

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. THE BOOK AND ITS FORTUNES.

THE Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs were written in Hebrew in the latter years of John Hyrcanus—in all probability after his final victory over the Syrian power and before his breach with the Pharisees—in other words, between 109 and 106. Their author was a Pharisee who combined loyalty to the best traditions of his party with the most unbounded admiration of Hyrcanus. The Maccabean dynasty had now reached the zenith of its prosperity, and in its reigning representative, who alone in the history of Judaism possessed the triple offices of prophet, priest, and king, the Pharisaic party had come to recognize the actual Messiah.

Won over by the purity of life, nobility of character, and pre-eminent gifts of the Maccabees as high-priests, civil rulers, and military commanders, the Hasids, or early Pharisees, had some decades earlier attached themselves to this new high-priesthood, though with many a misgiving on account of the break in the high-priestly succession.

The approval thus won from the reluctant Hasids, the Maccabees had deepened and strengthened by their achievements every year in every province of their activity, till the thought was begotten in many a breast, that at last the hope of Israel had come, and, in defiance of all ancient prophecy, was sprung from the house and lineage of Levi.

There are good grounds for regarding Psalm cx as the outcome of such an expectation, and as greeting one of the Maccabees as the long-expected deliverer of Israel. But, however this may be, there is no doubt that our author addresses two or more Messianic hymns to John Hyrcanus, in whom had culminated all the glories and gifts of this great family. The writer already sees the Messianic kingdom established, under the sway of which the Gentiles will in due course be saved, Beliar overthrown, sin disappear from the earth, and the righteous dead rise to share in the blessedness of the living.

Alas for the vanity of man's judgement and man's prescience. Our book had hardly been published, when Hyrcanus, owing to an outrage done him by the Pharisees, broke with their party, and joining the Sadducees, died a year or two later. His successors proved themselves the basest of men. Their infamy is painted in lurid colours by contemporary writers of the first century B.C., and by a strange irony the work, or rather, fragments of the work of one of these assailants of the later Maccabees, has achieved immortality by finding a covert in the chief manifesto that was issued on behalf of one of the earlier members of the dynasty.

This second writer singles out three of the Maccabean priest-kings for attack, the first of whom he charges with every abomination; the people itself, he declares, is apostate, and chastisement will follow speedily—the temple will be laid waste, the nation carried afresh into captivity, whence, on their repentance, God will restore them again to their own land, where they shall enjoy the blessedness of God's presence and be ruled by a Messiah sprung from Judah.

When we contrast the expectations of the original writer and the actual events that followed, it would seem that the chief value of his work would consist in the light that it throws on this obscure and temporary revolution in the Messianic expectations of Judaism towards the close of the second century. But this is not so. The main, the overwhelming value of the book lies not in this province, but in its ethical teaching, which has achieved a real immortality by influencing the thought and diction of the writers of the New Testament, and even those of our Lord. This ethical teaching, which is very much higher and purer than that of the Old Testament, is yet its true spiritual child, and helps to bridge the chasm that divides the ethics of the Old and New Testaments.¹

¹ That this ethical teaching belongs to the essence of the book is obvious to any careful student of the work. As such it forms alike its warp and woof. On the other hand, the *dogmatic Christian interpolations* are patches differing alike in colour and texture from the original material, stitched on at times where originally there was no rent at all, and at others rudely thrust in where a rent had been deliberately made for their insertion. See § 13.

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After the first century of our era the fortunes of the Testaments speedily declined in Christendom. Though they are referred to occasionally in the next three centuries, they came to be discredited as an Apocryphal writing and fell under the ban of the Church. Unhappily, further, in the course of these centuries of their waning popularity, they underwent interpolation at the hands of Christian scribes, but happily many of these interpolations had not been made when the book was done into Armenian.

The reappearance of the Testaments on the stage of history was due to the great Bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste, in the thirteenth century, who procured from Greece the MS. of this book, which is now in the University Library of Cambridge. This scholar took the book with all its Christian additions to be a genuine writing of the twelve sons of Jacob.

It is perhaps needless to state that, when the critical instinct revived with the Reformation, Grosseteste's view of the Testaments was summarily rejected. Nay more, as the book was regarded as the work of one writer, it was simply condemned as a Christian forgery. In the course of four centuries only one voice was raised against this mistaken verdict, and that in vain for about two hundred years. The twentieth century sees this book at last come into its own.¹

§ 2. THE TITLE.

The *general* title was in all probability 'The Testaments of the Patriarchs'. Such is the designation in use in the Armenian version. In the Greek MSS. the title varies. In *a* (= *chi*) *bd* it appears as Διαθήκαι τῶν δώδεκα Πατριάρχων τῶν υἱῶν Ἰακώβ (+ τοῦ Πατριάρχου *a*), *a* αἱ διαθήκαι τῶν υἱῶν πατρ. πρὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν. In the Stichometry of Nicephorus, the Synopsis of Athanasius, and the anonymous list of books edited by Montfaucon, Pitra, and others, the book is simply called Πατριάρχει.

As regards the title of the individual testaments, it was no doubt simply 'The Testament of Reuben', 'The Testament of Simeon', &c. If the reader refers to my edition of the *Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, pp. xlv–xlvi, he will see that, whereas the *a* MSS. uniformly give one form of title, the *β* MSS. (with the exception of *adg*), that is, *bef*, give another, in which in addition to the name of the Patriarch the main subject of the Testament is given. Thus the title of Gad's Testament is διαθήκη Γὰδ περὶ μίσους. The titles in *d* are generally conflated from *bef* and *a*; in *a* simply the name of the patriarch is given, while as for *g*, it takes a line of its own. In the Armenian the titles agree partly with those given in the Greek MSS. *bef*, but oftener do not. From this short summary of the facts it follows that the titles in *bef*, *A* are secondary. There remain now the forms in *a* and the single MS. *a*, and that found in the Hebrew Testament of Naphtali, i. e. צוואת נפתלי בן יעקב 'The Testament of Naphtali the son of Jacob'. The form in *a* (i. e. simply the name of the patriarch) may be at once dismissed as an idiosyncrasy of this MS. In the *a* MSS. the title of the individual Testaments resembles closely that of the Hebrew Testament of Naphtali, but the greater number of them are obviously inaccurate and therefore not original. That of Reuben and some others are accurate enough; thus *a* gives διαθήκη Ρουβήμ τοῦ πρωτοτόκου υἱοῦ Ἰακώβ καὶ Λείας, which is true enough; but in the case of Naphtali we have the impossible διαθήκη Νεφθαλεὶμ τοῦ ὀγδόου υἱοῦ Ἰακώβ καὶ Βάλλας. Naphtali was the second son of Bilhah. If, however, we omit in each case the name of the mother, we arrive possibly at the original form of the titles of the individual Testaments. Possibly, I say; for the order of the Testaments is not chronological, but depends on the groupings of the patriarchs according to their respective mothers. Thus the first six patriarchs are the sons of Leah, the next two are the sons of Bilhah, the next two of Zilpah, and the last two of Rachel. Hence it is more than probable that the position of the patriarch as the first, third, or seventh son, was not mentioned in the original title. Thus we conclude that the evidence points to the following as the original form.

צוואת ראוּבן בן יעקב = διαθήκη Ρουβήμ υἱοῦ Ἰακώβ = 'The Testament of Reuben the son of Jacob'.

§ 3. THE GREEK MSS.

(*a*) Bodley MS. Baroccio 133. Quarto. This paper MS. contains several treatises by different hands of the latter part of the fourteenth century. The Testaments occupy folios 179*a*–205*b*. Their general title and those of Judah and Gad are written in red. There are two copies of this MS. on paper, one in the Bodley MS. Smith 117, belonging to the close of the seventeenth century, and the second in Emmanuel College, Cambridge. This MS. is remarkable for the large number of omissions, at times of entire chapters.

(*b*) University Library, Cambridge, ff. i. 24. Quarto. This parchment MS. contains four

¹ From the present writer's edition of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, p. xvi sqq.

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works, of which the Testaments are the fourth, written on folios 203*a*-262*b*. It belongs to the tenth century. It is written in double columns, twenty lines in a column. The initials and titles are in red, except the first, which is in gold. It was from this MS. that Grosseteste's Latin Version was made.

(*c*) Vatican Library, Cod. Graec. 731. This is a small octavo MS. written on paper, with twenty-two or twenty-three lines on each page. Besides the Testaments it contains extracts from the Fathers. The Testaments are given on folios 97*a*-167*b*. The script of the latter belongs probably to the thirteenth century. This is the most important of all the MSS.

(*d*) Vatican Library, Gk. 1238. This is a vellum MS. in three volumes of the LXX belonging to the thirteenth century. On the close of the LXX follows the Testament of Job, folios 340*a*-349*b*, and on 350-380 of our present text. There are from 33-39 lines in each page. Strangely enough, above the general title of the Testaments, Διαθήκαι τῶν ἑβ πατριαρχῶν υἱῶν Ἰακώβ, appear the words Δεπτῆς Γενέσεως, which is one of the titles of the Book of Jubilees. That there was a close relation between these books we know independently.

(*e*) Mount Athos MS. This MS. is written in two columns of forty lines each in a good hand of the tenth century. The Testaments are given on folios 197*b*-229*a*. This MS. is of great interest, as it contains three large additions to the text: the first before καὶ ἐπὶ πύργους in T. Lev. ii. 3, consisting of a prayer of Jacob; the second after the word ἡμερῶν in T. Lev. xviii. 2, and the third after τῆς γῆς in T. Ash. vii. 2. The third consists of two and two-third columns of certain Christian disquisitions on love and the Trinity. The second is the remarkable Greek fragment, which I have printed in Appendix III in my edition of the Text, and which we show elsewhere to be a translation from a Hebrew work, which was probably an original source of the Testaments.

(*f*) Paris MS. 938. This is a beautifully written MS. of the tenth century. The Testaments are given on the first seventy-two folios. Each page contains twenty-three lines. On folio 1*a* there is a list of Old Testament names, including the twelve patriarchs, with their meanings. The Testaments proper begin on 1*b*. It is characteristic of this MS. that after the title of each Testament it adds the meaning of the proper name, and also that, at the conclusion of each Testament, it adds the number of years that the patriarch lived. In the latter feature it is followed by the first Slavonic Recension (S¹). After the Testaments follow the Testament of Job and other writings.

(*g*) MS. 411 in the Library of the Monastery of St. John the Evangelist in Patmos. It is a quarto MS. written on parchment, and assigned by H. C. Coxe to the sixteenth century.

(*h*) Mount Sinai MS. No. 547 in the Library of St. Catherine. See Gardthausen, *Cat. Codd. Graec. Sinaiticorum*, p. 132. This MS., 14.5 by 10.35 cm., was written in the seventeenth century. It contains seventeen lines on each page. It is incomplete and comes to an end with T. Jos. xv. 7. This MS. has the following peculiar introduction: Ἰωάννου τοῦ ποτε ἑβραίου εἰδησις τῶν διαθηκῶν τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἰακώβ μεταφρασθεῖσα ἀπὸ Ἰουδαικοῦ διαλέκτου εἰς Ἑλληνικὴν. The statement is true, but where the scribe got it we cannot determine.

(*i*) Mount Sinai MS. This MS. was discovered accidentally in the Convent Library in the spring of 1906 by Mrs. Gibson. This MS. was written not earlier than the seventeenth century. It contains 21-23 lines on each page. It has the same peculiar introduction as *h*. See preceding MS.

§ 4. THE ARMENIAN MSS.

There are many MSS. of this version. The first five are designated by the symbols attached to them in the Venice edition of the text by the Mechitarist Fathers. The rest owe their designation to the present editor. When cited they appear as A^a, A^b, &c.

A^a. Mechitarist Library of St. Lazzaro, Venice, No. 345. This MS., five by seven inches, was written in the year 1220 on paper. It belongs to the first recension of the text.

A^{b*}. Mechitarist Library of St. Lazzaro, No. 280. This MS. is the worst representative of the second recension of the Armenian version.

A^b. Mechitarist Library of St. Lazzaro, No. 679. This MS., six by ten inches, was written towards the end of the fifteenth century, in double columns of twenty-six lines each, and consists of 679 folios. It belongs to the first recension.

A^c. Mechitarist Library of St. Lazzaro, No. 229. This MS. Bible, eight by ten inches, was written on vellum in double columns of fifty lines each in the year 1655.

A^d. Mechitarist Library of St. Lazzaro, No. 1366. This MS. Bible was written in the sixteenth century on paper, in double columns of forty-three lines each.

A^e. This MS. Bible was written in the sixteenth century and belongs to the London Bible Society.

A^f. This MS. Bible, which belongs to the Catholicos of the Armenian Church at Edschmiadzin

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in Armenia, was there photographed by Conybeare in 1891. The MS. is written in two columns of fifty lines each in a beautiful hand.

A^g. This MS. Bible, which was written in the seventeenth century, belongs to Lord Zouche.

A^h. Bodleian Library, Oxford, No. *c.* 30 (thirteenth century). Only five Testaments are found in this MS., and in the following order: Simeon (folio 168^a), Levi (173^a), Joseph (183^b), Benjamin (195^b), Judah (202^a). The MS. is written in two or more hands (latest eighteenth century), and there are two types of text. Fortunately the four first-mentioned Testaments and T. Judah i-xiv. 8^{a b c} (i. e. *ἐὰν . . . ἀσχηροποιηθῆναι*) belong to the first recension, and only T. Jud. xiv. 8^{a e}-xxvi, to the second. This MS. thus attests the same type of text as A^{a h}, but it is more closely related to A^a than to A^b.

All the preceding MSS. have been used by the present editor. There are three others, of two of which he has no knowledge.

Aⁱ. A Vatican MS. of the Bible cited once by Conybeare. See *FQR* viii. (1896), p. 260. It belongs to the seventeenth century.

A^k. Mechitarist Library, Vienna, No. 126 (Dashian's *Catalog der armenischen Handschriften der Mechitaristen-Bibliothek zu Wien*, 1895, p. 71, 411 sqq.), This MS. was written in the year 1388. On the first 105 folios it contains the history of Joseph and Asenath. Then follow the Testaments. Of these Reuben, Dan, Naphtali, are missing. The order of the remaining nine is peculiar, agreeing in the first five with that of A^h. Thus we have Simeon, Levi, Joseph, Benjamin, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, Gad, Asher. A study of the titles of these Testaments given in Sinker's Appendix, p. 25, and the German translation of the T. Jud. xxiv-xxvi, and T. Benj. x. 8^b-xii, by Dr. Paul Hunanian, makes it at once clear that A^k belongs to the first Armenian recension, and furthermore, that A^k is more nearly related to A^{a h} than to A^b, and to A^h than to A^a.

(A^l). The Hof-Bibliothek, Vienna, No. 11 (Dashian's *Catalog der armenischen HSS.*, p. 19, 1891).

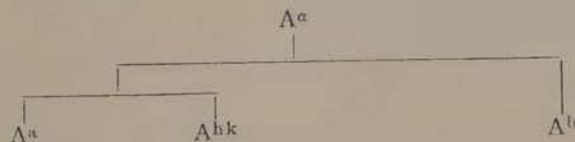
§ 5. THE SLAVONIC VERSION AND ITS TWO RECENSIONS S¹, S².

This version is late and is based on the type of text represented by *aef*, and of these it attaches most closely to *f*; for S¹ always and occasionally S² agree in making the addition at the close of each Testament, that is to be found in *f* alone of the Greek MSS. This version, as I have shown in my edition, exhibits traces of the influence also of *a*.

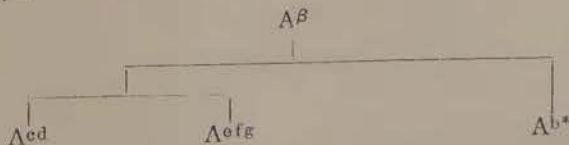
The two Slavonic recensions S¹ and S² are primarily taken from the so-called Palea (Greek Παλαιά), which contain short accounts of events mentioned in the Old Testament. They are printed in Tichonravov's work entitled *Pamjatniki otrechnnoi Russkoi Literaturi* (2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1863).

§ 6. THE ARMENIAN VERSION IN ITS TWO RECENSIONS A^α, A^β. VALUE OF THIS VERSION.

As we have already observed in § 4, there are two recensions of this version, A^α, A^β. A^α, which is found in non-Biblical MSS., includes four MSS., A^{abhk}. The relations of these MSS. can be represented as follows:—



A^β, which appears to be found only in Biblical MSS., includes A^{b*cdofg}. Of these A^{b*} stands aloof from the rest. Its idiosyncrasies are innumerable, but in a very few cases, where it diverges from the other representatives of this recension, it has the support of the best Greek MSS. The relations of these MSS. are as follows:—



The variations between A^α and A^β are very numerous, but the greater part of them appear to have arisen from internal corruption, or from the attempt on the part of the scribe of A^α to abbreviate the text. But over and above these differences, there are certain important sections where the differences

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between the two recensions go back to the Greek, as in T. Levi ii. 7-10, xiv. 1, where A^a agrees with a against β , and in T. Levi iii. 1-5, where A^a is less corrupt than a , and gives the nearest reproduction of the original Hebrew archetype.

Exclusive of the sections just mentioned, A , taken as a whole, agrees with βS against a (see my edition of the Text, p. xv sq.). But within β there are two secondary types of text, to which aef and bdg belong respectively. All but universally A agrees with bdg where bdg differs from aef .

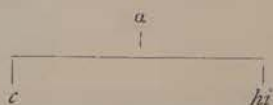
The value of A will be best understood when we come to deal with the Christian interpolations in the text. These are by no means absent from A , but they are present in a much less degree in A than in a and β . This is especially the case in the last two Testaments.

But, however valuable A is, it must be admitted that on almost every page it is guilty of omissions. These omissions are made obvious to the reader by the use of brackets. All words enclosed thus [] are omitted by A .

§ 7. THE GREEK VERSION IN TWO RECENSIONS a, β .

The Greek version is found in two forms, a and β . I do not call them recensions, since, as I have sought in my edition to prove, they very probably go back to distinct forms in the Hebrew.

a and its characteristics. a is represented by three MSS., *chi*. Their relations may be represented as follows:—



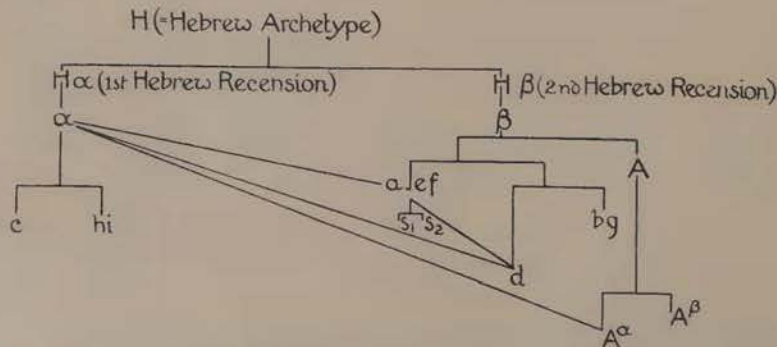
hi are derived from one and the same parent and show signs of a mixed ancestry (i.e. the influence of β), and herein diverge occasionally from c . a shows some omissions such as T. Reub. ii. 3^{b-4^a}, T. Jud. vi. 1-2, xii. 6-10, &c. Though much freer than β from Christian interpolations, it too has suffered from the Christian scribes' ill-directed activity.

β and its characteristics. β is represented by six MSS., *abdefg*, which represent two diverging types of text, *aef* showing affinities with a , and *bdg* with A . We have already pointed out (§ 5) that S is derived from *aef*. *aef* agree closely together, but not so *bdg*. Furthermore *bdg* are remarkable for large additions to the text in T. Zeb. vi. 4-6, vii-viii. 3, ix. 8^{cd}. These may have belonged to the original tradition.

Space will not admit of a description of *bdg*, but a few characteristics of b should here be noted. The variants of this MS. are sometimes due to deliberate emendation. Thus in T. Lev. xvii. 2 the priesthood of an ancient worthy is said to have been *πλήρης μετὰ κυρίου*, i.e. "perfect with the Lord." But the scribe of b , failing naturally to understand this Semitic idiom, wrote *πλήρης μετὰ φόβου κυρίου*. Not infrequently it alters the text against all the other authorities. Thus it adds *καὶ ἐθαύμαζον* in T. Jos. xvii. 5, *ζήσασθε* in T. Jud. xvi. 2, changes *συντρέχει* into *συνεργεῖ* in T. Benj. iv. 5, *συγγενῆ* into *συμπεισθῆς* in T. Jos. vii. 3, and in iv. 5, &c. On the other hand, it possibly preserves two words *καὶ νότον* in T. Jud. v. 2, which have been lost in all the other MSS. Though a good representative of the type *bdg*, b cannot form a secure foundation on which to build a text.

d. This MS. exhibits peculiarities on every page. Though agreeing generally with bg , it attests readings of a and also of *aef* against bg .

The affinities of the various MSS. and Versions may be represented as follows:—



In this table all the main connexions are represented, but not the influence that in a few cases the descendants of β have exerted on *hi*.

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§ 8. THE GREEK VERSION A TRANSLATION FROM THE HEBREW.

Apart from Grabe, no notable scholar has advocated a Hebrew original till recently. Even Grabe, though he declared for a Hebrew original, advanced no linguistic arguments in support of his contention. It is remarkable that such a great Semitic scholar as Dillmann (*Herzog's Real-Encyc.* xii. 362) could write: 'Since the publication of Nitzsch's study all are agreed that the book is not a translation, but was originally written in Greek.' Dr. Sinker in the Cambridge edition of the Greek text is still more pronounced.

To two Jewish scholars, Kohler (1893) and Gaster (1904) within the last twenty years belongs the honour of reopening the question of a Hebrew original of the Testaments, but the former did not advance any linguistic evidence, and the latter, though he brought forward a few good points, failed to establish his thesis. Shortly after the above articles were written the present writer began his study of the Testaments, in the course of which he early came to the conclusion, which he set forth in the *Encyc. Biblica* i. 241 (1899), that the bulk of the work was written before 100 B.C., and subsequently in full detail in *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in 1908. Since that date this thesis has been accepted by all Semitic scholars.

In what follows only a few specimens of the evidence for a Hebrew original can be given. A fuller statement of the evidence will be found in my edition of *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, pp. xlii-1 (1908), and a nearly complete one in my edition of the *Greek Versions* (pp. xxiii-xxxix) above referred to.

1^o. *Hebrew constructions and expressions are to be found on every page. Though the vocabulary is Greek, the idiom is frequently Hebraic and foreign to the Greek language.*

T. Reub. i. 6 ἀγνοία νεότητος = 'sins of youth', i. e. פשע נעורים; iii. 8 συνιών ἐν τῷ νόμῳ = בן בתורה; iv. 6 οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ αὐτῶν = בלא עתם; vi. 11 ἐν αὐτῷ ἐξελέξατο = בו בחר.

T. Sim. ii. 12 καίγε = ונם in its adversative meaning = 'but'—a non-Greek use. Cf. Eccles. iii. 13, vi. 7; in iv. 4 ἡγάπησέ με σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου (α) = אהבני עם אחי. In β we have the normal rendering ὡς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδελφούς. v. 4 ἐν Λευὶ ἀδικήσουσι = בלוי ירעו; v. 5 οὐ δυνήσονται πρὸς Λευὶ = לא יכלו ללוי (the same Hebraism recurs in T. Iss. iv. 4; T. Dan v. 4); vi. 5 σώζων ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀδάμ. Here as in T. Lev. ii. 11 ἐν αὐτῷ (or ἐαυτῷ) = בעצמו, which the translator should have rendered simply by αὐτός. Cf. Midrash Wajjikra on Lev. xvii. 3 אנה בעצמי נאל אחתם.

T. Lev. viii. 8 κλάδον . . . ἐλαίας πύότητος = 'a branch of the oil-olive', i. e. זית שמן; cf. Deut. viii. 8; viii. 14 ἐπικληθήσεται αὐτῷ ὄνομα καινόν = יקרא לו שם חדש.

T. Jud. vii. 1 ὄχλος βαρύς = חיל כבד 'a numerous army'; xii. 8 ἕως τῆς ζωῆς μου = כחי 'so long as I lived'; xx. 4 ἐν στήθει ὀστέων αὐτοῦ, which is absolutely unintelligible, is full of meaning in the Hebrew = בלב עצמו 'on his very heart'; xxv. 1 ἔξαρχοι σκήπτρων = 'chiefs of the tribes' (שבטים).

T. Ash. iii. 1 ὁ θεὸς ἀναπαύεται εἰς αὐτήν = בה אלהים ישכן בה 'God hath his habitation therein'.

T. Jos. ii. 3 ἔδωκέ με ὁ κύριος εἰς οἰκτιρμοὺς ἐνώπιον = נתן אתי לרחמים לפני (cf. Dan. i. 9), 'granted me to find mercy in the sight of'; xii. 3 ποιήσον μετ' αὐτοῦ κρίσιν = עשה משפט עמו.

T. Benj. x. 11 κατοικήσετε ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ἐν ἐμοί = תשבו לבטח בי 'ye shall dwell securely with me'. The same mistranslation is found in Ezek. xxviii. 26, xxxiv. 28, &c.

The above instances are sufficient in themselves to prove the derivation of the text from a Hebrew original. The bulk of the above expressions could hardly, on any hypothesis, have been written for the first time in Greek. But the evidence can be multiplied fourfold, both in quantity and conclusiveness.

2^o. *Dittographic renderings of the same Hebrew phrase, and expressions in the Greek implying dittographs in the Hebrew MS. before the translator.*

In T. Naph. iii. 5 ἀπὸ κατοικησίας . . . τάξας τὴν γῆν ἀοίκητον is a clear instance of dittography. The original may have been מכלי יושב which is twice rendered in the Greek. In vi. 2 the impossible μεστὸν ταρίχων ἐκτὸς ναυτῶν is due to the same cause. μεστὸν ταρίχων = מלא מלחים, a corruption of בלא מלחים = ἐκτὸς ναυτῶν. One more will here suffice. In viii. 4, 6 there are a strophe and an antistrophe. The latter consists of six lines, but the former of seven. Now if we compare them closely, we discover the six lines of the antistrophe correspond line for line to the first six lines in the strophe. Thus the seventh line is against the structure of the stanza. It is also against the sense. How then did it come to be here? We discover the reason the moment we retranslate into Hebrew. The genuine line καὶ ὁ κύριος ἀγαπήσει ἡμᾶς (cf. the corresponding line in the antistrophe καὶ ὁ κύριος μιλήσει αὐτόν) = ואלהים יאהבכם which was written corruptly a second time as ומלאכים יאחזקם.

3^o. *Paronomasiae which are lost in the Greek can be restored by retranslation into Hebrew.*

We can recover more than a dozen of these by retranslation, the most of them having to do with the names of the patriarchs, i. e. on Simeon, Gershon, Kohath, Merari, Jochebed, Judah, Issachar, Gad, Zebulun, Naphtali, Bilhah, Asher, Benjamin. See my edition of the *Greek Versions*, pp. xxvi-xxvii.

4^o. *Many passages which are obscure or wholly unintelligible in the Greek become clear on retranslation.*

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In T. Reub. iv. 9 πολλὰ ἐποίησε αὐτῷ, where the text is speaking of Potiphar's wife trying to ensnare Joseph, cannot be right. As Perles has pointed out, לו רבה is corrupt for לו תארב, i.e. 'she lay in wait for him'.

In T. Sim. iii. 6 καὶ λοιπὸν συμπαθεῖ τῷ φθονομένῳ
καὶ συγγνώσκει τοῖς ἄγαπῶσιν αὐτόν
καὶ οὕτως παύεται τοῦ φθόνου

cannot be right, and as Perles recognizes the error lies in ἀγαπῶσιν which is against the parallelism and sense. Here τοῖς ἀγ. αὐτόν = יבא, corrupt for יבא 'those hostile to him'.

In T. Lev. ii. 8 the second heaven is said to be brighter and more brilliant than the first, ἦν γὰρ καὶ ὕψος ἐν αὐτῷ ἄπειρον. Clearly there is something wrong here. The greater brightness of the second heaven cannot be due to its greater loftiness. The error, therefore, lies in the ὕψος. This word = כבה, which is corrupt for כהן = φῶς or φέγγος. Thus the brightness of the second heaven was due to a boundless light (φῶς ἄπειρον) that was therein. This light may have been physical, if we may adopt the Talmudic view, which represents the sun, moon, and stars as being in the second heaven (Chag. 12^b).

In T. Jud. ix. 3 καὶ ἤρθητ νεκρὸς ἐν ὄρει Σειρ, καὶ πορευόμενοι ἐν Ἀνονιράμ ἀπέθανεν (β, S¹), the words καὶ . . . ἀπέθανεν are omitted by α as unintelligible. But a comparison with the Midrash Wajjissau where the same incident is recounted shows that this clause belongs to the original text, and in the form in which it appears in β, S¹. Moreover these authorities help us to discover how the corruption in νεκρὸς arose. νεκρὸς = הלל, whereas the Midrash has הלל = τετραυματισμένος. Thus Esau was wounded on Mount Seir and died as he was passing over Anoniram.

T. Jud. xxi. 6 οἱ μὲν κινδυνεύουσιν αἰχμαλωτιζόμενοι, οἱ δὲ πλουτοῦσιν ἀρπάζοντες τὰ ἀλλότρια. Here instead of κινδυνεύουσιν, we require a verb forming an antithesis to πλουτοῦσιν. Now κινδυνεύουσιν = כנען (late Hebrew) which in earlier Hebrew = πτωχεύουσιν.

T. Zeb. ix. 2 εἰς πολλὰ διαιρεθῶσιν, ἢ γῆ ἀφανίζει αὐτά, καὶ γίνονται τε καταφρόνητα. Here, as Perles has pointed out, εὐκαταφρόνητα = נמס, which is either a corruption or secondary form of נמס = 'melt away', 'vanish'. The same corruption underlies ὡς ὕδωρ ἀχρηστον (= 'as useless water') = נמס, corrupt for נמס 'vanishing away as water'.

In T. Jos. xi. 7 ἐπλήθυνεν αὐτὸν ἐν χρυσίῳ καὶ ἀργυρίῳ καὶ ἔργω (α). β, A omit καὶ ἔργω as unintelligible. But by retranslation the source of the corruption springs to light. ἔργω = עבד, which the translator read as עבד = ἔργω, but which he should have read as עבד = 'household servants'.

The above form a small part of the passages where the Greek text has to be retranslated in order to discover the source of the corruption. In all these passages there is no divergence between the MSS. and Versions. In the next section we shall discuss only those passages in the text where the MSS. and Versions attest different readings, α generally standing in opposition to β, A, S.

By means of the evidence thus forthcoming we hope to advance a stage further than we have yet reached. We have proved that our book is derived from an Hebrew original: we shall now try and prove that α and β did not originate in the Greek but are derived respectively from two distinct Hebrew recensions H^α and H^β.

§ 9. THE TWO GREEK TYPES OF TEXT, α AND β, APPEAR TO BE DERIVED FROM TWO HEBREW RECENSIONS, H^α AND H^β.

α and β are not, strictly speaking, Greek recensions; for their chief variations appear not to have originated in the Greek, but to go back to diverse forms of text already existing in the Hebrew, which we denote as H^α and H^β. Of these two recensions, H^α and H^β, sometimes one gives the correct text, sometimes the other. According to the most likely hypothesis H^α was first translated into Greek, i.e. α, and then H^β was rendered into Greek by a translator who had α before him. In regard to the Book of Daniel the same hypothesis is necessary. The LXX version was undoubtedly made first, and subsequently that of Theodotion from a Semitic text diverging considerably from that used by the translator of the LXX version, not merely in individual readings but also in the subject-matter, especially in Daniel iv. Now in the case of the text before us the same phenomenon is repeated, but on a very much smaller scale. In T. Lev. ii. 7-iii, the description of the Three Heavens is more or less faithfully handed down in α A, whereas in the corresponding chapters in β there is an account of the Seven Heavens. There is no good ground for assuming that this divergence originated in the Greek and not in the Hebrew; for such duplicate accounts of the same event are found occasionally in the Hebrew books of the O.T., and in the Zadokite Fragments. Moreover, I will now give a few of the passages, where α and β undoubtedly presuppose variations in the Hebrew. The variants will be underlined.

T. Benj. xii. 2 (α) ἐκοιμήθη ὑπνω καλῶ. (β, A) ἀπέθανε . . . ἐν γήρει καλῶ.
Here H^β (i.e. β, A) is undoubtedly right. In H^α שכב (= γήρει) was corrupted into שכב = ὑπνω. The same

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corruption was present in both H^a and H^b in T. Zeb. x. 6; T. Dan vii. 1 (*c*); T. Ash. viii. 1; T. Jos. xx. 4; whereas both Hebrew recensions were right in T. Iss. vii. 9. The above conclusion is confirmed by the fact that in the Hebrew Test. Naph. i. 1 we find *בְּשִׁיבָה טוֹבָה*. Though this Testament is not the original Testament of Naphtali, it preserves in several passages a more original text than the Greek.

T. Ash. vi. 6 (*a*) *εἰσφέρει αὐτὸν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.* (β, A) *παραμυθεῖται αὐτὸν ἐν ζωῇ.*

Here H^a is right and not H^b . The angel of peace, who is mentioned earlier in the verse, conducts the good soul into eternal life. Here *εἰσφέρει* = *יָנַח*, which in H^b was corrupted into *יָנַחַם*. *ὀδηγεῖ* would have been the usual rendering of *יָנַח*, as we find in T. Benj. vi. 1 *ὁ γὰρ ἄγγελος τῆς εἰρήνης ὀδηγεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ*. The LXX implies the same corruption of *יָנַח* into *יָנַחַם* in 1 Sam. xxii. 4; Isa. lvii. 18, and Symmachus the converse corruption in Job xxxix. 25.

T. Reub. iv. 1 (*a*) *μοχθοῦντες ἐν ἔργοις καλοῖς καὶ ἐν γράμμασιν.* (β, A) *μοχθοῦντες ἐν ἔργοις καὶ ἀποπλανώμενοι ἐν γράμμασιν.*

Here *a*, which is in part supported by A, is clearly right. *ἐν ἔργοις καλοῖς* = *בְּמַעֲשֵׂים יְשָׁרִים*, of which *יְשָׁרִים* was corrupted in H^b into *יְשָׁרִים = καὶ ἀποπλανώμενοι*.¹

T. Ash. vi. 5 (*a*) *ὅτε γὰρ πονηρὰ ἡ ψυχὴ ἀπέρχεται.* (β, A) *ὅτε γὰρ τεταραγμένη ἡ ψυχὴ ἀπέρχεται.*

Here *רְעוּשָׁה (= τεταραγμένη)* in H^b was corrupted in H^a into *רְשָׁעָה = πονηρά*.

T. Jos. iv. 7 (*a aef*) *ἀντεφιλονεῖκει.* (βg, A) *ἐσιώπησε.*

Here H^a read *הִתְחַרְתָּה* which was a corruption of H^b *הִתְחַרְשָׁה*.

T. Jos. iv. 3 (*a*) *τῆς δολιότητος αὐτῆς.* (β, A) *τῆς Αἰγυπτίας.*

Here H^a = *מִפְּוֹרֵיהָ* 'from her snares' (so Perles, but neither *δόλιος* nor its derivatives ever render this Hebrew word in the LXX): or = *מִתְרִמְתָּה* and H^b *מִמְצִרֵיהָ*.

T. Zeb. iv. 3 (*a*) *ἀπεδόθη = נִמְכַר.* (β, A) *ἐπράθη = נִמְכַר.*

The above instances are sufficient to establish the existence of two distinct types of text in the Hebrew— H^a , H^b . For over thirty other passages in the Testaments where the variations postulate the same conclusion see *Introd. to my Text*, § 12.

§ 10. DATE OF THE ORIGINAL HEBREW.

The date of the original Hebrew is not difficult to determine. Thus Reuben (T. Reub. vi. 10-11) admonishes his sons: 'Draw ye near to Levi in humbleness of heart, that ye may receive a blessing from his mouth . . . because him hath the Lord chosen to be king over all the nation.' Here a high-priest who is also king is referred to. Such a combination of officers naturally makes us think of the Maccabean priest-kings of the second century B.C. Moreover, the possibility of doubting this reference is excluded by the words that immediately follow: 'And bow down before his seed; for on our behalf it shall die in wars visible and invisible and shall be among you an eternal king.' A similar statement is made in T. Sim. v. 5. Thus the high-priest is not only to be high-priest and civil ruler, but also a warrior. That the Maccabean high-priests are here designed cannot be reasonably doubted. But the identification becomes undeniable as further marks and tokens of this priestly dynasty come to light. Thus it is said that this priesthood shall be called by a new name (T. Lev. viii. 14). Now the Maccabean high-priests were the first Jewish priests to assume the title 'priests of the Most High God'—the title anciently borne by Melchizedek, and applied to the Maccabean high-priests in Jubilees, the Assumption of Moses, Josephus, and the Talmud. A kindred title of the same significance is applied according to a growing body of expositors to Simon the Maccabee in Ps. cx. In due accord with these facts our text (T. Lev. viii. 14) declares that a new name should mark the new priesthood.

But the praises accorded in this book could not apply to all the Maccabean priest-kings; for, since it was written by a Pharisee, it could not have been composed after the breach arose between John Hyrcanus and the Pharisees towards the close of the second century B.C. Thus the date of composition lies between 153, when Jonathan the Maccabee assumed the high-priesthood, and the year of the breach of Hyrcanus with the Pharisees. But the limits can be determined more closely. To only one member of the Maccabean dynasty are the prophetic gifts assigned in our text (T. Lev. viii. 15) in conjunction with the functions of kingship and priesthood. Now in all Jewish history the triple offices were ascribed to only one individual, John Hyrcanus. Hence we conclude that the Testaments were written between 137 and 107 B.C. But the limits may be fixed still more

¹ Since *καλοῖς* would be the stock rendering of *טוֹבִים*, it is possible that this word stood in H^a and was corrupted into *וטועים* in H^b .

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definitely. For the text refers most probably to the destruction of Samaria, T. Lev. vi. 11. In that case our book was written between 109 and 107 B. C. (see my edition, pp. l–liii).

§ 11. INTEGRITY, AUTHORSHIP, SOURCES.

The groundwork, which consists of about eleven-twelfths of the Testaments, after the removal of the Jewish and Christian additions (§§ 12, 13), presents, it must be confessed, a certain want of coherence, and the parts dealing with the duty of submission to Levi, or to Levi and Judah jointly, come in at times very abruptly. Notwithstanding, I accept on the whole the unity of the book; for its two main characteristics—the strictly Hasid element in the book and its loyal acceptance of the Maccabean dynasty—belong to the period to which our author belongs and to none other before or after. Furthermore, both these parts of the book are universalistic in tone. On the other hand, much of the unevenness of the book may be due to the use of sources and to faulty transmission of the text.

The author was a Pharisee of the early type. He was an upholder of the Law and of the Temple sacrifices: he looked for the Messianic kingdom and the resurrection of the body to a new life therein. He taught the duties of chastity, truthfulness, forgiveness, self-control, and temperance. Our author has drawn freely on earlier books and traditions. He shows a wide acquaintance with the O.T., Sirach, and 1 Enoch, as well as of other ancient works—such as the account of the War of Jacob and his sons against the Amorites utilized in T. Jud. iii–vii, Jubilees xxxiv. 1–9, the Midrash Wajjissau (see my Text, pp. 235–8), and the Book of Jasher: the account of the war between Jacob and Esau utilized in T. Jud. ix, Jubilees xxxvii–xxxviii, and the Jalkut Shimeoni i. 132.

Another very important source for the T. Levi has just been discovered in the lost Hebrew document, from which the Aramaic and Greek fragments are printed in my *Greek Versions of the Testaments*, pp. 245–56, and translated in my *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, pp. 228–35. This source deals with the temple ritual of the second century B. C. and is therefore of great importance from an historical standpoint.

Our author drew also upon a Hebrew document dealing with the 'Two Ways' in the T. Asher and upon Jewish tradition generally on a great variety of points.

§ 12. JEWISH ADDITIONS TO THE ORIGINAL WORK.

A large body of these additions can be classed under one head, as interpolated at a certain period and written with a well-defined object. The period was about 70–40 B. C., and the object of the additions was the overthrow of the Maccabean high-priesthood, which in the first century B. C. had become guilty of the most abandoned lewdness and baseness.

1°. *First century additions* :—

T. Lev. x, xiv–xvi.

T. Jud. xvii. 2–xviii. 1 (?), xxi. 6–xxiii, xxiv. 4–6.

T. Zeb. ix.

T. Dan v. 6–7, vii. 3(?).

T. Naph. iv.

T. Gad viii. 2.

T. Ash. vii. 4–7.

In these passages the nation is declared to be guilty of apostasy; the laying waste of the Temple is predicted, and a second captivity: a redemption of the nation either by God Himself or by a Messiah sprung from Judah, and a blessed return to their own land. In all these respects these passages agree with the Psalms of Solomon, which belong to the same period.

Another characteristic of these additions is their frequent citation of the Enoch literature. The citations cannot be found in 1 Enoch, but bear a close affinity to certain passages in 2 Enoch, whence we may reasonably infer the existence of certain portions of that literature, which were subsequently embodied in some form in 2 Enoch.

2°. *Other additions of various dates* :—

T. Reub. ii. 3–iii. 2.

T. Lev. xvii. 1–9.

T. Zeb. vi. 4–6, vii–viii. 3.

T. Jos. x. 5–xviii.

On this section see my edition, pp. lvii–lxi.

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§ 13. CHRISTIAN ADDITIONS.

These additions are found in nearly all the Testaments and were made at different periods. The dominant characteristic of all these additions (which are bracketed in the following translations, and a full list of which is given in my edition, pp. lxi-lxv) is their *dogmatic* character. They always import dogmatic Christian statements into a Jewish text, to which they are naturally alien in character. A few English scholars on the ground of these undoubted interpolations have proceeded to infer that all other passages common to the Testaments XII Patriarchs and the N.T. must have been interpolated in the former from the latter. But these scholars have failed to observe the characteristic differences between the two sets of passages in question. In the case of the first we have *dogmatic Christian statements* interpolated in a *Jewish work at variance not only with the teaching and character of that work as a whole, but also at variance with their respective contexts*. But in regard to the second, we have ethical sayings and teachings, *which are in harmony not only with the spirit of the book as a whole, but also with their respective contexts*. The ethical teaching, while very much loftier than that of the O.T., is yet its true spiritual child, and, though not so pure and sublime as that of the N.T., is a product of the school that prepared the way for the N.T.

It is hard to understand the mental attitude of those who regard these ethical teachings as Christian interpolations. Three-fourths of these teachings have no direct parallels in the N.T., and they stand practically on the same level as the rest, which are parallel to, or rather have exercised a direct influence on, the N.T. The only reasonable conclusion is that these ethical teachings belong to the original Testaments.

Fragments of an ethical tradition which was largely independent of the O.T. are preserved in the Story of Ahikar. That this story with its moral goes back to a very ancient date we now know, since Aramaic fragments of the fifth century B.C. have been recently discovered. For the account of this story the reader should consult Dr. Rendel Harris' study of it at the close of this volume. Now our author appears to have borrowed a few of his sayings from this story. Thus—

Ahikar, *Syr. Version* 28 (Syr. 28; Arab. 19^b, 58^b),
'If thine enemy meet thee with evil meet him
with wisdom' ('with good' Syr. Frag. 20).

Greek version preserved in Aesop. xxvi. 6 τοῖς εὖ
πράττουσιν μὴ φθόνει, ἀλλὰ σύγχαιρε· φθονῶν γὰρ σεαυτὸν
μᾶλλον βλάψεις.

T. Jos. xviii. 2 'If any one seeketh to do evil
to thee do him a good turn, and pray for him, and
so from all evil shall ye be redeemed of the Lord'.
Cf. T. Benj. iii. 3.

T. Gad iii. 3 (ὁ μισῶν) τῷ κατωρθοῦντι φθονεῖ. vii. 1
ἐὰν δὲ εἰς ὑπὲρ ὑμᾶς εὐδοοῦται μὴ λυπέσθε, ἀλλ' εὐχέσθε
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἵνα τελείως εὐδοοῦται (b d e g A S'). 2 καὶ
ἐὰν ἐπὶ πλείον ὑψοῦται, μὴ φθονεῖτε. T. Sim. iii. 6
συμπαθεῖ τῷ φθονομένῳ.

These parallels are close; but it will be observed how our author has touched to finer issues and glorified what he has borrowed, far above the highest imaginings of Ahikar.

Ahikar Syr. 19 (Syr. Frag. 7) 'My son, go not
after the beauty of a woman: and lust not
after her in thy heart.'

T. Reub. iv. 1 μὴ οὖν προσέχετε, τέκνα μου, κάλλος
γυναικῶν. Cf. T. Jud. xvii. 1; T. Iss. iv. 4. T. Benj.
viii. 2 ὁ ἔχων διάνοιαν καθαρὰν (β S') . . . οὐχ ὄρα γυναῖκα
εἰς πορνεῖαν.

With the above we might compare Matt. v. 28 πᾶς ὁ βλέπων γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτήν ἤδη ἐμοίχευεν
αὐτήν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ.

Once more in T. Jos. iii. 5 the words, which Joseph uses with regard to himself, ἐὰν δὲ ἀπεδήμει
ὁ κύριός μου οἶνον οὐκ ἔπιον καὶ ἐλάμβανόν μου τὴν τροφήν καὶ ἐδίδον αὐτήν τοῖς πένησι, seem to be used
deliberately to contrast his conduct with that of Nadan the nephew of Ahikar, who acted in the
opposite fashion, when he believed Ahikar was dead. As Drs. James and Harris have already
pointed out, the story of Ahikar lies at the base of the Parable of the Wicked Servant, Matt. xxiv.
48-51 || Luke xii. 45-6.

§ 14. INFLUENCE ON JEWISH AND PATRISTIC LITERATURE.

See my edition pp. lxxiv-lxxviii.

§ 15. INFLUENCE ON THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Since the influence of the Testaments on the N.T. has been very extensive only some of the
chief instances of this influence can be touched on here. The reader can consult my edition,
pp. lxxviii-xcii, where it is shown that the Sermon on the Mount reflects in several instances the

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spirit and even reproduces the very phrases of our text: that many passages in the Gospels exhibit traces of the same, and that St. Paul seems to have used the book as a *vade mecum*.

1. **Forgiveness.** Matt. xviii. 15 εἰς ἂν δὲ ἁμαρτήσῃ ὁ ἀδελφός σου ὑπάγε ἐλέγξον αὐτὸν μεταξύ σοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ μόνον.

xviii. 35 εἰς ἂν μὴ ἀφήτε ἕκαστος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν καρδιῶν ὑμῶν.

With the above we must take Luke xvii. 3 εἰς ἂν ἁμαρτήσῃ ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἐπιτίμησον αὐτῷ, καὶ εἰς ἂν μετανοήσῃ ἄφες αὐτῷ.

That the N.T. passages are here dependent cannot be reasonably denied.

2. **Duty of loving God and our neighbour.** Matt. xxii. 37-9 ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐν ὅλῃ . . . τῇ ψυχῇ σου . . . ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν.

T. Gad vi. 3 (β) εἰς ἂν τις ἁμαρτήσῃ εἰς σε εἰπέ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐν εἰρήνῃ . . . καὶ εἰς ἂν . . . μετανοήσῃ ἄφες αὐτῷ.

vi. 6 ἡσύχασον μὴ ἐλέγξῃς. v. 7 ἄφες αὐτῷ ἀπὸ καρδίας.

T. Dan v. 3 ἀγαπήσατε τὸν κύριον ἐν πάσῃ τῇ †ζωῇ† ὑμῶν καὶ ἀλλήλους ἐν ἀληθινῇ καρδίᾳ.

Our text, which enunciates the same duty twice elsewhere, T. Iss. v. 2, vii. 6, is the first literary authority to conjoin the two great commands of love to God and love to our neighbour. These commandments are given separately in Deut. vi. 5 and Lev. xix. 18. In the latter passage and possibly in our text the sphere of neighbourhood is limited to Israelites, but in our Lord's use there is no limit of race or country.

3°. Various borrowings of ideas or diction.

Matt. xxv. 35, 36 ἐπέειπας γὰρ καὶ ἐδώκατέ μοι φαγεῖν . . . ἡσθένησα καὶ ἐπεσκεψασθέ με, ἐν φυλακῇ ἤμην καὶ ἤλθατε πρὸς με.

Luke ii. 19 συνετήρει τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα . . . ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς.

Acts xii. 11 ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ κύριος τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξείλατό με ἐκ χειρὸς.

John i. 9 τὸ φῶς . . . ὁ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον.

v. 41 δόξαν παρὰ ἀνθρώπων οὐ λαμβάνω.

T. Jos. i. 5, 6 ἐν λιμῷ συνεσχέθην καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος διέθρεψέ με . . . ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ ἤμην καὶ ὁ κύριος ἐπεσκεψάτο με, ἐν φυλακῇ ἤμην καὶ θεὸς μου ἐχαρίτωσέ με.

T. Lev. vi. 2 συνετήρουν τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου.

T. Sim. ii. 8 ὁ θεὸς . . . ἀπέστειλε τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐρρύσατο αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν μου.

T. Lev. xiv. 4 τὸ φῶς τοῦ νόμου τὸ δοθὲν εἰς φωτισμόν παντὸς ἀνθρώπου.

T. Benj. vi. 4 οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται δόξαν . . . ἀνθρώπων (β-a, S').

4°. The Pauline borrowings are too numerous to be dealt with here. The reader can consult my text. There are over seventy words which are common to the Testaments and the Pauline Epistles, but which are not found in the rest of the N.T. Only a few of the most notable passages where St. Paul draws upon the Testament will here be appended:

1 Thess. ii. 16 ἔφθασεν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἡ ὀργὴ (+ τοῦ θεοῦ D E F G, Itala. Vulg.) εἰς τέλος.

