THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS.

IT is clear from the new Oxford edition of the 'Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament' published last year that Dr Charles still holds the positions with regard to 'the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs' which he took up in his edition of that book in 1908 (English Translation with Notes, T. & T. Black: Greek Text with Critical Apparatus, Clarendon Press).

In the *Journal of Theological Studies* (vol. x p. 135) Prof. Burkitt reviewed Dr Charles's edition, and pointed out some of the weaknesses of his positions. It is time that certain of them were challenged in detail, and particularly :—

(i) Dr Charles's reconstruction of the Greek text on the basis of the α family of MSS;

(ii) his theory of two Hebrew recensions of the Jewish work which he and many other scholars (including Schürer and Bousset) believe to lie behind the present Christian edition of the Testaments ; and

(iii) his analysis of Jewish and Christian elements.

At the same time all students of the Testaments must acknowledge the immense obligation they are under to Dr Charles ; first for gathering together within the compass of a single volume almost all the available material for the reconstruction of the text, and secondly for the mass of information and the many illuminating suggestions contained in his notes.

(i) Dr Charles has shewn that the Greek MSS are to be divided into two families, thus :—
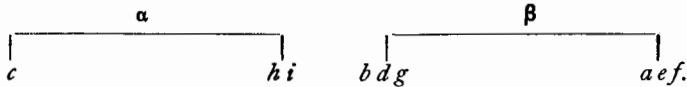
Of the first family *c* is the best representative. It is a MS of the thirteenth century now in the Vatican, and in addition to the Testaments it contains a series of extracts from the Fathers. The present condition of the text is not one to inspire confidence. It is frequently corrupt (e.g. R 1^{10} S 4^3 L 2^{12} 6^1 Iss 7^1 N 1^7 3^1 A 2^3 B 3^5) or careless (S 6^5 L 6^3 Jud 26^3): the spelling is erratic (e.g. R 6^1 S 7^1 L 8^{17} 15^4 B 1^1), and the accents are very incorrectly given. It is guilty of

frequent and considerable omissions (e. g. R 3⁵ S 7¹ L 5⁷ 9¹¹ 10³ 12⁵⁻⁷ 13²
17⁵ᐟ⁶ 18⁴ Jud 21⁷ Iss 1¹⁴).

Occasionally these are supplied by $h\,i$ (e. g. Z 1⁷ᵇ⁻²¹ᵃ). These two
MSS are similar in many ways (e.g. in omission and in spelling) to c, but
are not earlier than the seventeenth century. Their relation to c is well
illustrated by the fact that where in Iss 7⁷ A 7³ Jos 19³ B 3³ 9² c adds
περὶ χ͞υ (i.e. χριστοῦ) in the margin $h\,i$ have transferred the addition to
the text. It must be added that not infrequently these MSS differ from
one another and from c, and sometimes they support β against c.[1]
Dr Charles himself calls attention to the disfigurement of the a text by
omissions, of which he gives examples (Introd. p. xx), and he mentions
'one notable depravation of the text' in Jud 12⁶⁻¹⁰; but he nowhere
shews up the faults of c as he does those of b, the chief representative
of the β family.

The β family falls into two groups. b belongs to the first group
($b\,d\,g$). It dates from the tenth century, and is at present in the Cam-
bridge University Library. It is well written, and its spelling, though
peculiar, is regular. Its faults compared with those of c are remarkably
few.

As for the instances which Dr Charles quotes: in B 4⁵ Jos 7³ L 11⁷
Jos 17⁵ ² Z 8⁶ it is quite possible that b preserves the original reading;
in Jud 16², if b adds ζήσεσθε, the a text adds ἐστέ: and in the remaining
examples A 1⁹ (διαβόλου for διαβουλίου) L 9⁹ (μή [3] for μοι) D 5⁹ (BOΩN
for K̇ ΔΩCEI) D 5¹⁰ (πέρασιν for πατράσιν [4]) the corruption lies on the
surface and is easily corrected.

This is generally the case with the errors in b, e. g. L 4⁴ (υἱοί instead
of υἱοῦ) Gad 2⁵ (om. μή) Jos 6³ (αὐτῆς for αὐτοῦ) Jos 15³ Iss 1¹ Jud
3³ 21⁹.

Almost always these errors may be corrected from some other MS of
the β family, e. g. R 6¹¹ (from f) Jud 7¹ (from $a\,e\,f$) Jud 12¹ (from e).
This is true also of the omissions of b which are comparatively rare and
are generally due to a simple cause like homoioteleuton (R 6⁹ L 18⁹
A 2⁷).

On the other hand b sometimes deserts its family to support a reading
which has every appearance of originality, e.g. D 6² ($b\,g$ A)⁵ N 2⁸ ($b\,d$ A)
L 6⁷ ($b\,c$): while there are cases in which b stands practically alone in

[1] For examples see Dr Charles's Introduction p. xx.
[2] Cf. the addition in Jud 5² (καὶ νότου) which Dr Charles accepts as original
though found in b alone.
[3] Cf. c's addition of μή in L 6³.
[4] Which needs no emendation. The context does not require 'enemies'. Cf.
τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἁγίων in the parallel clause.
[5] A being the Armenian version for which see below.

preserving the original text,[1] e. g. S 6⁵ (*b d*) L 12² (Ἀμβράμ) Jud 24³ (πορεύσεσθε).

In the Testament of Zebulon *b* contains several passages, notably 6⁴⁻⁶ 7¹⁻8³, which are found in no other authorities except *d g*.[2]

d g, the other members of this group, are considerably later than *b* (*d* thirteenth century, *g* sixteenth century) and much inferior to it; the former being characterized by many conflate readings, the latter being disfigured by inaccuracies of various kinds.

It is clear, therefore, that *b* is by far the most important representative of this group of the β family.

Of the other group *a* is a fourteenth-century MS now at Oxford marked by a large number of omissions: *e* and *f* are well-written MSS of the tenth century; the former is now at Mount Athos and contains three remarkable additions to the text[3]; the latter is at Paris and adds to the title of each Testament the meaning of the patriarch's name, and at the end of each the number of years of the patriarch's life.

There is nothing distinctive about these two MSS. They are guilty of small omissions[4] and additions,[5] of curious peculiarities[6] and spelling mistakes.[7] *e* occasionally preserves a noteworthy reading (e.g. L 16⁵ (*e¹*) and Jud 12¹); *f* is closely allied to *a*, while *e* is not infrequently found in the company of *b d g* (e.g. Iss 3⁶ L 8¹⁷ G 7¹).

In addition to the Greek MSS we have an important Armenian version,[8] the value of which is evident from the following consideration: all the Greek MSS are descended from an original which had lost[9] three verses in the middle of the account of Joseph's vision (Jos 19⁵⁻⁷) and these are preserved in the Armenian alone.

In this instance, therefore, the Armenian proves itself to be earlier than the archetype of the Greek MSS.

Another striking example of superiority on the part of the Armenian is

[1] In cases like L 8¹ Jud 5² 23⁵ there is much to be said in favour of *b*'s peculiar reading, though it is very difficult to come to a final decision.

[2] On the whole, perhaps, it is safest to regard them as late additions (cf. B 11²⁻⁵); on the other hand *a* A *may* have left them out because the charity they commend is bizarre and undiscriminating.

