred to the fut., **εὐλογήσει**, found in *gldmefhij*.It corresponds quite naturally with **δεδοται** in v..5.. **σε** was left out in *b* through haplography; the readings **ὑμᾶς** (*gdhij*)or **ἡμᾶς** *(m)* are certainly secondary The singular is, again presupposed by v 5

12 **ὅτι** (*bl*) The addition **καί** (*gmeafchij*,cf.. **καὶ γάρ** in *d*) is an attempt towards a smoother text; in this verse Jacob is said to have blessed **Issachar**, and in vv **4–5** the subject is God himself

Structure

Through **ὅτι** in 5 4 the author connects v 3 and chapter 3 with the **blessing** bestowed on Issachar In **5,4–5** the Lord is subject of the blessing (direct in v 4 presupposed in passive

δέδοται in v 5, cf. **ἐδοξασθη** in v. 7 and **ἐδόθη** in v. 8) Also the second **person** singular is used in both verses, as in very similar circumstances in T Jud **21,5–6a**. One explanation is to take these two verses as a quotation from a blessing directed to the patriarch repeated in 5 6 Alternatively, the patriarch may be thought to address his tribe in the second person singular (cf. the collective meaning of Levi Judah and Gad in this chapter). 5 6 because', then indicates the ground for the earlier blessing. Unfortunately, there are no other parallels besides T Jud. **21,5–6a** (where two similar explanations may be given).

5 7-8 After a reference to the **μεριξ** of Issachar in v 5 now the **κλῆρος** of Levi and Judah is mentioned An **L.J.** passage in a simple form follows including the exhortation to obey these two tribes (coupled with a reference to **ἁπλότης**). The reference to Gad though grammatically similar **(ἐδόθη)** seems to be strange to this context

Notes

5,4 first fruits of the earth already mentioned in 3,6. On the specific expression used here see **Neh** 10,35 (36 LXX), . . **τὰ πρωτογενηματα τῆς γῆς ἡμῶν καὶ πρωτογενήματα καρπου παντὸς ξύλου. καρποὶ γης** occurs very often e.g., in Gen 4,3; 43,11; **Num** 13,21(20).28(26); Deut 1 25 **7,13**; 26 2 Ps 105(104),35; **Mal** 3 11; Jas 5 7 **all the saints from Abel until now:** cf., e.g., ConstApp VI 20,4; VII 37,2; VIII 5,3. **οἱ** fiyioi also in T.L. 18,11.14; T.D. 5,12 (in eschatological contexts). **Abel** is mentioned also in T B 7,4 **(Ἄβελ τὸν δίκαιον ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ)** For traditions on Abel, see L Ginzberg *Legends i pp* **105ff.**, K G **Kuhn**, ***ThWNT*** I pp **6–7**; cf 4Mac 18,11; **1En** 22,7 TAb A 13 B 11 (and a long note in M Delcor, *Le Testament d'Abraham [SVTP 2]* Leiden 1973, pp **142–4), AscenIs** 9 8 28 (in Ethiopic: 'holy **Abel'); ApMos 1–4, 40,3ff.**, 43,1. Particularly interesting is Josephus' version of the story of Cain and Abel in Ant. 1 52-59. Here, as in the biblical story, Cain is the farmer and Abel the shepherd The latter is depicted as having respect for justice 'and, believing that God was with him in all his actions, paid heed to virtue' (53), the former is said to be out for gain **(πρὸς τὸ κερδαίνειν μονον ἀποβλέπων,** 53), is called an **ἄνθρωπος πλεονέκτης** (54) and is blamed for not giving heed to his punishment but upsetting the simple life **(ἀπραγμοσύνη) by** building **a** city - centre **of** pleasure material gains **and** craftiness **(πανουργία - see 60–62). See also Philo, Quaest. in Gen. I 59–76; Mt 23,35 par Lk 11,51; Heb 11,14,** 12,24; Un 3,12 and further Irenaeus **Haer.** IV 18,3 **ἀπ' ἀρχης ἐπειδεν** ο **Θεὸς ἐπὶ τὰ δῶρα τοῦ Ἄβελ, ὅτι μεθ' ἁπλότητος καὶ δικαιοσύνης προσέφερεν.** Abel is a type of the Church **... προσφέρουσα μετ' εὐχαριστίας** to the Creator from his creation (18,4); and Tertullian, Adversus **Iudaeos** 2 tells that Abel s offering was accepted, 'quae offerebat in simplicitate cordis

5,5 the fatness of the earth see Gen 49 15 LXX **. ἰδων . . την γῆν ὅτι πίων** (cf Gen 27 28.39) **by toil:** see **on v. 2**

5,6 A reference to Jacob's blessing, already mentioned in 3 2 This verse repeats or motivates (see above) what was said in vv **4–5** For **ἀπαρχῶν καρπῶν,** cf. Deut 26 2 Philo **Decal.** 160

5 7-8 The L.J. pattern is aptly connected with the blessing of Issachar by emphasizing the particular privileges and tasks allotted to Levi and Judah. **were glorified:** particularly the priesthood is called a **δοξα**; cf Sir 45 20 **δόξα** and **κληρονομία** for Aaron, see also vv 21-22; Philo, Ebr. 65 75 Vita Mosis II 225 (in the last three instances **τιμή** is used); see also Heb 5,5. **gave an inheritance:** in the LXX the word **κλῆρος** is often used in connection with the Levites, cf. Josh 14,3 **καὶ τοῖς Λευίταις οὐκ ἔδωκεν κλῆρον εν αὐτοῖς;** Num 26,62 Deut 12,12; 14,27.29 18,2. Josh 18,7 (LXX) uses the word **μερίς** (see v. 5): ou **γάρ ἐστιν μερὶς τοῖς υἱοῖς Λευὶ** ev **ὑμῖν, ἱερατεία γὰρ κυοίου μερὶς αὐτοῦ;** cf. Philo, Plant. 63 (Levi) and Leg.all. III 242 and Vita Mosis I 304 **(Pinehas). priesthood kingdom** cf. especially T Jud 17 3 21 2 T L 5 2 8 2 see also Sir **45,6–7**

and **45,23–26** (esp. v. 25 on David). **walk in the simplicity of your fathers.** the main theme of the testament is aptly connected with the traditional exhortation to obey Levi and Judah The usual construction is **περιπατεῖν** + ἐν (cf. 2Kgs 20,3; 2Cor 4,2; Eph 5,2; 3Jn **3f.;** Barn 10 4), but in Acts 21,21 we find also the simple dat **For also to Gad is has been given Israel** a clear reference to Gen 49,19 LXX For **τὰ ἐπερχόμενα τῷ Ἰσραήλ,** see Zech 12 9 (cf. 9 8) Why Gad s task is mentioned here is not clear but cf L Ginzberg *Legends* V p. 369 n 393

T. ISSACHAR 6

Translation

6,1 I know, my children, that in the last times
your sons will forsake simplicity and will cleave to insatiable desire
and leaving guilelessness they will draw near to wickedness
and forsaking the commandments of the Lord they will cleave to Beliar
2 and leaving (their) farm **work**[13] they will follow after their wicked thoughts
and they will be dispersed among the nations and will serve their enemies.
3 And do you, therefore, say this to your children,
in order that, if they sin, they may quickly return to the Lord
4 For he is merciful and will deliver them, to bring them back into their land

Textcritical note

[13] **τὸ γεώργιον** *(b)*. Both this reading and the alternative reading **τὸ γεωργεῖν** (*gldmeafchij*) may claim originality. The ***b*-reading** is more difficult, also in view of the use of **γεωργεῖν** in 5 3

Structure

This is a rather straightforward S.E.R passage The elaborate description of the sins fits into **the** context **of the** testament (vv. **1-2a)** **One** should note **the** four parallel sentences **in** 1 **bcd** and 2a, each consisting of two clauses Exile is described in v 2b. V 3 adds the element of repentance, also found in T Jud 23 5 T Z 9 7 T D 5 6 T N 4 3 and v 4 finally speaks of the return

Notes

6 1 **I know** see on **T.L.** 14 1 **in the last times** cf T N 8,1 T Jos 19,5, and T B 11 2 ev **ὑστέροις καιροῖς;** also ApMos 13 2 **1Pet** 1 5 Did 16 2 Ignatius Eph 11 1 Elsewhere in the Testaments we find the more usual ev **ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις,** T Jud 18,1; T.Z. **(8,2;)** 9 5; T.D. 5 4. **forsake simplicity: καταλείπειν** is very often used with virtues or God's commandments, e g., Prov 2 13; **Philo,** Praem poen 15, 2Pet 2,15, Hermas Sim 8 9 1 **2Kgs** 17,16; Ps 119(118),87 Sir 49,4, **1Mac** 1,52; 2,2; **10,14,** Did 4 13 = Barn 19 2 **cleave to insatiable desire ... to Beliar: (προς-)κολλᾶσθαι** used of cleaving to God in Deut 11 22 Josh **23,7f , 2Kgs** 18 6 Ps 73 28; Sir 2 3 **1Cor** 6 17

Hermas Mand 10 1 6. In the Testaments the verbs are always connected with something positive T D 6 10 T.G. 5,2; T.A 3 1; T.B. 8,1; cf. PS 119(118),31; Rom 12,9; Did 5 2 = Barn 20,2. The exception here can be explained from the context: forsaking virtue and cleaving to sin are implicitly condemned **insatiable desire:** cf. 4,5 and **T.R. 3,3** **leaving guilelessness** : for **ἀφίεναι** as parallel to **(ἐγ-)καταλείπειν,** see, e.g., Jer 12,7; TAb A 20; it may be used with something positive (Prov 4,13; Sir 6,27; Mk 7,8 Rev 2,4, etc.; also T N 3 3 **τὸν κύριον)** or something negative (Tob 14 6 Plutarch Quaestiones convivales VI 10 [Mor 696 **F**], VIII 10 3 [Mor. 735 **E**], IX 11 [Mor 736 **D**]). For **guilelessness,** see on 5 1 **draw near: προσπελάζειν** not in LXX NT, Apostolic Fathers or **Philo,** but see Plato, Symposium 206 D; SibOr II 285, Adamantius Dial. 5 16 Basilius, **Hom.** 21,3. **wickedness: κακουργία,** only 3x in the LXX. Ps **34(33),17,** 2Mac 3 32 14 22 cf **κακοῦργος** Esth 8 12(p) LXX Prov **21,15;** Sir **11,33; 30,35** (33,27)

6 2 **leaving . see** on v.1.. **follow after their wicked thoughts.** cf. **T Jud** 13,2, and Sir 5,2f. **ἐξακολουθεῖν** with a negative connotation also in T.Jud. 23,1; T Z 9,5; T.N 3 3 **will be dispersed** a common E. element as is **serve their enemies,** cf in particular T Jud., 23,3; T N 4,2, and also Deut 28,48, Jer 15,14.

6,3–4 **Do you ... say this to your children** this is one of the sentences in which the purpose of the testament is explicitly mentioned. Future generations (including the readers) are warned **see on** T S **6,1 and** see INTRODUCTION **7 1.1. The** repentance - element **is also** found in T.Jud. 23,5; T Z.. 9,7; T D.. 5,9; T N.. 4,3 It is, of course traditional (cf., e.g **1Sam** 7,3; Isa 31 5f. or **2Kgs** 17 39; **1Bar** 4,21). One should note that in the parallel passages in the Testaments God's mercy is emphasized, as it is in v. 4 (cf. Deut **4,30f ,** 2Chr 30 9) The word **τάχιον** (not used as a comparative see B D R., *Grammatik* § 244,1) **may be explained by the traditional expectation of God's speedy intervention as** it is found in Ps 31(30),3 **69(68),18,** 79(78),8 102(101),3; 138(137),3; 143(142),7; Isa 51,5 LXX; Sir 48,20; 2Mac 2 18; 7 37 PssSol 17,45 The author combines two meanings of **ἐπιστρέφειν:** cf T.Z . 9,7 **καὶ μετανοήσετε, καὶ ἐπιστρέψει ὑμᾶς.** For **ἐπιστρέφειν** as to make return', see also **1Kgs** 8,34; Tob 14,5; PJ 5 8

T ISSACHAR 7

Translation

7,1 I am a hundred and twenty-two years old, and I am not conscious of (having **committed**)[14] any sin unto death
2 Except my wife I have not known any woman,
I did not act impurely by the uplifting of my eyes.
3 I did not drink wine to be led astray thereby,
I did not desire any desirable thing that was my neighbour's.
4 Deceit did not arise in my heart,
a lie did not pass through my lips.
5 With every man in distress I joined my sighs,
and with a poor man I shared my bread
I did not **eat**[15] alone,
I did not move any landmark.
I wrought piety and **truth**[16] all my days
6 The Lord I loved with all my strength,
likewise, I loved also every man **as**[17] my children

7 Do you also these things, my children,
and every spirit of Beliar will flee from you
and no deed of wicked men will rule over you
and every wild beast you will subdue,
having with you the God of heaven,
walking together with men in singleness of heart

8 And he commanded them
that they should carry him up to Hebron,
and bury him there in the cave with his fathers

9 And he stretched out his feet and died, the fifth (son of Jacob)[18],
at a good old age, (still) having every limb sound,
and being strong
he slept the eternal sleep

Textcritical notes

[14] **οὐκ' ἔγνων** foi' **ἐμέ** *(b)* The variant **ἐπ' ἐμοί** *(gld)* is a grammatical correction ***eafchij*** give a still smoother text (ἐν **ἐμοι**) For **ἐπ' ἐμέ,** cf. T Z 2,4.

[15] **ἔφαγον** *(b)* and the alternative reading **βέβρωκα** *(gldmeaf)* may both be original

[16] **καὶ ἀλήθειαν** *(b)*. The distance between the two objects of **ἐποίησα** seems to have caused the omission of **καί** and the introduction of another verb after **ἀλήθειαν (ἐποίησα** ***dmaf*, ἠγάπησα** ***e*; ἐφυλαξα** ***chij*).** Also v 6 has two verbs

[17] **ως** *(b)*. The variant **ὑπὲρ** *(gldmeaf)* is clearly secondary (cf T S 4 6)

[18] **πέμπτος** *(b)* Clearly **lectio** difficilior Omission is easier to account for than addition

Structure

7,1 **Begins with mentioning the patriarch's age So also T Jud 26,2 where it is immediately** followed by the instructions for burial (cf T.L. 19 4 and T B. 12,2 where the third person **sing.** is used). So the regular ending of the testament could follow It does not **begin,** however, until v 8 (change to the third person sing)

7,1b–6 Give a declaration of innocence (cf. **3,3–4),** with a number of negative clauses ending with three positive ones in **5b–6ab** (cf 4 6) Of the negative phrases the first in **1b** is general (no sin unto **death'**). the other ones mention specific sins (cf **3,3–4, 4,2–3 4–5)**

7 7 Ends with direct exhortation (cf 4 1 5 1-3) following by an outlook on an ideal situation in the future

Notes

7 1 **a hundred and twenty two years old** the age of the patriarch is usually mentioned in the introduction (T.R. 1,1; T.S. 1,1; T Z. 1,1; T.N 1,1; T.G., 1,1; T.A., 1,1). In the testaments of **Levi,** Judah, Issachar and Benjamin we find it mentioned at the end (T L 19,4; T Jud. 26,2; T.I., 7,1; T.B. 12,2) - in T Jud., and T.I. the first person **sing.** is used **T.Jos. does not give any number (see, however, T.L. 12,7) sin unto death means a** grave, unpardonable sin, cf **Num 15,30–31,** deliberate sin, with a high hand LXX ev **χειρὶ ὑπερηφανίας;** cf. 1QS 8,22-9,2 Num 18,22 (LXX) **uses** the expression **ἁμαρτία θανατηφόρος** (in a cultic context). For the expression used here, see Jub 21,22; 26,34 33 13 18 Un 5 16 Hippolytus Haer IX 12 (speaking about Calixtus' laxity in forgive-

ness of sins), ... ἐδογματισεν ὅπως et ἐπισκοπος ἁμάρτοι τι, *d* και πρὸς θάνατον, μη δεῖν κατατίθεσθαι

7,2 **Except my wife ...: see** on 3 5 **by the uplifting of my eyes** see again on 3,5 (with a **reference to T B 6,2-3) and 4 4 6 For the connection between impurity and the eyes, see on** T R 2 4

7,3 **wine to be led astray thereby.** the theme of wine, its dangers and its connection with sexual sins, is dealt with in T Jud: : see in particular 11 2 12,3; 13,5; 14,1-8 15 4 **16,1–4 I did not desire any desirable thing that was my neighbour's:** cf. on 4,2.

7,4 **deceit in my heart:** cf T B. 6 4 The terminology is influenced by Prov 12 20· 26 24 PS 32(31) 2 Isa 53,9; Sir 1,30· Jn 1,47. **lie - through my lips** cf again T B 6 4 See Prov 8 7· 17,4.7· 12,22 LXX· 26 24.28· Sir 1 29 51 2

7,5 **every man in distress ... with a poor man** see on 3 8 (and cf 5 2a) With v 5a compare Job 30 25 (LXX) ἐγὼ ÔÈ ἐπι παντι ἀδυνάτῳ ἔκλαυσα, ἐστέναξα oe ἰδὼν ἄνδρα ev ἀνάγκαις, also **T Z 6,5, 7,3–4 The same idea is found in Sir 7,34, Rom 12,15, Philo,** De Jos.. 94 ' .I sympathize (συναλγῶ) with those in misfortune, and kindly affection makes me feel as much pain (ὀδυνώμενος) as the actual sufferers.' For v 5b, see again **T Z , now 6,6–7. For giving to the poor and needy often μεταδίδοναι is used, in Jewish** and Christian contexts cf Job 31 17 (LXX); LetJer 27 Philo De Jos 144 Spec.leg II 71 107· IV 74 Lk 3,11 Eph 4 28 Hermas Vis. 3 9,2· ClemHom 3,69 1 and also **SentSexti 330, 379;· 382;· cf W C. van Unnik, 'The interpretation of Romans 12:8 ὁ** μεταδιδοὺς ev ἁπλότητι', *On Language Culture and Religion: In Honor of Eugene A. Nida,* ed M Black and W A. **Smalley,** The Hague-Paris 1974 pp **169–83** For giving bread to the poor, cf Prov 22 9 **I did not eat alone:** cf. Job 31 17 (LXX), εἰ oὲ καὶ τὸν ψωμόν μου ἔφαγον μονος και συχὶ ὀρφανῷ μετέδωκα (and v.. 39) **I did not move a landmark** cf. Deut 19,14· 27,17· Hos 5 10, Job 24 2 and cf. Prov 15 25. According to Philo, Spec.leg.. IV 149 one of the aims of the precept concerning landmarks is to eliminate covetousness (πρὸς πλεονεξίας ἀποκοπην).. **I wrought godliness and truth** the author ends with a positive note expressing himself in general terms

7,6 **The Lord I loved with all my strength** cf T Z 10,5, ὑμεῖς oὲ φοβεῖσθε κυριον τὸν fteov ἡμῶν èv πασῃ ἰσχυι, adding πάσας τὰς ἡμερας τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν, parallel to v 5 end Mk 12,30.33 reads ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος (σου), Lk 10,27 ev ὅλῃ τῇ ἰσχύι σου ev πάσῃ (τῇ) *ἰσχύι* is found in Gen 31,6, Sir 3 13, but in different contexts.. Deut 6 5 (LXX) has ἐξ ὅλης τῆς δυνάμεώς σου, Sir 7,29.30 èv ὅλῃ ψυχῇ oou next to èv ὅλῃ δυνάμει (v 27 ev oXfl καρδίᾳ) On the two great commandments, see on 5,2

7,7 The general description of Issachar s virtuous life is followed by a very general exhortation **Do you also these things, my children.** cf.. similar final exhortations in T.Jud 26 1 T.Z.. 10,5;· T D.. 6,10. **every spirit of Beliar ... you will subdue:** on the virtuous man the spirits of evil, wicked men and beasts have no hold This idea is expressed in similar terms in T.B. **3 3–5,** 5 1-2; also in T D . 5,1 and T N.. 8 4 (over against v.. 6) T.D.. 5 1-3 is, however, followed by an eschatological passage, and T.N.. 8 4 immediately follows an L.J. passage. And there are also a number of passages in which the defeat of **Beliar c s is situated in the eschatological future: see T S. 6,6; T L. 3,3; 18,12; T.Jud** 25 3 T.Z.. 9,8.. **having with you the God of heaven** cf. T D.. 5,2 immediately after 5 1 God's presence in the life of the good man is expressed in various ways in T B **6,1b 3b.4b** (cf. T.Jos.. 10 3).. In T Z.. 8,2 this idea takes, again, an eschatological turn The precise meaning of this clause in v 7 and of the preceding phrases is determined by the end of the verse. **walking together with men in singleness of heart** the word συμπορεύεσθαι is used a few times to denote God s presence among Israel at the Exodus (Ex 33 16· 34 9 Deut 31 8) In the Testaments we find it in T.Jud 24 1 speaking about a man from the seed of Judah (Jesus Christ see the notes on this

chapter), συμπορευόμενος TOIÇ υἱοῖς ra>v ἀνθοώπων ev πραότητι και δικαιοσυνη, καὶ πᾶσα ἁμαρτία οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται ἐν αὐτῶ. The adverbial clause ἐν πραότητι xal δικαιοσύνη, with the additional mention of sinlessness corresponds to ev ἁπλότητι καρδίας in T I 7,7 The last phrase of v 7, and thereby clauses b–d are, therefore, most likely understood as referring to the eschatological future realized in Jesus Christ Also T D 5,12 and T N 8,3 where God's presence among men is expressed by the words συναναστρεφόμενος and κατοικῶν are most easily explained as Christian statements

7,8 **carry him up:** for ἀνάγειν, see on T S 8,2 **in the cave:** see on T R 7,2 **with his fathers:** see on T Z 10,7.

7,9 **he stretched out his feet:** cf T L 19,4, T.Jos 20,4, see also on T.G 8,4. **the fifth:** cf 1,2 **at a good old age:** cf T B 12,2, and see Gen 15,15; 25,8; 1Chr 29,28 **being strong** is only found here It is parallel to παν μέλος ἔχων ὑγιές (cf ὑγιαίνων in T L 1,2; T.N. 1,2, T A 1,2) The parallel ὑγιαίνειν - ἰσχυειν is also found in Xenophon, Memorabilia 2,7,7, 3,12,4, cf Mt 9,12 + Mk 2,17, οἱ ἰσχύοντες next to Lk 5,31, oE ὑγιαίνοντες, and also Jub 35,7 **he slept the eternol sleep:** cf T.D. 7,1, and Jer 51(28),39; Jub 23,1; 36,18 In T Z 10,6; T A 8,1; T Jos 20,4, we find ἐκοιμήθη instead of ὕπνωσεν.

THE TESTAMENT OF ZEBULUN CONCERNING COMPASSION AND MERCY

INTRODUCTION

This testament has two different, though thematically connected biographical passages The first (1,4–4,13) describes Zebulun's attitude towards Joseph and is, in itself, complex In the introduction (1,4–7), which comes after the usual beginning of the testament in 1,1-3, the patriarch tells how much he regretted to have hidden the secret of what happened to Joseph for Jacob Chapters 2 and 4 tell what actually happened when Joseph was sold Simeon and Gad are depicted as especially hostile (2,1; 3,2; 4,2 11, compare their **testaments!**), but Zebulun showed compassion (4,2) Chapter 3 is an excursus on the sandals bought by the brothers with the money received for Joseph, a story which has no connection with the rest of the testament

The second story (5,5-7,4) gives a picture of Zebulun as a sailor and fisherman (in summer; in winter he herded the flocks, see 6,8). His compassion for people in distress is emphasized. Zebulun the 'simple' fisherman is the counterpart of Issachar the 'simple' farmer (see the note on 5,5)

The exhortations connected with these biographical passages are found in **5,1–4**, 7,2-3 and 8,1-3. The central words are **ἔλεος** and **εὐσπλαγχνία** also mentioned in the title of the testament (by MSS ***blef***, cf g and ***dm***). Also Joseph's compassion receives attention: it is evident in his **ἀμνησικακια** and willingness to forgive his brothers (**8,4–5**; cf. T S 4,4). The final verse of this chapter (v. 6) gives the conclusion of this exhortatory theme and introduces the next the admomtion to bear no malice leads over to exhortations to preserve unity (**9,1–4**).

In the complicated section dealing with the future, we first have an **S.E R.** passage in 9,5-7, predicting divisions in Israel in the **S.** section and emphasizing God's mercy and compassion in the R element In 9,8 follows a description of the Lord's appearance on earth, connected with the prediction of new disobedience (9,9) and the announcement of the resurrection of Zebulun and the law-abiding members of his tribe over against the punishment of the wicked (10,2-3) This last element is connected with the patriarch's imminent departure (see 10,1.4) The conclusion of the testament is found in 10,5 (final general exhortation) and **10,6–7** (death and burial)

Note on the longer and shorter versions of T Zebulun

The text of **6,4–8,3** is not found in the Greek MSS ***eafchij*** and the Armenian and Slavonic versions, with the exception of **πέντε ετη ἡλίευσα** in 6,7 and the entire verse 6,8 The same witnesses do not have **ἐμὲ** δε **ἰδὼν ἐσπλαγχνίσθη** in 8,4 and ο **γὰρ μνησικακος σπλάγχνα ἐλέους συκ**

ἔχει in 8,6, and also in 9,5.6.8 a number of phrases are lacking in these manuscripts (see in particular καὶ ιασις - πατηθήσεται in v 8) For further details see the textcritical notes below) Either the long text or the short one must be the result of deliberate recensional activity

In the short text the second biographical passage only serves as a link between the first exhortatory passage 5,1–4 and Joseph's attitude to his brothers in 8,4: it tells the readers what Zebulun did in the period between the selling of Joseph and the departure to Egypt Nothing is said about Zebulun's compassion and effective help for people in distress (cf 6,4–7,4), nor are the second exhortation to display compassion and mercy and the reference to God's compassion, also at the end of days, for those who are compassionate (8,1-3; cf 9,7 [all MSS].8) extant In fact, the only verses in the short text to justify the mention of εὐσπλαγχνία and ἔλεος in the title of the testament (also found in *e* and *f*') are 5,1 (cf v 3 and 4,2) and 9,7 (where God is characterized as ἐλεήμων ... xcd εὔσπλαγχνος): it may be argued that the short text is 'too short' here Moreover, it is very likely that the long text of 8,4 which is in agreement with T.S 4,4 is original, the same applies to the longer version of T Z 9,8 which is entirely in keeping with what we find in other testaments (see the notes on this verse)

Summing up although the present text of T Z is 'overloaded' there is no reason to suppose that it is the result of later addition. In fact, the shorter recension can be explained as an attempt to avoid some of the more extravagant examples of Zebulun's compassion *Literature* M de Jonge, 'Textual criticism and the analysis of the composition of the Testament of Zebulun', *Studies,* pp 144–60.

The central theme εὐσπλαγχνία and ἔλεος

Zebulun's message in 5,1–4 is very clear His sons should obey the commandments of the Lord, that is they should show mercy (ποιεῖν ἔλεος) to their neighbour and have compassion (εὐσπλαγχνίαν. . . ἔχειν) towards all people (even towards beasts). The Lord will award them accordingly, as was clear in the case of Zebulun and his brothers: they fell ill, he did not; their sons fell ill (were even dying), his sons remained safe and sound This exhortation follows the story of the selling of Joseph, in which Zebulun fasts out of compassion for Joseph (σπλαγχνιζόμενος ἐπὶ Ἰωσήφ) while he remains in the pit (4,1–4) In chapter 2 we hear how Zebulun weeps with Joseph (2,4–6). Besides (συγ-)κλαίειν (also in 1,6–7) we find the expressions εἰς οἶκτον ἦλθον ἐγώ (v 4) and 'my liver was poured out within me and the whole substance of my feelings (τῶν σπλάγχνων) was weakened up to my soul' (ib) Joseph asks for mercy 'Pity me (ἐλεήσατέ με), my brothers, have mercy upon the feelings (οἰκτιρήσατε τὰ σπλάγχνα) of Jacob our father' (v 2) The same picture is given in 5,5-7,4, but while Zebulun could do nothing effective for Joseph, he is now depicted as actively helping all people in distress (6,4 5 6 7, 7,1) note the use of πᾶς in 6,4 5.7, 7,2, the enumeration in 6,5 and 7,1 of stranger, sick person, aged person and the naked one His attitude is described as σπλαγχνιζόμενος (6,4), σπλαγχνισθείς (7,1), συνάγων καὶ συμπασχων (6,5) In 7,4 the patriarch describes the cases where he could not help (cf in the case of Joseph!); in these instances he

wept (κλαίειν) and showed συμπάθεια. The Lord rewarded him. he had no accidents at sea (5,5), and caught much fish (6,6) In the inserted (7,2-3) and following exhortation (8,1-3) ἔλεος and σπλάγχνα and derivatives occur several times, together with 'to give' (παρεχειν, δίδοναι) and συμπασχειν (in the case of people who have nothing to give) Again, God's compassion for those who are compassionate is stressed (8,1), in 8,2 a reference is added to God's compassion at the end of days In 8,4-5 (cf v 6) Joseph's example leads to an exhortation to show one's compassion by being ἀμνησίκακος. Finally, God is characterized as ἐλεήμων ... καὶ εὔσπλαγχνος, μὴ λογιζόμενος κακίαν in 9,7 and as displaying εὐσπλαγχνία in 9,8.

A few things stand out in the description just given οἰκτίρειν οἶκτος (plus οἰκτιρμός and οἰκτίρμων) are not used very often in T Z and the other testaments (for these words, see R Bultmann, *ThWNT* V pp 161-3, they are used as translation of words of the root Dm (and חנן) in the LXX, and occur relatively often there, but seldom in early Christian literature)

This stands in clear contrast with the frequent use of σπλάγχνον, σπλαγχνίζεσθαι, εὐσπλαγχνία, εὐσπλαγχνος in the Testaments in general and T Z in particular σπλάγχνα is found 15 times in the LXX, only in Prov 12,10 it has רַחֲמִים as Hebrew equivalent. There it is used metaphorically: τὰ δὲ σπλάγχνα τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἀνελεήμονα; we may compare the only case where σπλαγχνίζεσθαι is used in this way, in Prov 17,5 LXX, A, o ὁὲ σπλαγχνιζόμενος ἐλεηθήσεται Also in other cases τὰ σπλάγχνα denotes the 'inside' of a person as seat of emotions, particularly of love and compassion In view of the paucity of instances of these two words with this meaning in the LXX, Philo and Josephus, the frequent use in the Testaments comes as a surprise (see, particularly, H. Koster, *ThWNT* VII pp 548-59). There is a clear connection here with early Christian usage σπλαγχνίζεσθαι in the Synoptic gospels, σπλάγχνα in Lk 1,78, in Paul and in 1Jn 3,17, and also the use of a number of derivatives of σπλάγχνον in Hermas, in connection with God and his eschatological activity

K Berger, *Die Gesetzesauslegung Jesu* pp 126–30, 254–5, has rightly emphasized the narrow connection in the Testaments between mercy and compassion and the (universal) love to one's neighbour; see on this theme the notes on T B 3,3–4. T Z emphasizes the emotional aspects of 'compassion'

The use of ἔλεος, ἐλεήμων, ἐλεεῖν (-âv) does not call for special comment (see R Bultmann, *ThWNT* II pp 474–83). In connection with the emphasis on the emotional aspects, we should note, however, that the expression ποιεῖν ἔλεος (5,1 4, T N 4,5), frequently found in the LXX, stresses the narrow link between mercy and merciful action (so Bultmann, p 478 n 67)

T ZEBULUN 1

Translation

1,1 A copy (of the words) of Zebulun which he enjoined on his children,

in the hundred and fourteenth year of his life,
two[1] years after the death of Joseph
2 And he said to them
Listen to me, sons of Zebulun,
give heed to the words of your father
3 I am Zebulun,
a good gift to my parents.
For when I was born, our father became very great both in flocks and herds,
when he had his portion with the straked rods
4 I am not conscious, my **children**,[2]
that I have sinned in my days, save in thought
5 Nor do I **remember**[3]
that I have done any iniquity, except the stupid sin which I committed against Joseph,
because I protected my brothers
so that I did not tell my father what had happened
6 And I wept much in **secret**,[4]
for I was afraid of my brothers,
for they had all agreed
that, if any one would declare the secret, he would be killed with the sword
7 But when they wished to kill him
I warned them much with tears not to perform this lawless deed

Textcritical notes

1 **δύο** (β') is found in all witnesses (*i?*) except *b* whose reading **λβ'** is certainly wrong

2. **τεκνα μου** (*b*); it is omitted in *gldmeafch(i?)j*. Both readings may claim originality **μιμνησκομαι** (*bl*). Again the alternative reading (**μνήσκομαι** *geach(i?)j*) may also be original Nevertheless the longer form seems to be preferable For similar cases, see e.g., **1Mac** 6 12 12 11

4 **καὶ ἔκλαιον πολλὰ** ev **κρυφῇ** (*b*) lectio brevior, the addition TOQI **Ἰωσήφ**(*gldmeaf*; cf. *chij*) seems to be epexegetical Also the change of **πολλά** into **ἡμέρας πολλάς** (*ldmeafchij*) looks secondary

Structure

This chapter serves as an introduction to the testament

1 1-2 The usual introductory pasage (short) plus a summons to listen

1 3 Explanation of Zebulun s name

1,4-5b (Limited) declaration of innocence which draws attention to Zebulun s shortcomings in the case of Joseph

1,5c-7 Zebulun keeps secret what happened **to** Joseph **but** declares that **he** warned **his** brothers not to kill Joseph

Notes

1,1 **which he enjoined:** for ο διέθετο, cf **T L. 1,1, T N 1,1, T B 1,1** It corresponds to διαθήκη in T R. 1,1, T N. 1,1, T G 1,1, T.A 1,1, T Jos. 1,1 **two years after the death of Joseph:** for the reference to Joseph's death see on T R 1 2 In T R 1 2 and here a term of **two years** is mentioned. According to Jub 28,23.24 Zebulun and Joseph were born in the same year Joseph died at the age of 110 (Gen 50 22) so that there is two years difference between the Testaments and Jubilees

1,2 **Listen ... give heed to:** see on T R 1 5 and T D 1,2.

1,3 **I am Zebulun:** cf. TJob 1,5, ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν Ἰώβ; cf 2,1 **a good gift to my parents** see Gen 30,20 (LXX) δεδωρηταί μοι ο fteoç δώρον xaXov Immediately after this Gen mentions the birth of Joseph (30,22-24) and tells the story about Jacob s bargaining with Laban about the part of the flocks to be given to him **(30,25ff.).** T Z **connects the patriarch's** name with **Jacob's increase in** wealth ἐν TOÎÇ ποικίλοις ῥάβδοις, described in Gen **30,37–43** For name-giving and explanation of name see also T.S. 2,2; T.Jud 1,3, T.I 1,15; T.N 1,6, T B 1,6. **became very great:** for αὐξάνειν used of a person referring to his property cf. Job 42 10 (LXX), ο δὲ κύριος ηὐξήσεν τον Ἰώβ For ἕως σφόδρα, see e g **1Sam** 25,36; **1Kgs** 1 4 Ps 38(37) 9

1,4–5 These verses give a double declaration of innocence (see also T I **7,1b,** οὐκ ἔγνων . . ἁμαρτίαν εἰς ftovaiov) In v 4 the restriction is expressed by the words παρεκτὸς ἐννοίας. Zebulun has only committed a 'sin in thought, but has sinned Cf the expressions οὐδὲ ἕως ἐννοιῶν ἀδικῆσαι in T G 5 5 and οὐδὲ εως ἐννοιῶν ποτὲ ἔκλινα πρὸς αυτην (the Egyptian woman) in T.Jos 9,2. For ἔννοια, see also T.R. **tit.;** 4,8.11 and T.N. 2 5 The frvvoicc **(plur** and sing) is like διάνοια (see on T R 3,12) the inner agent behind **the** action **(cf** Prov **23,19;** WisSol **2,14, Sus 28 Th, Heb 4,12, 1Clem 21,3 9,** etc.). The opposite of a 'sin in thought' will be a 'sin in action'; cf T G 6 1 ev ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ διανοιᾳ ψυχῆς and T.B. 5,3 (cf Philo Quod deus 7 see also J **Behm,** *ThWNT*II pp. **966–8).** **done any iniquity** see, e g Ps 37(36) 7 Acta Phil 138 **the stupid sin:** for ἄγνοια, **see on T.R 1,6 I protected:** for this meaning of σκεπάζειν, see Deut 13,9f LXX (contrast: ἀναγγέλλων ἀναγγελεῖς περί αὐτου) The construction of the verb with ἐπί is unusual

1,6 With this **verse,** compare **T.N 7,4,** δακουσαι . . . ἐκαιομην TOIÇ σπλάγχνοις ἀναγγεῖλαι . . . ἐφοβούμην τοὺς ἀδελφους μου. **be killed with the sword:** for this construction, see Ezek 26,6.8.11 Acts 12 2

1,7 **when they wished to kill him** (Joseph): see Gen 37,18.20.26, and T S 2 7; T.D **1,4 7ff ,** T.G **2,1f.4,** 6 2 T.Jos 1,4 **I warned them much:** πολλὰ διεμαρτυράμην corresponds with πολλά . ἐν κρυφῇ; the verb has the connotation of solemn protest and warning esp in case of falsehood and wrong; see LScJ s.v. (use with dat and μή). **not to perform this lawless deed:** cf 4,12; T.D. 1 9 T.G 2 5 The same expression in T D 3,2, T G 4,1, **and in Job 31,3, Ps 37(36),1, Isa 5,7; 53,9, PssSol 15,8, Mt 13,41; Un 3,4, etc**

T ZEBULUN 2

Translation

2,1 For Simeon and Gad came against Joseph with **anger**[5] to kill him,
and falling on his face Joseph said to them

2 Pity **me,** my brothers,
have mercy upon the feelings of Jacob our father
Do not lay your hands on me to shed innocent blood,
for I have not sinned against you

3 And if indeed I have sinned,
with chastening chastise me,
but do not lay your hand (on me) for the sake of Jacob our father

4 And as he said these words,
I was moved to compassion
and I began to weep,
and my liver was poured out[6] within me
and the whole substance of my feelings was weakened up to my soul

5 And also Joseph wept and I with him,
and my heart throbbed
and the joints of my body were shaken
and I was not able to stand.[7]

6 And when he (Joseph) saw me weeping with him
and them coming upon him to kill him,
he fled behind me, beseeching them

7 But Reuben stood up and said
Brothers, let us not kill him,
but let us cast him into one of these dry pits
which our fathers dug and (in which) they did not find water

8 For for this reason the Lord prevented water from rising in them
that Joseph should be saved

9 And the Lord did so,
until they sold him to the Ishmaelites

Textcritical notes

[5] **μετ' ὀργῆς (*gldme*)** These words may have been omitted in ***bh*(*i*?)*j*** as superfluous.

[6] **ἐξεχυθησαν (*gldm*)** This reading seems original over against **ἐξελύθησαν (*beafchij*)**. Cf also Job 30 16 LXX **ἐκχυθήσεται (ἐκλυθήσεται** MS S^2)

[7] **τοῦ** ffrijvai *(b)* The omission of **τοῦ (*gldmeafchij*)** is an attempt towards a grammatically better text (cf Moulton, *Grammar* I pp **216ff.; 219ff**) But compare e.g., 2Chr 5 14 LXX **οὐκ ἠδυναντο οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ στῆναι**

Structure

2,1a Takes up 1,7. In fact, the entire chapter describes what happened when they (Simeon and Gad in particular) wished to **kill** him

2,1b–3 Describe Josephs's reaction: he asks for mercy and compassion stresses his innocence and displays his concern for Jacob

2,4–5 Zebulun s compassion leads to a very emotional reaction of body and soul

2,6 Joseph flees behind Zebulun when his brothers threaten to kill him

2,7 Reuben advises to throw Joseph **into** a dry pit

2,8–9 God's providence: the pit remained dry in order that Joseph might be saved

Notes

2,1 Simeon **and Gad** cf 3 2 **4,2(11)** and the texts mentioned on 1 7 **falling on his face** cf T Jos. 6 8 13 2

2,2 Joseph brings up the central theme mercy and compassion'; see T Z INTRODUCTION pp. 254f Note the use of **οἰκτίρειν** **the feelings** lit. bowels, the seat of feelings and affections as concretum pro abstracto, see, again T Z INTRODUCTION pp 254f **Do not lay your hands on me** for this expression, see Isa 1 25 24 21, 31,3, Ezek 39,21, Amos 1,8; **Zech** 13 7 (always with God as subj.). **to shed innocent blood:** cf Gen 37,22, **(Reuben:) μὴ ἐκχέητε αἷμα** The expression **αἷμα ἀθῷον** is found several times in the LXX also with **ἐκχέειν**· see **1Sam** 25 31· Jer 7 6 22 3 17 cf Mt 27 4 and also T L 16 3

2,3 Cf **T G. 6,3** **with chastening chastise me** for chastising in connection with sins, cf Deut 21 18; 22,18; Prov 19,18; Sir 30,2; 2Tim 2,25 etc. **do not lay your hand:** cf Gen 37 22 (LXX), **χεῖραδὲ** UT) **ἐπενέγκητε αὐτῷ**

2,4 **I was moved to compassion** **οἶκτος** (cf **οἰκτιρησατε** in v 2) can mean. pity compassion and 'lamentation pitious wailing (LScJ s.v.). Therefore also here with **to weep,** cf. 3Mac 6,22, **εἰς οἶκτον καὶ δάκρυα;** Philo, Spec. leg **III** 129; Plutarch **Quomodo** quis suos in virtute sentiat profectus 12 (Mor 83 B) **my liver was poured out within me** see Job 30,16 (see textcritical note 6) Ps 42(41) 5 and PssSol 16 2 (with *tyvyrl*). **On the liver** in connection with compassion (or the opposite), see T S 2 4 7 4 1· T G 2 1 **(ἥπατα ἐλέους);** 5,9.11. **(the ... substance of) my feelings: see v 2**

2,5 **my heart throbbed:** cf Jer 48(31),36 (LXX), **διὰ τοῦτο καρδία μου, Μωάβ, ωσπερ αὐλοὶ βομβήσουσιν, καρδία μου ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους Κίραδας ωσπερ αὐλὸς βομβήσει** **the joints of my body** cf 4Mac 10 5 SibOr II 223 Heb 4 12

2,6 **beseeching them.** cf Gen 42,21

2 7 **Reuben ... said:** see Gen 37,21-22 **let us not kill him, but** see Gen 37 20 **these dry pits did not find water** see Gen 37,24 interestingly combined with Gen **26,15ff.,** esp. v 32 (LXX) **ὤρυξαν . οὐχ εὕρομεν ὕδωρ,** cf Jub **24 16ff ,** esp v 25 and Ginzberg, *Legends* V p. 279 n. 63

2,8 **the Lord prevented water from rising in them** cf Job 12,15; Ezek 31,15. **that Joseph should be saved** **περιποίησις** by God cf Hag 2 9; **Mal 3,17(;** Ps **79[78],11;** Isa 31,5) Gods continuous protection of Joseph is a dominant theme in **T Jos.;** see also T R 4,10; T S 2,8, T D 1 9· T G 2,5, T.B **3**

2,9 **until they sold him** cf Gen **37,25ff ;** see also T S 2 9 4 2

T ZEBULUN 3

Translation

3 1 For also in Joseph's price children I had no share
2 but Simeon and Gad and our other six brothers took the price of Joseph,
and bought sandals for themselves and their wives and their children saying
3 We shall not eat of it,
for this is the price of our brother's blood
but let us assuredly tread it under foot,
because he said that he would be **king**[g] over us
and let us see what will become of his dreams

4 Therefore it is written in the writing of the law of Enoch
that whosoever does not want to raise up offspring to his brother,
his sandal should be pulled off his foot
and he should be spat on the face
5 And the brothers of Joseph did not want that their brother should live,
and the Lord pulled off their feet the sandal of **Joseph** [9]
6 For when they came in Egypt,
their sandals were pulled off their feet by Joseph's servants before the gate,
and so they made obeisance to Joseph after the fashion of Pharaoh,
7 and not only did they make obeisance to him,
but they were also immediately spat upon,
falling down before him
And so they were put to shame before the Egyptians
8 For after that the Egyptians heard all the evil things we had done to Joseph

Textcritical notes

[8] **βασιλεύειν** *(b)* The variant **ὅτι βασιλευσει** (***gideaf***) gives a smoother text

[9] **τὸ ὑπόδημα Ἰωσήφ** *(b)* **The** alternative reading **τὸ ὑπόδημα ὃ ἐφόρεσαν κατὰ Ἰωσὴφ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῶν** (***leafc,*** cf *g)* is an explanatory addition to the harsh and rather unclear text of *b*. Compare *the coat of our* ***father*** meaning 'the coat which our father had given to Joseph' in 4 10 (cf 4 9)

Structure

3 1-3 Excursus about the price for which Joseph was sold (2 9)
- v 1 Zebulun did not have any share in it
- v 2 his brothers bought sandals for that money (cf. Amos 2 6)
- v 3 thus showing their contempt for him who said that he would be their king (the **dreams in Gen 37,5-11)**

3,4–8 Excursus on the excursus
- v 4 what happens to a man who refuses to raise offspring to his brother (cf Deut **25,5–10)**
- v 5 this is applied to Joseph s brothers God punished them
- vv **6–7c** description of what happened when they met Joseph (various elements added to the stories in Gen)
- vv 7d-8 the brothers were put to shame before the Egyptians

Notes

3,1 Joseph's price see on T.G 2 3 Note **γαρ** which connects this verse with the preceding **one. I had no share:** contrast Prov **1,11** (LXX) **κοινώνησον αἵματος .** (of a **righteous man), cf. vv 12-14**

3,2 Simeon and Gad: see on 2 1 **our other six brothers** probably all minus Zebulun Reuben and Benjamin **bought sandals:** see also Targ Ps. Jon on Gen 37,28 and

Ginzberg s comments in *Legends* V p 330 n 51-52. The idea seems to have arisen from a comparison with Amos 2 6 (LXX) **ἀπέδοντο ἀργυρίου δίκαιον καὶ πένητα ἕνεκεν ὑποδημάτων** (cf 8,6) We should note that Gen 37 28 LXX contrary to the Hebrew does not mention silver but gold The author will have taken over an existing tradition

3,3 **We shall not eat of it, for this is the price of our brother's blood:** probably inspired by **the** interdiction **to eat** blood (see **Lev 17,10–16, Jub 21,18–20**). **For τιμὴ αἵματος,** see **Mt** 27,6 **tread ... under foot:** see Amos 2 7 (LXX), **τὰ πατουντα ἐπὶ** TÓV **χουν τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐκονδύλιζον εἰς κεφαλὰς πτωχῶν** .. (cf PssSol 2 2). **because he said that he would be king over us:** see Gen 37,5-11, esp v 8 (LXX), **μὴ βασιλεύων βασιλεύσεις ἐφ' ἡμας** **and let us see what will become of his dreams:** from Gen 37,20

3,4 **it is written in the writing of the law of Enoch.** for references to Enoch, see on T.S. 5 4 Note **ἐν γραφῇ νόμου** here: the quotation does not refer to a prediction of the future but to the law which for obvious reasons could not be ascribed to Moses Here Deut **25,5–10** (LXX) is referred to: v. 7, **ου** fleXei **.. ἀναστησαι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀδελφου αὐτοῦ ...,** v 9, (his brother s wife) **ὑπολύσει τὸ ὑπόδημα αὐτοῦ .. καὶ ἐμπτυσεται εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ;** see also Ruth **4,1–11** For **raise up offspring to his brother,** see also **Gen** 38,8.

3,5 **pulled off their feet:** note that this is said to be an action of the Lord himself (cf **2,8f**)

3,6–7 A combination of elements taken from Gen and extra features serving the author s particular purpose. **and so they made obeisance to Joseph·** see Gen 42,6, 43 26.28 **connected** with teeXvifnoav **ὑπὸ των παίδων Ἰωσὴφ ἔμπροσθε τοῦ πυλῶνος.** **falling down before him:** see Gen 44,14 (cf 43,28) connected with **ἐνεπτύσθησαν.** For **after the fashion of Pharaoh,** cf Gen **41,41ff ;** 44 18 45 8 Thus Joseph s dreams (see v 3) *did* **become true!**

3 7d-8 Also not in Gen (but **cf** Gen 45,2.16) The tendency of this story does not agree with that of T Jos 11,2-16 6 where Joseph avoids anything that would put his brothers to shame Both the 'excursus and the 'excursus on the excursus must have been taken over to show how the brothers were put to shame after their disgraceful treatment of Joseph

T ZEBULUN 4

Translation

4,1 After that they took **food,**[10]
2 For I did not taste anything for two days and two nights,
having pity for Joseph
Also Judah did not eat together with them,
but he watched the pit,
because he was afraid that Simeon and Gad would rush off and kill him
3 And when they saw that I also did not eat,
they sent me to watch him, until he was sold
4 And he spent in the pit three days and three nights,
and so he was sold famishing
5 And when Reuben heard that he (Joseph) had been sold while he was away,
he rent his clothes and mourned, saying
How shall I see the face of Jacob my father?

6 And taking the money he ran after the merchants and found no one
for they had left the main road and travelled through (the country of) the Troglokolpites by a short cut
7 And Reuben did not eat bread that day
Dan, therefore, came to him and said to him
8 Do not weep nor grieve,
for I have found what we can say to our father Jacob
9 Let us slay a kid of goats
and let us dip the coat of Joseph (in its blood)
and let us say Do you recognize it? Is this the coat of your son?
And so they **did** [11]
10 For they had stripped Joseph of the coat of our father when they were about to sell him,
and they had put on him an old garment of a slave
11 But Simeon had the coat and did not want to give it up
For he wished to cut it in pieces with his sword,
as he was angry that he (Joseph) lived and he had not killed him
12 But rising all together against him we said
If you do not give it up, we shall say
that you alone did the evil thing in Israel
13 And so he gave it,
and they did as Dan had said

Textcritical notes

[10] **μετὰ ταῦτα ἔλαβον ἐσθίειν ἐκεῖνοι.** Emendation on the basis of the unintelligible reading **... ἔβαλον ...** *(ba;* cf. **ἔβαλλον** *ef)* The other witnesses attempt various more or less radical corrections **ἔβαλον (ἔβαλλον),** however, should be replaced by **ἔλαβον** (cf. *m)* the confusion of **λαβ–** and βαX- is quite common in Greek MSS For the construction **ἔλαβον ἐσθίειν,** cf **Euripides,** Cyclop **561, ὅπως λήψει πιεῖν.**

[11] **καὶ ἐποίησαν οὕτως** (all MSS except *b)* This redactional remark which serves as a temporary conclusion may have been omitted in *b* either due to a mechanical error **(hmt)** or to a deliberate attempt to avoid duplication with v 13

Structure

This chapter continues the story told in chapter 2

4,1–4 Before the selling of Joseph (v 3b)

v 1 the brothers eat

v 2 Zebulun fasts; Judah watches the pit fearing an attack by Simeon and Gad

v 3 Zebulun is asked to guard Joseph

v 4 Joseph spends three days and three nights and does not eat either

4 5-13 After the selling of Joseph

vv 5-7 Reuben s sorrow and his efforts to get Joseph back

vv **8–10** Dan proposes the solution to dip Joseph's coat in blood and to present this to Jacob

vv 11-13 Simeon is very much opposed to this but has to give in

Notes

4,1 See Gen 37 25

4,2 **I did not taste:** see on T R 1,10 **Simeon and Gad** see on (1 7) 2 1

4,3 **until he was sold:** for the use of **πιπράσκειν,** see on T S 4 2

4,4 **three days and three nights ... famishing** cf. **1Sam** 30,12, **(an** Egyptian) had not eaten bread or drunk water for three days and three nights" Acta Paul et **Thecl** 8; with **ἄσιτος** or **ἀσιτεῖν** in Esth **4,16,** Plutarch Amatorius 25 (Mor 770 F) **ἡμέρας τρεῖς και νυκτας ἄσιτος διεκαρτέρησε,** cf. De sollertia animalium 13 **(Mor** 969 C); Prochorus Acta Jo **(ed.** Th. Zahn) p. 106 12ff Three days and three nights also in Jonah 2 1" Mt 12,40, Prochorus' Acta Jo p 51,7.. Cf. finally also The Story of Joseph in Arabic Verse (ed./tr. R. Y. Ebied and M. J L. Young, Léiden 1975) 151 Three days he stayed in his pit - and some have said **seven** '

4,5 **when Reuben heard** ... see Gen 37,29f.. and on T S.. 2 9f **he rent his clothes** cf Gen 37,29 (LXX) **διέρρηξεν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ. For the use of περισχίζεσθαι, see** Lampe s.v sub 2 **mourned** cf T S 2 10 and Philo De Jos 21 **(Reuben:) ἀλλὰ** TI **ταῦτα θρηνῶν απηχω How shall I see the face of Jacob?** cf Targ Ps **Jon** on Gen 37,30 For this expression see on T I 1 11

4,6 **the merchants.** cf Gen 37,28 (LXX) **(οἱ Μαδιηναῖοι) οἱ ἔμποροι.. (the country of) the Troglokolpites.** the 'normal form of the name is **Τρωγοδύται / Τρωγλοδύται** denoting an Ethiopian people; see, e.g 2Chr 12 3 Acta Phil 32; Hippolytus, Chronica 96; 131 207; see also **LScJ** s.v.. This form (with X) is found in MSS *afch(i?)j*,but see T.Jos. 11,2, 'when I came to the **Ἰνδοκολπίτας** with the Ishmaelites and cf Hippolytus, Chronica 207, **Μαδιηναίων** δὲ **ἄποικοι γεγόνασιν οἱ Κιναιδοκολπῖται καὶ Τρωγ λοδύται ..;** and Ptolemaeus Geographia IV 7 27 **καλεῖται** δὲ **καθόλου ἡ μὲν παρὰ τὸν 'Αραβικὸν** καὶ **τὸν Αὐαλίτην (ἢ 'Αβαλιτην) κόλπον παράλιος χωρα Τρωγλοδυτικὴ μέχρι τοῦ 'Ελέφαντος δρους ...**

4,8 **Do not weep nor grieve'** for **this** combination see also T.Jud 25,5

4,9 See Gen 37 31f. and T.B.. 2,2 **a kid of goats:** also in 2Chr 29 21 Ezra 6 17 SibOr III 748; cf **χίμαρος ἐξ αἰγῶν** in Lev 4,23 (LXX), etc

4,10 **the coat of our father** Gen 37 3 23 (LXX) mention a **χιτων ποικίλος** given by Jacob to Joseph

4,11 **cut it in pieces with his sword** this formulation also in Ezek 5 2 (cf Jer 20 4 21 7) JosAsen 23 3" 26 5" 28,13.. **he was angry ...: see** T.S.. 2 11

4,12 **rising against him: this** expression also in Plutarch, Titus 9 10 (Vitae par 374 B) Marius 4 6 (Vitae par 407 F) **you did the evil thing:** cf 1 7

T ZEBULUN **5,1–4**

Translation

5,1 And now, my children, I declare to you,
to keep the commandments of the Lord,
and to show mercy to your neighbour
and to have compassion towards all,
not only towards men, but also towards beasts
2 For for this the Lord blessed me,
and when all my brothers were ill
I escaped without illness
For the Lord knows everyone's purpose

3 Therefore, my children, have mercy in your feelings,
because as a man does to his neighbour
so will the Lord do to him also
4 For the sons of my brothers were ill, were (even) dying
because of Joseph,
because they had not shown mercy in their feelings,
but my sons were preserved without illness,
as you know

Structure

5 1-2 Direct exhortation (**ἔλεος** and **ευσπλαγχνία** as fulfilment of God s commandments) followed by an illustration of God's recompense for such an attitude: Zebulun, contrary to his brothers remained **ἄνοσος**

5,3–4 Again, the same exhortation followed by an illustration Zebulun s sons contrary to his brothers sons remained **ἄνοσοι** (see also 5 5[1])

Notes

5 1 **I declare to you** see 7 1 and note on T L 10,1. **the commandments of the Lord** centre around **mercy and compassion** **to your neighbour** is explained by the parallel expression **towards all** (see T Z., INTRODUCTION pp **254f).** The same emphasis is found in **6,4–5;** 7,2 **(πάντας σπλαγχνιζόμενοι ἐλεᾶτε)** and 8 1 **(ἔχετε εὐσπλαγχνίαν κατὰ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου** ἐν **ἐλέει);** see also T B 4,2, (the good man) **ἐλεᾷ ... πάντας** (contrast the man with two faces' in T A 2 7 who pities few people). This attitude amounts to a kind of imitatio Dei cf Sir 18 13 WisSol **11,23f ,** cf also **15,1f.;** Rom 11 32 Here the **all** is explained by the following clause **not only towards men, but also towards beasts,** cf Sir 18,13 (and **K** Berger s comment on this verse on p. 114 of his *Die Gesetzesauslegung Jesu*) We find here a well-known topic of Jewish-hellenistic apologetics. See, e.g., Josephus **Contr.** Ap **2,209ff.,** esp 213 So thorough a lesson has he (the legislator) given us in gentleness and humanity **(φιλανθρωπίαν)** that he does not overlook even the brute beasts **(τῶν ἀλόγων ζῴων)** ....., Philo, Virt. 81 (in the section **περὶ φιλανθρωπίας),** He (the legislator) did not set up consideration and gentleness as fundamental to the relations of men to their fellows only **(οὐκ** ἐν **ταῖς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους αὐτὸ μόνον . . κοινωνίαις),** but poured it out richly with a lavish hand on animals of irrational nature **(ἀλλ' . πρὸς** TE **τὰς τῶν ἀλόγων ζῴων φύσεις)** and the various kinds of cultivated trees **';** also 140 These decrees of theirs apply to human beings, but he (Moses) rising to a further height extended the duty of fair treatment even to irrational animals **(τῶν ἀλόγων ζῴων)** ....; cf. **125ff.;** 133; 148 160; Leg all. **III** 30. The author of the Testaments shares this extension of love for mankind to love for all beings (see also E Stauffer, ***ThWNT*** **I pp.39–41)**

5,2–4 V. **2a–c** runs parallel to v **4a–c.** **the Lord knows everyone's purpose.** see T.Jud 20,3; T.N 2 5 T.G. 5,3; T.B 6 6 cf Sir 15 19 4Ezra 16,54ff. (= 6Ezra **2,54ff),** 2Bar **83,2ff ,** SentSexti 56; with at the background, the OT 'idea that God tests' the heart and mind of man see e.g., Ps **7,9ff.; 26(25),1f.** God treats a man in accordance with this man s treatment of his neighbour: see v 3bc and cf 8 3 and, e.g Mt 5,7 6 14, Jas 2,13; TAb B 10 **πως ἐλεήσω** OE, **ὅτι** οὐ **ουκ ἠλέησας τὴν θυγατέρα** OOD: for further parallels see H Windisch, *Die katholischen Briefe* (***HbNT*** *15)* Tübingen **[2]1930,** p 16 (on Jas 2,13). For the talion scheme in general, see e.g., Judg 1 7; Jub 4 31; Mt 7,2; and A **Dihle,** *Die goldene Regel* Göttingen 1962 pp 12ff Because of this the sons of

Zebulun must have **mercy in** their **feelings** (v 3a), heeding what happened to the sons of their uncless who **had not shown mercy in their feelings** (v 4b) for the expression used see 2 2.4.

T ZEBULUN 5,5–7,4

Translation

5,5 And when I was in the land of **Canaan,**[12]
I used to catch **fish**[13] by the seacoast[14] for Jacob my father,
and when many were drowned in the sea,
I continued unhurt
6,1 I was the first to make a boat to sail upon the sea,
for the Lord gave me understanding and wisdom therein
2 And I let down a piece of wood behind it
and I stretched a sail upon an upright piece of wood in the midst
3 And sailing in it along the shores
I **caught**[15] fish for the house of my father
until we came into Egypt
4 And from my catch I **gave**[16] to every stranger, out of compassion
5 And if there was a stranger or an ill or an aged man,
I boiled the fish and **dressed**[17] it well
and set it before all men, as every man had need,
welcoming **them**[18] and having sympathy with them
6 Therefore also the Lord gave me a rich catch of **fish,**
for he who shares with his brother
receives manifold more from the Lord
7 For five years I caught fish
sharing it with every man I saw
and satisfying the whole house of my father
8 In the summer I caught fish
and in the winter I kept sheep with my brothers
7,1 Now I will declare to you what I did
I saw a man in distress through nakedness in the winter,
and out of compassion for him
I stole a garment from my house
and gave it secretly to him who was in distress
2 Do you too, therefore, my children,
show compassion and mercy without hesitation to all **men**[19]
and give to every man with a good heart
from that which God gives to you
3 But if for a time you have nothing to give to him who is in need,
have sympathy with him in feelings of mercy
4 I know that (once) my hand did not find anything for the present to give to him who was in need,
and **for**[20] seven stadia I walked with him and wept,
and my feelings were moved towards him to sympathy

Textcritical notes

[1] γῇ Χαναάν (*dmeafchij*; cf. *gl*). This reading is to be preferred to the alternative τῇ X in *b*. See also T Jos. 13,8; 15,2

[11] ἐθήρευον ἁτρ|ὁαν ἰχθύων. The reading ἁτρJQa (*bmf*) instead of θηραν is obviously wrong.

[14] παράλιον *(b)*. The addition of the article την *(gldmeafchij)* seems to be secondary. Cf. Deut 1,7.

[17] καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ διαπορευόμενος ἡλίευον *(b)*. The addition of ἦμην after καί *(gldmeafchij)* and the change of ἡλίευον into the participle ἁλιεύων (*gldme*) have disturbed the context, in which the catching of fish is the main theme. The alterations may have been introduced as soon as one overlooked the form ἡλίευον in the first instance or regarded it as a participle particularly if written without the augment.

All witnesses except *bgldm* omit 6,4–7,3 except 6,7a (ending with μεταδιδους) and 6,8

[16] ἐδίδουν *(b)*. The variant μετεδίδουν *(gdm)* is 'clearly secondary' cf. μεταδιδούς in vv. 6f., and the frequent use of μεταδίδοναι in similar contexts.

[17] ἐψήσας ... ποιήσας *(b)*. The variants ἑψῶν ... ποιῶν *(gl* cf. *d)* may have been introduced in order to underline the frequency of Zebulun's charitable actions (cf. προσέφερον).

[18] συνάγων *(b)*. The alternative reading συνάλγων *(gd)* is lectio facilior since συναλγειν is used rather often to describe one's attitude towards the needy (see, e.g., Sir 37,12; **Philo**, De Jos. 94; 205; ClemHom 2 2,3). For the use of συνάγων, cf. Deut 22,2; Judg 19,18; 2Sam 11,27; Mt 25,35.38.43f., Acts 11,26

[19] παντας *(dm)*. The variant πᾶσι (*bl*) makes a grammatically somewhat hard construction

[20] ἐπί (*gldm*). The alternative ἔτι *(b)* seems to be out of place

Structure

5,5 Makes a transition. It gives another instance of God's help for Zebulun over against others (cf. vv. 2 and 4) and introduces the theme of 'Zebulun as fisherman'

6,1-3 Zebulun the first sailor (cf. Gen 49,13) and fisherman

6,4–7 Zebulun shares his catch with everyone in need (so 6,4.5.7). Emphasis on his compassion for everybody. In 6,6 the theme of God's reward returns

6,8 Transition to chapter 7. Zebulun fished only in summer, he tended the flock in winter

7,1a New introduction to exhortation. Note the chiastic structure of the following:

7,1b–e An example of Zebulun's help in winter

7,2 Exhortation to show compassion for everyone

7,3 If there is nothing to give, have sympathy!

7,4 What Zebulun did in one such instance

Notes

The theme 'Zebulun as fisherman' is taken from Gen 49,13 (LXX παράλιος κατοικησει), cf. Deut 33,18f. According to Ber. Rabba 72,5; 98,12; 99,9; cf. Targ. Onk., **Neof.**, and Ps.-Jon. on Gen 49,13 together with Targ. **Neof.**, Ps.-**Jon.**, **Fragm.** Targ. on Deut 33,18f. the sons of Zebulun were merchants who traded with ships (in order to enable their brothers of the tribe of **Issachar** to study the law); see L. Ginzberg, *Legends* II p. 144; V p. 368 n. 389–391. In the Testaments the merchant becomes a fisherman, probably because commerce was valued negatively, and the fishing trade agreed with the 'simple life' advocated in T I, and throughout the Testaments (see R. Vischer, *Das einfache Leben* on commerce pp. 90–92, 113–121, 126; and on fishing pp. 112f.; 116; 139f.)

5,5 **And when I was in the land of Canaan** corresponds with 6,3 until we came into Egypt; cf. 8,4 (and 6,7, 'five years') **T Jud** 9,8 (; T.L. 12,5) **and I used to catch fish ... for**

Jacob my father. the expressionfrnQEUEiv ftfipav is found in Gen **27,3 5 33** where Esau hunts on behalf of his father.

6 1 **the Lord gave me understanding and wisdom therein** God gives wisdom e.g., to **Solomon (1Kgs** 5,9 26) **Daniel (Dan** 1 17) **to good and righteous men in general (Job** 38,36; **Eccl** 2,26; Sir 43 33); and to Joseph (Acts 7 10) etc For the connection between **συνεσις** and **σοφια,** see **T L** 13,2.7 (see note on **T L** 13,2) **σύνεσις** is related to technical skill also in Ex 31 6 and I have given to all able men ability (LXX **δέδωκα σύνεσιν),** that they may make all that I have commanded you' cf. 35 31 (LXX) **πνεῦμα θειον σοφίας και συνέσεως** (cf. v 35 and **36 1)**

6,3 **until we came into Egypt:** see on 5,5

6,4 The theme of **compassion** returns now coupled with the emphasis on effective help (see T Z INTRODUCTION pp **254f.).**

6,5 **And if there was a stranger or an ill or an aged man** 7 1 adds the naked Helping the needy in particular strangers ill people and other persons in a weak social position (widows orphans etc.), is a well-known topic in Jewish and Christian writings See T I 3,8, **παντι . . . πενητι xal παντι ftXißojievcj)** (see note) **and e g , Job 31,32 (LXX ἔξω** oe **οὐκ ηὐλίζετο ξένος . . .);** TJob **10** 1-3· 25 5· 53,3; **TAb B** 4 Philo **Abr 114 Mt 25,35.38.43f.;** Aristides **Apol.** 15 7; Justin **Apol.** I 67,6, **επικουρει ὀρφανοις** TE xal **χηραις** xal **TOÏÇ διὰ νόσον . . . λειπομένοις . . .** xal **TOÏÇ παρεπιδήμοις οὖσι ξένοις,** xal **ἁπλῶς πᾶσι** TOÏÇ **ἐν χρείᾳ οὖσι** OTIδEnurv **γινεται,** ClemHom **3,69,1,** 11,4,3 **set it before all men προσφέρειν** in this meaning also in e.g., Gen **27,31;** Xenophon **Memorabilia 3,11,13f. as every man had need:** cf. **Job 31,16 TJob 10,3 Acts** 2,45 4,35 **(ἑκαστῷ καθότι** av **τις χρείαν εἶχεν);** Eph 4,28; Un 3 17 Justin Apol I 67,6 (see above); see also Plutarch De capienda ex inimicis utilitate 9 (Mor 90 F). **welcoming them·** see textcritical note 18 Especially Mt 25 35 provides a good parallel (vv 38 and **43f.). having sympathy: συμπασχων,** cf 7 3 (and T.Jos. 20 6) and **συμπάθεια** in 7,4, see further on T B 4 4, 'on the poor man he has mercy· with the weak he feels sympathy

6,6 **the Lord gave me a rich catch of fish . . . receives manifold more from the Lord** see 5 3bc and T.I 3,7f. (see note) For the expression **λαμβάνειν πολλαπλασίονα,** cf Mk **10,30 Mt 19,29; Lk 18,30 he who shares: μεταδίδοναι also in v 7 and in T I** 7 5 (see **note).**

6 7 **with every man** takes up the **τῳ πλησίον** of the previous verse cf. 5 1 and 6,4.5 7 2 8,1. **satisfying:** for this meaning of **ἐξαρκεῖν,** see e.g. Plutarch De amicorum multitudine 6 (Mor. 95 C) But if all our friends want the same things at the same time it is hard to satisfy all **(χαλεπὸν ἐξαρκέσαι πᾶσι) . . .'**

6,8 **in the winter** introduces the next verse with a similar phrase **I kept sheep with my brothers.** cf T.L 2 3· T G 1 4 (and Gen 37 2.13)

7 1 **Now I will declare to you** cf **5 1 a man in distress:** cf again T.I. 3 8 **through nakedness in the winter** the naked belong in the series op people in difficulties, see on 6 5 Cf. also Tob **1** 17 BA (cf S) **τοὺς αρτους μου ἐδίδουν τοις πεινῶσιν** xal **τὰ ἱμάτια μου τοις γυμνοῖς;** 4,16 Job **31 19** Isa 58,7, Ezek 18 7 16 **TJob** 44 4· 53 3 v 1 · Mt **25,36.38.43f.;** Jas 2,15f and ClemHom 3 69,1; 11 4 3

7,2 **without hesitation** the central parenetic theme of compassion and mercy **to all men** is now underlined by the addition of **ἀδιακρίτως,** parallel with **with a good heart** in the next clause. For the latter expression see T.S. 4 5 (and 7) where it occurs parallel to ev **ἁπλότητι ψυχης** (see note) and **T.B** 4 2 **ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος . . ἐλεᾷ . . . πάντας** To give **ἀδιακρίτως** is to give **ἁπλῶς:** without hesitation without reserve, as God gives: Jas 1 5 see esp Hermas Mand 2 4 xal **ἐκ των κόπων σου ὧν ὁ θεὸς δίδωσίν** om **πᾶσιν ὑστερουμένοις δίδου ἁπλῶς, μη διστάζων, τίνι δῷς ἢ τινι μη δῷς. πασιν δίδου πᾶσιν γὰρ** o **θεὸς δίδοσθαι θέλει ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δωρηματων:** and cf J Amstutz in his

ΑΠΛΟΤΗΣ, pp. 75 and 151f **from that which God gives to you:** in Greek in a prominent position before the actual exhortation Cf T G. 7,2, 'the Lord who gives **(παρέχοντι) to all men the things that are good and expedient for them' (see note);** T.Jos. 9 3 God's giving is realized in man s giving; see also Hermas, Mand. 2 4 mentioned **above.**

7,3–4 **to him who is in need** cf. 6,5. For **χρῄζειν** in this context see, e g., TJob **9,8; Philo,** De Jos 144 you have abundance of wealth give a share to others **(μεταδίδου);** for the excellence of wealth consists ... in succouring the needy **(ἐν τῇ τῶν χρῃζόντων ἐπικουρίᾳ)',** ClemHom ll,4,3f **have sympathy to sympathy** cf., again, 6,5. **in feelings of mercy** here and in 8 2 6 (cf **ἔλεος** ev **σπλάγχνοις** in 5 3). For this expression see Lk 1 78 (cf. Col 3,12, **σπλάγχνα οἰκτιρμου)** and **1QS** 1 22 2 1 **my hand did not find ... (to give):** often in the OT see Judg 9,33 (LXX)· **1Sam** 10 7· 25,8; **Eccl** 9,10 etc **and wept:** cf. **1,6–7,2,4–6.** **and my feelings were moved towards him:** cf, 2,4,

T ZEBULUN 8

Translation

8,1 Have, therefore, yourselves also, my children,
compassion towards every man with mercy
that the Lord also may show compassion and mercy to you.
2 Because also in the last days God will send his **compassion**[21] on earth
and wheresoever he finds feelings of mercy, he dwells in him.
3 For in the degree in which a man has compassion on his **neighbour**[22]
in the same degree (has) the **Lord**[23] (compassion) upon him
4 For when we went down into Egypt,
Joseph bore no malice against **us,**[24]
and when he saw me he had compassion.
5 To whom taking heed, do also yourselves behave without malice, my children,
and love one another,
and do not reckon, each one of you, the evil of his brother
6 For this breaks unity
and divides all kindred
and troubles the soul
and destroys **property.**[25]
For he who bears malice has no feelings of mercy

Textcritical notes

All witnesses except ***bgld(m)*** omit 8,1-3.4c 6e (plus **ἀμνησίκακοι γίνεσθε ... καί** in 5a with ***l***)

[21] **τὸ σπλάγχνον** *(bk)*. The reading **τὰ σπλάγχνα** (***gl***; cf. *dm)* is an adaptation to the use of the **plur.** in the rest of the testament (cf 2,2.4, **5,3f ; 7,3f.,** 8 2,6)

[22] TOV **πλησιον** *(bk)* lectio difficilior over against the variant **τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ** in ***gldm*** (cf 5,3).

21 **κυριος** *(bk)* stands over against the smoother xaï o **κυριος (gdm,** cf *l)* Cf. 5,3; 6,6, 8,1.
2' **εἰς ἡμᾶς** *(bk)*. This reading may be preferred to the smoother **ἡμᾶς (gl)** or **ἡμῖν (deafchij).**
2' xai **τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἀφανίζει (ldeaf;** cf. *chij).* . This clause has been omitted in *bg* through **hmt.**

Structure

8 1-3 Again direct exhortation (lab) with reference to God s compassion for those who show compassion in vv **1c** and 3 Eschatological application of this principle in v 2
8,4 Josephs's example; link between **εὐσπλαγχνία** and **ἀμνησικακία**
8,5 Repeated exhortation with emphasis on not bearing malice
8,6a–d Introduction of *a* new theme: (bearing malice is a) threat to unity (cf. chapter 9)
8,6e Conclusion of the exhortation on compassion and mercy

Notes

8,1 **compassion towards every man with mercy** again emphasis on compassion to all people see on 5 1 **that the Lord also may show compassion:** see **5,3bc;** 6,6 and v 3 below

8,2 This verse gives an eschatological application of the talion principle. **also in the last days:** cf. T.Jud 18,1; T.I. 6 1; T Z. 9 5; T.D 5 4; T.N. 8,1; T.Jos 19 5(10) for similar expressions; see also Gen 49,1; Josh 24 27; Hos 3,5; Micah 4 1 etc **God will send his compassion on earth** see T N 4 5 **ἄχρι τοῦ ἐλθεῖν** TO **σπλάγχνον κυρίου, ἄνθρωπος ποιῶν δικαιοσύνην** xai **ποιων ἔλεος εἰς** reävTaç TOÙÇ **μακρὰν** xai TOÙÇ **ἐγγύς,** T.L 4 4 **ἕως ἐπισκέψηται κυριος** JiavTa Ta **ἔθνη** Èv **σπλάγχνοις υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ** Cf Philo, De Jos.. 25 and **Phlm** 12 The author clearly thinks of God coming upon the earth in the form of a man, sc. Jesus Christ; see also **on earth** (see on T.S. 6,5). The element of compassion embodied in Jesus Christ is surely not absent. For a similar expression, see T B 9,2, until the Most High will send forth his salvation **(ἀποστείλῃ** TÔ **σωτήριον αὐτοῦ)',** also in the form of a man; cf further Ex 15 7 thou sendest forth (LXX **ἀπέστειλας)** thy fury' cf. Isa 10,6; Jdt 9 9 Ps 111(110) 9 He sent redemption (LXX **λύτωσιν ἀπέστειλε)** to his people'; **1En** 101,3 **wheresoever he finds feelings of mercy.** cf on 7,3 **he dwells in him** on the motif of God s dwelling in man see on T.B.. 6,4 (and also on T.I.. 7,7)

8,3 See on v 1

8,4 **when we went down into Egypt:** see on 5 5 **Joseph bore no malice against us** the picture of Joseph agrees with that given in T.S.. **4,4–6** and T.Jos.. **17,4–7** eXEEÎv, etc.. or **σπλαγχνίζεσθαι,** etc.. together with **μνησικακειν,** etc also in Zech **7,9f** , Prov **21,24ff.; 1Clem 2,4f.;** Hermas Mand **9,2f** , etc

8,5 **To whom taking heed:** cf T S 4 5 keeping in mind **(ἐννοοῦντες)** your father s brother T B 3 1, following the example of **(μιμούμενοι)** the good and holy man **Joseph'; and also Sir 2,10.** **do not reckon, each one of you, the evil of his brother:** cf. T.Jos.. 17,2.. In Gen 50 17 (LXX) the verb **ἀφίεναι,** to forgive' is used a verb which in **e g.,** Ps **32(31),1f.; 1Clem 60,1f** is used as a parallel to 'reckoning iniquity For the latter expression see further e g 9 7 T B 3 6' 2Sam 19 20 LXX R 2Cor 5 19 **ApSedr 16,6**

8,6 Cf Hermas, Vis 2 3,1.. Note the chiasm in 6ab **all kindred** used in connection with Jacob s (Joseph's) family in Egypt in JosAsen 22 2 **amd** Acts 7 14 **divides destroys:** both verbs occur in connection with divine punishment. For **διασκορπίζειν** and **ἀφανίζειν,** see respectively T A., 7,2,6; T.L 16,5 (see note) and 9 2 T L 17 9 **και ἡ γῆ** xai **ἡ ὕπαρξις αὐτῶν ἀφανισθήσεται** (cf. also Dan **11,24** Th) **troubles the soul** see on T.S.. **4,8f.** and on **T.B. 6,5,** **For he who bears malice** **mercy** conclusion of the entire preceding section in chapters 2-8

T ZEBULUN 9,1–4

Translation

9,1 Observe the waters
For when[26] they flow together,
they sweep along stones, pieces of wood, earth,[27] sand,
2 but if they are divided into many streams,
the earth swallows them up
and they become contemptible
3 So will you also be, if you are divided.
4 Be not divided into two heads,
for everything which the Lord made has but one head
He gave two shoulders, hands, feet,
but all the members are subject to one head

Textcritical notes

26 **ὅτι** ÖTE *(ge)* seems to be the original text over against readings like cm *(b)* and OTE *(f)* probably introduced through **haplography**, and variants like **πῶς** ÖTE *(f* cf *d)* and **ὅτι ὅταν** *(a)* which attempt to give a smoother text

2 **γῆν** *(geafchij)*. The alternative reading **την** *(b* cf **και την** *ld)* as the article to the following **ἄμμον** can hardly claim originality

Structure

This hortatory section introduced by 8,6 and taken up in v 5 the S element of the following S.E R passage, warns against internal divisions **(3–4a)**. Two images are used that of the waters (vv 1-2) and that of the body with one head (v 4).

Notes

9,1 **they sweep along stones** ... cf. Job 14,19 LXX, WisSol 17,19, and Isa 28,2, 30 28 using the verb **συρειν; κατασυρειν** is used in connection with streaming water in e.g., **Philo**, Mut nom 214 Vita Mosis II 54; Praem poen 73 Aetern mundi 147; Plutarch Quaestiones convivales I 9 3 (Mor 627 C); De esu carnium I 3 (Mor 994 B)

9,2 **divided into many streams:** cf ClemHom 6 9 4 **τὸ δὲ κατωτέρω της γῆς ὕδωρ, ἓν ὂν τῇ φύσει . καὶ εἰς πολλὰ διαιρούμενον** swallows up· cf **ἀφανίζει** in 8 6 **they become contemptible:** cf Jer **49(29),15** (LXX) **μικρὸν ἔδωκά** OE (Edom) ev **ἔθνεσιν, εὐκαταφρόνητον** ev **ἀνθρώποις**

9,3 **if you are divided:** see also v 5 See **1Sam** 15 29 LXX as punishment for Saul, **και διαιρεθήσεται Ἰσραὴλ** ΕΪÇ **δύο,** Ezek 37,22 (on the restoration of Israel and Judah) (LXX), **καὶ οὐκ ἔσονται ετι δύο ἔθνη οὐδὲ μὴ διαιρεθῶσιν οὐκέτι** ΕΙÇ **δύο βασιλείας.**

9,4 **two heads:** in v 5 applied to two kings. Two arguments follow: a) Gods creatures have only one head and b) all members of the body should obey this head. On the Greek ideas concerning the head as guiding centre in the body see H Schlier *ThWNT* III pp 672-82, esp p 673 on pp 674f. he cites a number of instances in the LXX and Jewish literature in which we find the use of **κεφαλή** in the meaning of leader in a community. Both aspects are found in Philo e g Leg all I 71· III 115 Spec. leg. **III** 184 Praem poen 125

T ZEBULUN 9.5-9

Translation

9,5 I have learnt in the writings of my fathers,
that in the last days you will depart from the Lord,
and you will be divided in Israel
and will follow two kings,
and you will commit every abomination
and worship every idol

6 And your enemies will lead you captive
and you will be afflicted[28] among the Gentiles
with all infirmities and tribulations and anguish[29] of soul

7 And after these things you will remember the Lord and repent
and he will bring you back,
because he is merciful and compassionate,
not reckoning evil to the sons of men,
since they are flesh
and the spirits of deceit deceive them in all their actions

8 And after these things there will arise to you the Lord himself,
the light of righteousness
with healing and compassion[30] in his wings
He will redeem all the captivity of the sons of men from Beliar,
and every spirit of deceit will be trodden down
And he will convert all the nations to zeal for him
And you will see God in the form of a man
in the temple[31] which the Lord will choose
Jerusalem is its name

9 And again through the wickedness of your words[32] you will provoke him,
and you will be cast away until the time of consummation

Textcritical notes

All witnesses except *bgld(m)* omit ev ἐσχάταις - κυρίου καί in v 5, καὶ ὀδύναις tyuxfjç in v. 6 and καὶ ἴασις - πατηθήσεται in v 8. They also read και ἐπιστρέψετε εἰς την γην ὑμῶν (with some variants) in the immediately following clause of v. 8

28 κακωθήσεσθε (*gleafhij*).This reading is to be preferred to καθίσεσθε (*bdc*), perhaps due to haplography or an attempt to make the phrase correspond with biblical usage: cf. e g , I am 13 (LXX), Μετῳκίσθη ἡ Ἰουδαία ... ἐκάθισεν ἐν ἔθνεσιν.

29 ὀδυναις *(g;* cf. *d)*. ὀδύνης *(b)* is clearly wrong

30 ἐπί *(bk)* The variant ἐν (*gldm*) is an attempt to bring the clause wholly in line with Mal 3,20LXX.

31 ev ναῳ By way of conjecture these words are added to the text as we find it in *b* which is supported by *k* and *g*. Cf T.L. 10,5; 15 1 Omission of ἐν ναω through parablepsis could occur easily (ἀνοῦενναωοναν).

32 λόγων *(bk)* lectio difficilior in comparison with ἔργων (*ldmeafhij*)

Structure

This is an S.E R passage with two **additions**, in vv. 8 and 9 (see INTRODUCTION 7 2 3)

9,5 Sin with emphasis on internal division and apostasy

9,6 Exile

9,7 Repentance and return. Reference to God s mercy and compassion

9,8 Repetition **of xal' μετὰ ταῦτα**.. Announcement **of God's** coming **ἐν σχήματι ἀνθρώπου** Several links with the preceding verses. a) God's **εὐσπλαγχνία** (v. 7); b) saving of captives (v. 6), from Beliar; c) evil spirits (v 7) d) use of **ἐπιστρέφειν** (with a different meaning) (v 7)

9,9 New disobedience New punishment **εως καιροῦ συντελείας**

Notes

9,5 **I have learnt in the writings of my fathers** this reference has the same function as that to the writing of Enoch in the S E R passages see on T.S 5,4. For I have learnt see on T.L 14 1 **in the last days:** see on 8 2 **you will depart from the Lord: cf** T D 5,4f.; T.N 4,1. **you will be divided two kings.** see on v 3 (esp. Ezek 37,22). The prediction of internal division evident in the following of two kings, occupies a **prominent position, as might be expected after 9,1–4. The author thinks of the period** between Solomon and the exile (see also on vv **8–9)** **will follow:** see also T Jud 23,1; T I 6 2 T N 3 3 (in every case denoting a following of something or somebody wrong), **you will commit every abomination:** see T.L. 6,3 T.Jud. 12,8 and, in particular, T Jud 23,2, **καὶ ἐπιμιγήσεσθε ἐν βδελύγμασιν ἐθνῶν** (see note). **worship every idol:** see T.R 4,6, T Jud 19,1, T Jos 4,5, 6,5, also T.L 17,11, T B 10,10, and esp., T Jud 23 1.

9,6 **your enemies will lead you captive.** a traditional formulation of the E element, see on T.Jud 23,3.5. **you will be afflicted:** cf T.N. 4 2, T.G. 8 2, and Hos 9 7 LXX; Zech 10,2; 1Bar 4,31. **with all infirmities:** ἀσθενείαι as punishment also in Jer 6 21 LXX 18,15; Hos 5,5; 14,2; Dan 11,33ff. Th **anguish of soul:** see on T Jud. 11,4 For the combination of ftXltyi and **ὀδύνη**, cf. PS 107(106),39 (LXX) xal **ἐκακωθησαν ἀπὸ θλίψεως κακῶν καὶ ὀδύνης**; 116(114),3; Ezek 12,18.

9,7 **you will remember the Lord:** a traditional element in connection with the return after the exile cf. Jer 51(28),50; Ezek 6,9 (LXX), xal **μνησθησονταί μου οἱ ἀνασῳζόμενοι** e| **ὑμῶν** ἐν **τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, οὗ** flxnaXcuTEUfmoav **ἐκεῖ**; Zech 10,9f. It is directly connected with ... **and repent;** repentance and return are also connected in T.Jud 23,5, T.I 6 3 T D 5,9, T N 4,3 (see on T.L. 6,3–4); cf Jer 31(38),18f. (LXX), **ἐπίστρεψόν με, xed ἐπιστρέψω, ὅτι** *ai]* **κύριος** ο **θεός μου, ὅτι ὕστερον αἰχμαλωσιας** nou **μετενόησα** **and he will bring you back:** see again, T I 6,3–4 **he is merciful and compassionate** the main theme of this testament returns, now in two epithets of God, cf T.L. 6 4 (**ἐλεήμων** only), and cf this combination in T.S. 4 4 (of Joseph) Polycarp Phil. 6 1 (of presbyters) Acta Jo 107 (of God) cf further GkApEzra 1 10 **εὔσπλαγχνε** xal **πολυέλεος** (God); Justin Dial. 108 3 **τοῦ εὐσπλάγχνου** xal **πολυελέου** ... tooU. Very often **ἐλεημων** and **οἰκτίρμων** are found together; see T.Jud 19,3; Ex 34,6; Ps 86(85),15, 103(102),8, etc **and 1Clem 60,1f.**, 'O merciful **and** compassionate (**ἐλεῆμον xai οἰκτίρμον**), forgive us our iniquities and our unrighteousness, and transgressions and shortcomings. Reckon not every sin (**μὴ λογίσῃ πᾶσαν ἁμαρτίαν**) of thy servants and handmaids The verb **οἰκτίρειν** recedes in the Testaments and is supplanted by **σπλαγχνίζεσθαι εὔσπλαγχνος** as epithet of God is found in **1Clem** 29 1 ApSedr 15,1 **εὔσπλαγχνος**, ο **ἁμαρτωλοὺς ἐλεῶν** xal **οἰκτείρων**; Acta Thom 122 cf also the use of **πολύσπλαγχνος** (and **-ία**) in Hermas **not reckoning evil** see on 8 5 **since they**

are flesh cf. Ps **78(77)**,38f **(LXX), αὐτὸς δέ ἐστιν οἰκτίρων** *Καὶ* **ἱλάσεται ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις αὐτων ... καὶ ἐμνήσθη ὅτι σάρξ εἰσιν,** and PS 103 (102) **13ff.,** cf 7thVisDan **(ed./tr.** P Gr. **Kalemkiar,** *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes VI, Bd* (1892) **109–36/227–40, 240(tr.)** **the spirits of deceit deceive them in all their action** cf **T Jud.** 19 4 **ἐτύφλωσε γάρ** HE 6 **ἄρχων τῆς πλάνης** .... xal **ὡς σὰρξ** ev **ἁμαρτίαις φθαρείς.** For **ἀπατᾶν,** see T N 3,1, the verb occurs in the tradition concerning Adam and Eve: Gen 3,13; **TSol** D 1,2, 3Bar 4 8 ApSedr 4 6 GkApEzra 2 16 ApMos 15 1 23,5; 39,2; see also on the deceit of Satan: TJob 3 3 **ἡ δύναμις του διαβόλου,** ev **ᾧ ἀπατηθήσεται ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη φύσις; 3,6;** 26,6.

9 8 **And after these things.** as in v 7 The author speaks of an event after the return from exile **there will arise to you the Lord hanself** on **ἀνατέλλειν,** see on T S 7 1 **the light of righteousness with healing and compassion in his wings:** this goes back to **Mal** 4,2(3,20 LXX) **xal** ἀνατελεῖ **ὑμῖν** . **ἥλιος δικαιοσύνης** xai **ἴασις** ev **ταῖς πτέρυξιν αὐτοῦ** (cf the reminiscenses of this verse in T L 18,4; T.Jud 24 1) We note that **εὐσπλαγχνία** is added, and that **φῶς** has taken the place of **ἥλιος** (for this see WisSol 5,6, **καὶ το τῆς δικαιοσύνης φῶς οὐκ ἐπέλαμψεν ἡμῖν,** xal **ὁ ἥλιος οὐκ ἀνέτειλεν** (cf Isa 62 1) **He will redeem all the captivity of the sons of men from Beliar:** see T D **5,11, την αἰχμαλωσίαν λάβῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ Βελιάρ,** tyuxaç **ἁγίων** One may compare **the** interpretation of Eph 4 8 (Ps **68[67],19)** by Justin Dial **39,4, αἰχμαλωτεῦσαι αὐτὸν** (Christ) **ἀπὸ τῆς πλάνης** xal **δοῦναι ἡμῖν δόματα** (cf.. Dial. 87,6) See also Origen **Comm** in Pss, PS 67,19 or see Lk 4 18 (Isa 61 1), **κηρύξαι αἰχμαλωτοις** αφεσιν as interpreted by Origen, Fr.. 110 in **Lc.** (Lk 4 18) TCvaç δὲ **αἰχμαλωτσυς φησιν** f) **τους αὐτους, οὓς πρωην αἰχμαλωτευθέντας** xal **δεσμευθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου ἐλθὼν** o **Χριστὸς** xal **καθελων τὸν ἀποστάτην** xal **ἀλαζόνα τύραννον** xov **Σατανᾶν ἠλευθέρωσε** xfjç **αἰχμαλωσίας** (cf. Fr.. 2 in **Lam.**) Compare also CoptApEl 1 3.6; Peter of Alexandria, Ep.. can 2; Eusebius, Comm.. in **Pss.,** PS 84,2; 84,12; 44,2; Comm. in **Is.,** Isa 1 27 45,13; D.. E.. IV 15; Athanasius Fr.. Pss.. **Comm.,** PS 84,2; Hom in Mt 21:2,7f. **and every spirit of deceit will be trodden down:** see on T.S. 6,6. This element is found together with that of liberation from the captives of the devil in Origen, Fr 110 in **Lc.** (Lk 4,18); Comm in **Pss.,** Ps 67 19; Athanasius, **Hom** in Mt. 21:2 7f mentioned above **he will convert all the nations to zeal for him:** cf T D. 5 11 **ἐπιστρέψει καρδίας ἀπειθεῖς πρὸς κυριον.** The expression **ἐπιστρέφειν ἐπί/πρός** God his law etc.. is found (mostly as intransitive) in 2Chr 15 4 19 4 Neh 9 26 etc.; also in Lk 1,16. For **zeal,** cf T.A.. 4,5 ev **ζήλῳ** teoü **πορεύονται.** **and you will see God in the form of a man** see on T.S.. 6,6.7; 7,2.. For this formulation see Phil 2,7, **σχηματι εὑρεθεὶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος;** Hippolytus, Antichr. 6 ev **σχηματι ἀνθρώπου ἐφάνη** o **κυριος** xal **αὐτὸς** ἐν **σχήματι ἀνθρώπου ἐλεύσεται;** Clement of Alexandria, Paid., I 2 (4 1); cf also Eusebius, Comm in **Pss ,** Ps **58,13ff.;** 80,2; 80,4 **in the temple which the Lord will choose: Jerusalem is its name** see T.L. 10,5 (see note), 15 1. For the emphasis on Jerusalem, cf. Isa 40,2.5; **62,1f ,** Ps 84(83),8; **102(101),17; and Zech 8,3; Mal 3,1; cf. Tob 13,11-13.. We should** note that Justin, speaking about Christ s second coming tells the Jews, ἐν **τῳ αὐτῷ τόπω τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτόν, τὸν ἀτιμωθέντα ὑφ' ὑμῶν** (Dial.. 40,4; cf. **80,1).**

9 9 New disobedience followed again, by punishment A new return is only hinted at in **antil the tane of consummation;** the resurrection passage in 10 2-3 makes clear what will happen then For comparable repetitions of the S.E R scheme, see T N. 4 and T A 7 (see INTRODUCTION 7 2.3). The 'sin' in this verse is a sin against Jesus Christ; cf. T A 7,4 and T L **10,2f.;** 14,2; 16 3 **through the wickedness of your words:** cf Ps 28(27),4 Jer 4,4; 44(51),22., **you will provoke han** for **παροργίζειν,** see on T.A 2,6; ClemHom 3 66 3 makes the general remark **Χριστῷ** δὲ **ἀπειθήσας** ftsôv **παροργίζει. you will be cast away: ἀπορρίπτειν** is often used for God's punishment of Israel's apostasy and sins, and a number of times it takes effect through exile; cf. **1Kgs** 9 7 2Kgs

13,23 17 20 24 20 Hos 10 15 Jer 7 15 8 14 PssSol 9 1 Note in particular Hermas Vis. 3,6,1, **και πόρρω ἀπερίφησαν** (the sons of iniquity) **διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ κυρίου, ὅτι παρωργισαν αὐτόν** until the time of consummation: cf T L 10 2· T B 11 3 the expression is found in Daniel see Dan 9 26· 11 35 12 4 7 LXX

T. ZEBULUN 10

Translation

10,1 And now, my children,
do not grieve that I die
nor be cast down that I pass away [33]
2 For I shall rise again in the midst of you
as a ruler in the midst of his sons,
and I shall rejoice in the midst of my tribe
as many as have kept the law of the Lord and the commandments of Zebulun their father
3 But upon the ungodly the Lord will bring eternal fire,
and he will destroy them throughout the generations.
4 In the meantime[34] I go away to my rest, as did my fathers
5 But do you fear the Lord your God,
with all your strength all the days of your life
6 And when he had said these things
he fell asleep with a good sleep,
and his sons laid him in a coffin
7 And afterwards they carried him up to Hebron and buried him with his fathers

Textcritical notes

[33] **ἀπολείπω** (*kf*).*b* adds **υμων** on the basis of a different interpretation of **ἀπολείπειν**. The variants **ἐκλείπω** (*ld*) and **ἀπολήγω** (*eachij*) replace the rather difficult **ἀπολείπω** by other more usual, verbs. For **ἀπολείπειν** meaning 'to die' cf. Plutarch Antonius 78 1 (Vitae par 952 B); see further the notes on this verse.

