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OR

THE LITTLE GENESIS

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THE

BOOK OF JUBILEES

OR

THE LITTLE GENESIS

TRANSLATED FROM

THE EDITOR'S ETHIOPIC TEXT

AND

EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND INDICES

BY

R. H. CHARLES, D.D.

PROFESSOR OF BIBLICAL GREEK, TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN

LONDON

ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK

1902

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TO

The Reverend George Salmon, D.D.

D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S.

PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN

WITH AN OLD PUPIL'S ADMIRATION AND GRATITUDE

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PREFACE

I HAD hoped to issue this Commentary on the Book of Jubilees quite six years ago, as a sequel to my edition of the Ethiopic and other fragmentary versions of this work; but after writing a large portion of it, I was obliged to abandon the task, as I felt that somehow I had failed to give a satisfactory interpretation of the text, though at the time I could not understand wherein my disability lay. A year or two later when making a special study of the Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs, I came to discover that the source of my failure lay in my acceptance of the traditional view that Jubilees was written in the first century of the Christian era. So long as I wrote from this standpoint, my notes became more and more a laboured apologetic for the composition of this work in the first century. The earliest approximation to the right date appeared in my article on the "Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs" in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, i. 241, 1899, where, after giving grounds for the view that the main bulk of that work was written before 100 B.C., I concluded that we should "regard both works (*i.e.* the Testaments and Jubilees) as almost contemporary, and as emanating from the same school of thought." This

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view was advocated in the following year by Bohn and by Bousset on various grounds, and it is from this standpoint that the present Commentary is written. The difficulties that beset almost every page of Jubilees vanish for the most part when once we understand that it was written by a Pharisaic upholder of the Maccabean dynasty, who was also probably a priest.

It is difficult to exaggerate the value of Jubilees. The fact that it is the oldest commentary in the world on Genesis, is in itself a distinction. But it is not on this ground that we value it, but rather for the insight it gives us into the religious beliefs of Judaism in the second century B.C. Its interests are many sided. It appeals to the textual critic, as it attests the form of the Hebrew text, which was current in that century. It appeals to the Old Testament scholar, as exhibiting further developments of ideas and tendencies which are only in their incipient stages in the Old Testament. It appeals to the New Testament scholar, as furnishing the first literary embodiment of beliefs which subsequently obtained an entrance into the New Testament, and as having in all probability formed part of the library of some of the apostolic writers. It appeals to the student of theological doctrine, as providing certain indispensable links in the process of development. Finally, to the Jewish scholar, a Pharisaic work of the second century B.C. cannot fail to be of transcendent interest, as it gives the earlier forms of certain legislative enactments that appear in the Mishna, and of legends which in later Judaism have undergone much transformation.

Although half a century has elapsed since the discovery

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of Jubilees in its complete form in the Ethiopic Version, no scholar has hitherto attempted a commentary on the entire work. Some thirty years ago Rönsch edited a very learned and laborious work on the Latin Fragments, which constitute slightly more than one-fourth of the original writing, but since his time scholars have contented themselves with short studies on various views of our author.

I cannot conclude without thanking Mr. Cowley for his help in verifying references in the Talmud.

17 Bradmore Road, Oxford,
May, 1902.

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INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Short Account of the Book

The Book of Jubilees was written in Hebrew by a Pharisee between the year of the accession of Hyrcanus to the high-priesthood in 135 and his breach with the Pharisees some years before his death in 105 B.C. It is the most advanced pre-Christian representative of the midrashic tendency, which had already been at work in the Old Testament Chronicles. As the Chronicler had rewritten the history of Israel and Judah from the basis of the Priests' Code, so our author re-edited from the Pharisaic standpoint of his time the history of events from the creation to the publication, or, according to the author's view, the republication, of the law on Sinai. In the course of re-editing he incorporated a large body of traditional lore, which the midrashic process had put at his disposal, and also not a few fresh legal enactments, that the exigencies of the past had called forth. His work constitutes an enlarged Targum on Genesis and Exodus, in which difficulties in the biblical narrative are solved, gaps supplied, dogmatically offensive elements removed, and the genuine spirit of later Judaism infused into the primitive history of the world. His object was to defend Judaism against the attacks of the hellenistic spirit that had been in the ascendant one generation earlier and was still powerful, and to prove that the law was of everlasting validity.

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From our author's contentions and his embittered attacks on the paganisers and apostates, we may infer that Hellenism had urged that the levitical ordinances of the law were only of transitory significance, that they had not been observed by the founders of the nation, and that the time had now come for them to be swept away, and for Israel to take its place in the brotherhood of the nations. Our author regarded all such views as fatal to the very existence of Jewish religion and nationality. But it is not as such that he assailed them, but on the ground of their falsehood. The law, he teaches, is of everlasting validity. Though revealed in time it was superior to time. Before it had been made known in sundry portions to the fathers it had been kept in heaven by the angels, and to its observance henceforward there was no limit in time or in eternity.

Writing in the palmiest days of the Maccabean dominion, he looked for the immediate advent of the Messianic kingdom. This kingdom was to be ruled over by a Messiah sprung, not from Levi—that is, from the Maccabean family, as some of his contemporaries expected—but from Judah. This kingdom would be gradually realised on earth, and the transformation of physical nature would go hand in hand with the ethical transformation of man till there was a new heaven and a new earth. Thus, finally, all sin and pain would disappear and men would live to the age of 1000 years in happiness and peace, and after death enjoy a blessed immortality in the spirit world.

§ 2. The Various Titles of the Book

Our book was known by two distinct titles even in Hebrew. These were:

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(*a*) "Jubilees" = τὰ Ἰωβηλαῖα or οἱ Ἰωβηλαῖοι = היובלים ;[1] and
(*b*) "The Little Genesis" = ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις = בראשית זוטא.[2]
(*c*) Apocalypse of Moses and other alleged names of our book.

(*a*) *Jubilees.*—According to the citation of Epiphanius (*Haer.* xxxix. 6), ἐν τοῖς Ἰωβηλαίοις εὑρίσκεται, τῇ καὶ λεπτῇ Γενέσει, the name Jubilees would seem to have been its more usual designation, and "the little Genesis" its less usual. This name is found in the Syriac Fragment entitled "Names of the Wives of the Patriarchs according to the Hebrew Book called Jubilees" (see Ceriani, *Mon. Sacra*, ii. Fasc. i. 9-10; also my Ethiopic Text of Jubilees, p. 183).

This name is admirably adapted to our book as it divides into jubilee periods of forty-nine years each the history of the world from the creation to the legislation on Sinai. By his peculiar redaction of the biblical history down to this period, our author has shown that the law was already in force before its republication as a whole on Sinai. Moreover, his chronological heptadic system has received a perfectly symmetrical development. Israel enters Canaan at the close of the fiftieth jubilee, *i.e.* 2450. In the Assumption of Moses, where a jubilee period of fifty years is used, Israel enters Canaan in the year 2500 (see p. lxviii).

(*b*) *The Little*[3] *Genesis.*—The fact that our book was

[1] In the Hebrew book Josippon xxxii. 3, "The Book of Jubilees" is mentioned ספר היובלות (see Eppstein, "Le Livre des Jubilés," *Revue des Études juives*, 1890, xxi. 80-97; 1891, xxii. 1-25).

[2] Cf. Treuenfels, "Die kleine Genesis" in Fürst's *Literaturblatt des Orients*, 1846, No. 6, p. 81.

[3] The epithet "little" does not refer to the extent, for it is larger than the canonical Genesis, but rather to the character of Jubilees. It deals more fully with the details and minutiae (*i.e.* τὰ λεπτά) than the biblical work. Severus of Antioch, *ob.* 542 A.D., after an account of the death of Moses and the strife between Michael and the evil angels for Moses' body, adds that these matters were said to be described in a book which gave a more detailed account of the

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known in Greek, not only as ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις but also ἡ Μικρογένεσις, points quite clearly to an authoritative Hebrew title, בראשית זוטא, which was variously rendered in Greek. There were, indeed, four renderings of the Hebrew:

1. ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις (or Λεπτὴ Γένεσις).
2. ἡ Λεπτογένεσις.
3. τὰ λεπτὰ Γενέσεως.
4. ἡ Μικρογένεσις.

1. ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις.—This title is found sixteen times: in Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxxix. 6 (twice); Syncellus i. 7, 183, 192; Cedrenus i. 6, 9, 16, 48, 53, 85, 87; Zonaras, p. 18 (twice); Glycas, 206 (twice). As Λεπτὴ Γένεσις in Syncellus i. 5, 185, 203 and Cedrenus i. 7. As ἡ λεγομένη λεπτὴ Γένεσις in Glycas, pp. 198, 392. For the above passages see pp. lxxvii-lxxx.

2. ἡ Λεπτογένεσις.—This form of the title is found in Didymus of Alexandria (see p. lxxvii) and in one of the MSS of Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxxix. 6 (τῇ καὶ Λεπτογενέσει), where the Cod. Venet. has τῇ καὶ λεπτῇ Γενέσει. On the other hand, it follows from the Decree of Gelasius (see p. lxxviii) that this form was current among Latin writers.

3. τὰ λεπτὰ Γενέσεως.—This form is found in Syncellus i. 13 (see p. lxxix).

4. ἡ Μικρογένεσις.—This designation is found only in Jerome, *Epist.* 78 *ad Fab.* See my note on p. 83, where, instead of Λεπτή (*a.l.* Μικρογένεσις), we should read simply Μικρογένεσις. This is Jerome's independent rendering of the Hebrew title, for Jerome was acquainted with the original of Jubilees.

creation: Ταῦτα δὲ ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ βιβλίῳ λέγεται κεῖσθαι λεπτοτέραν ἔχοντι τῆς Γενέσεως ἤτοι τῆς κτίσεως τὴν ἀφήγησιν.

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(*c*) 1. *The Apocalypse of Moses.*
2. *The Testament of Moses.*
3. *The Book of Adam's Daughters.*
4. *The Life of Adam.*

1. *The Apocalypse of Moses.*—This title is found in Syncellus i. 5 and repeated from him in Cedrenus i. 7: λεπτῇ . . . Γενέσει, ἣν καὶ Μωϋσέως εἶναί φασί τινες ἀποκάλυψιν: and in Syncellus i. 49: ἐν τῇ Μωϋσέως λεγομένῃ ἀποκαλύψει. From the words φασί τινες and λεγομένῃ we conclude that this title had some currency in Syncellus' time. It was undoubtedly a very appropriate designation, since our author makes Moses the recipient of all the disclosures in his work (see the Greek scholion in my note on ii. 1). Cedrenus i. 16 speaks of Jubilees as ἡ λεπτὴ Μωσέως Γένεσις. The Apocalypse of Moses mentioned in Syncellus i. 48, from which he says Gal. vi. 15 (οὔτε περιτομή τι ἔστιν οὔτε ἀκροβυστία, ἀλλὰ καινὴ κτίσις) was derived, can have nothing to do with Jubilees, the main aim of which is the glorification of circumcision.

2. *The Testament of Moses* = ἡ διαθήκη τοῦ Μωϋσέως.—This was an older title than the preceding. Thus it is found in the Catena of Nicephorus i. 175, where the words ἡ διαθήκη precede a quotation from Jubilees x. 21 (see note *in loc.*). Here ἡ διαθήκη, as Rönsch (p. 275) has rightly argued, stands for ἡ διαθήκη τοῦ Μωϋσέως. It is impossible to determine whether the Testament of Moses which is here to be identified with Jubilees has anything to do with the διαθήκη Μωϋσέως mentioned in four catalogues of the canonical and uncanonical writings. Rönsch (pp. 480-481) argues for their identification on the ground that the Assumption of Moses forms a suitable close to the Book of Jubilees; that they are found together in this order in the Latin MS which was edited by Ceriani; that the Testament of Moses and the Assumption are enumerated together and

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in this order in the Catalogues of Nicephorus, the Ps. Athanasius and of the Sixty Canonical Books. If, however, the number of stichoi—1100—assigned to this Testament of Moses by the first catalogue is right, then this Testament cannot be the same as Jubilees; for Jubilees is longer than Genesis which, according to the same catalogue, has 4300 stichoi.

On the other hand, there may have been in circulation a Testament of Moses which was an expansion of Jubilees ii.-iii. To such a work—one-fourth the size of Genesis—the quotation given in my note on ii. 1 may possibly point, and probably the statement made by Severus of Antioch (see footnote on p. xv), and the quotation from a Catena on the Pentateuch in Fabricius ii. 121-122: Est quidem in apocrypho mysticoque codice legere, ubi de creatis rebus subtilius agitur, nubem lucidam, quo tempore mortuus est Moses, locum sepulchri complexam oculos circumstantium perstrinxisse ita, ut nullus neque morientem legislatorem neque locum videre potuerit, ubi cadaver conderetur. Here we have a combination of the Testament of Moses and the Assumption of Moses (see my *Assumption of Moses*, pp. xlv. sqq.).

3. *The Book of Adam's Daughters.*—This book is identified with Jubilees in the Decree of Gelasius (see p. lxviii): Liber de filiabus Adae, hoc est Leptogenesis, Apocryphus. The designation is far from inappropriate for our book, as it aims at giving the names of the wives of all the patriarchs from Adam onwards. On the other hand, it may not have been applied to the entire Book of Jubilees but to a short work based on Jubilees, and consisting mainly or solely of the names (and histories) of the women mentioned in Jubilees. Such a collection we find in the Syriac with the title: "Names of the Wives of the Patriarchs according to the Hebrew Book called Jubilees" (see p. xxix). The glosses in the LXX MS used by Holmes and Parsons, and later by

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Lagarde (see p. lxxxii), may point to such a collection; for these glosses relate to the wives of the patriarchs and go back ultimately to Jubilees. It is possibly worth while to call attention to the fact that some of these names are found in the Annals of the Arabic writer Tabari (see Lidzbarski, *De propheticis, quae dicuntur, Legendis Arabicis*, 1893, pp. 11-12).

4. *The Life of Adam.*—This designation is found only three times, so far as I am aware, in Syncellus i. 7, and always as *ὁ λεγόμενος Βίος Ἀδάμ*. According to Syncellus this life of Adam recounted the number of days it took Adam to number the various creatures, the making of Eve, the entrance of Adam into Paradise, and the subsequent admission of Eve, etc. (i. 7-9): *κεῖται γοῦν ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ Βίῳ Ἀδὰμ ὁ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸς τῆς τε ὀνομασίας τῶν θηρίων καὶ τῆς πλάσεως τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῆς εἰσόδου αὐτοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ· καὶ τῆς περὶ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς βρώσεως ἐντολῆς τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ τῆς μετὰ τούτου εἰσόδου Εὔα ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, τά τε τῆς παραβάσεως καὶ τὰ μετὰ τὴν παράβασιν, ὡς ὑποτέτακται . . . ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ Βίου λεγομένου Ἀδὰμ φιλομαθίας χάριν ἐν συντόμῳ ἐστοιχειώσαμεν.* If Syncellus is right here as to the contents of the Life of Adam, it treated of the same subjects as Jubilees ii. 1-29. It may, therefore, have been an excerpt from or a section of Jubilees, as Rönsch suggests (475-477). Accordingly, he accepts Treuenfels' proposal that the words in Syncellus occurring just before the above extract—*ἐκ τῆς λεπτῆς Γενέσεως καὶ τοῦ λεγομένου Βίου Ἀδάμ*—should be rendered: "from the Leptogenesis, that is, from the so-called Life of Adam." Since the statements in the Life of Adam are fuller than in Jubilees, the former would be an enlarged edition of a portion of the latter. Both may have been before Syncellus. From the Life of Adam—the fuller account—he quotes on pp. 7-9, and continues his narrative on

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pp. 13-15 from Jubilees. Rönsch quotes in support of this view the statement of Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrasch* ii. 7, anm. 3: "Ein Theil derselben (der Kleinen Genesis), der von Adam handelt, wurde das Leben Adam's genannt und war den Alten als ספרא דאדם הראשון (Zunz, *Die gottesdienstl. Vorträge der Juden*, p. 128; J. Fürst im *Lbl. des Orients*, 1848, p. 589) bekannt."

§ 3. The Ethiopic MSS

There are four MSS of this book in Europe, *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, which belong respectively to the National Library in Paris, the British Museum, the University Library of Tübingen, and to the collection of M. d'Abbadie. Of these *a b* (of the fifteenth and sixteenth cent. respectively) are the most valuable, but in not a few readings the true text is preserved by *c d* (both of recent date). *d* is more nearly allied to *a* and *c* to *b*. *b* is the most trustworthy of the four. For a full description of these MSS the reader can consult Charles's *Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*, pp. xii sqq.

§ 4. Editions of the Ethiopic Version

Dillmann, *Maṣḥafa kûfâlê sive Liber Jubilaeorum, qui idem a Graecis* Ἡ Λεπτὴ Γένεσις *inscribitur, aethiopice ad duorum librorum manuscriptorum fidem primum edidit Dillmann*, 1859.

This edition is based on MSS *c d*.

Charles, *The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*—otherwise known among the Greeks as Ἡ Λεπτὴ Γένεσις—*edited from four MSS and critically revised through a continuous comparison of the Massoretic and Samaritan Texts, and the Greek, Syriac, Vulgate and Ethiopic*

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Versions of the Pentateuch, and further emended and restored in accordance with the Hebrew, Syriac, Greek and Latin fragments of this book, which are here published in full, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1895.

This edition is based on the only four MSS hitherto known. It is from this text that my translation is made. In some dozen or more passages, however, to which attention is called in the notes, I have withdrawn emendations which I had introduced into the text—some in deference to criticisms of Drs. Praetorius and Littmann and others as a result of further study of the text and subject-matter. On the other hand, I have been enabled, from the much larger knowledge I now have of the literature than I had in 1893-1895, to discover the true text underlying corruptions that had defied detection, and likewise to recognise the occurrence of many dittographies and not a few lacunae (see § 11). The criticism of the text has been further greatly advanced by my discovery of a large poetical element in the book (see § 12).

§ 5. Translations

Dillmann, *Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die kleine Genesis, aus dem Aethiopischen übersetzt* (Ewald's *Jahrbücher der bibl. Wissensch.* 1850-51, Band ii. 230-256; iii. 1-96). This translation is based on only one MS.

Schodde, *The Book of Jubilees, translated from the Ethiopic* (Bibliotheca Sacra, 1885-1887).

Charles, *The Book of Jubilees translated from a text based on two hitherto uncollated Ethiopic MSS* (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1893, vol. v. 703-708; 1894, vi. 184-217, 710-745; 1895, vii. 297-328).

The above translation agrees for the most part with the text which I published subsequently. It is, however,

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untrustworthy in some passages, and is now superseded by the very much improved edition of it which appears in the present volume.

LITTMANN, *Das Buch der Jubiläen* (Kautzsch's *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des A. Testaments*, 1900, ii. 31-119).

This admirable translation is based mainly on my Ethiopic text of Jubilees, but occasionally Dr. Littmann prefers to follow the readings of *c d* in Dillmann's text, and in some cases the grounds for this preference are so good that I have followed his lead. His translation is on the whole very accurate, though there are of course some passages where corrections will be introduced on the occasion of a second edition. To Dr. Littmann I owe many corrections of my English translation in the *Jewish Quarterly*.

§ 6. CRITICAL INQUIRIES

FABRICIUS, J. A., *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti*, 1713, i. 849-864. Fabricius here collects under the head of Parva Genesis, passages in Jerome and Greek writers which are expressly assigned to our book. At the close of this collection he adds: "Non dubito tum apud Hieronymum Quaest. et tradit. Hebraeicis in Genesin, tum apud Georgium Syncellum et Cedrenum plura legi ex parva Genesi repetita: quoniam tamen diserte illa non indicant, haec satis esse volui."

TREUENFELS, *Die kleine Genesis* בראשית זוטא (Fürst's *Literaturbl. des Orients*, 1846, Nr. 1-6; 1851, Nr. 15). Treuenfels ascribes our book to a Jewish author, who wrote most probably before the Christian era.

DILLMANN, *Das Buch der Jubiläen* (Ewald's *Jahrbücher der bibl. Wissensch.* 1851, iii. 72-96). These pages consist of a series of learned and masterly notes which throw great

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light on the text and its interpretation. Dillmann was of opinion that Jubilees was written originally in Hebrew or Aramaic in the first cent. A.D. before the fall of Jerusalem.

—— *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländ. Gesellsch.* 1857, xi. 161-163.

—— "Pseudepigraphen des A. Testaments" (Herzog's *Real-Encyc.*[2] xii. 364-365). Here Dillmann sets the composition of Jubilees at the beginning of the Christian era and regards a still earlier date as possible.

—— "Beiträge aus dem Buche der Jubiläen zur Kritik des Pentateuch Textes" (*Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1883, pp. 323-340). With this contribution to the criticism of the Ethiopic text and its value in determining the criticism of the Pentateuch I have already dealt (*Ethiopic Vers. of Heb. Bk. of Jubilees*, pp. xviii-xix).

Jellinek, *Ueber das Buch der Jubiläen und das Noah-Buch*, Leipzig, 1855 (a reprint from the third volume of his *Bet ha-Midrasch*). Although the main contention of this treatise, that Jubilees is of Essene origin, cannot be sustained, Jellinek's observations on its relations to Jewish Midrashim (*i.e.* Wajissau and Tadshe) and legends generally are most illuminating and helpful. Jellinek justly recognises that Jubilees was written when the essential character of the Jewish calendar was not definitely fixed.

Beer, *Das Buch der Jubiläen und sein Verhältniss zu den Midraschim*, Leipzig, 1856; *Noch ein Wort über das Buch der Jubiläen*, 1857. The former work is the ablest contribution from the Jewish side that has yet been made towards the interpretation of Jubilees. On pp. 25-39 he deals with the points of similarity existing between Jubilees and Jewish tradition, and on pp. 39-56 the points of divergence. Beer ascribes our book to a Samaritan, who made use of the Samaritan Pentateuch, the LXX, and

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Jewish tradition, and wrote in Africa. This Samaritan authorship was shown to be impossible by Ewald (*Jahrb. d. bibl. Wissensch.* 1856, viii. 184 sq.), in a short review of Beer's work, and Dillmann (*ZDMG*, 1857, xi. 161-163). In the *Monatsschrift f. Gesch. d. Judenthums*, 1855, pp. 59-65 and his *Leben Abrahams*, 1859; *Leben Moses*, 1863, Beer has made many valuable indirect contributions to the exegesis of Jubilees.

FRANKEL, *Monatsschrift für Gesch. und Wissensch. des Judenthums*, 1856, pp. 311-316, 380-400. Frankel sought to prove that Jubilees was of Egyptian origin and representative of the cult at the Onias Temple at Leontopolis. To this view of Frankel, Beer rejoined in the treatise cited above under his name: *Noch ein Wort über das Buch der Jubiläen.*

KRÜGER, "Die Chronologie im Buche d. Jubiläen" (*ZDMG*, 1858, xii. 279-299. Krüger ascribes the composition of Jubilees to the year 320 B.C., but such a view has rightly failed to obtain a single suffrage.

LANGEN, *Das Judenthum in Palästina*, 1866, pp. 84-102. Jubilees according to this writer is to be assigned to the years 30-60 A.D. (p. 100).

SINKER, *Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs*, 1869, pp. 42-43, 81-85.

RUBIN, *Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die kleine Genesis in's Hebräische übersetzt, mit einer Einleitung und mit Noten verschen*, Wien, 1870.

GINSBURG, Art. "Jubilees, Book of" in Kitto's *Cyclopaedia of Biblical Literature.*

RÖNSCH, *Zeitschrift f. wissensch. Theologie*, 1871, pp. 60-98; *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, Leipzig, 1874. Rönsch assigned our book to the years 50-60 A.D. It was directed against the rising Christianity, and was an attempt to draw together all the opposing parties in Judaism against the new religion.

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HILGENFELD, *Zeitschrift f. wissensch. Theologie*, 1874, pp. 435-441.

DRUMMOND, *The Jewish Messiah*, 1877, pp. 143-147.

EPPSTEIN, "Midrasch Tadsche," in *Beiträge zur Jüd. Alterthumskunde*, 1887.

——— "Le Livre des Jubilés, Philon et le Midrasch Tadsché" (*Revue des Études juives*, 1890, xxi. 80-97; 1891, xxii. 1-25.

SACK, *Die altjüdische Religion*, 1889, pp. 350-368.

BACON, "Calendar of Enoch and Jubilees" (*Hebraica*, 1891-1892, viii. 79-88; 124-131).

DEANE, *Pseudepigrapha*, 1891, pp. 193-236. We have here an excellent account of the book from the older standpoint.

THOMSON, *Books which influenced our Lord and His Apostles*, 1891, pp. 297-320, 433-439.

BALDENSPERGER, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*,[2] 1892, pp. 20-24.

KUENEN, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 1894, pp. 113 sqq.

SCHÜRER, *Gesch. des Jüd. Volkes*,[3] 1898, iii. 274-280. Schürer follows the ordinary view as to the date of Jubilees: "It may with considerable probability be assigned to the first cent. of the Christian era." Notwithstanding its many divergencies from Pharisaic usage and doctrine at that period he holds that in its essential aspects it represents the prevailing Pharisaic standpoint. A good bibliography closes the article.

SINGER, *Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die Leptogenesis*, I. Theil; Tendenz und Ursprung, zugleich ein Beitrag zur Religionsgeschichte, Stuhlweissenburg (Ungarn), 1898. Rönsch, as we have seen above, was of opinion that Jubilees was directed against Christianity, but Singer thinks that he can establish that it was the work of a Jewish Christian, written (about 58-60 A.D.) with a polemic purpose against

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the teaching of St. Paul—especially against his doctrine of the abrogation of the law. This work exhibits much learning both in the field of Judaism and Christianity. But the main thesis is not in any sense proved by him nor is it possible of proof.

HEADLAM, Art. "Jubilees," in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, 1899, ii. 791.

CHARLES, Art. "Book of Jubilees," in *Encyc. Biblica*, 1899, i. 230-233.

BOHN, "Die Bedeutung des Buches der Jubiläen (*Theol. Stud. und Kritiken*, 1900, pp. 167-184). This article shows admirable insight. Its writer recognises rightly that the book belongs to the second cent. B.C. He ascribes its composition to 150 B.C. or thereabouts.

LITTMANN, Kautzsch's *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, 1900, ii. 31-38. We have here as good an introduction to our author as was possible from the stage of criticism at the time, and one that is meritorious alike for its learning and judgment. In 1899 Littmann reviewed Singer's book (see above) in the *ZDMG*, pp. 368 sqq.

§ 7. THE VERSIONS OF JUBILEES—GREEK, ETHIOPIC, LATIN, SYRIAC

1. *The Greek Version.*—Numerous fragments of this version have come down to us in J. Martyr (? see note on p. 41), Origen (see notes on pp. 194, 227), Diodorus of Antioch (see p. 85), Isidore of Alexandria (see p. lxxxi), Epiphanius (see notes on pp. 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 32, 33, 47, 59, 61, 68, 69, 73, 74, 75, 77, 84, 86), John Malala (see notes on pp. 37, 41, 66), Anastasius Sinaita (flor. seventh cent.—preserved only in Latin; see note on p. 23), Syncellus (see notes on pp. 41, 59, 66, 68, 69, 71,

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73, 74, 78, 85, 89, 93, 95, 191, 192. It is remarkable that Syncellus attributed to Genesis what comes from our text—see note on p. 164, and similarly to Josephus—see notes on pp. 157, 186, 208), Cedrenus (see notes on pp. 37, 41, 66, 67, 86, 87, 88, 93, 94, 116, 191, 252), Suidas (see note on p. 91), Zonaras (see p. 35), Glycas (see notes on pp. 37, 84, 85, 164), Joel (see notes on pp. 37, 67).

For probable mistranslations in this version see notes on xxx. 25, xliii. 11, xlvii. 9; for corruptions in the MSS before the Ethiopic and Latin translators, see notes on i. 29, ii. 2, v. 4, xiv. 12, xxiii. 10, xxxii. 27, 29.

This version is the parent of the Ethiopic and the Latin, as we shall prove below.

2. *The Ethiopic Version.*—This version is most accurate and trustworthy and indeed as a rule servilely literal. It has, of course, suffered from the corruptions naturally incident to transmission through MSS. Thus dittographies are frequent and lacunae are of occasional occurrence (see § 11), but the version is singularly free from the glosses and corrections of unscrupulous scribes, though the temptation must have been great to bring it into accord with the Ethiopic version of Genesis. To this source, indeed, we must trace a few perversions of the text: "my wife" in iii. 6 instead of "wife"; xv. 12 (see note); xvii. 12 ("her bottle" instead of "the bottle"); xxiv. 19 (where the words "a well" are not found in the Latin version of Jubilees, nor in the Mass., Sam., LXX, Syr., and Vulg. of Gen. xxvi. 19). In the above passages the whole version is influenced, but in a much greater degree has this influence operated on MS *a*. Thus in iii. 4, 6, 7, 19, 29, iv. 4, 8, v. 3, vi. 9, etc., the readings of the Ethiopic version of Genesis have replaced the original text. In the case of *b* I can discover only one instance of this nature in xv. 15 (see my Text, pp. xii. sqq.).

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For instances of corruption native to this version, see notes on ii. 2, 7, 21, vi. 21, vii. 22, x. 6, 21, xvi. 18, xxiv. 20, 29, xxxi. 2, xxxix. 4, xli. 15, xlv. 4, xlviii. 6.

3. *The Latin Version.*—This version, of which about one fourth has been preserved, was first published by Ceriani in his *Monumenta sacra et profana*, 1861, tom. i. fasc. i. 15-62. It contains the following sections: xiii. 10^{b}-21; xv. 20^{b}-31^{a}; xvi. 5^{b}-xvii. 6^{a}; xviii. 10^{b}-xix. 25; xx. 5^{b}-xxi. 10^{a}; xxii. 2-19^{a}; xxiii. 8^{b}-23^{a}; xxiv. 13-xxv. 1^{a}; xxvi. 8^{b}-23^{a}; xxvii. 11^{b}-24^{a}; xxviii. 16^{b}-27^{a}; xxix. 8^{b}-xxxi. 1^{a}; xxxi. 9^{b}-18, 29^{b}-32; xxxii. 1-8^{a}, 18^{b}-xxxiii. 9^{a}, 18^{b}-xxxiv. 5^{a}; xxxv. 3^{b}-12^{a}; xxxvi. 20^{b}-xxxvii. 5^{a}; xxxviii. 1^{b}-16^{a}; xxxix. 9-xl. 8^{a}; xli. 6^{b}-18; xlii. 2^{b}-14^{a}; xlv. 8-xlvi. 1, 12-xlviii. 5; xlix. 7^{b}-22. This version was next edited by Rönsch in 1874, *Das Buch der Jubiläen . . . unter Beifügung des revidirten Textes der . . . lateinischen Fragmente.* This work attests enormous industry and great learning, but is deficient in judgment and critical acumen. Rönsch was of opinion that this Latin version was made in Egypt or its neighbourhood by a Palestinian Jew about the middle of the fifth cent. (pp. 459-460). In 1895 I edited this text afresh in conjunction with the Ethiopic in the Oxford Anecdota (*The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*). To this work and that of Rönsch above the reader must be referred for a fuller treatment of this subject. Here we may draw attention to the following points. This version, where it is preserved, is almost of equal value with the Ethiopic. It has, however, suffered more at the hands of correctors. Thus it has been corrected in conformity with the LXX in xlvi. 14 where it adds "et Oon" against all other authorities. The Eth. version of Exod. i. 11 might have been expected to bring about this addition in our Ethiopic text but it did not. Two similar instances will be found in xvii. 5, xxiv. 20. Again the Latin

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version seems to have been influenced by the Vulgate in xxix. 13, xlii. 11 (canos meos where our Ethiopic text = μου τὸ γῆρας as in LXX of Gen. xlii. 38); and probably also in xlvii. 7, 8, and certainly in xlv. 12 where it reads in tota terra for in terra. Of course there is the possibility that the Latin has reproduced faithfully the Greek and that the Greek was faulty; or in case it was correct, that it was the Greek presupposed by our Ethiopic version that was at fault.

Two other passages are deserving of attention, xix. 14 and xxxix. 13. In the former the Latin version "et creverunt et juvenes facti sunt" agrees with the Eth. version of Gen. xxv. 27 against the Ethiopic version of Jubilees and all other authorities on Gen. xxv. 27. Here the peculiar reading can be best explained as having originated in the Greek. In the second passage, the clause "eorum quae fiebant in carcere" agrees with the Eth. version of Gen. xxxix. 23 against the Ethiopic version of Jubilees and all other authorities on Gen. xxxix. 23.

On the other hand, there is a large array of passages in which the Latin version preserves the true text over against corruptions or omissions in the Ethiopic version: cf. xvi. 16, xix. 5, 10, 11, xx. 6, 10, xxi. 3, xxii. 3, etc. (see my Text, p. xvi.).

4. *The Syriac Version.*—The evidence as to the existence of a Syriac is not conclusive. It is based on the fact that a British Museum MS (Add. 12,154, fol. 180) contains a Syriac fragment entitled, "Names of the Wives of the Patriarchs according to the Hebrew Book called Jubilees." It was first published by Ceriani in his *Monumenta Sacra*, 1861, tom. ii. fasc. i. 9-10, and reprinted by me as Appendix III. to my Text of Jubilees (p. 183).

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§ 8. The Ethiopic and Latin Versions—Translations from the Greek

Like all the biblical literature Jubilees was translated into Ethiopic from Greek. We have seen above (p. xxvi) that the Greek version had a very wide currency. To show that our text is a translation from the Greek version it will be sufficient to point out that in xxxiv. 11 we have a transliteration of *ἡλίου* ("of the sun"); that in i. 29, ii. 2, v. 4, xiv. 12, xxiii. 10, xxviii. 27, xxxii. 4, 27, 29, xlvii. 5 (see notes *in loc.*) we must retranslate into Greek before we can discover the source of the various corruptions. Further, Greek words such as *δρύς*, *βάλανος*, *λίψ*, *σχῖνος*, *φάραγξ*, etc. are transliterated in the Ethiopic. The Greek article is rendered by the demonstrative ii. 2, iii. 25, xxiv. 19, 29. Finally, proper names are transliterated as they appear in Greek and not in Hebrew: viii. 5, x. 18, etc.

It is no less obvious that the Latin is also a translation from the Greek. Thus in xxxix. 12, timoris = *δειλίας*, a corruption of *δουλείας*; in xxxviii. 13, honorem = *τιμήν*, which should have been rendered by tributum (so Eth.); in xxxii. 26, celavit = *ἔκρυψε*, corrupt for *ἔγραψε* (so Eth.). Again, in xxxi. 30, orasti orationem is a mistranslation of *ηὔξω εὐχήν*, which here = vovisti votum; in xxxii. 30, sub glande = *ὑπὸ τῆς βαλάνου*, which here = sub quercu. The Greek article is often rendered by the Latin demonstrative as in the Ethiopic version: hujus Abrahae, xxix. 16; huic Jacob . . . huic Istrael, xxxi. 15. Greek constructions are reproduced: memor fuit sermones, xvii. 3 = *ἐμνήσθη τοὺς λόγους*: consummavit loquens, xv. 22 = *συνετέλεσε λαλῶν*: in omnibus quibus (for quae) dedisti, xxii. 8 = *ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς ἔδωκας*. We should observe also the extraordinary mistranslation of *μήποτε* = (ne forte) by ne quando in xlii. 11. (See Rönsch, pp. 439 sqq.)

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We have seen above (pp. xxviii-xxix) that the Ethiopic and Latin versions presuppose in some cases different forms of the Greek version.

§ 9. The Greek—A Translation from the Hebrew

The early date and place of composition speak for a Semitic original, and the following evidence for such an original is irresistible.

But the question at once arises: was this original Aramaic or Hebrew? Certain proper names in the Latin version ending in *-in* seem to bespeak an Aramaic, as Cettin, xxiv. 28; Adurin, xxxviii. 8, 9; Filistin, xxiv. 14-16. But since in all these cases the Ethiopic transliterations end in *-m* and not in *-n*, it is not improbable that this Aramaising in the Latin version is due to the translator, who, as Rönsch has concluded on other grounds, was a Palestinian Jew. Moreover, it is most dangerous to conclude from Aramaic *proper names* to an Aramaic original; for Aramaic forms occur not infrequently in the Greek versions of the Old Testament. Thus this very word Cettim (כתים) appears as Χεττάν in Symmachus (Gen. x. 4), Χεττείν in the LXX (B) and Lucian of Judg. i. 26, Χεττιείν in the LXX (B) of 1 Kings x. 33. As regards Adurin (which in the Eth. version = 'Adûrâm), we should observe that this word appears as 'Ανονιράμ, *i.e.* 'Αδονιράμ, in the sister work Test. Iud. 9. Thus we may here again conclude to an original Hebrew form. It is noteworthy also that whereas in xxxviii. 3 of the Latin we have Adoram, in the Ethiopic we have 'Adôrân. Another Aramaic form is Mastêmâ (מַשְׂטֵימָא [Μαστιφάμ in Syncellus, Μαστιφάτ in Cedrenus, and Mastima in the Latin version, xviii. 12, xlviii. 2], from the hiphel participle, מַשְׂטֵם). But the presence of such a proper name in a Semitic document is inconclusive as we have shown above. Cf. Littmann, in Kautzsch's *Apok. u. Pseud.* ii. 34.

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The grounds, on the other hand, for a Hebrew original are weighty and numerous:

1. *A work which claims to be from the hand of Moses would naturally be written in Hebrew.*—Hebrew, our author teaches, was the sacred and national language (see notes on xii. 25-26; xliii. 15).

2. *The revival of the national spirit of the nation is universally, so far as we know, accompanied by a revival of the national language.*—Thus the Psalms of Solomon (70-40 B.C.) were written in Hebrew, and the Similitudes in the Ethiopic Enoch (xxxvii.-lxx.), as I hope to prove later. As regards the sections of Enoch which were written before the revival of the national spirit under the Maccabees other grounds must decide.

3. *The text must be retranslated into Hebrew in order to explain unintelligible expressions and restore the true text.*—Thus in xliii. 11 lâʿĕlêja = ἐν ἐμοί, which is a mistranslation of בִּי. בִּי in this context = δέομαι, "pray," as in Gen. xliv. 18, which our text reproduces almost word for word. In xvi. 31 lebba dabart (Lat. Vers. corde palmarum) = לבב התמר, where ל is corrupt for לולבי. In xlvii. 9 the text = domum Faraonis, but the context demands filiam Faraonis. Hence the Greek translator here misread בַּת־פ as בֵּית־פ or בֵּת־פ. The true Aramaic word for daughter is ברת. See also notes on ii. 29, iii. 15, vi. 35, xlviii. 12.

Under this head also we might draw attention to the presence of dittographies already existing in the Hebrew text. See notes on iii. 16, xviii. 15, xxx. 1.

4. *Hebraisms survive in the Ethiopic and Latin versions.*—Thus in ii. 9, 25 the Ethiopic wahaba = "gave" goes back to נתן, which must here be translated "appointed." In xxii. 10 eligere in te is a reproduction of בחר ב; in xxiv. 25 sermo hic = "this thing" = הדבר הזה, a purely Hebrew expression; in xix. 8 in qua . . . in ipsa (so also Eth.)

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= ἐν ᾗ . . . ἐν αὐτῇ = אשר בזה; in xl. 7 (see note) we have a transliteration of a Hebrew phrase 'Êl 'Êl wa 'Abîrĕr where we should read 'Abîrêl. Again in iv. 4 nûḫa is a corrupt transliteration of נח. See also vi. 35, xxxiii. 1, xl. 10.

5. *Many paronomasiae discover themselves on retranslation into Hebrew.*—Thus in iv. 9 there is a play on Enoch the son of Cain; on Jared in iv. 15, on Noah in iv. 28, on Peleg in viii. 8, on Reu in x. 18, on Serug in xi. 6, on Terah in xi. 12 (see notes *in loc.*).

6. *Many passages of this book are preserved in rabbinic writings*, such as the Hebrew Book of Noah, the Midrash Wajjissau, the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, the Book of Jashar, and the Midrash Tadshe. It has also much matter in common with the Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs which was also originally written in Hebrew.

§ 10. Textual Affinities of the Text of the Book of Jubilees

In order to understand the position which the Hebrew text of Jubilees occupied in relation to the texts and versions of the Pentateuch, it will be necessary to summarise briefly its affinities with them. We shall now discover that our text agrees in turn with the Samaritan (twice ?), LXX, Syriac, Vulgate, and with Onkelos.

In the following list, where the corresponding passages in Jubilees and the Pentateuch are given without further comment, the details will be found in the notes accompanying the translation. Thus in the first sub-heading i. (*a*), where xxvi. 34 of our text is equated with Gen. xxvii. 40, the needful information is given in the notes on xxvi. 34. On the other hand, where the notes do not supply such details the read-

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ing given by our text and its supporters and the opposing text and its authorities are supplied in brackets. Thus we are to interpret the statement "xli. 14 ('his shepherd')—Gen. xxviii. 40 ('his friend')," which occurs under the subheading ii. (η), "It agrees with the LXX and Vulg. against the Mass., Sam., and Syr.," as meaning that our text, supported by the LXX and Vulg. of Gen. xxviii. 40, reads "his shepherd," whereas the Mass., Sam., and Syr. read "his friend." For fuller information the reader can refer to my Ethiopic Text.

i. First as to its agreement with individual authorities in opposition to the rest:

(α) It agrees with the Sam. against the Mass., LXX, Syr., Onk. in iv. 7 ("he called")—Gen. iv. 25 ("she called"); xxvi. 34 (?)—Gen. xxvii. 40.

(β) It agrees with the LXX against the Mass., Sam., Syr., Vulg. in iii. 24 ("thy pains")—Gen. iii. 16 ("thy conception"); v. 1—Gen. vi. 2; vii. 8—Gen. ix. 22; viii. 1—Gen. xi. 13; xiii. 2—Gen. xii. 6; xiv. 2, 12—Gen. xv. 2, 11; xv. 15 ("her name will be called")—Gen. xvii. 15 ("thou shalt call her name"); xviii. 2—Gen. xxii. 2; xxiv. 25—Gen. xxvi. 32; xxvi. 25 (+"his son")—Gen. xxvii. 30 (see my Text, p. 97, note 20); xxviii. 11 (+ Jacob)—Gen. xxix. 32; xxviii. 29—Gen. xxx. 43; xxix. 4—Gen. xxxi. 20; xlvi. 14 ("he set over")—Exod. i. 11 ("they set over").

(γ) It agrees with the Syriac version against the Mass., Sam., LXX, Vulg. in xii. 15 ("went forth" in sing.)—Gen. xi. 31 (Mass. = "went forth" in pl., Sam., LXX, Vulg. = "led forth"); xviii. 11 ("I have shown")—Gen. xxii. 12 ("I know"); xliii. 21 ("by the command of the mouth of Pharaoh")—Gen. xlv. 21 ("by the mouth of Pharaoh"); xlvii. 7—Exod. ii. 7; xlix. 9 ("the guilt")—Num. ix. 13 ("his guilt").

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(δ) It agrees with the Vulg. against Mass., Sam., LXX, Syr. in vii. 9 ("their shoulders")—Gen. ix. 23 ("both their shoulders"); xiv. 1 ("and thy reward")—Gen. xv. 1 ("thy reward"); xiv. 22 ("shall build up")—Gen. xvi. 2 ("shall be builded up"); xxiv. 3 ("give me")—Gen. xxv. 30 (feed me"); xxiv. 19 ("living water")—Gen. xxvi. 19 ("well of water"); xxvi. 31 ("Isaac")—Gen. xxvii. 39 ("Isaac his father").

(ε) It agrees with the Targum of Onkelos against the Mass., Sam., LXX, Syr., Vulg. in xiii. 20 ("not be numbered")—Gen. xiii. 16 ("be numbered"); xiii. 24 —Gen. xiv. 14; xv. 17 ("rejoiced")—Gen. xvii. 17 ("laughed").

ii. We shall next give its affinities with two or more of the above authorities in opposition to the rest.

(*a*) Its agreement with the Mass. and Sam.:

It agrees with the Mass. and Sam. against the LXX, Syr., Vulg. in iii. 3—Gen. ii. 20; vi. 7 ("with the life thereof with the blood")—Gen. ix. 4 (LXX ἐν αἵματι ψυχῆς).

It agrees with the Mass. and Onk. against the Sam., LXX, Syr., Vulg., Ps.-Jon. in iii. 7—Gen. ii. 24.

(β) Its agreement with the Mass., Sam., Syr., or with these + Vulg. or + Vulg. and Onk.:

It agrees with Mass., Sam., and Syr. against the LXX and Vulg. in iii. 25 ("for thy sake," בַּעֲבוּרֵךְ)—Gen. iii. 17 (LXX (and Vulg.) ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις σου = בַּעֲבוּרֵךְ); vi. 8 ("by man")—Gen. ix. 6 (LXX ἀντὶ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ); xxvi. 27 ("thy firstborn")—Gen. xxvii. 32 (LXX + Vulg. om. "thy"); xxvi. 29 ("unto his father")—Gen. xxvii. 34 (LXX + Vulg. om.); xxvii. 21 ("behold")—Gen. xxviii. 13 (LXX + Vulg. om.).

It agrees with the Mass., Sam., Syr., Vulg. against the LXX in v. 27 ("prevailed")—Gen. vii. 24 (LXX ὑψώθη);

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xii. 15 ("from Ur")—Gen. xi. 31 (LXX ἐκ τῆς χώρας); xiv. 3 ("out of thine own bowels")—Gen. xv. 4 (LXX ἐκ σοῦ = מִמְּךָ instead of מִמֶּעֶיךָ); xiv. 12—Gen. xv. 11; xv. 3 ("Almighty")—Gen. xvii. 1 (LXX σου).

It agrees with the Mass., Sam., Syr., Vulg., and Onk. against the LXX in xv. 20—Gen. xvii. 22; xxvi. 23 ("peoples")—Gen. xxvii. 29 (LXX ἄρχοντες = וְמַלְאִים corrupt for וּלְאֻמִּים); xxvi. 24 ("brethren")—Gen. xxvii. 29 (LXX τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου).

It agrees with the Mass., Sam., Syr., Aq., Symm., Vulg., and Onk. against the LXX in xiii. 10 ("towards the south")—Gen. xii. 9 (LXX ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ).

(γ) Its agreement with the Sam. and LXX or with these + Syr. or + Onk. or + Vulg. or + Syr. and Vulg.:

It agrees with the Sam. and LXX against the Mass., Syr., Vulg. in xiv. 18—Gen. xv. 20; xv. 14—Gen. xvii. 14; xvii. 1 ("his son")—Gen. xxi. 8 (om.); xxvii. 11 ("my father")—Gen. xxviii. 4 (om.).

It agrees with the Sam., LXX, and Syr. against the Mass., Vulg., and Onk. in ii. 16—Gen. ii. 2.

It agrees with the Sam., LXX, Syr., and Vulg. against Mass., Onk., and Ps.-Jon. in xii. 23 ("them that curse")—Gen. xii. 3 ("him that curses"); xvii. 7—Gen. xxi. 13; xxviii. 8 ("I shall give")—Gen. xxix. 27 ("we will give"); xliii. 12 ("with us")—Gen. xliv. 31 (om.).

It agrees with the Sam., LXX, Syr., and Vulg. against the Mass. and Onk. in xv. 16—Gen. xvii. 16; xv. 19 ("and for his seed")—Gen. xvii. 19 ("for his seed").

It agrees with the Sam., LXX, and Onk. against Mass., Syr., and Vulg. in iii. 6—Gen. ii. 23.

It agrees with the Sam., LXX, and Vulg. against the Mass. and Syr. in xiv. 13 ("it was said")—Gen. xv. 13 ("He said").

(δ) Its agreement with the Sam. and Syr. + the Vulg. or others:

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It agrees with the Sam., Syr., Ps.-Jon., Graec.-Ven. against the Mass., Vulg., and Itala in xviii. 12 ("a single (=אחד) ram")—Gen. xxii. 23 ("behind (אחר) him a ram"). Onk. combines both readings.

It agrees with the Sam., Syr., Vulg., Onk. against Mass. and LXX in xliv. 16 ("Phûa")—Gen. xlvi. 13 ("Puvvah").

(ε) Its agreement with the Sam. version + LXX or with the Sam. version + Syr. and others:

It agrees with the Sam. vers., LXX, Syr. (?), Onk. against Mass., Sam., Vulg. in xviii. 15—Gen. xxii. 17.

It agrees with the Sam. Vers., Syr., Vulg. (and possibly Sam.) against Mass. and LXX in xviii. 13 ("hath seen" or "seeth")—Gen. xxii. 14 (Mass. "will be seen" or "provided") (LXX ὤφθη).

(ζ) Its agreement with the LXX and Syr. and with these + others:

It agrees with the LXX and Syr. against Mass., Sam. in iii. 24 ("thy return")—Gen. iii. 16 ("thy desire"); xiv. 2 ("son of my handmaid")—Gen. xv. 2 ("of my house"?); xli. 9—Gen. xxxviii. 14.

It agrees with the LXX and Syr. and, in the main, with the Sam. and Vulg. against the Mass. and Onk. in vi. 32 ("beasts and cattle and birds and every moving thing"; LXX πάντα τὰ θηρία καὶ πάντα τὰ κτήνη καὶ πᾶν πετεινὸν καὶ πᾶν ἑρπετὸν κινούμενον. So Syr. save that it omits καὶ after πετεινόν; Sam. and Vulg. agree with LXX save that Vulg. omits καὶ πᾶν πετεινόν and Sam. omits καὶ πάντα τὰ κτήνη)—Gen. viii. 19 ("every beast, every creeping thing, and every fowl, whatsoever creepeth").

It agrees with the LXX, Syr., and Vulg. against the Mass. and Sam. in v. 8 ("will . . . abide")—Gen. vi. 3 ("will . . . strive"); xiv. 4 ("said unto him")—Gen. xv. 5 ("said"); xv. 16—Gen. xvii. 16; xxiv. 3 ("said to him")

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—Gen. xxv. 31 ("said"); xliii. 12 ("our father")—Gen. xliv. 30 (Mass. "my father").

(η) Its agreement with the LXX and Vulg.:

It agrees with the LXX and Vulg. against the Mass., Sam., and Syr. (+"and dancing") xvii. 4—Gen. xxi. 9; xxvii. 8—Gen. xxvii. 46 (+"of the daughters of Heth"); xxvii. 11 ("after thee")—Gen. xxviii. 4 ("with thee"); xxviii. 1 ("land of the east")—Gen. xxix. 1 ("land of the sons of the east"); xli. 14 ("his shepherd" = רֹעֵהוּ)—Gen. xxviii. 20 ("his friend" = רֵעֵהוּ).

It agrees with the LXX, Vulg., and Onk. in xv. 14 ("for he has broken")—Gen. xvii. 14 ("he has broken").

(θ) It agrees with the LXX ($d^{rii}e$, *πατρός μου*, but other MSS give *πατρός σου* as in the Sam. and Eth. vers.) against the Mass., Syr., and Vulg. in xxvii. 11—Gen. xxviii. 4 (om.).

Though the above list is not exhaustive it is sufficiently so for our purposes. It follows from it that our book attests an independent form of the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch. Thus it agrees at times with the Sam. or LXX or Syr. or Vulg. or even with Onk. against all the rest. Similarly it agrees with various combinations of these against the rest.

In the next place we infer from the following phenomena that *our book represents some form of the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch midway between the forms presupposed by the LXX and the Syriac.* For it agrees more frequently with the LXX, see i. (β), or with combinations into which the LXX enters, see ii. (γ), (ϵ), (η), (θ), than with any other single authority or with any combination excluding the LXX. Next to the LXX it agrees most often with the Syriac, see i. (γ), or with combinations into which the Syriac enters, see ii. (β), (δ). On the other hand its independence of the LXX is shown by such passages as i. (α), (γ), (δ), (ϵ), and its actual superiority in a large array of readings, ii. (α), (β),

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where it has the support of the Sam. and Mass., or of these with various combinations of Syr., Vulg. and Onk.

If to the above considerations we add the facts that, so far as I am aware, (1) it never agrees against all the rest with the Mass., which is in some respects the latest form of the Hebrew text; (2) that it agrees in a few cases with Onk., oftener with the Vulg., and still oftener with the Syr., and oftenest with the LXX, against all the rest; (3) that, when it enters combinations, it is almost universally in attestation of the earlier reading, it may be reasonably concluded that the textual evidence points to the composition of our book at some period between 250 B.C. (LXX version of Pentateuch) and 100 A.D., and at a time nearer the earlier date than the latter.

§ 11. Lacunae, Dittographies and Dislocations in our Text

Lacunae.—In addition to the occasional small lacunae which are supplied from the Latin version or other independent sources, there are four larger lacunae in ii. 22, iii. 23, vii. 37, xiii. 25. The first consists of two clauses according to the Greek authorities: "As there were two and twenty letters, and two and twenty books," but, according to the Midrash Tadshe, only of one: "As there were two and twenty letters" (see ii. 23 notes). Since the earliest testimony elsewhere to this reckoning of the books of the Old Testament as twenty-two is that of Josephus (*c. Apion.* i. 8), it is possible that the clause in question in Epiphanius and Syncellus may be an addition to the text of Jubilees. This reckoning is mentioned also by Origen, Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem, in the Canons of the Council of Laodicea, Jerome, etc. (see Ryle, *Canon of the Old Testament*, 1892, p. 221). On the other hand, it is

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not improbable that the disputed clause belongs to the original text: for its omission by the Midrash Tadshe is far from conclusive. We have already seen in the notes on ii. 2-3 that this Midrash (written *circ.* 1000 A.D.) has deliberately altered the text of Jubilees, where it is rightly transmitted by Epiphanius and Syncellus, in order to accommodate it to Talmudic Judaism. And in the present instance the motive for this omission was not wanting; for the usual reckoning of the books of the Old Testament in Talmudic writings (Taanith 8*a*; Shem. rabba 41, etc.) and later Jewish scholars, such as Isaac Abarbanel, was twenty-four (see Strack, Herzog's *Real-Encyc.*(2) vii. 434-436). Moreover, a passage in Isidore of Seville, which is clearly based on Jub. ii., supports the evidence of Epiphanius and Syncellus. It runs: Et xxii generationes sunt ab Adam usque ad Jacob, . . . et xxii libri Veteris Testamenti usque ad Hester et xxii literarum sunt elementa (see p. lxxxi for the rest of the quotation). Accordingly, since the negative evidence of the Midrash is thus largely discounted and since on the other hand we have the positive evidence of Epiphanius, Isidore, and Syncellus, and artificial analogies of this nature are characteristic of our author, I am inclined to accept the clause as original.[1]

[1] Since writing the above I have come across the following excerpt from the Greek version of Jubilees in Lambros' *Catalogue of the Greek MSS on Mt. Athos*, vol. i., pp. 292, which confirms my view. It is: Ἰωάννου ἀναγνώστου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Λεπτῆς Γενέσεως. Ἐν τῇ ϕϙ· [Α]π' ὧδε διαλαμβάνει βιβλίον τὸ καλούμενον λεπτὴ γένεσις. Ἐν τῷ κειμένῳ· Ἔργα ὡς λέγει ἔκτησεν (read ἔκτισεν) ὁ Θεὸς ἐν ταῖς ἓξ ἡμέραις, δι' ὃ καὶ κβ' γράμματα παρ' Ἑβραίοις καὶ κβ' βιβλία καὶ κη' γενεαρχίαι ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ ἕως Ἰακώβ. Κάϊν, ὡς λέγει, τῆς οἰκίας πεσούσης ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀπέθανεν. Lambros wrongly prints κβ' as κη' twice in the above passage. I owe the corrections to Mr. Lake, who has just collated it afresh for me on Mt. Athos. The excerpt is from a thirteenth-cent. MS. The last sentence regarding Cain is from Jub. iv. 31.

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The third lacuna in vii. 37 appears to have extended to two or more verses, which dealt with the right of eating the fruit of trees in the fifth year after they were planted, and of sowing and reaping the land during six years and the duty of letting it lie fallow on the seventh (see notes *in loc.*). The greatest loss which our book has sustained is that which occurs in xiii. 25. Here the text still stands in a mutilated condition. The subject of the lost verses was undoubtedly Abram's pursuit of the kings, his recovery of the captives, and his meeting with Melchizedek. Since on other grounds it appears that the Maccabean princes claimed in some respects to represent the priesthood of Melchizedek, this loss is most deplorable (see notes on xiii. 25, xxxii. 1, xxxvi. 16).

Dittographies.—We have already drawn attention to three passages where dittographies most probably existed already in the Hebrew text. These are far from infrequent in the Ethiopic version. Thus in i. 29, vi. 33, viii. 6, 16, ix. 1, xv. 34, xix. 10, xxii. 24, xxxi. 18, xxxiv. 13, xxxv. 13, the dittographies are verbal repetitions of clauses in immediate or mediate juxtaposition. Some of these repetitions may, of course, have already occurred in the Greek. But there is another class of dittographies present in our version which are due to incorporation in the text of duplicate renderings. Thus in xxx. 16 the clause "and no consideration of persons" follows immediately on "And there will be no respect of persons," and both are alternative renderings of *καὶ οὐκ ἔσται προσωπολημψία* or some such phrase. This conclusion is confirmed by the Latin version which shows no such dittography. We have the evidence of the same version for excising the dittography in xxiii. 11. Other duplicate renderings, which have found their way into the Ethiopic version, our text exhibits in xx. 3, xxi. 10, 13, xxiv. 3. Possibly in xxxii. 21 "read and

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read," which I have emended with the Latin legit et cognovit into "read and knew," should be regarded as a simple dittography within the Ethiopic; and legit et cognovit as due to two alternative renderings of *ἀνέγνω*, where the first is right.

Dislocations.—A most probable instance of this nature occurs in xxxvii. 20[ef]. These two prose lines intervene in the midst of a poem. They are corrupt in all the MSS, but by an easy emendation could be adapted to follow after the first clause of the preceding verse. See note *in loc.*

Another passage is v. 17-18 which deals with the Day of Atonement. I have treated it as interpolated or else as transposed from after xxxiv. 18-19, which treats of the first institution of this festival. It is possible, however, that these verses did belong to the original. Thus 10[b]-12 refer to the final judgment and the renewal of the world. The subject of the final judgment is there further dealt with in its general character in 13-16, and in 17-18 the writer turns aside to show the special grace accorded to Israel on that day if they observe the Day of Atonement. But I still incline to the view that 17-18 are foreign to their present context.

Again, i. 28 should probably be read before i. 26, and xxiii. 16 after xxiii. 19.

§ 12. Poetical Element in Jubilees

Just before completing my commentary on Jubilees, I was so fortunate as to discover that no small proportion of it was originally written in verse. Accordingly the reader will find the following passages arranged as verse: x. 3; xii. 2-5, 18-20, 23, 29; xv. 6-8; xviii. 15-16; xix. 17, 20-22, 25; xx. 6-10; xxi. 21-25; xxii. 11-23; xxiii. 23-31; xxiv. 30-32; xxv. 15-23; xxvi. 23-24, 31-34;

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xxxi. 15-20; xxxvii. 20-23. This discovery not only adds to the interest of the book but also illuminates many a dark passage, suggests the right connections of wrongly separated clauses, and forms an admirable instrument of criticism generally. Thus, if the reader turns to xxxvii. 20-23 he will find a poem—probably an old one—consisting of five stanzas of three lines each. Our recognition of this fact enables us to excise as an interpolation the unintelligible words occurring in the MSS at the close of the first stanza. Even if we emended these words we should only have a distich, which would be suspicious in the midst of a poem consisting of tristichs. But not only is the form against their genuineness here, but also their subject matter (see notes *in loc.*). Again, in xxxi. 18 we reject a line both on the ground of the parallelism and of its being a dittography, and in xxi. 22 a line on the ground of the parallelism. The most important of these poems is the apocalypse in xxiii. 23-31 which consists of ten stanzas, the first nine of which are tristichs and the last a tetrastich. Of the rest some are composed in distichs, as xii. 23, 29; xviii. 15-16; xx. 6-10; xxii. 11-23; xxv. 15-23, xxvi. 23-24, 31-34; xxxi. 15-20; some in tristichs xix. 17, 25; xxi. 21-25; xxxvii. 20-23; and the rest partly in distichs and partly in tristichs in xii. 18-20 (consisting of a tristich + distich + tristich + 2 distichs); xv. 6-8 (distich + 2 tristichs); xix. 20-22 (2 tristichs + 2 distichs). While on the one hand it must be confessed that in xv. 6-8; xviii. 15-16; xxxi. 20, and in one or more other passages, it is difficult to arrive at a satisfactory arrangement; on the other it seems most probable that much of the first chapter was originally written in verse; also vii. 10^{b}-12; xxvii. 23-24; xxxii. 18-19, and many passages elsewhere.

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§ 13. Jubilees from one Author, but based on Earlier Books and Traditions

Our book is the work of one author, but is largely based on earlier books and traditions. The narrative of Genesis forms, of course, the bulk of the book, but every page of it contains materials characteristic of the age of our author. By referring to Index I. the reader will see at a glance the books of the Old Testament laid under contribution.