Rom. i. 32 οὐ μόνον αὐτὰ ποιοῦσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ συνευδοκοῦσιν τοῖς πράσσοσιν.

xii. 21 νικά ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ τὸ κακόν.

1 Cor. iv. 4 οὐδὲν . . . ἑμαυτῷ συνοῖδα.

vii. 5 μὴ ἀποστερεῖτε ἀλλήλους, εἰ μήτι . . . ἵνα σχολάσητε τῇ προσευχῇ.

2 Cor. vii. 10 ἡ γὰρ κατὰ θεὸν λύπη μετάνοιαν εἰς σωτηρίαν ἡμεταμέλητον ἐργάζεται.

T. Lev. vi. 11 ἔφθασε δὲ αὐτοὺς ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς τέλος.

T. Ash. vi. 2 καὶ πράσσοσιν τὸ κακόν, καὶ συνευδοκοῦσιν τοῖς πράσσοσιν (a).

T. Benj. iv. 3 οὗτος τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποιῶν νικά τὸ κακόν.

T. Iss. vii. 1 οὐκ ἔγνω ἐν ἐμοὶ ἁμαρτίαν.

T. Naph. viii. 8 καιρὸς γὰρ συνοισίας γυναικός, καὶ καιρὸς ἐγκρατείας εἰς προσευχὴν αὐτοῦ.

T. Gad v. 7 ἡ γὰρ κατὰ θεὸν ἀληθὴς μετάνοια . . . ὀδηγεῖ τὸ διαβούλιον πρὸς σωτηρίαν.

§ 16. THEOLOGY, FORGIVENESS, THE TWO GREAT COMMANDMENTS, UNIVERSALISM, THE MESSIAH, THE RESURRECTION, THE ANTICHRIST.¹

Forgiveness.—We have in our text a passage of truly epoch-making importance. Its importance cannot be grasped until we contrast the teaching of the New Testament with that of the Old on the question of man's forgiveness of his neighbour. In the New Testament from the first page to the last it is either explicitly stated or implicitly understood that a man can only receive the divine forgiveness on condition that he forgives his neighbour. Indeed, in their essential aspects, these two forgivenesses are seen to be one and the same. But in the Old Testament it is very different. There, indeed, God's forgiveness is granted, without money and without price, to the sinner who truly seeks it. But the penitent in the Old Testament could accept and enjoy the divine pardon, and yet cherish the most bitter feelings towards his own personal enemy. David on his death-bed shows this unforgiving spirit when he charges Solomon not to let Joab's hoar head go down to the grave in peace; and commands him to deal similarly with Shimei, though David had promised to

¹ This section is reprinted in the main from my edition of the Testaments, pp. xcii sqq.

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preserve his life. There is certainly the notable instance of Joseph's forgiveness of his brethren; but this act of grace on Joseph's part does not seem to have impressed later O.T. writers, or led them to urge Joseph's conduct therein as worthy of imitation. There is, of course, the noble passage on the subject of beneficence to one's enemy in Prov. xxv. 21, 22: 'If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat; And if he be thirsty, give him water to drink. For thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head, And the Lord shall reward thee.' But to show how far these words are from representing the attitude which the saints should adopt to those who wronged them, we have only to turn back to the preceding chapter (Prov. xxiv. 17, 18), where we receive this remarkable piece of advice, 'Rejoice not when thine enemy falleth, And let not thine heart be glad when he is overthrown: Lest the Lord see it and it displease Him, And He turn away His wrath from him.' Moreover, the righteous man can pray to God to make him strong enough to pay out his enemies: 'Do thou, O Lord, have mercy upon me, and raise me up, that I may requite them' (Ps. xli. 10). Thus we may conclude on the whole that in the Old Testament the saint as well as the sinner could indulge in resentful feelings or even in personal vengeance.

Now that we have grasped the conflicting attitudes of the Old and New Testaments on this great moral and religious question, we are able to appreciate the value of the contribution which the Testaments make in this direction. This contribution is found in T. Gad vi. 3-7 (see also § 26, p. lxxviii of my edition). These verses, as I have said in my notes, contain the most remarkable statement on the subject of forgiveness in all ancient literature. They show a wonderful insight into the true psychology of the question. So perfect are the parallels in thought and diction between these verses and Luke xvii. 3, Matt. xviii. 15, 35, that we must assume our Lord's acquaintance with them. The meaning of forgiveness in both cases is the highest and noblest known to us, namely, the restoring the offender to communion with us, which he had forfeited through his offence. And it is likewise the essence of the divine forgiveness—God's restoration of the sinner to communion with Him, a communion from which his sin had banished him. But, though such is the meaning of forgiveness in the full sense of the word, our author is aware that it is often impossible to attain to such a perfect relation with the offender. Thus forgiveness comes often to be synonymous with banishing the personal feeling of resentment which rises within us when we suffer wrong, and which, when indulged, leads to hate. When we have achieved this right attitude towards the offender the way is always open for his return to a right relation with us, and so far as we do so we reflect the attitude of God Himself to His erring children.

For the further prosecution of the parallels the reader should consult p. 292. We now see the importance of our text. It shows that pre-Christian Judaism possessed a noble system of ethics on the subject of forgiveness. By the early school of the Hasidim, or the pious ones of the Psalms, the best elements of the Old Testament had been taken up, studied and developed, and the highly ethical code of conduct deduced therefrom had been carried out in actual life by these ancient Quietists. But when Pharisaism, breaking with the ancient ideals of its party, committed itself to political interests and movements, and concurrently therewith surrendered itself more and more wholly to the study of the letter of the Law, it soon ceased to offer scope for the further development of such a lofty system of ethics as the Testaments attest, and so the true successors of the early Hasids and their teaching quitted Judaism and found their natural home in the bosom of primitive Christianity.

Duty of loving God and one's neighbour.—It is remarkable that the famous command in the Gospels that embodies all duty in itself, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart . . . Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' (Mark xii. 30, 31)—is already found in the Testaments, though less emphatically and vigorously stated. Thus in T. Iss. v. 2 we have, 'Love the Lord and your neighbour'; T. Dan. v. 3, 'Love the Lord through all your life, And one another with a true heart'; and again in T. Iss. vii. 6, Issachar declares, 'I loved the Lord; Likewise also every man with all my heart.'

Various ethical teachings.—The Testaments deal largely with the questions of hatred, lying, envy, hate, lust, covetousness and the virtues of long-suffering, truthfulness, love, purity, generosity, and the like. We can touch here only on a few of their pithy sayings on such subjects. Thus: 'Anger is blindness, and does not suffer one to see the face of any man with truth' (T. Dan ii. 2). 'Hatred, therefore is evil; for it constantly mateth with lying' (T. Gad v. 1). 'Envy dominates the whole mind of man' (T. Sim. iii. 2), 'it has no rest while the object of it prospers' (iii. 3): 'Deliverance therefrom cometh through the fear of God' (iii. 4). Wherefore 'If a man prospereth more than you, do not be vexed, but pray for him that he may have perfect prosperity' (T. Gad vii. 1). 'When envy goes a man's mind is lightened, so that he can enjoy the well-being of his former rival' (T. Sim. iii. 5, 6). A man is 'not to keep a ledger account of the evil done him' by his neighbour' (T. Zeb. viii. 5), a clause that St. Paul borrows in 1 Cor. xiii. 5, where λογίζεται τὸ κακόν

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is wrongly rendered in A.V. by 'thinketh no evil', and misleading in R.V. by 'taketh not account of evil'.

As regards the questions of temperance and total abstinence, what better advice could be given than that of this old writer: 'If ye drink wine with gladness, be ye modest with the fear of God. For if in your gladness the fear of God departeth, then drunkenness ariseth and shamelessness stealeth in. But if you would live soberly do not touch wine at all, lest ye sin in words of outrage . . . and perish before your time' (T. Jud. xvi. 2-3). 'Be not drunk with wine; for wine turneth away the mind from truth and inspireth the passion of lust . . . and if the occasion of lust be present, he worketh the sin and is not ashamed' (T. Jud. xiv. 1-3).

Universalism.—Although the Testaments were written about the same date as the Book of Jubilees and both books were the work of Pharisees, the views of the two authors were widely sundered on some of the greatest questions, and particularly on that of the destiny of the Gentiles. The author of Jubilees taught that there was no hope for the Gentiles: God had placed them under angelic guardians with the object of accomplishing their destruction (xv. 31). Moreover, the Jew who intermarried with them should be put to death, and the man who gave his daughter in marriage to a Gentile should be stoned with stones (xxx. 7-17). How different the spirit of the author of the Testaments. A true son of the larger-hearted O.T. prophets, he proclaims the salvation of the Gentiles. The promised time has come. The kingdom is already established, and all the Gentiles will be saved through Israel. In the Judgement the conduct of the best heathen will form the norm according to which Israel shall be judged. The teachings of the author on this question will be found in the note on T. Benj. ix. 2.

The first century B. C. additions are likewise characterized by the same Universalism. The Law was given to lighten every man, and the Gentiles were to be saved through the example and teaching of Israel (T. Lev. xiv. 4). The same view of the destiny of the Gentiles is found in the Pss. of Solomon (xvii. 32), though it is perhaps not as favourable as that in these additions. In other literature of the first century B. C. a harsher fate is predicted for the Gentiles, as in 1 Enoch xxxvii-xxxi and the Assumption of Moses, and in 4 Ezra in the next century.

The Messiah.—In the original work the Messiah is to be descended from Levi, and not from Judah—in other words he is to be first of all priest, and then prophet and king. There are many passages expressing this view: T. Reub. vi. 7-12; T. Lev. viii. 14, xviii; T. Jud. xxiv. 1-3; T. Dan v. 10, 11; T. Jos. xix. 5-9. We have here the attestation of a most remarkable revolution in the Jewish expectations of the Messiah. For some thirty or forty years the hope of a Messiah from Judah was abandoned in favour of a Messiah from Levi. But with the breach of Hyrcanus with the Pharisees this hope was abandoned, and so we find that in the first-century additions the hope of a Messiah from Judah reappears (T. Jud. xxiv. 5-6; T. Naph. iv. 5 (?)).

The prerogatives and powers ascribed to the priestly Messiah from Levi are very lofty. He was to be free from sin (T. Jud. xxiv. 1); to walk in meekness and righteousness (T. Jud. xxiv. 1); to establish a new priesthood under a new name (T. Lev. viii. 14), and also be a mediator for the Gentiles (T. Lev. viii. 14, emended); likewise he was to be a prophet of the Most High (T. Lev. viii. 15); to be a king over all the nation (T. Reub. vi. 11, 12; T. Lev. viii. 14); to war against Israel's national enemies and against Beliar and the powers of wickedness (T. Reub. vi. 12; T. Lev. xviii. 12; T. Dan v. 10), and deliver the captives taken by him, even the souls of the saints (T. Dan v. 11); to open Paradise to the righteous (T. Lev. xviii. 10; T. Dan v. 12), and give the saints to eat of the tree of life (T. Lev. xviii. 11). Moreover, he should give the faithful power to tread upon evil spirits and bind Beliar (xviii. 12), who should be cast into the fire (T. Jud. xxv. 3), and sin should come to an end (T. Lev. xviii. 9).

It was the priestly character of the Maccabean priest-kings that gave rise to the expectation that the Messiah was also to be a priest as well as a king.

The Resurrection.—There is to be a resurrection, first of the O.T. heroes and patriarchs, and next of the righteous on the right hand and of the wicked on the left (T. Benj. x. 6-8). The scene of the future kingdom is to be the present earth. It is to last for ever.

Demonology.—The book represents a very developed demonology as a reference to 'Spirits' in Index II in my edition will show. The conception of Beliar in the Testaments is very advanced for this early date.

The Antichrist.—In the first century addition, T. Dan v. 6, we have the most ancient authority at present known to us for the view which connects the tribe of Dan with Antichrist, and helps to explain the exclusion of this tribe from the list of the Twelve in the N.T. Apocalypse.

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§ 18. BRACKETS AND SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS.

Brackets. The same brackets are used in this book as throughout the entire work; and in addition the brackets $\lceil \rceil$ to signify that the words so enclosed are omitted by A.

Symbols and Abbreviations.

- $\alpha, \beta, \gamma, \delta, \epsilon, \zeta, \eta, \theta, \iota$ denote the Greek MSS.
 α denotes the MSS. $\alpha h i$ of the first class.
 β denotes the MSS. $\beta d e f g$ of the second class.
 A denotes the Armenian Version.
 A^a, A^{b*}, A^b, A^c , &c., denote the Armenian MSS.
 A^a denotes the MSS. $A^{a b b k}$ of the first class.
 A^β denotes the MSS. $A^{b* c d e f g}$ of the second class.
 S^1 denotes the first Slavonic recension.
 S^2 denotes the second Slavonic recension.

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THE TESTAMENT OF REUBEN, THE FIRST-BORN SON OF JACOB AND LEAH

- 1 The copy of the Testament of Reuben, even the commands which he gave his sons before he
2 died in the hundred and twenty-fifth year of his life¹. Two years after the death of Joseph his
3 brother², when Reuben fell ill, his sons and his sons' sons were gathered together to visit him. And
4 he said to them: My children, behold I am dying, and go the way of my fathers. And seeing
5 there³ Judah, and Gad, and Asher, his brethren, he said to them: Raise me up, that I may tell to
6 my brethren and to my children what things I have hidden in my heart, for behold now at length
7 I am passing away. And he arose and kissed them, and said unto them: Hear, my brethren, and
8 do ye, my children, give ear to Reuben your father in the commands which I give unto you. And
9 behold I call to witness against you this day the God of heaven, that ye walk not in the sins of
10 youth and fornication, wherein I was poured out, and defiled the bed of my father Jacob. And
11 I tell you that he smote me with a sore plague in my loins for seven months; and had not my father
12 Jacob prayed for me to the Lord, the Lord would have destroyed me. For I was thirty years old
13 when I wrought the evil thing before the Lord, and for seven months I was sick unto death. And
14 after this I repented with set purpose of my soul for seven years before the Lord. And wine and
15 strong drink I drank not, and flesh entered not into my mouth, and I eat no pleasant food; but
16 I mourned over my sin, for it was great, such as had not been in Israel.
- 2 And now hear me, my children, what things I saw concerning the seven spirits of deceit, when

TITLE. So h i. c is corrupt: bef add 'regarding thoughts'; A^a 18 'the Book of the Chronicles, the words of Reuben, First (> A^a) Testament'; A^b 'Testament and words of Reuben from the Book of the Chronicles'.

1. hundred and twenty-fifth year. This agrees with the Midrash Tadshe (viii. Eppstein's edition) which is itself based on Jubilees and the Testaments. It gives Reuben's age as 125, Simeon's as 120, Levi's 137, Dan's 125, Judah's 119 (?), Naphtali's 133, Gad's 125, Issachar's 122, Asher's 123, and Joseph's 110.

2. Two years after the death of Joseph. This agrees with Jub. xxviii. 11, 24, which says Reuben was born in 2122 A.M. and Joseph in 2135. As Joseph died at the age of 110, Reuben lived two years longer to attain the age of 125.

his brother. So a d only.

3. go the way of my fathers. Cf. Joshua xxiii. 14 'Go the way of all the earth'. Cf. 1 Kings ii. 2, 10.

4. Judah, and Gad, and Asher, his brethren. Joseph alone of the other patriarchs addresses his brethren as well as his sons.

what things I have in my heart. T. S. ii. 1.

now at length, = ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν. Thus the LXX translates עַד הַיּוֹם in Gen. xvi. 30 עַד הַיּוֹם אֲנִי חַיָּה. Cf. ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν in John i. 51 in some MSS. Also ἀπὸ ἀπῆ, Matt. xxvi. 64 = ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν, Luke xxii. 69.

5. Hear, my brethren, and do ye, my children, give ear. So a A^a S¹. Cf. T. Jos. i. 2. This reading suits the context better than 'hear, my brethren, and give ear' β-δ g A^d o g; or 'hear, my (> d) children, and give ear' d A^a b.

6. I call to witness against you this day. A reminiscence cf. Deut. iv. 26 where Moses calls heaven and earth to witness. ἐπιμαρτύρομαι is, however, unsuitable with 'God', and ἀρκῶ, 'I adjure,' is more so. Still we might compare Exod. xix. 21 διαμαρτυραί.

I was poured out. A classical use of ἐξέχυθην. Cf. Pindar, *Isth.* i. 4.

7. The importance of prayer is emphasized by our author. Jacob prays for Judah, T. Jud. xix. 2; for Gad, T. G. v. 9; for his ten eldest sons, T. B. iii. 6. Cf. T. S. ii. 2, 13; T. N. vi. 8; T. Jos. iii. 3, vii. 4, viii. 1; T. B. v. 5. Fasting accompanies prayer, T. Jos. iii. 3, iv. 8, x. 1, 2; T. B. i. 4.

8. thirty years old. Jub. xxviii. 11, xxxiii. 1-5 says Reuben was only twenty-one.

9. The chastisement lasted seven months, the penance seven years.

10. eat no pleasant food. Cf. Dan. x. 3. Reuben practises abstinence for seven years, Simeon for two, T. S. iii. 4, and Judah till old age, T. Jud. xv. 4, xix. 2, in expiation of their sins. Joseph fasts seven years to preserve his chastity, T. Jos. iii. 4. Issachar in his righteousness and self-control abstains from wine all his life, T. Iss. vii. 3. The righteous man 'combines fasting with chastity', T. Jos. ix. 2; the double-hearted man superstitiously combines fasting and adultery, T. A. ii. 8, iv. 3.

such as had not been in Israel. So c and practically A. Cf. 2 Sam. xiii. 12.

11. 1. seven spirits of deceit. Origen refers to this passage (*Hom. in Iosuan* 15^b, ed. Lommatzsch, xi. 143, as from the Testaments of the XII Patr. as implying various 'Satanæ'. Matt. xii. 45 speaks of seven evil spirits.

spirits of deceit. The Testaments contain a vast demonology. The chief of the demons is called Beliar *passim* (see T. Lev. iii. 3); the Devil, T. N. viii. 4; the Prince of Deceit, T. S. ii. 7; T. Jud. xix. 4; or your Prince (of Dan), T. D. v. 6. Beliar's works are opposed to God's law, T. L. xix. 1; T. Iss. vi. 1. He rules over disturbed souls, T. D. iv. 7, or those which yield to their evil inclination, T. A. i. 8. He flees, however, from the righteous and keepers of the law, T. D. v. 1; T. N. viii. 4. The Messiah will make war on Beliar and take away from him the captive souls, T. D. v. 10; Beliar will be bound, T. L. xviii. 12, and cast into the fire, T. Jud. xxv. 3. The evil spirits in general are

2 I repented. Seven spirits therefore are appointed against man, and they are the leaders in the works
3 of youth. [And seven other spirits are given to him at his creation, that through them should be
4 done every work of man. The first is the spirit of life, with which the constitution (of man) is
5 created. The second is the sense of sight, with which ariseth desire. The third is the sense of
6 hearing, with which cometh teaching. The fourth is the sense of smell, with which tastes are given
7 to draw air and breath. The fifth is the power of speech, with which cometh knowledge. The
8 sixth is the sense of taste, with which cometh the eating of meats and drinks; and by it strength is
9 produced, for in food is the foundation of strength. The seventh is the power of procreation and
sexual intercourse, with which through love of pleasure sins enter in. Wherefore it is the last in
order of creation, and the first in that of youth, because it is filled with ignorance, and leadeth the
youth 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 is brought about the trance of
2, 3 nature and the image of death. With these spirits are mingled the spirits of error.] First, the
spirit of fornication is seated in the nature and in the senses; the second, the spirit of insatiableness,
4 in the belly; the third, the spirit of fighting, in the liver and gall. The fourth is the spirit of
5 obsequiousness and chicanery, that through officious attention one may be fair in seeming. The
6 fifth is the spirit of pride, that one may be boastful and arrogant. The sixth is the spirit of lying,
7 in perdition and jealousy† to practise deceits, and concealments from kindred and friends. The

called spirits of deceit, T. R. ii. 1, 2; T. S. iii. 1; and *passim*: also wicked spirits, T. S. iv. 9; spirits of Beliar, T. Iss. vii. 7, &c.; unclean spirits, T. B. v. 2; angels of Satan, T. A. vi. 4. Their function is threefold as in 1 and 2 Enoch and the N. T., (1) to tempt men, (2) to accuse them when they fall, (3) to torment them. (2) is not a feature in this book, (3) is mentioned twice, T. L. iii. 2, spirits of retribution, and T. A. vi. 5, the evil spirit which a man serves waits for his soul as it leaves the body at death to torment it. (1) is their most prominent function in the Testaments. Of the tempting spirits, there are the seven spirits of deceit which attack youth, T. R. ii. 1-2, namely, those of fornication (cf. too, T. Jud. xiii. 3), insatiableness, fighting, obsequiousness, pride, lying, and injustice, T. R. iii. 3-6. T. Jud. xvi. 1 adds the spirits of lust, hot desire, profligacy, and filthy lucre. There are also the spirits of jealousy, T. Jud. xiii. 3; and of envy, T. S. iii. 1, iv. 7, which are wicked and poisonous spirits, T. S. iv. 9; the spirits of anger, T. D. ii. 4. There are angels, moreover, which stir men to murder, T. D. i. 7; and idolatry, T. N. iii. 3; and lust, T. Jos. vii. 4. The faithless and wicked fall an easy prey to them, but the spirits first require permission to tempt men, T. B. iii. 3 (cf. Job i. 12, ii. 6). If men yield, the devil makes them into his own instruments, T. N. viii. 6; but if they are single-hearted and do right, then neither the spirits of deceit nor Beliar have power over them, T. Iss. iv. 4; T. B. iii. 3; indeed, the devil and the spirits of Beliar and unclean spirits flee from them, T. N. viii. 4; T. Iss. vii. 7; T. B. v. 2. Nay, more, the righteous rule over them, T. S. vi. 6, and tread them under foot, T. L. xviii. 12, T. Z. ix. 8 (bdg). These spirits are punished on the judgement day, T. L. iii. 3.

2. against man + 'by Beliar' β A S.

leaders in the works. 'leader,' β-f g A^a S, which points to the singular שׂוֹרֵר in Hebrew, which = 'poison' as well as 'leader'. Cf. 'poisonous spirit', T. S. iv. 9.

II. 3—III. 2. A late addition to the text, undoubtedly first made in Greek, and chiefly drawn from Greek sources. Not only does this passage intrude between the promise in ii. 1 and its fulfilment in iii. 3, 7, but it has no organic connexion with either. Moreover, the division of the bodily senses here given is based on Stoic theories, e.g. the peculiar meaning attached to πνεύματα as that of senses, organs, or appetites. The Stoics held that the soul had eight parts, namely, the five senses, the powers of reproduction and speech, and the dominant part or reason which ruled the other seven. They discharged themselves into the various parts of the body in the form of immaterial currents or πνεύματα. Cf. Plutarch, *De Plac.* iv. 21; also Zeller, *Stoics*, 214-15 (Eng. Trans.). For full quotations see my Comm. on the Test.; also my note in Slav. Enoch xxx. 9. A parallel interpolation occurs in MS. 248 of Sirach xvii. 4, and precedes as here the Hebrew division of various powers.

3. seven other spirits. 'other' α, > β S, 'again' A. This use of πνεύματα is confined to the Stoics, and has no parallel in the Hebrew שֵׁנִי. The Stoic division gives eight πνεύματα, but our text omits ἀφή, and replaces the eighth power τὸ ἡγεμονικόν by πνεῦμα ζωῆς.

4. spirit of life. Here πνεῦμα is used in its usual sense, cf. Gen. vi. 17, vii. 15. But the Hebrew usage would not imply more than life in an impersonal sense, whereas the Stoic parallel τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, and the next phrase 'with which the constitution of man is created' suggest the power which gives vitality and life to the material organism and constitutes man's powers into a unity which is personal.

5. sense. πνεῦμα, and so in verses 5 and 7.

sight . . . desire. Cf. 1 John ii. 16 ἡ ἐπιθυμία τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν.

to draw air and breath. Cf. T. N. ii. 8 (note); also Arist. *De Spir.* 2.

6. power. πνεῦμα.

7. and by it strength is produced, αὐτῷ can refer only to πνεῦμα. Only d reads αὐτῇ (γεύσις).

9. as a blind man to a pit. Cf. Matt. xv. 14.

III. 1-2. This reference to an eighth spirit, of sleep, is due to the interpolator himself, who has also inserted iii. 7. It is not found in Stoic teaching.

1. trance of nature (ἐκστασις φύσεως). Unlike the preceding bodily powers, sleep is not credited with any contribution to human activity.

the image of death. Cf. Homer, *Il.* xiv. 231, &c.

2. An adaptation of ii. 3-iii. 1 to its present context.

4. spirit of fighting, in the liver. Cf. T. N. ii. 8.

5. †in perdition and jealousy†. Probably corrupt in the Hebrew text: בְּשׂוֹאָה וּבְשׂוֹאָה for לְשׂוֹאָה וּבְשׂוֹאָה. Hence read 'to practise deceits and an enmity and a rival and concealments', &c.

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- seventh is the spirit of injustice, with which are thefts and acts of rapacity, that a man may fulfil the desire of his heart; for injustice worketh together with the other spirits by the taking of gifts.
- 7, 8 [And with all these the spirit of sleep is joined which is (that) of error and fantasy.] And so perisheth every young man, darkening his mind from the truth, and not understanding the law of God, nor obeying the admonitions of his fathers, as befell me also in my youth. And now, my children, love the truth, and it will preserve you: hear ye 'the words of' Reuben your father.
- 10 Pay no heed to the face of a woman,
Nor associate with another man's wife,
Nor meddle with affairs of womankind.
- 11 For had I not seen Bilhah bathing in a covered place, I had not fallen into this great iniquity.
- 12 For my mind taking in the thought of the woman's nakedness, suffered me not 'to sleep' until I had wrought the abominable thing. For while Jacob our father had gone to Isaac his father, when we were in Eder, near to Ephrath in Bethlehem, Bilhah became drunk and was asleep uncovered in her chamber. Having therefore gone in and beheld her nakedness, I wrought the impiety 'without her perceiving it', and leaving her sleeping I departed. And forthwith an angel of God revealed to my father concerning my impiety, and he came and mourned over me, and touched her no more.
- 4 1 Pay no heed, therefore, 'my children', to the beauty of women, nor set your mind on their affairs; but walk in singleness of heart in the fear of the Lord, and expend labour on good works, and on study and on your flocks, until the Lord give you a wife, whom He will, that ye suffer not as I did.
- 2 For until my father's death I had not boldness to look in his face, or to speak to any of my brethren, because of the reproach. Even until now my conscience causeth me anguish on account of my impiety. And yet my father comforted me much, and prayed for me unto the Lord, that the anger of the Lord might pass from me, even as the Lord showed. And thenceforth until now I have been on my guard and sinned not. Therefore, my children, 'I say unto you', observe 'all' things whatsoever I command you, and ye shall not sin. For a pit unto the soul is the sin of fornication, separating it from God, and bringing it near to idols, because it deceiveth the mind and under-

6. fulfil a. 'do' β A S.
7. An interpolation. See iii. 1 (note). Sleep is properly a natural power, not a vice like the other seven. a a e read 'which is error and fantasy'.
8. darkening his mind. Cf. Eph. iv. 18 ἐσκοτισμένοι τῇ διανοίᾳ, also Rom. i. 21.
understanding the law. Here συνιών ἐν τῷ νόμῳ is a Hebraism.
9. the words of. So a a e f.
10. Pay no heed, &c. See iv. 1.
associate (a): 'be alone' β-g S¹. Cf. Sir. ix. 9, where the verb is κάθου, 'sit,' in the Greek, טעמט 'eat' in the Hebrew, and תרבה שיחה 'talk much' according to the Syriac (cf. Aboth i. 5). In Sanh. 100^b and Yebam. 63^b, where Sir. is quoted, we have תם אצל אל 'turn not aside to her'. Cf. also Nedarim 20^a.
meddle with affairs, &c. Cf. Sir. xli. 21. For πράξιν (a b f S), 'affairs', a reads ὄψιν, A b^s κάλλος καὶ πράξεις.
- 11-15. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 21, 22; Jub. xxxiii. 1-9. Reuben's sin is denied in late works, e.g. Gen. rabba 98, 99; Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxxv. 22. See note on Jub. xxxiii. 2.
13. had gone to Isaac. Jub. xxxiii. 1.
Eder near to Ephrath. Gen. xxxv. 19, 21; Jub. xxxiii. 1.
Bilhah became drunk. Peculiar to our text. Hence the new turn to the story in v. 15.
14. without her perceiving it a: > β A S.
leaving her sleeping. Jub. xxxiii. 4-7 says Bilhah awoke and cried out. She also told the matter to Jacob on his return.
- IV. 1. Pay no heed . . . to the beauty of women, &c. Cf. iii. 10; T. Jud. xvii. 1; T. Iss. iv. 4; also Sir. ix. 8. Abodah Zara 20^b forbids a man to look on a beautiful woman if single, or a homely one if married.
- singleness of heart, ἀπλότητι τῆς καρδίας = כבֿבֿ-לִמְדָה. Wisd. i. 1; Col. ii. 22; Eph. vi. 5. See note on uprightness in T. Iss. iii. 1.
- on good works and. So a A. ἐν ἔργοις καὶ ἀποπλανώμενοι β S. i.e. the β recension had a corrupt Hebrew כבֿבֿ-לִמְדָה instead of כבֿבֿ-לִמְדָה.
- your flocks. Cf. stress on husbandry, T. Iss. v. 3; vi. 2.
3. This is the first occurrence in Jewish literature of the conscience as a fully-developed conception. The LXX first uses the word in the technical sense in Wisd. xvii. 10 αἰ δὲ προσέληφεν τὰ χαλεπὰ (πονηρία) συνεχόμενη τῇ συνειδήσει. See also T. Jud. xx. 2 (a). The action of the conscience is described (without the term) in T. Jud. xx. 5; T. G. v. 3.
impiety a. 'Sin' β S¹.
4. that the anger of the Lord might pass. Jub. xxxiii. 15 says 'Reuben was granted life and forgiveness' until now, εἰς νῦν a. μετανοῶν, 'repenting', d g A. εἰς ἐνοιῶν, '(even) in thought', a e f.
5. I say unto you. a only.
- 6-7. Cf. T. Jud. xv. 1, xviii. 2-6, on the evils of fornication.
6. A pit, βόθρος, a a f. ὄλεθρος, 'destruction' β-a f. חשׁו has both meanings.
- separating it from God . . . near to idols. This recurs in T. S. v. 3. Cf. Kethub. 11^b 'Most idolaters are adulterers', also Wisd. xiv. 12 ἀρχὴ γὰρ πορνείας (= spiritual unfaithfulness) ἐπίνοια εἰδώλου.

THE TESTAMENT OF REUBEN 3. 6—6. 5

7 standing, and leadeth down young men into Hades before their time. For many hath fornication destroyed; because, though a man be old or noble, 'or rich or poor', he bringeth reproach upon himself with the sons of men and derision with Beliar. For ye heard regarding Joseph how he guarded himself from a woman, and purged his thoughts from all fornication, and found favour in the sight of God and men. For the Egyptian woman did many things unto him, and summoned magicians, and offered him love potions, but the purpose of his soul admitted no evil desire. Therefore the God of your fathers delivered him from every evil (and) hidden death. For if fornication overcomes not your mind, neither can Beliar overcome you.

5 1 'For' evil are women, my children; and since they have no power or strength over man, they use 2 wiles by outward attractions, that they may draw him to themselves. And whom they cannot 3 bewitch by outward attractions, him they overcome by craft. 'For' moreover, concerning them, the angel of the Lord told me, and taught me, that women are overcome by the spirit of fornication more than men, and in their heart they plot against men; and by means of their adornment they deceive first their minds, and by the glance of the eye instil the poison, and then through the accomplished act they take them captive. For a woman cannot force a man openly, but by a harlot's bearing she beguiles him. Flee, therefore, fornication, my children, and command your wives and your daughters, that they adorn not their heads and faces to deceive the mind: because every woman 6 who useth these wiles hath been reserved for eternal punishment. For thus they allured the Watchers who were before the flood; for as these continually beheld them, they lusted after them, and they conceived the act in their mind; for they changed themselves into the shape of men, and 7 appeared to them when they were with their husbands. And the women lusting in their minds after their forms, gave birth to giants, for the Watchers appeared to them as reaching even unto heaven.

6 1 Beware, therefore, of fornication; and if you wish to be pure in mind, guard your senses from every 2 woman. And command the women likewise not to associate with men, that they also may be pure 3 in mind. For constant meetings, even though the ungodly deed be not wrought, are to them an 4 irremediable disease, and to us a destruction of Beliar and an eternal reproach. For in fornication 5 there is neither understanding nor† godliness, and all jealousy dwelleth in the lust thereof. There-

leadeth down . . . to Hades. Cf. Prov. vii. 27, where LXX has *κατάγουσαι* as here.

before their time, *οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ αὐτῶν* = *בְּלֵא עֵתָם*. Cf. T. Jud. xvi. 3.

7. many hath fornication destroyed. Cf. Prov. vii. 26; also Sir. ix. 8, where read *ἀπεκτάνθησαν* for *ἐπλανήθησαν*. So Sanh. 100^b, Yebam. 63^b.

or rich or poor. *a* only.

derision, *γέλῳτα*, d e A S. *πρόσκομμα*, 'an offence' or 'stumbling-block', *a*, i. e. *מוֹקֵשׁ* for *רִיבֵשׁ*.

8. For ye heard, &c., 'for since Joseph guarded himself from every woman . . . he found', &c. *β A S*¹.

found favour in the sight of God ('of the Lord' *β A S*¹). Cf. T. S. v. 2; also 1 Sam. ii. 26; Luke ii. 52. Acts vii. 10 says of Joseph 'God . . . gave him favour'.

9. Cf. T. Jos. vi.

did many things unto = *תַּרְבָּה*, perhaps corrupt for *תַּאֲרַב*, 'lay in wait for'.

10. delivered him, &c. Cf. Acts vii. 10.

evil, *a*. 'visible and' *β-d A β S*¹, i. e. *רָאוּ* for *רָע*.

11. Beliar is powerless with the pure. Cf. Jub. i. 20, x. 6 (note); Eccles. vii. 26.

V. 1. For. *a* only.

evil are women. Cf. Eccles. vii. 27, 28.

by outward attractions, *ἐν σχήμασι*, i. e. figure, bearing, attire, and gestures.

2. by outward attractions, *διὰ σχήματος a. δυνάμειος β A S*¹, i. e. *הָוִן* for *הוֹר* or *הוּ*.

3. they plot. Cf. Eccles. vii. 26, 27.

glance of the eye. Cf. T. Iss. vii. 2; T. B. vi. 3; also Prov. vi. 25; Sir. xxiii. 4.

4. openly . . . beguiles him. *a* only.

5. adorn not their heads and faces. Enoch viii. 1 says that the fallen Watchers taught women to beautify the face and wear precious metals. For Hebrew adornments see Isa. iii. 16.

reserved for eternal punishment, *εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον τετήρηται*. Cf. Jude 6 *εἰς κρίσιν . . . τετήρηκεν*; 2 Pet. ii. 4 *εἰς κρίσιν τηρουμένων*.

6. thus they allured the Watchers. Jub. iv. 15 (see note) says the Watchers descended to instruct the children of men, and afterwards proceeded to take wives of the daughters of men (Jub. v. 1). See Chron. Jerahmeel xxv. 2-4. In xxv. 7, 13 Azazel is said to be 'appointed chief over all dyes and all kinds of ornaments by which women entice men to thoughts of sin'. Is this story in view in 1 Pet. iii. 3-5; 1 Tim. ii. 9?

Watchers. See Dan. iv. 13, 23; 1 En. vi-viii; Jub. iv. 15, v. 1; 2 En. xviii. 3.

lusted after them *A^b b* c d e g*; 'lusted after one another' *a β-g*.

7. reaching unto heaven. Their height was 3,000 ells, 1 En. vii. 2.

VI. 1. Beware . . . of fornication. Cf. iv. 6; T. S. v. 3; Tobit iv. 12.

if you wish . . . guard *β A S*¹: 'be pure in mind: guard also' *a*.

2. Cf. iii. 10. Note that purity of heart is required. Cf. Matt. v. 27, 28.

3. a destruction of Beliar and an eternal reproach *a*: 'an eternal reproach of Beliar' *β S*¹: 'a great reproach' *A*.

4. godliness, *εὐσέβειαν*. Probably corrupt for *εὐλάβειαν*, 'discretion'.

jealousy. Cf. Num. v. 29; Prov. vi. 34.

5-12. Many passages in the Testaments set forth Levi's merits and claims. Cf. T. S. vii. 2; T. L. ii. 11, viii. 14,

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

fore, 'then I say unto you', ye will be jealous 'against the sons of Levi', and will seek to be exalted
 6 over them; but ye shall not be able. For God will avenge them, 'and ye shall die by an evil death'.
 7 For to Levi God gave the sovereignty [and to Judah with him and to me also, and to Dan and
 8 Joseph, that we should be for rulers]. Therefore I command you to hearken to Levi, because he
 shall know the law of the Lord, and shall give ordinances for judgement and shall sacrifice for all
 Israel until the consummation of the times, as the anointed High Priest, of whom the Lord spake.
 9 I adjure you by the God of heaven to do truth each one unto his neighbour and to entertain love
 10 each one for his brother. And draw ye near to Levi in humbleness of heart, that ye may receive
 11 a blessing from his mouth. For he shall bless Israel and Judah, because him hath the Lord chosen to
 12 be king over all the nation. And bow down before his seed, for on our behalf it will die in wars
 visible and invisible, and will be among you an eternal king.
 7_{1, 2} And Reuben died, having given these commands to his sons. And they placed him in a coffin
 until they carried him up from Egypt, and buried him 'in Hebron' in the cave where his father was.

THE TESTAMENT OF SIMEON, THE SECOND SON OF JACOB AND LEAH.

1₁ The copy of the words of Simeon, the things which he spake to his sons before he died, in the
 2 hundred and twentieth year of his life, at which time Joseph, 'his brother', died. For when Simeon

xviii. 1, 2; T. D. v. 4; T. N. viii. 2; T. G. viii. 1; T. Jos. xix. 11. The salvation of Israel is to come from both Levi and Judah jointly, T. S. vii. 1, &c. Only in T. G. viii. 1 (probably corrupt) is Judah placed before Levi. Levi is priest and king, T. R. vi. 7-12; T. L. viii. 14, xviii. 1, 2; as high-priest, T. S. vii. 2. Judah is king T. S. vii. 2; T. Jud. i. 6, xvii. 5; T. N. viii. 2 (corrupt?). T. R. vi. 7^b and T. Jud. xxiv. 4-6 are additions.

5. then, I say unto you a only.

jealous against the sons of Levi. Cf. the charge against Simeon's sons, T. S. v. 4, and Dan's, T. D. v. 5. The purpose of this admonition is to establish the Maccabean hegemony.

6. and ye . . . death. These words are omitted by A.

7. Levi is to be king. The bracketed words are a foolish interpolation. Why 'to Dan' is not clear. In Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xlix. 3 we have the non-Maccabean view: 'because thou (Reuben) didst sin, my son, the primogeniture is given to Joseph, the kingdom to Judah, and the priesthood to Levi.'

8. shall know: 'shall make known' A.

give ordinances for judgement, διατελεί εις κρίσιν cβ-bgS; διατελεί εις κρίσιν hgA, 'fulfil as regards judgement,' perhaps corrupt for διατελέσει κρίσιν.

all Israel (> 'all' a). The Twelve Tribes are considered as in Palestine by our author. John Hyrcanus, who is meant by our text, is to bless Israel and Judah, verse 11. The title 'Twelve Patriarchs' points to the same view. Cf. the letter of Aristaeus, which says that Eleazar the high-priest sent six men from each of the Twelve Tribes to Ptolemy. The pre-Maccabean view (1 En. lxxxix. 72) was that the Northern tribes were still in captivity. The Maccabean view was due to the extensive sway of those native kings. With the failure of the Maccabees, the Messianic promises were again attached to Judah instead of Levi, and the idea of the Captivity of the Northern Tribes revived. See Pss. Sol. xvii. 28, 34, 50; Ass. Mos. iv. 8, 9; Sib. Or. ii. 170-3; 4 Ezra xiii. 39-47; Apoc. Bar. i. 2, 3, lxxxviii. 1, 5, 7, lxxxiv. 10. For the rejection of Dan see T. D. v. 6-7.

consummation of the times, τελειώσεως χρόνων. Cf. T. L. x. 2 (T. B. xi. 3) συντελεία των αίωνων; T. Z. ix. 8 καιρού συντελείας. This means the closing years of the age present to the writer, and the opening of a new era, possibly with no catastrophe, as in Jub. i. 29, v. 12, xxiii. 26-30 (see notes). Cf. Daniel's 'time of the end' (Dan. viii. 19, xi. 35, 40, xii. 49), יְפֹתָי. The LXX gives ὄραν καιρού, ὄραν συντελείας, καιρού συντελείας. Cf. 1 En. x. 13 ἡμέρας τελεσμού, xvi. 1 ἡμέρα τῆς τελειώσεως. Also Ass. Mos. i. 18 'in consummatione exitus dierum'; x. 13 '(tempora) consummentur'; 2 Bar. xxvii. 15, &c. 'consummation of the times'; lvi. 2 'of the world'; lxxxiii. 7 'of the age'. Cf. 4 Ezra ix. 5 and T. Iss. vi. 1 (note); also Matt. συντελεία αἰῶνος, xiii. 39, xxiv. 3.

as the anointed High Priest. So emended from ἀρχιερεὺς χριστοῦ h: (times) 'of the anointed High Priest' cβS.

of whom the Lord spake. Ps. cx, originally written in honour of Simon, is here interpreted of John Hyrcanus. Cf. for reinterpretation Dan. vii. 7, 8 as explained in Dan. vii. 23-5, and interpreted anew in 4 Ezra xi. 1 ff.

9. do truth h i β S: 'walk in truth' A: 'speak truth' c, as also T. D. v. 2 (Zech. viii. 16; Gal. iv. 25).

entertain love. Cf. T. L. xix. 18; also T. S. iv. 7; T. D. v. 3.

10-11. Levi as priest and king. Cf. 1 Macc. xiv. 41 concerning Simon, ἡγούμενον καὶ ἀρχιερέα.

receive a blessing. Cf. Jub. xxxi. 15; Sir. i. 20.

11. him hath the Lord chosen, i.e. Levi: ἐν αὐτῷ ἐξελέξατο—a Hebraism.

nation a f A: 'nations' β-f S.

12. Achievements of the Maccabean prince-priests. Most 'died in wars visible', cf. T. S. v. 5. As spiritual leaders they spent themselves in warfare against spiritual opposition. Cf. Ps. lxix. 9, cxix. 139.

eternal king ('kings' A). Cf. ἱερεὺς εις αἰῶνα 1 Macc. xiv. 41; Ps. cx. 4. 'Seed' and 'die', however, may be corrupt. If so, read יָעַר for יָעַר and יָעַר for יָעַר, and render 'Bow down before his might, for he will stand forth . . . a king for ever', of Hyrcanus.

VII. 2. Joseph's bones alone remained in Egypt till the Exodus. Cf. Acts vii. 16.

TITLE a: + 'regarding envy' β-a d e A * f g S.

1. 1. The copy of the words hβ-d e S: 'testament' c: 'copy of the testament' d e A * b.

before . . . died > a d.

hundred and twentieth year β-d g A * b * c d. See T. R. i. 1.

Joseph died. Jub. xxviii. 13, 24 makes Joseph ten years younger than Simeon.

THE TESTAMENT OF SIMEON 1. 1—4. 4

was sick, his sons came to visit him, and he strengthened himself and sat up and kissed them, and said:—

- 2¹ Hearken, my children, to Simeon your father,
And I will declare unto you what things I have in my heart.
2 I was born of Jacob as my father's second son;
And my mother Leah called me Simeon,
Because the Lord had heard her prayer.
3 Moreover, I became strong exceedingly;
I shrank from no achievement,
Nor was I afraid of ought.
4 For my heart was hard,
And my liver was immovable,
And my bowels without compassion.
5, 6 Because valour also has been given from the Most High to men in soul and body. For in the
time of my youth I was jealous¹ in many things¹ of Joseph, because my father loved him¹ beyond
7 all¹. And I set my mind against him to destroy him, because the prince of deceit sent forth the
spirit of jealousy and blinded my mind, so that I regarded him not as a brother, nor did I spare even
8 Jacob my father. But his God and the God of his fathers sent forth His angel, and delivered him
9 out of my hands. For when I went to Shechem to bring ointment for the flocks, and Reuben to
Dothan, where were our necessities and all our stores, Judah my brother sold him to the Ishmaelites.
10 And when Reuben heard these things he was grieved, for he wished to restore him to his father.
11 But on hearing this I was¹ exceedingly¹ wroth against Judah in that he let him go away alive, and
12 for five months I continued wrathful against him. But the Lord restrained me, and withheld¹ from
13 me¹ the power of my hands; for my right hand was half withered for seven days. And I knew, my
children, that because of Joseph this had befallen me, and I repented and wept; and I besought the
Lord God that my hand might be restored, and that I might hold aloof from all pollution and envy
14 and from all folly¹. For I knew that I had devised an evil thing before the Lord and Jacob my
father, on account of Joseph my brother, in that I envied him.
- 3^{1, 2} And now, my children, hearken unto me and¹ beware of the spirit of deceit and envy. For envy
ruleth over the whole mind of a man, and suffereth him¹ neither to eat nor to drink¹, nor to do any
3 good thing. But it ever suggesteth (to him) to destroy him that he envieth; and so long as he that
4 is envied flourisheth, he that envieth fadeth away. Two years¹ therefore¹ I afflicted my soul with
fasting in the fear of the Lord, and I learnt that deliverance from envy cometh by the fear of God.
5 For if a man flee to the Lord, the evil spirit runneth away from him, and his mind is lightened.
6 And henceforward he sympathiseth with him whom he envied and forgiveth those who are
hostile to him, and so ceaseth from his envy.
- 4¹ And my father asked¹ concerning me¹, because he saw that I was sad; and I said unto him, I am
2 pained in my liver. For I mourned more than they all, because I was guilty of the selling of Joseph.
3 And when we went down into Egypt, and he bound me as a spy, I knew that I was suffering justly,
4 and I grieved not. Now Joseph was a good man, and had the Spirit of God within him: being

II. 2. Simeon . . . heard her prayer. Cf. Gen. xxix. 33 for this play on the name.

4. liver. Here the spirit of war dwells, T. R. iii. 4.

6. jealous of Joseph. Cf. iv. 2, 3; and Targum Ps.-Jon. which attributes Gen. xxxvii. 19, 20 to Simeon and Levi.
in many things *a* only.
beyond all *a* only.

7. mind, *ἦναρα*. See *v.* 4.
prince of deceit. See T. R. ii. 1 (note).
blinded my mind. Cf. T. R. iii. 8.

8. sent forth his angel and delivered. Dan. iii. 28; Acts xii. 11. Cf. Ps. xxxiv. 7, 8.

9. Reuben to Dothan. Reuben's absence explains Gen. xxxvii. 21.
Judah . . . sold him. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 26-8.

10. heard these things, *ἀκούσας c* (cf. Gen. xxxvii. 21): 'came' *β A S¹*, i.e. *בשבעו* for *בשבעו*. Same corruption in
v. 11.

restore *c A* = *השיב*: 'save' *β-a f S¹* = *הושיע*.

13. the Lord God *a d*: 'the Lord' *β-d A b* c d e g S¹*: 'God' *A a b h*.

III. 1. spirit of deceit and envy *a A S²*. Cf. ii. 7. 'spirits' *β S¹*.

3. and so long, &c. Perhaps render 'And he that is envied flourisheth, and', &c.

4. afflicted my soul with fasting. Ps. xxxv. 15. Cf. T. R. i. 10.

6. forgiveth, *συγγιγνώσκει a a e f S¹*. *οὐ καταγιγνώσκει b d g A b* c d e*,
are hostile to. The text has 'love' — in the Hebrew original *אהבה* corrupt for *איבה*.

IV. 4. Joseph is commended here and always in the Testaments except Naph. Cf. T. R. iv. 8-10.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

compassionate and pitiful, he bore no malice against me; but loved me even as the rest of his
5 brethren. Beware, therefore, my children, of all jealousy and envy, and walk in singleness of
heart,

$\beta A S^1$

soul and with good heart, keeping in mind
Joseph your father's brother,

that God may give 'you also' grace and glory, and blessing upon your heads, even as ye saw in
6 Joseph's case. All his days he reproached us not concerning this thing, but loved us as his own
7 soul, and beyond his own sons glorified us, and gave us riches, and cattle and fruits. Do ye also,
my children, love each one his brother with a good heart, and the spirit of envy will withdraw from
8 you. For this maketh savage the soul and destroyeth the body; it causeth anger and war in the
mind, and stirreth up unto deeds of blood,

^a

and leadeth the mind into frenzy,

$\beta A^{\beta} S^1$

and leadeth the mind into frenzy, 'and suffereth
not prudence to act in men'; moreover, it taketh
away sleep,

[and causeth tumult to the soul and trembling to the body].

9 For even in sleep some malicious jealousy, deluding him, gnaweth, and with wicked spirits dis-
turbeth his soul, and causeth the body to be troubled, and waketh the mind from sleep in confusion;
and as a wicked and poisonous spirit, so appeareth it to men.