[34] **τέως** (*ldeaf*; cf *m*). *bkgchij* seem to have omitted the word wrongly Cf however, the additions of TE in g and **δὲ νῦν** in *chij* after **ἐγώ**

Structure

10,1 Announcement of death; exhortation not to be distressed
10,2 Reason: the patriarch will rise again in the midst of those of his tribe who have kept the law
10,3 The counterpart: the destruction of the wicked
10,4 Until then the patriarch will rest with his fathers
10,5 Final (general) exhortation
10 6–7 Conclusion· Zebulun's death and burial

Notes

10 1 **I die:** see on T R 1,3 **not be cast down.** for **συμπιπτειν** but with **πρόσωπον,** see T.Jos. 7,2; Gen **4,5f.;** 1Sam **1,18** LXX, Jdt 6,9 JosAsen 13 8 and with **καρδία,** 1Sam 17,32; 1Mac 6,10; absolute in MartPolyc 12,1, **ὥστε ... μη συμπεσεῖν ταραχθέντα** (sc Polycarp) **ὑπὸ τῶν λεγομένων πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τουναντιον τὸν ἀνθύπατον ἑκστῆναι that I pass away.** cf T R 1,4 **ἐκλιπών .. εἰμι. ἀπολείπειν** = to die' in Plutarch Antonius 78,1 (Vitae par 952 B), **ὅσον ουπω δ' ἀπολίποντος** (so MS G, **ἀπολειποντος** MSS **PRKL) αὐτοῦ** . The verb is also used transitively: 'to leave behind', cf **TSol** D 4 9; Plutarch Regum et imperatorum **apophthegmata,** Scilurus (Mor 174 F); id Themistocles 32 1 (Vitae par 128 B)

10,2 **I shall rise again .. I shall rejoice** see on T S 6,7 (and **INTRODUCTION 7 4)** Emphasis on the resurrection of patriarchs as leaders of their tribes also in T.Jud 25,1; T.B 10 7 The resurrection is clearly limited to the righteous; in the (repeated) S E R scheme nothing else could be expected The righteous are those who **have kept the law of the Lord and the commandments of Zebulun** The Law and the commandments of the patriarchs are essentially the same cf T Jud 13,1 7 and T.R 3,8.

10,3 **upon the ungodly the Lord will bring eternal fire:** the ungodly also in T Jud 25,5 eternal fire also in T.Jud. 25 3; cf. 4Mac 12 12; Mt 18,8; 25,41; Jude 7; Justin **Apol.** I 15 2 16,12 **etc.,** will bring used of God in connection with illness and disaster, also in T N **4,2;** T.G 5 9 T B 7 3 **throughout the generations ἕως γενεων** is an unusual construction; cf **T L** 18,8 **εἰς γενεὰς καὶ γενεάς**

10,4 **I go away to my rest:** see also T D 5 12 **ἀναπαύσονται** ev **Ἕδεμ ἅγιοι** (see note) cf Job 21 13 LXX ev **ἀναπαυσει ᾅδου,** Dan 12 13 WisSol 4 7 **δίκαιος δὲ** eav **φθάσῃ τελευτῆσαι,** ev **ἀναπαύσει εσται,** Sir 22,11 4Ezra 7 91ff. LAB **28,10** The nature of this rest and of the existence in the interim period is defined no further **I go away** for **ἀποτρέχειν** in a similar context, see Josh 23 14 Tob 14 3 BA **LetAris** 273 as **did my fathers** cf T R 1,3, **πορεύομαι ὁδὸν πατέρων μου** (see note) and T L 19 4 **καὶ προσετέθη πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας αὐτοῦ** (see note) Note **also** 'the burial with his fathers' in v 7

10 5 **with all your strength all the days of your life** cf T I 7 5f (see note on T I 7 6) **T A 5,4**

10,6 **with a good sleep:** cf T A 8 1 and TJob 53 7 **ἐνέθεντο αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν ταφον** ev **καλῳ ὕπνῳ in a coffin:** see on T S 8 2

10,7 **afterwards they carried him up** afterwards also in T L 19,5. For **ἀνάγειν,** see on T.S 8 2 **with his fathers:** cf T R 7,2 T Jud. 26 4 T I 7 8 T N 9 1 T.G 8 5 T.A 8 2 T B 12 1 3 see also the expression with Abraham Isaac and Jacob in T L 19 5 T D 7 2

THE TESTAMENT OF DAN CONCERNING ANGER AND LYING

INTRODUCTION

The title of the testament found in MSS *b(k)lef* gives the main theme as it is also introduced by the patriarch in 1,3 Here, 'lying' precedes 'anger' as in 2,1, but the title rightly reverses the order, because further on fruuóc is clearly the main vice see 1,8, 2,2 4, 3,1 4 5, 4,1 2 3.6.7, 5,1, 6,8 tyeuôoç is mentioned in 2,4, 3,6 (2x), 4,6 7, 5,1, 6,8 in second position and often as an 'auxiliary' to **θυμός.**

After the usual opening passage 1,1-2 exhortation occupies the first part of the testament, from 1,3 until 5 3 The biographical element is restricted to **1,4–9,** where the motif of **ζῆλος** of Dan towards Joseph is mentioned first (on this theme, see T.S , INTRODUCTION p 110), but is directly connected with that of **θυμός;** it is the 'spirit of anger' that incites Dan to kill his brother Also elsewhere in the Testaments Dan's activities receive little mention In T Z 4,7 13 we hear that it was Dan who suggested to dip Joseph's coat in the blood of a goat In T Jud 7,2 6 he helps Judah in his fight against the Amorites

In **5,4–13** a rather complicated passage dealing with the future follows, it is a unique composition comprising L J and S E R elements. Chspter 6 gives final exhortations in vv. l-2a and **8–10;** in connection with it the future of Israel and the nations is discussed in vv **2b–7.**

The final commandment in 6,11 is concemed with Dan's burial It is followed in 7,1-2 with the usual concluding passage reporting the patriarch's death and burial Yet these verses are followed by verse 3 that states explicitly that Dan's prophesy became true This comment reads like a late gloss, nevertheless it belongs to the oldest accessible text which can be reconstructed with textcritical methods It gives us a valuable insight in the way the Testaments were read in the early Church

T DAN 1

Translation

1,1 A copy of the words of Dan
which he said to his sons in his last days
in the hundred and twenty-fifth year
of his **life.**

2 He called his family and said
Listen to my words, sons of Dan,
give heed to[1] the words of your father's mouth

3 I have experienced in my heart and in my whole life
that truth with just dealing is good and well-pleasing to God

and that lying and anger are evil
because[2] they teach man all wickedness
4 I confess to-day to you, my children,
that in my heart I rejoiced concerning the death of Joseph,
a true and good man,
5 and that I took pleasure in the selling of **Joseph,**[3]
because father loved **him**[4] more than us
6 For the spirit of jealousy and vainglory said to me
You also are his son
7 And one of the spirits of Beliar conspired with me saying
Take this sword and kill Joseph with it,
and so your father will love you when he is dead
8 Now this is the spirit of anger that tried to persuade me
to suck out Joseph as a leopard sucks out a kid
9 But the God of **our**[5] father Jacob did not deliver him into my hands
that I should find him alone,
nor suffer **me**[6] to work that lawless deed
so that two tribes should not be destroyed in Israel

Textcritical notes

[1] **προσέχετε (*bl*).** The extra **καί** before this word in ***gdmeafchij*** is secondary Cf T I **1,1,** T.Z. 1,2

[2] **ὅτι (*b*;** cf **δι' ων και** *d* and **διότι και m)** ***geafchij*** omit the word wrongly separating o fruuóc from **τὸ ψεῦδος.**

[3] **Ἰωσηφ** *(b)*. The variant **αὐτοῦ (*ldeafchij*)** is a stylistic correction; cf v 4

[4] **αὐτόν (*eafchij*;** cf. ***gld*).** The reading **αὐτοῦ** *(b* cf. *g* and **ἡμῶν *ld*)** is a corruption

[5] **ἡμῶν** *(b)* This reading is perhaps lectio difficilior **(ἡμῶν** referring to Dan and his brothers) over against HOD **(*gimeafhij*;** cf. ***dc*).**

[6] **με (*gldmeaf*)** The reading of *b* (without HE) is corrupt it is perhaps due to hmt

Structure

1,1–2 Introductory passage plus summons to listen
1 3 Announcement of the central theme through **v** 3a connected with
1,4–9 Biographical passage
vv **4–5** confession of guilt
v 6 the prompting of the spirit of envy and vainglory
vv 7-8 the prompting of the spirit of anger
v 9 **God's protection of Joseph**

Notes

1,1 (A **copy) of the words** cf T S 11 T L 11 T Jud 11 T.I. 11 T B 11 **in his last days:** cf T N 11 and Deut 8 16 Prov 19 20 Jer 17 11. **in the hundred and twenty-fifth year** see on T R 11

1,2 called his famUy πατριά only here and in 7 3 **Listen to my words ... give heed to the words:** cf T Z 1,2 and see on T R 1,5, for **προσέχειν ῥήμασι στόματος** .. , see Prov 7 24· cf. PS **78(77),1 ἀκούσατε / ἄκουε . . . προσέχετε / πρόσεχε also**· in Job 13 6 Prov 7 24 Isa 28 23· 49 1 Hos 5 1 Sir 16 24

1,3 **I have experienced.** cf. T.G. 5,2, ἐκ πείρας λέγω ; T A. 5,4, ταῦτα πάντα ἐδοκίμασα ἐν τῇ ζωῇ μου, and Sir 31(34),10; 39,4 **good and well-pleasing:** cf. 1Clem 21,1; 60,2, 61,2. More often particularly in the LXX ἀρεστός is used; **in** combination with καλος **in** Deut 6,18; 12 25 28 etc.; Philo, Spec. leg. I 318, Justin Apol. II 9,1. **truth with just dealing:** cf. Prov 21,3 (LXX), ποιεῖν δίκαια καὶ ἀληθεύειν ἀρεστὰ παρὰ θεῷ . . δικαιοπραγία is not found in LXX and NT but occurs in classical and hellenistic Greek (see e.g., Plutarch De liberis educandis 4 [Mor. 2 A]). In early Christian literature, it is used in, e.g., 1Clem 32,3 **lying and anger** combined in Philo, Leg. all. III 124 (cf. 127) for together with its other faults anger (ὁ θυμός) has this one also as peculiarly its own, that of lying (τὸ ψεύδεσθαι) cf. Col 3,8f **are evil:** see 3,1, for πονηρός in first position see on T R. 5 1 **teach:** cf T. Jud 18,3

1 4 **I confess to-day to you** see T G 2,1; cf Gen 41 9 there also to-day On this word see on T.R. 1,6. **a true and good man** for this use of ἀληθινός, cf. T L. 16,2; and Job 1 1.8; 2,3 (of Job cf. 6 25, 8 6), 1En 15 1 (of Enoch) TAb A 4 (of Abraham) Joseph is called a good (and holy) man in T B. (see T B INTRODUCTION pp 412f), cf also T.S. 4,4.

1 5 **the selling of Joseph** see on T S. 4 2 **because father loved han more than us** see Gen 37,3f. and T.S 2,6; T G. 1,5; T Jos. 10,5

1 6 **(the spirit of) jealousy** a traditional motif in connection with the attitude of the brothers towards Joseph; see T S., INTRODUCTION p. 110 and notes on T.S 2,6–7 **and of vainglory:** this vice occurs often in combination with other vices e.g., ζῆλος, ζηλοτυπια, ὀργή: see, e g., JosAsen 4,16; Did 5,1, 1Clem 13,1, 16,2, Acta Jo 68; ConstApp II 24,7, Plutarch, Ad principem inerudium 7 (Mor. 782 F)

1,7 **conspired with me:** see on T.R 3,6, worked together . . **kill Joseph with it** see on T S. 2,7 **your father will love you:** the conclusion from father loved him more than us' (v. 5) and 'You also are his son' (v. 6)

1,8 **the spirit of anger** is now identified. Note the transition from vice (v. 3) to spirit here and further on (2,1.2.4; 3,1-5 6); see INTRODUCTION 6.3.2. **as a leopard sucks out a kid:** similar imagery in T G. 2,2. For this, cf. Sir 28,23 'like a leopard it will mangle them'; Hos 13,7; contrast Isa 11,6, 'the leopard shall lie down with the kid.'

1 9 **But the** God ...: for God's protection and deliverance see on T R 4,10 and T.S. 2,8 **did not deliver him into my hands** cf. 1Sam 18 25 (LXX) ἐλογίσατο (sc Saul) αὐτὸν (David) ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς χεῖρας των ἀλλοφύλων **nor suffer me to work that lawless deed ... in Israel:** see T.Z 1,7 (see note), 4,12, T G 2,5; and also Josh 7,15; Ezek 16 50 **two tribes:** Ephraim and Manasseh Cf Josh 14 4 (LXX) ὅτι ησαν οἱ *μοι* Ἰωσὴφ δυο φυλαι; and Num 1,33.35 13,8 11 34 23f σκῆπτρον and φυλή are used with the same meaning in the Testaments (see T. Jud. 25 1 T N 5 8 8 3 T B 10 7 and T S 7 1 T.Z. 10 2 T.D. 5 10 T.B. 9 5 11 5 respectively) and in the LXX

T DAN 2

Translation

2,1 And now, my children, I am dying
and in truth I tell you
that unless you keep yourselves from the spirit of lying and anger,
and love truth and longsuffering,
you will perish

2 There is a blinding force in anger, my children,
and no **man**[7] sees a face with truth
3 For, though it be his father or his mother,
he turns to them as (his) enemies,
though it be his brother,
he does not know him,
though it be a prophet of the **Lord,**
he does not obey him,
though it be a righteous man,
he does not regard him,
(though) a friend,
he does not acknowledge him
4 For the spirit of anger encompasses him with the nets of deceit
and blinds his natural **eyes,**[8]
darkens his mind through lying
and gives him its own particular vision
5 And with what does it encompass his eyes?
With hatred of heart,
and it gives him its own particular heart, against his brother, in envy

Textcritical notes

[7] **τις (*gdea*).** The addition of ftuu.ü)ötic *(b)* seems to be secondary The reading of *gdea* is lectio durior.

[8] **... αὐτοῦ** *(b)* The addition of **καί (*gldeafchij*)**parallel to **καὶ τυφλοι** and **καί . παρέχει** disturbs the structure

Structure

2,1 Again an announcement of the central theme in the form of a final warning connected with the announcement of the death of the patriarch

2,2 Anger blinds people's eyes and does not allow them to see properly **(τυφλωσις** against **ἀλήθεια)**

2,3 Examples in the sphere of personal relations

2,4-5 Elaboration on the theme of v 2 **(τύφλωσις** with **ψεῦδος** and **μισος plus φθόνος)** Anger governs everything

Notes

2 1 **I am dying.** a regular element in the Testaments; see on T.R 1,3. **in truth I tell you:** in T R 1,7 only 'I tell you'. Cf. the use of **ἀληθῶς** together with **λέγω ὑμῖν** in Lk 9,27· 12,44; 21 3 and 2Cor 7 14 **ως παντα** ev **ἀληθειᾳ ἐλαλήσαμεν υμῖν.** For related expressions see **K** Berger *Die Amenworte **Jesu** (BZNW 39)* Berlin 1970 pp. **3–6,** 18 n. 27. **unless ... you will perish** the same expression in Deut **4,25f.;** 8,19; **30,17f.;** Lk 13,3.5. **you keep yourselves from ...:** for the expression **διαφυλάττειν ἑαυτὸν ἀπό,** see Philo, Spec. leg. II 30. (the spirit of) **lying** and **anger:** cf **1 3(8)** Here the **opposites** are truth' and 'longsuffering For 'to love the truth see on T R 3 9 to love truth and longsuffering also in 6,8, followed by 6 9 where **ἀληθὴς καὶ μακρόθυμος** are epithets of the Saviour of the nations'· see further on 6 9

2,2 **a blinding force** τύφλωσις occurs here and in T.L. 13,7.. On the use of the verbs τυφλοῦν and σκοτίζειν - σκοτοῦν in similar contexts, see v 4 and notes on T.R. 3 8 and T.S.. 2 7 **no man sees a face with (ruth** the **"blinding'** leads to a false, distorted view (see also v 4c) For seeing someone s face see on T I.. 1,11.. For the addition **with truth,** compare **1Mac** 7,28 **ἵνα ἴδω ὑμῶν τὰ πρόσωπα μετ' εἰρήνης**

2,3 **This verse gives examples which illustrate v. 2 The angry man's attitude towards his** relatives - father, mother brother (Joseph! cf T S 2 7 and v 5) - could have been connected directly with his attitude towards his friend in the last clause This connection is also found in LetAris 228, To whom ought we to exhibit gratitude? ... To our parents **(γονεῦσι)** continually .... In the next place He reckons the attitude of friend towards friend **(τὴν τῶν φίλων ... διάθεσιν)'**; Josephus Contr. Ap. **2,206f.**, **'Honour** to parents ... to conceal nothing from our friends.....'; Ps-Men 6; 37; 39 etc Moreover, the words **ἀδελφός** and **φίλος** are often found together in Wisdom books see e.g, Job 19,13, Prov 17 17; Sir 7 12.18 29 10; 30,28 (33,20) and elsewhere, e g Jer 9 3; Lk 14,12; 21 16 Justin, **Apol.** II 1,2, Epictetus I 1,14; III 13,2; 24 47.78.85, etc. Because **φίλος** can also denote neighbour' it is probably used as the concluding category Cf G. Stählin ***ThWNT*** IX pp.. **144–69;** K Treu, art Freundschaft', *RAC S* pp.. **418–34,** K **Berger,** *Die Gesetzesauslegung Jesu,* **pp. 115-17, 283–4,** 287 **The angry man's** negative behaviour towards prophets and righteous men (cf.. also T.L.. 16,2) ultimately finds its background in the tradition of the maltreatment of prophets and righteous men by Israel in the past cf Josephus Ant. 10,38; Mt **23,29–36,** and many other instances brought together in O H Steck **op.cit.** (see INTRODUCTION.7.1.1); see also K Berger *Die Gesetzesauslegung Jesu,* pp 220f. n 2 For **παρακούειν** and related expressions as disobedience to **God** and his servants see Isa 65 12 66,4, Tob 3 4 2Chr 24 19 (+ **προφήτας),** Lev **26,14ff.;** Jer 3 25 etc Dan 3 29 LXX.. Cf also T Jud 18 5 **καὶ προφήτῃ λαλοῦντι οὐχ ὑπακούει**

2,4 **encompasses han with the nets of deceit.** compare **Philo,** Sacrif. .29, '..... But she **(ἡδονή)** has habited herself with a false and spurious comeliness, which is mere nets **(δίκτυα)** and snares to take you as her prey .....'; Agric.. 44, '... leading them forth away from the snares **(δικτύων)** of folly and injustice and all wickedness'; see also Agric.. **103;** **Quod det** pot 65; Quod deus 153.. For the use of the verb **περιβάλλειν** in connection with **δίκτυον,** see, e.g., **Prov 29,5; Ezek 32,3.. It is extremely unlikely that there is any** connection between this verse and the reference in CD **4,15ff.** to 'Belial's three nets .... of which Levi son of Jacob spoke ....' **blinds darkens:** see **on v. 2, through lying:** opp truth' in vv.. 1-2.. **its own particular vision:** compare 'its own particular heart' in v.. 5 and 'its own particular power' as well as 'makes ... its own' in 3,2. The person who is caught in the nets of deceit comes to live in a world in which the spirit of anger governs everything

2,5 **hatred of heart ... against his brother (cf. v. 3), in envy: 'hatred' and 'envy' together** also in T.G.. 4 5; cf.. T.B.. 7 2.5; 8,1; clearly a combination to be expected in connection with the brothers and Joseph (see on 1 6)

T DAN 3

Translation

3,1 Anger is evil, my children,
for it becomes a soul to the soul itself
2 And it makes the body of the angry man its own
and it gains dominion over (his) soul

and it gives to the body its own particular power,
that it may work all iniquity,
3 and when the soul does it,
it justifies what is done
because it does not see
4 Therefore, he who is angry, if he is a powerful man,
has a threefold power in his anger.
one by the power and[9] the help of his servants
and secondly by his wealth, persuading and overcoming wrongfully
and having as a third the natural power of his body and working evil by himself
5 But if the angry man is weak,
he has (yet) a power which is twofold compared to that by nature
For anger always helps them in lawlessness
6 That spirit always goes with lying at the right hand of Satan,
that his works may be wrought with cruelty and lying

Textcritical note

[5] **τῆς δυνάμεως καί** (*b*, cf *f*) These words are absent in *gdeafchij* perhaps because they were regarded as superfluous

Structure

3,1–3 Continue 2,2-5
vv 1-3b anger governs everything in the life of him who is angry
v 3c repetition of the theme of blindness
3,4–5 The power of anger working in angry men
v 4 threefold when a man is powerful
v 5 twofold when a man is weak
3 6 Anger and lying as helpers of Satan

Notes

3,1 Anger is evil: cf 1 3 **it becomes a soul to the soul itself:** cf., e g., **Philo,** Op1f **mundi** 66, '... He made man **and** bestowed **on him** mind **(νοῦν) par** excellence **ψυχῆς τινα ψυχήν,** like the pupil in the eye ...'; Quis heres 55 We use "soul" in two senses, both for the whole soul and also for its dominant part, which properly speaking is *tyvyf* tyuxnç '; **see** further Leg all. **III** 28; Plato Timaeus 30 B; cf P Boyancé, 'Sur l exégèse hellenistique du Phedre *Miscellanea* . *A Rostagni,* Turin 1963 p 51

3,2 makes its own for ἰδιοποιεῖσθαι, see, e g., 2Sam 15 6 **and** Serapion, Man. 51, **πως ἡ ψυχὴ μη τούτου (sc. the** devil) **οὖσα ... ἰδιοποιεῖται τὴν σάρκα ... καὶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν αὐτὴν παρασκευάζει. gains dominion over (his) soul:** for **κατακυριευειν,** see T.Jud 15 5 T N 8,6; T B. 3 3 for the use of the related **κυριευειν,** see 4 7 and note on T S 3,2 **its own particular power:** cf the use of **ἴδιος** in 2 4 5 and of **course, ἰδιοποιεῖται** in this verse This clause is worked out in vv **4–5 that it may work all iniquity** see on 1 9

3,3 **it justifies . it does not see** subject is the soul that is blind (2 2-5) Contrast T B 3 2 he who has his mind well **πάντα βλέπει ὀρθῶς.'**

3,4–5 As parallel to these verses cf Sir 28 10, 'in proportion to the strength of the man will be his anger **(θυμός)**, and in proportion to his wealth he will heighten his wrath **(ὀργή)**' **δύνατος** stands for the powerful and influential man, **ἀσθενής** for him who is weak and insignificant To both of them anger gives extraordinary power (threefold respectively twofold) to do wrong

3,4 **persuading: παραπείθειν,** to win by persuasive acts' is frequently used with the connotation of deceit (see **LSCJ** s v.); so also here as it is followed by **νικῶν** ev **ἀδίκῳ.**

3,5 **that by nature** cf 'natural power' in v. 4. **anger always helps them in lawlessness** them refers to the weak and the powerful man 'helps, contrast T B 3,5, **βοηθούμενος ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου ἀγάπης;** cf.. **Eccl 7,19** LXX Wisdom will help the wise man'; 4Mac **3,3, 'it is possible for the Reason to come to his aid against anger', cf Philo, De Jos 20,** for in lawlessness, cf 3,2d.

3,6 **That spirit·** the spirit of anger the spirit recurs to facilitate the connection with Satan **Satan** also in 5,6; 6,1; T.G. 4,7; T.A.. 6,4; 'Beliar' is the favourite word to denote the prince of the evil spirits in the Testaments **at the right hand of** denotes close **association, see (in the OT) e.g., Deut 33,2; Ps 110(109),1; Zech 6,13; and TJob 33,3** A few times God or the devil are said to be at the right hand of man. see Ps 16(15),8 **109(108),31 and Zech 3,1; Ps 109(108),6 respectively.. Sir 12,12 uses the expression for the** relation between two men.. **with cruelty:** in the LXX **ὠμότης** is only used in 2Mac **12,5;** 3Mac 5,20;·6 24;·7,5..In **Jewish-hellenistic** writings it often occurs parallel with **παρανομία** (v 5) see e g Philo Quis hères 60· Vita Mosis I 102· Josephus Bell 7 262

T DAN 4,1–5,3

Translation

4,1 Therefore, understand the power of anger, that it is vain
2 For it first of all incites a man by word,
then it strengthens him who is provoked by deeds,
and disturbs his mind with bitter losses,
and so it stirs up his soul with great anger
3 When, therefore, any one speaks against you,
be **not**[10] moved to anger
And if a man praises you as good men,
be not uplifted nor moved either to delight or to disgust
4 For first it pleases the hearing
and so it makes the mind keen to perceive the provocation,
and then the man, being enraged, thinks that he is justly angry
5 If you fall into any loss or damage, my children,
be not alarmed,
because it makes (man's) spirit itself desire that which is lost
in order that it may be enraged through longing
6 If you suffer loss **voluntarily,**[12]
be not vexed,
for from vexation it stirs up anger with lying

7 And a twofold mischief is **anger**[13] with lying
and they assist one another,
in order to disturb the mind,
and when the soul is disturbed continually,
the Lord departs from it
and Beliar rules over it

5,1 Observe, therefore, my children, the commandments of the Lord
and keep his law,
and depart from anger
and hate lying,
that the Lord may dwell in you
and Beliar may flee from you
2 Speak truth each one with his neighbour
and so you will not fall into **pleasure**[14] and confusions,
but you will be in peace
having the God of peace,
and no war will prevail over you
3 Love the Lord in all your life
and each other with a true heart

Textcritical notes

10 **μη** The omission of **μη** in *b* must be wrong

11 ἐὰν **ζημίᾳ**, ἐὰν **ἀπωλείᾳ τινὶ περιπέσητε** (so *gdeaf*, but they read **η** for **the** second **ἐάν**, cf. *f*) The variant ἐὰν **ζημία**, ἐὰν **ἀπώλεια τινὶ περιπέσῃ** *(b)* is though a correct and possible reading most probably not original. The context (v 6) makes the use of a subject in the second person **plur** more likely

12 **ἑκουσίως** *(bl)* The (secondary) addition of **ἢ ἀκουσίως** *(gdmefchij)* is due to misunderstanding of the argumentation of vv 5f.

13 fruuoc. The variant fluuóν *(b)* is, of course, wrong very probably introduced because of the foregoing **διπρόσωπον** χαχόν. The article ο **(θυμός)** in *ldme* seems to be secondary

14 **ἡδονήν** *(b)* This reading is lectio durior over against **μῆνιν** *(gdeach(i)j*; cf *f*), but fits well in the broader context (cf **4,3f**)

Structure

4 1-2 Again the power of anger
v 1 it is **μάταιος**
v 2 it works in man by word by deeds by bitter losses

4,3–6 Explanation of v 2
v 3 by **word :** accusation and praise, v 4 explains the last words of v 3
vv 5-6 by losses' unvoluntarily (v. 5 = by **deeds**'?), and voluntarily (v 6)
In all cases the result is that men are enraged; therefore, the patriarch's sons are exhorted not to be moved to anger

4,7 Anger **and** lying (cf v **6c) create ταραχη in the soul** with **the** result that **God departs** and Beliar governs

5 1-3 Direct exhortation in a wider perspective keep the commandments of the Lord (v 1) speak truth (v 2) love the Lord and one another (v 3) Anger and lying in

particular are to be avoided (v lcd) in order that the Lord may dwell in you and Beliar may flee (v lef cf. 4 7) V 2 ταραχη over against peace

Notes

4,1 **understand** . for a similar use of this word see Ps 2 10 (LXX), 50(49) 22 94(93),8 WisSol 6 1· Mk 7 14 (Mt 15,10).. **the power of anger, that it is vain**· cf PS 94(93),11 (LXX) (the Lord knows the thoughts of men) **....ὅτι εἰσὶν μάταιοι.**

4,2 **incites: cf..v..4, ὀξυνει;** see further on T S 4,8 For inciting by words **cf..Mal 2,17; 2Sam** 12,14; and **Philo, Decal** 63 Plutarch **Quomodo** adulator ab **amico** internoscatur 36 (Mor 74 A) **strengthens han δυναμοῖ,** cf. **3,2.4f. disturbs his mind** cf also v 7 see on T S 4 9 and T B. 6,5. For anger and confusion see Philo, Leg.. all. **III** 123 ' . for it is not the nature of anger (ὁ θυμός) to be a friend of clearness. Do we not see in those who are enraged how not their understanding **(ἡ διάνοια)** only but their words also are full of disturbance **(ταραχῆς)** and confusion? '; Plutarch De virtute et vitio **2-3 (Mor. 100 F–101** B); **De cohibenda ira 2 (Mor. 453 E–454** B); **Animine an corporis** affectiones sint peiores 4 (Mor.. 501 DE).. **and so it stirs up his soul with great anger:** cf. v 6, **ἐγείρει θυμόν. διεγείρειν** is used in the same way in Philo Decal. 143 The presentation to the mind of something which is actually with us and considered to be good, **arouses (διεγείρει)** and awakes the soul **(τὴν** *tyw0\\)* when at rest This sensation of the soul is called **pleasure';** see also 2Mac 7 21 (cf 15,10)

4,3 **speaks against you**· i e blames accuses you see e.g., **Num** 12 1 Job 19,18, Ps **109(108),2,** with **πονηρά,** Ps **109(108),20. be not moved to** for such a use of **κινεῖν, see, e.g., Plutarch, Consolatio ad Apollonium 16 (Mor** 110 E), **'an untimely death** moves **(κινεῖ)** most **people** to **(πρός)** mourning and lamentation ...'; De tuenda sanitate praecepta 7 (Mor.. 125 C) Least of all ought the body to be stirred to pleasures **(σῶμα πρὸς ἡδονὰς κινητέον) by the mind's desire'. if a man praises you ... be not uplifted:** cf. Epictetus I 26 14 **κἂν ἐπαινῇ** uva, **ἐπαίρεται.. nor moved:** for a similar **use of μεταβάλλειν, see, e g.,** Esth 5,1 **(e)** LXX **μετέβαλεν** o fteoç **το πνεῦμα τοῦ βασιλέως εις ποανὑτητα** .... Philo Virt. .87 **...** tyuXT1C **. . μεταβεβληκυίας εις ἀγριότητα;** Epictetus IV 9 **tit.. either to delight or to disgust εις τέρψιν** is explained in v 4a **εἰς ἀηδίαν** will have been added by way of contrast.

4,4 it (i.e. the fact that one is praised) **pleases the hearing**: cf 2Mac 15,39, ' so also the style **of the** story **τέρπει τὰς ἀκοὰς των ἐντυγχανόντων τῇ συντάξει';** and Philodemus **Περὶ ποιημάτων** (ed C. Jensen, Berlin 1923) 5 26 **(a poem is good) ὅταν σύνθεσις ἡ τέρπ[ουσ]α τὴν ἀκοήν** (cf. 5 28); see also Philo, Leg.. all.. II 75 **. τερπει την δοασιν ... τὴν ἀκοὴν ... ἡδυνει the provocation** the translation of the passive form **τὸ ἐοεθισθὲν** is difficult **thinks that he is justly angry** because he remembers how he was praised before.

4 5ab and 6ab Give exhortations inspired by the Stoic-Cynic motif of the wise man whose happiness is independent of outward circumstances cf., e.g., T L 13,7 and T.B. 6,4f (see note) **If you fall into any loss or damage** for the combination of **ζημία - ἀπώλεια (here also 'loss' or 'damage';** cf.. tot) **ἀπολομένου in the next line) or related** verbs see also Lk 9 25 and Epictetus II 10,15.19; cf 22; IV 9,9.. For this use of **περιπιπτειν τινι,** see, e.g., Isocrates **7,26f.,** ..**μηδεμίας** CTUYYVWUTIÇ **τυγχάνειν ἀλλὰ ταῖς μεγίσταις ζημίαις περιπίπτειν ...;** cf **12,146;** and also T Jos **10,3,** Dan 2 9 LXX 2Mac 6,13; 9,21; 10,4; Jas 1,2; **1Clem** 51,2, etc.. **be not alarmed:** cf.. Mk 13,7 (Mt 24,6); and also T S.. 4 9 some malicious jealousy ... causes the body to be startled **(ἐκθροεῖσθαι).'** **it makes (man's) spirit itself desire: αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα** is taken as denoting man's spirit (par. 'the mind' in v 4b) and as object of **ποιεῖ** (against Charless **and Becker's translations). 'it' (cf. w. 4a and 6c) refers to the situation of falling into** loss or damage For v 4cd cf also Philo Leg all **III** 114

4,6 **for from vexation it stirs up anger with lying:** on **λυπη,** see on T B 6 5 **ἐγείρει θυμόν,** cf Prov 21,14· Sir 36,6 but also Homer, Iliad **5,510,** Plato, **Leges** VI 773 C **εγειρειν** is often used in connection with other passions so Prov 10,12; 15 1 etc.

4,7 **a twofold mischief** **διπρόσωπος** (a typical technical term in **T A**) is here used in the meaning 'double **to disturb the mind:** see **on v 2 the Lord departs from it:** cf **6,6, opposite to 5,1, 'that the Lord may dwell in you' and Beliar rules over it:** cf T A 1 8 (and 3 2 **above)**

5 1-3 Cf **6,8–10** at the end of the predictions concerning the future which follow directly on the present **exhortatory** passage.

5,1 **keep his law:** for **τηρεῖν τὸν νομον,** see Tob 14,9 BA; Acts 15,5; Jas 2 10 Hermas Sim. **8,3,3ff. depart from anger and hate lying** cf. 2,1; 6 8 For **ἀφίστασθαι ἀπό** ..., see 6,10 **(ἀπὸ πάσης ἀδικίας);** and cf Sir 7,2, **ἀπόστηθι ἀπὸ ἀδίκου;** 35,3 TJob 50 2· 2Tim 2 19 etc **that the Lord may dwell in you:** see on T B 6 4 and T.I. 7 7 **and Beliar may flee from you:** cf T.I. 7 7 (see note) T.N. 8 4 T B 5 2 In these three instances **Beliar's departure is the result of man's good actions**

5,2 **Speak truth ...·** from **Zech** 8 16 (LXX) **λαλεῖτε ἀλήθειαν ἕκαστος προς τὸν πλησίον αὑτοῦ;** cf also Eph 4,25. See again 2 1 and 6 8 and note on T R 6 9 **yon will not fall into:** see on T R. **3,11 pleasure and confusians, opp. peace:** for **ταραχή** (cf 4,2.7) and related notions see on T S 4 9 and T.B. 6 5; a close parallel is found in T G **6,2f ,** the spirit of hatred darkened my mind and stirred up **(ἐτάρασσε)** my soul **. Therefore, love one another from the heart, and if a man sins against you, speak to him** in peace **(εἰπὲ αὐτῷ** èv **εἰρήνῃ) ' having the God of peace:** cf again T I 7 7 EXOVTEÇ **μεθ' ἑαυτων** TOV **θεὸν τοῦ ούοανοῦ.** The expression the God of **peace'** is found in **Rom 15,33, 16,20; 2Cor 13,11; Phil 4,9, 1Thes** 5,23, **Heb 13,20 If God is peaceful,** man should be peaceful, cf also **Philo,** Ebr 76 ' **.** that none could be a man of peace **(εἰρηνικὸς ἀνήρ)** who did not worship in truth and sincerity that Being who alone is exempt from war and dwells in eternal peace **(τὴν αἰώνιον εἰρήνην)';** a similar argument in **1Cor** 14 33 (cf 2Cor 13,11) and Clement of Alexandria Q d. s. 22. **no war will prevail over you** for war in a similar context see on T S 4 8 for prevail see on T R 4,11.

5,3 The two great commandments as essence of the law/commandments of the Lord mentioned in v 1; see T.I. 5,2 and note on T B **3,3–4.** ..., **in all your life** see 1 3 and T L 13 2 **with a true heart.** see Isa 38 3 and Heb 10 22

T DAN 5,4–13

Translation

5,4 For I know
that in the last days you will depart from the Lord
and be wroth with **Levi**[15]
and fight against **Judah,**
but you will not prevail against them
For an angel of the Lord guides them both,
because Israel will stand by them
5 And when you depart from the Lord,
you **walk**[16] in all evil,
working the abominations of the Gentiles,
acting **impurely**[17] with women of the lawless ones,

and in all wickedness,
while the spirits of deceit are working in you
6 For I have read in the book of Enoch, the righteous one
that your prince is Satan
and that all the spirits of impurity and arrogance will obey Levi
to attend upon the sons of Levi
to make them sin before the Lord
7 Yes, my sons are drawing near to Levi
and sin with them in all things,
and the sons of Judah will be covetous
plundering other men's goods like lions
8 Therefore you will be led away with them in captivity
and there you will receive all the plagues of Egypt
and all the evils of the Gentiles
9 And so when you return to the Lord you will obtain mercy,
and he will bring you into his sanctuary
proclaiming[18] peace unto you
10 And there will arise unto you from the tribe of Judah and Levi the salvation of the Lord;
and he will make war against Beliar
and he will give a victorious vengeance to our fathers.[19]
11 And he will take the captivity from Beliar, the souls of the saints,
and he will turn disobedient hearts to the Lord
and he will give eternal peace to those who call upon him
12 And the saints will rest in Eden
and the righteous will rejoice in the new Jerusalem,
which will be to the glory of God for ever
13 And no longer will Jerusalem endure desolation
nor Israel be led captive,
because the Lord will be in the midst of it
living together with men,
and the Holy One[20] of Israel,
reigning over them in humility and poverty
And he who believes in him
will be king in truth in the heavens

Textcritical notes

15 **τῳ Λευί** (*gldefchij*) This reading is to be preferred to TOV **Λευί** *(b)* The usual construction is **προσοχθίζειν τινι.**

16 TOOEUEofc *(b)*. The participle **πορευομενοι** (*g(d)efchij*) is an adaption to the following participles **ποιοῦντες** and **ἐκπορνεύοντες.**

17 **ἐκπορνεύοντες** (*defhij*). The reading **ἐκπορευοντες** *(bgc)* is clearly wrong.

18 **βοῶν** *(bk)*. The variant **καὶ δωῃ** (*defchij*; cf. **καὶ δώσει** *gl*) surely is lectio facilior For this use of **βοᾶν**, cf., e g., Justin, Dial. 67,10; 108,1, and cf Isa 40,3

19 **πατράσιν** (*ef*; cf. TOÎÇ **πατράσιν** *gldchij*) The reading **πέρασιν** *(bk)* is clearly a lapsus calami

20 ἅγιος Ισραήλ *(b)* The addition of the article o before αγιος *(gldefchij)* seems to be a correction

Structure

This first passage in T D dealing with the future is built upon the S.E.R. pattern vv **4–7** deal with future sins, v 8 announces exile and punishment, v. 9 promises return

The S element in vv **4–7** is rather elaborate and diversified. In v. 4 we find the motif of future resistance against Levi and **Judah** (compare T R **6,5f.**; T.S. **5,4f.**; cf **T.G.** 8,2) which is doomed to fail. Another L.J. element is found in vv **6–7**; the regular exhortation to obey Levi and Judah (see INTRODUCTION 4 4 2 and 7 3) is turned into a prediction: the **sons** of Dan will obey Levi but because they are led by the spirits of deceit the sons of Levi Judah and Dan will all sin together

The R element in v 9 is followed by and worked out in an elaborate J L passage in vv **10–11** announcing the future salvation of the Lord i e the Saviour who will give eternal peace Vv 12-13 describe this eternal peace

Once more we notice that we are dealing with forms or patterns and not with literary units The S E R elements can freely be combined with L J and other elements

Notes

5,4 **For I know** see on T L 14 1 **in the last days you will depart from the Lord** cf T Z 9,5; T N 4,1; for in the last **days'**, see note on T.Z 8,2. **and be wroth with Levi:** in T.Jud **18,5** προσσχθίζειν is used parallel with **ουχ ὑπακούειν** Cf also Lev 26,15 **you will not prevail against them** for **οὐ δυνησεσθε,** see on T.R 6 5 **an angel of the Lord guides them both** cf T R 6 6 T S 5 5 for God's taking the side of Levi. With the angel mentioned here compare the angel who intercedes for you in 6 2 and the angel of **peace'** in **6,5** For **ὁδηγεῖν** in the meaning of protecting **see, e g.,** Ex **15,13, Num** 24 8 2Sam 7 23 Ps 5,8· 31(30),3, 61(60),3; 77(76) 20 For another meaning of the verb, see T B 6 1 **because Israel will stand by them** in the present context this is worked out in vv **10–13.** The terminology is borrowed from the description of (David's and) Solomon s kingship: see **1Kgs** 10 9 LXX 2Chr 9 8 (Solomon) and cf **1Sam** 24 21 (David) and Dan 2,44.

5,5 **And when you depart from the Lord** takes up v 4b after the reference to sins against Levi and Judah **working the abominations of the Gentiles:** see T.L. 6 3 T.Jud. 12 8 and (especially) **23,2** **acting impurely with women of the lawless ones:** **εκπορνεύειν εν** also in Jer **3,1,** Ezek 16,17 cf. Num **25,1** (**εἰς**). lawless **ones'** for Gentiles, cf. **Esth** 4 17 (u) LXX WisSol 17 2· 3Mac 6 9 Acts 2 23· **1Cor** 9 21 **the spirits of deceit:** see **on T R 2,1-2**

5,6 **I have read in the book of Enoch** another introductory phrase found at the beginning of S E.R. passages; see note on T S 5 4 **Enoch, the righteous one:** see T L. 10 5 (see note); T.Jud 18 1 T B 9 1 **that your prince is Satan** opp. the **angel** of the Lord who **helps** Levi and Judah (v 4) The name Satan occurs three times in T D and twice in other testaments; see on 3 6 In Christian sources the Antichrist is often connected with the tribe of Dan (see e g W Bousset *Der Antichrist,* Göttingen 1898 pp 112-15 further examples in K **Berger,** *Die griechische Daniel-Diegese,* Leiden 1976, p 101) There is no clear connection however between this tradition and our verse that, after all, tells only that the Satan and his spirits (v 5) will work in and through Dan's children. **the spirits of impurity ...:** cf. T R 3 3 5 3 T L 9 9 T Jud 13 3 14 2 **and arrogance:** cf T R 3,5. **will obey Levi.** also in T S 7 1 T.I. 5 8 the sons of the patriarch are exhorted to obey Levi (cf T N 8 2· T G 8 1 T Jos 19 11)

Here evil spirits working in the sons of Dan are said to obey **Levi**, with obvious negative results Vv. **6–7** form in fact a negative L.J. passage embedded in the S element of **an S E R passage. The emphasis is on the sins of the sons of Levi, but also the sons of** Judah are mentioned in the second half of v 7. We may compare the three S.E.R passages in T L., (10; **14–15**, 16) describing the sins of Levi's descendants and the description of the sins of the sons of Judah in T.Jud **21,6–9**, 23 **to make them sin before the Lord:** this expression also in **ApMos** 13 5 **ἁμαρτάνειν** for **ἐξαμαρτάνειν** occurs more often: see, e.g Gen 39,9 Ex 32,33; Num 32,23 etc

5,7 **drawing near to Levi: cf.** T R **6,10** **sin in all things** cf. Dan 3 29 (LXX) **ἡμάρτομεν ἐν πᾶσι** , • **ἐξημάρτομεν εν πασι** **ond the sons of Judah will be covetous plundering other men's goods like lions:** the combination **πλεονεξία - ἁρπάζειν** is an obvious one. see T.Jud. **21,6–8**, T A. 2,5; Ezek 22,27; **1Cor 5,10**; Did 2,6, Barn 10,4, etc.; **Philo, Decal.** 171 Plutarch, Galba 6 (Vitae par. 1055 C), etc. For 'plundering . like lions', see especially the criticism of the kings of Israel and Judah in Ezek 19,3 and 6 (LXX), **λέων ἐγένετο καὶ ἔμαθεν τοῦ ἁρπάζειν**; 22,25ff. (LXX), **ὡς λέοντες ἁρπάζοντες** . . **ὡς λύκοι ἁρπάζοντες** . **ὅπως πλεονεξίᾳ πλεονεκτῶσιν** Cf for this expression also PS 7 3 **22(21),14** (cf **10,9[9,30]**) One should note that Judah is connected with a lion in Gen 49 9. **other men's goods:** often mentioned with covetousness and plundering: see e.g. Philo Decal. 171 .... **ἁρπαγαῖς** .... **πλεονεξίαις** .... **τἀλλότριοι νοσφίζεσθαι** and Barn 10,4, **ἁρπάζουσιν τὰ ἀλλότριοι** . **διὰ την πλεονεξίαν.**

5,8 E element **you will be led away: ἀπάγειν**, used only here in the Testaments is often used in connection with exile: see Deut **28,36f.**, 2Kgs 24,15 2Chr 36 6; PssSol 9,1 (+ ev **ἀποικεσίᾳ**), etc **in captivity:** see also T.L. 17 9 T.Jud 23 5 T.N. 4 2 5 8; and cf T L. 10,4; 15 1 T Jud. 21,6; T Z 9,6. In v 13 below the patriarch assures that eventually Israel will be led captive no more. **you will receive: ἀπολαμβάνειν** is often used with the special meaning of receiving what is one's due (positively and negatively) so also here **the plagues of Egypt** (cf Ex 7-12) parallel with **the evils of the Gentiles (πληγή - πονηρια also in Sir 25,13)** Cf. T Z 9 6 **κακωθήσεσθε ἐν ΤΟΪΣ ἔθνεσιν**; T N. 4,2.

5,9 Return after repentance **(when you return to the Lord)**, as in T.Jud. 23 5 T.I. 6,3, T.Z 9 7 T N 4 3; in all these instances God s compassion is emphasized. **he will bring you into his sanctuary:** for **ἄγειν** in the sense of 'bringing home from exile' cf., **e.g.**, Isa 43,5; Jer 31(38),8.. 'sanctuary', cf Ex 15,17; 25,8; **1Chr** 22,19; 28,10; 2Chr 20,8; 26,18; 30 8 etc **proclaiming peace unto you:** for the use of **βοᾶν**, see textcritical note 18. Cf. Hag 2 9 (LXX) **ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ δώσω εἰρήνην** ...; Zech 8 12 Isa 52 7 Jer 33(40),6.9..

5,10 The R.. element is followed by a **J L** passage incorporating many extra elements Note that also in T.Jud.. 24 1 and T Z.- 9,8 the R.. element is followed by an explanatory passage beginning with **καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνατελεῖ ὑμῖν** There and here ('he will make war') a saving figure is referred to On **there will arise unto you ... the salvation of the Lord**, see on T.S.- 7,1. **he will make war against Beliar:** see on T.S. 6 6 (and T.L 18,12) cf. v **11a.** **he will give a victorious vengeance to our fathers:** for this construction with a dat commodi, cf. 2Sam 22,48 (LXX), **κύριος ὁ διδοὺς ἐκδικήσεις ἐμοί**; PS 18(17),48, in both cases connected with the subjection of nations to Israel by God (cf.. Judg 11,36; Lk **18,7f.**; Acts **7,24**). 'our fathers', i.e. Abraham, Isaac, Jacob etc.; see, e g Deut 6,23, 26 3 15.

5,11 **he will take the captivity from Beliar** see on T.Z. 9,8. **the souls of the saints** related expressions are found in Ps **97(96),10** (LXX **ψ.. δσίων**); **72(71),13**; **74(73),19** (LXX **ψ. πενήτων**); 34(33),23 (LXX **ψ.. δούλων**); Dan 3,86 LXX + Th (**ψ. δικαίων**); PssSol 4 22 (**ψ ἀκάκων**), **all denoting people who enjoy God's special care and protection.** **he will turn disobedient hearts to the Lord** 'disobedient hearts refers to the unfaithful in

Israel in particular (in T.Z. 9 8 the nations are mentioned). For **καρδία ἀπειθής,** see Jer 5,23 (LXX) **τῷ ὃὲ λαῷ τούτῳ ἐγενήθη καρδία ἀνήκοος** xat **ἀπειθης,** Zech 7,12 LXX, and also Lk 1,16f., **ἐπιστρέψει ἐπι κυριον ... ἐπιστρέψαι καρδίας πατέρων ἐπὶ τέκνα καὶ ἀπειθεῖς** ev **φρόνησει δικαίων** **he will give eternal peace** see v 9 and T.L. 18,4 Prayer for and promises of peace also in e g., Lev 26,6; Num 6 26 1Chr 22,9; Isa 26,12, 57,19, Jn 14,27; 2Thes 3,16, 1Clem 60,4; 61,1. For 'eternal', see v 12 end, **ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος** **those who call upon him** cf 6,3 and see on T.Jud. 24,6

5,12 The mention of 'eternal peace' leads to further descriptions' of eternal bliss **the saints will rest** the saints cf. tyuxaç **ἁγίων** in v 11. For a similar use of **ἀναπαυεσθαι,** cf WisSol 4,7, Sir 22 11· 51 27· JosAsen 15 7 GkApEzra 1,12, ApSedr 16,5, 2Clem 5 5 6 7, Acta Thom 85 etc See further O. Hofius ***Katapausis.*** *Die Vorstellung vom endzeitlichen Ruheort im Hebräerbrief,* Tübingen 1970 pp 60ff. on der zukünftige endzeitliche Ruheort der Seligen **in Eden:** cf on T L 18 10f Eden (= paradise Gen 2 8.10) for future or heavenly bliss, cf. 2En 8,6 (long rec.); Jub 4,23(26); Të'ëzaza Sanbat (tr. Leslau), p 28 3En 23 18 'The righteous and godly who in the time to come shall inherit the Garden of Eden and the Tree of Life' (tr H Odeberg) EvNic (= Acta Pil) X (26), **ἄγαγόν με τοινυν** ev **τῇπυλῃ τῆς Ἐδέιι** . **the righteous will rejoice:** see on T.S 6 7 **in the new Jerusalem:** many instances of expectations concerning the future and heavenly glory of Jerusalem are given by P **Volz,** op. cit. (see on T L 4,1) pp **371–6** An interesting parallel is 4Ezra 8,52, where paradise new city and 'rest occur together: vobis **enim** apertus est paradisus, plantata est arbor vitae . aedificata est civitas probata est requies . . (cf 7,26; 10 54; 13,36). Jerusalem and paradise together also in 2Bar **4,3ff.;** Rev 22 2 The expression new (vea) Jerusalem is also found in Hippolytus, Fr 15 in Pr. on Prov 9,1, cf **καινὴ Ἱερουσαλήμ** in Rev 3,12; 21 2 We should note that Justin Dial. 80 1-2 shares the expectation of a rebuilt Jerusalem where Christians will rejoice **(εὐφρανθηναι)** with Christ **ἅμα** TOIÇ **πατριάρχαις** xat TOÎÇ **προφήταις** xal TOÎÇ **ἁγίοις τοῦ ἡμετέρου (Trypho** is speaking!) **γένους ...** **which will be to the glory of God: εἰς δόξασμα** also in Isa 46,13 (LXX), **δέδωκα ἐν Ζιων σωτηρίαν τῷ Ἰσραηλ εἰς δόξασμα;** cf Lam 2,1 **for ever·** see v 11 **end, opp** the no longer' of the next verse.

5,13 **And no longer will Jerusalem endure desolation** for 'no longer in promises of future salvation see Isa 52 1; 60,18; 62 4 (+ **ἔρημος);** Joel **3(4),17** concerning Jerusalem; and Ezek 34,29, 36,15; Joel 2 19.27; Zeph 3,15; Zech 9,8 concerning Israel. **nor Israel be led captive** contrast v 8 desolation' and 'captivity together also in T.L. 15,1; **17,9f ,** T.Jud. 23,3.5 cf. T B 7 2 **because the Lord will be in the midst of it:** cf T.L 5 2 **ἕως οὗ ἐλθὼν παροικησω** ev **μέσῳ** TOU **Ἰσραήλ** (see note). For **'God's** living in Jerusalem', cf Ps 46(45) 6 (LXX) ó teôç ev **μεσῳ αὐτῆς,** Zeph 3,5.15, **Zech** 2 10(14) 8 3.8 LXX (in Zeph 3,15 and the Zech texts as part of a promise of salvation). Here **κύριος** must however refer to Jesus Christ because of the next phrase: **living together with men** see T Jud 24 1 T I 7 7 (see note) and T N 8,3. For this use of **συναναστρέφεσθαι,** see **1Bar 3,38, ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὤφθη** xal ev TOÎÇ **ἀνθρώποις συν-ανεστράφη (sc.** Wisdom), LivPro (ed Th Schermann) p **99,2f ,** rec. **Hesych.** on Hosea, **ἔδωκε** Tepaç **ἥξειν κύριον ἐπι γῆς ἀνθρώποις συναναστρεφόμενον;** Acta Pet et Paul 43 **τοις ἀνθρώποις συναναστραφῆναι;AscenIs 2,11;** Athanasius, **Inc** et c. Ar 22 **ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὤφθη** xal TOÎÇ **ἀνθρώποις συνανεστράφη** (further instances in Lampe s v sub 4) **the Holy One of Israel:** in the OT a name for God: see, e.g 2Kgs 19 22 Ps 71(70),22; Jer 50(27),29 and many times in Isaiah cf also **TSol** 4,12. It is also used in connection with Jesus Christ. see Justin Dial. 72,4, **κύριος** o fteôç **αγιος Ἰσραήλ** . xal **κατέβη προς αὐτοὺς εὐαγγελίσασθαι αὐτοῖς τὸ σωτηριον αὐτου.** The expression is used in passages which emphasize God s great power and his punishing or saving activity **reigning over them in humility and poverty:** cf 6,9, **εστι** . **πρᾶος** xal **ταπεινός;** and

also T.B 9,5, 10,7, τὸν βασιλέα *km* γῆς φανέντα μορφῇ ἀνθρώπου ταπεινωσεως . For Jesus Christ as king, see note on T R 6,11f For Jesus and πτωχεία, see, e.g. 2Cor 8,9; Justin, Dial. 53,3; Eusebius, Comm in Pss Ps 67,10f.; Alexander of Alexandria, Ep Alex. 9 Jesus and ταπεινωσις in e.g., Mt 11,29, πραΰς . καὶ ταπεινός; Phil 2 8 Acts 8,33 Justin, Dial. 33 3 and again Eusebius Comm in Pss , Ps 67,10f , and Alexander of Alexandria Ep Alex 9 ταπεινωσεως TE καὶ κενωσεως καὶ τῆς καλουμένης αὐτοῦ πτωχείας And he who believes in him will be king ... in the heavens: see T B 10,7 καὶ ὅσοι επιστευσαν αυτω ἐπὶ γῆς, συγχαρησονται αὐτῷ; and also e.g. Rom 5 17; 1Cor 4,8; Rev 22,5; Acta Thom 137, ἔσῃ γὰρ ev οὐρανῷ βασιλεὺς μέγας; Athanasius, V Anton 16 αἰῶνας αἰώνων βασιλεύσομεν , ev οὐρανοῖς ἔχομεν τὰς ἐπαγγελίας, id Ar. 2 67, . ἀλλ' ev Χοιστῷ βασιλεύσομεν *aei* ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς; Origen Sel. in Pss., Ps 44,10 in truth emphasizes the trustworthiness of the promise of salvation

T DAN 6

Translation

6,1 And now, fear the Lord, my children,
and beware of Satan and his spirits
2 But draw near to God and the angel who intercedes for you,
because he is mediator between God and men for the peace of Israel
and[21] he will withstand the kingdom of the enemy
3 Therefore the enemy is eager to cause to fall all those who call upon the Lord
4 For he knows that
on the day that Israel will believe
the kingdom of the enemy will be brought to an end.
5 The angel of peace himself will strengthen Israel
that it may not fall into the extremity of evils
6 But in the time of the lawlessness of Israel the Lord will leave them
and pass[22] to the Gentiles[23] who do his will,
because none of the angels will be equal[25] to him,
7 and his name will be in every place of Israel and of the Gentiles Saviour
8 Keep, therefore, yourselves, my children, from every evil work,
and cast away anger and all lying
and love truth and longsuffering
9 And the things which you have heard from your father,
do you also impart to your children
that the Saviour[26] of the Gentiles may receive you,
for he is true and longsuffering,
meek and lowly,
and teaching the law of God through his works
10 Depart, therefore, from all unrighteousness,
and cleave to the righteousness of the law of the Lord,
and my race will be saved for ever.[27]
11 And bury me near my fathers

Textcritical notes

21 ἀνθρωπων . καί. The addition of καί after ἀνθρωπων (*gldefchij*) as well as the omission of και before κατέναντι (*bchij*) are attempts to connect the various elements in this sentence differently, particularly by connecting ἐπι τῆς εἰρήνης Ἰσραήλ with the following

22 xal μετελεύσεται (*kgldefchij*). The omission of καί (*b*) is obviously wrong.

23 ἐπὶ ἔθνη (*gl(d)efchij*) The variant ὄπισθε (*b*, cf ἔμπροσθεν *k*) is certainly wrong it cannot be connected with the acc ποιουντα.

24 οὐδείς (*gldefchij*). The variant οὐδενί (*b*) does not make sense.

25 ισος (*gldefchij*). The reading ὡς (*b*) followed by the dat. αὐτῷ is wrong

26 ὁ σωτηρ (*gdmeafchij*) This reading is to be preferred to ο πατηρ (*bkl*), which may have been introduced via passages like Gen 17 4f. and Sir 44,19.

27 xal ἔσται τὸ γένος HOD εἰς σωτηριαν ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος. The omission of this phrase in *b* can hardly be original; hma ?

Structure

6,1–2 Direct general exhortation (positive-negative-positive) Introduction of a special angel (here called 'the angel who intercedes for you'), who as protagonist of Israel stands over against Satan and his spirits (v. 1b) = the enemy and his kingdom (v 2c)

6,3–5 The battle between enemy and angel (now called the angel of peace v. 5) will not lead to complete faith in Israel, but the people will not fall into the extremity of evils

6,6–7 Israel's ἀνομία. The Lord will depart for the Gentiles He is σωτηρ for Israel and the Gentiles

6,8–11 Direct exhortation

- v 8 special exhortation, connected with 2,1
- v 9 command to hand down the patriarch's instructions then Dan s children will be received by the Saviour of the Gentiles
- v 10 general exhortation: obey God s law, then Dan s tribe will be saved for ever
- v 11 command to bury Dan

Vv 6–10 give a special (Christian) direction to the prediction of what will happen in the future and to the exhortation. Israel will fail temporarily but if it gives heed to the exhortations and the predictions of the patriarch it will be accepted (again) by the Saviour of the Gentiles

Notes

6,1 **fear the Lord:** cf. T L 13,1; T.Z. 10,5; T.B. 3,3 **beware of Satan and his spirits** for 'beware of', see on T.L. 9,9; for 'Satan', see on 3,6, 5,6, T R. 2,1-2

6,2 **draw near to** for this use of (προσ-)ἐγγίζειν, see on T R 4,6. **the angel who intercedes for you:** see on T L. 5 6f In 5,4 we hear of an angel of the Lord' leading Levi and Judah (and through them Israel), in v 5 the name is 'the angel of peace'. **he is mediator between God and men for the peace of Israel:** on mediator, see A. Oepke *ThWNT* IV pp 602-29. Here the μεσιτης is the peacemaker (- τῆς εἰρήνης Ἰσραήλ), the intercessor (παραιτούμενος; cf. Philo Vita Mosis II 166, μεσίτης . . παραιτητής) Because of their sins Dan s children (and Israel) need a mediator in their relation with God One should note that here the mediation is between God and men in general (cf. T.L 5,7, τον παραιτούμενον TO γένος τοῦ Ισραὴλ xal παντων τῶν δικαίων) For this expression see 1Tim 2 5 and Irenaeus, Haer III 187 Hippolytus Ben. Bal., Athanasius Inc. et c. Ar 22 etc At the background we may suppose a primitive Christian angel-christology, see M Dibelius *Der Hirt des Hermas* (*HbNT Die*

Apost. Vater 4) Tübingen 1923, pp 572-6 (esp p 575) M Werner, *Die Entstehung des christlichen Dogmas* Bern-Leipzig 1941 pp 302-49· J. Barbel, *Christos Angelos* (*Theophaneia 3)* Bonn 1941 (= ²1964).. **and he will withstand the kingdom of the enemy:** this phrase takes up **5,10bc**. For the expression **κατέναντι . . στησεται,** see also **Eccl** 4,12; **Dan** 8,7 'The enemy' for the devil only in **6,2–4**, cf TJob 47,10, **TSol** D 1,2, 3Bar 13 2 JosAsen 12,8, ApMos 2,4, 7 2 15,1 25 4 28,3 Mt 13 39 Lk 10,19· Irenaeus Haer.. **III** 18,7 etc., cf **mal'ak** mastemâ in 1QM 13 11 and CD 16,5; and cf also Jub 17,16;· **18,9.12,** etc.. For the expression the kingdom of the enemy, cf.. **1QM** 14,9; **17,5f.**; 1QS 3,23 Lk 11 18 par **(σατανᾶς . ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ); Acta** Phil 103 **(ἡ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ δύναμις),** etc. On the destruction of the enemy's power by Christ see Ignatius, Eph 19 3 **παλαιὰ βασιλεια διεφθείρετο** fteoû **ἀνθρωπίνως φανερουμένου,** Methodius **Symp.** 10 1 f) **βασιλεία τοῦ πονηροῦ καθηρέθη** ..... **ὁ ὠμοτύραννος ἄρχων τῆς ἀκρασίας ἠρεθη** xat **εἰρηνη καὶ πιστις κρατει;** Eusebius, **Ecl.** III 5 **ὃς** (Jésus Christ) **ἐλυτρωσατο πολιορκουμένους ἀπὸ τῆς** TOÜ **διαβόλου βασιλείας,** etc

6,3 **the enemy is eager to cause to fall:** for **ὑποσκελίζειν,** see on T Jos 4 1 Cf John of Damascus Horn 4 8 **διάβολος . ὑποσκελίζει .. δι' ἀπάτης τον ἄνθωπον. all those who call upon the Lord:** see 5,11 and on T Jud 24 6

6,4 **on the day that Israel will believe** takes up 5 13 where individual believers are said to be king in heaven cf T B. 10,7-9.. **the kingdom of the enemy will be brought to an end** see on 6,2c. For the expression will be brought to an end' see also on T.Jud. 22 2 **(συντελεσθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία μου)** Compare, again **5,10f.** and, as to the content T S 6 6 (see note).. Note that it is necessary for Israel to come to faith before the kingdom of the enemy is finally destroyed

6,5 **The angel of peace:** see on T A 6,4.6, and cf.·T B..6,1;·in these two texts the angel of peace helps individual people against Beliar and his spirits **will strengthen Israel:** God will strengthen Israel **(a o** 'in the battle against 'its enemies) according to the prophecies in Isa 41 10· 42,6;· Ezek 34,16 Joel **3(4),16;** Hag 2,22 (LXX A) cf. also **TJob 4,11** **that it may not fall into the extremity of evils: μη' . .** E£Ç **τέλος** also in T L 5 6;· **εμπιπτειν εἰς κακά** in Prov 13,17; 17,16a LXX 20; cf. 28,14 **In 3Bar** 13 2 Michael forbids guardian angels of sinful people to leave them **ἵνα μὴ εἰς τέλος κυριεύσῃ ο ἐχθρός.**

6,6 **in the time of the lawlessness of Israel.** **ἀνομία** is fundamental enmity against God and his commandments the term often occurs in an eschatological context· see M Limbeck *EWNT* I pp..254f. We may compare the use of the term here with that in Mt 7,23 13 41;· 23,28;· 24 12 and in Barn 4 1 14 5 15,7· 18,2.. **the Lord will leave them** see 4,7; T.Jos.. 2,6 and cf T.B.. 9 4 see esp.. **1Sam 28,15ff.:** the Lord turned from Saul because he did not obey God **and pass to the Gentiles:** cf again T B 9 4 see e.g. Mt 21,43, Acts 13 46 18 6, Rom 11 11 Justin Dial.. 26 1·· 52 4·· 109,1.. **who do his will** cf. Justin **Dial** 26,1-2 and 52,4, o[**γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνων ἁπάντων διὰ τῆς πίστεως τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ θεοσεβεῖς** xal **δίκαιοι γενόμενοι. because none of the angels will be equal to him** see for 'angel-christology' on v. 2. For the notion expressed here, see Heb **1f.** (esp.. 1,4 'having become as much superior to angels as the name he has obtained is more excellent than theirs' for 'name' see v **7f**), and Athanasius comments on this in Ar 1 55 and Dion 11 **. ἵνα μὴ τὸ ποιν ἐλάττων ἡ** ἷοος **αὐτῶν φαινηται**

6,7 **and his name will be in every place of Israel and of the Gentiles: Saviour:** cf.. Mal 1,11.14 God s name is great among the nations and in every place incense is offered to his name while the priests pollute the altar. For Saviour see v.. 9 Is here at the background **σωτήρ** as translation of the name Jesus' (Mt 1 21 Justin **Apol.** I 33 7 Athanasius Ar 4 36 **etc.)?**

6,8 **Keep yourselves from every evil work:** cf Deut 23 9(10) Job 1 1.8; **1Thes** 5 22 Did 3 1 **etc.**; for the use of **διατηρεῖν ἑαυτόν,** see Acts 15,29. **cast away anger and all lying:** here the exhortation comes back to the beginning see 2,1 (and also **5,1f.**) cast away also in T.N. 3 1 T.A. 1 7 **and love truth and longsuffering:** see again 2 1 (and 5 2) and v 9d below

6 9 **And the things - to your children** see on T S 6 1 and see INTRODUCTION 7.1.1. **anpart** cf. WisSol 7 13, 2Mac 8 12 TJob 4 1 IThes 2 8 Barn 1 5 etc **the Saviour of the Gentiles'** cf Eusebius **Comm.** in Pss., Ps 2,2 **σωτηρ** xal **φωστὴρ των ἐθνῶν απαντων** The emphasis lies here clearly on **τῶν ἐθνῶν** T L 10,2; 14,2; T.B 3 8 have the Saviour of the world' (T.B 3 8 also foil **σωτηρίᾳ ἐθνων** xal **Ἰσραήλ);** T G 8,1 Saviour for Israel. Jesus Christ came to Israel, was rejected by priests from Levi but accepted by righteous Gentiles. Through its patriarchs Israel is exhorted to repent in order that it may be accepted by the Saviour of the Gentiles. **may receive you:** of accepting sinners see e g Ammonius Aeg., Ep 17 (ed F Halkin, ***Sancti Pachomii Vitae*** *Graecae,* Bruxelles 1932 p 106, **11.24f), δέχεται** ... **ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς γνησίως ἐπιστρέφοντας** *in* **αὐτόν. for he is true and longsuffering** takes up v 8c Both epithets used of God in WisSol 15,1, LetDiogn 8 7f. **μακροθυμία** is the patience that leaves opportunity for repentance. **ἀληθης** used for Jesus Christ: Mt 22,16, par Mk 12,14; cf Jn 7 18 For **μακρόθυμος,** etc. used for Jesus Christ, see **1Tim** 1,16 and, e.g John of Damascus F o 4 4 **πραότητι καὶ μακροθυμίᾳ πείθων τοὺς ἀνθρώπους αἱρεῖσθαι τὴν ἀρετήν. meek and lowly** see on 5,13 cf. also T.Jud. 24,1, Mt 21 5 and 2Cor **10,1. teaching the law of God through his works:** the 'law of God' and his works no doubt are characterized by the four virtues just mentioned He teaches through his own example; cf. WisSol **12,19, ἐδίδαξας δὲ σου τὸν** Xaov **διὰ τῶν τοιουτων ἔργων (a.o ἐν ἐπιεικείᾳ κρίνεις!) ὅτι** OEÎ **τὸν δίκαιον εἶναι φιλάνθρωπον;** John Chrysostom Hom in Mt 26:39 (ed B de Montfaucon III 23 A) **παιδεύει .. διὰ τῶν ἔργων πάλιν τὴν πραότητα** xal **τὴν ἀνεξικακίαν διδάσκει διὰ των ἔργων,** cf also **1Clem** 13 1 (Jesus Christ) **... διδάσκων ἐπιείκειαν** xal **μακροθυμίαν..**

6,10 **Depart .. from ... unrighteousness** the same expression in Sir 35,3; 2Tim 2,19 **and cleave to** cf. T I 6 1 T.G. 5 2 T A 3 1 **my race** = my tribe" cf T Jud 17 2 **will be saved:** for the expression **ἔσται . εἰς σωτηρίαν,** cf Dan **11,42** Th

6,11 **And bury me near my fathers:** also in T G 8 3; T.A 8 1 T B 12,1; after Gen 49 29 (cf **1Kgs** 13,31, Tob 4,3, 14,9)

T DAN 7

Translation

7,1 And when he had said these things,
he kissed them
and he slept an eternal sleep
2 And his sons buried him
And afterwards they brought up his bones near Abraham and Isaac and Jacob
3 As Dan prophesied to them, however,
that they would forget the law of their God
and would be alienated from the land of their inheritance
and from the race of Israel and their family and offspring,[28]
so it came to pass [29]

Textcritical notes

28 **καὶ σπέρματος αυτων** These words are omitted in *b* because of **hmt.** The article TOU **(σπέρματος)** in ***dmeafchij*** (cf *l*) seems to be secondary

29 **ὡς ... σθτως,** xat **γέγονεν** *(b)* It is omitted in all other MSS that are present except *d* which leaves out **ως** but reads at the end **ὅπεο** xat **γέγονεν ἐπ' αὐτούς.**

Structure

After the regular closing passage vv 1-2 the third verse gives a very remarkable extra comment which reads like the remark of a later scribe which became part of the text There are no textcritical reasons to remove it

Notes

7,1 **he kissed them** element of this genre see on T R 1 5 **he slept an eternal sleep** again an element of this genre, see on T I 7 9

7,2 **buried han** see 6,11 and note on T A 8 1 **they brought up his bones** see on T R 7,2 **near Abraham Jacob:** see on T Z 10,7

7,3 **As** (Dan prophesied) .. **so it came to pass** cf. Justin **Apol.** I 35 1, **ὅπεο καὶ γέγονεν,** Dial. 53 5 **ὅπεο** xat **γέγονε,** Eusebius **Comm** in Pss PS **58 7ff** , o öè xat **γέγονεν,** D E VII 3, **ὅπεο xat** YÉYOVEV etc.; **see** also **TJob** 18,2; Justin, Apol. I 39,2, **xat ὅτι οὕτως γέγονε** The characterization of the content of the testament centres around its exhortation and its prediction of the future **forget the law of their God:** cf. 6,6 (contrast vv. **9f**) For the expression used here cf Hos 4,6; Ps **119(118),61.109.153;** Jer 23 **27** **1Mac 1,49** **and would be alianated from offspring:** see, in particular, T A 7 6 an (S.)E.(R.) element ' you will be scattered as Gad and as Dan, my brothers, who **will** not know their lands and tribe and tongue. For **ἀλλοτριοῦν** in connection with family, etc cf Philo Quis hères 26 ou **τῆς πατρῴας οἰκίας ἠλλοτρίωμαι;** Spec. leg I 114· Virt 207 and also **1Mac** 6 24 **the land of their inheritance:** cf. Num 36 2 Deut 2 12

THE TESTAMENT OF NAPHTALI CONCERNING NATURAL GOODNESS

INTRODUCTION

Content and structure of T N. differ from those of the other testaments in a number of ways First, the introductory passage (1,1–4; cf chapter 9) is the only one to mention that the farewell speech takes place after a meal Next, the biographical element is very limited Much attention is paid to the circumstances of Naphtali's birth (1,6–8) and to Bilhah's background (1,9-11) but when it comes to describing Naphtali's life a simple verse (2,1) suffices which serves as a (not entirely natural) introduction to the exhortatory section of the testament

Exhortation is found in 2,2-3,5 and 8,4–10. In between we find a double S.E R passage in chapter 4 and an L J passage in 8,1-3

Chapters 5–6 and 7 contain the accounts of two visions seen by Naphtali and Jacob's reaction to these visions Through the adoption and adaptation of existing material concerning visions of Naphtali (see *Note on Hebrew T Naphtali* below) the section of the testament dealing with the future has grown extraordinarily, so as to dominate the entire testament Yet the visions only serve to emphasize the message of the S.E.R and the L J passage, they were probably inserted only because the author had this extra material to hand and wanted to find a place for it within the regular testament structure Also in T N the chief purpose is to give exhortation

The central parenetic theme

In the title of the testament MSS *bldmef* tell us that it deals with 'natural goodness' (περὶ φυσικῆς ἀγαθότητος). Not one sin or virtue is highlighted, but goodness in general (cf T A 3,1, T.B. 8,1, and the central theme of T.B.), and particularly natural goodness, i e goodness according to 'nature' (φύσις), God's order (τάξις) as displayed in his creation This one theme is developed in several ways as a rapid survey of 2,2-3,5 and 8,4–10 may show

In 2,2-5 God is compared with a potter who knows the vessel he is making God makes body and spirit correspond, He knows what purpose the vessel will serve. good or bad The notion of 'order' is expressed above all in v. 3b, 'for by weight and measure and rule every creation of the Most High is (made)'. V 6 shows how the (inward) disposition of a man corresponds with his activities; again these are either good or bad, 'either in the law of the Lord or in the law of Beliar' 2,7-10 emphasizes that the essential differences in creation are part of a whole, for 'God made all things good, in order' (v 8a) Consequently, the right ethical behaviour is to be 'in order unto good, in the fear of God' (v 9a) In v 8 there is a lengthy excursus on the various parts of the body and their functions, illustrating God's order

In 3,2-5 we find four examples of 'ethical behaviour', one positive and three negative. Sun, mon and stars do not change 'their order' and should therefore be imitated (v 2) The Gentiles do, they follow idols and evil spirits and should therefore not be followed (vv 3–4c) Two particularly striking bad examples are given by Sodom 'which changed the order of its nature (τάξιν φυσεως αὐτῆς)' (v 4de) and the Watchers (or 'fallen angels') who did the same and were in the end the cause of the Flood

The final exhortations in 8,4–10 first emphasize the necessity to choose between good and evil, and the blessing or curse following one's choice (vv 4–6). In vv 7-10 the word τάξις occurs again now it is said that there are many different and even contradictory commandments, which have to be observed 'in order', i e with prudence and at the right moment (so already 2,9b).

In the notes on the individual verses a great number of parallels in thought and way of expression wil be mentioned from Greek, hellenistic, Jewish and early Christian authors The exhortations in T N are related to notions about (micro- and macro-) cosmic and moral order which could be accepted by people of different cultural and religious backgrounds

Note on Hebrew T Naphtali

Ever since M. Gaster drew the attention of scholars to a Hebrew Testament of Naphtali in 1894 (see also INTRODUCTION 3 5), the relationship between this Hebrew Testament and the one belonging to the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs has been under discussion For a survey of opinion, see J Becker, *Untersuchungen* pp 105-113 Becker takes the view that the greater consistency in Hebr T N 2-7 over against the still unconnected visions in T N 5-7 shows that the Hebrew Testament is late and secondary, though not directly dependent on the Greek text A Hultgârd, *L'eschatologie ... II* (see INTRODUCTION 1.1.1), pp 128–35, follows Becker with some modifications: T N 5-7 represent an older redaction of the visions than the Hebrew Testament, yet this latter has presented a number of original elements lost in the Greek

In the commentary below a fundamentally different position will be maintained, following Th Korteweg in his article 'The meaning of Naphtali's visions', *Studies,* pp 260–90 (see also M de Jonge, *The Testaments* pp. 52–60) Korteweg has shown convincingly how well the visions were incorporated into the present Greek Testament In their present from the dreams are meant to provide a parallel to the eschatological pattern set out in T N 4 'Together they illustrate the line along which the history of Israel is to develop, first towards the exile and then towards the final restoration hinted at in VI, 9 10 Since according to the eschatology of the Greek Testaments it is from Levi and Judsh that the final salvation issues, their part in the visions also receives full attention Apart from them only Joseph is mentioned by name' (p 267) Korteweg then proceeds to show that in the Hebrew text of Naphtali's visions Joseph plays a very important part He is the opponent of Levi and Judah and the cause of much trouble The purpose of the Hebrew visions is to warn against the sons of Joseph who will depart from the God of their fathers and rebel against Levi and Judah (cf. Hebr T N 7,6). The author of the Testaments wanted to save his hero Joseph and edited the vision material at his

disposal The resulting picture of Joseph is unclear and unsatisfactory Over and over again Korteweg stresses that details in the Greek version can only be understood against the background of the fuller and more consistent account in the Hebrew text

The relationship between the two Testaments is also point of discussion in the note on the lists of the human body and their functions in 2,8 (par Hebr T N 10,6), and in the note on 8,2

T NAPHTALI 1

Translation

1,1 A copy of the testament of Naphtali
which[1] he enjoined at the time of his death,
in the hundred and thirty-second year of his life
2 When his sons came together in the seventh month, on the fourth[2] (day) of the month,
while he was in good health,
he made a feast of food and wine for them.[3]
3 And after he was awake in the morning,[4]
he said to them I am dying,
and they did not believe him
4 But, as he blessed the Lord
he affirmed that after yesterday's meal he would die
5 Then he began to speak to his sons:[5]
Listen, my children, sons of Naphtali,
listen to the words of your father
6 I was born from Bilhah,
and because Rachel dealt craftily
and gave Bilhah to Jacob in place of herself,
and she bore me on Rachel's knees,
therefore I was called Naphtali
7 And Rachel loved me
because I was born upon her knees,
and as I was tender in appearance,[6]
she used to kiss me, saying
May I see a brother of yours from my own womb like you
8 Therefore also Joseph was like me in all things,
according to the prayers of Rachel
9 And my mother is Bilhah,
the daughter of Rotheus, a brother of Deborah, Rebecca's nurse
who was born on the same day as Rachel
10 And Rotheus was of the family of Abraham,
a Chaldean, god-fearing, freeborn and noble
11 And after having been taken captive he was bought by Laban,
and he gave him Aina his servant to wife

who bore him a daughter
and she called her name[7] Zilpah,
after the name of the village where he had been taken captive [8]

12 Next[9] she bore Bilhah, saying
My daughter is eager for what is new,
for immediately after she was born she was eager to suck

Textcritical notes

1 ἧς (*ldmeafchij*) The reading ὧν (*b*) seems to be a mistake and may have been influenced by the formula found in T D. 1,1; T.B.. 1,1.. ην (*g*) is clearly secondary

2 τετάρτῃ (*b*).. The variant μιᾷ (*eafchij*; cf.. *ld*) placing the farewell on the Jewish New Year (cf. Lev 23,24; Num 29,1) may be regarded as secondary

3 αυτοις (*dmeafchij*) The reading αὐτός (*b*) can hardly be original

4 μετὰ τὸ ἐξυπνισθῆναι αὐτὸν τὸ πρώι (*b*). Both this text and the reading (τὸ) πρωὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐξυπνισθῆναι αὐτόν (*efchij*; cf. *dmi*) may claim originality

5 τοῖς υιοῖς αὐτοῦ (*b*). The omission of these somewhat superfluous words in *dmeafchij* may be explained as an attempt to get a smoother text (cf. 1 3, εἶπεν αὐτοῖς) The reading *b* is more or less supported by *l* (αὐτοῖς) and *g*

6 εἴδει (*b*, cf. the orthographiical variant ἤδη in *l*) The reading ἔτι (*dmeafchij*) is lectio facilior, as it is more appropriate to the following ἁπαλὸν ὄντα. Nevertheless, the broader context (vv. 7f.), which obviously deals with Joseph s physical beauty (in comparison with Naphtali) advocates εἴδει.

7 TO ὄνομα αὐτῆς (*dmeaf(c)hij*) This reading is preferable to the shorter and smoother αὐτήν (*bl*). Cf T.L 11,2.6.

8 ᾐχμαλωτευθη (*bl*).. The variant ᾐχμαλωτισθη (*dmeafchij*) is an adaptation to the preceding αἰχμαλωτισθείς.

9 ἐξῆς. Since, most probably Aina is subject of ετεκε (cf. v 11) the reading (καὶ) ἐξ ἧς (*bme*) does not make sense. This variant, however, led to the change of λέγουσα into λεγων which continued in the whole tradition Finally the conjunction *Kai* at the beginning of the verse (not in *b*) makes a smoother text and seems secondary

Structure

1,1 Superscription
1 2-4 Rather elaborate introduction Note the repeated mention of the meal
1 5 Summons to listen
1 6–8 The circumstances of Naphtali's birth and name-giving. Only in v 6 there is a direct reminiscence of Gen 30 7-8 The emphasis lies on the similarity between Naphtali and Joseph
1,9–12 Further details on Bilhah and her father Rotheus, a relative of Abraham
vv 11–12 birth and name-giving of Zilpah and Bilhah

Notes

1 1 **A copy of the testament.** cf. T R. 1,1, T G 1 1 T A 1,1, T Jos.. 1,1 **which he enjoined:** cf T.L.. 1,1, T.Z.. 1,1; T.B.. 1,1. **at the time of his death:** cf. T.L.. 1,1 πρὸ τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ. τέλος = death also in T A 1 3; 6,4; and cf Eccl 7,2; WisSol 3 19 etc

1,2 **came together.** a typical element of this genre In T.R 1 2, T L 1 2, T Jud. 1,2, forms of **συνάγειν** are used. **while he was in good health:** cf T.L. 1,2 (see note); T.I. 7 9 T.A., 1,2 **he made a feast of food and wine: ποιειν δεῖπνον** in, e.g., Dan 5,1 Th; Mk 6 21 Lk 14,12.16; Jn 12 2 and esp. JosAsen 21,6 **ἐποίησε . δεῖπνον και ποτον πολύν;** see also 9,2. **κωθων** only here in the Testaments. For a meal in the context of a farewell scene, see Jub 22 35,27· 36 17 (cf Gen 27,2–4, 1Sam 12 Jub 45 5)· Mk 14,17-31 par.; Jn 13–17; 1Cor 11,23–26 (cf Lk 24,43; Acts 10,41) See on this E. Stauffer, *Die Theologie des Neuen Testaments* Gutersloh ⁴1948, p. 321; H -J Michel, *Die Abschiedsrede des Paulus an die Kirche Apg 20 17 38 Motiv geschichte und theologische Bedeutung (StANT 35),* München 1973, pp. 48–53, X Léon-Dufour, Das letzte Mahl Jesu und die testamentarische Tradition nach Lk 22 *ZKTh* 103 (1981) 33–55, esp 40 and id *Le partage du pain eucharistique selon le Nouveau Testament* Paris 1982, pp. 103–13 The meal symbolizes the unity between the one who dies and those who remain also the unity between the latter (cf. also Jub 45,5)

1,3 **I am dying:** see on T R 1 3. **they did not believe him:** cf Jub 35,7f

1,4 **as he blessed the Lord he affirmed.** cf the praise of God after a (nightly) vision in T.L 5 7, **ὥσπερ ἔξυπνος γενόμενος ευλόγησα** TOV **ὕψιστον;** Dan 2 19f.· 1En 90,40· Jub 32 1 A vision to Naphtali during the night may be supposed; hence **εκραταιωσεν ὅτι κτλ.**

1,5 **Listen hsten** cf T S 2 1 and see on T R 1 5

1,6 **because Rachel dealt craftily: πανουργία** is definitely negative in T.Jud. 10,3; T.I 1 11 (and cf T.N. 2,8 below). Rachel's picture is not as favourable as that given in T.I 1-2. **πανουργία** and related words are in LXX usually used to translate words of the root **ערם**, in meaning similar to **פתל** niph'al used in Gen 30,8 to explain the name Naphtali (LXX different) cf Josephus Ant. 1 305 **gave Bilhah to Jacob in place of herself** see Gen 30,4 **she bore me on Rachel's knees** see Gen 30,3 and for the expression Gen 50,23 (LXX) **. . . ετέχθησαν ἐπὶ μηρῶν Ἰωσήφ therefore I was called Naphtali** see Gen 30 8 and compare the name-giving in T.S. 2 2 T Jud 13 T I 115 T Z 13 T B 1 6

17-8 Add particulars not known from Gen **tender** emphasizes Naphtali's physical beauty. For the beauty of Joseph who is compared to Naphtali, see T Jos 18 4 (with the expression **. ὅτι ἐγὼ ὅμοιος** EV raxoi **τῷ Ἰακώβ);** T.S. 5,1 (see **note).**

19-12 take up v 6a and give further information about Bilhah and her family. Compare the remark of L Ginzberg *Legends* V p 295 n 167 The tendency of Jewish legend is to make all the tribes related to Abraham on their paternal as well as their maternal side and cf. the material brought together in this note Unfortunately a Hebrew fragment containing Bilhah's genealogy in a more extended form than that given in T.N. 1,6–12 announced by J. T **Milik** in *RB* 63 (1956) 407 remains unpublished except for the fragment mentioned on v 12 (see below). In any case, it is evident that the Testaments had access to traditional material that was thought fit to be inserted here although the direct relevance for the purpose of the testament is neglegible

1,9 **Deborah, Rebecca's nurse.** cf. Gen 35,8· L Ginzberg, *Legends* V p. 300 n 204 mentions a Jewish tradition according to which Deborah was a grand-daughter of Abraham s brother Nahor. . **who (was born)** refers to Bilhah

1 10 **of the family of Abraham** cf 1Mac 12,21: Jews and Spartans are brothers and **ἐκ γενους Ἀβραάμ a Chaldem** cf Gen 11,26ff **god fearing:** epithet e g of Job (Job 1,1.8; 2,3) Judith (Jdt 11 17) Abraham (TAb A 4), Joseph (JosAsen 4 9) Levi (Jos Asen 22,8) etc. **freeborn and noble:** a well-known combination: see e g Philo De Jos 106; Abr. 251 Ebr. 58 cf Plutarch, De amicorum multitudine 6 (Mor 96 A) **ἐλευθέροις καὶ γενναίοις. εὐγενης** is also used in T R 4 7; T.Jos 14 3

1 11 **he was bought by ἀγοράζειν** in connection with a slave also in T Jos 15 7 **gave him**

... to wife a regular expression see T Jud 8,2 and e g Gen 34,12 41 45, JosAsen **1,11f.;** 20,7. **after the name of:** cf Gen 4 17; 2Sam 18,18 (LXX A) **1Kgs** 16,24

1 12 **she bore Bilhah:** who therefore, is a sister of Zilpah (so also Jub **28,9**) According Targ. Ps Jon on Gen 29 24.29 and Ber Rabba 74 13 they were both daughters of Laban **she was eager to suck** the explanation of the name **Βάλλα / בִּלְהָה goes via Hebrew. σπεύδειν** is repeatedly used as a translation of בהל in the LXX. In his *The Books of Enoch* (see INTRODUCTION 3 1.1), p 198 J T **Milik** has published **a corresponding** Hebrew fragment 4Q Test. Napht. I ii **4–5** which runs, **כי כאשר נולדה [הנה סתאו]ם מתבהלת לינוק ותואמר מה מתבהלת והיאה בתי.**

T NAPHTALI 2-3

Translation

2,1 And since I was swift on **my**[10] feet like a deer,
my father appointed me for all missions and messages
and he blessed me as a deer

2 For as the potter knows the vessel, how much it is to contain
and applies clay to that purpose,
so also does the Lord make the body after the likeness of the spirit
and according to the capacity of the body does he implant the spirit

3 And the one does not fall **short**[11] of the other by a third part of a hair,
for by weight and measure and rule every creation of the Most High is (made)

4 And as the potter knows the use of each (vessel), what it is suitable for,
so also does the Lord know the body, how far it will persist in goodness
and when it begins in evil

5 For there is nothing that is moulded and no thought which the Lord does not know,
for he created every man after his own image

6 As a man's strength, so also is his work;
and as his mind, so also is his **skill;**[12]
and as his deliberate choice, so also is his achievement,
as his heart, so also is his mouth,
as his eye, so also is his sleep,
as his soul, so also is his word,
either in the law of the Lord or in the law of Beliar

7 And as there is a division between light and darkness,
seeing and hearing,
so there is a division between man and man,
and between woman and woman,
and it is not to be said that the one is like the other in appearances or in **mind;**[13]

8 for God made all things good, in order
the five senses in the head,
and he **joined**[14] the neck to the **head**[15]
and hair for glory,
then the heart for understanding,
the belly for secretion of the stomach,
calamus for health,
the liver for wrath,
the gall for bitterness,
the spleen for laughter,
the reins for craftiness,
the muscles of the loins for power,
the sides for lying down,
the loin for strength,
and so on

9 So then, my children, be in **order**[16] unto good, in the fear of God
and do nothing disorderly in scorn or out of its due season

10 For if you tell the eye to hear, it cannot,
so neither will you be able to do works of light while in darkness

3,1 Be, therefore, not eager to corrupt your activities through covetousness
or to beguile your souls with vain words,
because if you keep silence in purity of heart, you will understand[17]
how to hold fast to the will of God
and to cast away the will of the **devil.**

2 Sun and moon and stars do not change their order,
so you also, do not change the law of God in the disorderliness of your activities

3 The Gentiles changed their order, having gone astray and having forsaken the Lord
and they followed after stones and sticks,
having followed after spirits of deceit

4 But you shall not be so, my children,
having recognized in the firmament, in the earth and in the sea and in all created things
the Lord who made all these **things,**[18]
so that you will not become as Sodom
which changed the order of its nature

5 In like manner also the Watchers changed the order of their nature,
whom the Lord also cursed at the Flood
on their account making the earth uninhabited without inhabitants and fruits

Textcritical notes

10 **μου** *(b)* Both this reading and the omission of the word (*gldmeafchij*) may be original

11 **λεῖπον** (*l*) The reading **λοιπόν** (*bdm*) does not make sense but may support / over against the longer **ἐλλεῖπον** (*eafc*).