[3] L 2³ (prayer of Jacob) L 18² (fragment of a Greek Testament of Levi) A7² (Christian homily).

[4] e.g. *e*, R 4³; *f*, L 9¹³ Jud 19².

[5] e.g. *e*, R 4⁹ L 18¹³; *f*, Jud 14⁴.

[6] e. g. *e*, L 14⁶ (μυχαλλίδαις) Jud 2⁴ (δένδρον); *f*, R 3³ 5³ (πονηρίας) Jud 11³ (ἄνδρα); *e f*, Jud 20³ 23³.

[7] *e*, R 1⁶; *f*, Jud 21⁹ 25¹.

[8] No Old Latin or Syriac version has been discovered. There is a Sclavonic version, but its value, as we should expect, is small.

[9] There are other traces of primitive errors in the archetype of the Greek MSS, e. g. N 2⁷ G 7³ B 12³ (ἐξόδου).

found in B 10^{10} where the misreading of the Greek MSS is evidently due to the influence of Num 25.

The Armenian version itself exists in two recensions, A^a and A$^\beta$, as Dr Charles has shewn. The relation between them will have to be considered later on, but first it will be necessary to examine the differences between the two families of Greek MSS, a and β.

They may be classified as follows :—

(1) Verbal differences.
(2) Omissions.
(3) Additions.
(4) Differences in order.

1. To illustrate the verbal differences between the two families it will be sufficient to give a list of the principal variants in the Testaments of Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Zebulon, and Gad.[1] In cases where the Armenian evidence is available I have indicated which of the two families it supports :—

Reuben β a

	β	a
1^{10}	ἐγευσάμην (+ h)	ἔφαγον + A
3^6	ποιήσῃ + A	ἐμπλήσει
3^{10}	πρᾶξιν + A	ὄψιν
3^{14}	ἰδών	θεασάμενος[2]
4^3	ἁμαρτίας	ἀσεβείας
4^6	ὄλεθρος + A	βόθρος
4^7	γέλωτα + A	πρόσκομμα
4^8	κυρίου + A	θεοῦ
4^{10}	ὁρατοῦ καὶ + A	πονηροῦ
4^{11}	κατισχύσει + A	δύναται κατισχῦσαι
5^2	δυνάμεως + A	σχήματος
	καταγωνίσασθαι + A	καταγοητεύσασθαι
5$^{4\,3}$	ἄνθρωπον βιάσασθαι	ἄνδρα βιάσαι
6^1	πάσης θηλείας[4] (+ h)	γυναικῶν
6^5	δυνήσασθε	ἰσχύσετε
6^7	Δὰν + h A	Γάδ (c)
6^8	κυρίου + A	θεοῦ
6^9	ποιῆσαι[5] (+ h)	λαλεῖν (c)

Simeon

	β	a
1^1	ἔτει + A	χρόνῳ
2^{10}	διασῶσαι (+ h A^a [6])	ἀπαγαγεῖν + A$^\beta$

[1] Minor variations (e. g. between δὲ οὖν and καί, personal pronouns, the sing. and the plur. verbal forms) and slight omissions are for the present neglected.

[2] I omit 4^1 which seems to be a case of omission on the part of c and of corruption (at least to the extent of the omission of μή) on the part of β.

[3] Cf. 5^6. a has an addition here not found in A.

[4] πασῶν γυναικῶν A.   [5] 'Walk' A.

[6] A^a is conflate, διασῶσαι καὶ ἀπαγαγεῖν.

Simeon	β		a
3^6	οὐ καταγινώσκει $b\,d\,g$ + A		συγγινώσκει + $a\,e\,f$
4^5	ψυχῆς		καρδίας
6^1	προείρηκα		εἴρηκα + A
6^2	σκληροτραχηλίαν + $A\beta$ [1]		σκληροκαρδίαν
6^5	Σήμ $b\,d$ + A^2		σημεῖον + $a\,e\,f$
8^3	ταμείοις + A		μνήμασι

Levi

	β		a
1^2	ὤφθη		ἀπεκαλύφθη
2^1	συνελήφθην καὶ [3] ἐτέχθην + $A\beta$		ἐγεννήθην + A^a
2^3	ὅτι τείχη ᾠκοδόμησεν ἑαυτῇ ἡ ἀδικία καὶ ἐπὶ πύργους ἡ ἀνομία κάθηται + $A\beta$ [1]		ἐπὶ τείχους οἰκοδομεῖτο ἡ ἁμαρτία καὶ ἐπὶ πύργους ἡ ἀδικία ἐκάθητο
4^1	ἀπιστοῦντες + $A\beta$ [1]		ἀπειθοῦντες
5^1	ναὸν τὸν ἅγιον καὶ ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης τὸν ὕψιστον + A		ἅγιον ὕψιστον ἐπὶ θρόνου καθήμενον
5^4	οὐρανῶν [4] + $A\beta$ [1]		πατέρων
5^6	παραιτούμενος [5]		παρεπόμενος
6^3	ἐν Ἰσραήλ + $A\beta$		ἐπὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ μου + A^a
6^5	ῥομφαίας b [6]		μαχαίρας + $β–b$
6^6	ἄλλως ἐποίησεν + A		παρεῖδεν ἡμῖν
6^{10}	γυναῖκας αὐτῶν $b\,d\,e\,g$ A		τὰς ξένας + $a\,f$
8^2	τοῦ σημείου $b\,d\,e\,g$ A^{a7}		τῆς κεφαλῆς
8^{15}	ἄφραστος $b\,d\,e\,g$ A		ἀγαπητή $c\,a\,f$
8^{17}	ἀρχιερεῖς $b\,d\,e\,g$ A		ἱερεῖς + $a\,f$
	φυλαχθήσεται $b\,d\,e\,g$ A		ληφθήσεται + $a\,f$
10^3	ἔνδυμα + A		καταπέτασμα
13^5	εὕρητε + $A\beta$ [1]		ὑγιασμένοι ἦτε [8]
13^7	ὅτι + A		ἵνα
13^9	ταῦτα + A		καλά
14^8	ἐν καταφρονήσει γελοιάζοντες + $A\beta$ [1]		χλευάζοντες καὶ γελοιάζοντες
15^3	οἱ θεωροῦντες ὑμᾶς $b\,d\,g$ $A\beta$ [1]		οἱ μισοῦντες ὑμᾶς + $a\,e\,f$
	φεύξονται ἀφ᾽ ὑμῶν + $A\beta$ [1]		χαρήσονται ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ
16^1	τὰς θυσίας + $A\beta$ [1]		τὰ θυσιαστήρια
16^3	ὡς νομίζετε ἀποκτενεῖτε + $A\beta$ [1]		ὁρμήσετε τοῦ ἀποκτεῖναι
17^{11}	μάχιμοι + $A\beta$ [1]		μοιχοί
18^{14}	εὐφροσύνην $b\,e\,g$ $A\beta$ [1]		δικαιοσύνην + $a\,f$

Zebulon

	β		a
1^5	ἐσκέπασα $b\,g$ A		ἐβεβαίωσα + $a\,e\,f$
1^7	πολλὰ **διεμαρτυράμην** αὐτοῖς μετὰ δακρύων + A [9]		ἐγὼ μετὰ δακρύων **προσεκάλουν** αὐτούς

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[1] A^a is defective.