5 1 Therefore was Joseph comely in appearance, and goodly to look upon, because no wickedness
2 dwelt in him; for some of the trouble of the spirit the face manifesteth. And now, my children,

Make your hearts good before the Lord,
And your ways straight before men,
And ye shall find grace before the Lord and men.

3 Beware, therefore, of fornication,
For fornication is mother of all evils,
Separating from God, and bringing near to Beliar.

4 For I have seen it inscribed in the writing of Enoch that your sons shall be corrupted in fornication,
5 and shall do harm to the sons of Levi with the sword. But they shall not be able to withstand Levi;
6 for he shall wage the war of the Lord, and shall conquer 'all' your hosts. And they shall be few in
number, divided in Levi and Judah, and there shall be none of you for sovereignty, even as also our
father prophesied in his blessings.

6 1, 2 Behold I have told you all things, that I may be acquitted of your sin. Now, if ye remove from
you your envy and all stiff-neckedness,

As a rose shall my bones flourish in Israel,
And as a lily my flesh in Jacob,
And my odour shall be as the odour of Libanus;
And as cedars shall holy ones be multiplied from me for ever,
And their branches shall stretch afar off.

5. singleness of heart. See T. Iss. iii. 2 (note).
of heart *a*. $\beta A S^1$ read 'soul and (> A^{ab}) with good ('pure' $A^{ab}b^{*}odeg > A^b$) heart, keeping in mind
Joseph (> *b*) your father's brother ('brother' *A*). *d* is corrupt. The twofold recension obviously goes back to the
Hebrew original.

6. gave us riches, &c. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 11, 12.

7. love each one his brother. Cf. T. R. vi. 9.

will withdraw *a* &c.: 'put ye away' $\beta - eg S^1$. For 'withdraw' cf. iii. 5, 6.

8. and suffereth . . . men > $A^{b*}odefg$: 'moreover . . . sleep' recurs T. Jud. xviii. 4 with a new verb.
[and causeth tumult . . . body], bracketed as a corrupt dittography of 8^a.

9. Sir. xl. 5-7.

poisonous. Cf. T. R. v. 3; also ii. 2 (note).

V. 1. comely, &c. Gen. xxix. 6.

2. grace before the Lord and men. Luke ii. 52; T. R. iv. 8.

3. Separating from God, &c. See T. R. iv. 6.

4. in the writing of Enoch. Cf. T. L. x. 5, &c. Not in our Enoch: 2 En. xxxiv. 2 says similar things of the
Antediluvians. Possibly a reference to Num. xxv. 6, 7, 14.

the sons of Levi. See T. R. vi. 5.

5. wage the war of the Lord—refers to the Maccabees, T. R. vi. 12.

6. few in number, divided in Levi and Judah. Cf. Gen. xlix. 7. 'I will divide them (Simeon and Levi) in Jacob
and disperse them in Israel.' Levi is omitted from this curse here, yet Levi claims the credit of destroying Shechem
in T. L. vi. 4, and is praised for it in Jub. xxx. 18-23. Cf. T. L. v. 3. Contrast the tone of Gen. xlix. 6-7 and later Rabbinic
tradition.

VI. 1. acquitted of your sin. Cf. T. L. xiv. 2.

3 Then shall perish the seed of Canaan,
And a remnant shall not be unto Amalek,
[And all the Cappadocians shall perish],
And all the Hittites shall be utterly destroyed.

4 Then shall fail the land of Ham,
And all the people shall perish.
Then shall all the earth rest from trouble,
And all the world under heaven from war.

Restored Text

5 Then the Mighty One of Israel shall glorify
Shem,
For the Lord God shall appear on earth,
And Himself save men.

A^{abh}

Then shall Shem (MSS. 'Seth') be glorified,
For the Lord our God shall appear on earth
[as man]
And Himself saves again.

6 Then shall all the spirits of deceit be given to be trodden under foot,
And men shall rule over wicked spirits.

7 Then shall I arise in joy,
And will bless the Most High because of his marvellous works,
[Because God hath taken a body and eaten with men and saved men].

7₁ And now, my children, obey Levi and Judah, and be not lifted up against these two tribes, for
2 from them shall arise unto you the salvation [of God]. For the Lord shall raise up from Levi as it
were a High-priest, and from Judah as it were a King [God and man], He shall save all [the Gentiles
3 and] the race of Israel. Therefore I give you these commands that ye also may command your
children, that they may observe them throughout their generations.

8₁ And when Simeon had made an end of commanding his sons, he slept with his fathers, being an
2 hundred and twenty years old. And they laid him in a wooden coffin, to take up his bones to
3 Hebron. And they took them up secretly during a war of the Egyptians. For the bones of Joseph
4 the Egyptians guarded in the tombs of the kings. For the sorcerers told them, that on the departure
of the bones of Joseph there should be throughout all the land darkness and gloom, and an exceeding
great plague to the Egyptians, so that even with a lamp a man should not recognize his brother.

9_{1, 2} And the sons of Simeon bewailed their father. And they were in Egypt until the day of their
departure by the hand of Moses.

3. The destruction of Israel's foes.
And all . . . perish > A. The Cappadocians seem to mean here the Caphtorim or Philistines. Cf. Deut. ii. 23,
and note on Jub. xxiv. 29.

Hittites, either 'חִתִּים 'Hittites' or כְּתִיִּם (i. e. Greeks, or Macedonians).

4. all the people. Which people? λαός generally refers to Israel, and so perhaps the Messianic ὁδοὺς are meant.

5-8. A Theophany. God Himself comes to save men, subdues the evil spirits, and raises the righteous.

5. For other Theophanies see T. L. ii. 11, v. 2, viii. 11; T. Jud. xxii. 2; T. Z. ix. 8; T. N. viii. 3; T. A. vii. 3.

the Mighty One of Israel. So β S A^{b*cd eg} (in 2nd clause), while a reads μέγα τῷ Ἰσραήλ (in 1st clause).

shall glorify. Conjectured from ἐνδοξασθήσεται, all MSS., i. e. כְּבֹדִי corrupt for כְּבֹדִי.

Shem. So b d A^{b*cd eg}; 'Seth' A^{abh}: 'the sign' a β- b d S. Possibly σημεῖον = יִשְׂרָאֵל misread for יִשְׂרָאֵל = 'Zion'.

[as man] a β- a S, a Christian addition.

and Himself save men: lit. = 'and save in Himself the Adam' a β S. ἐν αὐτῷ (or ἐαντῷ) = מִצַּעַב, which
the translator should have rendered by אֲרִיס. דָּרַרְךָ defied translation into Greek, hence τὸν Ἀδάμ.

This third clause is wanting in A^{b*cd eg} and corrupt in A^{abh}.

For this primitive view of the Messianic kingdom as a visible Theocracy cf. I En. xxv. 3, lxxvii. 1. It will be on
this earth, and the righteous dead will rise to share in it.

6. Cf. Luke x. 19, 20 'to tread . . . on every power of the enemy', 'the spirits are subject unto you'. Cf. T. L.
xviii. 12. Based on Ps. xci. 13.

7. [Because God hath taken a body, &c.] Cf. a like Christian interpolation in T. A. vii. 3; also T. D. v. 13^d, vi. 9.

VII. 1. and Judah c: 'and in Judah shall ye ('we' A^{b*cd efg}) be redeemed' h β A S.

be not lifted up. Cf. T. R. vi. 5.

from them shall arise . . . salvation. See T. R. vi. 5-12 (note).

2. Levi's supremacy is here (with the text of N. viii. 2) alone in this work limited to the priesthood.

all the Gentiles. See T. B. ix. 2 (note).

VIII. 2. wooden coffin a A^{b*cd efg}: 'coffin of incorruptible wood' β- g A^{abh} S.

during a war of the Egyptians β A S. See T. B. xii. 3 (note).

3. tombs a: 'treasure-houses' β A^β S. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. i. 26 says, 'they embalmed him and placed him in
a coffin and sank him in the middle of the Nile of Egypt.' Cf. Exod. rabba xx. 17. R. Nathan says Joseph was
buried in Pharaoh's palace.

4. Reason for the guarding of Joseph's bones. Why should the darkness be chosen for mention out of all the
Plagues?

IX. 1. their father + 'according to the law of mourning' β S.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

THE TESTAMENT OF LEVI, THE THIRD SON OF JACOB AND LEAH.

- 1** ¹ The copy of the words of Levi, the things which he ordained unto his sons, according to all that
² they should do, and what things should befall them until the day of judgement. He was sound in
 health when he called them to him; for it had been revealed to him that he should die. And when
 they were gathered together he said to them:
- 2** ¹ I, Levi, was born in Haran, and I came with my father to Shechem. And I was young, about
³ twenty years of age, when, with Simeon, I wrought vengeance on Hamor for our sister Dinah. And
 when I was feeding the flocks in Abel-Maul, 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 law-
⁴ lessness sat upon towers. And I was grieving for the race of the sons of men, and I prayed to the
⁵ Lord that I might be saved. Then there fell upon me a sleep, and I beheld a high mountain, and
⁶ I was upon it. And behold the heavens were opened, and an angel of God said to me, Levi, enter.

<i>a</i>	<i>A^a</i>	<i>β A^β S¹</i>
<p>7 And I entered from the first heaven, and I saw there a great sea hanging.</p>	<p>7. And when I had entered into the first heaven, †and he escorted raised me† to the second. And I saw there a great sea hanging.</p>	<p>And I entered from the first 7 heaven into the second, and I saw there a sea hanging between the one and the other.</p>
<p>8 And further I saw a second heaven far brighter and more brilliant, for there was a boundless light also therein.</p>		<p>And further I saw a third 8 heaven far brighter and more brilliant than these two; for there was also a boundless †height therein.</p>
<p>9 And I said to the angel, Why is this so? And the angel said to me, Marvel not at this, for thou shalt see another heaven more brilliant and incomparable.</p>	<p>9. And I said unto him: What is this, Lord? And he said unto me:</p>	<p>And I said unto the angel: 9 Wherefore is it so? And the angel said unto me: Marvel not at these; for thou shalt see four other heavens more brilliant and incomparable,</p>

TITLE. So *a*: 'Testament of Levi concerning the priesthood' *β-a d e A S*: + 'and arrogance' *b d e f A^b* c d e f g*.

I. 1. until the day of judgement. This event is therefore conceived as near to the time of the writer. revealed to him. Levi has several revelations.

II. 2. about twenty years; eighteen according to T. L. xii. 5. Jub. xxviii. 13, 14 makes Simeon two years older.

3. Abel-Maul = the Abel-meholah of the O.T. e.g. Judges vii. 22. corrupting their way. Cf. Gen. vi. 12. unrighteousness had built . . . towers *β A^{c d e g S¹}*: 'sin was built upon a wall and unrighteousness sat upon towers' *a*. Cf. 1 En. xci. 5 'unrighteousness will come to an end, . . . and its whole structure will be destroyed'. Cf. also Zech. v. 8-11.

After 3 *e* makes a long addition, describing the call and purifying of Levi.

5. and I was upon it *a*. 'This is the mountain of the shield in Abelmaul' *g A^b* f g*. See T. L. vi. 1.

II. 7-III. The original passage described three heavens, but it has been worked up to include seven. The first heaven really has the great sea, as *z*. 8 in *a* shows, for the second heaven is further on. This second becomes the third in *β A^β S¹*. Again in 9, 10 *a* speaks of 'another heaven'. *β A^β S¹* makes 'four other heavens' of it. In 10 the word 'thither' and the general effect require no more than one heaven. In iii. 1-4 *a* once more gives us three heavens, and God dwelling in the highest. *β A^β S¹* makes four of the first two, and then passes at a leap to the highest, which in verses 5-8 we find has two or three others between it and the fourth or third heaven. *a* also has undergone alteration in verses 5-8 and mentions three other heavens.

The doctrine of the seven heavens was prevalent in Judaism before and after the time of Christ. See e.g. 2 En. iii-xxi; Talmud, *Chag.* 12^b; 4 Ezra vii. 81-7.

Christian apocalypses like Asc. Isa. followed Hebrew teaching on this point. Thus the redaction originated in Hebrew, and has been betrayed by the testimony of the first and better of the two independent Greek Versions—*a*. That they are independent is shown by iii. 2 *κρίσεως*, *a*: *προστάγματος*, *β*, iii. 6 *θυσιαν*, *a*: *προσφοραν*, *β*; iii. 9 *τρέμομεν*, *a*: *σαλευόμεθα*, *β*.

7. a great sea, i.e. the waters above the firmament, Gen. i. 7. Cf. Jub. ii. 4 and 1 En. liv. 8. For 'hanging' perhaps read 'in the firmament' *ברקיע* for *בוקיע*.

8. The 'second' in *a* becomes the 'third heaven' in *β*. Instead of the brightness iii. 3 mentions the avenging hosts in it.

light. Text = 'height' = *נבה* corrupt for *ננה*, 'light' or 'brightness'. So read *ננה* = *φῆγγος* or *φῶς* instead of *נבה* = *ψος*.

9. Note that the one heaven in *a* becomes four in *β*.

<i>a</i>	<i>A^a</i>	<i>β A S¹</i>
<p>10 And when thou hast ascended thither, Thou shalt stand near the Lord, And shalt be His minister, And shalt declare His mysteries to men, And shalt proclaim †concerning Him that shall redeem† Israel.</p> <p>11 And by thee and Judah shall the Lord appear among men, †Saving every race of men.¹</p> <p>12 And from the Lord's portion shall be thy life, And He shall be thy field and vineyard, And fruits, gold, and silver.</p>	<p>10. When thou hast ascended thither, Thou shalt stand before the Lord, And shalt be His minister, And his coming mysteries thou shalt declare unto men.</p>	<p>When thou hast ascended¹⁰ thither. †Because¹ thou shalt stand near the Lord, And shalt be His minister, And His mysteries shalt thou declare to men, And shalt proclaim concerning the redemption of Israel.</p>
<i>a</i>	<i>A^a</i>	<i>β A^β S¹</i>
<p>3¹ Hear, therefore, regarding the heavens which have been shown to thee. The lowest is for this cause gloomy unto thee, in that it beholds all the unrighteous deeds of men.</p> <p>2 And it has fire, snow, and ice made ready for the day of judgement, in the righteous judgement of God; for in it are all the spirits of the retributions for vengeance on †men.</p> <p>3 And in the second are the hosts of the armies which are ordained for the day of judgement, to work vengeance on the spirits of deceit and of Beliar. And above them are the holy ones.</p>	<p>1. Hear, therefore, regarding the heavens which were shown to thee. The first heaven is for this cause gloomy unto thee, since it beholds the unrighteous deeds of men.</p> <p>2. And the second hath fire and snow and ice made ready for the day of the ordinances.</p>	<p>Hear, therefore, regarding the¹ seven heavens. The lowest is for this cause gloomier, since it beholds all the unrighteous deeds of men.</p> <p>The second has fire, snow, ice² ready for the day of the ordinance of the Lord in the righteous judgement of God. In it are all the spirits of the retributions for vengeance on the lawless.</p> <p>In the third are the hosts of³ the armies which are ordained for the day of judgement, to work vengeance on the spirits of deceit and of Beliar. †And those in the fourth† who are above these are holy.</p>

10-12. Levi has not yet ascended into the third heaven; in fact he does not do so till v. 1. The angel appears to anticipate in 10-12, and resumes his account in iii. 1. Otherwise 10-12 would follow naturally on iv. 2.

10. Levi is to be made priest on ascending into the third heaven. See v. 1, 2.

stand near the Lord, and shalt be His minister. Cf. Deut. x. 8, xviii. 11; Jub. xxxi. 14. the redemption of Israel. *A^β* alone preserves the original reading. *a β S* are all modified by Christian influence to 'Him that shall redeem Israel'. > *A^a*.

11. by thee and Judah. See T. R. vi. 5-12 (note).

appear among men. That God Himself would appear and dwell with men was the older Jewish view in the second century B. C. Cf. T. S. vi. 5 (note); T. L. v. 2; 1 En. xxv. 3.

Saving every race of men > *A*. See T. S. vi. 5 (note).

12. from the Lord's portion. See viii. 16 (note). Cf. Deut. xxxii. 9; Sir. xvii. 17, where Israel is the Lord's portion.

III. 1. gloomy . . . in that it beholds, &c. Cf. 2 Bar. liii. 5, lvi. 5, 7 'the black waters'. Cf. also 3 Baruch viii; Apoc. Esdrae; Apoc. Pauli 4; and see James, *Texts and Studies*, V. i. 67.

2. The first (*a*) heaven contains the instruments of God's retribution for sin. 2 En. iii. 3; v. 1 also holds, like *a*, that the treasures of the ice and snow, and the great sea, are in the first heaven.

for the day of judgement. Cf. *εἰς ἐκδίκασιν ἔκτισται*, Sir. xxxix. 29. Cf. also Sir. xxxix. 28, 30 and xl. 9, 10.

spirits of the retributions. Natural phenomena are the agents of punishment, but they are under the control of spirits or angels. Cf. 1 En. lx. 12.

on the lawless, 'on men' *a*, by textual corruption. Cf. Sir. xl. 10.

3. In the second heaven are the angelic armies in readiness to destroy Beliar. 2 En. xvii gives us an armed host, but in the fourth heaven and for a different purpose.

†And those in the fourth†. The *β* recension here cannot be cleared up by *a*, as it was independently altered by the redactor. Verse 8 in *β* naturally refers to the fourth heaven, which therefore need not be mentioned here. Perhaps we should read 'and the four heavens above these are holy', i. e. *וּשְׁבַרְבִיעֵי וְהָאֲרְבַּעָה* for *וְהָאֲרְבַּעָה*. This gives a point to the 'for' in v. 4 (*β*).

above them are the holy ones *a*. These are the angels. For the first passage in which the abode of the

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<i>a</i>	<i>A^a</i>	<i>β A^β S¹</i>
4 And in the highest of all dwelleth the Great Glory, far above all holiness.	4. And †the Holy One of the holy ones† is above all holiness.	For in the Highest of all 4 dwelleth the Great Glory, in the holy of holies, far above all holiness.
5 In [the heaven next to] it are the archangels, who minister and make propitiation to the Lord for all the sins of ignorance of the righteous;	5. And the hosts of the angels are ministering,	And in [the heaven next to] 5 it are the angels of the presence of the Lord, who minister and make propitiation to the Lord for all the sins of ignorance of the righteous.
6 Offering to the Lord a sweet-smelling savour, a reasonable and a bloodless offering.	6. And praising the Lord,	And they offer to the 6 Lord a sweet-smelling savour, a reasonable and bloodless offering.
7 And [in the heaven below this] are the angels who bear †answers to the angels of the presence of the Lord.	7. Who also are messengers of the Godhead.	And in [the heaven below] 7 are the angels who bear the answers to the angels of the presence of the Lord.
8 An †in the heaven next to this† are thrones and dominions, in which always they offer praise to God.		And in the heaven next to 8 this are thrones and dominions in which always praises are offered to God.
<i>a, β A^β S¹</i>		
9 When, therefore, the Lord looketh upon us, all of us are shaken; yea, the heavens, and the earth, and the abysses are shaken at the presence of His majesty.	9. When, therefore, the Lord looketh upon all creation, the heavens and the earth and the abysses are shaken.	
10 But the sons of men, having no perception of these things, sin and provoke the Most High.		
4 1 Now, therefore, know that the Lord shall execute judgement upon the sons of men. Because when the rocks are being rent, And the sun quenched, And the waters dried up,		

blessed even after judgement is heaven is in 1 En. civ. 2, ciii. 4, 6, xli. 2, li. 4, i. e. between 100 and 50 B.C. The intermediate abode of souls—even of the righteous—is Sheol at this date, 1 En. xxii. 4-9, li. 1, c. 5 (cf. 4 Ezra iv. 41); 2 Macc. vi. 23.

4. the Great Glory. 1 En. xiv. 20, cii. 3. Cf. 1 En. xxv. 3, 7, xlvii. 3.

5-8. Even *a* here has been interpolated. The sixth, fifth, and fourth heavens are introduced, but there is still a gap between *v.* 3 and *v.* 8, as there is no third heaven mentioned in 3 (*a*). The descending order is a witness to the original text, which thus enumerated the angels in the third heaven.

5. minister and make propitiation. A sacrificial service in heaven is suggested by the heavenly patterns spoken of in Exod. xxv. 9, 40; Num. viii. 4, and was already a familiar idea. See my Commentary *in loc.* The intercession of angels occurs in Zech. i. 12; Job v. 1, xxxiii. 23, and especially in 1 En. ix. 3, xv. 2, lxxxix. 76. See T. D. vi. 2. Cf. too 1 En. xxxix. 5, xlvii. 2, xl. 6, civ. 1. For *λειτουργοῦντες* cf. Heb. i. 14.

sins of ignorance. Cf. T. R. i. 6; T. Jud. xix. 3; T. Z. i. 5.

6. reasonable, *λογικήν*. Cf. Rom. xii. 1. Cf. Origen, *De Orat.* xi *λογικήν ἱερουργίαν*, of Raphael offering on Tobit's behalf.

bloodless offering. Cf. Essenes' objection to bloody sacrifices. Cf. Philo ii. 457.

7. How 'answers'? These are a lower order of angels. Perhaps we should render 'bear the answers for the angels of the presence', or 'of the angels', &c. (as *g*). The analogy of Rev. v. 8, however, would suggest תפלות 'prayers' instead of תשובות 'answers'. Cf. 3 Bar. xi-xii; Apoc. Pauli vii-x; Origen, *De Princ.* i. 8. 1.

8. thrones and dominions. Cf. Col. i. 16; Eph. i. 21; 2 En. xx. 1.

they offer praise. Cf. 2 En. xvii, xviii.

9. This verse and Sir. xvi. 18, 19 are independent versions of a lost Hebrew original. Moreover *a* and *β* differ. Thus *a* has *τρέμομεν*, *β* *σαλευόμεθα*, Greek of Sir. *συνσειοῦνται*. For parallels cf. Judges v. 4; Isa. lxiv. 1; Judith xvi. 15; Ass. Mos. x. 4.

10. no perception . . . sin. Cf. 1 En. lxxvii. 13.

IV. 1. sun quenched. Cf. Matt. xxiv. 29; Mark xiii. 24.

waters dried up. Cf. Pss. Sol. xvii. 21; Ass. Mos. x. 6; 4 Ezra vi. 24.

And the fire cowering,
 And all creation troubled,
 And the invisible spirits melting away,
 And Hades taketh spoils through the visitations of the Most High,
 Men will be unbelieving and persist in their iniquity.
 On this account with punishment shall they be judged.

- 2 'Therefore' the Most High hath heard thy prayer,
 To separate thee from iniquity, and that thou shouldst become to Him a son,
 And a servant, and a minister of His presence.
 3 The light of knowledge shalt thou light up in Jacob,
 And as the sun shalt thou be to all the seed of Israel.
 4 And there shall be given to thee a blessing, and to all thy seed,
 Until the Lord shall visit all the Gentiles in His tender mercies for ever.
 5 'And' therefore there have been given to thee counsel and understanding,
 That thou mightst instruct thy sons concerning this ;
 6 Because they that bless †Him shall be blessed,
 And they that curse † Him shall perish.

5 1 And thereupon the angel opened to me the gates of heaven, and I saw the holy temple, and upon
 2 a throne of glory the Most High. And He said to me : Levi, I have given thee the blessings of the
 3 priesthood until I come and sojourn in the midst of Israel. Then the angel brought me down to the
 4 earth, and gave me a shield and a sword, and said to me : Execute vengeance on Shechem because
 5 of Dinah, thy sister, and I will be with thee because the Lord hath sent me. And I destroyed at
 6 that time the sons of Hamor, as it is written in the heavenly tables. And I said to him : I pray
 7 thee, O Lord, tell me Thy name, that I may call upon Thee in a day of tribulation. And he said :
 I am the angel who intercedeth for the nation of Israel that they may not be smitten utterly,
 for every evil spirit attacketh it. And after these things I awaked, and blessed the Most High,
 and the angel who intercedeth for the nation of Israel and for all the righteous.

And Hades taketh spoils. Cf. Isa. v. 14. Or a Christian addition—'and Hades is despoiled', *σκυλευομένου* being taken in a passive not middle sense.

visitations. A difficult but possible rendering of *πάθει*. If an interpolation, = 'passion'.

unbelieving and persist. Cf. Rev. xvi. 9, 11, 21; 1 En. lxvii. 12, 13. For *ἀπιστοῦντες* β-d A^β S we have *ἀπειθοῦντες*, 'disobedient' a d.

2. **become to Him a son.** Already in the second century B. C. we find the individual Israelite viewed as a son of God. Cf. Sir. xxiii. 1, li. 10 (Syriac); Jub. i. 24 (note).

minister of His presence. Cf. Jub. xxxi. 14.

3. **The light of knowledge.** See xviii. 3 (note).

4. This 'blessing' is probably God's blessing on Levi, as Jub. xxxi. 13, not that pronounced by the priests (T. R. vi. 10, note), or the priestly privileges, T. L. v. 2.

Until the Lord shall visit. Cf. v. 2.

in His tender mercies. αβ A^β S read 'in His Son's tender mercies'.

A^a reads in 4 'And it shall come to pass in the last days that God shall send [His Son] to save the created things [and thy sons shall lay hands on and crucify Him]'. αβ A^β S also have the last clause—an obvious Christian addition.

6. For 'Him' read 'thee', as in Isaac's blessing of Levi in Jub. xxxi. 17.

V. 1. **opened to me the gates.** Cf. the opened door in Rev. iv. 1. Levi now enters the third heaven of ii. 9 (a).
the holy temple. With xviii. 6 and perhaps iii. 4 (β A^β S¹), the earliest reference to the heavenly temple. Cf. Rev. xi. 19, xvi. 17 and contrast Rev. xxi. 22.

and upon . . . Most High β A S: 'the Holy Most High One sitting upon a throne' a.

2. **until I . . . sojourn.** For the visible theocracy cf. iv. 4; T. S. vi. 5.

3. **a shield.** See vi. 1.

Execute vengeance. Yet Levi says 'we sinned' in vi. 7.

4. This verse interrupts the narrative.

heavenly tables β A^β S¹. See T. A. ii. 10, vii. 5 (β A S¹): 'tables of the fathers' a, perhaps better. Cf. Jub. xxx. 23.

6. **angel who intercedeth for the nation of Israel.** See my Commentary *in loc.* *παρηγορούμενος τὸ γένος* β-d: *προϊστάμενος τοῦ γένους* d: *παρεπόμενος τοῦ γένους* a: *φύλαξ τοῦ γ.* A: *σώζων τὸ γ.* S¹. a seems a bad rendering of *ἄγγελος*, as in D. vi. 2 a. d A S¹ = 'protector'. For β-d cf. Asc. Is. ix. 23 (Latin and Slavonic) 'Iste est magnus angelus Michael deprecans semper pro humanitate'.

This angel then appears to be Michael. Cf. Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1. Also see 1 En. xx. 7, which limits his good offices to the righteous in Israel, cf. T. L. v. 7. He intercedes for Israel, 1 En. lxxxix. 76, helps Israel, xc. 14 and opposes the angels of the heathen nations in Dan. x-xii. God Himself is Israel's Patron in Deut. xxxii. 8-9 (LXX); Sir. xvii. 17; Jub. xv. 31, 32; Hebrew T. Naph. ix. 5, and only the other nations have angel-patrons. Or it may be the angel of peace that is referred to here. Cf. T. D. vi. 5; Dan. x. 5-6, 11^a, 12-14, 19-21, xi-xii. See also T. A. vi. 6; T. B. vi. 1; 1 En. xl. 8, li. 5, liii. 4, &c., for this angel as a guide. He is distinct from Michael, Dan. x. 13; 1 En. xl. 8-9.

utterly . . . attacketh it > a.

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- 6¹ And when I was going to my father, I found a brazen shield; wherefore also the name of the
 2 mountain is Aspis, which is near Gebal, to the south of Abila. And I kept these words in my
 3 heart. And after this I counselled my father, and Reuben my brother, to bid the sons of Hamor
 not to be circumcised; for I was zealous because of the abomination which they had wrought on
 4, 5 my sister. And I slew Shechem first, and Simeon slew Hamor. And after this my brothers
 6 came and smote [that] city with the edge of the sword. And my father heard [these things] and
 was wroth, and he was grieved in that they had received the circumcision, and after that had been
 7 put to death, and in his blessings he †looked amiss upon us. For we sinned because we had done
 8 this thing against his will, and he was sick on that day. But I saw that the sentence of God was for
 evil upon Shechem; for they sought to do to Sarah [and Rebecca] as they had done to Dinah our
 9 sister, but the Lord prevented them. And they persecuted Abraham our father when he was a
 stranger, and they vexed his flocks when they were big with young; and Eblaen, who was born in his
 10 house, they most shamefully handled. And thus they did to all strangers, taking away their
 11 wives by force, and they †banished them. But the wrath of the Lord came upon them to the
 uttermost.
- 7¹ And I said to my father Jacob: By thee will the Lord despoil the Canaanites, and will give
 2 their land to thee and to thy seed after thee. For from this day forward shall Shechem be
 3 called a city of imbeciles; for as a man mocketh a fool, so did we mock them. Because also
 4 they had wrought folly in Israel by defiling my sister. And we departed and came to Bethel.
- 8^{1, 2} And there again I saw a vision as the former, after we had spent there seventy days. And I saw seven
 men in white raiment saying unto me: Arise, put on the robe of the priesthood, and the crown of right-
 eousness, and the breastplate of understanding, and the garment of truth, and the plate of faith, and the
 3 turban of the †head, and the ephod of prophecy. And they severally carried (these things) and put
 (them) on me, and said unto me: From henceforth become a priest of the Lord, thou and thy seed for

VI. 1. shield. Prof. Sayce suggests this = שריון, i.e. Mount Hermon (Deut. iii. 9) which is 10 miles SE. of Abilene, but 40 miles from Gebal.

wherefore *διού, ἐν ᾧ a.*

2. I kept . . . heart. Cf. Dan. iv. 25 LXX (contrast LXX in vii. 28); Luke ii. 19.

3. my brother > c.

not c only. Jub. xxx. 1-4; Josephus, *Ant.* i. 21. 1 omit the circumcision of the Shechemites. Levi was opposed to their circumcision as he intended to avenge the insult done to his sister.

on my sister *a A^a: 'in Israel' β A^b S¹.*

4-5. Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 25-7, where the other sons of Jacob 'came upon the slain and spoiled the city'.

6. Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 30; Jub. xxx. 25. Gen. says Jacob reproached Simeon and Levi.

looked amiss. *παρείδεν a: 'did inequitably', ἄλλως ἐποίησεν β-d g A^b S¹.*

7. he was sick *c b: 'I was sick' h β-b A S¹.*

8. upon Shechem > a. and Rebecca > a. The Shechemites had done nothing to Sarah and Rebecca—for the incidents at Gerar see Gen. xx. 3, xxvi. 7.

9. Also not in Genesis.

10. their wives *β-a f A S¹: τὰς ξένας a f, i. e. wives of guests or strangers.*

banished, a mistranslation of יריוחן 'seduced them' (to idolatry), or 'forced them', as Prov. vii. 21. See Jub. xxx. 7-17, where intermarriage with heathen involves the death penalty, as in the case of the Shechemites. Marriage with a Gentile was considered equivalent to worship of the Gentile idols.

11. of the Lord *β S¹: 'of God' a.* This verse, adopted by St. Paul in 1 Thess. ii. 16, seems to be based on Gen. xxxv. 5 and presupposes קַמֵּת הַיְיָ instead of קַמֵּת הַיְיָ. Jub. xxx. 26 reads the latter.

VII. 1. Jacob *a: 'be not angry my (a f g: > A^a) lord Jacob (> d)' β-b A S¹.*

2. a city of imbeciles. Cf. Sir. l. 26—of Shechem.

3. wrought folly in Israel. Gen. xxxiv. 7; Jub. xxx. 5.

4. And we + 'took our sister' *b e g.*

came to Bethel. Cf. Jub. xxxi. 3; Gen. xxxv. 6.

VIII. 1. For this vision cf. Jub. xxxii. 1, where, however, Levi has already visited Isaac and returned to Bethel. See T. L. ix. 1.

2. Seven men. For the 'seven angels' cf. Ezek. ix. 2, and for their names see 1 En. xx.

robe of the priesthood, &c. See my Commentary *in loc.* Cf. Exod. xxviii. 4, 36-8, xxix. 5; Sir. xiv. 8-12; Philo, *de Vita Mos.* iii. 11-14; Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 7. 1-6.

robe = תַּבְּרַת or tunic of every priest.

crown = כִּטְרוֹן.

breastplate of understanding. Cf. 'breastplate of judgement', Exod. xxviii. 15; cf. Sir. xlv. 10.

garment—the long outer robe or *ποδήρης*.

plate = *πέταλον* or פֶּטָל. See *Encyc. Bib.* iii. 3157.

turban of the †head. The *μέτρα* should have some virtue or power associated with it. So for שֵׁנָר (*κεφαλῆς a*), and שֵׁנָר (*σημείον b d e g A^a, corrupted to σηφιόν a f S¹*), we must read שֵׁנָר, 'uprightness'.

ephod of prophecy. Cf. 1 Sam. xxiii. 9, 10.

3. a priest . . . ever *β A S¹. 'A priest, thou and all thy seed' a.* Cf. Jub. xxxii. 1, which supports *β A S¹.*

- 4, 5 ever. And the first anointed me with holy oil, and gave to me the staff of judgement. The second washed me with pure water, and fed me with bread and wine (even) the most holy things, and clad
6, 7 me with a holy and glorious robe. The third clothed me with a linen vestment like an ephod. The
8, 9 fourth put round me a girdle like unto purple. The fifth gave me a branch of rich olive. The sixth
10 placed a crown on my head. The seventh placed on my head a diadem of priesthood, and filled my
11 hands with incense, that I might serve as priest to the Lord God. And they said to me: Levi, thy
12 seed shall be divided into three offices, for a sign of the glory of the Lord who is to come. And the
13 first portion shall be great; yea, greater than it shall none be. The second shall be in the priest-
14 hood. And the third shall be called by a new name, because a king shall arise in Judah, and shall
15 establish a new priesthood, after the †fashion of the Gentiles [to all the Gentiles]. And His presence
is beloved, as a prophet of the Most High, of the seed of Abraham our father.
16 Therefore, every desirable thing in Israel shall be for thee and for thy seed,
And ye shall eat everything fair to look upon,
And the table of the Lord shall thy seed apportion.
17 And some of them shall be high priests, and judges, and scribes;
For by their mouth shall the holy place be guarded.
18, 19 And when I awoke, I understood that this (dream) was like the first dream. And I hid this also
in my heart, and told it not to any man upon the earth.
9 1, 2 And after two days I and Judah went up with our father Jacob to Isaac our father's father. And
my father's father blessed me according to all the words of the visions which I had seen. And
3 he would not come with us to Bethel. †And when we came to Bethel¹, my father saw a vision
4 concerning me, that I should be their priest unto God. And he rose up early in the morning,
5 and paid tithes of all †to the Lord¹ through me. And †so¹ we came to Hebron to dwell there.
6 And Isaac called me continually to put me in remembrance of the law of the Lord, even as the

4. of judgement > a.

5. bread and wine, (even) the most holy things $c i \beta S^1$: 'holy bread and wine' h A. Cf. Gen. xiv. 18. Is Christian influence apparent here?

9-10. So $a \beta S^1$: 'And the sixth filled my hands with incense that I might serve as priest before the Lord' A^a: 'And the sixth placed a diadem of priesthood on my head and the seventh filled,' &c. A^{b*}: 'And the sixth and the seventh gave me a diadem of priesthood and again filled,' &c. A^{d a f g}.

filled my hands. This = ordination. Cf. Exod. xxviii. 41.

God a: > $\beta A S$.

11. These three offices filled by Moses (12), the Aaronitic priesthood (13), and the Maccabean princes (14, 15), are signs of the Messiah's coming.

12. the first portion, κληρος, is Moses. Text = a: +πιστεύσας (before πρώτος) b d e g: 'And those who believe first shall have a great portion' A.

14. the third, the Maccabees, and in particular John Hyrcanus.

a new name: 'priests of the Most High God'. Cf. Gen. xiv. 18 (Melchizedek); also Ass. Mos. vi. 1; Josephus, Ant. xvi. 6. 2; Jub. xxxii. 1, xxxvi. 16; T. L. viii. 15.

king. See 1 Macc. xiv. 41. Simon was ἀρχιερεύς, στρατηγός, and ἐθνάρχης.

in Judah, 'out of Judah' a β : 'in Judah' A, possibly.

new priesthood. Cf. xviii. 2.

after the fashion of the Gentiles, &c. $a \beta$ -d A ^{β S}: 'a new priesthood to all the Gentiles' d. The bracketed words may go back to a dittography in the Hebrew. For 'after the fashion' read perhaps as in the note in my Commentary 'for a mediator'.

15. Verses 14-15 date this work in the time of the Maccabean dynasty. Verse 15 dates it under John Hyrcanus, who alone of the Maccabees is credited with the gift of prophecy, Josephus, Bell. Jud. i. 2. 8. Cf. refs. in T. L. xviii. 6 (note). Moreover, it must be earlier than his struggle with the Pharisees.

beloved a a f S²: 'unutterable' β -a f A.

16. Cf. Isaac's blessing of Levi in Jub. xxxi. 16; also T. Jud. xxi. 5; Sir. xlv. 21.

17. Cf. Jub. xxxi. 15.

guarded β -a f A ^{β} : 'taken' a f (c h imply).

by their mouth = 'at their word'.

18-ix. 9. Cf. Aramaic Fragment, Appendix II in Commentary.

19. The first dream vision is also kept secret by Levi. Cf. vi. 2.

IX. 1. Here the visit to Isaac follows the dream vision of T. L. viii. In Jub. xxxi. 13-17 the visit and Isaac's blessing precede the vision at Bethel in xxxii. 1.

to Isaac. Isaac was living in Abraham's house (Jub. xxxi. 5) in Hebron (v. 5, Gen. xxxv. 27). Cf. Aram. and Gk. Frag. v. 11.

2. Cf. Jub. xxxi. 13-17.

he would not come. Cf. Jub. xxxi. 27.

3. and when . . . Bethel a b e g. In Jub. xxxii. 1 Levi, not Jacob, has this vision. If 'Jacob' be read there for 'Levi', the difference in order mentioned in ix. 1 (note) would be removed.

unto God βS^1 : 'before the Lord' A: > a.

4. Cf. Jub. xxxii. 2.

5. At Hebron Isaac was living.

6-14. These instructions Abraham gives to Isaac in Jub. xxi. 1-23.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

7 angel of the Lord showed unto me. And he taught me the law of the priesthood, of sacrifices,
8 whole burnt-offerings, first-fruits, freewill-offerings, peace-offerings. And each day he was instructing
9 me, and was busied on my behalf before the Lord, and said to me: Beware of the spirit of
10 fornication; for this shall continue and shall by thy seed pollute the holy place. Take, therefore,
11 to thyself a wife without blemish or pollution, while yet thou art young, and not of the race of
12 strange nations. And before entering into the holy place, bathe; and when thou offerest the
13 sacrifice, wash; and again, when thou finishest the sacrifice, wash. Of twelve trees having leaves
14 offer to the Lord, as Abraham taught me also. And of every clean beast [and bird] offer a
15 sacrifice to the Lord. And of all thy first-fruits and of wine offer the first, as a sacrifice to the
16 Lord God; and every sacrifice thou shalt salt with salt.

10 1 Now, therefore, observe whatsoever I command you, children; for whatsoever things I have
2 heard from my fathers [I have declared unto you. And behold] I am clear from your ungodliness
and transgression, which ye shall commit in the end of the ages [against the Saviour of the
world, Christ, acting godlessly], deceiving Israel, and stirring up against it great evils from the
3 Lord. And ye shall deal lawlessly together with Israel, so He shall not bear with Jerusalem
because of your wickedness; but the veil of the temple shall be rent, so as not to cover your
4 shame. And ye shall be scattered as captives among the Gentiles, and shall be for a reproach
5 and for a curse there. For the house which the Lord shall choose shall be called Jerusalem,
as is contained in the book of Enoch the righteous.

11 1, 2 Therefore when I took a wife I was twenty-eight years old, and her name was Melcha. And
she conceived and bare a son, and I called his name Gersam, for we were sojourners in our land.
3, 4 And I saw concerning him, that he would not be in the first rank. And Kohath was born in the
5 thirty-fifth year [of my life], towards sunrise. And I saw in a vision that he was standing on high
6 in the midst of all the congregation. Therefore I called his name Kohath [which is, beginning of
7 majesty and instruction]. And she bare me a third son, in the fortieth year of my life; and since
his mother bare him with difficulty, I called him Merari, that is, 'my bitterness,' because he also was

7. law of the priesthood, i. e. כְּדָבָר 'custom' or 'prerogatives' of the priests. Cf. Deut. xviii. 3. Cf. the peace-offerings and thank-offerings in Jub. xxi. 7-9.

8. before the Lord > a.

9. beware of . . . fornication. Cf. Jub. xxi. 21-2; Aram. and Gk. Frag. 14, 16; T. R. i. 6, &c. holy place, or 'holy things'.

10. Take . . . a wife. Cf. Aram. and Gk. Frag. 17.

11. For these ablutions cf. Jub. xxi. 16; Aram. and Gk. Frag. 19, 21, 53.

wash, $\nu\acute{\iota}\pi\tau\omega$, i. e. the hands and the feet, whereas 'bathe', $\lambda\acute{o}\upsilon\sigma\omega$, refers to the whole body.

12. trees having leaves a g; 'evergreen trees' β -g A. See Aram. and Gk. Frag. 23-4; Jub. xxi. 12.

13. and bird > A.

14. of . . . first fruits . . . the first. Cf. Ezek. xlv. 30 (Heb.); Sir. xlv. 20 (Gk.).

as a sacrifice to the Lord God a: 'a sacrifice unto the Lord' a f; 'unto the Lord' d e g A^b S¹; > b.

and every sacrifice thou shalt salt with salt > a. Cf. Jub. xxi. 11; Lev. ii. 13; Mark ix. 49, 50.

X. This chapter belongs to the first century B.C., and is an attack on the later Maccabean high-priests. See xiv-xv (note).

1. I have declared unto you > d A.

2. And behold > β A.

[against the Saviour . . . godlessly.] A Christian addition. 'Christ' c only: 'acting godlessly' β A S¹. stirring up . . . evils. Cf. Isa. x. 26, &c.

3. together with Israel β A S¹: 'in Israel' c.

the veil, $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\sigma\mu\alpha$ c (h plur.); cf. Mark xv. 38. $\epsilon\zeta\theta\upsilon\mu\alpha$ β -d A S suggests that $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \nu\alpha\upsilon\upsilon$ is an interpolation, and that the rending of garments is spoken of; cf. Isa. xxii. 8. A^a inserts $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\mu\omicron\upsilon$ before $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \nu\alpha\upsilon\upsilon$.

4. there + 'and a trampling under foot' β A S. Cf. Isa. xxviii. 18.

5. This verse seems to be an addition or at least an afterthought.

the house which the Lord shall choose. 1 En. lxxxix. 54 calls Jerusalem 'the house of the Lord', which the Lord shall choose. Deut. xii. 5, &c.

the book of Enoch. The references to Enoch in the Testaments are suspicious. See my Commentary, pp. 49-50. References occur in T. S. v. 4; T. L. x. 5, xiv. 1 (> a), xvi. 1 (> a); T. Jud. xviii. 1 (> a); T. D. v. 6; T. N. iv. 1; T. B. ix. 1 (> A). Four of these belong to the first century B.C., and only in two, T. S. v. 4, T. N. iv. 1, of the others do all our authorities agree. S² further refers to Enoch in T. A. ii. 10, vii. 1, 5.

XI. 1. See xii. 5.

Melcha. Gk. and Syr. Frag. 62 and Jub. xxxiv. 20.

2. Gersam. Cf. Gen. xlv. 11.

sojourners. Cf. Exod. ii. 22: 'in a land of sojourning' a.

3. Cf. Gk. Frag. 64, 65. Gersam was born at sunset, and so was not to rise to honour.

4. thirty-fifth: 'thirty-fourth' Aram. (and Gk.?) Frag.

5-6. Cf. Aram. and Gk. Frag. 67, which also suggests a paronomasia of קהל and להק 'congregation'. The brackets indicate a gloss. The Gk. Frag. 67 adds 'and his seed shall be $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\omega\upsilon\ \iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ '. Cf. here $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \sigma\upsilon\mu\beta\iota\beta\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$.

7. my bitterness > 'my' a. Cf. Aram. and Gk. Frag. 69.

- 8 like to die. And Jochebed was born in Egypt, in my sixty-fourth year, for I was renowned then in the midst of my brethren.
- 12^{1, 2} And Gersam took a wife, and she bare to him Lomni and Semei. And the sons of Kohath,
^{3, 4} Amram, Issachar, Hebron, and Ozeel. And the sons of Merari, Mooli, and Mouses. And ⁵in the ninety-fourth year¹ Amram took Jochebed my daughter to him to wife, for they were born in one
⁵ day, he and my daughter. Eight years old was I when I went into the land of Canaan, and eighteen
⁶ years when I slew Shechem, and at nineteen years I became priest, and at twenty-eight years I took
⁶ a wife, and at forty-eight I went into Egypt. And behold, my children, ye are a third generation.
⁷ In my hundred and eighteenth year Joseph died.
- 13¹ And now, my children, I command you:
 Fear the Lord your God ¹with your whole heart¹,
 And walk in simplicity according to all His law.
² And do ye also teach your children letters,
 That they may have understanding all their life,
 Reading unceasingly the law of God.
³ For every one that knoweth the law of the Lord shall be honoured,
 And shall not be a stranger whithersoever he goeth.
⁴ Yea, many friends shall he gain more than his parents,
 And many men shall desire to serve him,
 And to hear the law from his mouth.
⁵ Work righteousness, ¹therefore¹, my children, upon the earth,
 That ye may have (it) as a treasure in heaven.
⁶ And sow good things in your souls,
 That ye may find them in your life.
 But if ye sow evil things,
 Ye shall 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,
 The wisdom of the wise nought can take away,
 Save the blindness of ungodliness, and the callousness (that comes) of sin.
⁸ ¹For if one keep oneself from these evil things¹,
 Then even among his enemies shall wisdom be a glory to him,
 And in a strange country a fatherland,
 And in the midst of foes shall prove a friend.
⁹ Whosoever teaches noble things and does them,
 Shall be enthroned with kings,
 As was also Joseph my brother.

8. Jochebed . . . renowned, a play on the name in Hebrew. Cf. the Frag. 71.

XII. 1-3. Cf. Exod. vi. 17-19.

5. Eight years. Cf. Syr. Frag. 'eighteen' Aram. Frag. 78: 'nine' Jub. xxviii. 14, xxix. 14, eighteen years. So Syr. Frag. and Aram. Frag., also Jub. xxx. 2 with xxviii. 14, 23.

forty-eight: 'forty' text, 'forty-eight' Aram. Frag. 79. Cf. T. Jud. xii. 12 (note).

7. hundred and eighteenth. For a different calculation see Jub. xxviii. 14, 24.

XIII. 1. A poem in praise of the wise. Cf. Sir. xxxix. 9-11.

2. teach . . . letters. Cf. T. R. iv. 1. This verse > a.

4. desire to serve him. Cf. Sir. x. 25.

5. righteousness = alms. Cf. LXX in Deut. vi. 25, xxiv. 13; Ps. xxiv. 5.

have (it) as a treasure emended. 'find' β A^β S: 'be healed' a. Both תרפאו and תרפאו corrupt for תמצרו. Cf. Matt. vi. 20; Tobit iv. 8-9; Pea 15^b; B. Bathra 11^a; Pss.-Sol. ix. 6, 9; 1 En. xxxviii. 2. The treasure of good works occurs also in 4 Ezra vii. 77; 2 Bar. xiv. 12; Shabbath 31^b; and is the measure of the righteous' final reward,

4 Ezra viii. 33; 2 Bar. xxiv. 1.

6. sow evil. Cf. Prov. xxii. 8.

7. with diligence β A^β S: > a A^a.

nought, οὐδείς, text.

the blindness of ungodliness. Cf. xiv. 4.

8. For if . . . things a: 'But if one keep these' d: > β-d A S.

9. teaches . . . and does. Cf. Matt. v. 19, vii. 24, 26.

noble a: 'these' β A.

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- | | |
|--|---|
| <p style="text-align: center;"><i>a</i>, A^a</p> <p>14 1 Therefore, my children, I have learnt that at the end of the ages ye will transgress against the Lord, stretching out hands to wickedness [against Him]; and to all the Gentiles shall ye become a scorn.</p> <p>2 For our father Israel is pure from the transgressions of the chief priests [who shall lay their hands upon the Saviour of the world].</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>a</i>, A^a</p> <p>3 For as the heaven is purer in the Lord's sight than the earth, so also be ye, the lights of Israel, (purer) than all the Gentiles.</p> <p>4 But if ye be darkened through transgressions, what, therefore, will all the Gentiles do living in blindness? Yea, ye shall bring a curse upon our race, because the light of the law which was given for to lighten every man this ye desire to destroy by teaching commandments contrary to the ordinances of God.</p> <p>5 The offerings of the Lord ye shall rob, and from His portion shall ye steal choice portions, 6 eating (them) contemptuously with harlots. And out of covetousness ye shall teach the command-</p> | <p style="text-align: center;"><i>β</i>, A^β S¹</p> <p>And now, my children, I have learnt from the writing of Enoch that in the end ye will transgress against the Lord, stretching out hands to all wickedness; and your brethren shall be put to shame because of you, and to all the Gentiles shall ye become a scorn.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>β</i> S¹</p> <p>3. The heaven is purer than the earth, and ye, the lights of Israel, are †as sun and moon.</p> <p>4. What will all the Gentiles do, if ye be darkened through transgressions? Yea, ye shall bring a curse upon our race, because the light of the law which was given to lighten every man, this ye shall desire to destroy by teaching commandments contrary to the ordinances of God.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">A^β</p> <p>My children, be ye pure as the heaven is (purer) than the earth: and ye who are the lights of Israel, shall be as the sun and moon.</p> <p>What will all the Gentiles do, if ye be darkened through transgression? Yea, curses will come upon your race, and the light which was given through the law to lighten you and every man ye shall desire to destroy, and teach your commandments contrary to the ordinances of God.</p> |
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XIV-XVI. The groundwork and indeed the main narrative of the Testaments is pro-Maccabean, and exalts Levi and his posterity. Unquestioning obedience to them is required. But in x, xiv-xvi words fail to denounce the lewdness and baseness of the priests. The chief priests transgress, are covetous, corrupt the law, teach contrary to God's ordinances, profane the priesthood, and pollute the sacrifices. For this reason the Temple shall be laid waste and they shall go into captivity, a scorn to the Gentiles.