But our present chief interest is the relation of our author to non-canonical Jewish literature. Thus he borrows vii. 20-39, x. 1-15 from the Book of Noah. Of this book happily the greater part of x. 1-2, 9-14 is still preserved in the Hebrew Book of Noah (see Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrasch*, iii. 155, and my Text of Jubilees, p. 179). Our author had before him also the greater part of the Book of Enoch vi.-xvi., xxiii.-xxxvi., lxxii.-xc.

Besides these he also made use of current traditions and legends, which were already reduced to writing, and have come down to us in Hebrew and Greek in other independent works. Thus the war of Jacob and his sons against the Amorite kings, xxxiv. 1-9, is found in the Test. Judah 3-7, a contemporary work, in the Midrash Wajjissau, which contains if not the original legend, at all events a very early recast of it, and in the Book of Jashar—a late work. Again, our author drew on existing writings for his description of the fratricidal war between Jacob and Esau in xxxvii.-xxxviii. Here the only contemporary authority that still exists for our text is Test. Jud. 9. But with a few reservations the same statement may be made of the Hebrew document preserved in the Jalkut Shimeoni i. 132 and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel (see my notes on pp. 214-215).

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Other incidents in our text, which are attested also in the contemporary Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs, are the story of Bilhah's dishonour at the hands of Reuben during Jacob's absence (Jub. xxxiii. 1-9—Test. Reuben 3); Levi's dream as to the priesthood (xxxii. 1—Test. Levi 2, 4, 5, 8, 9), and his consecration to it by Isaac (xxxi. 13-17—Test. Levi 9); the names of the wives of Levi and Judah (xxxiv. 20—Test. Levi 11; Test. Jud. 8, 13, 16); the story of Tamar, Er and Onan, and Judah's repentance (xli.—Test. Jud. 10, 12, 14, 19); the burial of Jacob's sons in Hebron (xlvi. 9—Test. Reub. 7, Levi 19, Jud. 26 Zeb. 10, Dan. 7, Naph. 9, Gad 8, Asher 8; cf. Jos. *Ant.* ii. 8. 2) during a war between Egypt and Canaan (xlvi. 9—Test. Sim. 8, Benj. 12 [Arm. Vers.]). Also the insertion of Kâinâm in vii. 1 is supported by the LXX of Gen. xi. 13.

Other legendary matter in Jubilees, for which contemporary or earlier documents are, as a rule, not at hand, though most probably belonging to ancient tradition, furnishes us with *a large number of proper names*—particularly the names of women—'Âwân, wife of Cain (iv. 9), 'Azûra, wife of Seth (iv. 11), Mûalêlêth, the wife of Kenan (iv. 14), and the wives of the various patriarchs down to Terah (see iv. 15, 16, 20, 27, 28, 33; vii. 14, 15, 16; viii. 1, 5, 6, 7; xi. 9, 14, etc.), and of the twelve sons of Jacob (xxxiv. 20), and the daughter of Pharaoh (xlvii. 5). As other proper names of persons we might observe: Barâkî'êl (iv. 15), Râsûjâl (iv. 16), Dânêl (iv. 20), and so on for the fathers of the wives mentioned above (iv. 27, 28, 33; viii. 1, 5, 6, etc.); also Mâkamârôn, king of Canaan (xlvi. 6), and the Êljô[1] (vii. 22). Again, as names of places: 'Êldâ (iii. 32), the mount of the East (iv. 26), the three

[1] This name is found in the Greek Version (Syncellus) of the Eth. Enoch vii. 2 as 'Ελιούδ.

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cities built by Noah's sons (vii. 14, 15, 16), the various mountains, islands, towns, rivers, and seas mentioned in viii. 12-ix. 13 (most of which can, however, be identified with actual places), 'Êrmôn (= Heroonpolis, xlvi. 6).

Other legendary matter was in many instances (see notes *in loc.*), and possibly in all, the source of the following statements and incidents: the period of five days spent by Adam in naming the creatures (iii. 1-3), the common language of all animals before the Fall (iii. 28), the number of Adam's sons, *i.e.* twelve (iv. 10), his burial—the first that was made in the earth (iv. 29), the manner of Cain's death (iv. 31), Kâinâm's discovery of writings of the Watchers (viii. 1-4), the detailed account of the tower of Babel and its destruction by a mighty wind (x. 21-26), the beginning of wars and idolatry in Serug's time (xi. 2-4), the history of Abraham's early days and exploits (xi. 16-24), his campaign against idolatry and burning of a heathen temple, death of Haran, Abraham's astronomical knowledge and miraculous acquisition of Hebrew (xii. 1-8, 12-14, 16-21, 25-27), Abraham's ten temptations (xvii. 17), the fact of Zilpah and Bilhah being sisters (xxviii. 9), and of Zebulon and Dinah being twins (xxviii. 23), rape of Dinah at the age of twelve (xxx. 1-3), Jacob's presents to his parents four times a year (xxix. 14-17, 19-20), Isaac's blessing of Levi and Judah (xxxi. 13-20), appointment of Levi to the priesthood as the tenth son (xxxii. 2-3), the deaths of Bilhah and Dinah after news of Joseph's death (xxxiv. 15-16), Simeon's marriage to a woman of Mesopotamia on his repentance (xxxiv. 21), after having first married a woman from Zephath (xliv. 13), the years of famine traced to the failure of the Nile (xlv. 9), the temporary stay of many Israelites in Canaan after burial of the patriarchs (xlvi. 10), the number of months during which the Hebrew children were cast into the river (xlvii. 2), the burning of

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the Egyptian gods (xlviii. 5), destruction of 1000 Egyptians in the Red Sea for every Hebrew child that was cast into the river (xlviii. 14).

§ 14. Jubilees—A Product of the Midrashic Tendency at work in the Old Testament Chronicler, but represented by its Author as an Esoteric Tradition

Our book represents an extreme product of the midrashic process which is apparent on most pages of the Old Testament Chronicler. (*a*) The Chronicler, as we know, to a certain extent rewrote with an object the earlier history of Israel and the history of Judah already recounted in Samuel and Kings. In his hands the history of the nation is so recast as to make it a history of the church, the temple and its cultus, and to represent David and his pious successors as observing all the prescripts of the law according to the Priests' Code. (*b*) In the course of this process facts that will not square with the writer's presuppositions are omitted or transformed in character. This applies particularly to breaches of the Priests' Code; also to statements such as that in 2 Sam. xxiv. 1, which ascribes David's temptation to Yahweh. This temptation the Chronicler attributes to Satan (1 Chron. xxi. 1).

(*a*) Now the author of Jubilees sought to do for Genesis[1] what the Chronicler had done for Samuel and Kings (observe especially his recasting of 2 Kings xi. in 2 Chron. xxii. 10-xxiii. 21), and so he rewrote it in such a way as to

[1] The procedure of our author is, of course, in direct antagonism with the presuppositions of the Priests' Code in Genesis. Thus according to it "Noah may build no altar, Abraham offer no sacrifice, Jacob erect no sacred pillar. No offering is recorded till Aaron and his sons are ready" (Carpenter, *The Hexateuch*, i. 124).

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show that the law had been rigorously observed, even by the patriarchs.

(*b*) Like the Chronicler our author found many statements in Genesis that did not square with his presuppositions, and accordingly we find that in many instances he alters the text before him,[1] and in others he simply omits. Thus he omits [2] the sending out of the raven (Gen. viii. 7) possibly on the ground of its being an unclean bird (Lev. xi. 15), and of the doves, Abraham's entertainment of the angels (Gen. xviii. 2-8), his intercession for Sodom (xviii. 22-33), the mention of Lot's wife and many details regarding the destruction of Sodom (Gen. xix. 1-24), Abraham's deception of the Egyptians (xii. 11-14, 18), and of Abimelech in regard to Sarah (Gen. xx. 2-3), Isaac's prayer that Rebecca may have offspring, etc. (Gen. xxv. 21-26), his deception of Abimelech in regard to Rebecca (Gen. xxvi. 7-10), Jacob's meeting with Rachel and his welcome by Laban (Gen. xxix. 2-15), the story of the mandrakes (Gen. xxx. 14-16), Jacob's devices to increase his flocks at the expense of Laban (Gen. xxx. 37-42), the mutual recriminations of Jacob and Laban (Gen. xxxi. 26-32, 36-42), Jacob's meeting with the angels (Gen. xxxii. 1-2), his wrestling with the angel (xxxii. 24-32), his fear of Esau and efforts to propitiate him (Gen. xxxii.-xxxiii.), the circumcision of the Shechemites and their covenant with Jacob (Gen. xxxiv. 14-24). The omissions in the history of Joseph are numerous, but they can be explained almost wholly on the ground of the author's desire for brevity. But as regards Gen. xlix. the case is different. It is

[1] See pp. xlix, liv.

[2] The narrative about Melchizedek is lost in the course of transmission, but was not omitted by our author (see xiii. 25 note). Nor yet was the reference to fasting on the Day of Atonement (see xxxiv. 18 note).

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purposely suppressed because of its severity on Levi and its giving the pre-eminence to Judah. Our author throughout reverses this relation, and everywhere sets Levi before Judah.

Again, like the Chronicler he takes offence at the frequent mention of men being tempted or slain by God in Genesis and Exodus, and after the example of the Chronicler he represents the temptation of Abraham to offer Isaac (Gen. xxii.) as due to Mastêmâ (Jub. xvii. 16), the attempt on Moses's life (Exod. iv. 24) as made by the same evil agent; likewise the hardening of the hearts of the Egyptians (xlviii. 17—Exod. xiv. 8), and the slaying of the first-born (xlix. 2—Exod. xii. 29), he ascribes to the activities of Mastêmâ and his angels.

Again, just as we must not suppose that the peculiar impress which the Chronicler gave to his historical materials was the result of his individual activity but rather the outcome of a process, which in the course of successive generations had in many respects been transforming history into legend, so we must be careful to recognise in our author's book only a more advanced stage of the process above referred to. Possibly this process would not, in the natural course of things, have thrust the completed law further back than the time of Moses, but the exigencies of our author's time and the corroding influences of Hellenism seemed to him to demand the recognition of the law as superior to time, though revealed in time, and valid not only unto eternity but from eternity. The materials which suggested such a view were already at hand. If the earthly tabernacle was only a copy of a heavenly original (Exod. xxv. 9-40, xxvi. 30), it was but natural to infer that the various elements of the law, which were established in the course of tradition, were likewise copies of divine originals engraven on the heavenly tables. Such a view seemed to

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be called for by the necessities of the time. Hellenism had for many a decade been undermining circumcision and the observance of the Sabbath,[1] which were the bulwarks of Judaism, before these destructive tendencies came to a head in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes (see note on xv. 14). Our author is a late representative of the strong reactionary movement which asserted the everlasting validity and sanctity of these elements of the law. Thus he teaches that, though circumcision was first ordained in Abraham's time, it had been ordained in heaven from the beginning, for the two highest orders of the angels had been created circumcised, and that Israel was through circumcision sanctified together with them (xv. 27 note). Similarly the Sabbath, though first ordained in Jacob's time (see ii. 23, 31 notes), was originally celebrated in heaven by God and by the same two chief orders of angels. Israel was to unite with these angels in observing it. It was to be a sign like circumcision marking off Israel from all the other nations of the earth (ii. 19-21), and making them one with the two chief orders of angels in heaven.

Jubilees—an Esoteric Tradition according to its Author. —The Book of Jubilees claims as a whole to be a revelation of God to Moses, and thus to form a supplement to, and an interpretation of, the Pentateuch, which it calls "the first law" (vi. 22). According to 4 Ezra xiv. 6 Moses was to reveal the latter but not the former. This second appears from our author to have embraced in a final authenticated form various revelations which had been made to the patriarchs, and constituted in their hands an esoteric tradition. This secret tradition had been handed down from father to son. Thus Enoch committed it to Methuselah, and Methuselah to Lamech, and Lamech to Noah (vii. 38, xxi. 10). Noah in turn entrusted all his

[1] See 1 Macc. i. 39, 43.

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books to his eldest son, Shem (x. 14). Between Shem and Abram the knowledge of the sacred language was lost. But the latter was taught this language by an angel, and he thereupon studied "the books of his fathers" (xii. 27). From these books of his forefathers embracing the writings of Enoch and Noah, Abraham instructed Isaac (xxi. 10). These books contained regulations regarding sacrifices as well as other matters (vii. 38, xxi. 10; cf. Test. Zeb. 3). To Jacob also Abraham transmitted the traditions directly (xxv. 7, xxxix. 6). Again, Jacob educated Joseph from the writings of Abraham (xxxix. 6-7), and finally handed over "all his books and the books of his fathers to Levi his son that he might preserve them and renew them for his children until this day" (xlv. 16). Thus this secret tradition was to be preserved in the hands of the priesthood till the time should come for its publication. From this last statement it would not be unreasonable to infer that our author was a member of the priestly caste.

§ 15. Object of Jubilees—the Defence and Exposition of Judaism from the Pharisaic Standpoint of the Second Century B.C.

The object of our author is to defend Judaism against the disintegrating effects of Hellenism.

Our author defends Judaism (*a*) by glorifying the law as an eternal ordinance and representing the patriarchs as models of piety; (*b*) by glorifying Israel and insisting on its separation from the Gentiles; and (*c*) by denouncing the Gentiles generally and particularly Israel's national enemies.

(*a*) *Our author glorifies the law.*—We have already (p. l) drawn attention to our author's glorification of circumcision and the Sabbath, the bulwarks of Judaism, as

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heavenly ordinances, the sphere of which was so far extended as to embrace Israel on earth. The law, as a whole, was to our author the realisation in time of what was in a sense timeless and eternal. He is careful to set forth the historical occasions when the various elements of the law were first celebrated on earth, and herein he followed a tendency already well established in post-exilic Judaism. We shall now enumerate these briefly. The levitical law of purification after childbirth was enacted after the creation of Adam and Eve (iii. 8-14). On the expulsion of Adam from Eden the law of covering one's shame was enacted (iii. 30-32). This law does not belong to the Mishna or later Jewish legislation. It was manifestly levelled against the custom of baring the person in the Greek games, and is not explicable of any other than the early Maccabean period. The daily incense-offering began after Adam's expulsion from Eden (iii. 27). The law relating to the jubilees was first set forth by Enoch (iv. 18). The law of retribution in kind—"an eye for an eye"—was first carried out in the case of Cain (iv. 31-32). Noah instituted the feast of weeks, which had been observed in heaven since the creation (vi. 17-22), also the feasts on the new moons (vi. 23-27); he offered sacrifices, which anticipate later ritual (vi. 1-4, vii. 3-5), and enunciated the laws regarding fruit-trees and the land keeping Sabbath (vii. 2, 35-37), though he ascribed these laws to Enoch (vii. 38). Abram enacted the law of tithes (xiii. 25-29); celebrated the feast of first-fruits of the grain harvest on the 15th of the third month (xv. 1-2) and instituted the feast of tabernacles (xvi. 20-31), ordained peace-offerings and the regulations relating to the use of salt, wood for sacrifices, washing before sacrifices, and the duty of covering blood (xxi. 7-17), and forbade all intermarrying with the Canaanites (xxii. 20, xxv. 5), and adultery (xxxix. 6). Laban set forth the law—unknown to

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Jewish tradition—that the younger sister should not be given in marriage before the elder (xxviii. 6). The penalty of death was ordained for intermarriage with the heathen in connection with the destruction of Shechem (xxx. 7-17). Levi was ordained priest by Jacob at the feast of tabernacles (xxx. 18-23, xxxii. 2-3), and blessed by Isaac as such (xxxi. 13-17). Jacob offered tithes through Levi at the feast of tabernacles —also the second tithe (xxxii. 4-9), and re-enacted the law of tithes (xxxii. 10-15; see xiii. 25-29); added the eighth day to the feast of tabernacles as a permanent institution (xxxii. 27-29). The law regarding incest was published in connection with Reuben's outrage (xxxiii. 10-20). The day of Atonement was instituted as a day of fasting and mourning in commemoration of the day when the news of Joseph's death arrived (xxxiv. 18-19; cf. v. 18). The law of incest was re-enacted and extended in connection with Judah's sin with Tamar (xli. 25-26). Jacob celebrated the feast of the first-fruits (xliv. 1, 4).[1]

Glorification of the patriarchs.—This glorification of the patriarchs was also characteristic of the Priests' Code (see Carpenter, *Hexateuch*, i. 123). They are transformed into saints by our author. It is for this reason that Gen. xii. 11-13 (which tells of Abram's representing Sarai as his sister) is omitted, and likewise Isaac's lie about Rebecca, Gen. xxvi. 7. Abram, according to our author, knew the true God from his youth (xi. 16, 17, xii. 1 sqq.). Jacob is

[1] In the course of rewriting Genesis from the standpoint of the law our author explains certain difficulties. According to Gen. ii. 17 Adam was to die on the day that he eat of the tree of knowledge. This was fulfilled: for one day is a thousand years in the testimony of the heavens, and Adam died at 930 (iv. 29-30). Esau gave up his birthright because he was suffering from the famine in the land (xxiv. 2 sqq.). This explanation our author arrives at by transposing Gen. xxvi. 1 before Gen. xxv. 29 sqq. Isaac's failure to recognise Jacob was due to a dispensation from heaven (xxvi. 18).

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represented as a model of filial affection and obedience[1] (xxv. 4 sqq., xxxv. 9-12). The passages relating to Jacob's devices for increasing his flocks (Gen. xxx. 35-38) and his fear of and measures for propitiating Esau (Gen. xxxii.-xxxiii.) are omitted. Indeed our author represents Jacob as declaring that he was not afraid (xxvii. 4) and as ultimately killing Esau (xxxviii. 2). The text in Gen. xliv. 15 is changed in order to clear Joseph from the charge of divination, and the word "Esau" omitted in Gen. xxvii. 24 in order to cover Jacob's lie, and the words "his brother is dead" (Gen. xliv. 20) are changed into "one went away and was lost" (xliii. 11) in order to avoid making Joseph's brethren tell a deliberate lie.[2]

(*b*) *Glorification of Israel and its separation from the Gentiles.*—Whereas the various nations of the Gentiles were subject to angels, Israel was subject to God alone (xv. 32). Not Japheth (Gen. ix. 27) but God was to dwell in the tents of Shem (vii. 12). Israel, moreover, was God's son; and not only did the nation stand in this relation to God, but also

[1] Our author is careful to show that Abram did not leave Terah (xii. 28-31) unless with the full approval of the latter. Jacob did not leave Isaac till the latter approved and sent him off with a blessing (xxvii. 9 sqq.). Esau stole the possessions of his father, but Jacob supplied all his parents' need four times a year (xxix. 15 sqq.).

[2] To the above class we might add the long addition in chaps. viii. and ix. regarding the division of the earth under Noah. According to this division Palestine fell to the descendants of Shem, and thus our writer justifies the subsequent annihilation of the Canaanites by Israel. Again, Abraham's marriage with Keturah is defended on the ground that Hagar was already dead (xix. 11). Reuben was not so guilty because the law against which he offended had not yet been revealed (xxxiii. 16). Levi's destruction of Shechem is declared to be the ground of his election to the priesthood (xxx. 18); his deed was righteous, for marriage with a Gentile is equivalent to idolatry (xxx. 10). As our author took up this standpoint he had to omit the league that was formed between Jacob and Shechem and the reception of circumcision by the latter (Gen. xxx.).

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its individual members (i. 24, 25, 28, xix. 29). Israel was to receive circumcision as a sign that they were the Lord's (xv. 26), a privilege which they were to enjoy in common with the two chief orders of angels (xv. 27). They were also to unite with God and these two orders in the observance of the Sabbath (ii. 18, 19, 21). Finally, the destinies of the world were bound up with Israel. The world was to be renewed in the creation of the true man Jacob (xix. 24-25, ii. 22), and its final renewal to synchronize with the setting up of God's sanctuary on Zion and the establishment of the Messianic kingdom (i. 29, iv. 26, v. 12).

Israel to be separate from the Gentiles.—Israel was not in any way to imitate the conduct of the Gentiles (xv. 34, xxii. 16); not to eat with them (xxii. 16), nor to form leagues with them (xxiv. 25, 27), nor to intermarry with them; for he that gave his daughter to a Gentile, gave her to Moloch (xxii. 20, xxv. 9, xxx. 7, 10, 11, 13).

(*c*) *The Gentiles denounced generally and particularly Israel's national enemies.*—With the immeasurable arrogance of Judaism there went necessarily, hand in hand, an immeasurable hatred and contempt of the Gentiles. Tacitus, more than two centuries later, called attention to this characteristic of the Jews ("adversus omnes alios hostile odium," *Hist.* v. 5). Judaism regarded its own attitude to the Gentiles as not only justifiable but also just, because it was but a reflection of the divine. God had placed the nations under the authority of spirits or angelic guardians with the object of compassing their destruction (xv. 31). Here, most probably, the *ultimate result* of an action is declared to be the *immediate object* of it. Our author denounces particularly the national enemies of Israel, and these, as we shall have more than once occasion to observe, were the very nations with whom Israel was frequently

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at war in the second century B.C. First of all our author's maledictions are fulminated against the Philistines both in this world and in the next. The chief cities of this nation were either subjected or destroyed by the Maccabean princes (see xxiv. 28-32 notes). Next they are directed against Edom. Thus Isaac is represented as declaring in the blessing of Esau, that, if Esau's seed rebelled against Israel, they should be "rooted out from under heaven" (xxvi. 34). A war between Jacob and Esau is described in xxxviii. 1-14, in which Edom was reduced to servitude "until this day." Edom was thoroughly subdued by John Hyrcanus and forced to accept circumcision (xxxviii. 8 note). Again, in a description of a war between Jacob and seven kings of the Amorites, the writer forecasts the Maccabean victories of later times (xxxiv. 1-9). In an earlier passage he enumerates the chief seats of the Amorites. These were associated with Maccabean victories, in which the Amorites were all but annihilated (xxix. 10-11). Of the Amorites who were "wicked and sinful" and had "wrought to the full all their sins," our author grimly remarks "they have no longer length of life on earth" (xxix. 11). This was practically the result of the Maccabean wars.

§ 16. Angelology and Demonology of Jubilees

Angelology.—The angelology of the author, like that of the Ethiopic Enoch, is in an advanced stage. There are two supreme classes, the angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification (ii. 2, 18), and a very large order of inferior angels who presided over natural phenomena (ii. 2 note). The two first classes joined with Israel in observing the Sabbath and circumcision (see p. l) and other elements of the law, as the feast of weeks (vi. 18). In addition to the above there were the (seventy) angels who formed the angelic

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patrons of the nations (xv. 31), and the angels who were the guardians of individuals (xxxv. 17).

The duties assigned to the angels in connection with mankind are numerous. They brought Adam into the Garden of Eden and afterwards Eve (iii. 9, 12), and instructed Adam in tillage in the Garden (iii. 15). They report to God all the sin committed on the earth (iv. 6). The order called "Watchers" descended in the days of Jared to instruct the children of men (iv. 15), and afterwards sinned with the daughters of men (iv. 22). The angels showed to Enoch all that was "on earth and in the heavens" during 294 years (iv. 21), and conducted him into the Garden of Eden (iv. 23). They bound the fallen Watchers in the depths of the earth (v. 6); took to Noah the animals that were to enter the ark (v. 23). In the presence of an angel the earth was divided among Noah's sons (viii. 10). Angels bound nine-tenths of the demons in the place of condemnation (x. 9-11), and instructed Noah in the remedies against all diseases (x. 12); they accompanied the Lord in visiting the tower of Babel (x. 23). An angel bade Abram to go to the land of promise (xii. 22), and instructed him in the knowledge of Hebrew, and explained to him what he found unintelligible (xii. 26, 27). Angels announced to Abraham the birth of Isaac and admonished Sarah for laughing (xvi. 1-4); saved Lot from Sodom (xvi. 7); blessed Abraham and disclosed to him what had been decreed about him (xvi. 16). An angel comforted Hagar (xvii. 11), and withheld Abraham's hand from sacrificing Isaac (xviii. 10). Angels tested Abraham's patience after the death of Sarah (xix. 3). The angels will remember unto a thousand generations Levi's righteous judgment on Shechem (xxx. 20). An angel showed Jacob in a vision of the night seven tablets which recorded all that would befall him and his posterity, and bade him copy them (xxxii. 21, 24-25). Angels disclosed to Judah that

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he was forgiven for his sin with Tamar (xli. 24). An angel delivered Moses out of the hands of Mastêmâ (xlviii. 2-4). Angels prevented the magicians from furnishing any remedies to the Egyptians (xlviii. 10), and delivered the Israelites out of the hands of the Egyptians (xlviii. 13), and bound Mastêmâ from the 14th to the 18th and let him loose on the 19th, when they led Israel forth (xlviii. 15-19). An angel made known to Moses the Sabbaths, year-weeks, and jubilees, etc. (l. 1-4).

Demonology.—Over against the angelic kingdom stands a well-organised demonic or satanic kingdom. This kingdom is governed by "the prince of the Mastêmâ,"[1] where Mastêmâ is in point of derivation and meaning the equivalent of Satan. His subjects comprise both satans and demons. The demons are the spirits which went forth from the bodies of the slain children of the Watchers and the daughters of men (x. 5; Eth. En. xvi.). According to Eth. En. liv. 6 the guilt of the Watchers originated in their becoming subject to Satan. By means of these demons the prince of the satans is able to compass his evils, which are the seduction and destruction of men. But these have no power over the righteous and over Israel (see note on x. 8).

§ 17. The Date of Jubilees

The date of our book can only be established by a series of indirect evidence. But this evidence is so plentiful and powerful, when apprehended, that no room is left for reasonable doubt.

i. *First of all the book was written during the pontificate*

[1] In all the Ethiopic MSS the phrase is wrongly given as "prince Mastêmâ" in xvii. 16, xlviii. 2, but *a b* rightly attest "prince of the Mastêmâ" in xviii. 9, 12, xlviii. 9, 12, 15.

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of the Maccabean family, and not earlier than 135 B.C.—Thus in xxxii. 1 Levi is called a "priest of the Most High God." Now, the only Jewish high-priests who ever bore this title were the Maccabean (see note on xxxii. 1). They appear to have assumed it as reviving the order of Melchizedek when they displaced the Zadokite order of Aaron. Jewish tradition ascribes the assumption of this title to John Hyrcanus, but it seems to have been already assumed by Simon; cf. Ps. cx. 4: "Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek," and 1 Macc. xiv. 41. If, however, we follow the Jewish tradition in this matter, we must fix on 135 B.C., when Hyrcanus became high-priest, as the earliest possible date for the composition of Jubilees. Notwithstanding the objections of the Pharisees to this title, it was used by the Maccabean princes down to the time of Hyrcanus II. (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 6. 2).

ii. *Next, it was written before* 96 B.C., *or some years earlier in the reign of Hyrcanus.*—Since our author is of the strictest sect a Pharisee, and at the same time approves of the Maccabean pontificate, Jubilees cannot have been written later than 96 B.C., when the Pharisees and Alexander Jannaeus came to open strife. Indeed, it is hard to conceive of its composition after the public breach between Hyrcanus and the Pharisees which is described in Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 10. 5-6), and in the Talmud (*Kiddush.* 66*a*) with some variations in names and details. After that event—unfortunately the year is not given by any authority—Hyrcanus joined the Sadducean party, and forbade, under penalties, the observance of Pharisaic ordinances. Hence we may conclude that *our book was written between* 135 *and the year of Hyrcanus' breach with the Pharisees.*

The above conclusions are confirmed by a large mass of evidence, which may be arranged under seven heads. Of these the first four point definitely to the latter half of the

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second century B.C. as the date of the composition of Jubilees; the remaining three give various grounds for postulating a pre-Christian date at any rate.

i. *Our book points to the period—already past—of stress and persecution that preceded the recovery of national independence under the Maccabees.*—Thus, it is impossible to ascribe to any other period the causes which led to the enactment or accentuation of the following laws:

(*a*) The Jews ("those who know . . . the law") were forbidden to expose their persons by a law "prescribed on the heavenly tables." This law was devised to forbid Jews taking part in the Greek games established by Jason the high-priest (see iii. 30-31, notes). It was not unnaturally derived from Gen. iii. 21, and was probably current for a generation before embodied by our author in his book.

(*b*) The law of circumcision is affirmed under the severest penalties (xv. 11-14, 26, 28). This law was observed in the creation of the highest angels (xv. 27). Yet Israel will, our author says, neglect it and "treat their members like the Gentiles" (xv. 33-34). Antiochus forbade circumcision under the penalty of death (1 Macc. i. 48, 60, 61; 2 Macc. vi. 10). There may be a reference also in our text to the Jews uncircumcising themselves, a practice which they resorted to under Antiochus Epiphanes in order to escape the scoffs of the heathen in the palaestra (1 Macc. i. 15; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5. 1).

(*c*) The Sabbath is re-enacted and its profanation is to be followed by the death penalty (ii. 17-32, l. 6-13). Non-observance of the Sabbath had been prevalent according to our author (xxiii. 19). Antiochus had forbidden the Jews to keep it (1 Macc. i. 39, 45; 2 Macc. vi. 6). Our text lays down the strictest sabbatical laws, such as were not in force at any time save in the second century B.C. or earlier. Thus war is absolutely forbidden (l. 12),

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and this prohibition was carried out, as we know, in the early Maccabean wars (see l. 12, note). But it was soon found impossible in practice (see note just referred to), and warfare on the Sabbath was subsequently permitted under a variety of circumstances (Bab. Shabb. i. 8; Shabb. 19*a*; Erub. 45*a*).

Again, a man is forbidden to cohabit with his wife (l. 8). This was the practice of the early Chasids; but this ascetic attitude to marriage is abandoned in the Mishna (see l. 8, note).

Again, riding on any beast is forbidden (l. 12). The enforcement of the law during the Syro-Grecian suzerainty is mentioned in the Talmud.

(*d*) Intermarriage with the heathen is absolutely prohibited by the penalty of death (xxx. 7-17). To give one's daughter to a Gentile was to give her to Moloch (xxx. 10, note). This question had for a long time before our author's date been of vital importance to Israel. But at no time could the danger from this source have been greater than during 200-160 B.C., when the destructive tendencies of Hellenism on Jewish character and religion had come to a head.

ii. *Our book presupposes as its historical background the most flourishing period of the Maccabean hegemony.*

(*a*) Only such a period could explain the assured spirit of triumph which led our author to anticipate a world-wide dominion and introduce that expectation into God's promise to Jacob in Gen. xxxv. 11-12: "I shall . . . multiply thee exceedingly, and kings will come forth from thee, and they will judge the sons of men wherever their foot has trodden.[1] And I shall give to thy seed all the earth which is under heaven . . . and they will get possession of the whole earth and inherit it for ever" (Jub. xxxii. 18-19).

[1] See note on p. lxx note.

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(*b*) Only such a period could explain the pre-eminence assigned by our book to Levi over Judah. We have seen above (p. xlviii) that our author omitted Gen. xlix. because of the absolute pre-eminence above his brethren which is there assigned to Judah and the denunciation of Levi. But he goes further. Thus he ascribes to Levi's descendants the supreme offices of high-priest and civil ruler (xxxi. 14-17), but in regard to Judah, only Judah himself and one of his descendants (*i.e.* the Messiah) are mentioned as holding civil authority (xxxi. 18-20). Our author seems to imply that the royal descendants of David are no more, and that till the Messiah comes the Maccabees would hold the offices of high-priest and king. In later days when the Maccabees became a name of reproach, they were charged with usurping the throne of David (Pss. of Solomon xvii. 5, 6, 8) and the high-priesthood (Assumpt. Mos. vi. 1).

(*c*) The legend of the conquests of Esau's sons by the sons of Jacob in xxxvii.-xxxviii., points very clearly to the complete conquest of Edom by Judah in the Maccabean wars. In these wars the Edomites had sided with the Syrians till they were made tributary by John Hyrcanus. This subjection of Edom is referred to in xxxviii. 14, "The sons of Edom have not got quit of the yoke of servitude . . . until this day" (*i.e.* the author's time). See notes on xxxvii. 9-10, xxxviii. 4-9, where the fuller account in the Jalkut refers to 'Aqrabbim (1 Macc. v. 3), which as well as Adora were memorable as scenes connected with the Maccabean struggle.

This period also best explains the hatred which transformed Isaac's blessing of Esau into a curse (xxvi. 34).

(*d*) Again the Maccabean wars are adumbrated in the struggle of Jacob's sons with the Amorite kings in xxxiv. 1-9. This is clearer in the completer narrative in

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Test. Judah 3-7. The cities, Tappuah, Hazor, and Bethoron, which are mentioned here, are associated with notable victories and incidents in the Maccabean war. See notes on xxxiv. 4. So also Bousset, *Zeitschrift f. NTliche Wissensch.* 1900, pp. 202-205. But the reference to the Amorites is much more obvious in xxix. 10-11, where our author enumerates their chief cities and then grimly adds: "They have no longer length of life on the earth" (xxix. 10-11). Their practical annihilation, which is here referred to, was effected by Judas (see notes on xxix. 10).

(*e*) Our text reflects accurately the intense hatred of Judah towards the Philistines in the second cent. B.C. It declares that they will be put to the sword by the Kittim, *i.e.* the Macedonians under Alexander the Great, and subsequently fall into the hands of "the righteous nation" (xxiv. 28-29), and be exterminated, as they practically were by the Maccabees (see xxiv. 28-32, notes).

iii. Our author gives in an apocalypse a history of the Maccabean times (xxiii. 12-31), from the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes to the Messianic kingdom, the advent of which is just at hand. In this section we have the rise of the Chasids, who rebuke their elders for forsaking the law and the covenant (xxiii. 16), the general corruption which entails judgment on man and beast and leads to civil strife (xxiii. 17-20), the warlike efforts of the Maccabeans to reclaim the Hellenisers to Judaism (xxiii. 20-22), the sufferings of the nation through the repeated attacks of Syria (xxiii. 23-25), Israel's return to the law, and its gradual ethical and physical transformation in the Messianic kingdom and its triumph over its national foes (xxiii. 26-30). Our author stands already on the threshold of this happy time. It is, therefore, in the most prosperous days of the Maccabean dynasty, *i.e.*, in the days of Simon or John Hyrcanus.

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iv. Our book was used by the author of Eth. Enoch xci.-civ., and must, therefore, have been written at latest at the beginning of the first cent. B.C. (see § 19).

v. The textual affinities of our text connect it more closely with the form of Hebrew text, which is presupposed by the LXX (250 B.C.) and found in the Samaritan Pentateuch, than with that which lay behind the Syriac and later versions or Targums. From this evidence we may conclude at all events to a pre-Christian date (see § 10).

vi. Our text preserves older forms of the Haggada and Halacha than are found in the Talmud and later Jewish literature. The details will be found on referring to the notes on the various passages.

Haggada.—In i. 27 (see note) an angel reveals the law to Moses: according to later Judaism Moses receives it from God Himself. In ii. 2-3 angels are said to have been created on the first day: in later Judaism on the second or fifth. According to ii. 7 the Garden of Eden was created on the third day: according to later Judaism before the world. In xi. 2-6 the corruption of mankind is ascribed to the time of Serug: in later Judaism to that of Enos. In xii. 1-14 we have the primitive form of the saga so much developed in later Judaism about Ur of the Chaldees. In xix. 11 Abraham's marriage to Keturah is justified on the ground that Hagar was already dead, whereas later Judaism identifies Hagar and Keturah. In xxx. 2-6 the praise given to Levi and Simeon accords with Jewish views of the first and second cent. B.C. Later Judaism on the whole accepts the judgment pronounced on them in Genesis. Again our author records honestly the marriages of Simeon, Judah, and Joseph, to Gentile women, though such marriages must have in his eyes been full of offence. But later Judaism felt the offence to be too grave for toleration, and sought to establish the Hebrew descent of the women in

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question (see xxxiv. 20, xl. 10 notes). In xxxvii.-xxxviii. we have the oldest form of the legend of the war between Jacob's sons and the sons of Esau, and similarly in the case of the war between Egypt and Canaan in xlvi. 6-11. Later developments of these legends are found in rabbinic literature. Again, our text retains the original form of the traditions in Genesis, where later Judaism explained them away as offensive. Thus in iv. 15 the sons of God are rightly taken to be angels: in xxxiii. 2 the story of Reuben and Bilhah is accepted, but later Judaism manages to remove all that is objectionable in it. See also notes on iv. 12, xl. 10.

Halacha.—The severe halacha regarding the sabbath in l. 8, 12, were indubitably in force in the second cent. B.C., if not earlier, but were afterwards mitigated by the Mishna and later Judaism. Again the strict halacha in xv. 14 regarding circumcision on the eighth day was a current, probably the current, view in the second cent. B.C. and earlier, since it has the support of the Samaritan text and the LXX. This strict law was subsequently relaxed in the Mishna. In xxxii. 15 the severe law of tithing found in Lev. xxvii. 15 is enforced, but rabbinic tradition sought to weaken the statement. As regards the halacha laid down in iii. 31 regarding the duty of covering one's shame, it is highly probable that such a halacha did exist in the second cent. B.C., when Judaism was protesting against the exposure of the person in the Greek games. See also iii. 8-14 notes, and xx. 4 note.

Finally, we might draw attention to the fact that the Pharisaic regulation about pouring water on the altar (Jer. Sukk. iv. 6; Sukk. 44*a*) at the feast of tabernacles appears to have been unknown to him. We know that the attempt of the Pharisees to enforce its adoption on Alexander Jannaeus resulted in a massacre of the former.

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vii. The following facts postulate a pre-Christian date for the composition of our book:—

(*a*) The calendar was in an unsettled state when our author wrote. No strict Pharisee, such as our author, could have advanced such a system as is laid down in vi. 28-33, unless at a period when no uniform calendar system was established. With it we may compare an allied system in Eth. Enoch lxxii.-lxxxii. There are good grounds for believing that our author grounded his system on the chronological statements regarding the flood in Genesis (see notes on p. 56).

(*b*) The divine title "Most High God." The use of this title is frequent in our author. This frequency, as appears in the note on xxxvi. 16, is characteristic of writings before the Maccabean era in the second cent. B.C. When once, however, the Maccabeans had assumed the title "priests of the Most High God," the divine title would naturally remain popular amongst those who, like our author, recognised the validity of the Maccabean pontificate. On the other hand, we should expect a decline in its use to set in with the rising unpopularity of the Maccabean dynasty. This disuse, indeed, is not apparent in the oldest anti-Maccabean work, Eth. Enoch xci.-civ., where the hostility to the Maccabeans is in an incipient stage. There the title "Most High" occurs nine times. But in the Pss. of Solomon and Eth. Enoch xxxvii.-lxx., where the hatred is open and unconcealed, this title is not found in the former and only twice in the latter. In the latter half of the first cent. A.D. there was a revival in its use as its Maccabean associations were forgotten.

(*c*) The phrase "feast of Pentecost," as a description of the feast of weeks, seems to have been unknown to our author (see note on vi. 17), though it was in use in the first cent. B.C.

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§ 18. The Jubilees and Years used by our Author

Our author claims that his chronological system is derived from the heavenly tables. From these tables it was made known to Moses directly by the angel of the presence, who assured Moses with regard to his disclosures on the solar year of 364 days: "It is not of my own devising, for the book (lies) written before me, and on the heavenly tables the division of days is ordained" (vi. 35). For the convenience of the reader I have reduced the jubilee reckonings to years and placed them in the margin.

The Jubilees.—The chronology is essentially heptadic. Each jubilee consists of seven year-weeks, and each year-week of seven years. It is probably on the ground of the sacred character of the number seven, and possibly also for the sake of symmetry, that our author makes his jubilee consist of forty-nine years instead of fifty, which was the usual reckoning among the Jews. R. Jehuda (Nedarim 61*a*—quoted by Beer), however, set down the jubilee at forty-nine years; and in the Samaritan Chronicle (*Journal Asiatique*, 1869, tom. xiv. No. 55, pp. 421-467) a system closely analogous to that of our author is found. Here the jubilee is reckoned at forty-nine and a fraction, which varies unintelligibly in extent, if the text is correct. Thus five jubilees = 246 years, forty jubilees = 1968 years, but sixty jubilees = 2951 years.

It is noteworthy also that, whereas our author applies the jubilee reckoning from the creation to the date of Israel's entering into Palestine, the Talmudic treatise Erachin 12-13*a* and the Samaritan Chronicle make the jubilee to begin with the settlement of Israel in Palestine, and while the former carries it down to the destruction of the first temple, the latter carries it down to many centuries after the Christian era.

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In the Assumption of Moses the jubilee is also used in the chronological system of its author. Thus (i. 2) he reckons 2500 years to have elapsed from the creation of the world to the death of Moses, that is, fifty jubilees of fifty years each. Again, in x. 12 it is stated that from the death of Moses to the Messianic kingdom there will be 250 times (*i.e.* year-weeks) that is thirty-five jubilees of fifty years each. Thus from the creation to the Messianic kingdom there would be eighty-five jubilees. Cf. Sanh. 97*b*.

In one other work, the Seder Olam 23, 25, the jubilee period is occasionally used in the history of Israel and Judah contemporary with the reigns of Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar.

The Years.—Our author seems to have used a civil year and an ecclesiastical year, both of 364 days. The civil year consisted of twelve months (iv. 17, v. 27, vi. 29-30 note) of thirty days each and four intercalary days (vi. 23 note), one at the beginning of each quarter. The ecclesiastical year consisted of thirteen months of twenty-eight days each, and in accordance with it were regulated the great festivals, the Sabbaths, Passover, and Feast of Weeks (see notes on vi. 29-30, 32). Furthermore, this impossible solar year of 364 days was undoubtedly put forward in Pharisaic circles in the second cent. B.C., and its currency may date from a much earlier period. See note on vi. 32.

§ 19. Value of Jubilees in Determining the Dates of the Various Sections of the Ethiopic Enoch and the Book of Noah.

In my edition of the Ethiopic Enoch in 1893 I was the first to point out (pp. 25-29, 221-222, 263-264) that chaps. i.-xxxvi., lxxxiii.-xc., and xci.-civ. were from different authors. To the two former sections I assigned a date

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anterior to 161 B.C., and to the third a date subsequent to 95 B.C. We shall now find that the above critical results are confirmed in the main by the evidence of our text. Thus in my note on iv. 17-23 I have shown that our author had Eth. Enoch vi.-xvi., xxiii.-xxxvi., lxxii.-xc. before him. In confirmation of the conclusions in that note we should observe also that v. 1, 2, vii. 21, 22, 23, 24 of our text (see notes) presuppose vii. 1, 2, 5, ix. 1, 9 of the Eth. Enoch (see also Index I.).

Eth. Enoch xci.-civ. later than Jubilees.—Next as regards xci.-civ. we shall prove that it was subsequent to Jubilees and made use of that work. To begin with, these two writings exhibit certain resemblances. In both there is a temporary Messianic kingdom and an immortality of the soul implied or taught. On the other hand, the tone of Jubilees is optimistic and was written before the breach between the Pharisees and the Maccabean rulers, whereas Eth. Enoch xci.-civ. is pessimistic in tone and was written after the breach had led to the persecution of the Pharisees. We shall now adduce a variety of passages from both books which will establish the dependent relation of this section of the Eth. Enoch on Jubilees.

(*a*) From a comparison of vii. 29 (see note) and xxii. 22 of our text with Eth. Enoch ciii. 7, 8 it follows that the latter is based on the former. In our text Sheol is not yet associated with fire and burning; but this stage, which combines the characteristics of Sheol and Gehenna, is already attained in the latter work.

(*b*) In Jub. i. 16 it is promised to Israel that "they will be the head and not the tail." In Eth. Enoch ciii. 11 we have: "they hoped to be the head and have become the tail."

(*c*) In Jub. i. 29 a new heavens and a new earth were promised. In the despondent Eth. Enoch xci. 16 only a new heaven.

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(*d*) According to Jub. xxxii. 18 Israel is to "judge all the nations according to their desires."[1] In Eth. Enoch xcv. 3 righteous Israel is to "execute judgment on them (the sinners) according to their desires," and in xcvi. 1 is to "have lordship over them according to their desires."

(*e*) With Jub. xxiii. 31, "their spirits will have much joy," compare Eth. Enoch civ. 4, "ye will have great joy as the angels," where both expressions are applied to the spirits of the blessed after death. Also ciii. 4, "And your spirits—the spirits of you who have died in righteousness —will live and rejoice."

(*f*) In Jub. xxii. 16 it is said with regard to the wicked "become not their associate," and in Eth. Enoch civ. 6, "have no companionship with them," and in xci. 4, "associate not with those of a double heart." In xcvii. 4, the wicked are said to be the "companions of sinners."

(*g*) With Jub. xii. 2, "What help and profit have we from those idols," cf. Eth. Enoch xcix. 7, "No help will be found in them" (*i.e.* idols).

(*h*) Eating blood is condemned in Jub. vii. 28, 29, etc. cf. Eth. Enoch xcviii. 11.

(*i*) The law is spoken of as "the eternal law" Eth. Enoch xcix. 2, "the law for all future generations" xciii. 6, (cf. xcix. 14), as we might expect in a writer influenced by Jubilees. Throughout all the older sections of Enoch the law is not mentioned.

(*k*) The references to "the plant of righteousness" (Eth. Enoch xciii. 10), or "of righteous judgment" (xciii. 5), or "of uprightness" (xciii. 2), may be due in part to Jub. i. 16 "plant of uprightness," or "a plant of righteousness" (xvi.

[1] In xxxii. 18 for "judge everywhere wherever the foot of the sons of men have trodden," read with Latin "judge the sons of men wherever their foot has trodden." Based partly on Deut. xi. 24.

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26, xxi. 24). The phrase, however, occurs already in Eth. Enoch x. 16.

(*l*) Eth. Enoch ci. 2: "when he . . . withholds the rain and the dew from descending on the earth" (cf. c. 12), is found almost verbally in Jub. xii. 4, "who causes the rain and the dew to descend on the earth" (cf. xii. 18, xx. 9).

Eth. Enoch, i.-v. *later than Jubilees.*—The evidence in respect to the relative dates of this section and Jubilees is not conclusive, but so far as it exists it implies the priority of the latter.

Thus, in Eth. Enoch iii. the words "all the trees . . . shed all their leaves except fourteen trees," most probably go back to Jub. xxi. 12-13 where fourteen evergreen trees are enumerated which were to be used on the altar, cp. Test. Levi 9.

Again, Eth. Enoch v. 9, "They will complete the number of the days of their life, and their lives will grow old in peace and the years of their joy will be many," seems to be an expansion of Jub. xxiii. 29, "All their days they will complete and live in peace and in joy."

Finally, Eth. Enoch i.-v. appears to be later than the Test. XII. Patriarchs, a sister work of Jubilees, but this subject cannot be pursued further here.

The Book of Noah.—This book is referred to twice in our text, *i.e.* in x. 13, xxi. 10. Our author, moreover, has taken over bodily two considerable sections from it and incorporated them in vii. 20-39, x. 1-15. Thus the Book of Noah was written before 135-105 B.C. But its composition goes back to a much earlier date. Chapters vi.-xi. of the Ethiopic Enoch are clearly from the same source; for they make no reference to Enoch but bring forward Noah (x. 1), and treat of the sin of the angels that led to the flood, and of their temporal and eternal punishment. This section is compounded of the Semjaza and Azazel

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myths, and in its present composite form is already presupposed by Eth. Enoch lxxxviii.-lxxxix. 1. Hence in its present form it is earlier than 166 B.C. Chapters lx., lxv.-lxix. 25, cvi.-cvii. of the same work are also derived from the Book of Noah and probably xxxix. 1, 2^a, xli. 3-8, xliii.-xliv., liv. 7-lv. 2, lix., but not in their present form. There appears to be no adequate ground for assigning these sections of that ancient work to a later date than those above discussed.

The above facts throw some light on the strange vicissitudes to which even the traditional legends were subject. Thus it would appear that the Noah saga is older than the Enoch, and that the latter was built up in part on the debris of the former. And just as the Noah saga made way for the Enoch, so the Enoch saga in turn made way for the Seth, as I have shown at some length in the notes on pp. 33-36.

§ 20. The Relation of Jubilees to the Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs

From a comparison of the passages in our author and the Testaments which treat of the same subjects, it is clear that neither of the two works is dependent on the other, but that both draw independently from the same sources. See notes on xxviii. 9, xxx. 2-6, 18, 25, xxxi. 3-4, 13, 15, 16, xxxii. 1, 8, xxxiii. 1, 2, 4, xxxiv. 1-9, xxxvii.-xxxviii., xli. 8-14, 24-25, xlvi. 6-9.

I hope to treat this question exhaustively in my edition of the Testaments.

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§ 21. The Author—A Pharisee who recognised the Maccabean Pontificate and was probably a Priest

From §§ 15, 17 it follows without further need of proof that our author was a pharisee of the straitest sect. He was an upholder of the everlasting validity of the law, he held the strictest views on circumcision, the sabbath and on the duty of shunning all intercourse with the Gentiles: he believed in angels and demons § 16, and in a blessed immortality. In § 14 we have shown that he was an extreme representative of the midrashic tendency which had been already at work for centuries.

In the next place our author was a supporter of the Maccabean pontificate. He glorifies Levi's successors as high-priests and civil rulers (xxxi. 13-17), and applies to them the title assumed by the Maccabean princes (xxxii. 1). He was not, however, so thorough-going an admirer as the authors of the Test. Levi 18, or Psalm cx. who expected the Messiah to come forth from the Maccabean family (see notes on xxxi. 18-19, xxxii. 1).

That our author was a priest might be reasonably inferred from the exaltation of Levi over Judah (xxxi.-xxxii.) and from the statement in xlv. 16, that the secret traditions, which our author claims to publish, were kept in the hands of Levi's descendants.

§ 22. Jubilees in Jewish, Samaritan, and Christian non-canonical Literature

In Jewish Literature.

In Jewish and Samaritan Literature.—Eth. Enoch i.-v. (?), xci.-civ.; Wisdom (?), 4 Ezra, Chronicles of Jerahmeel, Midrash Tadshe, Book of Jashar, Samaritan Chronicle.

On Eth. Enoch i.-v., xci.-civ. see pp. lxix-lxxi above.

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Wisdom.—It is not possible to establish conclusively that our book was used by the author of Wisdom. There are, however, amid great differences, strong affinities between them. Thus both teach a temporary Messianic kingdom and a blessed immortality of the soul. In Jubilees apparently for the first time God is called the Father of the righteous individual Israelite (i. 24 note): in Wisdom this view is frequently and emphatically taught (ii. 13, 18, v. 5, xii. 7, 21). Again in Jubilees the law of retaliation is enunciated in its most literal form (iv. 31, xlviii. 14, notes), and the same phenomenon meets us in Wisdom, xi. 16: *δι' ὧν τις ἁμαρτάνει, διὰ τούτων κολάζεται,* Cf. also xi. 7, xii. 23, xvi. 1, xviii. 4, 5. Finally either xlviii. 14 of our text or some authority of a like nature seems to have been before the writer of Wisdom xviii. 5:

βουλευσαμένους αὐτοὺς τὰ τῶν ὁσίων ἀποκτεῖναι νήπια
καὶ ἑνὸς ἐκτεθέντος τέκνου [καὶ σωθέντος]
εἰς ἔλεγχον τὸ αὐτῶν ἀφείλω πλῆθος [τέκνων],
καὶ ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀπώλεσας ἐν ὕδατι σφοδρῷ.

In both passages the destruction of the Egyptians in retaliation for the casting of the Hebrew children into the river is dealt with, though this is obscured by the glosses *καὶ σωθέντος* and *τέκνων*,[1] which I have bracketed as additions of an early scribe who misinterpreted the passage of Moses. In Jub. xlviii. 14 it is said that 1000 Egyptians were destroyed on account of every Hebrew child that was cast into the river. This sense we recover from the Greek on omitting the gloss: "In retribution for even a single child that was exposed Thou didst take away the multitude of them." But the passage is still unsatisfactory, for *πλῆθος* in the text which = רוב was corrupt in the original source (? Jubilees) as in Hosea viii. 12 for רִבּוֹ = 10,000. Thus we have: "In

[1] Observe independently the awkwardness of *τέκνων* after *αὐτῶν*.

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retribution for even a single child that was exposed Thou didst take away 10,000 of them," *i.e.* of those who had taken counsel to destroy the Hebrew children. 10,000 may be more accurate than the 1000 which stands in Jub. xlviii. 14. I have found the same corruption in Ethiopic MSS.

4 *Ezra.*—There can be little doubt that our book is referred to in 4 Ezra xiv. 4-6, where it is said of Moses: Et misi eum et eduxit populum meum de Aegypto, et adduxi eum super montem Sina et detinui eum apud me diebus multis, Et enarravi ei *mirabilia multa*, et ostendi ei *temporum secreta et temporum finem*, et praecepi ei dicens: Haec in palam facies verba et *haec abscondes*. The *haec* here refers to Jubilees (see i. 26 notes), which was handed down in the tribe of Levi (xlv. 16) till its publication by our author.

In 4 *Ezra* vi. 20 the words, libri aperientur ante faciem firmamenti et omnes videbunt simul, refer to the books in which the deeds of men are recorded. These books were kept by Enoch according to our text iv. 23, x. 17.

In x. 46, the date in the words: factum est post annorum tria millia (Syr., Eth., Arab., but Lat. = annos tres) aedificavit Salomon civitatem et obtulit oblationes, appears to be based on that given in Jubilees. If with Joseph. (*Ant.* viii. 3. 1.) we reckon 592 years from the Exodus to the building of Solomon's temple or 588 years with Sulpicius Severus (*Chron.* i. 40, 4 sq.) and take, as our author, 2410 to be the year of the Exodus, then we arrive at 3002 or 2998 (see for these and other reckonings Hilgenfeld, *Messias Judeorum*, p. 83). Again on p. 109 of the work just mentioned Hilgenfeld gives good grounds for assuming that in 4 Ezra xiv. 48 (Syr. Eth.,) the text originally contained a computation in jubilees. See also Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubilāen*, pp. 412-414.

Chronicles of Jerahmeel.—This Hebrew work, which has

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been translated by Gaster, contains a great deal of subject-matter in common with our book. At times it reproduces the actual words of our text. I have no doubt that our text was used by some of the authors of this compilation. See Index II. for references to the parallel passages.

Midrash Tadshe.—This Midrash was written about the beginning of the eleventh cent. A.D. by Moses ha-Darshan, but was based on an early work by Rabbi Pinchas ben Jair who in turn drew his materials from our text (see Eppstein, *Revue des Étude juives*, 1890, xxi. 80-97; 1891, xxii. 1-25; Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, ii. 499). By consulting Index II. the reader will find the passages which are common to this Midrash and our text.

The Book of Jashar.—This late Hebrew work contains much matter in common with our text, and there is every probability that some of it is derived from it ultimately as its source. See Index II. for a list of parallels. The Hebrew text of this book which I have quoted occasionally, is that which was published at Venice in 1629. Generally, however, I have referred to the French translation of it in Migne's series.

The Samaritan Chronicle.—This book, to which we have already drawn attention (see p. lxvii), belongs for the most part to the twelfth cent. A.D. It appears to contain a deliberate polemic (see vi. 36 note) against the view of our author that calculations should be made according to the sun only. In keeping with the fact that our author gives his calendar in connection with the flood (vi. 29-38), this Chronicle says that the Samaritan system was known to Noah in the Ark. For a remarkable point of agreement between this Chronicle and our text see note v. 22. Also it cannot be an accident that in the case of the antediluvian patriarchs, their respective ages on the birth of their eldest sons agree in both books in every instance except in that of

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Seth. Rönsch (p. 362) has tabulated the numbers as follows:

	Jub.	Sam. Chron.
Adam on the birth of his eldest son was aged	130	130
Seth „ „ „	130	60-66
Enoch „ „ „	90	90
Kenan „ „ „	70	70
Mahalalel „ „ „	65	66
Jared „ „ „	62	61
Henoch „ „ „	65	65
Methuselah „ „ „	67	67
Lamech „ „ „	53	53

Hence it is not strange that in some cases we are able to determine missing dates in our text from this Chronicle (see iv. 28 note). On the other hand these two works hardly ever harmonise on the ages of the post-diluvian patriarchs till Terah's time, and the Chronicle, as we should expect, omits Kainam which our text (viii. 1) along with the LXX puts forward as the son of Arpachshad.

In Christian literature.—The Christian literature in which Jubilees is reproduced either by name or anonymously will be treated under the following heads:

i. *Authors who cite Jubilees or the Little Genesis by name.*

ii. *Patristic and other writings which reproduce its text or matter anonymously.*[1]

i. *Authors who cite Jubilees or the Little Genesis by name:*

DIDYMUS OF ALEXANDRIA (309 or 314 to 394 or 399 A.D.) *in epist. canonicas enarrationes, ad I. Joan.* iii. 12 (Gallandi, Biblioth. patr. vi. 300): Nam et in libro qui leptogenesis (MS leprogenesis) appellatur, ita legitur, quia Cain lapide aut ligno percusserit Abel. See Jub. iv. 31.

EPIPHANIUS (*ob.* 404 A.D.), *Haer.* xxxix. 6: ὡς δὲ ἐν

[1] Cf. Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 849-864, ii. 120-121; Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 250-382.

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τοῖς Ἰωβηλαίοις εὑρίσκεται, τῇ καὶ λεπτῇ Γενέσει καλουμένῃ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν γυναικῶν τοῦ τε Κάϊν καὶ τοῦ Σὴθ ἡ βίβλος περιέχει· . . . οἵ τε τούτου υἱοὶ συνήφθησαν ὁ μὲν Κάϊν τῇ ἀδελφῇ τῇ μείζονι Σαυή, οὕτω καλουμένῃ, ὁ δὲ Σὴθ . . . τῇ λεγομένῃ αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῇ Ἀζουρᾶ. See Jub. iv. 9, 11 and the continuation of the quotation in my note on iv. 10. For passages where Epiphanius has used our text without acknowledgment see Index II.

JEROME (*ob.* 420).—See quotations in notes on x. 21, xi. 11-13. For other quotations see Index II.

Decretum Gelasii.—In this decree (de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis), the date of which is doubtful (see Zahn, *Gesch. des Kanons*, II. i. 259-267), our book is included among the writings to be rejected: Liber de filiabus Adae, hoc est Leptogenesis, apocryphus.

SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH (*ob.* 542).—In an exposition of Deut. xxxiv. 6 this author has (see Nicephorus, *Catena*, i. 1672-1673) described the destinies that await the good and the evil souls on their separation from the body, and various incidents relating to the contest between Michael and Satan for the soul of Moses. He adds that his statements are drawn from our author: ταῦτα δὲ ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ βιβλίῳ λέγεται κεῖσθαι λεπτοτέραν ἔχοντι τῆς Γενέσεως ἤτοι τῆς κτίσεως τὴν ἀφήγησιν. On this question see above, p. xv note.

NICEPHORUS, *Catena*, i. 175.—(This catena, published over 120 years ago, contains extracts from writers from the beginning of the Christian era to the seventh cent.) Before the words quoted from this work in the note on x. 21 we find the title of the source given as ἡ διαθήκη. It is most probable that we should add here τοῦ Μωϋσέως (see p. xvii).

SYNCELLUS (flor. 800 A.D.), *Chronographia* (ed. Dindorf), i. 5: ὡς ἐν λεπτῇ φέρεται Γενέσει, ἣν καὶ Μωϋσέως εἶναί φασί τινες ἀποκάλυψιν. i. 7: ἐκ τῆς λεπτῆς Γενέσεως καὶ

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τοῦ λεγομένου βίου Ἀδάμ. i. 13: *ἐκ τῶν λεπτῶν Γενέσεως.* i. 14: (see quotation in note on p. 28). i. 49 (see quotation in note on x. 1). i. 183: *τὸν κατὰ μητέρα πάππον τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσίς φησιν ὅτι Ἀβραὰμ ἐκαλεῖτο, ἡ δὲ Σάρρα ἀδελφὴ ὁμοπατρία τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ὑπῆρχε.* i. 185 (see quotation in note on xii. 26). i. 192: *Μαστιφὰμ ὁ ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων, ὡς φησιν ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις, προσελθὼν τῷ θεῷ εἶπεν, εἰ ἀγαπᾷ σε Ἀβραάμ, θυσάτω σοι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ* (see our text, xvii. 16). i. 203: *βιασθεὶς Ἰακὼβ ὑπὸ Ἰούδα ἐνέτεινε τόξον καὶ πλήξας κατὰ τοῦ δεξιοῦ μαζοῦ τὸν Ἡσαῦ κατέβαλε. τοῦ δὲ θανόντος ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰακὼβ ἀνεῖλον τοὺς πλείστους. ταῦτα ἐν λεπτῇ Γενέσει φέρεται* (see our text, xxxviii. 1 sqq.). For passages where Syncellus has used our text without acknowledgment see Index II.