[2] A^a reads Σήθ which is a mere corruption of $A\beta$ (Σήμ).

[3] Cf. L 11^8.   [4] Cf. A 2^{10}.   [5] 'guard' A.

[6] ῥομφαία is found in all the authorities in L 5^3 18^{10}.

[7] τοῦ στηθίου $a\,f$. $A\beta$ is defective.   [8] h apparently is a corruption of this.

[9] *om.* μετὰ δακρύων A.

Zebulon	β		*a*
2^4	εἰς οἶκτον ἦλθον ἐγὼ καὶ + A [1]		μὴ φέρων ἐγὼ τῶν οἰμωγῶν
2^5	ἐξέστησαν		ἔτρεμον
2^8	τοῦ ἀναβῆναι ὕδωρ		τοῦ μὴ ἀναβλῦσαι ὕδωρ h i [2]A
3^4	νόμου Ἐνὼχ [3]		νόμου Μωυσέως
3^6	ἔμπροσθεν		ἔξωθεν
3^7	ἔμπροσθεν + A		παρὰ c [4]
4^9	ἐμβάψωμεν + A		μολύνωμεν [5]
4^{11}	θέλων		ἐβούλετο
4^{12}	ἐροῦμεν + A		εἴπωμεν
5^{16}	ἀναγγελῶ		παραγγέλλω c A [7]
9^1	ἄμμον + A		καὶ ἕτερά τινα
9^4	σχισθῆτε		χωρισθῆτε
	ἔχει		κέκτηται
10^2	ὅσοι ἐφύλαξαν [8]		οἵτινες φυλάξουσιν

Gad			
1^3	πιάζων [9] + A		φθάνων ἐκράτουν
	γυρεύων [9] ἐσκότουν καὶ ἀκόντιζον [9] αὐτὸ ἐπὶ δύο σταδίους + A		ἠκόντισα αὐτὸ ὡσεὶ λίθου βολήν
1^4	τρυφερὸς ὢν + A		ὑπάρχων νέος
2^2	ἀπὸ [10] τῆς γῆς + A		τοῦ πεδίου
3^2	βδελύσσεται		βδελυκτόν ἐστιν
4^3	εὐθὺς θέλει + A		σπουδάζει εὐθύς
4^4	ἐπιχειρεῖ b A		ἐπιχαίρει + β–b
5^3	τὸ μῖσος a b e A		τὸ ζῆλος
	τὸ διαβούλιον + A		τὴν ψυχὴν
5^4	νικᾷ τὸ μῖσος + A		οἰκεῖ ἐν αὐτῷ
5^9	διαφώνησεν		ἐξέλειπε [11]
5^{11}	μῆνας ἔνδεκα + A		χρόνους δέκα
6^1	ἀδελφόν b d g A		πλησίον + a e f
6^2	τὴν ψυχήν μου + A		μου τὸν λογισμὸν
6^6	μὴ ἐξάξῃς [12]		μὴ ἐλέγξῃς
$7^{1\,13}$	τελείως εὐοδοῦται b d e g A		τελειωθῇ + f
7^6	καὶ ἄφθονος ἐπὶ πᾶσι κυρίῳ + A		ἐὰν ἀφθόνως ἐπὶ πᾶσι κυρίῳ εὐαρεστῇ
	πονηρὸν περισπασμὸν [14] τῶν ἀνθρώπων + A		περισπασμὸν τῶν ματαίων ἀνθρώπων
8^2	ἐνώπιον + A		ἀπὸ

[1] 'Compassion fell into my heart' A.   [2] c is defective.

[3] 'their law' A.   [4] ὑπὸ h.

[5] So LXX Gen 37^{31} as Dr Charles points out.

[6] We omit 8^6 which is a case of omission + addition on the part of a A or b g. We have already called attention to the peculiarity of b d g in the T. of Zebulon.

[7] παραγγελῶ h i.   [8] ὅσοι ἐφυλάξατε A.

[9] This is the reading of b. β–b, A read πιάσας, &c.

[10] ἐπὶ e f g.   [11] 'would have been removed' A.

[12] 'do not oppose' A.

[13] We omit 7^3 where all the Greek MSS seem to be corrupt.

[14] Cf. Eccles 1^{13} 5^{13} LXX περισπασμὸν πονηρόν.

From this list of variants it is clear :

(i) That the support of A is practically always on the side of the β and against the a text.

R 1^{10} S 2^{10} 6^1 Z 2^8 5^1 are the only cases in the above list in which A supports a against β, and they can be easily accounted for as loose renderings or slight emendations of the β text on the part of the Armenian translator which happen to coincide with the readings of the a text. It appears also that the $b\,d\,g$ group is closer to A than the $a\,ef$ group which sometimes supports a against $b\,d\,g$ A.

Thus the evidence of the Armenian version strongly suggests that b should be chosen as the basis for the reconstruction of the text.

(ii) The differences between the a and β texts are such as to point to the conclusion that one family represents the result of a free handling of the text of the other.

They may be classified as follows :—

(i) Differences due to corruptions in a Greek text, e. g. S 6^5 G 4^4. It will be noticed that in both these cases it is the a text which is secondary.

(ii) Alterations of style, e. g.

(a) The substitution of a colourless or conventional word for a more striking or unusual one, e. g. R 1^{10} 4^{10} 6^1 6^9 S 8^3 L 2^1 6^6 8^2 8^{15} 18^{14} Z 1^7 2^5 G 5^9. Here again it is the β text which appears to be original.

(b) An attempt to improve the sense which sometimes succeeds (e. g. R 3^{14} L 1^2 G 2^2), is sometimes quite unnecessary (e. g. L 13^9), and sometimes fails (e. g. R 4^7 5^2 S 1^1 G 5^{11}).

Here the evidence is not very decisive, but such as it is it supports the originality of the β text.

(c) The cultivation of a somewhat florid style on the part of the originator of the a text, e. g. R 3^6 4^{11} Z 9^4 G 1^4. The idiomatic use of ὑπάρχων in the last passage is confined to the a text. It occurs again S 4^4 L 11^1 Iss 7^1 N 1^9 Jos. 10^5 11^3 ; and in all these cases β simply uses εἰμί.[1]

(iii) The alteration of a statement in order to bring the story into accordance with the writer's views : e. g. in R 6^7 c considers that Gad is a more suitable person than Dan to share with Levi, Judah, and Joseph the divine gift of sovereignty ; in Z 3^4 a alters νόμου Ἐνώχ into νόμου Μωυσέως : in G 1^3 a avoids the exaggeration of β's description of Gad's prowess : in L 10^3 a is influenced by Mt 27^{51} and in Z 4^9 by Gen 37^{31} :[2] in G 1^4 a feels that τρυφερός is an ambiguous word to apply to Joseph and changes it to νέος.

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[1] For other instances of stylistic ambition on the part of a see notes on Jud 3^1 3^6 below.

[2] Similarly in A 4^4 c is influenced by Ps 34^{12} LXX.

(iv) The correction of the teaching of a passage, e. g. in L 16^3 the expression ὡς νομίζετε, is avoided by a as savouring of Docetism. As another example we may quote the readings of c in R 5^4 6^1 which suggest that the omission of σύζυγον ἢν αὐτὸς θέλει in R 4^1 is due to the scribe's prejudice in favour of celibacy.