The date is not after A. D. 70, as the Temple prediction might seem to suggest, for the Sadducees, who are in view in xiv. 4 and xvi. 2, disappear after that date as a party. The Pharisees, moreover, were not the subjects of persecution after 63 B. C. when the Pharisaic Hyrcanus became a vassal king under the Romans. Nor were the high-priests immoral in the first century A. D. The sack of Jerusalem, if already enacted, would be more than a vague prophecy.

The charges of gross immorality and profanation and of persecuting the righteous apply alike to the Hellenistic priests of 200-170 B. C., and the Sadducean priests of 100-60 B. C. But the eating of sacrifices with harlots in public can refer only to Jannaeus. See xiv. 5 (note). As he died in 78 B. C., this passage cannot be much later. In any case it is later than Dan. ix. 24, which is the source of the interpretation of Jeremiah's seventy years as weeks of years in xvi. 1, and later too than 1 En. lxxxix. 54, which cannot be dated before 164 B. C.

XIV. 1. learnt + 'from the writing of Enoch' β A S¹. The following words do not occur in Enoch; yet cf. 1 En. xci. 6, xciii. 9. See T. L. x. 5 (note).

transgress . . . wickedness + 'against Him' *a*, a Christian addition: > 'all' *a*. We might render β A^β S¹ 'stretching out hands against the Lord in all wickedness'.

2. pure, &c. Cf. T. S. vi. 1. The chief-priests are the Maccabean prince-priests, in particular Jannaeus. [who shall lay, &c.], a Christian addition.

3. *a* gives the clearest version. Yet β S¹ and A^β lead us to correct 'sun' into 'heaven', and 'on' to 'than'. 'Sun and moon' in β A^β S¹ also may be original, and 'than all the Gentiles' may be due to *a*'s drawing upon the next verse.

4. The author connects sin closely with darkness of mind. Cf. T. R. iii. 8; T. L. xiii. 7, xiv. 4, xix. 1; T. Jos. vii. 5; also T. Jud. xviii. 3, 6; T. D. ii. 4; T. G. iii. 3, vi. 2.

the light of the law. Cf. Wisd. xviii. 4; Prov. vi. 23; T. L. xviii. 3; Ps. cxix. 105.

light . . . to lighten every man. John i. 9.

teaching commandments contrary. Cf. incident of Jannaeus, Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 13. 5; *Bell. lud.* i. 4. 3, together with Talmud, Sukka 48^b. See also Pss. Sol. viii. 12, 13 for the Maccabean robbery of temple gifts, and approach when unclean to the altar. See also Jub. xv. 1.

5. This verse and 6 up to 'defile and' > A^a.

the offerings . . . rob. Cf. Pss. Sol. viii. 12 τὰ ἅγια τοῦ θεοῦ διάρπασον. For the case of Simon ben Shetach see my Commentary, p. 57.

steal choice portions *aaf*. 'steal; and before sacrificing to the Lord ye shall take the choice portions,' b d e g A^β.

eating them contemptuously with harlots. Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 14. 2, of Jannaeus' savage celebration of his victory over the Pharisees: 'Ἐστιάμενος ἐν ἀπόπτῳ μετὰ τῶν παλλακίδων.'

6. out of covetousness. Cf. Mic. iii. 11, 'the priests teach for hire.' Cf. 1 Pet. v. 2.

ments of the Lord, wedded women shall ye pollute, and the virgins of Jerusalem shall ye defile¹; and with harlots and adulteresses shall ye be joined, and the daughters of the Gentiles shall ye take to wife, purifying them with an unlawful purification; and your union shall be like unto Sodom and Gomorrah. And ye shall be puffed up because of your priesthood, lifting yourselves up against men, and not only so, but also against the commands of God. For ye shall contemn the holy things with jests and laughter.

15 ¹ Therefore the temple, which the Lord shall choose, shall be laid waste through your uncleanness, and ye shall be captives throughout all nations. And ye shall be an abomination unto them, and ye shall receive reproach and everlasting shame from the righteous judgement of God. And all who hate you shall rejoice at your destruction. And if you were not to receive mercy through Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, our fathers, not one of our seed should be left upon the earth.

16 ¹ And now I have learnt that for seventy weeks ye shall go astray, and profane the priesthood, and pollute the sacrifices. And ye shall make void the law, and set at nought the words of the prophets by evil perverseness. And ye shall persecute righteous men, and hate the godly; the words of the faithful shall ye abhor. [And a man who reneweth the law in the power of the Most High, ye shall call a deceiver; and at last ye shall rush (upon him) to slay him, not knowing his dignity, taking innocent blood through wickedness upon your heads.] And your holy places shall be laid waste even to the ground because of him. And ye shall have no place that is clean; but ye shall be among the Gentiles a curse and a dispersion until He shall again visit you, and in pity shall receive you [through faith and water].

17 ¹ And whereas ye have heard concerning the seventy weeks, hear also concerning the priesthood. ² For in each jubilee there shall be a priesthood. And in the first jubilee, the first who is anointed to the priesthood shall be great, and shall speak to God as to a father. And his priesthood shall be

wedded women, &c. Cf. Pss. Sol. iv. 5, 6, 11, 12, 15, 23, for like charges against the Sadducees.

and the virgins of Israel (Jerusalem bg) shall ye defile. β only. Cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 14.

with harlots and adulteresses. Cf. Pss. Sol. iv. 23.

daughters of the Gentiles . . . wife. The prohibition of marriage with Canaanites in Deut. vii. 3 (cf. Gen. xxiv. 3, &c.) was suspended in the case of captives during war, Deut. xxi. 10-13. After Ezra (Ezra ix. 1-2, x. 10-11; Neh. x. 30) the prohibition was extended to all Gentiles. Contrast 1 Macc. i. 15 (the Hellenizing Jews), and the reaction again in Jub. xxx. 7, 10.

purifying . . . purification βA : > a. Lax observance of customary purifications may be meant, or it may be that any purification is unlawful, i.e. the prohibition is absolute.

like unto Sodom. Cf. Jude 7.

7. lifting . . . men $a \beta A^a$: > A^b .

XV. 1-2. I take this to be a bona fide prediction.

1. shall be laid waste (cf. xvi. 4), as under Antiochus Epiphanes, 1 Macc. i. 39, iv. 38.

3. hate $a a e f S$: 'see' b d g A^b .

shall rejoice at your destruction a : 'shall flee from you' βA^b .

4. our seed $c^1 A^a$: 'your seed' h $c^2 d A^b$: 'my seed' $\beta-d S$.

XVI. 1. I have learnt + 'in the book of Enoch' $\beta A^b S$: 'and . . . that' > A^a . The seventy weeks come from Dan. ix. 24. Cf. the seventy shepherd periods of 1 En. lxxxix. 59.

profane the priesthood. Cf. Neh. xiii. 29.

pollute the sacrifices, i.e. approach the altar when unclean. Cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 3, viii. 13, 26; Ass. Mos. vi. 1. sacrifices. 'altars' a , cf. 1 Macc. iv. 38.

2. make void the law, &c. Cf. 1 En. xcix. 2; civ. 9, 10.

persecute righteous men. A charge against the Sadducees in 1 En. ciii. 14, 15.

3. Is this verse a Christian interpolation, or is it recast by Christian scribes? If the latter, the Onias of Josephus, Ant. xiv. 2. 1, 2 may be meant, who refused to pray for Hyrcanus II against Aristobulus II. Or possibly Onias III, alluded to in Dan. ix. 26, xi. 22; 2 Macc. iv. 33-6. Cf. 1 En. xc. 8.

in the power of the Most High $a \beta S^1$: 'of the Most High' A^b : > A^a .

a deceiver. Cf. Matt. xxvii. 63, of our Lord.

rush (upon him) to slay him a . Cf. Acts vii. 57, 58. 'slay as ye suppose' $\beta A^b S$: 'ye shall slay him' A^a .

These variants seem to point to a dittography in the Hebrew.

dignity, ἀνάστημα, $a \beta S^1$: 'resurrection', ἀνάστασις $A^b c d e$.

taking innocent blood . . . heads. Cf. Matt. xxvii. 24, 25.

4. And $\beta-b A$: > $b S^1$: 'and I say unto you' a .

him. 'it' g.

laid waste $a A^a$: 'polluted' $\beta A^b S$.

5. [through faith and water] $a \beta-e^1 A S$: > $e^1 A^a$. Probably a Christian addition. But baptism was already in use among the Jews by the Christian era, while 4 Ezra ix. 7, xiii. 23, insist on the need and value of faith. See also 2 Bar. liv. 16, 21, lvii. 2, &c.

XVII. This chapter is unintelligible. Verses 1-9 seem to be an intrusion, or defective. Possibly they were added with x, xiv-xvi, or at a later time. Levi was apparently not the speaker.

1. There was no account of the seventy weeks in xvi: only a bare mention.

2. jubilee, should be forty-nine or fifty years. Where the seven begin or end is uncertain, also the duration of each.

the first who is anointed, Levi or Moses. For Levi cf. v. 2, vi. 2 ff.

speak to God as to a father. Cf. xviii. 6. Moses spoke with God as a friend. Exod. xxxiii. 11.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

- perfect with the Lord, [and in the day of his gladness shall he arise for the salvation of the world].
 3 In the second jubilee, he that is anointed shall be conceived in the sorrow of beloved ones; and his
 4 priesthood shall be honoured and shall be glorified by all. And the third priest shall be taken hold
 5 of by sorrow. And the fourth shall be in pain, because unrighteousness shall **gather itself against**
 6 him exceedingly, and all Israel shall hate each one his neighbour. The fifth shall be taken hold of
 7 by darkness. Likewise also the sixth and the seventh. And in the seventh shall be such pollution
 8 as I cannot express before men, for they shall know it who do these things. Therefore shall they
 9 be taken captive and become a prey, and their land and their substance shall be destroyed.
 10 And in the fifth week they shall return to their desolate country, and shall renew the house of the
 11 Lord. And in the seventh week shall become priests, (who are) idolaters, adulterers, lovers of money,
 18 **1** And after their punishment shall have come from the Lord, the priesthood shall fail.
2 Then shall the Lord raise up a new priest.
 And to him all the words of the Lord shall be revealed;
 And he shall execute a righteous judgement upon the earth for a multitude of days.
3 And his star shall arise in heaven as of a king.
 Lighting up the light of knowledge as the sun the day,
 And he shall be magnified in the world.
4 He shall shine forth as the sun on the earth,
 And shall remove all darkness from under heaven,
 And there shall be peace in all the earth.
5 The heavens shall exult in his days,
 And the earth shall be glad,
 And the †clouds shall rejoice;
 [And the knowledge of the Lord shall be poured forth upon the earth, as the water of the seas;]
 And the angels of the glory of the presence of the Lord shall be glad in him.
6 The heavens shall be opened,
 And from the temple of glory shall come upon him sanctification,
 With the Father's voice as from Abraham to Isaac.
7 And the glory of the Most High shall be uttered over him,
 And the spirit of understanding and sanctification shall rest upon him [in the water].
8 For he shall give the majesty of the Lord to His sons in truth for evermore;

perfect with the Lord. Cf. 1 Kings viii. 61, &c.
 [and in the day . . . arise, &c.] An intrusion.
 3. Aaron apparently, born during the oppression in Egypt.
 5. shall gather itself against him. Restored from 'shall add to him' text. Perhaps should be 'shall be added unto him'. The references are most obscure.
 10-11. Part of the original text, containing a division of some period into seven weeks. Their duration is uncertain, but the events referred to are clear.
 10. Return of Ezra and Nehemiah, and re-dedication of the temple, about 516 B.C. Cf. 1 En. lxxxix. 72.
 11. The Hellenizing chief-priests who with Antiochus Epiphanes opposed Judaism.
 seventh $\beta A^{\beta} S$: 'seventieth' a .
 adulterers a : 'contentious' $\beta A^{\beta} S^1$.
 XVIII. The new priesthood, to follow the immoral Hellenizers of the Zadokite line.
 2-15. A Messianic hymn.
 2. a new priest. Cf. viii. 14.
 3. his star. Cf. T. Jud. xxiv. 1, also derived from Num. xxiv. 17.
 in heaven. In T. Jud. xxiv. 1, same passage recurs with 'in peace.'
 lighting up the light of knowledge = Hos. x. 12 (LXX). Cf. Syr. and Targ. Jon. The Hebrew there reads 'till ye the untilled ground'. For our text cf. iv. 3; T. B. xi. 2; also Jer. iv. 3.
 as the sun the day. So emended from texts, all corrupt. Cf. iv. 3.
 in the world + 'until his ascension' $\beta A^{\beta} S^1$.
 5. And the †clouds, perhaps read 'because of him' and omit 'shall be glad'. The bracketed words spoil the parallelism. Cf. 1 En. li. 4 (as emended).
 6. heavens shall be opened. Cf. ii. 6, v. 1; T. Jud. xxiv. 2; also Ezek. i. 1. The voice from the opened heaven resembles Matt. iii. 16, 17, &c.
 With the Father's voice. This seems to refer to Hyrcanus, whose receiving of a Bath Qol is mentioned by Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 10. 3; Jer. Talmud, *Sotah*. ix. 12. Probably Hyrcanus had some attestation, at least in popular belief, such as Simon had in Ps. cx.
 as from Abraham to Isaac, i.e. as son, in a Messianic sense.
 7. spirit of understanding. Cf. Isa. xi. 2; 1 En. xlix. 3.
 [in the water] > e only. A Christian addition.
 8. For a only.
 he, probably John Hyrcanus, and not God. Hence 'of the Lord' and not 'His own majesty'. On the other hand in *vz.* 10-12 'he' seems to mean God.
 sons in truth = true sons, T. Jud. xxiv. 3.

- And there shall none succeed him for all generations for ever.
- 9 And in his priesthood the Gentiles shall be multiplied in knowledge upon the earth,
And enlightened through the grace of the Lord:
In his priesthood shall sin come to an end,
And the lawless shall cease to do evil.
[And the just shall rest in him.]
- 10 And he shall open the gates of paradise,
And shall remove the threatening sword against Adam.
- 11 And he shall give to the saints to eat from the tree of life,
And the spirit of holiness shall be on them.
- 12 And Beliar shall be bound by him,
And he shall give power to His children to tread upon the evil spirits.
- 13 And the Lord shall rejoice in His children,
And be well pleased in His beloved ones for ever.
- 14 Then shall Abraham and Isaac and Jacob exult,
And I will be glad,
And all the saints shall clothe themselves with joy.
- 19 1 And now, my children, ye have heard all; choose, therefore, for yourselves either the light or the
2 darkness, either the law of the Lord or the works of Beliar. And his sons answered him, saying,
3 Before the Lord we will walk according to His law. And their father said unto them, The Lord is
4 witness, and His angels are witnesses, and ye are witnesses, and I am witness, concerning the word
5 of your mouth. And his sons said unto him: We are witnesses. And thus Levi ceased commanding
6 his sons; and he stretched out his feet [on the bed], and was gathered to his fathers, after he had
7 lived a hundred and thirty-seven years. And they laid him in a coffin, and afterwards they buried
8 him in Hebron, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

THE TESTAMENT OF JUDAH, THE FOURTH SON OF JACOB AND LEAH.

- 1 1, 2 The copy of the words of Judah, what things he spake to his sons before he died. They gathered
3 themselves together, therefore, and came to him, and he said to them: 'Hearken, my children, to
4 Judah your father'. I was the fourth son born to my father Jacob; and Leah my mother named
5 me Judah, saying, I give thanks to the Lord, because He hath given me a fourth son 'also'. I was
6 swift in my youth, and obedient to my father in everything. And I honoured my mother and my
7 mother's sister. And it came to pass, when I became a man, that my father blessed me, saying,
8 Thou shalt be a king, prospering in all things.

none succeed him, i.e. the office is secured to him and his descendants. Cf. Ps. cx; 1 Macc. xiv. 41 'a priest for ever', of Simon.

9. grace of the Lord + 'But Israel shall be minished through ignorance, and darkened through grief', all MSS. except b e. A Christian addition.

sin come to an end. For a gradual renewing of heaven and earth, ethically conditioned by Israel's conduct cf. Isa. lxxv. 17, lxxvi. 22; Jub. i. 29, iv. 26, xxiii. 26-8. Also 1 En. lxix. 29; Pss. Sol. xvii. 29; and 1 En. xcii. 5, xci. 8, 14, c. 5 for the disappearing of sin.

[And the just . . . him] > e. An interpolation.

10. open . . . paradise. If 'he' = the Messiah, this passage alone in Jewish literature ascribes the act to him. For the opening cf. 4 Ezra viii. 52; Sib. Or. iii. 769 ff.; also 4 Ezra vii. 36; 2 En. x.; 2 Bar. li. 11.

Adam, or 'man'.

11. tree of life, in Paradise, 4 Ezra viii. 52; eaten by the righteous, 1 En. xxvi. 5, 6; 4 Ezra vii. 123. Cf. Rev. xxii. 2.

12. Beliar . . . bound. In Isa. xxiv. 22, 23 God imprisons certain of the host of heaven. In Matt. xii. 29; Luke x. 19 Christ binds the strong man. In Rev. xx. 2, 3 an angel binds Satan. If the Messiah here binds Beliar, cf. his position in 1 En. lxii. 5 ff.; lxix. 27.

power . . . to tread upon the evil spirits. Cf. T. S. vi. 6, also Luke x. 19, and T. Z. ix. 8 (b d g).

His children = the righteous.

14. joy b e g A^b: 'righteousness' a f S¹.

XIX. 1. choose, &c. Cf. Deut. xxx. 19.

the light . . . Beliar. Cf. T. N. ii. 6, and especially 2 Cor. vi. 14, 15 *τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος; τίς δὲ κοινωνία Χριστοῦ πρὸς Βελιάρ;*

2. his sons. Several MSS. here and in v. 3 have the 1st person, 'we', &c.

4. on the bed a: > β-d A S¹.

TITLE a + 'concerning courage and love of money (> e S¹) and fornication' (> f S¹) b e f S¹, also A generally.

1. 3. hearken . . . father a: > β-d A.

Judah . . . give thanks to the Lord. Cf. Gen. xxix. 35 for the play on words.

6. blessed, *ἐνεύξατο*. Cf. xvii. 5.

Thou shalt be a king. Cf. xxi. 5, xxii. 3; Ber. rab. lxxxiv. 16.

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- 2^{1, 2} And the Lord showed me favour in all my works both in the field and in the house. I know that
 3 I raced a hind, and caught it, and prepared the meat for my father, and he did eat. And the roes
 I used to master in the chase, and overtake all that was in the plains. A wild mare I overtook, and
 4 caught it and tamed it. I slew a lion and plucked a kid out of its mouth. I took a bear by its paw
 5 and hurled it down the cliff, and it was crushed. I outran the wild boar, and seizing it 'as I ran',
 6 I tore it in sunder. A leopard in Hebron leaped upon my dog, and I caught it by the tail, and
 7 hurled it on the rocks, and it was broken in twain. I found a wild ox feeding in the fields, and
 seizing it by the horns, and whirling it round and stunning it, I cast it from me and slew it.
- 3¹ And when the two kings of the Canaanites came sheathed in armour against our flocks, and much
 people with them, single-handed I rushed upon the king of Hazor, and smote him on the greaves
 2 and dragged him down, and so I slew him. And the other, the king of Tappuah, as he sat upon his
 3 horse, [I slew, and so I scattered all his people. Achor the king] a man of giant stature 'I found',
 hurling javelins before and behind as he sat on horseback, and I took up a stone of sixty pounds
 4 weight, and hurled it and smote his horse, and killed it. And I fought with (this) other for two
 5 hours; and I clave his shield in twain, and I chopped off his feet, and killed him. And as I was
 6 stripping off his breastplate, behold nine men his companions began to fight with me. And I wound
 my garment on my hand; and I slung stones at them, and killed four of them, and the rest fled.
 7 And Jacob my father slew †Beelesath, king of all the kings, a giant in strength, twelve cubits high.
 8, 9 And fear fell upon them, and they ceased warring against us. Therefore my father was free from
 10 anxiety in the wars when I was with my brethren. For he saw in a vision 'concerning me' that an
 angel of might followed me everywhere, that I should not be overcome.
- 4¹ And in the south there came upon us a greater war than that in Shechem; and I joined in battle
 array with my brethren, and pursued a thousand men, and slew of them two hundred men and

II. 2. and he did eat > β-g S.

3. A wild mare . . . tamed it β-a e S¹; > a (defective).

4. hurled g A: 'let go' a a: both = 'רולל': 'rolled' b d e f.

and it was crushed a: 'and it was broken in pieces on them' d: 'and any beast that turned on me, I rent it like a dog' β A S¹.

6. on the rocks and it was broken in twain a: 'and it was broken on the coasts of Gaza' β-d A S¹. Gaza is 37 miles from Hebron. But cf. Judges xvi. 1-3. Was there a Hebron near Gaza? For the feat cf. T. G. i. 2.

III-VII. These chapters contain an ancient legend which tells of Jacob's conquest of Shechem. Cf. Gen. xlviii. 22 'which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow'. See Jub. xxxiv. 2-8, which tells of an attack by seven Amorite kings. Cf. also Targ. Jon. on Gen. xlviii. 22, the Midrash Wajjissau (Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, iii. 1-3), the Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxxvi, and especially the Book of Jashar (see French trans. *Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1173-84).

III. Fighting near Shechem, according to Midr. Wajjis. and Book of Jashar.

1-5. Judah's slaughter of two kings, those of Hazor and Tappuah. 'Achor', v. 3, is corrupt.

1. > later accounts.

Canaanites, in Jub., &c. 'Amorites': Jashar 'Canaanite and Amorite kings'.

against our flocks. Cf. Jub. Other authorities give as motive to exterminate Jacob's sons.

of Hazor. 'the other' a. See iv. 2 (note). This Hazor is near Shechem.

2-6. The Midr. Wajjis. gives 'And he slew at the outset Jashub king of Tappuah who was . . . riding on a horse and could hurl his javelins . . . from horseback in front and behind. When Judah saw . . . he took up a stone . . . weighing sixty shekels and hurled it . . . he (Jashub) clave the shield in twain . . . (Judah) cut off his feet . . . And while he was stripping him of his armour there came against him nine of his companions.' See my Commentary, pp. 70, 71 for full quotation.

2-5. There were seven kings in all (Jub. xxxiv. 2; Midr. Wajjis.) = king of Hazor, iii. 1; of Tappuah, iii. 2-5; four kings, iv. 1; of Shilo, iv. 7. Thus Achor is one too many. Besides, iii. 1 mentions two kings, not three. The Midr. Wajjis. and Jashar (ii. 1174-75) give the details in vv. 3 and 4 and assign them to Jashub.

2. [I slew . . . people]. An addition, necessitated by the corrupt reading 'Achor the king'.

3. [Achor the king], i. e. 'the other (רַחֵם) king' a dittography of v. 2.

I found a: > β A S¹.

before and . . . horseback β A S¹, Midr. Wajjis., Chron. Jer., Jashar: > a.

smote A S¹: 'have given' a a f g.

4. > a, through hmt.

other. Emended from 'Αχὼρ β-e, Ναχὼρ Αβ.

clave his shield. The Midr. Wajjis., Chron. Jer., and Jashar make Jashub cleave Judah's shield.

5. nine A^o f g: Midr. Wajjis., Chron. Jer., and Jashar: 'eight' a β-g S¹: 'seven' A^o f g.

6. four of them; he killed the other eight, according to the Hebrew authorities, while Levi slew the king of Gaash.

7. Jacob . . . slew. The Midr. Wajjis. and Jashar say Jacob slew four other kings.

†Beelesath e: corrupt for 'lord of Shiloh', given by Hebrew authorities.

9. I should not be overcome β A S¹: 'none shall touch me' a = ׁׁׁ differently pointed.

IV. The fighting is now near Hazor, as Midr. Wajjis. explains.

1. and four kings β A S¹: > a. Cf. Jub. xxxiv. 2-8. They are the kings of Sartan, Gaash, Beth-horon, and Mahanaim. The Hebrew authorities ascribe the slaughter to Jacob, and give a different list.

2, 3 four kings. And I went up upon the wall, and I slew four mighty men. And so we captured Hazor, and took all the spoil.

5₁ On the next day we departed to Aretan, a city strong and walled and inaccessible, threatening us with death. But I and Gad approached on the east side of the city, and Reuben and Levi on the west. And they that were upon the wall, thinking that we were alone, †were drawn down† against us. And so my brothers secretly climbed up the wall on both sides by stakes, and entered the city, while the men knew it not. And we took it with the edge of the sword. And as for those who had taken refuge in the tower, we set fire to the tower and took both it and them.

a
6 And as we were departing the men of Tappuah seized our spoil, and seeing (this) we fought with them. And we slew them all and recovered our spoil.

β A S¹
And as we were departing the men of Tappuah set upon our spoil, and delivering it up to our sons we fought with them as far as Tappuah. And we slew them and burnt their city, and took as spoil all that was in it.

6_{1, 2} And when I was at the waters of Kozeba, the men of †Jobel came against us to battle. And we fought with them and routed them; †and their allies from Shiloh we slew†, and we did not leave them †power† to come in against us. And the men of †Makir came upon us the fifth day, to seize our spoil; and we attacked them and overcame them in fierce battle: for there was a host of mighty men amongst them, and we slew them before they had gone up the ascent. And when we came to their city their women rolled upon us stones from the brow of the hill on which the city stood. And I and Simeon hid ourselves behind the town, and seized upon the heights, and destroyed this city also.

7₁ And the next day it was told us that the king of the city of Gaash with a mighty host was coming against us. I, therefore, and Dan feigned ourselves to be Amorites, and as allies went into their city. And in the depth of night our brethren came and we opened to them the gates; and we destroyed all the men and their substance, and we took for a prey all that was theirs, and their three

2. upon the wall. Midr. W. adds 'of Hazor'.

four mighty men. So I restore from the Hebrew authorities. 'still other four kings' A: 'two other kings' β S¹: 'their king' (i. e. of Hazor) a. These four mighty men are distinct from the 'four kings' of iv. 1. See Midr. W., Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 6; Jashar (ii. 1176).

3. captured Hazor Midr. W.: 'freed Hebron' text. 'Hebron' is out of the context, and 'freed' = חפשו for חפשו. all the spoil + 'of the kings' β-d A S¹.

V. The destruction of Sartan and Tappuah.

1. Aretan b e¹: Arcta d A: ἐρέταν a a e² f S¹. Hebrew authorities give Sartan, cf. Saregan, Jub. xxxiv. 4, 7.

walled and inaccessible β-d g A S¹. Cf. Midr. W. 'mighty' a.

2. I and Gad . . . on the east, &c. The Midr. W., &c., give quite different dispositions.

3-4. Not in Hebrew authorities.

3. were drawn down a β S¹: 'prolonged the war' A. Perhaps emend to 'set themselves in array', i. e. ערכו misread as חרכו.

4. climbed > a A.

by stakes > a.

while the men knew it not > a.

5. we set fire . . . it and them β: 'we burnt (them) with fire and so we took them all and all their possessions' a. Midr. W. makes Judah slay 200 on the tower. Cf. Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 7; Jashar gives two towers, ii. 1177.

6-7. a is more accurate but less full than β A S¹. In a we have a successful raid, and a recovery of the spoil: in β A S¹ an attempted raid, and the destruction of the city.

seized a e. Hebrew authorities. 'set upon' β-a e A S.

VI. The rout of the men of Arbela, and the destruction of Shiloh and Shakir.

1-2. > a: while A β omits 1.

Kozeba. Cf. 1 Chron. iv. 22, and Gen. xxxviii. 5.

the men of †Jobel b: 'Arbelians', Jashar ii. 1178. Cf. 'Arbael', Midr. W.

2. their allies from Shiloh we slew β-f. Midr. W. and Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 8.

power = διεξόδον, a dittography, or a rendering of the ׀ in Midr. W. and Chron. Jer.

3. †Makir. 'Shabir' Midr. W.: 'Shakir' Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 9: 'camp of Shakir' Jub. xxxiv. 4 (Maanisakir).

to seize our spoil > a.

battle β-d f A S¹: 'sword' a f.

for there was . . . amongst them > a.

4. women. Midr. W. and Chron. Jer. mention only men.

rolled, 'hurled' Midr. W. and Chron. Jer.

VII. 1. king of the city of Gaash with a mighty host a d: 'Gaash the city of the kings with a great host' a e f: 'the cities of the two kings with a great host' b S¹: 'Gaash a city with a powerful king' A.

2. I therefore . . . allies β-d e S¹: 'and I and Gad also proceeded to the Amorites and feigning ourselves to be their allies' a.

3. all that was . . . down > a.

three walls. Cf. Hebrew authorities.

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- 4 walls we cast down. And we drew near to Thamna, where was all the substance of the hostile kings.
 5 Then being insulted by them, I was therefore wroth, and rushed against them to the summit; and
 6 they kept slinging against me stones and darts. And had not Dan my brother aided me, they would
 7 have slain me. We came upon them, therefore, with wrath, and they all fled; and passing by
 8 another way, they besought my father, and he made peace with them. And we did to them no hurt,
 9 and they became tributary to us, and we restored to them their spoil. And I built Thamna, and my
 10 father built Pabael. I was twenty years old when this war befell. And the Canaanites feared me
 and my brethren.
- 8^{1, 2} And I had much cattle, and I had for chief herdsman Iram the Adullamite. And when
 I went to him I saw Parsaba, king of Adullam; and he spake unto us, and he made us a feast;
 3 and when I was heated he gave me his daughter Bathshua to wife. She bare me Er, and Onan
 and Shelah; and two of them the Lord smote: for Shelah lived, and his children are ye.
- 9¹ And eighteen years my father abode in peace with his brother Esau, and his sons with us, after
 2 that we came from Mesopotamia, from Laban. And when 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
 3 people. And Jacob smote Esau with an arrow, and he was taken up wounded on Mount Seir, and
 4 as he went he died at Anoniram. And we pursued after the sons of Esau. Now they had a city
 with walls of iron and gates of brass; and we could not enter into it, and we encamped around, and
 5 besieged it. And when they opened not to us in twenty days, I set up a ladder in the sight of all
 and with my shield upon my head I went up, sustaining the assault of stones, upwards of three
 6, 7 talents weight; and I slew four of their mighty men. And Reuben and Gad slew six others. Then
 they asked for us terms of peace; and having taken counsel with our father, we received them as
 8 tributaries. And they gave us five hundred cors of wheat, five hundred baths of oil, five hundred
 measures of wine, until the famine, when we went down into Egypt.
- 10¹ And after these things my son Er took to wife Tamar, from Mesopotamia, a daughter of Aram.
 2 Now Er was wicked, and he was in need concerning Tamar, because she was not of the land
 3 of Canaan. And on the third night an angel of the Lord smote him. And he had not known her
 4 according to the evil craftiness of his mother, for he did not wish to have children by her. In the

4. Thamna, i.e. Timneh. Cf. 1 Macc. ix. 50.
 substance: 'refuge' b g.
 5-6. These incidents are told of Gaash, not Thamna, in the Hebrew authorities.
 5. The Hebrew authorities give the occasion of the insult.
 against them to the summit = לראש עליהם. Midr. W. 'upon the wall the first' = ראשון לחומה.
 kept slinging. Cf. Midr. W.
 6. Jacob rescues Judah in Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 11.
 7. he made peace with them β-a f S¹ Midr. W.: 'they made peace with him' a a f.
 8. they became tributary to us a. Cf. Midr. W.: 'we made a truce with them' β A S¹.
 we restored. Midr. W. and Jashar make the Amorites restore the spoil to Jacob's sons. Cf. Jub. xxxiv. 7-9.
 9. β A S¹: 'and we built also their city' a. See Jub. xxxiv. 8 'Robel (i.e. Arbela, cf. 1 Macc. ix. 2) and
 Tamnatares', also Midr. W.
 10. twenty years. Cf. Jub. xxviii. 15, xxxiv. 1.
 VIII. 1. Iram. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 1.
 2. he spake unto us a only.
 when I was heated. Conjectured for παρακλήσας. Cf. Isa. lvii. 5 (LXX). Cf. T. Jud. xi. 2, xiii. 5-7, xiv. 3. For
 the offence of this Canaanite marriage cf. Jub. xxxiv. 20.
 IX. 1. The war between Jacob and Esau. For fuller accounts see Jub. xxxvii-xxxviii. 1-14; Midr. W., and Chron.
 Jer. xxxvii, and a different one in Jashar, ii. 1235-6.
 2. in the fortieth year of my life. Cf. Jub. xxviii. 15, xxxvi. 21, xxxvii. 14. > a.
 3. Jacob smote Esau, &c., a. Jub. xxxviii. 2; Midr. W. and Chron. Jer.: 'he fell by the bow of Jacob' b g A S¹.
 wounded. So I restore in accordance with Midr. W. for text = 'dead'. But cf. Jub. xxxviii. 8 'slain'.
 and as he went . . . Anoniram > c h.
 Anoniram β-b d A: 'Aduram' Jub. xxxviii. 9: 'Arocin' Midr. W. This is the Adora which Hyrcanus took and
 forced to accept circumcision, Josephus, Ant. xiii. 9. 1, xxii. 15. 4.
 4. with walls of iron and gates of brass β-d A: 'strong' a. Cf. v. 1.
 5. sustaining . . . stones. Midr. W. and Chron. Jer. assign this feat to Naphtali and Gad as well.
 upwards . . . weight > a.
 7. as tributaries. Cf. vii. 8 and Midr. W. > a.
 8. five hundred a a f S¹: 'two hundred' b d e A.
 baths, 'ephahs' seem to be implied by a a f.
 the famine when a: > β S¹.
 X. 1. daughter of Aram, i.e. a Semite. Cf. Jub. xli. 1, and *Opus Imperfectum* on Matt. i. 3.
 2. he was . . . night > a.
 †was in need, or 'difficulty', perhaps corrupt in Hebrew for 'put to shame'. Cf. Jub. xli. 2.
 3. > A through hmt.
 for . . . by her > a. The *Opus Imperf.* says: 'Mater autem eius cum esset Chananaea hortaretur eum accipere
 ex genere suo: ille consilio matris usus non contigit eam. Propter quod percussit eum Deus malignantem.'

- days¹ of the wedding-feast I gave Onan to her in marriage; and he also in wickedness knew her not,
 5 though he spent with her a year. And when I threatened him he went in unto her, but he spilled
 the seed on the ground, according to the command of his mother, and he also died through wickedness.
 6 And I wished to give Shelah also to her, but his mother did not permit it: 'for she wrought evil
 against Tamar¹, because she was not of the daughters of Canaan, as she also herself was.
- 11 ¹ And I knew that the race of the Canaanites was wicked, but the impulse of youth blinded my
 2 mind. And when I saw her pouring out wine, owing to the intoxication of wine I was deceived, and
 3 took her although my father had not counselled (it). And while I was away she went and took for
 4 Shelah a wife from Canaan. And when I knew what she had done, I cursed her in the anguish of
 5 my soul. And she also died through her wickedness together with her sons.
- 12 ¹ And after these things, while Tamar was a widow, she heard after two years that I was going up
 2 to shear my sheep, and adorned herself in bridal array, and sat in the city Enaim by the gate. 'For
 it was a law of the Amorites, that she who was about to marry should sit in fornication seven days
 3 by the gate¹. Therefore being drunk with wine, I did not recognize her; and her beauty deceived
 4 me, through the fashion of her adorning. And I turned aside to her, and said: Let me go in unto
 thee. And she said: What wilt thou give me? And I gave her my staff, and my girdle, and the
 5 diadem of my kingdom 'in pledge¹. And I went in unto her, and she conceived. And not knowing
 6 what I had done, I wished to slay her; but she privily sent my pledges, and put me to shame. And
 when I called her, I heard also the secret words which 'I spoke¹ when lying with her in my drunken-
 7 ness; and I could not slay her, because it was from the Lord. For I said, Lest haply she did it in
 8 subtlety, having received the pledge from another woman. But I came not again near her while
 9 I lived, because I had done 'this¹ abomination in 'all¹ Israel. Moreover, they who were in the city
 said there was no harlot in the gate, because she came from another place, and sat for a while in the
 10, 11 gate. And I thought that no one knew that I had gone in to her. And after this we came into
 12 Egypt 'to Joseph¹, because of the famine. And I was forty and six years old, and seventy and three
 years lived I in Egypt.
- 13 ¹ And now I command you, my children, hearken 'to Judah your father¹, and keep my sayings to
 2 perform all the ordinances of the Lord, and to obey the commands of God. And walk not after your
 lusts, nor in the imaginations of your thoughts in haughtiness of heart; and glory not in the deeds
 3 and strength of your youth, for this also is evil in the eyes of the Lord. Since I also gloried that
 in wars no comely woman's face ever enticed me, and reprov'd Reuben my brother concerning
 Bilhah, the wife of my father, the spirits of jealousy and of fornication arrayed themselves against

4. β A S¹: 'And I gave her to Anan my second son, and behold the Lord slew him' a.

5. > a.

6. his mother a: 'my wife Bathshua' β A S. Cf. Jub. xli. 7.
 against Tamar b d e S.

XI. 2. pouring out wine > A S¹.

owing to the intoxication > a.

took her a: 'had intercourse with her' β S¹.

not counselled. Cf. xiii. 3.

3. Jub. xli. 7 only says that Bathshua stopped Shelah's marrying.

5. through her . . . sons a: 'through the wickedness of her sons' β A S¹.

XII. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 12-26; Jub. xli. 8-23.

1. adorned. Jub. xli. 9; also LXX, Syr., Onkelos of Gen. xxxviii. 14. Mass. has 'enwrapped'.

Enaim c.e. A proper name as in Gen. xxxviii. 14 (LXX, not Targums or Syriac).

gate + 'of the inn' a.

2. about to marry β S¹: 'a widow' a. Cf. the bride's sacrifice to Mylitta, Herod. i. 199.

seven days by the gate > a.

3. + 'at the waters of Kozeba' β -df A^a h b* c d e f g S¹ at the beginning of verse.

4. staff . . . girdle . . . diadem. Gen. xxxviii. 18 has also 'signet' as a here.

girdle > a, wrongly, see xv. 3. Cf. Jub. xlvi. 11.

diadem, is not in Gen.

in pledge > β A S¹.

5. wished to slay her > a d g.

but she . . . shame. 'I sent to receive the pledge' a.

6-10. > a, but substitutes an abbreviation of Gen. xxxviii. 20, 24-30, LXX.

7. Explains 6^a.

9. harlot, lit. 'temple prostitute'. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 21, 22; Deut. xxiii. 18.

12. forty-six. 'forty-three' in Jub. xxviii. 15, xlv. 1. Cf. T. L. xii. 5 (Aram. Frag.).

XIII. 1. Text = a. Other MSS. vary.

2. walk not β A S¹: 'be not evil' a.

nor in the imaginations of your thoughts > a a g. Cf. 1 Chron. xxviii. 9. See T. A. i. 3 (note).

3. enticed β A: 'met' a S¹, i. e. ἐπίτησε for ἠπάτησε.

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4 me, until I lay with Bathshua the Canaanite, and Tamar, who was espoused to my sons. For I said to my father-in-law: I will take counsel with my father, and so will I take thy daughter. And he was unwilling, but he showed me a boundless store of gold in his daughter's behalf; for he was 5 a king. And he adorned her with gold and pearls, and caused her to pour out wine for us at the 6 feast †with the beauty of women.† And the wine turned aside my eyes, and pleasure blinded my 7 heart. And I became enamoured of and I lay with her, and transgressed the commandment of the 8 Lord and the commandment of my fathers, and I took her to wife. And the Lord rewarded me according to the imagination of my heart, inasmuch as I had no joy in her children.

14 1 And now, my children, †I say unto you†, be not drunk with wine; for wine turneth the mind away 2 from the truth, and inspires the passion of lust, and leadeth the eyes into error. For the spirit of fornication hath wine as a minister to give pleasure to the mind; for these two also take away the 3 mind of man. For if a man drink wine to drunkenness, it disturbeth the mind with filthy thoughts †leading to fornication†, and heateth the body to carnal union; and if the occasion of the lust be 4 present, he worketh the sin, and is not ashamed. Such is the **inebriated** man, my children; for he 5 who is drunken reverenceth no man. For, lo, it made me also to err, so that I was not ashamed of the multitude in the city, in that before the eyes of all I turned aside unto Tamar, and I wrought 6 a great sin, and I uncovered the covering of my sons' shame. After I had drunk wine I revered 7 not the commandment of God, and I took a woman of Canaan to wife. For much discretion needeth the man who drinketh wine, my children; and herein is discretion in drinking wine, a man 8 may drink so long as he preserveth modesty. But if he go beyond this limit the spirit of deceit attacketh his mind, and it maketh the drunkard to talk filthily, and to transgress and not to be ashamed, but even to glory in his shame, and to account himself honourable.

15 1 He that committeth fornication is not aware when he suffers loss, and is not ashamed when put 2 to dishonour. For even though a man be a king and commit fornication, he is stripped of his 3 kingship by becoming the slave of fornication, as I myself also suffered. For I gave my staff, that is, the stay of my tribe; and my girdle, that is, my power; and my diadem, that is, the glory of my 4 kingdom. And indeed I repented of these things; wine and flesh I eat not until my old age, nor 5 did I behold any joy. And the angel of God showed me that for ever do women bear rule over 6 king and beggar alike. And from the king they take away his glory, and from the valiant man his 7 might, and from the beggar even that little which is the stay of his poverty.

16 1 Observe, therefore, my children, the (right) limit in wine; for there are in it four evil spirits—of 2 lust, of hot desire, of profligacy, of filthy lucre. If ye drink wine in gladness, be ye modest in the fear of God. For if in (your) gladness the fear of God departeth, then drunkenness ariseth and 3 shamelessness stealeth in. But if ye would live soberly do not touch wine at all, lest ye sin in words of outrage, and in fightings and slanders, and transgressions of the commandments of God, 4 and ye perish before your time. Moreover, wine revealeth the mysteries of God and men, even as

I lay with, *συνέπεσα εἰς*, β A S¹: *συνετέλεσα εἰς*, a.

4. he was unwilling, but > β-d A S¹.

5. †with the beauty of women† > c A^b. Read 'with the ornaments of women', or the words may be corrupt for 'in the women's apartment'.

7. lay with, *συνέπεσα εἰς*. See xi. 2, xiii. 3 (notes). fathers. 'father' a.

XIV. 1. I say unto you h: 'I say' c: > β A S¹.

be not drunk with wine. Cf. xvi. 1 and Eph. v. 18.

2. mind of man a A^b b; 'might of man' β A^b b* o d e g S.

3. The translation follows β A S¹. a has 'thou drinkest . . . thy mind . . . and to fornication heateth, &c.' carnal union, 'pleasure' a.

and if . . . present > a.

4. the inebriated man, *πάροικος*, emended from *πυνηρός*, a a f: *πάρικος*, e: *οἶνος*, b A S.

7. much > β A S¹.

a man may, 'that a man should' β-d g A S¹.

8. glory in his shame. Cf. Phil. iii. 19.

XV. 1-2. Cf. T. R. iv. 7.

2. stripped of + 'and goes forth from' β A.

3. girdle a a d f: omit next seven words through hmt.

4. joy, 'folly' c.

5. for ever > a.

alike + 'and in them there is no advance of life' a.

XVI. 1. For this verse and xix. 1 cf. Col. iii. 5 'covetousness is idolatry'; Eph. v. 5; also Eph. v. 5 for 'profligacy' or 'excess'. See xiv. 1, xxi. 1.

2. For if . . . departeth e f A S¹: 'for if ye drink without modesty and the fear of God departeth' b: > a.

3. if ye would live soberly a: 'what say I?' a e f: 'I tell you, if it is possible for you' d: 'it is a good thing (not to)' A.

before your time. Cf. T. R. iv. 6.

4. God and men + 'to aliens' b A^b b* d.

I also revealed the commandments of God and the mysteries of Jacob my father to the Canaanitish woman Bathshua, which God bade me not to reveal. And wine is a cause both of war and confusion.

17¹ And now, I command you, my children, not to love money, nor to gaze upon the beauty of women; because for the sake of money and beauty I was led astray to Bathshua the Canaanite.
2,3 [For I know that because of these two things shall my race fall into wickedness. For even wise men among my sons shall they mar, and shall cause the kingdom of Judah to be diminished, which the Lord gave me because of my obedience to my father. For I never caused grief to Jacob, my father; for all things whatsoever he commanded I did. And Isaac, the father of my father, blessed me to be king in Israel, and Jacob further blessed me in like manner. And I know that from me shall the kingdom be established.

β A S¹

18¹ And I know what evils ye will do in the last days.] For I have also read in the books of Enoch the righteous what evils ye will do in the last days.]

2 Beware, therefore, my children, of fornication, and the love of money, and hearken to Judah your father.

3 For these things withdraw you from the law of God,
And blind the inclination of the soul,
And teach arrogance,
And suffer not a man to have compassion upon his neighbour.

4 They rob his soul of all goodness,
And oppress him with toils and troubles,
[And drive away sleep from him¹,
And devour his flesh.

5 And he hindereth the sacrifices of God;
[And he remembereth not the blessing of God,¹
He hearkeneth not to a prophet when he speaketh,
And resenteth the words of godliness.

6 [For he is a slave to two contrary passions,
And cannot obey God,
Because they have blinded his soul,
And he walketh in the day as in the night¹.

19¹ My children, the love of money leadeth to idolatry; because, when led astray through money, men name as gods those who are not gods, and it causeth him who hath it to fall into madness.
2 For the sake of money I lost my children, and had not my repentance, [and my humiliation¹, and
3 the prayers of my father been accepted, I should have died childless. But the God of my fathers

5. > a.

XVII. 1. nor to gaze upon. Cf. T. R. iv. 1.

XVII. 2—XVIII. 1. Bracketed as a later addition. xviii. 2 resumes xvii. 1.

2. wickedness β S¹: 'perdition of fornication' a: 'fornication' A.

3. because of my obedience. See *Jewish Encyc.* vii. 328 for various reasons for Judah's headship.

4. caused grief to Jacob a a A^b: 'caused grief to the word of Jacob' β -a g S¹. Perhaps the Hebrew original was 'I disobeyed the word of J.'

5-6. For Judah's kingship cf. T. S. vii. 2; T. Jud. xxi. 5, xxii. 3.

5. Isaac d A: 'Abraham' a β -d S (and therefore c reads 'great-grandfather').

blessed me to be king. Supply λέγων after 'blessed me' and render 'saying I should be king.' Cf. i. 6.

Jacob a d: 'Isaac' β -d A S¹.

XVIII. 1. the books of Enoch, an interpolation. See T. L. x. 5 (note), and cf. T. A. vii. 2 for 'I know'.

2. Resumes xvii. 1.

3. blind, &c. Cf. xiii. 7.

4. drive away sleep from him a: 'put away his sleep' β -d g S¹. Sir. xlii. 9. Cf. T. S. iv. 8.

6. For . . . obey God a f: 'for being a slave to the passions contrary to the commandments of God' a e S¹. Cf. Matt. vi. 24.

walketh in the day. Cf. Rom. xiii. 13.

XIX. 1. love of money . . . idolatry. Cf. Col. iii. 5; Eph. v. 5; Shem. rab. 121 'qui opes suas multiplicat per fœnus, ille est idolatra'; cf. Philo, *De Mon.* i. 2 and Matt. vi. 24 for Mammon as a god.

2. my repentance a: 'the repentance of my flesh' β -f A S.

my humiliation a: 'the humiliation of my soul' β S¹.

prayers of my father. Cf. T. R. i. 7, iv. 3; T. G. v. 9.

been accepted, ἠσπένδραμον, a: > β S¹: ἔσωζον, A^b. Probably Heb. was עזרו 'helped', or נרצו 'were acceptable'.

See T. G. v. 9 (note).