CEDRENUS (ed. Bekker), i. 6: *ἀπὸ τῆς λεπτῆς Γενέσεως.* i. 9: *ὡς ἐν λεπτῇ φέρεται Γενέσει, ἣν καὶ Μωσέως εἶναί φασί τινες ἀποκάλυψιν.* i. 16 (see quotation in note on iv. 31-32). i. 48: *ἄγγελος δὲ κυρίου ἐδίδαξεν αὐτὸν τὴν Ἑβραΐδα γλῶσσαν, καθὼς αὐτὸς ὁ ἄγγελος τῷ Μωϋσῇ εἶπεν, ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ λεπτῇ Γενέσει.* i. 53: *ἐν τῇ λεπτῇ Γενέσει κεῖται, ὅτι Μαστιφὰτ ὁ ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων* (and so on as in Syncellus, i. 192, above). i. 85 (see quotation in note on xlvii. 3). i. 87: *νόμους δὲ πρῶτον Μωϋσῆς γράφει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις . . . διδασκόμενος παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Γαβριὴλ τὰ περὶ τῆς γενέσεως τοῦ κόσμου . . . καὶ τὰς τῶν ἄστρων θέσεις καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα . . . ὡς ἐν τῇ λεπτῇ Γενέσει κεῖται.* For some of the passages where Cedrenus has used our text without acknowledgment see Index II.

ZONARAS (1081-1118, ed. Pinder), i. 18: *οἶδα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ λεπτῇ Γενέσει γεγραμμένον ὡς ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ αἱ οὐρανίαι δυνάμεις πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπέστησαν παρὰ τοῦ τῶν ὅλων δημιουργοῦ.* Cf. our text, ii. 2.

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GLYCAS (*circa* 1150, ed. Bekker), p. 198: *οὐδὲ γὰρ ὡς πόδας κεκτημένου τὸ πρότερον καθὰ Ἰωσηππός τέ φησι καὶ ἡ λεγομένη λεπτὴ Γένεσις νῦν ἀποφαίνεται τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ περίπατον.* See also p. 206. P. 392 (see quotation in note on iii. 8-14). On p. 206 Glycas wrongly attributes to Josephus what is found in Jub. xxxii. 2-3. For some of the passages where Glycas has used our text without acknowledgment see Index II.

ii. *Patristic and other writings which reproduce the text or matter of Jubilees anonymously:*

HIPPOLYTUS.—The *Διαμερισμὸς τῆς γῆς* which is assigned to this writer is based on Jub. viii.-ix. See Gutschmidt, *Kleine Schriften*, v. 239, 587-597, 613 sqq. (quoted by Schürer).

PS.-CLEMENS ROMANUS, *Recognitiones* (*circ.* 200 A.D.).—This work contains many echoes of Jubilees, see Rönsch, *op. cit.* 322-325.

ORIGEN (185-254) *in Genesin* in Eusebius' *Praep. Evang.* vi. 292 (Migne, xxi. 500). The passage which is quoted from Origen in the note on xxxii. 21 seems to refer to that passage. Another quotation will be found in the note on xlv. 14. The *Προσευχὴ Ἰωσήφ*, from which this quotation is taken, is cited in the third place in the Synopsis of the Ps.-Athanasius and the Stichometry of Nicephorus, and in the fifth place of the catalogue in the Cod. Coislinianus used by Montfaucon, and in each catalogue immediately after the *Πατριάρχαι* (cf. Rönsch, p. 332). According to Nicephorus it consisted of 1100 stichoi—the same number as the Testament of Moses, which was identified by some writers with Jubilees. Both Origen (tom. v. in Johannen, p. 77) and Glycas (see Fabric. *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 765, 768) state that it was current among the Hebrews.

Another fragment of Origen preserved in the *Catena* of Nicephorus, i. 463, is quoted in the note on xl. 10.

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DIODORUS OF ANTIOCH (*ob.* 392 ?).—See quotation in note on x. 35.

ISIDORE PELUSIOTA of Alexandria, who lived in the fifth cent., gives the following exposition on Deut. xxxiii. 9 (Nicephorus, *Cat.* i. 1660): *ἐπειδὴ ἐπελύτησε τῇ πατρῴᾳ εὐνῇ ὁ Ῥουβείμ, διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε βασιλείας οὔτε ἱερωσύνης ἠξιώθη, καίτοι πρωτότοκος ὤν. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Λευὶ τρίτος ὢν οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ ἐπαγγείλασθαι τὸν πατέρα δεκάτην ἀφιερώσειν· κάτωθεν γὰρ ἀριθμούμενος δέκατος ἦν, ἄνωθεν δὲ εἰ ἠριθμήθη, εἷς τῶν παιδισκῶν ηὑρίσκετο· ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ὁσιότητα, καὶ τὸ συγγενικῶν αἱμάτων διὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ θεῖον τιμὴν τὰς χεῖρας ἐμπλῆσαι, ἱερωσύνης ἠξιώθη. . . . ὁ δὲ Ἰούδας τέταρτος ὤν, διὰ τὴν ἀδέκαστον κρίσιν, καὶ τὴν ὀρθὴν ψῆφον, βασιλείας ἠξιώθη. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πολλοὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα κρύπτοντες πλημμελήματα ἑτέρους καταδικάζουσιν, οὗτος δὲ ἑαυτοῦ μὲν κατεψηφίσατο, . . . διὰ τοῦτο εἰκότως τῆς βασιλείας ἠξιοῦτο. ἱερῶντο γὰρ οἱ ἐκ Λευΐ, ἐβασίλευον δὲ οἱ ἐξ Ἰούδα, οὐ κατὰ κατακλήρωσιν, ἀλλ' ἀρετῆς γέρας εἰληφότες.* This exposition regarding Levi is based on Jub. xxxii. 2-3, and regarding Judah on xxxi. 18-20, xli. 23-28.

ISIDORE OF SEVILLE (*ob.* 636), *Origines*, xvi. 26. 10: In principio Deus xxii opera fecit. Nam prima die vii opera fecit, id est: materiam informem, angelos, lucem, coelos superiores, terram, aquam atque aërem. Secunda die firmamentum solum. Tertia die quattuor: maria, semina, sationes atque plantaria. Quarta die tria: solem et lunam et stellas. Quinta die tria: pisces et reptilia aquarum et volatilia. Sexta die quattuor: bestias, pecudes, reptilia terrae et hominem. Et facta sunt omnia xxii genera in diebus sex. Et xxii generationes sunt ab Adam usque ad Jacob, . . . et xxii libri Veteris Testamenti usque ad Hester, et xxii literarum sunt elementa.

The above is clearly based on our text, although in its

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enumeration of the works of the first day it deviates considerably (see Jub. ii. 2 sqq.). Observe that it confirms our view of a lacuna after ii. 22.

EUTYCHIUS, Patriarch of Alexandria 933-939, *Annales* translated from Arabic into Latin by Pococke, 1658 (also in Migne, tom. 111, 909-1155).

P. 15. Eva . . . peperit puerum et puellam: puerum appellavit Kain, puellam Azrun. Tum rursus . . . puerum et puellam enixa, puero nomen imposuit Abel, puellae Owain . . . Cumque provectiores facti essent pueri, dixit Adam Evae: Ducat Kain Owain . . . Abel autem Azrun. Cf. Jub. iv. 1, 8, 9, 11.

P. 16. Kain invidit fratri suo . . . ac, lapide caput ejus feriens, ipsum interfecit. Cf. Jub. iv. 31.

P. 56. Natus et Sharna, cujus temporibus coluerunt homines idola, unoquoque quod sibi alliberet colente. Sharna is corrupt for Serug. Cf. Jub. xi. 4.

P. 64-65. Accepit ergo Abraham uxorem suam Saram, quae et ipsi ex patre soror erat. Cf. Jub. xii. 9. For other parallels see notes on pp. 35, 83.

SUIDAS, a Greek grammarian of the tenth or eleventh cent. (Fabricius, i. 336). *καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀστέρων κίνησιν, ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γὰρ ἐπαιδεύετο τὴν ἀστρονομίαν κ.τ.λ.* Cf. Jub. xii. 16. See also note on xii. 2.

JOEL, *Chronographia* (ed. Bekker, 1836), extending to the year 1206 A.D. This writer, whom I have referred to occasionally in my notes, is generally dependent on Syncellus, Cedrenus or Glycas for any matter which he has in common with our text. It is possible, as Rönsch (p. 367) urges, that the phrase *καὶ ἐξολοθρεύειν αὐτὸν ἀπειλοῦντος* (Joel, p. 10 (cf. Jub. xxxvii. 23)) testifies to an independent knowledge of Jubilees, as it is not found in those earlier chronographers.

LXX MS (thirteenth cent.), cited as no. 135 in Holmes

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and Parsons' edition, and as *r* in Lagarde's *Genesis Graece*, 1868. The scholia in this MS attest many of the personal names which are found in Jubilees. I have cited all of these in their appropriate places in my Ethiopic Text of Jubilees, and many of them in the notes to my translation. See Index II.

LXX MS z in Lagarde's edition contains two readings which come from our text. See notes on v. 31 and vi. 1.

GREGORIUS BARHEBRAEUS (1226-1286).—See note on xi. 11-13.

§ 23. INFLUENCE OF JUBILEES ON THE NEW TESTAMENT

The points of connection between the gospels and our author are very slight, except in the beliefs respecting angels and demons—a subject to which we shall return later. We shall now place the passages side by side where the New Testament is dependent on our text, or presupposes it, or presents a close parallel.

Mark iii. 22 (Matt. xii. 24).—ὁ ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων.

Jub. x. 8.—"Chief of the spirits"; xlviii. 9, 12, "Prince of the Mastêmâ."

Luke xi. 49.—"Therefore also said the wisdom of God: I will send unto them prophets and apostles, and some of them they will kill and persecute.

i. 12.—"And *I shall send witnesses unto them*, that I may witness against them, but they *will . . . slay the witnesses also and persecute* those who seek the law."

John xiv. 26.—"The Holy Spirit . . . will bring to your remembrance all things, etc."

xxxii. 25.—"I will bring all things to thy remembrance." Here God is to cause Jacob to remember all that he had seen in a vision.

Acts vii. 15-16.—"And he (Jacob) died, himself and our fathers, and they were carried over unto Shechem, and laid in the tomb that Abraham bought, etc."

xlvi. 9.—"And the children of Israel brought forth all the bones of the children of Jacob save the bones of Joseph, and they buried them in the field in the double cave" (*i.e.* Machpelah). This is the oldest source of the tradition in Acts.

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Acts vii. 23.—Moses when "well nigh forty years old" smote the Egyptian.

Acts vii. 30.—Moses spent forty years in Midian.

Acts vii. 53.—"Who received the law as it was ordained by angels and kept it not." Cf. Gal. iii. 19.

Acts ix. 2.—"If he found any that were of *the way*."

Rom. iv. 15.—"Where there is no law, neither is there transgression."

2 Cor. v. 17.—"A new creation" (Gal. vi. 15).

2 Cor. vi. 18.—"I will be to you a Father and ye shall be to me sons and daughters."

Gal. ii. 15.—"Sinners of the Gentiles."

Gal. iii. 17.—"A covenant confirmed beforehand by God, the law which came 430 years later, etc." Does the confirmation here spoken of mean the birth of Isaac? In that case 430 years exactly elapse between this confirmation of the covenant and the law according to Jubilees.

Gal. v. 12.—"I would that they which unsettle you (*i.e.* Judaisers) would cut off the member" (ἀποκόψονται).

xlvii. 10-12.—Moses forty-two years old.[1]

xlviii. 1.—Moses spent thirty-eight years.[1]

i. 27.—"And He said to the angel of the presence: Write for Moses, etc." i. 14: "They will forget . . . thy law." Our text is the earliest authority for the statement that the law was given through angels.

xxiii. 20.—"Turn them back into *the way*."

xxxiii. 15-16.—Anticipates this Pauline doctrine.

v. 12.—"A new and righteous nature."

i. 24.—"I shall be their Father and they will be My children."[2]

xxiii. 23.—"Sinners of the Gentiles" (cf. xxiii. 24).

xv. 4 sqq. contains the covenant made in 1979 A.M. with Abraham on his circumcision. The law was given in 2410. Hence 2410 − 1979 = 431. Isaac was born in 1980, or exactly 430 years before the legislation on Sinai according to Jubilees.

Contrast xv. 27, according to which the angels were created circumcised.

[1] Jubilees gives here the oldest dates on this subject. The Midrash Tanchuma on Exod. ii. 6, which was many centuries later, gives a tradition practically the same as that in Acts. "Moses was in the palace of Pharaoh twenty years, but some say forty years, and forty years in Midian and forty years in the wilderness." Observe that our author makes Moses stay twenty-one years with his own people and twenty-one years at Pharaoh's court.

[2] The righteous *individual* is called "a son of God" first in Jubilees, so far as I am aware. See note on i. 24.

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2 Thess. ii. 3.—"Son of perdition."	x. 3.—"Sons of perdition."
1 Tim. i. 4.—"Fables and endless genealogies." iv. 7: "old wives' fables." Titus iii. 9: "Genealogies and strifes and fightings about the law."	The Pauline phrases form a just description of a large portion of Jubilees. The "old wives' fables" may be an allusion to the large rôle played by women in it.
James i. 13.—"Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God, for God tempteth no man."	The author of Jubilees enforces the same view by representing Mastêmâ as suggesting the temptation of Abraham to sacrifice Isaac (xvii. 16), as hardening the hearts of the Egyptians (xlviii. 12, 17), etc.
James ii. 23.—"Abraham believed God and it was counted to him for righteousness and he was called the friend of God."	xiv. 6.—"And he believed on the Lord and it was counted to him for righteousness" (Gen. xv. 6). xix. 9: "He was found faithful and was recorded on the heavenly tables as the friend of God."
2 Peter ii. 5.—"Noah, a preacher of righteousness."	vii. 20-39 contains Noah's sermon.
2 Peter iii. 13.—"New heavens and a new earth."	i. 29.—"The heavens and the earth shall be renewed, etc."
2 Peter iii. 8.—"One day is with the Lord as a thousand years."	iv. 30 contains the oldest dogmatic statement of this fact.
Rev. i. 6.—"A kingdom, priests." v. 10: "A kingdom and priests."	xvi. 18.—"A kingdom and priests." Our text alone gives this form of Exod. xix. 6 antecedently to Revelation.
Rev. iv. 5 (xi. 19, xvi. 18; cf. viii. 5).—"Lightnings and voices and thunderings."	ii. 2.—"Angels of the voices and of the thunder and of the lightnings."

Angelology.—We shall confine our attention here to notable parallels between our author and the New Testament. Besides the angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification there are the angels who are set over natural phenomena (ii. 2). These angels are inferior to the former. They do not observe the Sabbath as the higher orders; for they are necessarily always engaged in their duties (ii. 18). It is the higher orders that are

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generally referred to in the New Testament; but the angels over natural phenomena are referred to in Revelation: angels of the winds in vii. 1, 2, the angel of fire in xiv. 18, the angel of the waters in xvi. 5 (cf. Jub. ii. 2). Again, the guardian angels of *individuals*, which the New Testament refers to in Matt. xviii. 10 (Acts xii. 15), are mentioned, for the first time, in Jubilees xxxv. 17. On the angelology of our author see § 16.

Demonology.—The demonology of our author reappears for the most part in the New Testament:

(*a*) The angels which kept not their first estate Jude 6; 2 Peter ii. 4, are the angelic watchers who, though sent down to instruct mankind (Jub. iv. 15), fell from lusting after the daughters of men. Their fall and punishment are recorded in Jub. iv. 22, v. 1-9.

(*b*) The demons are the spirits which went forth from the souls of the giants who were the children of the fallen angels, Jub. v. 7, 9. These demons attacked men and ruled over them (x. 3, 6). Their purpose is to corrupt and lead astray and destroy the wicked (x. 8). They are subject to the prince of the Mastêmâ[1] (x. 9), or Satan. Men sacrifice to them as gods (xxii. 17). They are to pursue their work of moral ruin till the judgment of Mastêmâ (x. 8) or the setting up of the Messianic kingdom, when Satan will be no longer able to injure mankind (xxiii. 29).

So in the New Testament, the demons are disembodied spirits (Matt. xii. 43-45; Luke xi. 24-26). Their chief is Satan (Mark iii. 22). They are treated as divinities of the heathen (1 Cor. x. 20). They are not to be punished till the final judgment (Matt. viii. 29). On the advent of the Millennium Satan will be bound (Rev. xx. 2-3).

[1] See note on x. 8.

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§ 24. Views of the Author on the Messiah, the Messianic Kingdom, the Priesthood of Melchizedek, the Law, Circumcision and the Sabbath, the Future Life, the Jewish Calendar

The Messiah.—Although our author is an upholder of the Maccabean dynasty he still clings like the writer of Eth. Enoch lxxxiii.-xc. to the hope of a Messiah sprung from Judah. He makes, however, only one reference to this Messiah, and no rôle of any importance is assigned to him (see xxxi. 18 note). The Messianic expectation showed no vigorous life throughout this century till it was identified with the Maccabean family. If we are right in regarding the Messianic kingdom as of temporary duration, this is the first instance in which the Messiah is associated with a temporary Messianic kingdom.

The Messianic Kingdom.—In the notes on i. 29, xxiii. 30 I have dealt at some length with the character of this kingdom. We have there seen that it was to be brought about gradually by the progressive spiritual development of man and a corresponding transformation of nature. Its members were to attain to the full limit of 1000 years in happiness and peace. During its continuance the powers of evil were to be restrained (xxiii. 29). The last judgment was apparently to take place at its close (see note on xxiii. 30). On the probable derivation of this view from Mazdeism see note on i. 29.

The writer of Jubilees, we can hardly doubt, thought that the era of the Messianic kingdom had already set in. Such an expectation was often cherished in the prosperous days of the Maccabees. Thus it was entertained by the writer of Eth. Enoch lxxxiii.-xc. in the days of Judas before 161 B.C. Whether Jonathan was looked upon as the divine agent for

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introducing the kingdom we cannot say, but as to Simon being regarded in this light there is no doubt. Indeed his contemporaries came to regard him as the Messiah himself, as we see from Psalm cx., or the noble Messianic hymn in Test. Levi 18. The tame effusion in 1 Macc. xiv. 8-15 is a relic of such literature, which was emasculated by its Sadducean editor. Simon was succeeded by John Hyrcanus in 135 B.C., and this great prince seemed to his countrymen to realise the expectations of the past; for according to a contemporary writer (Test. Levi 8) he embraced in his own person the triple office of prophet, priest, and civil ruler (see note on xxxi. 15), while, according to the Test. Reuben 6, he was to "die on behalf of Israel in wars seen and unseen." In both these passages he seems to be accorded the Messianic office, but not so in our author as we have seen above. Hyrcanus is only to introduce the Messianic kingdom, over which the Messiah sprung from Judah is to rule.[1]

Priesthood of Melchizedek.—That there was originally an account of Melchizedek in our text we have shown in the note xiii. 25, and that the Maccabean high-priests deliberately adopted the title applied to him in Gen. xiv., we have pointed out in the note on xxxii. 1. It would be interesting to inquire how far the writer of Hebrews was indebted to the history of the great Maccabean king-priests for the idea of the Melchizedekian priesthood, of which he has made so fruitful a use in chap. vii. as applied to our Lord.

The Law.—On our author's conception of the law as the ideal and eternal realised under time relations see pp. li sqq.

[1] The belief that the Messianic era had set in appears to have arisen again under Alexander, 78-69 B.C. "Under Simon ben Shetach (and Queen Salome) rain fell on the eve of the Sabbath, so that the corns of wheat were as large as kidneys, etc." (Taanith 23*a*, quoted by Schürer, *Gesch. jud. Volkes*,[3] i. 290).

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Circumcision and the Sabbath.—On our author's exalted conceptions of these two bulwarks of Judaism, see p. l.

The Future Life.—In our text all hope of a resurrection of the body is abandoned. The souls of the righteous will enjoy a blessed immortality after death (xxiii. 31). This is the earliest attested instance of this expectation in the last two centuries B.C. It is next found in Eth. Enoch xci.-civ.

The Jewish Calendar.—For our author's peculiar views see § 18 and the notes on vi. 29-30, 32, xv. 1.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND BRACKETS USED IN THIS EDITION

a, *b*, *c*, *d* denote the Ethiopic MSS on which our text is based.

Mass. = Massoretic text.

Sam. = Samaritan version, and Hebrew text in Samaritan characters when both agree.

Syr. = the Syriac version of the Old Testament.

Vulg. = Vulgate.

Onk. = Targum of Onkelos.

Ps.-Jon. = Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan.

Jub. = Book of Jubilees.

( ) Words or letters so enclosed are supplied by the editor from some source mentioned in the notes.

[ ] Words so enclosed are interpolated.

† † Words so enclosed are corrupt.

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THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

Moses receives the tables of the law and instruction on past and future history which he is to inscribe in a book, 1-4. *Apostasy of Israel,* 5-9. *Captivity of Israel and Judah,* 10-13. *Return of Judah and rebuilding of temple,* 15-18. *Moses' prayer for Israel,* 19-21. *God's promise to redeem and dwell with them,* 22-25, 28. *Moses bidden to write down the future history of the world (the Book of Jubilees?),* 26. *And an angel to write down the law,* 27. *This angel takes the heavenly chronological tables to dictate therefrom to Moses,* 29.

THIS is the history of the division of the days of the law and of the testimony, of the events of the years, of their (year) weeks, of their jubilees throughout all the years of the world, as the Lord spake to Moses on Mount Sinai

PROLOGUE. This short introduction gives an admirable account of the contents of this book. It is at once a history and a chronological system dominated by the sacred number seven. The history extends from the Creation to the legislation on Sinai, and thus embraces Genesis and part of Exodus. But the writer does not merely reproduce the portions of these books which serve his purpose; he rewrites from the standpoint of the strictest Judaism. See Introduction, §§ 15, 21.

According to their sevenfold division (*a c*) or "according to their year-weeks" (*b d*).

Throughout all the years of the world. These words are difficult; for they imply that it was the author's intention to write a history from the Creation till the establishment of the Messianic Kingdom or Theocracy. See i. 26 note.

The Lord እግዚአብሔር: (*a*). *d* reads አምላክ: "*God.*" *b c* omit. እግዚአብሔር (which generally = *κύριος*, but often *θεός*) is generally rendered "Lord" in my translation, but occasionally as "God" when external evidence so requires.

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when he went up to receive the tables of the law and of the commandment, according to the voice of GOD as he said unto him, "Go up to the top of the Mount."

2450 ANNO MUNDI. I. And it came to pass in the first year of the exodus of the children of Israel out of Egypt, in the third month, on the sixteenth day of the month, that GOD spake to Moses, saying: "Come up to Me on the Mount, and I will give thee two tables of stone of the law and of the commandment, which I have written, that thou mayst teach them." 2. And Moses went up into the mount of GOD, and the glory of the Lord abode on Mount Sinai, and a cloud overshadowed it six days. 3. And He called to Moses on the seventh day out of the midst of the cloud, and the appearance of the glory of the Lord was like a flaming fire on the top of the mount. 4. And Moses was on the Mount forty days and forty nights, and GOD taught him the earlier and the later history of the division of all the days of the

Tables. *c d* read "tables of stone."

Of the law, etc. See note on i. 1.

Go up, etc. Exod. xxiv. 12.

I. 1. *In the third month, on the sixteenth day of the month.* It will be observed that our author supplies a date to the defective text of Exod. xix. 1 "In the third month after the children of Israel were gone forth . . . the same day came they." Ps.-Jon. inserts "on the first day of the month" (בחד ירחא). It will be observed that on the same date on which Moses went up to receive the Law, the sixteenth of the third month, God appears to Jacob on his way down into Egypt (xliv. 5).

On the other hand, we must carefully distinguish this date and the events connected with it from the fifteenth of the third month and the events connected with it. On the fifteenth Abraham celebrated the feast of the first-fruits of the harvest (xv. 1, xliv. 4); Isaac was born (xvi. 13) (so also in Seder Olam); Abraham died (xxii. 1); Judah was born (xxviii. 15); and Jacob and Laban bound themselves by mutual vows (xxix. 7).

We shall see later (vi. 17-18 notes) that the feast of weeks was first observed on earth in connection with the covenant of Noah, and was according to our author designed to celebrate the institution of that covenant. It is important to recognise this fact, since later Judaism held that the feast of weeks celebrated the legislation on Sinai (see notes on vi. 17).

Come up to Me, etc. Exod. xxiv. 12.

Two tables. The "two" is not in Exod. xxiv. 12, but is drawn from xxxi. 18.

Of the law and of the commandment. Exod. xxiv. 12, on which the text is based, has "And the law and the commandment." But compare Exod. xxxii. 15, xxxiv. 29; Deut. ix. 11.

2-4[a]. Based on Exod. xxiv. 15-18.

3. *Flaming.* A change of one vowel would give "devouring" as in Exod. xxiv. 17. Cf. xxxvi. 10.

4. *God taught him the earlier and the later history.* Cf. i. 26. Cf.

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law and of the testimony. 5. And He said: "Incline thine heart to every word which I shall speak to thee on this mount, and write them in a book in order that their generations may see how I have not forsaken them for all the evil which they have wrought in transgressing the covenant which I establish between Me and thee for their generations this day on Mount Sinai. 6. And thus it will come to pass when all these things come upon them, that they will recognise that I am more righteous than they in all their judgments and in all their actions, and they will recognise that I have been truly with them. 7. And do thou write for thyself all these words which I declare unto thee this day, for I know their rebellion and their stiff neck, before I bring them into the land of which I sware to their fathers, to Abraham and to Isaac and to Jacob, saying: "Unto your seed will I give a land flowing with milk and honey. 8. And they will eat and be satisfied, and they will turn to strange gods, to (gods) which cannot deliver them from aught of their tribulation: and this witness shall be heard for a witness against them. 9. For they will forget all My commandments, (even) all that I command them, and they will walk after the Gentiles, and after their uncleanness,

Megilla 19 *b* "The Holy One, blessed be He, showed to Moses all the minutiae of the law . . . and all that the Sopherim would renew in later times." Also Shem. rabba 40 (Wünsche, p. 282): "God brought the book of Adam and showed him (Moses) therein all the generations which should arise from the beginning of Creation till the day of the resurrection." Beer compares Menachoth 29 *b* and Wajikra rabba 26.

5. *Write them*, etc. Cf. Exod. xxxiv. 27. See note on i. 27.

How I have not forsaken them for all the evil. Cf. Ezra ix. 9 "Yet in our bondage God hath not forsaken us."

Transgressing = sĕḥĕtô emended from 'ashĕtô of *b c d*. Cf. vi. 37, 38.

6. *And thus it will come to pass . . . upon them.* Deut. xxx. 1.

7. *Write for thyself all these words.* See note on i. 27.

I know their rebellion and their stiff neck. Deut. xxxi. 27.

The land of which I sware to their fathers, etc. Deut. xxx. 20, Exod. xxxiii. 1.

Unto your seed . . . a land flowing with milk and honey. Exod. xxxiii. 1, 3; Deut. xxxi. 20.

8. *And they will eat . . . to strange gods.* Deut. xxxi. 20.

This witness shall be heard (*c d*: "witness" *a b*) *for a witness against them.* Cf. Deut. xxxi. 20; 2 Kings xvii. 15 "The testimonies which he testified against them." Cf. Deut. xxxi. 19, 26.

9. *Forget all My commandments*, etc. Ezra ix. 10, 11.

Walk after the Gentiles. 2 Kings xvii. 2.

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and after their shame, and will serve their gods, and these will prove unto them an offence and a tribulation and an affliction and a snare. 10. And many will perish and they will be taken captive, and will fall into the hands of the enemy, because they have forsaken My ordinances and My commandments, and the festivals of My covenant, and My sabbaths, and My holy place which I have hallowed for Myself in their midst, and My tabernacle, and My sanctuary, which I have hallowed for Myself in the midst of the land, that I should set My name upon it, and that it should dwell (there). 11. And they will make to themselves high places and groves and graven images, and they will worship, each his own (graven image), so as to go astray, and they will sacrifice their children to demons, and to all the works of the error of their hearts. 12. And I shall send witnesses unto them, that I may witness against them, but they will not hear, and will slay the witnesses also, and they will persecute those who seek the law, and they will abrogate and change everything so as to work evil before My eyes. 13. And I shall hide My face from them, and I shall deliver them

Serve their gods, and these will prove unto them an offence . . . and a snare. Exod. xxiii. 33; Deut. vii. 16; Jos. xxiii. 13.

10-13. These verses depict the two great catastrophies which befell Israel (10) and Judah (11-13).

10. Partial destruction and captivity of Israel. The northern tribes had forsaken the Law and the Festivals observed by Judah: also the temple in Jerusalem. Cf. for diction Deut. xxviii. 63, 41; Lev. xxvi. 14, 15, etc.

And My tabernacle, . . . in the midst of the land. If these words belong to the text, the author must have believed in the existence of the Tabernacle in Jerusalem during the divided monarchies.

11-13. Idolatries and wickedness of Judah. Their captivity.

11. *Make to themselves high places and groves.* Cf. Ezek. xx. 28; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 3.

Sacrifice their children to demons. 2 Chron. xxviii. 3, xxxiii. 6; Ezek. xx. 31. Cf. Deut. xxxii. 17; Eth. Enoch xcix. 7. See notes on xxii. 17.

12. *I shall send witnesses unto them, that I may witness against them, but they will not hear.* 2 Chron. xxiv. 19 "He sent prophets to them . . . and they testified against them; but they would not give ear." Cf. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 15, 16; Jer. xxv. 4. Cf. Matt. xxiii. 34; Luke xi. 49.

Will slay the witnesses. Neh. ix. 26 "Slew thy prophets which testified against them."

Change: read jewêlĕtū (*a*) in Ethiopic text and jewêtēnū (*b c d*) in the notes.

To work evil before My eyes. 2 Kings xxi. 15.

13. *Hide My face.* Cf. xxi. 22; Is. i. 15.

Deliver them into the hand of the Gentiles, etc. 2 Kings xxi. 14.

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into the hand of the Gentiles for captivity, and for a prey, and for devouring, and I shall remove them from the midst of the land, and I shall scatter them amongst the Gentiles. 14. And they will forget all My law and all My commandments and all My judgments, and will go astray as to new moons, and sabbaths, and festivals, and jubilees, and ordinances. 15. And after this they will turn to Me from amongst the Gentiles with all their heart and with all their soul and with all their strength, and I shall gather them from amongst all the Gentiles, and they will seek Me, so that I shall be found of them, when they seek Me with all their heart and with all their soul. 16. And I shall disclose to them abounding peace with righteousness, and I shall †remove them the plant of uprightness†, with all My heart and with all My soul, and they will be for a blessing and not for a curse, and they will be the head and not the tail. 17. And I shall build My sanctuary in their midst, and I shall dwell with them, and I shall be their God and

For a prey = lahabl emended from lahebl.

14. Judah will forget the service of God in captivity. Cf. Deut. iv. 28, xxviii. 36, 64.

15-17. Repentance of Judah, their return from the captivity and the erection of the temple.

15. *They will turn to Me . . . with all their soul.* Cf. Deut. iv. 30, 29.

I shall gather them from amongst all the Gentiles. Jer. xxix. 14.

They will seek me, so that I shall be found of them, when they seek me with all their heart. Jer. xxix. 13-14a.

When they seek (*b c d*). *a* reads "and when they seek."

16. *And I shall disclose* (*b d*). *a c* read "I will disclose."

†*Remove them the plant of uprightness.*† I have obelized these words as corrupt. Littmann's rendering, "sie umändern zu einer Pflanze der Gerechtigkeit," is hardly possible linguistically. Moreover, it is against the use of this phrase. Cf. Eth. Enoch x. 16, xciii. 2, 5, 10. Israel was "the plant of uprightness" from the outset. The original of the words and of those that follow appears to be Jer. xxxii. 41 "I will plant them in this land assuredly with all my heart and with all my soul." These words are used in the very same connection as those in the text. It is not improbable, therefore, that the words "in this land" have been lost after the verb. Next "And I will remove them" = καὶ μεταθήσω αὐτούς = ומסיעתים. This last may be corrupt for ומטעתים. Thus we should have "And I will plant them the plant of uprightness in the land." This reverses the judgment in verse 13 "I will remove them from the midst of the land."

They will be for a blessing and not for a curse. Zech. viii. 13.

They will be the head and not the tail. Deut. xxviii. 13.

17. The second Temple. *I shall build . . . and I shall dwell with them.* Exod. xxv. 8. *I will dwell with them and I will be their* (*c d, a b* om. "their") *God.* Exod. xxix. 45.

And I shall be their God and they

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they will be My people in truth and righteousness. 18. And I shall not forsake them nor fail them; for I am the Lord their God." 19. And Moses fell on his face and prayed and said, "O Lord my God, do not forsake Thy people and Thy inheritance, so that they should wander in the error of their hearts, and do not deliver them into the hands of their enemies, the Gentiles, lest they should rule over them and cause them to sin against Thee. 20. Let Thy mercy, O Lord, be lifted up upon Thy people, and create in them an upright spirit, and let not the spirit of Beliar rule over them to accuse them before Thee, and to ensnare them from all the paths of righteousness, so that they may perish from before Thy face. 21. But they are Thy people and Thy inheritance, which Thou hast delivered with Thy great power from the hands of the Egyptians: create in them a clean heart and a holy spirit, and let them not be ensnared in their sins from henceforth until eternity." 22. And the Lord said unto Moses: "I know their contrariness and their thoughts and their stiffneckedness, and they will not be obedient till they confess their own sin and the sin of their fathers. 23. And after this they will turn to Me in all uprightness and with all (their) heart and with all (their) soul, and I shall circumcise the foreskin of their heart and the foreskin of the heart of their seed, and I shall create in them a holy spirit, and I shall cleanse them so that they

will be My people. Lev. xxvi. 12; Jer. xxiv. 7, xxx. 22; Ezek. xiv. 11.

18. Deut. xxxi. 6.

19. *Do not forsake . . . Thy inheritance, . . and do not deliver them into the hands . . lest they should rule over them.* Cf. 2 Kings xxi. 14; Deut. ix. 26; Ps. cvi. 41.

Their enemies, the Gentiles (*a c*). *b d* omit "their enemies."

20. *Create . . . spirit.* Ps. li. 10. See next ver.

Beliar. See note on xv. 33.

21. *They are Thy people . . . from the hands of the Egyptians.* Deut. ix. 26, 29.

A holy spirit. Cf. i. 23. See note on xxv. 14.

22. *I know their contrariness . . . and their stiffneckedness.* Deut. xxxi. 27.

Confess their own sin and the sin, etc. Lev. xxvi. 40; Neh. ix. 2.

23. *Turn to Me . . . with all (their) heart and with all (their) soul.* 2 Chron. vi. 38.

Circumcise the foreskin of their heart. Deut. x. 16, xxx. 6.

A holy spirit. Cf. i. 21.

I shall cleanse them so that they shall not turn away from Me from that day unto eternity. These words imply that

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shall not turn away from Me from that day unto eternity. 24. And their souls will cleave to Me and to all My commandments, and they will fulfil My commandments, and I shall be their Father and they will be My children. 25. And they will all be called children of the living God, and every angel and every spirit will know, yea, they will know that these are My children, and that I am their Father in uprightness and righteousness, and that I love them. 26. And do thou write down for thyself all these words which I declare unto thee on this mountain, the first and the last, which shall come to pass in all the divisions of the days in the law and in the testimony and in the weeks and the jubilees unto eternity, until I descend and dwell with them

Israel shall never again be driven from their own land.

24. *I shall be their Father and they will be My children* (or "sons"). These words are used in 2 Sam. vii. 14 in reference to Solomon; elsewhere in the OT only in reference to the nation or sections of it. God is the Father of Israel, Deut. xxxii. 6; Is. lxiii. 16; Jer. xxxi. 9; or of the righteous in Israel, even of the righteous individual, Wisdom ii. 16. See also i. 25, 28, xix. 29 of our text. Israel is God's son: Exod. iv. 22, 23; Deut. xiv. 1; Is. xliii. 6; Wisdom xviii. 13; Jud. ix. 4; or the righteous in Israel are God's children, even the individuals, Wisdom ii. 13, 18, v. 5, xii. 7, 21. For Talmudic references see *Sayings of the Fathers* (ed. Taylor) iii. 22; B. Bathra 10 *a*, Kiddushin 36 *a*, Berachoth 3 *a*. In 2 Cor. vi. 18 St. Paul takes directly these words of 2 Sam. vii. 14 and applies them to all the Christians. In the text they embrace all Israelites. Israelites are God's children according to our author by virtue of their physical descent from Jacob. Cf. i. 28.

25. *Children* (or "sons") *of the living God.* Hos. i. 10.

26. *And do thou write down for thyself* (*b c*). *a d* read "And I will write down for thee." These words appear to refer to the present work (as Singer p. 15 has recognised), *i.e.*, Jubilees (cf. i. 7). Moses is to write it down at the dictation of the angel (vi. 1). It constitutes, so to say, the book of the second law. The Pentateuch, on the other hand, is "the book of the first law" (vi. 22), which was written by the angel himself (i. 27). The latter is referred to again in xxx. 12, 21, l. 6. In 4 Ezra xiv. 6 Moses is bidden to reveal the one, *i.e.*, the Pentateuch, and conceal the other, the apocalyptic tradition. Haec in palam facies verba et haec abscondes. In Exod. xxxiv. 27 Moses is bidden to write down certain commands, but the decalogue is engraved on the tables of stone by God Himself: Exod. xxxiv. 1, 28; Deut. x. 2, 4.

All these words, the first and the last, which shall come to pass . . . until eternity. Cf. 4 Ezra xiv. 4, 5: Et adduxi eum super montem Sina et detinui eum apud Me diebus multis, Et enarravi ei mirabilia multa, et ostendi ei temporum secreta et temporum finem.

Until I descend and dwell . . . throughout eternity. Here as in the Prologue the implication is that the author intended to write a history of the world from the Creation to the setting up of the Theocracy. (Cf. Prologue; also i. 27, 29.) In a certain sense he has done so; for references occur to events as late as the early Maccabean times when the author lived. He was of opinion that the Messianic Kingdom would be introduced through the labours of the Maccabees. For God's dwelling

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throughout eternity." 27. And He said to the angel of the presence: "Write for Moses from the beginning of creation till My sanctuary has been built among them for all eternity. 28. And the Lord will appear to the eyes of all, and all will know that I am the God of Israel and the Father of all

with man see Eth. Enoch xxv. 3, lxxvii. 1. This was the perfected theocracy which was looked for by those who did not expect a personal Messiah, such as the authors of Eth. Enoch i.-xxxvi., xci.-civ.; Ass. Moses x. Our author, however, looked for a Messiah sprung from Judah. See note on xxxi. 18.

27. *And He said to the angel of the presence.* See note on i. 29. Our text forms apparently the earliest testimony to the idea that the law was given through the ministry of angels. In Deut. xxxiii. 2 we have the first mention of angels in connection with the giving of the law, but according to that passage they merely accompany Yahwe. But the way was prepared for the conception in Jubilees by the development which angelology underwent in exilic and post-exilic times. Thus from the exile onwards God communicated no longer directly with His servants. In the case of Ezekiel, who was in the period of transition, the revelation is sometimes made directly to him (xliv. 2), sometimes indirectly through an angel (xl. 3). By the time of Zechariah the development is complete. This prophet receives all his communications through angels. Naturally when we come down to the century in which our book was written, this usage is universal. Daniel receives even the interpretation of his visions through angels (vii. 16 sqq.; viii. 15 sqq. etc.), and in a later work of the same century, Test. XII. Patriarch., Dan. 6, the angel that intercedes for Israel is called "the mediator between God and man" (*μεσίτης Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων*). See also Levi 5. I am not aware of any other references to this conception till the beginning of the Christian era. Thus Philo, *De Somnis*, i. 22 (p. 642 M.), commenting on Exod. xix. 19, writes that we cannot receive God's benefits save through the agency of His ministers. (*οὐδ' ὑπερβαλλούσας . . . εὐεργεσίας χωρῆσαι δυνάμεθα, ἃς ἂν αὐτὸς προτείνῃ δι' ἑαυτοῦ μὴ χρώμενος ὑπερέταις ἄλλοις.*) In the first cent. A.D. we have frequent references to this view. Thus in Jos. *Ant.* xv. 5. 3: *ἡμῶν δὲ τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν δογμάτων καὶ τὰ ὁσιώτατα τῶν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις δι' ἀγγέλων παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μαθόντων.* From Judaism this verse passed over into the NT. Cf. Gal. iii. 19 *νόμος . . . διαταγεὶς δι' ἀγγέλων.* See also Acts vii. 53; Heb. ii. 2. The Samaritans also believed in the ministry of angels in connection with the law. Cf. Gesenius, *Carm. Sam.* p. 15 and de Sacy, *Not. et extraits de la Bibl.* xii. 16. Later Judaism rejected this view probably on polemical grounds, and always represented Moses as receiving the law directly from God. In Sabbath 88 *b* and Shem. rabba 28 Moses is represented as ascending into heaven to receive the law.

Write for Moses, etc. If the interpretation of this verse adopted on i. 26 (note) is right, the angel is to write out the Pentateuch for Moses. There is, however, this difficulty attaching to this interpretation, that the history embraced in the Pentateuch is to extend from the Creation to the time when God's "sanctuary has been built among them for all eternity." It is possible that this means nothing more than such broad and apparently prophetic descriptions of the apostasies of Israel and Judah under their kings, of the Exile and the Return from captivity, and of the restored theocracy as are found in Deut. xxviii.-xxx. It must be confessed that this explanation does not appear adequate.

28. This verse spoils the sequence of thought. We should probably read it after ver. 25.

Appear to the eyes of all. Cf. Rev. i. 7.

God of Israel. Exod. xxiv. 10, etc.

Father of all the children of Jacob. Cf. Jer. xxxi. 1. See note on i. 24.

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the children of Jacob, and King on Mount Zion for all eternity. And Zion and Jerusalem will be holy." 29. And the angel of the presence who went before the camp of Israel took the tables of the divisions of the years—from the time of the creation—of the law and of the testimony of the weeks, of the jubilees, according to the individual years, according to all the number of the jubilees [according to the individual years], from the day of the [new] creation †when† the heavens and the earth shall be renewed and

King on Mount Zion. Cf. Is. xxiv. 23. On Mount Zion see i. 29.

29. *Angel of the presence.* The phrase is derived from Is. lxiii. 9 and found also in Test. XII. Patriarch., Jud. 25. This angel is probably Michael who was the guardian angel of Israel: cf. Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1; Eth. Enoch xx. 5; Slav. Enoch xxii. 6; Weber, *Jüd. Theologie*,[2] 168. Four of these angels are mentioned in Eth. Enoch xl. (where see note on ver. 2 in my edition).

Who went before the camp of Israel. Exod. xiv. 19.

Took the tables of the divisions of the years. From these the angel dictates to Moses.

Divisions of the years—from the time of the creation (*c*)—*of the law* (*a*), etc. This seems to be the best way of taking the text. My text which follows *b*= "divisions of the years from the creation of the law."

According to the individual years. Bracketed as an interpolation. *b* omits.

From the day of the [new] creation †when† the heavens and the earth shall be renewed. The text is clearly corrupt. It should furnish us with the *terminus a quo* and the *terminus ad quem*. The history of the "tables of the divisions" obviously embraces everything from the creation to the Messianic Kingdom. Hence "new" (haddas) is to be regarded as an Ethiopic interpolation In *a b* it follows the word "creation" but in the inferior MSS (*c d*) it precedes them. Next in place of "†when†" (ama) we should expect "till." We can recover "till" by taking ὡς (="when") in the Greek to be a corruption of ἕως ="till." In any case we should read "From the day of the creation, till the heavens."

The heavens and the earth shall be renewed. We should observe carefully the nature of the "renewal" as it appears in Jubilees. This renewal of the creation is not to be instantaneous and catastrophic, but gradual, and its progress to be conditioned ethically by the conduct of Israel. This will be seen most clearly in iv. 26 and xxiii. 26-28 (see notes *in loc.*). Similar expressions are found in Is. lxv. 17, lxvi. 22. In my *Eschatology* (pp. 122-123) I took these passages in Isaiah to denote a sudden and actual re-creation of the world, and as I conceived they were at variance with their contexts, I marked them as later interpolations. I now see that they should be taken to express a gradual transformation of the world, moral and physical, and, that thus the argument against their originality falls to the ground. This view was probably adopted from Mazdeism, which according to Söderblom (*La Vie Future d'après le Mazdéisme*, p. 254, Paris, 1901) teaches that le monde deviendra peu à peu meilleur et se spiritualisera pendant les derniers temps. This fifth-century view of the writer in Isaiah lxv.-lxvi. is reproduced by our author. Heaven and earth and the physical nature of man will be transformed *pari passu* with man's spiritual transformation (xxiii. 26-28, l. 5). According to Jubilees xxiii. 27 the righteous should attain to a thousand years, and according to Is. lxv. 20 the sinner should be prematurely cut off when a hundred years old. So far as I am aware, Is.

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all their creation according to the powers of the heaven, and according to all the creation of the earth, until the sanctuary of the Lord shall be made in Jerusalem on Mount Zion, and all the luminaries be renewed for healing and for peace and for blessing for all the elect of Israel, and that thus it may be from that day and unto all the days of the earth.

The history of the twenty-two distinct acts of creation on the six days, 1-16. *Institution of the Sabbath: its observance by the highest angels, with whom Israel is afterwards to be associated,* 17-32. (Cf. Gen. i.-ii. 3.)

II. And the angel of the presence spake to Moses according to the word of the Lord, saying: Write the com-

lxv.-lxvi., Jubilees and Test. Levi 18 are the only Jewish writings which attest this view. But from 100 B.C. Jewish, and subsequently Christian, writers took these expressions in a literal and catastrophic sense. Thus it is an actual re-creation of heaven and earth that is foretold in Eth. Enoch xci. 16, lxxii. 1, xlv. 4; Apoc. Bar. xxxii. 6, lvii. 2; 4 Ezra vii. 75; 2 Peter iii. 13; Rev. xxi. 1.

But again to return to our author we find the following novelty. He teaches that God is to renew His creation at three distinct periods. The first was on the occasion of the Deluge when He destroyed all that was corrupt (v. 11) and "*made for all His works a new and righteous nature*" (v. 12). The next renewal was to synchronise with the foundation of the Jewish community in Jacob, which should "serve to lay the foundations of the heaven and to strengthen the earth and to renew all the luminaries which are in the firmament" (xix. 25). The idea that a renewal of the world began with Jacob follows also from ii. 22 sqq. According to this passage the twenty-two generations that precede Jacob correspond to the twenty-two works of God at the Creation. A new era of renewal begins with Jacob. Finally when God's sanctuary and the Messianic Kingdom are established amongst men, the final renewal will set in, "when the heavens and the earth shall be renewed" and "all the luminaries shall be renewed" i. 29, iv. 26, v. 12. According to the present text of v. 11, 12, the renewal of creation after the Deluge is taught; but the text is corrupt. In its original form it could only refer to the renewal of the world on the setting up of the Messianic Kingdom. There are thus three great eras in this book: the creation of the world, its renewal on the creation of the true man, Jacob, and its final renewal on the establishment of the sanctuary. On the symbolic values of man and the temple see Eppstein, "Le Livre des Jubilés," *Revue des Études juives*, 1890, xxi. 92-97.

Sanctuary of the Lord be made in Jerusalem, i.e., the Sanctuary in the Messianic Kingdom. Cf. i. 27, iv. 26.

Renewed for healing. Cf. Rev. xxii. 2 "for the healing of the nations."

II. 1. *Angel of the presence.* See i. 29 (note).

Write the complete history of the

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plete history of the creation, how in six days the Lord God finished all His works and all that He created, and kept Sabbath on the seventh day and hallowed it for all ages, and appointed it as a sign for all His works. 2. For on

creation. We find the following Scholion in a MS Coislin. (Fabric. ii. 120) on Exod. xxiv. 15, which refers to Jubilees: ἐνταῦθα ἠξιώθη ὁ μέγας Μωϋσῆς μετὰ τὰς τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας ἰδεῖν δι' ὀπτασιῶν, πῶς ἐν ταῖς ἓξ ἡμέραις ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τάξιν μιᾶς ἑκάστης ἡμέρας καὶ συγγράψαι παρεκελεύσθη.

2-3. These verses record the creations of the first day. They were seven in all: heaven, earth, the waters, spirits, the abysses, darkness, light. We have happily the Greek version preserved in Epiphanius, περὶ Μέτρων καὶ Σταθμῶν, xxii. (see my critical edition of the Ethiopic text pp. 5, 7): τῇ μὲν γὰρ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐποίησε τοὺς οὐρανοὺς τοὺς ἀνωτέρους (καὶ) τὴν γῆν (καὶ) τὰ ὕδατα . . . τὰ πνεύματα τὰ λειτουργοῦντα ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ἅτινά ἐστι τάδε ἄγγελοι πρὸ προσώπου, καὶ ἄγγελοι τῆς δόξης, καὶ ἄγγελοι πνευμάτων πνεόντων, (καὶ) ἄγγελοι νεφελῶν καὶ γνόφων (καὶ) χιόνος καὶ χαλάζης καὶ πάγου, (καὶ) ἄγγελοι φωνῶν (καὶ) βροντῶν καὶ ἀστραπῶν, (καὶ) ἄγγελοι ψύχους καὶ καύματος καὶ χειμῶνος καὶ φθινοπώρου καὶ ἔαρος καὶ θέρους, καὶ πάντων τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν κτισμάτων αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ, (καὶ) τὰς ἀβύσσους τήν τε ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ χάους, (καὶ) τὸ σκότος, ἑσπέραν καὶ νύκτα, (καὶ) τὸ φῶς, ἡμέραν τε καὶ ὄρθρον. An imperfect enumeration of the seven works is given by Syncellus (ed. Dindorf, p. 4), in which τὰς ἀβύσσους is omitted and νυχθήμερον is substituted. Cedrenus (ed. Bekker, p. 7) reproduces Syncellus' summary, but with an additional corruption. He omits τὰ ὕδατα and reckons νυχθήμερον as two works. The Hebrew work, Midrash Tadshe vi. lines 11-16 (ed. by Eppstein, *Beiträge zur jüdischen Alterthumskunde*, 1887) is clearly based on our text. It runs: "Twenty-two kinds of creatures were created in the universe in seven days: the first day seven; heaven, earth, waters, darkness, the wind (רוח), the abysses (תהומות), light. The second day: one only, the firmament. The third day, four. He reunited the waters in one place, brought up the sweet waters from the earth, likewise herbs and trees. The fourth day, three: the sun, moon and stars. The fifth day, three: the moving creatures, birds and sea monsters. The sixth day, four: beasts, and cattle, and creeping things, and man. This corresponds to the twenty-two letters of the alphabet and to the twenty-two generations from Adam to Jacob (כנגר בב אותיות שבאב וכנגר הדורות מאדם עד שבא יעקב).

In the enumeration of the works of the first day, we observe a divergency between Jubilees (Epiphanius and Syncellus) and the Midrash Tadshe. Where Jubilees gives "angels," the Midrash gives "the wind." The ground for this divergency is manifest. If we examine Gen. i. 1-4 we find that the list of seven works is drawn from these verses, and that the idea of the creation of the angels is simply a development of the word "spirit" (רוח), ver. 2. But the Midrash Tadshe shuns such an inference from Gen. i. 2; for Talmudic Judaism held that the angels were created on the second or the fifth day. In Ber. rabba 1 according to R. Jochanan it was on the second day (Ps. cxv. 4, 5—see also Jerusalem Targum on Gen. i. 26; Chron. of Jerahmeel i. 8), but according to R. Chanina on the fifth (see Gen. i. 20; Is. vi. 6), and R. Luliani bar Tabrai says that they were not created on the first day lest it should be said that they had assisted God in the creation. Philo, *Leg. Allegor.* i. 2, represents the creation of the angels as accomplished on the seventh day.

Philo (*de Mundi opificio*, i. 7) mentions seven objects of creation: οὐρανός, γῆ, σκότος, τὸ ἄβυσσον, ὕδωρ, πνεῦμα, φῶς. Here the πνεῦμα retains for the most part its original force; for in the next chapter Philo says with regard to it: τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὠνόμασε θεοῦ, διότι ζωτικώτατον τὸ πνεῦμα. On the other hand he idealises all seven objects of creation

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the first day He created the heavens which are above and the earth and the waters and all the spirits which serve before Him—the angels of the presence, and the angels of

of the first day. It is not the actual but the ideal world that is created on the first day. Thus he speaks of the heaven as ἀσώματος, the earth as ἀόρατος, the darkness and the abyss as the ἀέρος ἰδέα καὶ κενοῦ, wind and water as having an ἀσώματος οὐσία, and the light as being νοητός. Notwithstanding, it is obvious that Philo was acquainted with a cosmology such as is given in our text. The Chronicles of Jerahmeel, i. 3, enumerate eight works. It duplicates "the spirit" by taking it first as "the spirit of God" and next as "air." Its dependence on the Jubilee tradition is possible.

According to later Judaism, Ber. rabba 3 sqq. four things were created on the first day, mountains (here הרים is corrupt for תהום, "abyss"), heaven, earth, light. On the second—the firmament, hell and the angels. On the third—trees, green things, and Paradise. On the fourth—sun, moon and stars. On the fifth—birds, fishes and the Leviathan. On the sixth—Adam, Eve and worms. In all nineteen works. But according to R. Pinchas, six things were created on the sixth: Adam, Eve, worms, tame beasts, wild beasts, demons.

2. *On the first day he created . . . the angels.* In addition to the remarks made under this head on ii. 2-3 above we should further observe that grounds are furnished for such a conception by Job xxxviii. 7 (cf. i. 6) "When the morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy." Here the sons of God are regarded as admiring spectators of the creation. It is probable that earlier Judaism so understood this verse. At all events, this interpretation appears in patristic literature; cf. Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxv. chap. 4: Εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἅμα οὐρανῷ καὶ γῇ καὶ ἄγγελοι ἐκτίσθησαν, οὐκ ἂν ἔλεγε τῷ Ἰὼβ ὅτι, Ὅτε ἐγενήθησαν ἄστρα, ἤνεσάν με πάντες ἄγγελοί μου φωνῇ. See also the quotation from Rufinus in the next note. Nearly two centuries earlier this idea is attested in Hermas, *Vis.* iii. 4: Οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἅγιοι ἄγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ οἱ πρῶτοι κτισθέντες, οἷς παρέδωκεν ὁ κύριος πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν αὐτοῦ, αὔξειν καὶ οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ δεσπόζειν τῆς κτίσεως πάσης.

All the spirits which serve before him. This phrase is found in the Jerusalem Targum I. on Gen. i. 26, but there the creation of the angels is assigned to the second day. See further details in preceding note. With our text compare Rufinus, *Expositio in Symbol.* p. 21 (Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* ii. 57), Ut breviter aliqua etiam de secretionibus perstringamus, ab initio Deus cum fecisset mundum, *praefecit ei et praeposuit quasdam virtutum caelestium potestates, quibus regeretur et dispensaretur mortalium genus . . .* Sed et horum nonnulli, sicut et ipse qui princeps appellatus est mundi, datam sibi a Deo potestatem non his quibus acceperant legibus temperarunt nec humanum genus diviuis obedire praeceptis, sed suis parere praevaricationibus docuerunt.

The angels of the presence, and the angels of sanctification. Cf. ii. 18, xv. 27, xxxi. 14. These are the two chief orders of angels. On the former see i. 29 note. Both classes are mentioned in ii. 18: these observe the Sabbath together with God and Israel (ii. 18 sqq.), and like them Levi and his seed are to serve in the sanctuary, xxxi. 14. The lower orders who are set over the works of nature do not keep the Sabbath. These angels are, according to the Talmud and no doubt to our author, inferior to righteous Israelites: Sanh. 93*a*, צריקים יותר מכלאכי השרת. See also Ber. rabba 8; Tanchuma 14, חביבין ישראל לפני הקבה יותר מכלאכי השרת (Singer, p. 98). "The angels of sanctification" are those who sing praises to God (possibly the trisagion as in Eth. En. lxi. 12). As Epiphanius has ἄγγελοι τῆς δόξης (= ἄγγελοι δοξάζοντες), Praetorius proposes that we should read weddāsē instead of qeddāsē. But the text can be defended; for in xv. 27 where the phrase recurs, the Latin has sanctificationis.

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sanctification, and the angels [of the spirit of fire and the angels] of the spirit of the winds, and the angels of the spirit of the clouds, and of darkness, and of snow and of hail and of hoar frost, and the angels of the voices and of the thunder and of the lightning, and the angels of the spirits of cold and of heat, and of winter and of spring and of autumn and of summer, and of all the spirits of His creatures which are in the heavens and on the earth, (He created) the abysses and the darkness, eventide (and night), and the light, dawn and day, which He hath prepared in the knowledge of His heart. 3. And thereupon we saw His works, and praised Him, and lauded before Him on account of all His works; for seven great works did He create on the first day. 4. And on the second

Angels . . . of fire . . . of the winds, . . . of the clouds, etc. The third or lowest order of angels presides over the natural phenomena. See Eth. Enoch lx. 12-21, lxxv., lxxx.; Slav. Enoch xix. 1-4.

Angels . . . of fire. Cf. Rev. xiv. 18.

Of the spirit of fire and the angels. So *b c d*. *a* and G of Epiphanius omit.

Angels . . . of the winds. Cf. Rev. vii. 1, 2. See Eth. Enoch xviii. 1-5, xxxiv.-xxxvi., lxxvi. on the various functions of the wind.

Of snow. So Gk. of Epiphanius, χιόνος, which was probably corrupted into παντός: hence text of *a b*. *c d* om.

Of snow and of hail and of hoar frost. Eth. Enoch lx. 17, 18.

Angels of the voices and of the thunder and of the lightning. This is an obscure phrase. It would be easy if we could omit the first "and." Then we should have the familiar expression "voices of the thunder." Cf. Ps. lxxvii. 18, civ. 7; Rev. vi. 1, x. 4, xix. 6. On the other hand we have in Rev. iv. 5, xi. 19, xvi. 18, ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταί, and in viii. 5, βρονταὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ ἀστραπαί. The phrase in Rev. may be derived from our text. The "voices" may mean the mutterings of the thunder. "Voice" (קל) in itself means thunder in Job xxxvii. 4.

Thunder and lightning. Cf. Eth. Enoch lx. 13-15.

Of winter . . . and summer. Cf. Eth. Enoch lxxxii. 13-20.

(*He created*) *the abysses.* *a b c d* read "in all the abysses," connecting the phrase wrongly with the preceding words. "The abysses" are one of the seven things created on the first day and must be in the accusative as in G of Epiphanius. The Kuellû = "all" may be a corruption of 'ellû = "these" (a frequent corruption), and the latter a translation of the Greek article in τὰς ἀβύσσους. G reads τὰς ἀβύσσους τήν τε ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ χάους. In my Ethiopic text, omit the three words after qalàyât, which are an attempt partly to restore and partly to emend *a* into confirmity with the G.

Eventide (*and night*) *and the light, dawn and day.* "And night" is supplied from G. *a* wrongly transposes "eventide" after "day." *b c d* omit "and day" and transpose "eventide" after "light."

3. *Seven great works.* See note above, p. 11 on ii. 2-3.

4. Works of the second day. Gen. i. 6-7. Cf. Slav. Enoch xxvi.-xxvii. G in Epiphanius runs: ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ τὸ στερέωμα τὸ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τῶν ὑδάτων, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐμερίσθη τὰ ὕδατα, τὸ ἥμισυ αὐτῶν ἀνέβη ἐπάνω τοῦ στερεώματος (καὶ τὸ ἥμισυ κατέβη ὑποκάτω τοῦ στερεώματος) τοῦ ἐμμέσῳ ἐπὶ προσώπου πάσης τῆς γῆς. τοῦτο μόνον τὸ ἔργον ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἡμέρᾳ.

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day He created the firmament in the midst of the waters, and the waters were divided on that day—half of them went up above and half of them went down below the firmament (that was) in the midst over the face of the whole earth. And this was the only work (God) created on the second day. 5. And on the third day He commanded the waters to pass from off the face of the whole earth into one place, and the dry land to appear. 6. And the waters did so as He commanded them, and they retired from off the face of the earth into one place outside of this firmament, and the dry land appeared. 7. And on that day He created for them all the seas according to their separate gathering-places, and all the rivers, and the gatherings of the waters in the mountains and on all the earth, and all the lakes, and all the dew of the earth, and the seed which is sown, and all sprouting things, and fruit-bearing trees, and trees of the wood, and the garden of Eden, in Eden, and all

The clause in brackets, lost by homoioteleuton, I have supplied.

Waters were divided on that day. According to this view as also of Gen. i. 6 there was a sea in heaven resting on the firmament, which through seven flood-gates (v. 24) let down its waters on the earth. See the curious speculation on these waters in Eth. Enoch liv. 7-8.

5-7. Works of the third day. Cf. Gen. i. 9-13; Slav. Enoch xxx. 1. G in Epiphanius is defective: *τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ . . . τὰς θαλάσσας . . . τοὺς ποταμούς, τὰς πηγάς . . . καὶ λίμνας, τὰ σπέρματα τοῦ σπόρου, καὶ τὰ βλαστήματα, τὰ ξύλα τὰ κάρπιμά τε καὶ ἄκαρπα καὶ τοὺς δρυμούς . . . καὶ πάντα τὰ φυτὰ κατὰ γένος. ταῦτα τὰ τέσσαρα ἔργα τὰ μέγιστα ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.* It is better in Syncellus i. 4: *φανέρωσις γῆς καὶ ἀναξήρανσις, παράδεισος, δένδρα παντοῖα, βοτάναι καὶ σπέρματα.*

5. *The third day.* MSS add "He made as."