12 **ἡ τέχνη** (*ef*; cf. *ld*) The scribe of *b* was mistaken when he wrote **τὸ ἔργον** another time

13 **ἢ τῶ νοὶ ὅμοιον** All Greek MSS are corrupt; nevertheless, all variants can be explained from the text **ἢ τῶν ὁμοίων** in *b* whose scribe changed - **οι** o - into - **ο** - by mistake, and consequently **ὅμοιον** into **ὁμοιων** Finally one should read §v **τῷ ἑνί** instead of ev **τῷ ἑνί.** Cf also A

14 **συναπτει** *(b)*. This reading supported by / (**συνῆψε**), is lectio difficilior over against the smoother **συνάψας** (*dmeaf*)

15 **τῃ κεφαλῇ** The addition (xat) **προσθεὶς αὐτῇ** (*meafc*; cf. *dhij*) making a somewhat easier text will be secondary / adds **δέδωκε** after **τρίχας** which seems another attempt to emend the short and difficult text in *b*

16 Ev **τάξει ἐστέ** *(b)* The change of **ἐστέ** into **ποιεῖτε** (g cf *l*) or into **ἔστω** *(dmeaf,* cf **ἔστωσαν** *chij*; cf. also *l*) together with additions like **πάντα τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν** and other alterations are attempts to give a text which is smoother and more intelligible than the rather hard construction of *b*

17 **συνήσετε** (*glmeafchij*) The reading **δυνήσεται** *(b)* is surely wrong

18 **ταῦτα πάντα** (*bl*) referring to the things mentioned before (cf. Isa 45,7f) is original as against (**τὰ**) **πάντα** (*geafhij*) **ποιεῖν τὰ** *navra* is a standard expression; see, e g , WisSol 9,1, JosAsen 12,2

Structure

2 1 Biographical introduction, rather loosely connected with the following exhortations Naphtali, swift as a deer, is made messenger by his father. Note **ἔταξε**

2 2-5 God compared to a potter (**κεραμεύς**) Note the formal parallelism between vv 2-3 and 4–5: **καθως** (**καθάπερ**) ... **οὕτω** . **καὶ** (**ὅτι**) **οὐκ ἔστι** ..

vv 2-3 God knows what the vessel is to contain therefore congruence of spirit and body for everything the Lord has created 'by weight and measure and rule'

vv 4–5 God knows what the vessel will be used for, (necessarily) either ev **ἀγαθῳ** or ev **κακῳ**; God knows every man body and soul; for he has created him in his own image

2 6 Illustrations of the correspondence between the (inward) disposition of a man and his activities and the basic choice involved: 'either in the law of the Lord or in the law of Beliar

2 7-8 For the structure (**ὡς** ... **οὕτω** ... **και ουκ ἔστιν**), cf vv. 2-5. Now the essential differences in creation are emphasized they have to be taken seriously as part of a whole; for 'God made all things good ev **τάξει**'; illustrations: the various parts and functions of the body

2,9–10 Concluding exhortation. Be ev **τάξει** unto good, do nothing disorderly, nothing **ἔξω καιροῦ αὐτοῦ** (see 8,7-10); again, a reference to the differences in creation with the emphasis on the ethical implications: **ἐν σκότει** ... **ἔργα φωτός**

3 1 General exhortation to understand God's will' (opp. the will of the devil)

3,2–4c Positive example: the order (**τάξις**) obeyed by the heavenly bodies; exhortation: do not change the **νόμος** fcoũ in disorderliness. Negative example: the Gentiles changing their order (**τάξις**), worshipping idols and following evil spirits; exhortation do not go astray recognizing the creator in (the order) of his creation

3,4d-5 Two additional negative examples of changing one's **τάξιν φυσεως** Sodom and the Watchers the evil consequences of the sin of the latter the Flood

Notes

2,1 **swift on my feet like a deer** cf 2Sam 2 18 **my father appointed me messages** so also Targ.. Ps **Jon** Neof and Fragm Targ on Gen 49 21 For further sources see L Ginzberg *Legends* V p.. 301 n.. 216, p 369 n 397, p.. 371 n.. 422 **he blessed me as a deer:** see Gen 49,21 (LXX translates differently; Aq:: **ἔλαφος ἀπεσταλμένος**) The point of the verse in terms of what follows 'is the clear correspondence between **Naphtali's** physical characteristics and his appointment (**ἔταξε**) as a messenger

2,2 **the potter:** for the comparison of God with a potter, see, e g Isa 29,16, 45 9, Jer 18,6, **WisSol** 15 7 Sir **33(36),13f.**; Rom **9,21ff.**, Athenagoras, Leg 15 2· Origen Princ **III** 1,22 **does he implant the spirit:** cf. Philo, Plant. **28f.**, ' He (God) took our body (**σῶμα**), as though He were taking some deep-soiled plot of ground and made the organs of sense as tree-beds for it Having done this He set a sense in each of them (**ἐνετίθει**), as a plant highly valuable for cultivation hearing'in the ear sight'in the eyes " (cf also v 8 **below**).

2,3 **and the ane does not fall short of the other:** see Sir 42,24f , 'All things (God's works) are twofold one opposite the other (**ἐν κατεναντι του ἑνός**), **και οὐκ ἐποίησεν οὐδὲν ἐλλεῖπον· ἐν του ἑνὸς ἐστερέωσεν τὰ ἀγαθά'.** **for by weight and measure and rule every creation of the Most High is (made).** see WisSol 11 20 ... aXXa **πάντα μέτρῳ καὶ ἀριθμῷ καὶ σταθμῷ διετάξας**; cf.. Job **28,24ff.**; 38,5; Isa 40,12; **1En** 43 2 2En **48,4**; 4Ezra **4,36f.**; 6Ezra 2,58; Philo De Jos.. 145; Provid. II 50f (= **fragm** 1 ed Colson); Plutarch Quaestiones convivales VIII 2,4 (Mor.. 720 B).

2,4 **... the potter knows the use of each (vessel)** see WisSol 15 7, (**the** potter) molds each vessel for our service (**πλάσσει ... ἓν ἕκαστον**) ... but which shall be the use of each of these the worker in clay decides (**τούτων ὧν ἑτέρου τίς ἑκάστου ἐστὶν ἡ χρῆσις, κριτὴς ὁ πηλουργός**) here clean uses and the opposite are mentioned as example.. For the use of **χρῆσις** in connection with man s moral activities see Sir 18 8 **τί ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τί ἡ χρῆσις αὐτοῦ; ἐν τὸ ἀγαθὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τί τὸ κακὸν αὐτοῦ;** **so also does the Lord know the body ....** see Sir **33(36),13f** , As clay in the hand of the potter (**ὡς πηλὸς κεραμέως ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ**) - for all his ways are as he pleases - so men are in the hand of **him who made them, to give them as he decides. Good is the opposite of evil, and life the** opposite of death; so the sinner is the opposite of the godly'; cf. Rom **9,21ff.**; 2Tim 2,20f

2 5 **For there is nothing that is moulded and no thought which the Lord does not know:** see Isa **29,15f** , Woe to those ... whose deeds are in the dark, and who say Who sees us? Who knows us? . . (LXX) **οὐχ ὡς ὁ πηλὸς τοῦ κεραμέως λογισθήσεσθε** that the thing made (LXX **τὸ πλάσμα**) should say of its maker (LXX, **τῷ πλάσαντι**) , Ps **103(102),14**, cf. lEn 84 ApSedr 7,1, 6Ezra **2,54ff.64**, Hippolytus Consumm 48 Similarly, but without an explicit reference to God's creating activity e g T Jud. 20 3 T.Z. 5 2· T.G.. 5,3; ·T.B. .6,6; ·SentSexti **'56–57a..** **he created every man after his own image:** see Gen 1 26f. (LXX), . **καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν** ...; 5,1; Sir **17,1 3**, WisSol 2 23 (in the last two passages **κτίζειν** and **ποιεῖν** are used as **parallels**).

2,6 Man's inner disposition determines his actions compare **T A. 1,6–8**, there is a basic choice involved that between good and evil (see also T.A **1,6–8**) **in the law of the Lord or in the law of Beliar:** see T.L 19 1 For a similar chain of expressions with as , , so **also'**, see 4Ezra 9,17. **as his eye .... this clause seems out of place between the** other ones dealing with man's inner disposition. **ὀφθαλμός** is however, often used together **with** terms like *tyvyi],* **διαβούλιον** (T.G. 5 7 cf T.B **6,2–4**), **καρδία** (T.Jud 13,6), **διάνοια** (T.D., 2,4); cf.. 1QS **5,4–5**. **so also is his sleep:** evil thoughts and lusts keep one away from sleep (see, e.g., T R.. **3,11f.**; T S.. **4,8f.**; T.Jud 18 4) and there is a particularly close connection between **ποονεία** and the eyes (see on T R 2 4)

2,7 **a division between light and darkness** as the following phrases show the balance of dualities in the cosmos is meant, not the basic ethical choice man has to face Vv 7-8 **refer to God's order in his creation, and only in vv. 9–10 the ethical consequences are** indicated, including the opposition darkness - works of light' in v. **10b.** Compare T.A 1 4 and 5 1-3 and the notes on these verses. Cf Sir 33(36),7-15; Isa 45 7· **1En 41,5ff** , Jub 6,4; and further, e.g., Epictetus I 12,16, (God) **διέταξε** ... ftéooç **εἶναι καὶ χειμωνα** xaî **φορὰν** xcù **ἀφορίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν καὶ κακίαν** xcu **πάσας τὰς τοιαυτας εναντιοτητας ὑπὲρ συμφωνίας των ὅλων,** Seneca Quaestiones naturales VI **27,3ff** . . . Tota haec **mundi** concordia ex discordibus constat On this particular phrase, see Gen 1 4; cf v 18; Jub 2,8; Isa 45,7; Hermas, Mand 12 4 1 (addition in MS A); and esp Philo Opif. mundi 33 and Athenagoras Leg. 13 2 where this division is explicitly connected with the idea of God's order in the universe.. **a division between mm and mm** an extension of the thought in the previous clause:: also the differences between men belong with the order of creation **md it is not to be said:** see on T A 5 3 **that one is like the other in appearances or in mind:** cf Prov 27,19 LXX; Berakoth 58a

2,8 **For God made all things good, in order:** this gives the conclusion of the previous verse and serves as an introduction to what follows in the rest of the verse. For the formulation **see Eccl** 3,11 (LXX), **σὺν τὰ πάντα ἐποίησεν καλὰ ev καιρῳ αὐτοῦ, md Sir 39,16 ἐν καιρῳ** is parallel to **èv τάξει;** see the parallel between **ἄτακτον** and **ἔξω καιροῦ αὐτοῦ** in v 9b **the five senses in the head - md so on:** in the way the human body is formed man may recognize his Creator and this recognition should lead him to obey God and to fulfil his commandments. This thought is found in several Jewish and Christian passages See already Deut 29,4; Eccl 1,8; Prov 20,12, but esp the more elaborate and explicit expositions in Sir **16,26–17,14** (with e.g., in 17,6 He made for them tongue and eyes; he gave them ears and a mind for **thinking'); LetAris 155–157, Philo,** Plant **28–31** (with e.g., in 28 'let us note the way in which God the all-wise fashioned the trees that are in man, the **microcosm');** 2En 65 2-5; Hippolytus, Con-**summ.** 45ff In Greek and hellenistic writings we find similar ideas In Xenophon Memorabilia 1 4 **5ff.,** Socrates tries to persuade Aristodemus to believe in **πρόνοια,** and takes the example of man's senses and organs to argue for the existence of a creator who made all this in his providence; cf. further e.g., Epictetus I 16; Dio Chrysostom X **10f.;** Corp. Herm. V 6f The particular list of parts of the body and their functions found here has been compared to similar lists in Berakoth 61a-b; the **Othioth** of R. Akiba **Koheleth** Rabba VII 19· Wajjikra Rabba IV 4; Midrash Tehillim Ps 103 (see M de Jonge, ***The** Testaments, pp.* **57f)** No direct literary relationship can be proved nor can items in the other lists be used to elucidate obscure phrases in the list in our verse Some details **the five senses:** a common idea in Hellenism (see Von **Arnim, *S V.F.*** II p **230,40f** , **Οἱ Στωϊκοὶ πεντε τὰς εἰδικὰς αἰσθήσεις, ὅρασιν ἀκοὴν ὀσφρησιν γευσιν ἁφήν;** cf I p.-39,22;· II p.-226,21 p.-227,28) taken over in Jewish hellenistic and Christian sources; see, e.g., Philo, Opif.-mundi 62· Leg.. all **I 11,** Clement of Alexandria, Str II 11 (50,4)· Hippolytus, Haer. VI 24 **hair for glory:** cf. **1Cor** 11,15 (and the commentaries on this verse). **calamus for health: κάλαμος** ('reed') has been taken as a mistranslation of קָנֶה, 'windpipe' (cf. Hebr. T.N. 10,6) But the **πρὸς ὑγίειαν** points in the direction of the meaning 'calamus' a special reed with a strong aroma which could be used for medical purposes: see, **e.g** , Plutarch De **Iside** et Osiride 80 (Mor 383 E-384 C) **the loin for strength:** cf. Job 40,16

Note on Hebr.. T N.. 10 6.. The list of parts and functions of the body found in Hebr **T N. is part of the last section (chapters 9–10) which has no counterpart in the Greek** testament. It gives the story of Michael asking each of the seventy nations which god they will worship Only Abraham chooses the Lord the creator of the world, **'...** who formed me in the womb of my mother body within body and placed in it spirit and soul

... (9 5).. Naphtali admonishes his sons to follow Abraham s example ' . **A** portion only of his power you can see in the creation of man. How many notable wonders are there not in him? He created him from head to foot . . (then the list of organs and functions follows) ... And none of his members changes its function but every one keeps to its own ... **(10,5–7)**.. Although the lists in the two testaments show many divergencies, their function is similar to illustrate how God created everything good 'in **order**" (see also **Midrash** Tehillim Ps 103 and the **Othioth** of R Akiba ed Jellinek *Bet ha-Midrasch* III, pp **42–43)**.

2,9 Emphasizes the necessity to observe this order by obeying Gods commandments.. **be in order into good, in the fear of God** the ethical use of **τάξις**, etc.. is already found with the presocratic philosophers (see **H. Diels**, *Die Fragmente der* ***Vorsokratiker***, Berlin 1922 Index s.v. **τάξις)** and often found later on For examples in Jewish and Christian literature, see e g , **Philo**, Fuga 145· **Somn.** II 152; Vita Mosis II 277 Spec.leg. I 120 **1Cor** 14,40; Col 2 5 **1Clem** 20; 37,2; 40 **disorderly in scorn or out of its due season** for **ἄτακτος**, see e.g., **1Thes** 5 14· 2Thes **3,6–7.11**; cf.. WisSol 14,26 **καιρος** is often used **in the** same **way as τάξις** see, e.g. **1En** 2,1; PssSol **18,10**; **1Clem 40,1f.**; Aristides, **Apol** 4 2; and see note on v. 8 This theme is further developed in 8,7-10. For **in scorn**, cf T L 14,5.8; here it is the opposite of **in the fear of God. 'Scorn'** characterizes the bold and proud attitude of the sinner· see e g Prov 13 13 15· 18 3 19 16 25 9· TJob 15,6; 2Pet 2,10

2,10 Forms an inclusio with **2,7a** and draws the ethical conclusions

3,1 **to corrupt your activities through covetousness:** cf. **Eccl** 5 6(5) **(LXX), καὶ διαφθείρῃ τὰ ποιήματα χειρῶν σου** (God acts by way of punishments for man's sins); 'in our verse man himself destroys or corrupts his doings See T S 4 8, and cf Philo Quod deus 136 **τῶν φθειρόντων καὶ λυμαινομένων παθῶν τὴν διάνοιαν**; Leg.. 91; Migr.. Abr.. 224 **'Through** covetousness' takes up the **ἐν καταφρονήσει** of the preceding verse for the combination, see T.L.. 14,5-8; Philo Vita Mosis I 324 **to beguile your souls with vain words:** for 'vain words', see also Ex 5 9, Deut 32,47, Eph 5 6 Did 2 5 To deceive oneself with false ideas or opinions is a traditional motif; see, e.g., Philo, Sacrif. 85, . . **τὴν . ψυχὴν . μὴ . . ἀπατᾶσθαι** by vague wholesale and indiscriminate 'ideas' De Jos.. 142; Jas 1,26; **Athenagoras**, Leg 36,3.. **keep silence:** as an expression of conformation to the divine order; see W. Bühlmann *Vom rechten Reden und Schweigen Studien zu Proverbien* ***10–31***, Freiburg-Göttingen 1976 pp 214f 257. For Joseph's silence, see on **T.Jos.**, INTRODUCTION pp **364f.**, and cf T B 5,4. **in purity of heart.** cf. T B.. 6 5; 8,2f..(see T B INTRODUCTION pp. 412f. and note on T B 6 5) **to hold fast to the will of God** prepares a transition from the ethical commands to the notion of the order of the elements in God's cosmos found in the next verse. See e g Sir 43,16 JosAsen 12 3, ...τὸν **οὐρανόν** ... **τὴν γῆν . . τοὺς λίθους** τοὺς **μεγάλους ... εἰσὶν ἕως τέλους ποιοῦντες το θέλημά σου ...**; **1Clem** 20,4, 'The earth teems according to his will at its proper seasons; cf.. also Sir 16,28; PssSol **18,10–12**, 1QS 3 16 **to cast away** see on T A.. 1,7.. **the will of the devU**· cf. 2Tim 2 26

3,2 **Sun and moon and stars do not change their order** a well-known and widespread notion. See e.g., H Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* Berlin 1922, Index s.v **ἥλιος, σελήνη, ἀστήρ**, etc · Plato Timaeus 30 A; Epinomis 982 AB Plutarch Septem sapientium convivium 9 (Mor 153 D); De superstitione 8 (Mor. 169 A)· 12 (Mor 171 A); De **Iside** et Osiride 49ff (Mor 371 B-372 A), etc.; Dio Chrysostom III 75 XXXVI **50; XL** 35; Corp.. Herm VIII **3–4**, IX 8; XI 2 As to Jewish sources see Job 38,12 (LXX) .. **ἑωσφόρος δὲ εἶδεν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τάξιν**, Hab 3,11 (LXX) ... **καὶ ἡ σελήνη ἔστη** ἐν **τῇ τάξει αὐτῆς** ...; Judg 5,20 LXX (cf also the instances mentioned in note on 2 3)· 1En **41,5ff.**; **69,14ff.**; Jub 6,4; 2En 48 4 2Bar **48,2ff.**; 1QH **1,8ff.**; Philo Aetern mundi 32-34; 75; 106; De Jos 145; **Decal.** 104 etc The idea is of course also found

very often in early Christian literature: see, e.g., **1Clem** 20 Aristides **Apol** 4 2 Athenagoras Leg **25,3f.**; Justin Dial. 85,5; LetDiogn 8,7, ConstApp VIII 46. **so you also, do not change ...**: very often also in the instances just given the cosmic order is contrasted with the disorder often found among men and mentioned as an example to be followed. See also **1En** 2-5, **e.g., 2,1, κατανοήσατε πάντα τὰ ἔργα** ev **τῷ οὐρανῷ, πῶς οὐκ ἠλλοίωσαν τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτῶν**, and the luminaries **... τεταγμένος ἕκαστος** ἐν **τῷ τεταγμένῳ καιρῷ . . καὶ** ou **παραβαίνουσιν την ἰδίαν τάξιν,** and 5,3-4, (the sea and the rivers) **ουκ ἀλλοιοῦσιν αὐτῶν τὰ ἔργα ἀπὸ των λόγων αὐτοῦ, ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἐνεμείνατε οὐδὲ ἐποιήσατε κατὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς αυτοῦ κτλ.**, cf lEn **36,3f.** 101 PssSol **18,10-12, Philo, Provid.** I 70, 2Bar **54,17f.**; GkApPaul 7; **and cf the comment of** S Aalen, *Die Begriffe 'Licht und "Finsternis' im Alten Testament, im Spätjudentum und* ***im Rabbinismus,*** Oslo 1951 p 161 Die Ordnung und das Gesetz nach denen die Gestirne ihre Bahnen vollenden, sind ihnen von Gott gegeben ... Es handelt sich also . . um eine moralische" Ordnung Das Gesetz dem die Gestirne folgen, entspricht dem den Menschen gegebenen und darum ist der Gehorsam der Himmelslichter für die Menschen vorbildlich ..."

3,3 The Gentiles changed their order, having gone astray and having forsaken the Lord: those who change the law of God in disorderliness are like the Gentiles whereas the order of the universe should lead man to worshipping the one true God (3,4) The general remarks about the Gentiles are specified in what follows: **they followed after stones and sticks:** cf. Lev 19,4 (LXX), **οὐκ ἐπακολουθήσετε εἰδώλοις καὶ** fteoùç **χωνευτοὺς** ou **ποιήσετε υμῖν**; Deut 4 28 (LXX) **καὶ λατρευσετε** ÈXEÌ fteoıc **ἑτέροις . ξύλοις** xaì **λίθοις**; 28 36.64; 29,16; 2Kgs 19,18 Isa 37,19; Jer 2,27, Ezek 20 32 (LXX) **. ὡς τὰ ἔθνη . . τοῦ λατρεύειν ξυλοις καὶ λίθοις**; LetAris 135; **Philo,** Virt 219 2Clem 1,6; over against the true worship of God as the Creator of all, see e g WisSol 14 21 (cf. v. 11); Philo **Decal.** 66; Spec leg. II 255 Vita contempl. 7; ClemHom 11,21,4; Tatian **Orat.**. 4,2, Athenagoras Leg.. 15,2 **having followed after spirits of deceit**: an explanation typical of the Testaments. 'For the spirits of deceit' see on T.R. 2,1. The false gods are connected with the evil spirits see T.Jud. 23,1, **ἐγγαστριμύθοις ἐξακολουθοῦντες, κληδόσι** xaì **δαίμοσι πλάνης** (cf. Amos 2 4 Jdt 5 7 ClemHom 16,6,7). See further on 3,4

3,4 having recognized in the firmament the Lord who made all these things again a well-known and widespread notion. God can and should be recognized in the macrocosmos which he created as well as in the microcosmos of the human body (see on 2 8). It is found in the works of many Greek and **hellenistic** philosophers: see esp W. Jaeger *Die Theologie der frühen griechischen Denker,* Stuttgart 1964 pp.. **189ff**; p., 292 n 72; and compare **H.-J.** Horn art 'Gottesbeweis', *RAC* 11 pp 951-77. Typical is Cicero, Tusculanae Disputationes I **68–70,** who after having pointed to the heaven the changes of day and night, the four seasons and to the sun in particular concludes, ... haec igitur et alia innumerabilia cum cernimus, possumusne dubitare quin **iis** praesit aliquis vel effector, si haec nata sunt, ut Platoni videtur vel si semper fuerunt, ut Aristoteli placet moderator tanti operis et muneris? Sic mentem hominis, quamvis earn non videas ut **deum** non vides, tamen ut deum agnoscis ex operibus eius, sic ex memoria **rerum** et inventione . vim divinam mentis agnoscito see further e g **Xenophon,** Memorabilia 4,3,13; Corp Herm.. V 3ff In the Old Testament we may compare Ps 8; 19(18); Isa 40,12.26; Job 38,5.. See further lEn 2-5; **36,3–4**; PssSol **18,10–12**; Philo Provid., I 33 42 70; 72; **75f.**; II 63 Praem poen.. **38ff.**; Leg all III 99 Among the instances early Christian texts may be mentioned: Acts **17,22ff**, Rom 1,20 ClemHom **6,19,4–5**; ConstApp VII 39 2 Tatian **Orat** 4 2 Clement of Alexandria, Str., V 1 (8,6), Origen **Cels.** VIII 38 **the firmament: στερέωμα** is also used in the LXX: see Gen **1,6–8**; Sir 43,1; cf further ClemHom 3 33 (in all cases together with heaven and earth and a

reference to the Creator). **all created things:** in the LXX δημιουργός and related words are not used in connection with God's creation (see W Foerster *ThWNT* II p. 61 and III pp 1022–7). It is a popular term in Greek philosophy, taken over by **Philo** and many early Christian writers (in NT only Heb 11 10) for details see W Theiler art **Demiurgos'**, *RAC* 3 pp 694–711. **the Lord who made all these things:** cf. Isa 45,7 WisSol 9,1; JosAsen 12 2. The **you shall not be so** at the beginning of this verse does not only forbids idolatry but also warns against the pagan way of life. Jewish polemic against non-Jews often criticizes their wickedness and injustice particularly their sexual misbehaviour (adultery homosexuality, unnatural intercourse) see WisSol 14 22-31; LetAris 152; SibOr III 764f.; 1En 99,6–9, 2En 10,4–6; Philo Abr 135; Spec. leg. III 37ff (cf. also A. **Vögtle**, *Die Tugend- und Lasterkataloge im Neuen Testament,* Münster i W 1936, pp. 96ff.; 227). The same criticism is found in early Christian polemic against paganism; see e g Rom 1 18ff.; Athenagoras Leg. 25f.; Clement of Alexandria, Prot I (esp. 3f.); cf Justin Dial. 93,1 T.N. uses **Sodom** and **the Watchers** as examples of creatures who **changed the order of their nature** For ἐναλλάσσειν in such a context, **cf.**, e.g. WisSol 14,26 γενέσεως ἐναλλαγη, γάμων ἀταξία; Philo Cher. 92, (after a catalogue of sins) ' . the works to which nature prompts us are turned upside down (φυσεως ἔργων ἐναλλαγή) ; **Plutarch, De** communibus notitiis **adversus Stoicos 12** (Mor 1064 D), **τὴν φυσιν ἐναλλάττων καὶ τὴν τάξιν ἀναστρέφων the order of nature τάξιν φυσεως;** in Abr. 135, Philo says that the Sodomites .. ἀπαυχενίζουσι τὸν τῆς φύσεως νόμον; in Aetern. mundi 31 and 34, he opposes ἡ κατὰ φυσιν τάξις with ἡ παοὰ φύσιν τάξις; the latter leads to corruption. On these and similar expressions, see H Koester 'Νόμος φυσεως. The Concept of Natural Law in Greek Thought, in J. Neusner (ed) *Religions in Antiquity Essays in Memory of E. R Goodenough,* Leiden 1968, pp 521–41, esp p 531. Sodom in the OT Sodom is mentioned (often together with Gomorrah) as a threatening and warning example e.g., in Isa 1,9–10, 13,19; Jer 50(27),40; Amos 4 11 Zeph 2,9. The emphasis lies on the punishment by God. A few passages (see, e.g., Ezek 16,46ff.) mention the immorality of the city. Sir 16,8 mentions God's punishment of the neighbours of Lot' (cf. 3Mac 2 5 in a list of sinners). Also in Lk 17,28–30; 2Pet 2 7, Jude 7 the emphasis is on God's destruction of sinners (cf. Mt 10 15 11 23). Jude 7 however explicitly mentions the sins (ἐκπορνεύσασαι και ἀπελθοῦσαι ὀπισω σαρκὸς ἑτέρας). **As to the** Testaments: **in** T L 14 6 **the** sexual misbehaviour of the priestly sons of Levi is characterized with the words ..... xal γενησεται ἡ μεῖξις υμῶν Σόδομα καὶ Γόμορρα ἐν ἀσεβείᾳ; cf. T.B 9 1 ποονεύσετε γὰρ ποονείαν Σοδόμων (with **destruction as** result). T N. 4,1 begins **the S E R. passage** after the present section with a reference to apostasy from the Lord and 'all the lawlessness of Sodom' **T A.** 7,1 reproaches the Sodomites for not recognizing the angels of the Lord Finally one should note that in Abraham's farewell speech in Jub 20 the giants and Sodom are mentioned in the context of an elaborate warning against fornication and uncleanness Their judgment is mentioned emphatically (vv 5–6).

35 **... also the Watchers changed the order of their nature** Watchers is the name of the fallen **angels''** in Jewish traditions connected with Gen 6,1ff.: see also T R. 5,6f., lEn 1-16 (passim); 19; 64ff.; 106,13ff.; Jub 4 15.22 (cf. 5,1ff.); 7,21; 8,3; 2En 18 (cf. 7); CD 2 14 (the term עִירִין is also used for angels in Dan 4 10.14.20). Cf J T **Milik,** *The Books of Enoch* (see INTRODUCTION 3 1.1), pp. 22-41, who reminds us that Syncellus called the first part of 1 Enoch 'the book of Enoch concerning the Watchers'. On the many traditions connected with Gen 6,1ff., see F Dexinger *Sturz der Göttersöhne oder Engel vor der Sintflut?*, Wien 1966; M. Delcor, Le mythe de la chute des anges et de l'origine des géants ..., *RHR* 190 (1976), 3–53, P H Williams, Jr The Watchers in the Twelve and at Qumran , *Texts and Testaments* ed W E. March San Antonio 1980 pp. 71-92 . The fallen angels', the giants or the generation of the flood are often

mentioned together with Sodom see Sir 16,7, 3Mac 2 4, Jub **20,5f.**, Lk **17,26f.**, 2Pet **2,4f.**; Jude 6, etc T.R. 5 6f. makes clear that in the Testaments the Watchers' sexual offences with earthly women receive special attention and censure These must also be envisaged when the expression **changed the order of their nature** is repeated. On this expression cf. CD 2 18 'because they had not kept the commandments of God (cf v 21, 'did not keep the commandments of their **Maker'**), Jub 7 21 '. . the fornication wherein the Watchers against the law of their ordinances went awhoring after the daughters of men **1En 12ff.**, 18,15 **19,64ff.**, 84,4; **106,13ff.** Interesting is the view **expressed in Athenagoras, Leg. 24,3–25,1 The angels are said 'to exercise providence** over the things set in order by him **(God)'.** Some of them 'remained true to the task for which God made them and had appointed them **(διέταξεν)'**, but others violated both their own nature and their office **(ἐνυβρισαν καὶ τῇ τῆς οὐσίας ὑποστάσει καὶ** Tfj **ἀρχῇ)'** - **cf** Jude 6, **μη τηρησαντες τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρχὴν ἀλλὰ ἀπολιπόντας τὸ ἴδιον οἰκητηριον** (cf. lEn 12 4 and 15 3 who left the high **heaven')** Justin **Apol** II 5 gives a similar picture the angels **.. παραβάντες τήνδε τὴν τάξιν, γυναικων μίξεσιν ἡττηθησαν making the earth uninhabited without inhabitants and fruits:** cf Gen 6,17; **7,21ff.**; Sir 44,18· lEn 9,2; 10 2 67,2 84,5; Jub 5,20 3Bar 4,10; **Philo,** Abr 45 Lk 17,27 etc

T̄ NAPHTALI 4

Translation

4,1 I say these things, my children,
because I have read in the holy writing of Enoch
that you yourselves will also depart from the Lord,
walking according to all the wickedness of the Gentiles
and you will do according to all the lawlessness of Sodom

2 And the Lord will bring captivity upon you
and there you will serve your enemies,
and you will be covered with every affliction and tribulation,
until the Lord will have consumed you all

3 And after you have been diminished and made few,
you will repent and acknowledge the Lord your God,
and he will bring you back into your own land
according to his abundant mercy

4 And it will be that when they will come into the land of their fathers,
they will again forget the Lord and act impiously

5 And the Lord scatters them upon the face of all the earth,
until the compassion of the Lord **comes,**[19]
a man working righteousness and working mercy
unto all who are far off and who are near

Textcritical note

[19] **ἄχρι τοῦ ἐλθεῖν .** *(b)* Both this reading **and the** variant **ἄχρις οὗ (ἂν *1*) ἔλθῃ (*gldefchij*)** may claim originality

Structure

This chapter presents a double S E R passage (cf T Z 9 **T A.** 7 and see INTRODUCTION 7 2 3)

4,1 Reference to the writing of Enoch Sin in d and e clearly referring back to chapter 3 (vv 3 and 4 respectively)

4,2 Exile

4,3 Return with a repentance element in b

4,4 New Sin **(πάλιν)**

4,5a **Exile**

4,5b–d Return = reference to the coming of Jesus Christ

Notes

4,1 **I have read in the holy writing of Enoch** for I have read see on T L 14 1 and for the reference to a writing of Enoch, see on T S 5,4. holy writing also in 5,8; the Greek expression is used to denote Old or New Testament (cf., e.g **Theophilus, Autol.** 2 19 Polycrates apud Eusebius H E V 24 7) but the **plur.** is more common **will depart from the Lord:** cf T Z 9 5 T D **5,4f** **according to all the wickedness of the Gentiles:** see 3 3 and cf T Jud 23,2; T D 5 5 **you will do according to all the lawlessness of Sodom:** see on 3 4 cf esp Ezek 16 47 (LXX) **. οὐδὲ κατὰ τας ἀνομίας αὐτῶν (Sodom) ἐποίησας.**

4,2 **the Lord will bring captivity upon you.** for **ἐπάγειν with** God as subj., see **T.Jud** 22,1, T Z 10,3 T.G 5,9; T.B 7 3 For captivity' see on T.D. 5,8. **you will serve your enemies:** see on **T I 6,2** **you will be covered:** cf Ps **69(68),11** LXX S^2; Obad 10 Hab 2,17; Ezek 7,18 **affliction and tribulation:** cf. T.Z. 9,6; T.G. 8 2 **κάκωσις** in connection with exile also in **1Bar** 5 1 PJ 7 23f 31 (cf. Jer 2 28 **11,14)** **until the Lord will have consumed you all.** **ἀναλίσκειν** and cognates are found several times in the LXX to denote punishment for sins See esp Deut 28,21 (LXX) **... ἕως ἂν ἐξαναλωσῃ σε ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς;** Jer 9,16(15) (LXX) **. ἕως τοῦ ἐξαναλῶσαι αὐτούς .** (also in connection with dispersion cf Deut 26 33 Ezek 5 12) Jer 49 37(25 17) (LXX) **. ἕως τοῦ ἐξαναλῶσαι αὐτούς**

4,3 **after you have been diminished** see T S 5 6 and Deut 4,27; **1Bar** 2 13 (cf PS 107[106] 39) **and made few:** see T.Jud 17,3; cf Dan **3,37; 1Bar** 2 34 **you will repent** **and he will bring you back:** on repentance and return see T.Jud 25,3, T I 6 3 T Z 9 7 T D 5,9, in all these instances God s compassion is emphasized **acknowledge the Lord your God** cf. Hos 2 19(22); 5 4 Barn 10,3 **according to his abundant mercy:** for this formulation see Tob 8,16; Sir 16,12; **1Pet** 1 3 (cf. also **Num** 14,19; Ps 51[50],3; Neh 13 22 Sir 51,3, etc. for very similar expressions).

4,4 **when they will come into the land of their fathers.** cf T Jos. 20,1 (and Gen 48,21) for the return after the exodus (cf. Hebr. T N. 1,10, '... as we have been exiled through his being a bond-servant in **Egypt').** But see 2Chr 6,25 (LXX) **. . καὶ ἀποστρέψεις αὐτους εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἣν ἔδωκας αὐτοῖς καὶ** ΤΟΪΣ **πατοάσιν αὐτῶν** (cf v 38) in connection with the return after the exile in Babylon cf Jer 16,15, **37(30),3; 1Bar** 2,34. **they will again forget the Lord cf. T D 7,3** **and act impiously:** cf. T.L 10,2 14 1 T A 7 5

4,5 **the Lord scatters them:** see T L 10,4; T I 6,2; T.A. 7 2; cf. T Jos. 19 2 **upon the face of all the earth** (cf. T A 7,2): a well-known expression used together with **διασπείρειν** in Ezek 34 6; Gen **11,4.8f.,** 2Sam 18 8 **until the compassion of the Lord comes** see on T.Z 8 2 and cf Acta Thom 156, (Jesus Christ) **... υἱὸς σπλάγχνων,** Acta Jo 24 **ἐκάλεσε τὰ τέλεια σπλάγχνα** (= Jesus Christ). For until comes ', cf T Jud 22 2 T A 7 3 **working righteousness:** cf T.Jud. 22 2 24 1.6 T Z **9,8** (and

T L.. 13,5; T G 3,1;·T.B 10,3).. **and working mercy:** see v 3 cf T Z 9 8 (and T Z 5 1 4· 8,2) **unto all who are far off and who are near** see **1Kgs** 8,46 2Chr 6 36 Dan 9 7 Th;· and esp.. Isa 57 19 (LXX), **εἰρήνην ἐπ' εἰρήνην τοις μακρὰν καὶ** ΤΟΙÇ **ἐγγυς ουσιν** referred to in Eph 2 17 This verse is quoted in e g Eusebius, **Comm** in Pss Ps 84,12 with an explicit mention of Christ's righteousness and mercy The expression emphasizes the world-wide scope of God's compassion

T. NAPHTALI 5

Translation

5,1 For in the fortieth year of my life
I saw on the Mounts of **Olive,**[20] on the east of Jerusalem,
that the sun and the moon were standing still.
2 And behold, Isaac the father of my father, said to us
Run and lay hold (of them) each one according to his strength,
and the sun and the moon will belong to him who seizes (it)
3 And we all of us ran together,
and Levi laid hold of the sun and Judah came first and seized the moon,
and both were lifted up with them
4 And when Levi was like the sun,
a certain young man gave to him twelve branches of palm,
and Judah was bright as the moon,
and under his feet were twelve rays
5 And running towards each other Levi and Judah laid hold of each other
6 And behold, a bull upon the earth
with two big horns and with wings of an eagle upon his back,
and we wanted to seize him, but we could not
7 For Joseph came first and seized him and ascended with him on high
8 And I saw that I was in the **gardens,**[21]
and behold, a holy writing appeared to us, saying
Assyrians, **Medes,** Persians, Elymaeans, Gelachaeans, Chaldeans, Syrians will possess in captivity the twelve tribes of Israel

Textcritical notes

20 **ὄρεσιν ἐλαίου** *(b)* The **plur. ὄρεσιν** can hardly be secondary, as it is attested in ***bglea*** (over against **τῷ ὄρει** in ***chij***). Nevertheless; it is unusual which can also be said of the following **ἐλαίου,** which seems to be supported by *f* **(ἡλίου). ἐλαίου** is lectio difficilior over against **ἐλαιῶν** *(gea)* and **τοῦ ἐλαιῶνος** *(chij)*.. Normally the Mount of Olives is called **τὸ ὄρος των ἐλαιῶν** (Zech 14,4, **Mt** 21,1 24 3 etc) or **τὸ ὄρος τοῦ ἐλαιῶνος** (Acts 1 12) or **τὸ ὄρος 'Ελαίων** (Justin Dial. 99 2).

'1 **ἐν κήποις** (*gldm*, cf A). This reading is to be preferred to the more or less pointless variants **ἐκεῖ που** *(b)* which may be explained paleographiically and **παρὼν ἐκεῖ** (*eaf*)

Structure

One vision in two parts (see on 7,1) introduced by I saw ...' in vv 1 and 8 The first part of the vision is divided into two sections introduced by **καὶ ἰδού** in vv 2 and 6

5 1 Date; connection **with** chapter 4 by **γάρ** Description of the situation

5 2-5 Levi and Judah catch sun and moon

vv **4–5** emphasis on the harmony between Levi and Judah and their unity

5,6–7 The bull and Joseph who ascends with this bull on high

5 8 Description of a new situation.. A list of nations which will oppress Israel Prediction of captivity = E elements in ch 4 This is the only link between chapters 4 and 5

Note Hebr.. T.N.. 2-3 connects Levi and Judah with the sun and the moon but it does not emphasize their harmony and unity.. It coonects the other sons with the stars and planets, and describes Joseph riding upon the bull as the antagonist of Levi and Judah; there is a clear reference to the division between the Northern and the Southern Kingdom

Notes

5,1 Introduction cf **T L.** 2 3 5 **on the Mounts of Olive, on the east of Jerusalem.** see Zech 14 4.. **the sun and the moon were standing still** (not in Hebr.. T.N.): cf.. Josh **10,12f**

5,2 **run** **lay hold of:** cf.. vv. 3 and 5 Cf Hebr T N 2 2. **each according to his strength** cf Deut 16 17· 2Chr 36,4 LXX cf Mt 25,15.

5,3 Cf **Hebr** T N **2,3–6,** '... Levi ..... seized a staff in his hand and jumped upon the sun . . Judah .. seized a staff, and sprang upon the moon ..... each rode upon his star and his planet in the heavens' (Joseph remains on earth)

5,4 Extra compared to Hebr.. T.N. **when Levi was like the sun** see T L 4,3, **καὶ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος ἔσῃ παντὶ σπέρματι Ἰσραήλ;** and cf.. T.L.. **18,3f , T Jud** 24,1.. **twelve branches of palm** parallel to the twelve rays of Judah. Cf Hebr T N 3,6 Judah has twelve staves'.. 'Branches of palm are a symbol of triumph and victory; cf. **1Mac** 13,51; 2Mac 10 7 Rev 7,9; and esp Jn 12 13 where the same expression occurs (see also R Schnackenburg *Das Johannesevangelium II*, Freiburg-Basel-Wien 1971 on this verse). **twelve rays** symbolize royal and worldwide glory; see JosAsen 5,6 about Joseph who wears a golden crown **with** twelve precious stones, ... καὶ **ἐπάνω τῶν λίθων δωδεκα ἀκτῖνες χρυσαι καὶ σκῆπτρον βασιλικὸν** Ἐν **τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ τῃ δεξιᾷ . .**

5,5 There is an unbreakable unity between Levi and Judah· see 6 6 and cf the [L.J] passage in 8 2f.

5,6 **a bull:** connected with Joseph in Deut 33 17 (LXX, **ταύρου .. κέρατα)** Joseph is often compared to a bull in rabbinic literature: see L Ginzberg *Legends* II pp.. 105; 142; 147 The bull' is an apocalyptic symbol, e g , in **1En 85,3f.** For animals with **horns,** see Dan **7,7ff 20ff., 8,3ff 20ff ;** lEn 90 9, etc. wings of **an** eagle see Dan 7 4 cf Rev **12,14,** etc Cf, Hebr T.N 2,6, Joseph only remained alone upon the earth 3 1 'behold there stood near him a huge bull with great wings like the wings of a stork and his horns were huge like the horns of the **Reëm'** (Deut **33,17!)**

5,7 **came first** cf, v 3. Hebr T N **3,3f ,** And Joseph got up and rode upon the bull at times he flew up with him .. '

5,8 **that I was in the gardens:** in T L 2,3 Levi is pasturing in the fields with his brothers Cf, Hebr., T.N.. **2,1f.** **in the gardens:** see Song 6,2 (LXX) **ποιμαίνειν ἐν κήποις;** 8,13

cf Philo, Vita contempl 20 **a holy writing appeared to** us cf. 4,1. Cf. Ezek **2,9f**, **Jub 32,21f.; 1En 81,1f.;** OdesSol **23,5ff**, Hermas, Vis.. 2,1-3; **Oratio** Joseph (A -M Denis *Fragmenta* ***Pseudepigraphorum quae supersunt graeca*** ... *(PVTG 3)* Leiden 1970 p 62) For the notion of the heavenly tablets' see also on **T A.** 2,10 Compare the sealed scroll' in Rev 5 and the little scroll' in Rev 10 and also Dan **5,5.24f** Essential is that the visionary is allowed to read what is written down concerning future events.. **will possess in captivity** a reference to the E. element in 4 2 5 For this use of **κληρονομεῖν,** cf. Isa 17,14, Ezek 7,24 (LXX A), 35,10.. Hebr T N 3 12 only mentions a heavy storm which separated Joseph from his brothers so that no two were left together (cf.. 6 4 below)

With regard to the list of nations the following remarks may be made. The nations are not mentioned in a chronological order; nearly all names occur in lists of the sons of the sons of Noah see Gen 10· Jub **8-9; Josephus,** Ant. 1,122· Hippolytus, Chronica **56ff**, Eustathius **Ant**, Hex (MPG 18.753 Dff.). **Assyrians** are the descendants of **Asshur,** son **of Shem, the Medes of Madai, son of Japheth; the Persians are descendants of the Elymaeans,** descendants of **Elam,** son of Shem; **Chaldeans** come from Arpachshad son of Shem and the **Syrians** from Aram son of Shem The **Gelachaeans** are found nowhere; the **Galatians** which occur in the Armenian version are regarded as descendants of **Gomer,** son of Japheth or of Magog, son of Japheth Hebr T.N.. 9,3 has a list of seven different names (cf. 8 6) four of descendants of Ham three of descendants of Japheth The nations mentioned there refuse to obey the Lord, who is worshipped by Abraham son of Eber son of Shem.. Of the seven names mentioned in Greek **T.N.**, five belong to descendants of Shem two to those of Japheth (and none to those of Ham) The two lists together refer to all the grandsons of Noah except Canaan and Lud The list in Hebr. T N concentrates on the sons of Ham that of the Greek T N on the sons of Shem in each case supplemented by (different) sons of Japheth to make a total of seven It is remarkable that Greek T.N. or its source chooses those persons or nations that are not mentioned by Hebr T N Does our verse keep punishment of the Semitic tribes of Israel within the family as much as possible?

T NAPHTALI 6

Translation

6,1 And, again, after seven months,
I saw our father Jacob **standing**[22] by the Sea of Jamnia,
and we, his sons, (were) with him
2 And behold, there came a ship sailing by,
full of salt fish
without sailors or pilot;
and the ship bore inscribed upon it the name 'ship of **Jacob'.**[23]
3 And our father said to us.
Let us embark upon our ship
4 But when we had gone on board,
there arose a vehement storm and a tempest of mighty wind,
and father who was holding the helm flew **away**[24] from us
5 And being tossed with the tempest we were driven along over the sea,

and the ship was filled with water, broken in pieces by mighty waves,[25] so that it was broken up completely

6 And Joseph fled away on a little boat,
and we also were divided on ten planks,
but Levi and Judah were together

7 Thus we were all scattered unto the ends (of the earth)

8 But Levi, girt about[26] with sackcloth, prayed for us all to the Lord

9 And when the storm ceased,
the ship reached the land, as in peace

10 And behold, there came Jacob our father,
and we rejoiced with one accord

Textcriticalnotes

[23] **ἑστηκότα** *(bl)*. Both the later form **ἑστηκότα** and the alternative strong participle **ἑστῶτα** *(gdmeaf)* may be original. Elsewhere too MSS are divided (see e g **1Kgs** 10 19 Mk 15,35)

[24] **ἐπεγέγραπτο** oe **τὸ πλοῖον πλοῖον Ἰακωβ** *(geaf)* The omission of one **πλοῖον** *(bl)* may be due to a mechanical error. Cf also Hebr T.N. 4 8

[24] **ἀφίπταται** *(gl)* **The** variant **ἐφίπταται** *(b)* **does not** make much sense whereas **ἀφίσταται** *(dmeafchij)* is certainly secondary

[25] ev **τρικυμίαις** *(gldmeafchij)* The reading ob *b* **(τρικυμίας)** is clearly wrong

[26] **περιβαλόμενος** *(b)* Both this reading and the alternative **περιβαλλόμενος** *(gldmeafchij)* may be original

Structure

The second vision

6,1 New date again I saw description of situation

6,2 **καὶ ἰδού; description of the boat**

6,3-4 The storm· departure of Jacob

6,5-7 Shipwreck, dispersion (compare the E element in ch 4) Joseph apart Levi and Judah together

6,8-9 Salvation only after **Levi's** intercession

6,10 New **καὶ ἰδού** Jacob returns· joy among all (compare the R element in ch 4)

Note Hebr T.N **4–6** describes the situation and the ship in much the same way. It does not mention a storm (but see 3,12 in the first vision), and ascribes the shipwreck to **dissension between Levi and Judah who are in the masts and direct the course of the** ship and Joseph who has to steer the ship. There is no intercession by Levi· it is Jacob who brings his sons together and repairs the ship

Notes

6,1 **the Sea of Jamnia** = the Mediterranean Cf ftaXaooa **Ἰόππης** in 2Chr 2 15 Ezra 3 7 Cf Hebr T N **4,1f.,** But no long time elapsed when I saw another vision Whilst we stood all together with Jacob our father on the shore of the Great Sea (for Great Sea see Josh 9 1· 13 8 LXX etc Ezek 47,20)

6,2 Cf. Hebr. T.N 4 6, And behold in that ship there was all the good(ness) of the world **without sailors or pilot:** cf Hebr T.N 4 2 ᵉ a ship came sailing in the middle of the

sea without sailors and without **people'** **and the ship bore inscribed upon it the name 'ship of Jacob':** cf Hebr. T N **4,7f** „ there was written 'This ship belongs to the son of Berachel .. ' The Hebrew MSS have here **ברכאל** or **ברכואל**; the original form will have been **ברוכאל** = the blessed one of God', an epithet of Isaac (see Gen 26,29 ClemHom 2,16,5, **Ἰσαάκ ὁ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εὐλογημένος)**

6,4 **there arose a vehement storm** see v 5, **χειμαζόμενοι,** v 9 **χειμών** For **χειμων σφοδρός,** see **Josephus.** Ant. 14,377, EpClem 14 1 cf. Acts 27 18 **σφοδρῶς δὲ χειμαζομένων ἡμῶν** **a tempest of mighty wind** another well-known motif in stories about difficult sea journeys; cf esp Mk 4 37 **λαῖλαψ μεγάλη ἀνέμου;** cf. Lk 8,23 ApZos 2 and 17 (ed M.R. James, *Texts and Studies II 3*, Cambridge 1893) or 2 and 18 (ed. J H. **Charlesworth,** ***SBL*** *Texts and Translations* ***17 Pseudepigrapha Series 10***, Chico 1982). **In Hebr** T.N. 3,12 **'there arose a** mighty **storm', and see** 4,16, '... **you** will **not** be afraid of the waves of the sea nor of stormy winds when they will arise against you'. **father ... flew away from us** cf. also ApZos 2 and 17(18) where the hero is borne on the wings of the tempest. Hebr. T.N 5 1 simply he disappeared from us (cf 3,3) **who was holding the helm** cf. Hebr T N 4 13 ' and Jacob our father grasped the two rudders to steer the ship by them'

6,5 **we were driven along:** a well-known word in this type of story see e g., Acts 27 15 17 (and see Bauer s v **φέρω** sub 3a) **the ship was filled with water:** cf Philo, **Somn.** II 86, Mk 4 37 Lk 8 23 **by mighty waves: lit ,** by a group of three waves considered to be very dangerous see e.g TJob 18,7 **Philo,** Vita Mosis I 115 **Prochorus' Acta Jo (ed Th Zahn), p. 9,1; EpClem 14,3. Cf Hebr T.N 5,5, 'and the** waves of the sea drove it on a rock' **so that it was broken up completely:** again a traditional element; cf. Jonah 1,4; Prochorus Acta Jo (ed Th Zahn), pp 8,10; 50,11; 98,6; Plutarch, De capienda ex inimicis utilitate 2 (Mor. 87 A) Compendium **argumenti:** Stoicos absurdiora poetis dicere 1 (Mor. 1057 E) Cf Hebr T N 5 5 'so that it was broken **up'**

6,6 **And Joseph fled away on a little boat:** cf Acts 27 30 In Hebr. T N 2 12 (first vision) Joseph is separated from his brothers by the storm **we also were divided on ten planks.** cf Acts 27,44, and Xenophon Ephesius 2 11 10 **Levi and Judah were together:** typical for this testament: see 5,5; cf. **8,2f.**

6,7 **we were all scattered:** sums up the situation in one word 'dispersion' and connects it with chapter 4 and 5 8 **unto the ends:** usually with a genit **(τῆς γῆς, της οἰκουμένης),** but also without see, e g Ps 65(64),9 · Esth **3,13(b)** LXX · Ignatius **Eph** 3 2 Cf Hebr. T.N. 6,2, and he found us dispersed, one here and another there

6,8–9 Levi's intercession. No equivalent in Hebr. T N. . **girt about with sackcloth** for this expression see **1Kgs** 20,16 LXX; 21(20),27 **2Kgs 19,1f.;** Jonah 3,6,8 etc.; Rev 11,3, **prayed to the Lord:** cf. T Jos. 4 3 . **ἐν σάκκῳ, καὶ ἐδεόμην τοῦ** θεοῦ. **the ship reached the land:** which is strange after the shipwreck This motif belongs to the scheme storm on sea - intervention of a man of God' - storm ceases - people are saved ; cf Mt **8,23–27;** Mk **4,35–41;** Lk 8,22-25; cf. Jn 6,16 Acta Andr et Matt 8; Acta Phil **33f ,** Prochorus' Acta Jo (ed Th. Zahn) pp. 50f Compare R. Bultmann *Die Geschichten der synoptischen Tradition* Göttingen [8]**1970,** pp **230f.; 249f.;** 252f (literature) and R Söder *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und die romanhafte Literatur der Antike,* Darmstadt 1969 (reprint Stuttgart 1932) pp 48; 86f **as in peace** see **on v 10.**

6 10 **And behold, there came Jacob our father:** cf. Hebr. T.N 6,2. **we rejoiced** (not in Hebr. T.N.): **ἀγαλλιᾶσθαι** and derivatives after returning to the country and rebuilding of the city, in Isa 12,6 25 9 29,19 LXX 35 10 51,3.11 **65,17f** Also 'peace' (v. 9) belongs in this context (see on T.D. 5 9) In the Testaments the final eschatological peace and joy are meant: see T.L. 18 4f 14 T Jud 25 5 · T D **5,11f ; T.B.** 10 6 · cf. T.Z.

10 2 Note that Jacob is among those who arise from the dead and is recounted with his sons (T L 18,14 T Jud 25,1, T B 10 6) **with one accord** emphasizes the unity of the twelve tribes after the return

T NAPHTALI 7

Translation

7,1 I told the two dreams to my father,
and he said to me
These things will be fulfilled in their season,
after Israel has endured many things
2 Then my father said to me
I believe that Joseph lives,
for I see always that the Lord includes him with you [27]
3 And he said, weeping
You live, Joseph, my child,
and I do not see you
and you do not see Jacob who begat you
4 And he made us also weep by those words of his,
and my feelings burned with the desire to declare that he was sold,
but I feared my brothers

Textcritical note

[27] **ὑμῶν** (*bea*). The alternative **ἡμῶν** (*gidmfchij*) includes also Jacob who is mentioned in the second vision not in the first It looks secondary over against **υμων**

Structure

Twofold reaction of Jacob to both visions
7 1 This will happen after Israel has suffered Emphasis on the E element (cf 4 2 5 5 8 **6,4–7)**
7 2-3 Joseph lives (refers to Joseph s presence in 5 6f. , 6,6)
7 4 Reaction of brothers (especially Naphtali) to Jacob's sorrow

Notes

7,1 I told to my father cf. Hebr. T.N 3 13 I related it to Jacob my father ...', and 7 1 And when I recounted this vision to my father **the two dreams:** counting 5,1-7 and 5,8 as one vision notwithstanding the repeated **καὶ εἶδον** **These things will be fulfilled in their season** see T Jos 19 5 **ταῦτα δὲ γενησεται** ev **καιρῳ αὐτῶν,** ev **ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις;** cf. Lk 1 20. In Hebr. T N. 7,1-5 (see also 3,13) the fact of the repetition in the visions with regard to Joseph is given as a ground for the certainty of their fulfilment (cf Gen 41,32; T.L 8,1.18, Philo De Jos. 100, 107) see further Th Korteweg *Studies* pp 272f. This motif is no longer explicit here: the author refers to the end of the second vision (6 10 cf 4 5 and **8,1-3)** and emphasizes the difficult times before

7,2 I believe that Joseph lives cf Gen 45,26.28 (LXX), **καὶ ἀνηγγειλαν αὐτῶ λέγοντες ὅτι Ο υἱός σου Ἰωσὴφ ζῇ . εἶπεν δε Ἰσραὴλ Μέγα** HOL **ἐστιν,** ei **ἔτι Ἰωσὴφ ο υἱός μου ζῃ**

...; 46 30 In the Targumim on Gen 49 21 it was Naphtali who brought the good news that Joseph was alive to Jacob (see on 2 1 above). **that the Lord includes him with you.** see 5,6f. 6 6, where indeed little more than Joseph's presence is mentioned

7,3 **weeping:** as in Hebr. T N 7 1 but for a different reason: there Jacob weeps because of Joseph's misbehaviour

7,4 **and my feelings burned with the desire: lit.,** I burned in my bowels; see on T Z. 2 2 and see T.Z. INTRODUCTION pp 254f. For **καίεσθαι,** to burn of passions, emotions etc., see Philo, De Jos 168 ' . Though he gave no utterance to the emotion which he felt, yet inwardly he was consumed **(τὰ ἐντὸς ἐκαίετο)** by the secret fire ...'; cf. Leg 197; **Decal.** 49; Lk 24,32. **he was sold:** see on T S. **4,2** **I feared my brothers: see** T Z 1 6

T NAPHTALI **8,1–3**

Translation

8,1 And behold, my children,
I have shown to you the last times
all (these) things will come to pass in Israel
2 Do you also, therefore, command your children
that they unite with Levi and Judah,
for through Judah salvation will arise unto Israel
and by him Jacob will be blessed
3 For through his tribe God will appear
dwelling among men on earth
to save the race of Israel,
and he will gather together the
righteous from among the Gentiles

Structure

8,1 Naphtali has predicted what will happen to Israel in chapters **4–7**

8,2-3 An **L.J.** passage

v 2ab conclusion do you too exhort your children to unite with Levi and Judah (cf **5,3–5;6,6.8)**

vv. 2c-3 salvation coonected with Judah: Jesus Christ saviour for Israel and the righteous ones among the Gentiles (cf 4 5)

Notes

8,1 I have shown to you ὑποδείκνυναι is used in Sir 46,20 of the prophet Samuel **(προεφήτευσεν καὶ ὑπέδειξεν)**, 48,25 of Isaiah; cf Dan 10 14 (angel subj.); **1En** 106,19 (God **subj.);** TJob 47 9 (the Lord **subj.).** In all cases future things are shown. **the last times·** see on T I 6,1 **all (these) things will come to pass in Israel·** see 7 1 and T Jos 19,5 mentioned there, cf Dan 2,28.

8,2 Do you also ... command your children: see on T S 6 1 and see INTRODUCTION 7 1 1 **that they unite with Levi and Judah** cf Hebr T N 7 6 Therefore I command you not to associate **(חבר)** with the sons of Joseph, but only with Levi and Judah In other L (J) passages other verbs are used to denote the allegiance to Levi and Judah the theme of unity is found in T Z **8,6–9,4** Dependance of T N on a common source with

Hebr. T.N seems likely here **through Judah salvation will arise unto Israel.** ἀνατελεῖ also in T S 7,1, T.D 5,10, T G 8 1, T Jos 19 6 (see on T.S. 7 1) Here Judah is mentioned alone, clearly because the passage announces the coming of Jesus Christ. **by him Jacob will be blessed:** cf. T R 6,11 For this expression, see the promises of God to Abraham Isaac and Jacob in Gen 12,3 (LXX), **και ἐνευλογηθήσονται** ἐν οοι **πᾶσαι** at **φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς;** 18,18, 22,18, 26,4; 28 14 Sir 44,21 and cf. PS **72(71),17** (of king) ArLevi v 59 The early Church regarded the promises to Abraham (and the king) as fulfilled in Jesus: cf Acts **3,25f.**; Gal **3,8f 16;** Justin, Dial 120,1ff (quotes Gen 26 4 28,14 plus Gen 49 10) Eusebius **Comm** in Pss., Ps **71,16f.; 104,8ff**, D E I 3 etc. Our verse concentrates on the blessing for Jacob = Israel; see also v 3

8,3 **God will** appear: see on T L 2,11 **διὰ σοῦ καὶ Ἰουδὰ ὀφθήσεται κύριος** ev **ἀνθρώποις** and T.Z. 9,8 **ὄψεσθε** fte6v ev **σχηματι ἀνθρώπου** dwelling among men on earth see T Z 8 2. T.S 6,5 and T.B 10,7.9 use forms of **φαίνεσθαι.** And cf **1Kgs** 8 27 LXX **ὅτι** *d* **ἀληθῶς κατοικησει** ὁ **θεὸς μετὰ ἀνθρωπων** fail **τῆς γῆς,** and 2Chr 6,18 passages connected with Jesus Christ; see Clement of Alexandria, Fr. 36 (ed O Stählin *GCS* III, p 218,31) quotation of **1Kgs** 8,27 LXX **... κατοικει** 6è **ἐπὶ τῆς γης, σάοκα περιβαλλόμενος, καὶ μετὰ ἀνθρώπων αὔτω κατοίκησις γίνεται;** Eusebius, **Ecl.** I 22 quotation of **1Kgs** 8,26f / 2Chr 6,17 **προφητευεται** ο **Θεὸς κατοικησειν μετὰ ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ της γῆς ... ἐπὶ τῇ Χοιστοῦ γενομένῃ παρουσίᾳ,** cf also Barn 6 14 to **save the race of Israel:** see on T S 6,5 **and he wUI gather together the righteous from among the Gentiles** for **ἐπισυνάγειν,** see on **T A.** 7 7 and cf esp Tob 13 15 S **τους υἱοὺς τῶν δικαίων, ὅτι πάντες ἐπισυναχθήσονται** (cf v 13 **ἔθνη πολλά),** Mt 24 31 par Mk 13 27

T NAPHTALI 8,4–10

Translation

8,4 If you work that which is good, my children,
both men and angels will bless you
and God will be glorified through you among the Gentiles
and the devil will flee from you
and the wild beasts will fear you
and the Lord will love you[28]
and the angels will cleave to you
5 For as when someone[29] brings up a child well,
he is kept in good remembrance,
so also for a good work
there is a good remembrance before God.[30]
6 But him who does not do what is good,
men and angels will curse
and God will be dishonoured among the Gentiles through him
and the devil will appropriate him as his own peculiar instrument
and every wild beast will master him
and the Lord will hate him
7 For the commandments of the law are twofold
and they must be fulfilled through prudence

8 For there is a season (for a man) to have intercourse with his wife
and a season to abstain therefrom for his prayer
9 so there are two commandments
and if they are not done in their order, they bring sin
So also is it with the other commandments
10 Be, therefore, wise in God and prudent,
understanding the order of his commandments and the laws of every activity,
that the Lord will love you

Textcritical notes

[2]8 καὶ ὁ κύριος ἀγαπήσει ὑμᾶς *(le* cf g) Most probably the phrase has been omitted in *b dm* and *afchj* because of **hmt.**

[2]9 ὡς ἄν τις γάρ **(*b*).** The transposition of γάρ to the second position in the sentence (in ***gd*)** is **meant** as a grammatical correction Also the omission of the word (in ***leafchj*)** is certainly secondary For the position of γάρ (mostly second, but also third fourth or even more remote from the beginnning of the **sentence),** see **Kühner-Gerth,** *Grammatik* II 2 **p.** 330

[3]0 παρὰ θεῷ *(b)* This reading seems to be correct over against the alternative παρὰ fteou **(*gleafchj*)**

Structure

Final exhortation

8,4–6 A passage announcing blessing and curse (cf., e.g. Lev 26; Deut **11,26–32; 28–30,** and also Jub **21,22-25,** see **K** Baltzer op cit (see INTRODUCTION **4 1 3),** passim on our passage, see pp. 165f)
- v 4 if you do what is good you will receive blessing and God s love
- v 5 by way of comparison those who bring up a child well are kept in good remembrance
- v 6 if you do not do what is good you will be cursed and hated by God

8 7-9 The twofold character of God's commandments which must be observed ev τάξει i e ev καιρῷ. Last aspect of the 'order' in God's creation

8 10 Final exhortation those who are σοφοὶ ἐν θεῷ and φρονιμοι know the order of the commandments (see vv 7-9) and will be loved by God (see vv **4–6)**

Notes

8,4 If you work that which is good: cf T B **11,1,** τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις τὸ ἀγαθόν, opp T G 6,5, καὶ μεγάλην ἁμαρτίαν ἐργάσηται κατὰ σου **God will be glorified through you among the Gentiles:** see 1**Pet** 2,12· Mt 5,16 Ignatius Eph 10 1 Hermas Mand 3 1 **the devil will fear you:** see on T.I 7 7 and T B. 5 2

8,5 when someone brings up a child well: cf Prov 23 24 LXX **kept in good remembrance ... there is a good remembrance before God** righteous and God-fearing people have a remembrance, wicked people have not see e.g. Prov 10 7 WisSol 4 19 8,13 2Mac 7,20, LetAris 279; **1Clem** 56,1, ' . submit . **to the** will **of** God· **for so** will they have fruitful and perfect remembrance before God and the saints (ἔγκαρπος και τελεία η προς TÔV fteov xai τους ἁγίους .. μνεία)'; ApMarVirg (ed. M R James, *Texts and Studies II 3,* Cambridge **1893)** 23

8,6 **as his own peculiar instrument.** cf. ApMos 31,4, MartAndrPrius 5 Theodoretus Cyrrhensis on Isa 8 3 and esp Hippolytus Antichr 57 **ὃς υἱὸς ων του διαβόλου** xai **σκεῦος του σατανᾶ**

8,7 **twofold:** not used negatively as in T B 6 6f. (see also **T I**, INTRODUCTION pp 233f. and **T.A**, INTRODUCTION pp. **338ff**) **through prudence: τέχνη** is often found together with **σοφία** and **φρόνησις:** see, e.g., **1Chr 28,21,** Dan 1 17 LXX WisSol 17 7 **TSol** C 10,20.42; Plutarch Quomodo adulator ab **amico** internoscatur 15 (Mor. 58 E) cf Philo **Quis hères 199**

8,8 **there is a season ...: the** idea **of the two seasons may be** traced back **to Eccl 3,1–11a,** beginning with v 1 (LXX) **τοῖς πασιν χρόνος, καὶ καιρὸς τῳ παντι πραγματι ὑπὸ** xôv **οὐρανόν,** and ending with v. **11a** (LXX) **συν τὰ πάντα ἐποίησεν καλὰ** ἐν **καιρῳ αὐτου (see on T N 2,8a). For this particular example, see Eccl 3,5, 1Cor 7,5; Clement of** Alexandria, Str. **III** 12 **(79ff)** For the expression **καιρὸς συνουσίας,** see Plutarch, Septem sapientium convivium 14 (Mor 158 B)· Quaestiones convivales III 6 1 (Mor 653 B).

8,9 **in their order** for the parallel use of **καιρός** and **τάξις,** see on **2,8–9.**

8,10 **wise in God and prudent** takes up the **μετὰ τέχνης** of v 7. **σοφός** and **φρονιμος** together also in **1Kgs** 2,46a LXX 3 12 Prov 18 15 For the addition ev te<p, cf **1Cor** 4 10 **φρόνιμοι** EV **Χριστῷ** (cf K Berger 'Zum traditionsgeschichtlichen Hintergrund **christologischer Hoheitstitel',** *NTS* 17 (1970–1), 391–425, esp. 405–8). **the order of his commandments:** cf Eccl 8 5f. (LXX) **καὶ καιρὸν κρίσεως γινωσκει καρδία σοφοῦ· ὅτι παντι πράγματι ἔστιν καιρὸς** xai **κρισις;** Sir **20,6f, ἔστιν σιωπῶν εἰδὼς καιρόν, ἄνθρωπος σοφός ... the laws of every activity:** see Eccl **8,5f** (just quoted); 3,1.17 **θεσμός / θεσμοί** is often used to describe the natural laws or the order in nature and cosmos: see, e.g., **Philo,** Spec. leg. IV 232, ... **πάντα . . τά TE κατ' οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς εὖ διετάξατο νόμοις** xai **θεσμοις ἀκινήτοις,** Opif. **mundi** 61 **143, 171, etc**, Dio Chrysostom I 42 ConstApp VI 14 4 **that the Lord will love you see v 4**

T NAPHTALI 9

Translation

9,1 And when he had given them many such commands,
he exhorted them that they should remove his bones to Hebron
and bury (him) with his fathers

2 And when he had eaten and drunk in cheerfulness of soul,
he covered his face and died

3 And his sons did according to all that Naphtali their father had
commanded them

Notes

9,1 **should remove his bones to Hebron** for **μετακομιζειν** in this meaning, see Lampe s v sub lab (the verb is also used for the translation of **relics**) **with his fathers:** see on **T.Z.** 10 7

9 2 **when he had eaten and drunk in cheerfulness of soul:** cf. **1,2–4 where the reference is to** the meal of the previous day This clause wants to underline Naphtali's health (see **1,2**) For cheerfulness of soul', see PssSol 16,12 TAb A 20. **he covered his face:** cf. Judg 4 19 and **1Kgs 21(20),4** (going to sleep); and esp Jub 23 1 TIsaac 5.

9,3 Cf T Jud 26,4, T A 8,2

THE TESTAMENT OF GAD CONCERNING HATRED

INTRODUCTION

The emphasis in T.G. lies on exhortation and biography The introductory and closing passages are short (1,1 and 8,3–5) and so are the statements concerning the future (8,1-2) The biographical section at the beginning (1,2-2,5) deals with two aspects of Gad's life First, we hear of his valiant deeds while pasturing the flock (1,2-3, compare Judah in T Jud 2), but this is a minor theme. More important is the description of Gad's attitude towards Joseph characterized by hatred (Gen 37,4.8) It is interesting that there is a (slight) criticism of Joseph and 4,6 suggests that Joseph belongs to τοὺς ἐν ὀλίγῳ ἁμαρτήσαντας: expanding Gen 37,2b the author explains what Joseph told his father concerning his brothers and why they hated him (1,4–9); his dreams roused Gad's hatred even more (2,2). Further biographical statements, all concemed with the relation Gad-Joseph, are found in 3,3; 5,6 9-11; 6,2 The link between exhortation and biography is made very clear in 5,2 where Gad states: καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ πείρας λέγω ὑμῖν. The main theme of the exhortation is warning against the evil effects of (the spirit of) hatred (mainly) in 3,1-5,2 and advocating the opposite of hatred: love (6,1-7,7; one should note the clear inclusio) In 5,3-11 the author stresses that only righteouaness and humility destroy hatred, this leads to a disquisition on 'godly and true repentance' illustrated by Gad's own repentance in the case of Joseph

T GAD 1-2

Translation

1,1 A copy of the testament of Gad,
the things he[1] said to his sons
in the hundred and twenty-seventh[2] year of his life,
saying

2 I was the ninth[3] son born to Jacob,
and I was valiant with the flocks

3 I guarded the flock at night,
and when a lion came or a wolf or a leopard or a bear or any
wild beast against the flock,
I pursued it, and
seizing its foot with my hand and whirling it around[4]
I stunned it,
and I hurled it over two stadia,
and so I killed it

4 Now, Joseph was pasturing the flock with us for about thirty days,
and being delicate he fell ill because of the heat.[5]
5 And he returned to Hebron to his[6] father
and he seated him at the table close to him,
because he loved him
6 And Joseph said to our father
The sons of Zilpah and Bilhah are slaying the best (of the flock)
and are eating them
against the judgment of Judah and Reuben
7 For he had seen that I snatched a lamb out of the mouth of the bear
and had put the bear to death
and slain the lamb concerning which I was grieved that it could not live,
and that we had eaten it
And he said it to our father.[7]
8 And I was indignant at Joseph on account of this matter
until the day that he was sold off to Egypt
9 And the spirit of hatred was in me,
and I did not want to see Joseph, neither with the eyes nor with the ears,
and he rebuked us to our faces (saying),
that we were eating the sheep without Judah,
and all that he said to his father, he believed him
2,1 Now I confess my sin, children,
that very often I wanted to kill him,
because I hated him in my soul,
and there was in me altogether no feeling of mercy towards him
2 Moreover, I hated him yet more for his dreams,
and I wanted to lick him up out of the land of the living,
even as the ox licks up the grass of the field.
3 Therefore, I and Judah[8] sold him to the Ishmaelites for thirty pieces of gold,
and hiding the ten, we shared the twenty to our brothers
4 And thus through covetousness I was fully bent on slaying him
5 But the God of my fathers delivered him out of my hands,
lest[9] I should work lawlessness in Israel

Textcritical notes

1 αὐτός (*bmef*). It is omitted in *gldachij* as superfluous, it is not found in parallel passages

2 . . ἑβδόμῳ (*bl*). The number of 127 is in agreement with Jub 28,20; 46,9 (see also note on 8,5). The alternative (125, . . , πέμπτῳ) found in *gdmeafchij* may have been introduced as a kind of standard age: cf. T.R 1,1; T.D 1,1

frvatoc.. *b* is the only MS that reads **ἕβδομος**, very probably under the influence of Gen **29–30** The structure of the Testaments, however requires **ἕνατος**

πιάζων . γυρεύων (*b*). All other readings seem to be attempts to get a smoother text

[5] **καυματος** *(b)* Both this reading and the alternative **καυσωνος** (***gldmeafchij***)may claim originality. For a similar case, cf. Gen 31,40 LXX.

[6] **αὐτοῦ** *(b)* This reading seems to be lectio difficilior over against the somewhat smoother **ημῶν** *(gldmeafchij)*; cf. also vv. 6f

[7] **καὶ εἶπε τῳ πατοὶ ἡμῶν** *(b* cf. *d)* This clause may have been omitted in ***glmeafchij***for reasons of style; cf. vv 6 and 9

[8] **Ἰούδας** (6· cf ***chj***) In the Gen story it is Judah who wanted to sell Joseph The introduction of Simeon instead of Judah (***gldeaf***)is understandable in the light of the combination Simeon-Gad found in T.Z.. 2 1 **3,2;** 4 2

[9] **ἵνα** *(b)* The construction without **μή** (added in *gldmeafchij)* is difficult but possible Cf T.D 1 9 (two examples)

Structure

1 1 Introductory passage

1 2-3 Gad's valiant deeds as shepherd (cf **T Jud** 2)

1,4–9 Joseph's 'evil report concerning the sons of Zilpah and Bilhah (cf Gen 39 2)

vv **4–5** Joseph is delicate - the opposite of Gad

v 6 Joseph's accusation

v 7 what really happened V 7ab refers back to vv 2-3

vv **8–9ab** the hatred of the brothers

v 9cde again, Joseph's accusation, which Jacob believed

2 1-2 Gad confesses his sin: hatred against Joseph

2,3–4 Gad and Judah sell Joseph: **πλεονεξία** As far as Gad is concerned this is an attempt to remove him altogether, to kill him

2 5 God s protection for Joseph

Notes

1,1 the things he said: cf T.S. 1 1; T Jud 1,1, T A 1 1

1,2 the ninth son. cf. T.S.. 2 2 T.Jud.. 1,3; T.I 1 2 **I was valiant with the flocks** see T Jud. (**tit** , cf. 15,6) and, especially T.Jud. 2

1,3 a lion any wild beast: cf. T.Jud. 2 4.6 and also **1Sam** 17 34 (in a description of David as shepherd) (LXX) **.. ποιμαίνων ἦν . ἐν τῳ ποιμνίῳ,** καὶ ὅταν ἤρχετο ὁ λέων καὶ ἡ ἄρκος .. etc **I pursued it:** cf **1Sam** 17 35 (LXX) καὶ **ἐξεπορευόμην ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ seizing its foot.** cf T.Jud. 2 2.3.6 (3x **πιάσας**) and 2,4, **λαβὼν ἐκ** Tot) **ποδός whirling it around I stunned it:** cf T.Jud **2,7,** ἐν **κύκλῳ συσσείσας** καὶ **σκοτίσας I hurled it:** cf. T.Jud 2 6 **ἀπηκόντισα** (cf. 2 7 and 3 3) and so I killed it: cf. T Jud 2 4 7

1,4 Now, Joseph was pasturing the flocks with us see Gen 37,2 which mentions the sons of Zilpah and Bilhah in particular (see v. **6!**). **for about thirty days** not in Gen· 'thirty days also in **Num** 20,29· Deut 34,8; Esth 4,11; Dan 6,6.8.13,·Jdt 15 11· **Philo,** Virt. **111,** 113; LetAris 314 Hermas, Sim. 6,4,4; Epictetus II 18,2.13, etc **being delicate τρυφερός** has various connotations: beautiful (cf Sus 31) spoiled and not used to work (see Plutarch, Marcus Cato 4 5 [Vitae par 338 E] **οὐ τρυφερῶν οὐδ' ὡραίων, ἐργατικῶν** δὲ καὶ **στερεῶν**; cf.. Pericles 27 4 [Vitae par.. 167 **A**]), and falling ill easily (see Plutarch De sera numinis vindicta 17 [Mor. 560 **C**]) **he fell ill because of the heat: cf. 2Kgs 4,18ff.;** Jdt 8 3

1,5 **because** he loved hnn from Gen **37,3f.**, cf. T.Jos 1 2 10 5 T.S. 2 6 T.D. 1 5

1,6 See Gen 37,2 (LXX) **... μετα τῶν υἱῶν Βάλλας καὶ μετὰ τῶν υἱῶν Ζελφᾶς ... κατήνεγκεν δὲ Ἰωσὴφ** tyóyov **πονηρὸν πρὸς Ἰσραὴλ τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν** **the best (of the flock):** cf **1Sam** 15 9 (LXX) **τα ἀγαθὰ των ποιμνίων** **are eating them:** in Gen 31 38 Jacob denies this in a discussion with Laban **against the judgment** cf. **T L** 6,7

1,7 **that I snatched a lamb out of the mouth of the bear.** cf Judah in T Jud 2 4 and David in **1Sam** 17,35. **and had put to death** cf , again, **1Sam** 17,35 **slain eaten:** as in v 6 but with the motivation **I was grieved that it could not live** **And he said it to our father.** inclusio with v 6a

1,8 **I was indignant:** see Gen 27 41 (LXX) **καὶ ἐνεκότει Ἠσαὺ τῷ Ἰακωβ περι της εὐλογίας . ἵνα ἀποκτείνω . .** (cf.. PS 55[54],5) **until the day that he was sold off to Egypt:** **διάπρασις** means sale to various purchasers', see T Jos.. 16 2 and cf Lev 25 33 For **πιπράσκειν,** etc., see 2,3; 5 11, and note on T.S.. 4 2

1,9 **the spirit of hatred was in me·** introduces the main theme of this testament **with the eyes ... with the ears.** cf. 4 5 **to our faces** cf. 6,2 **κατὰ πρόσωπον** *roi)* **πατρὸς ἡμῶν** Here, we find a forensic element as in Jer 18,20· Acts 3 13 (before the judge) and in Ps 50(49),21 WisSol **4,20–5,1; 1En** 97,6 (the sins are uncovered before the sinners); in Ps 50(49) and WisSol **4–5, ἐλέγχειν** is used. **eating the sheep** **θρέμματα** not in LXX but see, e g Jn 4 12 TAb B 3 TJob 16 6 Justin Dial 134,5

2,1 **Now I confess my sin** **that** see T.D.. 1 4, **ὁμολογῶ σημερον ... ὅτι** (also in connection with Joseph) **often I wanted to kill him** cf Gen 37 18.20.26 and T G 2 2.4; 6 2; T S 2,7.11; 3 3; T.Z.. 1,7; 2 passim 4 2 11; T D **1,4.7ff** , T.Jos 1,4.. **I hated hnn in my soul ... altogether:** cf. 5,5, **οὐfteXEi τὸ καθόλου οὐδὲ ἕως ἐννοιῶν .** (see note) **no feeling of mercy· lit.,** 'no liver of mercy'; cf 5 11 'my liver was set mercilessly against Joseph The expression is found only here but we find **σπλάγχνα ἐλέους** in T Z.. 7 3; **8,2.6;** also **σπλάγχνα** parallel to **ἥπατα** in T S 2,4; T.Z.. 2,4. The liver is the seat of **μάχη** (T R 3 4) and ftuuoc (T.N. 2 8); and also in T.S. 2,7; 4,1; T Z 2,4, the liver is connected with a (positive or negative) reaction towards Joseph

2,2 **I hated him yet more for his dreams:** from Gen 37,8 (LXX) **καὶ προσέθεντο ἔτι μισεῖν αὐτὸν ἕνεκεν τῶν ἐνυπνίων αὐτοῦ;** cf. T Z.. 3,3.. **and I wanted to lick him up ... even as the ox licks up the grass of the field:** see **Num** 22,4 (LXX) **νῦν ἐκλείξει ἡ συναγωγὴ αὕτη πάντας τους κύκλω ημῶν, ὡς ἐκλείξαι** ο **μόσχος τὰ χλωρα ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου** A comparable image is found in T D 1 8 **the land of the living** cf Jer 11 19· Ps **27(26),13;** 52(51),7, 142(141),6.

2,3–4 **I and Judah:** in the Testaments, Gad is singled out as particularly hostile to Joseph (here, and in T Z 2 1 3 2; 4,2); see also L.. Ginzberg, *Legends* V p 328 n.. 34 (cf. **T.S** , INTRODUCTION pp **109f.) Judah's** responsibility for the selling of Joseph is, of course mentioned in Gen **37,26–28.** (twenty) **pieces of gold** are only mentioned in the LXX version of Gen 37,28.. The number **thirty** is mentioned here to emphasize Judah s and Gad's covetousness:; they put ten pieces in their own pockets **(φιλαργυρία** is a major sin in **T.Jud :** see T Jud.. **tit.;** 18 2 19,1).. **I was ... bent on slaying hun** cf.. v.. 1, and **Eccl** 8,11 (LXX) **ἐπληροφορήθη καρδία υἱων τοῦ ἀνθρωπου** ev **αὐτοις τοῦ ποιῆσαι** TÔ **πονηρόν ...** As far as Gad is concerned the selling of Joseph was instrumental towards finally discarding him Compare the picture of Judas in Mt 26,15· 27,9f. (cf. Zech **11,12f.)** - there however *thirty* pieces of *silver* -; and e g , Asterius **Soph.**, Hom 6 7 in Ps. 5 (ed. M. Richard, Oslo 1956, p 78) ο **Ἰωσὴφ ἐπράθη εἴκοσι χρυσων, καὶ** ο **Χριστὸς τριάκοντα ἀργυρίων.**

2,5 **But the God of my fathers delivered hnn out of my hands** a well-known theme in the Testaments;· see on T R . 4 10 and T S.. 2 8 cf.. T.D. 1 9 **lest I should work lawlessness:** cf T Z 1 7 (see note); T D . 1,9

T GAD 3,1–5,2

Translation

3,1 And now, listen, my children, to the words of truth,
to work righteousness and all the law of the Most High,
and not to go astray through the spirit of hatred,
because it is evil in all the doings of men
2 Whatsoever a man does,
the hater abominates it
if a man works the law of the Lord,
he does not praise him,
if a man fears the Lord and takes pleasure in that which is righteous,
he does not love him,
3 he censures the truth,
he envies the one who prospers,
he welcomes evil-speaking,
he loves arrogance,
for hatred has blinded his soul,
even as I also looked upon Joseph
4,1 Beware, therefore, my children, of hatred,
because it works lawlessness against the Lord himself
2 For it does not want to hear the words of his commandments concerning the love of one's neighbour,
and it sins against God
3 For if a brother stumbles,[10]
it wants to proclaim it immediately to all men
and it urges that he should be judged for it,
be punished and should die
4 But if he is a slave,
it stirs him up against his master
and with every kind of distress it makes an attempt on him,[11]
if possibly it can put him to death
5 For hatred works[12] in envy,
and against them who prosper,
as it hears and sees (their) success,
it always languishes
6 For as love would even restore the dead to life
and would call back those who are condemned to die,
so hatred would slay the living,
and would not suffer to live those who have sinned in little
7 For the spirit of hatred works together with Satan in all things, through impatience, to men's death,

but the spirit of love works together with the law of God,
in longsuffering, to men's salvation

5,1 Hatred is evil,
for it constantly persists in lying,
speaking against truth,
and it makes small things great,
turns to darkness as to light,
calls the sweet bitter,
and it teaches slander and wrath[13] and war and violence and
all covetousness of evil things,
and it fills the heart with devilish poison

2 And I say these things to you from experience, my children,
that you may flee [14] hatred[15]
and cleave to the love of the Lord

Textcritical notes

[10] πταίοῃ *(b)* Both πταίοῃ and the variant πέσῃ (*gldeaf*; cf. T.R. 3 11 v 1) may claim originality The reading of *b* however, seems to be lectio difficilior.

[11] ἐπιχειρεῖ κατ' αὐτοῦ *(bl)*. The words κατ' αὐτοῦ are found also in *g* and there is no reason to doubt their originality. The context demands a verb of action and, therefore the variant ἐπιχαίρει (*gdeafchij*) seems to be out of place

[12] ἐνεργεῖ *(bl)* The use of συνεργει in v 7 may have caused the change of ἐνεργεῖ to συνεργεῖ (*gdmeafchij*)

[13] xai ὀργήν (all MSS except *b* cf *d)* The omission of these words in *b* is an ordinary mistake

[14] φεύξησθε *(b)* Both this reading and the alternative ἐξώσητε (*gldmeafchij*) may claim originality.

[15] τὸ μῖσος *(b)* The addition τοῦ διαβόλου (*gldmeaf*, cf *chij*) may have been introduced on account of the expression τῇ ἀγάπῃ του κυρίου in the same verse

Structure

3,1 Introduces the first set of exhortations: it warns against the spirit of hatred already mentioned in 1 9: it is evil in everything man does (v **1d)**

3 2ab Take up the last clause of v.. 1 and gives a general observation concerning the effects of hatred on the one who hates

3,2cdef–3abcd Give a number of examples as illustrations

3,3ef Return to v **1d** and connects the exhortation with Gads own experience in the case of Joseph

4,1–2 Resumes the explicit warning against hatred as sin against the Lord; it is opposed to love (see vv. 6–7 and 6,1-7,7 below)

4,3–4 Two examples; if a brother or a slave makes a mistake hatred tries to have him killed

4 5 Hatred cooperates with envy

4,6–7 hatred as opposed to love; note the chiastic construction Hatred is directed to death love seeks life. The spirit of hatred cooperates with Satan the spirit of love with God's law

5,1 (Again) a list of the evil effects of hatred

5,2 Reference to the experience behind Gads exhortation. A new exhortation to flee hatred and to hold fast to love

Notes

3,1 listen to the words of truth. cf T.Jud 13 1 T.D. 1 2, T.N. 1 5. For **λόγοι ἀληθείας,** see esp. Prov 22 21 **Eccl** 12,10; and cf. Jdt 10 13; **1En** 99,2; **104,9;** Acts 26,25. **it is evil:** cf. **5,1, κακὸν τὸ μῖσος;** cf. T.D 4 7 (and Sir 31 13; Jas 3,8; Justin, Dial. 93 1)

3,2 the hater abominates it: i.e **'whatsoever** a man does. For this use of **βδελύσσεσθαι,** cf. Philo Sacrif. **51,** 'For the right reason which is our pilot and guide to things excellent is an abomination to all who love the passions **(... βδελύττεται πᾶς φιλοπαθής)** . . meaning thereby the virtues these offerings unblemished and most worthy which are the abominations of every fool (a **βδελύττεται πας ἄφρων)** ....'; Fuga 18 The verbs **μισεῖν** and **βδελύσσεσθαι** are found together in, e g T.L.. 16,2; Ps **119(118),163,** WisSol **11,24; Sir 20,8,** Isa **66,5; Amos 5,10, 6,8; Philo. Migr Abr 63, etc he does not praise he does not love** contrast the attitude of the good man in T.B.. **4,3ff.,** ' . he loves the righteous .. if any one is valiant he eulogises (him) and him who has the grace of a good spirit he loves as his own soul. **takes pleasure in that which is righteous** for this use of **θέλειν + acc** , cf. PS 5,4(5), **40(39),14.** Rom 7,19.

3,3 censures the truth ψέγειν (cf. T.I. 3 4) is not found in the LXX (except in some variants) or the NT but in classical and hellenistic Greek it is often used as opposition to **ἐπαινεῖν:** see, e g., Plato Gorgias 510 C; Phaedrus 274 E Epictetus II 17,2; 22,7; Plutarch Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat 8 (Mor 27 A); Philo Agric 118; Migr. Abr 108, 110 112 etc see also Philo Spec. leg II 193 some of the perversely minded who are not ashamed to censure things excellent **(ψέγειν τὰ καλά)** .'; cf. Plutarch Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur 9 (Mor 53 E) ' . For by nature he is of himself prone to the worse and he seems very far removed from disapproving what is shameful **(τοῦ ψέγειν τὸ αἰσχρόν),** since he imitates it .... **he envies the one who prospers:** cf. 4 5, 7,1-2.4 and T.B 4 4 For **κατορθοῦν** in such a **context, see Plutarch, De capienda ex inimicis militate 9 (Mor 91 B),** 'But best of all, and most advantageous is the fact that a man **is** furthest removed from envying **(τοῦ φθονεῖν)** the good fortune of his friends or the success of his relatives **(κατορθοῦσιν οἰκείοις) ...',** Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur 10 (Mor 54 C) De capienda ex inimicis utilitate 11 (Mor 92 F); Praecepta gerendae reipublicae 15 (Mor. 811 E); and Epictetus I 27 8. **he welcomes evil-speaking, he loves arrogance: ἀγαπᾶν** and **ἀσπάζεσθαι** are often found together in such contexts: cf Philo Abr. 22 The man of worth loves **(ἀγαπᾷ)** solitude ... has rejected vice **(κακίαν)** which is welcomed by **(ἀσπάζεται)** the multitude ... Quis heres 44; Plutarch De Pythiae oraculis 28 (Mor. 408 B) Quaestiones convivales V 1 2 (Mor. 673 E); Amatorius 20 (Mor. 766 A); Non posse **suaviter** vivi secundum Epicurum 13 (Mor 1095 F); Adversus Colotem 25 (Mor. 1121 A) 'Evil-speaking only here, in 5 4 and in T I 3,4. For arrogance see on T R 3 5 **for hatred has blinded his soul** again a well-known theme (cf 6 2) see on T R 3,8 and T.S.. 2 7 and note particularly the parallel in T D **2,4–5**

4 1-2 **it works lawlessness against the Lord himself:** cf. 5,5 and T A 2,6, where sin against God and against one's neighbour are directly connected as in v..2 which gives an explanation of v 1. God's commandments concentrate on **ἀγάπη** *roi)* **πλησίον** On the two great commandments in the Testaments see the note on T.B 3 3 **it does not want to hear the words:** see Jer 11,10 cf Isa 28 12 Ezek 3 7 20 8 **it sins against God:** see 2Ezra 6 15(14); 2Mac 7 18, etc

4,3 if a brother stumbles ...: the opposite attitude is that of the pious man in Sir 37 12 ' a godly man whom you know to be a keeper of the commandments .. who will sorrow with you **(συναλγήσει)** 'if you fail (**ἐὰν πταίσῃς)**'; cf Plutarch Praecepta gerendae reipublicae 31 (Mor 823 A) . . **τῷ συναλγεῖν πταίουσι.**

4 4 it stirs him up against his master: for **συμβάλλειν τινα πρός τινα,** see e g Jer 43(50) 3

As to the content, cf. Philemo 206 **εἰς χεῖρα δοῦλον δεσπότῃ μὴ συμβάλῃς** (ed T. **Kock**, *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta* Leipig **1880–8**, II p. 532)

4,5 **For hatred works in envy:** see on 3,3; cf T.S. 3,3, 'suggests him to kill him who is envied (cf. T.G. **4,3–4**[1]), and he who is envied always flourishes but he who envies fades away (cf. **T G 4,5**!)' Also **T.D.** 2 5 combines hatred and envy **against them who prosper:** see **Philo**, Somn I 223, Envy (ο **φθόνος**) again is a grievous foe difficult to shake off, a growth which always settles on what men call doing **well' (ἐπιφυόμενος ἀεὶ ταῖς λεγομέναις εὐπραγίαις)'**; De Jos 5 **φθόνος** δὲ ὁ **ἀεὶ ταῖς μεγάλαις εὐπραγίαις ἀντίπαλος**

4,6 Hatred that seeks to kill is opposed to (the spirit of) love that wants to give and to restore life Loves activity is that of God: making alive is one of God s characteristic activities as creator (Neh 9,6, LetAris 16; Rom 4 17 2Bar 48,8, Acta Thom 10), and as judge (Job 36 6· Jn 5,21; ClemHom 17 4,2; **20,3,5f.**). For **τοὺς νεκροὺς ζωοποιεῖν**, see esp. Jn 5 21· Rom 4 17· Acta Phil 117 (Jesus); Acta Thom 47 (Jesus)· and **Shemone** Esre 2 It should be noted that God is also said to give life to repentant sinners after their conversion see JosAsen **8,10f.**, **κυριε** ο **θεός** ο **ζωοποιησας τὰ πάντα και καλέσας ἀπὸ του σκότους εἰς το φῶς** xcu **ἀπὸ της πλάνης εἰς τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ ἀπὸ θανάτου εἰς τὴν ζωήν. συ αὐτὸς κύριε ζωσποίησον** xcû **εὐλόγησον την παρθένον ταύτην** (cf also **8,2[3]**; 27 8) and Rom 8 11 Acta Phil 117 (Jesus subj.) Hermas Mand. 4,3,7; cf. Philo, Migr. Abr. 122f On this topic see K Berger, 'Jüdisch-hellenistische Missionsliteratur und apokryphe Apostelakten" *Kairos* ***N.F.*** 17 (1975) **232–48**, esp. **233f.**, 236; 238. See also **5,6–8** below call **back those who are condemned to die:** again a divine prerogative: : see TAb A 14, **.... οὕσπερ** *av'* **νομίζεις ὅτι ἀπωλεσα, ἐγὼ αυτους ἀνεκαλεσάμην** xcû EÎÇ **ζωὴν αυτους ἤγαγον;** GkApEzra 7,2 In connection with sinners who are 'called back from their **error**, see MartPet et Paul 17, **και αὐτούς** oe **τοὺς ἐξαπατηθέντας δι' ἐμοῦ** ὁ **θεὸς ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας πλάνης ἀνεκαλέσατο**; cf Acta Xanth 29 (ed M R James, *Texts and Studies U 3*, Cambridge 1893) **would not suffer to live those who have sinned in little** this applies exactly to Gad s relation to Joseph whose 'sins (1,6; cf. 2 2) were after all minor ones.