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- 4 had mercy on me, because I did it in ignorance. And the prince of deceit blinded me, and I sinned as a man and as flesh, being corrupted through sins; 'and I learnt my own weakness while thinking myself invincible'.
- 20 1 Know, therefore, my children, that two spirits wait upon man—the spirit of truth and the spirit
2 of deceit. And in the midst is the spirit of understanding of the mind, to which it belongeth to
turn whithersoever it will.
- 3 And the works of truth and the works of deceit are written upon the hearts of men, and each one
of them the Lord knoweth.
- 4 And there is no time at which the works of men can be hid; for on the heart itself have they been
5 written down 'before the Lord'. And the spirit of truth testifieth all things, and accuseth all; and
the sinner is burnt up 'by his own heart', and cannot raise his face 'to the judge'.
- 21 1 And now, my children, I command you, love Levi, that ye may abide, and 'exalt not yourselves
2 against him', lest ye be utterly destroyed. 'For to me the Lord gave the kingdom, and to him the
3 priesthood, and He set the kingdom beneath the priesthood. To me He gave the things upon the
4 earth; to him the things in the heavens. As the heaven is higher than the earth, so is the priesthood
of God higher than the earthly kingdom, unless it falls away through sin from the Lord and is
5 dominated by the earthly kingdom'. For 'the angel of the Lord said unto me': The Lord chose
him rather than thee, to draw near to Him, and to eat of His table 'and to offer Him the first-fruits'
of the choice things of the sons of Israel; but thou shalt be king of Jacob.
- 6 And thou shalt be amongst them as the sea. For as, on the sea, just and unjust are tossed about,
'some taken into captivity while some are enriched', so also shall every race of men be in thee: some
shall be impoverished, being taken captive, 'and others grow rich by plundering the possessions of
others'.
- 7 For the kings shall be as sea-monsters.
They shall swallow men like fishes:
The sons and daughters 'of freemen' shall they enslave;
Houses, lands, flocks, money shall they plunder:
- 8 And with the flesh of many shall they 'wrongfully' feed the ravens and the cranes;
'And they shall †advance in evil, in covetousness uplifted,†'
- 9 And there shall be false prophets 'like' tempests,
And they shall persecute all righteous men.
- 22 1 And the Lord shall bring upon them divisions 'one against another'.

3. had mercy on me *a*: 'the compassionate and merciful pardoned me' βS^1 . Cf. Jub. xii. 25, and 1 Tim. i. 13 ἡλεήθην ὅτι ἀγνοῶν ἐποιήσα. Cf. Pss. Sol. iii. 9, xvii. 6.

4. as flesh. Cf. T. Z. ix. 7.

XX. 1-3. Here *a* is without *v*. 1, has four words in 2, and last clause of 3.

1. the spirit of truth. Cf. John xv. 26; also T. A. i. 4.

2-5. A striking description of man's attitude to good and evil. He can will either (*v*. 2), and the results are written on his heart or character, ever open to the eyes of God (3-4).

2. The 'understanding' seems to mean the will: *a* reads 'conscience'.

3. written upon the hearts. God (Jer. xxxi. 33) and man (Prov. iii. 3) can write thus on the heart.

4. Text as β -*a* $A^{\beta} S^1$.

on the heart itself = ἐν στήθει δαστέων αὐτοῦ, a Hebraism. on > *a*.

5. testifieth all things and > *a*. Cf. John xv. 26.

testifieth . . . accuseth. Cf. Rom. ii. 15, where the conscience is still the judge of past actions, and not the deciding power as to present policy.

burnt up . . . heart. Cf. T. G. v. 3.

XXI. Levi's pre-eminence is enforced as in T. R. vi. 5-12, &c.

1. exalt . . . him. Cf. T. R. vi (note).

4. As the heaven is higher than the earth > *a*. Cf. T. L. xiv. 3.

5. the angel . . . unto me > $\beta A S^1$.

to eat of His table. Cf. T. L. viii. 16 (note).

to offer Him > $\beta A S^1$.

king of Jacob. Cf. xvii. 5-6.

XXI. 6-XXIII. An alien section, possibly a polemic against the kings (xxi. 6-8) Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II (70-40 B. C.). Cf. xxii. 1-2. But the visitations of xxiii. 3-5 suit the Babylonian or Syrian conquests of 588 and 168 B. C.

XXI. 6. amongst *a* e f g: 'to' a b.

and unjust > *a* a f.

impoverished. Text reads 'in danger', owing to wrong punctuation in the original Hebrew.

the possessions of others > $\beta A S^1$.

7. Cf. 1 Sam. viii. 11-17.

8. †advance in evil. Cf. 2 Tim. ii. 16, iii. 13.

XXII. 1. divisions one against another, i. e. the civil wars of Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II, 70-40 B. C. Cf. T. Z. ix. 2-4.

And there shall be 'continual' wars in Israel ;

2 And among men of another race shall my kingdom be brought to an end,
Until the salvation of Israel shall come,
'Until the appearing of the God of righteousness',
That Jacob [and all the Gentiles] may rest in peace.

3 And He shall guard the might of my kingdom for ever ;
For the Lord sware to me with an oath that He would not destroy the kingdom from my seed
for ever.

23 1 Now I have much grief, my children, because of your lewdness and witchcrafts, and idolatries
which ye shall practise 'against the kingdom', following them that have familiar spirits, diviners, and
2 demons of error. Ye shall make your daughters singing girls and harlots, and ye shall mingle in
3 the abominations of the Gentiles. For which things' sake the Lord shall bring upon you famine and
pestilence, death and the sword, beleaguering by enemies, and revilings of friends, the slaughter of
children, the rape of wives, the plundering of possessions, [the burning of the temple of God,] the
4 laying waste of the land, the enslavement of yourselves among the Gentiles. And they shall make
some of you eunuchs for their wives.

a

5 Until the Lord visit you, when with perfect
heart ye repent and walk in all His command-
ments, and He bring you up from captivity
among the Gentiles.

a β S¹

24 1 And after these things shall a star arise to you
from Jacob in peace,
And a man shall arise [from my seed], like
the sun of righteousness,
Walking with the sons of men in meekness and
righteousness ;
And no sin shall be found in him.

β A S¹

Until ye turn unto the Lord with perfect heart 5
repenting and walking in all the commandments
of God, and the Lord visit you with mercy and
bring you up from captivity among the Gentiles.

A

And after these things shall arise the star of 1
peace,

And he shall walk with men in meekness and
righteousness.

continual wars. From Alexander's death to Herod's accession this holds good.

2. my kingdom . . . end, i. e. in 40 B. C., with Herod's accession.

[and all the Gentiles] > A. An interpolation, as this section is not universalistic.

3. He would not . . . for ever a A (>'from my seed' c). The other MSS. vary much. For the idea cf. xvii.
5-6, and Gen. xlv. 10.

XXIII. A general denunciation of Israel as a whole and its future judgements, if 'against the kingdom' is an
interpolation.

1. them that have familiar spirits, *ἐγγαστρίμυθοι*, cf. Lev. xix. 31, xx. 6, 27 ; Isa. xix. 3.

2. your daughters . . . harlots. Cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 14, 15.

the abominations of the Gentiles. Cf. Pss. Sol. i. 8, ii. 13, 14, viii. 14.

3. famine, &c. Cf. Jer. xiv. 12, xv. 2.

sword A + 'avenging' a β.

beleaguering by enemies. Cf. Jer. xix. 9. + *καὶ κίνας εἰς διασπασμόν*, a β-a before *ἐχθρῶν*, added from Jer. xv.
3 (LXX).

friends + 'destruction and blighting of the eyes' text: > hi A: emend to 'destruction of bribes', or
possibly to 'destruction of children' (dittography of next phrase). Or, like *κίνας*, &c., regard it as an intrusion.

the rape of wives > a.

[the burning of the temple of God], not realized in Maccabean times (cf. Ps. lxxiv. 7 (gates only consumed) ;

1 Macc. iv. 38) or in the first century B. C.

enslavement . . . Gentiles. Cf. the captivities of Apollonius, 1 Macc. i. 29-40 ; 2 Macc. v. 23-6: and of
Pompey, Philo, *De leg. ad Caium*, 23 ; Pss. Sol. ii. 6, xvii. 14 ; T. Z. ix. 6: of Cassius Longinus in 49 and 43 B. C.,
Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 11. 2.

4. eunuchs. Cf. 2 Kings xx. 18. Herod also had some, but we are not told that the Seleucids had any.

5. the Lord visit you, when . . . ye repent. National repentance is the condition of Israel's restoration. Cf.
Jub. i. 15-17, 23 ; Ass. Mos. i. 18 ; 1 Bar. iv. 28-37 ; 2 Bar. lxxviii. 6, 7 ; also Dan. ix. 4-19.
from captivity. Cf. v. 3 (note) ; 1 En. xc. 33 ; Sir. xxxvi. 11 ; Pss. Sol. xvii. 28, 50.

XXIV. Two Messianic fragments. Verses 1-3 speak of a Messiah, probably from Levi, as 'from my seed' is an
interpolation. Cf. both for diction and matter, T. L. xviii, the hymn in honour of John Hyrcanus. Thus cf. 1^a here
with 3^a there, 2 with 6, 1^b with 4^a, 1^c with 9^a, 3^a with 8^a. Verses 5, 6 start afresh and refer directly to a Messiah from
Judah. Verse 4 is a marginal gloss.

1. a star . . . from Jacob. Cf. Num. xxiv. 17 ; T. L. xviii. 3.

in peace. Cf. T. L. xviii. 3 'in heaven'.

a man shall arise. Cf. LXX of Num. xxiv. 17 ('a sceptre shall arise' Hebrew).

sun of righteousness. Mal. iv. 2. Cf. T. L. xviii. 4 ; T. Z. ix. 8.

Walking with the sons of men. See T. Iss. vii. 7 ; T. D. v. 13 ; and especially 1 En. lxii. 14.

meekness and righteousness. Ps. xlv. 4, interpreted of the Messiah by Targum and LXX. Cf. too Zech. ix. 9

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

a β S¹

2 And the heavens shall be opened unto him,
To pour out the spirit, (even) the blessing of
the Holy Father ;
3 And He shall pour out the spirit of grace upon
you ;
And ye shall be unto Him sons in truth,
And ye shall walk in His commandments first
and last.
4 [This Branch of God Most High,
And this Fountain giving life unto all.]
5 Then shall the sceptre of my kingdom shine
forth ;
And from your root shall arise a stem ;
6 And from it shall grow a rod of righteousness
to the Gentiles,
To judge and to save all that call upon the
Lord.

A

And the heavens shall be opened unto him, 2
And the blessings of the Holy Father shall be
poured down upon him.
And He will pour down upon us the spirit of 3
grace.
And ye shall be His true children by adoption,
And ye shall walk in His commandments first
and last.
[Then a branch shall go forth from me.] 4
And the sceptre of my kingdom shall shine 5
forth ;
And from your root shall arise a stem ;
And from it shall grow up the rod of righteous- 6
ness unto the Gentiles,
To judge and to save all that call upon the
Lord.

- 25 1 And after these things shall Abraham and Isaac and Jacob arise unto life, and I and my brethren shall be chiefs of the tribes 'of Israel': Levi first, I the second, Joseph third, Benjamin fourth, 2 Simeon fifth, Issachar sixth, and so all in order. And the Lord blessed Levi, and the Angel of the Presence, me ; the powers of glory, Simeon ; the heaven, Reuben ; the earth, Issachar ; the sea, Zebulun ; the mountains, Joseph ; the tabernacle, Benjamin ; the luminaries, Dan ; Edén, Naphtali ; the sun, Gad ; the moon, Asher.
3 And ye shall be the people of the Lord, and have one tongue ;
And there shall be there no spirit of deceit of 'Beliar',
For he shall be cast into the fire for ever.
4 And they who have died in grief shall arise 'in joy',
'And they who were poor for the Lord's sake shall be made rich',
And they who are put to death for the Lord's sake shall awake 'to life'.
5 And the harts of Jacob shall run 'in joyfulness',
And the eagles of Israel shall fly 'in gladness',
And all the people shall glorify the Lord for ever.
26 1 Observe, therefore, my children, all the law of the Lord, for there is hope for all them who hold 2 fast unto His ways. And 'he said to them : Behold', I die before your eyes this day, a hundred and

'Thy king cometh to thee, righteous and lowly', and Zeph. ii. 3. Meekness is not an attribute of the Messiah in Jewish literature 200 B. C.—A. D. 100. See T. D. vi. 9.

2. See T. L. xviii. 6 (note).

And the heavens. Cf. I En. xi. 1.

3. pour . . . grace. Cf. Ps. xlv. 2.

And ye shall be . . . walk. 'in truth' a.

sons in truth. Cf. T. L. xviii. 8.

first and last. Cf. e. g. I Chron. xxix. 29.

4. A marginal gloss.

This Branch. Cf. Isa. xi. 1 ; Jer. xxiii. 5, xxxiii. 15.

this Fountain, &c. a (β S¹) : > A. Cf. John iv. 14. Cf. Prov. xiii. 14, &c.

5-6. A new Messianic fragment, added by the inserter of xxi. 6-xxiii.

5. a stem. 'a fountain' a, corruptly. Cf. Isa. xi. 1.

6. rod of righteousness. Cf. Ps. xlv. 6.

XXV. A Resurrection to a renewed life on the present earth.

1. tribes, σκήπτρων, i. e. שבטים. Cf. Matt. xix. 28 'In the regeneration . . . judging the twelve tribes of Israel'.

2. Edén. Text ἡ τρυφή = עֵדֶן. Cf. Gen. ii. 15 (LXX).

3. one tongue, i. e. Hebrew. Ber. rabba 18 ; Shabb. 12^b ; Jub. iii. 28 (note).

be there a : 'be no more' β S¹ ; 'be among you' A.

4. rich + 'and they who have been in want shall be filled, and they who have been weak shall be strong' a b a f S¹. Cf. Matt. v. 6.

5. Jacob a b g A S¹ : 'Joseph' a d e f.

And the eagles . . . gladness a β S¹ : 'And the heifers of Israel shall leap' A + 'But the ungodly shall lament and the sinners shall weep' a β S¹.

XXVI. 1. hold fast unto a : 'direct' β S¹, i. e. שומרים מישרים.

2. Behold > β A S¹.

before your eyes > a.

THE TESTAMENT OF ISSACHAR I. 1—2. 5

3 nineteen years old. Let no one bury me ¹in costly apparel, nor tear open my bowels, ¹for this
4 shall they who are kings do¹; and carry me up to Hebron with you. And Judah, when he had said
these things, fell asleep; and his sons did according to all whatsoever he commanded them, and
they buried him in Hebron, with his fathers.

THE TESTAMENT OF ISSACHAR, THE FIFTH SON OF JACOB AND LEAH.

- 1¹ The copy of the words of Issachar. For he called his sons and said to them:
Hearken, my children, to Issachar your father;
Give ear to the words of him who is beloved of the Lord.
- 2, 3 I was born the ¹fifth son to Jacob¹, by way of hire for the mandrakes. For Reuben ¹my brother¹
4 brought in mandrakes from the field, and Rachel met him and took them. And Reuben wept, and
5 at his voice Leah my mother came forth. Now these (mandrakes) were ¹sweet-smelling¹ apples
6 which were produced in the land of Haran below a ravine of water. And Rachel said: I will not
give them to thee, but they shall be to me instead of children. ¹For the Lord hath despised me,
7 and I have not borne children to Jacob¹. Now there were two apples; and Leah said ¹to Rachel¹:
8 Let it suffice thee that thou hast taken my husband: wilt thou take these also? And Rachel said
9 ¹to her¹: Thou shalt have Jacob this night for the mandrakes ¹of thy son¹. And Leah said to her:
10 Jacob is mine, for I am the wife of his youth. But Rachel said: Boast not, and vaunt not thyself;
for he espoused me before thee, and for my sake he served our father fourteen years.

a

β A S

- 11 And had not craft increased on the earth and the wickedness of men prospered, thou wouldst not now see the face of Jacob.
- 12, 13 For thou art not his wife, but in craft wert taken to him in my stead. And my father deceived me, ¹and removed me on that night¹, and did not suffer ¹Jacob to see me; for¹ had I been
14 there, this had not happened ¹to him¹. Nevertheless, for the mandrakes I am hiring Jacob to thee
15 for one night. And Jacob knew Leah, and she ¹conceived and¹ bare me, and on account of the hire I was called Issachar.
- 2¹ Then appeared to Jacob an angel of the Lord, saying: Two children shall Rachel bear, inasmuch
2 as she hath refused company with her husband, and hath chosen continency. And had not Leah my mother paid the two apples for the sake of his company, she would have borne eight sons; for this reason she bare six, and Rachel bare the two: for on account of the mandrakes the Lord
3 visited her. For He knew that for the sake of children she wished to company with Jacob, and
4 not for lust of pleasure. For on the morrow also she again gave up Jacob. Because of the man-
5 drakes, therefore, the Lord hearkened to Rachel. For though she desired them, she eat them not, but offered them in the house of the Lord, presenting them to the priest of the Most High who was at that time.

nineteen β A S¹: 'eighteen' a, wrongly.

3. nor tear open . . . kings do > a.
with you. 'where are my fathers also' a.

1. 1. TITLE a: + 'concerning simplicity' b f S¹: 'concerning goodness' e.

the words of him who is beloved c i a e f A: 'the words beloved' h d S¹: '(my) words, ye beloved' b g.

2-14. Cf. Gen. xxx. 14-18.

3. my brother > β A S¹.

5. which were . . . Haran a ('Canaan' h i): 'which the land of Aram produced on a height' β S¹: 'and they were produced in the wood in Aram' A.

6. For the Lord . . . to Jacob a: > β A S¹.

7. to Rachel > β A S¹.

8. to her > β A S¹.

9. Jacob is mine, for I a: 'Boast not nor vaunt thyself; for Jacob is mine, and I' β A S¹.

10. Boast . . . thyself: 'How so?' β A S¹.

11. β A S version is due to dittography.

13. Jacob a only. to him a only.

14. Nevertheless . . . mandrakes a: 'And Rachel said: Take one mandrake and for the other' β-d g S¹: β A S¹ mention the second mandrake in ii. 4; d after i. 15: Leah gave Rachel both, ii. 2.

11. 1. Two b A^{a b* c d} S¹: > a a e f: d omits the clause: g omits the entire chapter.

4. Jacob + 'in order that she might receive the other ('still another' A^{a b* c d f}) mandrake' β d g A^{a b* c d f} S¹.

5. priest of the Most High β A^{a b* c d f} S¹ + 'God' A^b: 'priest' a.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

- 3¹ When, therefore, I grew up, my children, I walked in uprightness of heart, and I became a husbandman for my father and my brethren, and I brought in fruits from the field according to
 2, 3 their season. 'And my father blessed me, for he saw that I walked in rectitude before him'. And
 4 I was not a busybody in my doings, 'nor envious and malicious against my neighbour. I never slandered any one, nor did I censure the life of any man, walking as I did in singleness of eye'.
 5 Therefore, when I was thirty-'five' years old, I took to myself a wife, for my labour wore away my strength, and I never thought upon pleasure with women; 'but owing to my toil, sleep overcame me'.
 6 And my father 'always' rejoiced in my rectitude, 'because I offered through the priest to the Lord
 7 all first-fruits; then to my father also. And the Lord increased ten thousandfold His benefits in my
 8 hands; and also Jacob, my father, knew that God aided my singleness. For on all the poor and oppressed I bestowed the good things of the earth in the singleness of my heart'.
 4¹ And now, hearken to me, my children,
 And walk in singleness 'of your heart',
 For I have seen in it 'all' that is well-pleasing to the Lord.
 2 'The single-(minded) man coveteth not gold,
 He overreacheth not his neighbour,
 He longeth not after manifold dainties,
 He delighteth not in varied apparel.
 3 He doth not desire to live a long life,
 But only waiteth for the will of God'.
 4 And the spirits of deceit have no power against him,
 For he looketh not on the beauty of women,
 'Lest he should pollute his mind with corruption'.
 5 There is no envy in his thoughts,
 [No malicious person maketh his soul to pine away,]
 Nor worry with insatiable desire in his mind.
 6 For he walketh in singleness 'of soul',
 And beholdeth all things in uprightness 'of heart',
 Shunning eyes (made) evil through the error of the world,
 Lest he should see the perversion of any of the commandments of the Lord.
 5¹ Keep, therefore, my children, the law of God,
 And get singleness,

III-VI. Issachar is here held up as the single-hearted husbandman (iii. 1, v. 3, 5) who scorns luxuries and wealth (iv. 2), is free from envy, malice, and greed (iii. 3, iv. 5), shuns lust (iv. 4), offers freely to God and his father (iii. 6), and to the poor (iii. 8). Cf. LXX of Gen. xlix. 15 *ἐγενήθη ἀνὴρ γεωργός*, 'he bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant under taskwork' (Heb.). The Targums interpret this labour as in the law; cf. 1 Chron. xii. 32.

III. 1. **uprightness**, *ἐθιότητι*, עֲשֵׂה. As this work was translated into Greek between the completion of the LXX and A.D. 50 it employs more frequently than the LXX the late Greek word *ἀπλότης* = עֲשֵׂה. The MSS. waver between the two at times, probably because *ἀπλότης* was not yet so popular a term as it later became. See my Commentary, p. 103, and cf. T. G. vii. 7, T. Iss. iv. 6.

according to their season > a a f.

2. > A.

rectitude, *ἀπλότης* = wholeness, integrity. Cf. Eph. vi. 5; Col. iii. 32.

3. busybody. Cf. 1 Tim. v. 13.

4. singleness of eye. Cf. Matt. vi. 22; T. Iss. iv. 6 (note).

5. five > b d g A.

sleep. Perhaps read 'old age'. Cf. T. Z. x. 6.

6. because, 'for on whatsoever I laboured' β S¹.

all first-fruits + 'all the choicest fruit and all the firstfruits' β S¹.

7. ten thousandfold a: 'twofold' β S¹.

8. bestowed . . . singleness of heart. Cf. Rom. xii. 8. Hence the meaning 'disinterested generosity' in 2 Cor. ix. 13, *ἀπλότητι τῆς κοινωνίας εἰς αὐτοὺς*.

IV. 1. heart c g: 'soul' h i a e f.

in it b d g A: 'in you' a a e f S¹.

2. coveteth not . . . neighbour b d e g S¹: 'gaineth not gold wrongfully' a a f.

3. doth not desire to live S¹: *οὐκ ἐπιγράφει τοῦ ζῆν* a β S², i.e. עֲשֵׂה, perhaps corrupt for עֲשֵׂה.

4. looketh not on the beauty, *οὐ γὰρ εἶδεν ἐπιδέξασθαι* (*ἐπιλέξασθαι* f g A: > S¹) *κάλλος*. Perhaps there was a ditto-graphy in the original Hebrew כָּחַר בָּחַר = *ἐπιλέξασθαι* *κάλλος*. Cf. T. R. iv. 1.

5. is . . . in a: 'can . . . invade' β S.

[No malicious person, &c.] An interpolation > A: 'malice . . . not' b d g S.

Nor worry . . . his mind, emended from *οὐδὲ περισπασμὸν ἐν ἀπληστείᾳ ἐννοεῖ* a β S¹ to . . . *περισπασμὸς . . . ἐν νοῦ*.

6. singleness of soul a: > 'of soul' A: β S read 'uprightness of soul' and so 'singleness of heart' below.

eyes . . . evil. Cf. Matt. vi. 22, 23 'eye . . . single; eye . . . evil', i.e. ethically unsound. In Matt. xx. 15 = 'envious.'

- 1 And walk in guilelessness,
 Not playing the busybody with the business of your neighbour,
 2 But love the Lord and your neighbour,
 Have compassion on the poor and weak¹.
 3 Bow down your back unto husbandry,
 And toil in labours¹ in all manner of husbandry,
 Offering gifts to the Lord with thanksgiving¹.
 4 For with the first-fruits of the earth will the Lord bless you, even as He blessed all the saints
 5 from Abel even until now¹. For no other portion is given to you¹ than of the fatness of the earth,
 6 whose fruits are raised by toil¹. For our father Jacob blessed me with blessings of the earth and of
 7 first-fruits. And Levi and Judah were glorified by the Lord even among the sons of Jacob; for the
 Lord gave them an inheritance, and to Levi He gave the priesthood, and to Judah the kingdom.
 8 And do ye therefore obey them, and walk in the singleness of your father; [for unto Gad hath it
 been given to destroy the troops that are coming upon Israel].
 6 1 Know ye therefore, my children, that in the last times
 Your sons will forsake singleness,
 And will cleave unto insatiable desire;
 And leaving¹ guilelessness, will draw near to malice;
 And forsaking the commandments of the Lord,
 They will cleave unto Beliar.
 2 And leaving¹ husbandry,
 They will follow after their own wicked¹ devices,
 And they shall be dispersed among the Gentiles,
 And shall serve their enemies.
 3 And do you therefore give these commands to your children, that, if they sin, they may the more
 4 quickly return to the Lord; For He is merciful, and will deliver them, even to bring them back into
 their land.

- | | | | |
|--|----------|--------------------------|--|
| <p>7 1 Behold, therefore, as ye see, I am a hundred
 and twenty-six years old and am not conscious of
 committing any sin.</p> | <p>a</p> | <p>β A S¹</p> | <p>I am a hundred and twenty-two years old, and I
 am not conscious of having committed any sin
 unto death.</p> |
| <p>2 Except my wife I have not known any woman¹. I never committed fornication by the uplifting
 of my eyes¹.</p> | | | |
| <p>3 I drank not wine, to be led astray thereby;
 I coveted not any desirable thing that was my neighbour's.</p> | | | |
| <p>4 Guile arose not in my heart;
 A lie passed not through my lips.</p> | | | |
| <p>5 If any man were in distress I joined my sighs with his,</p> | | | |

V. 1. busybody with + 'the commands of God and' β S¹.
 3. Bow . . . husbandry. Gen. xlix. 15 (Heb.).
 labours a + 'of the earth' β A S¹.
 5. to you g A: 'to thee' β-a g S: 'to us' a: > a.
 whose fruits are raised by toil b g S¹: 'through the toils of fruits' a a e f: > d.
 6-7. A is defective and confused.
 7. to Levi . . . to Judah c: 'to the one . . . to the other' h β.
 8. [for (β A S¹: 'and' a) unto Gad . . . Israel.] Probably out of place, and belonged to T. Gad originally,
 preceded by a phrase like 'and she called his name Gad'. Cf. Gen. xlix. 19.

VI. 1. in the last times. Cf. T. L. x. 2, xiv. 1; T. G. viii. 2 (β A S); T. Z. ix. 5 (b d g); T. D. v. 4; T. Jos.
 xix. 10 (c β S); also T. Z. viii. 2, ix. 9. The phrase = the close of the present age—present, that is, from the writer's
 standpoint.

2. dispersed. Cf. T. L. xvi. 5; T. A. vii. 2, 6; T. Jos. xix. 2.
 serve their enemies. Cf. T. Jud. xxiii. 3; T. N. iv. 2.
 4. bring them back. Cf. T. D. v. 9; T. A. vii. 7.

VII. hundred and twenty-two β A S = Midrash Tadshe. See T. R. i. 1 (note).
 am not conscious, &c. Cf. 1 Cor. ix. 4; T. Z. i. 4.
 sin unto death β A S. Cf. Num. xviii. 22; Jub. xxi. 22, xxxviii. 18; 1 John v. 16.
 2. a omits *ὀκ ἐγνων* through hmt. It reads 'woman except my wife'.
 the uplifting, *μετεωρισμός*. Cf. T. B. vi. 3; Sir. xxiii. 4, xxvi. 9; Prov. vi. 25.
 4. A has 'And guile arose not through my lips, and I lied not to my neighbour'.
 5. Cf. Sir. vii. 34; Rom. xii. 15.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

And I shared my bread with the poor.
I wrought godliness, all my days I kept truth.

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|--|
| <p style="text-align: center;"><i>a</i></p> <p>6 I loved the Lord ;
Likewise also every man with all my heart.</p> <p>7 So do you also these things, my children,
And every spirit of Beliar shall flee from you,
And no deed of wicked men shall rule over you ;
And every wild beast shall ye subdue,
Since you have with you the God of heaven and earth
(And) walk with men in singleness of heart¹.</p> <p>8 And having said these things, he commanded his sons that they should carry him up to Hebron,
9 and bury him there in the cave 'with his fathers'. And he stretched out his feet and died, at a good
old age ; with every limb sound, and with strength unabated, he slept the eternal sleep.</p> | <p><i>β S¹</i></p> | <p>'The Lord I loved with all my strength : 6
Likewise also every man I loved more than my
own children,</p> |
|---|-------------------------------|--|

THE TESTAMENT OF ZEBULUN, THE SIXTH SON OF JACOB AND LEAH.

- 1₁ The copy of the words of Zebulun, which he enjoined on his sons 'before he died' in the
2 hundred and fourteenth year of his life, two years after the death of Joseph. And he said to them :
3 Hearken to me, ye sons of Zebulun, attend to the words of your father. I, Zebulun, was born a good
4 gift to my parents. For when I was born my father was increased very exceedingly, both in flocks
5 and herds, when with the straked rods he had his portion. I am not conscious that I have sinned
6 all my days, 'save in thought'. Nor yet do I remember that I have done any iniquity, except the
7 sin of ignorance which I committed against Joseph ; for I covenanted with my brethren not to tell
8 my father what had been done. But I wept 'in secret' many days on account of Joseph, for I feared my
9 brethren, 'because they had all agreed that if any one should declare the secret, he should be slain'.
10 But when they wished to kill him, I adjured them much 'with tears' not to be guilty of this sin.
11 For Simeon and Gad came against Joseph 'to kill him', and he said unto them with tears : Pity
12 me, my brethren, have mercy upon the bowels of Jacob our father : lay not upon me your hands
13 to shed innocent blood¹, for I have not sinned against you. And if indeed I have sinned, with
14 chastening chastise me, 'my brethren', but lay not upon me your hand, for the sake of Jacob our
15 father. And as he spoke these words, 'wailing as he did so', I was unable to bear his lamentations,
16 and 'began to weep', and my liver was poured out, and all the substance of my bowels was †loosened.

shared my bread. Cf. Prov. xxii. 9.

with the poor + 'I never eat alone, I moved no landmark' β S¹.

kept truth *a* : 'did truth' β-b e S¹ : 'and I walked in holiness' A + 'I loved godliness' c.

7. shall flee. Cf. T. N. viii. 4.

walk with men . . . heart hief ('his heart' h i) : 'walking with men in the singleness of His heart' c
(= Messiah, cf. T. Jud. xxiv. 1) : 'walking with men of (or 'in') singleness of heart' β-e f.

8. in the cave > a g.

9. and died . . . sleep. 'and slept at a good old age the eternal sleep' a.

the eternal sleep. This does not preclude Resurrection. T. Jud. xxv. 1 ; T. B. x. 6 ff.

TITLE *a* + 'compassion and mercy' ('almsgiving' d g) β-a S¹.

1. 1. before he died c d.

fourteenth h i β-a S¹, cf. Jashar ii. 1248 ; 'fourth' c : 'fiftieth' a : 'twenty-fourth' A.

two years. See Jub. xxviii. 11-24 (notes).

3. Zebulun, a good gift. Gen. xxx. 20.

straked rods. Cf. Gen. xxx. 37 ff.

he had : 'I had' a d.

4. am not conscious, &c. Cf. T. Iss. vii. 1.

5. sin of ignorance. Cf. T. R. i. 6 ; T. L. iii. 5 ; T. Jud. xix. 3.

which I committed > a.

covenanted with = כרתִי emended from כסיתי 'concealed for' b g A : 'confirmed to' a β-b g S¹.

7. I adjured : 'I summoned' h i : c omits rest of verse and ii. 1^a to 'kill him' through hmt.

11. 1. Simeon + 'and Dan' h. Cf. iii. 2.

against Joseph : 'with anger' g. + 'with anger' d e S¹.

and he said . . . tears : 'and falling on his face Joseph said to them' β-a f S¹.

2. upon me > a.

3. upon me : 'to slay your brother' a.

4. wailing as he did so > β A S¹.

I was . . . lamentations *a* : 'I pitied him' β S¹.

poured out d g. Cf. Lam. ii. 11 : 'melted' a β-d g S¹.

was †loosened *a* + 'within my soul' β A S¹. Perhaps emend to 'was troubled', as Lam. i. 20, ii. 11.

THE TESTAMENT OF ZEBULUN 1. 1-4. 9

5 And I wept with Joseph, and my heart sounded, and the joints of my body trembled, and I was
6 not able to stand. And when Joseph saw me weeping with him, and them coming against him to
7 slay him, he fled behind me, beseeching them. But meanwhile Reuben arose and said: 'Come, my
8 brethren, let us not slay him, but let us cast him into one of these dry pits, which our fathers digged
9 and found no water. For for this cause the Lord forbade that water should rise up in them, in order
10 that Joseph should be preserved. And they did so, until they sold him to the Ishmaelites.

3 1, 2 For in his price I had no share, my children. But Simeon and Gad and six other of our brethren
took the price of Joseph, and bought sandals for themselves, and their wives, and their children,
3 saying: We will not eat of it, for it is the price of our brother's blood, but we will assuredly tread
it under foot, because he said that he would be king over us, and so let us see what will become of
4 his dreams. Therefore it is written in the writing of the law of Moses, that whosoever will not raise
5 up seed to his brother, his sandal should be unloosed, and they should spit in his face. And the
brethren of Joseph wished not that their brother should live, and the Lord loosed from them the
6 sandal which they wore against Joseph their brother. For when they came into Egypt they were
unloosed by the servants of Joseph outside the gate, and so they made obeisance to Joseph after the
7 fashion of King Pharaoh. And not only did they make obeisance to him, but were spit upon also,
8 falling down before him forthwith, and so they were put to shame before the Egyptians. For after
this the Egyptians heard all the evils that they had done to Joseph.

4 1 And after he was sold my brothers sat down
2 to eat and drink. But I, through pity for Joseph,
did not eat, but watched the pit, since Judah
feared lest Simeon, Dan, and Gad should rush
3 off and slay him. But when they saw that I did
not eat, they set me to watch him, till he was
5 sold to the Ishmaelites. And when Reuben came
and heard that while he was away (Joseph) had
been sold, he rent his garments, (and) mourning,
said: How shall I look on the face of my father
6 Jacob? And he took the money and ran after
the merchants, but as he failed to find them he
returned grieving. But the merchants had left
the broad road and marched through the Tro-
glodytes by a short cut.

β A S¹

And after they had cast him into the pit my
1 brethren sat down to eat. For I through two
2 days and two nights eat nothing, through pity
for Joseph. And Judah eat not with them, but
watched the pit; for he feared lest Simeon and
Gad should run off and slay him. And when 3
they saw that I also eat not, they set me to
watch him until he was sold. And he spent in 4
the pit three days and three nights, and so was
sold famishing. And when Reuben heard that 5
while he was away (Joseph) had been sold, he
rent his clothes, and mourned, saying: How shall
I look in the face of Jacob my father? And he 6
took the money and ran after the merchants, and
found no one; for they had left the main road,
and journeyed through the Troglodytes by a
short cut.

7 'But Reuben was grieved, and eat no food that day. Dan therefore came to him and said:
8, 9 Weep not, neither grieve; for we have found what we can say to our father Jacob. Let us slay

5. my heart sounded. Cf. Jer. iv. 19.

joints of my body, &c. Cf. Dan. v. 6.

6. beseeching them: 'beseeching (me) to help him' a.

7. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 22.

found no water. See Jub. xxiv. 25 (note).

9. they did so a d g A: 'the Lord did so' β-d g S¹.

III. 2. Gad . . . brethren: 'Dan and Gad and their children' a.

bought sandals. Cf. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxxvii. 28; Pirke R. El. xxxviii; also Amos ii. 6.

3. the price of . . . blood. Cf. Matt. xxvii. 6.

let us see, &c. Gen. xxxvii. 20.

4-7. An attempt to explain certain customs of the Levirate Law.

4. law of Moses a: 'law of Enoch' β S¹.

whosoever will not, &c. Cf. Deut. xxxv. 10; Ruth iv. 4.

7. forthwith, παραχρημα, b d f S: παρὰ στήμα, a a e g.

before β-d A S¹: 'by' a d.

β S¹: 'for they heard the evils that they had done unto him' a.

IV. 1. 'sold a: παραθῆναι corrupt for βληθῆναι.

sat down a d only. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 25.

2. Dan (a). See ii. 1.

3. to the Ishmaelites (a). Cf. T. S. ii. 9; T. Z. ii. 9.

4. > a, possibly through hmt.

5. How shall I look . . . Jacob? So Ps.-Jon. and Targ. Jer. on Gen. xxxvii. 30.

6. Troglodytes: 'Indokolpitaë' in T. Jos. xi. 2. See LXX of 2 Chron. xii. 3.

9. slay b d A + 'with the sword' a β-b d S¹.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

10 a kid of the goats, and dip in it the coat of Joseph; and let us send it to Jacob, saying: Know, is
 11 this the coat of thy son? And they did so. For they stripped off from Joseph his coat when they
 were selling him, and put upon him the garment of a slave'. Now Simeon took the coat, and would
 not give it up, for he wished to rend it with his sword', as he was angry that Joseph lived and that
 12 he had not slain him. Then we 'all' rose up and said unto him: If thou givest not up the coat, we
 13 will say 'to our father' that thou alone didst this evil thing in Israel. And so he gave it unto them,
 and they did even as Dan had said.

5¹ And now, my children, I bid you to keep the commands of the Lord, and to show mercy to your
 neighbours, and to have compassion towards all, not towards men only, but also towards beasts.
 2 For all this thing's sake the Lord blessed me', and when all my brethren were sick, I escaped with-
 3 out sickness, for the Lord knoweth the purposes of each. Have, therefore, compassion in your hearts,
 my children, because even as a man doeth to his neighbour, even so also will the Lord do to him.
 4 For the sons of my brethren were sickening and were dying on account of Joseph, because they
 5 showed not mercy in their hearts'; but my sons were preserved without sickness, as ye know. And
 when I was in the land of Canaan, by the sea-coast, I made a catch of fish for Jacob my father; and
 when many were choked in the sea, I continued unhurt.

6¹ I was the first to make a boat to sail upon the sea, for the Lord gave me understanding and
 2 wisdom therein'. And I let down a rudder behind it, and I stretched a sail upon another upright
 3 piece of wood in the midst. And I sailed therein along the shores, catching fish for the house of my
 father until we came to Egypt.

Verses 4-6 found only in b d g.

4, 5 [And through compassion I shared my catch with every stranger. And if a man were a stranger,
 or sick, or aged, I boiled the fish, and dressed them well, and offered them to all men, as every man
 6 had need, grieving with and having compassion upon them. Wherefore also the Lord satisfied me
 with abundance of fish when catching fish; for he that shareth with his neighbour receiveth manifold
 7 more from the Lord.] For five years I caught fish [and gave thereof to every man whom I saw,
 8 and sufficed for all the house of my father]. And in the summer I caught fish, and in the winter
 I kept sheep with my brethren.

vii-viii. 3 found only in b d g.

7¹ [Now I will declare unto you what I did. I saw a man in distress through nakedness in winter-
 time, and had compassion upon him, and stole away a garment secretly from my father's house, and
 2 gave it to him who was in distress. Do you, therefore, my children, from that which God bestoweth
 upon you, show compassion and mercy without hesitation to all men, and give to every man with
 3 a good heart. And if ye have not the wherewithal to give to him that needeth, have compassion for
 4 him in bowels of mercy. I know that my hand found not the wherewithal to give to him that
 needed, and I walked with him weeping for seven furlongs, and my bowels yearned towards him in
 compassion.

8¹ Have, therefore, yourselves also, my children, compassion towards every man with mercy, that the
 2 Lord also may have compassion and mercy upon you. Because also in the last days God will send
 3 His compassion on the earth, and wheresoever He findeth bowels of mercy He dwelleth in him. For
 in the degree in which a man hath compassion upon his neighbours, in the same degree hath the

let us send . . . saying a: 'and we will say' β A S¹.

10. his coat a: 'the coat of our father' β-d g S¹.

11. Joseph lived and > a.

12. to our father a g,
 in Israel. a only.

V. 3. even as a man, &c. Cf. viii. 3; Judges i. 7; Matt. vii. 2.

4. in their hearts β S¹: 'to them' c.

VI. 1. the first to make a boat. Cf. Gen. xlix. 13.

2. rudder, lit. 'a piece of wood'.

3. catching fish g: 'and I caught fish' b d A: 'in' a f: > a.

4-6. The sections peculiar to b d g, i.e. vi. 4-6, 7^b, vii-viii, go back probably to a Hebrew original. viii. 3, though

a saying attributed to Gamaliel II or Gamaliel of Jabneh (80-105 A.D.), is virtually the same as v. 3.

6. satisfied, ἐπέλησε, d: ἐποίησε, b g, wrongly.

neighbour + 'with all willingness' d.

7. [and gave . . . father] b d g only.

whom I saw b g: 'what sufficed' d.

VII. 1. my father's house d: 'my house' b g.

2. show . . . mercy without hesitation. Cf. Jude 22, if μή is restored before διακρινόμενοι there.

3. needeth, or 'asketh', χηρίζοντι. Cf. Matt. v. 42.

VIII. 2. last days. See T. Iss. vi. 1 (note).

3. See v. 3 (note) and vi. 4-6 (note). Cf. Sifre, Deut. 96; Shabb. 151^b.

THE TESTAMENT OF ZEBULUN 4. 9—9. 8

4, 5 Lord also upon him.] And when we went down into Egypt, Joseph bore no malice against us. To whom taking heed, do ye also, my children, 'approve yourselves without malice, and¹ love one another; and do not set down in account, each one of you, evil against his brother. For this breaketh unity and divideth 'all kindred, and troubleth the soul', and weareth away the countenance.

9¹ Observe, 'therefore', the waters, and know when they flow together, they sweep along stones, trees, earth, and other things. But if they are divided into many streams, the earth swalloweth them up, and they vanish away. So shall ye also be if ye be divided. Be not ye, therefore, divided into two heads, for everything which the Lord made hath but one head, and two shoulders, two hands, two feet, and all the remaining members. For I have learnt in the writing of my fathers, that

Ye shall be divided in Israel,
And ye shall follow two kings,
And shall work every abomination.

6 And your enemies shall lead you captive,
And ye shall be evil entreated among the Gentiles,
With many infirmities and tribulations.

a

7 And after these things ye shall remember the Lord and repent,
And He shall have mercy upon you, for He is merciful and compassionate.
And He setteth not down in account evil against the sons of men,
Because they are flesh, and are deceived through their own wicked deeds.

a a e f A S¹

8 And after these things shall there arise 'unto you' the Lord Himself, the light of righteousness,

β A S¹

And after these things ye shall remember the Lord, and repent,
[And He shall cause you to return]; for He is merciful and compassionate.
And He setteth not down in account evil to the sons of men, because they are flesh,
And the spirits of deceit deceive them in all their deeds.

b d g

And after these things there shall arise unto you the Lord Himself, the light of righteousness,
[And healing and compassion shall be in His wings.
He shall redeem all the captivity of the sons of men from Beliar;
And every spirit of deceit shall be trodden down];
And he shall bring back all the Gentiles into zeal for Him.

4. Resumes vi. 3.

And when. *b d g* read 'for when', which supports the originality of vii-viii. 2. against us + 'but when he saw me he had compassion' *b g*.

5. approve . . . malice and > *a a e f A*.

set not down in account, &c. Cf. I Cor. xiii. 5. evil against *c A*: 'the evil of' *β S¹*.

6. and weareth away the countenance ('possessions' *a e f A* (?) *S¹*) *a*: 'for he who beareth malice hath no bowels of mercy' *b d g*.

IX. Written at a time of national divisions, e.g. Hyrcanus II's struggles with Aristobulus II.

1. and other things *a*: 'sand' *β-b d A*.

2. vanish away. So I emend with Perles; the text has 'become of no account', i.e. בְּיָמָיו corrupt for בְּיָמָיו . See I Sam. xv. 9.

4, 5. two heads = Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II.

5. writing of my fathers. See T. L. x. 5 (note). + 'that in the last days ye will depart from the Lord and' *b d g*. kings: 'kingdoms' *a a e f S¹*.

abomination + 'and worship every idol' *h i β S¹*.

6. be evil entreated: 'dwell' *c b d*.

tribulations + 'and anguish of soul' *b d g*.

7. repent: $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\rho\epsilon\psi\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ *a*: $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\nu\omicron\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ *β A S¹*: both = תשובו.

cause . . . to return *β A S¹*. Or $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\rho\epsilon\psi\epsilon\iota$ may be rendered 'return' if we omit $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\varsigma$. Cf. T. D. v. 9^a.

setteth not down in account. Cf. Ps. xxxii. 2.

Because . . . flesh. Cf. Gen. vi. 3; T. Jud. xix. 4.

8. *b d g* appear to be a Jewish expansion of *a a e f A S¹*. Thus 8^b comes from Mal. iv. 2, suggested by 'light of righteousness', 8^c = T. D. v. 11^a, 8^d = T. L. xviii. 12 or T. S. vi. 6.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

a a e f A S ¹	b d g
And ye shall return unto your land. And ye shall see Him in Jerusalem, 'for His name's sake'.	And ye shall see [God in the fashion of a man] (the place) which the Lord shall choose, Jerusalem is its name.

- 9 And again 'through the wickedness of your works' shall ye provoke Him to anger, And ye shall be cast away 'by Him' unto the time of consummation.
- 10 1 And now, my children, grieve not that I am dying, nor be cast down in that I am coming to my 2 end. 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 shall keep the law of the Lord, 'and the commandments 3 of Zebulun their father'. But upon the ungodly shall the Lord bring eternal fire, and destroy them 4, 5 throughout all generations. But I am now hastening away to my rest, as did also my fathers. But 6 do ye fear the Lord 'our God with all your strength all the days of your life'. And when he had 7 said these things he fell asleep, 'at a good old age'. And his sons laid him in a 'wooden' coffin. And afterwards they carried him up and buried him in Hebron, with his fathers.

THE TESTAMENT OF DAN, THE SEVENTH SON OF JACOB AND BILHAH.

- 1 1 The copy of the words of Dan, which he spake to his sons in his last days, in the hundred and 2 twenty-fifth year of his life. For he called together his family, and said: Hearken to my words, ye 3 sons of Dan; and give heed to the words 'of your father'. I have proved 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 4 are evil, because they teach man all wickedness. I confess, therefore, this day to you, my children, 5 that in my heart I resolved on the death of Joseph 'my brother', the true and good man. [And 6 I rejoiced that he was sold, because his father loved him more than us.] For the spirit of jealousy 7 and vainglory said to me: Thou thyself also art his son. And one of the spirits of Beliar stirred me 8 up, saying: Take this sword, and 'with it' slay Joseph: so shall thy father love thee when he is dead. 8 Now this is the spirit of anger that persuaded me to crush Joseph as a leopard crusheth a kid.

a	β A S ¹
9 But the God of my fathers did not suffer him to fall into my hands, so that I should find him alone and slay him, and cause a second tribe to be destroyed in Israel.	But the God of Jacob our father did not deliver 9 him into my hands that I should find him alone, nor suffer me to work this iniquity, lest two tribes should be destroyed in Israel.

- 2 1 And now, my children, behold I am dying, and I tell you of a truth, that unless ye keep yourselves from the spirit of lying and of anger, and love truth and longsuffering, ye shall perish.

c	β A S ¹
2 For anger is blindness, and does not suffer one to see the face of any man with truth.	There is blindness in anger, my children, and 2 no angry man seeth the face with truth.
3 For though it be a father or a mother, 'he behaveth towards them as enemies'; though it be a brother, he knoweth him not; though it be a prophet of the Lord, he disobeyeth him; though	

see Him a: 'see the Lord' a e f A S¹.
(the place) . . . its name b: 'whom the Lord shall choose in Jerusalem for His name's sake' g: 'and His name shall be called the angel of great counsel' d.

9. by Him a: > β S¹: 'among the Gentiles' A.

X. 1. be cast down, *συνιπτετε*. Cf. T. Jos. vii. 1.

2. Cf. T. Jud. xxv. 1; T. B. x. 7.

3. Cf. Ps. xi. 6.

throughout all generations: 'from the children of Israel' A.

6. good old age: 'good sleep' text. שינה was misread for שיבה. Cf. T. Iss. vii. 9; T. D. vii. 1, &c.
wooden a: > β A S¹. Cf. T. S. vii. 2.

TITLE a: + 'concerning anger ('wrath' d g) and lying' b d e f g S¹: + 'concerning arrogancy and hatred' A.

1. 3. just dealing. We expect longsuffering here, as in ii. i, vi. 8.

4. resolved a: rejoiced β (A) S¹: i. e. שמתי for שמהתי. For Dan's design, see T. Z. ii. 1.

5. Bracketed, as it breaks the connexion of 4 and 6.

7. Cf. T. Z. ii. 1, iii. 2.

stirred me up = עיר. Text = 'helped me' = עזר.

8. to crush . . . a kid β-a d f A: = has the order different.

crush = רעץ: emended from 'suck' = מצץ.

9. Why 'a second tribe'? β A S¹ seems to have the better reading.

11. 2. angry man: > 'angry' a e f A S¹.

THE TESTAMENT OF DAN 1. 1—5. 2

4 a righteous man, he regardeth him not; 'though a friend, he doth not acknowledge him'. For the spirit of anger encompasseth him with the net of deceit, and blindeth his eyes, and through lying 5 darkeneth his mind, and giveth him its own peculiar vision. And wherewith encompasseth it his eyes? With hatred of heart, so as to be envious of his brother.

a

β-a A S¹

3 1 For anger is an evil thing, my children, for it troubleth even the soul itself. | For anger is an evil thing, my children, for it becomes a soul to the soul itself.

2 And the body of the angry man it maketh its own, and over his soul it getteth the mastery, and 3 it bestoweth upon the body 'power that it may work all' iniquity. And when the body does all 4 these things, the soul justifieth what is done, since it seeth not aright. Therefore he that is wrathful, if he be a mighty man, hath a threefold power in his anger: one by the help of his servants; and a second by his wealth, whereby he persuadeth and overcometh wrongfully; and thirdly, having his 5 own natural power he worketh thereby the evil. And though the wrathful man be weak, yet hath 6 he a power twofold of that which is by nature; for wrath ever aideth such in lawlessness. This spirit goeth always with lying 'at the right hand of Satan, that with cruelty and lying' his works may be wrought.