7. Cf. Slav. Enoch xxx. 1.

Sprouting things = zajebaquel emended from zajetbalâ'ĕ according to G *βλαστήματα.*

Garden of Eden, in Eden. MSS add "for pleasure." This phrase is due either to a corrupt dittography: *i.e.*—latadlâ is corrupt for batadlâ = *ἐν τρυφῇ*, a duplicate rendering of בערן: or else tadlâ is corrupt for taklât = *φυτά* and should be transposed after kuellû. The "in Eden" is also superfluous. *c* omits it.

Garden of Eden. Eden is likewise a creation of the third day in Ber. rabba 15; Slav. Enoch xxx. 1; Book of Adam and Eve i. 1. This is the earliest view so far as our evidence goes. As early, however, as the latter half of the first century A.D., the garden of Eden was said to have been created before the world. Thus 4 Ezra iii. 6 In paradisum, quem plantavit dextera tua antequam terra adventaret. This view arose from taking קדם in Gen. ii. 8 to mean "from the beginning" instead of "on the east." This new interpretation was adopted by the Targums and the Syriac and Latin Versions, as well as by Aquila, Sym-

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(plants after their kind). These four great works GOD created on the third day. 8. And on the fourth day He created the sun and the moon and the stars, and set them in the firmament of the heaven, to give light upon all the earth, and to rule over the day and the night, and divide the light from the darkness. 9. And GOD appointed the sun to be a great sign on the earth for days and for sabbaths and for months and for feasts and for years and for sabbaths of years and for jubilees and for all seasons of the years. 10. And it divideth the light from the darkness [and] for prosperity, that all things may prosper which shoot and grow on the earth. These three kinds He made on the fourth day. 11. And on the fifth day He created great sea monsters in the depths of the waters, for these were the first things of flesh that were created by His hands, the fish and everything that moves in the waters, and everything that

machus and Theodotion; also by Jerome (*Quaest. Heb. in Gen.* ii. 8) (Migne, *Biblioth. Patr. Lat.* tom. 23, col. 940): Necnon quod sequitur, contra orientem, in Hebraeo Mecedem (מקדם) scribitur, quod Aquila posuit ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς: et nos, *ab exordio*, possumus dicere. Symmachus vero, ἐκ πρώτης, et Theodotion, ἐν πρώτοις, quod et ipsum non *orientem* sed principium significat. Ex quo manifestissime comprobatur, quod priusquam coelum et terram Deus faceret, paradisum ante condiderat, sicut et legitur in Hebraeo: *Plantaverat autem Dominus Deus paradisum in Eden a principio.* For later Jewish authorities see Weber, *Jüd. Theologie*,[2] 198.

On the peculiar conception of two Paradises, the heavenly and the earthly, and their connection see Slav. Enoch vi.; Weber, 162 sq., 341. For a history of the various meanings of Paradise in Apocalyptic literature, see my *Eschatology*, pp. 197, 234 sq., 262 sqq.

(*Plants after their kind.*) Supplied from G in Epiphanius. It is possible, however, that "plants" already exists in the text in a corrupt form. See note on beginning of verse.

8-10. Gen. i. 14-19. Cf. Slav. Enoch. xxx. 2-6. G in Epiphanius very defective: τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ τὸν ἥλιον τὴν σελήνην τοὺς ἀστέρας . . . ταῦτα τὰ τρία ἔργα τὰ μεγάλα ἐποίησε ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.

9. *Appointed the sun.* It will be observed here that though the writer is basing the text on Gen. i. 16-18 he makes no reference to the moon. The omission is intentional. The writer holds that Israel should not be guided by the moon but by the sun in the calculations of all their festivals. See vi. 36-38.

Appointed the sun . . . for jubilees. The period from the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan to the destruction of the first temple is measured by jubilees in Erachin 12-13 *a*.

10. *These three kinds, i.e.*, the sun, moon, and stars. Cf. Syncellus, i. 5.

11-12. Works of the fifth day. Gen. i. 20-23. Cf. Slav. Enoch xxx. 7. G in Epiphanius: τῇ δὲ πέμπτῃ τὰ κήτη τὰ μεγάλα . . . τοὺς ἰχθύας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἑρπετὰ τὰ ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι, τὰ πετεινὰ τὰ πτερωτά . . . ταῦτα τὰ τρία ἔργα τὰ μεγάλα ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.

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flies, the birds and all their kind. 12. And the sun rose above them to prosper (them), and above everything that was on the earth, everything that shoots out of the earth, and all fruit-bearing trees, and all flesh. These three kinds He created on the fifth day. 13. And on the sixth day He created all the animals of the earth, and all cattle, and everything that moves on the earth. 14. And after all this He created man, a man and a woman created He them, and gave him dominion over all that is upon the earth, and in the seas, and over everything that flies, and over beasts and over cattle, and over everything that moves on the earth, and over the whole earth, and over all this He gave him dominion. And these four kinds He created on the sixth day. 15. And there were altogether two and twenty kinds. 16. And He finished all His work on the sixth day—all that is in the heavens and on the earth, and in the seas and in the abysses, and in the light and in the darkness, and in everything. 17. And He gave us a great sign, the Sabbath day, that we should work six days, but keep Sabbath on the seventh day from all work. 18. And all the angels of the presence, and all the angels of sanctifi-

13-14. Works of the sixth day. Gen. i. 24-28. Cf. Slav. Enoch xxx. 8 sqq. G in Epiphanius is defective: *τῇ δὲ ἕκτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τὰ θηρία . . . τὰ κτήνη, τὰ ἑρπετὰ τῆς γῆς, τὸν ἄνθρωπον . . . ταῦτα τὰ τέσσαρα μεγάλα ἔργα ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.*

14. *A man and a woman*—instead of the usual "male and female."

15. See note on ii. 23. The Greek of this verse and the next is found in Epiphanius, *loc. cit.*: *καὶ ἐγένετο πάντα εἴκοσι δύο γένη ἐν ταῖς ἓξ ἡμέραις. καὶ συνετέλεσεν πάντα τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, ὅσα ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἐν ταῖς θαλάσσαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀβύσσοις, ἐν τῷ φωτὶ καὶ ἐν τῷ σκότει καὶ ἐν πᾶσι.*

16. *On the sixth day.* Our text is supported by the Samaritan text and the LXX and Syriac Versions of Gen. ii. 2ª. Cf. Exod. xx. 11. Budde and Ball accept this (= הַשִּׁשִּׁי) as the original reading of Gen. ii. 2ª over against the Massoretic (= הַשְּׁבִיעִי). The severer observance of the Sabbath belongs certainly to the pre-Christian centuries as we shall see later.

17-21. The two chief orders of angels observe the Sabbath together with God. Israel alone will be chosen to join in this observance. Like the third order of angels (see note on ii. 2), *i.e.* those that preside over natural phenomena, the Gentiles do not share in this privilege (ii. 31).

17. *He gave us a great sign, the Sabbath day.* Cf. Exod. xxxi. 13. This sign, first appointed between God and the two chief orders of angels, was to be established subsequently between God and Israel, ii. 21. See ii. 31 note.

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cation, these two great classes—He hath bidden us to keep the Sabbath with Him in heaven and on earth. 19. And He said unto us: "Behold, I will separate unto Myself a people from among all the peoples, and these will keep the Sabbath day, and I will sanctify them unto Myself as My people, and will bless them; as I have sanctified the Sabbath day and do sanctify (it) unto Myself, even so shall I bless them, and they will be My people and I shall be their God. 20. And I have chosen the seed of Jacob from amongst all that I have seen, and have written him down as My first-born son, and have sanctified him unto Myself for ever and ever; and I will teach them the Sabbath day, that they may keep Sabbath thereon from all work." 21. And thus He created therein a sign in accordance with which they should keep Sabbath with us on the seventh day, to eat and to drink, and to bless Him who has created all things as He has blessed and sanctified unto Himself a peculiar people above all peoples, and that they should keep Sabbath together with us. 22. And He caused His commands to ascend as a sweet savour acceptable before Him all the days. . . . 23. There (were) two and twenty heads of mankind from Adam

19. *Separate unto Myself a people.* 1 Kings viii. 53.

These will keep the Sabbath . . . sanctify them. Exod. xxxi. 13, 17; Ezek. xx. 12. See note on ii. 31.

They will be My people, etc. See i. 17.

20. *I have chosen the seed of Jacob.* Is. xli. 8, xliv. 1, 2. G in Epiphanius = *I will choose*, etc.

From amongst all. This is based on a slight change of a corrupt text.

My first-born son. Exod. iv. 22; Ps. lxxxix. 27; cf. Jer. xxxi. 9.

21. *A sign.* According to Exod. xxxi. 13, 17; Ezek. xx. 12, the Sabbath was to be a sign between God and Israel. See ii. 17 note, 31 note.

Keep Sabbath with us. Israel is to unite with the angels (cf. verses 17, 18) in observing the Sabbath.

To eat and to drink, etc. This joyful aspect of the Sabbath is enforced again in ii. 31, l. 9, 10. In l. 12 fasting on the Sabbath is forbidden. See l. 6 sqq. (notes) for a discussion of the entire question.

A peculiar people above all peoples. Deut. vii. 6; cf. Exod. xix. 5; Amos iii. 2. The Sabbaths are signs that God has given to His people to distinguish them from other peoples. Cf. verse 31; Ezek. xx. 12, 20. "Peculiar" here = zajâtarî emended from zajâstarĕ'î.

And that they . . . with us. This seems a dittography of the second clause of this verse.

22. *His commands*, etc. Corrupt.

A sweet savour. Gen. viii. 21; Exod. xxix. 18; Ezek. xx. 41; 2 Cor. ii. 15; Eph. v. 2.

Acceptable before Him. Ezek. xx. 41; Rom. xii. 1; 1 Tim. ii. 3.

23. It is clear from Epiphanius, Syncellus and Cedrenus that there is a

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to Jacob, and two and twenty kinds of work were made until the seventh day; this is blessed and holy; and the former also is blessed and holy; and this one serves with that one for sanctification and blessing. 24. And to this (Jacob and his seed) it was granted that they should always

lacuna in the text after ver. 22. Thus in Epiphanius, *De Mensuris et Ponderibus*, ch. xxii. (ed. Dind. vol. iv. 28) after an account of the six days' creation, drawn word for word from Jubilees, he continues καὶ ἐδήλωσε δι' ἀγγέλου τῷ Μωϋσεῖ ὅτι (Jub. ii. 23) καὶ εἴκοσι δύο κεφάλαια ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ ἄχρι τοῦ Ἰακώβ. . . . καὶ (Jub. ii. 21) ἐκλέξομαι ἐμαυτῷ ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτοῦ . . . λαὸν περιούσιον ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν . . . διὸ καὶ εἴκοσι δύο εἰσὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις γράμματα, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ τὰς βίβλους αὐτῶν κβ' ἠρίθμησαν εἴκοσι ἑπτὰ οὔσας· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ διπλοῦνται πέντε παρ' αὐτοῖς στοιχεῖα, εἴκοσι ἑπτὰ καὶ αὐτὰ ὄντα καὶ εἰς κβ' ἀποτελοῦνται, τούτου χάριν καὶ τὰς βίβλους κζ' οὔσας κβ' πεποιήκασιν. Also in i. 1 p. 59 (Ἐπικουρ.) we find αὗταί εἰσιν αἱ εἴκοσι-ἑπτὰ βίβλοι αἱ ἐκ Θεοῦ δοθεῖσαι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, εἰκοσιδύο δὲ ὡς τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς στοιχεῖα τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν γραμμάτων ἀριθμούμεναι, διὰ τὸ διπλοῦσθαι δέκα βίβλους εἰς πέντε λεγομένας. Again Anastasius, who elsewhere quotes Jubilees (see iii. 9 note), seems to refer to our text here in his work on the Hexaemeron (Migne's *Biblioth. Patr. Graec.* tom. 89, col. 940): Viginti enim duo opera fecisse Deum dicunt, et Judaeorum et Christianorum interpretes . . . propterea viginti quoque duobus libris enumerat omne Vetus suum Testamentum. In Isidore of Seville (ob. 636), *Etymolog.* xvi. 26. 10 (Migne *Bibl. Patr. Lat.* tom. 82, col. 595), we have an account of the creation agreeing with Jubilees save in one small particular. It is there shown that there were twenty-two kinds of work just as there were twenty-two generations from Adam to Jacob, twenty-two books in the OT and twenty-two letters. This account is dependent on Epiphanius. Thus it is most probable that originally mention was made in the text of the twenty-two Hebrew letters and the twenty-two books of the Bible, and so we find it actually stated by Syncellus *Chronogr.* i. 5 (ed. Dind.) ὁμοῦ τὰ πάντα ἔργα εἴκοσι δύο ἰσάριθμα τοῖς εἴκοσι δύο Ἑβραϊκοῖς γράμμασι καὶ ταῖς εἴκοσι δύο Ἑβραϊκαῖς βίβλοις καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ ἕως Ἰακὼβ εἴκοσι δύο γενάρχαις, ὡς ἐν λεπτῇ φέρεται Γενέσει, ἣν καὶ Μωϋσέως εἶναί φασί τινες ἀποκάλυψιν. This statement is reproduced verbally by Cedrenus, *Compendium Histor.* vol. i. 9 (ed. Bekker). Next we have the evidence of the Hebrew tradition preserved in the Midrash Tadshe vi. (quoted above, p. 11): "Twenty-two kinds of creatures were created in the universe. . . This corresponds to the twenty-two letters of the alphabet and to the twenty-two generations from Adam to Jacob." Thus we should probably restore the lacuna as follows:— *As there were two and twenty letters and two and twenty* (*sacred*) *books and two and twenty heads of mankind from Adam to Jacob, so there were made two and twenty kinds of work*, etc. The thirty-nine books of the Old Testament are equalised to the number of letters by the following device. The twelve minor prophets count as one book, similarly Judges and Ruth, Ezra and Nehemiah, Jeremiah and Lamentations are taken together, and the two books of Samuel, Kings and Chronicles are reckoned respectively as one each. Thus the thirty-nine are reduced to twenty-two. See Introd. § 11.

This is blessed and holy, i.e., the Sabbath.

The former also is blessed and holy, i.e., Jacob. These two, the Sabbath and Jacob, are intimately related. As the Sabbath comes at the close of the twenty-two works, so Jacob comes at the close of the twenty-second generation. Not till Jacob's time, therefore, could the Sabbath be rightly observed on earth. Moreover, the Sabbath was given to Israel alone (ii. 31).

24. *They should always*, etc. So *b c d*. *a* reads "he should always," etc.

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be the blessed and holy ones of the first testimony and law, even as He had sanctified and blessed the Sabbath day on the seventh day. 25. He created heaven and earth and everything that He created in six days, and God made the seventh day holy, for all His works; therefore He commanded on its behalf that, whoever does any work thereon shall die, and that he who defiles it shall surely die. 26. Wherefore do thou command the children of Israel to observe this day that they may keep it holy and not do thereon any work, and not to defile it, as it is holier than all other days. 27. And whoever profanes it shall surely die, and whoever does thereon any work shall surely die eternally, that the children of Israel may observe this day throughout their generations, and not be rooted out of the land; for it is a holy day and a blessed day. 28. And every one who observes it and keeps Sabbath thereon from all his work, will be holy and blessed throughout all days like unto us. 29. Declare and say to the children of Israel the law of this day both that they should keep Sabbath thereon, and that they should not forsake it in the error of their hearts; (and) that it is not lawful to do any work thereon which is unseemly, to do thereon their own pleasure, and that they should not prepare thereon anything

He had sanctified. So *c d*. *a b* read "it had been sanctified."

And blessed. So *a c d*. *b* "and had been blessed.

The Sabbath day. *c d*. *a b* omit.

25. *Whoever does any work thereon shall die, and that he who defiles*, etc. Exod. xxxi. 14, 15. Cf. Exod. xxxv. 2; Num. xv. 32-36. See also verses 26, 27.

26. *Command the children of Israel to observe this day that they may keep it holy.* Exod. xx. 8, xxxi. 1.

Holier than all other days. Cf. ii. 30 where it is said to be holier than the jubilee of the jubilees; also ii. 33.

27. *Whoever profanes it . . . whoever does thereon any work.* See two preceding verses.

Rooted out of the land. Deut. xxix. 28.

29. *It is not lawful to do any work thereon which is unseemly, to do thereon their own pleasure.* In the rendering "which is unseemly" I have followed Barth and Littmann in taking za'ijekawen za'ijástar'i as representing שֶׁלֹּא יִהְיֶה רָאוּי. See also on iii. 15. It might be better to connect the following infinitive with "unseemly" and translate "which is unseemly to do thereon, (even) their own pleasure." It is usual for רָאוּי to be followed by an infinitive in this sense. Cf. Esther ii. 9; Chull. 83 *b*; Nid. vi. 4.

To do thereon their own pleasure. Cf. Is. lviii. 13.

Not prepare thereon anything to be

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to be eaten or drunk, †and (that it is not lawful) to draw water, or bring in or take out thereon through their gates any burden,† which they had not prepared for themselves on the sixth day in their dwellings. 30. And they shall not bring in nor take out from house to house on that day; for that day is more holy and blessed than any jubilee day of the jubilees: on this we kept Sabbath in the heavens before it was made known to any flesh to keep Sabbath thereon on the earth. 31. And the Creator of all things blessed it, but He did not sanctify all peoples and

eaten or drunk. This law could be derived from Exod. xvi. 23, 25. Baking and boiling are forbidden in Exod. xvi. 23, and the making of a fire in Exod. xxxv. 3.

And that they should not prepare thereon anything to be eaten or drunk . . . which they had not prepared for themselves on the sixth day. Cf. l. 9. It will be observed that by omitting "and (that it is not lawful) to draw water, or bring in or take out thereon through their gates any burden" an excellent sense is restored to the text. Besides, the words in question constitute a break in the grammatical construction. The words "or bring in or take out thereon through their gates any burden" look like a dittography of the first clause in ver. 30. They may, however, be genuine, and we can restore at once the sense and grammar by reading these clauses immediately after the words "their own pleasure." Thus we have: "That it is not lawful to do any work thereon which is unseemly, to do thereon their own pleasure or to draw water or bring in or take out thereon through their gates any burden. And that they should not prepare thereon anything to be eaten or drunk, which they had not prepared for themselves on the sixth day in their dwellings."

Or bring in or take out . . . any burden. The law is found in ii. 30, l. 8; Jer. xvii. 21, 22, 24, 27. Cf. Neh. xiii. 19; John v. 10; Shabb. vii. 2.

Which they had not prepared for themselves on the sixth day. This should follow immediately on the clause "anything to be eaten or drunk." Thus we have the provision enforced in Bez. 2*b*, that on the Sabbath day nothing should be eaten which had not been expressly prepared on a week day with a view to the Sabbath.

On the sixth day. Cf. l. 9. This phrase can equally well be rendered in both passages "on the six days."

30. *Bring in nor take out from house to house.* Cf. ii. 29, l. 8; Jer. xvii. 22. Also Shabb. vii. 2, הכוציא מרשות לרשות. See note on ver. 29.

On this we kept Sabbath in the heavens. Similarly it is said in vi. 18 that the feast of weeks was celebrated by the angels in heaven till the days of Noah. The writer most probably held that the other feasts were likewise observed in heaven. The sabbath and the feast of weeks, however, are the two chief feasts in the eyes of the writer. According to Ber. rabba 11 even the godless in Gehenna had rest on the Sabbath.

31. *Blessed it, i.e.,* Israel. MSS omit "it" but we have only (with Barth and Littmann) to emend bâraka into bârakâ to restore it.

He did not sanctify all . . . nations to keep Sabbath thereon, but Israel alone. Cf. ii. 19. The Sabbath was the special privilege and distinction of Israel. Hence it could not be rightly observed on earth till Jacob's time (see ii. 23 note). It was to be a special sign between God and Israel (ii. 21), as it was already a sign in heaven between

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nations to keep Sabbath thereon, but Israel alone: them alone He permitted to eat and drink and to keep Sabbath thereon on the earth. 32. And the Creator of all things blessed this day which He had created for a blessing and a sanctification and a glory above all days. 33. This law and testimony was given to the children of Israel as a law for ever unto their generations.

Adam names all creatures, 1-3. *Creation of Eve and enactment of Levitical laws of purification*, 4-14. *Adam and Eve in Paradise: their sin and expulsion*, 15-29. *Law of covering one's shame enacted*, 30, 31. *Adam and Eve live in Êldâ*, 32-35. (Cf. Gen. ii. 18-25, iii.).

III. And on the six days of the second week we brought, according to the word of God, unto Adam all the beasts, and all the cattle, and all the birds, and everything that moves on the earth, and everything that moves in the water, according to their kinds, and according to their types: the beasts on the first day; the cattle on the second day; the birds on the third day; and all that which moves on the earth on the fourth day; and that which moves in the water on the fifth day. 2. And Adam named them all by their respective names, and as he called them, so was their name. 3. And on these five days Adam saw all these, male and female, according to every kind that was on the earth, but he was alone and found no helpmeet for him. 4. And the Lord said unto us: "It is not good that the

God and the two chief orders of angels (ii. 17). As no such sign existed between God and the inferior angels (who are inferior to Israel, see ii. 2 note), so none existed between God and the Gentiles.

33. *A law for ever unto their generations* = חקת עולם לדורותם, Exod. xxvii. 21; Lev. vii. 36, xxiii. 14, etc.

III. 1-2. Cf. Gen. ii. 19. G is found in Syncellus, pp. 7-8: τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ . . . ὠνόμασεν Ἀδὰμ τὰ ἄγρια θηρία θείῳ τινὶ χαρίσματι, τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἡμέρᾳ . . . ὠνόμασε τὰ κτήνη, τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ . . . ὠνόμασεν τὰ πετεινά· τῇ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ . . . ὠνόμασε τὰ ἑρπετά· τῇ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ . . . ὠνόμασε τὰ νηκτά.

3. Cf. Gen. ii. 20. *Found.* So Mass., Sam.; but LXX, Syr. and Vulg. = "was found."

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man should be alone: let us make a helpmeet for him." 5. And the Lord our God caused a deep sleep to fall upon him, and he slept, and He took for the woman one rib from amongst his ribs, and this rib was the origin of the woman from amongst his ribs, and He built up the flesh in its stead, and built the woman. 6. And He awaked Adam out of his sleep and on awaking he rose on the sixth day, and He brought her to him, and he knew her, and said unto her: "This is now bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; she will be called [my] wife; because she was taken from her husband." 7. Therefore shall man and wife be one, and therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh. 8. In the first week was Adam created, and the rib—his wife: in the second week He showed her unto him: and for this reason the commandment was given to keep in their

4. Gen. ii. 18. *Let us make.* So also LXX and Vulg. Mass., Sam., Syr. = "I will make."

5-6. Creation of woman on the 13th day of the creation. Cf. Gen. ii. 21-23. In the Targ. Jon. on Gen. ii. 21 the rib is said to have been the 13th on the right side. On the Talmudic theories as to the hermaphroditic character of Adam before the creation of Eve see Weber, *Jüd. Theologie*,[2] p. 211.

5. *One rib from amongst his ribs, and this rib . . . from amongst his ribs.* Text literally = "one bone from amongst his bones and this rib (or side) . . . from amongst his bones."

6. [*My*] *wife.* The "my" I have bracketed as an interpolation. It is found also in the Eth. vers. of Gen. ii. 23, but in no other important version.

Her husband (= מֵאִישָׁהּ). So also Sam., LXX, and Onkelos against Mass., Syr., and Vulg. which omit the pronoun.

7. Cf. Gen. ii. 24.

They shall be one flesh. So also Mass. and Onkelos, but Sam. (והיו משניהם); LXX, Syr., Vulg., Ps.-Jon. = "they twain shall be one flesh." This latter is followed in Matt. xix. 5; Mark x. 7; Eph. v. 31, and seems to have the older attestation.

8. *First week . . . second week.* MSS read "seventh" instead of "week" in both cases. We obtain the right sense by simply emending sâb'êt into sab'at.

8-14. *Commandment was given to keep in their defilement*, etc. In this passage our author either invents historical grounds or else adopts an already existing legend to account for the commands given in Lev. xii. 2-5. According to Lev. xii. 2, 5 a mother was to be unclean seven days if she bore a man child, and was not to enter the sanctuary till thirty-three days later, in all forty days; and she was to be unclean fourteen days if she bore a maid child, and was not to enter the sanctuary for sixty-six days later, in all eighty days. This law, our author says, was based on the fact that Adam was created at the close of the first week and did not enter the Garden till forty days after his creation, and Eve was created at the close of the second week and did not enter the Garden till eighty days after her creation. This peculiar idea reappears

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defilement, for a male seven days, and for a female twice seven days. 9. And after Adam had completed forty days in the land where he had been created, we brought him into the garden of Eden to till and keep it, but his wife they brought in on the eightieth day, and after this she entered

in various works. Thus in Philo *Quaest. in Gen.* ii. 21 (translated by Aucher from the Armenian), where Philo is dealing with the creation of woman from the rib of the man, the text appears to recall the views of our author: Siquidem ut perfectior et (si liceat dici) duplicior est viri formatio formatione mulieris: sic etiam dimidio tempore opus habuit, diebus videlicet xl, ubi imperfectae atque, ut ita dicam, dimidiae viri sectioni, scilicet mulieri, (opus esset) duplici mensura, nempe diebus lxxx. Our text was certainly before Syncellus, i. 8-9, *εἰσήγαγεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ κατὰ τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν ἡμέραν τῆς πλάσεως αὐτοῦ. τῇ ἐνενηκοστῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κτίσεως . . . εἰσήχθη ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἡ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ βοηθὸς Εὔα, ἐν τῇ ὀγδοηκοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς πλάσεως αὐτῆς . . . διὰ τοῦτο προσέταξεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐν τῷ Λευιτικῷ, ἤτοι διὰ τὰς μετὰ τὴν πλάσιν τοῦ χωρισμοῦ αὐτῶν ἡμέρας ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου, ἐπὶ μὲν ἀρρενογονίας ἀκάθαρτον αὐτὴν εἶναι ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας, ἐπὶ δὲ θηλυτοκίας ἕως ἡμερῶν π'. ἐπειδὴ καὶ Ἀδὰμ τῇ μ' ἡμέρᾳ τῆς πλάσεως αὐτοῦ εἰσήχθη ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, οὗ χάριν καὶ τὰ γεννώμενα τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰσφέρουσιν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ κατὰ τὸν νόμον. ἐπὶ δὲ θήλεος ἀκάθαρτον εἶναι αὐτὴν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ὀγδοήκοντα, διά τε τὴν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ αὐτῆς εἴσοδον τῇ ὀγδοηκοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀκάθαρτον τοῦ θήλεος πρὸς τὸ ἄρσεν. ἄφεδρος γὰρ πάλιν οὖσα οὐκ εἰσέρχεται ἕως ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ κατὰ τὸν θεῖον νόμον. ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ βίου λεγομένου Ἀδὰμ φιλομαθίας χάριν ἐν συντόμῳ ἐστοιχείωσα, ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς πλάσεως τοῦ Ἀδάμ, ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὰ πραχθέντα.*

In the Book of Adam and Eve translated by Malan in 1882 from the Ethiopic we find an undoubted reminiscence of our text. Thus in i. 74 and 75 it is recounted that Adam made an offering for Cain when he was forty days old and an offering for Cain's twin sister Luluwa when she was eighty days old, when Eve and her daughter approached the altar. Anastasius Sinaita (flor. 7th cent.) in his *Anagogic. contemplat. in Hexaem.* (Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* ii. 83; Migne's *Bibliotheca Patr. Graec.* tom. 89, col. 967) is the first to refer directly to our text: Unde Hebraei ex libro qui non est redactus in canonem qui quidem dicitur Testamentum Protoplastorum, dicunt quadragesima die ingressum esse Adam in Paradisum; sicut etiam videtur cuidam historico chronographo Pyrrhoni, et quibusdam expositoribus. The Pyrrho here mentioned by Anastasius is likewise referred to by Glycas as the source of this statement. Syncellus (p. 8) is the next to use our text: *εἰσήγαγεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ κατὰ τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν ἡμέραν τῆς πλάσεως αὐτοῦ.* Subsequently Glycas (circ. 1150), in his *Βίβλος Χρονική* (pp. 392-393, ed. Bekker), quotes our text with disapproval: *ἡ δὲ λεγομένη λεπτὴ Γένεσις, οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅθεν συγγραφεῖσα καὶ ὅπως, φησὶν ὅτι μεθ᾽ ἡμέρας μ' εἰσῆλθεν ὁ Ἀδὰμ εἰς τὸν παράδεισον, ἡ δὲ Εὔα μεθ᾽ ἡμέρας π', καὶ τούτου χάριν ἐν ἡμέραις τοσαύταις προσάγονται τῷ νάῳ τό τε ἄρρεν καὶ τὸ θῆλυ, ἀναλόγως τάχα τῷ Ἀδὰμ καὶ τῇ Εὔᾳ.* On p. 156 Glycas tells us that Pyrrho in his history writes that Adam did not enter the Garden of Eden till the 40th day after his creation, and then adds *ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ οἶδα ποῦ διέτριβε πρότερον ὁ Ἀδάμ, ἔξω τοῦ παραδείσου τεσσαράκοντα διάγων ἡμέρας.*

On the other hand Beer (*Das Buch des Jubiläen*, p. 40) points out that there is not a trace of such a legend in Rabbinic literature, and that on the contrary it is declared in Shabbath 135*a* (דורות הראשונים יוכיחו שאין אמו מטמאה לידה וניכול לשכנה) that the regulations in Lev. xii. 2-5 had no currency before

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into the garden of Eden. 10. And for this reason the commandment is written on the heavenly tables in regard to her that gives birth: "if she bears a male, she shall remain in her uncleanness seven days according to the first week of days, and thirty and three days shall she remain in the blood of her purifying, and she shall not touch any hallowed thing, nor enter into the sanctuary, until she accomplishes these days which (are enjoined) in the case of a male child. 11. But in the case of a female child she shall remain in her uncleanness two weeks of days, according to the first two weeks, and sixty-six days in the blood of her purification, and they will be in all eighty days." 12. And when she had completed these eighty days we brought her into the garden of Eden, for it is holier than all the earth besides, and every tree that is planted in it is holy. 13. Therefore, there was ordained regarding her who bears a male or a female child the statute

the legislation of Moses. Yet, notwithstanding Beer's statement, the tradition in our text is not without attestation in Judaism. Thus in the Midrash Tadshe xv. (see Jellinek's edition in his *Bet ha-Midrasch*, iii. 164-193 or Eppstein in *Beiträge zur jüd. Alterthumskunde*, 1887), "Why did the Holy One, blessed be He, ordain seven days of purification for a woman who had borne a male child and fourteen days for her who had borne a female? This is to recall the creation of the first Adam who was created in seven days †in the first† of the first week, (and) the creation of Eve, who was taken from one of his ribs in the second week. So Pinchas ben Jair (פנחס בן יאיר). The sages however say that both were created on the eve of the Sabbath, the sixth day. Wherefore did the Holy One, blessed be He, ordain that she who had borne a male should enter the temple after forty days, and that she who had borne a female after eighty days? To recall that which God did regarding the first Adam who was created outside the Garden of Eden and did not enter till later."

We observe here that the above statements are attributed to Pinchas. They go back ultimately to our text. As references to Pinchas, Eppstein (*Revue des Études juives*, xxi. 92, 1890) mentions Chullin 7 *b*, Kethuboth 46 *a*, Sota 49 *a*, Ber. rabba 60.

10. *The heavenly tables.* In my note on xlvii. 3 of the Eth. Enoch I have touched on the origin and development of the idea underlying this expression, and to this I must refer the reader. The phrase is found in the Eth. Enoch xlvii. 3, lxxxi. 1, 2, xciii. 2, ciii. 2, Test. XII. Patriarch. Levi v.; Asher. ii., vii. The conception is not a hard and fixed one: in Enoch and Test. XII. Patriarch. it wavers between an absolute determinism and prediction pure and simple: whereas in our text, in addition to these significations, it implies at times little more than a contemporary heavenly record of events. In fact, in our author, the heavenly tables are the divine statute book of the Theocracy of which the Mosaic law is the reproduction on earth, or a mere contemporary record of events, or finally they recount the

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of those days that she should touch no hallowed thing, nor enter into the sanctuary until these days for the male or female child are accomplished. 14. This is the law and testimony which was written down for Israel, in order that they should observe (it) all the days. 15. And in the first week of the first jubilee, Adam and his wife were in the 1-7 A.M. garden of Eden for seven years tilling and keeping it, and we gave him work and we instructed him to do everything that is suitable for tillage. 16. And he tilled (the garden), and was naked and knew it not, and was not ashamed, and he protected the garden from the birds and beasts and cattle, and gathered its fruit, and eat, and put aside the residue for himself and for his wife [and put aside that which was being

future history of the world either predictively or else determinatively. One meaning, moreover, passes imperceptibly into another. Thus those tables record: (1) Laws levitical, criminal, and chronological, in some instances predetermined and previously observed in heaven, in others established for the first time on earth: purification after childbirth, iii. 8-14; law as to covering one's nakedness, iii. 31; as to murder and those who witness it, iv. 5; as to retribution, iv. 32; as to the judgment of sinners, v. 13; as to the feast of weeks, vi. 17 and the divisions and length of the year, vi. 29-35; as to circumcision, xv. 25-26; as to the seed of Lot, xvi. 9 and the feast of tabernacles, xvi. 29; as to the feast of the lord, xviii. 19; as to the Philistines, xxiv. 33; as to the marriage of the elder daughter, xxviii. 6; as to the man who gives his daughter to a Gentile, xxx. 9; as to tithes, xxxii. 15; as to the incestuous person, xxxiii. 10; as to the Sabbath, l. 13. (2) Merely a contemporary event: the naming of Abraham as a friend of God, xiv. 9, and of Levi, xxx. 20; Isaac's blessing of Levi and Judah, xxxi. 32. (3) Predictions and predeterminations: as to the judgment, v. 13; as to the Messianic kingdom, xxiii. 32.

15. *Seven years.* According to Ber. rabba 18, Sanh. 38*b*, and *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 7 (translated by Bezold), Adam was only six hours in the Garden. MS *a* of the Slavonic Enoch xxxii. 2 states that Adam was only five and a half hours in Paradise. This last clause looks like a Christian interpolation, and may point to the 5500 years which were to elapse before the coming of Christ according to the early Fathers.

Instructed him . . . for tillage. In Is. xxviii. 26-29 this instruction is attributed to God; but in Ber. rabba 24 it is assigned, as in our text, to the angels: also in the *Life of Adam and Eve*, 22 (Kautzsch, *Apoc. und Pseud.* ii. 515) it is stated that God sent Michael with certain seeds to Adam, and with orders to instruct him in husbandry.

Is suitable. So Barth and Littmann take zajâstar'î as representing רָאוּי in the Hebrew. See on ii. 29. But the ordinary sense of the word, "is revealed," may be right here. See preceding note.

16. *Naked . . . and was not ashamed.* Gen. ii. 25.

Protected the garden from the birds, etc. The Greek is found in Glycas (p. 206, ed. Bekker): ὁ Ἀδὰμ ἀπεσόβει τὰ πετεινὰ καὶ ἑρπετά, συνῆγε τὸν καρπὸν ἐν παραδείσῳ καὶ σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ ἤσθιεν αὐτόν.

[*And put aside . . . kept*]. Bracketed as a dittography. Here "which was being kept" = τὸ φυλασσόμενον = הַמִּשְׁתַּמֶּרֶת, a corrupt dittography of הַנִּשְׁאֶרֶת = τὸ καταλειφθέν, "the residue" (or הנשא of הנשאר).

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kept]. 17. And after the completion of the seven years, which he had completed there, seven years exactly, and in
8 A.M. the second month, on the seventeenth day (of the month), the serpent came and approached the woman, and the serpent said to the woman, "Hath God commanded you, saying, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?" 18. And she said to it, "Of all the fruit of the trees of the garden God hath said unto us, Eat; but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden God hath said unto us, Ye shall not eat thereof, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die." 19. And the serpent said unto the woman, "Ye shall not surely die: for God doth know that on the day ye shall eat thereof, your eyes will be opened, and ye will be as gods, and ye will know good and evil." 20. And the woman saw the tree that it was agreeable and pleasant to the eye, and that its fruit was good for food, and she took thereof and eat. 21. And when she had first covered her shame with fig-leaves, she gave thereof to Adam and he eat, and his eyes were opened, and he saw that he was naked. 22. And he took fig-leaves and sewed (them) together, and made an apron for himself, and covered his shame. 23. And God cursed the serpent, and was wroth with it for ever. . . . 24. And He was wroth with the woman, because she hearkened to the

17-22. Gen. iii. 1-7.

19. See on ver. 32. Cf. Syncellus i. 13: Ἐκ τῶν λεπτῶν Γενέσεως: τῷ ἐβδόμῳ ἔτει παρέβη καὶ τῷ ὀγδόῳ ἐξερρίφησαν τοῦ παραδείσου, ὥς φησι, μετὰ τεσσαράκοντα πέντε ἡμέρας τῆς παραβάσεως, . . .

23. Cf. Gen. iii. 14. At the close of this verse I have marked a lacuna in the text; for Glycas (p. 206) affirms that according to Jubilees the serpent had originally four feet: ὁ ὄφις ἀπὸ κτήνους ἑρπετὸν ἐγένετο, χεῖράς τε καὶ πόδας ἐκέκτητο. ἀφῃρέθη δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τὸ τολμηρῶς εἰς τὸν παράδεισον εἰσελθεῖν. Syncellus (i. 14) states that the serpent had originally four feet. The text, therefore, most probably contained some statement relative to the cutting off of the serpent's feet. Such a statement would follow naturally on Gen. iii. 14 "upon thy belly thou shalt go." Indeed in the Targ., Ps.-Jon., Gen. iii. 14 we find this very statement ורגלך יתקצצון, "and thy feet will be cut off." According to the Midrash Koheleth "the ministering angels came down and and cut off its hands and feet." Finally Josephus (*Ant.* i. 1. 4) writes that the serpent was deprived both of language and feet, ἀφείλετο δὲ καὶ τὸν ὄφιν τὴν φωνὴν . . . ποδῶν τε αὐτὸν ἀποστερήσας σύρεσθαι κατὰ τῆς γῆς ἱλυσπώμενον ἐποίησε.

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voice of the serpent, and did eat; and He said unto her: "I shall greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy pains: in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children, and thy return shall be unto thy husband, and he will rule over thee." 25. And to Adam also He said, "Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree of which I commanded thee that thou shouldst not eat thereof, cursed be the ground for thy sake: thorns and thistles shall it bring forth to thee, and thou shalt eat thy bread in the sweat of thy face, till thou returnest to the earth from whence thou wast taken; for earth thou art, and unto earth shalt thou return." 26. And He made for them coats of skin, and clothed them, and sent them forth from the Garden of Eden. 27. And on that day on which Adam went forth from the Garden, he offered as a sweet savour an offering, frankincense, galbanum, and stacte, and spices in the morning with the rising of the sun from the day when he covered his shame. 28. And on that day was closed the mouth of all beasts, and of cattle, and of birds, and of whatever walks, and of whatever moves, so that they could no longer speak: for they had all spoken one with another with one lip and with one tongue. 29. And He

24. *I shall greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy pains*, etc. Gen. iii. 16.

Thy pains. So also LXX, but Mass., Sam., Syr., and Vulg. = "thy conception" (הרונך).

Thy return = ἡ ἀποστροφή σου. So also LXX and Syr. = תשובתך instead of Mass. and Sam. תשוקתך = "they desire."

25-26. Gen. iii. 17-19, 21, 24.

25. *Of the tree* = ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου. The text is "of that tree," but the demonstrative is a rendering of the Greek art. as frequently.

Thy bread. So LXX, but Mass., Sam., Syr., Vulg. omit "thy."

To the earth . . . for earth . . . unto earth. As LXX uses γῆ to render the two Hebrew words אדמה and עפר, so did the Greek version of Jubilees.

27. Here the writer antedates the incense-offering mentioned in Exod. xxx. 34. According to Aboda zara 8 *a* Adam offered an ox whose horns were of earlier growth than its hoof (Beer, *Buch der Jub.* p. 40).

From the day when he covered his shame. Exod. xx. 26, xxviii. 42, where the priests are bidden to cover their nakedness with breeches when at the altar, may have been in the mind of the writer, as Beer (*op. cit.* p. 41) suggests.

28. This was undoubtedly a current belief among certain sections of the Jews. Thus it is stated without question in Joseph. *Ant.* i. 1. 4 ὁμοφωνούντων δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ τῶν ζῴων ἁπάντων. It appears also in the Book of Adam and Eve i. 18 and in

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sent out of the Garden of Eden all flesh that was in the Garden of Eden, and all flesh was scattered according to its kinds, and according to its types unto the places which had been created for them. 30. And to Adam alone did

some form is implied in Philo, *Quaest. in Gen.* i. 32 (Armen.). Both our text and Josephus are quoted as teaching this view in Syncellus, i. 14, *τὰ θηρία καὶ τὰ τετράποδα καὶ τὰ ἑρπετὰ φησὶν ὁ Ἰώσηππος καὶ ἡ Λεπτὴ Γένεσις ὁμόφωνα εἶναι πρὸ τῆς παραβάσεως τοῖς πρωτοπλάστοις.* This statement is repeated in Cedrenus, i. pp. 9-10; Zonaras, i. p. 23. It seems implied in the text that the common original language of men and animals was Hebrew. That Hebrew was the primitive language of man, at any rate, was universally believed among the Jews. Thus according to the Jerusalem Targum on Gen. xi. 1 all men originally spoke Hebrew, which was the language by means of which the world was created: בְּלִישָׁן קוּדְשָׁא הֲוָה כְּלִילָן דְּאִתְבְּרֵיָא בֵּיהּ עָלְמָא. (Cf. also Ber. rabba 18, 31.) In xii. 25, 26 of our text it is called "the tongue of the creation," which "had ceased from the mouths of all the children of men from the day of the overthrow (of Babel)" till the days of Abraham. In Cedrenus, i. 22, however, the legend is differently preserved. Because Eber refused to join in building Babel he did not lose his original language—the language that Adam spoke—like the rest of his contemporaries—*τῆς τῶν ἄλλων φωνῆς συγχεθείσης ἡ τοῦ Ἔβερ οὐκ ἀπώλετο. αὕτη δέ ἐστιν ἥ καὶ Ἀδὰμ ἐλάλει.* Hence his descendants called themselves Hebrews and their language Hebrew, and the names of the patriarchs are a proof that Hebrew was the pre-Babel language—*καὶ ταύτην οἱ τοῦτον διαδεξάμενοι ἀπόγονοι πατρωνυμικῶς ἑαυτοὺς Ἑβραίους προσηγόρευσαν καὶ Ἑβραΐδα τὴν φωνὴν ἐκάλεσαν. τεκμήριον δὲ ταύτην εἶναι τὴν πρὸ τῆς συγχύσεως φωνὴν τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν ὀνόματα.* This view is likewise Jewish: it is found in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, xxxviii. 11. But while some Syriac writers such as John bar Madani and Jacob of Serugh admitted this claim, others like Theodoret, *Quaest. in Gen.* lx.-lxi., St. Ephraem, and Barhebraeus (see Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* iii. 313, 314) were just as confident of the absolute priority of their own language, while Solomon Baisorensis reconciled both views by declaring that originally Syriac and Hebrew were one and the same.

In *Die Schatzhöhle* (transl. by Bezold), p. 29, the priority of Syriac is polemically maintained: "Von Adam bis damals redeten sie alle in dieser Sprache, nämlich in der syrischen Sprache . . . denn diese Sprache ist die Königin aller Sprachen. Die früheren Schriftsteller aber irren, indem sie sagen, das Hebräische sei die erste gewesen."

Other writers again asserted that Greek was the primitive speech of mankind. To this last view Eutychius (Nazam, al-j. pp. 53, 54, quoted by Malan, *Book of Adam and Eve*, pp. 245, 6) assents in these words. "This approves itself to me. For the Greek language is wiser, clearer and broader than either the Hebrew or the Syriac." The same view must have been held by the writer who first derived the name Adam from the initial letters of the Greek names of the four quarters of the world—*ἀνατολή, δύσις, ἄρκτος, μεσημβρία.* See Slav. En. xxx. 13 (note); Or. Sibyll. iii. 24-26. As for later Jewish ideas on this subject we find, Sanh. 38 *b*, that Adam spoke Aramaic, אדם הראשון בלשון ארמי, because Ps. cxxxix., which was supposed to be written by him, contained an Aramaic (?) word. In Shabb. 12^{b} on the other hand one is bidden not to pray in Aramaic, שאין מלאכי חשרת מכירין בלשון ארבי, because the angels of Service do not understand Aramaic (quoted in Levi's *Neuhebr. u. chald. Wörterbuch*, i. 168). According to Abarbanel, in his exposition of Zephaniah, fol. 276, col. 1 (see Eisenmenger, ii. 778), Hebrew was the language spoken before the building of Babel and should ultimately be that of all Israelites.

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He give (the wherewithal) to cover his shame, of all the beasts and cattle. 31. On this account, it is prescribed on the heavenly tables as touching all those who know the judgment of the law, that they should cover their shame, and should not uncover themselves as the Gentiles uncover themselves. 32. And on the new moon of the fourth 8 A.M. month, Adam and his wife went forth from the Garden of Eden, and they dwelt in the land of 'Êldâ, in the land of their creation. 33. And Adam called the name of his wife Eve. 34. And they had no son till the first jubilee, and after this he knew her. 35. Now he tilled the land as he had been instructed in the Garden of Eden.

31. This verse is of great importance from the historical standpoint. It constitutes an emphatic protest on the part of the writer against the adoption by his countrymen ("those who know the judgment of the law") of the customs of the Greeks. The custom, which he here protests against, is the exposure of the person in the Greek palaestra, which was established under the very citadel of David (2 Macc. iv. 12). Here many of the Jewish youths completely stripped themselves and joined in the public sports as Greek athletes. Even the priests of the Temple forsook their duties to join in these heathen games. On the institution of these and other Greek customs see 1 Macc. i. 13, 14; 2 Macc. iv. 9-14; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 5. 1. It is hardly possible to conceive the shock that such conduct must have given to the religiously disposed amongst the nation, and especially to such a Pharisee of the Pharisees as our author. In order to emphasise his protest against it he did not turn to the laws in Exod. xx. 26, xxx. 34, for these had only to do with the dress of the officiating priest, but to Gen. iii. 21 where he found ample justification for extending the law of covering one's shame to all men. This law, he asserts, was enacted immediately after the expulsion of Adam from Eden, *i.e.*, immediately after the discovery of his nakedness. Subsequently (vii. 20) he represents Noah as enjoining the observance of this ordinance on his children.

32. *On the new moon of the fourth month* (see note on vi. 23). Syncellus (i. p. 13) says that Adam spent forty-five days in the garden after his transgression. This agrees with our text; for, according to iii. 17, Adam sinned on the 17th of the 2nd month and the expulsion followed on the 1st of the 4th.

In the land of 'Êldâ, in the land of their creation. Can 'Êldâ be a corruption of מולדה? In that case "land of 'Êldâ" would mean "land of nativity." The phrase "land of their creation" is an interpretation of the words in Gen. iii. 23 "whence he was taken," which are reproduced in Onkelos and Ps.-Jon. as "whence he was created" (אתברי), as in our text.

34. Thus Eve was a virgin till after the expulsion from Eden. Cf. *Die Schatzhöhle* (ed. Bezold, 1883), p. 7: Als Adam und Heva aus dem Paradies herausgegangen . . . sie waren jungfräulich.

35. Cf. iii. 15.

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Cain and Abel and other children of Adam, 1-12. *Enos, Kenan, Mahalalel, Jared*, 13-15: *Enoch and his history*, 16-25. *Four sacred places*, 26. *Methuselah, Lamech, Noah*, 27, 28. *Death of Adam and Cain*, 29-32. *Shem, Ham, and Japhet*, 33. (Cf. Gen. iv.-v.).

64-70 A.M. IV. And in the third week in the second jubilee she
71-77 A.M. gave birth to Cain, and in the fourth she gave birth to
78-84 A.M. Abel, and in the fifth she gave birth to her daughter 'Âwân.
99-105 A.M. 2. And in the first (year) of the third jubilee, Cain slew Abel because (God) accepted the sacrifice of Abel, and did not accept the offering of Cain. 3. And he slew him in the field: and his blood cried from the ground to heaven, complaining because he had slain him. 4. And the Lord reproved Cain because of Abel, because he had slain him,

IV. 1. *'Âwân.* A second daughter named 'Azûrâ (iv. 8) was born later. Cain married the elder 'Âwân, *i.e.* אָוֶן, "wickedness," and Seth the younger, 'Azûrâ. The derivation of the latter is doubtful. Frankel (*Monatsschrift f. Gesch. des Judenthums*, 1856, 311-316) thinks that it is from עזרה = "chaste" (?). Probably it is from אזרה, "well guarded" (cf. Syriac Fragment). No two of later writers agree as to the forms of these names. According to the Syriac Fragment they were Aswa and Azura: in Epiphanius, Σαυή and Ἀζουρά: in Syncellus, 'Ασαυνᾶν ('Ασαυνά, 'Ασαυρᾶν, 'Ασαυρά, 'Ασουάμ) and Ἀζουρά. In Glycas and Joel Ἀζουρά ('Αζουρᾶν) is made the elder and 'Ασουάμ the younger. Quite different names are given in the Pseudo-Methodius, *i.e.*, Καλημέρα and Λεζόρα. Again the elder appears as Qalmana in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel and Pseudo-Methodius (Lat. vers.), as Luva in the Book of Adam and Eve, as Azrun in Eutychius, while the younger is Lebuda in Barhebraeus, Aklejâm in the Book of Adam and Eve, and Owain or Laphura in Eutychius. (See Rönsch, pp. 373-374, Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 109 sqq.)

According to Syncellus (i. 14) Cain was born in the year 70 A.M., Abel in 77, and Asouam (*i.e.* 'Âwân) in 85. Though the dates are left indefinite in our text they are no doubt derived from it. Thus Cain married Âwân in the year 135 according to Syncellus, between 134-140 according to our text. 'Âwân was then fifty years old (Syncellus).

2-3. Cf. Gen. iv. 4, 5, 8, 10.

2. *The sacrifice of Abel.* So *a. b c d* read "the sacrifice at his hand."

Offering. a c, but *b d* omit.

Of Cain. So *a. b c d* "at the hand of Cain."

3. *Complaining* or "making suit." Cf. Gen. iv. 10; Eth. Enoch xxii. 5, 6. According to Syncellus (i. 14) Abel was twenty-two years old when he offered his sacrifice on the new moon of the seventh month. Thus the words "in the first of the third jubilee" are to be taken as the first year of the jubilee = 99 A.M. For the later traditions as to the instrument with which Cain slew Abel, see Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 113.

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and he made him a fugitive on the earth because of the blood of his brother, and he cursed him upon the earth. 5. And on this account it is written on the heavenly tables, "Cursed is he who smites his neighbour treacherously, and let all who have seen and heard say, So be it; and the man who has seen and not declared (it), let him be accursed as the other." 6. And for this reason we announce when we come before the Lord our God all the sin which is committed in heaven and on earth, and in light and in darkness, and everywhere. 7. And Adam and his wife mourned for Abel four weeks of years, and in the fourth year of the fifth week (99-127) they became joyful, and Adam knew his wife again, and she 130 A.M. bare him a son, and he called his name Seth; for he said "GOD has raised up a second seed unto us on the earth instead of Abel; for Cain slew him." 8. And in the sixth week he begat his daughter 'Azûrâ. 9. And Cain took 134-140 A.M. 'Âwân his sister to be his wife and she bare him Enoch at the close of the fourth jubilee. And in the first year of the 190-196 A.M. first week of the fifth jubilee, houses were built on the earth, 197 A.M. and Cain built a city, and called its name after the name of

4. Cf. Gen. iv. 11, 12. *A fugitive.* Text nûḫa is a corrupt transliteration of נָע, Gen. iv. 12.

5. Cf. Deut. xxvii. 24.

Treacherously = δόλῳ, the LXX rendering of בסתר in Deut. xxvii. 24. The phrase ba'ekûj bears the same meaning in xxix. 7, xxx. 3. In viii. 9 it = "secretly."

6. *Sin . . . committed in heaven.* On this old Semitic idea of the possibility of sin in heaven, see my Slavonic Enoch pp. xxxiv. sqq.

7. *Mourned for Abel four weeks of years.* As Abel was born in 77, and was twenty-two years old according to Syncellus and our text (see verse 3, note) when killed by Cain, the twenty-eight years of mourning extend from 99 to 127. The Greek is found in Syncellus (i. 15): ἐπένθησαν αὐτὸν οἱ πρωτόπλαστοι ἑβδομαδικοὺς τέσσαρας, ἤγουν ἔτη εἴκοσι ὀκτώ.

Became joyful. The sense may be the same as in Gen. xviii. 12, "After I am waxed old, shall I have pleasure?"

He called. So Sam. ויקרא, but Mass., LXX, Syr., Onk., of Gen. iv. 25 read "she called." In Jubilees it is generally the father that names the child; whereas in J of Genesis it is the mother, except in iv. 26, v. 29, xxv. 25, 26; Exod. ii. 22.

For he said. So LXX and Vulg. but wanting in Mass. and Sam.

8. *'Azûrâ.* See note on iv. 1. 'Azûrâ was born in the sixth week of the third jubilee (134-140) or of the fourth (183-189).

9. *Bare him Enoch,* etc. Cf. Gen. iv. 17. Syncellus (i. 16) ascribes to this Enoch the invention of the plough.

Cain built a city, and called its name . . . Enoch. Cain therefore ceased to be a wanderer. The Book of Jashar, 96, plays on the name Enoch and gives

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his son Enoch. 10. And Adam knew Eve his wife and she bare yet nine sons. 11. And in the fifth week of the
225-231 A.M. fifth jubilee Seth took 'Azûrâ his sister to be his wife, and in
235 A.M. the fourth (year of the sixth week) she bare him Enos.
12. He began to call on the name of the Lord on the earth.
309-315 A.M. 13. And in the seventh jubilee in the third week Enos

it the sense of rest in this connection. ויקרא את שם העיר חנוך בשם בנו כי הנח לו יי בארץ בימים ההם.

10. *Yet nine sons.* Reproduced in Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxxix. 6 (vol. I. i. 528: ed. Oehler): Γεγόνασι δὲ τῷ 'Αδὰμ καὶ ἄλλοι υἱοί, ὡς ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις περιέχει, ἐννέα μετὰ τοὺς τρεῖς τούτους· ὡς εἶναι αὐτῷ δύο μὲν θυγατέρας, ἄρρενας δὲ δεκαδύο. The Book of Jashar speaks of three sons and three daughters of Adam. Syncellus (i. 18) assigns to him thirty-three sons and twenty-seven daughters. Ps.-Philo, *Ant. bibl. Lib.* p. 41, gives the names of these sons: Acliseel, Suris, Aelamiel, Brabal, Naalt, Harama, Zasam, Maathal, Anath.

11. Cf. Gen. iv. 26. *Fourth (year of the sixth week).* The lacuna here is supplied from Syncellus. According to Syncellus (i. 17) Seth marries in the year υκέ (=425), and Enos was born in the year υλέ (=435). Thus there was an interval of ten years between the marriage of Seth and the birth of Enos. It will be observed that there is a difference of 200 years between the dates assigned by Jubilees and those by Syncellus, and that in the following ten dates relating to the same events respectively both books agree in the tens and units but differ in the hundreds.

	According to Jubilees.	According to Syncellus.
Seth born	130	230
Azûrâ born	134	234
Seth marries Azûrâ	225	425
Enos born	235	435
Cainan born	325	625
Cain marries Mûalêlêt	390	790
Mahalalel born	395	795
Jared born	461	960
Enoch born	522	1122

This addition of centuries to the dates in Jubilees rising progressively from one to six Syncellus carried out in the service of his chronological system (see Rönsch, 285 sq.).

12. *He began.* So LXX and Vulg. implying וַיָּחֶל.

Began to call, etc. The two great versions, the LXX and Syr., agree rightly with Jubilees in giving this sense to Gen. iv. 26. It was also so understood by Josephus, *Ant.* i. 3. 1, but when we come down to Jerome's time, most Jewish scholars held that the verse recounted the rise of idolatry (*Quaest. in Gen.* iv. 26: Tunc initium fuit invocandi nomen Domini, licet plerique Hebraeorum aliud arbitrentur, quod tunc primum in nomine Domini et in similitudine ejus fabricata sint idola). This latter interpretation may have arisen as early as the first cent. A.D.; for it is found in Onkelos ("the children of men ceased praying"—חָלוּ...מְצַלָּאוּת). By Ps.-Jon. the commencement of idolatry is derived from Gen. iv. 26 by taking חחל as = profanari. Ber. rabba 23 recounts that men were exposed to demons in the days of Enos, and that then for the first time they made for themselves idols. Shabbath 118*b* speaks of man committing idolatry like Enos. The same idea recurs in the Book of Jashar and a closely related one in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, xxiv. 9, xxvi. 20. Yet even in this book traces of the older view survive; for astrology, divination and idolatry are assigned to Serug's days, though Serug and his sons are said to have had no part in these things (xxvii. 9). Indeed, in the Book of Jashar (Migne, *Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1090), it is said that Seth called his son Enos because "men began to corrupt themselves and forsake God for idols."

13-15. Enos, Kenan, Mahalalel, Jared.

13, 14. Cf. Gen. v. 9, 12.

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took Nôâm his sister to be his wife, and she bare him a son in the third year of the fifth week, and he called his name Kenan. 14. And at the close of the eighth jubilee Kenan took Mûalêlêth his sister to be his wife, and she bare him a son in the ninth jubilee, in the first week in the third year of this week, and he called his name Mahalalel. 15. And in the second week of the tenth jubilee Mahalalel took unto him to wife Dînâh, the daughter of Barâkî'êl the daughter of his father's brother, and she bare him a son in the third week in the sixth year, and he called his name Jared; for in his days the angels of the Lord descended on the earth,

325 A.M.

386-392 A.M.

395 A.M.

449-455 A.M.

461 A.M.

13. *Nôâm.* Cf. Ps.-Philo, *Ant. bibl. Lib.* p. 41, Noaba.

Kenan. Eth. Kâinân.

14. *Mûalêlêth* (so also Syr.) is a feminine form of Malâlêl (= מהללאל) = "she who praises God."

Mahalalel. Eth. Malâlêl.

15. Cf. Gen. v. 15. Barâkî'êl (= ברכיאל).

Took unto him to wife . . . the daughter of his father's brother. It will be observed that from the descent of the angels onwards men cease to marry their sisters. Epiphanius (*Haer.* xxxix. 7) remarks: πλατυνθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων . . . λοιπὸν οὐκέτι τὰς αὐτῶν ἀδελφὰς πρὸς γάμον ἤγοντο, ἀλλὰ εἰς εὐνομίαν κατέστη καὶ πρὸ τοῦ διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐγγράφου νόμου ὁ κατὰ τὸν σεμνὸν γάμον θεσμός, καὶ ἐκ τῶν πατραδέλφων αὐτῶν τὰς γαμετὰς ἑαυτῶν ἤγοντο. The last clause appears, as Rönsch (p. 254) has already remarked, to be taken from Jubilees. This book is cited by Epiphanius in the preceding chapter under its twofold name of Ἰωβηλαῖα and Λεπτογένεσις.

Father's brother. MSS read 'ĕḫta 'abûhû = "father's sister"; but I have emended this into 'ĕḫwa 'abûhû, since we find the latter in the Syriac Fragment and in the Greek MS *r* on Gen. v. 15 (πατραδέλφου αὐτοῦ) and Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxxix. 7: εἰς εὐνομίαν κατέστη καὶ πρὸ τοῦ διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐγγράφου νόμου ὁ κατὰ τὸν σεμνὸν γάμον θεσμός, καὶ ἐκ τῶν πατραδέλφων αὐτῶν τὰς γαμετὰς ἑαυτῶν ἤγοντο. In similar cases in the sequel the same emendation is made on the authority of the Syriac and Greek, save in viii. 6 and xi. 7 where the Ethiopic preserves the true text.

Jared; for in his days the angels of the Lord descended. We have here a play on Jared's name in the original, ירד . . . כי בימיו ירדו מלאכי אלהים.