(v) Of many differences little more can be said than that they bear witness to a rather arbitrary handling of one text on the part of the originator of the other, e. g. R 3^{10} 4^3 4^8 S 4^5 6^2 L 2^3 5^1 6^3 15^3 18^{14} Z 2^8 9^1 9^4 G 7^1.

2. Omissions are next to be considered. While the MSS of the β text are guilty of a few omissions, generally through homoioteleuton,[a] and practically always to be corrected by means of one of the other MSS of the same family, omissions are a leading characteristic of the a text.

They occur on every page and vary from the omission of a few words (e.g. R 3^5 S 7^1 8^2 L 5^7 10^3 16^1 Z 5^5) to the omission of several verses (e.g. L 12^{5-7} Jud 12^{6-10}).

Most of these omissions appear to be dictated by a desire to shorten the text by leaving out uninteresting details, and to remove passages open to objection or misconstruction.

3. With regard to additions : those of a are fairly frequent but trivial, and for the most part easily recognized as attempts at improvement : e. g. L 6^8 G 5^1 5^8 7^6 Z 4^9 S 2^6 R 5^4 Z 3^2. Such additions scarcely ever have the support of A.

The case of β is more complicated. It is not only a longer text than a ; it is also longer than the text of the Armenian. It is important for us to notice that a and A do not commonly agree in their omissions. The following is a list of omissions in the Testaments of Issachar and Asher, β being taken as the standard :—

Issachar.

Omissions occur in :

om. A	om. a	om. A	om. a
1^2		3^2	2^5
1^5	$1^7 + efg$	d $3^{3,4}$	d 3^1
1^8	1^9	d 3^5	d 3^4
b 1^{11}	b 1^{11}	e $3^{6,7,8}$	e 3^6
1^{13}	1^{14}	4^1	
c 2^4	c 2^4	f $4^{2,3}$	f $4^2 + af$

[a] e. g. R 6^9 L 18^9.
[b] These omissions have only καὶ ὁ δόλος in common.
[c] These omissions have nothing in common.
[d] These omissions (very considerable on the part of A) have 4 words in common.
[e] ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, 2 ,, ,, ,,
[f] ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, 4 ,, ,, ,,
In the case of a af the omission seems due to homoioteleuton.

Issachar.

Omissions occur in :

om. A	om. a	om. A	om. a
4^4		c 7^1	c 7^1
a 4^5	a 4^5	$7^{2,3,4}$	
b $5^{1,2}$	b 5^1	d 7^5	d 7^5
5^4		e 7^6	e 7^6
5^5		7^7	
$5^{6,7}$		f 7^8	f 7^8
$6^{1,2}$			7^9

Asher.

Omissions occur in :

om. A	om. a	om. A	om. a
1^3	1^9	4^5	8^2
1^8	2^2	5^1	
2^7		5^3	
4^3	5^4	6^6	
4^4	7^5		

It will be observed that in the Testament of Asher the omissions of α and A are quite independent of one another : in the Testament of Issachar A's omissions are so numerous and large that they naturally overlap to some extent the much smaller omissions of α.[1]

Of all the α-omissions the only ones which convict β of an addition are Iss 1^{11} (καὶ ὁ δόλος, which may well have come from the preceding clause) and Iss 7^1 (εἰς θάνατον).[2]

With these we may compare L 8^{12} (πιστεύσας β A : om. α) ; but instances of this kind are rare.

Thus *as compared with* α even in the matter of additions β proves to be the superior text.

I have already mentioned the three long interpolations in *e*, and the doubtful passages in the Testament of Zebulon which are found only in *b d g*. We must not overlook the verses about St Paul in B 11^{2-5}, which are peculiar to the β text and may well be an interpolation later than the time when the α text originated. On the other hand, it is quite possible that α deliberately changed the reference of the passage from St Paul[3] to our Lord by means of a large omission and

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[a] These omissions have 2 words in common.
[b] ,,   ,,   ,, 3 ,,   ,,   ,,
[c] ,,   ,,   ,, 2 ,,   ,,   ,,
[d] ,,   ,,   ,, 6 ,,   ,,   ,,
[e] ,,   ,,   ,, 4 ,,   ,,   ,,
[f] ,,   ,,   ,, 3 ,,   ,,   ,,

[1] We shall return later to the omissions of A. See below.

[2] β apparently inserts εἰς θάνατον again in Jos 11^3 against the other authorities.

[3] The comparison between St Paul and the wolf of Gen 49^{27} (LXX), not on the ground of his ' persecuting the church ' (Tertullian *Adv. Marcionem I* vol. ii p. 275

a small and conventional addition. In the following chapter (12) α seems to be handling the text of β very freely—shortening the ending of the Testament and turning it into the conventional form.[1]

4. Differences between the two groups in the order of words in a sentence are common. The following is a list for the Testament of Joseph :

$2^7\ 3^4\ 4^2\ 5^2\ 6^3\ 7^2\ 7^3\ 7^4\ 9^2\ 9^5\ 10^6\ 11^4\ 11^7\ 14^3\ 14^4\ 15^1\ 15^2\ 15^6\ 16^4\ 17^7\ 19^1\ 19^{11}$.

A curious little preference on the part of α may be noticed here, viz. of μῆνας ἑπτὰ to ἑπτὰ μῆνας R 1^8, and similarly S 8^1 L 19^4 G 8^5 Jos 15^1 B 12^2.

The facts we have been considering lead irresistibly to the conclusion that α is little more than a late and free recension of the β text, and that the best representative of the β text is b.

We will now test this result by examining a few consecutive chapters of the Testament of Judah in the light of it. Let us take the text of b, giving the variants of c in full, together with the evidence of A, and quoting the other MSS when their testimony seems desirable.

Judah

1 I. Ἀντίγραφον λόγων Ἰούδα, ὅσα ἐλάλησε τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ, πρὸ τοῦ
2 ἀποθανεῖν αὐτόν. Συναχθέντες ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς·
3 τέταρτος υἱὸς ἐγενόμην τῷ πατρί μου, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ μου ὠνόμασέ με
Ἰούδα, λέγουσα· Ἀνθομολογοῦμαι τῷ Κυρίῳ ὅτι ἔδωκέ μοι καὶ τέταρτον

I. 1. αντιγραφον] + διαθήκης *d* A   οσα] *ā* a   2. συναχθεντες *b* A] + ουν *a*
προς αυτον *β* A] om. *c*   3. τεταρτος *β* A] pr. Ἀκούσατε, τέκνα μου, Ἰούδα τοῦ
πατρὸς ὑμῶν· ἐγὼ *a*   εγενομην] + ἐγὼ *a f g* A   μου *β* A] + Ἰακώβ *a*   η *b*] pr.
λεία *a β* A   ωνομασε *β*] ἐπονόμασέν *a*   Ιουδα *h b dg*] Ἰούδαν *c a e f*

I. 1. The difference of grammatical taste between α (ἅ) and β (ὅσα) is to be noticed, and similarly at the beginning of the next verse (2) where α has οὖν which *b* A om. In the same verse *c* against all the other authorities omits πρός αὐτόν.