4 1, 2 Understand ye, therefore, the power of wrath, that it is †vain. For it first of all giveth provocation by word; then by deeds it †strengtheneth him who is angry, and with sharp losses disturbeth his 3 mind, and so stirreth up with great wrath his soul. Therefore, when any one speaketh against you, be not ye moved to anger, [and if any man praiseth you as holy men, be not uplifted: be not moved 4 either to delight or to disgust]. For first †it pleaseth the hearing†, and so maketh the mind keen to perceive the grounds for provocation; and then being enraged, he thinketh that he is justly angry. 5 If ye fall into any loss or ruin, my children, 'be not afflicted'; for this very spirit maketh (a man) 6 desire that which is perishable, in order that he may be enraged through the affliction. And if ye suffer loss voluntarily, or involuntarily, be not vexed; for from vexation ariseth wrath 'with lying'. 7 Moreover, a twofold mischief is wrath with lying; and they assist one another in order to disturb the heart; and when the soul is continually disturbed, the Lord departeth from it, and Beliar ruleth over it.

5 1 Observe, therefore, my children, the commandments of the Lord,

And keep His law;
Depart from wrath,
And hate lying,
That the Lord may dwell among you,
And Beliar may flee from you.

2 Speak truth each one with his neighbour.
So shall ye not fall into wrath and confusion;
But ye shall be in peace, having the God of peace,
So shall no war prevail over you.

4. spirit of anger . . . deceit: 'spirit of deceit . . . nets of luxury' A.

5. And . . . his eyes. A reads 'And then it encompasses (him) with its own eye, and surrounds with hatred . . . brother a: 'with hatred of heart and it giveth him its own heart ('a heart hostile' A: 'a heart' S¹) so as to be envious of his brother' β e A S¹. Cf. d.f.

III. 1. it troubleth even a: 'it becometh a soul to' β-a g S¹, perhaps better.

2. power a g: 'its own power' β-g S¹.

3. when the body . . . aright a: 'when it doeth aught, the soul justifieth . . . seeth not' β A S¹.

4. a mighty man + 'in body' a.

having . . . evil: 'having the natural power of his body and of his own agency working' β A S¹.

5. yet hath he . . . by nature β A S¹: 'the passion of anger springeth up in him with twofold power' a.

6. Bracketed words > a A.

IV. 1. †vain. Read 'a destroyer'.

2. giveth provocation: 'is provoked' a a e f.

†strengtheneth. Read 'embittereth' or 'inciteth'.

3. The bracketed words are out of the context.

4. †it pleaseth the hearing†. Read 'the thing said giveth provocation'.

the grounds for provocation, reading τὸ ἐρεθισθῆναι for τὸ ἐρεθισθῆναι a β-d g S¹.

5. This spirit deceives in order to irritate. B¹ A reads, 'the spirit of error desired to do this thing, and to accomplish the ruin.'

affliction, πάθος, a. 'longing', πόθος, β S¹.

7. Moreover . . . lying: > a f g through hmt.

V. 2. Speak truth, &c.: from Zech. viii. 16. Cf. T. R. vi. 9; Eph. iv. 25.

God of peace. Cf. 1 Thess. v. 23; Rom. xv. 33; Phil. iv. 9.

war. Perles suggests 'enemy' πολέμιος for πόλεμος. Cf. Jer. i. 19; xv. 20.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

- 3 Love the Lord through all your life,
And one another with a true heart.
- 4 I know that in the last days ye shall depart from the Lord,
And ye shall provoke Levi unto anger,
And fight against Judah;
But ye shall not prevail against them,
For an angel of the Lord shall guide them both;
For by them shall Israel stand.
- 5 And whensoever ye depart from the Lord, ye shall walk in all evil and work the abominations of
the Gentiles, going a-whoring after women of the lawless ones, while with all wickedness the spirits
6 of wickedness work 'in you'. [For I have read in the book of Enoch, the righteous, that your prince
is Satan, and that all the spirits of wickedness and pride will conspire to attend constantly on the
sons of Levi, to cause them to sin before the Lord.
- 7 And my sons will draw 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 shall ye be led away [with them] into captivity,
And there shall ye receive all the plagues of Egypt,
And all the evils of the Gentiles.
- 9 And so when ye return to the Lord ye shall obtain mercy,
And He shall bring you into His sanctuary,
And He shall give you peace.
- 10 And there shall arise unto you from the tribe of [Judah and of] Levi the salvation of the Lord;
And he shall make war against Beliar.
And execute an everlasting vengeance on our enemies;
- 11 And the captivity shall he take from Beliar [the souls of the saints],
And turn disobedient hearts unto the Lord,
And give to them that call upon him eternal peace.
- 12 And the saints shall rest in Eden,
And in the New Jerusalem shall the righteous rejoice,

3. Earliest literary authority for conjoining love to God and love to one's neighbour. Cf. Matt. xxii. 37, 39.
through all your life: 'with all your soul' h d. Cf. T. Iss. vii. 6; Sir. vii. 29, 30.
4. Levi . . . Judah, &c. Cf. T. R. vi. 5-12; T. S. v. 5.
5. spirits of wickedness a f: 'spirits of fornication' b e A S¹, i.e. πορνείας for πορνείας. Cf. v. 6.
- 6-7. Contradict v. 4, where Dan opposes Levi and Judah, who are led of God. These two verses refer to the demoralization under the later Maccabees, like T. L. x. xiv-xvi; T. Jud. xxi. 6-xxxiii; T. Z. ix.
6. The earliest authority we have for the connexion of Dan and the Antichrist. Dan in the O.T. was idolatrous, Judges xviii. 30; 1 Kings xii. 29; according to Ps.-Jon. on Deut. xxv. 18 Dan was the 'hindmost' and 'feeblest', referred to in that verse; while Jer. viii. 16 is interpreted by Irenaeus v. 30. 2 of the Antichrist (and so Dan is omitted Rev. vii. 5-8). Cf. Ber. rab. xliii on Jer. viii. 16.
- book of Enoch. See T. L. x. 5 (note).
- righteous + 'and I have known' ('found' h i) c h i.
- is a β: 'will be' A S¹.
- all > a f.
- conspire = יקשרו, emended from יקשרו = 'obey' in the text.
7. sin with them. Levi was to lead Israel astray, T. L. x. 2.
- sons of Judah, &c. Cf. T. Jud. xxi. 6, 7.
8. led away. Cf. T. L. x. 4; T. Z. ix. 6.
- [with them], added by interpolator of 6-7.
- evils of the Gentiles. Cf. T. Z. ix. 6; T. N. iv. 2.
9. when ye return . . . mercy. Cf. T. Z. ix. 7.
- He shall bring you, &c. Cf. T. Jud. xxiii. 5; T. Iss. vi. 3; T. A. vii. 7.
- give you peace. Cf. Haggai ii. 9; 1 En. lxxi. 17.
10. arise . . . salvation of the Lord. Cf. T. L. xviii. 3; T. Jud. xxiv. 1; T. Z. ix. 8, &c.
- the tribe of [Judah and of] Levi: The singular, 'tribe,' necessitates one name only. Only T. G. viii. 1 (corrupt) puts Judah before Levi, and only T. Jud. xxiv. 5-6 (first century B. C.) and T. N. viii. 2 (corrupt) derive the Messiah from Judah.
- war against Beliar. Cf. T. L. xviii. 12.
- everlasting. So I emend text = 'of victory', which is due to a wrong rendering of נצח in Hebrew.
- our enemies = אבותינו. So I emend from text = 'our fathers' = אבותינו.
11. the captivity = 'disobedient hearts' enslaved through sin. Brackets show a Christian addition.
- turn disobedient, &c. Cf. Luke i. 17; and T. Z. ix. 8 (b d g).
12. Eden. Cf. T. L. xviii. 10.
- the New Jerusalem b g A S¹: 'the kingdom of J.', c; 'the new Holy J.', h i. This is the earliest occurrence of

THE TESTAMENT OF DAN 5. 3—7. 3

- And it shall be unto the glory of God for ever.
- 13 And no longer shall Jerusalem endure desolation,
Nor Israel be led captive;
For the Lord shall be in the midst of it [living amongst men],
And the Holy One of Israel shall reign over it [in humility and in poverty; and he who believeth
on Him shall reign amongst men in truth].
- 6 1, 2 And now, fear the Lord, my children, and beware of Satan and his spirits. Draw near unto God
and unto the angel that intercedeth for you, for he is a mediator between God and man, and for the
3 peace of Israel he shall stand up against the kingdom of the enemy. Therefore is the enemy eager
4 to destroy all that call upon the Lord. For he knoweth that upon the day on which Israel shall
5 repent, the kingdom of the enemy shall be brought to an end. For the very angel of peace shall
6 strengthen Israel, that it fall not into the extremity of evil. And it shall be in the time of the law-
lessness of Israel, that the Lord will **not** depart from them, but **will transform them into** a nation
7 that doeth His will, for none of the angels will be equal unto him. And His name shall be in every
place in Israel, 'and among the Gentiles'.
- 8 Keep, therefore, yourselves, my children, from every evil work,
And cast away wrath and all lying,
And love truth and long-suffering.
- 9 And the things which ye have heard from your father, do ye 'also' impart to your children [that
the Saviour of the Gentiles may receive you; for he is true and long-suffering, meek and lowly, and
10 teacheth by his works the law of God]. Depart, therefore, from all unrighteousness, and cleave unto
the righteousness of God, and your race will be saved for ever. And bury me near my fathers.
- 7 1, 2 And when he had said these things he kissed them, and fell asleep at a good old age. And his
sons buried him, And after that they carried up 'his bones', and placed them near Abraham, and
3 Isaac, and Jacob. [Nevertheless, 'Dan' prophesied unto them that they should forget their God,
and should be alienated from the land of their inheritance 'and from the race of Israel', and from the
family of '†their seed.†']

THE TESTAMENT OF NAPHTALI, THE EIGHTH SON OF JACOB AND BILHIAH.

- 1 1 The copy of the testament of Naphtali, which he ordained at the time of his death in the hundred
2 and thirtieth year of his life. When his sons were gathered together in the seventh month, on the
3 first day of the month, while still in good health, he made them a feast of food and wine. And after
the expression in Jewish literature. Cf. 1 En. xc. 29; also Ezek. xl, xlviii; Isa. liv. 11, 12, lx. 1; Rev. iii. 12, xxi. 2.
Here it is Jerusalem rebuilt, *z.* 13.

and it shall be unto: 'which is' *a*.

13. Brackets indicate Christian additions, though for the Messiah's humility cf. T. Jud. xxiv. 1 (note).

VI. 1-7. A section complete in itself. Israel is between the opposing spiritual forces of God and of Satan. The reign of evil will end when Israel repents, therefore Satan seeks to destroy those who call upon God. Even in Israel's lawlessness, the angel of peace is with them, to transform them into a nation doing the will of God.

2. **intercedeth for you**: 'followeth with you' *c*: 'followeth us' *h i*. Cf. T. L. v. 6 (note).

mediator between God and man. Cf. 1 Tim. ii. 5. Here of Michael cf. Jub. i. 29; Apoc. Mos. (ed. Tischendorf, p. 1); Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, vi. 75; Jalk. Chad., f. 120. Later, about the time of Christ, Moses was regarded as mediator, Ass. Mos. i. 14, iii. 12.

stand up. Cf. Dan. xii. 1.

against the kingdom of the enemy *bg (A) S¹*: 'before the kingdom of God' *a d e f*.

4. **repent** *a*: 'believe' *β (A) S¹*. If all Israel repent, redemption will come, Pesikt. 163^b, &c. See my Comm., p. 132.

5. **angel of peace**. Cf. T. A. vi. 6; T. B. vi. 1; 1 En. xl. 8, lii. 5. See T. L. v. 6 (note).

strengthen: 'convert and strengthen' *c*.

that it fall not, &c. Cf. T. L. v. 6.

6. Two corrections have been made: i. 'not' restored before 'depart'; ii. 'will go over to' (= *יִפְתֹּחַ* intransitive) emended to 'will transform them into' = *יִפְתֹּחַ* (transitive).

doeth: 'seeketh' *c*.

7. **Gentiles** + 'Saviour' *β S¹*.

8. **all**: > *a*.

9. **that the Saviour . . . receive you**. A Christian addition. The rest may be Jewish. Cf. T. Jud. xxiv. 1.

10. **the righteousness of** + 'the law of' *β S¹*.

and your race > *b*.

VII. 1. **old age**: 'sleep' *c*. See T. Z. x. 6. For 'eternal sleep' *β A S¹*, cf. T. Iss. vii. 9.

3. A later addition.

their God *a S¹*: 'the law of their God' *b d A*.

†their seed† *a*: 'and so it came to pass' *β*.

TITLE *a*: + 'concerning natural goodness' *b d e f A¹*.

I. 1. **hundred and thirtieth** *h a e f A S¹*: 'hundredth' *c g*; 'hundred and thirty-second' *b d*. Cf. T. R. i. 1 Jub. xxviii. 11-24 (note in large edition).

2. **while . . . health** > *a*.

and wine > *a*.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

4 he was awake in the morning, he said to them, I am dying; and they believed him not. And as he
 5 glorified the Lord, he grew strong and said that after yesterday's feast he should die. And he began
 6 then to say: Hear, my children, ye sons of Naphtali, hear the words of your father. I was born from
 Bilhah, and because Rachel dealt craftily, and gave Bilhah in place of herself to Jacob, and she
 7 conceived and bare me upon Rachel's knees, therefore she called my name Naphtali. For Rachel
 loved me very much because I was born upon her lap; and when I was still young she was wont
 8 to kiss me, and say: May I have a brother of thine from mine own womb, like unto thee. Whence
 9 also Joseph was like unto me in all things, according to the prayers of Rachel. Now my mother
 was Bilhah, daughter of Rotheus the brother of Deborah, Rebecca's nurse, who was born on one and
 10 the self-same day with Rachel. And Rotheus was of the family of Abraham, a Chaldean, God-
 11 fearing, free-born, and noble. And he was taken captive and was bought by Laban; and he gave
 him Euna his handmaid to wife, and she bore a daughter, and called her name Zilpah, after the name
 12 of the village in which he had been taken captive. And next she bore Bilhah, saying: My daughter
 hastens after what is new, for immediately that she was born she seized the breast and hastened to
 suck it.

2₁ And I was swift on my feet like the deer, and my father Jacob appointed me for all messages,
 2 and as a deer did he give me his blessing. For as the potter knoweth the vessel, how much it is to
 contain, and bringeth clay accordingly, so also doth the Lord make the body after the likeness of
 3 the spirit, and according to the capacity of the body doth He implant the spirit. And the one does
 not fall short of the other by a third part of a hair; for by weight, and measure, and rule was all the
 4 creation made. And as the potter knoweth the use of each vessel, what it is meet for, so also doth
 the Lord know the body, how far it will persist in goodness, and when it beginneth in evil. For
 5 there is no inclination or thought which the Lord knoweth not, for He created every man after His
 own image.

a

6 For as a man's strength, so also is his work; 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.

β-ag A

As a man's strength, so also is his work; and 6 as his mind, so also is his skill; and as his purpose, so also is his achievement; and 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 works of Beliar.

7 And as there is a division between light and darkness, between seeing and hearing, so also is there a division between man and man, and between woman and woman; and it is not to be said that the
 8 one is like the other either in face or in mind. For God made all things good in their order, the five senses in the head, and He joined on the neck to the head, adding to it the hair also for comeliness and glory, then the heart for understanding, the belly for excrement, and the stomach for

4. grew strong a: 'affirmed' β S¹.
 that . . . he should die β S¹: 'after . . . my body died' a.

5. > S¹.

6. For the play on the words cf. Gen. xxx. 8.
 conceived and > β S¹.

7. May I have A: 'may I see' β-g S¹: a is corrupt.
 prayers b d A: 'blessings' a a e f S¹.

9-11. The aim is to show that Bilhah was of Semitic descent. Cf. e.g. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxix. 24, 29.

11. Zilpah, here a sister of Bilhah, as in Jub. xxviii. 9, and Ps.-Jon., &c.

12. Bilhah . . . hastens, i.e. בלהה נבהלה.
 for . . . to suck it > a a d g.

II. 1. as a deer . . . blessing. See Gen. xlix. 21.

2. accordingly h a e f: 'unto it' c d.

3. was all the creation made a: 'was every creature of the Most High' b A: 'was every creature exalted' d e f.
 For the weighing and measuring of all, cf. Job xxviii. 25; Isa. xl. 12; 1 En. xliii. 2; 4 Ezra iv. 36; also Wisd. xi. 20; Pss. Sol. v. 6.

4. beginneth b d A: 'cometh' a e f.

5. inclination, πλάσμα = פֶּשַׁע. See T. A. i. 3 (note).

created . . . after His own image. Cf. Sir. xvii. 3. Earliest quotation (with Sirach) of Gen. i. 26, 27.

6. as his eye, so also is his sleep. Something is wrong. Perhaps for 'eye' read 'maw', as in Berach. 61^b.

8. the five senses. See T. R. ii. 3-iii. 1 (note).

and He joined . . . head > a S¹. Compare the lists of man's powers and faculties in (1) Berach. 61^{ab}, (2) and (3) Othioth of 'R. Akiba' (ed. Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, iii. 42, 43), (4) Hebrew T. Naph. x. 6, least akin to our text.
 heart for understanding, in (1) (2) (3) and practically (4).

belly for excrement, in (2). I read διαχώρησιν for διακρίσιν. Perles neatly suggests that the Heb. was לִפְרֵשׁ = 'for excrement', which the translator took for = לִפְרֵשׁ = εἰς διακρίσιν.

(grinding), the windpipe for taking in (the breath), the liver for wrath, the gall for bitterness, the spleen for laughter, the reins for prudence, the muscles of the loins for power, the lungs for drawing in, the loins for strength, and so forth. So 'then', my children, let all your works be done in order with good intent in the fear of God, and do nothing disorderly in scorn or out of its due season. For if thou bid the eye to hear, it cannot; so neither while ye are in darkness can ye do the works of light.

3¹ Be ye, therefore, not eager to corrupt your doings through covetousness or with vain words to beguile your souls; because if ye keep silence in purity of heart, ye shall understand how to hold fast the will of God, and to cast away the will of Beliar. Sun and moon and stars change not their order; so do ye also change not the law of God in the disorderliness of your doings. The Gentiles went astray, and forsook the Lord, and changed their order, and obeyed stocks and stones, spirits of deceit. But ye shall not be so, my children, recognizing in the firmament, in the earth, and in the sea, and in all created things, the Lord who made all things, that ye become not as Sodom, which changed the order of nature. In like manner the Watchers also changed the order of their nature, whom the Lord cursed at the flood, on whose account He made the earth without inhabitants and fruitless.

4¹ These things I say unto you, my children, for I have read in the writing of Enoch that ye yourselves also shall depart from the Lord, walking according to all the lawlessness of the Gentiles, and ye shall do according to all the wickedness of Sodom. And the Lord shall bring captivity upon you, and 'there' shall ye serve your enemies, and ye shall be bowed down with every affliction and tribulation, until the Lord have consumed you all. And after ye have become minished and made few, ye shall return and acknowledge the Lord your God; and He shall bring you back into your land, according to His abundant mercy. And it shall be, that after that they come into the land of their fathers, they shall again forget the Lord and become ungodly. And the Lord shall scatter them upon the face of all the earth, until the compassion of the Lord shall come, a man working righteousness and working mercy unto all them that are afar off, and to them that are near.

5¹ For in the fortieth year of my life, I saw a vision on the Mount of Olives, on the east of Jerusalem,

stomach for (grinding) ('grinding' supplied from (2)) = (1) (2) (3).

windpipe for taking in (text, = 'reed for health', corrupt) = (2) (3). Cf. (1) (4), 'sending out.'

liver for wrath (1) (2) (3) (4). Cf. T. R. iii. 4.

gall for bitterness > (2) (4): (1) (3) 'the gall sprinkles on it a drop and quiets it.'

spleen for laughter (1) (2) (3) (4).

reins for prudence (*πανουργία*, as Prov. i. 4, viii. 5, LXX): 'reins for counsel' (2). Cf. (1) (3) (4). (1) and (2) tell us that the reins give both good and bad counsel. Cf. Eccles. x. 2.

muscles of the loins for power. No parallel; a dittography.

lungs for drawing in (2). Cf. (1) (3) (4). But our text is corrupt. *πλευρὰν εἰς τὸ καθεύδειν α: πλευρὰν εἰς*

θήκην β-g S¹. Read *πλεύμονα, כּוּכַבִּים לְשׂוֹרֵי*.

loins for strength. Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 11.

9. while in darkness . . . light. Cf. John iii. 9.

works of light. Cf. Eph. v. 9, 'fruits of light.'

III. 1. with vain words to beguile. Cf. Eph. v. 6.

Beliar *α d*: 'the devil' β-d A^{ab}.

2. Cf. Sir. xvi. 26-8, xl. 6 ff.; 1 En. ii. 1; Pss. Sol. xviii. 11-14.

change β S¹: 'hide' α: 'hinder' A.

3. stones α + 'having followed after' β A S¹. α regards the stocks and stones as spirits of deceit.

4. as Sodom. Cf. iv. 1; T. B. ix. 1; Jude 7; 2 Pet. ii. 6. Jude 6 speaks of the angels who kept not *τὴν ἐαντῶν ἀρχήν*.

5. the Watchers. Cf. 1 En. vi ff.

without inhabitants. 1 En. ix. 2 (not Gk.), lxvii. 2, lxxxiv. 5.

IV. A first-century B.C. passage like Zeb. ix. The reference to Enoch and *v. 4* support this view.

1. I have read b d g A S¹: 'I have known' α a e f. So α did not at first mention Enoch. See T. L. x. 5 (note).

2. there. Cf. T. Dan. v. 8: > d A S¹.

be bowed down A: 'be covered' b g S: 'dwell' α a d e f.

affliction and tribulation. Cf. T. Z. ix. 6; T. D. v. 8; Ps. cvii. 39.

3. become minished and > α.

bring you back. Cf. 2 Chron. vi. 25; T. Z. ix. 7.

4. again forget. Cf. T. Z. ix. 9. Renewed apostasy under Seleucids or later Maccabees.

5. the compassion of the Lord: 'the Lord' A^{ab} ('with compassion' A^{b*o d}). Cf. T. Z. ix. 7.

a man working righteousness, the Messiah, not a Maccabee.

afar off. Isa. lvii. 19.

V-VII. The hatred of Joseph here reflects Jewish hatred of Samaria.

V. 1-5. This vision is hardly intelligible. Cf. Heb. T. Naph. ii.

1. a vision > β A S¹.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

- 2 that the sun and the moon were standing still. And behold Isaac, the father of my father, said to us; Run and lay hold of them, each one according to his strength; and to him that seizeth them will the sun and moon belong.¹ And we all of us ran together, and Levi laid hold of the sun, and Judah outstripped the others and seized the moon, and they were both of them lifted up with them. And when Levi became as a sun, [lo¹, a certain young man gave to him twelve branches of palm; and Judah was bright as the moon, and under their feet were twelve rays. [And the two, Levi and Judah, ran, and laid hold of them.] And lo, a bull upon the earth, with two great horns, and an eagle's wings upon its back; and we wished to seize him, but could not. But Joseph came, and seized him, and ascended up with him on high. And I saw, for I was there, and behold a holy writing appeared to us, saying: Assyrians, Medes, Persians, [Chaldeans,] Syrians, shall possess in captivity the twelve tribes of Israel.
- 6¹ And again, after seven days, I saw our father Jacob standing by the sea of Jamnia, and we were with him. And behold, there came a ship sailing by, without sailors or pilot; and there was written upon the ship, The Ship of Jacob. And our father said to us: Come, let us embark on our ship. And when he had gone on board, there arose a vehement storm, and a mighty tempest of wind; and our father, who was holding the helm, departed from us. And we, being tost with the tempest, were borne along over the sea; and the ship was filled with water, (and was) pounded by mighty waves, until it was broken up. And Joseph fled away upon a little boat, and we were all divided upon nine planks¹, and Levi and Judah were together. And we were all scattered unto the ends of the earth.
- 8, 9 Then Levi, girt about with sackcloth, prayed for us all unto the Lord. And when the storm ceased, the ship reached the land as it were¹ in peace. And, lo, our father came, and we all rejoiced with one accord.
- 7¹ These two dreams I told to my father; and he said to me: These things must be fulfilled in their season, after that Israel hath endured many things.
- 2 Then my father saith unto me: I believe God that Joseph liveth, for I see always¹ that the Lord numbereth him with you.
- 3 And he said, weeping: Ah me, my son Joseph, thou livest, though I behold thee not, and thou seest not Jacob that begat thee.
- 4 He caused me also, therefore, to weep by these words, and I burned in my heart to declare that Joseph¹ had been sold, but I feared my brethren.
- 8¹ And lo! my children, I have shown unto you the last times, how everything shall come to pass in Israel. Do ye also, therefore¹, charge your children that they be united to Levi and to Judah; For through them shall salvation arise unto Israel, And in them shall Jacob be blessed.

2-3. Cf. Heb. T. Naph. ii. 2-4, which adds 'nine stars'. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 9.
 4. This obscure verse is given differently in Heb. T. Naph. ii. 4-6.
 5. Dittography of 3^{a b c}. β A S¹ read 'ran to each other and laid hold of each other'.
 6-8. In the Heb. T. Naph. Joseph holds aloof (ii), but finally (iii) mounts a great bull and rides for four hours (the 400 years until the division of the kingdoms). In the end a storm disperses the tribes (the captivity). Our text in 7. 8 goes on to the Syrian (Seleucid) rule.
 6. a bull, &c. Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 17.
 eagle's wings: like a stork's, according to Heb. T. Naph. iii. 1.
 7. came and seized a: 'got ahead and took' β.
 8. for I was there a β-d S¹: 'for we were ('that he was' A) in paradise' d A.
 Persians + 'Elamites, Gelachians' ('Chelkaeans' a e f) β.
 [Chaldeans]. In the wrong order. It should be before 'Medes'.
 VI. 1. days a: 'months' β A^{a b} S¹.
 2. sailing by + 'full of salt fish' β A = מלא מלוחים, a corrupt dittography in Heb. of בלא מלוחים = 'without sailors'.
 4. departed a β-b g S¹: 'flew away' b g A: 'was hidden' Heb. T. Naph. vi. 1.
 5. pounded . . . waves β-d f A S¹: 'borne along' a: 'and the waves of the sea smote it to the rock' Heb. T. Naph. v. 5.
 until: text has 'so that'.
 6. Joseph = Samaria.
 nine a: 'ten' β S¹.
 7. of the earth > β-d S¹.
 8. for us all > a: 'for us' A.
 VII. 1. The repeated dream showed the matter was established, Gen. xli. 32; Heb. T. Naph. vii. 1-5.
 3. Ah me > β A S¹.
 4. me: 'us' β A S¹.
 Joseph > β A S¹.
 VIII. 2. united to Levi and to Judah. Cf. Heb. T. Naph. i. 8. Cf. T. D. v. 10 (note).
 through them . . . in them: text = 'through Judah . . . in him'. But salvation comes through Levi and Judah jointly. See T. R. vi. 5-12 (note).

THE TESTAMENT OF NAPHTALI 5. 2—9. 3

- 3 For through their tribes shall God appear [dwelling among men] on earth,
To save the race of Israel,
And to gather together the righteous from amongst the Gentiles.
- 4 If ye work that which is good, my children,
‘Both’ men and angels shall bless you;
And God shall be glorified among the Gentiles through you,
And the devil shall flee from you,
‘And the wild beasts shall fear you’,
And the Lord shall love you,
[And the angels shall cleave to you].
- 5 As a man who has trained a child well is kept in kindly remembrance;
So also for a good work there is a good remembrance before God.
- 6 But him that doeth not that which is good,
‘Both’ angels and men shall curse,
And God shall be dishonoured among the Gentiles through him,
And the devil shall make him as his own peculiar instrument,
And every wild beast shall master him,
And the Lord shall hate him.
- 7 For the commandments of the law are twofold,
‘And’ through prudence must they be fulfilled.
- 8 For there is a season for a man to embrace his wife,
And a season to abstain therefrom for his prayer.
- 9 So, then, there are two commandments; and, unless they be done in due order, they bring ‘very
10 great’ sin ‘upon men’. So also is it with the other commandments. Be ye therefore wise in God,
‘my children’, and prudent, understanding the order of His commandments, and the laws of every
word, that the Lord may love you.
- 9¹ And when he had charged them with many such words, he exhorted them that they should
2 remove his bones to Hebron, and that they should bury him with his fathers. And when he had
3 eaten and drunken with a merry heart, he covered his face and died. And his sons did according to
all that Naphtali their father had commanded them.

THE TESTAMENT OF GAD, THE NINTH SON OF JACOB AND ZILPAH.

- 1¹ The copy of the testament of Gad, what things he spake unto his sons, in the hundred and twenty-
2 fifth year of his life, saying unto them: ‘Hearken, my children’, I was the ninth son born to Jacob,
3 and I was valiant in keeping the flocks. Accordingly I guarded ‘at night’ the flock; and whenever
the lion came, ‘or the wolf’, or any wild beast against the fold, I pursued it, and ‘overtaking (it)’
4 I seized its foot with my hand and hurled it about a stone’s throw, and so killed it. Now Joseph
‘my brother’ was feeding the flock with us for upwards of thirty days, and being young, he fell sick

3. their tribes: text = ‘his tribe’, a Christian alteration.

God appear. Cf. T. S. vi. 4; T. Z. ix. 8.

[dwelling among men]: a Christian interpolation?

the righteous from amongst the Gentiles, or ‘the righteous of the Gentiles’, i.e. conversion of the Gentiles.

Cf. 1 En. x. 21, xc. 9-16, 18, 30. See T. B. ix. 2 (note).

4-6. Verses 4 and 6 are antithetic, so bracket 4^g.

4. Both > aA.

devil . . . flee: James iv. 7.

And the Lord shall love you: eg A^{b*} o d o f S: > a b d f. But cf. 6^f, while 4^g looks like a dittography in the Hebrew.

6. And God . . . through him > a.

8. Cf. Eccles. iii. 5 and 1 Cor. vii. 5—‘a season . . . unto prayer’.

9. there are two commandments: ‘the two (commandments) of God are’ a e f.

very . . . men a: ‘sin’ β A S¹.

TITLE a: + ‘concerning hatred’ β-a d (A) S.

1. 1. hundred and twenty-fifth. So Midrash Tadshe; Shemoth rab. i. 5; Jashar (ii. 1246).

3. Cf. Judah’s feats, T. Jud. ii.

Accordingly a: > β S.

came + ‘or leopard or bear’ b e g A S¹.

or any wild beast > a.

overtaking . . . seized a: ‘seizing’ β A S¹.

hurled . . . throw a: ‘whirling it round I stunned it, and having hurled it over two furlongs’ β-d S¹. For Gad’s strength cf. Ber. rabba xciv. 4.

4. young a S¹: ‘delicate’ β A.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

5 by reason of the heat. And he returned to Hebron to our father, who made him lie down near him,
6 because he loved him greatly. And Joseph told our father that the sons of 'Zilpah and' Bilhah
were slaying the best 'of the flock' and eating them against the judgement of Reuben and Judah.
7 For he saw that I had delivered a lamb out of the mouth of a bear, and put the bear to death; but
8 had slain the lamb, being grieved concerning it that it could not live, and that we had eaten it. And
9 regarding this matter I was wroth with Joseph 'until the day that he was sold. And the spirit of hatred
was in me', and I wished not either to hear of Joseph with the ears, or see him with the eyes,
because he rebuked us to our faces 'saying' that we were eating of the flock without Judah. For
whatsoever things he told our father, he believed him.

2 1 I confess now my sin, my children, that oftentimes I wished to kill him, because I hated him from
2 my heart. Moreover, I hated him yet more for his dreams; and I wished to lick him out of the land
of the living, even as an ox licketh up the grass of the field.

a

3 And Judah sold him secretly to the Ishmael-
ites.

5 Thus the God of our fathers delivered him
from our hands, that we should not work great
lawlessness in Israel.

3 1 And now, my children, hearken to the words of truth to work righteousness, and all the law of the
Most High, and go not astray through the spirit of hatred, for it is evil in all the doings of
2 men. Whatsoever a man doeth the hater abominateth him: and though a man worketh the law of
the Lord, he praiseth him not; though a man feareth the Lord, and taketh pleasure in that which is
3 righteous, he loveth him not. He dispraiseth the truth, he envieth him that prospereth, he welcometh
evil-speaking, he loveth arrogance, for hatred blindeth his soul; as I †also 'then' looked† on Joseph.

4 1 Beware, therefore, my children of hatred; for it worketh lawlessness 'even' against the Lord Him-
2 self. For it will not hear 'the words of' His commandments concerning the loving of one's neigh-
3 bour, 'and' it sinneth against God. 'For if a brother stumble', it delighteth immediately to proclaim
it to all men, and is urgent that he should be judged for it, and be punished and be put to death.
4 And if it be a servant it stirreth him up against his master, and with every affliction it deviseth against
5 him, if possibly he can be put to death. For hatred worketh with envy also against them that
prosper: so long as it heareth of or seeth their success, it always languisheth.

6 For as love would quicken 'even' the dead, and would call back them that are condemned to
die, so hatred would slay the living, and those that had sinned venially it would not suffer to live.
7 For the spirit of hatred worketh together with Satan, through hastiness of spirit, in all things to
men's death; but the spirit of love worketh together with the law of God in long-suffering unto the
salvation of men.

β A S¹

Therefore I and Simeon sold him to the Ish- 3
maelites [for thirty pieces of gold, and ten of them
we hid, and showed the twenty to our brethren].

And thus through covetousness we were bent 4
on slaying him.

And the God of my fathers delivered him from 5
my hands, that I should not work lawlessness in
Israel.

6. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxxvii. 2 says Joseph reported that Zilpah and Bilhah's sons were eating flesh cut from the living animal.

7. eaten it + 'and he told our ('his' A^b) father' b A^b.

9. to hear. A only.

11. 1. from my heart a A: εως ψυχης β-g S¹.

2. Cf. T. D. i. 7.

to lick. Cf. Num. xxii. 4 and T. D. i. 8: 'to blot out' d A (? a g).

3-5. β A S¹ show Christian influence, e.g. the thirty pieces. Gen. xxxvii. 28 gives 'twenty pieces of silver'.

3. Simeon β-b A S². Cf. T. Z. iii. 2 and T. S. iv. 2. 'Judah' a b S¹. Cf. T. S. ii. 9; Gen. xxxvii. 26.

of gold: LXX of Gen. alone.

4. we were β-b g S¹: 'I was' b g A.

5. delivered. Cf. T. S. ii. 8.

11. 2. Whatsoever a man doeth . . . him β-f g S: 'Whatsoever the hater doeth is abominable' a A.

3. envieth. Contrast 1 Cor. xiii. 4.

prospereth, or 'doeth right'.

I †also looked on†. Read perhaps 'it blinded me also in regard to'.

IV. 3. For . . . stumble β S. Cf. Gal. vi. 1. > a A.

delighteth β A S¹: 'hasteneth' a.

4. stirreth . . . up against a β S¹: 'slandereth' A.

it deviseth against b S¹: 'it rejoiceth over' a β-b. Perhaps omit 'with' before 'every affliction'.

5. also against, or 'and with regard to'; connecting with following words.

7. hastiness of spirit. Cf. LXX on Exod. vi. 9; Pss. Sol. xvi. 11.

THE TESTAMENT OF GAD 1. 5—6. 4

5¹ 'Hatred, therefore, is evil', for it constantly mateth with lying, speaking against the truth; and it maketh small things to be great, and causeth the light to be darkness, and calleth the sweet bitter, and teacheth slander, and 'kindleth' wrath, and 'stirreth' up war, and violence and all covetousness; it filleth the heart with evils and devilish poison. These things, 'therefore', I say to you from experience, my children, that ye may drive forth hatred, which is of the devil, and cleave to the love of God. Righteousness casteth out hatred, humility destroyeth envy. For he that is just and humble is ashamed to do what is unjust, 'being reprov'd not of another', but of his own heart, because the Lord looketh on his inclination. He speaketh not against a holy man, because the fear of God overcometh hatred. For fearing lest he should offend the Lord, he will not do wrong to any man, even in thought. These things I learnt at last, after I had repented concerning Joseph. For true repentance after a godly sort [destroyeth ignorance, and] driveth away the darkness, and enlighteneth the eyes, and giveth knowledge to the soul, and leadeth the mind to salvation. And those things which it hath not learnt from man, it knoweth through repentance. For God brought upon me a disease of the liver; and had not the prayers of Jacob my father succoured me, it had hardly failed but my spirit had departed. For by what things a man transgresseth, by the same also is he punished. Since, 'therefore', my liver was set mercilessly against Joseph, in my liver too I suffered mercilessly, and was judged for eleven months, for so long a time as I had been angry against Joseph.

6¹ And now, my children, 'I exhort you', love ye each one his brother, and put away hatred from your hearts, love one another in deed, and in word, and in the inclination of the soul. For in the presence of my father I spake peaceably to Joseph; and when I had gone out, the spirit of hatred darkened my mind, and stirred up my soul to slay him.

a

3 Love ye one another from the heart; and if a man sin against thee, speak peaceably to him, and in thy soul hold not guile; and if he repent and confess, forgive him.

β A S¹

Love ye, therefore, one another from the heart; and if a man sin against thee, cast forth the poison of hate and speak peaceably to him, and in thy soul hold not guile; and if he confess and repent, forgive him.

4 But if he deny it, do not get into a passion with him, lest catching the poison from thee he take

- V. 1. *mateth with lying*. Cf. Sir. xx. 25.
causeth . . . darkness. Cf. Isa. v. 20.
kindleth: 'disturbeth' *a*: > *β A S¹*.
stirreth up > *β A S¹*.
 2. *God* *c i d A*: 'the Lord' *h β-d S*.
 3. *envy* *a g A b**: 'hatred' *a b e A a b e d e f S*.
the Lord looketh on. Cf. 1 Sam. xvi. 7.
his inclination *β-d A S¹*: 'his soul' *a*.
 4. *God* *c β-be*: 'Most High' *b A S¹*.
overcometh hatred *β A S¹*: 'dwelleth in him' *a*, by corruption in the Hebrew original.
 5. *wrong . . . even in thought*. Cf. T. Jos. ix. 2; Matt. v. 21, 27.
 7. *repentance after a godly sort . . . salvation*. Cf. 2 Cor. vii. 10; Sir. iv. 22. Bracketed words are a gloss: > *A*.
 8. So *β-a f S¹*. 'and it hath not learnt this from man, but it knoweth how to receive those who return through repentance' *a*. For 'it . . . repentance' *A* reads 'repentance knoweth'.
 9. Cf. T. R. i. 7, iv. 4; T. Jud. xix. 2.
of Jacob > *a*.
succoured me, *ἐβοήθησάν μοι*, *a A*: > *β-a S*: *ἐφθασαν a*. Cf. T. Jud. xix. 2 (note).
 10. Cf. Jub. iv. 31, 32. For the popularity of the doctrine of retaliation in the second century B.C. cf. 2 Macc. v. 10, xv. 32, 33. Cf. Col. iii. 25. *W. S. 11*:
also > *a*.
 11. *eleven months* *β A S¹*: 'ten periods' *a*.
Joseph + 'until he was sold' *β A S*.

- VI. 1. *in the inclination of the soul*. Cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 18.
 3-7. A unique passage in ancient literature on the subject of forgiveness. It shows remarkable insight, and the diction and thought are closely parallel to Luke xvii. 3; Matt. xviii. 15. Forgiveness is perfect when we gain our offending brother, and restore him to communion with ourselves. But we can at least cast out our own anger, even if he is not reconciled.
 3. *if a man sin*. Cf. Matt. xviii. 15; Luke xvii. 3. On the duty of rebuke, cf. Lev. xix. 17.
the poison *β A S¹*. Cf. v. 4.
peaceably . . . not guile. Contrast Jer. ix. 7.
if he . . . repent, forgive. Cf. Luke xvii. 3.
 4. *catching the poison from thee*, in text follows 'intent' in v. 5, i.e. was separated from its context by the interpolation, v. 5.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

- 5 to swearing and so thou sin doubly. [Let not another man hear thy secrets when engaged in legal strife, lest he come to hate thee and become thy enemy, and commit a great sin against thee; for 6 oftentimes he addresseth thee guilefully or busieth himself about thee with wicked intent.] And though he deny it and yet have a sense of shame when reproved, give over reproving him. For he who denieth may repent so as not again to wrong thee; yea, he may also honour thee, and [fear 7 and] be at peace with thee. And if he be shameless and persist in his wrong-doing, even so forgive him from the heart, and leave ¹to God the avenging.
- 7 ¹ If a man prospereth more than you, do not be vexed, but pray also for him¹, that he may have ²perfect prosperity. For so it is expedient for you. And if he be further exalted, be not envious ³of him¹, remembering that all flesh shall die; and offer praise to God, who giveth things good and ⁴profitable to all men. Seek out the judgements of the Lord, and thy mind will **rest** and be at peace. ⁵And though a man become rich by evil means, even as Esau, the brother of my father, be not **jealous**; ⁶but¹ wait for the end of the Lord. For if he taketh away (from a man) wealth gotten by evil ⁷means He forgiveth him if he repent, but the unrepentant is reserved for eternal punishment. For the poor man, if free from envy he pleaseth the Lord in all things, is blessed beyond all men, because ⁸he hath not the travail of vain men. Put away, therefore, jealousy from your souls, and love one another with uprightness of heart.
- 8 ¹ Do ye also therefore tell these things to your children, that they honour †Judah and Levi†, for from ²them shall the Lord raise up salvation to Israel. [For I know that at the last your children shall depart from Him, and shall walk in all wickedness, and affliction and corruption before the Lord.] ³And when he had rested for a little while, he said again; My children, obey your father, and bury ⁴me near to my fathers. And he drew up his feet, and fell asleep in peace. And after five years they carried him up to Hebron, and laid him with his fathers.

THE TESTAMENT OF ASHER, THE TENTH SON OF JACOB AND ZILPAH.

- 1 ¹ The copy of the Testament of Asher, what things he spake to his sons in the hundred and ²twenty-fifth year of his life. ³For¹ while he was still in health, he said to them: Hearken, ye children of Asher, to your father, and I will declare to you all that is upright in the sight of the Lord.

5. Cf. Prov. xxv. 8-10; Sir. xix. 8-9.
addresseth a b f g: 'slayeth' d e A S.
 6. **reproving** a: 'bringing forth' β(S').
repent. Cf. T. B. v. 4.
so as not . . . wrong: 'of having wronged' a.
yea . . . at peace: 'and he may [fear and] be at peace' a.
 [fear and]. 'fear' = רָרַח a corrupt dittograph of רָרַח = 'honour'.
 7. **leave to God the avenging**. Cf. Rom. xii. 19. A is here defective.
 leave, lit. 'give'.
- VII. 1-7. High ethical teaching like vi. 3-7. We must banish envy, when a rival prospers.
 1. **have perfect prosperity**: 'be perfected' a f.
 3. **rest**, emended: 'shine' a: 'not (> b f) leave' β-a.
 5. **wealth** A: 'them' other texts, corruptly.
wealth gotten by evil means. Cf. Prov. xiii. 11 (Peshitto, Targum, and LXX).
is reserved a(A): 'he reserveth' b d e f g S'.
for eternal punishment d A: 'for ever the punishment' a b e f g, which requires 'for the unrepentant' as in b d e f g S'.
 6. **the poor man if free** a: 'the man who is poor and free' β-a A S'.
pleaseth a: 'giveth thanks to' β-a A S'.
blessed = רַחֵם: texts have 'rich' = רַשֵׁעַ. Cf. Pirke Aboth iv. 3.
travail of vain men, a: 'evil travail of men' β A S'. Cf. Eccles. i. 13, iv. 8, v. 13.
 7. **jealousy**: 'hatred' text.
uprightness. See T. Iss. iii. 1 (note).
- VIII. 1. †Judah and Levi†. Read 'Levi and Judah'. See T. R. vi. 5-12 (note); T. D. v. 10; T. B. xi. 2.
Lord raise up salvation (+ 'unto you' h i) h i g A: 'Lord the Saviour arise unto you' a d e f: 'Lord raise up a Saviour' b S: 'Lord, salvation, arise unto us' c.
 2. First century B. C. addition.
I know. Cf. T. Iss. vi. 1; T. A. vii. 2.
at the last > a.
before: 'from' a.
 4. **drew up his feet** a β: 'kissed his sons' A.
 5. **five years**. If Gad lived 125 years (i. 1), and was born 2131 A. M. (Jub. xxviii. 20), he died in 2256, and was buried 2261 A. M. But Benjamin was buried in the 91st year after Israel went down into Egypt (T. B. xii. 3) in 2172 A. M. (Jub. xlv. 1), i. e. in 2263, which is also the date of the war between Egypt and Canaan (Jub. xlvi. 9; T. S. viii. 2; T. B. xii. 3). Is b then right, in T. G. i. 1, in reading 127 years?
- TITLE** a: + 'concerning the two faces of vice ('duplicity' A) and virtue' b d e f A S'.
 I. 2. **upright**, a play in Hebrew on רַחֵם and אֲשֵׁר.

THE TESTAMENT OF ASHER 1. 1-2. 8

3 Two ways hath God given to the sons of men, and two inclinations, and two kinds of action, and
 4 two modes (of action)¹, and two issues. Therefore all things are by twos, one over against the
 5 other. For there are two ways of good and evil, and with these are the two inclinations in our
 6 breasts discriminating them[†]. Therefore if the soul take pleasure in the good (inclination), all its
 7 actions are in righteousness; and if it sin it straightway repenteth. For, having its thoughts set
 8 upon righteousness, and casting away wickedness, it straightway overthroweth the evil, and uprooteth
 9 the sin. But if it incline to the evil inclination, all its actions are in wickedness, and it driveth
 away the good, and cleaveth to the evil, and is ruled by Beliar; even though it work what is good,
 he perverteth it to evil. For whenever it beginneth to do good, he forceth the issue of the action
 into evil for him, seeing that the treasure of the inclination is filled with an evil spirit.

2 1 A person then may with words help the good for the sake of the evil, yet the issue of the action
 2 leadeth to mischief. There is a man who showeth no compassion upon him who serveth his turn in
 3 evil; and this thing hath two aspects, but the whole is evil. And there is a man that loveth him
 that worketh evil, because he would prefer even to die in evil for his sake; and concerning this it
 is clear that it hath two aspects, but the whole is an evil work.

α

β S¹

4 †Though indeed he have love, yet is he wicked
 who concealeth what is evil for the sake of the
 good name[†], but the end of the action tendeth
 unto evil.

Though indeed there is love, yet it is wicked
 as it concealeth what is evil; now this thing
 seemeth good in name, but the end of the action
 tendeth unto evil.

5 Another stealeth, doeth unjustly, plundereth, defraudeth, and withal pitieth the poor: this too
 6 hath a twofold aspect, but the whole is evil. He who defraudeth his neighbour provoketh God, and
 sweareth falsely against the Most High, and yet pitieth the poor: the Lord who commandeth the
 7 law he setteth at nought and provoketh, and yet he refresheth the poor. He defileth the soul, and
 maketh gay the body; he killeth many, and pitieth a few: this, too, hath a twofold aspect, but the
 8 whole is evil. Another committeth adultery and fornication, and abstaineth from meats, and when
 he fasteth he doeth evil, and by the power of his wealth overwhelmeth many; and notwithstanding

3. Two ways. Earliest occurrence of this phrase in Jewish literature. Cf. Jer. xxi. 8 and 2 En. xxx. 15 (my note).
 two inclinations. The oldest reference to the good yeşer. See my Commentary *in loc.*, also my ed.
 2 Bar. 92-93. For the evil yeşer cf. Hebrew Sir. xv. 14, Sir. xxi. 11, xxvii. 5-6. The good impulse is free from Beliar's
 power (T. B. vi. 1), admits no evil desire (T. R. iv. 9), receives no glory from men (T. B. vi. 4). God knows
 (T. N. ii. 5) and tries it (T. Jos. ii. 6), rewards according to it (T. Jud. xiii. 8). The yeşer is blinded by fornication
 (T. Jud. xviii. 3), and the evil yeşer blinds the mind (T. Jud. xi. 1).

4. all things are by twos. Cf. v. 1; Sir. xxxvi. 15, xlii. 24; Eccles. vii. 14.
 5. †with these are . . . discriminating them[†], perhaps a Hebraism for 'and these . . . discriminate.'
 6. The right of choice belongs to the soul, as to the 'spirit of the understanding of the mind' in T. Jud. xx. 1.
 in the good β A S¹: 'to walk in goodness' a.
 all its actions are: 'it does all its actions' a.
 7. The modes of the good yeşer's action.
 8. if it incline to the evil inclination: 'if the inclination incline to evil' text. But the subject here should be
 'the soul' as in v. 6. So 'its' (actions) = *avrijs*, not *airov*.
 cleaveth to c h: 'receiveth' β A S¹.
 ruled by Beliar. The evil tendency is identified with Satan in Baba Bathra 16^a, and is a strange god, Shab-
 bath 105^b.
 9. to do: 'as though to do' β A S¹.
 into evil for him α: 'into evil doing' β-b A S¹.
 treasure of the inclination, a play on words, i. e. אוצר יצר. Cf. Matt. xii. 35 'evil man . . . evil treasure'.
 is filled with: 'is born from' g.
 an evil spirit: 'the poison of the evil spirit' β-d g: 'evil poison of the wickedness of the spirit' A.