The angels of the Lord descended on the earth. The later Jewish form of the myth relating to the fall of the angels and their intercourse with the daughters of men is constructed on Gen. vi. 1-4 and Is. xxiv. 21. The true interpretation of Gen. vi. 1-4 is undoubtedly that given in our text, the Enoch literature, Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs, Philo, Jude, Peter, Josephus, Justin Martyr, and most of the early Christian writers (see my Eth. Enoch vi. 2, note). But probably at the close of the first cent. A.D., or earlier, Jewish scholars protested against this interpretation. Thus (Ber. rabba 26) R. ben Jochai (early in second cent.) cursed any one who translated Gen. vi. 2 by the phrase "sons of God," and not "sons of the judges." Similarly, the Jew Trypho condemns this interpretation, Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 79. In the Samaritan Version (בני שלטניה), and the Targum of Onkelos (בני רברביא), and Symmachus (υἱοὶ τῶν δυναστευόντων) we have it rendered as = "sons of the mighty." In the Book of Jashar (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1097) the sons of God were "judges and magistrates." In the Ps.-Jon. on Gen. vi. 2 we have both interpretations side by side, and also in the

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those who are named the Watchers, that they should instruct the children of men, and that they should do

Chronicles of Jerahmeel, xxiv. 11-xxv. 8. Ps.-Philo, *Ant. bibl. Lib.* p. 42, gives simply the biblical words. Similarly, on the Christian side the traditional interpretation came in due time to be denounced, and "the sons of God" were taken to be the good amongst mankind, the descendants of Seth, and the daughters of men to be the descendants of Cain. So Julius Africanus: οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σὴθ δίκαιοι (see below). Next, while Hilary (ob. 368), *Comment. in Ps.* cxxxii., contents himself with discrediting the old myth, Chrysostom, *Homil. in Gen.* vi. 1, says that it is necessary to examine this passage carefully in order to subvert the fables of thoughtless praters —ἀναγκαῖον τούτου τοῦ χωρίου πολλὴν τὴν ἔρευναν ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἀναστρέψαι τὰς μυθολογίας τῶν ἀπερισκέπτως πάντα φθεγγομένων. These fables rest on a false exegesis; for, as he proceeds to show, the sons of God were the posterity of Seth and Enos—οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σὴθ καὶ τοῦ Ἐνώς. Jerome, *Comment. in Ps.* cxxxii., and Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xv. 23. 4, pour discredit and contempt on the old myth. Now concurrently with the increasing acceptance of the new interpretation, there necessarily set in the growing importance of Seth, the ancestor of the righteous generations described in Gen. vi. 1-4 as "the sons of God." In this process of glorification the superhuman achievements and characteristics originally connected with other names were gradually transferred to Seth, and this notably in the case of Enoch. Thus in consequence of this new exegesis the star of Enoch paled before that of Seth. In dealing with such literature this is an important fact, since we are thus frequently justified in applying to Enoch the statements of later Christian writers regarding Seth. We shall now show how subordinate the figure of Enoch becomes in later writers, while the glorification of Seth proceeds apace. First of all in Africanus, who lived about the beginning of the third cent., we have, so far as I am aware, the first occurrence amongst Christians of the new exegesis of Gen. vi. 1-4. He adds, it is true, the old view, but he does not approve of it. His exposition is given in Syncellus (i. 34 sq.): πλήθους ἀνθρώπων γενομένου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἄγγελοι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ θυγατράσιν ἀνθρώπων συνῆλθον. ἐν ἐνίοις ἀντιγράφοις εὗρον, οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ. μυθεύεται δέ, ὡς οἶμαι, ἀπὸ τοῦ Σήθ, ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος οἱ υἱοὶ θεοῦ προσαγορεύονται, διὰ τοὺς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γενεαλογουμένους δικαίους τε καὶ πατριάρχας ἀχρὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος. τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ Κάϊν ἀνθρώπων ἀποκαλεῖ σποράν, ὡς οὐδέ τι θεῖον ἐσχηκότας διὰ πονηρίαν γένους . . . εἰ δὲ ἐπ' ἀγγέλων νοοῖτο ἔχειν τούτους, τῶν περὶ μαγείας καὶ γοητείας . . . ταῖς γυναιξὶ τὴν γνῶσιν παραδεδωκέναι, ἀφ' ὧν ἐποιήσαντο παῖδας τοὺς γίγαντας. (Cf. also i. 16 sq.) When we pass from this writer to the sixth cent. Book of Adam and Eve, we find that the new interpretation has ousted the old from the field. Thus the Watchers are throughout described as the sons of Seth, and in Book III. chap. iv. the question is discussed at length: the wise men who said that angels had come down from heaven and mingled with the daughters of men had erred: such actions, moreover, were impossible for spiritual beings. These "angels of God" were the children of Seth who were thus designated so long as they preserved their virginity, their innocence and their glory. But they transgressed and mingled with the daughters of Cain. It is observable that whereas Seth is an extraordinary and superhuman personage in this work, there is nothing notable said of Enoch save that "he wrote a celebrated book" and that "many wonders happened to him . . . but those wonders may not be told in this place." For the same view as to the Watchers, see *Die Schatzhöhle*, pp. 8-10. Our next illustration consists of an anonymous extract prefixed to the works of Malala (*circa* 600), quoted by Fabricius, i. 151: ὁ δὲ Ἀδὰμ σλ' ἐτῶν ἦν ὅτε ἐγέννησε τὸν Σήθ· οὗτος ὁ Σὴθ πρῶτος ἐξεῦρεν γράμματα Ἑβραϊκὰ καὶ σοφίαν καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰς τροπὰς τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν καὶ τοὺς μῆνας καὶ τὰς ἑβδομάδας καὶ τοῖς ἄστροις ἐπέθηκεν ὀνόματα καὶ τοῖς πέντε πλανήταις εἰς τὸ γνωρίζεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων

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judgment and uprightness on the earth. 16. And in the eleventh jubilee Jared took to himself a wife, and her name 512-518 A.M.

καὶ μόνον, καὶ τὸν μὲν α' πλανήτην ἀστέρα ἐκάλεσε Κρόνον, τὸν δὲ β' Δία, τὸν δὲ γ' Ἄρεα, τὸν δὲ δ' Ἀφροδίτην, τὸν δὲ ε' Ἑρμῆν. τοὺς γὰρ δύο φωστῆρας ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην ὁ θεὸς ἐκάλεσε. These words form on the whole a reasonable description of the achievements assigned to Enoch in the two books of Enoch, in Jubilees, and the early Christian writers. They are found verbatim in the *Chronography of Joel*, p. 3 (ed. Bekker, 1836). Next, in the *Annals* of Eutychius, Patriarch of Alexandria (933-939 A.D.), written in Arabic and translated by Pococke (Migne, tom. 111 col. 913), a vigorous protest is made against the old myth: qui autem errant neque sciunt quid dicant aiunt angelos descendisse ad filias hominum, cum intelligendi sint filii Sethi qui a monte sancto ad filias Caini maledicti descenderunt: Sethiadae enim ob sanctitatem suam et quod montem sanctum incolerent, appelati sunt Bani Elohim, *i.e.*, filii Dei. Similar statements are made in the *Chronikon Paschale*, i. pp. 38, 39 (ed. Dindorf, 1832). In Syncellus (*circa* 800 A.D.), i. 17, 19 the now prevailing interpretation of Gen. vi. 1-4 is repeated. The descendants of Seth were pious and beautiful, and they lived in the heights over against Paradise according to the command of Adam, but were later seduced through love of the daughters of men (p. 17). Thereupon Syncellus cites Gen. vi. 1. Again, on p. 19 he writes that two hundred Watchers of the posterity of Seth were seduced and descended and took them wives, etc.—οἱ δὲ ἐκ γένους αὐτοῦ (Σήθ) διακόσιοι ἐγρήγοροι . . . πλανηθέντες κατέβησαν, καὶ ἔλαβον ἑαυτοῖς γυναῖκας, κ.τ.λ. These statements, first made in Eth. En. vi. 4-6, regarding the *two hundred angels* are here transferred to Seth, though Syncellus was perfectly aware of their original bearing; for in the next paragraph he actually cites this chapter of the Eth. En. Again, on pp. 16-17 Seth, just as formerly Enoch, is said to have been carried off by the angels and to have received a revelation regarding the future fall of the Watchers and the Deluge—ὁ Σὴθ ἁρπαγεὶς ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων ἐμυήθη τὰ περὶ τῆς παραβάσεως μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι τῶν ἐγρηγόρων καὶ τὰ περὶ κατακλυσμοῦ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐσομένου . . . καὶ γενόμενος ἄφαντος ἡμέρας μ' ἐλθὼν ἐξηγήσατο τοῖς πρωτοπλάστοις ὅσα ἐμυήθη δι' ἀγγέλων. This is an exact account of what was originally attributed to Enoch. In the *Synopsis* of Cedrenus (eleventh cent.) we meet with the same phenomena, but carried one stage further; for, whereas Syncellus first gave his own version of the intercourse of the sons of God and the daughters of men, and then with remarkable candour the original account from the Book of Enoch, in Cedrenus, on the other hand, the two accounts given by Syncellus are worked up into one, and every incident told of the fallen angels is circumstantially recounted of the posterity of Seth (i. 16-20). In Zonaras (twelfth cent.), i. 26 (ed. Pinder 1841), the current view is given and the older mentioned only to be rejected. When we pass from this author we come to the semi-apotheosis of Seth in the writings of Glycas who lived some thirty or forty years later. Thus in the *Annals* of Glycas (ed. Bekker, 1836), p. 233, Seth is almost regarded as a divine being:—οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, τουτέστιν οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σὴθ καταγόμενοι—ἐκεῖνον γὰρ διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ θεὸν ἔλεγον: and likewise on p. 228, Σήθ . . . θεὸς εἶναι διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ νομιζόμενος. This idea, indeed, had already appeared in Cedrenus, i. 16, ὠνομάσθη δὲ θεὸς διὰ τὴν λάμψιν τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ, ἣν ἔσχεν ἐν ὅλῃ αὐτοῦ τῇ ζωῇ. Thus Seth has at last become incomparably the chief personage among the early Patriarchs. In Glycas, p. 228, however, the persistency of the original Enoch myth is shown in the words: λέγεται δὲ ὅτι ὁ ἐν τοῖς ἀστράσι τεταγμένος ἄγγελος, ὁ θειότατος δηλαδὴ Οὐριήλ, πρός γε τὸν Σὴθ καὶ τὸν Ἐνὼχ κατιὼν ἐδίδαξεν αὐτοὺς ὡρῶν μηνῶν τροπῶν καὶ ἐνιαυτῶν διαφοράς. Just as these Christian writers transferred Enoch's functions to Seth, so Jewish writers after the Christian era, though on different grounds, transferred them variously to Moses, Ezra, Elijah, etc. See my

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was Bâraka, the daughter of Râsûjâl, a daughter of his father's brother, in the fourth week of this jubilee, and she
522 A.M. bare him a son in the fifth week, in the fourth year of the jubilee, and he called his name Enoch. 17. And he was

Apocalypse of Baruch, xiii. 3 note, lix. 5-11 notes.

Watchers. The עִירִים of Dan. iv. 13, 17, 23, in Greek ἐγρήγοροι. See Eth. En. i. 5 (note), xx. 1, etc.; Slav. En. vii. (notes), xviii. (notes); Test. Reub. v. Thus anciently the watchers were always regarded as an angelic class, but later, owing to a new interpretation of Gen. vi. 1-4, they were said to be the descendants of Seth. We have seen in the immediately preceding note how this came about.

Watchers instruct the children of men. In v. 6 it is said that God sent the angels to the earth. The object with which the angels here descended to the earth (see v. 6, viii. 10 note) seems at first sight to clash with that which is seemingly implied in the Eth. Enoch and the Slavonic Enoch (see Eth. Enoch vi. notes). But it is quite possible that our text provides us with the object originally assigned in the myth. In the Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxv. 2-3 this view is preserved where Shemchazai and 'Azael are represented as receiving permission from God to descend on earth in order to sanctify the divine name among men. When these angels descended they could not resist the attractions of the daughters of men (xxv. 4). Such a view most probably underlies Eth. Enoch vi., lxxxvi. 1. At all events the idea was a familiar one in the Judaism of the second cent. B.C. According to Ethiopic Enoch vi.-xxxvi. and lxxii.-lxxxii. Enoch owed all his supernatural knowledge to the instruction of angels, and according to x. 9-10 of our text Raphael taught Noah the secrets of medicinal herbs, and an angel of the presence instructs Moses throughout our book. The way for such beliefs was prepared by the statements in Ezekiel, Zechariah and Daniel, bearing on such offices of the angels. For Talmudic ideas on this subject see *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, i. 592-593.

16. *Râsûjâl* (Gk. MS *r* ἀσουήλ corrupt for ρασουήλ), *i.e.* רצואל = "acceptable to God."

Father's brother. Emended from "father's sister," as in ver. 15.

17-23. These verses relating to Enoch are of great importance as they help to determine the sections of the Ethiopic Enoch which were known to the author of our text. The words "the first . . . who learnt writing" may point to the phrase in Eth. Enoch xii. 3, "Enoch the scribe"; xii. 4, xv. 1, "Scribe of righteousness," but there is no certainty. On the other hand the clause "who wrote down the signs of heaven according to the order of their months in a book that men might know the seasons of the years, etc." may be accepted as a partial description of Eth. Enoch lxxii.-lxxxii. To ver. 18 we shall return presently. As regards ver. 19 we can attain to practical certainty. The words "what was and what will be, he saw in a vision of his sleep as it will happen to the children of men . . . until the day of judgment," form an exact description of the Dream-Visions in Eth. Enoch lxxxiii.-xc., which give a history of the world from the creation till the final judgment. Moreover, the next verse is no doubt indebted to Eth. Enoch lxxxv. 3 for the name of Enoch's wife. It will be observed also that the Dream-Visions referred to in ver. 19 are rightly placed before Enoch's marriage recounted in ver. 20. It is twice emphatically stated in Eth. Enoch lxxxiii. 2 and lxxxv. 3 that Enoch had these Visions before his marriage. We need, therefore, entertain no doubt as to our author having been acquainted with Eth. Enoch lxxxiii.-xc. Now on other critical grounds we know that Eth. Enoch vi.-xi. are earlier than lxxxiii.-xc. Next, the first clause in ver. 21, "he was moreover with the angels of God these six jubilees of years," offers an explanation of Eth. Enoch xii. 1-2, "Before all these events Enoch was translated and no one of the children of men knew whither he was translated, and where he abode, and what had become of him. 2. And his activities had to do with the

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the first among men that are born on earth who learnt writing and knowledge and wisdom and who wrote down the signs of heaven according to the order of their months in a book, that men might know the seasons of the years according to the order of their separate months. 18. And he was the first to write a testimony, and he testified to the sons of men among the generations of the earth, and

Watchers and his days were with the holy ones." Since in ver. 22 the clause "testified to the watchers" presupposes such statements as are in Eth. En. xii. 3-6, xiii. 1-2, xiv. 4-7, xv. 2 sqq., we may conclude, therefore, that our author had also chapters xii.-xvi. of Eth. Enoch before him. To return to ver. 21 the clause "they showed him everything which is on earth" appears to refer to Enoch's journeys to the four quarters of the earth as well as to its centre under the guidance of various angels in Eth. Enoch xxiii.-xxvi. The next words "(everything which is) . . . in the heavens" are less clear. They may point to Enoch's translation to heaven in Eth. Enoch xiv. or possibly to the celestial phenomena described in lxxii.-lxxxii. Moreover, the next words, "and the rule of the sun," seem clearly to indicate such a passage as lxxxii. 13-20. We have already seen that the first clause of ver. 22 manifestly implies such a background as Eth. Enoch xii.-xvi. Its second clause, "who had transgressed with the daughters of men," expresses the thought that recurs frequently in these chapters. As regards its third, "unite themselves, so as to be defiled with the daughters of men," the matter of it is found in xv. 3, 4, but the actual clause word for word is taken from Eth. En. x. 11. Finally ver. 23 points to some tradition like that at the base of Eth. En. lxx., which in its present form is late. From the above, therefore, we conclude that our author refers only to chapters vi.-xvi., xxiii.-xxxvi., lxxii-xc. of the Eth. Enoch.

17. *First . . . who learnt writing . . . and . . . wrote down the signs of heaven*, etc. Quoted in the Σειρά of Nicephorus, i. 123, on Gen. v. 21: Ἐνὼχ πρῶτος ἔμαθε γράμματα καὶ ἔγραψε τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰς τροπὰς καὶ τοὺς μῆνας and in Cedrenus (i. 17) οὗτος πρῶτος γράμματα μανθάνει. In Eth. Enoch lxix. 8, however, the first instruction of mankind in writing is ascribed to a Satan. On the other hand, just as we should expect (see note on p. 34), John Malala, p. 5 (ed. Dindorf), attributes Enoch's achievements to Seth: οὗτος ὁ Σὴθ πρῶτος ἐξεῦρε γράμματα Ἑβραϊκὰ . . . καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰς τροπὰς τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν καὶ τοὺς μῆνας. Similarly Cedrenus (i. 16): ὁ Σὴθ . . . τὴν τῶν οὐρανίων κινήσεων σοφίαν ἐπενόησε . . . καὶ τὰ Ἑβραϊκὰ γράμματα συνεγράψατο, and Glycas (p. 228) transfers to the latter the achievements assigned in the Σειρά above to Enoch: πρῶτος ἐξεῦρεν ὁ Σὴθ . . . τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰς τροπὰς τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν καὶ τοὺς μῆνας. Cf. Joel, *Chron.* p. 3.

Wrote down. On Enoch the Scribe, see Eth. Enoch xii. 3, 4, and on the later developments of this legend consult the Slavonic Enoch xxiii. 1-3. The rest of the verse refers mainly to Eth. Enoch lxxii.-lxxxii.

Signs of heaven according to the order of their months. The twelve solar months correspond to the twelve signs of the Zodiac.

18. There is nothing in the Eth. or Slav. Enoch about the "weeks of the jubilees" or "the sabbaths of the years." Our author is here at his beloved practice of antedating an event or usage he wishes to commend to his countrymen. We shall find (vii. 37, 38, xxi. 10 note) that he similarly ascribes legalistic elements to Enoch, though there is no ground for regarding the books of Enoch as having ever contained such matter.

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recounted the weeks of the jubilees, and made known to them the days of the years, and set in order the months and recounted the Sabbaths of the years as we made (them), known to him. 19. And what was and what will be he saw in a vision of his sleep, as it will happen to the children of men throughout their generations until the day of judgment; he saw and understood everything, and wrote his testimony, and placed the testimony on earth for all the children of men and for their generations. 20. And
582-588 A.M. in the twelfth jubilee, in the seventh week thereof, he took to himself a wife, and her name was Ednî, the daughter of
587 A.M. Dânêl, the daughter of his father's brother, and in the sixth year in this week she bare him a son and he called his name Methuselah. 21. And he was moreover with the angels of God these six jubilees of years, and they showed him everything which is on earth and in the heavens, the rule of the sun, and he wrote down everything. 22. And he testified to the Watchers, who had sinned with the daughters of men; for these had begun to unite themselves, so as to be defiled, with the daughters of men, and Enoch testified against (them) all. 23. And he was taken from amongst the children of men, and we conducted him into the Garden of Eden in majesty and honour, and behold

19. *Saw in a vision*, etc. This verse describes the contents of Eth. Enoch lxxxiii.-xc.

The day of judgment, i.e. the final judgment. Cf. iv. 24, v. 10.

He . . . placed the testimony on earth. For references to the books of Enoch cf. Eth. En. i. 2, xxxvii. 2-4, lxxii. 1, xcii. 1, xciii. 10, civ. 11-13, Test. XII. Patriarchs (see my *Slavonic Enoch*, pp. xxiii, xxiv, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 20, 21, etc.).

20. Cf. Gen. v. 21. Ednî is mentioned in Eth. En. lxxxv. 3 where the name is written Edna, as Methuselah's wife is named in iv. 27 of our text where it has the independent support of the Syriac and the Greek. Edna = עדנה = "delight."

Father's brother. Emended as in ver. 15.

21. *Was with the angels.* See note above on 17-23.

These six jubilees of years. So *d*. A slight change of vocalisation in *b* gives the same meaning. *a c* = "six jubilees in years." This means 294 years.

Everything . . . in the heavens. These words may refer to a fuller tradition than is found in the Eth. Enoch —perhaps to something which subsequently became the groundwork of the Slav. Enoch, as is the case in regard to the tradition in ver. 23.

23. *Conducted him into the Garden of Eden.* Eth. En. lxx. 1-3; Slav. Enoch lxvii. 2.

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there he writes down the condemnation and judgment of the world, and all the wickedness of the children of men. 24. And on account of it (God) brought the waters of the flood upon all the land of Eden; for there he was set as a sign and that he should testify against all the children of men, that he should recount all the deeds of the generations until the day of condemnation. 25. And he burnt the incense of the sanctuary, (even) sweet spices, acceptable before the Lord on the Mount. 26. For the

There he writes down . . . the wickedness of the children of men. Enoch is here the Scribe of God. See iv. 23, x. 17. This idea may be referred to in the Eth. En. xii. 3, 4; it is clearly expressed in the Slavonic Enoch. See my edition xl. 13 note, liii. 2, lxiv. 5.

24. *And on account of it (God) brought the waters of the flood*, etc. Cf. Slav. Enoch xxxiv. 3: "And on this account I will bring a deluge upon the earth"; also Test. Napth. 4.

Testify against all the children of men, etc. See x. 17.

Until the day of condemnation. Cf. iv. 19.

25. *Incense of the sanctuary*, or "incense in the sanctuary."

Sweet spices acceptable before the Lord on the Mount. *b c d* = "acceptable before the Lord on the mountains of the South" (qatr). But this use of the word *qatr* is unexampled elsewhere. *a* omits it and writes the preceding word badabr. I have taken it as a corruption of qĕtârê = "sweet spices." The words would point back to Exod. xxx. 7, קטרת סמים.

On the Mount. So *a*. *b c d* read "on the mount of the mid-day (or South)." This mountain may be the mountain of the East. See next note.

26. Three of these places are connected with three decisive turning-points or periods in the history of mankind: the Garden of Eden as the first abode of man; Mount Sinai as the place whence the Law was promulgated, and Zion as the centre of the Theocracy. These three are again mentioned in viii. 19. What the Mount of the East is, I cannot determine. In the *ZDMG*, xi. pp. 730-733 Rapoport is of opinion that the mountain in question is Mount Ephraim (Josh. xvii. 15 sqq.). He argues that this is the most easterly of the mountains of Palestine; that it contains all the localities of special sanctity among the Samaritans, Gerizim, Sichem, Samaria; that Abraham and Jacob had sacrificed thereon (Gen. xii. 7, xxxiii. 20) just as sacrifices had been offered by Adam in Eden, according to iii. 27 of our text and the Talmud, on Sinai by Moses and on Zion by Israel. But as such an interpretation would imply a Samaritan authorship it is thereby made impossible; for the textual evidence is itself decisive against such authorship. The mention, moreover, of Zion tells in the same direction. There is some probability in the suggestion of Rönsch, pp. 505-6, that by the Mount of the East we are to understand Lubar, one of the summits of Ararat, on which the Ark rested and Noah sacrificed, as this lay to the NE. of Palestine and as there would thus be connected with these four places the notable names of Adam, Noah, Moses, David. See viii. 19 (note). On the other hand it is possible that we have here the Mount mentioned in the preceding verse as that on which Enoch offered incense. Now if we may cite the evidence of *Die Schatzhöhle* and the Book of Adam and Eve, Seth and his posterity were commanded by Adam to live on the Mount close to Eden and not to descend to the plain and mingle with the descendants of Cain. Adam's command was observed till the days of Jared. This Mount could rightly be described as the *Mount of the East.* Or again the Mount of the East may be the mountain which is described as the

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Lord has four places on the earth, the Garden of Eden, and the Mount of the East, and this mountain on which thou art this day, Mount Sinai, and Mount Zion (which) will be sanctified in the new creation for a sanctification of the earth; through it will the earth be sanctified from all (its) guilt and its uncleanness throughout the generations of the
652 A.M. world. 27. And in the fourteenth jubilee Methuselah took unto himself a wife, Ednâ the daughter of 'Âzrîâl, the daughter of his father's brother, in the third week, in the first year of this week, and he begat a son and called his
701-707 A.M. name Lamech. 28. And in the fifteenth jubilee in the third week Lamech took to himself a wife, and her name was Bêtênôs the daughter of Bârâkî'îl, the daughter of his father's brother, and in this week she bare him a son and he called his name Noah, saying, "This one will comfort me

throne of God in Eth. Enoch xviii. 6-9, xxiii. 1-3, on which God will sit when He comes to visit the earth. It is the highest of the seven mountains which are in the neighbourhood of the Garden of Eden. Cf. Eth. Enoch xxxii. 1-2, lxxvii. 3-4. In Enoch, it is true, the Garden of Eden appears to be in the NW., but it is in the east in Jubilees: see viii. 16.

Sanctified in the new creation. See note on i. 29.

27. Cf. Gen. v. 25. *Edna.* See iv. 20 note. According to the Samaritan Chronicle (translated by Neubauer in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1869, tom. xiv. No. 55, pp. 421-467) Methuselah was sixty-seven when he married.

Father's brother. Emended as in 15.

Lamech. The year of Lamech's birth is not mentioned, but it can be determined from the date of Methuselah's marriage furnished by the Samaritan Chronicle. According to it Methuselah was sixty-seven when he married, and as he was born according to our text (iv. 20) in the year 587, Lamech was probably born in the year 654.

28. Cf. Gen. v. 29. *In the fifteenth jubilee in the third week . . . she bare him a son . . . Noah.* This assigns some year in the period 701-707 as the birthday of Noah, and 707 is no doubt the year intended. For in the Samaritan Chronicle (see preceding note) it is distinctly stated that 707 years elapsed from Adam to the birth of Noah. We can arrive at this date independently also. With the help of the Samaritan Chronicle we saw in the notes on iv. 27 that Lamech was born in 654. Now according to the same Chronicle Lamech was fifty-three when Noah was born: hence Noah was born in the year 707. On the other hand there is a discrepancy between this date of Noah's birth and that which follows from vi. 18 and x. 16. In the former it is said that the Feast of Weeks was celebrated 1309 years, from the day of creation till the days of Noah, and that Noah observed it 350 years. Hence Noah died in 1659. But since in x. 16 Noah is said to have lived 950 years, this would fix 709 as the year of his birth.

Bêtênôs = בת אנוש. Lagarde's MS *r* on Gen. v. 29 gives *βεθενως*: the Syriac = Enoshi.

This one will comfort me. "This one" (ze emended from za = which). Our text follows Gen. v. 29 in attributing to the name Noah (נח) the meaning belonging to Menachem (מנחם). The Book of Jashar 13*b* says that Methuselah

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for my trouble and all my work, and for the ground which the Lord hath cursed." 29. And at the close of the nineteenth jubilee, in the seventh week in the sixth year 930 A.M. thereof, Adam died, and all his sons buried him in the land of his creation, and he was the first to be buried in the earth. 30. And he lacked seventy years of one thousand years; for one thousand years are as one day in the testimony of the heavens and therefore was it written concerning the tree of knowledge: "On the day that ye eat thereof ye will die." For this reason he did not complete the years of this day; for he died during it. 31. At the close of this jubilee Cain was killed after him in the same year; for his house fell upon him and he died in the midst

called the child Noah because the earth would have rest (נחת) in his days, but Lamech called him Menachem because "he would comfort us" (ינחמנו). The same ideas are found in Ber. rabba 25. These results of learned reflection on Gen. v. 29 appear to be later than Jubilees.

And for the ground. All authorities save the LXX and our text omit "and."

29. *Land of his creation.* See iii. 32 note.

First to be buried in the earth. This shows that the legend, which is attested in the later Life of Adam and Eve (Tischendorf's *Apocalypses Apocryphae*, p. 21), that the body of Abel was not buried till that of Adam was, already existed.

30. Cf. Gen. ii. 17. This interpretation of a day as a thousand years was current among the Jews. Cf. Ber. rabba 19, 22. 2 Pet. iii. 8 μία ἡμέρα παρὰ Κυρίῳ ὡς χίλια ἔτη. Barnab. *Ep.* xv. ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα παρ' αὐτῷ χίλια ἔτη. See also Slav. En. xxxiii. 1, 2 (note) where the application of this principle of interpretation to the six days creation and the seventh of rest issues in the doctrine of the Millenium. Justin Martyr (*Dial. cum Tryph.* lxxxi.) apparently quotes from the text: ὡς γὰρ τῷ Ἀδὰμ εἴρητο, ὅτι ᾗ δ' ἂν ἡμέρᾳ φάγῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, ἐν ἐκείνῃ ἀποθανεῖται, ἔγνωμεν αὐτὸν μὴ ἀναπληρώσαντα χίλια ἔτη. Συνήκαμεν καὶ τὸ εἰρήμενον, ὅτι ἡμέρα Κυρίου ὡς χίλια ἔτη, εἰς τοῦτο συνάγειν. See also Lactantius, *Institution.* vii. 14.

31-32. *Cain was killed . . . in the same year*, etc. In Syncellus, i. 19, the text is partly reproduced: τῷ αὐτῷ ϡλ' ἔτει καὶ Κάϊν ἀπέθανεν, ἐμπεσόντος ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοῦ οἴκου· λίθοις γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν Ἄβελ ἀνεῖλε. In Cedrenus, i. 16, more fully: οὗτος ὁ Κάϊν, ὡς ἡ Ἑπτὴ Μωσέως Γένεσις φησίν, τῆς οἰκείας πεσούσης ἐπ' αὐτὸν τελευτᾷ· λίθοις γὰρ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἄβελ ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ λίθοις ὁμοίως καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπεκτάνθη. In the *Excerpta Chronologica* prefixed to the works of John Malala we have this and the later legend given: κατὰ (? μετὰ) δὲ ταῦτα τῆς οἰκίας ἐπ' αὐτὸν πεσούσης ἀπέθανεν, ὡς ἔνιοί φασιν· ἕτεροι δὲ ὅτι Λαμὲχ αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινεν. This latter account is found also in Glycas 223, in the Book of Adam and Eve, ii. 13, in Jarchi's *Comm.* on Gen. iv. 23, Tanchuma 6, the Book of Jashar (section Beresheth). For other authorities where the later legend is given see Eisenmenger, i. 470-471. On the other hand, according to Ber. rabba 22, the Rabbis said that he was killed by a stone, but Simeon the son of Gamaliel stated that he was killed by a reed. The latter idea seems to have been suggested by the likeness between קין and קנה.

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of his house, and he was killed by its stones; for with a stone he had killed Abel, and by a stone was he killed in righteous judgment. 32. For this reason it was ordained on the heavenly tables: "With the instrument with which a man kills his neighbour with the same shall he be killed; after the manner that he wounded him, in like manner shall
1205 A.M. they deal with him." 33. And in the twenty-fifth jubilee Noah took to himself a wife, and her name was 'Ĕmzârâ, the daughter of Râkê'êl, the daughter of his father's brother, in
1207 A.M. the first year in the fifth week: and in the third year
1209 A.M. thereof she bare him Shem, in the fifth year thereof she
1212 A.M. bare him Ham, and in the first year in the sixth week she bare him Japheth.

31. *With a stone he had killed Abel, and by a stone was he killed in righteous judgment*, etc. We have here the primitive human law of retaliation (eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, etc., Exod. xxi. 24; Lev. xxiv. 19) described as a law of the divine procedure. This law of exact retribution is not merely an enactment of human justice, our author declares; it is observed by God in his government of the world.

It is noteworthy that the same principle of retribution is enforced by historical examples in 2 Macc. v. 10, where speaking of Jason the author writes: ὁ πλῆθος ἀτάφων ἐκρίψας ἀπένθητος ἐγενήθη, καὶ κηδίας οὐδ' ἥστινος . . . μετέσχεν. Similarly, it is recounted of Nicanor (xv. 32, 33) that he was punished in those members with which he had sinned. Cf. also xiii. 8. In this respect 2 Macc. therefore represents truly this second-cent. B.C. doctrine of retribution. Taken crassly and mechanically the above law is without foundation; but spiritually conceived it represents the profound truth enunciated repeatedly in the N.T. Thus in Gal. vi. 7 "whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap"; Col. iii. 25 "he that doeth wrong shall receive again the wrong that he hath done"; 2 Cor. v. 10 in the judgment men shall "receive the things done in the body." In the Parables this kinship of the penalty to the sin is repeatedly dwelt on: the unforgiving debtor is refused forgiveness, the slothful servant loses what he had, he who will not use his affluence to succour a brother's need will lose it for himself, and the man who refuses to part with an offending eye or hand will finally lose his whole body in Gehenna. See note on xlviii. 14.

According to Beer this halachic interpretation of Exod. xxi. 24 is unknown to traditional Judaism, which enacts that the murderer is to be slain with the sword.

33. *'Ĕmzârâ.* This name is found in the Syriac Fragment and Lagarde's LXX MS *r*. Frankel derives it from אם שרה or צרה אם because she lived in the days of the Flood.

Brother. Emended as in ver. 15.

Shem . . . Ham . . . Japhet. Cf. x. 14, where again Shem is represented as the eldest. We should observe here that our author thus understood aright אחי יפת הגדול in Gen. x. 21 as "(Shem) . . . the elder brother of Japhet" (so also Vulg.) over against the Massoretes, Symmachus, and Rashi who wrongly understood it as "brother of Japheth the elder." The LXX is similarly wrong: ἀδελφῷ Ἰάφεθ τοῦ μείζονος, Ber. rabba 26, 37, and the Book of Jashar (*in loc.*). On the other hand in Sanhedrin 69 *b* Shem is said to be two years older than Japhet.

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The angels of God marry the daughters of men, 1. *Corruption of all creation*, 2-3. *Punishment of the fallen angels and their children*, 4-9*a*. *Final judgment announced*, 9*b*-16. *Day of Atonement*, 17-18. *The deluge foretold, Noah builds the ark, the deluge*, 19-32. (Cf. Gen. vi.-viii. 19.)

V. And it came to pass when the children of men began to multiply on the face of the earth and daughters were born unto them, that the angels of God saw them on a certain year of this jubilee, that they were beautiful to look upon; and they took themselves wives of all whom they chose, and they bare unto them sons and they were giants. 2. And lawlessness increased on the earth and all flesh corrupted its way, alike men and cattle and beasts and birds and everything that walks on the earth—all of them corrupted their ways and their orders, and they began to devour each other, and lawlessness increased on the earth and every imagination of the thoughts of all men (was) thus evil continually. 3. And God looked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt, and all flesh had corrupted its orders, and all that were upon the earth had wrought all manner of evil before His eyes. 4. And He said: "I shall destroy man and all flesh upon the face of the

V. 1. Gen. vi. 1, 2, 4. On this myth of the intercourse of the angels with the daughters of men see iv. 15 (note): also my Eth. Enoch vi. 1, 2, vii. 1, 2 with notes *in loc.*

Angels of God. This is the LXX rendering of Gen. vi. 2. It is also found in Philo, *De Gigant.* 2 (i. 263 Mangey), Josephus, Eusebius, Augustine and Ambrose. It is the *older* Jewish view, but was condemned probably as early as the first cent. A.D. See note on iv. 15.

To look upon. Correct printer's error resi'j into re'ij in my text.

2. *All flesh corrupted its way, alike men and cattle and beasts.* Gen. vi. 12. From the Book of Jashar 13*b* this seems to mean that different kinds of animals coupled with each other: and that man was guilty of bestiality.

Began to devour each other. Eth. Enoch vii. 5.

Lawlessness increased, etc. Cf. Gen. vi. 11.

Every imagination, etc. Gen. vi. 5.

3. Gen. vi. 12.

4, 5. Gen. vi. 7, 8.

4. *I shall destroy.* So *a d. b c* = "He would destroy."

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earth which I have created." 5. But Noah found grace before the eyes of the Lord. 6. And against the angels whom He had sent upon the earth, He was exceedingly wroth, and He gave commandment to root them out of all their dominion, and He bade us to bind them in the depths of the earth, and behold they are bound in the midst of them, and are (kept) separate. 7. And against their sons went forth a command from before His face that they should be smitten with the sword, and be removed from under heaven. 8. And He said "My spirit will not always abide on man; for they also are flesh and their days shall be one hundred and twenty years." 9. And He sent His sword into their midst that each should slay his neighbour, and they began to slay each other till they all fell by the sword and were destroyed from the earth. 10. And their fathers were witnesses (of their destruction), and after this they were bound in the depths of the earth for ever, until the day of the great condemnation, when judgment is executed

4. *Which I have created.* Emended from *a b* which = "He had created." Corruption could have arisen from confusion of ἔκτισα and ἔκτισε, as Littmann has pointed out. *c d* = "was created." Possibly we should keep to *b* throughout, and translate "He would destroy . . . which He had created." Cf. vi. 20.

10. *Until the day of the great condemnation, i.e.*, the day of the final judgment. See iv. 19, 24. Cf. Eth. Enoch x. 13. The intervening period, according to Eth. Enoch x. 12, is seventy generations.

10b-12. Verses 11-12 if the text is correct teach that God recreated the human race and all His other works at the time of the Flood "so that they should not sin in their whole nature forever, but should be all righteous . . . always" In Josephus, *Ant.* i. 3. 2 there is a slight approximation to this idea: ὁ δὲ Θεὸς τοῦτον μὲν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἠγάπησε, κατεδίκαζε δ' οὐκ ἐκείνων μόνων τῆς κακίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶν ὅσον ἦν ἀνθρώπινον τότε δόξαν αὐτῷ διαφθεῖραι καὶ ποιῆσαι γένος ἕτερον πονηρίας καθαρόν. See also Philo, *De Vita Moses*, ii. 12. But with the subsequent corruption of all the descendants of Noah till the time of Abraham and the universal apostasy of the Gentiles according to our author, such a statement is practically inconceivable. Moreover, it is not difficult to discover the origin of the error in our text. Verses 10b-16 are descriptive of the final judgment, and simply amplify the last clause of ver. 10. Thus the time of the verbs "destroyed," "was," "made" in 11-12 is wrong and we should have "shall destroy," "shall be" and "shall make." "Judged" must also be rendered "shall have judged," but this last does not necessitate a change in the text of either the Ethiopic or Hebrew. The text therefore should be translated: "Until the day of the great condemnation, when judgment shall be executed on all who have corrupted their ways and their works before the Lord, 11. And He shall destroy (them) all from their places, and there shall not be left one of them

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on all those who have corrupted their ways and their works before the Lord. 11. And He †destroyed† all from their places, and there †was† not left one of them whom He judged not according to all their wickedness. 12. And He †made† for all His works a new and righteous nature, so that they should not sin in their whole nature for ever, but should be all righteous each in his kind alway. 13. And the judgment of all is ordained and written on the heavenly tables in righteousness—even (the judgment of) all who depart from the path which is ordained for them to walk in; and if they walk not therein, judgment is written down for every creature and for every kind. 14. And there is nothing in heaven or on earth, or in light or in darkness, or in Sheol or in the depth, or in the place of darkness (which is not judged); and all their judgments are ordained and written and engraved. 15. In regard to all He will judge, the great according to his greatness, and the small according to his smallness, and each according to his way. 16. And He is not one who will regard the person (of any), nor is He one who will receive gifts, if He says that He will execute judgment on each: if one gave everything that is on the earth, He will not regard the gifts or the person (of any), nor accept anything at his hands, for He is a righteous judge. [17. And of the children of Israel it has

whom He shall not have judged according to all their wickedness, 12. And He shall make for all His works, etc." This corruption of the tenses may possibly have arisen in the Ethiopic, or in the Greek, but this is very improbable, as it involves so many changes. On the other hand it is easy to explain the false text as having originated in a mistranslation of the Hebrew. The above passage = עד יום הדין חנרול בהעשות משפם בכול אשר השחית דרכו ומעשהו לכני י והאביר כלם . . . ולא יותר מהם אחר אשר לא ועשה . . . שמם. Here we have to suppose that the Greek translator failed to grasp the sense of the passage and see that וַהַאבִיר and the other verbs followed closely on בהעשות, and accordingly rendered them merely as ordinary perfects. See Driver, *Hebrew Tenses*,[2] p. 165.

12. *New and righteous nature.* See note on i. 29.

13. *Heavenly tables.* See note on iii. 10.

From the path. So *d*, where I take the singular suffix to express the article. Otherwise *a b c*, "from their path."

16. Cf. xl. 8; Deut. x. 17; 2 Chron. xix. 7.

17-18. Interpolated or else transposed here from xxxiv. 18-19 where the historical occasion of this feast is given.

17. Probably based on Jer. xxxvi. 3. Cf. Jer. xviii. 8; Jonah iii. 8.

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been written and ordained: If they turn to Him in righteousness, He will forgive all their transgressions and pardon all their sins. 18. It is written and ordained that He will show mercy to all who turn from all their guilt once each year.] 19. And as for all those who corrupted their ways and their thoughts before the flood, no man's person was accepted save that of Noah alone; for his person was accepted in behalf of his sons, whom (God) saved from the waters of the flood on his account; for his heart was righteous in all his ways, according as it was commanded regarding him, and he had not departed from aught that was ordained for him. 20. And the Lord said that He would destroy everything which was upon the earth, both men and cattle, and beasts, and fowls of the air, and that which moveth on the earth. 21. And He commanded Noah to make him an ark, that he might save himself from the waters of the flood. 22. And Noah made the ark in

18. The time referred to here is obviously the tenth day of the seventh month, *i.e.*, the Day of Atonement. In Lev. xvi. in spite of the terms in verses 16, 21, the sin-offering atoned only for sins committed in error (בשגגה, ἀκουσίως), *i.e.* accidentally or involuntarily (Lev. iv. 2, 13, 22, etc.—these are the ἀγνοήματα in Heb. ix. 7), not for those committed deliberately and defiantly (ביד רמה, Num. xv. 30). This is the view enforced in the Mishnic treatise *Yoma* viii. 9: "If a man says I will sin, and then repent . . . Heaven does not give him the means of practising repentance; and if he says, 'I will sin and the Day of Atonement will bring atonement,' the Day of Atonement will bring no atonement." On the other hand both in our text and in the treatise *Shebu'oth* i. 6 it is taught that on the Day of Atonement sins of every description are forgiven "both the light and the grave, the intentional and the unintentional, the conscious and the unconscious, those relating to the positive and the negative commands, and even those that were to be visited with the death penalty by God or human judgment." And yet we must discriminate between the teaching of our text and of the treatise *Shebu'oth* in favour of the former. In the latter the ceremonial was of the nature of an *opus operatum*. In our text, on the other hand, repentance is insisted on: God's mercy is not to be won on the Day of Atonement save by those who turn (ישובו) from their sins. Thus though our text stands midway between the doctrine prescribed in Lev. xvi. (also in the treatise *Yoma*) and the treatise *Shebu'oth*, with the former it prescribes as necessary to atonement the temper of true repentance: with the latter it maintains the efficacy of the atonement for sins of every description.

Once each year = ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ (Heb. ix. 7).

19. That the wicked are spared for the sake of the righteous is the idea underlying Gen. xviii. 23-32.

20. Gen. vi. 7; cf. ver. 4.

21. Gen. vi. 14. According to vi. 25 of our text this command was given on the new moon of the first month.

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all respects as He commanded him, in the twenty-seventh 1307 A.M.
jubilee of years, in the fifth week in the fifth year (on the
new moon of the first month). 23. And he entered in the
sixth (year) thereof, in the second month, on the new 1308 A.M.
moon of the second month, till the sixteenth; and he
entered, and all that we brought to him, into the ark,
and the Lord closed it from without on the seventeenth
evening.

24. And the Lord opened seven flood-gates of heaven,
And the mouths of the fountains of the great deep,
seven mouths in number.

25. And the flood-gates began to pour down water from
the heaven forty days and forty nights,
And the fountains of the deep also sent up waters, until
the whole world was full of water.

26. And the waters increased upon the earth:
Fifteen cubits did the waters rise above all the high
mountains,
And the ark was lift up above the earth,
And it moved upon the face of the waters.

27. And the water prevailed on the face of the earth five
months — one hundred and fifty days. 28. And the
ark went and rested on the top of Lûbâr, one of the

22. *Twenty-seventh jubilee.* So we should emend the reading of all the MSS "twenty-second jubilee." In my text I have by a slip emended the reading into "twenty-sixth jubilee." The fifth year of the fifth week of the twenty-seventh jubilee = 1307 A.M. This agrees exactly with the chronology in the Samaritan Chronicle: "From Adam to the birth of Noah was a period of 707 years, and from Adam to the Flood 1307 years" (Samaritan Chronicle translated by Neubauer in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1869, pp. 421-469).

23. *Closed it*, etc. Gen. vii. 16.
Seventeenth, etc. Gen. vii. 11.

24. *Seven flood-gates.* Eth. Enoch lxxxix. 2.
Floodgates . . . fountains. Gen. vii. 11. See note on ii. 4.
The great deep. The תהום of Gen. i. 2. See note on ii. 2.

25, 26. Gen. vii. 12, 18, 20. Cf. Eth. Enoch lxxxix. 3.

27. Gen. vii. 24, viii. 3.

28. Gen. viii. 4. This name Lûbâr recurs in vii. 1 (see note), 17. It is mentioned also in the Midrashic *Book of Noah* (see Appendix I. to my Text) as follows: בלובר ההר מהרדי ארמת. This verse is reproduced freely by Epiphianus, *Adv. Haer.* I. tom. i. 4: μετὰ δὲ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἐπιστάσης τῆς λάρνακος τοῦ Νῶε ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς Ἀραρὰτ ἀνὰ μέσον Ἀρμενίων καὶ Καρδυέων ἐν τῷ Λουβὰρ ὄρει καλουμένῳ. As Nicolaus of Damascus reports (Joseph. *Ant.* i. 3.

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mountains of Ararat. 29. And (on the new moon) in the fourth month the fountains of the great deep were closed and the flood-gates of heaven were restrained; and on the new moon of the seventh month all the mouths of the abysses of the earth were opened, and the water began to descend into the deep below. 30. And on the new moon of the tenth month the tops of the
1309 A.M. mountains were seen, and on the new moon of the first month the earth became visible. 31. And the waters disappeared from above the earth in the fifth week in the seventh year thereof, and on the seventeenth day in the second month the earth was dry. 32. And on the twenty-seventh thereof he opened the ark, and sent forth from it beasts, and cattle, and birds, and every moving thing.

Sacrifice of Noah, 1-3 (cf. Gen. viii. 20-22). *God's covenant with Noah, eating of blood forbidden*, 4-10 (cf. Gen. ix. 1-17). *Moses bidden to renew this law against the eating of blood*, 11-14. *Bow set in the clouds for a sign*, 15-16. *Feast of weeks instituted, history of its*

6) that according to local tradition the Ark rested on a great mountain in Armenia called Baris above Minyas, Professor Sayce (*Journal of Royal Asiatic Soc.* xiv. p. 389 note) conjectures that this is the mountain named Lubar in our text, seeing that both are said by Epiphanius and Syncellus (see note on vii. 1) to be on the borders of Armenia. I am indebted to him also for the following note in which he seeks to account for the syllable Lu in Lubar. "In the Vannic cuneiform inscriptions Lulu is the country which is called Urartu (Ararat) in Assyria, on the borders of Armenia and Kurdistan, and is almost certainly the Lulubi or Luluwi of the Assyrian inscriptions in which was Mount Nizir on the top of which the ark of the Chaldean Noah rested.

29. Gen. viii. 2. Cf. Eth. Enoch lxxxix. 7.

30. Gen. viii. 5, 13.

31. *On the seventeenth day in the second month the earth was dry.* In Gen. viii. 14 it is on the seven-and-twentieth day that the earth was dry. Part of this verse and the next is quoted in Lagarde's LXX MS ε on Gen. viii. 14: ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ μηνὶ ἑπτὰ καὶ δεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐξηράνθη ἡ γῆ καὶ ἑβδόμῃ καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ μηνὸς ἀνέῳξε τὴν κιβωτόν. It will be observed that the earth became dry exactly a year after Noah entered the ark (ver. 23).

32. Cf. Gen. viii. 17, 19.

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observance, 17-22. *Feasts of the new moons*, 23-28. *Division of the year into* 364 *days*, 29-38.

VI. And on the new moon of the third month he went forth from the ark, and built an altar on that mountain. 2. And he made atonement for the earth, and took a kid and made atonement by its blood for all the guilt of the earth; for everything that had been on it had been destroyed, save those that were in the ark with Noah. 3. And he placed the fat thereof on the altar, and he took an ox, and a goat, and a sheep and kids, and salt, and a turtle-dove, and the young of a dove, and placed a burnt sacrifice on the altar, and poured thereon an offering mingled with oil, and sprinkled wine and strewed frankincense over everything, and caused a goodly savour to arise, acceptable before the Lord. 4. And the Lord smelt the goodly savour, and He made a covenant with him that there should not be any more a flood to destroy the earth; that all the days of the earth seed-time and harvest should never cease; cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night

VI. 1. *New moon of the third month.* This date is reproduced in Lagarde's MS *z* on Gen. viii. 19: ἐν μιᾷ τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ τρίτου. See ver. 11 on the parallel between the covenants on Sinai and Ararat. On this date also the covenant was made with Abraham, xiv. 1 sqq.; and Jacob started to go down into Egypt, xliv. 1.

Built an altar on that mountain. Cf. Gen. viii. 20. The mountain is Lubar. According to Ber. rabba 34 Noah offered this sacrifice in Jerusalem. In the Targ. Jon. on Gen. viii. 20 the place is not mentioned, but the altar is identified with that which Adam built.

2. *Made atonement for the earth.* Though Jewish Haggada knows nothing of this particular act of atonement, it is easy to justify such a conception from Lev. xviii. 26-28; Num. xxxv. 33, 34. The earth itself as being defiled needed expiation. Unnatural vices and murder pollute it.

3. *Ox, and a goat, and a sheep*, etc. In Gen. viii. 20 it is said that Noah "took of every clean beast and of every clean fowl and offered burnt-offerings, etc."

Mingled with oil, and . . . wine. These elements are also additions to the statement in Gen. viii. 20 in conformity with later ritual. Cf. Exod. xxix. 40; Lev. ii. 2-5.

Frankincense. Lev. ii. 2, 15.

4-7. God makes a covenant with Noah, in which He promises not again to destroy the earth with a flood, makes man ruler over everything that is on the earth, and forbids the eating of blood and murder.

4. *The Lord smelt the goodly savour.* Gen. viii. 21.

Made a covenant . . . not . . . to destroy the earth. Gen. ix. 11.

All the days of the earth, etc. Gen. viii. 22.

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should not change their order, nor cease for ever. 5. "And you, increase ye and multiply upon the earth, and become many upon it, and be a blessing upon it. The fear of you and the dread of you I shall inspire in everything that is on earth and in the sea. 6. And behold I have given unto you all beasts, and all winged things, and everything that moves on the earth, and the fish in the waters, and all things for food; as the green herbs, I have given you all things to eat. 7. But flesh, with the life thereof, with the blood, ye shall not eat; for the life of all flesh is in the blood, lest your blood of your lives be required. At the hand of every man, at the hand of every (beast), shall I require the blood of man. 8. Whoso sheddeth man's blood by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God made He man. 9. And you, increase ye, and multiply on the earth." 10. And Noah and his sons swore that they would not eat any blood that was in any flesh, and he made a covenant before the Lord God for ever throughout

5. Gen. ix. 7. It is noteworthy that the clause *be a blessing* (וברכו) corresponds to "multiply" (ורבו) in the parallel in Gen. The latter appears to be corrupt for ורדו = LXX *καὶ κατακυριεύσατε*.

The fear of you, etc. Cf. Gen. ix. 2.

6. Gen. ix. 2, 3.

As the green herbs, I have given you all things to eat. From Gen. ix. 3 save the verb "to eat" which, however, is only a repetition of the phrase "for ood" in the preceding clause. Of the argument that concluded from those words that only certain herbs were allowed for food, our text knows nothing. This view appears in Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 20 *βουλομένου αὐτοῦ εἰπεῖν ὡς λάχανα χόρτου . . . ἐπεί τινα τῶν χόρτων οὐκ ἐσθίομεν οὕτω καὶ διαστολὴν ἔκτοτε τῷ Νῶε διεστάλθαι φατέ.* According to Goldfahn (*Monatsschrift für Gesch. d. Jud.* 1873, 57 sq.) the interpretation here attributed to Trypho is not found in existing Jewish sources. See Singer, 295 sq.

7. Gen. ix. 4, 5. *Of your lives.* Text = "in your lives" which is a wrong rendering of לנפשותיכם.

(*Beast.*) I have here supplied 'ĕnsĕsâ (= beast) which could easily have fallen out before 'aḫšĕḇ = I will require.

8. Gen. ix. 6.

10-14. Noah and his sons swear to the covenant as of perpetual obligation as regards the non-eating of blood (ver. 10). Because this ordinance was of perpetual obligation, it was re-enacted on Mount Sinai; but, whereas in Noah's covenant it had been brought forward only on its negative side, in the Mosaic legislation it was enforced in its positive side, that is, according to the former, blood was not to be eaten, whereas according to the latter its true use was to sprinkle the worshipper (ver. 11) and to make atonement before God (ver. 14). Moreover, as Noah's covenant was instituted in the third

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all the generations of the earth in this month. 11. On this account He spake to thee that thou shouldst make a covenant with the children of Israel in this month upon the mountain with an oath, and that thou shouldst sprinkle blood upon them because of all the words of the covenant, which the Lord made with them for ever. 12. And this testimony is written concerning you that you should observe it continually, so that you should not eat on any day any blood of beasts or birds or cattle during all the days of the earth, and the man who eats the blood of beast or of cattle or of birds during all the days of the earth, he and his seed shall be rooted out of the land. 13. And do thou command the children of Israel to eat no blood, so that their names and their seed may be before the Lord our God continually. 14. And for this law there is no limit of days, for it is for ever. They shall observe it throughout their generations, so that they may continue supplicating on your behalf with blood before the altar; every day and at the time of morning and evening they shall seek forgiveness on your behalf perpetually before the Lord that they may keep it and not be rooted out. 15. And He gave to Noah and his sons a sign that there should not again be a flood on the earth. 16. He set His bow in the cloud for a sign of the eternal covenant that there should not again be a flood on the earth

month, so also the Law was given on Sinai in the same month (ver. 11). [In no passage is it said that the covenants of Noah and of Moses were established on the same day in the third month. Such a connection appears to exist between the date of the covenant of Noah and that of the first celebration on earth of the feast of weeks (see notes on verses 17-18).]

11. *A covenant . . . in this month upon the mountain.* The law was given on Sinai in the third month according to Exod. xix. 1.

12, 13. Cf. Lev. xvii. 10, 12, 14; Deut. xii. 23.

14. *Supplicating on their* (*b c*) *behalf with blood.* Cf. Lev. xvii. 11.

Morning and evening they shall seek forgiveness. Cf. Num. xxviii. 3-8.

Forgiveness on your (*d. b c* "their," *a* "its") *behalf.* The reading of *d* is to be preferred on the ground of the parallelism (Littmann).

15-16. Cf. Gen. ix. 13-15. The text after touching on the Mosaic development of the covenant of Noah here returns to the latter (cf. ver. 4), which God confirmed with the sign of the bow in the clouds.

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to destroy it all the days of the earth. 17. For this reason it is ordained and written on the heavenly tables, that they should celebrate the feast of weeks in this month once a year, to renew the covenant every year. 18. And this whole festival was celebrated in heaven from the day of creation till the days of Noah—twenty-six jubilees and five weeks of
1309-1659 A.M. years: and Noah and his sons observed it for seven jubilees and one week of years, till the day of Noah's death, and from the day of Noah's death his sons did away with (it) until the days of Abraham, and they eat blood. 19. But Abraham observed it, and Isaac and Jacob and his children observed it up to thy days, and in thy days the children of Israel forgot it until ye celebrated it anew on this mountain. 20. And do thou command the children of Israel to observe this festival in all their generations for a commandment unto them: one day in the year in this month they shall celebrate the festival. 21. For it is the feast of weeks and the feast

17-18. In connection with the covenant Noah is bidden to observe the feast of weeks. Since it follows from xv. 1 (see note) and xliv. 4, 5 that this feast was celebrated on the 15th of the third month (see note on i. 1) we may reasonably assign the promulgation of the Noachic covenant to the same date. Later Judaism (Maimonides, *More Neb.* 41) held Pentecost to celebrate the giving of the Law on Sinai, and designated this day as "the day of the giving of the Law" (יום מתן תורה). So our author (cf. i. 1). This idea is not found in Philo and Josephus; but it appears in Jerome, *Ep. ad Fab.* mansio 12; August. *Contra Faust.* xxxii. 12. Observe that our author ascribes the covenant with Abram to the same date (see note on xiv. 20).

17. *Feast of weeks.* This title is found in Exod. xxxiv. 22 (חַג שָׁבֻעֹת, ἑορτὴ ἑβδομάδων). Our text is not acquainted with the more familiar designation of this feast, *i.e.* Pentecost. This designation, which is a Greek rendering, ἡ πεντηκοστή (ἡμέρα), of the rabbinic חג חמשים יום, is found in 2 Macc. xii. 32 μετὰ τὴν λεγομένην πεντηκοστήν. Tob. ii. 1 contains another early instance of its use, and Philo, *De Septenar.* 21, a near approach to it. For later instances see 1 Cor. xvi. 8; Jos. *Ant.* iii. 10. 6.

18. *Twenty-six jubilees and five weeks* = 1309 years. On the slight discrepancy in our author's dates see notes on iv. 28 and v. 22.

Seven jubilees and one week = 350 years.

Did away with (it) . . . and they eat blood. Here again the close connection of the feast of weeks and of the covenant with Noah is emphasised.

19. *But Abraham.* For "but (*a d*) Abraham" (*b c d*), *b c* read "and Abraham alone."

Observed it. *a b* omit "it."

Ye celebrated it anew [= haddaskemwô (*a*)]. *b c d* read "I have renewed them" or "I have renewed (it) unto them" [= haddaskewômû (*b c d*)].

20. *One day in the year.* This should perhaps be: "the first day (of the week) in every year." See note on ver. 22.

21. *The feast of weeks* was likewise known as the feast of the harvest

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of first-fruits: this feast is twofold and of a double nature: according to what is written and engraven concerning it celebrate it. 22. For I have written in the book of the first law, in that which I have written for thee, that thou shouldst celebrate it in its season, one day in the year, and I explained to thee its sacrifices that the children of Israel should remember and should celebrate it throughout their generations in this month, one day in every year. 23. And on the

Exod. xxiii. 16, חַג הַקָּצִיר. In the latter respect it was a *feast of first-fruits* as in the text, or the day of first-fruits, Num. xxviii. 26, יוֹם הַבִּכּוּרִים, ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν νέων. Why this festival should be said to be "of a double nature" I do not see.

Celebrate it = gĕbarâ emended from gĕbrâ = "its celebration."

22. *Book of the first law, i.e.*, the Pentateuch. See note on i. 26.

One day in the year. Eppstein (*Revue des Études juives*, xxii. 7-8) suggests that "one day" here = ἡμέρα μία = יום אחד, which in its original context meant "the first day," *i.e.* of the week, Sunday. Thus Pentecost was to fall on the same day every year, a Sunday, the first of the week. If this is right it follows that if we count back seven weeks we arrive at Nisan 22, "the morrow after the Sabbath," which is also the first day of the week, and that the author of our book interpreted the term Sabbath in its strict sense as the weekly Sabbath (see note on xv. 1). For somewhat similar directions regarding the Passover see xlix. 7, 8.

Its sacrifices, or "the sacrifices."

One day in every year. This should perhaps be "the first day (of the week) in every year" as Eppstein suggests (see note above).

23. According to Lev. xxiii. 24 only the 1st day of the 7th month was a day of remembrance. Nevertheless the special significance assigned to these four days was a not unfamiliar idea in the second cent. as appears from the Eth. Enoch and our text, both of which we shall discuss presently in this relation. Even the Mishna appears to preserve some echoes of the early controversies that circled round them; for we can hardly interpret otherwise the passage in the Rosh ha-Shanah i. 1: "On 1st Nisan—beginning of year, of government and of festivals. On 1st Ellul, the year of tithing of beasts according to R. Eliezer and R. Simeon. On 1st Tisri, the calendar year, the Sabbatical year and jubilee year, and (year) of plants and vegetables. On 1st Sebat, year of blooming of trees according to school of Shammai but on 15th according to school of Hillel." That different usages prevailed at different times follows clearly from the sacrifices enjoined on the new moons in Ezekiel xlvi. 6 and Num. xxviii. 11-15. The Rabbis could give no satisfactory explanation of these differences: some indeed were for removing Ezekiel from the Canon, and others denied its authenticity on account of them. Returning now to our text and the parallel passages in the Eth. Enoch, we observe that these four days have a religious significance in the former, but an astronomical in the latter. In Eth. En. lxxv. 1, 2, lxxxii. 11 they are called "leaders," because they lead in the four quarters of the year. They are also called "intercalary days" (Eth. Enoch lxxv. 2) ἡμέραι ἐπαγόμεναι, and correspond respectively to the vernal equinox (1st of 1st month), the summer solstice (1st of 4th month), the autumn equinox (1st of 7th month), and the winter solstice (1st of 10th month). These four days, when added to 360 (*i.e.*, 12 months of 30 days each, Eth. Enoch lxxxii. 11), constitute an invariable year of 364 days (cf. our text v. 32, 38; Eth. Enoch lxxv. 2, lxxxii. 11). On the meaning of this year of 364 days see notes on verses 29-30, 32.