4,7 Now **'the spirit** of hatred (cf 1 9, 2,1; 6,2) is contrasted with **"the spirit** of love *(Gods* love" 5,2). The opposition death - life returns as the opposition death - salvation (cf 5,7; 2Cor 7 10). **'The** spirit of hatred' works together with Satan (see T.D. 6 1 and T.R. 2,1-2), the spirit of love" cooperates with the law of God which centres around love (v 2) The last opposition is that between **ὀλιγοψυχία** and **μακροθυμία** On the former see A. **Dihle–G. Bertram–E.** Schweizer ***ThWNT*** IX pp 666f. For the opposition to **μακροθυμία**, cf. Prov 14 29 (LXX) **μακρόθυμος ἀνὴρ πολὺς** ev **φρονήσει**, o oe **ὀλιγόψυχος ἰσχυρῶς ἄφρων** (cf Isa 57 15) The meaning is here 'impatience, quick **temper'**; cf Ez 6,9; **Num** 21 4 PssSol 16 11 On **μακροθυμία**, see **T Jos** , INTRODUCTION pp. 363ff

5 1 **Hatred is evil** cf 3 1 **it constantly persists in lying** cf. Sir 20,25 **αἱρετὸν κλέπτης ἢ ὁ ἐνδελεχίζων ψευδει.** **speaking against truth:** cf. Sir 4,25; Jas 3,14 **it makes small things great, turns to darkness as to light, calls the sweet bitter:** hatred distorts the truth whereas **ἁπλότης** takes things as they really are; see T A 5 3; 6,3, **μὴ προσέχετε τὸ κακὸν ὡς** xaXóv. The formulation goes back to Isa 5 20 **"Woe** to those who call (LXX **λέγοντες)** evil good and good evil who put darkness for light and light for darkness, who put bitter for sweet and sweet for bitter (LXX **τιθέντες τὸ σκότος φως καὶ τὸ φῶς σκότος ... τὸ πικρὸν γλυκυ** xcu **τὸ γλυκὺ πικρόν)** ."; cf.also Origen, Fr 127 in Mt. (Mt **6,22f.**), **ἁπλοῦς ὀφθαλμός ἐστιν** ὁ **ὡς ἔχει τὰ πράγματα βλέπων** xcd **οὔτε δύο** TO Ev **οὔτε μεῖζον** TÔ **μικρότερον οὔτε ψευδόμενον** TÔ **χρῶμα** **it teaches:** for **ἐκδιδάσκειν**, see T.Jud. 18,3; T.D. 1,3. **slander** cf T.Jud. 16,3; T Jos. 8,4; 10,3. **wrath and war**· this combination also in **T S.** 4 8 **it fills the heart with devilish** poison contrast

6,3 5, ἐξορίσας τὸν ἰὸν του μίσους λαβὼν ἀπό σου TOV ἰόν (in an exhortation to love one another and to avoid deceit [δόλος]). Poison is connected with πορνεία in T R 5 3 and with envy in T S 4,9 T A 1 9 mentions the poison of an evil spirit See further the notes on these verses

5 2 I say **these** things to you from experience. see on T.D. 1 3 For the expression ἐκ πείρας, cf. Aristotle Problemata 938b 38f.; Philo, Quod det pot 131 V 2bc give a fitting conclusion. For κολλᾶσθαι, see T.D 6 10 (opp ἀπόστητε); T A 3 1 (opp ἀποδράσατε), and T I 6 1 For the love of the Lord' (= love which belongs to the sphere of God) see also T B 3 5 της τοῦ κυρίου ἀγάπης ἧς ἔχει πρὸς TÔV πλησιον

T GAD 5,3–11

Translation

5,3 Righteousness casts out hatred,
humility destroys hatred.
For he who is righteous and humble is ashamed to do what is wrong
being reproved not by another
but by his own heart,
for the Lord looks upon his (inner) disposition
4 He does not speak evil of any **man,**[16]
since the fear of the Most **High**[17] overcomes hatred
5 For fearing that he should offend the Lord,
he does not want to do anything wrong to a man, even in **thought.**[18]
6 I learned these things at last
after I had repented concerning Joseph.
7 For godly and true repentance destroys **ignorance**[19]
and drives away darkness,
and it enlightens the eyes
and gives knowledge to the soul,
and it leads the disposition to salvation
8 And the things it has not learned from men,
it knows through repentance
9 For God brought upon me a disease of the liver,
and without the prayers of Jacob my father
my spirit would nearly have departed from me
10 For by what things a man transgresses,
by the same he is also punished
11 Since, therefore, my liver was set mercilessly against Joseph,
I was judged mercilessly, suffering in my liver for eleven months,
for so long a time as I was at enmity with Joseph,
until he was sold

Textcritical notes

16 ἀνδρός *(b)*. The addition ὁσιου (*geafchj*;cf.. *d*) may be due to the mentioning of Joseph in v 6. The lectio brevior fits in the context very well

17 τοῦ ὑψίστου (*bl*). This reading is lectio difficilior over against τοῦ θεοῦ (*gdmafc*;cf. *ehj*)

18 ἕως ἐννοιῶν (W) The sing (ἕως) ἐννοίας (*gdeafchj*;cf *m*) seems to be a correction of the reading of *bl*. A parallel case is found in TJos. 9,2.

19 ἄγνοιαν (all MSS except *bd*; cf *m*). The context seems to require ἄγνοιαν rather than ἀπείθειαν *(b)*

Structure

This section teaches how righteousness, humility and fear of the Lord destroy hatred (vv. 3–5); v. 6 introduces the word μετάνοια and connects this with Gad's experience after the selling of Joseph

5,3ab Righteousness and humility destroy hatred

5,3cdef A righteous and humble man does not do anything unrighteous because his conscience is under God's 'supervision'

5,4–5 Elaboration of the theme of v. 3, with φόβος τοῦ ὑψίστου as central notion, note chiasm

5,6 Introduction of μετάνοια in Gad's experience

5,7-8 Description of the effect of repentance: it grants light, knowledge, σωτηρία; note chiasm in v. 7abcd and concluding 7e

5,9–11 God's punishment; Gad's illness; Jacob's intercession V 10, general rule man's punishment is directly connected with his transgression σωτηρία here healing after disease

Notes

5,3 **Righteousness casts out hatred:** for a similar use of ἐκβάλλειν, see also Epictetus II 16,45f., 'From just here, from out of your own mind, cast not Procrutes and Sciron, but grief, fear, desire, envy, joy at others' ills, cast out greed, effeminacy, incontinency (. ἔκβαλε .. λύπην, φόβον, ἐπιθυμίαν, φθόνον .). These things you cannot cast out in any other way than by looking to God alone .'; III 24,13 **destroys hatred:** this use of ἀναιρεῖν also in v.. 7.. Cf. Philo, Leg.. all.. II 99, '... But the principle of self-mastery loves to bite and wound and destroy (ἀναιρεῖν) passion ..', Quod det. pot 122, 'For it is the nature of justice (ἡ δικαιοσύνη) in the first place to create rest in the place of toil . , in the next place, to abolish (ἀναιρεῖν) griefs'; ClemHom 17,12,6, . φόβος τὴν τῶν κακων ἐπιθυμίαν ἀναιρεῖ ... The verb is used with vices as object but a person as subject in Philo, Sacrif 58; Spec leg II 83, Virt 224, Epictetus, Enchiridion 2,2, ClemHom 11,19,2.. **Righteousness ... humility ... he who is righteous and humble:** this combination is surprisingly rare in Jewish and early Christian literature, see Ps 34(33),18ff , Barn 19,6; Did 3,9; cf PssSol 3,7f. **is ashamed:** for αἰδεῖσθαι, see on T.Jud 14,3 **to do what is wrong: see v. 5. being reproved ... by his own heart:** see T.R.. 4,3, T.Jud.. 20,5, T.B.. 6,7 and the notes on these verses **for the Lord looks upon his (inner) disposition:** see on T Z 5,2 (cf. T.Jud. 20,3; T.N 2,5; T B 6,6).

5,4 **He does not speak evil of any man:** contrast 3,3 **the fear of the Most High overcomes hatred:** cf T S 3,4, 'deliverance from envy comes by the fear of God' For this use of νικᾶν, see 4Mac 3,17; 6,33; 13,7, Philo, Leg. all III 18, 242, Epictetus III 15,11

5,5 **that he should offend the Lord:** see LivPro (ed Th. Schermann), p. 5,3f9 rec Epiph. prior, (Ahijah about Solomon) ... ὅτι προσκρούσει τῷ θεῷ . (Ahijah to Jerobeam)

. προσκρουσεις τῷ κυρίῳ (cf pp. 91,17-92,1 rec. an.). **even in thought** the accent on the thoughts, the mind the disposition of man is very characteristic of the Testaments; see also 2,1, ἕως τοῦ μισοῦν αὐτόν (see also 6,1 below); T.Z 1,4, 'I am not conscious, my children that I have sinned save in thought (παρεκτὸς ἐννοίας)' (see note on this verse); T.Jos. 9,2, And not even in thought (οὐδὲ ἕως ἐννοιῶν) I ever inclined to her ...'; cf. further T.R. 4,8.11; 5,6; T.S. 3,2; T.Jud 14,3; T.B. 5,3.

5,6 **after I had repented concerning Joseph:** μετανοεῖν and cognate words occur seven times in this testament See also Simeon's repentance after his misdeeds against Joseph in T.S. 2,13; T.R 1 9 mentions Reuben's repentance after his sin; in both cases in connection with illness (see vv. 9–11 below) For **Judah's** repentance see T Jud 15,4; cf also T.Z. 9,7, T A 1,6; T.Jos. 6,6; T B. 5,4

5,7 **godly.** for κατὰ θεόν see 2Cor 7 10 (and Rom 8 27 4Mac 15,3, **Philo,** Fuga 76) **destroys:** see on v 3 **For ignorance,** see on T R 1 6 and cf ClemHom 11,19 2 (the prophet of the truth) ἀναιρεῖ τὴν ἄγνοιαν τῇ γνώσει. **drives away darkness and ... enlightens the eyes:** see Philo, **Somn** I 117, σκότος ἀεὶ πεφυγαδεῦσθαι, and cf 2,3; 6,2 and T R 3,8, T L 14,4; T.D 2 4 T B 5,3, Philo, Virt 179; Abr 70 JosAsen 12,2; **1Clem** 36 2 and cf Plutarch De sera numinis vindicta 23 (Mor 563 F) For 'it enlightens the eyes', cf. T.B 6,4, φωτίζει τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ contrast T D. 2,4, (anger) . τυφλοῖ τοὺς φυσικοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ; T B 4,2, σκοτεινὸν ὀφθαλμόν; T Jud 13,6. **gives knowledge to the soul.** this use of παρέχει is also found in T.S. 4,8; T.D 2,4; 3 2 For knowledge see further on v. 8 **it leads the disposition to salvation:** for ὁδηγεῖν with a negative destination, see T Jud 14,1 (εἰς πλάνην); 19,1 (πρὸς εἴδωλα); T.R. 2,9 (ἐπὶ βόθρον . ἐπὶ κρημνόν). Here of course, positive: μετάνοια leads to σωτηρία (cf 4,7) see 2Cor 7,9f.; **1Clem** 7 7; 8 2f. (referring to Ezek 33 11); and also Philo Spec leg. I 253; SibOr I 129

5,8 **he things it has not learned from men:** the true knowledge comes from God through repentance and obedience to God's law; cf T.Jos. 4,4f ; 4Mac 1,16f., Philo Virt. 178. The use of Jewish-Christian hellenistic conversion-termilology is again prominent in vv 6–8 (see on 4,6)

5,9 **For God brought upon me a disease of the liver** for illness as punishment for sin see T.S. 2,12f., T.R 1 7 T Z 5,4 For ἐπάγειν νόσον with God as subject, see Ex 15,26, cf. Plato, Timaeus 33 A Philo, Aetern mundi 26 **the prayers of Jacob my father:** Jacob's intercession is also mentioned in T R 1,7; 4 4; and T.Jud 19 2; cf. T B 3 6

5,10 See WisSol 11,16, δι' ὧν τις ἁμαρτάνει, διὰ τούτων κολάζεται, Jub 4 31f ; LAB 44 10 cf Gal 6,6, Col 3,25

5,11 **my liver was set mercilessly against Joseph:** see on 2 1 Cf T S 2 4 τὰ ἥπατά μου ἀκίνητα, 2,7, ἐστήρισα ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὰ ἥπατά μου. **I was judged mercilessly:** cf Athenagoras, Leg 2 1 TJob 16 2; TAb A 12; Philo Somn II 84 **suffering in my liver:** cf. T.S. 4 1 **for eleven months** cf T.R. 1 7f (seven months) and T S 2 12 (seven days). **I was at enmity:** cf. Gen 49,23 (LXX), καὶ ἐνείχον αὐτῷ (Joseph) κύριοι τοξευμάτων **until he was sold** cf T Z 4 3

T GAD 6–7

Translation

6,1 And now, my children,
love each one his brother
and put away hatred from your hearts,
loving one another in deed and word and in disposition of the soul

2 For in the presence of our father I spoke peacefully to Joseph,
but when I had gone out, the spirit of hatred darkened my mind
and stirred up my soul to
kill[20] him

3 Therefore, love one another from the heart,
and if a man sins against you,
speak to him in peace,
after having cast away the poison of hatred,
and do not hold guile in your soul
And if he confesses and repents,
forgive him,

4 and if he **denies**,
do not get into a passion with him,
lest, when he starts swearing, you sin doubly

5 Let no other man hear your secret when you are engaged in a
conflict,
lest he hates you and becomes your enemy
and commits a great sin against you,
for often he addresses you **guilefully**[21]
or busies himself about you in wickedness,
taking the poison from you

6 If, then, he denies,
and yet feels shame when reproved,
keep **silent**,[22] lest you provoke him,
for the one who denies may repent
so as not to offend you again,
and he may even honour you
and fear and be at peace with
you

7 But if he is shameless
and persists in his wrongdoing,
even so forgive him from the heart,
and leave to God the avenging

7,1 If somebody prospers more than you,
do not be grieved,
but even pray for him that he may have perfect prosperity,
for so perhaps it is expedient for you

2 And if he is exalted further,
do not be envious,
remembering that all flesh will die,
but offer **praise**[23] to the Lord,
who gives to all men the things that are good and
expedient for them

3 Seek out the judgments of the **Lord**,[24]
and he will not forsake **you**,[25]
and your mind will be at peace

4 But if somebody becomes rich also by evil means,
as Esau the brother of my father,
do not be jealous,
for[26] wait for the decision of the Lord
5 for either he takes them (the riches) away by misfortune,
or he forgives them when they repent,
or for the unrepentant he reserves the punishment for ever
6 For he who is poor and free from envy
giving thanks to the Lord for all things,
is himself rich beyond all **men,**[27]
because he has not the evil travail of men
7 Put away, therefore, hatred from your souls,
and love one another with uprightness of heart

Textcritical notes

[20] **του ἀνελεῖν (*bd*).** Both this construction and **πρὸς** to **ἀνελεῖν (*gimeafchij*)** may be original

[21] **δολοφωνεῖ σε (*efhij*).** Most of the variants are orthographic ones

[22] **ἡσύχασον** (all MSS except *bd*) The reading **ἡσυχάσθῃ** *(b)* seems to be a mistake

[23] **ὕμνον (*bl*)** The **plur. ὕμνους (*gdmefchij*)** is clearly secondary A change from **plur** to **sing.** is very unlikely.

[24] **κυρίου** (**all** MSS except ***bc***) The reading **κυρίῳ** *(b;* cf *c)* does not make sense

[25] **οὗτος** ou **καταλείψει.** The textcritical situation is far from clear The conjecture **(οὗτος οὐ)** has been made on the basis of the material provided by the MSS **(οὗτος** from **οὕτως** *b* and **ου** from ***gldme*)** Another possibility would be to read **οὕτως καταλήψει,** ' so (your mind) will comprehend'.

[26] **γάρ** *(b)* This reading is lectio difficilior over against the variant **δέ (*gldmefhij*** cf. **δη** c)

[27] **παρὰ πάντας (*gle*; cf *mf*) The variant παρὰ πᾶσι** *(b)* **perhaps due to the previous ἐπὶ πᾶσι** does not make much sense

Structure

After **4,6–7** and 5 2bc contrasting hatred with love, this section deals with love in contrast with hatred **6,1** and 7,7 form a clear beginning and conclusion.

6 2 gives, again, an example from Gad's life: under the influence of the spirit of hatred he did not really love Joseph ev **ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ διανοίᾳ ψυχῆς** (6 1d) or **ἀπὸ καρδίας** (6 3) or ev **εὐθύτητι καρδίας (7,7b)**

In 6,3b–7d and in 7,1-6, two topics **are** treated which **are not** directly connected with **the** Gad-Joseph story

6,3b–7d Explain how one has to deal somebody by whom one has been wronged

- v **3b–c** one should speak peacefully with him
- v 3fg if he confesses and repents, one should forgive him
- v 4 if he denies, one should not step up the quarrel
- v 5 **forms an intermezzo one should not bring other people into the dispute (cf 4,3)**
- v 6 how to deal with the man who denies but is ashamed when he is reproved
- v 7 how to deal with him who is shameless

7,1–6 Describe one's attitude towards those who are rich and prosperous (cf 4 5)
- v 1 if **someone** prospers, do not be grieved but pray for him
- v 2 if someone is exalted even more, do not envy him but praise God Your present state may be expedient for you (v **1d**) and God's gift (v 2e)
- v 3 watch God's judgments!
- v 4abc the case of those who prosper **ἐκ κακῶν (Esau!)** do not be jealous
- vv **4d–5c** watch God's decisions!
- v 6 he who is poor without envy and thanks God is truly rich

Notes

6,1 **loving one another in deed and word and in disposition of the soul** see on **5,5** (and T.Z 1 4). Cf **T Jos** 10 4 **ἢ** ἐν **ἔργῳ ἢ ἐν λόγῳ ἢ** ev **διανοίᾳ** Love should be complete love - so also 6 3a and 7 7b

6,2 **I spoke peacefully to Joseph** in Gen 37 4 we hear that the brothers hated Joseph and could not say a kind word to him (LXX **οὐκ ἐδύναντο λαλεῖν αὐτῷ οὐδὲν εἰρηνικόν)** This statement is here modified **in the presence of our father.** Gad kept up appearances See Ps **35(34),19f** (LXX), ot **μισοῦντές** ne **ἐμοὶ μὲν εἰρηνικὰ ἐλάλουν καὶ ἐπ' ὀργὴν δόλους διελογίζοντο;** cf. Jer 9,8(7); **1Mac** 1,30; 2En 52,14; and Cyril of Jerusalem Catech 15 7 **the spirit of hatred** see 1,9; 2,1· 4 7 **darkened my mind** see on 3 3 **and stirred up my soul** see on T B 6 5 (and T S **4,8f).** **to kill han** cf 2 lf

6,3 **if a man sins against you** cf Lk **17,3f.;** Mt **18,15–17** **speak to him in peace:** cf Did 15,3 **ἐλέγχετε δὲ ἀλλήλους μὴ** ev **ὀργῇ, ἀλλ'** ἐν **εἰρήνῃ** (cf 2,7); **1QS 5,24–6,1,** ' **. They** shall reprove each other in truth and humility and loving charity one towards the other Let no man speak to his **(brother)** with anger . . let no man hate him cf CD 9,2-8 **At the background is Lev 19,17f.; cf. Prov 27,5, 28,23, Sir 19,13–17** **having cast away the poison of hatred:** for **ἐξορίζειν,** see e g Plato Symposium 197 D . . **ἀγριότητα** o **ἐξορίζων** The verb is not found in OT and NT For poison see v 5 and note on 5 1 **do not hold guile in your soul** for **δόλος** (par tyeuooç) see T I 7 4 T B 6 4 cf T I. 1 11 12, T Jos 3 9 4,1. **if he confesses and repents, forgive han** see Lk 17 3 . ἐὰν **μετανοήσῃ, αφες αὐτῷ,** and cf Sir 28 2 **ἄφες ἀδίκημα τῷ πλησίον σου,**

6,4 **when he starts swearing:** this possibility is well illustrated in **Philo,** Spec. leg IV 39f After quoting Lev **19,11f.,** Philo comments, 'Excellent indeed and full of instructions for the thief convicted by his conscience disowns **(ἀρνεῖται)** the deed and lies through fear of the punishment which confession entails Then he who disowns his deed in his eagerness to fasten the charge on somebody else brings a false accusation and devises schemes to make the accusation seem probable And every such accuser is necessarily a perjurer , for since he lacks just arguments he takes refuge in the unscientific method of proof, as it is called namely that of oaths because he thinks that by appeal to God he makes his hearers believe him. **you sin doubly** because you did not speak peaceably to him and he swears falsely.

6,5 This verse forms a digression - cf. 4 3, 'it wants to proclaim it immediately to all men and it urges that he should be judged for it .'. See Prov **25,8–10,** What your eyes have seen do not hastily bring into court; for what will you do in the end when your neighbour puts you to shame? Argue your case with your neighbour himself and do not disclose another's secret; lest he who hears you bring shame upon you ', cf Sir **19,8–9** **lest he hates you ....** the person with whom one has been wronged. **and commits a great sin against you·** cf. Prov 3,30 LXX Do not contend with a man for no reason **μητι εἰς** *ot* **ἐργάσηται** xaxóv' **taking the poison from you: see v 3**

6,6 **If, then, he denies** takes up v. 4, distinguishing two different situations **when reproved** see Lev 19,17; Mt 18,15; Did 15 3 cf. 1QS 5,24–6,1; CD 7 2 **keep silent** cf. Job 3,26 (LXX) **οὔτε εἰρήνευσα οὔτε ἡσύχασα .. ἦλθεν** 6E **μοι ὀργή** and Epictetus II 18,12; **see also** T B. 5 4 **καὶ σιωπᾷ. so as not to offend you again: πλημμελεῖν is** often used parallel to **ἁμαρτάνειν** see e g Lev 4 22 6 4(5,23) Sir 19 4 **1En 5,8f , Philo,** Leg all II 68; Plutarch, Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur 12 (Mor. 56 A) For the construction of this verb with **εἴς τινα,** see e.g., Sir 19,4; **23,23,** 26,11 **and he may even honour you and fear and be at peace with you.** see T.B **5,1f** , 'If you have a good mind children both wicked men will be at peace with you and the profligate will reverence you and turn unto good . and even the beasts will fear you (see notes)' cf T N 8 4 T L 13 3f 8 with at the background Prov 15 28a LXX Sir 6,6.

6,7 **and leave to God the avenging:** see CD 9,2-8, 1QS **10,17f** ,'... To no man will I render the reward of evil . for judgment of all the living is with God ....' Sir **28,1f.,** o **ἐκδικῶν παρὰ κυρίου εὑρήσει ἐκδίκησιν .... ἄφες ἀδίκημα τῷ πλησίον σου...** Rom 12 19 Cf also Lev **19,17f** ,' you shall not take vengeance ' with Deut 32 35 Nah 1 2

7 1-2 Take up the theme already treated summarily in 3 3 4 5 **do not be grieved do not be envious:** for **φθονεῖν** (v. 2) in this connection, see 3,3; 4,5; T.B. 4 4 (cf. **T S** 3,3; **T D** 2 5; and **μὴ ζηλωσητε** in **T.G.** 7 4) **λυπεῖσθαι** (and derivatives) is found together with **φθονεῖν** (and derivatives) in e.g., Aristotle, **Rhetorica** II 9,3; Ethica Nicomachea **II 7,15, Magna Moralia I 27,2; Plutarch, Apophthegmata Laconica, Agis 11 (Mor 215** F) De invidia et odio 1 (Mor. 536 F); and particularly Philo Virt 116, ' . because grief **(λυπην)** at our neighbours good things is the effect of the one (= **φθόνος) ...',** Vita Mosis I 246f **pray for him:** cf T Jos 18,2. The clause corresponds with **offer praise to the Lord in v 2 (cf** T.L. 3 8) **perhaps it is expedient for you. see v 2e, who gives to all men the things that are good and expedient for them,** and T.Jos 9,3, and if the Most High knows that it is expedient **(συμφέρει)** for him he bestows this **(παρέχει)** also upon him'; Philo, Sacrif 40 **1Tim** 6 17 and SentSexti 88, **ευχου σοι γενέσθαι μὴ & βουλει, ἀλλ' ἃ δεῖ καὶ συμφερει that all flesh will die.** see Isa **40,6f** , Sir 14,17; **1Pet** 1,24, etc.. Cf T Jos.. 10,5, 'for I knew that all things will pass away ' (see note)

7,3 **Seek out the judgments of the Lord: κρίματα** denotes Gods decisions his righteousness which he showed in the past and shows in the present see, e g Ps 9 17; 36(35),7 **48(47),11;** 97(96),8; and often in PssSol, see 2,15 3,3; **5,1f.; 8,7f., ἀνελογισάμην** *m* **κρίματα τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπὸ κτισεως οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ἐδικαίωσα** TÓV fteàv ev **τοῖς κρίμασιν αὐτοῦ** TOÎÇ **ἀπ' αἰῶνος;** and 8 25.32 34 18,3; **TJob** 43 13.. The psalmists give thanks to the Lord and praise him after they have recognized God's righteous judgments behind all that happened to them and their people **(δικαιοῦν** is used in this connection) The **same, with some modifications, is found here see v. 2de and v 3bc (in particular your mind will be at peace).**

7,4 **if somebody becomes rich also by evil means** cf Job 20,15 (LXX), **πλοῦτος ἀδίκως συναγόμενος;** WisSol 15,12 Plutarch, Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur 14 (Mor 57 CD) **πλουτοῦσιν ἀπὸ πραγματων αἰσχρῶν καὶ πονηρων.. as Esau the brother of my father:** the tradition that Esau enriched himself unjustly by taking his fathers flocks and possessions (going back to a negative interpretation of Gen 36 6) is found in Jub 29,18 35,10, ' . And you (Isaac) know all that he (Esau) has done . how he has forsaken us with his whole heart, and has done evil to us; your flocks he has taken to himself and carried off all your possessions from before your face **wait for the decision of the Lord** see v 3a For the expression **ὅρος κυρίου,** cf ApMos 38 4 **χωρις τοῦ Σήθ, διὰ τὸ γεννηθῆναι αὐτὸν καθ' ὅρον του θεοῦ.**

7,5 **either he takes them away** cf Job 1,21, TJob 19 4 **37,3ff**, LetAris 244 **by misfortune** for this use of ἐν κακοῖς, cf e.g., Prov 21 12 (LXX), φαυλίζει ἀσεβεις εν κακοῖς; 24,16 (LXX) οἱ δὲ ἀσεβεῖς ἀσθενήσουσιν εν κακοις; **2Kgs** 22,20 = 2Chr 34,28 **or he forgives them when they repent, or for the unrepentant he reserves the punishment for ever** cf Justin, **Apol.** I 15,8, Clement of Alexandria Prot XI (116 1) ὅπως ἢ μετανοησαντες σωθωσιν η μὴ ὑπακούσαντες κριθῶσιν For he reserves the punishment for ever see also T R 5 5 εἰς κόλασιν του αἰῶνος τετηρηται (see note) cf Acta Thom 74

7 6 **he who is poor and free from envy is ... rich beyond all men** a well-known Stoic-Cynic theme the poor wise man is, in fact rich, because he has everything he needs and is free from pain and sorrow which accompany riches See e.g. Plutarch De virtute et vitio 4 (Mor 101 DE) ' You will be contented with your lot if you learn what the **honourable** and **good** is. You will be luxurious in poverty (τρυφήσεις εν πενίᾳ), and live like a king .. poverty (will give you gladness) for your freedom from many cares .. ', Epictetus III **22,45ff.**; and also **Philo**, Quod **omnis** 77 (on the Essenes), For while they **stand almost alone in the whole of mankind in that they have become moneyless and** landless by deliberate action rather than by lack of good fortune they are esteemed exceedingly rich (πλουσιώτατοι) because they judge frugality with contentment to be **as indeed it is, an abundance of wealth'**, 2Cor 6,10, LetDiogn 5,13, Tatian, **Orat** 11 **For the expression πλουτεῖν παρὰ πάντας, see also Dan** 11 2 LXX **giving thanks to the Lord for all things** see v 2; **cf**, e g Philo Quis heres 31; Spec. leg I 67; **283f.**; **III** 6 Hermas, Sim 9 14 3 ClemHom 11 12 5 **because he has not the evil travail of men.** περισπασμός and περισπᾶσθαι are often found in Stoic-Cynic disquisitions on wealth and poverty cf e g., Epictetus III **9,15ff.**; Plutarch De vitando **aere** alieno 8 (Mor 831 F) For πονηρὸς περισπασμός, see, however, **Eccl** 1,13 (LXX), ὅτι περισπασμον πονηρὸν ἔδωκεν ο θεὸς τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ περισπᾶσθαι εν αυτῳ, 4,8 (about the rich man in particular), '... there is no end to all his toil, and his eyes are never satisfied with riches . . This also is vanity and an unhappy business (LXX, και περισπασμὸς πονηρός), 5 13 (LXX) και ἀπολεῖται ὁ πλοῦτος ἐκεῖνος ἐν περισπᾶσμῳ πονηρῷ

7 7 Returns to **6,1–2.** For **with uprightness of heart**, see on T I 3,1

T GAD 8,1–2

Translation

8,1 And do you also tell these things to your children,
that they honour Judah and **Levi**;
for from them the Lord will raise up a **saviour**[28] to Israel
2 For I have learnt
that at the end your sons will desert from them
and will be in all wickedness and
affliction and ruin before the Lord

Textcritical note

[28] σωτῆρα (*b*). The variant σωτηρίαν (*kghij*; cf. σωτῆρια c) must be rejected as secondary on both external and internal grounds. First, the reading of *b* is supported by σωτηρ in *ldFm*[d]*meaf*, and secondly parallel passages (T N 8 2; cf T.S. 7,1 T.D. 5,10) may have facilitated this change The acc σωτῆρα (cf σωτηρίαν) is lectio **difficilior** over against

σωτηρ (*ldFm meaf*; cf. **σωτηρία** *c*) and introduces the transitive use of **ἀνατέλλειν**, used intransitively in all other places in the Testaments

Structure

V la stresses the purpose of a testament the exhortations are meant to be handed down to future generations. A short passage dealing with the future follows; it consists of an L J (or rather J L.) passage exhorting them to honour these two tribes (v. **1bc**) followed by the prediction that **the** sons **of Gad's sons** will **not** follow this advice (cf. **T R. 6,5–7**; T.S. **5,4–6**) There are also clear reminiscences of **S E R** passages

Notes

8,1 **do you also tell these things to your children.** see on T S. 6,1, and see INTRODUCTION 7 1.1. **that they hanour Judah and Levi: a regular L J. element; the nearest parallel is** T.Jos 19 6 (there also is Judah mentioned first) **for from them the Lord will raise up:** cf. T.Jos 19,6; T.D. 5,10; T N 8 2 and T S **7,1f.** (see note) Only here **ἀνατέλλειν** is used transitively (cf. Isa 61,11)

8,2 **ἔγνων γάρ·** introduction to passages concerning the future, see on T.L. 14 1 **will desert from them:** elsewhere, the verb **ἀφίστασθαι** is used with **ἀπὸ κυρίου** T Z 9,5 T.D. **5,4f.**; T N 4 1 **(S.E.R.).** **at the end:** cf T.L. 14,1 **will be in all wickedness and affliction and ruin:** cf T Jud. 17,2· T D 5 5 (after apostasy), **ἐν πάσῃ κακίᾳ** rcooEikcr&E... **καὶ ἐν πάσῃ πονηρίᾳ**; T N **4,1f.** (again after apostasy) **πορευόμενοι κατὰ πᾶσαν πονηρίαν ἐθνων . καὶ πάσῃ κακώσει καὶ** ftW^ei **συγκαλυφθήσεσθε.** The word **διαφθορά** is found only here in the Testaments (cf Hos 13,9; Zeph 3,6 LXX; Jer 13 14)

T GAD 8,3–5

Translation

8,3 And when he had rested for a little while,
he said to **them,**[29] again
My children, obey your father,
and bury me near to my fathers,
4 And he drew up his feet
and fell asleep in peace.
5 And after five years they carried him up
and **buried**[30] him in Hebron with his fathers

Textcritical notes

[29] **αὐτοῖς** *(b)* It is omitted in ***glmeafchij***. It is hard to decide which reading is original

[30] **ἔθαψαν** (***gldmeaf***). The variant **ἔθηκαν** (***bchij***; cf. *dm)* seems to be out of place This word surely plays a role in the descriptions of the patriarchs' funeral in other **testaments,** but always with the meaning "**to** put (in a **coffin)**" (T R 7 2 T S 8 2 T L 19 5 T.Z. 10 6· T B 12 2)

Structure

The testament ends with the usual features

v 3 the command to bury the patriarch
v 4 the patriarch's death
v 5 the burial in Hebron

Notes

8,3 **My chUdren, obey your father:** see T Jud 13,1.

8,4 **he drew up his feet** see **Gen** 49 33 cf. Jub 23,1 in T.L 19,4 T I 7 9 T Jos **20,4,** **ἐκτείνειν** is used **he fell asleep in peace·** see Tob **14,2** K, Sir 44 14 Isa 57 2 (cf PS 4,9).

8,5 **And after five years:** Gad died at the age of 127 (see textcritical note 2) and was buried 132 years after his birth this agrees with Jub 28 20 and 46 9 **with his fathers** **see on** T Z 10 7

THE TESTAMENT OF ASHER CONCERNING THE TWO FACES OF VICE AND VIRTUE

INTRODUCTION

This testament is almost entirely devoted to exhortation Only in 5,4 is the patriarch's own attitude towards God's commandments referred to in a very general way Chapter 7 consisting of a double S.E.R. passage gives the usual outlook on the future

The general structure of the testament is clear After the usual introduction 1,1-2, verses 3-5 give the general theme God has given two ways, two dispositions, two kinds of action, two modes of living and two ends to the children of men (v 3) Everything is in twos, one stands over against the other (v 4) In v 5 the author stresses what he really wants to show The central issue is· For which of the two ways (kinds of action, modes of living, and consequently for which destination) does the διαβούλιον in our breast decide? If the soul chooses the good, all its actions are righteous (vv 6–7); if the soul inclines to evil, everything will come out evil (vv 8–9)

Chapter 2 (corresponding to 1,8–9) is then devoted to people who seem to be both good and evil, but are basically wicked Chapter 4 (corresponding to 1,6–7) deals with examples of people who give a similar impression, but are basically good

Chapter 3, in between, gives exhortation Asher's children are exhorted to choose unequivocally for goodness alone The same theme is found in chapter 5 there are two courses of action which must be distinguished, also in the cases where one is 'concealed' by the other, and one must choose truth and righteousness. The reference to Asher's own life in 5,4 then leads to general exhortation in 6,1-3 After that 6,4–6 deal with the ends of the lives of people· those who have been unrighteous will be tortured by the evil spirit, the righteous ones will receive eternal life from the angel of peace After this outlook on the destination of individuals, chapter 7 gives the usual prediction concerning the future of the children of the patriarch collectively, in the form of a double S E R passage Chapter 8 gives the usual concluding passage

The central theme Serve God and obey his commandments 'with a single face'

The formulation of the subject of this testament in 1,3-5 may give the impression that the author is about to give some variants of a 'two ways catechism' But nowhere does he really give any description of 'two ways, two kinds of action or two modes of living', he only emphasizes that one has to make a fundamental choice, and that the real question is whether one's διαβούλιον is basically good or basically evil He mentions examples

in chapter 2 and 4 which seem dubious and have two aspects ('faces') But in the end, though actions and combinations of actions may seem διπρόσωπος, the people who perform these actions are either good or evil The author's exhortation, therefore, centres round the encouragement to obey God μονοπροσωπως, and to be μονοπρόσωποι (3,1-2, 4,1, 5,4, 6,1-3). This testament gives basically a further elaboration of the ἁπλότης-scheme found particularly in T I , and its explicit exhortations in chapters 3 and 6,1-3 are as general as they are basic compare 1,2b, '1 will declare to you all that is upright in the sight of God'

It is not obvious that the author knows ethical lists composed according to a two ways scheme (as those in 1QS 3,13–4,26; Did 1–6; Barn 18–20) and wants to warn against casuistry arising from a use of such catalogues by explaining that dubious cases are not dubious at all His references to two ways of living and action can be explained on the basis of OT expressions not yet developed into particular two ways catechisms and show particular affinity to a number of expressions in Jesus Sirach (see further below, and also the notes on 1,3-5 and 6,4–6)

It should be stressed that the author speaking about two διαβούλια does not intend to say that there are 'zwei Seelen in einer Brust' Every person has one διαβούλιον which has two options and is, after the choice has been made, either good or bad This is clear in 1,5b, compared to T Jud 20,2 and in 1,6a and 1,8a When examples are given which illustrate the statements made in 1,8–9 and 1,6–7, the subjects are indicated as *tyvyr]* (2,1), ἄνθρωπος (2,2 3), ἄλλος (2,5 8) and πολλοί (4,2), τις (4,3), ετερος (4,4) Also in other places in the Testaments where διαβούλιον is used it denotes the centre of the personality, the will where actions find their origin (see, e g , T R 4,9, T.Jud. 13,2 [cf 11,1]; 18,3, T 1 6,2, T D 4,2 7; T G 5,3 7, 7,3, and, particularly, T B 6,1.4) It seems best, therefore, not to translate it as 'inclination' but as 'disposition' in the sense of 'the predominant or prevailing tendency of one's spirit' *(The Random House College Dictionary Rev. Ed.* 1975 s v no 1) The author's use of διαβούλιον agrees with that of Sir 15,14, αὐτὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν ev χειρὶ διαβουλίου αὐτοῦ (in w 15-17 the second person singular is used)

Of course, man's will is subject to all sorts of outside influences This testament mentions, in particular, the influence of evil spirits and Beliar, cf 1,8 9, 3,2, 6,2 and also 6,4–6 where the angels of the Lord and of Satan, respectively the angel of peace and the evil spirit are responsible for a person's final destination (cf T Jud 20 and T B 6) Here we note points of agreement (besides differences) with the influence of two spirits/ two angels in man's life as described in 1QS 3,13–4,26; DoctrApp 1,1, Barn 18–20, Hermas, Mand 6,1 and 2 (for further details, see the notes on 5,2-3 and 6,4–6) Consequently, we may surmise that the author of T A , though not showing knowledge of any ethical two ways catechism, was familiar with the use of a two ways/two angels scheme as ordering principle, and applied it in his own way God is responsible for the dualism in man's life (1,3–4), as he is the author of all duality in creation (5,1-3, cf. Sir 33[36],14–15; 42,24–25), yet there is no doubt that he wants unconditional obedience to his law

Some introductory remarks on μονοπρόσωπος and διπρόσωπος should be added The use of the first term in 4,1; 5,4; 6,1 (cf 3,1, τῇ ἀγαθότητι

μόνῃ κολλήθητε) is clear The word denotes the complete surrender and obedience to God, and God alone. It is a synonym of ἁπλοῦς, the usual word for this 'positive simplicity' in the Testaments (cf the use of μονοπρόσωπος and ἁπλοῦς as parallel terms in Clement of Alexandria, Paid III 11 [53,4] and II 3 [38,3]).

What does the opposite οιπρόσωπος mean? It occurs in 3,1-2, 4,1 and 6,2 in direct opposition to μονοπρόσωπος and is clearly valued negatively 'for people with two faces do not serve God but their own desires that they may please Beliar and men like themselves' (3,2). But in 2,2.3.5.7 8 and 4,3.4 the word is used in connection with a complex of man's actions Here it means 'having two aspects', referring to a certain 'doubleness' inherent to many of men's actions and motivations, but in all instances the author looks at 'the whole', which is good or evil. One must determine what is really, basically there, because no doubleness whatever can finally exist before the Lord

The use of the words μονοπρόσωπος and διπρόσωπος runs parallel to that of ἁπλοῦς and διπλοῦς found in, e g., T B 6,5-7: a man who is 'double' has 'double sight' and 'double hearing', 'two tongues, of blessing and cursing, of contumely and honour, of sorrow and joy, of quietness and confusion, of hypocrisy and truth, of poverty and wealth' All Beliar's work is διπλοῦς, not having any 'simplicity'

'Doubleness' is hypocrisy, and hypocrisy means unreliability The hypocrite blesses and curses, he insults and he honours, he always tries to conceal his wickedness to keep up the appearance of righteousness. Compare Isa 29,13 (LXX), ἐγγίζει μοι ο λαὸς οὗτος τοῖς χείλεσιν αυτων τιμῶσίν με, ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν πόρρω ἀπέχει ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, κτλ.; cf PS 28(27),3; 62(61),5 In Mk 7,6f (par Mt 15,8ff.) this text from Isaiah is applied to scribes and Pharisees who are called υποκριται; cf Clement of Alexandria, Str. IV 6 (32,3) (in a context where quotations of Isa 29,13, Ps 62,5, 78,36f are found), ... ουτος δ' ἂν εἴη ὁ ἀνυποκρίτως ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας πιστεύων καὶ πάσῃ τῇ ψυχῇ γαληνιῶν; and SyrDidascApp IX (II 36), 'But do thou work and labour simply in the house of God ... and remember it, as the Lord said Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy soul, and with all thy strength ... And not with the lips only shall you love the Lord, as did that people, to whom upbraiding them He saith This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is very far from me' (tr R H Connolly, p 100) 'Hypocrisy' stands over against 'simplicity' and obedience to God with one's whole heart, soul and strength; so also, e.g., Philo, Quaest. in Gen IV 165 on 'the wise and cultivated man': 'he is simple and he lives at home A simple nature shows the truth of simplicity and a lack of flattery and hypocrisy, while hypocrites, flatterers and charlatans contrive to show the opposite'; Clement of Alexandria, Paid I 5 (19,3), ἁπλοῦς καὶ ἄδολος καὶ ἀνυπόκριτος; Irenaeus, Haer. IV 18,4, μετὰ ἁπλότητος (cf 18,2, μεθ' ἁπλότητος *Και* δικαιοσυνης in connection with Abel) parallel with ἐν γνωμῃ καθαρᾷ καὶ πιστει ἀνυποκριτῳ; 'Die Exegese über die Seele' (tr Krause-Labib, p 85), 'mit ihrem ganzen Herzen, nicht heuchlerisch'

There are a number of related terms with the prefix δι-. δίψυχος (διψυχία, διψυχεῖν) - on this group of words, see the articles by O F J Seitz in *JBL* 63 (1944), 131–40; 66 (1947), 211-19; *NTS* 4 (1957-8),

327-34, 6 (1959–60), 82-95 and W I Wolverton, *Anglican Theological Review* 38 (1956), 166–75 -, δίγνωμος, δίλογος, δίγλωσσος, διπλοκαρδία, etc. All of them denote doubleness and absence of truthfulness, see, e.g., Hermas, Sim 9,21,1, οἱ μὲν δίψυχοι, οι δὲ τὸν κύριον ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τὰ χείλη, ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν ὂε μὴ ἔχοντες; cf. Vis. 2,2,4, 1Clem 23,1-2, . τοῖς προσερχομένοις αυτω ἁπλῇ διανοίᾳ διὸ μὴ διψυχῶμεν ..., cf the use of διγνώμων, δίγλωσσος, διψυχεῖν, διπλοκαρδία and υποκρισις in the 'two ways' sections in Did and Barn, and Antiochus Mon , Hom 85 (MPG 89 1692Cff.); Origen, Princ IV 1,7

With the exception of δίγλωσσος occurring in Prov 11,13, Sir 5,9 14, 6,1; 28,13, none of these terms with δι- is found in the LXX Apart from δίψυχος (in Jas 1,8; 4,8) they do not occur in the NT either. The theme of 'doubleness' is, however, not absent So 'doubleheartedness' is expressed by ἐμέρισαν καρδίας αυτων (חֲלַק לִבָּם) in Hos 10,2 and by בְּלֵב וָלֵב in Ps 12,2 and 1QH 4,14 In Midrash Tehillim Ps 12,3, 'having *a* double heart' is explained as having one word in the heart and another in the mouth Sir 1,28f is very clear and straightforward, μὴ ἀπειθήσῃς φόβῳ κυριου καὶ μη προσέλθῃς αὐτῶ εν καρδίᾳ δισσῇ- μη ὑποκριθῇς ἐν στόμασιν ἀνθρώπων καὶ εν τοις χείλεσίν σου πρόσεχε, cf 1En 91,4, 'And draw not nigh to uprightness with a double heart, and associate not with those of a double heart, but walk in righteousness, my sons, and it shall guide you on good paths', CoptApEl I 24ff.; and Irenaeus, Haer IV 18,2, where over against the 'simple' Abel we find Cain who μετὰ ζήλου xal πονηριας τὴν πρὸς ΤÔV ἀδελφὸν διαίρεσιν ειχεν εν τῇ καρδίᾳ; see also Cyril of Alexandria, Expl in Pss., Ps 61,5 (MPG 69.1117A), την γλῶτταν εχουσι διφυᾶ, διπρόσωπον ὂὲ τὴν καρδίαν, where we should note the use of διπρόσωπος in this connection See on these passages concerning the double heart also J. Amstutz, *ΑΠΛΟΤΗΣ*,pp 86ff.

The Testaments only use διπρόσωπος (in T.A) and διπλοῦς (in T B) in the way just described, with a different shade of meaning in a number of διπρόσωπος-passages in T A 2 and 4, which, as we have seen, use this word in connection with outward appearance in the meaning of 'having two aspects' Also there, however, the disparity between outward appearance and basic attitude is in view, and the condemnation of διπρόσωποι in the other passages does not come unexpectedly

T ASHER 1

Translation

1,1 A copy of the testament of Asher,
the things he said to his sons in the hundred and twenty-sixth[1] year of his life

2 While he was still healthy he said to them
Listen, children of Asher, to your father,
and I will declare to you all that is upright in the sight of God

3 God has given two ways to the sons of men
and two dispositions
and two kinds of action

and two modes of **living**[2]
and two ends
4 Therefore, all things are by twos, one over against the other
5 (There are) two ways, of good and evil,
and with them there are the two dispositions in our breasts
distinguishing between them
6 Thus, if the soul has pleasure in the good,
every action of it is in righteousness,
and if he sins,
he repents immediately
7 For having his thoughts set on righteous things
and casting away wickedness,
he immediately overthrows the evil and uproots the sin
8 But if it (the soul) turns the disposition to evil,
every action of it is in wickedness,
and driving away the good, and ruled by Beliar
he takes hold of the evil,
and if he does something good,
he perverts it to wickedness
9 For whenever he starts doing good,
the end of his action leads to doing **evil**[3]
since the treasure of the disposition is filled with **poison**[4] of an evil spirit

Textcritical notes

1 **ἑκατοστῷ εἰκοστῷ ἕκτῳ** (*gdmeaf*) *b* wrongly omits **ἕκτω** (hmt ?; cf the omission of **εἰκοστῷ** in *1*). Parallel passages (T R. 1 T T D 11 cf T G 1 1 *dchij*) suggested the variant **ἐκ εικ. πέμπτῳ** (*chij*).

2 **τρόπους** (*dmeafchij*) The reading of *b* (**τόπους**) can hardly be original while *g* (**πόνους**) is at all events secondary.
εἰς κακον ποιειν ἀνελαύνει (*b*). This reading is lectio difficilior The nearest variant **εἰς κακοποιιαν ἐλαύνει** (*g*) tries to give a smoother text. The further variants are without any doubt secondary **ἀνελαυνειν** not in **LSCJ, Lampe,** Sophocles.

3 **διαβουλίου ἰου ...** The reading **διαβόλου** which is supported by *b* only does not make sense; the following **ἰοῦ** may have facilitated the change into **διαβόλου** (cf. **T.G.** 5 1 Lot) **διαβολικοῦ;** Acta Phil 112). **ἰοῦ** is certainly original: it is found in *beaf*(*cf* **τοῦ** *i*) and has been left out in *dchj* either by accident (**haplography**) or in order to make the whole phrase somewhat easier to read

Structure

1 1 **Superscription**
1 2a Introduction
1 2b Overall theme (compare **εὐθυτης** in T.I. 3 1 4 6 par **ἁπλότης**)
1,3–5 Special theme God gave two ways etc. one over against the other and we have to **choose**
1,6–7 Description of a basically good soul/man

1,8–9 Description of a basically bad soul/man These descriptions are to a great extent parallel in form: 6ab//8ab· 6cd//8ef· 7abc//9ab.. There is a special emphasis on the influence of Beliar and 'the poison of an evil spirit' in the case of the bad man

Notes

1,1 **A copy of the testament.** cf. T R 1 1 T N 1 1 T G 1,1, T Jos. 1 1

1,2 **While he was still healthy** see on T.L 1 2 **Listen** see on T.R., **1,5** for the Redeeinleitungsformel:. **I will declare to you** cf T.N. 8 1 **all that is upright.** see on T.I 3 1 In 1-2 Kings and 2 Chronicles the word is used, together with the verb **ποιεῖν** to characterize the attitude of the kings of Israel and Judah: the good kings, like David Asa Hezekiah and **Josiah,** have done what was upright in the sight of God' the wicked ones like **Ahaz,** have not. A few times in the same context the expression **'to** walk in the way(s) (LXX, **ὁδός)** of.....' is used - see **1Kgs** 16,28 22 43; 2Kgs 16,2-3; 22 2; **2Chr** 20 32; 28,1-2· 34,2.. The (good) way(s) of David or Asa are contrasted with the (evil) way(s) of Jeroboam or in general 'the kings of Israel This usage may at least partly explain the dualism of the 'two ways' in the next verse

1,3 **God has given two ways to the sons of men and two dispositions and two kinds of action and two modes of living and two ends:** the important notions are **ὁδοί** and **διαβούλια,** which recur in v 5. **δυο τελη** is explained in **6,4–6** This passage does not suggest acquaintance with a 'two ways catechism (Jewish or Christian on this, see e.g., **J -P.** Audet *La **Didache**· Instructions des Apôtres* Paris 1958 pp. 122-63·· P Prigent and R A.. Kraft *Epitre de Barnabe (SC* 172), Paris 1971 pp **15-20,** and W Rordorf and A.. Tuilier, *La Doctrine des Douze Apotres **(Didachè)** (SC* 248) Paris 1978, pp 22-34) Cf. W Michaelis on this passage: 'Das Bild von den zwei Wegen hat dabei zwar den Charakter eines einleitenden Gedankens, trotzdem dient es nicht als Rahmen für nähere Ausführungen in denen erläutert würde worin die **ὁδοὶ δύο καλοῦ καὶ κακοῦ** bestunden..' (*ThWNTV* pp 42-118 esp p 58) PS 1,6; Prov 2 13; 4 18f and the passages from 1-2 Kings and 2 Chronicles mentioned on 1 2 would provide a suitable and sufficient background for the use of the two ways motif in **T.A** See however, the remarks on the two ways/two angels scheme as ordering principle in **T A ,** INTRODUCTION pp.. 338ff

1,4 **Therefore, all things are by twos, one over against the other:** very near parallels in thought and expression are found in Jesus Sirach particularly in 33(36) 7-15 ending in vv **14–15,** 'Good is the opposite of evil, and life the opposite of death;· so the sinner is the opposite of the godly.. Look upon all the works of the Most High:: they likewise are in pairs, one the opposite of the other **(δυο δύο, εν κατέναντι τοῦ ἑνός).**" The duality noticeable in nature as well as the opposition between good and evil go back to God's creation Sir 42,24f. tells us that all God's works are '... **διισσά,** §v **κατέναντι τοῦ ἑνός,** καὶ **οὐκ ἐποίησεν οὐδὲν ἐλλεῖπον**" Ἐν **τοῦ ἑνὸς ἐστερέωσεν τὰ ἀγαθά,** and who can have **enough of beholding his glory?' In T.A. (see besides 1,3–5 also 5,1-3) as in Jesus Sirach** the opposition between good and evil is 'embedded' in the duality inherent to God s creation It is questionable whether the often used distinction 'cosmic'-'ethical' dualism is very helpful in explaining this passage; see H W Huppenbauer, *Der Mensch zwischen zwei Welten* Zürich 1959;· B.. Otzen, 'Die neugefundenen hebräischen Sektenschriften und die Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen ***Studia Theologica** l* **(1953–4),** 136; O Böcher, *Der johanneische Dualismus im Zusammenhang des nachbiblischen Judentums,* Gütersloh 1965; and esp.. John G Gammie, Spatial and Ethical Dualism in Jewish Wisdom and Apocalyptic Literature , *JBL* 93 (1974), 375f. One may also question the usefulness of the terms 'psychological' or microcosmic dualism for the interpretation of v 5

1 5 **the two dispositions** in our breasts see T A , INTRODUCTION pp. 338ff **distinguishing between them** cf Heb 5,14, **τῶν διὰ τὴν ἕξιν τὰ αἰσθητήρια γεγυμνασμένα ἐχόντων πρὸς διακρισιν καλοῦ** TE **καὶ κακοῦ;** Sextus **Empiricus, Πυρρώνειοι ὑποτυπώσεις** III 168, ... **περὶ την διάκρισιν τῶν** TE **καλῶν καὶ κακῶν καὶ ἀδιαφόρων** . , Epictetus II 22,3, ..., **ο δε μὴ δυνάμενος διακρῖναι τὰ ἀγαθα ἀπὸ τῶν κακῶν,** cf 24 19 and see also ConstApp VIII 12 17

1,6–7 **has pleasure in the good.** cf . PS **112(111),1** (LXX), . . **ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς αὐτοῦ θελήσει σφόδρα;** see Thackeray *Grammar* p .47 **every action of it is in righteousness:** cf 2 3 4 2 5 It is not the incidental good deed that matters but the good disposition; see Von Arnim ***S.V.F.* III** nos. 516 and 519; cf. Philo, Leg.all. III 210, ... even the bad man does some things that it is his duty to do without acting from a dutiful character.. Yes and the drunken man and the madman now and then utter sober words and do sober deeds but not from a sober mind ..'; see also Dio Chrysostom LXVIII 5ff **if he sins, he repents immediately:** note the speediness of the repentance there cannot be anything basically wrong Note also the transition from **ψυχή** to the third person singular clearly **masc.** in v 7. **having his thoughts set on righteous things** cf Prov 15 29b LXX and also Ps. 52(51),4, 140(139),3; Prov 16,30; Ezek 11,3. **and casting away wickedness:** cf **T D** 6,8; T N. 3,1 for this use of **ἀπορρίπτειν;** see also Ezek 18,31; **1Clem** 35,5; Homer, Iliad 9 517; 16 282 **etc. he immediately overthrows the evil:** again: immediately! For this use of **ἀνατρέπειν,** see Prov 21 14 **Philo, Post Caini** 55 and also **Mut.nom.** 50, 72 **(ἀνατροπη) uproots the sin.** see 4,2.

1,8–9 **But if it turns the disposition to evil: ψυχή** and **διαβούλιον** are distinguished here Yet as in v 7 we further find the third person **masc.,** and at the end of v 9 we meet the expression o flr]oai>oôç **τοῦ διαβουλίου.** The author is not interested in psychological distinctions but stresses the fundamental choice which any person faces. For this use of **κλίνειν,** see T Jud., 20,1 (connected with the spirit of understanding between the spirits of truth and deceit); Epictetus II 15,20; Philo, Migr.Abr. 148, **κλίνεται δὲ ὁ νοῦς τότε μὲν τἀγαθόν,** TOTE **δ' αὖ τὸ κακὸν ἀποστρεφόμενος,** Origen **Princ.** III 1,24 **takes hold of the evil.** for this use of **προσλαμβάνειν,** see Philo Leg 114 **and ruled by Beliar:** cf. "**filled** with poison of an evil spirit' The influence of Beliar and his spirits on sinners is emphasized; see **T A ,** INTRODUCTION pp 338ff **he perverts it to wickedness: cf Sir 11,31, τὰ γὰρ ἀγαθὰ εἰς χαχα μεταστρέφων whenever he starts the end of his action:** for correspondence between beginning and end, cf. **1Sam** 3,12 Phil 1,6. **τὸ** TéXoç also in chapters 2 and 4 The end of one's action shows its true nature Cf. Philo, Sacrif. 115, ' Labour undertaken for the perfectly good .. even though it fails to attain its end **(τοῦ τέλους),** is of itself strong to benefit the labourer from the first. It is those things which lie outside virtue which are all profitless unless the result crown the work It is just as it is with animals. If you take from them the head all else goes with it. And the head of actions **(πραγμάτων)** is their end **(ἐστὶ τὸ** TeXoç **αὐτῶν)' the end of his action leads to doing evil:** or alternatively, 'he drives the end of his action to doing evil'; cf. 2,1, **εἰς κακίαν ἄγει,** but 2,4, **ἔρχεται εις** χαχόν. **the treasure of the disposition is filled with poison of an evil spirit:** cf T.G. 5 1 . . **ἰου διαβολικοῦ την καοδίαν πληροῖ;** and Acta Phil 112 **ἐκβαλεῖν** TÔV **ἰὸν τοῦ διαβόλου ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων υμῶν** On this use of **θησαυρός,** see Lk 6 45 (par Mt 12 35)

T. ASHER 2

Translation

2,1 There is, for instance, a soul - he says - that speaks the good for the sake of evil

Yet the end of the action leads to **mischief.**
2 There is a man ⟨. .⟩
because[5] he does not show compassion upon him who serves him in evil
Also this (action) has two faces, but the whole is evil
3 And there is a man who loves him who works evil,
he is likewise in wickedness
because he would choose even to die in evil for his sake.
Also concerning this it is clear that it has two faces, but the whole is an evil action
4 Though being love, it (the action) is **wickedness,**[6]
concealing the evil
it[7] resembles, in name, something **good,**[8] but the end of the action tends to evil
5 Another steals, acts unjustly, plunders, defrauds,
and he pities the poor
This too has two faces, but the **whole**[9] is evil
6 **Defrauding**[10] his neighbour he provokes God and swears falsely by the Most High,
and he **pities**[11] the poor one
He sets at naught and provokes the Lord who commands the law,
and he comforts the destitute one
7 He defiles the soul and makes the body splendid,
he kills many and pities few
This too has two faces, but the whole is **evil.**[12]
8 Another commits adultery and acts **impurely,**[13]
and he abstains from food,
and fasting he does evil
and by his power and his wealth he sweeps away many,
and from his excessive wickedness he does the commandments
This too has two faces, but the whole is evil
9 Such men are like swine, hares,
for they are half clean, but in reality they are unclean
10 For God has said so in the tables of heaven

Textcritical notes

5 ( ), ὅτι. The word ὅτι, which is found in *bgef* is original· ὃς (*dmchj*) is a correction of it Consequently we have to assume that something parallel to ἀγαπῶν τὸν πονηρευόμενον ... ἐν πονηρίᾳ (... ὅτι) in v 3 dropped out after the word ἄνθρωπος

6 πονηρια *(b)* This reading is lectio difficilior· the variant ev πονηρίᾳ (*gdmefchj*) was introduced because of parallel passages as 1 8 and 2,3

7 ὅπερ (*gdef*). The variant ὥσπερ *(b;* cf. ὅσπερ *m)* does not make sense

8 καλόν (*gef*). The reading καλῷ (*bdm*) is wrong and probably influenced by τῷ ὀνόματι

[9] OXov **δέ** *(b)*. The change **into τὸ δὲ** OXov **(*gldmeafchj*)** may have been made because of parallel phrases in 2,2f. In 2 8 the reading OXov öé *(b)* is supported by g *(f)* which is another argument to consider the variant **τὸ δὲ** ÖXov in the other MSS (in both verses) as secondary Cf. also 4,2.4.

[10] **πλεονεκτῶν (*bld*;** cf. *m)* The article o **(πλεονεκτων)** was added by ***geafchj*** in order to get a (grammatically) smoother sentence However the verses 6 and 7 give an explanation of v 5 and do not introduce another theme or example.

[11] **ἐλεᾷ (*bm*)** Both **ἐλεᾷ** (from the late form **ἐλεᾶν)** and eXEEI **(*gldeafchj*)** may claim originality, but **ἐλεᾷ** may be regarded as lectio difficilior (cf w 5 and 7 **ἐλεεῖ)** Cf T I 5,2

[12] ÖXov **δὲ πονηρόν ἐστιν** This clause has been left out in *bm,* very probably because of **hmt.** Moreover the use of the preceding **μέν** which is original (cf v 5) makes it clear that there is something to follow. Though ***gldeafchj*** read **τὸ** 6è öXov , preference may be given to ÖXov **δέ**.... See above (v. 5).

[1] **μοιχευει καὶ πόρνευει** *(b* cf. *.f)*. The omission of xai **(*gdmeaf*,** cf ***chij*)** was influenced by the asyndetic structure of the parallel clause at the beginning of v 5

Structure

Expanding **1,8–9** this chapter gives examples of people of mixed conduct which is basically evil, The overall structure is clear; details are not, as the relatively numerous textcritical variants show For a similar repeated use of **ἐστιν,** see Sir **6,8–10, 20,21-23**

2,1 First example. There is a soul . ' acting good for the sake of **evil,** conclusion the end leads to evil (cf. 1,9 2 4)

2,2–4 Secondly two examples Although the first is not quite clear the two cases are parallel

v 2 **'There is a man** "

v 3 there is a man .. ' Conclusion in vv 2c and 3d two aspects but the whole ' **(τὸ** OXov **... τὸ** ÔÈ **πᾶν...)**

v 4 explanation of (v 2 and) v. 3 Introduction of **συγκρύπτειν,** to be taken up in 5,1 and repetition of the motif of the **end"**

2 5-8 Thirdly, again two examples, now dealing with combinations of actions

vv. 5-7 Another ....! (v.. 5);' conclusion: two aspects, 'but the whole , V 6 elucidates (and repeats) v..5; emphasis on incompatibility of sin against God (v 6a and c) with pity for the poor (v. 6b and d). V 7, in form another elucidation of v 5 but the connection is less **clear,** the phrase xcd **τοῦτο** . 0Xov 6é is only here found at the end of an elucidation

v 8 Another ...' a straightforward example in 8ab 8cde explain and expand this case; for **πολλους,** see v 7b conclusion. two aspects but the whole as in vv 2, 3, 5, 7

2,9–10 Such men ...'. The plural refers to all cases in this chapter The fact that reference is made to seemingly dubious cases in the dietary laws which were not yet given to Israel at the time of the patriarchs leads to the mentioning of the heavenly tables. Note in v. 9 **το** oe **ἀληθές** (in reality') used in the same way as the end the whole earlier on

Notes

2 1 **There is .. a soul.** compare the use of **ψυχη** in similar enumerations in Lev 2; **4–7;** 20; 22 (and elsewhere). **he says.** a typical interjection (found in ***bgdeaf*),** introducing possible objections; see W Bousset *Jüdisch-christlicher Schulbetrieb in Alexandria und Rom,* Göttingen 1915 pp 166; 204 207, etc.; H Thyen *Der Stil der Griechisch*

Hellenistischen Homilie, Göttingen 1955, p. 41. The author is aware of people who may find difficulties with his rather stringent distinction between the good and the wicked Nevertheless, all examples one might bring forward just show the truth of his theory **Yet the end of the action leads to mischief:** or, alternatively, 'it brings the end of the action to mischief' (see on 1 9 and cf. 2,4).

2,2 The parallelism between vv 2 and 3 requires an addition between **ἄνθρωπος** and **ὅτι,** we have not been able to suggest an acceptable conjecture. **Also this (action) has two faces, but the whole is evil:** first use of **διπρόσωπος,** on which see T A , INTRODUCTION pp 338ff For **ὅλον δέ** or similar expressions, see **vv** 5 7 8 **4,2.4(,** 1 6 2 3; 4,3.5); cf 2 9 **upon him who serves him in evil:** contrast **Philo, Decal.** 89 '... how could you have the face to say to your friend "For the sake of our comradeship work iniquity, transgress the law join me in impiety"? Clearly, if he hears such words he will turn his back . rush away

2,3 **he would choose even to die in evil for his sake:** willing to die for the sake of an evil-worker is an extreme (and false) consequence of hellenistic Freundschaftsethik'; see, e.g., Plutarch De Alexandri **magni** fortuna aut virtute II 13 (Mor. 344 D) Dio Chrysostom III 67 **... ὑπὲρ δὲ της νίκης πολλοι τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἀποθνῆσκειν αἱρούνται;** XXXII 50; Epictetus II 7,3; **Josephus,** Ant 2 159 **'Judas,** glad to endure **mything to save his brother (Benjamin) ', and see, of course, Jn 15,13 (cf** G Stählin, ***ThWNT*** **IX**pp. **149–51,** esp. p. 151)

2,4 **concealing the evil:** this is typical for wicked men and hypocrites See, e.g Philo De Jos. **67f** , '..., guilelessly and sincerely without the dissimulation which I hate **(της ἀχθρας ὑποκρίσεως)** Being thus minded, I will not be found cloaking and hiding **(συγκρύπτων)** anything as a thief might do' and Athanasius Fr Lc. (MPG **27 1396D [27]), ... ἀλλ' ὑποκριτὴς καὶ μηνιαστής, ἔχων τῆς κεκρυμμένης κακίας τὸ ἐπικάλυμμα τὴν φαινομένην καὶ δοκοῦσαν εἶναι ἀκακίαν** . See also on 5 1 **resembles, in name, something good:** cf Sir 37 1 **ἀλλ' ἔστιν φίλος ὀνόματι μόνον φίλος**

2,5 **he pities the poor:** repeated in v 6b (cf 6d and 7a) Compassion on the poor is an **important virtue in the Testaments see T I. 5,2, T Z 7,2, 8,1, T B. 4,2 4**

2,6 **Defrauding his neighbour he provokes God:** for such an argumentation see Prov 14,31 17,5; and in the Testaments, T.G 4,1-2. **he provokes God: παροργίζειν** (in connection with God) also in T.L 3 10; T.Z. 9,9; used in the LXX of Israel and its kings (Judg 2 12 17 **1Kgs** 14,9.15, etc.; 2Chr 28,25 33,6, etc.); used of the sinner in general in Job 12 6, and in later Jewish and Christian writings see e.g., PssSol 4,1.21 Philo **Somn.** II 177; Hermas, Vis. 3,6,1 ClemHom 3,66,3. **swears falsely by the Most High** 'swearing falsely' is typical for the ungodly see, e g WisSol 14 28 Philo Spec.leg I 235 II 26 Mt 5,33; Did 2 3 ClemHom 15 10,3. **He sets at naught and provokes the Lord ἀθετεῖν** with God as object, cf. T.B. 4,5; Isa 1 2 LXX; Jer 12,6; Lk 10 16; **1Thes** 4 8 etc This amounts to the setting at naught of his law (for this expression see Isa 24,16, Ezek 22,26, Mk 7,9, etc.). Like **παροργίζειν** in v 6a **παροξύνειν θεόν/κυριον** is used to describe the attitude of the people of Israel towards their God: see e.g. Num 14 11 23; 20,24 Deut 9 7f.18.22; 31 20; 32,16; Ps. 78(77) 41 (combined with **παροργίζειν in v.** 40); **1Bar** 4 7 **(παροργ** in v 6) it is also used to describe the attitude of the ungodly in general: see, e.g Num 15 30; Ps **74(73),10,** Prov 14 31; 17,5; **Mal** 2,17; PssSol 4 21 (with **παροργίζειν);** 3Bar 1 6 **who commands the law** this use of **ἐντολεύς in this verse seems to be peculiar to this passage** (see **LSeJ and** Lampe s.v.) **he comforts the destitute one:** for **ἀναπαύειν** in this extended sense see Acta **Thom** 26 **.. καὶ αὐτοι ἐπαρκοῦντες τοῖς δεομένοις, πᾶσιν διδόντες καὶ ἀναπαύοντες πάντας ...;** Clément of Alexandria **Q d s 31;** and several times in the letters of Ignatius (Eph 2 1 Magn. 15 1 Trail 12 1 Rom 10 2 Smyrn. 9 2 10 1 12 1)

2,7 **the soul ,,. the body:** soul and body are not opposites but each other s complements see T.S.. 4 8 T.D. 3 2. .Treating them differently is inconsistent and illustrates the doubleness of one's actions.. **He defiles the soul** for σπιλοῦν, see Jas 3,6 (of the body); ClemHom 8,9,1 (of the **νοῦς);** Gregorius Naz **Carm.** II 1,12.478 (MPG **37.1200A);** Cyrill of Alexandria, Ador.. 6 **makes the body splendid** for the splendour' of the good man and his righteous actions see LetAris 16 .. **τῇ λαμπρότητι τῆς ψυχῆς;** Philo, Quod **omnis** 126, **... αἱ εὐγενεῖς** *tyv%ai,* **τὸ λαμπρὸν πλεονεξίᾳ τύχης οὐκ ἀμαυρούμεναι;** ClemHom 13,16,2;· Plutarch Amatorius 17 (Mor. 760 E) Praecepta gerendae reipublicae **14 (Mor.** .809 C). **he kills mmy mnd pities few: 'pities'** as in **vv.** 5 and 6; few' constitutes an aspect not mentioned before Contrast T.Z. 5,1, T B 4 2

2,8 **he abstams from food** the parallel word 'fasting makes clear that the author does not think of the observance of dietary laws (see, however, the explanation of their rationale in 4Mac **1,30–35). ἀπέχεσθαι** is used with all kinds of vices. Longing for excessive meals and sexual desires go together; to separate them as here, is therefore **διπρόσωπος** See **Philo, Spec.leg.** II 50 ' . while in his greed he (the wicked man) fills the belly with viands unlimited **(ἐδεσμάτων ἀμέτρων)** and strong drink in great quantities **...** He not only attacks in his fury the marriage-beds of others ....' Hermas, Mand. 6,2,5, ... **πολυτέλειαι ἐδεσμάτων πολλῶν . . ἐπιθυμίαι γυναικῶν;** 8,3; 12 2,1; cf.. also Sir 37,29; Philo, **Spec leg.** II 148 IV 91 113 **by his power mnd his wealth he sweeps away mmy** cf. T.D 3 4

2,9 **Such men are like swine, hares** .... a subtle interpretation of Lev 11,3ff. (esp. w 5 and 7) and Deut 14 6ff (esp.. vv. 7-8), where certain unclean animals, though having a good characteristic in common with clean ones are expressly forbidden The author mentions them by way of analogy he does not give a spiritual explanation of these OT passages as is found in LetAris 144ff and Barn 10.

2,10 **For God has said so in the tables of heaven:** this verse beginning with **καὶ γάρ** explains v 9 The 'heavenly tables' then refer to the heavenly counterpart of the law not yet given at the moment the patriarch addresses his children .Cf.. **T.L.** 5,4, reffering to Gen 34.. In **T A.** 7,5 the heavenly tables contain God's decrees concerning the future (of Israel in the first place) See also Jub 3,10.31; 4,5.32· 5,13; 6 17.29 etc **1En** 81 1· 103,2; 106,19 etc.;· **Tĕ'ĕzāza** Sanbat (tr W.. Leslau), p.. 39 · cf 4Q 180 I v 3 JosAsen 22,9.. On this term see e g D S Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewtsh Apocalyptic* London 1964 pp.. 107-9 who emphasizes that the heavenly tables both as records of what will happen and as the statute book of Theocracy (a term used by R H Charles) function in apocalyptic where ancient seers are allowed to know the secrets and to write them down for the initiated of future generations C Münchow *Ethik und* **Eschatologie..** *Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der frühjüdischen Apokalyptik mit einem Ausblick auf das Neue Testament,* Göttingen 1981 pp **44–49;** F Garcia Martinez Las Tablas Celestes en el Libro de los Jubileos *Palabra y Vida* ***Homenaje*** *a Jose Alonso Diaz en su 70* ***cumpleaños*****, ed.** A.. **Vargas Machuca/G** Ruiz Madrid 1984 **pp 333–50.**

T. ASHER 3

Translation

3,1 Therefore, you, my children,
do not become people with two faces,
one of goodness and one of **wickedness,**
like them

But cleave to goodness only,
for[14] God rests upon it
and men desire it
2 Flee away from wickedness
destroying the devil with your good actions,
for people with two faces do not serve God but their own desires
that they may please Beliar and men like themselves

Textcritical note

[14] ὅτι *(b)*. The addition of καί in *gldmeaf* (ὅτι καὶ ὁ θεός . . . , cf ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεός in *chij*) accentuates the parallelism in the attitudes of God and men towards 'goodness' *b*'s reading takes into account the parallelism and the difference

Structure

A straightforward exhortation not to become διπρόσωποι, but to cleave to goodness only (emphasis on μόνῃ) and to flee away from wickedness In the background is the opposition between God and Beliar (c q the devil) see the two phrases beginning with ὅτι

Notes

3 1-2 **cleave to goodness only** . **Flee away from wickedness** see T.B 8,1. **Philo** uses ἀποδιδράσκειν in similar contexts, see Quod deus 163 **...** ἀποδιδράσκουσι ὁ ὡς φευκτὸν ἀσέβειαν, Fuga 213, ... ἀποδιδράσκων μὲν τὰ φαῦλα; cf Post Caini 43 **for God rests upon it:** for a similar use of ἀναπαυεσθαι with a man as **subject** (cf. 6,3) cf Philo **Leg all III** 77 But it cannot but be that he who rests from sinful acts and rests upon what is noble (ἀναπαυόμενον ἐπὶ τῷ καλῷ) and lives in fellowship with righteousness should find favour with God. On God s dwelling with good and righteous people, see on T B 6,4 **and men desire it:** cf **Esth** 3,13 (b) LXX; **and Justin, Apol** I 5 4, **...** ΤΟΙϹ ἀρετὴν ποθοῦσιν ἀνθρωποις. **destroying the evil:** for similar expressions about chasing away and subduing the **devil/Beliar,** see on T I 7 7 **serve their own desires·** cf. 6,5 For a similar use of ἐπιθυμία, see T R 4,9 T Jud. 13,2 T Jos 7 8 For the expression δουλεύειν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, see, e.g., Plutarch Coniugalia praecepla 33 (Mor 142 E); Musonius, Dissertationes 10,10f.; Acta Jo 35, ClemHom 4 23 2 etc

T ASHER 4

Translation

4,1 For good and single-faced men,
even if they are thought to sin by people with two faces,
are righteous before God
2 For many, killing the wicked,
do two works, something good through something **evil,**[15]
but the whole is **good,**[16]
because he has uprooted and destroyed the evil

3 There is somebody who hates the merciful and unjust man,[17]
the one who commits adultery and fasts.[18]
This too has two faces, but the whole work is good,
because he imitates the Lord,
not accepting what seems good together with what is really evil
4 Another does not desire to see a good day with dissolute persons,
lest he defiles the mouth[19] and pollutes the soul
This too has two faces, but the whole is good
5 For[20] such men are like stags and hinds,
because in the manner of wild animals they seem to be unclean,
but they are altogether clean,
because they walk in zeal for God,
abstaining from what God also hates and forbids through his commandments,
keeping the evil separate from the good

Textcritical notes

15 **καλὸν διὰ κακοῦ** *(dmeaf)* The variant **κακὸν διὰ καλοῦ** *(bg)* is not in keeping with the context (cf. also 2 1 where **τὸ καλὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κακοῦ** is used to describe the opposite case)

16 **ὅλον ἐστὶ δὲ καλόν** *(b)*. The variant **ὅλον** oe **ἐστι . .** *(gdmeaf)* has been introduced in order to meet the context and the grammatical rule according to which oe has to come second. Nevertheless, ὅé sometimes stands in third (or even fourth or fifth) position. *b* certainly gives the lectio difficilior. The position of ὅÉ seems to be connected with that of **ἐστί,** which also has a position here that differs from that in parallel phrases in chapters 2 and 4

17 **ἄδικον.** The reading **ἀδικῶν** *(be)* is an orthographical variant

18 **νηστευοντα** *(gdea; cf chij)*. The reading **λῃστευοντα** *(bf)* must be wrong in view of the context where **μοιχόν** is parallel to **ἄδικον** and **νηστεύοντα** corresponds with **ἐλεημονα.**

19 **χράνῃ τὸ στόμα** *(b)*. **χράνῃ** is supported by the rather strange **αἰσχράνῃ** *(deaf)* and is to be regarded as original over against the more common **μιανῃ** *(g)* As for **στομα,** *b* gives the lectio difficilior; the variant **σωμα** *(gdeafchij)* is an attempt to achieve a better correspondence with the following **ψυχή** (cf e.g., 2 7 T S 4,8).

20 **ὅτι** *(b)*. The word has been left out in *gdeaf* either because of the parallel clause in 2 9 where it is not found either or in order to make v 5 a more suitable conclusion of the whole chapter

Structure

This chapter is the counterpart of ch 2 in form and content but its structure is less complicated.

4 1 Mentions the theme of the chapter that elucidates 1,6–7 For the first time **μονο πρόσωπος** is used Whatever **διπρόσωποι** may think, they are righteous before God. Opposition between appearance (v 1 v 3 **τὸ δοκοῦν**·· v 5 **δοκοῦσιν)** and reality Cf. 2,9, **τὸ δὲ ἀληθές**

4,2 First example: doing something good through something evil; conclusion two works **ὅλον ἐστὶ δὲ καλόν**; explanation: **ὅτι . .**

4,3 Second example There is somebody ' with the good attitude towards people who are **διπρόσωπος** in the sense of 2,5 and 8; conclusion two aspects **τὸ πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθόν; explanation: ὅτι** , imitatio Dei

4,4 Third example 'Another . .' who does not want to enjoy a good day with sinners conclusion: two aspects, ὅλον δὲ **καλον**

4,5 Corresponding to **2,9–10**; dealing with such people in general comparing them to seemingly unclean animals that are clean in reality explanation refers again to an imitatio Dei

Notes

4,1 On **μονοπρόσωπος**, see **T A** , INTRODUCTION pp 338ff **even if they are thought to sin by people with two faces, are righteous before God** man looks on the outward appearance, but the Lord on the **heart**': **1Sam** 16 7 cf PS 7,9, Jer 11 20 17,20 20,12 Job 7 20; Sir 1 30; 15,19; **17,15ff.**, 2Bar **83,2f** , 6Ezra **2,54ff.**; **Philo**, Cher. **16f.**; Spec.leg. **III** 52; and for **instance**, Irenaeus Haer. IV 18,3 describing God who knows what is in Cain's heart when he offers his sacrifices, **... τὰ κρυπτα αὐτοῦ ἐλέγχων . . οὐ διὰ τῆς ἔξω ὀρθῶς προσφερομενης θυσίας ηπάτησε τὸν** fteóv, **ἔσω ἔχων την ἁμαρτίαν**. The same theme recurs a few times in the Testaments themselves T Z 5 2 **ΟΪΌΕ γὰρ κύριος ἑκάστου την προαίρεσιν**; T.N 2 5 T G 5,3, T B 6,6; cf T.Jud 20 3. Therefore one must not try to please men in order to be praised by them but seek after God's praise **in his true judgment**; see, e.g., **Rom 2,29**; **Eph 6,7**; **Col 3,23**; **1Thes 2,4**; **1Pet 4,6** **Here** the antithesis is between the judgment of God and that of the **διπρόσωποι**; cf. Philo Ebr. 74 'Surely such a one must pass for a murderer in the judgement of the multitude **(παρὰ πολλοῖς** av **εἶναι νομισθείη)** ...., but in the judgement of God the all-ruling Father he will be held worthy of laud and praise **(ἀλλὰ παρα γε θεῷ . ἀξιωθήσεται)**', cf. Migr.Abr. 86 For very many after coming to virtue s feet with no counterfeit or unreal homage and with their eyes open to her genuine loveliness, through paying no regard to the general opinion have become the objects of hostility, just because they were held to be bad when they were really good **(κακοὶ νομισθέντες οι προς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθοί)**'. **For the** opposition **νομίζεσθαι .. εἶναι**, **see** also **Philo, Quod det pot.** 160; **Post.Caini 165f.**, Abr. 179; Justin **Apol.** I 33 2 Dial 118,3

4,2 **killing the wicked** against 'he kills many' in 2 7 **has uprooted.** cf. 1 7

4,3 **the merciful and unjust mm** cf. 2 5 **the one who commits adultery md fasts** cf 2 8 **because he mitates the Lord: cf the** argumentation **in v 5c–e**, **where the** word **μιμεῖσθαι is not** used . On the topic of imitatio Dei, which is absent in the **OT/LXX**, but is found in Jewish hellenistic authors (e g Aristeas and Philo), the NT (Eph 5 1) and in early Christian literature, see e g W Michaelis, ***ThWNT*** IV pp. 661-78. **not accepting what seems good together with what is really evil:** i.e. the cases mentioned in chapter 2. Cf 2 4 it resembles, in name something good'; 2 9, 'in reality ... unclean Compare also **T A.**, INTRODUCTION pp. 338ff. on doubleness and hypocrisy The righteous **μονοπρόσωπος** imitates God in discerning what is really good and not accepting that what only appears to be good. Cf 6 3 '... do not turn to evil as to something good but pay attention to what is really good and keep it in all commandments of the Lord ' On God discerning the really good, see on v. 1 **accepting:** see T L 16,5, **και οἰκτιρησας προσδέξηται ὑμᾶς εν πίστει καὶ ὕδατι** (God **subj.**, **cf T D** 6 9, **ἵνα δέξηται ὑμᾶς ο σωτὴρ τῶν ἐθνῶν**). **προσδέχεσθαι** with God as subject is used in the context of **sacrifices God accepts the righteous md their sacrifices (WisSol 3,6; Ezek 20,40f.;** 43 27 2Mac 1 26 ConstApp VII 5 5) but sinners and their offerings are clearly not

accepted (Hos 8,13, Amos 5,22, Micah 6,7, Mal 1,10, Sir 35,11; Justin, Apol I 10,1, Dial 117,1f., cf Philo, Virt 135) The hypocrites belong to the latter category

4,4 **Another does not desire to see a good day with dissolute persons:** for 'to see a good day see Ps 34(33),13, What man is there who desires life, and covets many days that he may enjoy good (LXX . . ἀγαπῶν ἡμέρας ἰδεῖν ἀγαθάς)'; Sir 14,14 μὴ ἀφυστερησῃς ἀπὸ ἀγαθῆς ἡμέρας, cf. Esth 8,17 there was gladness and joy among the Jews a feast and a holiday (Hebr., יום טוב; LXX εὐφροσύνη)'; 'in the Greek text of 1En 102 9 it is said that sinners desire to see good days' (καὶ [ἰδεῖν] ἡμέρας ἀγαθάς), but here the positive meaning of the expression has been lost To see a good day to enjoy life is in **itself positive and good; but to enjoy 'a good day' with dissolute persons is wrong One** has, in general, to abstain from what God hates'' (see v 5) **pollutes the soul:** cf Sir 22,13 Do not talk much with a foolish man and do not visit an unintelligent man; guard yourself from him to escape trouble and you will not be soiled *(oil* μὴ μολυνθῇς) .....', and 3Bar 8,4f., μολύνειν τὴν ψυχήν is found in Sir 21,28

4,5 **such men are like stags and hinds ... unclean** this verse is a parallel to 2,9. In this case however an explicit biblical statement is lacking Stags and hinds are called clean in Deut 14 5 (cf., 12 15.22; 15 22) but nowhere the remark is found that they seem to be **unclean The author has obviously tried to make up the interpretation in order to get a** good parallel to 2 9.. He refers to their living ἐν ἤθει ἀγρίῳ cf LetAris 145f., where the wild (ἄγριος) birds are called unclean over against the tame ones. **because they walk in zeal for God:** on ζῆλος θεοῦ, see Rom 10,2 (cf 2Cor 11 2; Jdt 9 4). On the (positive) zeal for God's honour and the realization of Gods will on earth see A. Stumpff, *ThWNT* II pp 879–84 (cf. pp 885 94), **and** M Hengel, *Die Zeloten* Leiden Köln 1961 pp. 151-234 **abstaining from what God also hates** cf Jub 22,16 1En 104,6; 1Cor 5 11; Did 3 9 Tatian **Orat.** 18 1 καθάπερ δὲ ὁ TW λῃστεύοντι συνδειπνήσας, xav μὴ λῃστὴς αὐτὸς ᾖ, ἀλλ' ὅμως διὰ τὸ συνεστιαθῆναι τιμωρίας μεταλαμβάνει ... **and forbids through his commandments** cf.. 4Mac 1,34, '... when we feel a desire to eat water-animals and birds and beasts and meats of every description forbidden to us under the Law (. . τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων ἡμῖν κατὰ τον νόμον), we abstain (ἀπεχόμεθα) through the predominance of Reason'; cf.. Philo Fuga 95 ἡ νομοθετικῆς μοῖρα, δι' ἧς & μὴ χρῆ γίνεσθαι ἀπαγορεύει (sc. God). **keeping the evil separate from the good:** by his law God separates and keeps away good from evil; cf, 2Mac 12,40, . ἀφ' ων (the sacred tokens of idols) o νόμος ἀπείργει τοὺς Ἰουδαίους; **and** Plutarch **De recta ratione** audiendi 13 (Mor 44 E), . οὔτε νόμος οὐδεὶς οὔθ' ὅρκος ἡμᾶς ἀπείργει

T ASHER 5,1–6,3

Translation

5,1 Therefore, children, see how there are two in all things,
the one is over against the other,
and the one is hidden by the other.[21]
2 Death succeeds to life,
dishonour to glory,
night to day,
and[22] darkness to light
But all things are under the day
and the righteous things are under life,
therefore also eternal life awaits death

3 And it is not to be said that truth is a lie
nor that right is wrong
because all truth is under the light
even as all things are under God
4 All these things I tested in my life,
and I did not wander from the truth of the Lord
and I searched out the commandments of the Most High according to all my strength,
walking with a single face to what is good
6,1 Take heed, therefore, you also, children, to the **commandments**[23] of the Lord,
following the truth with a single face,
because people with a double face receive a double **punishment** [24]
Hate the spirits of deceit which strive against **men.**[25]
3 Keep the law of the Lord
and do not turn to evil as to something good,
but pay attention to what is really good
and keep it in all commandments of the Lord
dwelling **therein**[26] and resting therein.

Textcritical notes

[21] The addition at the end of this verse which is found in ***dmeafchj*** (though in different versions) seems to have been the work of a scribe who wanted to explain **κέκρυπται**, but did not understand the particular use and meaning of **κρυπτειν** in T A A number of substantives have been added in pairs which although one 'is hidden by the other' are not each others opposites.. The fcgA-text is therefore preferable

[21] **καί** *(be)*.. The word may have been omitted in ***gldmafchj*** because of the asyndeton in the preceding clauses, but certainty cannot be reached.

[23] **τὰς ἐντολάς (*bchj*)** Both the **acc.** and the dat **(ταῖς ἐντολαις *gdmeaf*)** are possible See 6 3 (and variants) and 7 5 (and variants)

[24] The addition after **κολάζονται** which is found in *dmeafchj* is an explanation of the previous phrase about the twofold punishment and is clearly secondary derived from Rom 1 32.. The asyndetic construction in *b* is to be preferred to the smoother construction in ***gl*** **(κολ. καί)**

[25] **τῶν ἀνθρώπων (*gldmeafchj*)** The reading TOV **ἄνθρωπον** *(b)* can hardly be original and is probably just an orthographic variant

[26] **εἰς αὐτό (*gdea(f)chij*)** Both **εἰς αὐτό** referring to **τὸ ὄντως καλόν**, and **εις αὐτόν (*blm*)** referring to **κυριος**, may claim originality. T L 18 9 may support the reading of *blm*, but the use of **εἰς** instead of **πρός** and parallels such as Prov 20 7 tell against it and advocate the reading **εἰς αὐτό**

Structure

5 1 Takes up 1,4, but adds **ἓν ὑπὸ του ἑνὸς κέκρυπται**, referring to the cases in chapters 2 and 4 where outward appearance conceals the real situation (only in 2 4 however do we find the word **συγκρύπτουσα**)

5 2 Refers to the state of affairs in God's creation introducing the word **διαδέχεται.** Death, dishonour night and darkness follow and cover up positive aspects Yet 'day and 'life' are predominant **(2× ὑπό),** and eternal life prevails

5,3ab **Urges a clear distinction between positive and negative, and a radical choice for truth** and righteousness

5,3cd Refers back to 2efg

5 4 The patriarch refers in a very general way to his own positive example thereby introducing·

6 1-3 Which give a general exhortation corresponding to 3,1-2 Here v 3bc emphasizing the necessity to discern **τὸ ὄντως** xaXóv gives a direct link with the main theme of chapters 2 and 4 and in fact the entire testament so far

Notes

5,1 See on **1,4** and under *Structure*.