3. The clause added by α is not found in β A. To come to a decision we must examine the opening words of all the Testaments.

Similar words to these are found in R 1^6 S 2^1 Iss 1^1 Z 1^2 D 1^2 N 1^5 A 1^2 Jos 1^2. They are absent from L 2^1; in B 1^2 they are added only by *d*; in G 1^2 α reads Ἀκούσατε τέκνα μου (om. β A).

It seems therefore that here and in Gad 1^2 α makes an effort (as *d* does in B 1^2) to make the introduction to the Testament uniform with that which he regards as the norm, viz. (as a minimum) ἀκούσατε τέκνα μου.

α has both names ; *b* omits both. The remaining MSS of the β family, supported by A, have the name of the mother only. The evidence therefore is indecisive, but rather points to the reading of β(–*b*) A. Cf. S 2^2.

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ed. Oehler), but because of his ' bursting in upon Israel, for salvation and tearing away from them like a wolf and giving to the synagogue of the Gentiles' is very striking.

[1] Cf. α's bold substitution of a conventional ending for the striking verse of β (Jos 20^6).

4 υἱόν. Ὀξὺς ἤμην καὶ σπουδαῖος ἐν νεότητί μου, καὶ ὑπακούων τῷ πατρι
5 μου κατὰ πάντα λόγον. Καὶ εὐλόγουν τὴν μητέρα μου καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν
6 τῆς μητρός μου. Καὶ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἠνδρώθην, καὶ ὁ πατήρ μου Ἰακὼβ
ηὔξατό μοι λέγων· Βασιλεὺς ἔσῃ καὶ εὐοδούμενος ἐν πᾶσιν.

1   II. Καὶ ἔδωκέ μοι Κύριος χάριν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις μου ἔν τε ἀγρῷ καὶ
2 ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ· Ὡς εἶδον ὅτι συνέδραμον τῇ ἐλάφῳ, καὶ πιάσας αὐτὴν ἐποίησα
3 βρῶμα τῷ πατρί μου. Τὰς δορκάδας ἐκράτουν διὰ τοῦ δρόμου, καὶ πᾶν
ὃ ἦν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις κατελάμβανον. Φοράδα ἀγρίαν κατέλαβον, καὶ
4 πιάσας ἡμέρωσα. Καὶ λέοντα ἀπέκτεινα καὶ ἀφελόμην ἔριφον ἐκ τοῦ
στόματος αὐτοῦ. Ἄρκον λαβὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποδός, ἀπεκύλησα εἰς κρημνόν·

4. οξὺς β] pr. ἐγὼ a A   και σπουδαιος β A] om. a   υπακουων a b f] ὑπήκουον c d e g
5. ευλογουν b] ἐτίμουν a: ἐτίμων β–b   6. ηνδρωθην b A] ἠδρύνθην c a g   Ιακωβ
β A] om. a   και ευοδουμενος b] κατευοδούμενος a β–b A

II. 2. ως ειδον b] οἶδα a β–b A   τη] om. c   πιασας αυτην β] ἐπίασα αὐτὴν καὶ a
εποιησα] + αὐτὴν c   μου] + καὶ ἔφαγεν a   3. τ. δορκαδας] τὴν δὲ δορκάδα c   διὰ
τοῦ δρόμου ἐκράτουν a   φοραδα . . . ημερωσα β] om. a   φοράδας A   κατέλαβον
om. a A   + δορκάδα (wild beasts A) ἐκύνηγον ἐν τῇ χειρί μου e A   4. και β] τὸν a :
καὶ τὸν A   λεοντα + often A   αρκον β] pr. τὴν a : pr. καὶ τὸν A   απεκυλησα
b d e f] ἀπέλυσα a a : ἀπηκόντισα g A   τὸν κρυμνόν c + καὶ συνετρίβη a

3. Where β has ὠνόμασεν a has a compound word ἐπωνόμασεν (which the MSS spell
ἐπονόμασεν). There are many instances of a's preference (as compared with β) for
compound words, e.g.: Jud 5⁵ and N 5⁷ (κατελάβομεν a for καὶ ἐλάβομεν β)
Jud 6⁵ 7⁸ Jos 5⁴ 6⁴ 6⁵ 8⁴ 9² 11² 13³ B 1². b especially favours the simple form
Jud 1⁶ 3¹⁰ Jos 18⁸. On the other hand there are cases where a has the simple
and β the compound word, e.g. A 1⁹ N 5³ Z 2³ Jos 17¹. Ἰούδα for Ἰούδαν is a slip
on the part of h b d g. b is occasionally guilty of slips of this kind, e. g. L 4⁴ υἱοί for
υἱοῦ (and sim. Iss 2¹).

4. An unnecessary ἐγώ is not infrequent in a (e. g. D 1³). In such a case the
support of A counts for little. a omits καὶ σπουδαῖος. It is probably original or else
the emphasis laid upon Judah's swiftness would appear to be excessive. Swiftness
is the peculiar characteristic of Naphtali (N 2¹). Judah figures rather as the all-
round athlete. Another slight difference in style is seen in the change of the
participle (a b f) into the finite verb (c d e g).

5. For ἐτίμων b has the strange εὐλόγουν. The reading is probably to be classed
among the peculiarities of this MS. It may be due to the influence of ἀνθομο-
λογοῦμαι in verse 3.

6. a omits Ἰακώβ against β A.

II. 2. ὡς εἶδον for οἶδα is another of b's peculiar readings and probably needs
correction.

3. a shortens the account and again in the next verse.

4. The article is distinctly more frequent in a than in β. In the Testament of
Joseph I have counted 15 cases where a has the article against β, and only 4 cases
where β has the article as against a.

ἀπεκύλησα is the best supported reading. The author may have been using it in
much the same sense as ἀπηκόντισα, which may represent a correction (due to 2⁶):
while ἀπέλυσα looks like the substitution of a more familiar word.

5 καὶ πᾶν θηρίον, εἰ ἐπέστρεφε πρός με διήσπουν αὐτὸ ὡς κύνα. Τῷ χοίρῳ
τῷ ἀγρίῳ συνέδραμον, καὶ προλαβὼν ἐν τῷ τρέχειν με, κατεσπάραξα
6 αὐτόν. Πάρδαλις ἐν Χεβρὼν προσεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὸν κύνα· καὶ πιάσας
αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς οὐρᾶς, ἀπεκόντισα αὐτὴν καὶ ἐρράγη ἐν τοῖς ὁρίοις Γάζης.
7 Βοῦν ἄγριον χώρα νεμόμενον ἐκράτησα ἐκ τῶν κεράτων καὶ ἐν κύκλῳ
συσσείσας καὶ σκοτίσας ῥίψας ἀνεῖλον αὐτόν.