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new moon of the first month, and on the new moon of the fourth month, and on the new moon of the seventh month, and on the new moon of the tenth month are the days of remembrance, and the days of the seasons in the four divisions of the year. These are written and ordained as a testimony for ever. 24. And Noah ordained them for himself as feasts for the generations for ever, so that they have become thereby a memorial unto him. 25. And on the new moon of the first month he was bidden to make for himself an ark, and on that (day) the earth became dry and he opened (the ark) and saw the earth. 26. And on the new moon of the fourth month the mouths of the depths of the abysses beneath were closed. And on the new moon of the seventh month all the mouths of the abysses of the earth were opened, and the waters began to descend into them. 27. And on the new moon of the tenth month the tops of the mountains were seen, and Noah was glad. 28. And on this account he ordained them for himself as feasts for a memorial for ever, and thus are they ordained. 29. And they placed them on the heavenly tables, each had thirteen weeks; from one to another

On the new moon of the first month. On this date Noah was bidden to make an ark, v. 21, vi. 25; the earth first became visible after the flood, v. 30, vi. 25; Noah offered a sacrifice, vii. 2, 3; Abraham erected an altar and sacrificed thereon, xiii. 8; God appeared to Isaac, xxiv., who forthwith offered sacrifice, 22, 23; Jacob went to Bethel, xxvii. 19; Levi was born, xxviii. 14.

On the new moon of the fourth month. The following events are assigned to this date. On it Adam and Eve went forth from the Garden, iii. 32; the mouths of the abysses beneath and the flood-gates of heaven were closed, v. 29, vi. 26; angels appeared to Abraham, xvi. 1; Joseph was born, xxviii. 24; Jacob arrived in Egypt, xlv. 1.

On the new moon of the seventh month. On this date the mouths of the abysses were opened, v. 29, vi. 26; Abraham observed the stars in order to learn the nature of the coming year, xii. 16.

On the new moon of the tenth month. See ver. 27.

26. See notes on ver. 23. Cf. Gen. viii. 2; Eth. Enoch lxxxix. 7, 8.

27. See notes on ver. 23. Cf. Gen. viii. 5.

29. *Placed.* We have here the imperfect; hence literally = "they place" or "they were placing."

On the heavenly tables. Here the festivals ordained by Noah are entered on the heavenly tables. See note on iii. 10.

29-30. *Each had thirteen weeks*, etc. According to verses 23-30 the year consists of four seasons and each season of three months or thirteen weeks. The year has, therefore, on this computation 12 months of 30 days each

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(passed) their memorial, from the first to the second, and from the second to the third, and from the third to the fourth. [30. And all the days of the commandment will be two and fifty weeks of days, and (these will make) the entire year complete. 31. Thus it is engraven and ordained on the heavenly tables. And there is no neglecting (this com-

(see below) and 4 intercalary days, 52 weeks, or 364 days. This our author takes to be the duration of a solar year. A solar year of 12 months is likewise presupposed in iv. 17 where the months are said to be of the same number as the signs of the zodiac; in v. 27 where five months are described as amounting to 150 days, hence each month consists of 30 days; in xii. 16 Abram makes observations on the 1st of the 7th month to learn the character of the ensuing six months (autumn and winter). They are solar months; for they are six in number, xii. 27; in xvi. 12-13 a year of twelve months is implied; and in xxv. 16 the tribes who are to spring from Jacob are to be of the same number as the months of the year. In the face of these facts Frankel was quite wrong, as Beer has shown, to assert that Jubilees reckoned each month at 28 days and added a thirteenth month of 28 days. On the other hand Eppstein (*Revue des Études juives*, xxii. 10-13) offers the attractive suggestion that in Jubilees two kinds of years are used: a civil year of 12 months with eight of 30 days each and four of 31 days each; and an ecclesiastical year of 13 months of 28 days each. Our author, writes Eppstein, fixed the dates of the festivals according to the ecclesiastical year, and by such a year managed to make each week, each month and each year to begin on Sunday and terminate on the Sabbath. By such an arangement also all the festivals fell on Sunday save that of the Day of Atonement, and all the chronology took a regular and uniform character from the fact that everything had 7 for its point of departure. Thus the week had 7 days: the month $4 \times 7 = 28$: the year $52 \times 7 = 364$: the year-week 7 years and the jubilee 7×7 years. Further, the date assigned by our author to the feast of weeks, *i.e.* Sivan 15, certainly supports Eppstein's view. This date can only be arrived at by reckoning the 7 weeks from Nisan 22. Thus the paschal lamb was offered on Nisan 14: the feast of unleavened bread began on the 15th and ended on the 21st. On the 22nd the wave-sheaf was offered. Now if we count 7 weeks onward from this day, that is 1 week in the 1st month, 4 weeks in the 2nd and 2 in the 3rd (Sivan), the feast of weeks falls on the 15th of Sivan as in our author. Thus the date presupposes months of 28 days. And since the months consisted of 28 days each, there must have been 13 in this ecclesiastical year, as it consisted of 364 days. Finally, if Eppstein's view on the interpretation of vi. 22 is correct, it serves to confirm the above view; for if the year begins on Sunday, the passover on Nisan falls on the Sabbath: the offering of the wave-sheaf on Sunday the 22nd and the feast of weeks on Sunday, Sivan 15.

But on the other hand there is this objection to this theory: it is not true that all the festivals in Jubilees are fixed according to this so-called ecclesiastical year; for the four ordained by Noah in vi. 23-29 are determined according to the 12 solar months of the year Apart from this objection this theory is the best solution of the problem yet offered. Elsewhere, where two years were in use, as amongst the Egyptians and later amongst the Abyssinian Jews, the civil year was a solar one and the ecclesiastical a lunar.

30. *The entire year complete.* So *b*, which alone gives an intelligible sense.

31. *Neglecting*, or "transgressing." Beer has suggested that ta'adwō here points back to עבר = "intercalation." Linguistically, this is possible. If so, our author would be here protesting

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mandment) for a single year or from year to year. 32. And command thou the children of Israel that they observe the years according to this reckoning—three hundred and

against such systems of intercalating days in the lunar year to make it synchronise with the solar, as we find in Eth. Enoch lxxiv.-lxxv., and the later systems of the Pharisees. But seeing that the same word which I render "neglecting" is found twice in ver. 33 and in xv. 25, and that it cannot in two of these instances bear the meaning Beer proposes, I have retained the ordinary meaning of the word. See also on xlix. 14.

32. *Three hundred and sixty-four days.* A solar year of the same length is also taught in Eth. Enoch lxxiv. 10, 12, lxxv. 2; Slav. Enoch xlviii. 1. In Slav. Enoch xiv. 1 the ordinary reckoning of 365¼ days is found. It is obvious that we have here to do with an old Jewish reckoning. I have shown in my edition of the Eth. Enoch pp. 189-191 that the advocates of this system were acquainted with the Greek octaeteris and the cycle of Calippus, and in my edition of the Slav. Enoch, that its author in xvi. 8 was familiar with the Metonic cycle. Why then did these writers, notwithstanding their knowledge of the Greek systems, advocate an impossible solar year of 364 days? I think their action in this matter must be attributed to dogmatic prejudice. If they regarded it as vital to the validity of their festivals that they should be celebrated not only on the same day of the month but also on the same day of the week from year to year, it seemed possible to attain this end by enforcing the acceptance of a year of 364 days. If the solar year were of this duration, it would always begin on the same day of the week; for it would consist of 52 weeks exactly. Furthermore if it began on Sunday, the first day of the week, the Sabbath would always constitute the 7th day of each of the 52 weeks, and the great festivals would always fall on the same day of the week and on the same day of the month from year to year. Thus the Passover would take place on Nisan 14, a Sabbath day, the wave-sheaf would be offered on Nisan 22, a Sunday (the morrow after the Sabbath), and the feast of weeks on Sivan 15, a Sunday—that is in case we reckon 13 months of 28 days each, the ecclesiastical year (see note on vi. 29-30). By the assumption, therefore, of an impossible solar year of 12 months of 364 days in all and of an ecclesiastical year of 13 months of the same number of days consisting of an arbitrary succession of hebdomads independent of the phases of the moon, they seemed to have succeeded in synchronising the civil and ecclesiastical years without resorting to intercalary days. *But this year of* 364 *days goes back in all probability to the Exile.* It will be observed that our text brings forward this disquisition on the true length of the year in connection with the account of the flood. Now it is just in the same connection in the narrative of P in Genesis that a year of 364 days is presupposed as Bacon (*Hebraica*, viii. 79-88, 124-139 [1891-1892]) points out. Thus, the epochs of the flood are:—

Beginning	2nd month	17th day
Climax	7th	„	17th „
Mountain tops appear	10th	„	1st „
Waters dried up	1st	„	1st „
Earth dry	2nd	„	27th „

He points out that the flood, which in the Babylonian account lasted one year, lasts here from the 17th of the 2nd month of one year to the 27th of the 2nd of the next. Now he argues that, if one reckoned according to Hebrew lunar months, ten days (cf. Jubilees vi. 36) had to be added at the close of the 12th month in order to reach the equivalent date in solar time; for the lunar year was 354 days ($=12\times29\frac{1}{2}$: cf. Eth. Enoch lxxviii. 15). Now if the solar year was reckoned at 364 days, we can understand why Noah's exit is assigned to the 27th and not to the 17th of the 2nd month; for ten days represent according to Jubilees (vi. 36) and the Eth. Enoch (lxxiv. 10,

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sixty-four days, and (these) will constitute a complete year, and they will not disturb its time from its days and from its feasts; for everything will fall out in them according to their testimony, and they will not leave out any day nor disturb any feasts. 33. But if they do neglect and do not observe them according to His commandment, then they will disturb all their seasons, and the years will be dislodged from this (order), [and they will disturb the seasons and the years will be dislodged] and they will neglect their ordinances. 34. And all the children of Israel will forget, and will not find the path of the years, and will forget the new moons, and seasons, and sabbaths, and they will go wrong as to all the order of the years. 35. For I know and from henceforth shall I declare it unto thee, and it is not of my own devising; for the book (lies) written before me, and on the heavenly tables the division of days is ordained, lest they forget the feasts of the covenant and walk according to the feasts of the Gentiles after their error and after their ignorance. 36. For

11, 13) the difference between the lunar and solar years. Thus the flood would last one solar year from its beginning to its close.

We presume, therefore, writes Bacon, that the authors of Enoch or Jubilees found their peculiar year of 364 days (=12 sidereal months of 30 days each +4 intercalary days) in the Genesis account of the flood. Considering the advanced stage of astronomical science in the second cent. B.C. among the nations in touch with Judaism, it is not possible to explain their adoption of such a solar year unless it appealed to them on dogmatic grounds and had at its back an inspired authority. Genesis formed the inspired authority, and the dogmatic grounds are obvious (see above). That such a scheme is impracticable is really no objection, if we consider that the author of Jubilees is as thorough-going an idealist as the author of the priestly legislation, and is still more sublimely defiant of that which is merely practicable. On the other hand, the authors in question, though acquainted with the systems current in Greece, were most probably ignorant of the astronomical data which necessarily determined them; and, as a civil year of 360 days was current both in Babylon and Egypt (in the former country corrected by intercalation), they may not have known any irrefutable grounds against the adoption of the solar year of 364 days, authenticated as it was by the priestly compilation of the Exile.

33, 34. Cf. Eth. Enoch lxxxii. 4-6.

33. *And they will disturb*, etc. Bracketed as a dittography.

Neglect. This word may also be rendered "omit," "pass by," "transgress" (see note on ver. 31).

35. *Not of my own devising.* Text =לא מלבי, Num. xvi. 28. Cf. Apoc. Bar. xiv. 11.

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there will be those who will assuredly make observations of the moon—now (it) disturbs the seasons and comes in from year to year ten days too soon. 37. For this reason the years will come upon them when they will disturb (the order), and make an abominable (day) the day of testimony, and an unclean day a feast day, and they will confound all the days, the holy with the unclean, and the unclean day with the holy; for they will go wrong as to the months and sabbaths and feasts and jubilees. 38. For this reason I command and testify to thee that thou mayst testify to them; for after thy death thy children will disturb (them), so that they will not make the year three hundred and sixty-four days only, and for this reason they will go wrong as to the new moons and seasons and sabbaths and festivals, and they will eat all kinds of blood with all kinds of flesh.

Noah plants a vineyard and offers a sacrifice, 1-5. *Becomes drunk and exposes his person,* 6-9. *The cursing of Canaan and blessing of Shem and Japheth,* 10-12 (cf. Gen. ix. 20-28). *Noah's sons and grandsons and their*

36. Our author is decidedly opposed to the use of the moon in determining the seasons and feasts. Thus in ii. 9 it is the sun that is to be man's guide as to days and sabbaths, and feasts, and months and years. Again in iv. 21 the angels instruct Enoch as to the lordship of the sun in such matters. Thus our book seems to be a polemic against the teaching of Eth. Enoch lxxiii.-lxxiv. if we accept the text in lxxiv. 12 where we have a statement in irreconcilable conflict with our text: "And the moon brings in all the years exactly so that their position is not prematurely advanced or delayed by a single day unto eternity; but they complete the changing year with perfect justice in 364 days." But this divergence arises only from a corruption of the text. For "And the moon brings in . . . unto eternity; but the moons" read "And they (the sun and stars) bring in all the years so exactly that their position is not prematurely advanced or delayed by a single day unto eternity, and they." It is true, however, that the Samaritan Chronicle (translated by Neubauer in the *Journal Asiatique*, xiv. no. 55, 1869, pp. 421 sqq.), which was acquainted with our text, adopts a hostile attitude to it on this question. Thus it declares that we should reckon according to the course of the sun and of the moon, and quotes Gen. i. 14: "Le calcul avec l'un d'eux seulement (c'est-à-dire avec le soleil ou avec la lune) ne suffit pas."

Comes in . . . ten days too soon. Lunar year = 354 days.

38. *Will not make.* *a b c* wrongly omit the negative.

Will go wrong. Because they do not follow the guidance of the sun.

New moons. This could also be translated "beginnings of the months." See last clause of last verse.

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cities, 13-19. *Noah teaches his sons regarding the causes of the deluge and admonishes them to avoid the eating of blood and murder, to keep the law regarding fruit trees and let the land lie fallow every seventh year, as Enoch had directed*, 20-39.

VII. And in the seventh week in the first year thereof, 1317 A.M. in this jubilee, Noah planted vines on the mountain on which the ark had rested, named Lûbâr, one of the Ararat Mountains, and they produced fruit in the fourth year, and 1320 A.M. he guarded their fruit, and gathered it in this year in the seventh month. 2. And he made wine therefrom and put it into a vessel, and kept it until the fifth year, until the first 1321 A.M. day, on the new moon of the first month. 3. And he celebrated with joy the day of this feast, and he made a burnt sacrifice unto the Lord, one young ox and one ram, and seven sheep, each a year old, and a kid of the goats, that he might make atonement thereby for himself and his sons. 4. And he prepared the kid first, and placed some of its blood on the flesh that was on the altar which he had made, and all the fat he laid on the altar where he made the burnt sacrifice, and the ox and the ram and the sheep, and he laid all their flesh upon the altar. 5. And he placed all their offerings mingled with oil upon it, and afterwards he sprinkled wine on the fire which he had previously made on the altar, and he placed incense on the altar and caused a sweet savour to ascend acceptable before

VII. 1. *Lûbâr.* See v. 28. This verse is partly reproduced in Syncellus, i. 147, Νῶε ἐφύτευσεν ἀμπελῶνα ἐν ὄρει Λουβὰρ τῆς Ἀρμενίας, and in Cedrenus, i. 21. Epiphanius, *Adv. Haer.* I. i. 4, follows our text: ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς Ἀραρὰτ ἀνὰ μέσον Ἀρμενίων καὶ Καρδυένων ἐν τῷ Λουβὰρ ὄρει καλουμένῳ, ἐκεῖσε πρῶτον κατοίκησις γίνεται μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων κἀκεῖ φυτεύει ἀμπελῶνα Νῶε.

Produced fruit in the fourth year. This is intended to call to mind the command in Lev. xix. 23-25 not to touch the fruit of trees for the first three years after they were planted. See verses 36-37 where the passage from Lev. is in substance reproduced.

3. The ritual is mainly according to Num. xxix. 2, 5.

5. *And afterwards . . . which he had previously made . . . and he placed.* So *c d*.

Acceptable. Emended as in vi. 3.

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the Lord his God. 6. And he rejoiced and drank of this wine, he and his children with joy. 7. And it was evening, and he went into his tent, and being drunken he lay down and slept, and was uncovered in his tent as he slept. 8. And Ham saw Noah his father naked, and went forth and told his two brethren without. 9. And Shem took his garment and arose, he and Japheth, and they placed the garment on their shoulders and went backward and covered the shame of their father, and their faces were backward. 10. And Noah awoke from his sleep and knew all that his younger son had done unto him, and he cursed his son and said: "Cursed be Canaan; an enslaved servant shall he be unto his brethren." 11. And he blessed Shem, and said: "Blessed be the Lord God of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant. 12. God shall enlarge Japheth, and God shall dwell in the dwelling of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant." 13. And Ham knew that his father had cursed his younger son, and he was displeased that he had cursed his son, and he parted from his father, he and his sons with him, Cush and Mizraim and Put and Canaan. 14. And he built for himself a city and called its name after the name of his wife Nê'êlâtamâ'ûk. 15. And Japheth saw it, and became envious of his brother, and he too built for himself a city, and he called its name after the

6, 7. Gen. ix. 21.

8, 9. Gen. ix. 22, 23.

8. *And went forth.* Mass., Sam., and all versions save the LXX omit.

10. Gen. ix. 24, 25. *From his sleep.* Gen. ix. 24 has "from his wine."

An enslaved servant. So LXX (παῖς οἰκέτης), and Onk.: Mass. has "servant of servants."

11, 12. Gen. ix. 26, 27.

12. *God shall dwell.* It will be observed that the text supplies a subject to the verb "shall dwell." This sense is attached to the ambiguous words of Gen. ix. 27 by Onk. also: וְיִשְׁרֵי שְׁכִנְתֵּיהּ בְּמַשְׁכְּנֵי שֵׁם, "and may He cause His Shekinah to rest in the dwellings of Shem." The Targ.-Jon. on Gen. ix. 27, on the other hand, and Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 139, refer the words to Japheth.

13. Cf. Gen. x. 6. In the text these names are Ques, Mastarêm, Phûd and Canaan.

14. *Nê'êlâtamâ'ûk.* This name is found in the Syriac fragment as ܢܥܠܬܡܥܘܩ, and in Eutychius of Alex. *Annales*, p. 35, as Nahlat. The first part of the compound may be from נחלת, construct case of נחלה, and the second from עָמוּק.

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name of his wife 'Adâtanêsês. 16. And Shem dwelt with his father Noah, and he built a city close to his father on the mountain, and he too called its name after the name of his wife Sêdêqêtêlĕbâb. 17. And behold these three cities are near Mount Lûbâr; Sêdêqêtêlĕbâb fronting the mountain on its east; and Na'êltamâ'ûk on the south; 'Adatan'êsês towards the west. 18. And these are the sons of Shem: Elam, and Asshur, and Arpachshad—this (son) was born two years after the flood—and Lud, and Aram. 19. The sons of Japheth: Gomer and Magog and Madai and Javan, Tubal and Meshech and Tiras: these are the sons of Noah. 20. And in the twenty-eighth jubilee Noah began to enjoin upon his sons' sons the ordinances and commandments, and all the judgments that he knew, and he exhorted his sons to observe righteousness, and to cover the shame of their flesh, and to bless their Creator, and honour father and mother, and love their neighbour, and guard their souls from fornication and uncleanness and all iniquity. 21. For owing to these three things came the flood upon the earth, namely,

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15. *'Adâtan'êsês.* Syriac gives ܐܕܬܢܥܣ.

16. Shem dwelt near Noah. This is to show Shem's filial love.

17. *Sêdêqâtêlebâb*: Syr. ܨܕܩܬܠܒܒ, from צדקת לבב = "righteousness of the heart" as Rubin has recognised.

The mountain, i.e. Lûbâr. See ver. 1.

18. In Ethiopic these names are *Êlâm, 'Assûr, Arphâkscd.* Gen. x. 22.

This (son), etc. Gen. xi. 10. Text emended. See my edition *in loc.*

19. Gen. x. 2. These names in the Ethiopic are Gômêr, Mâgûg, Mâdâi, 'Ijûjâ, Tôbêl, Meskâ, Tôrâs.

20. From this verse to the close of the chapter we have a fragment of the lost book of Noah. From ver. 26 to the end Noah speaks in the first person. Its legalistic character favours the view that its present setting and colouring are due to the author of the book, who was so careless however as to leave the persons unchanged in verses (26-39).

The substance of this section is referred to in Epiphanius (*Ancorat.* cxii., Dindorf's ed., i. 215), where it is said that Noah, οἷα δίκαιος ὢν καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας εὐλαβεῖς καθιστᾶν πειρώμενος, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὑποπέσωσι κακοῖς ὡς καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ κατακλυσμῷ, οὐ μόνον διὰ λόγων τούτοις τὴν εὐλάβειαν παρετίθει, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ὅρκου ἀφ' ἑνὸς ἑκάστου αὐτῶν τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν εὔνοιαν ἀπῄτησε.

Cover the shame, etc. Cf. iii. 31.

21. *These three things*, that is "fornication, uncleanness and all iniquity" which are mentioned in the preceding verse (see xx. 5, xxiii. 14). Ber. rabba 31 assigns idolatry, impurity and bloodshed as the three causes of the Flood (חמס וה עו, חמס וה גילוי ערות, חמס וה שפיכות דמים). Cf. Sanh. 74*a*: "R. Johanan says in the name of R. Simeon b. Jehozadak . . . If one says

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owing to the fornication wherein the Watchers against the law of their ordinances went a whoring after the daughters of men, and took themselves wives of all which they chose: and they made the beginning of uncleanness. 22. And they begat sons the Nâphîdîm, and †they were all unlike†, and they devoured one another: and the Giants slew the Nâphîl, and the Nâphîl slew the Eljô, and the Eljô mankind, and one man another. 23. And every one sold himself to work iniquity and to shed much blood, and the earth was filled with iniquity. 24. And after this they sinned against the beasts and birds, and all that moves and walks on the earth: and much blood was shed on the earth, and every imagination and desire of men imagined vanity and evil continually. 25. And the Lord destroyed everything from off the face of the earth; because of the wickedness of their deeds, and because of the blood which they had shed in the midst of the earth He destroyed everything. 26. "And we were left, I and you, my sons, and everything that entered with us into the ark, and behold I see your works before me that ye do not walk in righteousness; for

to a man, Commit a transgression else thou wilt be slain, he may transgress the commandment in order to escape death save in the case of idolatry, incest and murder."

Went a whoring after. For phrase see Lev. xvii. 7; Ezek. xvi. 34.

Took themselves wives. Gen. vi. 2; Eth. Enoch vii. 1.

22. Cf. v. 9. *Nâphîdîm, i.e.* the Nephilim (נְפִלִים). From Eth. Enoch lxxxvi. 4 and lxxxviii. 2 and the Syncellus Greek version of Enoch vii. 1 we learn that there were three classes of giants: καὶ ἔτεκον αὐτοῖς γένη τρία· πρῶτον γίγαντας μεγάλους (*i.e.*, the גבורים in Gen. vi. 4). οἱ δὲ γίγαντες ἐτέκνωσαν Ναφηλείμ (נפילים in Gen. vi. 4), καὶ τοῖς Ναφηλείμ ἐγεννήθησαν Ἐλιούδ.

†*They were . . . unlike.*† This seems corrupt. We might emend 'ijetmâsalû into jetmâshatû = "they plundered one another," or into jetbâ'asû (Eth. Enoch xv. 11) = "they strove together": cf. xxiii. 19.

23. *Sold himself to work iniquity.* For phrase see 1 Kings xxi. 20.

Shed much blood. Eth. Enoch ix. 1.

The earth was filled, etc. Gen. vi. 11; Eth. Enoch ix. 9.

24. *They sinned against*, etc. Cf. Eth. Enoch vii. 5, by means of which the text is emended.

Moves and walks = reptiles and cattle.

Every imagination. Gen. vi. 5. Cf. v. 2 above.

25. *Destroyed everything*, etc. Gen. vii. 4, vi. 7. Cf. ver. 27.

26. Observe how the author of the book forgets to adapt this fragment of the Book of Noah to its new context. From this verse to the end of the chapter Noah speaks in the first person. See ver. 20 (note). In x. 1-15 we have another excerpt from this Apocalypse.

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in the path of destruction ye have begun to walk, and ye are parting one from another, and are envious one of another, and (so it comes) that ye are not in harmony, my sons, each with his brother. 27. For I see, and behold the demons have begun (their) seductions against you and against your children, and now I fear on your behalf, that after my death ye will shed the blood of men upon the earth, and that ye, too, will be destroyed from the face of the earth. 28. For whoso sheddeth man's blood, and whoso eateth the blood of any flesh, will all be destroyed from the earth.

29. And there will not be left any man that eateth blood,
Or that sheddeth the blood of man on the earth,
Nor will there be left to him any seed or descendants living under heaven;
For into Sheol will they go,
And into the place of condemnation will they descend,
And into the darkness of the deep will they all be removed by a violent death.

30. There shall be no blood seen upon you of all the blood there shall be all the days in which ye have killed any beasts or cattle or whatever flies upon the earth, and work ye a good work to your souls by covering that which has been shed on the face of the earth. 31. And ye shall not be like him who eats with blood, but guard yourselves that none may

27. See x. 1 where this subject recurs.

Destroyed from the face, etc. See ver. 25.

28. Gen. ix. 4, 6; Lev. vii. 27.

29. *Into Sheol will they go, And into the place of condemnation will they descend, And into the darkness.* Cf. xxii. 22. This passage seems to have been used by Eth. Enoch ciii. 7, 8, "their souls will be made to descend into Sheol . . . And into darkness . . . and a burning fire where there is grievous condemnation."

30. *Upon you.* By an easy emendation we could read *among you.*

Covering that which has been shed. This prescript of later legislation is here carried back to Noah: cf. Lev. xvii. 13; Ezek. xxiv. 7. We must be careful to render "covering" and not "burying." The Ethiopic word is dafana = καλύπτειν = כָּסָה and not qabara = θάπτειν = קבר. Singer (p. 200) bases one of his arguments for the Jewish Christian authorship of the book on the wrong rendering "burying." Chullin ii. 9 censures the latter as Jewish Christian.

31. *Eats with blood.* Lev. xix. 26.

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eat blood before you: cover the blood, for thus have I been commanded to testify to you and your children, together with all flesh. 32. And suffer not the soul to be eaten with the flesh, that your blood, which is your life, may not be required at the hand of any flesh that sheds (it) on the earth. 33. For the earth will not be clean from the blood which has been shed upon it; for (only) through the blood of him that shed it will the earth be purified throughout all its generations. 34. And now, my children, hearken: work judgment and righteousness that ye may be planted in righteousness over the face of the whole earth, and your glory lifted up before my God, who saved me from the waters of the flood. 35. And behold, ye will go and build for yourselves cities, and plant in them all the plants that are upon the earth, and moreover all fruit-bearing trees. 36. For three years the fruit of everything that is eaten will not be gathered: and in the fourth year its fruit will be accounted holy [and they will offer the first-fruits], acceptable before the Most High God, who created heaven

32. Cf. Gen. ix. 4; Lev. xvii. 10, 11, 14.

33. *The earth will not be clean*, etc. See vi. 2 (note).

(*Only*) *through the blood*, etc. Num. xxxv. 33.

34. *May be planted.* This metaphor is frequent in the O.T.: Jer. xi. 17; Amos ix. 15 etc. According to Eth. Enoch x. 16, xciii. 5, 10 Israel is "the plant of righteousness"; lxxxiv. 6, "the plant of uprightness."

Saved me from . . the flood. If we observe that in ver. 39 Enoch is called "the seventh in his generation" and that verses 20-39 are Noah's words, as "a preacher of righteousness"; if we note further the words *saved me from . . . the flood*, we shall not unreasonably conclude that this book was known to the writer of 2 Peter ii. 5 "saved Noah the eighth person, a preacher of righteousness, bringing in the flood upon the world of the ungodly."

36. In this verse we ought, if the text were authentic, to have an interpretation of the law enunciated in Lev. xix. 23-24. According to this law of the Priests' Code the fruit of a tree was not to be used for the first three years after it was planted. "In the fourth year all the fruit thereof shall be holy, for giving praise unto the Lord" (קדש הלולים ליהוה). It will be observed that our text follows Lev. xix. 24 very closely: "in the fourth year its fruit will be accounted holy" (*b c. a d* "will be gathered"). The question now arises, what was to be done with the fruit of the fourth year? (*a*) If we omit the words in brackets, our text directs that all the fruit of the fourth year is to be accounted holy and offered to God. (*b*) If the bracketed words are genuine, the text directs that, while all the fruit is to be accounted holy, only the first-fruits are to be offered to God. In either case the words that follow elucidate

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and earth and all things. Let them offer in abundance the first of the wine and oil (as) first-fruits on the altar of the Lord, who receives it, and what is left let the servants of the house of the Lord eat before the altar which receives (it). 37. And in the fifth year

. . . . . .

make ye the release so that ye release it in righteousness and uprightness, and ye shall be righteous, and all that you plant will prosper. 38. For thus did Enoch, the father of your father command Methuselah, his son, and Methuselah his son Lamech, and Lamech commanded me all the things which his fathers commanded him. 39. And I also will give you commandment, my sons, as Enoch commanded his son in the first

further the same subject, and ordain that of the fruit of the fourth year the first-fruits are to be offered on the altar and the rest of it to be given to the priests. Next the words "offer . . . on the altar" seem to mean "offer as a burnt-offering" as in Lev. ii. 14-16, where the Israelite is bidden to burn the first-fruits of corn and oil on the altar.

But if the above interpretation is right, it does not agree with that of later Judaism. According to the latter it belonged to its owners and was to be consumed *within the walls of Jerusalem*. See Josephus, *Ant.* iv. 8. 19. In Sifre on Num. v. 10 it is decided that the priests had no share in the fruits of the fourth year. Something of the same nature may be implied in Ps.-Jon. on Lev. xix. 24, where the fruit of the fourth year is said to be קודשי תושבחן קרם ׳׳ כחפרק מן כהנה. Beer (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 52) writes that the Samaritans, the Caraite Jews and Ibn Ezra held the view set forth in the text. In any case, the teaching of our text does not diverge from that of later Judaism as much as the various regulations on this subject in the different codes of the Pentateuch (see Hastings, *Bible Dict.* ii. 10-11).

Let them offer. The construction with Kama is here jussive. It could be rendered "so that they offer," but the context is against this.

37. *And in the fifth year.* At the close of these words I have marked a lacuna. The text should have proceeded to enunciate the right of eating the fruit of this year as in Lev. xix. 25, whereas it proceeds to speak of the year of release described in Deut. xv. 1, 9, that is, the seventh year; or else of the command in Exod. xxiii. 11; Lev. xxv. 2-7, to let the land lie fallow every seventh year. The verb hadaga is used in the translation of שׁמט in the above two senses of letting a field lie fallow (Exod. xxiii. 11) and of remitting a debt (Deut. xv. 2). But the context is concerned with the land. Hence we may render "let it (the land) rest so that ye let it rest." But as this is tautologous we may conclude that there is some corruption. Our text = *ἀφήσετε αὐτὴν ἵνα ἀφῆτε αὐτην*. Here I take *ἀφῆτε* to be a corruption of *ἀνῆτε*. We should then have *ἀφήσετε αὐτὴν ἵνα ἀνῆτε αὐτήν*. This is a rendering though not an accurate one of תִּשְׁמְטֶנָּה וְנָטַשְׁתָּה in Exod. xxiii. 11. Hence, instead of "make ye the release . . . release it," we should probably read: "(In the seventh year) ye will let it rest and lie fallow."

38. *Thus did Enoch . . . command.* The author attributes halachoth to Enoch. See note on xxi. 10.

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jubilees: whilst still living, the seventh in his generation, he commanded and testified to his son and to his sons' sons until the day of his death."

Kâinâm discovers an inscription relating to the sun and stars, 1-4. *His sons,* 5-8. *Noah's sons and Noah divide the earth,* 10-11. *Shem's inheritance,* 12-21: *Ham's,* 22-24: *Japheth's,* 25-30. (Cf. Gen. x.)

1373 A.M. VIII. In the twenty-ninth jubilee, in the first week, in the beginning thereof Arpachshad took to himself a wife and 1375 A.M. her name was Râsû'ĕjâ, [the daughter of Sûsân,] the daughter of Elam, and she bare him a son in the third year in this week, and he called his name Kâinâm. 2. And the son grew, and his father taught him writing, and he went to seek for himself a place where he might seize for himself a city. 3. And he found a writing which former (generations) had carved on the rock, and he read what was thereon, and

39. *Seventh in his generation.* Cf. Eth. Enoch lx. 8, xciii. 3; Jude 14.

VIII. 1. *Râsû'ĕjâ* = רצוּיה, "the acceptable" (cf. Deut. xxxiii. 24). It appears as Λασοι in the Syriac Fragment.

Kâinâm. This name, which is not found in the Mass., Sam., Syr., Vulg. of Gen. xi. 13 nor yet in the Targums, appears in the LXX version of this verse and also in Luke iii. 36. In the Mass., Sam., etc. Salah is the son of Arphaxad. The same facts are stated in Gen. x. 24 and 1 Chron. i. 24. At the best, therefore, the tradition attested by our text, the LXX and Luke is not an ancient one. The motive for its insertion in the text is obvious from ii. 23 above. Without this name there would only have been twenty-one heads from Adam to Jacob. The same motive may have led to its insertion in the LXX.

3. *He found a writing,* etc. The wisdom attributed by our author to the Watchers, is in Josephus (*Ant.* i. 2. 3) assigned to the children of Seth: Σοφίαν τε τὴν περὶ τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τὴν τούτων διακόσμησιν ἐπενόησαν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ μὴ διαφυγεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰ ηὑρημένα μηδὲ πρὶν εἰς γνῶσιν ἐλθεῖν φθαρῆναι . . . στήλας δύο ποιησάμενοι τὴν μὲν ἐκ πλίνθου τὴν ἑτέραν δὲ ἐκ λίθων ἀμφοτέραις ἐνέγραψαν τὰ εὑρημένα. J. Malala, *Anon. Chron.* p. 6, reproduces the matter contained in the above statement and adds: μετὰ δὲ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν Καϊνᾶν, ὁ υἱὸς Ἀρφαξάδ, συνεγράψατο τὴν ἀστρονομίαν, εὑρηκὼς τὴν τοῦ Σὴθ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ τέκνων ὀνομασίαν, ὡς εἴρηται, τῶν ἀστέρων ἐν πλακὶ λιθίνῃ γεγραμμένην. In Syncellus, i. 150, this event is recounted as follows: τῷ ,βφπε' ἔτει Καϊνᾶν διοδεύων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ εὗρε τὴν γραφὴν τῶν γιγάντων καὶ ἔκρυψε παρ' ἑαυτῷ. The words of Syncellus are reproduced in Cedrenus, i. 27, but with the following important addition which further illustrates our

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he transcribed it and sinned owing to it; for it contained the teaching of the Watchers in accordance with which they used to observe the omens of the sun and moon and stars in all the signs of heaven. 4. And he wrote it down and said nothing regarding it; for he was afraid to speak to Noah about it lest he should be angry with him on account of it. 5. And in the thirtieth jubilee, in the second week, in the first year 1429 A.M. thereof, he took to himself a wife, and her name was Mêlkâ, the daughter of Madai, the son of Japheth, and in the fourth year he begat a son, and called his name Shelah; for 1432 A.M. he said: "Truly I have been sent." 6. [And in the fourth year he was born], and Shelah grew up and took to himself a wife, and her name was Mû'ak, the daughter of Kêsêd, his father's brother, in the one and thirtieth jubilee, in the fifth 1499 A.M. week, in the first year thereof. 7. And she bare him a son in the fifth year thereof, and he called his name Eber: and he took unto himself a wife, and her name was 'Azûrâd, the 1503 A.M.

text: *καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐξημάρτανε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τὴν αὐτὴν ἀποπίαν ἐξεπαίδευσεν. οἱ δὲ τὸν Σάλα φασὶ ταύτην εὑρηκέναι.* In Joel's *Chronography*, pp. 3-4, we find additional details borrowed probably from John Malala (see above): *μετὰ δὲ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν Καϊνᾶν ὁ υἱὸς Ἀρφαξὰδ συνεγράψατο τὴν ἀστρονομίαν εὑρηκὼς τὴν τοῦ Σὴθ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ τέκνων ὀνομασίαν καὶ τῶν ἀστέρων ἐν πλακὶ λιθίνῃ γεγλυμμένην.* Similarly in the Book of Jashar 10 *a* Cainan *the son of Seth*, and not the son of Arphaxad, as in our text and the above chronographies, is described as possessing great wisdom and a knowledge of future events, especially of the deluge. This wisdom he inscribed on tables of stone (על לוחות אבן) and placed them among his treasures. See the quotation from Josephus above. Just as the revelations of the Watchers are transferred to Seth, so likewise the revelations of the Slavonic Enoch are assigned to him by the Greek chronographers. These words will be found in the note on iv. 15.

He transcribed it. So MSS. By reading a'ĕlawô instead of a'ĕlawâ we should have: "it led him astray."

Sinned owing to it. Cedrenus (see above) preserves this clause: *ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐξημάρτανε.*

Used to observe = jĕrê'ĕjû. In my text I emended this into jĕrêsĕjû = "were founding."

In all the signs, etc. Cf. xi. 8.

5. *Mêlkâ* from מלכה = "queen" or "counsel."

Madai. Emended with Syr. ܡܕܝ and Lagarde's Greek MS *r*: *μελχα θυγατηρ μαδαι.*

Called his name Shelah; for he said: 'Truly I have been sent.' Here obviously there was a paronomasia in the original וַיִּקְרָא אֶת שְׁמוֹ שֶׁלַח כִּי אָמַר שְׁלוּחָתִי. For Shelah, Eth. has Sâlâ = LXX Σαλά.

6. Bracketed words a dittography from preceding verse.

Mû'ak. Lagarde's MS *r* on Gen. x. 24: *μωαχα θυγατηρ χεεδαμ*: Syr. ܡܟܟܐ from מעכה, a frequent O.T. name.

7. *'Azûrâd.* Should be 'Azûrâ. Syr. ܥܙܘܪܐ; Lagarde's MS *r* on Gen. x. 24: *αζουρα* from אזורה, "the treasured one."

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1564 A.M. daughter of Nêbrôd, in the thirty-second jubilee, in the seventh week, in the third year thereof. 8. And in the
1567 A.M. sixth year thereof, she bare him a son, and he called his name Peleg; for in the days when he was born the children of Noah began to divide the earth amongst themselves: for this reason he called his name Peleg. 9. And they divided (it) secretly amongst themselves, and told it to Noah. 10. And it came to pass in the beginning of the
1569 A.M. thirty-third jubilee that they divided the earth into three parts, for Shem and Ham and Japheth, according to the inheritance of each, in the first year in the first week, when one of us, who had been sent, was with them. 11. And he called his sons, and they drew nigh to him, they and their children, and he divided the earth into the lots, which his

8. *Divide the earth . . . for this reason he called his name Peleg.* As in ver. 5 we have here again a paronomasia. יפלגו את הארץ . . . לכן קרא את שמו פלג. Cf. Gen. x. 25. For Peleg, Eth. has Phâlêk.

9, 10. This secret and unauthoritative division of the earth is followed by a formal and authoritative one made by Noah in the presence of an angel, and subscribed to by his sons with an oath binding on their descendants. On this subject Beer (*Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 33) quotes Pirke R. Eliezer, ch. 24. This device of the author in some respects anticipates the Social Contract of Rousseau, but the objects are different. The theory in our text makes it clear that there must have been current in the second cent. B.C. religious and moral objections to the Hebrew invasion of Palestine and the slaughter of the Canaanites which accompanied it. This scheme of an ancestral compact approved by God and accepted as obligatory for succeeding generations is an attempt to obviate such objections, and to show that in reality the true transgressors were not Israel but the Canaanites, and that Israel in seizing Palestine were but resuming possession of what was their own; for the Canaanites had settled in Palestine, although this country had fallen by lot to Shem and his descendants (see ix. 14, 15, x. 29-34 and notes *in loc.*). By mutual consent, moreover, a curse had been invoked on any one who should break this covenant as well as destruction on him and on his seed. Cf. Epiphan. *Haer.* lxvi. 84 (II. ii. p. 542, Oehler): *οὐκ οἶδεν ὁ ἰδιώτης ὅτι τὴν ἰδίαν γῆν ἀπείληφαν διηρπασμένην ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐξεδικήθη τὰ μεταξὺ ἀλλήλων γινόμενα ἐν ὄρῳ ἀληθείας καὶ ὅρκῳ. Νῶε γὰρ . . . μόνος διαιρῶν τὸν πάντα κόσμον τοῖς τρισὶν υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ, τῷ Σὴμ καὶ Χὰμ καὶ Ἰάφεθ, διεῖλε βαλὼν τοὺς κλήρους ἐν Ῥινοκορούροις.* Hence when Israel invaded Palestine and drove out the Canaanites they were simply recovering their own possessions. Cf. Syncellus, i. 83-84: *νεωτερίσας ὁ τοῦ Χὰμ υἱὸς Χαναὰν ἐπέβη τοῖς ὁρίοις τοῦ Σὴμ καὶ κατῴκησεν ἐκεῖ παραβὰς τὴν ἐντολὴν Νῶε σὺν τοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενομένοις ἔθνεσιν ἑπτά, Ἀμορραίοις, Χετταίοις, Φερεζαίοις, Εὐαίοις, Γεργεσαίοις, Ἰεβουσαίοις καὶ Χαναναίοις, οὓς διὰ Μωϋσέως καὶ Ἰησοῦ ἐξωλόθρευσεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ κατά τινας καιροὺς διὰ τῶν κριτῶν ἀπέδωκε τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ τὴν πατρῴαν γῆν . . .*

9. *Secretly.* See note on iv. 5.

10. *One of us, who had been sent.* This angel is one of the angels of the presence whom God had sent down to bind the fallen watchers, v. 6. See notes on iv. 15, v. 6.

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three sons were to take in possession, and they reached forth their hands, and took the writing out of the bosom of Noah, their father. 12. And there came forth on the writing as Shem's lot the middle of the earth which he should take as an inheritance for himself and for his sons for the generations of eternity, from the middle of the mountain range of Râfâ, from the mouth of the water from the river

12-21. *Shem's lot.* It is impossible to define exactly the limits of Shem's portion. The text is at times indefinite and no doubt corrupt; but even if we had the original before us many obscurities would still remain, owing to the vague and inaccurate geographical ideas of the time. The boundaries of Shem's portion are defined in verses 12-16 and the countries embraced within them in ver. 21, and ix. 2-6, 13b. Since there is some hope of understanding our author's ideas as to the countries allotted to Shem, we shall confine our attention in the main to this question, and supplement the evidence of the text by citations from Epiphanius and Syncellus which are based upon it. We shall also make occasional use of the statements of Josephus on this head as well as of the Chronicles of Jerahmeel.

First of all Shem's portion is said to include (ver. 21) the countries of Eden, and of the Red Sea, of Bashan, Lebanon, Elam, Asshur, Babel, Susa, Media, India, the mountains of Sanir and Amana, and the islands of Kaftur. To this list ix. 2-6 adds the waters of Dedan, the mountains of Mebrî and Elâ and the land of Arârâ (? Ararat). Finally in ix. 13b there are the islands of Kamâturî. Now, if we turn to Epiphanius, *Ancorat.* cxii. (Dindorf's ed. i. 215), we find that he defines Shem's portion as extending from Persia and Bactria to India, to Rhinocurura which is between Egypt and Palestine (*τῷ μὲν Σὴμ . . . ὑπέπεσεν ὁ κλῆρος ἀπὸ Περσίδος καὶ Βάκτρων ἕως Ἰνδικῆς ἕως τῆς χώρας Ῥινοκουρούρων*). The same statement is made in the Chronicon Paschale (i. 53) and in Syncellus (i. 82), though in fuller form in the latter (*Σὴμ . . . ἔδωκεν ἀπὸ Περσίδος καὶ Βάκτρων ἕως Ἰνδικῆς μῆκος, πλάτος δὲ ἀπὸ Ἰνδικῆς ἕως Ῥινοκουρούρων τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ἤτοι τὰ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς ἕως μέρους τῆς μεσημβρίας, τήν τε Συρίαν καὶ Μηδειαν καὶ ποταμὸν διορίζοντα αὐτοῦ τὰ ὅρια τὸν Εὐφράτην*). Cedrenus (i. 23) reproduces this passage. The Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxxi. 2 give practically the same delimitations: "Shem, the eldest, chose his portion in the land of 'Asya, that is, the land of Persia from Bactris to Endiana, from the Persian river to the Ocean in the west and the whole Rinôs." These definitions include for the most part the countries enumerated in our text above as well as in Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6. 4, but they hardly explain the statement in viii. 12 that Shem's portion extended to the river Don and the Rhipaean mountains. Now a list of countries filling up this larger area is given in Epiphanius (*Adv. Haer.* II. ii. p. 544 [*Haer.* lxv. 83], ed. Oehler): *τῷ δὲ Σὴμ ὑπέπεσεν ὁ κλῆρος πρὸς πλάτος, ἡ Παλαιστίνη καὶ Φοινίκη καὶ Κοίλη, Κομμαγήνη, Κιλικία, Καππαδοκία, Γαλατία, Παφλαγονία, Θρᾴκη, Εὐρώπη, Ῥοδόπη, Λαζία, Ἰβηρία, Κασπία, Καρδυέα, ἄχρι τῆς Μηδίας πρὸς βορρᾶν. ἐντεῦθεν οὗτος ὁ κλῆρος διορίζει τὸν Ἰάφεθ τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν.* But Thrace, Rhodope and probably Europa are here wrongly assigned to Shem.

12. *The middle of the earth.* Palestine according to Ezek. xxxviii. 12 (cf. also v. 5; Eth. Enoch xxvi. 1) was the navel (טבור, *ὀμφαλος*) of the earth. Cf. viii. 19 of our text. The idea reappears in Rabbinic Hebrew. Singer (p. 68) quotes Joma 54 *b*; Sanhedrin 37 *a*; Pesikta Rabb. x. in Tanch. on Lev. xix. 23, כן ארץ ישראל טבור של עולם וירושלים באמצע "א.

Râfâ. This range is no doubt the Rhipaean mountains which ancient geographers placed in the northern parts of Europe and Asia or in other

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Tînâ, and his portion goes towards the west through the midst of this river, and it extends till it reaches the water of the abysses, out of which this river goes forth and pours its waters into the sea Mê'at, and this river flows into the great sea. And all that is towards the north is Japheth's, and all that is towards the south belongs to Shem. 13. And it extends till it reaches Kârâsô: this is in the bosom of the tongue which looks towards the south. 14. And his portion extends along the great sea, and it extends in a straight line till it reaches the west of the tongue which looks towards the south; for this sea is named the tongue of the Egyptian Sea. 15. And it turns from here towards the south towards the mouth of the great sea on the shore of

cases appear to have identified with the Ural mountains. The Tanais or Don is placed by our author in their neighbourhood. A son of Peleg is so named in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxvii. 5.

Tînâ. The Tanais or Don. This river is said to spring from "the waters of the abysses."

Mê'at. The Maeotis or Sea of Azov.

13-14. These two verses should describe the western boundary.

13. *Kârâsô.* Dillmann identifies this place with the Chersonese. But if it is connected, as it seems to be, with "the tongue (*i.e.* gulf) which looks towards the south," which in ver. 14 is defined as "the tongue of the Egyptian Sea," this identification cannot be right. I am inclined to believe that in Kârâsô we have the latter part of the word Ῥινοκορούρα, which lies on the western boundary of Shem. For if we turn to the quotations from Epiphanius and Syncellus in the note on 12-21 we find that the portion of Shem is said to extend "from India to Rhinocurura in Egypt." This place furthermore is situated on the frontier of Ham's portion according to Epiphanius and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel. Thus in *Adv. Haer.* II. ii. 84 of the former, Ham's African dominions extend ἀπὸ Ῥινοκουρούρων ἄχρι Γαδείρων: and in xxxi. 2 of the latter, "from Rînôs as far as Gadaira." In this last quotation we have another abbreviation of the long name Rhinocurura. It will be observed, indeed, that our text makes Shem's portion extend westward as far as the mouths of the Gihon (Nile), so that later writers have diverged somewhat from their primal authority. Ῥινοκουροῦρα is used by the LXX in translating נחל מצרים, *i.e.*, "the torrent of Egypt," a town on the confines of Egypt and Palestine, in Is. xxvii. 12.

This is in the bosom of. These words cannot be right if either of the above interpretations of Kârâsô is sound.

Tongue. The word lesân may be rendered indifferently "promontory" (of the land) or "bay" or "gulf" (of the sea).

Tongue which looks towards the south. This phrase is repeated and defined in the next verse.

14. *Tongue which looks towards the south.* This may mean the promontory which runs out into the Red Sea on which Mt. Sinai is situated.

The tongue of the Egyptian Sea. This is the Gulf of Aqaba at the north of the Red Sea. Our text is the literal equivalent of Is. xi. 15, לשון ים מצרים, as Littmann has observed.

15-16. These two verses should describe mainly the southern, eastern, and northern-eastern boundaries.

15. The word Samên which is rendered "south" can also be rendered "north"—a later meaning of the word.

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(its) waters, and it extends to the west to 'Afrâ, and it extends till it reaches the waters of the river Gihon, and to the south of the waters of Gihon, to the banks of this river. 16. And it extends towards the east, till it reaches the Garden of Eden, to the south thereof, [to the south] and from the east of the whole land of Eden and of the whole east, it turns to the †east,† and proceeds till it reaches the east of the mountain named Râfâ, and it descends to the bank of the mouth of the river Tînâ. 17. This portion came forth by lot for Shem and his sons, that they should possess it for ever unto his generations for evermore. 18. And Noah rejoiced that this portion came forth for Shem and for his sons, and he remembered all that he had spoken with his mouth in prophecy; for he had said:

"Blessed be the Lord God of Shem,
And may the Lord dwell in the dwelling of Shem."

19. And he knew that the Garden of Eden is the holy of holies, and the dwelling of the Lord, and Mount

West to 'Afrâ (*c d*). *b* reads "to the west of 'Afrâ." 'Afrâ seems to be Africa in its early limited sense.

Gihon. Eth. has Gîjôn, *i.e.*, the Gihon, one of the four rivers of Paradise (Gen. ii. 13). According to our text (viii. 23) it flows to the south of the Garden of Eden. This river compassed "the whole land of Cush." Whether the Cushites are the Kassi of the cuneiform inscriptions or the Ethiopians does not concern us here, though the identification of the Gihon and Nile may have arisen from a confusion of the two countries. Syncellus, i. 89, speaks of two distinct countries named Ethiopia: *Αἰθιοπία ἡ βλέπουσα κατὰ Ἰνδοὺς πρὸς εὐρόνοτον, ἄλλη Αἰθιοπία πρὸς νότον, ὅθεν ἐκπορεύεται ὁ Νεῖλος ποταμός.* Our author undoubtedly identifies the Nile with the Gihon. So Syncellus (p. 82) interprets this passage, *τὸν Νεῖλον, ὃς καὶ Γειὼν . . . λέγεται. Γηών* is used as a rendering of גיחון, *i.e.*, the Nile in Sirach xxiv. 27: see also Jer. ii. 18.

16. *South.* Better translate "north." See note on ver. 15.

[*To the south*]. Bracketed as dittography.

It turns to the †east†. We should expect "to the west." I have omitted "and" before "it turns." The boundary line now returns to the river Don whence it started in ver. 12.

18. See vii. 11. God dwells in the dwellings of Shem: the three most holy places belong to Shem.

19. In iv. 26 above we have seen that there are four holy places in the earth: from the present verses we learn that three of these are in Shem's portion. The fourth place, therefore, must either have been in Japheth's or Ham's portion. Either therefore the Mount of the East may be regarded as Ararat in Japheth's portion, or as the great mountain in the south-east (cf. Eth. En. xxiv. 3, xxv. 3), which would probably belong to Ham's portion. See also iv. 26 note. The latter mountain is the chief in a range of mountains of fire (Eth. En. xviii. 9, xxiv. 1), and such a range belongs to Ham's portion: see ver. 22.

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Sinai the centre of the desert, and Mount Zion—the centre of the navel of the earth: these three were created as holy places facing each other. 20. And he blessed the God of gods, who had put the word of the Lord into his mouth, and the Lord for evermore. 21. And he knew that a blessed portion and a blessing had come to Shem and his sons unto the generations for ever—the whole land of Eden and the whole land of the Red Sea, and the whole land of the east, and India, and on the Red Sea and the mountains thereof, and all the land of Bashan, and all the land of Lebanon and the islands of Kaftûr, and all the mountains of Sanîr and 'Amânâ, and the mountains of Asshur in the north, and all the land of Elam, Asshur, and Bâbêl, and Sûsân and Mâ'ĕdâi, and all the mountains of Ararat, and all the region beyond the sea, which is beyond the mountains of Asshur towards the north, a blessed and spacious land, and all that

Navel of the earth. See note on ver. 12.

21. *A blessed portion.* Cf. Syncellus, p. 83, (Σημ) τὰς ἐξαιρέτους τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐλογιῶν ἐκληρώσατο ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ Γενέσει φέρεται. On the countries mentioned in this ver. see note on 12-21.

Bashan. In Eth. Bâsâ.

Islands of Kaftûr. This is Caphtor the proper name of a country in Jer. xlvii. 4; Amos ix. 7. The plural is used of its inhabitants in Gen. x. 14; Deut. ii. 23. In Gen. x. 14 these are taken to be the Cappadocians in the Syr., Onk., and the Jon. and Jer. Targums; also in Amos ix. 7 in the LXX, Syr., Vulg., Targ.-Jon.; also in Jer. xlvii. 4 in the Syr., Jon. Targ., Vulg.; also in Deut. ii. 23 in the LXX, Syr., Onk., Vulg., Jon.-Targ. There are thus some grounds for regarding Kaftûr as equivalent to Cappadocia in this text, and this view may be confirmed by the passage in Epiphanius which includes Cappadocia in the portion of Shem; see quotation in note on viii. 12-21. On the other hand if we take the words "islands of Kaftûr" as a correct translation of the original (probably אִי כפתור), the phrase may denote the island of Crete. Kamâtûrî in ix. 13 may be a corruption of Kaftûr. Modern exegesis has taken the scriptural Caphtor to be Cilicia, Cyprus, Crete, or Coptos, a city in the upper Thebaid (see *Encyc. Bib.* on "Caphtor").

Sanîr and 'Amânâ. Cf. ix. 4. These names may be derived from Cant. iv. 8. Sanîr is the Biblical Senir in Deut. iii. 9; Ezek. xxvii. 5. In Deut. iii. 9 it is said to be the Amoritish name for Hermon. Saniru occurs in the cuneiform inscriptions (see Bertholet on Ezekiel xxvii. 5). 'Amânâ may belong to the range of the Antilibanus or be Mt. Amanus in northern Syria. Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6. 1) and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel (xxxi. 3. 5) favour the latter view.

Elam. The name of Shem's eldest son. The country is the Assyrian Elamtu, and is "nearly equivalent to the Susiana and Elymais of the Greeks" (*Encyc. Bib.* ii. 1253). Sûsân, which is mentioned presently, was its capital, or it may stand for Susiana.

Mâ'ĕdâi, i.e. Media. See x. 35.

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is in it is very good. 22. And for Ham came forth the second portion, beyond the Gihon towards the south to the right of the Garden, and it extends towards the south and it extends to all the mountains of fire, and it extends towards the west to the sea of 'Atêl and it extends towards the west till it reaches the sea of Mâ'ûk—that (sea) into which †everything which is not destroyed descends†. 23. And it goes forth towards the north to the limits of Gâdîr, and it goes forth to the coast of the waters of the sea to the waters of the great sea till it draws near to the river Gihon, and goes along the river Gihon till it reaches the right of the Garden of Eden. 24. And this is the land which came forth for Ham as the portion which he was to occupy for ever for himself and his sons unto their generations for ever. 25. And for Japheth

22-24. Ham's portion. This portion embraces all Africa from the mouths of the Nile westward and southward and certain parts of Asia, which are vaguely defined in viii. 23, ix. 1, imperfectly in Epiphan. *Ancorat.* cxii.: Χὰμ δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς 'Ρινοκουρούρων ἕως Γαδείρων τὰ πρὸς νότον: and in Syncellus, 82: Χὰμ δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ . . . ἔδωκε τὰ πρὸς νότον καὶ Λίβα καὶ μέρος τῆς δύσεως ἀπὸ 'Ρινοκουρούρων τῆς Αἰγύπτου, Αἰθιοπίαν, καὶ Αἴγυπτον καὶ Λιβύην, 'Αφρικὴν καὶ Μαυριτανίαν ἕως 'Ηρακλείων στηλῶν ἤτοι ἕως τοῦ δυτικοῦ καὶ Λιβυκοῦ 'Ωκεανοῦ, ποταμὸν διορίζοντα τὸν Νεῖλον, ὃς καὶ Γειὼν . . . λέγεται, for both these passages omit the countries belonging to Ham in Asia. In Epiphan. *Adv. Haer.* II. ii. 544 (*Haer.* lxvi. 84), however, these are given very fully: ὑπέπεσεν ὁ κλῆρος ἀπὸ 'Ρινοκουρούρων ἄχρι Γαδείρων, Αἴγυπτον ἔχων καὶ Μαρειανδίνην καὶ 'Αμμῶνα, Λιβύην τε καὶ Μαρμαρίδα, Πεντάπολιν, Μακάτην, Μακρόνην τε καὶ Λεπτημάγνην, Σύρτιν, Μαυριτανίαν, ἄχρι τῶν 'Ηρακλεωτικῶν στηλῶν λεγομένων καὶ τῆς ἔσω Γαδείρης· ταῦτα τὰ πρὸς νότον· ἀπὸ δὲ 'Ρινοκουρούρων τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολήν, τήν τε 'Ιδουμαίαν καὶ Μαδιανῖτιν, τήν τε 'Αλαβαστρῖτιν, καὶ 'Ομηρῖτιν, καὶ 'Αξωμῖτιν, καὶ Βούγεαν, καὶ Λίβαν, ἄχρι τῆς τῶν Βάκτρων χώρας. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς κλῆρος διορίζει ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ Σὴμ τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολήν. According to the Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxxi. 2 "Ham took his portion in the land of Afriqia which comprises Aram, Hamath, and the mountain of Lebanon . . . until the Red Sea and the Sea of Philistia, from Rinôs as far as Gadaira." See also for Josephus' views, *Ant.* i. 6. 2.

22. *Gihon.* Eth. has Gijôn. See note on viii. 15.

To the right, i.e. to the south.

Mountains of fire. On certain fiery mountains see Eth. Enoch xviii. 6-9, xxiv. 1-3.

'Atêl. The Atlantic.

Mâ'ûk. This sea or ocean lies in the extreme west: cf. ver. 26. Is the word a distortion of 'Ωκεανός, the Great Ocean Stream?

Everything which is not destroyed descends (*a b*). *c d* = "everything perishable descends." What is required probably is: "if anything descends into it, it perishes."

23. *Gâdîr, i.e.* Gades, Cadiz.

Goes along the river Gihon. I have added 'ba' before Gihon; for the writer could not say that the Nile flowed towards the Garden of Eden.

25-29ª. Japheth's portion—Northern Asia, Europe, and five great islands. This portion, which is further described in ix. 7-13, embraces the countries north

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came forth the third portion beyond the river Tînâ to the north of the outflow of its waters, and it extends north-easterly to the whole region of Gog and to all the country east thereof. 26. And it extends northerly to the north, and it extends to the mountains of Qêlt towards the north, and towards the sea of Mâ'ûk, and it goes forth to the east of Gâdîr as far as the region of the waters of the sea. 27. And it extends until it approaches the west of Fârâ and it returns towards 'Afêrâg, and it extends easterly to the waters of the sea of Mê'at. 28. And it extends to the region of the river Tînâ in a north-easterly direction until it approaches the boundary of its waters towards the mountain Râfâ, and it turns round towards the north. 29. This is the land which came forth for Japheth and his sons as the portion of his inheritance which he should possess for himself and his sons, for their generations for ever; five great islands, and a great land in the north. 30. But it is cold,

of Shem and Ham's portions from Media to Rhinocurura in Asia and to Gades in Europe. Epiphanius (*Ancorat.* cxii.) describes it briefly: 'Ιάφεθ τῷ τρίτῳ ἀπὸ Μηδίας ἕως Γαδείρων καὶ Ρινοκουρούρων τὰ πρὸς Βορρᾶν. Cf. Chronicon Pasch. i. 46. A fuller account from a later standpoint is given by Syncellus (p. 83): 'Ιάφεθ . . . (ἔδωκεν) ἀπὸ Μηδείας τὰ πρὸς ἄρκτον καὶ δυσμὰς ἕως Γαδείρων καὶ Βρεττανικῶν νήσων, 'Αρμενίαν καὶ 'Ιβηρίαν, Πόντον, Κόλχους καὶ τὰς κατόπιν χώρας καὶ νήσους ἕως 'Ιταλίας καὶ Γαλλικῆς, Σπανικῆς, τε καὶ Κελτιβηρίας καὶ Λυσιτανῶν. Practically the same description of Japheth's province is given by Epiphanius (*Adv. Haer.* II. ii. 544 [*Haer.* lxvi. 84]): οὗτος ὁ κλῆρος (τοῦ Σὴμ) διορίζει τὸν 'Ιάφεθ τὰ πρὸς Βορρᾶν (*i.e.*, Japheth's province in Asia is bounded by Shem's on the south): πρὸς δὲ τὴν δύσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἄχρι τῆς 'Ισπανίας καὶ Βριττανίας, ἐκεῖθέν τε τὰ παρακείμενα ἔθνη, Ἕηπες καὶ Δαύνεις, 'Ιάπυγες, Κάλαβροι, Λατῖνοι, 'Οπικοί, Μάγαρδες, ἕως διακατοχῆς τῆς Σπανίας, καὶ τῆς Γαλλίας, τῆς τε τῶν Σκόττων καὶ Φράγγων ἄνω χώρας. An elaborate account of Japhet's province appears in Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6. 1, and in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxxi. 4-5. The latter is dependent in some respects on the former.