5,2-3 See again on 1 4 and particularly Sir 33(36), **14-15** quoted there Human experience teaches that death and darkness succeed life and light According to Jewish and Christian faith human attempts to secure life and glory prove to be vain in the sight of God. The author however emphasizes the predominance of light ('the day') and life, directly connecting them with righteousness Eternal life awaits death There is duality, but in the end no dualism. There is no uncertainty as to God s intentions when he created the world and as to his demands on man This message is expressed in 2efg and in 3cd we should note the repeated **ὑπό** (three times with the **acc** , once with the genit, with no difference in meaning) The ethical conclusion is found in 3ab where the author's real intention in introducing the duality theme (compare **T.A.,** INTRODUCTION pp. 338ff.) is expressed very clearly and cogently. It leads immediately to 5 4 and 6,1-3 (particularly v. 3). For the expression **And it is not to be said that:** see T.N. 2,7; Sir 39,16.21.34. There are no further parallels to this passage We should note WisSol 7,29f. on Wisdom: 'For she is more beautiful than the sun, and excels every constellation of the stars. Compared with the light she is found to be superior, for it is succeeded by the night **(τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ διαδέχεται νύξ),** but against wisdom evil does not prevail' **Life** in 2f. and **light** in 3c are used metaphorically As to **light,** note the parallels in T L 19 1-2, **T.N.** 2 7.10· **T.B** 5 3 **(and** compare **T.Jos.** 20,2). Did calls the **'two** ways' **μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ** ftavatou **(1,1);** Barn **18,1, ἥ** TE **τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ** f) **τοῦ σκότους; DocIrApp** combines the two. vitae et mortis **lucis** et **tenebrarum.** In Barn the two ways are under the supervision of the angels of God and the angels of Satan. The first group are called 'giving light' **(φωταγωγοί)** In Barn 19 2 the description of the way of light begins with the injunction: 'You will love your maker and fear Him who formed you, you will glorify Him who has delivered you from death (compare v 2g here); the opposite way **δλως . ἐστιν ὁδὸς** ftavàTov **αἰωνίου** (Barn 20 1) On eternal life and death, see also **6,4-6** below T.L. 18,11; T.Jud. 24 4, 25,1.4. For the wording of v 2g cf 2Clem 19 4 **μακάριος αὐτὸν (the pious) ἀναμένει χρονος.**

5 4 **All these things I tested in my life** cf T D 1,3; T.G **5,2** **I did not wander from the truth of the Lord:** cf PS 118 110 LXX WisSol 5,6; Jas **5,19.** **and I searched out the commandments of the Most High.** cf PS 119(118),45; **78(77),7** **according to all my strength** a comparable expression is used in T.I 7 6 and T.Z 10 5 in the context of the command to love (fear) the Lord (cf. Deut 6 5) **with a single face:** see **T A ,** INTRODUCTION pp 338ff

6 1 The exhortation takes up the major themes of **5,(3)4.**. In 7 5 the patriarch predicts that his sons will *not* give heed to the law of God For this expression cf PS **78(77),1.** Isa **1,10,** Sir 23 27 32 24 35 1

6,2 **because people with a double face receive a double punishment:** not to be explained with the help of Rom 1 32b (see addition in *dmeafchij*).The best parallel is Hermas Sim. 9 18 2 'but those who have knowledge of God . and do wickedly will be punished doubly (**δισσῶς κολασθήσονται**) and will die for ever' cf. 2Clem 10 5 **Hate the spirits of deceit which strive against men:** cf TSol D 4,15 (**δαίμονες καὶ ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα,** v. 13) . **ἀγωνιζόμεθα ἵνα τὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου θάνατον . οἰκονομήσωμεν** ..., Justin **Apol** I 14,1, . **οἱ δαίμονες ἀγωνίζονται . . ἔχειν ὑμᾶς δούλους** ..., 58 3· Dial 125 4

6,3 **and do not turn to evil as to something good, but pay attention to what is really good:** see on 5,2-3 and cf. **T G.** 5,1. For **τὸ ὄντως καλόν,** see Plato **Phaedrus** 260 A, .. aXXà **τὰ δόξαντ' av πλήθει οἷπερ δικάσουσιν, οὐδὲ τὰ ὄντως ἀγαθὰ ἢ** xaXa **ἀλλ' ὅσα δόξει;** cf Justin, Apol II **11,6f** , **φεύγοντα τὰ δοκοῦντα** xaXâ **dwelling therein** see on 3 1 and **T.L.** 18 9 . **οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι καταπαυσουσιν** ev camp **(masc.).**

T ASHER 6,4–6

Translation

6,4 For the ends of men show their **righteousness,**
when they recognize the angels of the Lord and of Satan
5 For if the soul departs **troubled,**
it is tormented by the evil spirit,
whom[27] it also served in its desires and evil works
6 But if (it departs) quietly in joy,
he (the man) has recognized the angel of peace,
who will **comfort**[28] him with life

Textcritical notes

2 **οὗ** *(b)* This reading giving an example of attraction of the relative pronoun is to be preferred to the easier **ᾧ** *(leaf)* or ö *(gdmc)*

28 **(ὃς) παρακαλέσει.** The use of the verb **παρακαλεῖν** in this verse is beyond dispute Forms of the verb are found in *b* (**παρακαλέσει**) and in ***gld*** (**παρακαλοῦντα,** cf. **πεοικ. *m*)** The fut **indic.** is to be preferred to the participle which is surely lectio facilior. An **indic.** is also found in ***eaf*** and in ***chij.*** **ὃς** which has been added by the editor may have been left out in the earliest stages of the tradition of the text because of a scribes failure to understand the construction of the preceding clauses thinking perhaps that **εγνώρισε** should be connected with **ἐάν.**

Structure

The **author** concludes his **treatise** on duality with a **comment** on **δυο τέλη** (of the sons of **men**) in **1,3.** The end of man's life shows what really governed it **This** is the link with **6,1-3** Note the parallel and the difference with the use of TÉXoç in 1 9 and 2 1 4 where the end of human action is envisaged

6 4 Gives the general introduction

6,5-6 Give the two opposite cases of a soul which departs troubled, and one which departs quietly. The evil spirit in v 5a corresponds with the angel of Satan in v 4b the angel of peace with the angel of the Lord mentioned first in the same clause

Notes

6,4 **For the ends of men show their righteousness** see (T.N 1,1,) **T.B. 4,1, ἴδετε,** xexva, **τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἀνδρὸς** xo **τέλος, etc ,** PS **73(72),17** (LXX),... ml **συνῶ εἰς** xà **ἔσχατα αὐτῶν,** Sir **11,27b, καὶ** ev **συντελείᾳ ἀνθρώπου ἀποκάλυψις ἔργων αὐτοῦ,** followed by the warning Call no man happy before his death . Only here in the Testaments is spoken of what will happen to the individual at/after his death. T Jud 20 speaks of man attended by the spirit of truth and the spirit of error but gives at the most a hint concerning the last judgment (v 5 end). In T A **6,4–6,** on the contrary only v 5c refers to the influence of Beliar and his spirits during a man's lifetime although the intervention of God s angels and Beliar s evil spirits in man s life is a recurrent theme in the Testaments (see INTRODUCTION 6 2 and 6.3). **when they recognize the mgels of the Lord md of Satan.** **γνωρίζειν τινα** means to become acquainted with but in view of v 5c this translation cannot be used here. In Justin Dial. 36 6 the powers in heaven are said not to have recognized (ou **γνωρίζοντες)** Christ because they saw him **ἀειδῆ** xai **ατιμον τὸ εἶδος** xal **ἄδοξον ἔχοντα.** This meaning fits here at death men will meet the two angels and recognize them for what they really are. The opposite is the non-recognition of the angels of the Lord in the case of Sodom in **7,1.** **the angel of the Lord:** for God's intervention revelation and teaching through an angel in the life of men particularly of his servants, see, e.g., T.R 3 15 5,3, T.S 2,8, T Jud. 3 10 10,2, 15,5, T.I 2,1; T.Jos **6,6f.** In v 6 this angel is called **the angel of peace** The angel of peace guides the soul of the good man whose disposition is not in the power of the deceit of the spirit of Beliar (T.B 6 1 and see also the rest of this chapter). In T D 6,5 this angel strengthens Israel in the struggle against **ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ ἐχθροῦ,** ut) **εμπεσειν αὐτὸν εἰς τέλος κακῶν** (T.D 6 2-5: here the angel of peace is identified with the angel who intercedes for Israel [and for the **righteous**]; see v 2 and T L. 5 6 7; cf. T.Jud. 3,10; T.D. 5,4; T.Jos 6 7). Elsewhere, too the angel of peace plays some role, above all in **1En,** where he performs the duties of an angelus interpres: see 40,8; 52,5 53,4, 54,4, 56,2; 60 24 We also find the angel of peace as guardian and companion at the death of righteous men in some late Armenian liturgical prayers: 'Let us ask of the Lord for the angel of peace to be guardian of our souls ', and 'That the angel of peace may hand on his spirit unto the rest of the just let us pray ...' (F C Conybeare, ***Rituale Armenorum,*** Oxford 1905 pp 117 127). J. T. **Milik,** 'Milkî-ṣedeq et **Milkî-rešaʿ** dans les anciens ecrits juifs et chretiens *JJS* 23 (1972) 137 n. 61 refers to the not yet published Qumran fragment 4Q 228 1 I 8 where the expression **ומלאך שלומו** is found. Interestingly, in ArEvJo 2 7 Gabriel is called the angel of peace'. **the mgel of Satan:** this expression occurs only here. **Satan/Beliar** operates through his spirits, also called xà **πνεύματα τῆς πλάνης** (see v 2 above and e.g., T.R. 2 1 T S 3 1 6 6 T.L. 3 3; 18,12; T Jud 25,3; T.I. 4,4; 7 7 T.Z 9 7 T.D. 1,7 5,5; 6 1, T.B 3 3). In v. 5 this angel is called **the evil spirit** who has made a particular man (soul) serve him in desires and evil works. Cf. the use of xô **πνεῦμα τῆς πλάνης** in the singular in T R 2,3; **T Jud** 14,8; 20,1; cf. **T Jos.** 7 4 **τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Βελιάρ;** T B 3,4, **ὑπὸ** xou **ἀερίου πνευματος τοῦ Βελιάρ** The expression **τὸ πονηρὸν πνεῦμα** is found in a similar context in Hermas, Mand. 5,1,3 (cf. 6,2,1-10)

6,5 **For if the soul departs troubled.** **ταραχή** is the result of the activity of evil spirits; cf T.S. 4 9 (see note); 5 1 T D. 4 2.7 (, 5,2) T.G. 6,2; T.Jos. 7 4.5 T B 6,5 (*see* note) see also T.L. 13,6; **T Jud.** 16 4 T.Z. 8,6; **md** also **1En** 99,14, **... [ὅτι] διώξεται ὑμᾶς πνεῦμα πλανήσεως· οὐκ ἔστιν ὑμῖν ἀναπαῦσαι.** **is tormented** for tormenting' of the souls of sinners after death see e g., 4Mac 12,12, 13,15, lEn 10,13 22,11 **1QS** 4,12 TAb A 12 end (after judgment the soul is either given **τοῖς βασανισταῖς** or [reckoned to] those who are saved; see TAb B 10 xal **παρέδωκαν** xoïç **βασανισταῖς** and cf A 13 end); Lk 16,23.28, 2Clem 10,4, Hermas Sim **6,4,1ff** **by the evU spirit:** see **on v. 4** **whom it also served** cf 1 8 9 3 2 **6,2**

6 6 **if it departs quietly:** in **T B** 6 5 ἡσυχία is the opposite of **παραχή,** *a* state of mind which receives more attention in the Testaments than quietness but see T G 7 3 and T D 5 2 **(εἰρήνη)** and compare the description of Joseph in T.S.. 5 1 in contrast to a man with a confused mind in 4,9 **the angel of peace:** see on v.. 4.. **who will comfort him with life:** for this meaning of **παρακαλεῖν,** see T.R 4,4; T.Jos. 1 6 2,6; 17 4 cf. O Schmitz-G Stählin ***ThWNT*** V pp..**790–1..** **with life** (or, 'in **life'):** see 5,2. As to the picture of the activity of the two angels in T.A.. **6,4–6** the following remarks can be made. As was remarked before (see **T.A.,** INTRODUCTION.p 339) there are other passages dealing with two groups of angels/spirits in **1QS 3,13–4,26;** Barn **18–20;** Hermas Mand 6,1 and 2 but they emphasize the influence of these powers in man's life as many other passages **in the Testaments Of the corresponding passages 1QS 4,6–8, 4,11-14 in the teaching on** the two spirits (angels) in 1QS **only** the second passage mentions 'destroying angels' in connection with the punishment of sinners. Barn **18–20** connects angels of God and angels of Satan with the two ways. Of course the ways lead somewhere· they are the way of life and death (compare Did **1–6,** and note on 5 2-3 above) Barn 19,1 makes this clear: edv **τις θέλων ὁδὸν ὁδεύειν ἐπὶ** τὸν **ὡρισμένον τόπον** (cf **1Clem** 5,4.7, 44,5; Ignatius, Magn. 5,1, Polycarp Phil.. 9,2), the other way is **ὁδός .. θανάτου αἰωνίου μετὰ τιμωρίας, ἐν ᾗ ἐστιν τὰ ἀπολλύντα τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν** (20 1) **We do not hear, however, that the angels mentioned earlier play any part at or after death The** same applies to Hermas Mandates (see in particular Mand 6 1 and 2) In the composite judgment scene in TAb A **11-13,** we find first many souls being led by angels through the wide gate and a few through the narrow gate (chapter 11)· next, two angels of fiery appearance driving tens of thousands of souls without mercy (chapter 12);· and finally after the judgment, ὁ **ἄγγελος της κρισεως** which takes away **(ἀποφέρει)** the souls of **sinners εἰς τὸν τόπον των ἁμαρτωλῶν, πικρότατον κολαστήριον** and ο **τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἄγγελος** who takes **(ἀναφέρει)** the souls of the righteous **εἰς τὸ σώζεσθαι** εν **τῷ κλήρῳ των δικαίων** (chapter 13) In 4Q Amram published and discussed by J.. T. **Milik** *(RB* 79 [1972], 77-97) there is a disputation of two angels, one of whom is called **Malkî-rešaʿ** (opposed to **Malkî-ṣēdēq,** probably), about Amram.. Milik connects this with Origen Hom 35 in Lc.. which mentions iustitiae et iniquitatis angelos super Abrahae salute et interitu disceptantes.. Neither here nor in Jude 9 it is absolutely clear that the dispute takes place at the death of the person concerned. See on this K Berger Der Streit des guten und bösen Engels um die Seele.. Beobachtungen zu 4Q **Amr** and Judas 9 *JSJ* 4 (1973) 1-18;· and P.. J.. **Kobelski,** ***Melchizedek and Melchireša'***, Washington 1981 pp 75-83..Berger mentions a number of parallels in Christian apocalypses of a much later date.. See e.g.. **Koimesis** Mariae (ed.. M Jugie *P O* 19,3 **[1926])** 5 **... δύο ... ἄγγελοι ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, εις τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ εἰς τῆς πονηρίας, καὶ εἰσέρχονται μετὰ τοῦ θανάτου;** GkApPaul **14f.,** .. xal **ἰδον ἕνα** .. **πιπτοντα ἐγγυς θανάτου ...** xal **παρεγένοντο ἀγαθοὶ ἄγγελοι, ἅμα** δε xal οι **πονηροί.** xal **οἱ μὲν πονηροὶ ουχ εὗρον** ΤΟΠΟΥ ἐν **αὐτῷ, οἱ** δὲ **ἀγαθοὶ ἐκυρίευσαν τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ δικαίου ...** (but in the case of a sinner:) **ἦλθον** οι **πονηροὶ ἄγγελοι** xal οι **ἀγαθοί.** οι **ουν ἀγαθοὶ οὐχ ευρον** ΤΟΠΟΥ **ἀναπαύσεως** εν **αὐτῇ** οἳ δὲ **πονηροὶ ἐκυρίευσαν αὐτῆς;** SyrApPaul **10–13,'** .. et ecce unus ex **hominibus** iacens et propinquus morti . . et **tunc** intellexi ego Paulus quod **iustus** esset **ille** qui moriebatur nunc et invenisset requiem antequam moreretur Et appropinquavit se ad eum angelus misericordiarum et etiam angelus **malorum** . et venit in occursum eius ille angelus qui fuerat ductor eius in vita dixitque ei; O anima **mea,** roborare et esto in laetitia **...** laetare et exulta o anima et roborare **et ne conturberis ...**" (tr G Ricciotti, ***Orientalia*** *2* [1933], 1-25; **120–49**), cf. also ApZos 13 (ed M R James, *Texts and Studies* ***II*** *3* Cambridge 1893) or 14 (ed J H Charlesworth *SBL Texts and Translations 17* ***Pseudepigrapha*** *Series 10* Chico 1982)

T ASHER 7

Translation

7,1 Do not become, **children,**[29] as Sodom
that did not know the angels of the Lord
and perished for ever
2 For I know that you will sin
and will be delivered in the hands of your enemies
and your land will be made desolate
and your holy place will be **destroyed**[30]
and you will be scattered to the four corners of the earth
and you will be in dispersion
set at **naught**[31] as useless water,
until the Most High will visit the earth
3 And **he,** coming as a man,
eating and drinking with men
and in silence breaking the head of the dragon through water,
will, in this way, save Israel and all the Gentiles,
God playing the part of a man
4 Therefore, say these things to your children,
that they do not disobey him
5 For I have read in the tables of heaven
that you will surely be disobedient to him
and will act impiously towards him
not giving heed to the **law**[32] of God, but to commandments of **men.**[33]
6 Therefore you will be scattered as Gad and as Dan, my brothers,
who will not know their lands and tribe and tongue
7 But the Lord will gather you in faith through the hope on his compassion,
for the sake of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob

Textcritical notes

29 **τέκνα** *(b)* It has been omitted in all other extant MSS It is hard to decide whether it is original or not

30 **καὶ τὰ ἅγια υμων καταφθαρησεται.** This phrase has been left out in *bk* **because** of **hmt.**

31 **ἐξουθενώμενοι** *(bd)* Both this reading and the variant **ἐξουδενώμενοι** (*kgleafchij*) may claim originality (cf. also T L 16,2). Also in the LXX MSS the verbs **ἐξουθενεῖν (-οῦν)** and **ἐξουδενεῖν (-οῦν)** are used interchangeably· see **e g , 1Sam** 10 19· 2Chr 36 16· Ezek 22,8.

32 ΤΟΥ **νομον** (*bklhi*). The variant **τῷ νόμῳ** (*gdeafc*) will have been introduced under the influence of the following **ἐντολαῖς.** Cf also **6,1**

33 The addition at the end of this verse which is found in *gdefchij* (in different versions) looks secondary The phrase is not found in *bkla* and may have been added as a parallel

to the end of 6,1 It is not easy to imagine why it would have been omitted In this case the lectio brevior seems preferable

Structure

7 1 Connects the following prediction of the collective future of the sons of **Asher** (Israel) with the preceding description of the destiny of individual persons through the example of Sodom. Note 'the angels of the Lord', **ἠγνόησε** versus **ἐγνώρισε,** and **ἀπώλετο ἕως αἰῶνος**
What follows constitutes a double S E R passage (see INTRODUCTION 7 2 3) with another warning in the middle (v 4)

7 2a Gives the introduction: 'I know and the announcement of sin

7,2b–g Describes the exile

7 2h-3abcde Describe God's visitation (Return only implicit)

7 4 Warns against future sins of the sons of Asher against him

7,5a Gives a new introduction mentioning the tables of heaven

7,5bcd A description of sin

7,6 New exile

7,7 New return

Notes

7,1 For **Sodom** as a negative example see on T N 3 4 **that did not know the angels of the Lord:** see Gen 19,1-29; **ἠγνόησε** is opposed to **ἐγνωρισε** in 6 6 **perished for ever:** see Gen 18,16–33, 19,13 24–29.

7,2 **I know:** see on T.L. 14 1 Mostly the source of knowledge is indicated (as in v 5 below) **... will be delivered in the hands of your enemies:** cf T.Jud 23 3 5 T I 6 2 T.Z. 9,6 T N 4 2 and Lev 26 25; 2Kgs 21 14· Ezek 39 23 **your land will be made desolate** cf T L 17 10 T Jud 23 3 and Lev 26 31f The theme of the destruction of the land recurs in a great number of descriptions or predictions in the prophetic books of the OT **and your holy place will be destroyed** cf. Lev 26,31 where more than one holy place is in view. In Jer 51(28),51 however, the reference is to the temple in **Jerusalem,** (LXX) **εις τὰ ἅγια ἡμῶν, εἰς** οἶκον **κυριου;** cf Dan 8 13 LXX (and 8,11); 1Mac 2 12· 3,51.58f.; Jdt 8 22 PssSol 8,11. In T L 16 4 clearly the temple in Jerusalem is meant (cf. 16,5). **Compare the announcement of the destruction of the temple in T.L (10,3;) 15,1; T.Jud.** 22,3. **and you will be scattered.** see on T L 16,5 **to the four corners of the earth** dispersion over the entire earth is a well-known theme see e.g., Jer 24,9; Ezek 5,10 11,16; Dan 9 7 LXX; Sir 48,15 PssSol 17,18 In Isa 11,12 (LXX) (cf. Ezek 7 2) we find the expression **(καὶ τοὺς διεσπαρμένους τοῦ Ιουδα συνάξει) ἐκ των τεσσάρων πτερύγων τῆς γῆς** at **τέσσαρες γωνίαι της γῆς is** found in Rev 7 1 20,8 (in 7 1 combined with the four winds cf Zech 2,10 Mk 13 28 Mt 24,31, and Did 10,5). **set at naught as useless water:** see Ps 58(57),8 (LXX), (the wicked) **ἐξουδενωθήσονται ὡς ὕδωρ διαπορευόμενον.** Cf. WisSol 16,29, (the hope of an ungrateful man) **ῥυήσεται ως ὕδωρ αχρηστον** 2Mac 1 27 uses **ἐξουθενήμενοι** for the Jews in the diaspora; Hos 8 8 (LXX) compares Israel among the nations with a **σκεῦος ἄχρηστον** **until the** Most **High wUI visit the earth** for God's visit, see T.L. 4 4· 16,5, T Jud. 23,5, T B 9 2· in all cases God's compassion or salvation is mentioned. In T L. 4 4 God visits **παντα τὰ ἔθνη** Ev **σπλάγχνοις υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ,** in T B 9 2 **the** expression **ἐν ἐπισκοπῇ μονογενοῦς προφητου** is used The expression **ἐπισκ. τὴν γην** is found only here in the Testaments; cf. **1En** 25 3 **ὅταν καταβῇ ἐπισκέψασθαι τὴν γην** fat' **ἀγαθῷ;** and PssSol 15 12 (both in context of last judgment)

7,3 **coming as a man:** see especially T.S. 6 5.7 and 7 2 where we find the expressions **φαινόμενος ἐπι γῆς ὡς ἄνθρωπος** (6,5) fteóc **σῶμα λαβὼν** xal **συνεσθίων ἀνθρώποις** (6,7), and . **θεὸν** xal **ἄνθρωπον** (7,2) (see the notes on these verses) In the last clause of v 3 the author adds **God playing the part of a man** This seems to be the most probable translation though **εἰς** comes unexpected (see **LScJ** and Lampe s.v. **υποκρινομαι)** and though **ὑποκρίνεσθαι** often has a negative connotation, the alternative 'God delivering a speech to man makes no sense. Cf. the expression fteôç èv **σχήματι ἀνθρώπου** in **T.Z.** 9,8 and **μετασχηματίζεσθαι + εἰς** in **T R.** 5 6. **For the use of ἄνηρ in** this context, see, e.g., Eusebius **Comm.** in Pss., Ps **80,4f.**, . **ὀφθεὶς πάλαι Θεὸς** ev **ἀνδρὸς εἴδει** xal **σχήματι.** **in silence breaking the head of the dragon through water** this expression goes back to Ps **74(73),13f.** (LXX) . **οὐ συνέτριψας τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν δρακόντων ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος.** ou **συνέθλασας τὰς κεφαλὰς τοῦ δράκοντος** One should note the change to **δι' ὕδατος** suggesting baptism (cf. **T L** 16 5 ev **πίστει** xal **ὕδατι);** see Athanasius, Qu. Ant. 137,7 where he introduces a quotation of this Psalm verse with **ὅτι δὲ xal διὰ βαπτίσματος ... ἔμελλεν ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ** fteoç **ἡμῶν ... καταργεῖν** TOV **διάβολον,** the same connection with Christ is found in Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. **III** 11· cf Eusebius D.E. IX 12 and ArmApPaul version D 3 (ed P. Vetter, ***Theol.*** *Quartalschrift* 89 [1907], **67f)** ev **ἡσυχίᾳ,** 'in silence', will mean: without making this fact known to everybody· cf. **Ignatius, Eph** 19 1 'in the context of the entire chapter 19 **save Israel and all the Gentiles·** cf T S 6 5 7 7 2 T L 2 11 T Jud 24 6 T N 8 3 **T Jos. 19,6, T.B 3,8**

7,4 Asher asks his sons to warn their children This is a central theme in the Testaments (see T S. 6,1 and see INTRODUCTION 7 1 1). The patriarch knows what will **happen,** warns **his** offspring **yet** their sons will **sin** - against **God** acting **in** Christ (cf. T.L. **4,4–6,** 10,1-2; ·T.B. .9,3) - as the patriarch announces in the next verse. Israel's disobedience to Christ is, of course, a well-known motif in early Christian literature: see, e.g., Rom **11,30ff.;** Heb 3,18;·4 6 11;·Origen, Comm. in Mt. XVI 4; Eusebius Comm. in **Pss.,** Ps 84 4

7,5 **For I have read in the tables of heaven.** see on 2,10 above Cf **T Z** 9,5 (the writing of my fathers') and the references to Enoch (see on T S 5 4) **will act impiously towards him** cf T.L 10 2·· **14,1f.4** **not giving heed to the law of God, but to commandments of men** opposite of 6 1 See again T L 14 4 **ἐναντίας ἐντολὰς διδάσκοντες τοις τοῦ θεοῦ δικαιώμασι;** cf Isa 29 13 quoted in Mk **7,6f ,** in the context of w **6–13** where **η ἐντολὴ τοῦ θεοῦ** is opposed to **ἡ παράδοσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων (vv 8f ,** cf. v 13) See further **K.** Berger, *Die Gesetzesauslegung Jesu* pp. **484–96** ('Der Vorwurf der „Menschensatzungen wird in apokalyptischen Texten auf die Juden in der Endzeit angewandt· die Verdrängung der Gebote Gottes durch Menschengebote ist eines der Kennzeichen des großen Abfalls am Ende', p. 489)

7,6 **as Gad and as Dan, my brothers:** it is not quite clear why these two patriarchs are singled out; cf. **T.D.** 7 3 (a verse that receives great emphasis, being placed at the very end of the testament) and T.G 8,2 (the end of the patriarch's **exhortations),** perhaps it goes back to a tradition that stresses the negative roles of just these two patriarchs (cf JosAsen **24,4ff.;** LivPro [ed. **Th.** Schermann] pp 13 14· **48,16f ;** 76 4 [various recensions of vit Ezek]).

7,7 **will gather you:** cf T N 8 3 **σῶσαι τὸ γένος Ἰσραήλ·** xal **ἐπισυνάξει δικαίους ἐπ τῶν ἐθνῶν** (cf v 3 above) **συνάγειν** in the passive is used in T.B 9 2; 10,11. For **ἐπισυνάγειν,** compare Ps 106(105),47 147(146),2; Tob 14 7 S 2Mac **1,27;** 2 7 18 Mt 23,37 (par Lk **13,34)** **in faith:** cf. T.L. 16 5 and T.D 6,4, T.B. 10 7ff **for the sake of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob:** cf. T.L 15,4 (see note). Because of the obvious reference to Gods saving activity in Jesus Christ at the end of the first **S.E.R.** section

the sin of the second section refers to the rejection of Christ and the new exile is punishment for this rejection The final note is the **announcement** of a new chance for Israel, if it believes and hopes on God's compassion because of the fathers.

T ASHER 8

Translation

8,1 And after he had said these things, he commanded them, saying
Bury me in Hebron.
And he died, falling asleep in a good sleep
2 And afterwards his sons did as he had commanded them
and carrying him up, they buried him with his fathers

Notes

8 1-2 **Bury me they buried him** cf. T D 6 11 7 2 T G 8 3 5 T B 12 1 3 **in a good sleep** cf T Z 10,6 **his sons did as he had commmded them** cf T Jud 26 4 T N 9 3 **with his fathers** see on T Z 10 7

THE TESTAMENT OF JOSEPH CONCERNING CHASTITY

INTRODUCTION

The general structure of this long testament is relatively clear After a short introduction and a summons to listen to the words of the patriarch 1,1-2, Joseph points to his piety and steadfastness in times of trouble This may be regarded as the central theme of the testament in spite of envy and the threat of death Joseph did not go astray (1,3) Then follows a passage in the form of a late individual thanksgiving (1,4–2,6), in which the patriarch thanks God for his deliverance from distress and oppression It serves as an introduction to the whole of the testament The end of the psalm introduces the idea of the testing of the righteous man by God, which in 2,7 is applied to the actual life of Joseph. Here also the virtues of μακροθυμία and υπομονη occur, which in significant places in the testament characterize Joseph's attitude in the past Two stories are told as illustrations of the patriarch's pious behaviour in times of utmost distress First, there is the story of Joseph and the Egyptian woman (3,1-9,5) It describes the many attemps of the Egyptian woman to seduce Joseph Joseph's attitude in what is called his 'struggle' is that of the oppressed man who asks God to be delivered from his distress The story is followed by some exhortations in 10,1–4 centering round praying, fasting, and above all chastity and endurance, also the idea of exaltation and reward by God is mentioned

In 10,5–6 Joseph introduces himself another time as positive example to his sons This time he emphasizes his self-humiliation, his fear of God and his respect for his brothers This made him keep 'silence'; he did not tell the Ishmaelites and the people in Egypt that he was not a slave but a free man These two verses are the introduction to a second story about Joseph which deals with his attitude towards his brothers after he was sold to the Ishmaelites and brought to Egypt The story (11,2-16,6) is preceded by an exhortation to fear the Lord and to honour one's brothers (11,1). Also this story is meant to illustrate Joseph's endurance in times of distress, this time with an emphasis on love to one's brothers. This is also obvious from the passage that follows the story (chspters 17-18) in which exhortations and biographical data alternate Endurance, self-humiliation, love to one another, praying for those who do wrong together with the motif of deliverance, reward and exaltation by God are the most prominent elements

Chapter 19 gives predictions about the future of the tribes of Israel. First, the patriarch tells his sons about some dreams or visions, which deal with the future dispersions of the twelve tribes and the coming of Jesus Christ (19,1-5) It is followed by a brief L J passage and a reference to the 'Lamb of God' that will save 'all the Gentiles and Israel' and whose kingdom is eternal (19,6–7).

Finally, Joseph points to Israel's oppression by the Egyptians in the near future together with its deliverance, the exodus (20,1). He adds some regulations about his bones and those of Zilpah (20,2-3). 20,4–6 forms the concluding section of the testament

Main themes

The two stories which occupy almost the entire testament serve to illustrate Joseph's endurance and the value of this virtue in the sight of God This is particularly obvious in the introductory passages to both stories (see esp 2,6–7; 10,5–6) and the exhortatory sections directly following them (see 10,1–4, 11,1, 17-18) In these passages, Joseph's endurance or patience (long-suffering), ὑπομονή/μακροθυμία, is a recurrent element (see 2,7, 10,1f.; 17,1f., 18,3, not mentioned in the stories themselves) Both terms, but above all υπομονη, are often used to describe the attitude of the righteous man in his distress (see, e g , PssSol 16,14f.; Rom 5,3f.; 12,12, Jas 1,2ff.12ff.; 2Clem 11,4f.; 17,7; Did 16,5, Acta Thom 144). ὑπομονη is also the attitude of the Cynic-Stoic wise man in his 'struggle' against the passions, characterizing his patience and endurance in times of troubles, and it has become one of the most eminent features of the 'martyr' in the martyr literature (see, e g , 4Mac 1,11; 5,23; 6,9, etc., MartPolyc 2,2ff.; 3,1, etc , cf V C Pfitzner, *Paul and the Agon Motif. Traditional athletic imagery in the Pauline literature [Suppl. NT 16]* Leiden 1967, pp 63f ; 199ff). The term is directly connected with μακροθυμια in the sense of 'patience, endurance', a meaning which is found only a few times in the LXX (Sir 2,4, 1Bar 4,25, cf Sir 5,11; 2Mac 6,14) The combination of μακροθυμία and υπομονη meaning 'patience' (see 2,7) is found very often see, e g , TJob 26,4f.; 2Cor 6,4ff.; 2Tim 3,10f.; further 1Cor 13,4ff , Col 1,11, Jas 5,7ff , 1Clem 62,2, 64,1 In connection with Joseph μακροθυμία and υπομονη are also used in, e g , Josephus, Ant. 2,43, 50, 69, GkApPaul 47, Eusebius, Comm. in Pss., Ps 104,17ff.; Eusebius Emesenus, Fr in Gen , Gen 39,13-15.22, Athanasius, Pat 5

Connected with Joseph's endurance, there is the attitude of humility, ταπεινωσις, the opposite of self-exaltation (see 10,2.5f.; 17,8)

This attitude of endurance and humility is the condition for glorification and exaltation by God: 'If you also, therefore, walk in the commandments of the Lord, my children, he will exalt (ὑψώσει) you thereupon and will bless you with good things for ever ... and you will be released by the Lord from all evil' (18,1-2, see further 1,7, 2,7, 9,3; 10,3) This reward motif (usually described by terms as ὑψοῦν, δοξάζειν, εὐλογεῖν, δόξα, εὐλογία) occurs also elsewhere in the Testaments see T S 4,5, T B. 4,1, also there it has to do with Joseph, referring to his exaltation as king of Egypt, a this-worldly reward, given to him by God during his life Exaltation by God as a reward for the good and pious behaviour of a man in general, and - connected with God's saving activity - of the oppressed man in particular, is a well-known motif (see, e g , Ps 9,13, 18[17],48; 37[36],34, 84[83],11, 91[90],14f., Prov 18,10, Isa 63,9, TJob 43,16, IClem 45,8, Hermas, Vis. 2,2,6) This idea of exaltation, however, differs little from that of salvation and is not directly connected with reaching a higher status, but because of the two-fold meaning of the verb ὑψοῦν and the

combination ὑψοῦν-δοξάζειν (see 10,3, and, e g , Ps 36,20 LXX, Isa 4,2), the two ideas of being saved and being exalted or honoured could easily have been connected.

In the Testaments, it is Joseph who after a time of distress was saved and exalted and honoured he became 'king' of Egypt. This pattern has its roots in the Gen story, and is also found in Ps 105(104),17ff.; see further 1Mac 2,53, WisSol 10,13f ; Ephraem, Comm in Gen XXXV 7ff.; XL 4, Eusebius, Comm in Pss , Ps 112,7-9; Hippolytus, Comm in Dan II 9

Both stories describing the efforts of the Egyptian woman (in the first story) and the hostility of Joseph's brothers (in the second story) are closely related and must not be separated Both had a similar function in Joseph's life So also in, e g , Origen, Comm. in Pss., Ps 118,110, 'just as for Joseph the Egyptian woman and the brothers ', Cels. IV 46f.; Athanasius, Pat 5, ου γάρ μόνον οἱ ἀδελφοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐφθόνη-σεν αυτῳ , CoptApocrJos (ed./tr E O Winstedt, *JThS* 10 [1909]), 411, 'And not only did he conquer in the battle with wickedness but the other enmity he conquered and slew For he requited his brethren well .', cf Ephraem, Comm in Gen XXXV 9 Thus, in T.Jos , the two stories are given as two examples of the scheme of humiliation (distress) - exaltation (being king of Egypt), a well-known pattern in the description of Joseph's adventures

In the story of Joseph and the Egyptian woman Joseph's attitude of endurance is depicted in terms of 'praying for salvation', δεῖσθαι, προσ-εύχεσθαι (3,3, 4,3 8, 7,4, 8,1, 9,4, cf. 10,1), 'fasting', νηστεύειν (3,4.5, 4,8, cf. 9,2, 10,1), 'putting on sackcloth', σάκκος (4,3), and 'weeping', πενθεῖν, δακρύειν, κλαίειν, etc (3,6.9; 6,3, 8,1) Such an attitude is typical of the pious man who, in distress, asks God for salvation: see e g , 2Sam 12,16ff.; 1Kgs 21,27, Neh 1,4, Dan 9,3, Jdt 4,9ff.; 1Clem 55,6.' It is often found in an individual lament, where the poet complains of his distress and oppression and beseeches God for salvation, see, e.g Ps 6,6.8, 34,13f LXX; 69(68),10ff.; 109(108),24ff.; cf H Gunkel–J. Begrich, *Einleitung in die Psalmen Die Gattungen der religiösen Lyrik Israels*, Göttingen 1933, pp 179, 231 This story also ascribes to Joseph a particular 'virtue', namely temperance or chastity, σωφροσύνη (see 4,1-2, 6,7; 9,2; cf. 10,2f) In Jewish and Christian tradition this virtue has come to be regarded as the main characteristic of Joseph's life see, e g., 4Mac 2,2, Philo, De Jos 40, 57, 87, Josephus, Ant 2,48, 50, 69, JosAsen 4 9: Clement of Alexandria, Paid III 11 (68,3), Origen, Cels IV 46, Eusebius, Comm. in Pss., Ps 7,4f It is not surprising therefore that T.Jos. received the title περὶ σωφροσυνης in *bldmef* One should note, however, that in T.Jos. it is just one feature of Joseph.

In the second story which describes Joseph's attitude towards his brothers when he was interrogated and pressed to tell the truth about his origin, his endurance is depicted in terms of respect and love for his brothers (see 10,6; 11,1, 17,2ff.), which meant in concreto 'keeping silent' and 'not telling his real status' in order to save their reputation (see 10,6, 11,2f.; 14,2, 15,3, 17,1) This motif of Joseph's silence is also found in the writings of Philo and Josephus see, e.g., Philo, De Jos 246ff.; 'They (the brothers) praised also the pre-eminent selfrestraint of his modest reticence. He had passed through all these vicissitudes, yet neither while in

slavery did he denounce his brothers for selling him nor when he was haled to prison did he in his despondency disclose any secret, nor during his long stay there make any revelations of the usual kind ... though he had a suitable opportunity for disclosing the facts, did he say a word about his own high lineage ', 237; 250 **Philo** and **T.Jos.** differ in that the latter connects the motif more obviously with Joseph's silence before his kingship. The same motif occurs in Josephus (see Ant 2,60, cf 163), where Joseph's silence is connected with his confidence that God would save him (cf. Origen, **Cels.** IV 46, for the figure of Joseph in Josephus' Jewish Antiquities, see Th W. Franxman, *Genesis and the "Jewish Antiquities" of Flavius Josephus [Biblica et Orientalia 35]*, Rome 1979, pp 221–47). In **T.Jos.** this connection is not explicit, but it may be present

In **T.Jos.**, the patriarch's silence is above all connected with the fact that he has to endure injustice It is the characteristic of the righteous and pious man who finds himself in utmost distress (see, e.g., Ps 38[37],13f ; 39[38],9, Isa 53,7, and Jesus' silence in the passion narratives and in 1Pet 2,22f.), and particularly of the 'martyr' (see, e.g., The Martyrs of Lyons 1,20, The Martyrdom of Irenaeus 3,3, cf also Hippolytus, Haer IX 23) A similar setting is found in the Joseph narratives the patriarch finds himself in trouble, but despite all threats he refuses to admit the truth that he is a free man, and he keeps silent

Next, silence is, more positively, connected with brotherly love or, in general, with love to others (so also to the Egyptian woman in 9,4 and to an eunuch in 16,6) When the righteous man suffers wrong, he holds his peace and has mercy on the one who does not treat him well; he is confident that God will save and reward him afterwards (see 18,2; T B 5,4f.).

Literature H W Hollander, op cit. (see INTRODUCTION 1 1 1), esp pp 16–49; 107-120

T JOSEPH 1-2

Translation

1,1 A copy of the testament of Joseph
When he was about to die he called his sons and his brothers and said to them

2 My children and brothers,
listen to Joseph, the beloved of Israel,
give ear, sons, to your father

3 I have seen in my life envy and death,
and I did not go astray in the truth of the Lord

4 These my brothers hated me,
and the Lord loved me;
they wished to kill me,
and the God of my fathers guarded me,
they let me down into a pit,
and the Most High brought me up again,

5 I was sold to be a slave,
and the **Lord**[1] made me free,
I was taken into captivity,
and his strong hand succoured me,
I was oppressed by hunger
and the Lord himself nourished me,
6 I was alone,
and God comforted me,
I was ill,
and the Most High visited me,
I was in prison,
and the Saviour showed favour unto me,
in bonds,
and he released me,
7 in slanders,
and he pleaded my cause,
in bitter words from the Egyptians,
and he delivered me,
in envy of my **fellow-slaves,**[2]
and he exalted me
2,1 And thus Photimar,[3] the chiefcook of Pharaoh, entrusted to me his house
2 And I struggled against a shameless woman,
urging[4] me to transgress with her,
but the God of Israel my father **guarded**[5] me from the burning flame
3 I was cast into prison, I was beaten, I was mocked,
and the Lord granted me to find mercy in the sight of the keeper of the **prison.**
4 For he will not forsake those who fear him,
neither in darkness nor in bonds nor in tribulations nor in necessities,
5 for not as a man God is ashamed
nor as a son of man he is afraid
nor as one who is earth-born is he weak or is he thrust aside,
6 but in all places he is at hand,
and in different ways does he comfort,
though departing for a short time to try the inclination of the soul
7 In ten temptations he showed that I was approved,
and in all of them I endured,
for endurance is a mighty remedy,
and patience gives many good things

Textcritical notes

[1] **ὁ κυριος** (*bl*; cf *a*) The variant o **πάντων κύριος** (*gdmef*, cf **ὁ πάντων δεσπότης** *chj*) may be an attempt to introduce more variation in this verse

[2] **συνδούλων.** The reading **σὺν δόλοις** (*b*) is possible but context and meaning are in favour of **συνδούλων.**

Φωτιμάρ (*b*). This reading which is more or less supported by *g* (**Φωτι**) and / (**Φωτιει**), is surely lectio difficilior and consequently (very probably) original (see also the note on this verse)

[4] **ἐπείγουσαν** (g). Both the reading **ἐπειγουση** (*bl*, perhaps introduced under the influence of the preceding **ἀναιδῆ**) and **ἐπειγούσης** (*deafchj*, as an attempt to make a genit **absol.** construction) are secondary

[5] **ἐφύλαξε** (*b*). The verb **φυλάσσειν** makes good sense in connection with a metaphorical meaning of the burning flame as referring to the Egyptian woman and her sexual desires and passions The variant **ἐρρύσατο** (*gldeafchj*) may have been introduced under the influence of Dan 3,88 LXX (cf. **1Mac** 2,59; 3Mac 6,6).

[6] **ἐπί** (*b*). The variant ἐν (*gldeafchj*) is surely lectio facilior

Structure

The central part of these two chapters viz., **1,4–2,6**, gives an example of a late individual thanksgiving, in which Joseph thanks God for his deliverance from distress and oppression as many psalmists did. This can be deduced from the style as well as from the contents and the terminology All sentences found in **1,4–7** and most of those in 2 1-3 are constructed according to the same two-part pattern. The first part describes (in the first person) the situation of distress in which Joseph found himself, while the second part mentions God s saving activity (in the third person) This pattern ('I was in trouble and God saved me) is found in many Psalms specifically in individual thanksgivings see e.g., Ps **18(17),18, 34(33),4, 107(106),13, 116(114),6; 118(117),13; 120(119),1; Ezra 8,23, Jonah 2,2. Another** stylistic characteristic of individual thanksgivings is the use of the third person to speak about God: see e.g., Ps **40(39),1ff.; 66(65),16ff.**

The use of the particular style found in these chapters of **T.Jos.** may have been inspired by Gen 50,20 where Joseph says to his brothers As for you you meant evil against me but God meant it for good . . '

Also many expressions used in T.Jos. **1,4–2,6** are typical of individual thanksgivings though they are certainly not confined to thanksgivings alone. This is not only the case with the terms that describe God s saving activity like **φυλάσσειν, βοηθεῖν, ἐπισκέπτεσθαι, ῥύεσθαι,** etc but also with most of the terms used to describe Joseph's distress like **λιμός, μόνος, ἀσθένεια, φυλακή, δεσμός, ἀνάγκη, σκοτος,** etc. The description of Joseph s trouble undoubtedly reminds also of a **'Leidens-'** or Lasterkatalog examples of which we find in 2Cor **6,4–10,** etc **(see on T.B. 6,4)**

The individual thanksgiving T Jos **1,4–2,6** clearly belongs to a later development of this type **of** psalm **as** found **in,** e.g., **Dan 2,20–23; Sir 51,1-12;** PssSol **2, 13; 15. In** these later psalms some elements of the OT individual thanksgivings are lacking, while wisdom elements play a more or less prominent part. This explains why T.Jos. **1,4–2,6** is so strongly reminiscent of ideas which belong to wisdom literature Also prose passages instead of poetry are found in later psalms (cf. T.Jos., 2 1-3). Finally many of these later psalms have a didactic function and the same is certainly true for T.Jos. **1,4–2,6** (see esp 1,3; **2,6f.).** For all this see H **Gunkel–J** Begrich **op.cit.;** F Crüsemann *Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymnus und Danklied in* **Israel** *(WMANT 32)* Neukirchen 1969, and H. L. Jansen *Die spätjüdische* **Psalmendichtung,** *ihr Entstehungskreis und ihr "Sitz im Leben". Eine Literaturgeschichtlich soziologische Untersuchung (SNVAO II* **Hist.-Filos** *Klasse 1937 Nr 3)* Oslo 1937

The individual thanksgiving T Jos **1,4–2,6** is meant as the introduction to the whole of the testament. This is clear from the fact that many terms and expressions used here recur elsewhere in the testament some of them in the context of the story about Joseph and the Egyptian woman others in the context of the second story others in both stories

In detail:

1,1 Introduction. Joseph s sons and brothers are called together

1,2 Summons to listen to the patriarch

1,3 Theme of the testament. Introduction to the individual thanksgiving

1,4–7 First part of the individual thanksgiving a sketch in more or less chronological order of Joseph's distress before his appointment as steward of the house of Petephres (Photimar) and God s saving activity

- v 4 subject: the brothers They hated Joseph they wanted to kill him they let him down into a pit
- v 5 3x first person aor. pass Joseph was sold to be a slave, he became a prisoner he was beset with hunger. From v. 5c onwards there is no direct link with the Gen story but see the second story in T Jos
- v 6 another description of Joseph s troubles as slave and prisoner (note **3× ἤμην**) He was **alone**, he was ill, he was in prison, (he was) in bonds
- v 7 continuation of the preceding description this time referring to the attitude of the people in Egypt towards Joseph: slander harsh words envy Nevertheless Joseph is saved by God; he is even exalted

2,1-3 Second part of the individual thanksgiving (few poetic elements)

- **v.1** Joseph s appointment as steward of Photimar's house which is regarded as the exaltation referred to in 1,7
- v 2 Joseph s 'struggle' against the Egyptian woman who wants to seduce him he is guarded by God
- v 3 Joseph's imprisonment and oppression his **'salvation'**: he finds mercy in the sight of the keeper of the prison

2,4–6 Final part of the individual thanksgiving (again poetry). The usual conclusion of an individual thanksgiving (see also, e.g., Ps 31[30] 23 69[68] 33)

- v 4 God does not forsake those who fear him
- v 5 for he is **God**, not a man
- v 6 but - positively - he is always at hand and when he departs it is for a little while to put a man to the test

2 7 Application of the idea of the righteous man s trial by God (see v. 6) to Joseph s own oppression in the past. Introduction of **υπομονη** and **μακροθυμία**, and the rewards they give

Notes

1,1 **When he was about to die:** a typical element of this genre: cf. T R 1 1; T S 1,1; T L **1,1f**; T Jud. **1,1**; T D 1 1 T N 1 1 **he called his brothers** cf T R 1 4f and see Gen 50,24.

1,2 **listen ... give ear to** cf T R 1 5 (see note) T I 1 1 **the beloved of Israel** for **Jacob's love for Joseph which determined the brothers' attitude of jealousy and hatred** towards Joseph (see v 3) see Gen **37,3f.**, T.S. 2,6; T.D 1 5; T.G 1 5; T.Jos 10,5.

1,3 **envy:** cf 1,7 10,3. Elsewhere in the Testaments it is particularly Simeon s attitude towards Joseph which is characterized by envy, **φθόνος**: see **T S.**, INTRODUCTION pp **109f.**; cf. also T.D. 2,5; T.G. 3 3 4 5 passages in which envy is closely connected with hatred a passion which already in Gen 37,4.8 characterizes the brothers attitude towards Joseph For the **brothers' φθόνος**, a term not found in Gen (but see Gen 37 11

where the cognate word **ζηλοῦν** is used), see also e.g., Philo De Jos 5 (+ **μῖσος**); Josephus Ant. 2 10 (+ **μῖσος**), 13 27 Athanasius Fr. Pss. Comm., Ps 36,31ff. The envy' in our verse may also refer to the Egyptian woman's attitude cf. Athanasius, Pat. 5 **συ γὰρ μόνον οἱ ἀδελφοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ γυνη ἐφθόνησεν αὐτῶ.** **death** first his brothers wanted to kill him (see Gen 37 T.Jos **1,4**; T.S 2 7.11; 3 3 T Z 1 7 2; 4,2.11 T D **1,4 7ff.**, T G **2,1f 4**, 6 2), but also others threatened him with death the Egyptian woman (see 3 1 6 5· T R. 4,10) and the leader of the Ishmaelites (see 11,3), cf also T B 3 4 How many men wished to kill him ...'. Imminent death is an important motif in psalms see, e g , Ps **33(32),19; 56(55),13;** 87,7 LXX, **107(106),10.14 18,** 116(114),8; Sir 51,6 9 Dan 3,88 LXX cf Job 5,20; 1QH 2 21.32 5,6. **I did not go astray in the truth of the Lord** cf T A 5 4 (see note)· cf also Origen Comm in **Pss.**, Ps 118,110, ' .. just as for Joseph the Egyptian woman and the brothers for Daniel those who had power on account of Darius. **ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπεπλανήθησαν τῶν ἐντολων του** fteou

1,4 **hated me:** see **on v 3.** **they wished to kill me:** see **on v 3** **the God of my fathers** a typical expression in this context cf. 2,2 T R. 4,10, T S 2,8, T G 2 5 **guarded me**· cf 2 2· 9 5 The verb **φυλάσσειν** is frequently used in individual thanks givings and other psalms to describe God's saving activity: see, e.g. Ps **16(15),1;** 25(24) 20 **97(96),10;** 121(120),5 7 **they let me down into a pit, and the Most High brought me up again.** cf Gen **37,22ff** , but here neither **ἀνάγειν** nor **χαλᾶν** is used The terminology is reminiscent of that in the story about Jeremiah in Jer **38(45),1–13;** the LXX uses **λάκκος** (45 6f.10f.13), **ἀνάγειν** (45,10.13) and **χαλᾶν** (45 6) For God as the subject of **ἀνάγειν**, cf. Ps 40(39),2; and 30(29),3; 71(70) 20

1,5 **I was sold to be a slave** cf Ps **105(104),17;** WisSol 10 13 Philo, De Jos 270, Origen **Cels.** IV 47 For **πιπράσκειν**, see also on T S 4,2, for **δοῦλος**, see also T.Jos. **11,2f , 13,6ff.**, 15,2f. One should note that, again the terminology in Gen 37 is different **made me free:** cf Origen, Cels. IV 47, TÔV **εἰς δοῦλον ποαθέντα Ἰωσὴφ ἐλευθερούμε-νον** **I was taken into captivity** Joseph s situation (just) after he had been sold to the Ishmaelites is meant (cf 14,3; Philo, De Jos. 47 parallel with **δοῦλος**) **his strong hand: the** expression **ἡ κοαταια αὐτου χείρ** is used especially **in** connection with **the** salvation of the people of Israel from Egypt by God: see e.g. Ex 13,3.9.14.16· Deut 5,15; 6,21, etc.; Ps **136(135),12;** Jer 39,21, cf. also **1Clem** 60,3. **succoured me:** also the verb **βοηθεῖν** is frequently used in individual thanksgivings and other psalms see e g Ps 37(36) 40 41(40),3 44(43) 27 etc.; Esth 4 17 (1 and t) LXX JosAsen 12,11 (**βοηθός**). **I was oppressed ....** for the use of **συνέχειν, -έχεσθαι**, cf. 7,2, and T Jud 18 4 T.B. 8 3 Job 7,11 10,1; 36,8; LetAris 15 Mt 4 24 Lk 4 38· Acts 28 8 ApMos 5,5; Plutarch, Lucullus 11,2 (Vitae par 498 C) etc. **by hunger, and the Lord himself nourished me** cf. Ps **33(32),19** (LXX), **διαθρέψαι αὐτους** ἐν **λιμῷ;** Job 5,20, PssSol 13 2 For the combination **λιμός διατρέφειν**, see also Jdt 5,10, for **διατρέφειν** in psalms see further Ps 31(30),3; 55(54),22. For **by hunger**, cf also T.Z 4 4

1,6 **I was alone:** cf. Esth 4 17 (1) LXX **Κύρέ μου βοήθησόν μοι τῇ μόνῃ;** 4,17 (t) LXX Lam 3,28; JosAsen 12 11 **and God comforted me** cf 2 6 **παρακαλεῖν** is frequently used is psalms· see, e.g., Ps 71(70),21, **86(85),17;** cf. 1QH 9,13, 11,32, the idea that God comforts people in distress is also found in Isa 40,11; 49,13; 51,3.12 etc.; **1Bar** 4,30 **TSol** D 4,11· 2Cor 1,4; 7 6 etc. I was **ill. ἀσθένεια** is another term that often **describes the distress of the oppressed. see, e.g., Ps 6,2; Lam 1,14, cf Ps 30,11** LXX, 88(87),9; **107(106),12;** Jdt 9,11 TJob 25,10 Cf. also Mt 25,36.39.43f. (+ **ἐπισκέπτεσθαι, φυλακή**). **visited me:** also **ἐπισκέπτεσθαι** is often found in individual thanksgivings and other psalms see, e g., Ps 8 5 **80(79),15,** 106(105) 4 JosAsen 13 1 For **ἐπισκέπτεσθαι** in connection with ill people, see on T.R 1 2 **I was in prison in bonds:** another description of Joseph's sorrowful situation after he had been sold (cf 14 2) **φυλακη** and **δεσμός** are also used for **Joseph's** imprisonment after the scene with

the Egyptian woman see **2,3f.**; 8,4, 9 1 For the use of **φυλακή** and **δεσμός** in a description of the pious man's distress, see Ps **107(106),14**, 116,16(115,7); 142(141),7; cf Isa 49 9 **showed favour unto me:** for **χαριτοῦν** with God as subject, see, e.g Eph 1 6 Hermas Sim 9 24 3 **released me:** for **λύειν** in individual thanksgivings and other psalms see e g PS 102(101),20; 146(145),7; cf.. further Job **5,19f**, Acts 2 24 Ignatius, **Philad.** 8,1 In Ps 105(104) 20 it is also used in connection with Joseph but here the subject is the Egyptian king.

1 7 **in slanders in envy** the combination **διαβολή - φθόνος** is found often.. see e g **Plato, Apologia 18 D, 28 A, Epistulae III 316 E, Herodotus VI 61,1, Polybius 1,36,3,** Plutarch De tranquillitate **animi** 6 (Mor. 467 E) 3Mac 6,7 In the Psalms **ἐνδιαβάλλειν occurs as an activity of the adversaries towards the pious man in his oppression** Ps 38(37),20; **71(70),13; 109(108),4.20 29;** cf also Sir 51 6 **(διαβολή). in bitter words** obviously referring to threats For **λάγοι πικροι,** see also Euripides Helena 481f **exalted me** for **ὑψουν,** see **T.Jos**, INTRODUCTION pp.. 363f

2,1 And thus the introductory words **καὶ οὕτως** (cf T Z 3 7 4,13; T G 2,4 etc) indicate that the verse is to be understood as the consequence and illustration of the exaltation (to a higher status) mentioned in 1 7 **Photimar:** the Hebrew text reads **פוטיפר** (Gen 37 36; 39,1; cf Gen 37,36 Aq and Symm: **Φουτιφάρ,** cf. also Jub 34,11 39,2) the LXX translates **Πετεφρῆς,** which is also the name of Joseph's Egyptian master in hellenistic Jewish and early Christian tradition see e.g. **Philo,** Leg all. **III** 236 238 Josephus Ant 2,39; 49; JosAsen **1,5f. 12;** LAB 8 9; Eusebius **Comm.** in Pss., Ps **79,2ff** On the names Potiphar and Pe(n)tephres, see H . **Sprödowski,** *Die Hellenisierung der Geschichte von Joseph in Agypten bei Flavius Josephus* Diss Greifswald 1937 p 63 **The occurrence of the name 'Photimar' here instead of 'Petephres' used in 12,1; 13,1 4,** 15 6 (the second story) may point to the use of different sources **the chiefcook of Pharaoh:** cf.. 16,2.. Taken from Gen 37 36 and 39 1 LXX **(MT: שַׂר הַטַּבָּחִים,** the captain of the **guard');** see further, e.g., Philo, Leg all. **III** 236 De Jos. 27 Josephus Ant 2,39, 78 LAB 8 9 Jub 34 11 39 2 **entrusted to me his house:** cf 11 6 Cf **Gen 39,4.**

2,2 I struggled: contrast Philo Leg all **III** 242 Joseph however being but a youth and lacking strength to contend **(ἀγωνίσασθαι)** with the Egyptian body and vanquish pleasure runs away.. Joseph s struggle is the good and wise man's struggle **(ἀγών)** for the sake of virtue and against the passions a well-known motif in hellenistic moral philosophy in Jewish hellenistic and early Christian writings and also in martyr **traditions: see, e g , 4Mac 11,20, 15,29, etc., Philo, Flacc. 48, MartPolyc 19,2; The** Martyrs of Lyons 1,40 cf V. C. Pfitzner, op cit., esp. pp. **38–72;** 199ff **a shameless woman the** Egyptian woman is introduced **as a** 'bad' woman, **a πόρνη** (cf. Clement **of** Alexandria Paid. **III** 11 [68,3], **ἡ πόρνη ἡ Αἰγυπτία;** Asterius **Soph., Hom.** 6,9 in Ps. 5 **[ed. M Richard, Oslo 1956, pp. 79f.]); for ἀναιδής often has an erotic connotation;** see, e g Prov 7,13 **Sir** 23 6; 26 11 Prochorus' Acta **Jo** (ed.. **Th** Zahn) **p** 144 13; **Μετάνοια τῆς ὁσίας Πελάγιας** 2 (ed H Usener Bonn 1879) p.. 4. **to transgress with her:** cf Philo De Jos.. 44 To this day I have remained pure and I will not take the first step in transgression **(παρανομεῖν)** by committing adultery 52. **παρανομία** is often connected **with** fornication see, e g Philo, Vita Mosis I 301 308, **Decal.** 129. The motif of a challenge to commit **παρανομία** is also frequent in martyr traditions: see e g. 4Mac 5,13.17.20.27; 8,14; **9,3f.**; Philo, **Somn** II 124.. In our verse, both aspects seem to be combined: like the tyrant, the woman wants to bring the pious man to transgress the law **the God of Israel my father guarded me.** see on 1,4 **the burning flame:** for the expression, cf Dan 3,88 LXX, **ἐρρύσατο ἡμᾶς ἐπ μέσου καιομένης φλογὸς καὶ ἐπ τοῦ πυρος ἐλυτρώσατο ἡμᾶς.** Behind the comparison and identification of the Egyptian woman with a burning flame' may stand the well-known thought of someone burning

with passions, esp. love (see on T N. 7 4 see also **Philo, Somn** II 181, **Decal.** 173 cf LScJ s.v. **καίω** sub II 4); cf. Methodius, **Symp.** 11 **γυνὴ γὰρ αὐτὸν** (Joseph) **εἰς** frfteoucc **λέκτρα βιαίως εἴλκε φλογωμένη πόθοις.** For the description of the good man s adversaries as a flame or a fire see Sir 8,3.10; 28,22 **51,3f.**; 4Mac 18,14f

2,3 **I was cast into prison, I was beaten, I was mocked:** the asyndetical juxtaposition of three verbs in the aor **pass.** is rhetorical it emphasizes once more the righteous man's distress cf Deut 32,15· Heb 11 37; Prochorus' Acta Jo (ed Th Zahn) p. **19,4f.**, cf **1Clem** 45 4 **I was cast into prison: ἐφυλακίσθην.** Joseph s imprisonment after the scene with the Egyptian woman; cf Gen 40 3f.7; 41 10; and T.Jos 8 4 **(εἰς φυλακήν) I was beaten** cf 13 9 **14,1f** The use of the verb **τύπτειν** in martyr traditions (see, e g., 4Mac 6,8.10 9,12 Acta Phil 121 The Acts of Euplus [Gr. rec.] 2,2) may have led to its use in our verse **I was mocked** the use of the verb **(ἐκ)μυκτηρίζειν** is frequent in psalms see Ps 22(21) 7 **35(34),15; 44(43),13;** 79(78),4; 80(79),6. **and the Lord granted me to find mercy in the sight of the keeper of the prison:** based on Gen 39 21 (LXX) **καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ χάριν ἐναντίον τοῦ ἀρχιδεσμοφύλακος** (cf. 39,4 **T.Jos.** 11 6, Jub **39,12**) The formulation as found in our verse **ἔδωκέ με κύριος εις οἰκτιρμους ενωπιον** , is traditionally used in passages that describe the salvation of the pious man or the people of Israel, from oppression or captivity: see e g **1Kgs** 8,50 (LXX) xal **δωσεις αυτους εἰς οἰκτιρμους ἐνώπιον** ...; 2Chr 30,9; Neh 1,11; Ps 106(105) 46 **the keeper of the prison δεσμοφύλαξ** instead of **ἀρχιδεσμοφύλαξ** (Gen **39,21ff**; 40 3 Philo Quod deus 111, 116 etc) also in Josephus Ant 2 61

2,4 **he will not forsake:** see also Ps 9,10, for thou, O Lord hast not forsaken **(οὐκ ἐγκατέλιπες) those who seek thee'**, 37(36) 28; **94(93),14;** 2Mac 6 16; **Bel 38; 1Clem** 11,1; Hermas, Sim. 2 9 **darkness bonds .. tribulations necessities:** all these terms occur many times especially in the Psalms: see, e g., Ps **107(106),13f.**, 'Then they cried to the Lord in their trouble (ev **τῶ** ftXfßEofkxi **αὐτούς),** and he delivered them from their distress **(τῶν ἀναγκῶν);** he brought them out of darkness **(σκότους)** and gloom and broke their bonds **(τοὺς δεσμούς)** asunder ; **Ps 25(24),17;** 31(30),7; 54,6 LXX; **119(118),** 143 143(142),3; also Esth 4 17 (w) LXX Job 5 19; Isa 42 7· 49,9 For **in darkness** - in the case of Joseph himself - cf. T.Jos. 8,5, **9,1f** and JosAsen 4 14 xal o **κυριος αὐτοῦ ἐνέβαλεν αὐτὸν** EIÇ **τὴν φυλακὴν τοῦ σκότους in bonds** cf 1 6 but this time the allusion is to Joseph s imprisonment after the affair with the Egyptian woman cf **9,1** and WisSol 10,14, Josephus, Ant. **2,60f.**; 74

2,5 A stylistically fine description of God's surpassing power comparable to Num 23,19 Jdt 8,16; Philo Vita Mosis I 283· see also **1Sam** 15,29; Philo, Vita Mosis I 173. **is ashamed ... is afraid ... is ... weak ... is ... thrust aside:** strikingly the verbs found here are often used to describe someone's situation of distress The pious man is put to shame **(ἐπαισχύνεσθαι)** see e.g., Ps 44(43) 9 15· 69(68),20, he is urged not to be afraid **(δειλιᾶν):** see e.g. Deut 1 21· 31 6 8 Josh 1 9 8 1· **10,25;** Sir 34 14, he is weak or ill **(ἀσθενεῖν):** see on 1 6 and he complains that he is rejected **(ἀπωθεῖν):** see e g Ps 43(42),2· 44(43),9.23, **60(59),1.10, 74(73),1. one who is earth-boru γηγενής,** cf Ps 49(48) 3 (+ **οἱ** *viol* **τῶν ἀνθρώπων); Jer** 32(39) 20 **TSol** 5 3 Philo Spec leg **II** 124 IClem 39,2 etc

2,6 **in all places he is at hand, and in different ways does he comfort:** cf WisSol 19,22, For in everything O Lord thou hast exalted and glorified thy people and thou hast not neglected to help them at all times and in all places (ev **παντὶ καιρῳ** xal **τόπῳ παριστάμενος)'.** For **παρίστασθαι,** see further Ps 109(108),31; WisSol 10,11; 2Tim 4,17 For rcagaxaXelv see on 1,6. **departing:** cf **Ps** 10 1(9,22) Why dost thou stand afar off (LXX **ἀφέστηκας μακρόθεν) 22(21),11,** Be not far from me (LXX **μη ἀποστῆς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ)** . 35(34),22, 38(37),21· **1Sam 28,15f.** The usual question of the psalmist when he finds himself in distress, why God has departed, is replied in our verse

by a reference to the short time of God's absence and to the motif of man's trial by God. **for a short time:** ἐν βραχεῖ. Man's distress is short-lived, see T.B. 5,5; WisSol 3,5f.; 2Mac 7,36; 1Pet 1,6f.; 5,10 2Clem 19,3; Hermas Sim. 7 6; cf. Isa 57,16f.; 2Mac 5,17; 7 32f.37 WisSol 16,3 5f 11; connected with the motif of a trial by God also in WisSol 3,5f ; 1Pet 1 6f **to try:** δοκιμάσαι, cf. v. 7 πειρασμοῖς, δόκιμον For the motif of a trial by God, see also, e.g., Gen 22 1; Ex 16,4 20,20, Deut 8,2 etc. especially in wisdom literature it is connected with the idea of the (temporary) suffering of the pious followed by God's salvation and reward if he shows himself faithful: see e.g., Ps 66(65),10f.; WisSol 3,5f.; 11,9f , Sir 2,1-11, 33,1; cf. also 1Cor 10,13; 2Cor 8,2, 1Pet 1,6f., 4,12, etc. Cf J. H. Korn, *ΠΕΙΡΑΣΜΟΣ.Die Versuchung des Gläubigen in der Griechischen Bibel (BWANT IV.Folge 20)* Stuttgart 1937

27 **In ten temptations:** also Abraham is said to have been tried ten times (see Jub 19 8 Pirke Aboth 5,4). The number is symbolical and has nothing to do with the ten episodes that can be distinguished in the first story (not so many in the second); see below **he showed that I was approved** cf v 6 For such a use of ἀναδείκνυναι, see e.g. Dan 1 20 LXX; Philo, Congr. 93 **I endured endurance patience:** see T Jos., INTRODUCTION pp 363ff **a mighty remedy:** for this use of φάρμακον, see e.g., Sir 6 16; Philo Spec.leg. I 343, Agric. 98, Ignatius Eph 20 2 ClemHom 10 12,2, Plutarch Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur 36 (Mor. 74 D), Consolatio ad Apollonium 6 (Mor 103 F). **(gives) many good things:** cf. 18,1, 'and will bless you with good things (ἐν ἀγαθοῖς)'; it refers to the **(this-wordly)** reward given to the pious man because of his righteous behaviour shown in the past. Cf also Prov 19,8 (LXX) ὃς δὲ φυλάσσει φρόνησιν, εὑρήσει ἀγαθά, 25,22 LXX; Sir 39,25 Tob 4,19 BA 21 S PssSol 5,18; for the use of τὰ ἀγαθά in the context of a future reward for those who are afflicted in this world see e g 2Clem 11 4; Prochorus Acta Jo (ed. Th Zahn) p 5 5f

THE FIRST STORY JOSEPH AND THE EGYPTIAN WOMAN (3,1-9,5)

This story (cf T.R. 4,8–10) is not a unity with a clear chronological sequence but rather a cycle of episodes joined together in a somewhat haphazard manner They have been analysed by M Braun, *History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature* Oxford 1938, who comes to the conclusion that they contain many alien, hellenistic, elements, especially the material of the Phaedra-tradition He distinguishes eight episodes: 1 T.Jos 3,1–6: the Egyptian woman threatens Joseph and promises to make him master over the house However, she could not do this without murdering her husband and she does not suggest this murder before 5,1 But cf the situation of Phaedra who is in charge of the royal affairs in the absence of Theseus (Braun, pp 48ff.); 2 T Jos 3,7-10 she pretends to embrace Joseph as a son, he understands her real intentions only much later Such a situation, which seems to be out of place here, is quite natural between an amorous stepmother and a guileless stepson, as we find in the Phaedra-tradition (pp 50f.); 3 T Jos 4,1-3 she flatters Joseph as a holy man in public (pp 51f.); 4 T Jos 4,4–8 she asks Joseph to teach her the Word of God This episode presupposes missionary activity, and is in itself alien to Greek thought, though the motif of a woman who is passionately in love and wants to take lessons from her beloved, is quite general (pp 52ff); 5 T Jos 5 she tells Joseph that she

will kill her husband, Joseph threatens to disclose her intentions to everyone, she becomes afraid In hellenistic novelistic literature, such a proposal of killing the husband occurs often (and cf also Ber Rabba 87,5 where the Egyptian woman makes a similar proposal to Joseph). With Joseph's threat to reveal her intentions, we may compare Euripides, Hippolytus 565ff (pp 55ff.), 6 T Jos 6 she sends Joseph food 'mixed with magic' From the story it is not entirely clear whether the food contains a magic love-philtre or a deadly poison Love potions and murder by poison belong very closely together in hellenistic life and imagination Braun gives a number of parallels where the same indefiniteness is found (pp 57ff.); 7 T Jos 7 she falls ill and her husband tries to heal her, at a certain moment she rushes to Joseph and threatens to commit suicide Also the illness and the threat to commit suicide are important elements in the Phaedra-legend, together with the kind of warning we find in 7,5 (pp 72ff), 8 T Jos 9,5 she uncovers parts of the body and wears beautiful adornments (pp 85ff)

Braun seems to have overlooked the function of T.Jos 9,5. Its place at the very end of the story, and after the sections of Joseph's imprisonment, makes it a kind of conclusion and climax (see also vv 9f) of the many attemps of the Egyptian woman to seduce Joseph Between the seventh episode (chapter 7 or rather 7,1-8,1) and this verse there are two more episodes The first (8,2-5) deals with the woman's attempt to fulfill her desire by force together with Joseph's flight and consequent capture and his reaction when he was in prison It follows the biblical story in Gen 39,11ff, in general lines The second (9,1–4) describes the woman's final attempt she offers release in return for sex (cf Heliodorus VIII 6, see Braun, p 87)

All these episodes have been joined together rather arbitrarily, mostly with the help of transitional phrases or key-words Sometimes we can distinguish a logical sequence (see, e g , 5,4 and 6,1, and, of course, chapters 8 and 9 [vv 1–4]), but usually the episodes are introduced by phrases like ποσάκις, rcoXXoxic, παλιν δὲ ev ἑτέρῳ χρόνῳ or just *Kai* or δέ. All this makes it clear that the author of the Testaments gives us a compilation of episodes dealing with Joseph and the wife of Potiphar probably taken from a (Jewish) source in which hellenistic romance traditions were connected with and spplied to the biblical story of Gen 39,6ff ; esp. 39,10, 'And although she spoke to Joseph day after day ' Almost certainly, he himself is responsible for the description of Joseph's reaction to all these attempts of the Egyptian woman which was characterized by praying, fasting, weeping, wearing sackcloth, and chastity (see T Jos., INTRODUCTION p 364 For the author, these episodes show how Joseph, the virtuous hero, won his struggle against temptations

T JOSEPH 3

Translation

3,1 How often did the Egyptian woman threaten me with death!
How often did she give me over to punishment and then call me back
and threaten me
when I was unwilling to go in unto her!
And she said to me
2 You will be lord of me and all that is mine,
if you will give yourself to me,
and you will be as our master
3 I, **then,**[7] remembered the words of my father Jacob,
and going into my chamber I prayed to the Lord
4 And I fasted in those seven years,
and I appeared to the Egyptian as one who lives luxuriously,
for those who fast for God's sake receive beauty of face
5 And when he was away from **home,**[8] I did not drink wine,
and over a period of three days I got my food
and gave it to the poor and the sick
6 **And**[9] I sought the Lord early,
and I wept for the Egyptian woman of Memphis,
for very unceasingly she troubled me
and in the night she came to me under the pretence of visiting **me.**[10]
7 And at **first,**[11]
because she had no male child,
she pretended to regard me as a son,
and I prayed to the Lord, and she bore a male child
8 For a time, **therefore,**[12] she embraced me as a son,
and I was ignorant
Finally she drew me into impurity
9 And when I perceived it, I sorrowed unto death,
and when she had gone out, I came to myself
and I lamented for her many days,
because I recognized her guile and her deceit
10 And I told her the words of the Most High,
(hoping) that she might **turn**[13] from her evil disire

Textcritical notes

ουν *(b)*. This reading is to be preferred over against **δέ** (*gldeafchj*), which is lectio facilior The **same** variant also in 5,2; 6,4 **8,2;** T B 1,3.

[8] **ἀπεδήμει** (*geaf*) The variant **επεδιδη** (**ἐπεδίδου** *l*) in *bl* seems to be a corruption (**απεδημει → απεδημοι → απεδη μοι → επεδιδη μοι**), and **does** not make much sense.

[9] **καὶ** *(b)*. This conjunction may have been omitted in *geaf* **for** reasons of style The variant **. δέ** (*ldchj*) is surely secondary

10 **λόγῳ ἐπισκέψεως πρός με** *(b)* The variant **προς με λόγῳ ἐπισκέψεως** (*gldeafchj*)is an attempt to put the adjunct **πρός** HE directly after the verb which gives the normal **order.**

11 **τὰ μεν πρῶτα** *(b)*. This reading is supported by *d* (**πρῶτα μέν**) It is omitted in ***gleafchj***, probably because the correspondence with **ἔσχατον** in v 8 was not noticed.

12 **οὖν** *(b)*. It shows that v. 8a takes up the theme of v. 7abc. For such a function of **οὖν**, see **Kühner-Gerth**, *Grammatik* II 2 pp 326f Its omission (***gleaf***)or replacement by **καί** (*chj*) are secondary

13 **ἀποστρέψει** (*bl*) The variant **ἐπιστρέψει** (*gdmefchj*)may be regarded as lectio facilior underlining the element of repentance one more (cf T B 4 5 5 1)

Structure

3,1–6 First episode

- v **1a–d** the woman punishes and threatens Joseph many times
- vv **1e–2** she promises to make him master over her house if he gives in introductory phrase: and she said to me ...'
- vv **3–6** Joseph's reaction. he remembers the words of his father, he prays (v 3) he fasts, above all when his master is away from home and gives his food to the needy (vv **4–5**), he prays to the Lord and weeps (v 6) V 4bc is an insertion about the physical beauty of those who fast for God s sake V 6cd emphasizes (another time) the woman s incessant attempts to seduce Joseph (cf v 1) Thus v 6 makes an easy transition to the second episode

3,7-10 Second episode

- v 7abc at first the Egyptian woman pretends to regard Joseph as a son seemingly because she has no male child
- v 7d Joseph's prayer is effective she bears a son
- v. 8ab takes up v 7abc she embraces him as a child Joseph does not know her real intentions
- v 8c finally she draws him openly into impurity
- vv **9–10** Joseph s reaction now he knows her intentions (v 9a and d) he laments for her he tries to make her to change her mind through a kind of Missionspredigt'

Notes

3 1 **How often how often** cf 4 1 9 4 Such exclamatory sentences introduced by **ποσάκις** (cf. **πόσα** in 10,1; 17,1; **πολλάκις** in 9 1 and **πόσοι** in T B 3,4) show a rhetorical style see also e.g. Epictetus III 26,3, IV 1 95. In the **OT/LXX** elements of the same style are found· see Ps 3,1; 78(77) 40· Job 13,23 Sir 20 17, 4Mac 15,22 It emphasizes the difficulty of Joseph s situation. **the Egyptian woman: ἡ Αἰγυπτία,** cf 3,6; **4,3;** 8,1.5· 16,5; T R 4,9; and also in Clement of Alexandria Paid. **III** 11 (68,3); Origen, **Comm** in Pss Ps 118,110 Asterius **Soph ,** Horn 6 7ff. in Ps 5 (ed M Richard, Oslo 1956, pp **78ff.),** etc. **did . threaten me with death and threaten me:** cf. 11,3 See also Josephus, Ant 2,50 yet neither pity could induce him (Joseph) to unchastity not fear compel: he resisted her entreaties and yielded not to her threats (**ταῖς ἀπειλαις**)'; Origen **Cels.** IV 46 For the expression **ἀπειλεῖν θάνατον,** often the action of the tyrant to make the martyr give in, see T.Jud 5,1; 4Mac 9 5 Philo, De Jos 68 Vita Mosis I 242, Herodotus IV 81,5; Epictetus I 25,22· IV 1,70, etc **did she give me over to punishment.** cf. **14,1**; also the terms **τιμωρεῖν** and **τιμωρια** are frequently used in martyr stories: see e.g. 2Mac 7 7 4Mac 4 24 5 10 Acta Phil 118, The Martyrdom of Dasius 4 4 11 1 cf Acts 26 11 **call me back** for such a use of

ἀνακαλεῖσθαι in a **similar** context ('to cite to summon for a **court'),** cf Plutarch Marius 29 6 (Vitae par 422 E), **ἀνακαλουμένου καὶ τὸν** ὄγκον **ὀμνύειν ἀναγκάζοντος to go in unto her:** for such a use of **συνέρχεσθαι,** see also T Jud 10 5 12 4 **And she said to me:** cf 4 2.5, 5,1, 6,4; 7,3.6, 9 1

3,2 all that is mine referring in particular to the woman s servants (for **τὰ ἐμά** used of servants, see LSCJ s.v. **ἐμός sub II** 3) cf. also the following **our master.**

3,3 remembered the words of my father Jacob: cf Jub **39,6f.,** and he (Joseph) remembered the Lord and the words which Jacob, his father, used to read from amongst the words of Abraham that no man should commit fornication with a woman who has a husband ...', JosAsen 7 6 and cf. also Targ. Ps. Jon on Gen 49 24 Ber Rabba 87,7, b Sotah 36b **going into my chamber:** reminiscent of Gen 43 30 (LXX) **εἰσελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὸ ταμιειον,** though the context is different **I prayed to the Lord I fasted** (v 4) see **T Jos ,** INTRODUCTION p 364

3,4 in those seven years. according to Gen 37,2, 41 46 Joseph was seventeen years old when he was sold and thirty years when he became king of Egypt (cf. Jub 39 2 40,11; 46 3 Josephus Ant 2 33; 91) According to Jub 46,3 he was a slave for ten years and a prisoner for the next three years. LAB 8,9 tells us that Joseph abode with him (Petephres) fourteen years as **one who lives luxuriously** for such a use of **διάγειν,** cf 9 3 3Mac 6,35; **Philo,** Opif. **mundi** 79 Congr 174 TAb 10, Tit 3 3, Epictetus I 9 7 IV 1 109 Plutarch Pompeius 42 1 (Vitae par. 641 B) etc **τρυφή** is used here in a more or less neutral sense, cf T Jud 25,2; Gen 49,20, Ezek 34 14 etc **for those who fast for God's sake receive beauty of face** cf Dan **1,8ff ,** Acta **Thom** 6f (cf also Mt **6,16ff.).**

3,5 I did not drink wine. see on T R 1,10 Joseph abstained from wine and food when his master was away from home **over a period of three days ...:** for a three days fast see e g., Esth 4 16. **gave it to the poor and the sick:** cf T I 7,5; T.Z **6,4ff.;** 7,1.3 Here we find the combination praying-fasting-'giving alms well-known in Judaism; see e g Tob 12,8 **BA, ἀγαθὸν προσευχὴ μετὰ νηστείας καὶ ἐλεημοσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης,** cf **W** Bousset-H. Gressmann *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter (HbNT21)* Tübingen **[4]1966,** pp 179ff **the poor and the sick see on T.I.** 3 8; 5,2; T B. 4,4.

3,6 I sought the Lord early. cf. 8,1. The expression **ὀρθρίζειν πρὸς κυριον** is derived from the LXX where it appears several times in connection with someone in distress; see Ps **63(62),1; 78(77),34f.;** Job **8,5f.;** Isa **26,9;** Hos 5,15; Sir 39,5. **of Memphis:** cf. 12,1; 14,1.5; 16,1, and see *the Introduction to the second story* pp . 393f. **she troubled me** cf **JosAsen** 7 3 **Διότι ἐφοβεῖτο Ἰωσὴφ μήποτε ἐνοχλήσῃ αὐτῷ καὶ αυτη, ἠνόχλουν γαρ αὐτῷ πασαι αἱ γυναῖκες .... τοῦ κοιμηθῆναι μετ' αὐτοῦ;** for such a use of **ἐνοχλεῖν,** see also **Prochorus"** Acta Jo (ed. **Th** Zahn) pp 137 16 149,1. **in the night she came to me:** cf. 9,4. **under the pretence ...: cf** 4 4

3,7 at first cf. v 8 'finally **I prayed to the Lord, and she bore a male child** for a similar motif cf Prochorus Acta Jo (ed. Th Zahn), p **115,14ff., ἦν γὰρ ἡ γυνὴ του ἡγεμόνος** ἐν **γαστρὶ ἔχουσα καὶ** ὁ **καιρος ἔφθασεν τοῦ τεκεῖν αὐτὴν** καὶ **οὐκ ἔτικτεν ὡς δὲ ἦλθεν Ἰωάννης** ἐν **τῇ οἰκία τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, εὐθέως ἡ γυνή ..** **and she bore a male child:** cf. Ex 2 2 (LXX) καὶ **ἔτεκεν ἄρσεν;** Isa 66,7, Rev **12,5,13,**

3,8 I was ignorant. cf 14,4 καὶ **ἠγνόουν** in a similar context **she drew me into anpurity it refers to the woman's open attempts to seduce Joseph, as told in 3,1–6; 4ff For the** use of **ἐφέλκεσθαι,** cf 8 2 LetJer 43 Plutarch Coniugalia praecepta 46 (Mor 144 E) etc

3,9 when I perceived it cf **7,4. I sorrowed unto death** cf. Jonah 4,9; Sir 37,2. **I came to myself:** for the expression **εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐλθεῖν,** see also Lk 15,17; Epictetus III 1,15 Diodorus Siculus 13 95 2 etc **I lamented many days** cf 2Sam 14 2 **1Chr** 7 22

Neh 1,4, 1Mac 9,20 13,26 On Joseph's weeping see T Jos , INTRODUCTION p 364 her guile: cf 4 1· see on T.R. 5 1 her deceit: see on T R. 4,6 5,3.

3 10 the words of the Most High: the words of God, the things said by God in particular his commandments; cf Ex 24,3f.; Deut 5 5; Job 6,10; 1Clem 10,1 etc. she might turn from her evil desire for ἀποστρέφειν ἀπό τινος, cf. also PS 85(84),4 (LXX ὀργῆς ἀπὸ σου); Prov 22,14a LXX Ezek 3,19 (LXX τῆς ἀνομίας), 14,6; 18,27 33 12 14 19 1Bar 2 8· Sir 8 5 17,26, etc For the expression ἡ ἐπιθυμία η πονηρά, see on T R 4 9

T JOSEPH 4

Translation

4,1 How often did she flatter me with words as a holy man,
guilefully[14] in her words praising my chastity before her husband,
while desiring to trip me up when we were alone!

2 She praised me openly as chaste,
and in secret she said to me
Do not fear my husband,
for he is persuaded concerning your chastity,
for even when somebody should tell him concerning us,
he would not believe

3 In all these things I lay upon the ground in sackcloth,
and I besought God
that the Lord would deliver me from the Egyptian woman

4 But when she prevailed nothing,
she came again to me under the pretence of instruction,
that she might learn the word of the Lord

5 And she said to me
If you wish that I leave[15] the idols, let yourself be persuaded[16] by me,
and I will persuade the Egyptian to depart from the idols,
walking (together) in the law of your Lord

6 But I said to her
The Lord does not want[17] those who reverence him (to be) in uncleanness,
nor does he take pleasure in those who commit adultery

7 And she held her peace,
longing to accomplish[18] her desire

8 And I gave myself yet more to fasting and prayer,
that the Lord might deliver me from her

Textcritical notes

[14] μετὰ δόλου. The addition of και before μετὰ δόλου (*gdefchj*) together with the change of ἐπαινοῦσα into ἐπαίνει (*dmchj*) or ἐπῄνεσε (*g*) is an attempt to make a smoother text The participle ἐπαινοῦσα is still present in *ef* which is another reason to regard *bl* (cf *m*) as original.

15 καταλίπω *(b)* Both this reading and the alternative καταλείψω (either the indic. fut or the conjunct. of the aor I) may be original

16 συμπείσθητι *(b)* The alternative reading συγγενου *(gldmeafchj)* turns the woman s words into a (too) explicit invitation to intercourse Cf also 7,3

17 ftÉXEi *(ldmeafc)*, parallel to εὐδοκεῖ in the same verse The variant λέγει *(bhj)* does not make much sense ἐλεεῖ *(g)* is clearly secondary (for ἐλεήσει instead of fteXT|oei cf also 1Mac 4,10 KR)

18 ἐκτελέσαι *(b)* Both this reading and the variant τελέσαι *(gldmeaf)* may be original

Structure

4 1-3 Third episode

vv. 1-2 the woman flatters Joseph as a holy man many times, praising his chastity before her husband but with evil intent (v 1) She praises his chastity openly but in secret she tries to persuade Joseph (v 2) Note: she said to me ...'

v 3 Joseph s reaction he lays upon the ground in sackcloth and prays to the Lord

4,4–8 **Fourth episode**

vv **4–5** (v 4a transition to the fourth episode) This time she comes to him under the pretence of wanting instruction about Joseph s religion She promises to leave the idols (together with her husband), if he gives in Note: And she said to me . .'

v 6 Joseph s reaction: my God does not want adultery

v 7 the woman's reaction. she holds her peace

v 8 Joseph s overall reaction fasting and praying

Notes

4,1 **How often** see on 3 1 **did she flatter me , guilefully praising** μετὰ δόλου . ἐπαινοῦσα corresponds with ἐκολάκευσε (as **in her words** with **with words**, and **my chastity** with **me ... as a holy man)**; for the combination κολακεύειν - ἐπαινεῖν, cf. also e g., Epictetus III 23 13 Dio Chrysostom III 12ff.; Plutarch Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur (Mor 48 Eff), passim μετὰ δόλου takes up τὸν δόλον αὐτῆς in 3 9 **a holy man** ἅγιος to characterize persons is quite usual; for the expression ftyioç ἀνήρ, cf also Mk 6,20 **chastity:** here σωφροσύνη occurs for the first time see **T Jos.**, INTRODUCTION p. 364 **to trip me up:** ὑποσκελίζειν is used to describe one of the actions of the adversaries against the oppressed man in the Psalms see Ps 37(36),31, 140(139),4 'preserve me from violent men, who have planned to trip up my feet (ὑποσκελίσαι)'; cf T D 6,3. For ὑποσκελίζεσθαι as a result of flattery cf Plutarch Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur 24 (Mor 65 D)

4,2 **chaste ... chastity· see T Jos.**, INTRODUCTION p 364 **she said to me: see on 3,1.**

4,3 **I lay upon the ground in sackcloth:** cf Job 1 20 (LXX), καὶ πεσὼν χαμαὶ προσεκυνησεν .; TAb A 11, ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὸν χαμαί κλαίων καὶ ὀδυρόμενος .. ῥίπτει ἑαυτὸν χαμαὶ κλαίων καὶ ὀδυρόμενος πικρῶς For σάκκος, see **T Jos.**, INTRODUCTION p 364 **I besought God that the Lord would deliver me from the Egyptian woman** cf. v. 8 8,1 5 Cf Acta Thom 98 ἐγὼ σοῦ δέομαι . ou ἐλθὲ εἰς τὴν βοήθειάν um) xcd ῥῦσαί HE ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναισχυντίας Χαρισίου .

4,4 **when she prevailed nothing** cf T R 5 2 For οὐδὲν ἰσχύειν, see also T I 4 4 **she came ... to me under the pretence of ...: cf. 3,6 of instruction, that she might learn the word of the Lord.** cf. 3,10. The woman asks for κατηχησις, religious teaching She promises to leave the idols (v. 5), which means, of course that she would serve the God of Joseph (see 6 5) This passage presupposes (Jewish or Christian) missionary activity directed towards Gentiles Cf PJ 5 21 εὐαγγελίσασθαι αὐτοῖς xal κατηχῆσαι

αὐτους τὸν λόγον, Acta Paul et Thecl 39, κατηχησασα αὐτην τὸν λόγον του θεοῦ, ωστε πιστεῦσαι , EpAbgan 8 (ed R. A. Lipsius - M. Bonnet, Leipzig 1891 = Darmstadt 1959, I), λαλήσας αὐτῷ τὸν λόγον *roi)* κυριου καὶ κατηχήσας, etc.; also 2Clem 17,1, ἀπὸ των εἰδώλων ἀποσπᾶν χαl κατηχειν For κατηχησις, κατηχεῖν (not in OT/LXX) in the sense of (giving) religious teaching, see Bauer s.v and Lampe s v **the word of the Lord:** i e the things said by God, especially his commandments; cf 3,10, ῥήματα ὑψίστου, 4,5, νόμῳ κυρίου, see also Isa 1,10, ἀκούσατε λόγον κυρίου ... προσέχετε νόμον ftEoü; 28,14; Jer 8,9; Amos 8,11f.; 1Eo (Gr) 106,13, etc.; cf. PJ 5,21 (quoted above).

4,5 **And she said to me:** see on 3,1 **that I leave the idols** implies conversion to the real God, the God of Joseph (cf 6,5). The opposite, 'to leave God', καταλείπειν τὸν ftEÓv/xüoiov, is an expression used in the OT/LXX see Josh 24,16, 2Chr 28,6, Isa 17,10, Jer 17,13; Sir 28,23, cf. Philo, Vita Mosis II 171, etc **let yourself be permaded by** me: cf 7,3 to **depart** from the **idols:** the counterpart of ἀποστηναι τοῦ κυρίου, cf **T.Z.** 9,5; T.D 5,4f.; T.N 4,1. **walking ... in the law of your Lord:** cf **2Kgs** 10,31, 2Chr 6,16; Neh 10,29(30); Ps 78(77),10, 119(118),1, Jer 44(51),23, PssSol 14,2

4,6 **those who reverence him:** οἱ σεβόμενοι (θεόν/κύριον) does not seem to be used as t t (as in, e.g., Josephus, Ant 14,110; Acts 13,43.50), but in a more general sense, indicating the group of believers and true worshippers See, e g , Isa 66,14 (LXX), γνωσθήσεται ἡ χεὶρ κυρίου τοῖς σεβομένοις αὐτόν, Dan 3,33 90 LXX, cf 3Mac 3,4, Let Aris 139 **in uncleanness:** for καθαρός, ἀκαθαρσία, etc. in the sense of sexual (un-) cleanness, cf T.R. 4,8, 6,1, T.B 8,2 (see note). **nor does he take pleasure in ...:** God 'takes pleasure' (εὐδοκεῖν) in his people or in the good and pious in general (see, e.g., T L 18,13; Ps 44[43],4; 147[146],11; 149,4; Mal 2,17, Mt 3,17), but he 'does not take pleasure' (οὐκ εὐδοκεῖν) in sinners (see Ps 151,5, Jer 2,19 LXX, 14,10 12, 1Cor 10,5).

4,7 to **accomplish** her **desire:** cf 9,1, πληρῶσαι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν μου For ἐκτελεῖν την ἐπιθυμίαν, see also Herodotus I 32,6, ο μὲν ἐπιθυμίην ἐκτελέσαι .. δυνατώτερος; cf Gal 5,16, ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκος ου μὴ τελέσητε; Prochorus' Acta Jo (ed Th Zahn), p 140,15, ὅπως ... ἐπιτελέση τὴν ἀκάθαρτον ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτης

4,8 **I gave myself** yet **more** to **...:** προσετίθουν, cf T G 2,2, προσεθέμην μῖσος. **fasting** and prayer see **T Jos** , INTRODUCTION p 364 **that** the **Lord** might **deliver** me from **her:** cf v 3

T JOSEPH 5

Translation

5,1 And again,[19] at another time, she said to me
If you do not want to commit adultery, I will kill the Egyptian,
and so lawfully take you to be my husband
2 I, then, when I heard this, I rent my garment and said
Woman, reverence the Lord
and do not do this evil deed,[20]
lest you will be destroyed,
for I will declare your ungodly device to all
3 She, therefore, being afraid, besought
that I would not declare her wickedness to anybody
4 And she departed,
fostering me with gifts
and sending every delight of the sons of men

Textcritical notes

19 πάλιν δέ (ft). The omission of δέ in *gl(dm)eaf(chj)* may be regarded as a stylistic correction. δέ may have been found unnecessary or even disturbing

20 την πρᾶξιν την πονηρὰν ταυτην (*bl*) Also the variant την πρᾶξιν ταυτην τὴν πονηράν (*geaf*, cf *hj*) seems to be a stylistic correction

Structure

5,1–4 Fifth episode

- v 1 the woman tells Joseph that she will kill her husband if he does not give in Then she will be free to marry him Note· 'she said to me ...'
- v 2 Joseph's reaction: he rends his garment and says to her not to do such a thing he threatens to disclose her evil intention to everybody
- **vv. 3–4** the woman's reaction. she becomes afraid and asks him not to tell it to anybody she is now very friendly to him and sends him all kinds of gifts and food

Notes

5,1 **she said to me** see on 3 1 **to commit adultery** μοιχευσαι, takes up τοῖς μοιχευουσιν in 4 6

5,2 **when I heard this, I rent my garment.** as a sign of mourning and horror Cf. Ezra 9,3 (LXX) καὶ ὡς ἤκουσα ΤΟΥ λόγον τοῦτον, διέρρηξα τὰ ἱμάτιά nou **1Kgs 21(20),16,** 2Kgs 6,30; 19 1 22 11 2Chr 34,19· Jdt 14 19 etc. For the expression διαρρήγνυναι/ῥήγνυναι την στολήν, cf 2Chr 23,13 Job 2,12, more frequently, however διαρρήγνυναι/ῥήγνυναι τὰ ἱμάτια/τὴν ἐσθῆτα/τὸν χιτῶνα: see, e.g., **Gen 37,29.34,** 44,13 **Num** 14,6; 2Sam 13,19; 15,32; 21(20),27; Philo De Jos. 217 **Josephus,** Bell. 2 322. **reverence the Lord** the expression αἰδεῖσθαι ΤΟΥ κυριον (or τὸν θεόν, cf. Philo, Vita Mosis I 36) has a Greek background cf Homer, Iliad 24 503 αἰδεῖο θεούς; Odyssey 9,269; Herodotus IX 7a'; Plato, Leges XI 921 A etc. **lest you will be destroyed:** cf. T.Jud 21,1. **I will declare** cf v. 3 T L 2 10 μυστηρια αὐτοῦ ἐξαγγελεῖς ΤΟΪÇ ἀνθρώποις. **(your) ungodly (device) ...** see on the next verse

5,3 **her wickedness.** cf 6 6f.9. Both the woman s device to kill her husband and her attempt to kill Joseph (in the next episode, ch 6) are qualified as ἀσέβεια and κακία

5,4 **fostering me with gifts** cf **b.Yoma** 35b which says that Joseph received 1000 talents of silver **every delight.** referring to all kinds of delicious food For ἀπόλαυσις in the context of food cf. Philo Opif mundi 153 **Leg.all. III** 155; 227 **Sacrif** 125, Did 10,3, Xenophon Memorabilia 2,1,33· Plutarch Quaestiones convivales VI introduction (Mor. 686 C); VII 4,6 (Mor 704 B), etc

T̄ JOSEPH 6

Translation

6,1 And she sent me food **mingled**[21] with witchcraft
2 And when the eunuch who brought it, came,
I looked up and saw a terrible **man,**[22]
giving me with the dish a sword
And I perceived that **her**[23] officiousness was to lead astray the soul
3 And when **he**[24] had gone out,
I wept,
not tasting that nor any other of her food

4 **Then,**[25] after one day she came to me,
and observed the food,
and she said to me
Why is it that you have not eaten of the food?
5 And I said to her
It is because you have filled it with death,
And how did you say
I do not come near to idols[26] but to the Lord alone?
6 Now, therefore, know that the God of my father has revealed your wickedness to me through an angel,
and I have kept it to convict you,
(hoping) that you may see it and repent
7 But that you may learn
that the wickedness of the ungodly has no power over those who worship God in chastity -
I took (the food) before her and ate it at **once,**[27] saying:
The God of my fathers and the angel of Abrsham will be with **me.**
8 And she fell upon her face at my feet,
and wept,
and I raised her up and admonished her
9 And she promised to do this iniquity no more

Textcritical notes

21 **πεφυραμένον** *(b)* Both this reading and the variant **πεφυρμένον** (*gldmeafhj*) may claim originality· yet, the verb **φυρᾶν** seems to be preferred in a context dealing with food (see LScJ s.v. **φυράω** and **φύρω**)

2.. **ἄνδρα φοβερόν** *(b)* The change into **φοβερὸν ἄνδρα** (*gldmeafchj*) may have been made for stylistic reasons.

2.§ **αὐτῆς** *(b)* **underlining that the woman's interferences in general have a destructive** intention The scribe who introduced the variant **αὕτη** (*glmaf*) wanted to restrict the woman s officiousness to this episode (the food mingled with witchcraft) which seems lectio **facilior.** The variants in *dchj* are surely secondary

24 **αὐτοῦ.** The variant **αὐτῆς** *(b)* is just a mistake.

25 **οὖν** *(b)* This reading seems to be original over against the smoother and easier **καί . .** or **. .** oe in the other MSS. Cf also 3,3; 5,2; 8,2; T B 1,3.