1   III. Καὶ ὅτε ἦλθον οἱ δύο βασιλεῖς τῶν Χαναναίων τεθωρακισμένοι
ἐπὶ τὰ ποίμνια καὶ πολὺς λαὸς μετ' αὐτῶν, κἀγὼ μόνος δραμὼν ἐπὶ τὸν
βασιλέα Σούρ, συνέσχον αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κνημῖδας κρούσας κατέσπασα
2 καὶ οὕτως ἀνεῖλον αὐτόν. Καὶ τὸν ἕτερον βασιλέα Ταφουὲ καθήμενον ἐπὶ
3 τοῦ ἵππου, ἀνεῖλον αὐτὸν καὶ οὕτως πάντα τὸν λαὸν διεσκόρπισα. Τὸν

4. καὶ ... κύνα] om. a.   5. τον αγριοχοιρα c   συνεδραμον β] κατέδραμον a a
προελαβα c   με] + καὶ a   αυτον a β] its bones A   6. παρδαλις] + another time A
αυτην 1⁰ and 2⁰] αὐτὸν a   ουρας] κέρκου a a f   ἀπηκόντισα a   καὶ ερραγη (was
found broken A) ... Γαζης] ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν καὶ ἐρράγη εἰς δύο a   7. χωρα (mountain
A) ... εκρατησα β A] εὗρον τὴν χώραν νεμόμενον, καὶ κρατήσας a   καὶ] om. c   εν]
om. a   συσσεισας] συστήσας c

III. 1. και οτε] ὅτε δὲ a   the king of the C. A   ποίμνια ἡμῶν καὶ λαὸς πολὺς a
Σουρ b f g A] Ἀσούρ a e : τὸν ἔνα a   συνεσχον αυτον β A] om. a   κρούσας αὐτὸν
ἐπὶ τὰς κνημῖδας a   2. και τον] τὸν δὲ a   τὸν Ταφουὲ a   αυτον] om a   λαον]
+ αὐτῶν c a f g Aβ + αὐτοῦ h d e Aa   3. τον] pr. καὶ a A

5. κατέδραμον seems to be an attempt at an improvement of συνέδραμον.

6. An excellent example of a slight variation with little apparent reason between
the a and β texts is to be seen in the readings κέρκου a a f and οὐρᾶς β (the two
words occur about equally in the LXX : κέρκος is the more common in the later
versions Aq. Th. Sm.).

Cf. 7⁵ ὠργίσθην a a f : ἐθυμώθην b d e g (the latter less common in the Testaments) :
7⁸ ὑποφόρους a (a word found in β in 9⁷ where it is omitted by a) : ὑποσπόνδους
β A.

a leaves out Γάζα which has every appearance of originality and completes the
local touch introduced by Χεβρών. Perhaps the scribe was aware of the distance
between the two places and disliked the exaggeration of the description. This,
however, is not at all excessive when compared with some of the later rabbinical
tales. a's free paraphrase in this case prepares us for his rearrangement of the
first clause of the following verse.

III. 1. A apparently thinks it more natural to have one king of the Canaanites
than two (and see below). a has δέ while all the other authorities have καί. The
a text has a conspicuous fondness for the particle δέ. I have counted 26 cases in
the Testament of Joseph where the a text has δέ when it is absent from the β text,
and in the same chapters I have found only 3 instances of the presence of δέ in the
β text when it is absent from the a. The a text makes a more serious omission in
this verse owing to lack of interest in the narrative, viz. the omission of the name
Ἀσούρ and the graphic expression συνέσχον αὐτόν. The name Ἀσούρ (חצור the
name of the place referred to in 1 Macc 11⁶⁷) is preserved correctly by a e. In
b f g the a has dropped out through the presence of a at the end of the preceding
word, and they read Σούρ, A following them.

Ἀχὼρ βασιλέα ἄνδρα γιγάντων βάλλοντα τόξα ἔμπροσθε καὶ ὄπισθεν
ἐφ' ἵππου, ἀνελόμενος, λίθον λιτρῶν ξ' ἀκοντίσας ἔδωκα τῷ ἵππῳ καὶ
4 ἀπέκτεινα αὐτόν. Καὶ πολεμήσας τὸν Ἀχὼρ ἐπὶ ὥρας δύο, ἀπέκτεινα
αὐτόν, καὶ εἰς δύο μερίδας ποιήσας τὴν ἀσπίδα αὐτοῦ, συνέκοψα τοὺς
5 πόδας αὐτόν. Ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐκδύειν με αὐτοῦ τὸν θώρακα, ἰδού, ὀκτὼ ἄνδρες
6 ἑταῖροι αὐτοῦ ἤρξαντο πολεμεῖν πρός με. Ἐνειλίσας οὖν τὴν στολήν μου ἐν
τῇ χειρί μου, λίθοις σφενδωνίσας αὐτοὺς τέσσαρας ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνεῖλον· οἱ δὲ
7 ἄλλοι ἔφυγον. Καὶ Ἰακὼβ ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν ἀνεῖλε τὸν Βεελισᾶ, βασιλέα

3. Αχωρ βασιλεα] βασιλέα χωρὰ (Ὀχοσορά Αβ) Α   γιγαντων b] γίγαντα α β
βαλλοντα] pr. εὗρον α : having round his loins A   εμπροσθε και οπισθεν (+ sitting
A) εφ' ιππου] om. α   ανελομενος] ἀνηλάμενος c   ἑξήκοντα λιτρῶν c   εδωκα
b d e] δέδωκα α a f g : struck A   αυτον] + σὺν τῷ ἵππῳ α   4. om. α   Αχωρ]
βασιλέα Ναχὼρ Α   about two hours A   απεκτεινα αυτον] om. A   δυο] om. A
μέρη β   αυτον] + and so I slew him A   5. εκδυειν] putting on A   τὸν
θώρακα αὐτοῦ α   ἄνδρες ὀκτὼ α a d : there appeared seven men A   εταιροι α b A]
ἕτεροι α β   αυτου] ἑαυτοῦ c   προς] om. α   6. ἐνειλήσας α a d g   ουν] δὲ
ἐγὼ α : ἐγὼ Α   εν τη χειρι] ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρά α   λιθοις] pr. καὶ α Α   σφενδονήσας
αὐτοῖς λίθοις c   αλλοι] λοιποὶ   α7. ὁ δὲ πατήρ μου Ἰακὼβ α   ημων] μου e Αβ
βεελισα b] Βελισάθ α a f : Βελιασάθ Α

3. A does not understand that Ἀχώρ is the name of the king and writes βασιλέα
χωρά. Dr Charles suggests that Ἀχώρ = אָחוּר, a corruption of אַחֵר ἕτερος. But in
the LXX Ἀχώρ stands for אָכוֹר. Achor is a third king, the fight with whom is
recorded in addition to the account of the battle with the two kings of the
Canaanites.

γιγάντων is an instance of the necessity for making small corrections in b. Cf. 5⁴
(λαθραῖοι for λάθρα).

The εὗρον of α is an attempt to make the sentence grammatical, whereas
ἀνελόμενος is intended as the verb (cf. ἀνεῖλον).

α shortens the account and omits verse 4, probably through lack of interest in
the narrative.

4. The sentence is clumsily arranged in the β text. The order seems to imply
that the cutting off of the feet took place after the death of the king. This, how-
ever, is not what the writer means, as A perceives.

5. There is a curious discrepancy in numbers between the various authorities.
ὀκτώ has the strongest support (b e f a a d). A replaces this by the symbolical
number ἑπτά. A^{efg} have ἐννέα which would have attracted no attention but for
its agreement with the number given in the similar story of Judah's exploits which
is found in two mediaeval collections of rabbinical legends (Midr. Wajjis. and Book
of Jashar). This coincidence, however, interesting as it is, cannot be allowed to
override the decisive MS evidence as to the true reading in this passage.