25. The boundaries of Japheth's portion in Asia.

Gog. The country of Gog is in northern Asia. Gog is identified with the Scythians by Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6. 1) and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel (xxxi. 4).

26-28. The boundaries of Japheth's portion in Europe.

26. *Qêlt.* These are probably the Celts.

Mâ'ûk. See on ver. 22.

27. *Fârâ* (*c d*), *b* Ferâ, *a* Ferêg. Fârâ may be Africa. See ver. 15.

Afêrâg. This may be Phrygia. This country according to Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6. 1) and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxxi. 5 belonged to Japheth.

29. *Five great islands.* See note on ix. 13. To these five may belong Cyprus, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica. Five islands in the Great Sea are mentioned in Eth. Enoch lxxvii. 8.

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and the land of Ham is hot, and the land of Shem is neither hot nor cold, but it is of blended cold and heat.

Subdivision of the three portions amongst the grandchildren of Noah. Amongst Ham's children, 1: *Shem's* 2-6: *Japheth's,* 7-13. *Oath taken by Noah's sons,* 14-15.

IX. And Ham divided amongst his sons, and the first portion came forth for Cush towards the east, and to the west of him for Mizraim, and to the west of him for Put, and to the west of him [and to the west thereof] on the sea for Canaan. 2. And Shem also divided amongst his sons, and the first portion came forth for Elam and his sons, to the east of the river Tigris till it approaches the east, the whole land of India, and on the Red Sea on its coast, and the waters of Dêdân, and all the mountains of Mebrî and 'Êlâ, and all the land of Sûsân and all that is on the side of Pharnâk to the Red Sea and the river Tînâ. 3. And for Asshur came forth the second portion, all the land of Asshur and Nineveh

30. *Land of Ham is hot.* Cf. Epiphan. *Haer.* lxvi. 85: Χαναὰν δὲ πλεονέκτης ὢν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Χὰμ ἐπῆλθε τῇ Παλαιστηνῶν γῇ . . . καταλείψας τὸν ἴδιον κλῆρον διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι καυματινόν.

IX. 1. Cf. Gen. x. 6.

Cush. Eth. has Ques. The country is no doubt Ethiopia. See also Josephus and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, *in loc.*

Mizraim. Eth. has Mêṣrêm. He receives מצרים or Egypt.

Put. Eth. has Phûd. So also in LXX Φούδ, *i.e.* פוד. The country of Phûd is Libya, lying west of Egypt. See Josephus and Jerahmeel.

To the west of him . . . on the sea for Canaan. Thus Canaan's portion extended from Libya to the Atlantic on the west. See x. 28-29. The bracketed words are a dittography.

2. Elam's portion—from the Tigris to the utmost confines of India, the countries bordering on the Red Sea and running northward to Pontus and the Don.

The east, the whole land of India (*c d*). *a b* read "to the east of the whole land of India." But India was in Shem's portion. See viii. 21.

Waters of Dédân. Dedan is a son of Raamah, one of the sons of Cush (Gen. x. 7) or of Jokshan, son of Keturah (Gen. xxv. 3). The Dedanites are generally taken to be a commercial people dwelling in Arabia, possibly on the north-west. See *Encyc. Bibl.* i. 1053.

Mebrî (*b*). *a* Mazbâra.

'Êlâ (*b c d*). *a* 'Êlâm.

Pharnâk. Can this be Pharnacia on the coast of Pontus? On the countries falling to Shem's portion in Asia Minor and to the north see quotation from Epiphanius (*Adv. Haer.*) in note on viii. 12-21.

3. *Nineveh.* Eth. Nînêvî.

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and Shinar and to the border of India, and it ascends and skirts the river. 4. And for Arpachshad came forth the third portion, all the land of the region of the Chaldees to the east of the Euphrates, bordering on the Red Sea, and all the waters of the desert close to the tongue of the sea which looks towards Egypt, all the land of Lebanon and Sanîr and 'Amânâ to the border of the Euphrates. 5. And for Aram there came forth the fourth portion, all the land of Mesopotamia between the Tigris and the Euphrates to the north of the Chaldees to the border of the mountains of Asshur and the land of 'Arârâ. 6. And there came forth for Lud the fifth portion, the mountains of Asshur and all appertaining to them till it reaches the Great Sea, and till it reaches the east of Asshur his brother. 7. And Japheth also divided the land of his inheritance amongst his sons. 8. And the first portion came forth for Gomer to the east from the north side to the river Tînâ; and in the north there came forth for Magog all the inner portions of the north until it reaches to the sea of Mê'at. 9. And for Madai came forth as his portion that he should possess from the west of his two brothers to the islands, and to the coasts of the islands. 10. And for Javan came forth the fourth

Shinar. Eth. has Sinâar. The Shinar of Scripture, Gen. x. 10, etc.

And skirts the river = wawadafa falaga, emended from wadafâ falag of *a b d*, which is untranslateable. If wadafâ were the name of a river we might emend falag into falaga and translate: "to the river Wadafâ."

4. Arpachshad's portion. See further ix. 13 for the islands allotted to him. In Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6. 4, the descendants of Arpachshad are identified with the Chaldees. Eth. has 'Arphâxed.

Tongue of the sea, etc. I don't know what is meant here.

Sanîr and 'Amânâ. See note on viii. 21.

5. The Syrians.

'Arârâ, i.e. Ararat. See viii. 21.

6. Lud's portion extends from the west coast of Asia Minor to the east of Asshur. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6. 4, says the descendants of Lud were the Lydians.

8. *Magog.* Only Gog is spoken of in viii. 25.

9. The north-western portions of Europe fell to Madai's lot, but he was dissatisfied with it (see x. 35) and begged a portion of Shem's lot. Madai's lot would seem to embrace Britain and Ireland. The former is mentioned in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel (xxxi. 5), Epiphanius and Syncellus; see notes on viii. 25-29[a].

10. *Javan.* Eth. has 'Îjô'evân. Javan denotes properly Ionia, the Greek colony in Asia Minor, and is used in this limited sense in Is. lxvi. 19; Ezek. xxvii. 13. This name also de

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portion every island and the islands which are towards the border of Lud. 11. And for Tubal there came forth the fifth portion in the midst of the tongue which approaches towards the border of the portion of Lud to the second tongue, to the region beyond the second tongue unto the third tongue. 12. And for Meshech came forth the sixth portion, all the region beyond the third tongue till it approaches the east of Gâdîr. 13. And for Tiras there came forth the seventh portion, four great islands in the midst of the sea, which reach to the portion of Ham [and the islands of Kamâtûrî came out by lot for the sons of Arpachshad as his inheritance]. 14. And thus the sons of Noah divided

notes the Graeco-Macedonian empire: Dan. viii. 21, x. 20, xi. 2. In our text it seems to embrace all the islands of the coast of Asia Minor, while in Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6. 1, it includes Ionia and all the Greeks.

Every island and the islands. We should expect rather "all the coastlands and the island."

11. Tubal's (Eth. Tôbêl) portion seems to extend from Thrace to Italy. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6. 1, identifies Tubal's descendants with the Iberes who lived in the Caucasus, and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, xxxi. 5, identify them with the Iberi and Ispamia (?). It is not clear what the three tongues of land are. Italy seems to be the third, Greece the second and possibly Thrace the first. The descendants of Tubal in Gen. x. 2 are identified with Tibareni in Pontus.

12. As Italy seems to be the third tongue, Meshech's portion extends from the north of Italy to Cadiz. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6. 1, and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, xxxi. 4, take the descendants of Meshech to be identified with the Cappadocians, but modern scholars with the Moschi who lived between the sources of the Phasis and Cyrus.

13. The descendants of Tiras (Eth. Tîrâs) seem to be the Tyrseni, a branch of the Pelasgians who lived by piracy on the coasts and islands of the Aegean Sea. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6. 1, identifies them with the Thracians.

Four great islands. See on viii. 29.

[*The islands of Kamâtûrî . . . as his inheritance*]. I have bracketed these words as an interpolation. They are foreign to their present context, for it is dealing with the possessions of the sons of Japheth, and Arpachshad is a son of Shem. Furthermore, the phraseology "came out . . . for the sons of Arpachshad" is unusual. This phrase "the sons of" is used only in the case of Noah's three sons: viii. 17 "for Shem and his sons"; viii. 24 "for Ham . . . and his sons"; viii. 29 "for Japheth and his sons." But in connection with Noah's sixteen grandsons in chap. ix. it is not used. The grandson is mentioned in each case as the person to whom a certain province is allotted. On the other hand, the words may in some form have followed after ix. 4, which defines the possessions of Arpachshad. From viii. 21 we know that "the islands of Kaftûr" were in Shem's portion. Now these "islands of Kamâtûrî" may be the "islands of Kaftûr"; for Kamâtûrî could easily originate from Kaftûr.

14. Following our text Epiphanius, *Ancorat.* cxiv. (Dind. ed., vol. i. 217), writes τούτων τοίνυν τῶν ἐθνῶν οὕτως ἐκ τῶν τριῶν υἱῶν τοῦ Νῶε γεγονότων καὶ τριχῇ τοῦ κόσμου τοῖς τρισὶν υἱοῖς διαμερισθέντος, ὡς προείπον, ὅρκος ἀπηγήθη παρ' αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μηδένα ἐπεμβαίνειν τῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ κλήρῳ, τὸν δὲ ὑπερβαίνοντα τὴν τοῦ ὅρκου διαταγὴν ἐξολοθρεύεσθαι ἐν τῷ ὅρκῳ καὶ πᾶν τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ. See also *Adv. Haer.*

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unto their sons in the presence of Noah their father, and he bound them all by an oath, imprecating a curse on everyone that sought to seize the portion which had not fallen (to him) by his lot. 15. And they all said, "So be it; so be it," for themselves and their sons for ever throughout their generations till the day of judgment, on which the Lord God shall judge them with a sword and with fire, for all the unclean wickedness of their errors, wherewith they have filled the earth with transgression and uncleanness and fornication and sin.

Evil spirits lead astray the sons of Noah, 1-2. *Noah's prayer,* 3-6. *Mastêmâ allowed to retain one-tenth of his subject spirits,* 7-11. *Noah taught the use of herbs by the angels for resisting the demons,* 12-14. *Noah dies,* 15-17. *Building of Babel and the confusion of tongues,* 18-27. *Canaan seizes on Palestine,* 29-34. *Madai receives Media,* 35-36.

X. And in the third week of this jubilee the unclean demons began to lead astray †the children of† the sons of

II. ii. 544 (*Haer* lxvi. 85). In Syncellus (i. 83) also, it is said of Noah: μέλλων δὲ τελευτᾶν ἐνετείλατο τοῖς τρισὶν αὐτοῦ υἱοῖς μηδένα ἐπελθεῖν τοῖς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ὁρίοις καὶ ἀτάκτως ἐνεχθῆναι πρὸς ἕτερον, ὡς τούτου γενησομένου αἰτίου στάσεως αὐτοῖς καὶ πολέμων τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

15. *The day of judgment.* See note on iv. 19.

X. 1. We have here another fragment of the lost Apocalypse of Noah. The former fragment we found in vii. 20-39. Of the present fragment a summary is preserved in Syncellus, i. 49, though, of course, as forming a genuine section of Jubilees. This summary gives the contents of verses 1-9. Καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Μωϋσέως λεγομένῃ ἀποκαλύψει φέρεται περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅτι μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν τῷ ,βφπβ' ἔτει τοῦ κόσμου φθόνῳ κινούμενοι μετὰ θάνατον ἐπλάνησαν τοὺς υἱοὺς Νῶε. καὶ εὐξαμένου τοῦ Νῶε ἵνα ἀποστῶσιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ὁ κύριος ἐκέλευσε τῷ ἀρχαγγέλῳ Μιχαὴλ βαλεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον ἄχρι ἡμέρας τῆς κρίσεως· ὁ δὲ διάβολος ᾐτήσατο λαβεῖν μοῖραν ἀπ' αὐτῶν πρὸς πειρασμὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ τὸ δέκατον αὐτῶν κατὰ πρόσταξιν θείαν, ὥστε πειράζειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πρὸς δοκιμὴν τῆς ἑκάστου πρὸς θεὸν προαιρέσεως, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐννέα μέρη ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον. But what is of still greater interest is the fact that in the Hebrew Book of Noah fragments of verses 1-2, 9-14 have been preserved from the Hebrew original. For this work the reader can consult Jellinek's Bet ha-Midrasch, iv. 155-156, or my text of Jubilees, p. 179.

The third week of this jubilee. If this jubilee be the last mentioned, *i.e.*, the thirty-third (viii. 10), then the date

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Noah, and to make to err and destroy them. 2. And the sons of Noah came to Noah their father, and they told him concerning the demons which were leading astray and blinding and slaying his sons' sons. 3. And he prayed before the Lord his God, and said:

"God of the spirits of all flesh, who hast shown mercy unto me,
And hast saved me and my sons from the waters of the flood,
And hast not caused me to perish as Thou didst the sons of perdition;

For Thy grace has been great towards me,
And great has been Thy mercy to my soul;

Let Thy grace be lift up upon my sons,
And let not wicked spirits rule over them
Lest they should destroy them from the earth.

4. But do Thou bless me and my sons, that we may increase and multiply and replenish the earth. 5. And Thou knowest how Thy Watchers, the fathers of these spirits,

is 1583-1589, but it may be much earlier.

The unclean demons. These are the spirits which went forth from the Mamzerim or children of the angels and the daughters of men. See vii. 22; Eth. Enoch xiv.-xvi.

The unclean demons began . . . destroy them (so *a b*). *c d* omit "the children of." But Syncellus, i. 49, and the passage from the Hebrew Book of Noah (see my Eth. Text, p. 35, notes 17-19) show that instead of "the children of the sons" we should simply have "the sons." Under the word daqîqa (="the children of") there may lie some corruption of the verb 'adqaqa, "to beat small" =להכות, a corruption for להבות, "to slay." Now this verb is the last infinitive in the passage of the Hebrew Book of Noah (see below), and as the other three verbs in the Ethiopic text are literal equivalents of the preceding three infinitives in the same passage we may conclude that we have thus recovered the true text. The passage in question is: החלו רוחות הסכורים להתגרות בבני נח להשמות ולמעות ולחבל ולהכות = "And the spirits of the Mamzerim began to stir themselves against the sons of Noah, to lead astray and cause to err and to destroy and to slay." "Unclean demons" in our text is a good equivalent for "the spirits of the Mamzerim," though it is not a literal rendering. The Hebrew original of our text therefore = "The unclean demons began to lead astray and to make to err and to slay and to destroy the sons of Noah" (=החלו להשמות ולמעות ולהכות ולחבל). On the other hand the expression "sons' sons" recurs in verses 2, 3^b, and 5^b, so that the text of *a b* may be right.

3. *God of the spirits of all flesh.* Num. xvi. 22, xxvii. 16.

Sons of perdition (=בני האבדון). Cf. 2 Thess. ii. 3.

My sons (*a*). *b* "Thy sons' sons."

5. *Thy Watchers.* Cf. Eth. Enoch vi.-xvi.

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acted in my day: and as for these spirits which are living, imprison them and hold them fast in the place of condemnation, and let them not bring destruction on the sons of thy servant, my God; for these are malignant, and created in order to destroy. 6. And let them not rule over the spirits of the living; for Thou alone canst exercise dominion over them. And let them not have power over the sons of the righteous from henceforth and for evermore." 7. And the Lord our God bade us to bind all. 8. And the chief of the spirits, Mastêmâ, came and said: "Lord, Creator, let some of them remain before me, and let them hearken to my voice, and do all that I shall say unto them; for if some of them are not left to me, I shall not be able to

The sons (*c d*). *b* "the sons' sons." *a* "the place."

6. *Canst exercise dominion over them* = tâ'amr kuânnenô lômû emended from tâ'amr kuennanêhômû = "Thou knowest their power" or "judgment."

7. Cf. Eth. Enoch x. 4, 12.

8. See the quotation from Syncellus in note on ver. 1.

Mastêmâ. In the Latin version this name appears as Mastima, and in the Midrashic Book of Noah (see my text, p. 179) as שר המשטמה. Hence the form in which it appears in Syncellus and Cedrenus as Μαστιφάμ, ὁ ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων, or Μαστιφάτ is less accurate. Outside the Jubilee literature, as Rönsch has remarked (p. 418), this word is not found as a proper noun except in the Acts of Philip (ed. Tischend., p. 98): ὁ δὲ Μανσημάτ, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὁ Σατανᾶς, ὑπεισῆλθεν εἰς τὸν Ἀνανίαν καὶ ἐπλήρωσεν αὐτὸν θυμοῦ καὶ ὀργῆς. As a common noun it is found twice in Hos. ix. 7, 8 in the sense of "enmity." The word appears to be the hiphil of משם (= שטן), *i.e.* משטים, and is therefore the equivalent of ὁ Σατανᾶς in point of meaning and derivation. As in the Eth. Enoch it is the function of the evil spirits to tempt men, Eth. Enoch lxix. 4, 6; accuse them, Eth. Enoch xl. 7; and destroy them, Eth. Enoch xv. 11, 12, xvi., in which capacity they are designated as "angels of punishment," liii. 3, lvi. 1, lxii. 11, lxiii. 1, so also in our author. Thus the evil spirits under Mastêmâ (1) tempt men, lead them astray and blind them x. 2, 8, xlviii. 12, 16, and harden their hearts xlviii. 17. In xv. 31 it is actually stated that God put spirits in authority over men to lead them astray; see notes on xv. 31-32. Again (2) they accuse men of actual or alleged sins, xvii. 16, xlviii. 15, 18. Finally (3) they destroy those who have sinned, being created for this purpose, x. 2, 5. As angels of destruction they appear, xlviii. 2, in slaying the first-born in Egypt. In xlviii. 2 Mastêmâ seeks to slay Moses for failing to circumcise his son. These spirits seek to rule a man in order to destroy him, x. 3. But they cannot touch the righteous, x. 6; every breach of the law, however, exposes men to their malignant influence, xlviii. 2. Israel as such is God's own portion and is not subject to spirits of any kind, xv. 32, xvi. 18, xix. 28. From this high ethical conception our author falls away, no doubt under the influence of his authorities, in x. 12, 13, where, as in Tobit, magical methods are said to be effective against evil spirits. See further note on xlviii. 2.

Let some of them remain before me. See quotation from Syncellus in note on x. 1.

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execute the power of my will on the sons of men; for these are for corruption and leading astray before my judgment, for great is the wickedness of the sons of men." 9. And He said: "Let the tenth part of them remain before him, and let nine parts descend into the place of condemnation." 10. And one of us He commanded that we should teach Noah all their medicines; for He knew that they would not walk in uprightness, nor strive in righteousness. 11. And we did according to all His words: all the malignant evil ones we bound in the place of condemnation, and a tenth part of them we left that they might be subject before Satan on the earth. 12. And we explained to Noah all the medicines of their diseases, together with their seductions, how he might heal them with herbs of the earth. 13. And Noah wrote down all things in a book as we instructed him concerning every kind of medicine. Thus the evil spirits were precluded from (hurting) the sons of Noah. 14. And he gave all that he had written to Shem, his eldest son; for he loved him exceedingly above all his sons. 15. And Noah slept with his fathers, and was buried on Mount Lûbâr in the land of Ararat. 16. Nine hundred and fifty years he completed in his life, nineteen jubilees and 1659 A.M. two weeks and five years. 17. And in his life on earth he excelled the children of men save Enoch because of the

9. Cf. Hebrew Book of Noah: "And the angel did so and enclosed them in the house of judgment (בית המשפט). Only one-tenth did he permit to go to and fro on the earth before the prince of the Mastema to rule over the godless to smite them and to plague them with all manner of diseases." The angel according to this Hebrew book is Raphael, but according to Eth. Enoch x. 11-13 is Michael. Again, though according to our text only one-tenth of the demons are allowed to act with impunity to the day of judgment, in Eth. Enoch xv.-xvi., all the demons have this privilege.

10. *One of us.* This angel is Raphael. So it is stated in the Hebrew Book of Noah, where there is a manifest paronomasia between רפאל and רפואות. Cf. Eth. Enoch x. 7; Tob. iii. 17, xii. 14, 15.

11. See ver. 9, note.

Satan. Satan and Mastema are thus identical.

12. This verse is found almost wholly in Heb. Book of Noah (see my text of Jubilees, p. 179).

13-14. Shem as the eldest son (see note on iv. 33) or as the priest receives all the sacred writings from Noah. Cf. Syncellus ii. 83. In xlv. 16 Jacob gives all the books into Levi's hands, as Levi was priest.

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righteousness, wherein he was perfect. For Enoch's office was ordained for a testimony to the generations of the world, so that he should recount all the deeds of generation unto generation, till the day of judgment. 18. And in the three and thirtieth jubilee, in the first year in the second week, Peleg took to himself a wife, whose name was Lômnâ the daughter of Sînâ'ar, and she bare him a son in the fourth year of this week, and he called his name Reu; for he said: "Behold the children of men have become evil through the wicked purpose of building for themselves a city and a tower in the land of Shinar." 19. For they departed from the land of Ararat eastward to Shinar; for in his days they built the city and the tower, saying, "Go to, let us ascend thereby into heaven." 20. And they began to build, and in the fourth week they made brick with fire, and the bricks served them for stone, and the clay with which they cemented them together was asphalt which comes out of the sea, and out of the fountains of water in the land of
1645-1688 A.M. Shinar. 21. And they built it: forty and three years were they building it; its breadth was 203 bricks, and the

17. *Enoch's office was ordained for a testimony*, etc. Cf. iv. 24 for a similar statement.

Recount all the deeds, etc. Cf. iv. 23, 24.

Till the day of judgment. Cf. iv. 19, 24, ix. 15, x. 22.

18. *Lômnâ.* This name is found in the Syriac fragment as ܠܡܢܐ(ܟ), and Lagarde's MS *r* as δυμνα, and Algazi's Chronicle as לבנה.

Reu. Eth. has Râgaw = 'Ραγαύ = רעו (Gen. xi. 18). It is obvious that our author thus derived Reu from *yr'*, "to be evil." There was a paronomasia in the original. "He called his name Râgau (רְעוּ); for . . . the children of men had become evil," רָעוּ. This derivation appears in the *Onomasticon*, p. 197, 27: 'Ραάν (*i.e.* 'Ραού) κακούμενος.

Shinar. Eth. has Sânâar, in ver. 25 Sinâar, in 26 Sanâor.

19. Cf. Gen. xi. 2; Epiphan. *Adv. Haer.* i. 1. 5.

20. On Babel see *Encyc. Bibl.* i. 410-413.

Made brick. (Emended: see my Eth. Text, p. 34.)

Made brick with fire; and the bricks served, etc. This passage appears to be the source of the Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxix. 2: "Come and let us make bricks . . . and let us burn them and each brick will be to us as a stone and the pitch for mortar." Cf. Joseph. *Ant.* i. 4. 3.

21. For the three slight emendations of the text in this verse see my text, pp. 36-37. The passage is found in Greek in the Catena of Nicephorus, i. 175: ἐπὶ μγ' ἔτη ἔμειναν οἰκοδομοῦντες. τὸ ὕψος ,ευλγ πήχεις, καὶ δύω παλεσταί (sic), τὸ πλάτος ἐπὶ σγ' πλίνθους. τῆς πλίνθου τὸ ὕψος, τρίτον μιᾶς πλίνθου. τὸ ἕκταμα τοῦ ἑνὸς τοίχου στάδιοι ιγ' καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου

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height (of a brick) was the third of one; its height amounted to 5433 cubits and 2 palms, and (the extent of one wall was) thirteen stades (and of the other thirty stades). 22. And the Lord our God said unto us: "Behold, they are one people, and (this) they begin to do, and now nothing will be withholden from them. Go to, let us go down and confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech, and they may be dispersed into cities and nations, and one purpose will no longer abide with them till the day of judgment." 23. And the Lord descended, and we descended with Him to see the city and the tower which the children of men had built. 24. And He confounded their language, and they no longer understood one another's speech, and they ceased then to build the city and the tower. 25. For this reason the whole land of Shinar is called Babel, because the Lord did there confound all the language of the children of men, and from thence they were dispersed into their cities, each according to his language

X. Eutychius (translated by Pococke, 1658, pp. 51, 52) has drawn upon our text in the following passage: Tres ergo annos lateribus conficiendis et coquendis insumpserunt: quorum singuli tredecim cubitos longi, decem lati, ac quinque alti essent; urbemque inter Tyrum et Babelem exstruxerunt orgyas longam tercentum et tredecim, latam centum quinquaginta unam: cujus muri alti orgyas quinquies mille quingentas triginta tres; lati triginta tres; turris autem orgyas decies mille alta; quibus exstruendis quadraginta annos insumpserunt. Cf. J. Malalas, p. 12; Glycas, p. 240. The clauses in brackets in the translation are derived from the Greek. Rönsch (p. 401) quotes the following passage respecting this tower from Weil's *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, pp. 77-78: Der Thurm (Nimrod's) ward bis zu einer Höhe von 5000 Ellen gebaut . . . Gott liess ihn mit einem solchen Getöse umstürzen, dass alle Leute vor Schrecken ganz ausser sich waren und jeder eine andere Sprache redete.

Thirteen stades. In Jerome (*Epist.* (78 in Migne) *ad Fabiolam*, mansione 18) we have the following reference to this passage. Hoc verbum (רִפָּה), quantum memoria suggerit, nusquam alibi in Scripturis sanctis apud Hebraeos invenisse me novi absque libro apocrypho qui a Graecis Λεπτή (*a.l.* Μικρογένεσις) id est, parva Genesis appellatur. Ibi in aedificatione turris pro stadio ponitur, in quo exercentur pugiles et athletae et cursorum velocitas comprobatur. This forms Jerome's note on the name of the place of encampment Rissah (רִפָּה) in Num. xxxiii. 21, 22. In later Hebrew ריסם and ריסה are used as = stadium or race-course. See Levy's *Wörterbuch*, *in loc.*

22. *Will be withholden from them.* Lit. "will fail from them." Gen. xi. 6.

25. Cf. Gen. xi. 9.

From thence they were dispersed . . . each according to his language. Accord-

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and his nation. 26. And the Lord sent a mighty wind against the tower and overthrew it upon the earth, and behold it was between Asshur and Babylon in the land of Shinar, and they called its name "Overthrow." 27. In the
1688 A.M. fourth week in the first year in the beginning thereof in the four and thirtieth jubilee, were they dispersed from the land of Shinar. 28. And Ham and his sons went into the land which he was to occupy, which he acquired as his portion in the land of the south. 29. And Canaan saw the land of Lebanon to the river of Egypt that it was very good, and he went not into the land of his inheritance to the west (that is to) the sea, and he dwelt in the land of Lebanon, eastward and westward from the border of Jordan and from

ing to the Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xi. 8 the number of nations thus created were seventy, under their seventy patron angels. Cf. Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxx. 8: also Epiphan. *Adv. Haer.* i. 1. 5: *διεσκέδασε γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰς γλώσσας, καὶ ἀπὸ μιᾶς εἰς ἑβδομήκοντα δύο διένειμε κατὰ τὸν τῶν τότε ἀνδρῶν ἀριθμὸν εὑρεθέντα.* Book of Adam and Eve (Malan), iii. 22.

26. *A mighty wind.* This is a very old tradition. It is found in Sibyll. Or. iii. 98-103; Joseph. *Ant.* i. 4. 3; Epiphan. *Adv. Haer.* i. 1. 5; Syncellus, i. 77; Cedrenus, i. 22.

"Overthrow" = dĕqat = *καταστροφή* = הַפֵּכָה. Observe the play of words not preserved in Eth.): "Overthrew it . . . and they called its name 'Overthrow'" = חפכו . . . וקרא את שמו חפכה. This disagrees with its name "Babel" in Gen. xi. 9. According to Sanh. 109*a* one-third of the tower of Babel was burnt, one-third swallowed up in the earth, and one-third standing.

28. Ham's portion lay in the north of Africa. It is described in the next verse as lying in the west towards the sea, cf. ix. 1. The designation "land of the south" is a loose one. The word rendered "south" rightly means "north," but it is used occasionally in this wrong sense by Ethiopic scribes. See note on viii. 15.

29. This view is, I think, found only in Jubilees and the books dependent upon it. Palestine fell by lot to Arpachshad and north-west Africa (see ix. 1) to Canaan; but Canaan wrongfully seized Palestine: see Epiphanius, *Ancorat.* cxiv. p. 217 (ed. Dindorf): *ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ Σὴμ ἡ Παλαιστίνη ὑπέπεσε καὶ πάντα τὰ πλησίον αὐτῆς, πλεονέκτης δὲ ὢν ὁ Χαναὰν υἱὸς Χὰμ ἐπῆλθε τῇ Παλαιστινῶν ὕστερον γῇ, τουτέστι τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ, καὶ ἁρπάζει αὐτήν, ἐμακροθύμει δὲ ὁ θεός, διδοὺς χρόνους μετανοίας, ἵνα μετανοήσειαν οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Χὰμ καὶ ἀποδῶσι τοῖς τοῦ Σὴμ τὴν ἰδίαν κληρουχίαν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οὐ μετενόουν, ἀλλ' ἤθελον τὸ μέτρον αὐτῶν πληρῶσαι. τότε ὁ θεὸς μετὰ πολλὰς ὕστερον γενεὰς δίκαιος ὢν ἐκδικεῖ τὴν παράβασιν τοῦ ὅρκου. οὕτω γὰρ ἔδει πληρωθῆναι τὸ Ἀμορραίων μέτρον.* Cf. also *Haer.* lxvi. 85 (II. ii. 544); Syncellus, i. 83; Glycas, 242. The words of the last come very near our text: *ὁ τοῦ Χὰμ υἱὸς Χαναὰν ἰδὼν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Λίβανον γῆν ὅτι . . . ἐστιν . . . κρείττων τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γῆς, τυραννικῶς καθήρπαξεν αὐτήν.* Clementine *Recognitions* i. 30: Cujus interim senior frater (Shem) habitationis sortem eam, quae est in medio terrae, suscepit, in qua est regio Judaeae, junior vero orientis (should be occidentis) plagam sortitus est, ipse autem occidentis (should be orientis) accepit.

Jordan (*a d*). *b c* "Lebanon."

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the border of the sea. 30. And Ham, his father, and Cush and Mizraim, his brothers, said unto him: "Thou hast settled in a land which is not thine, and which did not fall to us by lot: do not do so; for if thou dost do so, thou and thy sons will fall in the land and (be) accursed through sedition; for by sedition ye have settled, and by sedition will thy children fall, and thou shalt be rooted out for ever. 31. Dwell not in the dwelling of Shem; for to Shem and to his sons did it come by their lot. 32. Cursed art thou, and cursed shalt thou be beyond all the sons of Noah, by the curse by which we bound ourselves by an oath in the presence of the holy judge, and in the presence of Noah our father." 33. But he did not hearken unto them, and dwelt in the land of Lebanon from Hamath to the entering of Egypt, he and his sons until this day. 34. And for this reason that land is named Canaan. 35. And Japheth and his sons went towards the sea and dwelt in the land of their portion, and Madai saw the land of the sea and it did not please him, and he begged a (portion) from Elam and Asshur and Arpachshad, his wife's brother, and he dwelt in the land of Media, near to his wife's brother until this day. 36. And he called his dwelling-place, and the dwelling-place of his sons, Media, after the name of their father Madai.

30. Cf. Syncellus, i. 83-84: *μετὰ διακόσια ἔτη τῆς τελευτῆς Νῶε, νεωτερίσας ὁ τοῦ Χὰμ υἱὸς Χαναὰν ἐπέβη τοῖς ὁρίοις τοῦ Σὴμ καὶ κατῴκησεν ἐκεῖ.* With the word "sedition" in the text compare *νεωτερίσας* in Syncellus.

32. *By the curse*, etc. Cf. ix. 14, 15.

The holy judge, *i.e.* the angel who was present at the drawing of lots, viii. 10.

33. *Hamath.* Eth. has 'Êmâth (*i.e.*, 'Ημάθ, חֲמָת); see xiii. 2. Hamath was the northern boundary of Israel (Num. xxxiv. 8; Judg. iii. 3, etc.). In 2 Chron. vii. 8 we have the phrase: "From the entering in of Hamath to the river of Egypt."

34. Cf. Glycas, p. 242: *καὶ οὕτω πᾶσα ἡ γῆ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τοῦ Χαναὰν προσηγορεύθη.*

35. See note on ix. 9. Diodorus, Presbyter of Antioch (*ob.* 392?), appears to have known this passage. He is quoted in *Catena Nicephori*, i. 167 on Gen. ix. 27: *τί δήποτε, καὶ κατοικησάτω ὁ Ἰάφεθ ἐν τοῖς σκηνώμασι τοῦ Σὴμ εἴρηται; ὁρᾷς, ὅτι πάντα προφητεία ἦν διὰ προφάσεώς τινος, ἢ ἄνευ προφάσεως φανερουμένη; καὶ γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτα Μαδαΐ, τουτέστιν ὁ Μῆδος, τοῦ Ἰάφεθ ὢν υἱός, τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν τοῦ Σὴμ οἰκήσεων κατέσχε τὴν Μηδίαν, μέρος οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τῆς τῶν Περσῶν γῆς.*

Media. Eth. Mêdqîn.

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Reu and Serug, 1 (cf. Gen. xi. 20, 21). *Rise of war and bloodshed and eating of blood and idolatry*, 2-7. *Nachor and Terah*, 8-14 (cf. Gen. xi. 22-30). *Abram's knowledge of God and wonderful deeds*, 15-24.

1681 A.M. XI. And in the thirty-fifth jubilee, in the third week, in the first year thereof, Reu took to himself a wife, and her name was 'Ôrâ, the daughter of 'Ûr, the son of Kêsêd, and 1687 A.M. she bare him a son, and he called his name Sêrôḫ, in the seventh year of this week in this jubilee. 2. And the sons of Noah began to war on each other, to take captive and to slay each other, and to shed the blood of men on the earth, and to eat blood, and to build strong cities, and walls, and towers, and individuals (began) to exalt themselves above the nation, and to found the beginnings of kingdoms, and to go to war people against people, and nation against nation, and city against city, and all (began) to do evil, and to acquire arms, and to teach their sons war, and they began to capture cities, and to sell male and female slaves. 3. And 'Ûr, the son of Kêsêd, built the city of 'Arâ of the Chaldees, and called its name after his own name and the name of his father.

XI. 1. Cf. Gen. xi. 21.

'Orâ. Lagarde's MS *r* ωρα: Syr. Frag. ;o). Ps.-Philo, *Ant. bibl. Lib.* p. 45 gives Melcha.

Sêrôḫ. See ver. 6. Beer suggests that this is from שרח, "to sin," in Talmudic Hebrew. This would suit ver. 2, but ver. 6 implies that our author derived it from שור, "to turn aside." Epiphanius, *Adv. Haer.* i. 1. 6, writes: τὸν Σερούχ τὸν ἑρμηνευόμενον Ἐρεθισμόν.

2-6. The corruption of mankind which our author ascribes to the period of Serug is by later writers assigned to the age of Enos, the son of Seth: see iv. 12 note. Some reflection of our text appears in Epiphanius, *Adv. Haer.* i. 1. 6: Φαλὲκ δὲ γεννᾷ τὸν Ῥαγοῦ . . . καὶ ἤρξατο εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἡ εἰδωλολατρία τε καὶ ὁ Ἑλληνισμός . . . οὔπω δὲ ἐν ξοάνοις καὶ ἐν τορείαις λίθων ἢ ξύλων ἢ ἀργυροτεύκτων . . . μόνον δὲ διὰ χρωμάτων καὶ εἰκόνων ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου διάνοια ἑαυτῇ ἐφηύρατο τὴν κακίαν: also in Cedrenus, i. 47: ἐπὶ τούτου (Σηρούχ) οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸν κατ' ἀλλήλων αὐξήσαντες τῦφον στρατηγούς τε ἑαυτοῖς κατεστήσαντο καὶ βασιλεῖς. καὶ τότε πρώτως πολεμικὰ κατασκευάσαντες ὄργανα πολεμεῖν ἀλλήλους ἐνήρξαντο. See also Book of Adam and Eve (Malan), iii. 24: Ps.-Philo, *Ant. bibl. Lib.* p. 45.

2. *Individuals began to exalt themselves*, etc. So MSS. The emendation in my text is not necessary.

3. *'Ûr, the son of Kêsêd.* We have here an attempt to explain the phrase Ur of the Chaldees (אור כשדים) through reference to Ur and his father Kêsêd.

'Arâ. Corrupt for Ura or Ur.

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4. And they made for themselves molten images, and they worshipped each the idol, the molten image which they had made for themselves, and they began to make graven images and unclean simulacra, and malignant spirits assisted and seduced (them) into committing transgression and uncleanness. 5. And the prince Mastêmâ exerted himself to do all this, and he sent forth other spirits, those which were put under his hand, to do all manner of wrong and sin, and all manner of transgression, to corrupt and destroy, and to shed blood upon the earth. 6. For this reason he called the name of Sêrôḫ, Serug, for every one turned to do all manner of sin and transgression. 7. And he grew up, and dwelt in Ur of the Chaldees, near to the father of his wife's mother, and he worshipped idols, and he took to himself a wife in the thirty- 1744 A.M.
sixth jubilee, in the fifth week, in the first year thereof, and her name was Mêlkâ, the daughter of Kâbêr, the daughter of his father's brother. 8. And she bare him Nahor, in the first year of this week, and he grew and dwelt in Ur of the Chaldees, and his father taught him the researches of the Chaldees to divine and augur, according to the signs of heaven. 9. And in the thirty-seventh jubilee, in the sixth 1800 A.M.
week, in the first year thereof, he took to himself a wife, and her name was 'Îjâskâ, the daughter of Nêstâg of the Chaldees. 10. And she bare him Terah in the seventh

5. *Mastêmâ.* See note on x. 8.

To corrupt, etc. Cf. Eth. Enoch xvi.

6. There seems to be here a play on the name Serug. "He called the name . . . Serug (שרוג) for every one turned (סור) to all manner of sin and transgression (סרה)." See, however, note on ver. 1.

7. *He worshipped idols.* See in note on iv. 12 passage from Chron. of Jerahmeel denying this.

Mêlkâ, daughter of Kâbêr. So also in Syr. and Lagarde's MS *r*. In Gen. xi. 29 Milcah is the name of Nahor's wife, but this Nahor is Terah's son.

8. Cf. Gen. xi. 23.

His father taught him the researches of the Chaldees, etc. See reference to Chronicles of Jerahmeel in note on iv. 12. Our text was known directly or indirectly by Cedrenus, i. 47: αὐξηθέντα δὲ τὸν Ναχὼρ ἐδίδαξεν ὁ πατὴρ πάντων ἐπίλυσιν οἰωνῶν, τῶν τε ἐν οὐρανῷ σημείων διακρίσεις καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἁπάντων καὶ πᾶσαν Χαλδαϊκὴν μαντείαν. On an earlier reference to this art in our text see viii. 3.

9. *Ijâskâ, the daughter of Nêstâg.* Syr. Fragment ܝܫܟܐ ܒܪܬ ܢܣܛܓ This name Ijâskâ is found in Gen. xi. 29, *i.e.* Iscah (יסכה), but there she is the daughter of Haran.

10. Cf. Gen. xi. 25.

Terah. Eth. has Târâ.

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1806 A.M. year of this week. 11. And the prince Mastêmâ sent ravens and birds to devour the seed which was sown in the land, in order to destroy the land, and rob the children of men of their labours. Before they could plough in the seed, the ravens picked (it) from the surface of the ground. 12. And for this reason he called his name Terah, because the ravens and the birds reduced them to destitution and devoured their seed. 13. And the years began to be barren, owing to the birds, and they devoured all the fruit of the trees from the trees: it was only with great effort that they could save a little of all the fruit of the earth in their days. 14. And in this
1870 A.M. thirty-ninth jubilee, in the second week in the first year, Terah took to himself a wife, and her name was 'Êdnâ, the

11-13. This legend is traced to our text by Jerome. Two other writers reproduce it, but do not mention the source. Jerome, in commenting on Num. xxxiii. 27 (*Epist.* lxxviii. *ad Fabiolam*, mansione 24), writes as follows: Castra metati sunt in Thare (Num. xxxiii. 27): Hoc eodem vocabulo (תֶּרַח) et iisdem litteris scriptum invenio patrem Abraham, qui in supradicto apocrypho Geneseos volumine, abactis corvis, qui hominum frumenta vastabant, abactoris vel depulsoris sortitus est nomen. I know of only two other references to the incident in our text. The first is in S. Ephraem i. 156 and is quoted by Malan, *Book of Adam and Eve*, p. 248: "Abram when a child, having been sent by Terah to drive away ravens sent to destroy the crops, as a punishment for the idolatry of the land, Abram—unable to drive them away—by a sudden impulse, called upon God to order them off, who answered: 'Here am I,' and ordered the ravens away from Terah's field." The second is found in Bar-hebraeus, *Historia Dynastiarum*, p. 13 (Fabric. *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 422 sq.): Cum Abraam annorum esset quindecim, annuit Deus precibus ejus contra picas quae terram Chaldaeorum vastabant semina terrae ab iis mandata perdentes. These last two passages are in the main derived from our text.

11. *Sent.* This can be rendered also "had sent."

12. *Reduced them to destitution.* The Ethiopic here = *ἐπτώχισαν αὐτούς*, but it could also be a rendering of *ἔθλιψαν* or *ἐκάκωσαν*. Hence this verb may go back to the Chaldee verb תרע = to ravage, devastate. This verb would constitute a play on the name Terah (תרח) and the verse would run: ובואת קרא את שמו תרח כי העורבים תרעו בם. For attempts to explain the derivation of Terah from the meaning assigned by Jerome see Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 266-267; Beer, *Leben Abraham's*, pp. 95-96.

14. *'Êdnâ, the daughter of Abram.* So Syriac Fragment (see my text, p. 40). Cf. Cedrenus, i. 47: Θάρρα δὲ . . . *ἐγέννησεν ἐκ γυναικὸς* Ἐδνας, *θυγατρὸς* Ἀβραὰμ *πατραδέλφου αὐτοῦ, τὸν* Ἀβραάμ, *ὄντινα ἡ μήτηρ ἐκάλεσεν ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ ἑαυτῆς πατρός*. In the later Jewish books the wife of Terah is called Amthelai, the daughter of Karnebo, Baba Bathra 91*a*; Book of Jashar (Migne, *Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1103). In the Chronicles of Jerahmeel (Eng. transl.) xxvii. 7, Amtalai,

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daughter of 'Abrâm, the daughter of his father's sister. 15. And in the seventh year of this week she bare him a son, 1876 A.M. and he called his name Abram, by the name of the father of his mother; for he had died before his daughter had conceived a son. 16. And the child began to understand the errors of the earth that all went astray after graven images and after uncleanness, and his father taught him writing, and he was two weeks of years old, and he separated 1890 A.M. himself from his father, that he might not worship idols with him. 17. And he began to pray to the Creator of all things that He might save him from the errors of the children of men, and that his portion should not fall into error after uncleanness and vileness. 18. And the seed time came for the sowing of seed upon the land, and they all went forth together to protect their seed against the ravens, and Abram went forth with those that went, and the child was a lad of fourteen years. 19. And a cloud of ravens came to devour the seed, and Abram ran to meet them before they settled on the ground, and cried to them before they settled on the ground to devour the seed, and said, "Descend not: return to the place whence ye came," and they proceeded to turn back. 20. And he caused the

the daughter of Karnabo, is said to be the wife of Nahor, but by taking the context rightly we get Amtalai as wife of Terah. Book of Jashar (Migne, *Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1103) gives Amtela as Terah's wife, but there is no mention of her father's name. According to Eutychius (translated by Pococke, 1658) Terah had two wives, Yuna and Tohwait. See note on xii. 9.

15. *Abram, by the name*, etc. This statement is referred to by Syncellus, i. 183: Τὸν κατὰ μητέρα πάππον τοῦ 'Αβραὰμ ἡ Λεπτὴ Γένεσίς φησιν ὅτι 'Αβραὰμ ἐκαλεῖτο, ἡ δὲ Σάρρα ἀδελφὴ ὁμοπατρία τοῦ 'Αβραὰμ ὑπῆρχε.

16-17. Syncellus writes (i. 184) on the authority of our text: τῷ ιδ' ἔτει αὐτοῦ ὁ 'Αβραὰμ ἐπιγνοὺς τὸν τῶν ὅλων θεὸν προσεκύνει. Cf. Cedrenus, i. 47: οὗτος ('Αβραὰμ) μόνος, τῶν ἁπανταχοῦ τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ εἴδωλα πλάνην νοσούντων, τὸν ἀληθῆ θεὸν ἐπέγνω καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων ἀνεκήρυξε. According to Simon ben Lakish in Ber. rabba 30, 64, 95, Midr. on Shir ha-Shirim v. 16 (cf. Midr. on Esther ii. 5), Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1106), Abraham knew God when only three years old, according to R. Chanina in his forty-eighth year. See Beer, *Leben Abr.* 103-104 for other references.

16. For later forms of the saga in xi. 16-17, xii. 1-14, see Beer, *Leben Abr.* 3, 102; Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1106 sqq.); Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxix., xxxiii.-xxxiv

18. *Lad of fourteen years.* See quotation from Bar-hebraeus in note on 11-13.

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clouds of ravens to turn back that day seventy times, and of all the ravens throughout all the land where Abram was there settled there not so much as one. 21. And all who were with him throughout all the land saw him cry out, and all the ravens turn back, and his name became great in all the land of the Chaldees. 22. And there came to him this year all those that wished to sow, and he went with them until the time of sowing ceased: and they sowed their land, and that year they brought enough grain home and eat and were satisfied. 23. And in the first year of the fifth week
1891 A.M. Abram taught those who made implements for oxen, the artificers in wood, and they made a vessel above the ground, facing the frame of the plough, in order to put the seed thereon, and the seed fell down therefrom upon the share of the plough, and was hidden in the earth, and they no longer feared the ravens. 24. And after this manner they made (vessels) above the ground on all the frames of the ploughs, and they sowed and tilled all the land, according as Abram commanded them, and they no longer feared the birds.

Abram seeks to turn Terah from idolatry, 1-8. *Marries Sarai*, 9. *Haran and Nachor*, 9-11. *Abram burns the idols: death of Haran*, 12-14 (cf. Gen. xi. 28). *Terah and his family go to Haran*, 15. *Abram observes the stars and prays*, 16-21. *Is bidden to go to Canaan and blessed*, 22-24. *Power of speaking Hebrew given to him*, 25-27. *Leaves Haran for Canaan*, 28-31. (Cf. Gen. xi. 31-xii. 3.)

XII. And it came to pass in the sixth week, in the
1904 A.M.

20. *He caused the clouds of ravens to turn back.* Here we must emend gabera (*a b*), gaberû (*c*), gab'a (*d*), into agb'a, or retaining the reading of *a b* understand jetmajatû after sabĕ'â.

XII. 1-14. Instead of the simple narrative in these verses we have in later Jewish writings elaborate accounts of the fear inspired in Nimrod by Abram's birth, and the attempts of the former to destroy Abram in a furnace of fire when he refused to commit

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seventh year thereof, that Abram said to Terah his father, saying, "Father!" And he said, "Behold, here am I, my son."

2. And he said,

"What help and profit have we from those idols which thou dost worship,

And before which thou dost bow thyself?

idolatry. The idea that Abram was cast into a fiery furnace arose from a literal interpretation of Gen. xv. 7, "I am the Lord that brought thee out of Ur (כשׂדים) of the Chaldees" where אור was taken to mean "fire." Probably a comparison of Exod. xx. 2 and Is. xxix. 22 may have contributed to this interpretation. The casting of Abram into the furnace of fire is recorded in Targ.-Jon. on Is. x. 32, in the Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xi. 28, xv. 7, and the Jerus. Targ. on Gen. xv. 7; also in Ber. Rabba 38, 39, 42, 43, 44, 63; Shem. rabba 18, 23, 44; Wajikra rabba 36; Debarim rabba 9. As to whether it was God Himself or an angel who delivered Abram out of the fire was a question of debate among the Rabbis in the first and second cent. (Ber. rabba 48, Midr. on Shir ha-Shirim i. 12). Exaggerated and grotesque forms of the legend will be found in the Book of Jashar (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1111 sqq.) and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxxiii.-xxxiv. On the other hand no trace of the legend occurs in Josephus (*Ant.* i. 7) or in the Palestinian Midrashim (the Mechilta, Sifra and Sifre), nor in our text save in xii. 14, where we have perhaps the source of a kindred legend—the death of Haran by fire (see note *in loc.*). Jerome mentions this last legend (see note on xii. 14) and likewise the former about the casting of Abram into the fiery furnace (*Quaest. Hebr* on Gen. xii. 4): Erant autem Abram septuaginta quinque annorum, quando egressus est ex Charra. Indissolubilis nascitur quaestio: si enim Thara pater Abrahae, cum adhuc esset in regione Chaldaea, septuaginta annorum, genuit Abram, et postea in Charra ducentesimo quinto aetatis suae anno mortuus est: quomodo nunc post mortem Thare, Abram exiens de Charra, septuaginta quinque annorum fuisse memoratur: cum a nativitate Abrae usque ad mortem patris ejus, centum triginta quinque fuisse anni doceantur. *Vera est igitur illa Hebraeorum traditio*, quam supra diximus, *quod egressus sit Thara cum filiis suis de igne Chaldaeorum: et quod Abram Babylonio vallatus incendio, quia illud adorare nolebat*, Dei sit auxilio liberatus: et ex illo tempore ei dies vitae, et tempus reputetur aetatis, ex quo confessus est Dominum, spernens idola Chaldaeorum. Potest autem fieri ut, quia scriptura reliquit incertum, ante paucos annos Thara de Chaldaea profectus, venerit in Charran quam mortem obieret, vel certe statim post persecutionem in Charran venerit et ibi diutius sit moratus. For a full discussion of the subject and references to later Jewish literature see Beer's monograph in the *Monatsschrift für Gesch. Judenthums*, 1855, pp. 59-65. Beer is of opinion that Persia was the home of the legend and that it did not make its way into Palestine till the third cent. of the Christian era. This is much too late. A late form of the tradition is found in Ps.-Philo, *Ant. bibl. Lib.* pp. 48 sqq.

2. This tradition of Abram admonishing Terah was known to Suidas (Fabric. *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 336-338): Ἀβραὰμ ὑπάρχων ἐτῶν ιδ' καὶ θεογνωσίας ἀξιωθεὶς ἐνουθέτει τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ λέγων· τί πλανᾷς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους διὰ κέρδος ἐπιζήμιον, τουτέστι, τὰ εἴδωλα; οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος θεός, εἰ μὴ ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ὁ καὶ πάντα τὸν κόσμον δημιουργήσας. Epiphanius (*Adv. Haer.* i. 1, p. 38, Oehler) attributes the invention of image-worship to Terah: Ναχὼρ δὲ γεννᾷ τὸν Θάρρα· ἐντεῦθεν γέγονεν ἀνδριαντοποιία ἀπὸ πηλουργίας καὶ κεραμικῆς ἐπιστήμης διὰ τῆς τοῦ Θάρρα τούτου τέχνης.

Help and profit . . . from those idols. Cf. 1 Sam. xii. 21, "Vain things which cannot profit nor deliver."

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3. For there is no spirit in them,
For they are dumb forms, and a misleading of the heart.
Worship them not:

4. Worship the God of heaven,
Who causes the rain and the dew to descend on the earth,
And does everything upon the earth,
And has created everything by His word,
And all life is from before His face.

5. Why do ye worship things that have no spirit in them?
For they are the work of (men's) hands,
And on your shoulders do ye bear them,
And ye have no help from them,
But they are a great cause of shame to those who make them,
And a misleading of the heart to those who worship them:
Worship them not."

6. And his father said unto him, "I also know it, my son, but what shall I do with a people who have made me to serve before them? 7. And if I tell them the truth, they will slay me; for their soul cleaves to them to worship them and honour them. Keep silent, my son, lest they slay thee." 8. And these words he spake to his two brothers, and they were angry with him and he kept silent.

1925 A.M. 9. And in the fortieth jubilee, in the second week, in the seventh year thereof, Abram took to himself a wife, and her name was Sarai, the daughter of his father, and she became

3. *There is no spirit*, etc. See also ver. 5, xx. 8; Ps. cxxxv. 17.

4. *Causes the rain . . . to descend.* See xx. 9. Cf. Jer. xiv. 22, "Are there any among the vanities of the heathen that can cause rain? . . . thou hast made all these things." See also Epistle of Jeremy 53; Mt. v. 45; Acts xiv. 17.

5. *Work of (men's) hands.* Cf. Jer. x. 3, 9. See xx. 8, xxii. 18 of our text.
On your shoulders do ye carry them. Amos v. 26; Is. xlvi. 7; Jer. x. 5; Epist. Jer. 4, 26; Ass. Mos. viii. 4.

9. *Sarai.* Sarai is written Sôrâ in the Ethiopic till xv. 15, when she receives the name Sarah (Eth. Sârâ).

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his wife. 10. And Haran, his brother, took to himself a wife in the third year of the third week, and she bare him a son in the seventh year of this week, and he called his name 1932 A.M. Lot. 11. And Nahor, his brother, took to himself a wife. 12. And in the sixtieth year of the life of Abram, that is, 1936 A.M. in the fourth week, in the fourth year thereof, Abram arose by night, and burned the house of the idols, and he burned all that was in the house, and no man knew it. 13. And they arose in the night and sought to save their gods from the midst of the fire. 14. And Haran hasted to save them, but the fire flamed over him, and he was burnt in the fire, and he died in Ur of the Chaldees before Terah his father,

The same form of the words is found in the Ethiopic version of Gen. xvii. 15 and may go back to the Greek version. In the LXX the words, however, are given as Σάρα and Σάρρα.

The daughter of his father. Our author here follows Gen. xx. 12, where Abraham says that Sarah is the daughter of his father but not of his mother. Syncellus probably follows our text in saying (i. 183): ἡ δὲ Σάρρα ὁμοπατρία τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ὑπῆρχε. In the Book of Adam and Eve (translated by Malan), iv. 2, the two wives of Terah are mentioned, Tona, the mother of Abraham, and Tahdif, the mother of Sarah (see note on xi. 14). On the other hand Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6. 5; 7 1) describes Sarai as a niece of Abraham and a daughter of Haran—an evasion probably unknown to our author. According to the rabbinic tradition (Jebam. 98 *a*, Sanh. 58 *b*, Ber. rabba 18, etc.) marriage with half-sisters on the father's side was permitted to the descendants of Noah (see Singer, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 167 note). Marriage with a sister or half-sister is strictly forbidden in Lev. xviii. 9, 11, xx. 17. See note on iv. 15.

10. *Haran.* Eth. has 'Arân.

11. According to Gen. xi. 29 Nahor married Milcah, the daughter of Haran.

12-14. In the note on xii. 1-14 (p. 90 sq.) I have drawn attention to the fact that our book knows nothing of the later legend of the casting of Abram into the furnace. In verses 12-14, however, we have an old legend—possibly devised by our author, being suggested by the twofold meaning of the Ur (אור), *i.e.* the name of a country and a fire. Our author is fond of explaining events from the meanings of words. A different form of the legend appears in Jerome, who rejects the legend of Abram's being cast into the fire (*Quaest. Hebr.* on Gen. xi. 28): Pro eo, quod legimus, in regione Chaldaeorum, in Hebraeo habetur, in Ur Chesdim, id est in igne Chaldaeorum. Tradunt autem Hebraei ex hac occasione istius modi fabulam: quod Abraham in ignem missus sit, quia ignem adorare noluerit, quem Chaldaei colunt, et Dei auxilio liberatus de idolatriae igne profugerit . . . Mortuus est Aran ante conspectum Thare . . . in igne Chaldaeorum: quod videlicet ignem nolens adorare igne consumptus sit. Syncellus (i. 185) follows our author: ἐνεπύρισεν Ἀβραὰμ τὰ εἴδωλα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ συγκατεκαύθη αὐτοῖς Ἀρρὰν θέλων σβέσαι τὸ πῦρ ἐν νυκτί. Cedrenus (i. 48) seems to have had our text before him: ἤδη δὲ ἑξηκοστὸν ἔτος ἄγων ὁ Ἀβραάμ, ὡς οὐκ ἐδόκει τὸν πατέρα πείθειν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οἰκείους τῆς περὶ τὰ εἴδωλα ἀποσχέσθαι δεισιδαιμονίας, λανθάνει νυκτὸς τῶν εἰδώλων ἐμπρήσας τὸν οἶκον. αὐτῶν δὲ ἐξαναλουμένων οἱ ἀδελφοὶ νοήσαντες ἀναπηδῶσι, βουλόμενοι ἐκ μέσου τοῦ πυρὸς ἐξελέσθαι τὰ εἴδωλα. φιλοτιμότερον δὲ ὁ Ἀρὰμ τῷ πράγματι προσφερόμενος ἐν μέσῳ διαφθείρεται τοῦ πυρός. Cf. Bar-hebraeus, *Historia*

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and they buried him in Ur of the Chaldees. 15. And Terah went forth from Ur of the Chaldees, he and his sons, to go into the land of Lebanon and into the land of Canaan, and he dwelt in the land of Haran, and Abram dwelt with Terah his father in Haran two weeks of years. 16. And in
1951 A.M. the sixth week, in the fifth year thereof, Abram sat up throughout the night on the new moon of the seventh month to observe the stars from the evening to the morning, in order to see what would be the character of the year with regard to the rains, and he was alone as he sat and observed. 17. And a word came into his heart and he said: "All the signs of the stars, and the signs of the moon and of the sun are all in the hand of the Lord. Why do I search (them) out?

18. If He desires, He causes it to rain, morning and evening;
And if He desires, He withholds it,
And all things are in His hand."

19. And he prayed that night and said
"My God, God Most High, Thou alone art my God,
And Thee and Thy dominion have I chosen.
And Thou hast created all things,
And all things that are are the work of Thy hands.

Dynastiarum, p. 13 (quoted by Fabricius, i. 422): Incenditque ille templum idolorum in urbe Chaldaeorum, at Haran frater ipsius ad extinguendum ignem ingressus combustus est. According to Beer (*Leben Abr.* 110) the same legend is found in Midr. b. Bechaii.

15. *Haran.* Eth. has Kârân, *i.e.* חָרָן, Haran, a city in the N.W. of Mesopotamia. Cf. Gen. xi. 31.

16-18. Abram on the first of the seventh month seeks to determine the nature of the weather during the ensuing six rainy months (see note on xii. 27). In Ber. rabba 44, according to the Rabbis, God told Abram that he was a prophet and not a star-gazer. Cedrenus (i. 48-49) reproduces the substance of our text: ἔνθα ὁ Ἀβραὰμ δεκαπέντε ἔτη τῷ πατρὶ συνοικήσας ἐνενοεῖ ποτὲ νυκτὸς ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἄστρων κινήσεως τοῦ ἐπιόντος καιροῦ κατασκέψασθαι τὴν ποιότητα· ἦν γὰρ οὐ μετρίως ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἅπασαν τὴν τοιαύτην ἐξασκηθεὶς ἐπιστήμην. καὶ δὴ μετὰ τὴν ἑκάστου τῶν ζητουμένων διάγνωσιν, συνίησι περιττὴν ἅπασαν εἶναι τὴν τοιαύτην περιεργίαν· δύνασθαι γὰρ αὖθις τὸν θεόν, εἰ βούλοιτο, μετασκευσάσαι πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον βούλημα τὰ προεγνωσμένα. Cf. Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1106). Some such idea seems to have been present to Philo, *De Migr. Abr.* xxxii.-xxxiii.

19. *And Thee and Thy Dominion*, etc. The MSS put this line at the end of ver. 19.