26 **εἰδώλοις** (*bl*)**.** Both this reading and **τοῖς εἰδώλοις** (*gdmeafchj*) may be original though **the alternative reading may be regarded as lectio facilior (cf 4,5).**

2' **ἐξαυτῆς.** Very probably, the text became corrupt in an early stage of the tradition when **ἐξαυτῆς** was understood as **ἐξ αὐτῆς,** which is still the text of g. This may have been the reason why ***bl*** left it out though one cannot exclude the possibility of just a mechanical **error (hmt)** **ἀπ' αὐτοῦ** *(e),* **ἀπὸ τοῦ βρώματος** *(d),* **ἀπ' αὐτῶν** (+ **... ἀπὸ των βρωμάτων** *m) maf* and **ἐξ αὐτοῦ** (*chj*) are other attempts to remove the corruption

Structure

61-9 Sixth episode
vv 1-3 the woman sends Joseph food mixed with magic (v 1) Joseph sees a vision **of an angel who gives him a sword, and he understands (v 2). Reaction: he weeps** and fasts he does not taste this nor any other food (v 3)

vv **4–5** dialogue between the Egyptian woman and Joseph He has not touched the food because it would have killed him He reproaches her for having no real interest in the law of God

vv **6–7** Joseph's attempt to bring the woman to repentance by taking the food The God of his **father(s)** has intervened through an **angel,** the same God (and the angel of Abraham) will protect **him,** when he actually eats of the food. The wickedness of the ungodly has no power over those who worship God in chastity **i.e.** over Joseph

vv **8–9** the woman's repentance She promises to do this no more

Notes

6,1 **she sent me food** connects this episode with the previous one (see on 5 4, **πασαν ἀπόλαυσιν)** **food mingled with witchcraft** cf **T.R.** 4,9 For **γοητεία** in a context of magic love-philtres and similar methods by which women try to seduce men cf Plutarch Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat 4 (Mor. 20 B) how the favour that women **win by philtres and** enchantments **(ἀπὸ φαρμάκων και γοητείαις) and the** attendant deceit in their relation with their husbands "; De tuenda sanitate praecepta 7 (Mor. **126 A), τὰς γυναῖκας ὅσαι φίλτρα μηχανωνται xai γοητείας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἥνδρας** ..; Coniugalia praecepta 5 (Mor 139 A); Mulierum virtutes XIX Aretaphila (Mor 256 C); id Antonius 37 6 (Vitae par. 933 A) **Philo,** Opif **mundi** 165 Plant 104 Vita **Mosis I 301, etc.; cf GkApPaul 38**

6,2 **I looked up and saw** cf Deut 4,19 (LXX) **ἀναβλέψας . καὶ ἰδων;** Tob 11,8 S 2Mac 7,28; more frequently, however, the formula **ἀναβλέψας (τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς) .** ΕΪΌΕΥ: Gen 18,2; **22,4.13; 24,63f.,** etc As introduction to a vision also in Dan 8,3; TAb B 12 **a terrible man** an angel (cf v. 6) see Judg 13 6 LXX B **εἶδος αὐτοῦ ὡς εἶδος ἀγγέλου** ΪΈΟΥ **φοβερὸν σφόδρα;** cf. TAb A 11 **ἦν ἡ ἰδέα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνου φοβερά** (of the figure of Adam in heaven); 13 TOV **ἄνδρα τὸν φοβερόν** (of the figure of Abel in heaven); and also Mt **28,3f ,** etc. **a sword:** symbolizes death (cf. v 5) **her officiousness:** see on T R 3 4 10 cf also Plutarch Pompeius 55,3 (Vitae par 648 E), Coniugalia praecepta 48 (Mor 145 A) There is also a link with superstition and magic see Lampe s.v. sub 6 **to lead astray the soul** cf 3 9 **πλάνην;** T R 4 6 5 3 For **ἀποπλανᾶν** in connection with the seduction by women see Prov 7 21 cf **1En** (Gr) 8 2 The expression **εἰς ἀποπλάνησιν** is also found in T.I 7 3

6 3 **I wept, not tasting ..** for Joseph's weeping and fasting see **T Jos ,** INTRODUCTION **p 364** **not tasting: cf T R. 1,10; T Z. 4,2.**

6,4 **the food: cf. v. 1.**

6,5 **I do not come near to idols:** refers to 4 5 For the use of **(προσ)ἐγγίζειν,** see on T R 4 6 **προσεγγίζουσα τοῖς εἰδώλοις**

6,6 **the God of my father cf. v. 7, 1,4, 2 2** **has revealed ... through an angel** cf T R 3,15, **ἄγγελος** TOV toou **ἀπεκάλυψε . your wickedness cf. v. 7; see on 5,3.** **to convict you, (hoping) that you may ... repent.** for the use of **ἐλέγχειν** in relation to repentance **(μετάνοια, μετανοεῖν),** see T G 6 6 Philo **Somn.** I 91; Rev 3 19 Did 15 3 etc. For **μετάνοια, μετανοεῖν,** see on T.G. 5 6ff

6,7 The story implies that Joseph actually ate the food and did not die but remained safe Similar stories are found in Acta Jo 9 Eusebius H E HI 39,9; and cf also the Moses **legend in the (spurious) TEphraem 631-834, esp 811-34 (ed. E Beck,** *CSCO* **334–5** [Scriptores Syri **148–9],** 1973) **that you may learn that** ...: a stereotyped formula attending the performance of a miracle through which the 'man of God wants to demonstrate the power of God before the eyes of the opponent, cf e.g. Ex 8,10(6) (LXX), **ἵνα εἰδῇς ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος πλὴν κυρίου** 8,22(18); 9 14.29, cf Mt 9 6 (and **par.).** **the wickedness cf v 6** **has no power over:** cf. T.R **4,11; T D. 5,2**

those who worship God the verb fteooEßEiv does not occur in LXX **Philo,** NT or **Apostolic Fathers, it is found, however, in early Christian literature (see Lampe** s.v.) For **οἱ θεοσεβοῦντες** as the pious', see ClemHom 13,8,2; 13,15 3 **chastity:** for **σωφροσυνη, see T.Jos.,** INTRODUCTION p 364 **the God of my fathers** cf v 6 **The** expression is often used in the context of Joseph s deliverance see on 1 4 **and the angel of Abraham** cf vv 2 and 6 and also T S 2 8 'his God and the God of his fathers sent his angel and delivered him'; as in T S 2 8 Joseph is delivered **from** a **certain death by God and his angel (cf Gen 48,15f) Why the angel is called 'the angel** of Abraham is not quite clear. Perhaps Michael is meant who was according to Rabbinic sources (see L **Ginzberg,** *Legends* I pp **281f.**; cf. also ApZerub [see on **T.L.** 5 1] p 133 [text] = p 147 [tr.], the angel who told Abraham not to offer his son Isaac (Gen 22,11.15). **See also on T L. 5,6f and cf T D. 6,2**

6,8 **fell upon her face:** cf. **13,2; T.Z. 2,1** **and wept** as a sign of her repentance **admonished her: for νουθετεῖν in the context of repentance, see on** T B 4 5

6,9 **this iniquity·** see on 5 2

T JOSEPH 7,1–8,1

Translation

7,1 But **because**[28] her heart was devoted to licentiousness with regard to me,
she fell **down,**[29] sighing
2 And when the Egyptian saw her, he said to her
Why has your countenance fallen?
And she said
I have a pain in my heart
and the groanings of my spirit oppress me
And he treated her **medically**[30] though she was not ill
3 Then she rushed unto me,
while her husband was still outside,
and said to me.
I hang myself
or I throw myself into a well or into a precipice,
if you do not let yourself be **persuaded**[31] by me
4 And perceiving that the spirit of Beliar was troubling her,
I prayed to the Lord and said to her·
5 Why are you troubled and disturbed,
blinded through sins?
Remember that if you kill **yourself,**
Setho, the concubine of your husband, your rival, will beat your children
and will destroy your memorial from the earth
6 And she said to me:
Look, then, you love me,
this alone suffices me that you strive **for**[32] my life and that of my children
I expect that I shall enjoy my desire

7 And she did not know
that I spoke thus for God's sake, and not for hers
8 For when someone has submitted to the passion of an evil desire
and become a slave of it as she,
even when he hears something good,
he accepts it for the passion by which he is overcome, for an evil desire

8,1 I tell you, children,
that it was about the sixth hour,
when she departed from me
And I knelt before the Lord the whole day together with the whole night,
and about dawn I rose up,
weeping and praying for a release from the Egyptian woman

Textcritical notes

28 **ὅτι** *(b)*. The change of **ὅτι** into fru **(*gleafchj*)** makes a smoother and more logical transition from the previous episode to the one described in 7,1-8,1 (see the woman s repentance mentioned in **6,8–9**), and may, therefore, be regarded as secondary

29 **προσέπιπτεν (*b*).** *b* gives another time the lectio difficilior. The alternative **συνέπιπτεν** may have been introduced under the influence of **συνέπεσε** in the next verse.

30 **ἐθεράπευεν (*blm*)** Both this reading and the alternative **ἐθεράπευσεν (*gdeafchj*)** may be original

31 **συμπεισθῇς** *(b)*. Cf 4,5

32 **ἀντιποιῇ (*bl*).** It suffices the woman (for the moment) that Joseph cares for her life and that of her children, and this concern which she interprets as love makes her expect that one day Joseph will fulfil her desire. Misinterpretation of the woman's answer seems to have led to the change of **ἀντιποιῇ** into **ἀντιποιῆσαι (*gdeafchj*,** cf m)

Structure

7,1-8,1 Seventh episode

7 1-2 the woman falls ill Her husband who obviously thinks of a physical disease tries to heal her

7,3–5 at a moment when her husband has just gone out she comes to Joseph and threatens to commit suicide if he does not give in (v. 3). Note: 'and she said to me'. Joseph s reaction: the other than the woman's husband knows the cause and nature of the disease: she is troubled by the spirit of **Beliar** He prays to the Lord and warns her reminding her of her rival **Setho**, who will destroy her memory on earth **(vv. 4–5)**

7,6–8 the woman s reaction. she takes this warning as a sign of sympathy (love) (v 6) But this is a misinterpretation of Joseph s words: he said so because of God but when someone is governed by such a passion he interprets everything into that direction **(vv. 7-8)**

8 1 a provisional summary of the situation in which Joseph finds himself together with a description of his reaction to the woman s attempts so far: weeping all day and night and praying for deliverance It is also a transition to the next episode

Notes

7,1 But .... her repentance (see 6,8–9) was obviously temporary **her heart was devoted to licentiousness with regard to me:** cf. T G. 5,11, ἐνέκειτο τὰ ἤπατά μου ἀνηλεῶς κατὰ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ; and also Gen 8,21 **licentiousness:** cf. 9,2 The motif of the woman's ἀκολασία (the antonym of σωφροσυνη see, e g , Philo, Quod omnis 159; Praem poen 159f.; Spec.leg. III 51, 62; Justin, Apol. I 15,7, Aristotle, Ethica Nicomachea II 7,3, Thucidides HI 37,3, Dio Chrysostom XXIII 6) is also found in Philo, De Jos 40 (ἔρως ἀκόλαστος); 64, Basilius Ancyranus, Virg 41, Eusebius Emesenus, Fr in Gen , Gen 39,13–15 22, etc. **sighing: cf. v. 2; 9,4.**

7,2 **Why has your countenance fallen?** For this expression, see on T.Z 10,1 **a poin in my heart:** see Isa 65,14 (LXX), κεκράξεσθε διὰ τὸν πόνον τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν **the groanings** of my **spirit:** cf PS 38(37),9 (LXX), ἀπὸ στεναγμοῦ τῆς καρδίας μου **oppress me:** see on 1,5

7,3 **while her husbund was still outside:** cf 4,2, 'in secret'. **und said to me:** see on **3,1. I hang myself or I throw myself into a well or into a precipice:** cf Xenophon, Cyropaedia 3,1,25, οἱ μὲν ῥιπτοῦντες εαυτους, οἱ δ'ἀπαγχόμενοι (from fear) An in some respects, comparable situation is described in ClemHom 12,13,5, where a desparate woman says to Peter, 'For had I the mind of a man, there was a precipice or a pool whence I should have thrown myself (ἦν κρημνὸς ἢ βυθός, ὅθεν ἐμαυτὴν ῥίψασα) and have been able to rest from my tormenting misfortunes'. Usually, the expression ῥίπτειν ἑαυτὸν κατὰ (ΤΟΥ) κρημνοῦ / κατὰ (τῶν) κρημνῶν is used see, e g., Plato, Leges XII 944 A, Thucidides VII 44,8; Josephus, Bell 1,313, Prochorus' Acta Jo (ed. Th. Zahn), p 36 21; cf Epictetus II 23,17 Our text, however, reads εἰς κρημνόν , and, consequently, κρημνός is not to be translated as 'rock' or 'cliff', but as 'abyss, precipice' (cf T R 2 9) parallel with φρέαρ; cf also M Braun op cit pp 78ff **if you do not let yourself be persunded by me:** cf. 4,5

7,4 perceiving cf 3,9 the spirit of Belıar was troubling her cf Tob 6,8, ἐάν uva ὀχλῃ δαιμόνιον ἢ πνεῦμα πονηρόν . οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ ὀχληθῇ;Lk 6,18, οἱ ἐνοχλούμενοι ἀπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων, Acts 5,16, ClemHom 8,8,4; 9,12,2, etc. On the other hand, all kinds of passicns are regarded as 'troubling' (ἐνοχλεῖν, ὀχλεῖν) man. see, e.g., Philo, Vita Mosis II 24, ClemHom 5,8,1 (ὑπὸ ερωτος ἐνοχλούμενος); 8,8,4; 9,23,3; 15,11,2 In our verse, the 'spirit of Belıar' cannot be separated from the 'passicn of the evil desire' which is effected by it (see also the next verse) **I prayed to the Lord:** for Joseph's praying, see **T Jos** , INTRODUCTION p. 364

7,5 **Why are you troubled und disturbed:** sc by the passion of sexual desire ('lewdness', cf v 1) For ταρασσειν, ταραχή in relation with passions, see cri T.S. 4,8f and T.B. 6,5 ταράσσειν, ταραχη - ftooußEıv, θόρυβος in such a context is a well-known combination see, e.g , Philo, Abr. 27, Decal. 86, Epictetus III 2,3, Dio Chrysostom XXXIV 19; Plutarch, De recta ratione audiendi 5 (Mor 39 DEF), Cersolatio ad Apollonium 13 (Mor. 108 AB) **blinded through sins:** τυφλωττειν referring to mental blindness also in Philo, De Jos 254; Decal 67, Spec.leg. I 332, Vita contempl 13, Justin, Dial. 97,4, Plutarch, De superstitione 5 (Mor 167 A) etc Cf also the use of τυφλωσις in T L 13,7, T D. 2,2, and τυφλοῦν in T.S. 2,7, T Jud 11,1, 18,3.6; 19,4, T.D. 2,4, T.G. 3,3 **the concubine of your husbund:** cf 13,5. **your rival:** cf. for the rather rare use of ἀντίζηλος, Sir 26,6 and 37,11, (do not take counsel) μετὰ γυναικὸς πεοὶ τῆς ἀντιζηλου αὐτῆς **will beat your children:** euphemistically for 'will kill your children'; cf v 6, and the following **will destroy your memorial from the earth,** an expression most probably derived from the Job stories. see Job 2,9b LXX (Job's **wife:**) ἰδοὺ γαρ ἠφάνισταί σου τὸ μνημοσυνον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, *vid* καὶ θυγατέρες ... (cf 18,17); TJob 24,2, διὸ ἀπώλετο ἀπὸ γῆς το μνημόσυνόν σου, οἱ υἱοί μου καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες For sinnlar

expressions but with different terminology (**ἐξαλείφειν, (κατα-)παυειν, ἐξολεθρευειν, ἐξαίρειν** instead of **ἀπόλλυναι,** and almost always without **ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς**), cf Ex **17,14,** Deut **32,26;** Ps **34(33),17; 109(108),15;** Sir 10,17; **1Mac** 12 53 PssSol 2,17.

7,6 **I shall enjoy my desire** for **ἀπολαύειν, ἀπόλαυσις** referring to the enjoyment of (sexual) desires, see, e.g. **Philo,** Congr.. 65 **των** ev **ταῖς ἐρωτικαῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ἀπολαύσεων;** Virt. 207· Basilius Ancyranus, Virg 41 Plutarch **Quomodo** adolescens **poetas** audire debeat 12 (Mor.. 33 **A);** Amatorius 4 (Mor 750 E)

7,7 **for God's sake (, and not for hers):** cf 3 4 Joseph s words (see v 5) were not spoken because he loved her but because he did not want to commit adultery and wished the woman would give up her lewdness

7,8 **has submitted to the passion** for such a use of **υποπίπτειν,** cf. Philo, **Leg.all. III** 202 **υποπιπτει ταῖς ἀλγηδόσιν,** ClemHom 2,2,3; 7,6,2; 12 1 3, etc. **evil desire:** cf 3,10 **become a slave of it.** see on T.Jud 15 2 **δουλωθεὶς τῇ πορνείᾳ** **by which he is overcome:** see on T R 5 3 **ἡττῶνται τῳ πνευματι τῆς πορνείας**

8 1 **I tell you·** cf T.R.. 1 7 **it was about the sixth hour, when she departed from me.** cf **3,6;** 9,4. **the sixth hour:** twelve o'clock in the afternoon **I knelt before the Lord** praying; cf Acta Phil 31, **ἔκλιναν τὰ γονατα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ προς** TÔV **κύριον** For the expression **κλίνειν τὰ γόνατα,** see further, **e.g.,** Hermas Vis. 4,1 7 8 **κλῖναι τὰ γόνατα καὶ ἐρωτᾶν** TÔV **κύριον ἵνα με λυτρώσηται ἐξ αυτου,** Acta Jo 42 Acta **Thom** 97 MartMt 11, cf Ezra 9,5 cf also Lampe s v **γόνυ.** **weeping and praying:** see **T.Jos.,** INTRODUCTION p. 364.. a **release:** cf 18 2. For **λυτοοῦν (λύτρωσις)** as an action of God (parallel with **σῴζειν, ῥύεσθαι,** etc.) see Ps **26(25),11,** 31(30) 6 59(58) 2 **119(118)434, Dan 3,88 LXX, etc**

T JOSEPH 8,2-9,5

Translation

8,2 At last, **then,**[33] she laid hold of my clothes,
forcibly drawing me to have intercourse with her
3 When, therefore, I saw
that in her madness she was holding fast to my clothes by force,
I fled away naked
4 And she falsely accused **me,**[34]
and the Egyptian cast me into the prison in his house,
and the next day he scourged me and sent me to Pharaoh's **prison** [35]
5 Now, when I was in fetters,
the Egyptian woman was ill with **grief,**
and she heard me,
how I praised the **Lord,** being[36] in the house of darkness,
and with glad voice in joy glorified **my**[37] God,
only because through this cause I was delivered from the Egyptian woman

9,1 Often she sent to me, saying
Consent to fulfil my desire,
and I will release you from the bonds
and deliver you from the darkness

2 And not even in **thought**[38] I ever inclined to her
For God loves him who fasts with chastity in a den of darkness more
than him who lives luxuriously in licentiousness in chambers of a **palace** [39]

3 But he **who**[40a] lives in chastity desires also glory,
and **if**[40b] the Most High knows that it is expedient for him,
he bestows this also upon him,
even as upon me

4 How often, though she was ill, did she come down to me by midnight,
and listened to my voice as I prayed!
And understanding her groanings I held my peace

5 For when I was in her house,
she used to bare her arms and breasts and legs,
that I would meet her,
for she was very beautiful,
splendidly adorned in order to beguile **me.**[41]
And the Lord guarded me from her attempts

Textcritical notes

[33] **οὖν** *(bm)* The omission of **οὖν** *(gleafc)* makes the connection with the previous verse smoother, and may, therefore, be regarded as secondary. Cf. also 3,3, 6,4

[34] **ἐσυκοφάντησέ με** The addition of **προς** TÖV **ἄνδρα αὐτῆς** (*b*; *cf d*) is epexegetical and evidently secondary There does not seem to be any reason for omission.

[35] **εἰς τὴν εἱρκτὴν τοῦ Φαραω** The variant **εἰς φυλακὴν** ἐν **οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ** ο **Αἰγυπτιος** *(b)* is an obvious mistake (see the previous phrase!).

[36] **ὧν** *(b* cf. **A**), which is omitted in *glmeafchj*.Both readings may claim originality, though *b* may represent the lectio difficilior.

[37] **μου** *(bchj)*, omitted in *glmeaf* The reading of *bchj* is surely original cf 7,7

[38] **ἕως ἐννοιῶν** (*b*, cf *l*) See the textcritical note on **T G 5,5**

[39] **βασιλείων** (*l*) The use of the same expression in T S 8,3 together with the correspondence between ev **ταμιείοις βασιλείων** and ἐν **λάκκῳ σκότους** in our verse make the text of / preferable As in T.S. **8,3,** the reading **βασιλέων** must be regarded as secondary Why it is omitted in *b* is not quite clear

«Mob ο **δέ** **ει** (*b*) The reading **εἰ** OE .. together with the omission of **εἰ** (*gleaf*)is an attempt to remove the statement that also someone 'who lives in chastity' and 'who fasts in the den of darkness' desires glory, an attitude which a scribe certainly found somewhat immodest The variants in *chj* are also secondary

[41] **προς ἀπάτησίν μου** *(b)* **ἀπάτησιν** is lectio difficilior over against the more usual **ἀπάτην** in *ldmeafchj*(cf *g)* For the use of **ἀπάτησις,** cf Jdt 10,4 Cf T R 5,5

Structure

8,2-5 Eighth episode
vv 2–4 at last the woman's action known from Gen 39,12-20 is mentioned she uses force Joseph's reaction he flees away Then she accuses him falsely, with the result that he is sent to prison

v 5 Joseph's reaction he praises and glorifies God joyfully, now he is delivered from the Egyptian woman The woman's reaction she is ill with grief that Joseph has gone and she comes and listens to him

9,1–4 Ninth episode

v 1 the woman lets Joseph know many times that she will free him if he consents to fulfil her desire. Note: 'saying ...'

vv 2-3 Joseph's reaction in prison: he refuses (v 2a), implicitly. he 'fasts with chastity'. Argument: God loves the one 'who fasts in a den of darkness' (v. 2bc), moreover, if God thinks it is expedient, he bestows glory upon such a man in distress, which the latter, of course, is longing for (v 3)

v 4 while Joseph is still in prison, the woman, though she is ill, comes many times to him to listen to his voice while he is praying Joseph's reaction: he keeps silent

9,5 Tenth episode

this verse seems to explain ἐσιωπων in v 4.. before, even when the woman tried her most powerful weapon, her beauty, God has guarded him Therefore, Joseph may hold his peace relying upon God who will certainly save him also this time

Notes

8,2 she **laid hold** of my **clothes:** based on Gen 39,12 (LXX), ἐπεσπάσατο αὐτὸν των ἱματίων, but worded differently; see, however, Philo, De Jos 49, ἀποδιδράσκει τὰ ἱμάτια καταλιπὼν ev ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῆς, ὧν ἐπείληπτο. For the expression ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι TUV ἱματίων/τοῦ ἱματιου, see also 1Kgs 11,30; 2Kgs 2,12, Prochorus' Acta Jo (ed Th Zahn), p.. 142,13 (in a similar context).. **forcibly:** cf v 3, 'by force'; also in Philo, De Jos 41; Josephus, Ant. 2,53; Methodius, Symp 11 **drawing me:** cf 3,8 **to have intercourse with her:** for συνουσία, see on T R. 2,8

8,3 **in her madness:** μαινομένη, cf. Philo, De Jos. 40, τῇ γὰρ εὐμορφίᾳ ἐπιμανεισα τοῦ νεανισκου, Basilius Ancyranus, Virg 41, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ο xaXoç Ἰωσὴφ τῇ δεσποτικῇ ἐπιμανείσῃ αὐτῷ ἑαυτὸν πρὸς την τῆς ἀκολασίας ἀπόλαυσιν χρῆσαι ἠθέλησεν. For (ἐπι-)μαίνεσθαι, μανία in relation with love and sex, cf further Philo, Agric 84, ClemHom 12,15,3; Prochorus' Acta Jo (ed Th. Zahn), pp. 143,7; 149,6; Plato, Phaedrus 244 A; 253 C; Plutarch, Pyrrhus 26,18 (Vitae par. 401 A); Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur 10 (Mor.. 54 C), etc.. **by force: cf. v. 2. I fled away naked:** see Methodius, Symp 11 (Joseph) ἔφευγε γυμνός; and cf in other contexts Mk 14,52; Acta Thom 99. The Gen story just says ἔφυγεν (39,12) The addition of γυμνός (cf. 13,4 9) is made in order to dramatize the story

8,4 **she falsely accused me:** cf. 10,3; see also Philo, De Jos.. 270, '(Joseph) .... the victim of conspiracy, sold into slavery, falsely accused (συκοφαντούμενος), chained in a prison', Athanasius, Fr Pss. Comm , Ps 36,31ff., 118,134; Synops 1 (Gen), Asterius Soph , Hom 6,7 in Ps 5 (ed M. Richard, Oslo 1956, p. 78). **cast me into the prison in his house ... sent me to Pharaoh's prison:** cf 2,3. It is based on Gen 39,20 (LXX), ἐνέβαλεν αὐτὸν EIÇ τὸ ὀχύρωμα, cf. JosAsen 4,14, ἐνέβαλεν αὐτὸν EIÇ τὴν φυλακὴν TOV σκότους, Josephus, Ant. 2,59, ΕΪÇ τὴν τῶν κακούργων ειρκτὴν ἐνέβαλεν, Philo, De Jos 52 κελεύει τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰς εἱρκτὴν ἀπαγαγεῖν; 80 Eusebius Emesenus, Fr in Gen., Gen 39,13–15.22, ἐμβάλλεται Ἰωσὴφ εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον. Remarkably, T Jos mentions two prisons, one in the house of Petephres, where Joseph had to stay one day under remand as it were, and the (official) prison of Pharaoh, to which Joseph was sent the next day, undoubtedly after Petephres had passed sentence. It may be that the author of the Testaments or the source from which he derived this part of the story, wished to explain the confusion in the biblical account between Potiphar (Petephres) and the keeper of the prison (both mentioned שַׂר הַטַּבָּחִים; see Gen 37,36; 39,1 and 40,3f ,

41,10.12; but cf 39,21ff.) by supposing the existence of two prisons. **he scourged me** underlines the deep troubles the pious man Joseph had to endure; cf. 2,3, ἐτυπτήθην μαστίζειν is a recurrent element in the Gospels (Mt 20,19, Jn 19,1 Jesus), in Jewish and Christian martyria (2Mac 6,30; 4Mac 6,3.6; 9,12; MartPolyc 2; MartAndrAlterum 1, etc.), and in the canonical and apocryphal Acts of the Apostels (Acts 22,24f.; Acta Phil 17; Acta Thom 106, etc)

8,5 **when I was in fetters:** from Ps 105(104),18 (LXX), ἐταπείνωσαν ἐν πέδαις, cf Josephus, Ant 2 63. was ill with grief. cf. 7,1f., 9 4 **and she heard me, how I praised the Lord ...:** cf The Story of Joseph in Arabic Verse (ed./tr R Y Ebied and M. J. L Young, Leiden 1975) 221, 'he (Joseph) was filled with joy when he entered it (the prison), because of his distance from fornication, and he thanked God' For a comparable situation, cf Dan 3 LXX where Anamas, Azarias and Misael praise God because of their miraculous salvation from the fire ὕμνουν καὶ ἐδόξαζον ... τὸν θεόν ...· ὑμνεῖτε ··· ὅτι ἐξείλετο ἔσωσεν .. ἐρρύσατο ... ἐλυτρώσατο (w 51, 88), . . καὶ ἐγένετο εν τῷ ἀκοῦσαι τὸν βασιλέα ὑμνούντων αὐτων (v 91) Here is not only the combination ὑμνεῖν - δοξάζειν (cf also Isa 25,1, 42,10; Dan 3,56 LXX, TJob 14,2f.; TSol 1,8; Acta Thom 7, 39, etc.) as a response following upon God's salvation (cf also the use of ὅτι), but also the motif that the adversary, the one who causes the distress, hears the hymn of praise Cf. Acts 16,25, but the situation described here is different: above all, Paul and Silas praise God before not after their salvation, and it is not their adversary but their fellow-prisoners who hear them singing. **the house of darkness:** cf 2,4; 9,1f ; and JosAsen 4,14 (quoted above, see on v. 4) For σκοτος referring to imprisonment and prison, cf PS 107(106),10.14; Isa 42,7; 49,9; WisSol 17,2, etc **with glad voice:** cf T N 9,2, εν ἱλαρότητι ψυχῆς. ἱλαρότης after salvation also in 3Mac 6,35. **I was delivered from the Egyptian woman: faoXaoouv** also in 9,1. 'Being delivered' from a person (usually someone who has power over you, like a king or a tyrant) also in Justin, Apol II 2,19, πονηρων δεσποτῶν των τοιούτων ἀπηλλάχθαι; Herodotus V 78, ἀπαλλαχθέντες ... τυράννων, Plutarch, Pyrrhus 5,14 (Vitae par 385 F), cf. Lk 12,58. 'Being delivered' from troubles, punishment, etc (as in 9,1) also in 4Mac 9,16, TJob 25,10; Philo, Spec leg HI 107, Justin, Apol. I 12,2, 20,4, Dial 47,4, etc.

9,1 **Often:** see on 3,1. **to fulfil my desire:** cf 4,7, 7,6 For the expression πληροῦν ἐπιθυμίαν, see Philo, Leg all III 149; ClemHom 20,4,3, Acta Thom 120; Plato, Gorgias 494 C, 507 E, etc **the bonds:** cf 1,6, 2,4 **deliver you from:** see on 8,5 **the darkness:** see on 8,5

9,2 **not even in thought:** cf T G 5,5 **For God loves ...: cf.** 4,6, 10,2 **fasts with chastity:** see T.Jos., INTRODUCTION p 364 **in a den of darkness:** cf 8,5, εν οἴκῳ σκοτους; 9,1, τοῦ σκότους. For the use of λάκκος, cf Gen 40,15 LXX, ἐνέβαλόν HE εἰς TOV λάκκον TOÜTOV **more than:** μᾶλλον . ἤ, used either for comparison or for exclusion as in our case, where what is said in the clause introduced by ἤ is excluded from the cause mentioned in the first clause: God loves the one 'who fasts with chastity in a den of darkness' and not the man 'who lives luxuriously in licentiousness in chambers of a palace' For such a use of μᾶλλον .. ἤ, cf also Jn 3,19, 12,43, 1Tim 1,4, etc **lives luxuriously:** cf. 3,4 **licentiousness:** see on 7,1 **in chambers of a palace:** cf T S 8,3

9,3 **he who lives in chastity:** for διάγειν, see on 3,4 For σωφροσυνη (cf. v 2), see T Jos , INTRODUCTION p 364 glory (cf. 10 3): see T Jos., INTRODUCTION pp 363f knows **that it is expedient for him, he bestows:** see on T.G. 7,1f **even as upon me:** cf 10,3, T.S. 4,5, T B 4,1

9,4 This verse most probably describes the reaction of the woman when Joseph was in prison (see also the following 'when I was in her house' in v. 5) **How often:** see on 3,1 **ill ... groanings: cf.** 7,1f.; 8,5 **come down:** sc. to prison, cf εἰσῆει in 3,6;

ἤρχετο in 4 4; **ἐλθοῦσα** in 6 4 **εἰσεπήδησε** in 7,3. **by midnight:** cf 3 6 **ἐν νυκτί;** 8 1 **listened to my voice:** cf 8 5 ***as*** **I prayed** sc for **salvation;** see also **T.Jos.,** INTRODUCTION p. 364 **understanding:** cf **6,2** **I held my peace.** does this simply **mean that he kept silent when he heard her? There is no reason why he should. More** likely is the supposition that at the end of this story the author wants to emphasize that Joseph does not reveal the truth about what really has happened (cf. **5,2f.),** in order to save the Egyptian woman's reputation The characteristic of 'holding his peace' will play an important role in the second story about the selling of Joseph in this testament' see also **T.Jos.,** INTRODUCTION pp. 364f

9 5 On this verse see also *the Introduction to the first story* pp 372f **she used to bare** cf T R 3 12,14., **I would meet her** cf. T.Jud 11,2; 13,3.7 **she was very beautiful** cf T R 3,4, **ἵνα . . . ὡραῖος ὡφθῇ** **adorned in order to beguile me** cf b Yoma 35b For the adornment of women as a means to beguile' men cf T R **5,2ff ,** T Jud **12,1ff ,** 13,3.5 **guarded me:** cf 1 4 2,2.

T JOSEPH 10,1–11,1

Translation

10,1 You see, therefore, my children,
how great things patience works and **prayer**[42] with fasting
2 You also, **therefore,**
if you follow after chastity and purity with patience and humility of heart,
the Lord will dwell in you,
because he loves chastity
3 And wherever the Most High dwells,
even if a man falls into envy or slavery or slander or darkness,[43]
the Lord who dwells in him not only delivers him from evils for the sake of his chastity,
but also exalts and magnifies him,
even as me
4 For in every way,
whether in deed or in word or in mind,
man is constrained
5 My brothers know,
how my father loved me
and yet I did not exalt myself in my **heart.**[44a]
Although I was a child,
I had the fear of God in my **mind**[44b]
- for I knew that all things will pass away
6 And I took the measure of **myself,**
and I honoured my brothers,
and out of fear for them I held my peace when I was sold,
so that I refrained from telling the Ishmaelites my race,
that I was the son of Jacob, a great and mighty man

11,1 You also, therefore,
have the fear of God in **all**[45] your work before the **eyes**[46]
and honour your brothers;
for everyone who works the law of the Lord will be loved by him

Textcritical notes

[42] **προσευχη** *(be)* The variant **ἡ προσευχή** *(gldmafchj)* may have been introduced under the influence of the previous **η ὑπομονή** For **προσευχη μετὰ νηστειας** without article cf TD 4,6f.

[43] **ἡ σκοτια** (/ cf *hj*). Darkness is the final word in the description of a series of events which determine Joseph's life (before his **'exaltation'**), viz. 'envy slavery slander **'imprisonment'** *b* (cf. c) omits the words through **hmt** , while *gdeaf* (cf. *m)* change them into the more usual **ἡ σκότει** (cf. 2 4; 8,5; 9,1f)

[44a-44b] **καρδία διανοία** *(b)* Both this text **and the** alternative **διανοία** *(gldmeafchj)*. **καρδία** *(mafchjglde* **om**) may be original though the other MSS may have put **διανοία** at the beginning of the sentence because of **ἐν διανοία** in the previous verse.

[45] **πάσῃ** Its omission (in *b* only) can hardly be original. It will have been left out because of **hma**

[46] **πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν** *(gdmeafc)*, omitted in *blhj* because of hmt

Structure

10,1–4 Exhortatory section following the story of Joseph and the Egyptian **woman**

v 1 reference to the example of Joseph his patience praying and fasting and the great things they effect

vv **2–4** indirect exhortation (fitted within a conditional sentence) to follow after chastity and purity with patience and humility of heart (v 2ab), an attitude which may refer to Joseph s self-humiliation mentioned in **vv. 5–6.** Preeminent among the virtues', however is **σωφροσύνη,** the key-word in w **2–4.** The exhortation is connected with a promise: God 'will dwell in you for he loves chastity (v. 2cd); he will deliver the man in whom he dwells from all troubles which may happen to him and he will exalt him as Joseph, for the sake of his chastity (v **3).** For such a man is constrained by Gods indwelling (v 4)

10,5–6 Introduction **to the** second story Example **of** Joseph: notwithstanding **the** fact that Jacob loved him (more than his brothers), he did not exalt himself, having - even in his childhood - the fear of God and he honoured his brothers which implied keeping silent and not telling his origin when he was sold. Note the introductory clause 'My brothers know . "

11 1 Direct exhortation deduced from this example have the fear of God and honour your brothers which is the law of the Lord Then God will love you (cf 10 2d)

Notes

10,1 You see, therefore, my children cf 17 1 (just after the second story) **patience ... and prayer with fasting:** characteristic of Joseph s attitude in his struggle against the Egyptian woman see **T.Jos.,** INTRODUCTION pp 363f **works** for such a use of **κατεργάζεται,** see also Jas 1,3; Hermas Vis. 2,3,1, etc

10,2 follow after: for a similar use of **μετέρχεσθαι,** see, e.g., **Philo,** Quod det pot 18, **ἵνα δικαιοσύνην και πᾶσαν ἀρετην . μετερχώμεθα;** 24 **Leg all III** 52; Justin, **Apol.** II

11,6, John Chrysostom, Hom. 42,4 in Mt. **chastity:** another important characteristic of Joseph in his struggle against the Egyptian woman; see T.Jos., INTRODUCTION p. 364. **purity:** ἁγνεία is also a term that is used especially in connection with chastity and sexual purity: see, e.g., Philo, Abr. 98, Spec.leg. II 56, Hermas, Mand. 4,1,1. It is used together with σωφροσυνη (cf. also Philo, Vita Mosis II 137; 1Clem. 64,1; Ignatius, Eph. 10,3, ClemHom. 3,26,4) in order to underline the importance of this virtue. **patience:** cf. v. 1. **humility of heart:** see on T.R. 6,10. The pious man humbles himself and is exalted by God (cf. also Mt 23,12; Lk 14,11; 18,14; Jas 4,10; 1Pet 5,6). Self-humiliation stands over against self-exaltation, the sinner's attitude. Cf. vv. 5–6, 17,8; and T.Jos., INTRODUCTION pp. 363f. **the Lord will dwell in you:** see on T.B. 6,4. he **loves chastity:** cf. 9,2, cf. also Ps 83,12 LXX. ἠγάπησε is aor. gnomicus.

10,3 **wherever the Most High dwells ... the Lord who dwells in him:** cf. v. 2. **falls into:** for this use of περιπίπτειν, see on T.D. 4,5.. **envy ... slavery ... slander ... darkness:** in Joseph's life: cf. 1,3-7 (envy); 1,5 (slavery); 8,4 (slander); 2,4, 8,5; 9,1f. (darkness = imprisonment). **not only delivers him from evils ... but also exalts and magnifies him, even as me:** cf. 1,7, 9,3.5, 18,1f.; T.S. 4,5, see also T.Jos., INTRODUCTION pp. 363f. **for the sake of his chastity:** cf. v. 2.

10,4 V. 3 implies that the one in whom God dwells because of his chastity is able to remain chaste even in distress. The motivation for it is given is this verse. **whether in deed or in word or in mind:** explanation of πάντως; cf. T.G. 6,1, ἀγαπῶντες ἀλλήλους εν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ διανοίᾳ ψυχῆς. For the pre-eminent role of διάνοια, see on T.R. 3,12. **is constrained:** sc. by God's indwelling. The man in whom God dwells is constrained by this indwelling. Cf. Job 31,23 LXX, φόβος γὰρ κυρίου συνεσχεν με (see T.Jos. 10,5 ... εἶχον τὸν φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ εν τῇ διανοίᾳ μου); 2Cor 5,14.

10,5 **My brothers:** Joseph's brothers were addressed in the beginning of this testament (see 1,2); now they are called as witnesses (cf. 17,4). **how my father loved me:** cf. 1,2. **I did not exalt myself:** cf. 17,8, The Apocryphal Story of Joseph in Coptic (tr. J. Zandee, *Vigiliae Christianae* 15 [1961], 193–213), p. 18,36ff., 'Joseph went to his brothers and he humiliated himself for them all'. Self-exaltation (over against 'humility of heart', v. 2) - described by the verb ὑψοῦν - is often the result of having much power, wealth, glory, etc., and involves forgetting God and being disobedient to him, see, e.g., Deut 8,12ff.; 17,19f., 2Chr 26,16; Ps 131(130); Prov 18,10ff. LXX; Ezek 28,2ff.; PssSol 1,4ff.; PJ 6,21(23); Philo, Virt. 161ff. Joseph did not exalt himself, neither when he was young and Jacob loved him more than his brothers, nor later, when he received royal glory (cf. 17,8), for he knew **that all things will pass away.** Cf. WisSol 5,8f., 'What has our arrogance profited us? And what good has our boasted wealth (ἀλαζονείας) brought us? All those things have vanished (παρῆλθεν ἐκεῖνα πάντα) like a shadow'; TJob 33,4, ο κοσμος ὅλος παρελεύσεται καὶ η δόξα αὐτοῦ φθαρήσεται; 33,8, 34,4; 43,7; WisSol 2,4; Jas 1,10; Acta Phil 119 (IInd version); Acta Thom 88; cf. also Mt 24,35; Mk 13,31; Lk 21,33; 2Pet 3,10; Did 10,6. The reason why Joseph did not exalt himself is given in the following clauses, **Although I was a child, I had the fear of God in my mind.** Cf. 1Kgs 18,12, Ps 71(70),5, Eccl 12,1; Did 4,9, Bam 19,5, and 4Mac 2,3, 'For he (Joseph), a young man (νέος ... ὤν) at the age when physical desire is strong, by his Reason quenched the impulse of his passions.' Traditionally, the time of youth is seen as a time in which one easily falls into sins, particularly sexual sins; cf. T.R. 1,6, 2,9; T.Jud. 11,1. For the use of νήπιος (cf. ὤν νέος in Gen 37,2, and 4Mac 2,3 quoted above), cf. Ps 8,3; Mt 21,16; Acta Phil 44, etc. **in my mind:** cf. **in my heart** in the same verse, and v. 4, 'in mind'.

10,6 **I took the measure of myself:** this phrase says positively what 'I did not exalt myself' (v. 5) said negatively. It underlines Joseph's self-humiliation once more. For the expression μετοεῖν ἑαυτόν, see also Ignatius, Trall. 4,1, Origen, Cels. IV 30, etc. I

honoured my brothers ... fear for them as the expression of his self-humiliation For the combination **τιμᾶν - φοβεῖσθαι,** see further Lev **19,32;** Prov 3,7.9· **7,1a** LXX **1Pet** 2 17 etc **I held my peace so that I refrained from telling the Ishmaelites my race** .: keeping silent about his birth and origin is Joseph s characteristic attitude in the second story of **T Jos.,** which begins in 11,2; honour respect and love for his brothers **require such a** behaviour **in these** particular **circumstances See T Jos ,** INTRODUCTION pp **364f when I was sold** cf. **1,5 that I was the son of Jacob, a great and mighty man:** cf 15,2 5

11 1 **have the fear of God in all your work before the eyes: for the** expression **ἔχειν τι προ ὀφθαλμῶν,** see JosAsen 7 6 Justin Dial 20 1 and particularly 46,5, tva . . **ἐν πάσῃ ποάξει ποὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀεὶ ἔχητε** TOV **θεὸν καὶ μητε ἀδικεῖν μήτε ἀσεβεῖν ἄρχησθε;** cf PS 36(35),2 (LXX) **οὐκ εστιν φόβος θεοῦ ἀπέναντι των ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ; 101(100),3. the fear of God** as exemplified by Joseph in 10 5 Also the exhortation **honour your brothers** is derived from his example· cf 10 6 **will be loved by hàn** cf 9 2 10 2

THE SECOND STORY JOSEPH S SLAVERY AND IMPRISONMENT (11,2-16,6)

Most probably, the author of the Testaments has incorporated the information given in this story in **T.Jos.** from a source which differed in many respects from that used in the first part of T Jos First, this story deals with Joseph's adventures before he was bought by Petephres and should therefore have preceded chspters **3–9.** Second, it uses different names for Joseph's master and mistress than the first story (**Πετεφρῆς** and **ἡ Μέμφις** instead of o **Αἰγύπτιος** and **η Αἰγυπτία,** exceptions 3,6 and 16,5) And third, it introduces Petephres' wife in 12,1 as if she had never been mentioned before

The introduction to the story (**10,5–6,** 11,1) together with the passage that immediately follows it (chapters 17-18) show that the story gives another example of Joseph's patience and self-humiliation, this time expressed by his respect and love for his brothers, this required silence about his status as free man when he was interrogated, in order to save his brothers' reputation The story itself, though consisting (again) of various episodes, forms a closer unity than that in chapters 3-9 It may be divided roughly into four parts

1 It describes how the Ishmaelites asked Joseph about his social status on their way to Egypt and left him in the care of a dealer in Egypt till their return from their next journey (11,2-8)

2 Then, Petephres' wife appears on the scene She sees Joseph and makes a first attempt to take him as a servant into her own house She asks her husband to take him away from the merchant because people tell that he has been stolen from Canaan, and she tries to persuade her husband by referring to the success Joseph's stay will bring to him Petephres inquires into the matter, but both the merchant and Joseph deny Nevertheless, he does not believe them and decides to keep both in prison till the return of the Ishmaelites - under protest from his wife, who underlines Joseph's noble birth and innocence (chapters 12-14)

3 Hereafter, the Ishmaelites return They have heard that Joseph is the son of Jacob, a mighty man in Canaan, who is mourning for his son Joseph, however, repeats that he is a slave They do not believe him and decide to sell him Nevertheless, they go to Petephres and tell him that they have bought Joseph and thus they effect his release and that of the merchant (chapter 15)

4 Now, Petephres' wife, in another attempt to take Joseph as a servant into her house, asks her husband to buy him He does not come to an agreement with the Ishmaelites about the price, but during these negotiations, the woman herself makes inquiries about the price and, in second instance, she orders an eunuch to buy Joseph He does so but holds back some money Joseph, who knows this, does not tell anything, in order to save also the eunuch's reputation (chapter 16)

T JOSEPH 11,2–8

Translation

11,2 And when I came to the Indocolpites with the Ishmaelites,
they interrogated me,
and I said
I am their home-born slave,
that I should not put my brothers to shame
3 And the eldest of them said to me:
You are not a slave,
for also your appearance makes it manifest who you are,
and he threatened me unto death,
but I said
I am their slave
4 And when we came in Egypt,
they quarrelled concerning me,
which of them would pay some extra money[47] and take me
5 Therefore it seemed good to all
that I should remain in Egypt with the merchant of their trade,
until[48] they would return bringing merchandise
6 And the Lord gave me favour in the eyes of the merchant,
and he entrusted to me his house
7 And the Lord blessed him through my hand
and made him prosper in silver and gold
8 And I was with him for three months and five days

Textcritical notes

[4] προσδους χρυσίον *(b)* Both this reading and the alternative προδους χρυσίον *(gldmeafch)* may claim originality προσδούς seems to imply that the one who wanted to

have Joseph as his own slave had to pay some money to the others some extra money beyond the price the Ishmaelites had already paid for Joseph Elsewhere too both verbs are mixed up; see e g., Ezek 16,34 LXX.

48 **ἕως** *(ba;* cf *l)* Both **ἕως** and the alternative **ἕως οὗ** *(gdef,* cf. *m* and *chj)* may be **original** **ἕως** *ov* is found in 13 3 14 2 and **may,** therefore be the result of assimilation

Structure

11 2-3 On the way to Egypt, Joseph is interrogated by the Ishmaelites and by their leader Both times Joseph says that he is a slave

11,4–5 When they are in Egypt the Ishmaelites are not able to decide among themselves who will possess Joseph For the moment they leave him in the care of a merchant until their return from the next journey

11,6–7 God gives Joseph 'favour in the eyes of the merchant so that he becomes his steward Because of Joseph the merchant is blessed by God and becomes a rich man Joseph remains there three months and five days

Notes

11,2 the Indocolpites: identical with the Troglocolpites mentioned in T.Z. 4,6? see on T.Z 4 6 **their home-born slave:** 'their' seems to refer to Joseph's 'brothers' (mentioned in the next clause), 'home-born', **ἐξ οἴκου = (τὸ γένος) οἴκοθεν = οἰκογενης,** 'born in the house homebred (frequently used of slaves cf LSCJ s v **οἰκογενής** and **οἴκοθεν)** **that I should not put my brothers to shame:** cf 15,3, 17,1.4, cf also Philo, De Jos 237, And that no reproach might attach to the brothers **(ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν ὄνειδος προσβαλεῖν τοις ἀδελφοῖς)** for their action, he judged it best that no Egyptian should be present at the first recognition'; cf 250 Philo and **T.Jos.** differ in that the latter connects the motif clearly with Joseph's silence before his kingship See also T Jos , INTRODUCTION pp 364f

11,3 your appearance makes it manifest who you are cf Philo De Jos 106, The king judging him by his appearance **(ἐκ της ὄψεως)** to be a man of free and noble birth **he threatened me unto death:** cf. 3,1. **I am their slave:** cf. v. 2.

11,4 And when we came in Egypt: cf Gen 39,1 **would pay some extra money** see textcritical note 47.

11,5 until they would return: cf. 13,3, 14,2 15 1

11,6 In vv **6–7,** many of the things which Gen tells of Potiphar and the keeper of the prison are coonected with the newly created figure of the merchant **And the Lord gave me favour in the eyes of the merchant:** cf Gen 39,4 and 39,21 (see also T.Jos 2,3) For the expression **χάρις ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τινος,** see Gen 33 8 Ruth 2,2 10 13; **1Sam** 1 18 16,22 etc **and he entrusted to me his house:** cf 2,1, and Gen 39,4

11,7 And the Lord blessed han through my hand: cf Gen 39,3ff **and made him prosper:** cf. Deut 28,11; Hermas, San 9,24,3, Prochorus' Acta Jo (ed. Th Zahn), p 74,1 **prosper in sUver and gold·** cf. Jdt 5 9

11,8 for three months and five days cf 15 1 twenty-four days Certainly a relic of the old story (source)

T JOSEPH 12-14

Translation

12,1 About that time the Memphian woman passed by in a chariot,
the wife of Petephres,[49] with great pomp,

and she cast her eyes upon me,
for the eunuchs had told her concerning me
2 And she told her husband concerning the merchant
He has become rich through the hand of a young Hebrew,
but one says that they have moreover[50] certainly stolen him out of the land of Canaan
3 Now, therefore, try him,
and set the youth free to be your steward,
and the god of the Hebrews will bless you,
for grace from heaven is upon him
13,1 And Petephres,
persuaded by her words,
commanded the merchant to be brought,
and he said to him
What is this that I hear,
that you steal persons out of the land of the Hebrews,[51]
buying them to be servants?
2 Then, the merchant fell on his face and besought him, saying
I beseech you, lord, I do not know what you say
3 But he said:
From when, then, have you got the Hebrew boy?
And he said
The Ishmaelites entrusted him to me until they would return
4 And he did not believe him,
but he commanded him to be beaten naked
But when he persisted in his statements,[52]
Petrephres said
Let the youth be brought
5 And when I was brought in, I prostrated myself before the chief of the eunuchs,
for he was third in rank with Pharaoh,
head of all the eunuchs,
having a wife and children and concubines.[53]
6 And he took me apart from him and said to me
Are you a slave or free?
And I said
A slave
7 And he said to me:[54a]
Whose slave[54b] are you?
And I said to him
Of the Ishmaelites.
8 And again[54c] he said to me
How did you become their slave?
And I said
They bought me out of the land[55] of Canaan.

9 But he did not believe it, **saying:**[56]
You lie!
And he commanded me to be beaten naked
14,1 But the Memphian woman was looking through the window
while I was being beaten,
and she sent to her husband, saying
Your judgment **is**[57] unjust,
for you punish a free man who has been stolen as if he were a transgressor
2 But when I made no change in my statement when I was beaten,
he commanded **me**[58] to be imprisoned,
until, he **said,** the owners of the boy will **come,**
3 And his wife said to him
Why do you detain the captive and well-born lad,
who ought rather to be set at liberty and attend on you?
4 For she wanted to see me out of a desire of sin,
and I was ignorant concerning all these things
5 But he said to the Memphian woman:
It is forbidden among the Egyptians to take away that which belongs to others before proof is given
6 He said this concerning the merchant,
and concerning me, that I **should**[59] remain in prison

Textcritical notes

[49a] ἡ Μεμφία ev λαμπήνῃ, ἡ γυνὴ *roil* Πετεφρη The words ev λαμπήνῃ which have an authentic ring may have been left out in *bg* in order to obtain a smoother text and a less heavy construction Also the article before γυνή (omitted in ***b***; cf. ***ldm*** which omit **ἡ γυνή,** *eaf* omit γυνῃ) most probably belongs to the original text. Finally Μεμφία *(b)* is surely lectio difficilior over against **Μέμφις (*gldmeafchj*)**,the name of the Egyptian woman in chapters 12-16. For the text of *b* cf 3,6

[50] καί. It is omitted in ***bl,*** either because they regarded it as somewhat superfluous or just because of haplography

[51] Ἑβραίων *(b)* The alternative **Χανάαν** *(gldmeafchj)* was introduced because of the parallel phrase in 12 2 Moreover **γῆ Χανάαν** is a recurrent expression in the Testaments and elsewhere

[52] TOÎÇ λόγοις *(f)* The reading of *b,* without these words, does not make sense, the addition of **τουτοις (*gdmeachj*;**cf. ***f)*** is lectio facilior and probably secondary

[53] Τέκνα καὶ παλλακάς *(b)* The reversed order παλλακὰς καὶ τέκνα *(gldmeaf)* may be an attempt to put γυναικα and παλλακάς close together

[54a b-c] πρός HE . . εἶ δοῦλος . . , πάλιν *(b).* These words have all been left out in *gldmeaf in* an attempt to avoid some of the repititions and to get a shorter and more readable story

[55] γης which only *b* has changed into **τῆς.** See the textontical note on T.Z. 5 5

[56] ο δὲ ἠπίστησε, λέγων ὅτι *(b)* The other MSS give again a shorter text. **(καὶ) εἶπε δὲ πρός με (*gdmeafchj*;**cf ο δὲ εἶπεν *l)* but influence from v 4 on *b* cannot wholly be excluded.

[57] ἐστιν *(b)* Both this reading and the alternative (omission of ἐστιν in *gldmeafchj)* may claim originality

[5f] με *(b* and *chj)* The alternative ἡμας *(gldmeaf)* seems to have been introduced because of 15,6–7 On the other hand, με fits very well into the direct context, which may make this reading lectio facilior

[5] περὶ ἐμου ὅτι ὤφειλα *(b)*; 6 παῖς οὖν ὀφείλει in *glmeaf* (cf. *d* and *chj)* seems to be an attempt to give a smoother text, although, again, it is hard to obtain any certainty

Structure

12,1 Petephres' wife passes by and sees Joseph. She has already heard about him

12,2-3 Her first attempt to have Joseph with her in her house:: she tells her husband about the merchant's success because of Joseph and about the fact that Joseph seems to have been stolen out of Canaan Then she asks him to try the merchant, to take Joseph away from him and to make him steward in the house. Her real intentions are not mentioned before 14,4 (but cf 12,1). Note the chiastic structure of these verses

13,1-9 The κρίσις of Petephres

vv 1–4c Petephres' trial of the merchant Two questions and answers. The merchant argues that he has not stolen Joseph out of the land of Canaan but that the Ishmaelites have left him in his care. Petephres does not believe him and orders him to be beaten naked, the merchant persists in his statements, also under tortures

vv 4d-9 Petephres' trial of Joseph. Three questions and answers. Joseph says that he is a slave of the Ishmaelites who have bought him out of the land of Canaan Petephres does not believe him and orders him to be beaten naked V 5bcd motivate Joseph's προσκύνησις, described in v. 5a Note the parallel structure of vv 1–4c and 4d-9

14,1 Petephres' wife watches Joseph being beaten and lets her husband know that his κρίσις is unjust

14,2 Also Joseph maintains his statements under tortures Petephres orders him to be imprisoned till the return of the Ishmaelites

14,3–6 Petephres' wife protests another time (v. 3), but her husband refuses to set Joseph free (vv 5–6). V 4 mentions now the woman's real intentions, together with Joseph's ignorance about these things

Notes

12,1 **the Memphian woman ... Petephres:** see *the Introduction to the second story*, pp 393f. **with great pomp:** i.e. as a queen. Cf., e.g , Dan 4,29 LXX; 1Mac 10 60: 11 6. Josephus, Ant 8,166, cf Mt 24,30 (and par.); Acts 25,23 **she cast her eyes upon me:** from Gen 39,7. **the eunuchs:** cf. 6,2; 13,5; 16,2ff

12,2 **He has become rich through the hand ...: cf.** 11,7 **they have even certainly stolen** han out of the land of Canaan cf 13 1' from Gen 40 15 (LXX) κλοπῇ ἐκλάπην ἐκ γης Ἑβραίων

12,3 try him (= the merchant): ποιεῖν κρίσιν μετά τινος also in Deut 33,21. set ... **free:** for ἀφαιρεῖσθαι (also ἀφαιρεῖσθαι εἰς ἐλευθερίαν) referring to the release of prisoners or slaves, cf., e.g., Plato, Leges XI 914 E; Plutarch, Solon 13,6 (Vitae par., 85 B); Titus 12,7 (Vitae par 376 A), De sera numinis vindicta 4 (Mor 550 B), Epictetus IV 9,11, cf. also LSeJ s v ἀφαιρέω sub II 4 to be **your steward:** see 14,3, ὑπηρετεῖν σοι. Cf. Philo, De Jos. 38f , Josephus, Ant 2,57 **the god of the Hebrews will bless you: cf. v. 2b** and 11,7 **grace from heaven is upon him:** cf JosAsen 4,9, καὶ πνεῦμα too*] εστιν *in'* αυτῳ (cf Gen 41,38) καὶ χάρις κυρίου μετ' αὐτοῦ

13,1 **to be brought** cf v 4 **ἄγειν** in the sense of to carry one before a court of justice (see LScJ s v. **ἄγω** sub I 4) **What is this that I hear** cf 12 2. **buying:** the verb **μετεμπολᾶν** (not in LScJ Lampe) may be taken as an amplification of the verb **ἐμπολᾶν**, 'to get by sale, deal, traffic, buy , perhaps stressing the different position of the merchandise after the sale. Obviously, the merchant is accused of buying free men from people who have stolen them for him 'out of the land of the **Hebrews'**, and of making them his servants **servants παῖδας, παῖς, 'servant,** boy also in v 3 **14,2f.,** 16,3f.

13,2 **fell on his face** cf **6,8** **I do not know what you say** cf Mt 26,70

13,3 **boy:** see **on v 1** **The Ishmaelites entrusted hàn to me until they would return** cf **11,5**

13,4 **he did not believe han, but he commanded han to be beaten naked** cf v 9 For **γυμνόν,** see on 8,3 **let ... be brought. cf v 1**

13,5 **the chief of the eanuchs.** in Gen 39 1 (LXX) just **(Πετεφρῆς)** o **εὐνοῦχος Φαραώ** (cf also Philo De Jos 27· 37, Jub 39 2 etc.). The use of **ἀρχιευνουχος** in Dan **1,3.7ff 18,** however may have influenced our verse (see esp Dan 1 9 and compare Gen 39,4.21). **with Pharaoh:** in Pharaoh s household **having a wife and children and concubines:** also meant to illustrate his importance in Pharaoh s household· cf 2Sam 5 13 **1Kgs** 11,1.3 2Chr 11 21, etc **concubines:** cf. 7 5.

13,6 **he took me apart from han** for such a method of investigation, see also Sus **51f., καὶ νυν διαχωρίσατέ μοι αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων μακράν, ἵνα ἐτάσω αυτους. ὡς δὲ διεχωρίσθησαν ...** There, the two men interrogated make different statements, but in **T Jos ,** Joseph's words confirm the things said by the merchant For Joseph's answers **in vv. 6–8, cf 11,2f., 15,3**

13,8 **They bought me out of the land of Canaan** contrast 12 2 13 1 **πριᾶσθαι** also in **16,1.4; T.Z. 3,2**

13,9 Cf. v 4ab For **τυπτειν,** see on 2 3

14,1 **while I was being beaten: cf 13,9** **Your judgment: cf 12,3, κοίσιν** **you punish:** see on **3,1** **a free man** see **on v 3** **who has been stolen** cf. 12,2, 13 1

14 2 **when I made no chinge in my statement** cf 13,4 **to be anprisoned·** cf. 2,3 **antil the owners of the boy will come** cf. 11 5 13,3, 15,1. **boy·** see on 13,1.

14,3 **do you detain:** for **συνέχειν** in the sense of to detain, keep under arrest', see also **1Mac** 13 15; Lk 22 63; Plutarch, Phokion 34,3 (Vitae par. 757 D) etc **well-born:** takes up 'a free man in v. 1 **ἐλεύθερος - εὐγενής** is a well-known combination: **see on** T N **1,10,** and cf particularly Philo De Jos 106, The king judging him (Joseph) by his appearance to be a man of free and noble birth **(ἄνδρα ἐλεύθερον καὶ εὐγενῆ)**" **(see** also on 11 3) **lad** or **'boy':** see on 13 1 **attend on you:** cf 12 3

14,4 **and I was ignorant: cf 3,8**

14,5 **to take away that which belongs to others:** cf. Philo **Leg all III** 32 **κλέπτης ἐστὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια ἀφαιρούμενος** For **τὰ ἀλλότρια,** see on T D 5 7

14,6 **He said this concerning the merchant** added somewhat clumsily after v 5 in an attempt to put the merchant upon the stage another time (cf. 15 6). Petephres refuses to set Joseph free because that would turn out to be theft if the merchant s and Joseph s statements would turn out to be true at the arrival of the Ishmaelites **that I should remain in prison· cf v 2**

T JOSEPH 15

Translation

15,1 But after twenty-four days the Ishmaelites came,
and as they had heard that Jacob my father was mourning for me
they said to me
2 Why is it that you said that you were a slave?
And look, we have learnt that you are the son of a great man in the **land**[60] of Canaan,
and your father is **mourning**[61] in **sackcloth.**[62]
3 And **again**[63] I wanted to weep,
but I restrained myself
that I should not put my brothers to shame
And I said:
I do not know,
I am a slave
4 Then they decided to sell me,
that I should not be found in their hands
5 For they feared Jacob,
that he would execute upon them a dangerous vengeance,
for it had become **known**[64] that he was great with the Lord and men
6 Then the merchant said to them
Release me from the judgment of Petephres
7 They came therefore to him and asked for me, saying
With silver he was bought by us
And he set us free

Textcritical notes

60 γῇ (*ldme(a)fchj*) which was changed into τῇ in *b*. Cf 13 8 and T Z. 5,5.

61 πενθεῖ (*bl*) The addition of περί σου (*geafchj*; cf *dm*) seems epexegetical and secondary (cf. v. 1).

62 σάκκῳ. The variant λάκκω (ft) is obviously wrong

63 πάλιν (ft), lectio durior compared to πάνυ (*gdmeafchj*), for it has not been told before that Joseph wanted to weep on some other occasion

64 ἠκούσθη (*bl*). The alternative ἤκουον (*gdmeafchj*) is a stylistic correction and surely lectio facilior (cf. also v. 2, ἔγνωμεν). For the use of the impers. pass. ἠκούσθη, cf., e.g., Neh 6,1; Mk 2,1 Cf Kühner-Gerth, *Grammatik* II 1 pp 36 n 3; 125 n 2, Moulton, *Grammar* III p 291

Structure

15,1–3 The Ishmaelites return and reproach Joseph for having told them that he was a slave, for they have heard about Jacob's mourning (vv 1-2). Joseph, however, repeats that he is a slave

15,4–5 Nevertheless, the Ishmaelites decide to sell Joseph (obviously they do not believe him) in order that he may not be found with them, out of fear of Jacob

15,6–7 On the merchant s request the Ishmaelites go to Petephres telling him that they have bought Joseph and they effect Joseph's and the merchant's release

Notes

15,1 **the Ishmaelites came** cf 11,5; 13 3 14,2. **Jacob my father was mourning for me:** cf v 2, from Gen 37,34f (LXX), **ἐπέθετο σάκκον ... καὶ ἐπένθει τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας πολλάς ... πενθῶν;** cf Josephus Ant. **2,37f** , Philo, De Jos. 22ff

15,2 **you said that you were a slave:** cf **11.2f.** **we have learnt ...:** cf v 1 **the son of a great man** cf v 5, 10,6 **your father is mourning in sackcloth:** see on v 1

15,3 **I wanted to weep, but I restrained myself:** cf Gen 42 24 **(LXX), ἔκλαυσεν,** 43 30f. (LXX) **ἐζήτει κλαῦσαι ... ἐνεκρατεύσατο; 45,1f.** (LXX) **οὐκ ἠδύνατο Ἰωσὴφ ἀνέχεσθαι ... κλαυθμοῦ;** cf also Philo, De Jos 175· 200 238, Josephus Ant. **2,109,** 123 **that I should not put my brothers to shame:** see on **11,2** **I do not know:** cf. **13,2** **I am a slave:** cf v 2; **11,2f.;** 13,6ff

15,4 **that I should not be found in their hands:** and they would be accused of being thieves cf. Ex 22,4(3) (LXX) **καὶ εὑρεθῇ** ἐν **τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ κλέμμα, 1Sam** 12,5 (LXX) **ὅτι οὐχ εὑρήκατε** ἐν **χειρί μου οὐθέν;** Jer 2 34.

15,5 **that he would execute upon them a dangerous vengeance:** for the expression **ποιεῖν ἐκδίκησιν** ἐν TM cf also **T.L.** 3 3 5,3. **for it had become known that he was great:** cf v 2 **and** 10,6 **great with the Lord and men** for such a parallelism between God and **men**, see on T R 4,8, cf. also SentSexti 51, **ἄσκει μέγας μὲν εἶναι παρὰ θεῷ, παρὰ** δὲ **ἀνθρώποις ἀνεπίφθονος;** Gen 32,29 LXX; WisSol 4,1; Sir 45,1.

15,6 **Then the merchant ...:** the merchant was mentioned last in 14,6. The story told in **vv.** 1-5 does not presuppose that the merchant is in trouble and that Joseph is in prison at the moment the Ishmaelites return Did the author combine originally independent stories? **the judgment of Petephres:** cf 12 3; 14 1

15,7 **With silver he was bought by us** cf Gen 37 28 MT see also on T G 2 3 For the use of **ἀγοράζειν,** cf T N 1 11

T JOSEPH 16

Translation

16,1 But the Memphian woman made clear to her husband that she wanted to buy me,
for I hear, she said, that they are selling him
2 And she sent a eunuch to the Ishmaelites,
asking (them) to sell me

The chiefcook, then, called the Ishmaelites and asked (them) to sell **me;**[65]
3 and when he did not want to deal with **them,**[66] he withdrew

And after the eunuch had made trial of them he made known to his mistress
They ask a large price for the boy
4 But she sent another eunuch, saying
Even if they demand two **minae** of gold,
take care not to spare gold,
only buy the boy and bring **him**[67]!

5 And he gave them eighty pieces of gold for me,
while he said to the Egyptian woman that a hundred had been given for me

6 And though I had seen it,[68] I held my peace,
lest the eunuch should be **exposed**[69]

Textcritical notes

[65] **αἰτοῦσά με εἰς διάπρασιν καλέσας οὖν ο ἀρχιμάγειρος τους Ἰσμαηλίτας ᾐτεῖτό με εἰς πρᾶσιν** *b* omits **αἰτοῦσα - Ἰσμαηλίτας** through **hmt.**, and seems to have omitted also **με** wrongly Cf the omissions in *g* and *c* which may also be the result of mechanical errors **(hmt.)**

[66] **ποιῆσαι μετ' αυτων** *(b)* omitted in ***ldmeaf*** (cf *g* and *c)* Omission of this hebraizing expression (see note on this verse) is more probable than addition.

[67] **ἄγαγε (*gldmeaf*)** The plural **ἀγάγετε** *(bc)* can hardly be authentic above all because the preceding **πριάμενος** is surely original.

[68] **ἰδών (*bm*)** Both **ἰδών** and the alternative **εἰδώς (*gldeafc*)** may claim originality, though **εἰδώς** referring to **Joseph**'s knowledge about the eunuch's deceit may be lectio facilior.

[69] **ἐτάσθῃ** *(b)*.. Both this reading and the variant **αἰκισθῇ** *(leaf,* cf. *dm)* may be original. The variants **καταισχυνω ...** *(g'* cf. *dm)* and **αἰσχυνθῇ** *(c)* are undoubtedly secondary· they **have arisen because of comparable phrases in 11,2, 15,3, 17,1**

Structure

16 1 The **woman's** second attempt to have Joseph with her in her house she asks her husband to buy Joseph

16 2c-3a Petephres calls the Ishmaelites and asks them to sell Joseph.. He cannot come to an agreement with them most probably because he finds the price too high (cf. v 3c) and he withdraws

16,2ab, 3bc In the meantime the woman herself sends a eunuch asking the Ishmaelites to sell Joseph.. The eunuch returns telling that they ask a large price

16,4-6 Thereupon she sends another eunuch and commands him to buy Joseph at any price (v 4). He buys him for eighty pieces of gold telling her that he has paid a hundred (v 5). Joseph knows that the eunuch has cheated his mistress but does not tell anything (v 6)

Notes

16,1 **to buy me.** for **πριᾶσθαι,** cf 13,8. **for I hear.** cf 12 1 for the eunuchs had told her ...'; 12 2, 'one says .. ' **they are selling him:** cf 15 4

16,2 **asking (them) to sell me ... asked (them) to sell me** **διάπρασις** also in T.G 1,8; **πρᾶσις** in T.S 4,2, T D 1,5; see also on T S 4 2 For the construction **αἰτεῖν τινα εἰς .** , see Esth 8,12 (n) LXX·· cf T.B 3 3 **the chiefcook** cf 2 1· in 13 5 however we find **ἀρχιευνοῦχος.**

16,3 **to deal with them** the construction **ποιεῖν μετά τινος** in the sense of dealing with somebody may be a hebraism cf 2Chr 2,2; Dan 1 13 Th, **mistress:** also elsewhere the Egyptian woman is called **δεσποίνα,** but then as Joseph s mistress; see Philo De Jos 45 **51f ,** Josephus Ant 2 43 46· Origen **Cels.** IV 46· Or 29 18 etc **the boy** see on 13,1

16,4 **minae of gold** also in 2Ezra 5 44 **(χρυσιου μνᾶς χιλίας),** 3Mac 1 4 **(δύο μνᾶς χρυσίου)** **μνᾶ,** an originally Semitic word (Hebr **מָנֶה**) was used as monetary unit (= 100

drachmae) also in the **Greek** world. cf. Thucidides IV 116,2 Xenophon, Memorabilia **2,5,2ff.** (in the context of prices for **slaves!**); Plutarch, Solon 15,4 (Vitae par. 86 D), etc see also Ezra 2 69, Neh 7 71 Ezek 45 12· Josephus, Ant. 7 189; Lk **19,13ff.**, etc **only: μόνον,** frequently used with **imper.**: see, e.g Gen **27,13**; Job 2,6 (cf. **LSJ** s v **μόνος** sub B II) buy: cf v 1

16,5 **eighty pieces of gold.** cf Gen 37,28 LXX **εἴκοσι χρυσῶν,** thus the Ishmaelites make a big profit! ὁ **χρύσινος = χρυσοῦς (sc. στατήρ),** a gold **coin'.** It is hazardous to try to **trace its value (also in its relation to the μνᾶ mentioned in v 4) the Egyptian woman:** called the Memphian woman' elsewhere in this story (chapters 11-16); see *the Introduction to the second story* pp 393f

16,6 **I held my peace:** Joseph does not reveal the eunuch's deceit in order to save the man's reputation compare his efforts to save his brothers and even the Egyptian woman's reputation (see 10,6 11,2; 15,3; 17 1; **and** 9,4); **see T Jos ,** INTRODUCTION **pp** 364f **the eunuch should be exposed:** cf Esth 2 23 LXX **ο δὲ βασιλευς ἤτασεν τους δύο εὐνούχους, καὶ ἐκρέμασεν αυτους,** for the use of **ἐτάζειν,** to examine test **unmask',** cf further Sus 51

T JOSEPH 17-18

Translation

17,1 You see, children,
how great things I endured,
that I should not put my brothers to shame
2 Do you also, therefore, love one another
and with patience[70] hide one another's faults,
3 for God delights in the unity of brothers
and in the deliberate choice of a heart distinguished in love
4 (Such was my attitude)
also when my brothers came in Egypt,
when they learnt
that I returned the money to them
and did not reproach them
but even comforted them,
5 and after the death of Jacob loved them more abundantly
and did abundantly all things
whatsoever he had commanded,
and they were amazed [71]
6 For I did not let them be afflicted, even in the smallest matter,
and all that was in my hand I gave[72] to them
7 Their children were my children, and my children as their slaves,
their life was my life,
and all their suffering was my suffering,
and all their illness was my infirmity,
my land was their land,
their counsel was my counsel.[73]

8 And I did not exalt myself among them in arrogance because of my worldly **glory,**
but I was among them as one of the **least.**

18,1 If you also, therefore, walk in the commandments of the Lord, my children,
he will exalt you thereupon
and will bless you with good things for ever

2 And if any one wants to do evil to you,
do well to him and pray for him,
and you will be released by the Lord from all evil

3 For, look, you see
that because of (my) patience I even took as my wife the daughter of my masters,
and a hundred talents of gold were given **me**[74] with her,
for the Lord made them my **servants.**[75]

4 And he gave me also beauty as a flower, beyond the beautiful ones of Israel,
and he preserved me unto old age in strength and in beauty,
for I was like Jacob in all things

Textcritical notes

[70] **μακροθυμίᾳ (all MSS** except *b)* The variant **μακροθυμιαις** *(b)* is surely wrong it may have originated through dittography

[71] **καὶ ἐθαύμαζον** *(b)*. The anacolouthic construction of **vv 4–5** seems to have led to the omission of these words in all other MSS Another reason for their omission may have been the fact that they introduce a new subject and disturb the series of phrases that speak about Joseph s attitude towards his brothers.

[72] **ἔδωκα** *(b)*. Both this reading and **δέδωκα** (*gldeafc*)may claim originality

[73] **ἡ βουλὴ αὐτῶν βουλή** not). The variant **ἡ βουλη μου βουλὴ αὐτῶν** (*bl*) is hardly acceptable and will be the result of a mechanical error

[74] **μοι χρυσίου δέδοται** *(b)*, which is lectio difficilior over against the smoother **χρυσίου δέδοταί μοι** (*gle*; cf. *dfc*)

[75] **ἐδούλωσεν** (*gl*; cf. *dec)*. The reading **ἐδούλευσεν** *(b)* is obviously wrong

Structure

The structure of this passage which follows the second story runs roughly parallel to that of the section that directly follows the first story (10,1-11,1).

17,1 3 Exhortatory section

v 1 reference to the example of Joseph as told in chapters **11–16.** Joseph s **ὑπομονή (cf 10,1)**

w., 2 3 direct exhortation to love one another and to hide one another s faults (v 2) Motivation. God delights in such an attitude (v 3) (cf **10,2–4)**

17,4–8 Example of Joseph **(cf. 10,5–6)** The patriarch refers this time to his attitude towards his brothers after their coming to **Egypt,** which again is characterized by forgiveness and love (v. 4) even after Jacob's death (v.. 5). Joseph's brothers know what he is speaking about (cf. 10,5). Joseph's attitude towards his brothers is specified in vv **6–8** (see **γάρ** in v 6) This culminates in v 8 in the theme of Joseph's self humiliation (cf **10,5–6)**

18 1-2 Indirect exhortation given in the form of a conditional sentence, to walk in the commandments of the Lord (v 1), which means in a concrete situation to do well and to pray for the one who does evil to you (v. 2) However, the principal interest is the promise of being delivered from evil (v 2) and being exalted and blessed (v 3) by God as a reward for such an attitude (cf. 11 1 and 10,3)

18,3–4 The theme of **God's** reward for patience in particular is illustrated from the example of Joseph he even took the daughter of his masters as wife together with a great amount of money and God gave him beauty and strength 'unto old age

Notes

17,1 **You see, children, how great things I endured** cf. 10,1. For Joseph s patience and endurance, see **T Jos.,** INTRODUCTION pp 363ff **that I should not put my brothers to shame:** see on 11 2.

17,2 **Do you also, therefore, love one another:** cf T S 4 7 (with Joseph as example in vv **4–6),** T Z 8 5 (with Joseph as example in v. 4) T B 3 3f (with Joseph as example) In the Testaments Joseph is the prototype of the man who loves his brothers or his neighbour in general. **with patience:** see **T.Jos ,** INTRODUCTION pp 363ff **hide one another's faults:** cf John Chrysostom Horn 21 4 in **Heb.,** Aéov **ουσκιάζειν καὶ ουγκρύπτειν τὰ ἐλαττωματα των πλησίον** For **(ουγ-)κρύπτειν**in **the** meaning of concealing or hiding others faults cf further Prov 17 9 LetDiogn 9 5 cf also **1Pet** 4 8, Jas 5 20

17,3 **God delights in the unity of brothers:** cf Sir 25,1, My soul takes pleasure in three things, and they are beautiful in the sight of the Lord and of men: agreement between brothers **(ὁμόνοια ἀδελφῶν),** friendship between neighbours and a wife and husband who live in harmony ' For the use of **τέρπεται,** cf WisSol 1,13 because God did not make death and he does not delight in the death of the living **(οὐδὲ τέρπεται ἐπ' ἀπωλείᾳ ζωντων).'** For **ὁμόνοια ἀδελφῶν,** see also Plutarch De fraterno amore **19f (Mor** 490 D-F) **the deliberate choice of a heart.** cf T R **1,9, προαιρεσει ψυχης** HOD (see**note).**

17,4 The description of Joseph s behaviour in vv **4–7** is closely related to those found in **T S. 4,3–7 and** T Z **8,4–5; see** also T B , INTRODUCTION **pp. 412f (Such was my attitude)** should be added in order to remove the **anacolouthic** construction of **vv. 4–5** in the translation. **when my brothers came in Egypt:** a standard formula in the Testaments introducing a reference to Joseph and his exemplary behaviour see also T.S. 4,3; T Z 8 4 **that I returned the money to them·** cf. Gen 42 25ff 35 **43,12.18ff did not reproach them** cf T S 4 6 see also on T.Jos. 11 2 It takes up **συγκρυπτετε ἀλλήλων τὰ ἐλαττωματα** (v 2) (cf Prov 17 9 and Sir 22 20) **comfort ed them** cf Gen **50,21.**

17,5 **after the death of Jacob ....** cf Gen **50,15ff.,** also Josephus Ant. 2,197 Philo, De Jos 261ff. **loved them:** cf. T.S. 4 4.6; T B. 3 4. It refers to **ἀγαπᾶτε** in v 2 and **ἀγάπην** in **v. 3 did all things whatsoever he had commanded:** cf Gen 50,17.

17,6 **all that was in my hand I gave to them** cf T S 4,6 For the expression **εἶναι ἐν χειρί (χερσί) τινος, 'to possess', see Gen 35,4, Job 21,16 LXX, Eccl 5,13;** WisSol **7,11, etc**

17,7 Cf. T.S. 4,6 For Joseph's care for his brothers, see Gen **45,10ff.; 47,11f.;** 50,15ff. The extraordinary care for his relatives reaches a climax in our verse with its peculiar style and structure

17,8 **I did not exalt myself:** cf. 10,5f. Joseph s respect honour and love for his brothers are closely related to his self-humiliation **arrogance, ἀλαζονεία·** also in T D 1,6; see also on 10,5. **because of my worldly glory:** cf Gen 45,13, 'You must tell my father **of all my splendour (LXX, reaoav τὴν δόξαν μου) in Egypt'; Jub 43,20. Joseph's glory**

is worldly i.e. perishable: see on 10,5 (and cf. TJob 33,4 quoted there). **as one of the least:** cf. Jdt **9,11**; Lk 22 27 **1Cor** 15 9 Eph 3 8 Acta Phil 54 Hippolytus **Comm** in Dan. II 9

18,1 **walk in the commandments of the Lord** cf. **T Jud** 23 5 and see on **T Jos.** 4,5 11,1. **he will exalt you:** cf. 10,3. **will bless you .. for ever:** cf. 2Sam 7 29 **1Chr** 17 27 Jdt 15 10 PssSol 8 34; JosAsen 17,5 etc **with good things** cf. 2 7

18,2 For the theme see on T.B. 5 4f **do well to him** cf. T.B 4 3 **5,2.4f.** **pray for him** cf. T G 7 1 Mt 5 44; The Martyrs of Lyons 2 5 etc **you will be released by the Lord from all evil** cf. **10,3.**

18,3 **you see** cf. 10 1; 17,1. **(my) patience** cf. 17,2 see **T.Jos.**, INTRODUCTION pp 363ff **I even took as my wife the daughter of my masters.** cf. Gen **41,45.** The author here identifies Potiphar with the Potiphera of Gen 41,45.50; 46 20 as does probably the LXX (which transliterates both names as **Πετεφρῆς**); cf. Jub 40 10; Ber. Rabba 84 6 86,3 (for further writings see L. Ginzberg, *Legends* V p. 337 n. **100–101**); see also Origen, Sel. in Gen., Gen 41 45 **ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀποκρύφου λέγουσι** (sc. **Ἑβραῖοι**) **τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι, καὶ δεσπότην καὶ πενθερὸν γενέσθαι.** For the expression **λαμβάνειν** uva **(εἰς) γυναῖκα,** see also T.L. **12,1.4;** 14,6; T.Jud 13 7 cf. T L 9 10; 11 1; 12 5; T.Jud. 11 3 14,6; T I 3 5 The **plur. κυρίων** may refer to Petephres and his wife. **talents of gold:** cf. **1Kgs** 9,14; 10,10; 2Kgs 18 14 23,33; 2Ezra 1,34, **TSol** D 6 2 **LetAris** 319 etc **τάλαντον,** like **μνᾶ** (16,4) and many other terms originally denotes a weight (cf. T.Jud. 9 5), then also a monetary unit. **made them my servants:** now Joseph is king of Egypt his previous masters become his slaves; cf. WisSol 10 14; and particularly Ephraem Comm in Gen. XXXV 7 (on Gen **41,38ff**), where Petephres says to his wife: **'Ioseph, servus** noster factus est dominus noster' (tr. R.-M. Tonneau *CSCO* 153 72)

18,4 **he gave me also beauty in beauty.** cf. T S 5,1; T N **1,7f.**, and Gen 39 6 Jub 39,5 etc. **as a flower** cf. Song 2,1; Sir 50 8 etc. **unto old age in beauty** emphasizes again, Joseph's virtuous life (cf. T.S 5,1) and illustrates God's reward. Cf. 2Mac 6,18 (Eleazar) **ἀνὴρ ἤδη προβεβηκὼς τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ τὴν πρόσοψιν τοῦ πρεσβύτου κάλλιστος** **in strength:** cf. T.L. 7,9, **ἰσχύων.** **I was like Jacob in all things** a well-known notion in Rabbinic literature: see L. Ginzberg *Legends* V p. 324 n. 3 It refers to their appearances For the expression cf. also T N 1 8 **ὅμοιος** um **ἦν** ev **πᾶσιν** o **Ἰωσήφ** (in a comparison of **Joseph's** physical beauty with that of Naphtali).

T. JOSEPH 19

Translation

19,1 Listen, my children, also to the visions that I saw [76]
2 Twelve deer were feeding,
and the nine were scattered and dispersed over the earth;[77]
likewise also the three.
3 And I saw that from Judah a virgin was born,
wearing a linen garment,
and from her a lamb without spot came forth,
and on its left side (it was) as a lion
And all the beasts rushed against it,
and the lamb overcame them
and destroyed them to be trodden under foot

4 And the angels and men and the whole earth rejoiced at him
5 And these things will happen in their season in the last days
6 Do you, therefore, my children, observe the commandments of the Lord
and honour Judah and Levi,
for from them the lamb of God will arise for you,
by grace saving all the Gentiles and Israel
7 For his kingdom is an everlasting kingdom[78]
which is not shaken,[79]
but my kingdom among you will come to an end as a watchman's hut,
because after the summer it will not appear

Textcritical notes

[76] ὧν εἶδον ἐνυπνιῶν (*b*, cf *c*) The sing ὃ (ὅπερ *d*) . ἐνύπνιον (*kgldeaf*) may have arisen as soon as a scribe understood the following as one single vision However τὰ ἐνύπνια does not necessarily refer to more than one dream (see the note on this verse), moreover the genit. construction is surely lectio difficilior over against the acc.

[77] διαιρέθησαν καὶ διεσπάρησαν τῇ γῇ *(b)*. Mechanical errors (hma and hmt) seem to have led to the omissions of διαιρέθησαν καί in *gdeafc* and xal διεσπάρησαν in *l*. The variant εἰς (ἐπι *ge)* πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν (*gldeafc*) is lectio facilior over against the dat construction in *b* which is grammatically correct (cf. LSCJ s v διασπείρω)

[78] βασιλεία αἰῶνος *(b)* The construction is a hebraism. cf e g., Sir 15,6 ὄνομα αἰῶνος (שם עולם) The alternative βασιλεία αἰώνιος *(kgldeaf,* cf. c) is secondary.

[79] παρασαλεύεται (*k*) The variant παρασαλεύσεται *(ba)* can hardly be original (cf B D R , *Grammatik* § 79 *Futur* **Med.** *und Pass* In pass. Sinn nicht mehr -σομαι, nur -[θ]ήσομαι') The reading παρελεύσεται *(gldefc)* is lectio facilior and obviously secondary

Structure

The large addition between vv 2 and 3 found in the Armenian version which gives a description of Israel's post-exilic situation in apocalyptic symbols is to be regarded as secondary The same is true of the many alterations and adaptations in A found throughout the chapter In all instances the Greek text is superior to the Armenian version. Cf M. de Jonge, *The Testaments* pp. 28–29; id The Greek Testaments and the Armenian Version' *Studies,* pp 133–5; see also J. Becker, *Untersuchungen* pp 59–66

19,1 Introduction: exhortation to listen to Joseph s vision(s)
19,2 First (part of the) vision. a reference to the coming dispersions
19,3-4 Second (part of the) vision. a reference to the coming of Jesus Christ his victory on his enemies and the future joy of angels, men and the whole earth
19 5 Conclusion: this will happen in its season in the last days
19,6–7 L.J. passage. Exhortation to do the commandments of the Lord and to honour Judah and Levi From them a Saviour will arise who will save the Gentiles and Israel His kingdom will be eternal

Notes

19 1 Listen to the visions that I saw reminiscent of Gen 37 6 (LXX) Ἀκούσατε τοῦ ἐνυπνίου TOUTOU, οὗ ἐνυπνιάσθην ἐνύπνια, 'visions dreams may also refer to only

one dream; cf , e g , Dan 2,1f. It is possible that the author understood the following section as only one vision Yet it obviously consists of two parts, which may have been originally two separate visions only later joined together by the author of the Testaments For the introductory formula καὶ εἶδον (v 3), cf T N 5,8, where it is used to introduce a new section within a vision, which may have been independent originally

19,2 **Twelve deer:** symbolize the twelve tribes of Israel, cf T.Jud 25,5 **were feeding:** cf. Gen 41,3 18; 1En 86 **the nine were scattered and dispersed over the earth:** referring to the diaspora of the Northern Kingdom For διαιρεῖσθαι, cf. T.Z. 9,2f.5. **likewise also the three:** referring to the diaspora of Judah οἱ τρεῖς: the tribes of Levi, Judah and Benjamin; cf Hebr. T.N 3,9; 1QM 1,2, cf also 1En 89,72, 'three sheep', but this more probably refers to Zerubbabel, Joshua and either Ezra or Nehemiah (or Zerubbabel, Ezra and Nehemiah)

19,3 **And I saw:** see on v. 1. **from Judah a virgin was born:** referring to the virgin Mary, cf. Mt 1, Lk 1ff.; Justin, Apol. I 32,14, διὰ γὰρ παρθένου τῆς ἀπὸ του σπέρματος Ἰακωβ, τοῦ γενομένου πατρὸς Ἰούδα; Dial 43,1, εἰς τὸν διὰ τῆς ἀπὸ *roi)* γένους τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ φυλῆς Ἰούδα καὶ Δαυὶδ παρθένου γεννηθέντα υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ Χριστόν; Hippolytus, Ben Jac. 15f (ed Brière–Mariès–Mercier, *P.O* 27,1-2, pp 72-76); Antichr. 8, etc. **wearing a linen garment:** the virgin is depicted as a heavenly figure, quite appropriate in an apocalyptic vision, where heavenly persons are often said to wear 'linen' clothes see, e.g , Dan 10,5 LXX, 12,6f.; Rev 19,14 For priests wearing 'linen' clothes, see on T.L. 8,6 **a lamb without spot:** ἄμνος ἄμωμος, referring to Jesus Christ: cf T B. 3,8; 1Pet 1,19; Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. XIX 3; Origen, Comm. in Mt XII 28, etc. The expression occurs very often in OT texts dealing with sacrifices: see Ex 29,38 LXX, Lev 12,6 LXX; 14,10; 23,18, etc. **came farth:** for προέρχεσθαι used of the incarnation, see, e g., Justin, Dial 43,1, 64,7, Hippolytus, Antichr. 8; Eusebius, Marcell. II 1 cf Lampe s.v. προερχομαι sub B 2. on its left **side (it was) ...: cf. Ezek** 1,10 **as a lion:** cf. Gen 49,9f. (LXX), σκύμνος λέοντος Ἰούδα . ὡς λέων, a passage understood as referring to Jesus Christ in early Christian literature see, e g , Rev 5,5, ἰδοὺ ἐνίκησεν ὁ λέων ὁ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰουδα; Hippolytus, Ben. Jac. 15–19 (ed Brière-Mariès-Mercier, *P.O.* 27,1-2, pp. 68–84); Antichr 6ff , Origen, Scholia in Apoc , on Rev 5,1ff , Eusebius, D.E VIII 1f. **all the beasts rushed against it:** referring to the devil and his evil spirits, who will be overcome by Jesus Christ. see T S 6,6, T L. 18,12, T.Jud. 25,3; T.Z. 9,8 For τὰ θηρία, cf also T N 8,4 6; T.B. 3,5, 5,2; in an apocalyptic vision also in Dan 8,4. **overcame them:** cf Rev 5,5 (quoted above); 17,14; Irenaeus, Haer. III 18,7, ἐνίκησε τὸν ἀντίπαλον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου .... ἐνικήθη ο ἐχθρός; 19,3; Origen, Scholia in Apoc., on Rev 5,1ff., Eusebius, Comm. in Pss , PS 90 Athanasius, Inc 37,5, λαβὼν την κατὰ τῶν ἀντικειμένων δαιμόνων νίκην, etc to be **trodden under foot:** see on T.S., 6,6.

19,4 See on T L. 18,5, ἡ γῆ χαρησεται .. καὶ οι ἄγγελοι ... χαρήσονται ἐν αὐτῷ.

19,5 Cf T.N. 7,1; 8,1; and also Dan 2,28; ApMos 13,2, etc.

19,6 **observe the commandments of the Lord:** a general exhortation; cf 11,1; 18,1; **hanour Judah and Levi:** a regular element in the L.J. passages (see INTRODUCTION 4 4 2 and 7 3); cf. T.G. 8,1, ὅπως τιμήσωσιν Ἰούδαν xal ΤΟΥ Λευί. **for from them the lamb** of God will **arise** for **you:** see on T.S. 7,1. For ο ἄμνος τοῦ θεοῦ (cf. v. 3) referring to Jesus Christ, see also, e.g., T B 3,8; Jn 1,29.36, LivPro (ed. Th. Schermann), p 25,2 (rec Epiph. prior); Origen, Comm. in Jo. I 32 (37); Horn. 13 in Lc.; Eusebius, Comm in Pss., Ps 65,2ff.; 91,2ff., etc. (compare also the christological interpretation of Isa 53,7 in the early Christian church: Acts 8,32; 1Clem 16,7; Barn 5,2; Justin Apol I 50,10, Dial 13,5; 114,2, etc). **by grace:** cf T L 18,9 **saving all the Gentiles and Israel:** see on T S 7,2

19,7 **For his kingdom is an everlasting kingdom which is not shaken:** for Jesus' eternal kingship, see on T.R. 6,11f. For the formulation, cf particularly Dan 2,44 (LXX), βασιλείαν ἄλλην, ἥτις ἔσται εἰς τους αἰῶνας και οὐ φθαρήσεται; 6,26(27) Th; 7,14 (LXX), ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ ἐξουσία αἰωνιος, ητις ου μη ἀρθῇ (Th *oil* παρελευσεται), καὶ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτου, ἥτις οὐ μὴ φθαρῇ (Th ou διαφθαρήσεται) but my kingdom **among you will came to an end as a watchman's hut:** the expression ὡς (or εἰς) ὀπωροφυλάκιον comes from the OT (LXX) where it is used in descriptions of the devastation of Israel and Judah and Jerusalem (see PS 79[78],1; Isa 1,8; Jer 33,18 LXX,A, Micah 1,6; 3,12, cf Isa 24,20) which, of course, means the end of Israel's and Judah's kingship Thus, in our verse, Joseph's kingship may stand for Israel's (and Judah's) kingship in general, which will come to an end over against Jesus' eternal kingship. Cf also Justin, Dial 52,4 Strikingly, the expression obviously needs an explanation in the author's eyes **because after the summer it will not appear.**

T JOSEPH 20

Translation

20,1 I know that after my death the Egyptians will afflict you,
but God will avenge you
and he will bring you into the land that he **promised**[80] to your fathers

2 But you will carry up my bones with you,
for when my bones are being taken up,
the Lord will be with you in light
and Beliar will be with the Egyptians in darkness

3 And carry up Zilpah your mother
and bury her close to Bilhah, by the Hippodrome, near Rachel

4 And when he had said these things,
he stretched out his feet and slept an eternal sleep

5 And all Israel mourned for him and all Egypt with a great mourning

6 For he also had sympathy with the Egyptians as with his own **members**[81] and showed them kindness,
aiding them in every **work**[82] and counsel and matter

Textcritical notes

80 γῆν ἐπαγγελίας (cf *d)* All witnesses seem to be corrupt The reading την ἐπαγγελίαν *(bk)* may have arisen as soon as γῆν was replaced by την (a quite common mistake, at least in *b*, cf 13,8, 15,2, T Z. 5,5), after which the genit had to be altered in the acc. ἐπαγγελίαν. The plur τὰς ἐπαγγελίας (*glefc*)is secondary For the common expression εἰσάγειν εἰς (τὴν) γῆν, see the note on this verse

81 ὡς ἰδίοις μέλεσι *(b)* The variant ὡς (ἴδιον) μέλος *(leaf)* may be an attempt to relate the expression to Joseph as the subject of the verse The plur ὡς ἴδια μέλη (g) supports the reading of *b*

82 παντὶ ἔργῳ *(b)* Both this reading and the alternative ἐν παντὶ ἔργῳ (*gldeaf*)may claim originality, though the latter may be regarded as lectio facilior.