II. 1. help. So I emend for various corrupt readings, e. g. ἀφιστῶσα, a.
 the issue . . . leadeth, or 'it (the soul) leadeth the issue'.
 2. him . . . evil: 'those who serve his turn' a.
 3. worketh evil: '+ which thing is wickedness' a: '+ since he also ('likewise he' beg) is in wickedness'
 b d e f g A S¹.
 for his sake > a A.
 4. A has 'Though they love, yet are they evil', &c.
 concealeth: read 'loveth', unless a sentence has been lost before 4.
 6. the law > a.
 7. but the whole is evil c β-b A: > h b.
 8. adultery . . . abstaineth from meats. Contrast T. Jos. ix. 2.
 and fornication > h i.
 the power of his wealth: 'his power and his wealth' b d g A.
 notwithstanding: texts read 'after'.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

- his excessive wickedness he doeth 'the' commandments: this, too, hath a twofold aspect, but the whole is evil. Such men are hares; clean,—like those that divide the hoof, but in very deed are unclean. For God in the tables of the commandments hath thus declared.
- 3¹ But do not ye, my children, wear two faces like unto them, of goodness and of wickedness; but cleave unto goodness only, for God hath his habitation therein, and men desire it. But from wickedness flee away, destroying the (evil) inclination by your good works; for they that are double-faced serve not God, but their own lusts, so that they may please Beliar and men like unto themselves.
- 4¹ For good men, even they that are of single face, though they be thought by them that are double-faced to sin, are just before God. For many in killing the wicked do two works, of good and evil; but the whole is good, because he hath uprooted and destroyed that which is evil. One man hateth the merciful and unjust man, and the man who committeth adultery and fasteth: this, too, hath a twofold aspect, but the 'whole' work is good, because he followeth the Lord's example, in that he accepteth not the seeming good as the genuine good. Another desireth not to see a good day with them that riot, lest he defile his body and pollute his soul: this, too, is double-faced, but the whole is good. For such men are like to stags and to hinds, because in the manner of wild animals they seem to be unclean, but they are altogether clean; because 'they walk' in zeal for the Lord and abstain from what God also hateth and forbiddeth by His commandments, warding off the evil from the good.
- 5¹ Ye see, my children, how that there are two 'in all things', one against the other, and the one is hidden by the other: 'in wealth (is hidden) covetousness, in conviviality drunkenness, in laughter grief, in wedlock profligacy'. Death succeedeth to life, 'dishonour to glory', night to day, and darkness to light; [and all things are under the day, just things under life, 'unjust things under death']; wherefore also eternal life 'awaiteth death. Nor may it be said that truth is a lie, nor right wrong; for all truth is under the light, 'even as all things are under God'. All these things, therefore, I proved in my life, and I wandered not from the truth of the Lord, and I searched out the commandments of the Most High, walking according to all my strength with singleness of face unto that which is good.
- 6¹ Take heed, therefore, ye also, my children, to the commandments of the Lord, following the truth with singleness of face. For they that are double-faced are **guilty of a twofold sin**; 'for they both do the evil thing and they have pleasure in them that do it', following the example of the spirits of deceit, and striving against mankind. Do ye, 'therefore, my children,' keep the law of the Lord, and give not heed unto evil as unto good; but look unto the thing that is really good, and keep it in all

9. are hares a S¹. Cf. Lev. xi. 6; Deut. xiv. 7. 'are like swine' b d g A (+ 'hares' b d g).
 clean like those that divide the hoof. Texts read *ὅτι ἐξ ἡμισειας καθαροί*. Here *ὅτι ἐξ ἡμισειας* = כִּי מִפְּרָסִים corrupt for כִּי מִפְּרָסִים. Cf. Ber. rab. xxii. 13. Cf. Perles, who, however, wrongly rejects *καθαροί*.
10. tables of the commandments: 'heavenly tablets' β A S¹. Cf. T. L. v. 4; T. A. vii. 5 (β A S¹).
- III. 1. God: 'Lord God' a.
 2. destroying . . . by your good works. Master the evil tendency by obedience to the law. Cf. Sir. xxi. 11. the (evil) inclination. See notes on i. 3-9, and cf. T. Jud. xi. 1. 'the devil' β A S¹. See Sir. xxi. 27. serve not God, but: 'are not Gods, but serve' a.
- IV. 3. See ii. 5, 8.
 this, too, hath a twofold aspect: 'he also is double-faced' a d g.
 accepteth: 'expecteth' a.
 as the genuine good, emended from 'with the genuine good' ('evil' β) a A^a b.
 4. Asceticism is bad in itself.
 a good day. Cf. Esther viii. 17: 'good days' c: Pss. xxxiv. 12 (LXX).
 5. Seems corrupt.
 Lord a: 'God' β A S¹.
 what God . . . commandments h β-g S¹: 'what God hateth' c: 'what God also ordereth them through His commandments to hate' A.
 warding e f: 'and they ward' b d S¹: 'and to ward' A: c a omit this and the following words: h g defective.
- V. 1. See i. 4 (note).
 in wealth . . . covetousness > a.
 profligacy a: 'intemperance' a e S¹: > f.
 2. Brackets indicate intrusions.
 eternal life. Cf. Dan. xii. 1; 1 En. xxxvii. 4, xl. 9, &c.
 'awaiteth, we expect 'followeth on'.
 4. with singleness . . . good > a.
- VI. 2. are guilty of a twofold sin: 'are chastened doubly' text. Cf. 1 En. v. 9.
 for they both do . . . it > b g A. Rom. i. 22. Cf. T. A. ii. 3, iii. 2.
 following . . . striving: 'evil spirits hate ye which ('because they' d) strive' b d g A.
 of deceit and striving a: 'of evil which strive' a e f S¹.

THE TESTAMENT OF ASHER 2. 9—8. 2

4 commandments of the Lord, having your conversation therein, and resting therein. For the latter ends of men do show their righteousness (or unrighteousness), when they meet the angels of the Lord and of Satan. For when the soul departs troubled, it is tormented by the evil spirit which also it served in lusts and evil works.

<i>a</i>	6 But if he is peaceful with joy he meeteth the angel of peace, and he leadeth him into eternal life.	β A S ¹	But if peacefully 'with joy', he hath met the angel of peace, he †comforteth him with life.
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7¹ Become not, my children, as Sodom, which sinned against the angels of the Lord, and perished for ever. For I know that ye shall sin, and be delivered into the hands of your enemies; 'and' your land shall be made desolate, and your holy places destroyed, and ye shall be scattered unto the four corners of the earth. And ye shall be set at nought in the dispersion vanishing away as water. Until the Most High shall visit the earth, coming Himself [as man, with men eating and drinking], and breaking the head of the dragon in the water. He shall save Israel and all the Gentiles [God speaking in the person of man]. [Therefore do 'ye also, my children', tell these things to your children, that they disobey Him not. For I have known that ye shall assuredly be disobedient, and assuredly act ungodly, not giving heed to the law of God, but to the commandments of men, being corrupted through wickedness. And therefore shall ye be scattered as Gad and Dan my brethren, and ye shall know not your lands, tribe, and tongue. But the Lord will gather you together in faith through His tender mercy, 'and' for the sake of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.]'

8¹ And when he had said these things unto them, he commanded them, saying: Bury me in Hebron. And he fell asleep and died at a good old age. And his sons did as he had commanded them, and they carried him up to Hebron, and buried him with his fathers.

4-6. A man's latter end reveals his true character. The idea that good or evil angels meet the soul at death as it leaves the body occurs here first in Jewish literature. Cf. Kethuboth 104^a, and see my Comm. 168, 169.

4. when they meet = יוערו: text corrupt. 'and are known to' = יורעו *a* (cf. T. A. vii. 1): 'and they know' = ירעו A. Cf. β S¹.

the angels: 'the law' A.

Satan: 'Beliar' *a*.

5. troubled β A S¹: 'evil' *a*.

6. with joy > A S¹. Possibly a corruption for 'departs', or else read with following words.

meeteth: 'shall know' *a*: 'knew' β A S¹.

angel of peace. Cf. T. D. vi. 5.

leadeth *a*. Cf. T. B. vi. 1.

†comforteth β A, corrupt for 'leadeth'. Cf. 1 Sam. xxii. 4; Isa. lvii. 18.

VII. 1. sinned against. The LXX uses ἀγνοέω to translate אָשָׁם, רָשָׁע, שָׁגָה. (Perles.)

2. For like predictions see T. S. v. 3 ff.; T. L. x, xiv-xvi; T. Jud. xxiii; T. Iss. vi. 1, 2; T. Z. ix. 6; T. D. v. 8; T. G. viii. 2.

delivered . . . enemies. Cf. T. Iss. vi. 2; T. Z. ix. 6.

holy places destroyed. Cf. T. L. x. 3, &c.

scattered: T. A. vii. 6; T. L. x. 4, &c.

vanishing away as water. Text is $\omega\varsigma$ ὕδωρ ἀχρηστον = כַּמִּים נִמְסִים כַּמִּים corrupt for כַּמִּים נִמְסִים. Cf. T. Z. ix. 2.

So Perles.

3. A Theophany followed by the destruction of the primeval foe, the dragon. Cf. Ps. lxxiv. 13.

breaking c: 'in peace breaking' h β A S¹.

in g A ^o g: 'through' a β -g.

all the Gentiles. For this universalism cf. T. B. ix. 2 (note); Jer. iv. 2, &c.; Isa. ii. 2-4, &c.; Ps. xxii. 27-31;

lxv. 2.

4-7. First century B.C. addition. Cf. T. G. viii. 2.

5. known: 'read' b d g A + 'in the heavenly tablets' β A S¹. Cf. ii. 10.

disobedient c + 'unto him' h i β A S¹.

ungodly + 'towards him' β A S¹.

being . . . wickedness > a b: 'being carried away by sheer wickedness' d e g.

6. as Gad and Dan. See T. G. viii. 2; T. D. v. 8, vii. 3.

and ye *a*: 'who' β .

7. the Lord β -e A S¹: 'He' *a* e.

through + 'the hope of' β A S¹.

VIII. 1. good old age: 'good sleep' text. See T. Z. x. 6 (note).

2. to Hebron > β A S¹. At end + 'Asher the tenth son of Jacob, the second son of Zilpah, and he lived 126 years' f S¹ (g).

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

THE TESTAMENT OF JOSEPH, THE ELEVENTH SON OF JACOB AND RACHEL.

- 1¹ The copy of the Testament of Joseph. When he was about to die he called his sons and his brethren together, and said to them:—
- 2 My brethren and my children,
Hearken to Joseph the beloved of Israel;
Give ear, my sons, unto your father.
- 3 I have seen in my life envy and death,
Yet I went not astray, 'but persevered' in the truth of the Lord.
- 4 These my brethren hated me, but the Lord loved me:
They wished to slay me, but 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 into slavery, and the Lord of all made me free:
I was taken into captivity, and His strong hand succoured me.
I was beset with hunger, and the Lord Himself nourished me.
- 6 I was alone, and God comforted me:
I was sick, and the Lord visited me:
I was in prison, and my God showed favour unto me;
In bonds, and He released me;
- 7 Slandered, and He pleaded my cause;
Bitterly spoken against by the Egyptians, and He delivered me;
Enviéd by my fellow-slaves, and He exalted me.
- 2^{1, 2} And this chief captain of Pharaoh entrusted to me his house. And I struggled against a shameless woman, urging me to transgress with her; but the God of Israel my father delivered me from the burning flame. I was cast into prison, I was beaten, 'I was mocked'; but the Lord granted me to find mercy in the sight of the keeper of the prison.
- 4 For the Lord doth not forsake them that fear Him,
Neither in darkness, nor in bonds, nor in tribulations, nor in necessities.
- 5 For God is not put to shame as a man,
Nor as the son of man is he afraid,
Nor as one that is earth-born is He [weak or] affrighted.
- a
- 6 But in all those things doth He give protection, | But in all places He is at hand, 6
And in divers ways doth He comfort,
(Though) for a little space He departeth to try the inclination of the soul.

TITLE a: + 'concerning sobriety' b e f S¹: + 'concerning envy' A^{b h e f g}.

1—X. 4. In this Testament there appear to be two independent writings, i—x. 4 and x. 5—xviii. Yet in historical sequence x. 5—xvi should be read after i. In i—x. 4 the theme is chastity; in x. 5—xviii it is brotherly love. In i—x. 4 Potiphar is called 'the Egyptian man' (iv. 5), but Pentephri(s) in x. 5—xviii (e. g. xii. 1; xiii. 1; xv. 6). In i—x. 4 his wife is called the Egyptian woman (and β-d wrongly in xvi. 1), while in x. 5—xviii she is known as the Memphian woman (so, too, the conflate reading in iii. 6). We find also recurring phrases like 'Joseph the son of a mighty man' (x. 6) and 'I held my peace lest I should put to shame' (x. 6, &c.) in the later section. Joseph also transgresses the Testament's rule of truthfulness in it.

1. 2. **my sons . . . father**: 'the words of my mouth' a.

3. **but persevered** > b g A.

5. **into slavery** a A: 'to be a slave' β S.

captivity, hunger. Cf. Matt. xxv. 35, 36 for this and the next verse. The resemblance to our Lord's words is very striking.

6. **and God . . . prison** > c h.

Lord a e f: 'Most High' b d g S: 'God' A.

my God A^{b* c d f g}: 'Lord' S¹: 'the Saviour' a β S².

In bonds and He released me > d. Without it stanzas 4-7 are symmetrical. Yoma 35^b says Joseph used the words to Potiphar's wife.

7. **by the Egyptians**: 'for (my) dreams' a.

Enviéd . . . slaves: 'a slave' a: > A^{c d e f g}.

11. 1. **this chief captain of Pharaoh**: 'the eunuch of Pharaoh' β-b: 'so Petaphres' ('Photiphar' A^{b c d f g}) A.

2. **Israel my father** b e f g: 'my father' h A^{b* c d f g}: 'my father Jacob' a d: 'my fathers' c.

3. **granted me . . . mercy, &c.** Cf. Dan. i. 9.

4. **doth** a d A: 'will' β-d S.

c. Cf. Num. xxiii. 19; 1 Sam. xv. 29.

[weak or]. An addition.

affrighted a: 'rejected' β A S¹, corruptly.

6. **doth He give protection**, *πρωϊσταται*, a: 'He is at hand', *πρωϊσταται*, β S¹: 'is' A.

departeth a: 'departing' β A. Isa. liv. 7.

THE TESTAMENT OF JOSEPH 1. 1—5. 2

7 In ten temptations He showed me approved,
And in all of them I endured;
For endurance is a mighty charm,
And patience giveth many good things.

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, and when I was unwilling to company with her, she said to me: Thou shalt be lord of me, and all that is in my house, if thou wilt give thyself unto me, and thou shalt be as our master. But I remembered the words of my father, and going into my chamber, I wept and prayed unto the Lord. And I fasted in those seven years, and I appeared to the Egyptians as one living delicately, for they that fast for God's sake receive beauty of face. And if my lord were away from home, I drank no wine; nor for three days did I take my food, but I gave it to the poor and sick. And I sought the Lord early, and I wept for the Egyptian woman of Memphis, for very unceasingly did she trouble me, for also at night she came to me under pretence of visiting me.

a

7 And because she had no male child she pretended to regard me as a son.

β A S¹

And because she had no male child she pretended to regard me as a son, and so I prayed to the Lord, and she bare a male child.

8 And for a time she embraced me as a son, and I knew it not; †but later, she sought to draw me into fornication. And when I perceived it I sorrowed unto death; and when she had gone out, I came to myself, and lamented for her many days, because I recognized her guile and her deceit. And I declared unto her the words of the Most High, if haply she would turn from her evil lust.

4 1 Often, therefore, did she flatter me with words as a holy man, and guilefully in her talk praise my chastity before her husband, while desiring to ensnare me when we were alone. †For she lauded me openly as chaste, and in secret she said unto me: Fear not my husband; for he is persuaded concerning thy chastity: for even should one tell him concerning us, he would not believe. Owing to all these things I lay upon the ground, and besought God that the Lord would deliver me from her deceit. And when she had prevailed nothing †thereby, she came †again to me under the plea of instruction, that she might learn the word of God. And she said unto me: If thou wilt that I should leave my idols, lie with me, and I will persuade my husband to depart from his idols, and we will walk in the law of thy Lord. And I said unto her: The Lord willeth not that those who reverence Him should be in uncleanness, nor doth He take pleasure in them that commit adultery, †but in those that approach Him with a pure heart and undefiled lips. But she held her peace, longing to accomplish her evil desire. And I gave myself yet more to fasting and prayer, that the Lord might deliver me from her.

5 1 †And again, at another time she said unto me: If thou wilt not commit adultery, I will kill my husband by poison; and take thee to be my husband. I therefore, when I heard this, rent my

7. ten β A: 'eleven' *a*. See Jub. xvii. 17; xix. 3.
patience: 'to those who endure' A.

III. 1. and when . . . her, she *a*: 'when . . . her! And she' β -a A^a S¹.

2. in my house *a*: 'mine' β A S¹.

3. father *c* (+ 'Jacob' *dg* A). Cf. Jub. xxxix. 6: 'fathers' *h a e f* S¹: 'fathers of my father Jacob' *b*.

4. seven: 'ten' in Jub. xvi. 3.

Egyptians *c*: 'Egyptian' rest of MSS.

fast . . . beauty of face. Dan. i. 15.

5. Cf. Luke xii. 45. Cf. for Joseph, Zeb. 118^b.

lord *a* (A?): > B S¹.

6. Egyptian woman of Memphis, conflate text.

7. and so . . . child β A S¹, disturbs the context.

8. knew it not. Cf. xiv. 4.

†but later *a*: 'that' *a*: 'finally' *b e* S¹: 'later' *f*: 'and after this' A.

9. came to myself. Cf. Luke xv. 17.

IV. 1. Often therefore *a*: 'how often' β -a A S¹.

3. ground + 'in sackcloth (+ 'and ashes' A) β A S¹.

her deceit *a*: 'the Egyptian woman' β -a A S¹.

4. God *a*: 'the Lord' β A S¹.

5. my husband *a* A: 'the Egyptian' β S¹ (+ 'Potiphar' S¹).

in the law of β A S¹: 'before' *c*: 'in the name of' *h*.

6. but in those *a* only.

7. held her peace *b g* A: 'was angry' *a* β -*b g*.

V. 1. my husband *a*: 'the Egyptian' β A S¹. Cf. iv. 5.

by poison and *a*: 'and so lawfully' β A S¹, by corruption in Hebrew.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

garments, and said unto her: Woman, reverence God, and do not this evil deed, lest thou be
3 destroyed; for know indeed that I will declare this thy device unto all men. She therefore, being
4 afraid, besought that I would not declare this device. And she departed soothing me with gifts, and
sending to me every delight of the sons of men.

6 1, 2 And 'afterwards' she sent me food mingled with enchantments. And when the eunuch who
brought it came, I looked up and beheld a terrible man giving me with the dish a sword, and
3 I perceived that (her) scheme was to beguile me. And 'when he had gone out' I wept, nor did
4 I taste that or any other of her food. So then after one day she came to me and observed the food,
5 and said unto me: Why is it that thou hast not eaten of the food? And I said unto her: It is
because thou hast filled it with 'deadly' enchantments; and how saidst thou: I come not near to
6 idols, but to the Lord 'alone'. Now therefore know that the God of my father hath revealed unto
me by His angel thy wickedness, and I have kept it to convict thee, if haply thou mayst see
and repent.

a

7 But that thou mayst learn that the wickedness of the ungodly hath no power over them that worship God with chastity, behold I will take of it and eat before thee. And having so said, I prayed thus: The God of my fathers and the angel of Abraham, be with me; and ate.

β A S¹

But that thou mayst learn that the wickedness 7 of the ungodly hath no power over them that worship God in chastity, I took of it and ate before her, saying: The God of my fathers and the angel of Abraham shall be with me.

8 And 'when she saw this' she fell upon her face at my feet, weeping; and I raised her up and admonished her. And she promised to do this iniquity no more.

a

7 1 But her heart was still set upon evil, and she looked around how to ensnare me, and sighing deeply she became downcast, though she was not sick.

β A S¹

But (d A 'nevertheless') her heart was still set 1 upon me with a view to lewdness, and sighing she became downcast.

2 And when her husband saw her, he said unto her: Why is thy countenance fallen? And she said 'unto him': I have a pain at my heart, and the groanings of my spirit oppress me; and so
3 he comforted her who was not sick. Then, accordingly seizing an opportunity, she rushed unto me while her husband was yet without, and said unto me: I will hang myself, or cast myself over a cliff,
4 if thou wilt not lie with me. And when I saw the spirit of Beliar was troubling her, I prayed unto
5 the Lord, and said unto her: Why, 'wretched woman', art thou troubled and disturbed, blinded through sins? Remember that if thou kill thyself, Asteho, the concubine of thy husband, thy rival,
6 will beat thy children, and thou wilt destroy thy memorial from off the earth. And she said unto me: Lo, then thou lovest me; let this suffice me: only strive for my life 'and my children', and
7 I expect that I shall enjoy my desire 'also'. But she knew not that because of my lord I spake

2. unto her >β-d A S¹.

God af: 'the Lord' β-f A S¹.

know . . . device a: 'I will declare thy ungodly device' β A S, i. e. 77 'wicked' for 77 'know'.

3. this device a: 'to any one her wickedness' β-g A S.

4. sending . . . men β-d A S¹: 'every delight' a.

VI. 2. (her) scheme . . . beguile me a: 'this ('her' b) scheme . . . beguile (+ 'the soul' b)' β-d A^{a b h} S¹: 'it was a scheme of Satan and to beguile (my) soul' d.

5. deadly enchantments a: 'death' β A S¹.

6. His angel a A: 'an angel' β-d g.

7. angel of Abraham. Is this Michael or the angel of peace?

VII. 1. deeply, συντόμως, a, corrupt for συντόμως.

became downcast, συνέπιπτε, cf. T. Z. x. 1: + 'in countenance' d (cf. v. 2): + 'in spirit' A.

set upon me . . . lewdness b d g A: 'set upon lewdness' a e f S¹ (cf. a).

2. her husband a A^{-b f g}: 'the Egyptian man' β A^{b f g} S¹.

who was not sick: 'in words' a, corruptly.

3. Then . . . opportunity a: 'then' β-d S¹: 'one day' d: 'and when I was passing' A^{a b}: 'and on the second day' A^{b* c d g}.

over a cliff a a e f S¹: 'into a well' A^{a b} (+ 'or over a cliff' b (d) g A^{b* c d}).

5. Asteho a: 'Asitho' e f A^{b* g}: 'Setho' b.

thou wilt a β-b g S¹: 'she will' b g (A).

6. let this suffice me: only strive for a: 'this (> β-d S¹) alone (> A) suffices me that (> a f) thou strivest for' β A S¹.

and I a: > β-a d g S¹: 'if I' a: 'I therefore' d g A.

7. my lord: 'God' b d S¹, against context.

THE TESTAMENT OF JOSEPH 5. 2—10. 2

8 thus, and not because of her. For if a man hath fallen before the passion of a wicked desire and become enslaved by it, even as she, whatever good thing he may hear with regard to that passion, he receiveth it with a view to his wicked desire.

8₁ I declare, therefore, unto you, my children, that it was about the sixth hour when she departed from me; and I knelt before the Lord all day, and all the night; and about dawn I rose up, weeping
2 the while and praying for a release from her. At last, then, she laid hold of my garments, forcibly dragging me to have connexion with her.

a A

3 When, 'therefore', I saw that in her madness she was holding fast to my garment, I left it behind, and fled away naked.

a

4 And holding fast to the garment she falsely accused me, and when her husband came he cast me into prison in his house; and on the morrow he scourged me and sent me into Pharaoh's prison.

a

5 And when I was in bonds, the Egyptian woman was oppressed with grief, and she came and heard how I gave thanks unto the Lord and sang praises in the abode of darkness, and with glad voice rejoiced, glorifying my God that I was delivered from the lustful desire of the Egyptian woman.

β S

When, therefore, I saw that in her madness she was holding fast by force to my garment, I fled away naked.

β-d A S¹

And she falsely accused me to her husband, and the Egyptian cast me into prison in his house, and on the morrow he scourged me and sent me into Pharaoh's prison.

β-d A S¹

And when I was in fetters, the Egyptian was sick with grief, and she heard how I sang praises unto the Lord in the house of darkness, and with glad voice rejoicing, glorified God only that I was delivered from the lustful desire of the Egyptian woman.

9₁ And often hath she sent unto me saying: Consent to 'fulfil my desire', and I will release thee
2 from thy bonds, 'and I will free thee from the darkness. And not even in thought did I incline unto her. For God loveth him who in a den of wickedness combines fasting with chastity, rather than
3 the man who in kings' chambers combines luxury with licence. And if a man liveth in chastity, and desireth also glory, and the Most High knoweth that it is expedient for him, He bestoweth this
4 also upon me. How often', though she were sick, did she come down 'to me' at unlooked for times,
5 and listened to my voice as I prayed! And when I heard her groanings I held my peace. 'For' when I was in her house she was wont to bare her arms, and breasts, and legs, 'that I might lie with her; for she was' very beautiful, 'splendidly adorned' in order to beguile me. And the Lord guarded me from her devices.

10_{1, 2} Ye see, therefore, my children, how great things patience worketh, and prayer with fasting. So

8. that passion a: 'the passion by which (> 'by which' A) he is vanquished' β-a g A S¹.
to his a A: 'to the' β S¹.

VIII. 1. and all a: 'together with all' β A S¹.

her a: 'the Egyptian woman' β-d A S¹.

2-4. Cf. Gen. xxxix. 12-14, 16.

3. garment, χιτῶνα, a: ἱμάτια, β.

left it behind + 'and shook it off' a: > A¹ g.
by force β-a e f g S.

5. was sick, ἡσθένει, β-d A S¹: 'was oppressed', συνείχετο, a.

from the lustful desire = מתאנה. So I emend 'through a pretext' = בתאנה a β S: 'from the pretexts' A. For a like corruption cf. Prov. xviii. 1.

IX. A omits much in ix.

2. fasting with chastity. Contrast T. A. ii. 8.

fasting β-a f S¹: 'believing' a f: 'faithfulness' a.

the man . . . chambers β-b d S¹: 'the king ('man' b) who in chambers' b c d.

3. > d.

and if a man ('but he' c b S¹) . . . chastity a e f (g): > h.

and ³⁰ > a: 'and if' b.

5. and breasts > a.

lie with = συμπίσω. See T. Jud. xiii. 3 (note).

adorned. Cf. Yoma 35^b.

X. A new section begins.

1. prayer with fasting. Cf. iii. 4, iv. 8.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

ye too, 'if ye follow after chastity and purity with patience and prayer, with fasting in humility of heart, the Lord will dwell among you, because He loveth chastity. And wheresoever the Most High dwelleth, even though envy, or slavery, or slander befall (a man), the Lord who dwelleth in him, for the sake of his chastity not only¹ delivereth him from evil, 'but also exalteth him even as me. 4. 5 For in every way the man¹ is lifted up, whether in deed, or in word, or in thought. My brethren knew how my father loved me, and yet I did not exalt myself 'in my mind': although I was a child, 6 'I had the fear of God in my heart'; for I knew that all things would pass away. And I did not raise myself (against them) with evil intent, but I honoured my brethren; and out of respect for them, even when I was being sold, I refrained from telling the Ishmaelites that I was a son of Jacob, a great man and a mighty.

11 1 Do ye also, my children, 'have the fear of God in all your works before your eyes, and¹ honour 2 your brethren. For every one who doeth the law of the Lord shall be loved by Him. And when I came to the Indocolpitae with the Ishmaelites, they asked me, saying: Art thou a slave? And 3 I said that I was a home-born slave, that I might not put my brethren to shame. And the eldest of them said unto me: Thou art not a slave, for even thy appearance doth make it manifest. But 4 I said that I was 'their¹ slave. Now when we came into Egypt they strove concerning me, which of 5 them should buy me and take me. Therefore it seemed good to all that I should remain in Egypt 6 with the merchant of their trade, until they should return bringing merchandise. And the Lord 7 gave me favour in the eyes of the merchant, and he entrusted unto me his house. And God blessed 8 him by my means, and increased him in gold and silver 'and in household servants'. And I was with him three months and five days.

12 1 And about that time the Memphian woman, the wife of Pentephri, came down 'in a chariot', 'with 2 great pomp, because she had heard from her eunuchs concerning me'. And she told her husband that the merchant had become rich by means of a young Hebrew, and they say that he had assuredly 3 been stolen out of the land of Canaan. Now, therefore, render justice unto him, and take away the youth to thy house; so shall the God of the Hebrews bless thee, for grace from heaven is upon him.

13 1 And Pentephri was persuaded by her words, and commanded the merchant to be brought, and said unto him: What is this that I hear 'concerning thee', that thou stealest persons out of the land 2 of Canaan, and sellest them for slaves? But the merchant fell at his feet, and besought him, saying: 3 I beseech thee, my lord, I know not what thou sayest. And Pentephri said unto him: Whence, then,

2. prayer with fasting > β S¹.

3. envy . . . befalleth (a man) a: 'a man fall into envy . . . slander or darkness' β S¹. For ver. cf. i. 7.

4. Text = β-b g S¹: with *συνεπαίρεται* (d) for *συνέρχεται*, a e f: *συνέρχεται*, b g S¹: (*πάντας γὰρ ἀνθρώπους*) *συνέρχεται*, a. But d transposes v. 4 after 'mind' in v. 5.

5. I had . . . heart > A. Cf. xi. 1.

6. I did not . . . intent c (? 'not'): 'I measured myself' β A S¹. Perhaps read 'I did not exalt myself' = v. 5. If the 'not' is omitted we may conjecture the original Hebrew word was רממת' which LXX reads as quiet', which LXX reads as רממת'.

even > β A S¹.

telling + 'my race' β A S¹.

Jacob > c A^a b* c d g.

mighty β A S¹: 'just' a. Cf. כִּי־יָדִין, Prov. xvii. 7 = *δικαιος* LXX.

XI. 1. before your eyes > h b.

2. came . . . Ishmaelites β-d S¹: 'was coming with the Ish.' a: 'came with them to the Indocolpitae' A.

saying . . . slave a: '+or a freeman' A: > β S¹. Jashar (ii. 1187) says his brethren sold Joseph as being their slave.

a home-born a a f: 'their home-born' b d e A S¹.

I might not put . . . shame. Cf. x. 6, &c.

3. manifest + 'concerning thee. And he threatened me 'unto death'. β A S¹.

4. which of them, &c. a β S¹.

6. gave me favour. Gen. xxxix. 21.

7. God a a f: 'the Lord' β-a f A S¹.

and in household servants: 'and in work' a: > β A S¹. *ἔργον* is a mistranslation of עֲבָדָה.

five days > a.

XII. 1. came down a: 'passed' β A S¹.

in a chariot > b g A S¹.

with . . . me: 'she looked and saw me' A.

she . . . eunuchs a: 'her eunuchs had told her' β S¹.

2. that the merchant a: 'concerning the merchant that he' β A S¹.

3. to thy house a e f S¹: 'to our house' a: 'to be thy steward' b d g (A).

XIII. 1. to be brought b d g S¹: 'to come' a a e f: 'to bring' A^b.

2. But . . . at his feet a g: 'therefore ('and' A) . . . on his face' β-d g A S¹.

3. And . . . him a: 'but he said' (> 'said' a e f) β A S¹.

- is the Hebrew slave? And he said: The Ishmaelites entrusted him unto me until they should return.
 4 But he believed him not, but commanded him to be stripped and beaten. And when he persisted
 5 in this statement, Pentephris said: Let the youth be brought. And when I was brought in, I did
 6 obeisance to Pentephris (for he was third in rank of the officers of Pharaoh). And he took me apart
 7 from him, and said unto me: Art thou a slave or free? And I said: A slave. And he said:
 8 Whose? And I said: The Ishmaelites'. And he said: How didst thou become their slave? And
 9 I said: They bought me out of the land of Canaan. And he said unto me: 'Truly' thou liest; and
 'straightway' he commanded me to be stripped and beaten.
 14¹ Now the Memphian woman was looking through a window 'at me while I was being beaten, for
 her house was near, and she sent unto him saying': Thy judgement is unjust; for thou dost punish
 2 a 'free' man who hath been stolen, as though he were a transgressor. And when I made no change
 in my statement, 'though I was beaten', he ordered me to be imprisoned, until, he said, the owners
 3 of the boy should come. And the woman said unto her husband: Wherefore dost thou detain the
 4 captive and well-born lad in bonds, who ought rather to be set at liberty, and be waited upon? For
 5 she wished to see me out of a desire 'of sin', but I was ignorant concerning all these things. And
 he said to her: It is not the custom of the Egyptians to take that which belongeth to others before
 6 proof is given. This, therefore, he said concerning the merchant; but as for the lad, he must be
 imprisoned.
 15¹ Now after four and twenty days came the Ishmaelites; for they had heard that Jacob 'my father'
 2 was mourning 'much' concerning me. And they came and said unto me: How is it that thou saidst
 that thou wast a slave? and lo, we have learnt that thou art the son of a mighty man in the land of
 3 Canaan, and thy father 'still' mourneth for thee in sackcloth 'and ashes'. 'When I heard this my
 bowels were dissolved and my heart melted', and I desired greatly to weep, but I restrained myself,
 that I should not put my brethren to shame. 'And I said unto them, I know not, I am a slave'.
 4, 5 Then, 'therefore', they took counsel to sell me, that I should not be found in their hands. For they
 feared my father, lest he [should come and] execute upon them a grievous vengeance. For they had
 6 heard that he was mighty with God and with men. Then said the merchant unto them: Release
 7 me from the judgement of Pentiphri. And they came and requested me, saying: 'Say' that thou
 wast bought by us with money, and he will set us free.
 16¹ Now the Memphian woman said to her husband: Buy the youth; for I hear, said she, that they
 are selling him.

c β A S¹

2 And straightway she sent a eunuch to the | And she sent a eunuch to the Ishmaelites and 2
 3 Ishmaelites, and asked them to sell me. But | asked them to sell me. The chief captain, there-

- is a: 'hast thou' β-f A S¹.
 4. be brought a b d g: 'answer' a e f S¹.
 5. Pentephris a: 'the chief of the eunuchs' β S¹: 'him' A.
 third . . . Pharaoh a. Cf. Dan. v. 7. 'his rank was second to P.' A: 'third in rank with P., (as) officer of all
 the eunuchs, having wives and concubines and children' β.
 6. And I said > a to 'and I said' in v. 8.
 9. Truly a only.
 straightway a g.
 XIV. 1. at me > b e f.
 for . . . near > β A S¹.
 him a: 'her husband' β S¹.
 Thy: 'the' β-b A^{a b e o d f g}.
 thou dost punish . . . as . . . transgressor: 'to punish unjustly' a, corruptly.
 2. me: 'us' d e f g.
 owners of the boy: 'his ('my' d A^{b f g}) owners' d g A.
 3. her husband a: 'him' β A S¹.
 in bonds > β A S¹.
 be waited upon a: 'wait upon thee' β A S¹.
 4. Cf. iii. 8.
 5. her c: 'the Memphite woman' β-a d A^{-b}.
 XV. 1. for . . . heard a: 'and having heard' β A S¹: + 'when they were in the land of Canaan' d A.
 3. When . . . melted a only.
 5. my father a: 'Jacob' β A S¹.
 grievous = κινδύνου.
 God a g: 'the Lord' β-g A S¹.
 7. and he will set us: 'and he set us' b d g: 'and the merchant set' (+ 'us' A^{a b b}) A.
 XVI. 1. said . . . youth a: 'instructed ('sent to' A) her husband to buy me' β-d A S¹: h omits from 'buy' to
 the end of the Testament of Benjamin.
 2. The chief . . . sell me > c b d g.

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c
since the eunuch would not agree to buy me (at their price) he returned, having made trial of them, and he made known to his mistress that they asked a large price for their slave.

βAS¹
fore, called the Ishmaelites and asked them to sell me. 'And since he did not agree (to their price) he departed'. But the eunuch, 'when he had made trial of them', made known to his mistress that they asked a large price 'for their slave'.

4 'And she sent another eunuch', saying: Even though they demand two minas, 'give them', do not spare 'the gold'; only buy the boy, and bring him to me.

c
5 The eunuch therefore went and gave them eighty pieces of gold, and † he received me †; but to the Egyptian woman he said: I have given a hundred.

β-dAS¹
And he gave them eighty pieces of gold for 5 me, and told the Egyptian woman that a hundred pieces had been given.

6 And though I knew (this) I held my peace, lest the eunuch should be put to shame.

17 1 Ye see, therefore, my children, what great things I endured that I should not put my brethren to 2 shame. Do ye also, 'therefore', love one another, 'and with long-suffering hide ye one another's 3 faults'. For God delighteth 'in the unity of brethren, and' in the purpose of a heart that takes 4 pleasure in love. And when my brethren came into Egypt they learnt that I had returned their 5 money unto them, and upbraided them not, and comforted them. And after the death of Jacob my father I loved them 'more abundantly', and all things whatsoever he commanded I did 'very 6 abundantly' for them. And I suffered them not to be afflicted in the smallest matter; and all that 7 was in my hand I gave unto them. 'And' their children were my children, and my children as their servants; and their life was my life, and all their suffering was my suffering, 'and all their sickness 8 was my infirmity'. My land was their land, and their counsel my counsel. And I exalted not myself among them 'in arrogance' because of my 'worldly' glory, 'but I was among them as one of the least'.

18 1 If ye also, therefore, walk in the commandments of the Lord, my children, He will exalt you there, 2 and will bless you with good things for ever and ever. 'And if any one seeketh to do evil unto you, 3 do well unto him, and pray for him, and ye shall be redeemed of the Lord from all evil'. [For], behold, ye see that 'out of my humility and long-suffering' I took unto wife the daughter of the priest of Heliopolis. And a hundred talents of gold were given me with her, and the Lord made 4 them to serve me. 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, because I was like in all things to Jacob.

3. since he . . . But the eunuch . . . made known β e g S¹: 'since the eunuch . . . and made known' a f.

4. minas c + 'of gold' βAS¹.

give them c a d: 'take care' b e f g.

to me c: >βAS¹.

5. †received me †, corrupt for 'for me'.

6. put to shame c: 'be tortured' a e f AS¹.

XVII. 3. a heart βAS¹: 'a good heart' c.

love β-a: 'the good' c a A^h b* c d g. Read perhaps 'brotherliness'.

4. Egypt + 'when' βAS¹.

5. my father >β-dg A^b f g.

he ('they' A) commanded β-a d AS; 'they wished' c a.

7. their . . . my βS¹: 'my . . . their' c A.

My . . . land >c a e f.

their . . . my c d g: 'my . . . their' b e f S¹.

8. I was . . . least. Cf. Luke xxii. 27.

XVIII. 1. A has 'walk ye also, therefore, in the same path, my children (+ 'with me' A^b) and God ('Israel Shaddai' A^b* c d f g) will glorify you and exalt you for ever.'

He . . . bless you: 'God (>a f) will exalt you' c a f.

2. Cf. T. G. vi-vii; Ahikar. Syr. Frag. I. 20 'if thy enemy meet thee with evil, meet thou him with good'.

3, 4. >a.

my humility and c: >βS¹.

priest of Heliopolis c. Cf. Jub. xl. 10 (note). 'of my masters' (β-a AS¹).

talents. Cf. Jashar (ii. 1211).

4. A has 'And (+ 'Asenath my wife' A^b) was beautiful as a flower, and (+ 'I was' A^b) beautiful beyond ('all' A^b) the chosen ones of Israel (+ 'and temperate and humble' A^b), beyond Levi and Judah and Naphtali. He preserved me in beauty ('I was more beautiful than they' A^b) because I was like Jacob in all things.'

as a flower >c.

like . . . to Jacob. See Gen. rabba lxxxiv. 6; Num. r. xiv. 16.

cβS¹

A

19¹ And hear ye, my children, also the vision
 2 which I saw. There were twelve harts feeding:
 and the nine were (first) dispersed over all the
 earth, and likewise also the three.

Hear ye, therefore, the vision which I saw. 1
 I saw twelve harts feeding. And nine of them 2
 were dispersed. Now the three were preserved,
 but on the following day they also were dis- 3
 persed. And I saw that the three harts became 3
 three lambs, and they cried to the Lord, and He
 brought them forth into a flourishing and well-
 watered place, yea He brought them out of
 darkness into light.

And there they cried unto the Lord until 4
 there gathered together unto them the nine harts,
 and they became as twelve sheep, and after a
 little time they increased and became many
 flocks. And after these things I saw and behold, 5
 twelve bulls were sucking one cow, which pro-
 duced a sea of milk, and there drank thereof the
 twelve flocks and innumerable herds.

And the horns of the †fourth bull went up 6
 unto heaven and became as a wall for the flocks,
 and in the midst of the †two horns there grew
 another horn. And I saw a bull calf which 7
 surrounded them twelve times, and it became a
 help to the bulls wholly.

8 And I saw that [from Judah was born] a
 †virgin [wearing a linen garment, and from her]
 was born a lamb, [without spot]; and on his
 left hand there was as it were a lion; and all the
 beasts rushed against him, and the lamb over-
 came them, and destroyed them and trod them
 9 under foot. And because of him the angels and
 10 men rejoiced, and all the land. And these things
 shall come to pass in their season, in the last

And I saw in the midst of the horns a †virgin 8
 [wearing a many-coloured garment, and from
 her] went forth a lamb; and on his right (was
 as it were a lion; and) all the beasts and all the
 reptiles rushed (against him), and the lamb over-
 came them and destroyed them. And the bulls 9
 rejoiced because of him, and the cow [and the
 harts] exulted together with them. And these 10
 things must come to pass in their season. And 11

XIX. Here the Armenian version comes to our aid. It alone has 3-7, and 8 and 11 in it are fairly pure.

1. saw β: 'know' c.

2-4. A vision concerning the nine tribes and the three, their captivity and return. The nine are regarded as back in Palestine.

2. harts. See note in Commentary, p. 191. Used of the princes of Judah, Lam. i. 6.

feeding + 'in a place' c.

all > b S¹.

were preserved A^{a b* c d f g}: 'fed with each other' A^b.

3. three harts. Cf. 'three sheep', 1 En. lxxxix. 72. For their change into lambs, cf. 1 En. xc. 38, where the sheep become oxen.

and He: 'and the Lord' A^{b h}.

out of darkness into light. Cf. Ps. cvii. 14; Isa. ix. 2, xlii. 16, lviii. 10. Cf. 1 Pet. ii. 9, 10.

4. the nine. Cf. 'nine tribes', Ethiopic version, 4 Ezra xiii. 40. For nine and a half tribes cf. 2 Bar. lxii. 5 (note). 5-9. This second vision introduces the person of the Messiah. The date is the second century B. C., as the Twelve Tribes are regarded as in Palestine. So 'in the midst of the horns' implies that the Messiah is to arise from the Maccabees (cf. v. 11 Levi and Judah). Judah was to help—the lion on the left hand in v. 8.

6. †fourth, i. e. tribe = Judah. Is this a Christian alteration of 'third' = Levi?

two > A^{o f g}.

another horn. Perhaps Mattathias.

7-9. Is the bull-calf the same as the lamb of v. 8? If so, Judas would be both; if not, the lamb is Hyrcanus.

7. a bull . . . times: 'twelve oxen which surrounded them' A^{b* d}. For 'surrounded' read perhaps 'protected'.

a help. Cf. Dan. xi. 34, 'little help.'

8. [from Judah was born]. A Christian addition. A omits it, and a definite name is here out of place. A 'virgin' also clashes with the animal symbolism. So read 'And I saw that in the midst of the horns a bull-calf became a lamb'. For 'wearing' cf. Rev. xii. 1.

a lion = Judah.

all the beasts, i. e. the Gentiles. Cf. 1 En. xc. 12, 16.

9. The Greek text interprets 'cow' aright as = Palestine; but the 'bulls' are the tribes, not 'angels and men'.

[and the harts] > the Greek texts. They have no place in this vision.

the cow . . . harts A^{b* c d g}: 'the descendants of the three harts' A^{a b}.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

c β S¹

11 days. Do ye therefore, my children, observe the commandments of the Lord, and honour Levi and Judah; for from them shall arise 'unto you' [the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world] one who saveth [all the Gentiles and] Israel.

12 For His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, which shall not pass away; but my kingdom among you shall come to an end as a watcher's hammock, which after the summer disappeareth.

20 1 'For' I know that after my death the Egyptians will afflict you, but God will avenge you, and will bring you into that which He promised to your fathers. But ye shall carry up my bones with you; 'for when my bones are being taken up thither, the Lord shall be with you in light, and Beliar shall be in darkness with the Egyptians'.

c A^{b*cdg}

3 And carry ye up Asenath your mother 'to the Hippodrome', and near Rachel your mother bury her.

4, 5 And when he had said these things he stretched out his feet, and died at a good old age. And all Israel mourned for him, and all Egypt, with a great mourning.

c

6 And when the children of Israel went out of Egypt, they took with them the bones of Joseph, and they buried him in Hebron with his fathers, and the years of his life were one hundred and ten years.

A

do ye, my children, honour Levi and Judah, for from them shall arise the salvation of Israel.

For my kingdom which is among you shall come to an end as a watcher's hammock, which will not appear after the summer.

β S¹

And carry ye up Zilpah your mother, and nigh to Bilhah by the Hippodrome lay her near Rachel.

β S¹

For he felt even for the Egyptians as though a member (of their nation), and showed them kindness, aiding them in every work, and counsel, and matter.

THE TESTAMENT OF BENJAMIN, THE TWELFTH SON OF JACOB AND RACHEL.

1 1 The copy of the words of Benjamin, which he commanded his sons to observe, after he had lived 2 a hundred and twenty-five years. And he kissed them, and said: As Isaac was born to Abraham 3 in his old age, so also was I to Jacob. And since Rachel my mother died in giving me birth, I had 4 no milk; therefore I was suckled by Bilhah her handmaid. For Rachel remained barren for twelve 5 years 'after she had borne Joseph'; and she prayed the Lord 'with fasting twelve days, and she 6 sons born from her'. Therefore was I called Benjamin, that is, a son of days.

11. Levi and Judah c A. See T. R. vi. 5-12 (note). 'Judah and Levi' β S¹.

from them β A S¹: 'from their seed' c.

unto you β S¹: 'unto us' c: > A.

[the Lamb, &c.] Christian additions.

who taketh . . . world c: 'by grace' β S.

12. Dan. vii. 14.

pass away c β-a b: 'be shaken' a b S¹.

watcher's hammock. Isa. i. 8, xxiv. 20.

XX. 2. Cf. Gen. i. 25; Exod. xiii. 19.

3. Asenath your mother c d: 'Zilpah your mother' b e f A^{b*cdg} S¹: 'your brother' A^{a b h}: 'brothers' A^a.

[to the Hippodrome] > A. Cf. LXX in Gen. xlviii. 7 (? = Ephrath). Rachel was buried near Ephrath, Gen. xxxv. 16 ff., xlviii. 7.

nigh to Bilhah β S¹. Jub. xxxiv. 16 says she was buried near Rachel.

4. good old age. So I emend 'good sleep' c (cf. T. Z. x. 6): 'eternal sleep' β S¹: cf. Jer. li. 39; T. Iss. vii. 9: > A.

6. as though . . . nation a e f: 'as for his own members' b g: + 'Joseph the eleventh son of Jacob and first son of Rachel lived one hundred and ten years' f S¹.

TITLE c: + 'concerning a pure mind' β-a g S¹: + 'to love one's neighbour' g.

1. i. words: 'Testament' d A.

2. old age c d: 'hundredth year' β-d A. Cf. Gen. xxi. 2, 5. Jashar (ii. 1172) gives the same date for Benjamin's birth. See, however, Jub. xix. 13.

3. my mother > β-d A^{a b*cdg} S¹.

4. twelve years: 'eleven' in Jub. xxviii. 24, xxxii. 33.

twelve days > c. For the prayer and fasting cf. Num. rabba xiv. 8.

6. Benjamin, a son of days. Cf. Gen. xlv. 20 'a son of old age'; Philo, *De Mut. Nom.* 15. A^b reads 'son of a right hand'. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 17, 18. Jashar explains Benjamin as = 'son of the south' (ii. 1172).

- 2¹ And when I went into Egypt, to †Joseph, and my brother recognized me, he said† unto me:
 2 What did they tell my father when they sold me? And I said †unto him†, They dabbled thy coat with blood and sent it, and said: Know whether this be thy son's coat.

c
 3 And he said unto me: Even so, brother, when they had stripped me of my coat they gave me to the Ishmaelites, and they gave me a loin cloth, and scourged me, and bade me run.
 4 And as for one of them that had beaten me with a rod, a lion met
 5 him and slew him. And so his associates were affrighted.

β S¹
 3. And he said unto me: Even so, brother; for when the Ishmaelites took me, one of them stripped off my coat, and gave me a loin cloth, and scourged me, and bade me run. 4. And as he went away to hide my garment, a lion met him, and slew him. 5. And so his associates were affrighted, and sold me to their companions.

A
 And Joseph said unto me: 3 Even so, brother, the Canaanite merchants stole me by force. And it came to pass that as 4 they went on their way they concealed my garment, as though a wild beast had met me and slain me. And so his 5 associates sold me to the Ishmaelites. And they did not lie 6 in saying this. For he wished to conceal from me the deeds of my brethren. And he called to him his brethren and said: Do not tell my father what ye 7 have done unto me, but tell him as I have told Benjamin. And 8 let the thoughts among you be such, and let not these things come to the heart of my father.

- 3¹ Do ye also, therefore, my children, †love the Lord God of heaven and earth, and keep His commandments†, following the example of the good and holy man †Joseph†.

c β S
 2 And let your mind be unto good, even as ye know me; for he that hath his mind right seeth
 3 all things rightly. Fear ye the Lord, and love your neighbour; and even though the spirits of Beliar claim you to afflict you with every evil, yet shall they not have dominion over you, even
 4 as they had not over Joseph my brother. How many men wished to slay him, and God shielded him! For he that feareth God and loveth his neighbour cannot be smitten by the spirit of
 5 Beliar, being shielded by the fear of God. Nor can he be ruled over by the device of men or beasts, for he is helped by the Lord through the love which he hath towards his neighbour.