ἕτεροι is an easy corruption of ἑταῖροι.

6. The δὲ ἐγώ is a rather typical attempt at emphasis on the part of α (cf. 4² below,
also Jos 4⁶ D 1³ A 5⁴ 7² 7⁵). σφενδονήσας αὐτοῖς λίθους, which is apparently the
reading intended by α, gives the verb the same form and usage as in the LXX.

λίθοις σφενδωνίσας αὐτούς b : (σφενδονίσας a d g) is the construction found with the
verb ἐσφενδόνουν in 7⁵.

7. The Βεελ of b best preserves the בעל part of the original name, whatever the
second part of it may have been.

8 πάντων τῶν βασιλέων, γίγαντα τῇ ἰσχύι πηχῶν ιβ'. Καὶ ἐπέπεσεν ἐπ'
9 αὐτοὺς τρόμος, καὶ ἐπαύσαντο πολεμοῦντες ἀφ' ἡμῶν. Διὰ τοῦτο ἀμέριμνος
   ἦν ὁ πατήρ μου ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, ὅτε ἐγὼ ἤμην ἐν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου.
10 Εἶδε γὰρ ἐν ὁράματι περὶ ἐμοῦ ὅτι ἄγγελος δυνάμεως ἔπεταί μοι ἐν πᾶσι,
   τοῦ μὴ ἡττᾶσθαι.

1   IV. Καὶ κατὰ νότον γέγονεν ἡμῖν πόλεμος μείζων τοῦ ἐν Σικίμοις.
   καὶ παραταξάμενος μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου, ἐδίωξα χιλίους ἄνδρας, καὶ
2 ἀπέκτεινα ἐξ αὐτῶν διακοσίους ἄνδρας καὶ τέσσαρας βασιλεῖς. Καὶ
   ἀνῆλθον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους, καὶ ἄλλους δύο βασιλεῖς ἀνεῖλον·
3 Καὶ οὕτως ἐλευθερώσαμεν τὴν Χεβρών, καὶ ἐλάβομεν πᾶσαν τὴν αἰχμα-
   λωσίαν τῶν βασιλέων.

7. γιγαντα] pr. ἄνδρα a   δώδεκα cf   8. τρομος] + and fear A   ἡμᾶς a
9. Διὰ τοῦτο ὁ πατήρ μου ἀμέριμνος ἦν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις a : καὶ Aβ   οτε cβ] ὅτι
h Aα   ημην] om. a   εν b] σὺν a β   μου] + ειμην c   10. περι εμου] om. A.
επεται b d] συνέπεταί a a f g   ηττασθαι β A] ἄψασθε a + με A (μαι c μοι h)

IV. 1. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο γέγονεν ἡμῖν κατὰ νῶτον a   τοῖς ἐν Σηκήμοις a   σὺν τοῖς
ἀδελφοῖς a   ἐδιώξαμεν a   ανδρας] om. a   ἀπεκτείναμεν a   ανδρας] om. a
και τεσσαρας (τέσσαρες b) βασιλεις] om. a   2. ανηλθον] + ἐγὼ a A   επ' αυτους] om.
a A their walls A   αλλους δυο (τέσσαρας A) βασιλεις ανειλον β A] ἀνεῖλον τὸν
βασιλέα αὐτῶν a   3. ἠλευθερώσαμεν a a g   των βασιλεων] om. a

8. The construction in β is again clumsy. a does not realize that ἀφ' goes with
the verb ἐπαύσαντο, and so he introduces a simplification.
   10. b stands alone in reading ἐν for σύν. In Levi 10³ c stands alone in reading
ἐν (σὺν β A).
   ἡττᾶσθαι is the more original and striking word. ἄψασθαι is the more conventional
one in this connexion.
   IV. 1. a omits καὶ τέσσαρας βασιλεῖς.
   3. Again Dr Charles is too much influenced by parallels from the mediaeval
rabbinical collections of legends. There is no good reason for rejecting Χεβρών.
'Ασούρ (the correction Dr Charles would make) is not in the South (4¹).
   τῶν βασιλέων is another omission on the part of a.

The examination of these four chapters together with what has gone
before is sufficient to shew that b is a good foundation for the reconstruc-
tion of the text, and that it is unnecessary to quote c continuously
in a critical apparatus, unless that apparatus is to be exhaustive.

The Armenian version remains to be considered.

Dr Charles is too much inclined to treat this version as a verbal
reproduction of the Greek text rather than as a translation.

Not infrequently the Armenian which Dr Charles is at pains to
retranslate exactly into Greek is simply a free rendering of the existing
Greek text. Thus in Jos 10¹ 'is' (A) does not necessarily imply
a different word from κατεργάζεται (Greek MSS) [1]: and the evidence of

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[1] Many other examples could be given but one or two must suffice, e. g. L 10²
where for μεγάλα A has 'very great', Iss 4⁴ where A translates θηλείας as if it
were γυναικῶν, and cf. R 3⁷ 5⁷ Jud 2³ D 5¹⁰.

A scarcely counts with regard to the omission of καί or δέ or ἐγώ, variations in the order of a sentence, the use of an abstract word for a concrete,[1] and so on.

It is instructive to compare the Armenian version of the Testaments with the Armenian version of the Book of Adam.[2] This also is a literal translation and not a verbal reproduction.[3]

In attempting to estimate the value of A we must remember that

(i) it is sometimes corrupt (e.g. R 3^5 Jud 3^3 Z 2^4) and very occasionally makes what is clearly an addition (e. g. L 1^1 Jud 1^1 5^4 5^5 6^3 9^5).

(ii) occasionally it alone preserves what is certainly a more original text, e. g. Jos 19 B 10^{10}.[4]

(iii) it is guilty of at least a considerable number of omissions (e. g. R 6^5 S 6^3 L 12^3), but on the other hand

(iv) in the Testaments[5] of Issachar,[6] Joseph, and Benjamin[7] the narrative of A is shorter and neater than that of the Greek MSS, which is inclined to be a little rambling. Thus Issachar is evidently a pattern of 'simplicity' and not of charitableness,[8] and A omits all the passages (Iss 3^8 5^2 $7^{5,\,6}$) which refer to charitable acts on the part of the patriarch ; and similarly A does not mention his offerings to the Lord (3^6 5^3).

It is quite possible, therefore, that there lay before the Armenian translator a Greek text which was shorter (particularly in the three Testaments mentioned above) than that which has been preserved in any of the Greek MSS.

Even so, however, it does not necessarily follow that this would be more original than the longer text of the archetype of the existing Greek MSS.

In the case of the two recensions (A and B) of the Testament of Abraham, A, which is the longer, is in many respects more original than B.[9]

On the whole then the probability is that the Armenian represents

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[1] e. g. R 2^9 3^8 Jos 1^6 (+ a) 8^1 (+ a) G 4^5 and sim. Jos 6^2 6^8 7^8 (variations between finite verb and participle).

[2] F. C. Conybeare *J. Q. R.* vii pp. 221 ff.

[3] For examples of freedom of rendering see especially chapters XV, XVIII, XXXII, XL.

[4] These instances are unmistakeable. There are others more doubtful, e. g. Iss $5^{6,7}$ B 2^{6-8}.