Structure

20 1 Prediction about the future affliction of the sons of Joseph by the Egyptians **followed** by a reference to the exodus

20,2–3 Regulations about the transfer of Josephs bones at the time of the exodus and the burial of **Zilpah**

20,4–6 Concluding section Josephs death followed by Israels and Egypt's mourning That also Egypt mourned is explained in v 6 where Joseph is described as **εὐεργέτης** of the Egyptians

Notes

20,1 For **vv.** 1-2, cf Gen **50,24–25.** **I know that** stereotyped introductory formula of a section that deals with the future **the Egyptians will afflict you:** cf Ex 3,9; 4,31; Deut **26,6f.,** etc **but God will avenge you:** for the terminology, see on T R. 6,6 **'hè will bring you into the land that he promised to your fathers:** cf T N. 4,4. **εἰσάγειν** referring to Gods action of bringing the people of Israel into the land **(εἰς τὴν γῆν)** of Canaan (after the exodus) also in Ex 3,8 LXX 6 8 13,5.11 23,20; 33,3 LXX; Lev 18,3 etc.; TAb A 8; Justin, Dial 106,3; **113,3,** etc For **(ἡ) γῆ (τῆς) ἐπαγγελίας** referring to the land of Canaan see also TAb A 8 o **εἰσαγαγών σε** ἐν **τῇ γῇ της** foiayyEMac; 20, Heb 11 9 LivPro (ed Th Schermann) p 38 7 (rec Doroth); cf also Justin Dial. 106 3.

20,2 **you will carry up my bones with you** at the time of the exodus cf Gen 50,25; Ex 13,19; and also Jub **46,5ff.; Josephus,** Ant 2 200; 318. Why Josephs bones **could not** be transferred before like those of the other patriarchs is explained in the following **for when my bones** **Cf.** on T.S 8,4. **my bones are being taken up.** for **ἀνάγειν in** this context, see on T.S. 8,2. **the Lord will be with you in light:** perhaps a reference to passages like Ex 13,20f. (LXX) (God) . . (ἐν **στυλῳ νεφέλης) . . . ἐν στύλῳ πυρός; 14,19f 24,** cf. Justin Dial. 131,3, οἷς **καὶ στυλος φωτὸς ἔλαμπεν.** As God will be with the Israelites in light at the time of the exodus Beliar will be with the Egyptians in darkness. Notice that Joseph does not order his bones to be buried in **Hebron,** according to Josh 24,32 (cf. Acts 7,16) they were buried in Shechem

20,3 Exhortation to carry up Zilpah who obviously died recently and to bury her (now) This verse implies that Zilpah died in Egypt much later than **Bilhah** and Rachel who were buried in adjoining graves in Israel. Gen speaks about Rachel's death and that of Leah (see **35,18ff ;** 49,31) but it does not say anything about the death of both Bilhah and Zilpah Jub, however does mention Bilhah's death and burial, And they buried Bilhah over **against** the tomb of Rachel . . . (34 16). Why there **is a** reference to the burial of Zilpah in our verse remains obscure **carry up. cf v. 2. close to BUhah by the Hippodrome, near Rachel:** cf Jub 34,16 (see above) Rachel's tomb is said **to** be **παρὰ** TOV **ἱππόδρομον,** which agrees with Gen (35,19 **LXX,R,)** 48 7 LXX; cf also Hippolytus Ben Is et Jac. 1 (ed Brière-Mariès-Mercier *P O* **27 1–2** p **4), Origen,** Fr. 34 in Mt. (Mt 2 18), Eusebius D.E VII 2 etc.

20,4 **he stretched out his feet:** cf **T L.** 19,4; T.I. 7,9. **an eternal sleep** cf. T.I. 7,9; **T D. 7,1**

20,5 **. . . mourned for him and all Egypt with a great mourning:** cf Gen 50 3f 10f (LXX), **καὶ ἐπένθησεν αὐτὸν** (Jacob!) **Αἴγυπτος . . . κόπον μέγα τοῦτό ἐστιν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις** For **the** expression **πενθεῖν πένθος μέγα,** see also **1Mac** 12,52.

20,6 **he had sympathy with:** for **συμπάσχειν,** see on T.B 4 4; cf T.Z. 6,5; 7,3 **showed them kindness:** cf. LivPro (ed Th. Schermann), **p. 9,13–15** (rec. **Epiph.** prior) (Jeremiah) **ἐτελεύτησε. Κεῖται δὲ** ἐν **τόπῳ τῆς οἰκήσεως Φαραώ, ὅτι οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐδόξασαν αὐτὸν εὐεργετηθέντες** foi **αὐτοῦ.** **aiding them παριστάμενος,** cf 2 6 (God subj)· and SibOr VIII 407· Rom 16 2 EpClem 5 5 etc

THE TESTAMENT OF BENJAMIN CONCERNING A PURE MIND

INTRODUCTION

In many respects, this testament gives a resume of the author's ethical ideas and of his ideas about the future of Israel and the Gentiles, elements which are found throughout the preceding testaments The testament has a rather complex structure. After the usual introductory verse (1,1), the testament deals with Benjamin's birth and name-giving (1,2–6), followed by a biographical passage referring to a dialogue between Benjamin and Joseph in Egypt, meant to underline Joseph's goodness (chapter 2)

Chapters 3-8 consist of exhortation interspersed with a few biogrsphical references First, Benjamin's sons are exhorted to imitate the good and holy man Joseph, which means to fear God, to love him and one's neighbour, and to 'let the mind be unto good', thus introducing the main themes of the testament The wholesome effects of such an attitude are mentioned and illustrated from the example of Joseph Connected with it there is a reference to the future Saviour of the world (chapter 3) Next, there is another exhortation to imitate Joseph's goodness followed by a first description of ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος (ἀνήρ), the 'good man' (chspter 4) In chapter 5, Benjamin asks his sons another time to behave like 'good men' with a 'good mind' In two conditional sentences, the effects of such an attitude are described in terms partly similar to those mentioned in 3,3-5 Also the wholesome effects upon others, in particular upon wicked men, are summed up, a motif already introduced in 4,5 This passage is followed by a second description of the 'good man (mind)' in chapter 6 Finally, Benjamin's sons are exhorted to 'flee the malice of Beliar', which this time implies in particular envy and hatred of brothers (7,1; 8,1), and they are reminded of the consequence of such a behaviour from the example of Cain (7,2-5) A brief description of the 'pure mind' together with its healthy effects (8,2-3) marks the end of the exhortatory part of the testament.

The passage dealing with the future (chapters 9-11) starts with a somewhat fragmentary S.E.(R.) passage (9,1) followed by a reference to the first and the last temple, which both will be located in the territory of the tribe of Benjamin In the first, the future Messiah will be killed, which will bring the end of temple-worship and the outpouring of God's spirit upon the Gentiles (9,3–4). In the last, both Israel and the Gentiles will be gathered together waiting for the coming of the Messiah (9,2), who after his resurrection will have ascended to heaven (9,5) Next, Benjamin describes how in a vision he saw Joseph while he was in Egypt (10,1), a verse probably added in order to explain the last phrase of chapter 9 Then follows a final (general) exhortation to keep the law of the Lord given as altemative inheritance by the dying patriarch to his

children They are warned to hand on these commandments to their children as did Abraham, Isaac and Jacob before (10,2-5). Next, there is a passage about the future resurrection of all together with the condemnation of Israel and the unbelieving Gentiles ending in a final call for obedience (10,6–11). Chapter 11 introduces the most famous descendant of the tribe of Benjamin, the spostle Paul, and refers to his work as an evangelist among the Gentiles (and Israel) The last chapter of the testament deals with the patriarch's death and burial and mentions the transference of the patriarchs' bones to Hebron during the war between Canaan and Egypt

Note on the Armenian version

Ever since F C Conybeare tried to show that the absence of some Christian passages from the Armenian proved that this version had been made from an original which had suffered less from Christian interpolations than the existing Greek MSS (see his 'On the Jewish authorship of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs', *JQR 5* [1893], 375-98), scholars have paid much attention to this version, particularly in their comments on T B 3,8 and T.B. 9–11, see R H Charles, *Translation* pp 202; 210ff.; J Becker, *Die Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen (JSHRZ III 1)* Gutersloh ²1980, pp 132f , 135ff., id , *Untersuchungen* pp. 48ff., J C O'Neill, 'The Lamb of God in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs', *JSNT 2* (1979), 2-30 On the basis of a number of (still) preliminary studies, M E. Stone has shown, however, 'that Armenian seems to start off the translation of certain Testaments following the Greek closely, but then, part of the way through a process of abbreviation, particularly in exhortatory sections, commences' ('New Evidence for the Armenian Version of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs', *RB* 84 [1977], 94–107, esp 104) The shorter Armenian text in parts of T.B. follows this general trend and cannot claim originality On the Armenian version in general, see also M. de Jonge, 'The Greek Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Armenian Version', *Studies* pp 120–39

ο ἀγαθὸς ἀνήρ (ἄνθρωπος) and ἡ ἀγαθὴ (καθαρὰ) διάνοια as central themes

The 'good man', the man who has a 'good mind' forms the central theme of T B The expression ο ἀγαθὸς ἀνήρ is used also in T S 4,4 and T D 1,4, both times as epithet of Joseph It recurs right at the beginning of the parenetic passages in T B (3,1), again in connection with Joseph, and also in 4,1 the 'good man' whose 'end' Benjamin's sons should keep in mind can hardly be anyone else but Joseph

Obviously, for the author of the Testaments, Joseph is the 'good man' par excellence, and it is Joseph with whom Benjamin (or the author of the Testaments) has chosen to connect almost all his ethical speculations For it is remarkable that in T B. the role of the dying patriarch himself in the exhortatory passages is restricted to one verse only (3,2) Instead of Benjamin, it is Joseph who acts as a model to the sons of Benjamin At crucial moments in the exhortation we find an explicit reference to him, and not to Benjamin (3,1.3.6f.; 5,5) This ties in with the fact that also elsewhere in the Testaments, Joseph is introduced as an example either in

the context of chastity or in a description of love to one's brothers see T R 4,8–10, T S 4,4–6; T.Z 8,4–5; and, of course, T Jos This implies that the author of the Testaments wanted to sum up all the scattered statements concerning his ethical ideal of man into one continuous discourse on the 'good man' with Joseph as an illuminating example in the twelfth and last testament

At the formal level the author uses the expression o ἀγαθὸς ἀνήρ (ἄνθρωπος) - see 3,1; 4,1f., 6,1 - in a way that conforms to what we find in hellenistic sources Writers like Epictetus and Plutarch also use the expression to describe their moral ideal of man see, e g , Epictetus II 3,1, 13,16f.; III 24,50f.; 26,27f.; Plutarch, Consolatio ad Apollonium 37 (Mor 121 F), further Musonius, Dissertationes 8; 10; 11, 17; Epistulae Heracliti 3, Teles 2 (ed. O Hense, pp 5, 16); 6 (Hense, p 52), etc

The spplication of the term in T B , however, is thoroughly Jewish or Christian and is in line with Jewish wisdom literature. Though the term 'good man' occurs several times in the OT and NT, usually connected with one or more actually existing figures, the abstract idea of the 'good man' is found exclusively in wisdom literature In wisdom circles, the 'good man' is the righteous, God-fearing man, the counterpart of the sinner or the wicked man see, e.g., Prov 13,22; 14,40, 30,23 LXX, Eccl 2,26; Sir 29,14 Also in early Christian literature, the expression o ἀγαθὸς ἀνήρ is used to describe the moral ideal of man see, e.g., Clement of Alexandria, Paid III 6f (34,3, 40,2), Str VII 11 (65,4) A similar picture is found in T B the 'good man' loves the Lord and keeps his commandments (see 3,1) Thus he is also called a 'holy man', οσιος ανηρ (3,1, 5,4, see further, e g , Deut 33,8, PssSol 3,8, SibOr II 168; Philo, Abr 52; Spec. leg I 275, 1Clem 45,3, Acta Barn 5, MartAndrAlterum 6), and the term ooioç certainly has similar implications (cf. F Nauck, *ThWNT*V pp 488–92).

The 'good man' turns out to be the one who has a 'good mind' (see 3,1f). The close relationship between both terms, viz , o ἀγαθὸς ἀνήρ and η ἀγαθὴ διάνοια is all the more obvious in that the expression 'the good mind' occurs only in T B of all the testaments, and T B is eapecially devoted to the theme of the 'good man'

The term ἡ ἀγαθὴ διάνοια is found in T B 3,2, 4,1, 5,1, 6,5; cf 6,4, τὸ ἀγαθὸν διαβούλιον; and 8,2, διάνοια καθαρά (cf 6,7, καθαίρει τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ; 8,3, o καθαρὸς νοῦς; and see the title of T B in *bkldme*[*f*]) Like o ἀγαθὸς ἀνήρ, the expression ἡ ἀγαθὴ oictvoia is often used in a context which shows the ethical implications connected with the term see, e g , Prov 9,10a LXX, 13,15 LXX, Philo, Quod deus 118; Hermas, Mand 5,2,7, SentSexti 61 In T B both terms point to the ideal performance of the law, both imply the fear of God and the love of God together with the keeping of his commandments and love of one's neighbour

T BENJAMIN 1-2

Translation

1,1 A copy of the words of Benjamin
which he enjoined on his sons
after he had lived a hundred and twenty-five[1] years

2 And after he had kissed them, he said
As Isaac was born to Abraham in his hundredth year,
so also was I to Jacob.
3 Since, **then,**[2] Rachel died in giving me birth,
I had no milk,
therefore, I was suckled by Bilhah, her handmaid
4 For Rachel remained barren for twelve years after she had borne Joseph,
and she prayed to the Lord with fasting twelve days,
and she conceived and bore me
5 For our father loved Rachel dearly,
and longed to see two sons from her
6 Therefore, I was called son of days, that is Benjamin

2,1 Now, when I went to Egypt,
and Joseph my brother recognized me,
he said to me
What did they tell my father **when**[3] they sold me?
2 And I said to him
They soaked your coat with blood
and sent it and said
Know whether this is your son's coat
3 And he said to me:
True, brother,
but, when the Ishmaelites took me,
one of them stripped me of my coat and gave me a loincloth,
scourged me and told me to run
4 And when **he**[4] went away to hide my garment,
a lion met him and killed him
5 And so his partners were frightened and sold me to their associates

Textcritical notes

[1] **εἰκοσιπέντε.** This is in agreement with 12 2 Consequently the reading **εἰκοσι** (*b*; cf / here and in 12,2) cannot be accepted

[2] **οὖν** *(b)* is typical for the Testaments and therefore preferable to the easier **καί** (*dmeafc*) or ÔÊ (*f*). Also *g* (omission of **οὖν**) is secondary. Cf also T.Jos. 3,3; 5,2; 6,4; 8,2.

[3] **ὅτε** (*ldac*⁺) There is a frequent confusion in manuscripts between ÖTE and **ὅτι** In this verse **ὅτι** (*bgmef*) does not make sense. Cf. **T.Z.** 9,1; T.B 10,1

[4] **αὐτόν** *(bm)* Both the adoption and the omission in *gdeaf* of this word may be original

Structure

In chapter 2 in particular from v. 3 onwards, we have to do with three different texts. Both c and A must be regarded as secondary, being recensions of the original text found in the majority of the Greek MSS. The story seems to be taken from a source that tried to explain how both Ishmaelites and Midianites could be mentioned in Gen 37. It does not agree with Gen 37 and T Z 4 10 where Joseph's coat is stripped off by his brothers The present setting

of the story, however, makes it quite likely that it has been added by the author of the Testaments in order to illustrate Joseph's goodness and willingness to save his brothers' reputation (see also below) c, on the one hand, has altered the narrative and has brought it in agreement with the usual account With the help of a number of alterations and a large addition, A, on the other hand, has introduced a different text, which is meant to make Joseph's attempt to spare his brothers more explicit, but it has developed it to almost ridiculous extremes See M. de Jonge, *The Testaments* pp 29–30, cf J Becker, *Untersuchungen*, pp 34–36.

1,1-2a Introduction

1,2b–6 Benjamin's birth and name-giving V 2 corresponds with v 6 Benjamin is born in Jacob's old age Vv 3–5 speak about Benjamin's mother Rachel she dies when he is born (v 3); she is barren after Joseph's birth and prays the Lord for another child, then, at last, she bears Benjamin (v 4), also Jacob, full of love for Rachel, wishes to see two sons born from her (v 5)

2,1-5 Dialogue between Joseph and Benjamin in Egypt

- v 1 Joseph asks Benjamin what his brothers told Jacob when they sold him
- v 2 Benjamin answers that they had soaked his coat with blood and sent it to their father (cf. Gen 37,31-32)
- vv 3–5 Joseph's answer contrasts with Gen 37 What happened with the coat (χιτών) is the central theme (cf v 2) An Ishmaelite had taken the coat and had scourged Joseph (v 3) He had been punished for that: he was killed by a lion (v 4) The miracle made his partners decide to sell Joseph (v 5)

Notes

1,1 **(A copy) of the words:** cf TS 1,1, TL 1,1, TJud 1,1, TI. 1,1, TD 1,1 **which he enjoined on his sons: see on T.Z. 1,1. after he had lived a hundred ond twenty five years:** cf 12,2, see also on v 4

1,2 **had kissed them:** see on TR. 1,5 **Isaac was born to Abraham in his hundredth year:** from Gen 21,5 **so also was I to Jacob:** not in Gen, but see Gen 44,20 (LXX), παιδίον γήρως νεωτερον αὐτῷ, and Bamidbar Rabba 14,8, 'Benjamin was born when Jacob was a hundred years old, - it was for this reason that he was called by the name of Benjamin . ' According to Jub 19,13, 32,33, Jacob was 97 years old

1,3 **Rachel died in giving me birth:** see Gen 35,16ff **Bilhah, her handmaid:** cf Gen 29,29

1,4 **Rachel remained barren for twelve years after she had borne Joseph:** probably from an independent source, for Benjamin cannot possibly have been born 12 years after Joseph, if 1,1 and 12,2-3 are right, for in that case he would have died 27 years after his brother (Joseph died at the age of 110, Benjamin at the age of 125) or 97 years after the entrance into Egypt (Jub 45,1, 46,8), not 91 According to Jub 28,24, 32,33, Benjamin was born 9 years after Joseph **Rachel remained barren:** cf Gen 29,31 (before Joseph's birth) **she prayed to the Lord:** sc. for children, see on TS 2,2 Cf. also Gen. 30,22, 'he heard her prayer ', and T.I. 2,2.4, both in connection with Joseph's birth See also Bamidbar Rabba 14,8, 'It was as a result of her prayer that Benjamin was born'. with **fasting:** prayer and fasting belong closely together; see T.Jos., INTRODUCTION p 364 and she **conceived** and **bore** me cf Gen 35,16 (LXX), ἔτεκεν Ῥαχήλ , καὶ συλλαβοῦσα ἐτέκε (sc Rachel) is used in the context of Joseph's birth in Gen 30,23 (LXX)

1,5 **our father loved Rachel dearly:** cf. Gen 29,18 20.30.

1,6 **I was called son of days, that is Benjamin:** name-giving also in T.S. 2,2, T.Jud 1,3, T.I. 1,15 (ἐκλήθην); TZ 1,3, TN 1 6 (διὰ τοῦτο ἐκλήθην) The etymology found here may

go back to an Aramaic tradition (בן ימין); cf. Midrash Lekah Tob on Gen 35,18, but see also Philo, Mut nom 92f (υἱὸς ἡμερῶν); Arethas, Comm. in Apoc, Rev 7,8 (υἱὸς ἡμέρας). Cf. also the Samaritan Pentateuch (Gen 35,18), בנימים. The author of the Testaments interprets 'son of days' as 'son of old age' (Gen 44,20; see also v 2).

2,1 **when I went to Egypt:** standard introductory formula, cf. T.S 4,3, T Z 8,4, T.Jos 17,4 In all instances, it is followed by a description of Joseph's attitude characterized by mercy, forgiveness and love to his brothers **Joseph my brother recognized me:** cf Gen 43,16 29; 45,1-14, and Philo, De Jos.. 200, Josephus, Ant. 2,122; and esp Jub 42,21 **he said to me:** cf Gen 45,15, 'after that his brothers talked with him' **What did they tell my father ...:** cf T Z. 4,8, Gen 37,32 **when they sold me:** for the use of πωλεῖν, see on T S 2,9

2,2 Cf, Gen 37,31f., T Z.. 4,9 **soaked ... with blood:** cf. .Philo, Somn. I 221, TOV χιτωνα τοῦτον ... αἵματι πεφυρμένον φύρειν, 'to mix' something dry with something wet, mostly with a sense of 'mixing so as to spoil or defile', is used especially of tears or blood (LSeJ s v), for φύρειν (ἐν) αιματι, see, e.g., 2Sam 20,12, Job 39,30 LXX, Isa 14,20(19); Ezek 16,6 22, **Philo,** Quis heres 64; Plutarch, Pyrrhus 24,5 (Vitae par 399 B), Cato 70,9 (Vitae par 794 A)

2,3 **True ... but:** for the use of ναί ....καὶ γάρ (cf ναί ... aXXa), cf. Mt 15,27. Joseph agrees with Benjamin, but wants to correct the answer slightly., the brothers did not soak the coat with blood themselves, but found it that way, near the body of the Ishmaelite who was killed by a lion when he went away to hide the coat (and perhaps they thought the same Jacob thought when he saw Joseph's coat: 'a wild beast has devoured him') With this story, Joseph attempts to save his brothers' reputation in the eyes of Benjamin. **one of them stripped me of my coat ond gave me a loincloth:** contrast T Z. 4,10 περίζωμα symbolizes poverty and humility (cf.. Philo, Spec leg II 20, Clement of Alexandria, Paid. II 10 [113,1]); it is worn by, e g , servants and prisoners: see, e g., Plutarch, Praecepta gerendae reipublicae 28 (Mor 821 E), Acta Thom 163, ἀπέδυσαν αὐτὸν και περιζώματι περιέζωσαν . **scourged me:** φραγελλοῦν is a rather rare word (see Bauer, s.v., who calls it a Christian word); it is a latinism (flagellare), and is used elsewhere in relation with Jesus (Mt 27,26, par. Mk 15,15, Prochorus' Acta Jo [ed Th Zahn], p.. 19,5) and apostles or martyrs (Acta Paul et Thecl 21, The Acts of Justin and Companions Rec A 5)

2,4 **when he went away ...a lion met him ond killed him:** the man who did Joseph wrong is punished. he is killed miraculously by a lion Cf 1Kgs 13,24 (LXX), xài ἀπῆλθεν, xai εὗρεν αὐτὸν λέων ev τῇ ὁδῷ καὶ ἐθανάτωσεν αὐτόν ...; 20(21),36, and esp Acta Thom 8, κατῆλθεν (sc., the cup-bearer who had buffeted Thomas) εις τὴν πηγὴν ἀντλῆσαι ὕδωρ· ἔτυχεν δὲ èxEÏ εἶναι λέοντα, xai ἐθανάτωσεν αὐτόν. For this motif, cf also 2Kgs 2,23f.

2,5 **And so ... were frightened:** the usual reaction upon a miracle. **to their associates:** the Midiamites See above (on the Structure of T B 1-2)

T Benjamin 3

Translation

3,1 Do you also, therefore, my children, love the Lord, the God of heaven
and keep his commandments,
following the example of the good and holy man **Joseph.**

2 And let your mind be unto the good,
even as you know me,
he who has his mind well sees all things rightly

3 Fear the Lord
and love your neighbour.
And even though the spirits of Beliar ask for you to be delivered up
to every evil of tribulation,
yet no evil of tribulation will have dominion over you,
even as it had not over Joseph my brother
4 How many men wished to kill him, and God shielded him!
For he who fears God and loves his neighbour
cannot be smitten by the spirit of the air of Beliar,
because he is shielded by the fear of God,
5 nor can he be ruled over by[5] the plot of men or beasts,
because he is helped by the love of the Lord which he has
towards his neighbour
6 For Joseph also besought[6] our father
that he would pray for his sons[7]
that the Lord would not reckon to them whatever evil they
had devised regarding him
7 And thus Jacob cried out
O child Joseph, o good child,[8]
you have prevailed over the feelings of Jacob your father
And he embraced him and kissed him for two hours, saying:
8 In you[9] will be fulfilled the prophecy of heaven concerning the
Lamb of God and Saviour of the world,
that a blameless one will be delivered up for lawless men
and a sinless one will die for ungodly men
in the blood of the covenant,
for the salvation of the Gentiles and Israel,
and will destroy[10] Beliar and those who serve him [11]

Textcritical notes

5 **ὑπό** (*bl*) The alternative is **ἀπό** (*dmeafc*$^{+}$) **ὑπό** is often replaced by **απο** in hellenistic Greek (cf. **B.D R** , *Grammatik* § 210).

6 **ἐδεήθη ··· Ἰωσήφ** (*gldmeaf*;cf *c*$^{+}$). The reading of *b* (**ἐδεήθην . Ἰακώβ**) is clearly wrong

7 **υἱῶν** (*geaf*,cf. *ldm*). The text of *b* (**ἀδελφων ημων**, cf *c*$^{+}$) seems to be secondary

8 **ω τεκνον χρηστόν** (*gldmeafc*$^{+}$),omitted in *b* (hma ?) The words **Ἰωσήφ, ὦ τέκνον** are omitted in *lmeafc*$^{+}$because of hmt

9 For the reading **ἐν** ooi *(bg)* (over against **ἐπί σε [σοι]** in *dmeaf* and **περί σου** in *c*$^{+}$), cf Rom 8 4

10 **καταργησει** *(b)* Both this reading and the alternative **καταλύσει** (*gldmeafc*$^{+}$)may be original.

11 **ὑπηρετοῦντας αὐτῷ** (*bl*) The alternative **ὑπηρέτας αὐτοῦ** (*geafc*$^{+}$,cf *dm)* is lectio facilior

Structure

3 1-2 Direct exhortation to love God, to keep his commandments, and to let the mind be unto the good'. Examples of Joseph the good and holy man (v 1 after chapter 2) and Benjamin (v 2) Introduction of the central theme of the good mind

3,3–5 Direct exhortation to fear the Lord and to love one's neighbour (v. 3ab). As a result of such an attitude nothing evil will happen to you (v 3cd) which is explained from the example of Joseph in vv **3e–4a,** and in more general terms in **vv 4b–5b**

3,6–8 Example of Joseph's love to his neighbour **(i.e.** his brothers)

vv **6–7** he aks Jacob to pray that God will forgive his sons Jacob is overcome by **Joseph's goodness**

v 8 in Joseph will be fulfilled the prophecy about the Lamb of God who will die for ungodly men and save all mankind

Notes

3,1 love the Lord, the God of heaven: cf T.I. **5,2** (, 7,6); T.D. 5,3; T G **5,2** **keep his commandments:** cf T Z 5,1; T.D. 5,1; T Jos 19,6; T.B 10,3 5 **following the example of ...: see** 4,1; **and cf. T S 4,5;** T Z 8,5 **the good and holy man Joseph:** see **T B ,** INTRODUCTION pp 412f

3,2 your mind ... unto the good ... his mind well for the theme of the good mind see **T B ,** INTRODUCTION pp 412f **be unto the good:** cf T N **2,9; T.A 5,4** **sees all things rightly:** cf **4,2** ὀρθῶς is used in its ethical sense, cf , e g , Prov 14,2, Ezek 22,30 LXX

3,3 Fear the Lord cf. T L 13,1, T.Z 10 5 T D 6 1 T.G. 3,2 **5,4f.,** T B 10,10 it takes up 'love the Lord' in v. 1 This time, however, the exhortation **love your neighbour** (cf T R 6,9; T S. 4,7; T.I. 5,2; 7,6; T Z. 8,5; T.D 5,3; T.G. 4,2, 6,1.3; 7,7; T.Jos **17,2)** is added For the combination of these two commandments (cf Deut 6 5 and Lev 19,18) see also T I 5 2 7 6 T D. 5 3 cf T Jos. 11 1 K Berger, *Die Gesetzesauslegung Jesu,* pp. **39ff , 136ff., 160ff., 168ff ,** has argued that this combination may go back to Jewish Hellenism which looked for a general rule in which the law could be summed up and found it in the combination of **εὐσέβεια καὶ φιλανθρωπία** under the influence of the Greek **(hellenistic)** combination of **εὐσέβεια καὶ δικαιοσύνη** He points to a number of **examples in LetAris and Philo (cf LetAris 168f.;225; 228f.; Philo, Spec. leg. II 61–63, Decal 110–111;** Vita Mosis II 163 etc.). The Testaments however, avoid abstract terms and use verbal forms speaking of fearing (loving) God and loving one's neighbour (brother), in a style very close to LXX usage So does Jub: see 7 20 and esp. **36,7f ,** . that you will fear him (God) and worship him And that each will love his brother In any **case,** the double love commandment has got a fixed place in the oldest stages of early Christianity (see Mk **12,30f. par.).** The **neighbour** as used in the Testaments is certainly not confined to the Israelite community but the scope is universalistic (see also T Z **5–8),** as in the New Testament and early Christianity but also in Jewish writings that are influenced by hellenistic thought. According to the Testaments, love for one's neighbour is the summing up of the demands of the law which is first of all understood as a collection of ethical commands The other sides of the law e g. the ritual cultic or ceremonial commandments do not play a role of any importance The love or fear of God can only be realized in loving one's neighbour; both commandments are very closely related For literature on the topic of the double love command reference may **be made to H W Hollander, op** cit. (see INTRODUCTION **1.1.1), pp 7-9 100–101** n 22-30. **the spirits of Beliar ask for you to be delivered up to every evil of tribulation:** cf **TJob** 20 2 **ἀπελθὼν** (sc Satan) **ᾐτήσατο τὸ σωμά μου παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἵνα ἐπενεγκῇ μοι πληγην, 16,1f** v 1 (MS V); Lk 22 31 Plutarch De defectu oraculorum 14 (Mor 417 D) See for the construction esp Esth 8,12 (n) LXX **τόν τε ἡμέτερον σωτῆρα ... Μαρδοχαῖον καί . Ἔσθήρ .. αἰτησάμενος (sc.** Haman) **εις απωλειαν will have dominion over you cf v 5; T.S.** 3,2; **T.I.** 7,7 T D 3 2 4 7 T N **8,6, T A 1,8 even as it had not over Joseph my brother** referring to the distress

(θλῖψις, cf T Jos 2,4) Joseph met in his life and his final salvation as described at length in T Jos

3,4 **How many men wished to kill him:** the threat of death is used very commonly in connection with Joseph: see on T.Jos. 1,3. The rhetorical style (πόσοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ...) is strongly reminiscent of the use of ποσος and ποσάκις in T Jos : see on T Jos 3,1 **and God shielded him ... he is shielded:** cf. 4,3. σκεπάζειν as an action of God points to his saving activity and is often parallel with other verbs which express an action of 'saving'; see, e.g., Ex 12,27; 1Sam 26,24 LXX, Ps 17(16),7f., 27(26),5, 64(63),1f., 91(90),14; Jdt 8,15; PssSol 13,1ff **he who fears God and loves his neighbour:** takes up 'Fear the Lord and love your neighbour' in the previous verse **cannot be smitten by the spirit of the air of Beliar:** usually, God is subject of πλήσσειν in such a sense see, e.g , Ex 16,3; 1Kgs 14,15; Isa 1,5; 9,12(13); 27,7; WisSol 19,7; LetAris 313 For ἀέριον πνευμα (τοῦ Βελιάρ), see further TSol 16,3, ὁ Βεελζεβοὺλ ὁ τῶν ἀερίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων πνευμάτων δεσπότης, 18,3; 22,1, Severianus, Fr in Pauli epistulas, Eph 2,2f., ο διάβολος ... ἀέριόν τι πονηρὸν πνεῦμα the fear of God: takes up ο φοβούμενος τὸν ftsόν in the same verse

3,5 **nor can he be ruled over: see v. 3.** **by the plot of men or beasts:** the man who fears God and loves his neighbour, i.e. the good and righteous man, cannot be overcome either through the affliction which comes from Beliar and his spirits (see v 4) or through that which comes from men and beasts; instead, he is saved by God. Cf. 5,1f.; T I 7,7, T N 8,4.6. For this motif of God's promise of salvation, see also Job 5,19ff., ". You ... shall not fear destruction when it comes At destruction and famine you shall laugh, and shall not fear the beasts of the earth (LXX, ἀπὸ δὲ θηρίων ἀγρίων οὐ μὴ φοβηθῇς)', after which LXX continues θηρες γὰρ ἄγριοι εἰρηνεύσουσίν σοι; cf PS 106(105),41f In particular 'wild beasts' are mentioned in connection with the punishment of unjust men see, e g , Lev 26,22, Philo, Quaest. in Gen I 74; Josephus, Ant 1,59 **the love of the Lord which he has towards his neighbour:** takes up ἀγαπῶν τον πλησίον αὐτοῦ in v 4. The words τοῦ κυρίου are meant to characterize this love; cf. T.G. 5,2, where hatred' (τὸ μῖσος; cf v.l. + TOU διαβόλου *gldmeaf*+ TO διαβολικόν *chij*) is contrasted with 'the love of the Lord', which Gad's sons should cleave to

3,6 **that he would pray for his sons:** for Jacob's intercession, see on T.R 1,7. **would not reckon to them ...:** see on T Z 8,5 **whatever evil they had devised regarding him:** see on T S 2,14

3,7 Joseph is called a **good child** because of his forgiveness or his compassion and mercy upon his brothers, the predominant characteristic of Joseph (besides his chastity) in the Testaments (see T.S 4,4; T.Z 8,4; T.Jos., esp. chapter 17) χρηστος and χρηστότης are often found in relation with or parallel to terms like ἐλεήμων, ἔλεος, εὔσπλαγχνος (-ία), μακρόθυμος (-ία), οἰκτίρμων (-μός): in connection with God, see, e g , Ps 25(24),7f., 86(85),5, 145(144),8f.; WisSol 15,1; 2Mac 1,24, PssSol 2,36, 5,2; Lk 6,35; Rom 2,4; 1Clem 9,1; in connection with men, see, e g , (Prov 2,21;) 2Cor 6,6; Gal 5,22; Eph 4,32; Col 3,12; Justin, Dial 96,3 **you have prevailed over the feelings of Jacob your father:** Joseph has succeeded in persuading Jacob to give up his feelings of anger towards Joseph's brothers. For τὰ σπλάγχνα as seat of emotions, particularly of love and compassion or the opposites, see T Z., INTRODUCTION pp 254f (cf. esp T.Z. 2,2) **he embraced him and kissed him:** cf Gen 46,29 For the combination περιλαμβάνειν - (κατα-)φιλεῖν, see Gen 29,13, 33,4; 48,10; Philo, De Jos. 182, etc

3,8 The prophecy of heaven Jacob refers to is the Deutero-Isaiah passage concerning the suffering servant in Isa 52,13–53,12 The early Church interpreted this prophecy as referring to Jesus Christ and also in our verse Jacob hints at the sufferings of Jesus: the prophecy of Deutero-Isaiah will be fulfilled in Jesus Christ. 'In you', ev σοί, means, of

course **'in Joseph'**, i e through his attitude of love towards his brothers and willingness to bear sufferings in order to save his brothers' reputation together with his attempts to remove the punishment of God (and Jacob) from his brothers But the verb is in the future tense: Joseph is regarded as a type of Christ; see e g Irenaeus Fr 17 ev **μεν γὰρ τῷ Ἰωσὴφ προετυπώθη (sc** Christ); Hippolytus Ben Jac **12, 26 (ed. Briere-Mariès–Mercier,** *P.O* **27,1-2, pp. 52; 102), Cyprian, Testimonia 1,20; Epistulae 59,2,** De bono patientiae 10 Tertullian, Adversus Marcionem 3,18; Adversus **Iudaeos** 10; cf also A W Argyle, Joseph the Patriarch in Patristic **Teaching',** *Exp. Times* 67 **(1955–6), 199–201.** The Christian Fathers made an eager use of the story of Joseph as prefiguring the incarnation, passion and exaltation of Jesus Christ And as T B tells us how Jacob overcome by Joseph's goodness and willingness to forgive his brothers regards Joseph as a type of Christ as the suffering servant of the Lord so Origen for instance, speaks of Jacob seeing in Joseph veram **vitam,** qui est verus Deus Christus (Hom 15 3 in Gen) The vocabulary of T B 3 8 shows early Christian standard terminology. **the Lamb of God** see on T.Jos 19 3.6. **Saviour of the world:** see T L 10 2 (see note); 14 2 **a blameless one:** see on T.Jos 19,3. **will be delivered up for lawless men** cf **Isa** 53 6 12 and Rom 4,25; 8,32; Gal 2,20; Eph 5 2 25 Justin, **Apol.** I 51,5; Origen **Comm** in Jo VI 57 (see below); Eusebius D E. **X 1. a sinless one.** cf Isa 53 9 see on T Jud 24,1 **ἀναμάρτητος** as epithet of Jesus Christ also in Justin, Dial. 102 7 103,2, 110 6 Origen Comm. in Jo. II 26 Eusebius Comm in **Is.,** Isa 53,9; D.E **III** 2 etc.· cf Lampe s.v sub 2 **will die for ungodly men:** cf Rom **5,6ff.;** Origen, Comm in Jo VI 57 **μέχρι** ftavdtoi) **καταβαίνειν ὑπὲρ ἀσεβῶν . τοῦ πατρὸς του παραδόντος αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ ἀσεβῶν . . . ἕως** ó **ἔσχατος ἐχθρός,** o ftàvatoç **υπ' αὐτοῦ καταργηθῇ · · · in the blood of the covenant.** cf Mt 26 28; Mk 14 24 and esp. Heb 9 20 (Ex 24,8) 10 29 13 20 **for the salvation of the Gentiles and Israel.** also in T S 7 2 T Jos. 19 6 the Gentiles are mentioned before Israel **will destroy Beliar** ..: at the incarnation death and resurrection of Jesus Christ; cf. 2Tim 1,10, **καταργησαντος μὲν** TOV **θάνατον,** Heb 2 14 Barn 5 6· Clement of Alexandria, Paid II 8 (74 3), etc see also Lampe s v **καταργέω** sub 2 **those who serve him:** either the evil spirits and powers (the most probable interpretation) or the people who serve Beliar (cf **T A.** 3 2)

T BENJAMIN 4–5

Translation

4,1 See, children, the end of the good man
Be **followers, therefore,**[12] of his compassion with a good mind,
that you also may wear crowns of glory
2 The good man has not a dark eye,
for he shows mercy to all men,
even though they are sinners,
3 even though they devise to do him harm,
by doing good **he**[13] overcomes the evil,
because he is shielded by the good
But he loves the righteous as his own soul
4 If any one is glorified, he does not envy (him),
if any one is rich, he is not jealous,
if any one is valiant, he eulogises (him),

the virtuous man he trusts and praises,
on the poor man he has mercy,
with the weak man he feels sympathy,
unto God he sings praises
5 As for him who has the fear of God, he protects **him**[14] as with a shield,
him who loves God he **helps**,[15]
him who rejects the Most High he admonishes and turns back,
and him who has the grace of a good spirit he loves as his own soul
5,1 If you have a good mind, **children**,[16]
both wicked men will be at peace with **you**[17]
and the profligate will reverence you and turn unto good
and the covetous will not only cease from their passion
but even give the objects of their covetousness to those who are afflicted
2 If you do well,
both the unclean spirits will flee from you
and even the beasts will fear **you**[18]
3 For where there is **light**[19] of good works in the mind,
darkness flees away from **him**.[20]
4 For if any one does violence to a holy man,
he repents,
for the holy man is merciful to the reviler and holds his peace
5 And if any one betrays a righteous soul
and the righteous man is humbled for a little, praying,
not long **after**[21] he appears more glorious,
even as was Joseph my brother

Textcritical notes

12 **οὖν** Asyndetic construction of the two admonitions through the omission of **οὖν** (*b*, cf *c*⁺) seems to strain the very structure of the verse.

13 **οὗτος** (*lac*⁺, cf **αὐτός** *dme*). Putting a full stop after **εἰς κακά**, *b* (**οὕτως** o) overlooks the chiasm in vv. 2bc-3ab

14 **αὐτοῦ** *(b)*. In view of the parallel phrases in vv 4–5, **αὐτοῦ** may have been omitted (*gldef*)quite easily; cf also the changes of **τὸν ἔχοντα** .. into **τοῦ ἔχοντος** *(g)* or **τῷ ἔχοντι** (*ef*)

15 **συνεργεῖ** *(b)* Both this reading and the alternative **συντρέχει** *(gldef)* may claim originality

16 **τέκνα** *(b)*. Its position (standing fifth) may have led both to its omission in *gdmeafc*⁺ and its transposition in *l*.

17 **ὑμῖν** (*bl*) Both this reading and the variant **μεθ' ὑμῶν** (*gd(m)eaf*)may be original. For **εἰρηνεύειν** + **μετά** + genit., see, e g , 1Kgs 22,45 LXX, Rom 12,18, for **εἰρηνεύειν** + dat., see, e g., Job 5,23 LXX; Sir 6,6

18 **φοβηθήσονται ὑμᾶς** (*gdeafc*⁺).The reading of *b* **φεύξεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν φοβηθέντες**, seems to have been introduced because of dittography together with the change of **φοβηθήσονται** into **φοβηθέντες** On the other hand, however, the **hmt.** in *l* (**καί**[2] - **ὑμας**]

φοβηθέντα) can only be explained from a text similar to that of *b* while the somewhat cumbersome formulation in *b* may have led quite easily to the smoother **φοβηθήσονται ὑμᾶς** (cf. also T N 8 4). Any certainty cannot be reached

19 **φῶς** The reading of *b* **φόβος,** is just a mistake, probably introduced because of the preceding **φοβηθέντες / φοβηθήσονται** in v 2 c^{+} has made the same mistake but has tried to correct it by adding **και φῶς** after **εργων**

20 **αὐτοῦ** *(b)* The variant **ἀπ' αὐτου** (*gldeafc*) seems lectio facilior

21 HET' ou **πολύ** The reading **μεθ' οὗ πολύ** *(be)* is surely wrong

Structure

4 1 Direct exhortation to be followers of the good man s compassion with a good mind (the central theme of the testament), connected with the promise of future glory Reference to Joseph's 'end that is his exaltation mentioned explicitly in 5 5

4,2-5 First description of the good man

vv. 2-3 the good man s social behaviour towards sinners **(ἔλεος)** and righteous men **(ἀγάπη)**

v 4 the good man s attitude towards all kinds of people he may meet in his life (the rich the virtuous, the poor) and his attitude towards God (climax)

v 5 again the good man s twofold attitude towards sinners and righteous men

5,1-3 Indirect exhortation given in the form of two conditional sentences: have a good mind and do well. Reference to the effects of such a behaviour (cf. **3,3–5),** but this time above all the wholesome effects upon *others* in particular upon wicked men a motif already introduced in 4,5c The change of behaviour' of wicked men, unclean spirits and beasts when meeting a good man is argued and formulated in more general terms in v 3 (note the use of the present tense over against the future tense in w. 1-2)

5,4–5 Two conditional sentences describing the good man s attitude in a situation of distress The good man has compassion with his reviler holds his peace and prays while the reviler will repent After the (short) period of humiliation the good man will be rewarded and exalted Reference to Joseph s exaltation (cf 4 1)

Notes

4 1 **the end of the good man** this refers to Joseph s exaltation to king of Egypt, cf Philo **De** Jos. 122, where Philo referring **to** Joseph s exaltation remarks, **τοιαυτα τῶν εὐσεβῶν τὰ τέλη** (cf. 246) **For the good man ,.. with a good mind, see T.B.,** INTRODUCTION pp 412f **Be followers ..: cf** 3 1 **his compassion εὐσπλαγχνία** is one of Joseph's main virtues in the Testaments: see T.S. 4 4 T Z 8 4 and see on T B. **3,6–8,** which forms the direct motive of this **exhortation that you also may wear crowns of glory** as a reward of an attitude characterized by compassion **φορεῖν στέφανον** symbolizes glory and honour e.g. in connection with kingship (cf. **Joseph!):** see Sir 40 4 (cf. 11,5); 3Bar 6,2· **Philo,** Leg. 103; Jn 19,5 (cf SibOr I 373; VIII 294); Epictetus I 19,29. The thought of having or wearing crowns (of **glory)'** as an eschatological reward is found in **1Pet** 5 4 **κομιεῖσθε τον ἀμαράντινον τῆς δόξης στέφανον,** The Martyrdom of Agape, Irene and Chione at Saloniki 2 4· **1Cor** 9 25· 2Tim 4,8, Jas 1 12 Rev 2,10 cf TJob 40,3; see also V C Pfitzner *Paul and the Agon Motif. Traditional athletic imagery in the Pauline literature* **(*Suppl.*** *NT 16)* Leiden **1967,** p 52. The expression crown(s) of glory is also used in Jer 13,18· Lam 2 15 1QH 9 25· **Ascenls 9,10f ,** etc.

4 2-3 **has not a dark eye·** cf 3 2 and T Jud 13 6 14 1· T D 2,4· T G 5 7 and see also T I. 3,4. **he shows mercy to all men he loves the righteous** the good man s behaviour is directed by a kind of imitatio Dei for often it is God who has mercy on all

men' and who 'loves the righteous' see, e g , WisSol 11,23, ἐλεεῖς οε πάντας - ; 15,1, Sir 18,13; Rom 11,32; and PS 146(145),8 (LXX), κύριος ἀγαπᾷ δικαίους; Prov 15,9 The good man's attitude towards all men (even sinners) is characterized by mercy, ἔλεος: cf **T.Z.** 5,1; 7,2; 8,1; T.B 4,4; 5,4 His feelings to the righteous go even deeper, for they are characterized by love:; cf.. v.. 5d. **they devise to do him harm:** cf Gen 50,20 (LXX), where Joseph remarks, ὑμεῖς ἐβουλεύσασθε κατ' ἐμοῦ εἰς πονηρά, ο οε θεὸς ἐβουλεύσατο περὶ ἐμοῦ ΕΪÇ ἀγαθά by **doing good** he **overcomes** the **evil:** cf 5,2.4f.; T.Jos.. 18,2; see further, e.g., **1QS** 10,17f.; Hippolytus, Haer.. IX 23; for the formulation, cf esp Rom 12,21, νίκα εν τῶ ἀγαθῷ το xaxov **because he is shielded by the good:** cf on 3,4 **he loves ... as his own soul: cf. v. 5;** see on T.S. 4,6

4,4 **If any ane is glorified, he does not envy (him); if any one is rich, he is not jealous:** these sentences belong together, as to style (ἐάν τις ., οὐ ..) and content (δοξάζηται - πλουτῇ, φθονεῖ - ζηλοῖ) Cf. T G 3 3 and esp **7,1ff.,** 'If somebody (eov τις) prospers more than you, do not be grieved (μὴ λυπεῖσθε) ... And if he is exalted further, do not be envious (μὴ φθονεῖτε) . And if somebody becomes rich (πλουτήσῃ) also by evil means ..., do not be jealous (μὴ ζηλώσητε)'. The motif of envy, jealousy and pain because of another's wealth and glory is often found: see, **e.g.,** Plato, Leges III 679 BC, Aristotle, Ethica Nicomachea II 7,15; Rhetorica II 9,3, Epictetus IV 4,10, Enchiridion 19,2; Plutarch, De recta ratione audiendi 5 (Mor, 39 E), Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur 18 (Mor. 60 B), Quomodo quis suos in virtute sentiat profectus 14 (Mor 84 E), etc and **Philo, Praem** poen 168; 170, Virt. 116; De Jos.. 144; Vita Mosis I 246f For the combination φθόνος, φθονειν - λύπη, λυπεῖν (cf. T G. **7,1ff**), see further, e.g , Plato, Leges IX 863 E, XI 934 A, Aristotle, Ethica Nicomachea II 7,15, Rhetorica II 9,3; Epictetus II **12,7f.,** 16,45; 22,6, Plutarch, Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur 18 (Mor 60 B), De invidia et odio 1 (Mor. 536 F), Philo, Virt 116; Vita Mosis I **246f** **if any ane is valiant, he eulogises (him); the virtuous man he trusts and praises:** another pair of sentences which forms a unity (ἀνδρεῖος - σωφρονα; ἐπαινεῖ - ὑμνεῖ), though the first part, 'if any one is valiant' in form still follows the previous sentences Virtuous and valiant men are eulogised and praised by the good man (contrast T G 3,2). ἀνδρεῖος and σώφρων, two of the four main virtues in Greek philosophy (φρόνησις, σωφροσσύνη, ἀνδρεία, δικαιοσυνη), form a well-known combination in Jewish hellenistic and early Christian literature: see, e g , 4Mac 2,23, 15,10, Philo, Leg all II 18; Sacrif 54; Clement of Alexandria, Paid 2,12 (121,4) For the combination ὑμνεῖν - αἰνεῖν, see **1Chr** 16,9f (LXX), WisSol 10,20, Sir 51,10, etc The object of ὑμνεῖν is usually God, particularly in Jewish and Christian writings (cf v. 4g) For the use of υμνειν with a man as object, see, e.g., Epictetus III 24,111; Philo, Abr., 9, 36. he **trusts:** πιστευων; for the similar addition of a participle in these small sentences, see also v 5c νουθετῶν on the **poor** man he has **mercy;** with the **weak** man he **feels sympathy:** also these two sentences form a unity: the good man's attitude towards the poor and the weak/sick is characterized by mercy and sympathy. For the stereotyped combination πενης - ἀσθενής, cf. T.I. 5,2; T.Jos 3,5, and further Prov 22,22; 31,9, Polycarp, Phil, 6,1. The attitude of mercy, ἔλεος, towards the poor is a well-known topic: cf. T.I. (3,8,) 5,2; T A. 2,5f.; Prov 14,21.31, Philo, Mut nom. 40; Somn I 95; De Jos., 144; cf also Epictetus IV 6,22; for ἔλεος, see also T Z., INTRODUCTION pp 254f The feeling of συμπάθειατowards men in distress, one of the main virtues of the patriarch Zebulun (see T.Z. 6,5; cf.. 7,3f.) is a topic in (Greek and Jewish) Hellenism and early Christianity; see, e g., Plutarch, De capienda ex inimicis utilitate 9 (Mor. 90 F), De vitioso pudore 18 (Mor. 536 A); 4Mac **6,12f.;** Philo, Spec leg. II 115, Heb 4,15; 10,34, Ignatius, Rom 6,3; 2Clem 4,3, and in the Testaments also in T S 3,6; T Jos 20,6 **he sings praises:** probably for reasons of style, the author of the Testaments does not use

the same verb (ὑμνεῖν) twice in the same verse For the use of ἀνυμνεῖν, cf 3Bar 10,7, ἀνυμνοῦσι τὸν Κύριον

4,5 As **for him who has the fear of God, he protects him as with a shield; him who loves God he helps:** the good man's attitude towards God-fearing and God-loving men, that is good and righteous men who keep God's commandments (cf. 3,1.3), is described by the verbs ὑπερασπίζειν and συνεργεῖν The thought of an imitatio Dei is introduced here again (cf. vv, 2-3), for both ὑπερασπίζειν and συνεργεῖν are usually actions of God, who is said to protect his people or the righteous see, e g , Ps 115(114),11, 'You who fear the Lord (LXX, οἱ φοβούμενοι TOV κύριον), trust in the Lord! He is their help and their shield (LXX, ὑπερασπιστής)'; Deut 33,29, PS 20(19),1, Prov 30,5, Isa 31,5, Jdt 9,14, JosAsen 12,11, 1Clem 45,7, 56,16, and Rom 8,28 v l (P[46], A, B and other MSS), TOÎÇ ἀγαπῶσιν TÓV θεὸν *navra* συνεργεῖ ὁ θεὸς εἰς ἀγαθόν In conformity with (Jewish) hellenistic usage, however, our verse uses both verbs with a man as subject, not God cf further 4Mac 7,4.8, 15,29; Philo, Conf. 48, Mut nom 40, 113, TJob 53,3 v.l. (MSS V and S), των χηρῶν ο ὑπέρασπιστής (sc. Job), and 2Ezra 7,2, Epictetus I 9,26, II 10,5.7; IV 1,122, Plutarch, Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur 23 (Mor. 64 C), etc. **him who rejects the Most High he admonishes and turns back:** the wicked man is 'turned unto good' by the good man's attitude. Cf 5,1, . ἐπιστρέψουσιν εἰς ἀγαθόν, TJos 6,6.8, '... I have kept it to convict you (εἰς ἔλεγχόν σου), (hoping) that you may see it and repent (μετανοήσεις) . I raised her up and admonished her (ἐνουθέτησα)', and further Philo, De Jos. 86f , 'they (the fellow-prisoners) were rebuked (ἐνουθετοῦντο) by his wise words . . he converted (ἐπέστρεψε) even those who seemed to be quite incurable, who . reproached themselves for their past and repented (μετανοοῦσι) ', 2Clem 17,2, ἐπιστρέψωμεν ἀλλήλους καὶ νουθετησωμεν, Hermas, Vis 1,3,1f , Mand 8,10, Plutarch, De fraterno amore 21 (Mor. 491 F–492 A) For τον ἀθετοῦντα TOV ὕψιστον, see on T.A. 2,6. and han who has the **grace** of a **good** spirit he **loves as his own soul:** the good man's reaction towards righteous men is characterized by love, cf v 3d For the formulation ... χάριν πνευματος ἀγαθοῦ, cf Acta Thom 169, τῇ χάριτι TOV ἁγίου πνεύματος; Acta Phil 95 ἡ χάρις τοῦ πνεύματός μου; the expression πνεῦμα ἀγαθόν is also found in Neh 9,20 LXX; Ps 143(142),10 **as his own soul: cf. v 3 end.**

5,1-2 Cf 3,3–5 and 4,5c. **If you have a good mind:** see T.B., INTRODUCTION pp. 412f **wicked men will be at peace with you:** cf T.I. 7,7, 'no deed of wicked men (πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων) will rule over you' This time, however, it is formulated more positively: the sinner will be at peace' (εἰρηνεύειν) with the good man, that is he will be the good man's friend, cf Sir 6,5f., 'A pleasant voice multiplies friends Let those that are at peace with you (οἱ εἰρηνεύοντές oot) be many', Prov 15,28a LXX, Job 5,19ff. LXX, cf T L 13 4 will reverence you (v. 1): cf v 2 φοβηθήσονται ὑμᾶς; T.N. 8 4 τὰ θηρία φοβηθήσονται ὑμᾶς; and esp. T.G. 6,6, 'For the one who denies may repent (μετανοεῖ) so as not to offend you again, and he may even honour (τιμήσει) you and fear (φοβηθησεται) and be at peace (εἰρηνεύσει) with you.' **turn unto good:** cf. 4,5c, also 5,4, μετανοεῖ and T G 6,6 **cease** from their **passion:** cf T D 5,1, ἀπόστητε ... ἀπὸ fruuoü; 6,10, ἀπόστητε . ἀπὸ πάσης ἀδικίας **give ... to those who are afflicted: cf. T.I. 3,8;** T Z. 7,1 **both the unclean spirits will flee from you and even the beasts will fear you:** see on 3,3–5; cf moreover, T.D. 5,1, 'that .. Beliar may flee (φύγῃ) from you'; Jas 4,7; Hermas, Mand 11,14; 12,2,4; 12,4,7, 12,5,2

5 3 **light of good works:** cf WisSol 5,6, τὸ τῆς δικαιοσύνης φως .; 18,4, Prov 6,23; Sir 24,7, IClem 36,2; see also T.L. 14,4. **darkness flees away from him:** cf v 2; and Philo, Somn I 117, so that night and darkness are for ever banished (σκότος ἀεὶ πεφυγαδεῦσθαι), with which they live whose blindness is not of the body but of the soul, who know not virtue's rays' 'Light' means a life of righteousness according to

God s commandments, while darkness refers to wickedness the world and works of Beliar and his evil spirits: see also on T L 19 1

5,4–5 This time the good **man's** attitude towards those who do wrong *to him* is dealt with (cf 4,3) At the background stands the example of Joseph (cf also Gen 49 23 LXX **εἰς ὃν διαβουλευόμενοι ἐλοιδόρουν)** The reviler or betrayer **repents** (cf. v 1 and 4,5c) when **the holy man (ἀνὴρ ὅσιος,** see T.B., INTRODUCTION pp. 412f.) **is merciful** to him **holds his peace** and **prays;** contrast T.Jud. 7 5 **ὑβριζόμενος ἐθυμώθην.** Mercy **(ἔλεος)** - cf 4,2.4 -, being silent' **(σιωπᾶν)** or endurance and praying **(προσευχεσθαι)** are all characteristic qualities of Joseph in the Testaments. cf. T S 4,4, T.Z. 8,4, T.B 4,1, and **see T Jos ,** INTRODUCTION **pp** 364f. **In T.Jos.,** however, Joseph's silence implied **not** telling the truth in T B 5 4 holding one's peace' means primarily not getting angry but having control over ones tongue (cf Plutarch, De capienda ex inimicis utilitate 7ff [Mor 90 B-F] Epictetus II 12,14; III 22,100); the common feature is endurance Particularly in Christian texts 'revilement' **(λοιδορία)** is often mentioned in contexts dealing with the right attitude of man in a situation of distress: one should 'bless **(εὐλογεῖν)** the reviler pray for **him' (προσεύχεσθαι, εὔχεσθαι),** and have mercy upon him **(ἔλεος, εὐσπλαγχνια,** etc.): see, e g **1Cor** 4,12; **1Pet (2,23;) 3,8f.;** Polycarp Phil **2,2f.,** Athenagoras Leg. 12,3, ClemHom 3 19 3· **12,32,1f** **praying** in our verse may therefore refer to a prayer for salvation from one's troubles (as in the case of Joseph) or to a prayer for the man who has done wrong to him (cf. also T G 7 1 Mt 5,44; Lk **6,27f.;** Hippolytus, Haer. IX 23; The Martyrs of Lyons 2,5, etc.). **a righteous soul: ψυχὴν δικαίαν;** cf Prov 10 3 (LXX) ou **λιμοκτονήσει κύριος** tyuxT|v **δικαίαν,** TAb A 2, 16. **It is parallel to ἄνδρα ὅσιον, as ο δίκαιος corresponds with ο ὅσιος is humbled for a little ... not long after he appears more glorious, even as was Joseph my brother: the good man's distress is shortlived;** see on T.Jos. 2,6 **The motif of being** rewarded after a period of humiliation and distress is found in the Testaments exclusively **in connection** with **Joseph; see T Jos ,** INTRODUCTION **pp** 363f

T BENJAMIN 6

Translation

6,1 The disposition of the good man is not in the hand of the deceit of the spirit of Beliar,
for the angel of peace guides his soul
2 He does not gaze passionately upon corruptible things
nor does he gather together riches for desire of **pleasure;**
3 he does not delight in pleasure,
he does not grieve his neighbour,
he does not sate himself with **luxuries,**[22]
he does not err in the uplifting of the eyes,
for the Lord is his portion
4 The good disposition does not admit of glory nor dis-**honour**[23] from men,
and it does not know any guile or lie, fighting or reviling;

for the Lord dwells in him and lights up his soul
And he rejoices towards all men always
5 The good mind has not two tongues,
of blessing and cursing,
of contumely and honour,
of sorrow and joy,
of quietness and confusion,
of hypocrisy and truth,
of poverty and wealth,
but it has one disposition, uncorrupt **and**[24] pure, concerning all men
6 It has no double sight nor double hearing,
for in everything which he does or speaks or sees, he knows that
the Lord looks upon his soul
7 And he cleanses his mind that it is not condemned by God and men
And every work of Beliar also is twofold and has no singleness

Textcritical notes

[22] **τρυφῆς** (*lda*). Though the reading **τροφῆς** *(b)* is surely possible, the context is in favour of **τρυφῆς**. The variant **τρυφῇ** *(gefc)* seems to be secondary. Interchange between **τρυφη** and **τροφη** is a frequent phenomenon in manuscripts: see, e g., Gen 49,20 LXX; Lam 4 5 LXX Jdt 12,9· WisSol **19,21.**

[23] **δόξης και ἀτιμίας** *(b cf c⁺)* Both this reading **and the** variant **δόξαν καὶ ἀτιμιαν** (*gdef*) may be original but the text of *b* may be regarded as lectio difficilior

[24] καὶ. *b* omits the word because of haplography.

Structure

Second description of the good man or the man with a good mind

6 1 Introduction the deceit of the spirit of Beliar has no power over the good man s disposition V **1b** gives the reason the angel of peace guides his soul Beliar is not mentioned again until the end of this chapter (v 7b)

6,2–4 and **6,5–7** are two separate sections, built along similar lines both consist of two negative descriptive series of small phrases (vv **2f**, 4 and 5· 6) Each of these series is followed by a clause (usually mentioning an action or attitude of God) that serves to give a motivation or explanation (vv 3e; 4c 5h 6b), and both end with a sentence that mentions a positive act of the good man (v 4d and v **7a[b]**)

6,2–4 Description of some of the activities avoided by the good man He is characterized as a kind of hellenistic philosopher who does not care about riches and luxuries or about what people think of him, but who tries to live in peace and feels always happy
v 2 the good man (disposition) does not desire corruptible things like wealth and riches
v 3 other examples which belong to the social and sexual sphere
v 4 again examples V 4d (positive) he rejoices towards all men always

6,5-7 Description of some of the qualities (note the use of *τυει)* of the good man Its central theme is the opposition double - single

- v 5 the good man (mind)'s words are not 'two-sided' His disposition is pure
- v 6 the good man (mind)'s sight and hearing are not 'double'
- v 7a (positive) he cleanses his mind
- v 7b the works of Beliar, however, are 'twofold', not 'single' The verse makes explicit what it means to be in the power of Beliar (cf v 1a)

Notes

6,1 **the good man:** see T B , INTRODUCTION pp. 412f. **in the hand of the deceit of the spirit of Beliar:** or "in the hand of a spirit of deceit of Beliar" (cf. T Jud 25,3). **for the angel of peace guides his soul:** for the use of ὁδηγεῖν implying moral guidance for the righteous from the side of God, see also Ps 25(24),9, 'He (God) leads (LXX, ὁδηγήσει) the humble in what is right . . .'; 25(24),4f.; 27(26),11; 73(72),24; 86(85),11, 139(138),24 This time, God's **angel of peace** is said to perform this function; see on T.A. 6,4 6

6,2 **He does not gaze passionately upon corruptible things:** the use of (οὐχ) ὁρᾷ seems to be a stereotype in the Testaments: see further 8,2, T.L 4,(4.)6, cf. T.B 3,2; 6,6. Both the occurrence of ἐμπαθῶς (with its underlying term πάθος) and the use of the expression τὰ φθαρτά show the hellenistic background of the verse. πάθος also in T.Jud 18,6, T.Jos 7,8; 5,1.. τὰ φθαρτά is applied above all to riches, gold and silver:: cf., e g , Philo, Cher.. 48; Congr. 112; 1Pet 1,18.. A fine parallel to our verse is found in Philo, Ebr 209, 'It is characteristic of the friend of passion (φιλοπαθοῦς) that things created and perishable (φθαρτά) seem to him bright and shining . . .' The theme of the good man's attitude towards riches is introduced more explicitly in v. 2b, he **does not gather together riches for desire of pleasure.** In wisdom literature, the 'gathering' (συνάγειν) of riches such as gold and silver is described as one of the wicked man's activities. see, e g , Job 27,16, 'Though he (the wicked man) heap up (LXX, συναγάγῃ) silver . .'; 20,15 LXX, Prov 28,8; cf Sir 31,3.. For συνάγειν in connection with things like gold and silver, see further Gen 47,14; 2Chr 24,5.11, Zech 9,3 LXX; 1Bar 1,6; 1Mac 3,31; 2Ezra 8,14, etc φιληδονια (not found in the LXX) is one of the qualities of wicked men and is connected with all kinds of other lusts and passions see, e.g.., Plutarch, Coniugalia praecepta 7 (Mor.. 139 B); 21 (Mor. 140 F); Philo, Quod omnis 21; Spec. leg I 281, Abr 24; Opif mundi 158; Clement of Alexandria, Paid.. III 7 (37,2). For φιληδονία in the Testaments, see T.R.. 2,8; T.L. 2,3 (opposite to ἐγκράτεια), and esp T R 3,6 (in connection with injustice, theft and rapacity)

6,3 **he does not delight in pleasure . . . he does not err in the uplifting of the eyes:** these clauses most likely allude to the good man's sexual behaviour. ἡδονή is connected with the motif of impurity and sexual behaviour elsewhere in the Testaments (T.Jud 13,6; 14,2, T.I 3,5; exception: T.D. 5,2). The expression of 'the uplifting of the eyes' recurs in T.L. 7,2 and there the connection with sexual behaviour is explicit, ουκ ἐπόρνευσα ἐν μετεωρισμῷ ὀφθαλμῶν; see Sir 23,4, 'O Lord . . do not give me haughty eyes (μετεωρισμὸν ὀφθαλμῶν), and remove from me evil desire Let neither gluttony nor lust overcome me ', 26,9 (cf. v 11); cf. Prov 6,25 LXX. The relation between the eyes and the desire of impurity is obvious. see on T.R 2,4 For πλανᾶν or πλάνη in connection with impurity, see on T.R 4,6. **he does not grieve his neighbour, he does not sate himself with luxuries:** not 'grieving' (λυπεῖν) one's neighbour implies helping oppressed, poor and hungry men by providing them with the things they need; it is the usual attitude of the righteous man see, e g., Sir 4,1ff , 'My son, deprive not the poor of his living . . Do not grieve the one who is hungry (ψυχὴν πεινωσαν μὴ λυπήσῃς), nor anger a man in want Do not add to the troubles of an angry mind, nor delay your

gift to a beggar ...'; **Philo,** Virt. 140 Aristides, **Apol.** 15 7 Hermas Mand. 8 10 v 1 The action of not 'sating oneself **(ἐμπιπλᾶσθαι)** introduces a similar thought. For the use of **ἐμπι(μ)πλᾶσθαι,** cf. **Eccl** 5,11 LXX Sir 31 3 though in both texts the activity of sating oneself as such is not refused; and see esp. Lk **6,24f ,** woe to you that are rich . . woe to you that are full **(οἱ ἐμπεπλησμένοι)** now , Plutarch De tuenda sanitate praecepta 7 (Mor 125 EF). **τρυφή** usually has a negative sound. see Sir 18 32 37,29; Philo, Spec leg. II 240; Ebr. 21; Hermas, Mand 8,3; 11,12; 12,2,1; ClemHom 11 16,6; Epictetus, Enchiridion 33,7; Plutarch, De tuenda sanitate praecepta 7 (Mor. 125 F) **for the Lord is his portion:** another sentence that is meant to provide the reason for what has been said in preceding phrases (cf. v. **1b)** As in the case of v **1b,** the origin of the **phrase is to be** found **in the Psalms: see Ps 119(118),57** (LXX), **Μερίς μου κύριε,** 16(15),5; 73(72) 26; 142(141),5; and also Lam 3 24 LXX, R; cf Acta Phil **(IIIrd** version) 128, **Χριστὸς μερὶς ημων ἡ ἁγία**

6 4 **does not admit of glory nor dishonour from men** a common motif in hellenistic (Stoic-Cynic) popular philosophy, Jewish hellenistic and early Christian literature to characterize the true hellenistic philosopher, the true Jew or the true Christian; it is often found in Leidenskataloge'. See, e.g., Dio Chrysostom **LXVII** 3 (the philosopher 'will bid farewell to) **τιμάς καὶ ἀτιμίας καὶ** tyoyov TE **καὶ ἔπαινον** TOV **παοὰ των ἡλιθίων ἀνθρώπων,** VIII **15f.,** LXXVII/LXXVIII 17, 30, 33, Epictetus I 24 6 30,2; II 1 35 9 15 Plutarch Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat 14 (Mor. 36 E); Philo **Somn** I **124f.;** Quod **omnis** 23; 55; **Praem.** poen. 24; 2Cor 6,8 LetDiogn 5,14; ConstApp V 6 3 cf. H Windisch, *Der zweite Korintherbrief,* Göttingen **⁹1970,** pp. **204ff.;** R. **Höistad,** Eine hellenistische Parallele zu 2. Kor. **6,3ff ',** ***Coniectanea Neotestamentica*** 9 (1944) 22-27; A. **Fridrichsen,** Zum Thema »Paulus und die Stoa«. Eine stoische Stilparallele zu 2 Kor **4,8f.',** ib. 27-31 Generally the reason why one should not care about honours and dishonours, is the fact that they are given by the foolish multitude, and the wise man feels far beyond them (cf. Dio Chrysostom **LXVII** 3 LXXVII/LXXVIII 17 **Plutarch, Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat 11 [Mor 32 D]; Philo, Spec leg.** IV 88 etc) In our verse however it is said that the good man does not care about honour and dishonour 'from men' **(ἀνθρώπων)** as such. Honour (or dishonour) is **ignored, not because men are considered to be foolish, but because it is the opposite of** the honour from God Cf Jn 5,41 44; 12 43; **1Thes** 2 4.6 ConstApp V 6 3 **it does not know any guile or lie, fighting or reviling. δόλος - ψεῦδος** is a well-known combination: see T.L. 7,4; Jer **9,4f.;** Micah **6,11f.;** Dan 8 25 LXX; PssSol 12,1, etc. For **the** combination **μάχη - λοιδορία,** see Prov 26 21 **Sir** 27,15 Epictetus **II** 12 14; **IV** 5 32 **for the Lord dwells in him** cf. T.Z 8 2 T.D. 5,1, T.Jos. **10,2f.:** God **'dwells'** in a man who keeps his commandments. The best parallels of this idea are found in early Christian literature: see e g Hermas Mand 10 1,6, '... they have the fear of the Lord in themselves; for where the Lord dwells **(κατοικεῖ),** there also is great **understanding',** 3 1 Barn **16,8ff.;** Tatian, Orat. 15,2, Prochorus' Acta Jo (ed. **Th.** Zahn), p **190,17f.;** see also Eph 2,22; SentSexti 144. In fact, God dwells in (righteous) men by his Spirit: see Eph 2 22; Tatian Orat 15 2; cf. also Rom **8,9ff.; 1Cor** 3,16; 2Tim 1,14; Jas **4,5,** Hermas, Mand 3,1 etc. Traces of this motif occur also in Jewish hellenistic literature; see Philo, Sobr. 62; cf Post.-Caini 122; WisSol 1,4 **... and lights up his soul:** cf 4,2 5 3 esp. T.G. 5,7 true repentance -- drives away darkness and it enlightens **(φωτίζει)** the eyes and gives knowledge to the soul ...' Just as God is the one who enlightens the good man's soul the prince of deceit' is responsible for the darkness or blindness of the **sinner's soul: see on T.R. 3,8, T.S. 2,7, T Jud. 19,4. And he rejoices towards all men always.** another well-known hellenistic topic to characterize the true philosopher, Jew or Christian who is depicted as feeling always happy whatever happens to him See Epictetus III **5,8f ,** 'so that I may be able to say to God ..I fell sick when it was Thy

will; so did other men but I willingly. I became poor it being Thy will, but with joy (aXXà **χαίρων)'**; Plutarch De tuenda sanitate praecepta 25 (Mor. 136 CD); **Philo,** Quod det pot. **122ff.**; Abr **201ff.**; LetAris **260f.**; 2Cor 6 10; LetDiogn 5,16, etc. The expression ev **παντὶ καιρῷ** is often used in connection with activities of good and bad men in the Psalms and wisdom literature see Ps 10 5(9 26) 106(105)3 119(118) 20 Prov 6 14 Sir 26,4, etc

6,5–7 The good man (mind) has not two tongues, nor double **sight'** nor double hearing That is, the good man belongs to one side only, the right side he blesses and does not curse honours and does not revile, etc. (cf v 5). He stands over against the wicked man who is in the power of Beliar and whose works are two-sided" On the central theme of this passage **the** opposition **ἁπλοῦς, ἁπλότης - διπλοῦς** or **διπρόσωπος (the** hypocrite) see **T I.,** INTRODUCTION pp 233f and T A INTRODUCTION pp. 338ff

6 5 **has not two tongues** being double-tongued is connected with hypocrisy: see Did **2,4ff.,** Thou **shalt** not be double-minded nor double-tongued **(δίγλωσσος) . .** Thou **shalt** not be covetous nor extortionate nor a hypocrite **(ὑποκριτής)'**; ConstApp II 6,1, Cyril of **Alexandria,** Expl. in **Pss.,** Ps 61,5 etc. Though all six pairs of words that follow are grammatically dependent on **δύο γλώσσας,** only the first two of them seem to be connected with the speaking of the good man, while the other pairs point to his qualities in general. **of blessing and cursing** as **διγλωσσία,** also this pair ot words is related with the theme of hypocrisy see e.g., Ps 61,5 LXX and esp Jas 3 9f.17 With it (the tongue) we bless **(εὐλογοῦμεν)** the Lord and Father and with it we curse **(καταρώμεθα) men .** From **the** same mouth come blessing **and** cursing **(εὐλογία καὶ κατάρα) ... But** the wisdom from above is first pure . . without uncertainty or insincerity **(ἀνυπόκριτος)'; 1Clem 15,1ff ,** Clement of Alexandria **Str** IV 6 **(32,3f.)** **of contumely and honour:** for the combination **ὕβρις - τιμή,** see e.g. **ClemHom** 16,18,3, cf Acta Jo 69 **ὕβρις is** often parallel with **ἀτιμία: see** Philo, Quod **omnis** 55, Vita contempl 42; **Flacc** 79; Fuga 30 Acta Jo 106, etc. The third and fourth pairs, **of sorrow and joy, of quietness and confusion,** belong together The good man is joyful (cf. v. 4) and at peace his soul is not in sorrow or in confusion. Cf. T D **4,6f.,** If you suffer loss voluntarily, be not vexed, for from vexation **(λύπης)** it stirs up anger with lying. And a twofold mischief is anger with lying and they assist one another, in order to disturb **(ταράξωσι)** the mind and when the soul is disturbed **(ταρασσομένης)** continually ..... ; T.S. 4,9; T Jud 14,3; T.Z 8,6 T D. 4,2 T G 6 2 7 3 T.Jos. 7,5. The background of this recurrent theme in the Testaments is the Greek and specifically hellenistic idea of the disturbance of man s soul (mind) by all sorts of lusts or passions, among which are "sorrow' or pain' See e.g., Dio Chrysostom I 13, he (the good king) is not to become licentious or profligate stuffing and gorging with folly, insolence, arrogance, and all manner of lawlessness, by any and every means within his power a soul perturbed **(τεταραγμένην)** by anger, pain **(λύπαις),** fear pleasures, and lusts of every kind .....'; Plato, Phaedo 66 B-D; Dio Chrysostom XXXIV 19; Epictetus II **22,5ff., III** 2,3; 9,17; Plutarch De recta ratione audiendi 5 (Mor. 39 **D–F);** 12 (Mor. 43 DE); De virtute et vitio 2f (Mor. 100 **F–101** B) Animine an **corporis** affectiones sint peiores 3f (Mor 501 DE) and in Jewish and Christian literature see Philo Leg all **III** 123; 160; Somn. II 147; Opif. mundi 81 Athanasius Ep. Cast II (MPG **28 872ff), περὶ τῶν ὀκτὼ τῆς κακίας λογισμῶν** 8 etc. **of hypocrisy and truth.** the good man is not a hypocrite (see also above) The opposition **ὑπόκρισις, υποκριτής,** etc. - **ἀλήθεια, ἀληθής,** etc is also found in Jas **3,14ff.;** Did **5,1f.;** Barn **20,1f.;** Clement of Alexandria, Paid. I 5 **(19,3),** etc **of poverty and wealth** the good man is poor and poverty is considered to be a good thing (cf. T.G. 7,6; and 2Cor 6,10 LetDiogn 5,13; Plutarch, De virtute et vitio 4 [Mor. 101 **DE]);** he is not a hypocrite who just shows poverty: cf ArabApPet (tr A Mingana ***Woodbrooke** Studies* , Cambridge 1927-1934 fasc 7) p 256 He (a king) will be an

insolent, a despotic and a loquacious man .. an hypocrite with a double face which will show poverty and ascetism **but it has one disposition, uncorrupt and pure, concerning all men:** meant as an explanatory opposition to what has just been said. The good man s disposition is one over against the 'two tongues of the hypocrite His disposition is also said to be pure' **καθαρός** (cf. v 7) 'Purity' implies choosing God and doing his will. cf T N. **3,1,** T.A. 4 5 Jer **13,25ff ,** 19 13· Ezek 36,17.25 33· Micah 2 10 etc. It is parallel to 'singleness' (cf. Gen 20,5 LXX and Symm Job 33,3 LXX and **Symm,** Hermas Mand 2 7; GkApPaul 19), and the antonym of hypocrisy (cf Philo, **Quod omnis 99; De Jos 67, 1Tim 1,5; Jas 4,8; 2Clem 11,1f , etc.). Its ethical** implications are central and the man who does the will of God and acts rightly is called **καθαρός** (cf PS 24[23],4 Prov 12,27, 20,9 **Eccl** 9,2 etc.). In our verse, the good man s disposition is called 'pure primarily since it is regarded as being free from lusts and passions a common implication of the term in hellenistic literature. Cf e.g., **Philo,** Spec leg I 257 the law would have such a person pure **(καθαρόν)** in body and soul, the soul purged of its passions and distempers and infirmities and every viciousness of word and deed the body of the defilements which commonly beset it'; Abr. 223; **Spec** leg. II 147; Leg all II 29; III 139; Vita Mosis II 24; 68 Epictetus II **18,15ff ; III** 22,19; cf also Hermas Mand 12,6,5; Sim 5,3,6 7,2; 9 23,5 **εἰλικρινής** (found in the LXX only once WisSol 7 25) and **καθαρός** are more or less synonyms and are often found together· see Plato Philebus 59 C Symposium 211 E Plutarch De fraterno **amore** 8 (Mor 481 F) Philo Leg. all. I 88 Abr 129 De Jos 145 Ebr 101 Acta Andr 8 Acta Jo 107 Eusebius, H E IV 7,13, etc **περὶ πάντας** corresponds with **προς πάντας** in v. 4

6,6 **It has no double sight nor double hearing:** for the good man sees all things rightly' (3,2) **for in everything which he does or speaks or sees, he knows that the Lord looks upon his soul:** another sentence meant to provide the reason for what has been said before (cf vv **1b;** 3e; 4c; 5h); also this clause mentions an action of God (cf. vv **1b,** 3e 4c and also 8,2c). Whatever the good man does says or thinks **(ὁρᾷ** - cf vv 2 and 3 - most probably refers to one's intentions; cf. T G 6 1 T.Jos 10,4), God looks upon his soul. He knows he cannot hide himself from God Again, the good man is depicted as different from the hypocrite who thinks that he can deceive men and God; cf Isa **29,13ff.;** Sir **1,28ff ;** PssSol **4,1ff.;** Lk **16,14f.;** Ignatius Magn 3,2 Irenaeus Haer IV **31,2ff.** For the clause **the Lord looks upon his soul,** cf T Jud 20 3· T N 2 5 T G. 5,3, **and** T Z. 5,2 **(see note).**

6,7 **he cleanses his mind ...:** the good man - positively - makes his mind pure (cf v 5) that is, free from pains lusts and passions. See on v. 5; cf also Dio Chrysostom LXXVII/LXXVIII 40 Finally he (the man who in very truth is manly and high-minded') purges his own mind **(τὴν αυτου διάνοιαν καθαίρει)** by the aid of reason and tries to render it exempt from slavery fighting in defence of freedom a much more stubborn battle against lusts and opinions and all mankind **that he is not condemned by God and men** for such a parallelism between God and men cf **Josephus, Ant 2,22, If it were a sin before God and a sacrilege in the eyes of men (πονηρὸν μὲν καὶ θεῷ** xal **ἀνθρώποις ἀνόσιον)** to perpetrate the murder of one having no kinship with them **1Thes** 2,15 Clement of Alexandria Str VII 13 (83,2). According to T G 5 3 the righteous man's heart condemns him when he does something wrong; cf T Jud. 20 5 **every work of Beliar also is twofold and has no singleness** a reference to Beliar and his activities (cf v la) and the introduction (at the end!) of the positive virtue of **ἁπλότης,** see again **T I ,** INTRODUCTION pp 233f and **T A ,** INTRODUCTION pp. 338ff

T BENJAMIN 7-8

Translation

7,1 Therefore, my children, flee the malice of Beliar,
because he gives a sword to those who obey it
2 And the sword is the mother of seven evils
first the mind conceives through Beliar,
and first[25] there is envy,
secondly, ruin,
thirdly, tribulation,
fourthly, captivity;
fifthly, dearth,
sixthly, confusion,
seventhly, desolation
3 Therefore was also Cain delivered over to seven vengeances by God
for every hundred years the Lord brought one plague upon him,
4 he suffered for two hundred years,
and in his nine-hundredth year he was destroyed at the Flood on account of Abel his righteous brother.
With the seven evils[26] Cain was judged,
but Lamech with seventy times seven
5 Because for ever those who are like Cain in envy which leads to hatred of brothers will be judged with the same punishment
8,1 And do you, therefore, my children, flee evil, envy and hatred of brothers
and cleave to goodness and love
2 He who has a pure mind in love does not look at a woman with a view to impurity,
for he has no defilement in his heart,
because the spirit of God rests upon him.[27]
3 For as the sun is not defiled
though in contact with dung and mire,
but rather dries up both and drives away the evil smell,
so also the pure mind
though encompassed by the defilements of the earth
rather builds up,
but is not itself defiled

Textcritical notes

[25] πρῶτον The adverb has been changed into πρωτος in *bg* under the influence of the following ο φθόνος

[26] τοῖς ἑπτὰ κακοῖς (*glm*, cf *d* and A) The words ἑπτὰ κακοῖς were probably read as ἑπτακοσίοις under the influence of v 3 (cf *e*. τοῖς ἑπτακοσίοις), to which *bf* added

ἔτεσιν by way of clarification; *a* reads τοῖς ἑπτα. The allusion to Gen 4 24 is obvious whereas the introduction of '700 years would be quite inappropriate.

2 ἐν αὐτῷ (*bkf*), lectio difficilior over against ἐπ' αὐτῷ (*gea*) or ἐπ' αὐτόν (*dc*) *Cf* also T A 3 1

Structure

Over against chapter 6 which gives a description of the good man chapter 7 describes the lot of the wicked man who obeys Beliar and is 'in his power (cf **6,1a 7b**) 8 2-3 returns to the theme of the good man or the pure mind'.

7,1 Direct exhortation to flee the malice of Beliar Introduction of the sword given to those who obey Beliar

7,2 Explanation of the sword as the mother of seven evils The first is envy (φθόνος) and the last total destruction (ἐρήμωσις)

7,3–5 The example of Cain (vv. 3–4c) and a reference to Lamech who was punished even more severely (v. 4d), followed by a warning against those who are like Cain and who will be punished likewise (v 5) Recurrence of the term φθόνος (see v. 2) and introduction of μισαδελφία, both characterizing Cain and those who are like him

8 1 Direct exhortation to flee the malice (cf. 7,1) which is now explained as φθόνος and μισαδελφία; it is followed by the positive command to cleave to goodness and love

8 2-3 Description of the 'pure mind (cf. chapter 6). Love' (cf. 8 1) over against 'impurity' (v 2). Comparison of the pure mind' with the sun (v. 3). Note the chiastic structure of the verse

Notes

7,1 flee the malice of Beliar cf. 8 1 and T A **3,2 a sword** referring to death and destruction as the wicked man's destiny cf. T Jos 6,2.

7,2 ... is the mother of seven evils: for such a use of μήτηρ, see on T S 5,3. **the mind conceives:** for this metaphorical use of συλλαμβάνειν, cf. Philo Congr 66, οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἴσχυσεν ἡ *ty'W* συλλαβεῖν καὶ κυοφορῆσαι **... envy ... ruin ... tribulation ... captivity ... dearth ... confusion ... desolation** first of all the evildoer's mind is affected **by the vice of** envy (see **also T.S** , INTRODUCTION pp **109f.). The other evils all describe** circumstances of the sinner's life The author joins OT/LXX usage: with the exception of envy all the evils mentioned including μάχαιρα, are found in the OT/LXX to describe the sinner's destiny cf Deut 28,57 (ἔνδεια, θλῖψις), Ps 72 19 LXX (ἐρήμωσις); Jer 5 12 (κακά, μάχαιρα), **14,16–15,2** (κακά, ταραχη, μάχαιρα, αἰχμαλωσία); Tob 4,13 (ἀπώλεια, ἔνδεια); 2Chr 30,7 Prov 10,21; Isa 51 19· Jer 4,7.10, Ezek 23 46; **30,4ff.**; Amos **4,6ff** ; Jdt 8,19.22; for **the** Testaments, cf. T.L 13 6; T.Jud. 23,3; T.D 5,13; T.N. 4 2 The sevenfold number of evils agrees with the sevenfold plagues in passages like Lev **26,18ff.**; Sir **40,8ff.**, Pirke Aboth 5 11

7,3–4 was also Cain delivered over to seven vengeances by God ... With the seven evils Cain was judged, but Lamech with seventy times seven obvious allusion to Gen 4 15 LXX, πᾶς ὁ ἀποκτείνας Κάιν ἑπτὰ ἐκδικούμενα παραλύσει, and 4,24 (LXX) ὅτι ἑπτάκις ἐκδεδίκηται ἐκ Κάιν, ἐκ ὈÈ Λάμεχ ἑβδομηκοντάκις ἑπτά. The idea that Cain and Lamech (and their generations) were punished and not their murderers is found in **Philo, Quaest** in Gen. I 77· Josephus, Ant 1 58 Ephraem, Comm in Gen., **III–IV** (esp **III 8f.**; IV **1f.**); Jerome Epistula 36 ad Damasum etc., V 3a is explained in vv **3b–4b: for every hundred years the Lord brought one plague upon him ...** The author tries to connect the seven plagues of Cain with the age at which he finally died both more or less fixed data in Jewish and early Christian tradition Consequently he

introduces, somewhat clumsily, the idea that Cain was punished every hundred years one time (v. 3b) and that 'he suffered for two hundred years' (v. 4a), which points to some extra sufferings The seven periods of hundred years may be a modification of the seven generations mentioned in Targ Onk , Neof , Ps Jon on Gen 4,15; 4,24; Ber Rabba 23,4, cf Josephus, Ant. 1,58, **Ephraem,** Comm in Gen III 8f ; Jerome, Epistula 36 ad Damasum. For ἐπάγειν πληγην, see also Ex 11,1; 33,5, Isa 10,24 **in his nine-hundredth year he was destroyed at the Flood:** cf. Jub 4,1 31, according to which Cain died in his 860th year (930 AM) On the other hand, the tradition that Cain died in the Flood is well-known see Ber Rabba 22,12, Ephraem, Comm. in Gen III 9, cf **1En** 22,7, **Origen,** Comm. in Jo XX 4 When, however, Cain died in the Flood, he must have become more than 900 years old The author has joined both contradicting haggadoth. **he was destroyed:** ἐρημουται, which corresponds with ἐρήμωσις (v 2), the last of the seven plagues that happen to those who follow Beliar. **on account of Abel his righteous brother:** cf Gen 4 δίκαιος is a traditional epithet of Abel see, e g , **Philo,** Quaest. in Gen. I 59; Mt 23,35, Heb 11,4, ClemHom 2,16,3, 19,9,5; cf Josephus, Ant 1,53; Un 3,12; cf also note on T I 5,4. For a discussion of these verses, see esp L Ginzberg, 'Die Haggada bei den Kirchenvätern und in der apokryphischen Literatur', *Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 43 (1899), 230f , 293–9, V. Aptowitzer, *Kain und Abel in der Agada etc* Vienna/Leipzig 1922, esp pp 57-59; 82-93.

7,5 **... in envy which leads to hatred of brothers:** those who are like Cain are characterized by φθόνος (cf v 2) and μισαδελφία Cain's envy of Abel, mostly described by ζῆλος, but also by φθόνος, is a traditional theme see, e g , Philo, Quaest in Gen I 76; Pirke R Eliezer 21, 1Clem 3f ; ClemHom 3,25,1, 42,7, Eusebius, P.E XI 7, Methodius, Arbitr. 1, and esp **Athanasius,** Qu. script. 62, . ποωτον ἁμάρτημα φθόνος ἐπὶ τῇ προτιμησει του Ἄβελ. Surprisingly, the term μισαδελφία does not seem to have been a usual characteristic of Cain. Perhaps the well-known combination φθόνος - μισαδελφία has led to the introduction of μισαδελφία in relation with Cain: see, e.g , Plutarch, De fraterno amore 1ff. (Mor. 478 Bff.); PsApJo 27 (ed K von Tischendorf, Leipzig 1866 = Hildesheim 1966), cf Basil, Reg.fus. 34,1; see also Un 3,10–15.

8,1 **do you ... flee evil, envy and hatred of brothers:** cf 7,1.5 **cleave to goodness and love:** cf T A 3,1 (and 3,2) For the use of προσκολλᾶσθαι, see on T I 6,1 For ἀγάπη, cf 3,1 3ff., 4,3.5

8,2 He who has a pure mind he has no **defilement** in his heart see **T B ,** INTRODUCTION pp 412f Here, καθαρός (cf. 6,5 7) implies first of all the good man's sexual purity; cf **T R.** 4,8, τὰς ἐννοίας ἐκαθάρισεν ἀπὸ πάσης πορνειας; 6,1ff , T Jos 4,6, and further Lev 20,21, WisSol 14,24; Philo, De Jos. 44, 1En 10,11; Rom 1,24, etc The term μιασμός (cf v. 3) has similar implications: cf **T.R.** 1,6; T.L. 7,3; 9,9; 14,6; T I 4,4; and further Gen 34,5.13.27; Job 31,11 LXX, Ezek 33,26, Hos 5,3f.; Philo, De Jos 45; Leg all III 148, 150; JosAsen 23,13, SibOr II 279f.; 2Pet 2,10, etc For the combination καθαρός, καθαρίζειν, etc - μιασμος, μιαίνειν, etc , see also, e g , Lev 5,2f.; 11,24, Num 19,20, Ezek 4,14; 1Mac 4,43; Philo, Leg. all III 150; Tit 1,15 **does not look at a woman with a view to impurity:** cf T R 5,6, T I 4,4, and see T B 6,3a.d For οὐχ ὁρᾷ, see on 6,2 **the spirit of God rests upon him:** cf Isa 11,2 (LXX), καὶ ἀναπαύσεται *in* αὐτὸν πνεῦμα του θεοῦ, 1Pet 4,14

8,3 Cf T I. 4,4.6. is not **defiled** is not **itself defiled:** οὐ μιαίνεται, referring to μιασμος in v 2 the **pure mind:** cf v 2 and see **T B ,** INTRODUCTION pp 412f **encompassed:** see on T Jos. 1,5. **builds up:** cf. Bauer s.v. sub 3, O Michel, *ThWNT V pp* 139–47 On the whole verse, cf WisSol 7,24, where Wisdom is depicted the same way: 'because of her pureness (καθαρότητα) she (Wisdom) pervades and penetrates all things ... therefore nothing defiled (οὐδὲν μεμιαμμένον) gains entrance into her '

T BENJAMIN 9

Translation

9,1 But I surmise that there will be also evil-doings among you,
from the words of Enoch the righteous,
for you will act impurely with the impurity of Sodom,
and you will perish, all save a few,
and you will renew wanton deeds with women,
and the kingdom of the Lord will not be among you,
because straightway he will take it away.

2 But the temple of **God**[28] will be in your portion,
and the last will be more glorious than the **first;**[29]
and there the twelve tribes and all the Gentiles will be gathered together,
until the Most High will send forth his salvation in the visitation of an only-begotten **prophet** [30]

3 And he will enter into the first temple,
and there the Lord will be outraged
and set at nought
and lifted upon a tree

4 And the veil of the temple will be **rent,**
and the spirit of God will pass **on**[31] to the Gentiles,
as a fire that is poured out

5 And he will rise from Hades and **ascend**[32] from earth unto heaven
And I knew how humble he will be on earth and how glorious in heaven

Textcritical notes

28 **ναὸς** fteou. Addition of the articles o **(ναός)** and **τοῦ (θεοῦ)** in *bk* seems secondary.

29 ὁ **ἔσχατος ὑπὲρ** ΤΟΥ **πρωτον (*gld*;** cf. *eaf* and **c⁺)**. The variant in *bk (ἐν* **ὑμῖν· ὅτι αὐτὸς λήψεται αὐτήν** *b* changed to ev **ὑμῖν· ὅτι εὐθὺς αυτος ὑψώσει αὐτόν** *k)* is simply a repetition of what follows after **ἔσται** in v 1

30 **μονογενοῦς προφητου (*gldeaf*)**,surely lectio difficilior over against **μονογενους** *(bk)* or **μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ** (c); it is hard to imagine why just **προφητου** would have been added to **μονογενοῦς**.

31 **μεταβήσεται (*gleafc*⁺)**.The context is in favour of **μεταβησεται** over against **καταβήσεται (*bkd*)**,which may have been introduced under the influence of passages where the spirit of God is said to descend from heaven upon men (see e.g., Mk 1 10 **par**)

32 **ἀναβαίνων** *(bk)*. This time the context is in favour of *bk* The variant **μεταβαίνων (*gleafc*⁺**;cf **καταβαίνων** *d)* was influenced by the use of **μεταβαίνειν** in the previous verse.