A
 For until his death he was not willing to tell 2-5 regarding himself; but Jacob, having learnt it from the Lord, told it to him. Nevertheless he kept denying it. And then with difficulty he was persuaded by the adjurations of Israel.

- 6 For Joseph also besought our father †that he would pray for his brethren†, that †the Lord† would

II. 1-2. Jashar (ii. 1222) makes Benjamin the first to recognize Joseph.
 1. to †Joseph and c: 'and Joseph' β-d A S. If x. 1 belongs to this context, we might read it before ii. 1, and emend here to 'and I recognized Joseph'.

2. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 31-2; T. Z. iv. 9.

3-5. The text of c alone agrees with the context, but T. Z. iv. 10 makes his brothers give him the loin-cloth. β S¹ and A differ from the context and the biblical account.

5. to their companions β S¹: 'to the Ishmaelites' A. Cf. Jashar (ii. 1187-90).

8. And let + 'not' A^{a b}.

III. 1. and earth c d: > β-d S.

holy c β S¹: 'true' A.

3. spirits of Beliar claim. Cf. Luke xxii. 31.

claim β S¹: 'dement' c.

to afflict with every evil: text = 'unto every evil of affliction'.

they not c: 'no evil of tribulation' β S¹.

4. spirit c + 'of the air' β S¹. Cf. Eph. ii. 2.

5. by the Lord . . . love g (cf. c): 'by the love' (+ 'of the Lord' β-d g S¹) β-g S¹.

6. Joseph > b A^{a b} o d g S¹.

father + 'Jacob' b S¹.

his brethren c: 'his sons' β-b: 'our brethren' b.

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7 not impute to them as sin 'whatever evil they had done unto him'. And thus Jacob cried out: My good child, thou hast prevailed over the bowels of thy father Jacob. And he embraced him, and kissed him for two hours, saying:

c β S¹

8 In thee shall be fulfilled the prophecy of heaven [concerning the Lamb of God, and Saviour of the world], and that a blameless one shall be delivered up for lawless men, and a sinless one shall die for ungodly men [in the blood of the covenant, for the salvation of the Gentiles and of Israel, and shall destroy Beliar and his servants].

A

In thee shall be fulfilled the prophecy of 8 heaven, which says that the blameless one shall be defiled for lawless men, the sinless one shall die for ungodly men.

4¹ See ye, therefore, my children, the end of the good man? Be followers of his 'compassion, therefore, with a good mind', that 'ye also' may wear crowns of glory. For the good man hath not a †dark eye; for he showeth mercy to all men, even though they be sinners. 'And though they devise with evil intent concerning him, by doing good he overcometh evil, being shielded by God'; and he loveth the righteous as his own soul. If any one is glorified, he envieth him not; if any one is enriched, he is not jealous; if any one is valiant, he praiseth him; the virtuous man he laudeth; 'on the poor man he hath mercy; on the weak he hath compassion; unto God he singeth praises'.

c A

5 And him that hath the grace of a good spirit he loveth as his own soul.

β-a S¹

As for him who hath the fear of God, he protecteth him as with a shield; him that loveth God he helpeth; him that rejecteth the Most High he admonisheth and turneth back; and him that hath the grace of a good spirit he loveth as his own soul.

5¹ If, 'therefore, ye also' have a 'good mind', then will both wicked men be at peace with you, and the profligate will reverence you 'and turn unto good; and the covetous will not only cease from their inordinate desire, but even give the objects of their covetousness to them that are afflicted. If ye do well, even the unclean spirits will flee from you'; and the beasts will dread you. 'For where there is reverence for good works and light in the mind, even darkness fleeth away from him.' 'For' if any one does violence to a holy man, he repenteth; for 'the holy man' is merciful to his reviler, and holdeth his peace.

c

5 And if any one betrayeth a righteous man, the righteous man prayeth: though for a little he be humbled, yet not long after he appeareth far more glorious, as was Joseph my brother.

β-a S¹

And if any one betrayeth a righteous soul, and 5 the righteous man, though he prayeth, be humbled for a little, yet not long after he appeareth more glorious, even as was Joseph my brother.

as sin c g A: > β-g S¹.

done unto c: 'devised regarding' β S¹.

7. And thus Jacob c β-d: 'then Joseph' A. child + 'Joseph' b g A.

8. For vicarious suffering, cf. 2 Macc. vii. 38 in pre-Christian times. a sinless β S¹: 'the sinless' c A.

in the blood of the covenant. Heb. xiii. 20.

IV. 1. end c β S: 'mercy' A.

crowns of glory: earliest reference. Cf. Rev. ii. 10; Jas. i. 12; Asc. Is. vii. 22.

2. hath not a †dark eye. Cf. Matt. vi. 22, 23. But read perhaps 'hath a compassionate eye': cf. T. Iss. iv. 6.

3. devise with evil intent β S¹: 'wish not well' c.

by doing good he c a d e f: 'he that doeth good' β S¹.

overcometh evil. Cf. Rom. xii. 21; T. Jos. xviii. 2; T. G. vi, vii.

righteous β A S¹: 'unrighteous' c.

4. laudeth A: 'loveth' c: 'trusteth and laudeth' β-a f.

singeth praises β: 'feareth' c.

5. helpeth b: d e f g read 'runneth with' corrupt for 'hath pleasure in', cf. Ps. xlix. 18 (LXX).

V. 1. have . . . mind c β S¹: 'are good' A.

covetousness + 'which they had' c.

2. Cf. T. Iss. vii. 7; T. D. v. 1; T. N. viii. 4.

3. reverence . . . light c: 'light of ('reverence for' b) good works' a b e f S¹: 'light, a good work' d: 'a pure light' g.

4. holy: 'true' A.

repenteth. Cf. T. G. vi. 6.

5. A has 'and if a man insult a righteous soul, he is sorry, because he hath seen him humiliated, and hath repented, as was Joseph my brother'.

6¹ The inclination of the good man is not in the power of the deceit of the spirit of Beliar, for the
 2 angel of peace guideth his soul. 'And' he gazeth not 'passionately' upon corruptible things, nor
 3 gathereth together riches 'through a desire of pleasure'. He delighteth not in pleasure, '[he grieveth
 not his neighbour], he sateth not himself with luxuries, he erreth not in the uplifting of the eyes', for
 4 the Lord is his portion. The good inclination receiveth not glory 'nor dishonour' from men, and it
 knoweth not any guile, or lie, or fighting or reviling; for the Lord dwelleth in him and lighteth up his
 5 soul, and he rejoiceth towards all men alway. The good mind hath not two tongues, of blessing and of
 cursing, of contumely and 'of honour', of sorrow and of joy, of quietness and of confusion, of hypocrisy
 and of truth, [of poverty and of wealth]; but it hath one 'disposition', uncorrupt and pure, concerning all
 6 men. It hath no double sight, nor double hearing; for in everything which he doeth, 'or speaketh, or
 7 seeth, he knoweth that the Lord looketh on his soul. And he cleanseth his mind that he may not
 be condemned by men as well as' by God. And in like manner the works of Beliar are twofold,
 and there is no singleness in them.

c β S¹

A

7¹ Therefore, my children, I tell you, flee the malice of Beliar; for he giveth a sword to them
 that obey him. | Flee, my children, malice [and fornication];¹
 for it giveth a sword to them that obey it.

c b g

β-b g S¹

A

2 And the sword is the mother of seven evils. First the mind
 conceiveth through Beliar,† and first there is bloodshed; secondly
 ruin; thirdly, tribulation; fourthly, exile; fifthly, dearth;
 sixthly, panic; seventhly, destruction. | 2. And the sword is the mother
 of seven evils. First the mind conceiveth through Beliar: and
 sometimes it brings forth first, bloodshed; secondly, ruin; thirdly,
 tribulation; fourthly, captivity; fifthly, dearth; sixthly,
 panic; seventhly, destruction. | And the sword is the mother 2
 of seven evils, and it receiveth (them) through Beliar. And
 first there is bloodshed (&c. as in c β S¹).

3 Therefore was Cain also delivered over to seven vengeancees by God, for in every hundred years
 the Lord brought one plague upon him.

c

β A

4 And when he was two hundred years old he began to suffer, and in the nine-hundredth year
 | When he was two hundred years old he began 4
 to suffer, and in his nine-hundredth year he was

VI. 1. inclination. See T. A. i. 3 (note).

angel of peace. See T. D. vi. 5 (note); T. A. vi. 6.

3. Perhaps A is right in the omissions.

uplifting, &c. See T. Iss. vii. 2 (note).

Lord is his portion. Cf. T. Lev. ii. 12.

4. receiveth not glory . . . from men. Cf. John v. 41.
 knoweth not > c.

lighteth up his soul. Cf. T. G. v. 7.

rejoiceth . . . alway. Cf. Phil. iv. 4.

5. tongues of blessing and of cursing. Cf. James iii. 10.
 of sorrow and of joy > c.

[of poverty . . . wealth] > A.

7. he cleanseth . . . God. Cf. 1 Cor. xi. 31, 32.

in like manner. 'and whoso doeth' A.

works + 'of God and' A.

in them > β-a A S¹.

VII. 1-2. See my Commentary *in loc.*, p. 206. Read either (1) 'Flee the malice of Beliar; for the mind
 conceiveth through Beliar, and is the mother of seven evils; and first,' &c., or (2) 'Flee the malice of Beliar; for he
 giveth a sword to those who obey him. And the sword' (&c. as A).

For the seven compare the eight plagues of Sir. xl. 9; and seven of Pirke Aboth, v. 11.

1. giveth a sword to: 'is a sword in the hands of' A^a.

him c: 'it' β S¹.

2. the mind . . . Beliar c β-d g S¹: 'the mind conceiveth wickedness through the malice of Beliar' d.

sometimes af S¹: 'what . . . is' d e.

bloodshed. Read φόνος for φθόνος. Cain's first evil was murder.

ruin . . . We expect 'panic' here. See notes in Commentary, p. 207.

destruction: text reads 'desolation'.

3-4. Gen. iv. 15, 24 tells of a sevenfold vengeance on Cain's slayer. Here the sevenfold penalty is transferred to
 Cain himself. Contrast Jub. iv. 1. 31, which puts his death in his 860th year. Is Lamech here regarded as Cain's
 slayer? Cf. Book of Adam and Eve ii. 13; Jalkut i. 38, &c.

4. two hundred years. Cain was thirty to thirty-five when he slew Abel, according to Jub. iv. 2.

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c
he was destroyed. For on account of Abel, his brother, with all the evils was he judged, but Lamech with seventy times seven.

β A
destroyed [at the Flood], on account of Abel, his righteous brother. With the seven evils, therefore, was Cain judged, but Lamech with seventy times 'seven'.

5 Because for ever those who are like Cain 'in envy and hatred of brethren', shall be punished 'with the same judgement'.

c β S¹
8¹ And do ye, my children, flee evil-doing, envy, and hatred of brethren, and cleave to goodness
2 and love. He that hath a pure mind in love, looketh not after a woman with a view to fornication; for he hath no defilement in his heart, because the Spirit of God resteth upon him.

A
Do ye, therefore, my children, flee evil-doing¹ and cleave to goodness. For he that hath it² looketh not on a woman with a view to fornication, and he beholdeth no defilement; for there resteth upon him a holy spirit.

3 For 'as' the sun is not defiled by shining on dung and mire, 'but rather drieth up both and driveth away the evil smell'; so also the pure mind, though encompassed by the defilements of earth, rather cleanseth (them) and is not itself defiled.

9¹ And I believe that there will be also evil-doings among you, from the words of Enoch the righteous: that ye shall commit fornication with the fornication of Sodom, and shall perish, all save a few, and shall renew wanton deeds with women; and the kingdom of the Lord shall not be among you, for straightway He shall take it away.

c β S¹
2 Nevertheless the temple of God shall be in your portion, and the last (temple) shall be more glorious than the first. And the twelve tribes shall be gathered together there, and all the Gentiles, until the Most High shall send forth His salvation in the visitation of an 'only-begotten prophet. [And He shall enter into the [first] temple, and there shall the Lord be treated with outrage, and He shall be lifted up upon
3 a tree. And the veil of the temple shall be rent, and the Spirit of God shall pass on to the Gen-

A
But in your portion shall be His inheritance.² And on account of the temple of the Lord, Jacob exalted me that I should be glorified through it. And the twelve tribes shall be gathered there and all the Gentiles. [And the Lord shall be treated³ with outrage and set at nought. And He will⁵ depart from earth to heaven: for I knew how He is on earth and how in heaven, or what is His measure and place and way.]

[at the Flood], impossible on any chronology; even the Samaritan (1307 A. M.).

With the seven evils a d g A: 'in the 700 years' b e f. Onkelos and Ps. Jon. on Gen. iv. 15 (contrast on v. 24) say he was punished for seven generations. See my Commentary, p. 208.

VIII. 1-2. A seems more original, though shorter.

2. Cf. Matt. v. 28.

hath . . . in his heart c β S: 'beholdeth' A, not so good.

3. by shining on f: προσέχων c β-f A S¹.

cleanseth: text corruptly reads 'buildeth up'.

IX. 1. that . . . among you: 'also doings' c, defective.

from . . . righteous c β-d S¹: 'for I have learnt from the book of the words,' &c. d: 'for I have heard from the words of our fathers' A.

shall renew wanton deeds: 'and again ye (> A) shall be renewed unto . . . deeds' ('unto . . . deeds' > c) c A. straightway He β S¹: 'the upright' (εὐθεῖς) A^a b h: 'an upright man' A^b * o d (i. e. David shall take the kingdom from Saul): > c.

2. The text of c β S¹ is better. The second temple is more glorious (cf. Haggai ii. 9), and under John Hyrcanus the twelve tribes met there in worship.

the temple . . . in your portion. See Onkelos and Ps. Jon. on Gen. xlix. 27.

all the Gentiles. The Maccabean triumphs lead to the hope of a general conversion of the Gentiles in the second century B. C. Cf. T. S. vii. 2. See my Commentary, pp. 210, 211. The Testaments are strongly tinged with universalism. God understands all men, T. N. ii. 5 (cf. Sir. xvii. 3). The Law is given to lighten every man, T. L. xiv. 4. Michael guards all the righteous, T. L. v. 7 (β A β S¹).

Apart from Christian interpolations like T. Jos. xix. 11, the salvation of the Gentiles is taught in T. L. iv. 4, viii. 14, ii. 11; T. S. vi. 5; T. N. viii. 3; T. A. vii. 3; T. D. vi. 7; T. Jud. xxv. 5; T. B. ix. 2, x. 5.

an 'only-begotten prophet' β-b: 'His only begotten Son' c. Read 'beloved' for 'only begotten', as T. L. viii. 15, 'beloved as a prophet of the Most High.'

3-5. Christian additions. Cf. Luke xviii. 32; Mark ix. 12.

4. veil of the temple, &c. Cf. Matt. xxvii. 51.

pass on to c β-b d: 'ascend' b S¹: 'descend' d.

cβS¹

A

5 tiles as fire poured forth. And He shall ascend from Hades and shall pass from earth into heaven. And I know how lowly He shall be upon earth, and how glorious in heaven.]

10 ¹ Now when 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 daytime, even his entire figure exactly as he was.

2 [And when he had said these things, he said unto them¹: Know ye, therefore, my children, that I am dying.

c

βAS¹

3 Do ye, therefore, truth each one to his neighbour, and keep the law of the Lord and His commandments.

Do ye, therefore, truth and righteousness [each 3 one to his neighbour], and judgement unto confirmation, and keep the law of the Lord and his commandments.

4 For these things do I leave you instead of inheritance. Do ye also, [therefore], give them to your 5 children for an everlasting possession; for so did both Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob. For all these things they gave us for an inheritance, saying: Keep the commandments of God, until the Lord 6 shall reveal His salvation to all Gentiles. [And¹ then shall ye see Enoch, Noah, and Shem, and Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, rising on the right hand in gladness.

cβS¹

A

7 Then shall we also rise, each one over our tribe, worshipping the King of heaven, [who appeared upon earth in the form of a man in humility. And as many as believe on Him on the earth 8 shall rejoice with Him]. Then also all men shall rise, some unto glory and some unto shame.

Then shall we also rise, each over our own 7 tribe, and we shall worship the heavenly King.

Then shall we all be changed, some into glory 8 and some into shame; for the Lord judges Israel first for the unrighteousness which they have committed.

And the Lord shall judge Israel first, for their unrighteousness; [for when He appeared as God in the flesh to deliver them they believed Him 9 not]. And then shall He judge all the Gentiles, [as many as believed Him not when He appeared 10 upon earth]. And He shall convict Israel through the chosen ones of the Gentiles, even as He reproved Esau through the Midianites, who [deceived their brethren, [so that they fell into fornication, and idolatry; and they were alienated from God], becoming therefore children in the portion of them that fear the Lord.

And then so (shall He judge) all the Gentiles. 9

And He shall convict Israel through the 10 chosen Gentiles, as He convicted Esau through the Midianites who loved their brethren. Be ye therefore, my children, in the portion of them that fear the Lord.

5. Hades c b d g: 'people' c f S¹.

And I know . . . heaven > c A^{b*o d o g}.

X. 1. > c. Restore to beginning of ii. 1.

3. and judgement unto confirmation > a A^{a b h}; 'and judgement unto faith in the Lord' A^{h*o a}.

4. leave c: 'give' A: 'teach' β S¹.

5. Keep . . . of God: 'So do ye' A.

to all Gentiles: 'in all the earth' A.

6-7. The Testaments give a primitive view of the resurrection to this present earth (cf. 1 En. vi-xxxvi, lxxxiii-xc), transformed gradually to sinlessness (T. L. xviii. 9), of the righteous. Note the order of resurrection. Cf. v. 8; cf. also T. Jud. xxv. 4; Dan. xii. 1, 2. The risen enter Eden, and eat of the tree of life, T. L. xviii. 10, 11, and dwell in the New Jerusalem, T. D. v. 12.

6. Shem β-d S¹: 'Seth' c. Cf. T. S. vi. 5.

on the right hand β A S¹: 'on His right hand' c. Cf. Matt. xxv. 33, 34.

7. over our tribe > c.

8. shall rise c β S: 'shall be changed' A.

some unto shame. Cf. Dan. xii. 2. Contrast 1 En. lxxxiii-xc; 2 Macc. vi-vii where the righteous alone are to rise.

their unrighteousness c: 'the unrighteousness (done) unto Him' β-d S¹.

God in the flesh c + 'a deliverer' β.

10. Israel is judged by Gentile standards. c omits this verse.

And . . . Gentiles > A^{a b h}.

as He convicted . . . loved. A has the better text. The corruption and addition n β S¹ refers to Num. xxv.

therefore a A: 'not' β-a, corruptly.

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11 If ye [therefore, my children], walk in holiness [according to the commandments of the Lord], ye shall again dwell securely with me, and all Israel shall be gathered unto the Lord.

c	βS^1	A
<p>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 them that work what is good.</p> <p>2 And there shall arise in the latter days] one beloved of the Lord, [of the tribe of Judah and Levi], a doer of His good pleasure in his mouth, [with new knowledge enlightening the Gentiles].</p>	<p>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 them that work what is good.</p> <p>2. And there shall rise up from my seed in the latter times] one beloved of the Lord, [hearing upon the earth His voice] and a doer of the good pleasure of His will, [enlightening with new knowledge all the Gentiles, even the light of knowledge, bursting in upon Israel for salvation and tearing away from them like a wolf, and giving to the synagogue of the Gentiles.</p>	<p>And I shall no longer be 1 called a †captain of robbers, and a † wolf, on account of your ravages. But one beloved of 2 the Lord, and a doer of the good pleasure of His mouth.</p>

β

3 Until the consummation of the age shall he be in the synagogues of the Gentiles, and among their 4 rulers, as a strain of music in the mouth of all. And he shall be inscribed in the holy books, both 5 his work and his word, and he shall be a chosen one of God for ever. And through them he shall go to and fro as Jacob my father, saying: He shall fill up that which lacketh of thy tribe].

c

12 1 And when he had said these things he stretched 2 out his feet. And died †in [a beautiful] and 3 good sleep†. And his sons did as he had enjoined them, and they took up his body and buried it 4 in Hebron with his fathers. And the number (of the days) of his life were a hundred and twenty-five years.

$\beta A S^1$

And when he finished his words, he said: 1 I command you, my children, carry up my bones out of Egypt, and bury me at Hebron, near my fathers. So Benjamin died a hundred and 2 twenty-five years old, at a good old age, and they placed him in a coffin. And in the ninety-first 3 year from the entrance of the children of Israel into Egypt, they and their brethren brought up the bones of their fathers secretly during the Canaanitish war; and they buried them in Hebron, by the feet of their fathers. And they returned 4 from the land of Canaan and dwelt in Egypt until the day of their departure from the land of Egypt.

11. according . . . of c: 'before the face of' βS^1 .

securely: 'in hope' text, wrongly as LXX in Ezek. xxviii. 26, &c.

XI. A is original and refers only to Benjamin. c adds a prophecy of the Messiah descended from Judah and Levi. βS^1 transfers it to Paul. Cf. Tert. *Adv. Marc.* v. 1 (on Gen. xlix. 27).

1. I: 'be' A.

a worker . . . what is good > A.

distributing food. Cf. LXX of Gen. xlix. 27, and 'dabit escam', Tertullian *I. c.* There the Mass. has 'divide the spoil'.

2. one beloved of the Lord. Deut. xxxiii. 12, of Benjamin. Here c twists it into a reference to the Messiah. For 'the Beloved' = Christ. See my ed. Asc. Isa. i. 4 (note).

of His mouth: 'in his mouth' c: 'of His will' $\beta A^h S^1$. Cf. Eph. i. 5.

bursting in beg (df): 'shining' a.

5. through them . . . my father f: 'because of him', &c., e: 'because of him Jacob my father instructed me' b: > a d: 'because of this he puffed me up' g.

fill up that which lacketh. A phrase of St. Paul. Cf. 2 Cor. xi. 9, &c.

tribe b g: 'belly' d e f.

XII. Here $\beta A S^1$ is the better text.

2. at a good old age $\beta A S^1$: 'in a beautiful and good sleep' c. See T. Z. x. 6.

3. See T. G. viii. 5 (note).

entrance . . . into: The text absurdly reads 'exodus . . . from'.

Canaanitish war $\beta A S^1$. See T. S. viii. 2; T. G. viii. 5.

4. f S^1 add at the close: 'Benjamin, the twelfth son of Jacob, the second son of Rachel, lived 125 years.'

APPENDIX I

TRANSLATION OF A LATE HEBREW TESTAMENT OF NAPHTALI, WHICH CONTAINS FRAGMENTS OF THE ORIGINAL TESTAMENT

These fragments are in italics, and their parallels in the original Testament given in the margin.

THIS IS THE TESTAMENT OF NAPHTALI, SON OF JACOB.

- 1** ¹ The Testament of Naphtali, Naphtali the son of Jacob, *whom Bilhah, the handmaid of Rachel, had borne him ¹ [*the wrestlings of God*].² When Naphtali had grown old, and had come to a good T. Naph. old age, and had completed his years of strength, and fulfilled the duty of the earth-born man, he ^{i. 6} began to command his children, and he said unto them, 'My children, come and draw near and ² receive the commands of your father.' And they answered and said unto him, 'Lo, we hearken to ³ fulfil all that thou commandest us.' And he said unto them, 'I do not command you *concerning* T. Jos. *my silver, nor concerning my gold, *nor all my substance* ³ that I leave unto you here under the sun, ^{xi. 6} nor do I command you any difficult thing which you may not be able to accomplish, but I speak to ⁴ you about an easy matter, which you can fulfil.' And his sons answered and replied a second time, ⁵ and said, 'Speak, O father, for we listen.' He said unto them, 'I give you no command save in ⁶ regard to the fear of the Lord: Him shall ye serve, and to Him shall ye cleave.' They said unto him, 'What need hath He of our service?' He said unto them, 'It is not that He hath need of ⁷ any creature, but that all creatures of the world have need of Him. But He hath not created the world for nought, but that His creatures should fear Him, and that none should do to his neighbour ⁸ what he doth not like for himself.' They said unto him, 'Our father! hast thou forsooth seen us ⁹ departing from thy ways, or from the ways of our fathers, either to the right or to the left?' He ¹⁰ said unto them, 'The Lord and I are witnesses that it is even as ye say; but I dread that which is T. Levi to come, lest ye go astray after the gods of strange nations, and walk according to the ordinances of ^{xix. 3} the peoples of the lands, and lest ye *join* the children of Joseph instead of *the children of Levi and T. Naph. the children of Judah*.' They said unto him, 'What dost thou see that thou commandest us in this ^{vii. 2} wise?' He said unto 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 his being a bond-servant in Egypt.'
- 2** ^{1, 2} 'Further, I will tell you *the vision* I saw, when I was pasturing the flock. I saw, and lo, my T. Naph. twelve brothers were pasturing with me in the field; and lo, *our father* came and *said to us*, "My ^{v. 1-3} children, *run and seize ye, each *before me*,⁴ what comes to his portion." We answered and said unto ⁴ him, "What shall we seize? lo, we see nothing but the sun, moon, and the stars." *He said unto them, "(Take hold) of them."⁵ When Levi heard it he seized a staff in his hand, and jumped upon ⁵ *the sun* and sat and rode thereon. And when Judah saw it, he did likewise; and he *seized* a staff, ⁶ and sprang upon *the moon*, and rode thereon. So did *all the ⁶ tribes; each rode upon his star and ⁷ his planet in the heavens; and Joseph only remained alone upon the earth. Jacob our father said unto him, "My son, why hast thou not done as thy brothers?" He said unto him, "My father, what have they⁷ that 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, *lo*, there stood near him a huge *bull with great wings like the wings* T. Naph. ² *of a stork, and his horns were huge* like the horns of the Re'em. And Jacob said to him, "Get up, ^{v. 6} my son Joseph, and ride upon him." And Joseph got up and mounted upon the bull. And Jacob ³ our father departed from us. For about four hours Joseph gloried in the bull—at times he walked ⁴ and ran, at times *he flew* up with him, till he came near to Judah, and Joseph stretched out the ^{v. 7} standard he had in his hands and began to smite Judah his brother. Judah said to him, "My

¹ only in P.

² A gloss from Gen. xxx. 8.

³ J; also in A in a corrupt form.

⁴ For לפני read with T. Naph. v. 2, κατά δύναμιν, כח לפני. The כח could fall out before the following כל אחרי.

⁵ P.J. > A.

⁶ A. 'the nine' P.J.

⁷ P.J. 'he' A.

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- 6 brother, why dost thou smite me?" He said unto him, "Because thou holdest in thy hands twelve
7 staves, and I have only one; *give me ten,¹ and there shall be peace." But Judah refused to give
8 them to him, and Joseph beat him till he had taken from him ten against his will, and only two were
9 left with Judah. Joseph then said to his ten brothers, "Wherefore run ye after Judah and Levi?
10 Depart from them and follow after me." When his brothers heard Joseph's words, they departed
11 from Levi and Judah as one man, to follow Joseph, and there remained with Judah only Benjamin
12 and Levi. When Levi beheld this, he descended from the sun full of trouble of spirit. Joseph said
13 to Benjamin his brother, "Benjamin, my brother! Art thou not my brother? Come thou also with
14 me." But Benjamin refused to go with Joseph his brother. And it came to pass when the day
15 drew to an end, lo, there arose a mighty storm, which separated Joseph from his brothers, so that
16 no two were left together. When I beheld this vision, I related it to Jacob my father, and he said
17 unto me, "My son, it is only a dream, which will neither ascend nor descend, for it hath not been
18 repeated."
- 4 1, 2 'But no long time elapsed, when I saw another vision. Whilst we stood all together with Jacob T. Naph.
3 our father on the shore of the Great Sea, behold a ship came sailing in the middle of the sea vi. 1-3.
4 without a sailor and a man (pilot). Our father said to us, "Do ye see what I am seeing?" We
5 said unto him, "We see it." He said unto us, "Do what ye see me doing." Thereupon Jacob our
6 father took off his clothes, and threw himself into the sea, and we all followed him. And the first
7 were Levi and Judah, and they jumped in(to the ship), and Jacob with them. And behold in that
8 ship there was all the goodness of the world. Jacob our father said unto them, "Look at what
9 is written on the mast; for there is no ship on which the name of the master is not written
10 on the mast." Then Levi and Judah looked, and saw, and behold there was written, "This ship
11 belongs to the son of Berachel, and all the good therein." When Jacob our father heard that,
12 he rejoiced very much, and bowed down, and thanked God. He said, "Not enough that He has
13 blessed me on earth, He has blessed me on the sea too!" Then he said unto us, "My children,
14 quit yourselves like men, and whatever each one of you seizes, that shall be his share." Thereupon
15 Levi sprang to the big mast therein and sat upon it. The second after him, Judah, also leapt
16 to the second mast, which was next to Levi's mast, and he also sat thereon. And the rest of
17 my other brothers took each his oar, and Jacob our father grasped the two rudders to steer the vi. 4.
18 ship by them. And Joseph was left alone. Our father said unto him, "My son Joseph, take
19 thou also thine oar." But Joseph refused. When my father saw that Joseph refused to take
20 his oar, he said unto him, "Come here, my son, and take one of the rudders which I hold in
21 my hands, and steer the ship, whilst thy brothers row with the oars until you reach land." And
22 he taught each one of us, and said unto us, "Thus ye shall steer the ship, and ye will not be
23 afraid of the waves of the sea, nor of stormy winds when they shall arise against you."
- 5 1, 2 'And when he had made an end of commanding us, he disappeared from us. And Joseph took
3 both the rudders, one with the right hand and one with the left, and the rest of my brothers were
4 rowing, and the ship sailed on and floated over the waters. And Levi and Judah sat upon the two
5 masts to look out which way the ship was to take. As long as Joseph and Judah were of one mind,
6 and Judah showed to Joseph which was the right way, Joseph directed thither the ship, and² the
7 ship sailed on peaceably without hindrance. And after a while a quarrel arose between Joseph and
8 Judah, and Joseph no longer steered the ship according to the words of his father and the teaching
9 of Judah; and the ship went a wrong course, and the waves of the sea dashed it on a rock, so that
10 the ship was broken up. T. Naph.
11 vi. 5.
- 6 1 'Then Levi and Judah descended from the masts to escape for their lives, and as for the rest of
2 the brothers, we escaped for our lives to the shore. And behold there came Jacob our father, and
3 found us dispersed, one here, and another there. He said unto us, "What is the matter with you,
4 my sons? Perhaps you have not steered the ship as it ought, (even) as I commanded you?" And
5 we said unto him, "By the life of thy servants, we have not departed from anything that thou hast
6 commanded us; but Joseph transgressed against the command; for he did not steer the ship
7 according to thy command, and as he was instructed by Levi and Judah, for he was jealous of them."
8 And he said unto us, "Show me the place (of the ship)." And he saw, and behold the tops of the
9 masts were visible, and behold it was floating upon the surface of the water. And my father
10 whistled, and we all gathered round him. And he cast himself into the sea as before, and he
11 repaired the ship. And he reprov'd Joseph, and said unto him, "My son, thou shalt not again
12 deceive (nor) be jealous of thy brothers, for they were nearly lost through thee."
- 7 1 'And when I recounted this vision to my father, he smote his hands together and sighed, and his
2, 3 eyes shed tears. And I waited till I was ashamed, but he spake no word to me. So I took the

¹ PJ. 'Come now, give them to me', A.

² A'; > APJ.

APPENDIX I

hand of my father to embrace it and to kiss it, and I said to him, "Oh servant of the Lord! why do
4 thine eyes shed tears?" He said unto me, "My son, because of the repetition of thy 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
5 be scattered among the nations. For thy first and second visions are both one and the same vision.

6 Therefore I *command you not to unite* with the sons of Joseph, but only *with Levi and Judah.*" viii. 2

8 1 'Further, I tell you my lot shall be in the best of the middle of the earth, and ye shall eat and be
2 satisfied with its delights. I warn you not to kick in your fatness, and not to rebel, and not to (Deut.
3 oppose the command of the Lord, who satisfies you with the good things of His earth. And do not xxxii.
forget the Lord your God, the God of your fathers; Who was chosen by our father Abraham when 15.)
4 the nations were divided in the time of Phaleg. 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
5 head. He commanded them to teach the seventy families which sprang from the loins of Noah
6 seventy languages. 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 Abraham 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
2 nation separately: "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
3 worship, and who shall be your intercessor in the height of heaven." Nimrod the wicked answered
and said, "For me there is none greater than he who taught me and my people in one hour the
4 language of Kush." In like manner also answered Put, and Migraim, and Tubal, and Javan, and
Mesech, and Tiras; and every nation chose its own angel, and none of them mentioned the name of
5 the Lord, blessed be He. But when Michael said unto Abraham our father, "Abram, whom dost
thou choose, and whom wilt thou 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;
Who placed in me spirit and soul; Him I choose, and to Him I will cleave, I and my seed, all the
days of the world."

10 1 'Then the Most High dispersed the nations, and apportioned and allotted to every nation its share
2 and lot. 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
3 and Jacob. Therefore, my sons, I conjure you not to go astray and worship any other god than
4 Him whom your fathers have chosen. For know assuredly that there is none like unto 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
5 wonders like unto His mighty deeds. A portion only of His power you can see in the creation of
6 man; how many notable wonders are there not in him? 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 wind-pipe* he brings forth his voice, and with his gullet he absorbs food and T. Naph.
drink, and with his tongue he speaks, and with his mouth he completes (?); with his hands he does ii. 8
his work, and *with his heart he reckons, and with his spleen he laughs, and with his liver he is angry;*
and his maw grinds, and with his feet he walks, and *his lungs are for breathing, and by his reins he*
7 *is counselled.* And none of his members changes its function, but every one keeps to its own. It is
8 therefore proper for man to lay to heart all these things, Who hath created him, and Who it is that
hath wrought him out of an ill-smelling drop¹ in the womb of the woman, and Who it is that bringeth
him out into the light of the world, and Who hath given him the sight of eyes and the walking of
the feet, and Who causeth him to stand upright, and bringeth him nigh to his Creator and to His
place, and hath prepared good deeds for him in the place of insight, and hath poured into him a
9 living soul and a pure spirit from Himself. Blessed is the man who does not defile the holy spirit
of God which hath 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.²

¹ The phrase is found also in the Pirke Aboth, iii. 1.

² Emended. See my Text.

APPENDIX II

TRANSLATION OF ARAMAIC AND GREEK FRAGMENTS OF AN ORIGINAL SOURCE OF THE TESTAMENT OF LEVI AND THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

CAMBRIDGE ARAMAIC FRAGMENT.

Col. a.

- 1 . . . from . . . daughter . . . that all . . . to do according to right in . . . Jacob my father, and saw
 . . . and we said to them . . . they desire our daughter, and we will be all br(ethren) and companions.
 2 Circumcise the foreskin of your flesh and appear (like us), and be sealed like us in the circumcision
 of . . . and we will be to y(ou) b(rethren).

Col. b.

- 3 . . . my brother at every time, . . . that were in Shechem . . . my brother and Dan showed . . . in
 Shechem and what . . . (doers) of violence, and Judah showed them . . . that I and Simeon my
 brother went to him . . . to Reuben our brother, who . . . Judah (?) before (that he le)ft the sheep . . .

BODLEIAN ARAMAIC FRAGMENT.

- 4 [Col. a] . . . peace, and all the desirableness of the first-fruits of the earth, all of it for food and for
 dominion; the sword, fighting and battle and slaughter and trouble and rage and murder and famine.
 5 Sometimes thou shalt eat, and sometimes thou shalt be hungry; sometimes thou shalt labour, and
 sometimes thou shalt rest; sometimes thou shalt sleep, and sometimes the sleep of the eye shall
 6 depart. Now behold how he has made thee greater than all, and how I give thee the greatness of
 7 everlasting peace. And two weeks passed from me, and I *awoke from my sleep*. Then I said: *The T. Levi*
one vision is even as the other. I wondered that all the vision should be (given) to him. *And I hid* viii. 18
 8 *this also in my heart and revealed it to no man*. And I went to my father Isaac, and he also in like viii. 19
 9 manner (blessed) me. Then when Jacob saw (in regard to the twelve) all that should happen to him
 according to his vow, (and how that) I was first at the head of (the priesthood), and to me of all his
 sons he had granted the offering, (he gave thanks) to God, and clothed me with the garment of the
 priesthood, and (*fil*)led my hands,¹ and I became a priest to God . . . , and I offered all his offerings, viii. 10
 10 and blessed my father in my life, and blessed all my brethren. Then they all blessed me, and father
 11 also blessed me, and I finished [Col. b] offering his offerings in Bethel. And we went from Bethel,
 12 and *lodged* in the castle of Abraham our father, *with Isaac our father*. And Isaac our father saw us ix. 1, 5
 13 all, and he blessed us and rejoiced. And when he knew that I was priest of the Most High God,
 the Lord of heaven, he began to charge me, and to *teach me the rights of the priesthood*, and said to ix. 7
 14 me, 'Levi, take heed to thyself, my son, my son, against all defilement and all sin. Thy rights are
 15 greater than those of all flesh. And now, my son, I will show thee the rule of the truth, and will not hide
 16 from thee any matter to inform thee in the rights of the priesthood. First, *take heed to thyself*, my ix. 9
 17 son, against all lust and uncleanness, and against all *fornication*. *And do thou take to thyself a wife* ix. 10
 of my family, and defile not thy seed with harlots; for thou art a holy seed, and holy is thy seed
 18 like the holy place, for a holy priest art thou called among all the seed of Abraham. *Thou art nigh* ii. 10
 to (God) and nigh to all His holy ones. Now be thou pure in thy flesh from every defilement of all (Jub. xxi.
 men. 16)
 19 [Col. c] *And when thou risest up to enter the *house of God,*² *wash thyself* with water, and then ix. 11
 20 clothe thyself with the garment of the priesthood. And when thou art clothed, again wash thy
 21 hands and thy feet, before thou offer anything on the altar. *And when thou takest to offer* all that
 22 is fitting to offer on the altar, again *wash* thy hands and thy feet. And offer the split logs, and
 prove them first (free) from worms, and then offer them; for thus I saw Abraham my father taking
 23 heed. Of all the *twelve* kinds of wood, he told me that those of them are fitting to burn on the ix. 12
 24 altar whose smoke goes up with a sweet savour. And these are their names:—cedar, and bay, and
 almond, and fir, and pine,³ and mountain ash, and cypress, and fig, and olive, and laurel, and myrtle, (Jub. xxi.
 12)

¹ So Jub. xxxii. 3, 'His father clothed him in the garments of the priesthood, and filled his hands.'

² Gk. Frag. and T. Lev. ix. 11 give 'the sanctuary'.

³ Text reads 'thorns' (ܐܘܪܝܢܐ) corrupt for ܐܘܪܝܢܐ = 'pine'.

APPENDIX II

25 and aspalathus.¹ These are they which he told me it was right to offer under the sacrifice on the altar. And when (thou hast placed) of the wood of these (trees) on the altar, and the fire begins to
 26 kindle [Col. *d*] them, then begin to sprinkle the blood on the sides of the altar. And again wash
 27 thy hands and thy feet from the blood, and begin to offer up the limbs, salted. Offer the head first,
 28 and upon it spread the fat, and let there not be seen on it the blood of the offering of the bull. And
 after it the neck, and after the neck its forelegs, and after its forelegs the breast with the side, and
 after the legs the thigh with the spine of the loin, and after the thigh the hind-legs washed together
 29, 30 with the entrails. And let all be salted with salt as is fitting for them according to their need. And
 after this the meal mingled with oil, and after it all, wine of the drink-offering; and burn on them
 frankincense; and let all thy works be in order, and all thy offerings be pleasing (?), for a sweet
 31 savour before the Most High God. And whatsoever thou doest, do it in order by measure and
 weight; add nothing which is not fitting, and fall not short of the account of what is fitting (?) con-
 32 cerning (?) the logs that are fitting to offer for all that goes up upon the altar. For the great
 bullock a talent of wood by weight; and if the fat alone is offered, six minas; and if it is a bull-calf²
 which is offered . . .

Verses 32^b-66 (found only in the Greek).

33 And for the second bull fifty minas; and for the fat alone, five minas. And for a great bullock
 34 (*μόσχον*) forty minas. And if it be a ram or a he-goat that is offered, for such thirty minas, and for
 35 the fat three minas. And if it be a lamb or a kid twenty minas; and for the fat two minas.
 36 And if it be a lamb without blemish of the first year, or a kid of the goats, fifteen minas;
 37 and for the fat half a mina. And sprinkle³ salt upon the great bull to salt its flesh, and offer
 it on the altar. One measure is fitting for the bull. And where there is a superfluity of salt,
 38 salt therewith the hide. And for the second bull five-sixths of the measure. And for the
 39 bullock (*μόσχον*) the half of the measure. And for the ram half a measure, and for the he-goat the
 40 like measure. And for the lamb and the kid the third of the measure. And the meal that is fitting
 41, 42 for them. For the great⁴ bull and for the second bull and the bullock a measure of meal. And for
 the ram and the he-goat two-thirds of a measure, and for the lamb and for the kid a third part of
 43, 44 a measure, and the oil. And the fourth of the measure for the bull mingled with this meal. And
 for the ram the sixth of the measure, and for the lamb the eighth of the measure †and of the lamb †.
 And as for the wine, pour a libation according to the measure of the oil on the bull and the ram and
 45 the kid. Of frankincense six shekels for the bull, and the half thereof for the ram, and the third
 46 thereof for the kid, and (let) all the meal (be) mingled. If you offer this not upon (?) the fat, let
 there be offered upon it a weight of two shekels of frankincense. And the third of the measure is the
 47 third of the ephah. And the two parts of the bath and the weight of the mina are of fifty shekels.
 And of the shekel the fourth part is a weight.⁵ The shekel comes to be about sixteen thermoi
 48 (*θερμοί*) and of one (and the same) weight. And now, my son, hear my words and give ear to my
 49 art a holy priest of the Lord. And all thy seed shall be priests. And to thy sons so give com-
 50 mandment that they do according to this use⁶ as I have shown thee. For so my father Abraham
 51 commanded me to do and to give commandment to my sons. And now, my son, I rejoice that thou
 hast been chosen to the holy priesthood, and to offer sacrifice to the Lord Most High, as it is
 52 befitting to do according to that which is ordained for Him. When thou takest a sacrifice to offer
 before the Lord of any flesh, according to the reckoning of the wood so receive (it) as I command
 thee, and the salt and the meal and the wine and the frankincense receive at their hands for all the
 53 animals. And always wash⁷ thy hands and thy feet when thou goest to the altar, and when thou
 goest forth from the sanctuary let no blood touch thy garments. Thou shalt not †kindle it the same
 54, 55 day †. And thy hands and thy feet wash continually from all flesh. And let no blood be seen upon
 thee, †and every soul, † for the blood is the life (soul) in the flesh. And if thou preparest for thyself⁸
 56 any flesh at home to eat, cover its blood first in the earth before thou eatest of the flesh, and thou
 shalt not eat of the blood. For so my father Abraham commanded me; for so he found it in the
 57 writing of the Book of Noah concerning the blood. And now, as I tell thee, my beloved son, thou
 58 art beloved of thy father and holy unto the Lord Most High, and thou shalt be loved beyond all thy
 1
 Jub. xxi.
 16-18 =
 verses
 53-56
 Jub. xxi.
 1

¹ The list in the Aramaic practically agrees with that in Jub. xxi. 12. The Greek fragment diverges in omitting the almond and the olive, and adding the *σχίνος*. See my text of the Testaments, 249.

² The Greek has 'the second bull' here and in verses 38, 41.

³ Emended. See my Text.

⁴ See verse 32.

⁵ Here follows in the text *θερμῶν δ'* corrupt for *θερμῶν δ'* = 'of four thermoi.'

⁶ *κρίσω* = *כריש*.

⁷ Verses 53-6 agree almost verbally with Jub. xxi. 16-18.

⁸ MS. reads *ουσης σεαυτου*, which may possibly be emended into *ποιης σεαυτω*.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

59 brethren. †By thy seed shall be blessed in the earth,† and thy seed shall be enrolled in the book of
 60 the memorial of life unto all ages. And thy name and the name of thy seed shall not be blotted
 61 out unto all the ages. And now, my son Levi, thy seed shall be blessed upon the earth unto all the
 62 generations of the ages.' And when four weeks were fulfilled in the years of my life, i. e. *in my T. Levi*
twenty-eighth year, I took unto myself a wife of the lineage of my father, even *Milcah*, the daughter of xi. 1
 63 Bethuel, the son of Laban, my mother's brother. And *she conceived and bare me a first son*, and xi. 2
 I called his name Gershom; for I said that my seed would be sojourners in the land where I was
 64 born. *We are sojourners as . . . in the land . . .* And *in the case of the lad I saw* in my vision that xi. 3
 65 he would be cast out, he and his seed from the chief priesthood Thirty years old was I in my
 66 life when he was born, and in the tenth month he was born towards sunset. And again she conceived
 and bare me about the time that is fitting with women, *and I called his name Kohath.*¹ xi. 6

CAMBRIDGE ARAMAIC FRAGMENT.

66 [Col. c] (And it happen)ed about the ti(me of women that I was with her, and she concei)ved
 67 again (and bare me another son, and) I (call)ed his name (Kohath. And I saw) that to him xi. 5
 (would b)e *the gathering of all* (the people, for) his would be the high-(priest)hood (over all Is)rael.
 68 *In the fo(ur and thirt)yieth year of my life was he born*, in the fir(st) month, (on the fir)st day of the xi. 4
 69 mo(nth), at sunrise. And again I was wi(th her), *and she bare me a third son and I called his name* xi. 7
Merari, for it was bitter to me concerning him exceedingly, for as soon as he was born he died; and
 it was very bitter to me concerning him, *because he was like to die*, and I besought and prayed for
 70, 71 him, and it was in all bitterness. *In the fortieth year of my life she bare*, in the third month. And
 72 again I was with her, and she conceived and bare me a daughter, and I made her name *Jochebed*, xi. 8
 (for) I sai(d), as she hath borne to me honour, she hath borne for me *glory* to Israel. *In the sixty-*
fourth year of my life she bare, in the first day of the seventh month, after that [Col. d.] we entered
 73 Egypt. In the sixte(enth) year we entered the land of Egypt, and to my sons (were given) the
 74 daughters of my brothers at the time . . . to them sons. The names of the sons of *Gershon* (*Libnai* xii. 1, 2
 and) *Shimei*; and the names of *the sons of Ko(hath, Amram and Izhar and Hebron and Uzziel*; xii. 3
 75 (and the names of) *the sons of Merari, Mahli and Mushai*. (And) *Amram* (took) to him as wife xii. 4
 76 *Jochebed my daughter*, while I was yet living in the 9(4)th year of my life. And I called the name
 of Amram, when he was born, Amram, for I said when he was born, this (child) (shall br)ing out the
 77 people from the (land of Egy)pt. Therefore his name was called the exalted people. *On one day* xii. 4
 78 *(were they born he) and Jochebed my daughter. Eighteen years old was I when I went in(to the l)and* xii. 5
of Canaan, and (nine)teen years old when I slew She(chem) and destroyed the workers of violence.
 79 *And I was nineteen years old when I became priest, and twenty-eight years old when I took to me*
 80 *a wife. And eight and forty years old was I when we went into the land of Egypt*, and eighty and
 nine years I lived in Egypt.
 81 [Col. e] And all the days of my life were 1(3)7 years, and I saw my sons of the th(ird generation) xix. 4
 82 before I died. And *in the (hundred and eigh)teenth (year) of my life*, that is, the y(ear) in which xii. 6, 7
Joseph my brother died, I called (my) so(ns) and their sons, and began to charge them with all that
 was in my heart.
 83 And I answered and said to (my) sons :
 (Hear) the word of Levi your father,
 And hearken to the commands of God's beloved;
 84 *I give you a charge, my sons,*
 And I show you the truth, my beloved. xiii. 1
 85 Let the sum of your works be truth,
 And (let) righteousness abide with you for ever. (Ps. cxix.
 86 And the tr(uth) . . . 160)
 And to them the harvest is blessed.
 87 *He that soweth good*, reapeth good ;
And he that soweth evil, his seed returneth upon him. xiii. 6
 88 And now, my sons, a book of instruction in wisdom *teach your sons*,
 And let wisdom be with you an everlasting honour. xiii. 2
 89 *He that learneth wisdom, she is an honour to him*,
 And whoso despiseth wisdom is given over to contempt. xiii. 3
 90 My sons, behold *Joseph my brother*,
Who gave instruction in the writings and discipline of wisdom. xiii. 9
 xiii. 2

¹ This verse is indeed found in the Aramaic, but I have given the translation of the Greek, as the Aramaic is for the most part wanting.

APPENDIX II

- 91 [Col. f] . . . man . . . and increased (?) . . . to every co(untry) and city . . . to him brother . . . was xiii. 3
 in it, *he is (not like) a stranger in it,** and not li(ke to) a stranger (in it),¹ and not like an alien in it ;
 for they all give him honour in it, for all *desire* to learn of his wisdom. xiii. 4
- 92 *His friends are many,*
 And they that salute him are great ones.
- 93 And on a seat of honour they place him,
To hear the words of his wisdom.
- 94 Great wealth of honour is wisdom.
 And a goodly treasure to all that *get* her. xiii. 7
- 95 If there come mighty kings and much people,
 And an host and many horsemen and chariots with them,
And take . . . country and city,
 And spoil all that is in them,
The treasures of wisdom they shall not spoil
 Nor find out her hidden things
 Nor . . .

¹ The form in the Aramaic varies. We have here duplicate renderings of the same Hebrew original.