[5] It is not necessary to refer again here to the passages in Testament of Zebulon only found in *b d g*.

[6] Where there is nothing distinctively Christian in any of our authorities.

[7] In B 2 A is first guilty of an omission, and then apparently for some verses is alone in preserving the original text for which (on account of its dubious teaching) the Greek MSS offer a rather feeble substitute.

[8] Zebulon is the pattern of charitableness.

[9] *The Testament of Abraham*, ed. Dr M. R. James, p. 49.

a slight abridgement, and the present Greek text a very slight expansion of the original Testaments. In the actual reconstruction of the original text it will often be extremely difficult to decide whether to admit words on the authority of the Greek or to reject them on the authority of the Armenian.[1] If, therefore, b be taken as the foundation of the reconstructed text, it will be advisable to record the readings of A in the margin.[2]

The fact that A exists in two recensions A^α and A^β has already been mentioned. Of these the latter (which is found in Biblical MSS) is considerably longer and nearer the Greek : the former (which is found only in non-Biblical MSS) is frequently defective, and has every appearance of being merely a corrupt and shortened form of A^β.

The passages which go to shew that this is the case are very numerous : e.g. A^α is guilty of omissions in the Testament of Simeon 3^6 $4^{7,8}$ 4^9-5^2 6^2 6^4 : in the Testament of Levi 4^4 7^1 $13^{5,6}$ 13^7 14^{2-6} $15^{2,3}$ 17 18 : 'in the Testament of Judah the text of A^α is less by a third than that of A^β',[3] and so on.

Not infrequently the reading of A^α is obviously a corruption of that in A^β, e.g. S 6^5 L 6^7.

Dr Charles claims that in Levi 3^{1-5} 'A^α gives the nearest reproduction of the original Hebrew', but his treatment of the text of Levi's vision, of which this passage forms a part, is arbitrary and unconvincing. There are numerous indications that A^α, which describes two heavens, and a, which describes six, are shortened forms of βA^β, which speak of seven. In Levi 2^7 A^α agrees with $A^\beta \beta$ in connecting the water with the second heaven. *Between* the two heavens (as in βA^β) must be its original place.

A^α has already had considerable omissions in the verses which precede the account of the vision (*vv.* 3 and 4) : it tells us nothing about the first heaven (*v.* 7) : it leaves out 9^b, which is essential to the sense. Again, in chapter iii, it omits all mention of the third heaven, although its enumeration is here plainly that of A^β, and it entirely ignores the description of the heavens in descending order from the highest to the fourth.

Further, such a reading as 'live' (2^{10}) for 'stand' seems clearly to shew that A^α is a corruption[4] of A^β, while the phrase 'the *coming* mysteries' in the same verse appears to be a reminiscence of the next clause of all the Greek MSS τοῦ μέλλοντος λυτροῦσθαι.[5]

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[1] Nor is the difficulty solved in cases where the omission of A is supported by a.

[2] Except where they are obviously corrupt or loose renderings of the existing Greek text.

[3] Charles, Introd. p. xv.

[4] Cf. the corruption of A^β in A^α L 6^7.

[5] Cf. the contraction of the text in A^α L 4^1.

The text of a in its present form mentions six heavens, a most improbable number. The transcriber is apparently attempting[1] to reduce the number to three ($2^{9\,b}$). Moreover, it is no objection to the account of $\beta\,A^\beta$ that the dwellers in the fourth heaven are described first in general terms as 'holy' 3^3 and afterwards more particularly as 'thrones and dominions in which always praises are offered to God' (3^8).

There is, therefore, every reason to suppose that $\beta\,A^\beta$ give us the original text of this passage, and that A^a is merely a corrupt and shortened form of A^β.

If this is so then A^a, being a corrupt and shortened form of A^β, and a being a corrupt and shortened form of β, A^a and a will naturally agree occasionally against A^β and β. As a matter of fact such agreements are few and unimportant, and there are cases when A^a agrees with β against a (e. g. S 2^{10} L 8^2).

The fact seems to be that Dr Charles has allowed himself to be prejudiced in favour of c by his theories (1) of two recensions of a Hebrew original of the Testaments, and (2) of the possibility of recovering the Jewish original from the present Christian edition of the Testaments by the removal of a few obvious interpolations.

There is a considerable amount of evidence in favour of the supposition that the Testaments were originally written in Hebrew.[2] Starting from this hypothesis and observing that a certain number of the differences between b and c might have arisen in Hebrew, Dr Charles has launched out into the further hypothesis that each of these manuscripts represents a distinct Hebrew recension of the original text. Thus he regards c, not as a late and inferior exemplar of the text of b, but as preserving independently a second form of the primitive Hebrew text.

Further, if it is possible, as Dr Charles maintains, to eliminate the Christian element in the Testaments simply by removing a Christian phrase here and there, the shorter text of c will naturally contain fewer Christian interpolations, and so will appear to be nearer to the Jewish original than the longer text of b.

It remains therefore to be shewn

(1) that there is no sufficient ground for the hypothesis of two Hebrew recensions, and (2) that the Jewish original, whatever it was, cannot be recovered by the scissors and paste method which Dr Charles recommends.

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[1] Is this due to the influence of 2 Cor 12^2? It was natural to suppose that St Paul was caught up into the highest of the heavens.

[2] To be considered later.

Meanwhile the result of the preceding investigation may be represented by the following genealogical table :

THE TESTAMENTS IN GREEK.

β

b

Aβ

f   e

a

α

c   h i   g   Aα

d
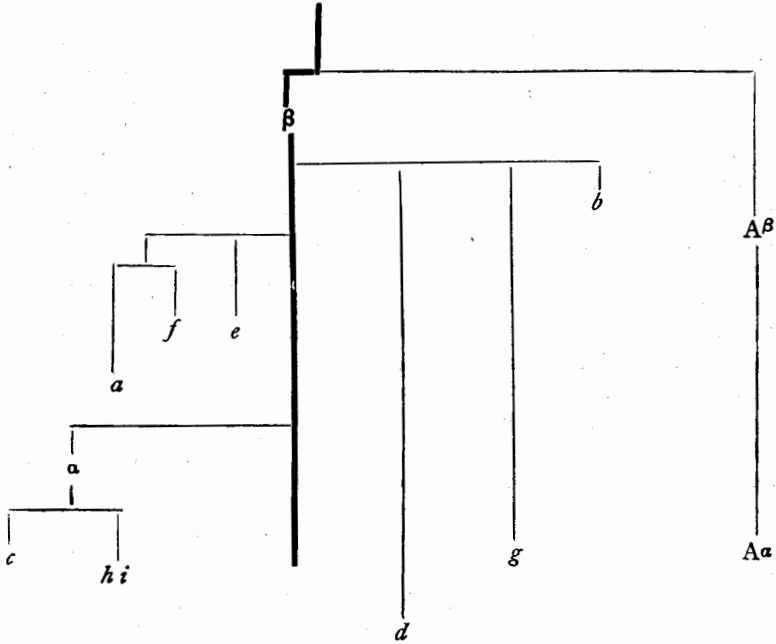
α = the archetype of the α family.
β = the archetype of the β family.

The value of each MS is roughly indicated by its height on the page.

J. W. HUNKIN.