Structure

9,1 Fragmentary S E R. passage. The introduction (v lab) is followed by two references to future sins and punishments in vv **1ce** and dfg

9,2 Positive promise: in Benjamin s portion (Jerusalem!) will be the temple of God not only the first but also the last In the last temple Israel and the Gentiles will come

together (a Return) and wait for the future (second) advent of the only-begotten **prophet**, Jesus Christ

9,3–5 Deal with what will happen before with the first temple. There, at his first advent, the Lord will enter and be killed (v. 3) which brings about the end of the first temple and the removal of God's spirit from Israel to the Gentiles (v 4) V 5 refers to the Lords resurrection ascension and future glory in heaven after his humiliation on earth

Notes

9,1 **from the words of Enoch the righteous** see on T S 5 4 For o **δίκαιος** as epithet of Enoch see also T L 10,5 (see note), T Jud 18,1; T D 5 6 **you will act impurely with the impurity of Sodom:** Benjamin knows from the book of Enoch that his sons will act impurely; cf T S. **5,3f.;** T.D. 5 6 The theme of **πορνεία** was introduced in 8,2-3. For Sodom as a negative example, see on T.N 3,4. **you will perish, all save a few** cf. T.S. 5 6, **καὶ ἔσονται ὀλιγοστοί;** T N 4 3 **and Deut 28,62** (LXX) **καταλειφθήσεσθε ἐν ἀριθμῷ βραχεῖ.** **you will renew wanton deeds with women:** parallel with v **1c;** cf also T.D. 5 5 **ἐκπορνεύοντες ev γυναιξὶν ἀνόμων,** and Rev 18,9 where **στρηνιᾶν** and **πορνεύειν** are parallel **the kingdom of the Lord will not be among you, because straightway he will take it alway:** parallel with v **1d** This does not refer to the division of Israel and **Judah** after the death of Solomon nor to the situation of the Benjaminite Saul and David (so R H Charles) but to the exile For the end of the Davidic kingdom which will be renewed not before the coming of Jesus Christ (cf T.Jud 22,2; T Jos 19 7) coincides with the second exile The expression the kingdom of the Lord' is used to denote the Davidic kingdom in 1 and 2 Chronicles. see **1Chr** 28 5 ' . he has chosen Solomon my son to sit upon the throne of the kingdom of the Lord (LXX **βασιλείας κυρίου) over** Israel'; 17 14 MT, **29,22f ;** 2Chr 9 8 13 8 **among you** does not refer to Benjamin s sons but to the whole of Israel; cf., e g., T R 6 12; T.Jos 19,7 The expression **λαμβάνειν βασιλείαν** is derived fromlKgs **11,12f.34f.** where it is applied **to the situation after the death of Solomon and the division of Israel and Judah.**

9,2 **the temple of God will be in your portion** cf **Deut** 33 12 and **Fragm** Targ , Targ Onk Neof., Ps Jon on Gen 49,27. Jerusalem belongs to the portion **(κλῆρος, κληρονομία** or **μερίς,** see on T.I. 5,7) given to the Benjaminites after the capture of the land of Canaan see Josh 18,11-28 esp. v. 28 Josephus, Ant. 5 82 etc **the last will be more glorious than the first.** the 'first' and the 'last' temple do not seem to refer to the temple of Solomon and the second temple (which certainly was not more glorious **than the temple of Solomon) or that of Herod, but rather point respectively to the** Jewish temple in general (cf v 3) and the future temple which will be built at the end of times **Cf. Hag** 2,10(9) (LXX) **διότι μεγάλη ἔσται ἡ δόξα τοῦ οἴκου τούτου ἡ ἐσχάτη υπεο την πρωτην;** Tob 14,5 BA, o **οἶκος του θεοῦ** ἐν **αὐτῇ** (Jerusalem) **οἰκοδομηθήσεται εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεὰς τοῦ αἰῶνος οἰκοδομῇ ἐνδόξῳ, καθὼς ἐλάλησαν πεοὶ αὐτης οἱ προφῆται ...,** Jub 1,17 27-29; 25,21, **1En** 90,29, cf. also T.D 5,12 **and there the twelve tribes and all the Gentiles of an only-begotten prophet:** the eminent glory of the 'last' temple finds expression in the gathering together of Israel together with the Gentiles (the Christian believers) and the (second) advent of Jesus Christ in Jerusalem at the end of **times. συνάγειν** (cf. 10 11 and cf the use of **ἐκισυνάγειν** in T.N 8,3; T A 7 7) is often used of the gathering of Israel and Judah by God in the context of their return from the exile; cf Deut **30,3f ,** Neh 1 9 Isa 11,12 Jer 31(38),8.10 32(39) 37 **Ezek 11,17, etc It is also used of a return in connection with the gathering of the** Gentiles in Jerusalem: see e.g Isa 66,18; Jer **3,17f.;** Tob 13,15 14 6 Our verse seems to reflect the (Christian) motif of the future gathering of (the holy ones of) Israel and

the Gentiles in the new Jerusalem at the second coming of Christ: see, e.g. Justin, Dial. 24,3; 80,1, **Εἰπὲ δέ μοι, ἀληθῶς ὑμεῖς** (Christians) **ἀνοικοδομηθῆναι** TÓV **τόπον Ἱερουσαλὴμ τοῦτον ὁμολογεῖτε,** xal **συναχθησεσθαι τον λαὸν ὑμῶν καὶ εὐφρανθῆναι συν τῳ Χριστῷ, ἅμα** Toiç **πατριάρχαις καὶ τοις προφήταις**xal TOÎÇ **ἁγίοις τοῦ ἡμετέρου γένους ἢ** xal **των προσηλύτων γενομένων πρὶν ἐλθεῖν ὑμῶν τὸν Χριστόν, προσδοκᾶτε .** LivPro (ed **Th.** Schermann) p 62 23ff. rec. Epiph. II (on Jeremiah) **ἡ κιβωτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ... τεθήσεται ἐν ὄοει Σινᾷ,** xal **τότε παντες οἱ αγιοι συναχθήσονται ἐκεῖ, ἐκδεχόμενοι τὸν Χριστόν will send forth his salvation in the visitation ...:** similar phrases in the Testaments always refer to the incarnation of Jesus Christ see on **T.S.** 7,1, T L 4,4, T.Z 8 2 **T A** 7 2 cf also e.g., Lk 19,44, Acts 28 28 Un 4,9. Here, the clause must refer to the second advent of Christ cf. also 10,5. **of an only-begotten prophet. μονογενης** as epithet of Christ also in Jn 1,14.18; 3,16.18; Un 4 9; Justin, Dial. **105,1f.;** Acta Jo 11; Acta Phil 43; **96f.;** Acta Thom 48 60; 122 etc cf Lampe s v sub B For Jesus Christ as prophet', see on T.L 8,15

9,3 This verse refers to the first coming of Jesus Christ, his entering into the temple and his consequent death as caused in particular by the Jews who, in early Christian literature are the subjects of **ὑβρίζειν, ἐξουθενωθεῖν** and **ὑψοῦν ἐπὶ ξυλου** On the whole verse, cf T Z **9,8f.;** and Justin, **Apol** I 32 6 xal **εἰοελήλυθεν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, ἔνθα** TÓ **μέγιστον ἱερὸν ἦν Ἰουδαίων, ὃ υφ' ὑμῶν ὕστερον κατεστραφη** xal **μετα ταῦτα ἐσταυρώθη . he will enter into the first temple** see on v 2 Most probably a reference to Jesus entering into the Jewish temple to teach the people of Israel (as a prophet: cf Jer **36[43],5ff.):** cf Mk **11,11,** xal **εἰσῆλθεν εις Ἱεροσόλυμα** EIÇ **τὸ ἱερόν** 11,15 27 12 35; 13,1; 14,49 Mt **21,12ff 23,** etc **and there the Lord will be outraged:** cf Lk 18,32 **παραδοθήσεται .. ἐμπαιχθήσεται** xal **υβρισθήσεται (sc** Jesus **Christ);** Justin Dial. **136,3, οὐκ ἐδέξασθε** TÓV **Χριστὸν αὐτοῦ . .** ó TOUTOV **ὑβρίζων** xal **μισων** xal **τὸν πέμψαντα δηλονότι** xal **μισεῖ** xal **ὑβρίζει;** Eusebius **Comm.** in Pss Ps **54,7ff , ὕβρεσι παντοίαις ἀτιμάζοντες;** Athanasius Pass 22, etc **and set at nought.** cf. Mk 9,12 **..** tva **πολλὰ πάθῃ** xal **ἐξουδενηθῇ,** Acts 4 11 Barn 7,9, **.. ὅν ποτε ἡμεῖς ἐσταυρώσαμεν ἐξουθενήσαντες ..;** Justin, Dial **101,2,** 121,3, **Apol** I **63,16,** Hippolytus Comm in Dan. IV 32,5; Athanasius, Exp in **Pss.,** Ps 88,39, etc. **and lifted upon a tree: ὑψουν/ὑψουσθαι** is used in relation with Christ s crucifixion also in Jn 3 14 8,28 12,32.34, **cf** Lampe s v **sub A 3 ξυλον** = **'cross'** also **in** Acts 5 30· **10,39,** Gal 3,13; **1Pet** 2 24· Barn 5,13 8,5 12,1, Justin Apol I 41 4 Dial. **73,1ff ,** etc cf Lampe s.v sub C la Cf also Origen Fr. 552 in Mt (Mt 27 35) **ὑψοῦται οὖν** EÎÇ TO **ξυλον;** Melito, Pass 95 **ὕψωται ἐπὶ ξύλου ὑψηλοῦ ...**

9,4 As a consequence of the death of Jesus caused by the Jews, the veil of their temple will be rent and the spirit of God will leave them and pass on to the Gentiles Cf SyrDidascApp XXIII 'As then He left the People so did He leave their temple to them desolate; and He rent the veil and took away from it the Holy Spirit, and shed Him upon them that believed from among the Gentiles, as He said by Joel: I will pour out of my spirit upon all flesh (Joel 2 28). For He took away the Holy Spirit and the power of the word and all the ministry from that People and set it in His church (tr R H Connolly, p 199); Tertullian Adversus **Iudaeos** 13 15 **Hilarius** of Poitiers Tractatus super Psalmos **LVIII** 10 **the veil of the temple will be rent.** see on **T.L.** 10,3, and see INTRODUCTION 8 5 For the unusual **ἄπλωμα,** cf. LivPro (ed. Th Schermann), pp. **21,14f., τότε τὸ** ftjtXwua **τοῦ Δαβεὶρ εἰς δύο μέρη ῥαγήσεται; 33,11f.; 58,12f.; 87,1f.;** 102 20f (various recensions of vit. Hab). Strikingly the author of the Testaments avoids the usual term **καταπέτασμα,** here as well as in T L 10,3 **(ἔνδυμα) the spirit of God will pass on to the Gentiles·** cf. also Joel 2 28f **(3,1f.)** and Acts **2,17f.;** 10,45 etc **as a fire that is poured out:** contrast Lam 2 4 (LXX), **ἐξέχεεν ὡς πῦρ τὸν θυμὸν αὐτοῦ** Cf also Acts 2 3

9 5 **he will rise from Hades.** refers to Jesus resurrection from the dead For Jesus stay in **Hades,** cf Acts 2,27.31ff.; 1Pet 3,19, Acta Thom 156; Origen, Comm in Jo VI 35, Eusebius Comm in Pss. Ps 68,2f.; Athanasius Exp. in Pss Ps 67,5ff.34 etc see also L Goppelt *Der erste Petrusbrief,* hrsg. F Hahn Göttingen 1978 pp 250–4 **... ascend from earth unto heaven· ἀναβαίνειν (εἰς οὐρανόν)** used in the context of Jesus ascension also in Jn 3,13, 6 62; 20,17, Acts 2 34 Barn 15 9 Justin Dial 17 1 36 5 38 1 etc. **I knew** cf. T S 2,13f.; 3 4 4 3 T G 5 6 **how humble he will be on earth and how glorious in heaven:** cf Heb 2 9 **διὰ τὸ πάθημα τοῦ θανάτου δόξῃ και τιμῃ ἐστεφανωμένον,** 3 3 1Pet 1,11, **τὰ εἰς Χριστὸν παθήματα καὶ τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα δόξας,** Acts 3,13, Acta Thom 156; Justin, Dial. 36,5 Athanasius, Qu Ant. 137,12. On **ταπεινος** (cf 10,7) see T D 5,13 6 9 Behind v 5b stands the idea of humiliation - exaltation this time applied to Jesus Christ, but usually connected with the patriarch Joseph (see on 10,1)

T BENJAMIN 10

Translation

10,1 And when[33] Joseph was in Egypt,
I longed to see his figure and the form of his countenance,
and through the prayers of Jacob my father I saw him, while awake in the day time,
his entire figure as it was
2 Therefore, my children, know that I am dying,
3 Therefore, you must do truth and righteousness each one to his neighbour
and justice unto preservation
and keep the law of the Lord and his commandments
4 For I teach you these things instead of any inheritance.
And do you also, therefore, give them to your children for an everlasting possession,
for so did[34] Abraham and Isaac and Jacob
5 They gave us all these things for an inheritance, saying
Keep the commandments of God,
until the Lord will reveal his salvation to all the nations
6 Then you will see Enoch, Noah and Shem and Abraham and Isaac and Jacob
rising on the right hand in gladness
7 Then we also will rise each one over our tribe,
worshipping the king of heaven
who appeared on earth in the form[35] of a man of humility;
and as many as believed in him on earth, will rejoice with him
8 Then also all men will rise,
some unto glory and some unto shame
And the Lord will judge Israel first for the unrighteousness done to him

because they did not believe that God appeared in the flesh
as a deliverer

9 And then he will judge all the Gentiles
as many as did not believe him when he appeared on earth.

10 And he will convict Israel through the chosen ones of the Gentiles,
even as he convicted Esau through the Midianites,
who refused[36] to be their brothers through impurity and idolatry,
and they were alienated from God,
not becoming children in the portion of those who fear the Lord

11 But you, if you walk in holiness before the face of the Lord,
you will again dwell safely with me,
and all Israel will be gathered together unto the Lord.[37]

Textcritical notes

33 **ὅτε.** The variant **ὅτι** *(b)* cannot be correct Cf also 2,1, T Z 9,1

34 **ἐποίησαν** *(bk)* Both this reading and the alternative **ἐποίησεν** (*gldeafc*⁺)may claim originality.

35 **μορφῇ** *(bk)* The alternative ev **μορφῇ** (*gldeafc*⁺)is lectio facilior

36 **ἀπειθήσασιν.** As 'the chosen ones of the Gentiles make Israel to shame, the Midianites contrast favourably with Esau or his descendants. The context makes the reading **ἀπατήσασιν** (*bkgl*)hardly acceptable. It may be regarded as a corruption of **ἀπειθήσασιν** which gives a better sense The variant **ἀποστησασιν** *(deaf)* is obviously secondary See also the note on this verse.

37 **συναχθήσεται πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ πρὸς κυριον** *(b)*. Both this text **and the** variant **.. πρὸς κυριον πᾶς Ἰσραήλ** (*g(d)eafc*⁺)may be original The reading **συναχθήσεσθε** (*kdeaf*)is secondary

Structure

10 1 Transitional verse probably an illustration of the humiliation - exaltation scheme from the example of Joseph when Benjamin sees Joseph's glory in Egypt he knows that glory and exaltation follow distress and humiliation Thus the verse serves to illustrate 9 5b

10 2-5 Final general exhortation to do God s commandments, that is to do truth and righteousness (vv 3· 5b). The ethical commands are Benjamin s alternative 'inheritance' (v. 4a· cf v 2, 'I am **dying'),** as they were the 'inheritance of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (w 4c-5); they should be also the inheritance' of Benjamin's children (v 4b). God s law ought to be done until the end of times when Jesus Christ will **come in glory** (v 5c)

10,6-11 At that time the dead will rise and God will judge the unbelievers

- v 6 resurrection of the righteous of old
- v 7 resurrection of the twelve patriarchs and those who believed in Jesus Christ when he was on earth
- v 8 resurrection of all, righteous and unrighteous men God s judgment first of **Israel,** because the Israelites did not believe in him when he was on earth
- v 9 next, God's judgment of the unbelievers among the Gentiles

v 10 conviction of Israel through the believers among the Gentiles Example of Esau and the Midianites

v 11 indirect exhortation: promise and salvation of the Benjaminites and all Israel if they will walk in holiness before the face of the Lord

Notes

10,1 **through the prayers of Jacob** cf. 3 6 On Jacob s intercession see on T R 1 7 **his entire figure** as **it was:** this refers to Joseph's royal glory in Egypt. On the theme of Joseph's humiliation - exaltation, see **T.Jos.**, INTRODUCTION pp 363f

10,2 **I am dying:** a typical element of this genre; see on T R 1,3

10,3 **you must do truth and righteousness each one to his neighbour** similar general exhortations are found in T R 6 9 T.L. 13 5 T.D 5,2, 6,10 T G 3 1 **and justice: ποιειν κριμα xal δικαιοσύνην is a** regular expression: see e g **1Sam** 2,10 LXX 2Sam 8,15; **1Chr** 18 14 2Chr 9,8; **Ps 119(118),121; Jer** 9,24(23), etc **For ποιεῖν κρίμα** as demanded by God, cf esp **1Sam** 2 10 LXX Ezek 45,9 (LXX) **κρίμα** xal **δικαιοσύνην ποιησατε,** Micah 6 8 (LXX), **τι κυριος ἐκζητεῖ παρὰ σου ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦ ποιεῖν κοίια** xal **ἀγαπᾶν ἔλεον** .. **unto preservation:** introducing the rather **rare** word **πιστοποίησις,** most probably refers to the attempt to convince a man so that he may be saved ConstApp V 6 4 where **πιστοποιεῖσθαι** is used parallel to **βεβαιοῦν** and **σῴζειν** and in opposition to being someone's **ἀπώλεια.** ou **μόνον ἑαυτοὺς σώζομεν, ἀλλὰ** xcὶ **τοὺς νεοφωτιστους βεβαιοῦμεν** xal **τοὺς κατηχουμένους πιστοποιούμεθα** . . **ἑτέροις αἴτιοι ἀπωλείας** ...; cf also Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. **III** 15 **keep the law of the Lord and his commandments:** cf v 5; 3 1 and see further T Jud 26 1 T I 5,1, T Z 5,1, 10,2, T D. 5,1, T A 6,3; T Jos 19,6

10,4 **I teach you these things:** see on T R 3 9 **instead of any inheritance** cf v 5a and see below **Do you also ...give them to your children** the sons have to be warned and to warn their children by handing on these commandments see on T S 6 1 and see INTRODUCTION **7.1 1.** **for an everlasting possession: the expression εἰς κατάσχεσιν αἰώνιον** is used in Gen 17 8 48 4 (LXX **δώσω** . **τὴν γῆν** .. **εἰς κατάσχεσιν αἰωνιον)** in the context of God's promise of the land of Canaan to the people of Israel **κατάσχεσις, κληρονομία** (cf v 4) and **κατακληρονομεῖν** (cf. v 5) are all three recurrent terms in the context of this promise (see Hatch-Redpath s v). According to **T B** , the law of God is given as an inheritance and for an everlasting possession **for so did Abraham and Isaac and Jacob:** cf T L 10,1, **ὅσα ἤκουσα παρὰ τῶν πατέρων μου, ἀνήγγειλα υμῖν**

10,5 **...for an inheritance:** see on v 4 **Keep the commandments of God** cf v 3 **until the Lord will reveal his salvation to all the nations** cf 9 2 It refers to Jesus parousia at the end of times; note the words **πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.** Cf Lk 17,30, **ᾗ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀποκαλύπτεται;** 1Cor 1,7, **ἀπεκδεχομένους τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν** ... 2Thes 1,7; **1Pet** 1 7.13 4,13, etc

10,6–8 Resurrection passages are found also in T S 6 7 T Jud **25,1ff** , T Z **10,2f** , cf T L 18,14 (see INTRODUCTION 7 4)

10,6 **Then** .... is repeated in **vv** 7 8 and 9 This repetition is typical for apocalyptic passages: see on T.S. 6 3 **you will see** cf. T.Z 9 8. **Enoch, Noah and Shem and Abraham and Isaac and Jacob rising** cf **T Jud 25,1, ἀναστησεται Ἀβραὰμ** xal **Ἰσαὰκ** xal **Ἰακώβ;** T L 18,14. Enoch Noah Abraham, Isaac and Jacob form a more or less regular series of OT saints see e g Sir **44,16–23;** Heb **11,5ff.,** ClemHom 17,4,3 18,13,6 and cf Justin, Dial 45 2 4 where it is said that the righteous will live like Jacob Enoch **and** Noah **al the** resurrection **of the** dead **οἱ ζήσαντες κατὰ τὸν νόμον** .. **ζησονται ὁμοίως τῷ Ἰακὼβ** xal **τῷ Ἐνὼχ** xal **τῷ Νῶε ἐν τῇ των νεκρων**

ἀναστάσει ... In our verse **Shem** has been added to this series of OT saints, which seems to imply that they are mentioned here being the ones who were responsible for the handing on of God's commandments (Enoch to Noah Noah to Shem Shem to Abraham Abraham to Isaac Isaac to Jacob Jacob to his children particularly to **Levi**), a theme introduced in vv 4c-5 Cf Jub **7,38f**, 10,14.17· 21,10 (cf 19 24f 27); ArLevi v. 57 Book of Noah' (tr in A Wünsche, *Aus Israels Lehrhalle* III 1), pp 202· 206 208· 210 **on the right hand** as the place of honour for the righteous at the resurrection see also Mt **25,33f.**, xal **στήσει τα μὲν πρόβατα ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ** Acta Thom 80 **ἐκ δεξιῶν σου καθεσθηναι** .. Clement of Alexandria Str IV 6 (30,1), Origen Sel in Pss. Ps 44,10, cf Hermas Vis. 3,1,9 3 2 1f **in gladness:** future joy cf T L 18 4f.14 T.Jud. 25 5· T D 5,11, T.N. 6,10

10,7 **we also will rise each one over our tribe** cf. T.S. 6 7; T Jud **25,1f**, T Z 10,2. **worshipping the king of heaven:** see on T.R. 6 12. For the term **βασιλεὺς τῶν οὐρανῶν,** see 3Mac 2,2 (of God)· cf o **βασιλεὺς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ** in Dan 4 37 Th· 2Ezra 4 46.58 Tob 1 18 S· 13,9.13 17 S cf GenApocr 2 14 **who appeared on earth ....** cf v. 9, see on T S **6,5.** **... in the form of a man ..:** cf T Z 9 8· cf also Phil **2,6f**, oç ev **μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων .. μορφὴν δουλου λαβων .** ; and esp Tatian, **Orat.** 21 1 fteov ev **ἀνθρωπου μορφῇ γεγονεναι.** **a man of humility:** cf. 9 5 **ἔσται ταπεινὸς** *kn* **γῆς** as many as believed in him on earth, will rejoice with han cf T D 5 13 o **πιστευων** *in'* **αὐτῷ βασιλεύσει** ἐν **ἀληθείᾳ** ἐν TOIÇ **οὐρανοῖς. πιστευειν** is a key-word in **vv** 7-9. **(συγ-)χαίρειν** referring to the future **eschatological** joy (cf v 6 ev **ἀγαλλιάσει)** also in T L 18 5.14; T.Jos. 19,4; cf **χαρά** in T.Jud. 25,4f

10,8 **all men will rise, some unto glory and some unto shame** resurrection of all mankind followed by God's judgment cf T Jud **25,4f.**; T Z **10,2f.**, and further Dan 12,2 (LXX) **ἀναστήσονται, οἱ μὲν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον,** ol **δὲ εἰς ὀνειδισμόν,** ot oe ÊÎÇ **διασποραν καὶ αἰσχύνην αἰωνιον;** Jn 5 29; Hippolytus Consumm. 39ff. (see below), **etc. In our verse, the opposition δόξα - ἀτιμία** (see also T.A. 5,2; T B 6,4, etc) is introduced· for **δόξα** as reward of the blessed in resurrection life see Lampe s.v sub **F 10b.** **the Lord will judge Israel first for the unrighteousness done to him:** cf Mt 19,28 Lk 22,30; and see esp Hippolytus Consumm **39ff.**, ... **ἀναστήσονται** ol **δίκαιοι . .** ol oe **ἁμαρτωλοί .. τῶν . Ἑβραίων** o **δῆμος ὄψεται αὐτὸν** ev **σχηματι ἀνθρώπου, καθὼς αὐτοῖς ὤφθη .. καὶ καθὼς αὐτὸν ἐσταύρωσαν ... xal κόψονται** zat **κλαύσονται ... καὶ ἀπελεύσονται οὗτοι εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον μετὰ τῶν δαιμόνων xal τοῦ διαβόλου. εἶτα ἐπισυνάξει πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ..** **they did not believe:** contrast v 7d **that God appeared in the flesh παραγίνεσθαι** used of Jesus' first coming also in Lk 12,51 Heb 9 11; Justin **Apol.** I 31 7 36,3 49,1.5, 53,6, Dial 126,1; 139,4 Clement of Alexandria **Q d.s.** 8 **. o σωτὴρ αὐτὸς παραγινεται καὶ πάσχει δι' ἡμᾶς ...,** etc For ev **σαοκί** as referring to the act of incarnation see also **1Tim** 3 16 oç **ἐφανερώθη** ev **σαρκί;** Un 4,2; 2Jn 7 Barn **5,6.10f.**; 6,7; Ignatius Eph 7,2; **Polycarp,** Phil. 7,1, etc as **a deliverer:** for **ἐλευθερωτής** as epithet of Jesus Christ, see also Athanasius, Ep Adelph 4 **δούλου μορφὴν ἀνέλαβεν .. αὐτὸς ἐλευθερωτὴς τῆς πάσης σαρκὸς** xal **πάσης κτίσεως γέγονε;** John **Chrysostom,** Hom 6 4 in **Mt**, cf Lampe s.v. sub 2

10,9 **as many as did not believe him** cf v 8d and contrast v 7d **when he appeared on earth·** cf v. 7c

10,10 **he will convict Israel through the chosen ones of the Gentiles** cf Mt 12 41f par OL **ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ** ftEou/xDoiou refer to the Christians, those from among the Gentiles who believe in God and Christ· cf. Mk 13,20.22 27 **par.**, Lk 18,7 Rom 8 33 2Tim 2,10, **1Pet** 1,1, **1Clem** 6 1 58 2 etc. In the OT/LXX the term is used of the people of Israel and the righteous and God-fearing men in general: cf **1Chr** 16,13 Ps 88 4 LXX· 105(104),6 43, Isa 42,1, 45,4, 65,9, Tob 8,15, WisSol 3,9, etc , cf **1En** 1,1 3 8, TJob

4,11, JosAsen 8 11 **he convicted Esau idolatry.** even the **Midianites,** notorious for their idolatry and sexual perversity (cf **Num** 25; Josephus Ant **4,131ff.),** contrast favourably with Esau and his **descendants,** the Edomites and do not want to be their brothers. This may go back to a Jewish tradition (based upon Gen 36 35 where it is said that the Midianites were defeated by the **Edomites?).** For the combination **πορνεια - εἰδωλολατρεία,** see on T.N. 3,3ff. Esau s (or the Edomites) conviction by God is explained in v 10de: **they were alienated from God** .. 'Being alienated **(ἀπαλλοτριοῦσθαι)** from God is usually connected with apostasy and idolatry see Ezek 14,5.7, and Ps 58(57),4, Hos 9 10, Col 1,21 **not becoming children in the portion of those who fear the Lord.** because of his apostasy and perversion (as illustration of which he **sold his birthright), Esau was rejected and did not receive God's (Isaac's) blessing: cf Gen 27,30–40; and esp Jub 15,30, 35,13f.; Philo,** Virt 208, **Quaest** in Gen. IV 233, **Heb 12,16f ,** etc **Instead of Esau, Jacob was chosen by God to be the father of the** Israelites Those who fear God are called children of **God',** cf Isa 63 8 Jer 3 19 WisSol 16 21; SibOr V 202 Rom 8,16f.21· 9 8 Phil 2 15 Jn 1 12 etc For the expression **μερὶς φοβουμένων κυριον,** cf. Sir 26 3

10 11 This verse wants to emphasize that there is still hope for the people of Israel, but only if they **... walk in holiness before the face of the Lord** cf **T.L.** 19,2, **ἐνώπιον κυρίου πορευσόμεθα, κατὰ** TOV **νόμον αὐτοῦ. ἁγιασμός** is the opposite of apostasy, idolatry and sexual perversion (the characteristics of Esau and the Edomites, cf. v. **10):** cf. Rom 6 19 22 **1Thes** 4 3f.7; **1Tim** 2 15 Heb 12,14; **1Clem** 35 2 Acta Phil 119 etc **you will again dwell safely with me:** that is with the patriarch at the resurrection The promise of dwelling safely, **κατοικεῖν (שָׁבַ֫ן,** or other verbs) *in* (ev) **ἐλπίδι (לְבֶטַח)** agrees with the OT prophecies about the re-establishment of Israel. see Ezek 28 25f (LXX), **καὶ συνάξω** TÔV **Ἰσραὴλ ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν ... καὶ κατοικησουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῆς** ἐν **ἐλπίδι; 34,27f.;** Hos 2 17(20) (LXX) **καὶ κατοικιῶ** OË **ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ...** The expression is also used in Judg 18 7 9 LXX Ps 4,9, 16(15) 9· Prov 1 33 Zeph 2 15 **all Israel will be gathered together unto the Lord·** see on 9 2

T BENJAMIN 11

Translation

11,1 And I shall no longer be called a ravening wolf on account of your ravages
but a worker of the Lord, distributing food to those who work that which is good

2 And there will arise from my seed in later times a beloved of the Lord
hearing his voice upon earth
and doing the pleasure of his **will,**[38]
with a new knowledge enlightening all the Gentiles, a light of knowledge,
trampling upon Israel with salvation,
and ravening from **them**[39] like a wolf
and giving to the gathering of the Gentiles

3 And until the consummation of the ages
he will be in the gatherings of the Gentiles and among their rulers as a musical melody in the mouth of all,

4 and he will be inscribed in the holy books, both his work and his word,
and he will be a chosen one of God for ever
5 And because of him Jacob my father **instructed**[40] **me,** saying
He will supply the needs of your tribe

Textcritical notes

[39] **και ποιῶν εὐδοκίαν θελήματος αὐτοῦ** *(deaf* cf c) omitted in ***bkgl*** due to hmt

[39] **αὐτων (*kgldef*),constructio** ad sensum The variant **αὐτου** *(ba)* may be regarded as a grammatical correction

[40] **συνέτισε** *(bk)* The variant **ἐφυσίωσε (*gl*)** may be original but no certainty can be established

Structure

11,1 Introduction to the whole chapter. Benjamin will no longer be called a ravening wolf but a worker of the Lord distributing food

11,2 Explains v **1b** A clear reference to the apostle Paul and his preaching among the Gentiles V 2d corresponds with 2g and v 2e with 2f (chiasm)

11,3–4 Paul's reputation

v 3 as a musical melody in the mouth of the Gentiles

v 4a inscribed in the holy books

v **4b God's chosen one**

11 5 Allusion to the future preaching of Paul among Israel (or Benjamin's sons): he will attempt to bring them to belief and perfection It is an implicit and final call for belief

Notes

11,1 Cf Gen 49 27 **LXX, Βενιαμιν λύκος ἁρπαξ τὸ πρωινὸν ἔδεται ἔτι** xai **εἰς τὸ ἑσπέρας διαδωσει τροφήν.** In our verse the two parts of Gen 49,27 LXX are **opposed** to one another. The first part, **a ravening wolf,** now seems to refer to the apostasy and unbelief of the Benjaminites and of Israel as a whole (which is the central theme in the preceding chapters), since it is explained by the words **on account of your ravages.** Cf the use of **ἁρπάζειν** in the context of the apostasy of the sons of Judah in T.Jud **21,6f.;** T D 5 7 The second part **distributing food,** has been amplified by the words **a worker of the Lord and to those who work that which is good,** and seems to refer to the preaching of the Gospel among the Gentiles by the apostle Paul who was a **Benjaminite. Cf the use of ἐργάτης in the sense of 'preacher' in, e.g., Mt 9,37f., 10,10** par **τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις τὸ ἀγαθόν,** the Gentiles who believe in Jesus Christ; for the expression **ἐργάζεσθαι** TO **ἀγαθόν,** cf T N 8 4 For the interpretation of Gen 49 27 (LXX) as a prophecy concerning Paul see on v 2

11,2 And there will arise from my seed ...: cf. T Jud. 24,1, xai ἀναστήσεται ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματός μου For the formulation cf. **Num** 24 7 17 LXX in our verse as a reference to the coming of Paul **in later tanes** the expression ev **ὑστέροις καιροῖς** is also found in **1Tim** 4,1, ' in later times some will depart from the faith . ' **a beloved of the Lord.** Paul The expression reminds of Deut 33,12 (LXX) **ἠγαπημένος ὑπὸ κυριου** Not only the group of righteous and God-fearing men is called oi **ἀγαπητοὶ (τοῦ) θεοῦ/κυρίου** (see on T L. **18,13**), also individuals receive the epithet o **ἀγαπητὸς (τοῦ)** fteoü/xuoiou e.g David **(TSol** D 1 2), Ezra (GkApEzra 1,1; 5,12

6,3.16 etc) Sedrach (ApSedr 3 1 13 6, 16 4) and Joseph (JosAsen 23 10) **hearing his voice upon earth:** this phrase may refer to Paul s obedience to God in general ('hearing the voice of God' as keeping his commandments and doing his will: cf. Ex 19,5· Deut 8 20;· 13 4(5) **etc.**; Josh 24 24· **1Sam 12,14f.**, etc.) but also to the moment of Paul s conversion in particular, when he heard Jesus' voice on his way to Damascus (cf Acts 9,4 **ἤκουσεν φωνήν** , 22,7; 26,14). **doing the pleasure of his will:** Paul does the things God asks him to do in the context of his plan for the salvation of mankind that is the preaching of the Gospel for salvation among the Gentiles (see v 2defg) For the expression **εὐδοκία θελήματος αὐτοῦ**, see also Eph 1,5 (.9). **εὐδοκία** is a word that is almost restricted to Jewish and Christian literature: cf. G. Schrenk *ThWNT* II pp. .740–8.. **with a new knowledge enlightening all the GentUes:** the Gentiles will be involved in Gods plan for the salvation of mankind they will hear the message of the Gospel convert and receive knowledge - in contrast with the people of Israel. Cf **T.L.** 18 9 **τὰ ἔθνη πληθυνθήσονται** ev **γνωσει ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ φωτισθησονται** ....· o oe **Ἰσραὴλ ἐλαττωθήσεται** ev **ἀγνωσίᾳ καὶ σκοτισθησεται ...** For the use of **φωτίζειν, γνῶσις,** etc.. in a more general context of 'conversion see T G 5,7. **καινός (γνῶσιν καινήν)** underlines the character of this knowledge it is completely different from their knowledge' (in fact: darkness and ignorance) before their conversion: cf. the use of **καινος** in T L 8,14; 18,2, and the Christian use of expressions like **καινὴ κτίσις, καινὴ διαθήκη, καινὸς ἄνθρωπος.** **a light of knowledge** cannot be connected with the next phrase without serious grammatical and **logical problems nor may it be understood as an epithet of Paul. It is most likely an** apposition to **γνωσιν καινην,** and consequently object of **φωτίζειν**: see T.L.. 18 3 (cf 4 3) according to which the light of knowledge **(φως γνωσεως,** again used as object for **φωτίζειν)** is given at the coming of the Messiah.. **trampling upon Israel with salvation:** Israel will not listen to Paul's message of salvation and will remain 'ignorant **ravening from them like a wolf and giving to the gathering of the Gentiles:** cf v **1.** Now, the two parts of Gen 49,27 LXX are no longer opposed to one another, but both **refer to actions of Paul. The opposition between Israel and the Gentiles, however,** is still present Israel will reject Paul s message the Gentiles will accept it The interpretation of Gen 49,27 as a prophecy concerning the Benjaminite Paul was current in the second and third centuries: see, e.g., Irenaeus, Fr. . 17 (cf. Hippolytus, Ben.. Mos.. 3 [ed **Brière–Mariès–Mercier,** *P.O.* 27,1-2, pp. **126–8]), διὰ δὲ τοῦ Βενιαμίν, τοῦ Παύλου, εἰς πάντα τὸν κόσμον κηρυχθεὶς ἐδοξάσθη (sc** Christ); Hippolytus, Ben.. Jac.. 28 (P.O.. 27,1-2, p 114)· Fr. .52 and 81 in Gen., **Origen,** Hom.. 4,4 in Ezech.;· Tertullian **Scorpiace 13**; Adversus Marcionem 5,1. **The further explanation in these sources,** however, differs from that in our verse. .Usually **λύκος ἁρπαξ** is explained as referring to the period before Paul s conversion, and **διαδώσει τροφην** is applied to his preaching of the Gospel among the Gentiles, which is, of course, a much more natural explanation than the one given here.. But cf. also Ephraem **Comm.** in Gen.. **XLIII** 11 Paulus qui factus est lupus **lupis,** eripuitque a Maligno omnes animas ... (tr. R -M Tonneau) which means that also in this text **λύκος ἁρπαξ** refers to the situation after **Paul's conversion. Compare also Apollinaris of Laodicea's Commentary on Gen 49,27** (given in **R** Devreesse *Les anciens commentateurs grecs de l Octateuque et des Rois [Fragments tires des chaines,* ***Studi*** *e Testi 201],* Citta del Vaticano 1959 p 132), .. **και εἰς Παῦλον ἐκ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος ὄντα φυλῆς, διαρπάσαντα μὲν πρωτον τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, μετὰ** oe **ταῦτα τῶν ὄντως πολεμίων δαιμόνων τὰ σκῦλα διανείμαντα - τουτέστι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἐξαγομένους ἐκ της των δαιμόνων δυναστείας καὶ διανεμομένους τοις ἄρχουσι τῆς ἐκκλησίας.** The expression **ἡ σοναγωγὴ** / at **σοναγωγαὶ (τῶν) ἐθνῶν** (cf. v 3) is also found in Gen 28,3; 35,11; 48,4; Zeph 3,8; and cf. esp Eusebius, D.E II 1 where it refers to the Christians from among the Gentiles· ὁ **Χριστὸς τοῦ**

θεοῦ ἐκ σπερματος Ἰακώβ γενόμενος πολλὰς συναγωγὰς ἐθνῶν διὰ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς cahot) συνεκρότησε διδασκαλίας . See INTRODUCTION 8.6.2

11,3 **until** the consummation of the ages the expression εως συντελείας των αἰώνων is quite unusual; cf Dan 9,27 (LXX), ἕως συντελείας, Mt 28,20 and EpAbgan 2 (ed R A Lipsius - M Bonnet Leipzig 1891 = Darmstadt 1959, I) ἕως της συντελειας του αἰῶνος; TJob 4 6 and **TSol** D 6 14 ἄχρι/μέχρι της συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος, see further T L. 10 2 ἐπὶ συντελεία των αἰώνων, and T Z 9 9 ἕως καιροῦ συντελείας a musical melody: cf Sir 32 6 μέλος μουσικων, 44 5 μέλη μουσικῶν.

11,4 **he will be inscribed in the holy books, both his work and his word** the formulation reminds of similar phrases in **1Kgs** 14,29 Now the rest of the acts of Rehoboam and all that he did are they not written in the Books of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah'· 11,41 15,7.23.31 16,5.14.27; 22,39.46 **2Kgs** 1 18 etc.· see esp. 2Chr 13 22 (LXX) καὶ o[λοιποὶ λόγοι 'Αβιὰ καὶ αἱ πράξεις αὐτοῦ καὶ ot λόγοι αὐτου γεγραμμενοι ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ ...; 27 7 28 26 **the holy books** (cf. T.N. 4 1; 5 8) refer to NT writings in particular Acts. **a chosen one of God:** like ἀγαπητὸς κυοίου (cf v 2) ἐκλεκτὸς (τοῦ) θεοῦ/κυρίου is used as an epithet of righteous individuals (besides the more common use of the plural οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ [τοῦ] θεοῦ/κυοίου indicating the group of true worshippers [see on **10,10**]): e g to Abraham (Clement of Alexandria Str V 1 **[4,1]**), Joseph (JosAsen 13,10), Moses (Ps 106[105],23), David (Ps 89[88],20, TSol D 1,2, **1Clem** 52 2) Jeremiah (PJ 1 1.4.7 etc) Ezra (GkApEzra 1 8 3,3) the Messiah (Lk 23,35) Cf esp. TSol D 1,2, (David), o ἀγαπητὸς τοῦftEoü... o ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ . .

11,5 **instructed me ...: cf T.L. 9,8 He will supply the needs of your tribe:** allusion to Paul's preaching of the Gospel: Paul will tell Benjamin's descendants (Israel) the things they still need to know about the Christian message, in an attempt to bring them to religious perfection which will succeed only if they accept his message For a similar use of the Greek expression cf **1Thes** 3 10 καὶ καταρτισαι τα ὑστερήματα τῆς πίστεως υμων; and esp Corp Herm XIII 1 σὺ δέ μου xal τα ὑστερήματα ἀνα-πλήρωσον; it is a familiar Pauline phrase though it is certainly not restricted to the Pauline writings see **1Cor** 16,17; 2Cor 9,12, 11,9; Phil 2,30, Col 1,24; **1Clem** 38,2

T BENJAMIN 12

Translation

12,1 And when he had finished his words, he said
I command you, my children,
bring up my bones out of **Egypt,**
and bury me in Hebron near my fathers
2 And Benjamin died, a hundred and twenty-five years old, at a good old age,
and they placed him in a coffin
3 And in the ninety-first year of the entrance of the children of Israel **into**[41] Egypt,
they and their brothers carried up the bones of their fathers secretly during the **war**[42] of Canaan,
and they buried them in Hebron by the feet of their fathers
4 And they returned from the land of Canaan,
and they dwelt in Egypt until the day of their departure from the land of **Egypt.**

Textcritical notes

41 **εἰσόδου ... εις Αἴγυπτον.** The text of the MSS **(ἐξόδου ... ἐξ/ἀπὸ Αἰγυπτου)** must be corrupt (see also the note on this verse) The corruption may have arisen as soon as **εἰσόδου** was changed by mistake into the more familiar **ἐξόδου.**

42 **τῷ πολέμῳ** The variant **τόπω λεγομένῳ** *(b)* is surely corrupt

Structure

12,1 Final command concerning the patriarch s burial

12,2 Death of Benjamin

12,3–4 The burial of Benjamin and the other patriarchs by their sons in Hebron during the war of Canaan The Israelites return and stay in Egypt until the exodus

Notes

12,1 **when he had finished his words** for the formulation cf **1Mac** 4 19, **ἔτι πληροῦντος Ἰούδου ταῦτα** (his words)· Lk **7,1, ἐπειδὴ ἐκλήρωσεν** *navra* **τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῦ** **I command you:** for the use of **ἐντέλλεσθαι,** see on T.R 11 and see INTRODUCTION 4.1.2 **bring up my bones:** for the use of **ἀναφέρειν,** see on T R 7 2 **near my fathers: cf. v 3, and** see on T Z 10,7.

12,2 **a hundred and twenty-five years old:** cf 1 1 **at a good old age** see on T I 7,9 **they placed him in a coffin:** cf T R 7 2 T S 8 2 T.L. 19,5, T Z 10,6 **παραθηκη** is to be understood as a synonym of **θήκη** (T S 8 2 T.Z 10 6) or **σορός** (T.R. 7,2; T.L. 19,5).

12,3 The bones of the patriarchs (minus Joseph) were carried to Hebron secretly during the war between Egypt and Canaan: see on T.S. 8 2 **in the ninety-first year of the entrance of the children of Israel into Egypt:** Jub 45,1 **and 46,9 combined give the same** date for the war between Egypt and Canaan and the burial of the bones of the patriarchs in Hebron see also T.G 8 5 **their brothers:** in reality their nephews **carried up** for the use of **ἀνάγειν,** see on T S 8 2 **by the feet of their fathers see v 1**

12,4 **they returned from the land of Canaan** cf Jub 46 10 And the most (of them) returned to Egypt . . " **and they dwelt in Egypt until the day of their departure from the land of Egypt** cf T S 9

APPENDIX I

THE HEBREW TESTAMENT OF NAPHTALI

Translation by R H Charles, *Translation* pp 221-7, revised by A van der Heide

This is the Testament of Naphtali, son of Jacob

1,1 The testament of Naphtali, Naphtali the son of Jacob, the wrestlings of God (cf Gen 30,8) When Naphtali had grown old, and had come to a good old age, and had completed his years of strength, and fulfilled the duty of the earth-born man (?), he began to command his children, and he said to them 'My children, come and draw near and receive the commands of your father ' 2 And they answered and said to him 'Lo, we listen to fulfil all that you command us ' 3 And he said to them 'I do not command you concerning my silver, nor concerning my gold, nor all my substance that I leave to you here under the sun, nor do I command you any difficult thing which you may not be able to accomplish, but I speak to you about an easy matter, which you can fulfil ' 4 And his sons answered and replied a second time, and said 'Speak, O father, for we listen ' 5 He said to them 'I give you no command save in regard to the fear of the Lord: you shall serve him, and you shall cleave to him ' 6 They said to him: 'What need has he of our service?' He said to them 'It is not that he has need of any creature, but that all creatures of his world have need of him But he has not created his world in vain, but that his creatures should fear him, and that none should do to his neighbour what he does not like for himself.' 7 They said to him 'Our father! Have you indeed seen us departing from your ways, or from the ways of our fathers, either to the right or to the left?' 8 He said to them 'The Lord and I are witnesses that it is even as you say, but I dread that which is to come, lest you go astray after the gods of strange nations, and walk according to the ordinances of the peoples of the lands, and lest you join the children of Joseph, instead of the children of Levi and the children of Judsh ' 9 They said to him 'What do you mean to command us this way?' 10 He said to them 'Because I know that one day the children of Joseph will depart from the Lord, the God of their fathers, and cause the children of Israel to sin, and to be banished from the good land into another that is not ours, as we have been exiled through him in Egyptian bondage

2,1 Further, I will tell you the vision I saw, when I was pasturing the flock. 2 I saw, and behold, my twelve brothers were pasturing with me in the field, and behold, our father came and said to us 'My children, run

and seize, each of you, what comes to his portion ' 3 We answered and said to him 'What shall we seize? Behold, we see nothing but the sun, moon, and the stars ' 4 He said to them 'Take hold of **them'.(?)** When Levi heard it, he seized a staff in his hand, and jumped upon the sun and sat and rode thereon 5 And when Judah saw it, he did likewise, and he seized a staff, and sprang upon the moon and rode thereon 6 So also all the tribes, each rode upon his star and his planet in the heavens, and Joseph only remained alone upon the earth 7 Jacob our father said to him 'My son, why have you (not) done as your brothers?' He said to him 'My father, what have they who are born of woman to do in the heavens, as in the end they must needs stand upon the earth?'

3,1 Whilst Joseph was speaking, behold, there stood near him a huge bull with great wings like the wings of a stork, and his horns were huge like the horns of the Reem (the wild ox, cf PS 22,21) 2 And Jacob said to him 'Get up, my son Joseph, and ride upon him ' 3 And Joseph got up and rode upon the bull And Jacob our father departed from us 4 For about four hours Joseph gloried in the bull, at times he walked and ran, at times he flew up with him, till he came near to Judah, and Joseph stretched out the standard he had in his hands and began to smite Judah his brother. 5 Judah said to him 'My brother, why do you smite me?' 6 He said to him 'Because you hold in your hands twelve staves, and I have only one Come now, give them to me **(v.l.,** give me ten), and there will be **peace** " 7 But Judah refused to give them to him, and Joseph beat him till he had taken from him ten against his will (or, the ten that did not belong to him), and only two were left with Judah 8 Joseph then said to his ten brothers 'Wherefore do you run to Judah and Levi? Depart from them and follow after me ' 9 When his brothers heard Joseph's words, they departed from Levi and Judah as one man, to follow Joseph, and there remained with Judah only Benjamin and Levi 10 When Levi saw this, he descended from the sun full of trouble of spirit 11 Joseph said to Benjamin his brother. 'Benjamin, my brother! Are you not my brother? Come with me, you also ' But Benjamin refused to go with Joseph his brother 12 And it came to pass when the day drew to an end, behold, there arose a mighty storm, which separated Joseph from his brothers, so that no two were left together 13 When I saw this vision, I related it to Jacob my father, and he said to me: 'My son, it is only a dream which will have no consequence, for it has not been repeated '

4,1 But no long time elapsed, when I saw another vision 2 Whilst we stood all together with Jacob our father on the shore of the Great Sea, behold, a ship came sailing in the middle of the sea without sailors and without people. 3 Our father said to us. 'Do you see what I am seeing?' We said to him 'We see it ' 4 He said to us 'Do what you see me doing ' Thereupon Jacob our father took off his clothes, and threw himself into the sea, and we all followed him **5.** And the first were Levi and Judah, and they jumped in(to the ship), and Jacob with them 6 And

behold, in that ship there was all the good(ness) of the world 7 Jacob our father said to them 'Look at what is written on the mast, for there is no ship on which the name of the master is not written on the mast' 8 Then Levi and Judah looked, and saw, and behold, there was written 'This ship belongs to the son of Berachel, and all the good therein' 9 When Jacob our father heard that, he rejoiced very much, and bowed down and thanked God He said 'Not enough that he has blessed me on earth, he has blessed me on the sea too!' 10 Then he said to us 'My children, quit yourselves like men, and whatever each one of you seizes, that will be his share' 11 Thereupon Levi sprang to the big mast therein and sat upon it 12 The second after him, Judsh also leapt to the second mast, which was next to Levi's mast, and he also sat thereon 13 And the rest of my other brothers took each his oar, and Jacob our father grasped the two rudders to steer the ship by them 14 And Joseph was left alone Our father said to him 'My son Joseph, take your oar, you also' But Joseph refused 15 When my father saw that Joseph refused to take his oar, he said to him 'Come here, my son, and take one of the rudders which I hold in my hands, and steer the ship, whilst your brothers row with the oars until you reach land' 16. And he taught each one of us, and said to us 'Thus you shall steer the ship, and you will not be afraid of the waves of the sea, nor of stormy winds when they will arise against you'

5,1. And when he had made an end of commanding us, he disappeared from us. 2 And Joseph took both the rudders, one at his right hand and one at his left, and the rest of my brothers were rowing, and the ship travelled on and floated over the waters 3 And Levi and Judsh sat upon the two masts to look out which way the ship was to take 4 As long as Joseph and Judah were of one mind, and Judsh showed to Joseph which was the right way, Joseph directed thither the ship, and the ship travelled on peaceably without hindrance 5 And after a while a quarrel arose between Joseph and Judah, and Joseph no longer steered the ship according to the words of his father and the instruction of Judsh And the ship went a wrong course, and the waves of the sea drove it on a rock (v.l., hit it), so that it was broken up

6,1. Then Levi and Judah descended from the masts to escspe for their lives, and as for the rest of the brothers, we escsped for our lives to the shore 2 And behold, there came Jacob our father, and he found us dispersed, one here and another there 3 He said to us 'What is the matter with you, my sons? Perhaps you have not steered the ship as it ought, as I commanded you?' 4 And we said to him: 'By the life of your servants, we have not departed from anything that you have commanded us; but Joseph transgressed against (your) word, for he did not steer the ship according to your command, and as he was instructed by Judsh and Levi, for he was jealous of them' 5 And he said to us 'Show me the place (of the ship)' And he saw, and behold, the tops of the masts were (still) visible as it was floating on the surface of the water 6 And my father whistled, and we all gathered round him 7 And he cast himself

into the sea as before, and he repaired the ship 8. And he reproved Joseph and said to him 'My son, you shall not again deceive (nor) be jealous of your brothers, for they were nearly lost through you '

7,1 And when I recounted this vision to my father, he smote his hands together and sighed, and his eyes shed tears 2 And I waited till I was ashamed, but he spoke no word to me 3 So I took the hand of my father to embrace it and to kiss it, and I said to him 'O servant of the Lord! Why do your eyes shed tears?' 4 He said to me. 'My son, because of the repetition of your vision my heart has sunk within me, and my body is confounded by reason of Joseph my son, for I loved him above you all And for the wickedness of my son Joseph you will be sent into captivity, and you will be scattered among the nations 5 For your first and second visions are both one and the same vision 6 Therefore, I command you not to associate with the sons of Joseph, but only with Levi and Judah

8,1 Further, I tell you my lot will be in the best of the middle of the earth, and you will eat and be satisfied with the best of its delights 2 I warn you not to kick in your fatness, and not to rebel, and not to oppose the command of the Lord, who satisfies you with the good things of his earth 3 And do not forget the Lord your God, the God of your fathers, who was chosen by our father Abrsham when the nations were divided in the time of Peleg. 4 For at that time the Lord, blessed be he, came down from his highest heavens, and brought down with him seventy ministering angels, Michael at their head 5 He commanded them to teach the seventy families which sprang from the loins of Nosh seventy languages 6. Forthwith the angels descended and did according to the command of their Creator But the holy language, the Hebrew language, remained only in the house of Shem and Eber, and in the house of Abrsham our father, who is one of their descendants

9,1 And on that day Michael took a message from the Lord and said to the seventy nations, to each nation separately 2 'You know the rebellion you undertook, and the treacherous confederacy into which you entered against the Lord of heaven and earth, and now choose to-day whom you will worship and who will be your intercessor in heaven ' 3 Nimrod the wicked answered and said 'For me there is none greater than he who taught me and my nation in one hour the language of Cush.' 4 In like manner answered also Put, and Mizraim, and Tubal, and Javan, and Meshech, and Tiras And every nation chose its own angel, and none of them mentioned the name of the Lord, blessed be he 5 But when Michael said to Abraham our father 'Abram, whom do you choose, and whom will you worship?', Abram answered 'I choose and select only him who said, and the world was created, who formed me in the womb of my mother, body within body, and placed in it spirit and soul I choose him, and I will cleave to him, I and my seed, all the days of the world '

10,1 Then the Most High dispersed the nations, and spportioned and allotted to every nation its share and lot 2 And from that time all the nations of the earth separated themselves from the Lord, blessed be he

Only the house of Abraham remained with his Creator to worship him, and after him Isaac and Jacob 3 Therefore, my sons, I conjure you not to go astray and worship any other god than him whom your fathers have chosen 4 For know assuredly that there is none like him, and no other who can do as he or like his works in heaven and on earth, and there is none who can do wonders like his mighty deeds 5 A portion only of his power you can see in the creation of man How many notable wonders are there not in him? 6 He created him from head to foot; with his ears he hears, and with his eyes he sees, and with his brain he understands, and with his nose he smells, and with his windpipe he brings forth his voice, and with his gullet he absorbs food and drink, and with his tongue he speaks, and with his mouth he completes (decides?), with his hands he does his work, and with his heart he reckons, and with his spleen he laughs, and with his liver he is angry, and his stomach grinds, and with his feet he walks, and his lungs are for breathing, and by his reins is he counselled 7 And none of his members changes its function, but every one keeps to its own 8 It is therefore proper for man to lay to heart all these things, who has created him, and who it is who has wrought him out of an ill-smelling drop in the womb of the woman, and who it is who brings him out into the light of the world, and who has given him the sight of the eyes and the walking of the feet, and who causes him to stand upright, and brings him to his full strength, and has prepared good deeds for him in the place of insight (rewarded him for his insight?), and has poured into him a living soul and a pure spirit from himself. 9 Blessed is the man who does not defile the holy spirit of God which has been put and breathed into him, and blessed is he who returns it to its Creator as pure as it was on the day when he entrusted it (to him) ' 10 Thus far are the words of Naphtali, the son of Israel, with which he admonished his sons, with words sweeter than honey (lit , with honey, the sweetness of his palate)

APPENDIX II

MIDRASH WAYISSA'U

Translation by M Gaster *The Chronicles of Jerahmeel; or The Hebrew Bible Historiale (Oriental Translation Fund New Series IV=11)*, London 1899 pp 80–87, extensively revised by A van der Heide according to the Hebrew texts printed by R H Charles *Text*, pp 235–8 (= Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrasch* III pp.1–3) and *The Ethiopie Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees* Oxford 1895 pp 180–2 (= Jellinek *Bet ha Midrasch* III pp 3–5)

36,1. 'And a great terror was upon the cities that were round about them, and they did not pursue after the sons of Jacob' (Gen 35,5) For they said 'If two sons of Jacob were able to do this thing' (namely, to exterminate a whole town), 'how much more would they exterminate the whole world if all the sons of Jacob gathered together?' The terror of the Lord fell upon them all, and they did not pursue the sons of Jacob The sages say 'They did not pursue them that time, but after seven years they pursued them' All the kings of the Amorites assembled themselves against the sons of Jacob and sought to slay them in the valley of Shechem For afterwards Jacob and his sons had returned to Shechem and came to stay there They said: 'It is not enough for them to have killed all the men of Shechem, now they come also to take possession of their land' They all assembled against them to slay them

2 When Judah saw them, he sprang in the midst of their ranks, and first killed Ishub, king of Tapuah, who was covered with iron and brass from head to foot He rode a steed, and he could throw his javelins with both hands from horseback, in front and behind, and never missed his aim, for he was a mighty and powerful man, and could manage his spear with either hand Judah was not at all frightened when he saw him, despite his strength He sprang up, ran to him and picked up a stone from the ground, weighing sixty shekels, and threw it at him at a distance of two parts of a furlong; i e 177 cubits and one-third of a cubit Whilst the king was advancing against Judah, dressed in iron armour and throwing his spears, Judah struck him with the stone upon his shield and rolled him off his horse

3 When he tried to get up, Judah hastened to him and sought to kill him before he could get up again from the ground, but he rallied quickly and sprang upon his feet Now he began to fight with Judah, shield against shield He drew his sword and tried to cut off the head of Judah, but Judah lifted up his shield against the sword and received the blow of the sword, the shield broke into two pieces Judah thereupon plucked *(the Chronicles of Jerahmeel,* ducked his head) and hit him with his sword and cut off both his feet from the ankles He (the king) fell to the ground and

his sword slipped out of his hands He (Judah) sprang up and cut off his head

4 Whilst he was busy stripping him of his armour, nine comrades (of the dead man) attacked him Judah broke the head of the first who approached him with a stone He let his shield drop out of his hand, which Judah seized, and defended himself with it against the other eight His brother Levi came to his rescue and shot **Elon,** the king of **Ga'ash** with an arrow Judah succeeded then in killing the eight Jacob then killed Zerori, king of Shiloh, and none of them could stand against the children of Jacob, and they all lost heart and fled while the sons of Jacob pursued them And Judsh killed on that day a thousand men before sunset

5 The remaining sons of Jacob came out from the hill of Shechem, from the side where they had been standing, and pursued them among the mountains, until they came to the town of Hazor There, before the town of Hazor, they had a heavier fight than the one they had fought with them in the valley of **Shechem.**

6 Jacob shot with his arrows and killed **Par'athon,** king of Hazor, and Pasusi, king of Sartan, and Labon, king of Aram, and Shabir, king of Mahnaim Judsh was the first to climb up the wall of Hazor Four warriors attacked Judah and fought with him, till **Naphtali** came to his rescue, who had come up after him But before he came up, Judsh had killed the four warriors, while Naphtali climbed after him Judah stood now on the right side of the wall, and Naphtali on the left, and they began to kill among them The other sons of Jacob jumped upon the wall after them, and crushed them on that same day, and they took the town of Hazor, and killed all the warriors, and they did not leave one single man After that they carried away the booty

7 The following day they went to Sartan There they had a very heavy fight with them It was a town built upon a height There was no room to approach the wall, because the rampart was strong and very high and there was no place to capture it Yet they subdued it on that same day, and got upon the walls The first to climb them was Judsh, on the east, and Gad came on the west, Simeon and Levi climbed up on the north, and Reuben and Dan on the south, whilst Naphtali and Issachar came near to put fire to the hinges of the gates of the town The fight was very fierce upon the walls until their remaining comrades went up to their assistance. They attacked them on the tower (wherein the inhabitants had fled, defying from there the assailants), before Judsh took the tower Then he went up to the top of the tower and killed two hundred men on the roof of the tower before climbing down They took all the citizens and killed all the warriors without leaving a single one alive, for these were powerful men, valiant in battle They carried away the whole booty and returned in their steps

8 Now they went against Tapush, for its inhabitants had tried to rob them of the spoil they had taken from the town of Hazor They went to **Arbe'el** and killed all the men who had come out for the purpose of

robbing them of the booty Early in the morning of the third day they marched towards Tapush Whilst they were gathering their booty, the inhabitants of Shiloh came out and attacked them But they took their weapons and went after them and killed them all before noon, and they entered with the women into Shiloh, and did not allow them to stand up On that same day they seized the town and carried away the spoil thereof The troop of their company which they had left against Tapush came now to meet them with the booty from Tapush

9 On the fourth day they marched against the camp of Shabir They too came out to rob them of the booty. Some of them had gone down into the valley, and the (men from Shabir) ran after them, but when they tried to ascend again they were killed On that day the men from the camp of Shabir came out against them and threw stones upon them But they occupied the town, and killed all the warriors, and took all the booty and added it to the booty they had already

10 On the fifth day they went to Go'ash, because they heard that a great multitude of the Amorites had assembled there, who said that they would attack them Go'ash was a strong town, one of the towns of the Amorite kings They went there and fought against the town until noon, but could not well subdue it because it had three walls, one wall inside the other And (the inhabitants) began to defy and to reproach the sons of Jacob.

11. Then, Judsh waxed wroth, a zealous and valiant spirit entered him, and he was the first to jump with all his might upon the wall He would have met his death there had not his father Jacob *(the Chronicles of Jerahmeel,* + come to his rescue) He bent his bow, *(the Chronicles of Jerahmeel,* + and shot his arrows with his right hand, then he drew his sword and) killed right and left *(the Chronicles of Jerahmeel,* + until Dan sprang upon the wall and assisted Judsh) From the right-hand side (the inhabitants) threw stones at him, and from the left and in front they fought him, and they all tried to push him down the wall When his brother Dan came up, he drove them a little away from the wall Then the third, Naphtali, and after them Simeon and Levi conquered and ascended (from the) west The five of them arrived (read *higgi'u*)and did not allow them to stand up They killed so many of the inhabitants that the blood flowed like a river. And when the sun was near its setting they had taken the town and killed all the warriors on that day, and they carried away the booty, and left the city to recuperate, for they were very weary

12 On the sixth day all the Amorites assembled themselves and came to them without arms and they bowed down and asked them to make peace They made peace with them, and they gave them Timna and the whole land of Hararysh Then Jacob made peace with them, and they restored the sons of Jacob all the sheep they had captured from them, two for one They levied taxes and they restored them all the booty And Jacob built (read so with *the Chronicles of Jerahmeel)* Timnish, and Judsh

built **Arbe'el.** And from that time on they lived in peace with the Amorites

37,1 It is written 'And Esau went into a land away from his brother Jacob' (Gen 36,6) He made a contract with him Some say he went out of shame The sages say Esau surely went away because he had removed his property, not because his hatred had subsided, for 'his anger did he bear perpetually and he kept his wrath for ever' (Amos **1,11).** Although he went away at that time, he came again to fight (Jacob) afterwards That was the year that Leah had just died, and Jacob and his sons were sitting in mourning, and some of his children had come to seek comfort (Esau) came against them with a mighty host, warriors clad in iron and brass coats of mail, all armed with shields, and bows, and lances They were altogether four thousand men, and they surrounded the fortress, where Jacob, his sons, their servants, and their sons, and all that belonged to them, were encamped For they had all congregated to comfort Jacob during his mourning over Leah

2 So they were all sitting peacefully, and never thought of any attack And they knew nothing, until that host approached the fortress Only Jacob and his sons were there and with them in all two hundred servants

3 When Jacob saw that Esau dared to war with him, and that he had come to kill them in the fortress, and that he shot arrows against them, Jacob stood upon the wall of the fortress and spoke to Esau his brother words of peace, friendship and brotherhood But Esau did not heed them

4 After that, Judah spoke to his father Jacob 'How long will you speak to him words of friendship and love, whilst he comes against us like an enemy, clad in coats of mail to kill us?' When Jacob heard this, he bent the bow, and killed Adoram the Edomite

5 And again he drew his bow, and hit Esau in the right shoulder (? or loin ?). Then Esau became ill from the arrow, and his sons took him up and carried him on a mule, and he went and died in Arudin (Adorin?) Others say he did not die there

6 And then came first Judah, and Gad and Naphtali with him, out of the south side of the fortress, and fifty men-servants of their father Jacob with them And Levi, and Dan, and Asher came out from the east side of the fortress, and fifty servants with them And Reuben, Issachar and Zebulun came out from the north of the fortress, and with them fifty servants And Simeon, and Benjamin, and Enoch, the son of Reuben, came out from the west side of the fortress, and fifty servants with them Joseph was not there, for he had already been sold

7 Then Judah strengthened himself for the battle, and he, Naphtali and Gad entered the host and captured the iron tower They caught on their shields the stone pieces which were hurled at them The sun was darkened through the hurling of the stones, and the shooting of the arrows which were shot at them, and the catapults which were throwing at them And Judah rushed first against the army, and killed sixty men Naphtali and Gad went with him, one to the right, and the other to the

left, guarding him lest he should be killed by the enemy They also killed four men of the army, two men each, and the fifty servants who were with them helped them and came near with them to fight them, and each of them killed his man, fifty in all

8 And yet Judah, Naphtali and Gad could not drive away the host from the south side of the fortress, nor even move them from their position Again they strengthened themselves for the battle, they all drew together and fought against them, and each of them killed his man And yet they could not drive them away from their position, but the host held out against them, their feet firmly entrenched Then Judah and his brothers and their servants strengthened themselves and drew themselves together to fight them, and each of them killed two of his adversaries

9 And when Judah saw that they still kept their ground and that they could not move them, he girded himself with strength and donned the counsel of valour, and Judah, Naphtali and Gad came together and rushed on the warriors He (Judah) killed ten valiant men among them and Naphtali and Gad killed eight valiant men among them And when the servants saw that Judah and his brothers had strengthened themselves and had entered deep into battle, they too strengthened themselves to stand with them and to fight against them. Judah was slaying to the right and left a hundred valiant men, and Naphtali and Gad killed them behind him, until (10) they drove the army away from the north side of the city, a distance of a furlong (Ris, רים) When the enemy saw that those who had fought against Judah had been dispersed by Judah and his brothers, they became afraid, but they gathered together all of them to fight with Judah and his brothers, and they arrayed their ranks to fight with strength and might In the same manner Levi and those with him, and also Reuben and those with him, and Simeon and those with him, prepared themselves for battle with those arrayed against them, and they were ready to fight with all their might

11 When Judah saw that the whole army of the enemy had strengthened itself and had gathered for battle, and that all would fight at one time, and that they stood in battle-array, he lifted up his eyes to God (imploringly) that he might help them, for they were very fatigued from the heavy fight, and they could not by any means fight any longer

12 At that moment God accepted their prayer He saw their trouble, and he helped them, for he sent forth a storm from his treasuries, which blew in the faces of the army and filled their eyes with darkness and obscurity, so that they could not see how to fight, whilst the eyes of Judah and his brothers were clear, as the wind came from behind them So Judah and his brothers began to kill them, and those who were killed fell to the ground like the harvest cut by the reaper who binds it into sheaves and heaps them up into stacks For they destroyed the whole army which stood against them on the north side of the fortress.

13. Reuben, Simeon and Levi stood with them in battle against another portion of the army And after Judah and his brothers had killed all the

men who fought with them, they went to the assistance of their brothers The storm was still filling the eyes of the enemies with darkness Thereupon Reuben, Simeon and Levi and those with them, fell upon them, killing them and felling them to the ground in heaps, until all those were destroyed who fought against Judah and Levi and Reuben, out of those who fought against Simeon four hundred were killed, valiant warriors The remaining six hundred valiant men ran away, with them were the four sons of Esau **Reuel,** Yeush, **Ya'alam** and **Korah.** Eliphaz did not accompany them in the war, for Jacob had been his teacher

14 The sons of Jacob pursued them up to the city Arudin (Adorin?) There in Arudin they left to their father the body of Esau lying on the ground, and they ran away to Mount **Se'ïr,** to the place leading up to 'Aqrabim The sons of Jacob entered and encamped there over night. Finding there the body of Esau, they buried him out of respect for their father (Jacob) Some say he did not die there, but left Arudin, though ill, and fled with his children to Mount Se'ir The next day the sons of Jacob armed themselves and pursued them and pressed them hard on Mount Se'ir on the way leading to 'Aqrabim The children of Esau and all those who had fled with them came out, prostrated themselves before the sons of Jacob, and sued for peace The children of Jacob made peace with them, and made them tributary for ever

APPENDIX III

THE ARAMAIC AND GREEK FRAGMENTS OF A LEVI DOCUMENT

Translated by Jonas C Greenfield and Michael E Stone

INTRODUCTION

a) The Textual Witnesses

The witnesses to the text are

1 The Oxford and Cambridge Geniza fragments, used by R. H. Charles, *Text* pp 245-56 The readings of Charles have been emended on the basis of J. C. Greenfield and M. E. Stone, 'Remarks on the Aramaic Testament of Levi from the Geniza,' *RB* 86 (1979), 214–30.

2 The Syriac fragment, published by R. H. Charles, ib., p. 245.

3 The fragments preserved in the Athos Greek manuscript *e* utilized in M de Jonge, *Edition*

4 The fragments of 4Q TestLevi[a] published by J T Milik, 'Le Testament de Levi en arameen', *RB* 62 (1955), 389–406, and by the same author in *The Books of Enoch, Oxford* 1976, pp 23f

5 The fragments of 1Q TestLevi, published by J T Milik in *DJD* 1, pp 87–91.[1]

b) The Arrangement of the Text and the Translation

The text has been arranged in two major blocks Each major block of text has been divided into parts At the head of each major block are listed the textual witnesses to it and its various parts.

The verse divisions of de Jonge's and Charles' editions (based on older conventions) are preserved Column and line numbers have been given for all Aramaic texts No verse numbers have as yet been introduced for sections of text preserved only at Qumran It seems wisest to await the full publication of these manuscripts before setting this precedent

The translation follows the dominant surviving witness, and where both Aramaic and Greek are well preserved, it follows the Aramaic. The translation aims to be as literal as the English language will permit Note

Notes on Introduction

[1] For history and bibliography of the witnesses see INTRODUCTION 3 1 and *RB* 86 (1979) 214–16.

that it is typical of the style of this Aramaic to use hendiadys extensively In these cases only one word in English has been used

The following conventions have been employed

[ ] lacuna in the Aramaic manuscript
[abcdefghijk] words preserved in Greek where there is a lacuna in Aramaic
[*abcdefghijk*] the editors' view of the sense, but not the exact wording, of a lacuna
( ) words supplied by the editors for the sake of translation
⟨ ⟩ emendation by the editors
[ ] letters lost in lacuna
letters that cannot be read or interpreted in the text
words in bold are preserved in fragmentary Aramaic but fully in Greek or Geniza Aramaic.
[a] index for a note on a given word
^ [a] index for a note on a given phrase

1 THE PRAYER OF LEVI

(4Q TestLevi[a] col I and II, Greek following T L 2,3)

The text given in this section is made up of three parts. The first is a few fragmentary lines from the beginning of 4Q TestLevi[a]. The second is the translation of the addition following ἀδικία in T L. 2,3 in MS *e* This overlaps with the rest of col I of 4Q TestLevi[a] and with part of col II of that manuscript In this part, those words surviving in Aramaic have been printed in bold type Words in square brackets have been restored in Aramaic although they exist in Greek The third part of this section is the rest of col II of 4Q TestLevi[a]. The Qumran fragments clearly indicate that this addition to the Greek text which, for example, R H Charles did not include in his edition, is in fact part of the Aramaic Levi document

/ 4Q TestLevi col I*

lines
4
5] this
6]I

2. *Greek*

verses		4Q TestLevi[a] *col I, lines*
*1	Then I laundered my garments and having purified them with pure water,	6
*2	I also [**washed**] my whole self in living water, and I made **all** my paths upright	7
*3	Then I **lifted up** my eyes and my countenance to **heaven,** and I opened my mouth and spoke	**8**

*4 And I stretched out **the fingers of my hands** 9
and my hands [ ][a] for truth over against (towards) the holy ones,
and I prayed **and said:** 10
*5 O **Lord, you** know all hearts,
and you alone understand all the thoughts of **minds.** 11
*6 And now my children are with me,
and grant me all the **paths of truth.** 12
*7 **Make far** from me, O Lord, the unrighteous spirit,
and evil thought **and fornication,** 13
and **turn** pride **away** from me
*8 Show me, O Lord, the holy spirit,
and counsel and **wisdom and knowledge and strength,** 14
grant me,
*9 to do that which is pleasing to you **and to find favour**[b] 15
' **before you,**
and to praise your words with me, O Lord
ˆ... And that which is pleasant and good before you.' 16
*10 **And let not any Satan have power over me,** 17
to make me stray from your path
*11 **And have mercy upon me and bring me forward,** 18
to be your[d] servant and to minister well to you
*12 Let the wall of your peace be around me,
and let the shelter of your power shelter me from every evil
*13 Wherefore, giving over even lawlessness,
wipe it out from under the heaven,
and end lawlessness from the face of the **earth.**
*14 Purify my heart, Lord, from all impurity,
and let me, myself, be raised to you
*15 And turn not your countenance aside *col. II lines*
from the son of your servant Jacob
'L'[ ][e] 5
You, O, Lord, blessed Abrsham my father 6
and Sarsh my mother

Notes on The Prayer of Levi

Aramaic literally my palms We assume because of the poetic structure that a verb has been lost from **the** second colon **In the** LXX **Greek χείρ** sometimes renders Hebrew **כף,** the cognate of the Aramaic word here

[b] Aramaic literally and probably corruptly your favour

[c] **This line does not occur in Greek It was probably lost in its 'Vorlage' by hmt (קדמיך - קדמיך)**

[d] Here col. I of the Qumran fragment ends

[e] The surviving Aramaic letters although they cannot be translated indicate that at least one **hemistych** was lost in the Greek here

*16	And you said (that you would) give them **a righteous seed**	7
	blessed for ever	
*17	Hearken also to the voice[f] **of** your servant	8
	Levi to be close to you,	
*18	And make (me) a participant in your words,	
	to do **true judgment for all** time,	9
	me and my children	
	for all the generations of the ages	
*19	And do not remove **the son of your servant from your** countenance all the days of the world	10
	And I became silent still continuing to **pray.**[g]	

3 4Q TestLevi Col II continued*

lines

11 Then I continued on[
12 to my father Jacob and . . [
13 from Abel Mayin Then[
14 I lay down and I remained[
15 Then I was shown visions[
16 In the vision of a vision and I saw the heaven[s
17 beneath me, high until it reached to the heaven[s
18 to me the gates of heaven, and an angel[

2 ARAMAIC LEVI 1-95

This is the main body of the text of ArLevi. It is made up of a number of parts (1) Fragmentary col a of Cambridge (vv **1–2**); (2) fragmentary col. b of Cambridge (v 3) These have no parallel in Greek, (3) a small fragment of 1Q TestLevi Further fragments of 1Q TestLevi exist, but they are too small to be usefully translated, except for those noted in the next part, (4) Bodleian col **a–d** (vv **4–32a**). Two fragments of 1Q TestLevi, printed here in bold type, overlap with Bodleian a. **Milik** reported that 4Q **TestLevi**[a] is in part parallel to vv **6–7** (unpublished) The Greek following T L 18,2 is parallel to Bodleian b (from v 11) and following, (5) material preserved only in the Greek (vv **32b–66**); (6) Cambridge col c-f, paralleled by the Greek as far as v 70 and by the Syriac in vv 77-81 Milik reports that 4Q **TestLevi**[a] is parallel to **vv.** 82-91 (unpublished) (7) a further fragment of 4Q **TestLevi**[a] published by Milik, *The Books of Enoch* pp 23f

---

[f] Aramaic prayer'.

[g] Here the Greek breaks off and the translation continues with the rest of the **fragmentary** col II of 4Q **TestLevi**[a]

1 Cambridge a

lines

15 [ ]
16 according to the manner of all[ ]
17 to do according to the law of birth[right. / *took counsel with]*
18 Jacob my father and Reu[ben my brother]
19 and we said to them .[*since we saw that*]
20 they desire our daughter, 'So that we shall be broth[ers] and
21 friends, *2 circumcise your fleshly foreskin,
22 look [like us], and you will be sealed
23 like us with the circumcision [of tru]th, and we will be for y[ou]

2 Cambridge b

lines

15 [*3] my brother(s?) at all times
16 [ ] who were in Shechem,
17 [ ] my brother(s?) and he told this
18 [ ] in Shechem and that
19 ... [do]ers of violence and Judsh
20 told them that I and Simeon
21 my brother had gone to him(?) [ ] . to Reuben
22 our brother, lest [ ]..., and Judsh
23 leaped forward [to lea]ve the sheep

3 1Q TestLevi fragment 1

1]from that they were third [
]the kingdom of priesthood is greater than the kingdom[

4 Bodleian a-d

Bodleian a (= 1Q TestLevi fragments 3, 4)

lines

[and for the kingdom of peace there is ..] *1Qfg3*
1 *4 peace and all choice first fruits of the whole
2 earth for food; and for the kingdom of the sword there is fighting
3 and battle and chase and toil
4 and conflict and killing and hunger *5 Sometimes it shall eat
5 and sometimes it shall hunger, and sometimes it shall toil and sometimes
6 it shall rest, sometimes it shall sleep and sometimes lie
7 awake *6 Now, see how we elevated you
8 above all and how we gave you the anointing of eternal
9 peace. *7 And those seven departed from me
10 and I awoke from my sleep Then
11 I said, 'This is a vision, and thus I am amazed that

12 ⟨I⟩ should have any vision at all' And I hid
13 this too in my heart and I revealed it to nobody
14 *8 And we went to my father Isaac, and he thus blessed me *1Qfg4*
15 *9 Then, when Jacob ⟨had a vision⟩ **he tithed**
16 everything which he possessed, in accordance with his vow
17 [N]ow I was before ⟨**him**⟩ at the head
18 of the priesthood, and to me of all his sons he gave a gift
19 of tit[he] to God, and he invested me in the priestly garb
20 and consecrated me and I became priest of the God of eternity
21 And I offered all of his sacrifices and I blessed my father
22 during his lifetime and I blessed my brothers *10
23 Then they all blessed me and my father also blessed me and I finished

Bodleian b

lines

1 bringing his sacrifices in Bethel *11 And we went
2 from Bethel and we encamped at the residence of Abraham
3 our father alongside Isaac our father *12 And Isaac
4 our father saw all of us and blessed us
5 and rejoiced *13 When he learned that I was priest of the Most High
6 **God,**[a] the Lord of heaven, he began
7 to instruct me and to teach me the law
8 of the priesthood and he said to me *14 Levi my **son,**[b]
9 beware of all uncleanliness and
10 all sin, your **judgment**[c] is greater than that of all
11 flesh *15 Now my son I will show
12 you the true law and I will not hide
13 any word from you to teach you the law
14 of the priesthood. *16 First of **all,**[d] beware
15 my son of all fornication, impurity and of all
16 harlotry *17 And do take a **wife**[e]
17 from my family and do not defile your seed with harlots
18 since you are holy seed, and sanctify
19 your seed like the holy **place**[f] since you are called
20 a holy priest for all the seed of
21 **Abraham**[g] *18 You are near to God and near

Notes on Bodleian b

[a] Aramaic Most High God Greek Lord

[b] Dittography of 'my son in Greek. Omitted sometimes by Greek cf e g vv 15 and 16 *infra*

[c] Exact meaning uncertain, see *RB* 86 (1979) 220.

[d] Greek omits **'law** of the priesthood First of all'

[e] Greek problematic

[f] Greek yours is the seed of the holy place

[g] Greek omits second person pronoun

22 to all his holy ones Now, be pure
23 in your flesh from every impurity of **mankind.**

Bodleian c

lines

1 ***19** And when you are about to enter the Sanctuary
2 wash in **water**[a] and then put on
3 the priestly garment *20 And when you are robed,
4 wash your hands and feet again
5 before you approach the altar
6 at **all.**[b] *21 And when you are **about**[c] to sacrifice
7 anything fitting to offer up on the altar
8 wash your hands and feet once again
9 ***22** And offer split wood, and examine
10 it first for worms
11 and then offer it up, for thus
12 I saw my father Abraham acting with **care,**[d]
13 *23 Any of all twelve kinds of wood which are fitting he
14 told me to offer up on the altar,
15 whose smoke rises up with a pleasant odor ***24** And these
16 are their names - cedar, juniper,
17 almond, fir, pine, ash,
18 cypress, fig, oleaster,
19 laurel, myrtle and asphalthos. *25 These are
20 those that he told me are fitting to offer up
21 beneath the holocaust upon the altar
22 **And** when you have offered up any of these trees upon
23 the **altar**[e] and the fire begins to burn

Bodleian d

lines

1 them, you should then begin to sprinkle the blood
2 on the sides of the altar ***26** And once more wash your hands
3 and feet of the blood and begin to offer up the salted
4 portion *27 Burn its **head**[a] first
5 and cover it with fat and let not the blood of the
6 slaughtered bull be seen on **it.**[b] *28 After it the neck and

---

Notes on Bodleian c

* **Greek adds 'first'.**

[b] Greek has to offer a whole burnt offering

[c] **So Greek, Aramaic 'take'**

[d] Greek omits.

[e] Greek omits by hmt

Notes on Bodleian d

* Emend with Greek (so R H Charles).

[b] So Aramaic as **emended,** see *RB* 86 (1979) 222 Greek on its head

7 after the neck the forequarters and after the forequarters
8 the breast with the side and after **this**[c]
9 the haunches with the spine of the loin
10 and after the haunches, the hind quarters, washed with the
11 entrails *29 All of them salted with salt as is
12 fitting for them ***30** After that, fine meal
13 mixed with oil, after that pour out the wine
14 and burn the frankincense over them, and let [all]
15 your actions follow due order and all your sacrifices be [acceptable]
16 as a pleasing odor before the Most High God *31 And [whatsoever]
17 you do, do it in due order, [by measure]
18 and weight, do not add anything that is not [fitting]
19 and do not diminish from the amount____[d] of wo[o]d
20 fit for sacrifice with everything that is offered up on the altar
21 *32 For a large bull a talent's weight of wood (is **fitting**)[e]
22 for **it**, and if the fat alone is offered up, six
23 minas, and if a **bull**[f] is offered **up**,[g]

5 *Vv 32b–66 extant only in Greek*

*32b and for the second **bull**[a], fifty minas, and for its fat alone, five minas *33 And for a full-grown bullock, forty minas *34 And if that which is offered is a ram of the sheep or a he-goat out of the goats, for it thirty minas and for its fat three minas *35 And if it is a lamb of the sheep or a kid of the goats, twenty minas, and for its fat two minas *36 And if it is an unblemished lamb one year old or a kid of the goats (of the same qualities) fifteen minas, and for its fat one and a half minas

*37 And ...[b] salt upon the great bull to salt its flesh and offer it up upon the altar A *saton* is the proper amount for the bull, and salt down the skin with whatever salt is left over ***38** And for the second bull, five sixths of a ***saton***; and for the bullock, two thirds of a *saton* ***39** and for the ram half a *saton* and for the he-goat the same, *40 and for the lamb and the kid a third of a *saton*

And the fine flour which is the proper measure for them *41 for the great bull and for the second bull and for the bullock, a *saton* of fine flour; ***42** and for the ram and for the he-goat two thirds of a *saton*, and for the lamb and the kid of the goats a third of a *saton*

---

[c] So Greek Aramaic forequarters perhaps to be emended with Cowley to דנא.
[d] Word corrupt in both Aramaic and Greek Material reading of Aramaic is certain
[e] So Greek; Aramaic omits.
[f] Aramaic פר תוריין; Greek 'second bull reading פר תרין
[g] Aramaic ends here this word is not found in Greek

Notes on Vv 32b–66

* So Greek for Aramaic, see Bodleian d, 1 23
[b] The Greek word is apparently corrupt. It should probably be some form of verb in the **second person.**

And the oil *43 and the fourth of a *saton* for the bull mixed up on that fine flour, *44 and for the ram, the sixth of a *saton* and for the lamb the eighth of a *saton* and of the lamb.[c]

And wine according to the measure of the oil pour out a libation for the bull and for the ram and for the kid

*45 Six shekels of frankincense for the bull and half of that for the ram and a third of that for the kid And all the mixed up fine flour, *46 if you offer it up alone and not upon the fat, let a two shekels' weight of frankincense be poured out upon it

And a third of a *saton* is a third of an ephsh *47 and two thirds of a bath,[d] and of the weight of the mina, it is fifty shekels.[e] And the fourth of the shekel is the weight of four *thermoi*.[f] The shekel is about sixteen *thermoi* and of one weight [g]

*48 And now, my child, listen to my words and attend to my commandments, and let not these words of mine depart from your heart all your days, for you are a holy priest of the Lord, *49 and all your seed will be priests And command your sons thus, so that they may do according to this regulation[h] as I have shown you *50 For my father Abraham commanded me to do thus and to command my sons

*51 And now, child, I rejoice that you were elected for the holy priesthood, and to offer sacrifice to the Most High Lord, to do as is proper, according to that instruction *52 Whenever you receive a sacrifice to carry out before the Lord from any flesh, accept in addition according to the reckoning of the wood thus, as I command you, and the salt and the fine flour and the wine and the frankincense accept in addition from their hands for all animals

*53 During each time wash your hands and feet whenever you go to the altar, and whenever you come out of the sanctuary, let no blood touch your garment Be not connected with it on that same day *54 And wash your hands and feet thoroughly from all flesh, *55 and let not any blood or any soul be seen upon you, for blood is soul in the flesh *56 And if in your house ..[i] yourself, to eat any flesh, hide its blood in the earth first, before you eat of the flesh so that you should no longer eat in the presence of blood *57 For thus my father Abrsham commanded me for thus he found in the writing of the book of Nosh concerning the blood

*58 And now, beloved child, as I say to you, you are beloved of your father and holy to the Most High Lord And you will be more beloved than all your brothers *59 And blessing shall be pronounced by your seed

---

[c] The word, in the genitive case, cannot be easily construed in context

[d] σάτον is the usual Greek for 'seah' In fact a seah is one third of an ephah Perhaps the reading should be 'And a *saton* is a third of an ephah'

[e] The genitive in 'of the weight' is not readily to be understood

[f] The identification of fteQuoc continues to escape us

[g] The last phrase is either corrupt or incomplete.

[h] Greek κρίσις reflecting Semitic משפט or the like

[i] Greek is apparently corrupt here

upon the earth and your seed shall be entered in the book of the memorial of life for all eternity *60 And your name and the name of your seed shall not be annihilated for eternity *61 And now, child, Levi, your seed shall be blessed upon the earth for all generations of eternity

*62 And when four weeks in the years of my life were completed for me, in the twenty-eighth year I took a wife for myself from the family of Abrsham my father, **Milchah,** daughter of Bathuel, son of Laban, my mother's brother. *63 She became pregnant by me and bore a first son, and I called his name Gersam, for I said, 'My seed shall be sojourners in the land in which I was born ' We are sojourners as ...[j] in the land which is reckoned ours ***64** And concerning the youth, I saw in my dream that he and his seed will be cast out of the **highpriesthood.**[k]

*65 I was thirty years old in the course of my life when he was born, and he was born in the tenth month towards sunset

***66** And she conceived again and she bore by me according to the proper time of women and I called his name Kohath

6 Cambridge c-f

Cambridge c

lines

1
2
3 *Untranslatable*
4 *66 And she conceived again[
5 And I called his name [Kohath, *67 and I sa]w that he would
6 have an assembly of all [the people and that] he would
7 have the **highpriesthood** [he and his seed will be the beginning of kings, a priesthood for **Is]rael** [a]
8 *68 In the th[irty-fou]rth year "of my **life**[b]
9 he was born in the [fi]rst month [on the **fir]st** of the mo[nth]
10 at the rising of [the] sun *69 And
11 I was with her once more and she bore me a third
12 son and I called his name Merari for
13 I was bitter on his **account**[c] particularly, for when he was born
14 he was dying And I was very bitter

---

[j] Greek **τουτω** cannot be understood here as it stands; perhaps render as he

[k] Greek has an apparently corrupt **dittography** his seed will be' here

Notes on Cambridge c

* None of the text in the square brackets survives in Aramaic There is a short lacuna in the Aramaic MS, but the first part of 'Israel' and one other short word (?'for all') is all that space will allow The long phrase translated here occurs in Greek and may have been lost in Aramaic by parablepsis

[b] Greek omits.

[c] Greek breaks off here

15 on his account since he was about to die, and I implored and beseeched
16 on his account, ˆand there was bitterness in everything[d] *70 In the fortieth
17 year of my life she gave birth in the thi[rd] month.
18 *71 And I was with her once more and she conceived
19 and bore me a daughter, and I named her
20 Jochebed I sa[id] when she was born to me, 'For glory
21 was she born to me, for glory for Israel'
22 *72 In the sixty-fourth year[e] of my life she gave birth
23 on the first of the seventh month after

Cambridge d

lines

1 we [entered] Egypt *73 In the six-
2 teenth year He brought us into the land of Egypt and to my sons
3 *[were given]* the daughters of my brothers at the time ...[a]
4 from their sons[.]sons for them. *74 And the names of the sons of
5 Gerson (were) [Libni and] Shimei; and the names of the sons of
6 Ko[hath Amrjam and Izhar and Hebron and Uzziel,
7 [and the names] of the sons of Merari, Mahli and Mushi.
8 *75 And Amram took as wife my daughter Jochebed
9 while I was still alive, in the ninety-fourth year
10 of my life *76 And I called Amram's name, when
11 he was born, Amram, for I said when he was born,
12 'This one [.] the people from the la[nd of Eg]ypt
13 Therefore [.]will be [call]ed [ ] exalted'
14 *77 On the same day he [was bo]rn, [he] and Jochebed
15 my daughter. *78 I was eighteen years old when I entered
16 the land of Čanaan, and I was eighteen
17 when I killed Shechem and destroyed
18 the workers of violence *79 I was nine-
19 teen when I became a priest and twenty-
20 eight when I took a wife; *80 I was
21 forty-eight when
22 we entered the land of Egypt, and I lived
23 eighty-nine years in Egypt[b]

Cambridge e

lines

1 *81 And all the days of my life were one hu[ndred and thir]ty-seven
2 years and I saw my [third] generation before

---

[d] Text unclear.

[e] Aramaic adds for me this is either misplaced or corrupt

Notes on Cambridge d

* Unknown word

[b] Ninety' in the Syriac fragment

3 I died *82 And in the [hundred and ei]ghteenth [year]
4 of my life, the [year] in which my brother
5 Joseph died, I called my child[ren and] their children
6 and I began to instruct them concerning all that was
7 on my mind *83 I spoke up and said to my chil[dren, Lis]ten
8 to the word of your father Levi and pay attention to the instructions
9 of God's friend *84 I instruct you, my sons and
10 reveal the truth to you, my beloved *85 May truth
11 be the essence of your acts and
12 may justice always be with you
13 *86 And truth [ ] me .. [a]
14 a blessed harvest and s[ee]d *87 He who sows
15 good brings in a goodly (harvest), and he who sows
16 evil, his sowing turns against him
17 *88 And now, my sons, teach[b] reading and writing ⟨and⟩[c] the
18 teaching of wisdom to your children and may
19 wisdom be eternal glory for you
20 *89 He who teaches wisdom will (attain) glory
21 through it, but he who despises wisdom becomes an object of
22 disdain. *90 Observe, my children, my brother Joseph
23 who taught reading and writing and the teaching of wisdom

Cambridge f

lines

6 [ ][a] for every land
7 and country[b]
8 be in it! He is not like a stranger in it
9 [nor like] a foreigner in it nor like
10 a____in it For all honour
11 him therein, since all wish
12 to learn from his wisdom *92 His friends
13 are many and his well-wishers are numerous
14 *93 People seat him on the seat of honour
15 in order to hear his wise words
16 *94 With wisdom there is great abundance of honour
17 and it is a fine treasure to all who acquire it
18 *95 If there will come mighty kings and a great army -

Notes on Cambridge e

Aramaic untranslatable

[b] Read אליפו with Pass

[c] So emended see *RB* 86 (1979) 226

Notes on Cambridge f

[a] Ll. 1-2 are completely lost of ll 3–5 only scattered letters survive permitting no sustained translation

[b] Cf T L 137

19 soldiers and horsemen, accompanied by many chariots -
20 they will seize the possessions of lands
21 and countries and will plunder everything in them
22 But the treasurehouses of wisdom they will not plunder,
23 and they will not find its hidden places, and will not . . .

7 *4Q TestLevi*[a] *8 III ll. 5-7 J T Milik, The Books of Enoch pp 23f*

Same MS as *Prayer of Levi* This fragment of text does not overlap with any of the extant material

lines

5][a] Did not Enoch accuse [
6]and who will bear the guilt[
1 [if] not I and you, my children?

Notes on 4Q TestLevi[a] *8 III ll. 5 7*

[a] Previous lines are too fragmentary to provide a context For a possible restoration, see J T Milik, *The Books of Enoch* p 23

Library of Ruslan Khazarzar
barnascha narod ru
khazarzar skeptik net
patrologia narod ru

-