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20. Deliver me from the hands of evil spirits who have sway over the thoughts of men's hearts,
And let them not lead me astray from Thee, my God.
And stablish Thou me and my seed for ever
That we go not astray from henceforth and for evermore."
21. And he said, "Shall I return unto Ur of the Chaldees who seek my face that I may return to them, or am I to remain here in this place? The right path before Thee prosper it in the hands of Thy servant that he may fulfil (it) and that I may not walk in the deceitfulness of my heart, O my God." 22. And he made an end of speaking and praying, and behold the word of the Lord was sent to him through me, saying: "Get thee up from thy country, and from thy kindred and from the house of thy father unto a land which I shall show thee, and I shall make thee a great and numerous nation.
23. And I shall bless thee
And I shall make thy name great,
And thou wilt be blessed in the earth,
And in Thee will all families of the earth be blessed,
And I shall bless them that bless thee,
And curse them that curse thee.
24. And I shall be a God to thee and thy son, and to thy son's son, and to all thy seed: fear not, from henceforth and unto all generations of the earth I am thy God." 25. And the Lord God said: "Open his mouth and his ears, that he may hear and speak with

22-23. Gen. xii. 1-3.

22. *From the house of thy father.* This implies separation from Terah (see 29-31). The phrase is omitted in Acts vii. 3, where the quotation is given a different context.

25-26. From the overthrow of Babel (x. 26) the knowledge of the Hebrew language was lost till the 75th year of Abram's life. Our text was before Syncellus, i. 185. Thus, contrary to his own system of chronology, he assigns the date in this connection as the beginning of the 41st jubilee. Ἀρχὴ τοῦ μά Ἰωβηλαίου παρ' Ἑβραίοις. Ἰωβὴλ δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἡ πεντηκονταετηρίς, ὡς εἶναι ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ πε' (so Rönsch: MSS με') ἔτος

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his mouth, with the language which has been revealed"; for it had ceased from the mouths of all the children of men from the day of the overthrow (of Babel). 26. And I opened his mouth, and his ears and his lips, and I began to speak with him in Hebrew in the tongue of the creation. 27. And he took the books of his fathers, and these were written in Hebrew, and he transcribed them, and he began from henceforth to study them, and I made known to him that which he could not (understand), and he studied them
1953 A.M. during the six rainy months. 28. And it came to pass in the seventh year of the sixth week that he spoke to his father, and informed him that he would leave Haran to go into the land of Canaan to see it and return to him. 29. And Terah his father said unto him; "Go in peace:

'Αβραὰμ ἔτη ,βα' (=2001: so Rönsch: MSS ,βν'). ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ λαλῶν τῷ Μωϋσῇ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, ὅτι τὸν 'Αβραὰμ ἐγὼ ἐδίδαξα τὴν 'Εβραΐδα γλῶσσαν κατὰ τὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως, λαλεῖν τὰ πάτρια πάντα, ὡς ἐν Λεπτῇ κεῖται Γενέσει. The above reckoning agrees exactly with our text if we take into account the fact that Syncellus wrongly takes a jubilee as 50 years instead of 49 years. Syncellus thus finds that on the 1st year of the 41st jubilee, 2001 years have elapsed from Adam till the 85th year of Abram. According to our text Abram was 75 years old in 1951 and therefore 85 in 1961. Now 40 jubilees + 1 = 1961, but Syncellus, reckoning the jubilee at 50 years, wrongly made the total 2001. A curtailed form of the above statement is reproduced by Cedrenus, i. 48. Again the writer of the Clementine *Recognitions*, i. 30, knew the substance of our text: Quinta decima generatione primo omnium homines idolum statuentes adoraverunt, et usque ad illud tempus divinitus humano generi data Hebraeorum lingua tenuit monarchiam.

A different tradition from that in our text appears in the *Catena Nicephori*, i. col. 177, on Gen. xi. 8, where Heber is said to have alone retained the Hebrew language, because he took no part in the building of Babel. In the next colophon of the same work the same statement is attributed to Diodorus of Antioch (378-394 A.D.). A similar view is set forth in Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xvi. 11, and in Cedrenus, i. 22: φασὶ δὲ ὅτι μόνος ὁ Ἔβερ ὁ τοῦ Φάλεκ πατὴρ οὐ συνέθετο τῇ πράξει τῆς πυργοποιίας· διὸ καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων φωνῆς συγχεθείσης ἡ τοῦ Ἔβερ οὐκ ἀπώλετο. According to Malan, *Book of Adam and Eve*, p. 245, this view was propounded by Bar-hebraeus (*Syr.* p. 9).

25. *Language which has been revealed.* Cf. Clementine *Recognitions* i. 30: Divinitus humano generi data Hebraeorum lingua (see preceding note).

Day of the overthrow. See note on x. 26.

27. *The books of his fathers.* See note on xxi. 10.

Six rainy months. This means the winter in the East. It is the time for study. The expression is Talmudic: ימות הגשמים (Taan. 3 *b*; Erubin 56 *a*) in opposition to ימות החמה, the days of the Sun, *i.e.* the summer.

29-31. Singer (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 170) is no doubt right in saying that this passage owes its existence to the author's wish to protect Abram against the reproach of leaving his aged father (see Ber. rabba 39).

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May the eternal God make thy path straight,
And the Lord [(be) with thee, and] protect thee from all evil,
And grant unto thee grace, mercy and favour before those who see thee,
And may none of the children of men have power over thee to harm thee;
Go in peace.

30. And if thou seest a land pleasant to thy eyes to dwell in, then arise and take me to thee and take Lot with thee, the son of Haran thy brother, as thine own son: the Lord be with thee. 31. And Nahor thy brother leave with me till thou returnest in peace, and we go with thee all together."

Abram journeys from Haran to Shechem in Canaan, thence to Hebron and thence to Egypt, 1-14*a*. *Returns to Canaan where Lot separates from him, and receives the promise of Canaan and journeys to Hebron,* 14*b*-21. *Chedorlaomer's attack on Sodom and Gomorrah: Lot taken captive,* 22-24. *Law of tithes enacted,* 25-29. (Cf. Gen. xii. 4-10, 15-17, 19-20, xiii. 11-18, xiv. 8-14, 21-24.)

XIII. And Abram journeyed from Haran, and he took Sarai, his wife, and Lot, his brother Haran's son, to the land of Canaan, and he came into †Asshur†, and proceeded to Shechem, and dwelt near a lofty oak. 2. And he saw, and, behold, the land was very pleasant from the entering of Hamath to the lofty oak. 3. And the Lord said to him:

Accordingly, Abram is to return and fetch his father. As Terah is still alive at the age of 147 (see xi. 10, 15) it follows that our author accepts 205 years in Gen. xi. 32 (Mass., LXX) as the age of Terah when he died. The Samaritan here has 145, and this is the text presupposed by Acts vii. 4. It is accepted by Budde and Dillmann.

XIII. 1. Cf. Gen. xii. 5-6.

†*Asshur.*† I have obelised this as corrupt. We should expect "Canaan." *a* has Sûr.

Shechem. Eth. has Sakîmôn.

2. *Hamath.* Eth. has 'Êmâth. See note on x. 33.

Lofty oak. So LXX Gen. xii. 6; Mass. = "oak of Moreh."

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"To thee and to thy seed will I give this land." 4. And he built an altar there, and he offered thereon a burnt sacrifice to the Lord, who had appeared to him. 5. And he removed from thence unto the mountain . . . Bethel on the west and Ai on the east, and pitched his tent there. 6. And he saw and behold, the land was very wide and good, and everything grew thereon—vines and figs and pomegranates, oaks and ilexes, and terebinths and oil trees, and cedars and cypresses and date trees, and all trees of the field, and there was water on the mountains. 7. And he blessed the Lord who had led him out of Ur of the Chaldees,
1954 A.M. and had brought him to this land. 8. And it came to pass in the first year, in the seventh week, on the new moon of the first month, that he built an altar on this mountain, and called on the name of the Lord: "Thou, the eternal God, art my God." 9. And he offered on the altar a burnt sacrifice unto the Lord that He should be with him and not forsake him all the days of his life. 10. And he removed from thence and went towards the south, and he came to Hebron, and Hebron was built at that time, and he dwelt there two years, and he went (thence) into the land of the south, to Bealoth, and there was a famine in the land.
1956 A.M. 11. And Abram went into Egypt in the third year of the week, and he dwelt in Egypt five years before his wife was torn away from him. 12. Now Tanais in Egypt was at

3-5. Cf. Gen. xii. 7-8.

5. *Unto the mountain . . . Bethel on the west*, etc. After "mountain" there is probably a loss of the words: "to the east of Bethel with." This lacuna is not marked in the MSS. Zasemû after Bêtêl in *a* may be a corruption of westa = *ἐν*. If so, it should be placed before Bêtêl. *b c d* read "unto the mountain of Bethel," etc.

Ai. Eth. 'Aggê, LXX 'Αγγαί.

6. *Date trees* = bîlanôs (= *βάλανος*), an emendation of *a* bîbanôs. *c d* read libânôs, which Dillmann takes to mean "pine trees."

8. *On the new moon of the first month*. So *c d*, which is to be preferred to the reading of *a b* as Praetorius and Littmann have pointed out.

Thou, the eternal God, art (*b c d*). *a*, "And said, the eternal God is." See ver. 16.

9-10. Cf. Gen. xii. 8^{b}-10.

10. *Hebron*. Eth. Kêbrôn.

Bealoth, Latin Bahalot, LXX Βααλώθ (Mass. בַּעֲלוֹת). A town in the south of Judah, Jos. xv. 24, as Littmann has recognised. MSS corruptly Bôa Lôth.

12. *Tanais, i.e.* Zoan, צֹעַן (LXX

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that time built—seven years after Hebron. 13. And it came to pass when Pharaoh seized Sarai, the wife of Abram, that the Lord plagued Pharaoh and his house with great plagues because of Sarai, Abram's wife. 14. And Abram was very glorious by reason of possessions in sheep, and cattle, and asses, and horses, and camels, and menservants, and maidservants, and in silver and gold exceedingly. And Lot also, his brother's son, was wealthy. 15. And Pharaoh gave back Sarai, the wife of Abram, and he sent him out of the land of Egypt, and he journeyed to the place where he had pitched his tent at the beginning, to the place of the altar, with Ai on the east, and Bethel on the west, and he blessed the Lord his God who had brought him back in peace. 16. And it came to pass in the forty-first 1963 A.M. jubilee, in the third year of the first week, that he returned to this place and offered thereon a burnt sacrifice, and called on the name of the Lord, and said: "Thou, the most high God, art my God for ever and ever." 17. And in the fourth 1964 A.M. year of this week Lot parted from him, and Lot dwelt in Sodom, and the men of Sodom were sinners exceedingly. 18. And it grieved him in his heart that his brother's son had parted from him; for he had no children. 19. In that year when Lot was taken captive, the Lord said unto Abram, after that Lot had parted from him, in. the fourth year of this week: "Lift up thine eyes from the place where thou art dwelling, northward and southward, and westward and eastward. 20. For all the land which thou seest I

Ταυτ). The statement in this verse is drawn from Num. xiii. 22.

13-15ª. Cf. Gen. xii. 15-20. Our author conceals Abram's deception of Pharaoh relative to Sarai, and omits Gen. xii. 18. The Book of Jashar expands all the details of the Biblical account.

15. *Journeyed to the place where he had pitched his tent*, etc. Cf. Gen. xiii. 3, 4.

Ai on the east, etc. See on ver. 5.

16. *Thou, the most high God*, etc. Cf. ver. 8.

17. *Lot parted from him.* Cf. Gen. xiii. 11.

18. *It grieved him* = 'akajô. So *b*. Cf. Sir. xi. 22 for this transitive use. *a* has 'ak'ijô, *d* 'a'ĕkajû. *c* gives ḥazana, a conjecture right in sense.

19-21. Cf. Gen. xiii. 14-18.

19. *This week.* MSS add "and said" against Latin and Gen. xiii.

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shall give to thee and to thy seed for ever, and I shall make thy seed as the sand of the sea: though a man may number the dust of the earth, yet thy seed shall not be numbered. 21. Arise, walk (through the land) in the length of it and the breadth of it, and see it all; for to thy seed shall I give it." And Abram went to Hebron, and dwelt there. 22. And in this year came Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, and Amraphel, king of Shinar, and Arioch, king of Sêllâsar, and Têrgâl, king of nations, and slew the king of Gomorrah, and the king of Sodom fled, and many fell through wounds in the vale of Siddim, by the Salt Sea. 23. And they took captive Sodom and Adam and Zeboim, and they took captive Lot also, the son of Abram's brother, and all his possessions, and they went to Dan. 24. And one who had escaped came and told Abram that his brother's son had been taken captive and (Abram) armed his household servants. 25. . . . . for Abram, and for his seed, a tenth of the

20. *Sand of the sea.* This expression is borrowed from Gen. xxii. 17. Gen. xiii. 16 has here: "dust of the earth."

Not be numbered. Gen. xiii. 16 omits the negative; but it is also found in Onkelos.

21. I have added "through the land" from Gen. xiii. 17, since the expression "length of it" presupposes its presence in the text, otherwise we have to go back twenty-three words in the Ethiopic for the antecedent of "it." The Latin is here defective, omitting "through the land in its length and."

22-29. Cf. Gen. xiv.

22. *Chedorlaomer.* Eth. has Kôdôlâgômôr.

Amraphel. Eth. has 'Âmârphel. Cf. Gen. xiv. 1 (LXX) 'Αμαρφάλ.

Sêllâsar. Possibly a corruption of Ellâsar, since sê and 'ê are easily confused in Ethiopic; but the corruption originated in the Greek, since A in Gen. xiv. 1 has Σελλασαρ; or in the Hebrew, as the Syriac has Dalasar and the Targum of Ps.-Jon. Telassar.

Têrgâl, i.e. Tidal of Mass. Syr. has Tar'il and LXX Θαργάλ.

Gomorrah. Eth. Gômôr.

King of Sodom fled. Our author here corrects the apparent contradiction in Gen. xiv. 10, 17.

Vale of Siddim. An easy emendation of a corrupt text. See my Eth. text (p. 48).

23. *Adam, i.e.* Admah.

They went. Text which has "he went" should be emended.

To Dan. Cf. Gen. xiv. 14.

24. *One who had escaped.* Gen. xiv. 13. This person was named Oni according to the Book of Jashar (Migne's *Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1125).

And (Abram) armed his household servants. Gen. xiv. 14. For "armed" (*a b d*), *c* corruptly reads "made atonement for." Onkelos (ורזן) supports the rendering which our text gives of ירק in Gen. xiv. 14. The LXX ἠριθμησε and Vulg. numeravit which presuppose ירק the text of the Samaritan.

25. At the beginning of this verse there is obviously a lacuna, for the text

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first-fruits to the Lord, and the Lord ordained it as an ordinance for ever that they should give it to the priests who served before Him, that they should possess it for ever. 26. And to this law there is no limit of days; for He hath ordained it for the generations for ever that they should give to the Lord the tenth of everything, of the seed and of the wine and of the oil and of the cattle and of the sheep. 27. And He gave (it) unto His priests to eat and to drink with joy before Him. 28. And the king of Sodom came to him and bowed himself before him, and said: "Our Lord Abram, give unto us the souls which thou hast rescued, but let the booty be thine." 29. And Abram said unto him: "I lift up my hands to the Most High God, that from a

is anacolouthic. *c* removes the anacolouthon by changing 'astarasaja = "armed" of *a b d* into 'astasĕraja = "made atonement for." Thus instead of "(Abram) armed his household servants . . . . for Abram" we have "his household servant made atonement for Abram." But this change is against the best MSS, which are likewise supported by Gen. xiv. 14 (see note on ver. 24), and it does not dispense with the necessity of assuming a lacuna at the close of ver. 24. The lacuna, drawn attention to in our text, would naturally contain an account of Abram's pursuit of the kings and recovery of the captives and spoil. It no doubt told also of Melchizedek; for ver. 25 presupposes Gen. xiv. 18^{b}-20^{c} by declaring that the tithes belong to the priests. In Nedar 32 *b* it is said that the priestly office passed from Melchizedek's successors to those of Abraham because Melchizedek sinned in blessing Abraham before he blessed God (Beer, *Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 74). Since Beer had before him the corrupt reading of *c*, which tries to obviate the anacolouthic nature of the text, he assumed that the text contained no reference to Melchizedek. It is true that this passage has always been a stumbling-block to strict Jews. Thus it was urged against them by Justin (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 19: ἀπερίτμητος ἦν ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ ὑψίστου Μελχισεδέκ, ᾧ καὶ δεκάτας προσφορὰς ἔδωκεν Ἀβραάμ) that Melchizedek was uncircumcised to whom Abram gave tithes, and also by Tertullian, *Adv. Jud.* iii.: Patriarchae incircumcisi fuerunt, ut Melchisedech qui ipsi Abrahae jam circumciso . . . panem et vinum obtulit incircumcisus. To evade such attacks some Jewish writers declared that Melchizedek was born circumcised (Ber. rabba 43; for other references see Singer, p. 122 note); also that Melchizedek was identical with Shem (Targum Jon. and Jerus. on Gen. xiv. 18; Nedar 32 *b*; Ber. rabba 44: Book of Jashar (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1125); see Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, 142; Singer, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 122 note for further references). These evasions were apparently unknown to Philo and Josephus. In connection with the fact that Melchizedek was called "a priest of the most high God" (Gen. xiv. 18) we should remember that the Maccabeans called themselves by this title (see note on xxxii. 1). Now since our author (see Introd. § 21) is an apologist of the Maccabean dynasty, it is not probable that he would omit all reference to Melchizedek who first bore the title they afterwards assumed.

26. From the enigmatical words of Gen. xiv. 20 "he gave him a tenth of all" our author derives the law of universal tithing. See xxxii. 15.

28-29. Cf. Gen. xiv. 21-24.

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thread to a shoe-latchet I shall not take aught that is thine, lest thou shouldst say I have made Abram rich; save only what the young men have eaten, and the portion of the men who went with me—Aner, Eschol, and Mamre. These will take their portion."

Abram receives the promise of a son and of innumerable descendants, 1-7. *Offers a sacrifice and is told of his seed being in Egypt*, 8-17. *God's covenant with Abram*, 18-20. *Hagar bears Ishmael*, 21-24. (Cf. Gen. xv., xvi. 1-4, 11.)

XIV. After these things, in the fourth year of this week, on the new moon of the third month, the word of the Lord came to Abram in a dream, saying: "Fear not, Abram; I am thy defender, and thy reward will be exceeding great." 2. And he said: "Lord, Lord, what wilt thou give me, seeing I go hence childless, and the son of Mâsêq, the son of my handmaid, is the Dammasek Eliezer: he will be my heir, and to me thou hast given no seed." 3. And He said unto him: "This (man) will not be thy heir, but one that will come out of thine own bowels; he will be thine heir." 4. And He brought him forth abroad, and said unto him: "Look toward heaven and number the stars, if thou art able to number them." 5. And he looked toward heaven, and beheld the stars. And He said unto him: "So shall thy seed be." 6. And he believed in the Lord, and it was counted to him for righteousness. 7. And He said unto

29. *Aner.* Eth. has 'Aunân.

XIV. 1-6. Cf. Gen. xv. 1-6.

2. *Lord, Lord.* Probably = Δέσποτα Κύριε as in LXX of Gen. xv. 2 = אדוני יהוה.

The son of Mâsêq, the son of my handmaid. The Greek translator (and also the LXX) wrongly took משק (= "possession") to be a proper name. Instead of "the son of Mâsêq" we should have "the possessor." Next, "the son of my handmaid" = ὁ οἰκογενής μου. Hence our text = בן משק בן ביתי. Subsequent tradition made much of Eliezer. He was said to be one of the seven righteous men who had not tasted of death (Baba bathra 58 *a*).

7. Cf. Gen. xv. 7.

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him: "I am the Lord that brought thee out of Ur of thè Chaldees, to give thee the land of the Canaanites to possess it for ever; and I shall be God unto thee and to thy seed after thee." 8. And he said: "Lord, Lord, whereby shall I know that I shall inherit (it)?" 9. And He said unto him: "Take Me an heifer of three years, and a goat of three years, and a sheep of three years, and a turtle-dove, and a pigeon." 10. And he took all these in the middle of the month; and he dwelt at the oak of Mamre, which is near Hebron. 11. And he built there an altar, and sacrificed all these; and he poured their blood upon the altar, and divided them in the midst, and laid them over against each other; but the birds divided he not. 12. And birds came down upon the pieces, and Abram drove them away, and did not suffer the birds to touch them. 13. And it came to pass, when the sun had set, that an ecstasy fell upon Abram, and lo! an horror of great darkness fell upon him, and it was said unto Abram: "Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land (that is) not theirs, and they will bring them into bondage, and afflict them four hundred years. 14. And the nation also to whom they will

And I shall be God unto thee (*c d*). *a b* read "to be God unto thee."

8-9. Cf. Gen. xv. 8-9.

8. *Lord, Lord.* See note on ver. 2.

9. *An heifer of three years*, etc. The Mass., LXX, Ps.-Jon., Wajikra rabba 14, Joseph. *Ant.* i. 10. 3 mention one animal of each kind, as here. On the other hand, Gen. rabba and Onkelos on this verse prescribe three of each kind. So also Rashi, Nachmanides, Kimchi according to Beer (*Leb. Abr.* 20, 121).

10. *In the middle of the month.* Ps.-Jon. on Exod. xii. 40, and the Seder Olam 5, state that this event took place on Nisan 15.

Dwelt at the oak of Mamre. Cf. Gen. xiv. 13.

11-12. Cf. Gen. xv. 10-11.

12. *The pieces.* The MSS have here "that which was spread out" = ταθέντα, which I have taken to be a corruption of τμηθέντα: cf. LXX τὰ διχοτομήματα. This would imply the reading גורים. But ταθέντα might possibly be a corruption of κταθέντα = פגרים as in Mass. text. In that case we should render "carcases." Observe that LXX (= ἐπὶ τὰ σώματα ἐπὶ τὰ διχοτομήματα) had clearly על-הפגרים על-גורים before it.

And Abram drove them away = καὶ ἀπεσόβησεν (= Mass. וַיַּשֵּׁב) αὐτὰ Ἀβράμ (Aquila). LXX = καὶ συνεκάθισεν αὐτοῖς Ἀβράμ.

13-16. Cf. Gen. xv. 12-16.

13. *They will bring them into bondage.* So LXX and Vulgate. Mass., Sam., and Syr. = "they will be in bondage to them."

Four hundred years. In Gen. xv. 13 the length of the sojourn *in Egypt* is given as 400 years, but in Exod. xii. 40 as 430. But since neither number agrees with the period calculated from the ages of Kohath, Amram

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be in bondage shall I judge, and after that they will come forth thence with much substance. 15. And thou wilt go to thy fathers in peace, and be buried in a good old age. 16. But in the fourth generation they will return hither; for the iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full." 17. And he awoke from his sleep, and he arose, and the sun had set; and there was a flame, and behold! a furnace was smoking, and a flame of fire passed between the pieces. 18. And on that day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying: "To thy seed will I give this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates, the Kenites, the Kenizzites, the Kadmonites, the Perizzites, and the Rephaim, the Phakorites, and the Hivites, and the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Girgashites, and the Jebusites." 19.

in Exod. vi. 18, 20, and Moses at the time of the Exodus, vii. 7, tradition early assumed that the above periods include the sojourn of the patriarchs in Canaan before the migration. Thus the LXX in Exod. xii. 40 insert the words καὶ ἐν γῇ Χαναὰν after ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ, and the same addition is found in the Samaritan Pentateuch. The period of 400 or 430 years was reckoned from the date of its announcement in Gen. xv. 13, according to St. Paul, Gal. iii. 16, 17; Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 15. 2; Ps.-Jon. in Exod. xii. 40, but our text reckons the 430 years from Isaac's birth. On the other hand, Philo (*Quis rer. div. her.* 54) sets down the actual sojourn of Israel in Egypt at 400 years, and likewise Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 9. 1; *Bell. Jud.* v. 9. 4). According to Ps.-Jon. on Exod. xii. 40, 41 the 430 years are explained as follows: 400 years elapsed between Isaac's birth, which took place when Abraham was 100 years old (Gen. xxi. 5), and the Exodus; and 430 between the date of God's promise to Abraham (Gen. xv. 13) and the Exodus; for this promise was given 30 years before Isaac's birth. Thus 430 years = 30 (years between promise in Gen. xv. 13 and birth of Isaac) + 60 (years from birth of Isaac to birth of Jacob) + 130 (being age of Jacob on his arrival in Egypt, Gen. xlvii. 9) + 210 (years of sojourn in Egypt). According to this chronology it follows that Abram was 70 years old when he witnessed the vision in Gen. xv. 7-21. But according to Gen. xii. 4 Abram was already 75 when he left Haran. This difficulty obliged later Jewish expounders to assume that Abram had paid an earlier visit in his 70th year to Canaan, and that Gen. xv. 7-21 belongs to that earlier visit and that its present context is accordingly wrong. This method of exposition is followed in the Book of Jashar where Gen. xv. 7-21 is first recounted (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1119) and subsequently Gen. xv. 1-6 (ii. 1125-1126). The double journey to Canaan is referred to by R. Nehemiah in Ber. rabba 39. For other references to later Jewish literature on this question see Beer, *Leb. Abr.* 118-120.

Of this later form of exposition our book knows nothing.

16. *Fourth generation.* A generation means here 100 years. Isaac was born when Abraham was 100 years old (Gen. xxi. 5).

17-18. Cf. Gen. xv. 17-21.

17. *The pieces.* Emended. See note on ver. 12, where the same corruption is found.

18. *The Hivites.* Found in Sam. and LXX of Gen. xv. 20, but not in Mass., Syr., or Vulg.

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And the day passed, and Abram offered the pieces, and the birds, and their fruit-offerings, and their drink-offerings, and the fire devoured them. 20. And on that day we made a covenant with Abram, according as we had covenanted with Noah in this month; and Abram renewed the festival and ordinance for himself for ever. 21. And Abram rejoiced, and made all these things known to Sarai his wife; and he believed that he would have seed, but she did not bear. 22. And Sarai advised her husband Abram, and said unto him; "Go in unto Hagar, my Egyptian maid: it may be that I shall build up seed unto thee by her." 23. And Abram hearkened unto the voice of Sarai his wife, and said unto her, "Do (so)." And Sarai took Hagar, her maid, the Egyptian, and gave her to Abram, her husband, to be his wife. 24. And he went in unto her, and she conceived and bare him a son, and he called his name Ishmael, in the fifth year of this week; and this was the eighty-sixth 1965 A.M. year in the life of Abram.

Abram celebrates the feast of first-fruits, 1, 2: *his name changed and circumcision instituted*, 3-14. *Sarai's name changed and Isaac promised*, 15-21. *Abraham, Ishmael, and all his household circumcised*, 22-24. *Circumcision an eternal ordination*, 25, 26. *Israel shares this honour with the highest angels who were created circumcised*, 27-29. *Israel subject to God alone: other nations to angels*, 30-32. *Future faithlessness of Israel*, 33, 34. (Cf. Gen. xvii.)

XV. And in the fifth year of the †fourth† week of this 1979 A.M.

19. *The pieces.* Emended. See note on ver. 12, where the same corruption is found.

20. *On that day, i.e.* the 15th Sivan. We have already seen (see note on vi. 17-18) that the Covenant with Noah was probably assigned to the same month and the same day of the month by our author.

21d-24ab. Cf. Gen. xvi. 1-4.

24. *And he called his name Ishmael.* Cf. Gen. xvi. 11.

XV. 1. †*Fourth*† (*a c d*). *b* reads "seventh." It should be "third," here

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jubilee, in the third month, in the middle of the month, Abram celebrated the feast of the first-fruits of the grain

and in xvi. 15, as Dillmann recognised. Cf. xvii. 1.

In the third month, in the middle of the month. From a comparison of xv. 1 and xliv. 4, 5 (see notes also on i. 1, vi. 17-18, xiv. 20) it follows that the feast of weeks was celebrated on the fifteenth of the third month (Sivan). Since this reckoning deviates from that of the Pharisees about the beginning of the Christian era, and as there were many divergent views in Judaism about, before, and after that period, we must here inquire briefly into the origin and nature of these views.

To begin with, it is clear that they all arose from the various meanings attached to the word "Sabbath" in Lev. xxiii. 15, 16. In these verses it is ordained that the feast of weeks should fall on the fiftieth day after the offering of the Paschal wave-sheaf. Now this sheaf was waved "on the morrow after the Sabbath" (Lev. xxiii. 11, 15, מִמָּחֳרַת הַשַּׁבָּת). In what sense, then, are we to take the word "Sabbath"? Two ways are possible:—(1) It may be taken to mean merely a feast day. (2) It may be taken in its strict sense as the weekly Sabbath.

(1) First the word "Sabbath" is taken in the general sense of a feast-day. Now the first day of unleavened bread (Lev. xxiii. 7) was such a day; but the seventh (Lev. xxiii. 8) was no less so. Hence two different computations arise from this interpretation of the word, (i) the first of which interprets the first day of unleavened bread as the Sabbath, and (ii) the second which interprets it of the seventh day.

(i) The first interpretation, which took the Sabbath to be the first day of unleavened bread (Nisan 15), naturally understood the phrase "the morrow after the Sabbath" to designate Nisan 16, without regard to the day of the week. This was the interpretation of the Pharisees in our Lord's time. This view is first attested in the LXX, where the phrase in question is rendered by τῇ ἐπαύριον τῆς πρώτης (here ἡ πρώτη = חשבת), exactly as in Ps.-Jon. on Lev. xxiii. 15, מבתר יומא מבא קמאה; in the Targum of Onkelos (מבתר יומא מבא) where "the Sabbath" is simply rendered "the feast day"; in Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 10. 5, τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ τῶν ἀζύμων ἡμέρᾳ; in Philo, *De Septenar.* 20, where the day for waving the sheaf is said to be the second day of unleavened bread: Ἑορτὴ δέ ἐστιν ἡ μετὰ τὴν πρώτην εὐθὺς ἡμέρα. The Mishna, also (Chag. ii. 4; Menach. x. 1-3), maintains this interpretation against conflicting expositions.

Since on this view the sheaf-waving took place on Nisan 16, the feast of weeks, fifty days later, was usually celebrated on Sivan 6, without regard in either case to the day of the week.

(ii) But others took the Sabbath to mean the seventh day of unleavened bread, which was also a day of rest. As the Sabbath in this case was Nisan 21, the morrow after the Sabbath was Nisan 22. This is actually the course pursued by the (*a*) Falashas or Abyssinian Jews. They reckon the fifty days from Nisan 22 and thus the feast of weeks falls on Sivan 12 as they use alternate months of thirty and twenty-nine days (see d'Abbadie in *Univ. Isr.* Juillet 1851, p. 482). (*b*) Again this view is attested by the Syriac version of Lev. xxiii. 11, 15, as existing before 100 A.D. Thus it renders the Hebrew phrase מִמָּחֳרַת הַשַּׁבָּת; ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܫܒܬܐ = "after the second (feast) day," that is Nisan 21. (*c*) But the usage is as early as the second cent. B.C.; for it appears in our text. At the beginning of this note we found that the feast of weeks took place on the Sivan 15. If we count back fifty days (reckoning the second month at twenty-eight days), we arrive at Nisan 22 when the wave-sheaf was offered. Thus Jubilees also interpreted the phrase "the morrow after the Sabbath" as meaning the day after the seventh day of unleavened bread, which was a special day of rest.

(2) But on the fact that the simple term "Sabbath" stands elsewhere only as the weekly Sabbath, are based other early uses among the Jews as well as certain modern speculations. Thus the Baithusians (Menachoth 65 *a*) took "the morrow after the Sabbath" to be the day after the weekly Sabbath which occurred during the feast of unleavened

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harvest. 2. And he offered new offerings on the altar, the first-fruits of the produce, unto the Lord, an heifer and a goat and a sheep on the altar as a burnt sacrifice unto the Lord; their fruit-offerings and their drink-offerings he offered upon the altar with frankincense. 3. And the Lord appeared to Abram, and said unto him: "I am God Almighty; approve thyself before Me and be thou perfect. 4. And I will make My covenant between Me and thee, and I will multiply thee exceedingly." 5. And Abram fell on his face, and God talked with him, and said:

6. "Behold My ordinance is with thee,
And thou wilt be the father of many nations.

7. Neither will thy name any more be called Abram,
But thy name from henceforth, even for ever, shall be Abraham.
For the father of many nations have I made thee.

8. And I shall make thee very great,
And I shall make thee into nations,
And kings will come forth from thee.

9. And I shall establish My covenant between Me and thee, and thy seed after thee, throughout their generations, for an

bread. Frankel (*Einfluss d. pal. Exeg.*, 1851, pp. 136-137) holds that the τῇ ἐπαύριον τῆς πρώτης of the LXX is directed against this view. The Karaite Jews (Trigland, *Diatribe de Secta Karaeorum*, 1703; Fürst, *Geschichte des Karäerthums*, 1865) and likewise the Samaritans follow the strict interpretation of the term Sabbath in this connection. Very many modern scholars hold strongly to some form of this theory, as Hitzig (*Ostern u. Pfingsten*, 1837 and *Ostern u. Pfingsten im zweiten Dekalog*, 1838), who maintained that in the Hebrew calendar Nisan 14 and 21 were always Sabbaths and that "the morrow after the Sabbath" was Nisan 22. Knobel (on Lev. xxiii. 11) agreed with Hitzig, save that he identified the day of the sheaf-waving with Nisan 15. Saalschütz (*Das Mos. Recht*,[2] 1853, p. 420), Fürst (*Heb. u. chald. Wörterbuch*, 1863, under word שבת), Wellhausen (*Jahr. f. deutsch. Theol.* xxii.), Dillmann (on Lev. xxiii. 11), von Orelli (Herzog's *Real Encyc.*[2] xi. 264) accept in one form or another the Sadducean interpretation. In addition to the above literature, see the Articles on Pentecost (*Pfingstfest*) in Hasting's *Bible Dictionary*; Herzog's *Real Encyc.*[2] and Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon*.

2. *An heifer and a goat*, etc. Cf. xiv. 9. These are not the sacrifices prescribed for this festival in Lev. xxiii. 18-20.

3-4. Cf. Gen. xvii. 1-2.

3. *Approve thyself.* Cf. LXX, εὐαρέστει and Syr. ﻫﻮﺍ, which are all free renderings of התהלך.

5-10. Cf. Gen. xvii. 3-8.

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eternal covenant, so that I may be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee. 10. (And I shall give to thee and to thy seed after thee) the land where thou hast been a sojourner, the land of Canaan, that thou mayst possess it for ever, and I shall be their God." 11. And the Lord said unto Abraham: "And as for thee, do thou keep My covenant, thou and thy seed after thee; and circumcise ye every male among you, and circumcise your foreskins, and it will be a token of an eternal covenant between Me and you. 12. And the child on the eighth day ye will circumcise, every male throughout your generations, him that is born in the house, or whom ye have bought with money from any stranger, whom ye have acquired who is not of thy seed. 13. He that is born in thy house will surely be circumcised, and those whom thou hast bought with money will be circumcised, and My covenant will be in your flesh for an eternal ordinance. 14. And the uncircumcised male who is not circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin on the eighth day, that soul will be cut off from his people, for

10. (*And I shall give to thee and to thy seed after thee*). These words, lost through homoioteleuton, I have restored from Gen. xvii. 8.

11-13. Cf. Gen. xvii. 9-13.

12. *The child* (or "*children*") *on the eighth day ye will circumcise.* This form of Gen. xvii. 12 is found only in the Eth. vers. of that passage and in our text. It seems to be a deliberate change of "the child of eight days ye shall circumcise," as in Gen. xvii. 12. See on ver. 14.

14. Cf. Gen. xvii. 14.

On the eighth day. These words, which are not found in the Mass., Syr., and Vulg., are, however, attested by the Sam. and LXX. Also in Origen's Commentary *in Ep. ad Rom.* ii. 13 (Lommatzsch, vi. 123-124): Incircumcisus masculus, qui non fuerit circumcisus in carne praeputii sui die octavo, exterminabitur anima illa; and in Ambrose, *Epist.* 72, who remarks on Aquila's statement that this clause is wanting in the Hebrew. See on ver. 26.

As the Sabbath is the first, so circumcision is the second cardinal command of Judaism. In opposition to the laxity introduced by Greek culture the command in Gen. xv. 14 is enunciated afresh and the requirement added that it should be performed on the eighth day of the child's life. Owing to Greek influences, even before the reign of Antiochus IV., many Jews of noble birth had undergone surgical operations in order to appear like Greeks when undressed (1 Macc. i. 15; Assumpt. Mos. viii. 3; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5. 1). Subsequently Antiochus had taken the severest measures to prohibit circumcision (1 Macc. i. 48, 60, ii. 46). To withstand the Hellenising attitude towards circumcision our author emphasises what was apparently the current view of his time, *i.e.*, that circumcision should be performed on the eighth day—the current view; for

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he has broken My covenant." 15. And God said unto Abraham: "As for Sarai thy wife, her name will no more be called Sarai, but Sarah will be her name. 16. And I shall bless her, and give thee a son by her, and I shall bless him, and he will become a nation, and kings of nations will proceed from him." 17. And Abraham fell on his face, and rejoiced, and said in his heart: "Shall a son be born to him that is a hundred years old, and shall Sarah, who is ninety years old, bring forth?" 18. And Abraham said unto God: "O that Ishmael might live before thee!" 19. And God said: "Yea, and Sarah also will bear thee a son, and thou wilt call his name Isaac, and I shall establish My covenant with him, an everlasting covenant, and for his seed after

the words enjoining it were in both Jewish and Samaritan copies of the Hebrew text of Gen. xvii. 14 (see above). This strict view was subsequently relaxed. Thus, according to Shabb. xix. 5: "A child could be circumcised on the 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, or 12th day, neither earlier nor later. How so? Usually it is circumcised on the 8th day. Should it be born on the evening, it is circumcised on the 9th: should it be born on Friday evening it is circumcised on the 10th: should the Sunday be a festival, on the 11th: should the Sunday and Monday be New Year's days, on the 12th. If the child is ill, it is not circumcised till well." But the Samaritans have held fast to the severer regulation to the present day. In letters of the Samaritans communicated by de Sacy to T. Scaliger (Eichhorn's *Repertor*, xiii. 261) it is said: "We circumcise the male on the eighth day and do not defer circumcision a single day (לא נאחרו יום אחר) . . . but the Jews defer it one day or more." That the severer form of the halacha prevailed among the Jews themselves as late as the second cent. A.D. might be inferred from Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 27): "Did God wish those to sin who are circumcised or do circumcise on the Sabbaths? for He commands that on the eighth day—even though it happen to be a Sabbath—those who are born should always be circumcised (τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἐκ παντὸς περιτέμνεσθαι τοὺς γεννηθέντας ὁμοίως κἂν ᾖ ἡμέρα τῶν σαββάτων;). Could not He have the infants circumcised one day before or one day after the Sabbath, if He knew that it was a sinful act on the Sabbath?" This custom is also regarded as obligatory by the Falashas or Abyssinian Jews. Cf. Abbadie, *Univ. Isr.* Avr. p. 481, 1851 (quoted by Singer, p. 289 note). We might observe here that our book knows nothing of the later traditions that the patriarchs such as Adam, Seth, Enoch, Noah, Shem, Terah, Jacob and six others were born circumcised (Midrash Tillin 10*b*, Soteh 10*b*, quoted by Hershon, *Treasures of Talmud*, 238, 240, 241). Ber. rabba 43 affirms this of Melchizedek. For other references see Singer, p. 301 note.

We might observe here that our book knows nothing of the barbarous mode of circumcision ordered by the Talmudists and Bar Cochba, in order to make it impossible to obliterate the signs of it by any such surgical operation as is referred to above. This mode was known as the פריעה, or "the laying bare." This mutilation after the removal of the foreskin is still practised. See Hershon, *Genesis*, p. 304.

15-22. Cf. Gen. xvii. 15-22.

16. *I shall bless him.* So also the Sam., LXX, Syr. and Vulg. of Gen. xvii. 16, whereas the Sam. makes the rest of

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him. 20. And as for Ishmael also have I heard thee, and behold I shall bless him, and make him great, and multiply him exceedingly, and he will beget twelve princes, and I shall make him a great nation. 21. But My covenant shall I establish with Isaac, whom Sarah will bear to thee, in these days, in the next year." 22. And He left off speaking with him, and God went up from Abraham. 23. And Abraham did according as God had said unto him, and he took Ishmael his son, and all that were born in his house, and whom he had bought with his money, every male in his house, and circumcised the flesh of their foreskin. 24. And on the selfsame day was Abraham circumcised, and all the men of his house, (and those born in the house), and all those, whom he had bought with money from the children of the stranger, were circumcised with him. 25. This law is for all the generations for ever, and there is no circumcision of the days, and no omission of one day out of the eight days; for it is an eternal ordinance, ordained and written on the heavenly tables. 26. And every one that is born, the flesh of whose foreskin is not circumcised on the eighth day, belongs not to the children of the covenant which the Lord made with Abraham, but to the children of destruction; nor is there, moreover, any sign on him that he is the Lord's, but (he is destined) to be destroyed and slain from

the verse, and the Mass. and Onk. make the entire verse refer to Sarah.

20. *Princes.* So Mass. (נְשִׂיאִם) and Vulg. LXX, ἔθνη = לְאֻמִּים.

23-24. Cf. Gen. xvii. 23-27.

24. *On the selfsame day, i.e.*, on the 15th of Sivan; see ver. 1. According to the Yalkut Chadash 121 *a* Abraham was circumcised on the 13th or 15th of Nisan, or on the Day of Atonement, or on the New Moon of January (Beer, *Leb. Abr.* 63, 152).

(*And those born in the house*). Restored with Lat.

25. See note on ver. 14.

No omission of one day out of the eight days. I take this clause to be parallel in meaning to the preceding. In no case is the circumcision to be performed before the eighth day. The word translated "omission" is the same as that translated "neglecting" or "transgressing" in vi. 31.

26. This verse is simply an enlargement of ver. 14, which as we saw is Gen. xvii. 14.

On the eighth day. MSS and Latin have "till the eighth day." But since this verse is simply an emphatic and enlarged form of ver. 14, for "till" we should clearly have "on." Besides, "till" gives the wrong sense; for the

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the earth, and to be rooted out of the earth, for he has broken the covenant of the Lord our God. 27. For all the angels of the presence and all the angels of sanctification have been so created from the day of their creation, and before the angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification He hath sanctified Israel, that they should be with Him and with His holy angels. 28. And do thou command the children of Israel and let them observe the sign of this covenant for their generations as an eternal ordinance, and they will not be rooted out of the land. 29. For the command is ordained for a covenant, that they should observe it for ever among all the children of Israel. 30. For Ishmael and his sons and his brothers and Esau, the Lord did not cause to approach Him, and he chose them not because they are the children of Abraham, because He knew them, but He chose Israel to be His people. 31. And He sanctified it, and gathered it from amongst all the children

circumcision is to be performed *on* the eighth day. The error can be explained by the corruption of ב into ל or על into ער in the Hebrew.

And to be rooted out of the earth. *a d* and Latin omit, possibly through homoioteleuton.

27. There are two classes of angels mentioned here: the angels of the presence (see i. 29 note, ii. 2 note, 18, xxxi. 14) and the angels of sanctification (see ii. 2 note, 18 ["holy ones," "sancti," xxxi. 14]), according to the Ethiopic text; but three or four according to the Latin: angeli vultus, archangeli benedictionis, angeli sanctificationis, angeli sanctorum ipsius. But the last does not constitute a distinct order. It is simply a comprehensive term for the two (or three) highest orders, since it occurs in the following context: ut esset simul cum ipso et cum angelis sanctorum ipsius. Here ipso means "God," and the angelis sanct. ipsius sums up the orders mentioned in the earlier part of the sentence. Since in ii. 18 the Ethiopic speaks so clearly of only two classes, I am inclined to believe that "benedictionis" is simply an alternative rendering that has ousted the true reading, "sanctificationis," and that the context deals only with two orders of angels. The two orders mentioned here in the Ethiopic text are the same two who are said to unite with God and Israel in observing the Sabbath (ii. 18, 19, 21). The inferior angels of service did not enjoy this privilege. Now just as the highest angels shared with Israel in the privilege of the Sabbath, so they shared also in the privilege of circumcision. They were created circumcised, just as, according to later Judaism, many of the patriarchs of Israel were born so. (See note on ver. 14.) Such a belief was not difficult to believers in the loves of the angels for the daughters of men (v. 1 sqq.). In Debarim rabba on i. 2 it is said that the angels of service, *i.e.* the inferior orders, sought to know the Law, but it was hidden from them (see Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*[2] 25).

30. *Chose them.* The Ethiopic reproduces the Hebrew idiom בחר ב. The Latin gives elegit ex ipsis.

Israel. See on xvi. 17.

31-32. This idea that Israel was

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of men; for there are many nations and many peoples, and all are His, and over all hath He placed spirits in authority to lead them astray from Him. 32. But over Israel He did not appoint any angel or spirit, for He alone is their ruler, and He will preserve them and require them at the hand of His angels and His spirits, and at the hand of all His powers in order that He may preserve them and bless them, and that they may be His and He may be theirs from henceforth for ever. 33. And now I announce unto thee that the children of Israel will not keep true to this ordinance, and they will not circumcise their sons according to all this law; for in the flesh of their circumcision they will omit this circumcision of their sons, and all of them,

God's portion but that the Gentiles were placed under the dominion of angels, goes back to an old (possibly the oldest) form of the text of Deut. xxxii. 8-9, which, reading בְּנֵי אֵל instead of לְיִשְׂרָאֵל, is reproduced in the LXX:

ὅτε διεμέριζεν ὁ Ὕψιστος ἔθνη . . .
ἔστησεν ὅρια ἐθνῶν
κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ.
καὶ ἐγενήθη μέρις Κυρίου λαὸς αὐτοῦ
Ἰακώβ.

This view next appears in Sir. xvii. 17:

ἑκάστῳ ἔθνει κατέστησεν ἡγούμενον,
καὶ μερὶς Κυρίου Ἰσραὴλ ἐστιν:

and in Dan. x. 13, 20, 21, xii. 1, where, however, all the nations including even Israel are understood to be under the patronage of angels, Israel being under Michael. According to Eth. Enoch lxxxix. Israel was placed for purposes of discipline for a time under the charge of seventy angels, who are no doubt the angelic patrons of the seventy nations of the world. The appointment of these seventy angels to be the heads of the nations is recorded in the Ps.-Jon. of Deut. xxxii. 8. They may be referred to as demons in 1 Cor. x. 19, or as τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου in Gal. iv. 3, 9; Col. ii. 20.

31. *To lead them astray.* In x. 3, 8, xix. 28, this is the function assigned to the demons, who were the spirits that went forth from the slaughtered children of the Watchers and the daughters of men (see v. 1, 7-9, x. 5, 8, 9). But in the present passage it is said that God gave the hegemony of the nations to angels for this purpose. The condemnation of the seventy angelic patrons for their evil treatment of Israel is described in Eth. Enoch xc. 22, 23, and also in Isaiah xxiv. 21, 22, though in the latter passage the cause is not assigned. I think we may assume that the statement in our text is made on the same principle as many in the Scriptures (cf. Is. vi. 9; Matt. xiii. 14; Mark iv. 12, etc.), in which the ultimate result of an action or a series of actions is declared to have been the immediate object of them.

In later Judaism at all events the seventy angels are described as the rulers of the nations. These angels share in the fortunes, whether favourable or unfavourable, of the nations over which they bear sway. They are likewise the sources of corruption to their subject peoples, introducing idolatry and impurity. See Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, i. 805-820.

33. This verse shows that the apostasy in Israel in early part of the second cent. B.C. was very widespread.

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sons of Beliar, will leave their sons uncircumcised as they were born. 34. And there will be great wrath from the Lord against the children of Israel, because they have forsaken His covenant and turned aside from His word, and provoked and blasphemed, inasmuch as they do not observe the ordinance of this law; for they have treated their members like the Gentiles, so that they may be removed and rooted out of the land. And there will no more be pardon or forgiveness unto them [so that there should be forgiveness and pardon] for all the sin of this eternal error.

Angels appear to Abraham in Hebron, and Isaac again promised, 1-4. *Destruction of Sodom and Lot's deliverance*, 5-9. *Abraham at Beershcba: birth of and circumcision of Isaac, whose seed was to be the portion of God*, 10-19. *Institution of the feast of tabernacles*, 20-31. (Cf. Gen. xviii. 1, 10, 12, xix. 24, 29, 33-37, xx. 1, 4, 8, xxi. 1-4.)

XVI. And on the new moon of the fourth month we appeared unto Abraham, at the oak of Mamre, and we talked with him, and we announced to him that a son would be given to him by Sarah his wife. 2. And Sarah laughed, for she heard that we had spoken these words with Abraham, and we admonished her, and she became afraid, and denied that she had laughed on account of the words. 3. And we told her the name of her son, as his name is ordained and

Sons of Beliar. An O.T. expression: cf. 1 Sam. ii. 12, etc. For a full treatment of the Beliar myth, see my edition of the *Ascension of Isaiah*, pp. liv sqq. From i. 20 and Test. XII. Patriarch. Dan. 5 it follows that as early as the second cent. B.C. Beliar was regarded as a Satanic spirit.

34. *Have forsaken His covenant . . . inasmuch as they do not observe.* Our author has forgotten his rôle as a prophet and dropped into that of the annalist.

[*So that . . . pardon*]. A corrupt dittography.

XVI. 1. Cf. Gen. xviii. 1, 10. Our author omits all reference to Gen. xviii. 2-9. Singer (122 note, 293 note) thinks that the eating of the angels may have given offence as it did to Josephus (*Ant.* i. 11. 2, οἱ δὲ δόξαν αὐτῷ παρέσχον ἐσθιόντων).

2. Cf. Gen. xviii. 10, 12, 15.

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written in the heavenly tables (*i.e.*) Isaac, 4. And (that) when we returned to her at a set time, she would have conceived a son. 5. And in this month the Lord executed his judgments on Sodom, and Gomorrah, and Zeboim, and all the region of the Jordan, and He burned them with fire and brimstone, and destroyed them until this day, even as [lo] I have declared unto thee all their works, that they are wicked and sinners exceedingly, and that they defile themselves and commit fornication in their flesh, and work uncleanness on the earth. 6. And, in like manner, God will execute judgment on the places where they have done according to the uncleanness of the Sodomites, like unto the judgment of Sodom. 7. But Lot we saved; for God remembered Abraham, and sent him out from the midst of the overthrow. 8. And he and his daughters committed sin upon the earth, such as had not been on the earth since the days of Adam till his time; for the man lay with his daughters. 9. And, behold, it was commanded and engraven concerning all his seed, on the heavenly tables, to remove them and root them out, and to execute judgment upon them like the judgment of Sodom, and to leave no seed of the man on earth on the day of condemnation. 10. And in this month Abraham moved from Hebron, and departed and dwelt between Kadesh and Shur in the mountains of Gerar. 11. And in the middle of the fifth month he moved from thence, and dwelt at the Well of the Oath. 12. And in the middle of the sixth month the

4. *Would have conceived.* The text is corrupt, but the corruption is as old as the Greek version, as it seems to have led to the gloss in verses 15-16. We should expect "would conceive." See verses 12 (where this promise is fulfilled), 16.

5. Cf. Gen. xix. 24.

Zeboim, in text Sôbô'im. See Gen. xiv. 2, 8.

6. *Like unto the judgment of.* Latin = sicut judicavit.

7-8. Cf. Gen. xix. 29, 31 sqq.

10. *Mountains.* The Eth. could be rendered "territories" or "confines" as in Latin. There may, however, as Rönsch (p. 102) suggests, have been a confusion of ὄρος and ὅρος.

11. All mention of Abraham's unseemly treatment of Abimelech is omitted.

Well of the Oath, *i.e.* Beersheba, Gen. xxi. 31.

12-14. Cf. Gen. xxi. 1-4.

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Lord visited Sarah and did unto her as He had spoken, and she conceived. 13. And she bare a son in the third month, 1980 A.M. and in the middle of the month, at the time of which the Lord had spoken to Abraham, on the festival of the first-fruits of the harvest, Isaac was born. 14. And Abraham circumcised his son on the eighth day: he was the first that was circumcised according to the covenant which is ordained for ever. 15. And in the sixth year of the †fourth† week we came to Abraham, to the Well of the Oath, and we appeared unto him [as we had told Sarah that we should return to her, and she would have conceived a son. 16. And we returned in the seventh month, and found Sarah with child before us] and we blessed him, and we announced to him all the things which had been decreed concerning him, that he should not die till he should beget six sons more, and should see (them) before he died; but (that) in Isaac should his name and seed be called: 17. And (that) all the seed of his sons should be Gentiles, and be reckoned with the Gentiles; but from the sons of Isaac one should become a holy seed, and should not be reckoned among the Gentiles. 18. For he should become the portion of the Most High, and all his seed had fallen into the possession of God, that it should be

13. Birth of Isaac on the 15th of Sivan. According to the Rosh ha-Shanah 10 *b*, Isaac was born on the Passover Feast; according to the Midrash Tanchuma on Exodus (Beer, *Leb. Abr.* 168), on the first of Nisan.

15. †*Fourth*†. This should be "third" as in xv. 1. Abram was in his eighty-sixth year when Ishmael was born (xiv. 24), that is, in the fifth year of the first week of the forty-first jubilee. Fifteen years later Isaac was born in the hundredth year of Abraham.

15-16. The words bracketed in these verses contain a gloss that destroys the sense of the context. They proceed from a corrupt reading in ver. 4 and misunderstanding of text generally.

16. *Blessed him.* For "him" Eth. reads "her." Similarly after "announced to." The Latin is followed here.

Six sons more. Abraham had six sons by Keturah: Gen. xxv. 2. See xx. 1 of our text.

In Isaac should his name, etc. Gen. xxi. 12. See xvii. 6 of our text.

17. All the descendants of Abraham save Jacob and his posterity belong to the Gentiles. See xv. 30. In Sanh. 59 *b* there is a discussion as to whether circumcision was obligatory on Ishmael's and Keturah's sons in consequence of Gen. xvii. 9, 10. Owing to Gen. xxi. 12 it was held that the obligation did not extend to the descendants of Esau. See above xv. 30.

18. *Portion of the Most High.* See note on xv. 31-32.

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unto the Lord a people for (His) possession above all nations and that it should become a kingdom and priests and a holy nation. 19. And we went our way, and we announced to Sarah all that we had told him, and they both rejoiced with exceeding great joy. 20. And he built there an altar to the Lord who had delivered him, and who was making him rejoice in the land of his sojourning, and he celebrated a festival of joy in this month seven days, near the altar which he had built at the Well of the Oath. 21. And he built booths for himself and for his servants on this festival, and he was the first to celebrate the feast of tabernacles on the earth. 22. And during these seven days he brought

A people for (His) possession = hezba terit (cf. xxxiii. 20), emended from hezba (*a b c*) tersit (*b c* tirsita, *a*) = "people of magnificence." *d* reads "people of inheritance" (hezba rest), cf. Deut. iv. 20; Latin, populum sanctificatum. This last = λαὸν ὅσιον, which may be corrupt for λαὸν οὐσίας (or περιούσιον) = עם סגלה (Deut. vii. 6), a frequent O.T. phrase; cf. Exod. xix. 5, which was clearly before our author, as the closing clause of our verse shows. See also Deut. vii. 6, xiv. 2, xxvi. 18, where the full phrase עם סגלה is found. In xix. 18 of our text the same difficulties recur. If tersit is right, we might compare Deut. xxvi. 19.

A kingdom and priests (cf. xxxiii. 20) = βασιλεία καὶ ἱερεῖς, whereas the Latin has regnum sacerdotale = βασιλεία ἱερατική = ממלכת כהנים. The phrase is from Exod. xix. 6, of which the Latin gives the correct rendering and not the Ethiopic version. Yet the latter seems ω represent the Hebrew original of our text, as we shall see presently. First of all we observe that it is incorrectly translated in the LXX and it is reproduced in two forms in the N.T. closely akin to those above. The LXX translates it incorrectly by βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα (a hierarchy consisting of kings), and this rendering is adopted in 1 Pet. ii. 9. In Rev. v. 10 we have βασιλείαν καὶ ἱερεῖς exactly as in our Ethiopic text, and in i. 6 βασιλείαν ἱερεῖς. Thus our Ethiopic text and Rev. i. 6, v. 10 agree in giving practically the same rendering of ממלכת כהנים in Exod. xix. 6, and in inserting either the copula or a pause between the two Hebrew words. This is an ancient Jewish way of treating this phrase. Thus we find it given in Onkelos as מלכין כהנים (as in Rev. i. 6); in Ps.-Jon. מלכין קמרי כלילא וכהנין כשמשי (= kings with crowns and ministering priests); in the Jer. Targ. כלכין וכהנים; and the Syr. version ܡܠܟܐ ܘܟܗܢܐ; exactly as in our Ethiopic text and in Rev. v. 10. Thus we conclude that the Ethiopic text represents the Hebrew original and that the Latin regnum sacerdotale is borrowed by the Latin translator of Jubilees from the Vulgate.

20-31. The account of the feast of tabernacles in our text is peculiar. As regards the number of victims it presents some points of agreement and many of disagreement with the account given in Num. xxix. 12-40. I cannot offer any explanation of these phenomena. Verses 20-22 were before Cedrenus i. 50: μετὰ ταῦτα τῆς κατὰ Μαβρῆ δρυὸς ἀπαναστὰς ὁ Ἀβραὰμ ἐπὶ τὸ φρέαρ κατασκηνοῖ τοῦ ὅρκου. ἑαυτῷ δὲ ἰδίᾳ καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις αὐτοῦ κατὰ συγγενείας πηξάμενος σκηνάς, τότε πρῶτον Ἀβραὰμ τῆς σκηνοπηγίας ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἐπιτελεῖ τὴν ἑορτήν.

22. Two different sacrifices are here recorded: a burnt-offering (עולה) and a sin-offering (חטאת).

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each day to the altar a burnt-offering to the Lord, two oxen, two rams, seven sheep, one he-goat, for a sin-offering, that he might atone thereby for himself and for his seed. 23. And, as a thank-offering, seven rams, seven kids, seven sheep, and seven he-goats, and their fruit-offerings and their drink-offerings; and he burnt all the fat thereof on the altar, a chosen offering unto the Lord for a sweet smelling savour. 24. And morning and evening he burnt fragrant substances, frankincense and galbanum, and stackte, and nard, and myrrh, and spice, and costum; all these seven he offered, crushed, mixed together in equal parts (and) pure. 25. And he celebrated this feast during seven days, rejoicing with all his heart and with all his soul, he and all those who were in his house; and there was no stranger with him, nor any that was uncircumcised. 26. And he blessed his Creator who had created him in his generation, for He had created him according to His good pleasure; for He knew and perceived that from him would arise the plant of right-

Two oxen or "bullocks." According to Num. xxix. 13-33 thirteen bullocks were sacrificed on the first day, twelve on the second, eleven on the third, and soon, the number being diminished by one each day.

Two rams. So in Num. xxix. 13.

Seven sheep. In Num. xxix. 13 fourteen he-lambs.

One he-goat. So in Num. xxix. 16.

23. *Thank-offering* = θυσία σωτηρίου = זבח שלמים. The victims in this case correspond in kind and number with those offered by Hezekiah in 2 Chron. xxix. 21, but in the latter passage they constitute a sin-offering for the kingdom.

24. *Fragrant substances* = ἡδύσματα = סמים. Our author is here making use of Exod. xxx. 34, and not of Num. iv. 16; Lev. iv. 7 etc. as the Latin implies, which has incensum compositionis = θυμίαμα τῆς συνθέσεως from Lev. iv. 7, xvi. 13; Num. iv. 16 (קטרת הסמים). The Ethiopic appears to be right.

Frankincense, galbanum, etc. The first four of these are mentioned in Exod. xxx. 34, לבנה (= λίβανος = libanus, thus), חלבנה (= χαλβάνη = galbanum), נטף (= στακτή = stacte), שחלת (= ὄνυξ = nardus). All seven are enumerated in Sir. xxiv. 15:

ὡς κιννάμωμον καὶ ἀσπάλαθος ἀρωμάτων δέδωκα ὀσμήν,
καὶ ὡς σμύρνα ἐκλεκτὴ δέδωκα εὐωδίαν,
ὡς χαλβάνη καὶ ὄνυξ καὶ στακτή,
καὶ ὡς λιβάνου ἀτμὶς ἐν σκηνῇ.

Here χαλβάνη, ὄνυξ, στακτή, λιβάνου ἀτμὶς correspond to the first four in our text but in a different order, and κιννάμωμον, ἀσπάλαθος ἀρωμάτων, σμύρνα to the last three. These seven fragrant constituents of the incense offering are mentioned in Jer. Joma iv. 5; Keritot 6*a b* (Singer, 75 note; Nowack, *Hebr. Archäol.* ii. 248).

26. *Plant of righteousness.* See xxi. 24; Eth. Enoch x. 16; xciii. 5, 10, where the same expression is found. Cf. also lxxxiv. 6, xciii. 2 in the same work.

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eousness for the eternal generations, and from him a holy seed, so that it should become like Him who had made all things. 27. And he blessed and rejoiced, and he called the name of this festival the festival of the Lord, a joy acceptable to the Most High God. 28. And we blessed him for ever, and all his seed after him throughout all the generations of the earth, because he celebrated this festival in its season, according to the testimony of the heavenly tables. 29. For this reason it is ordained on the heavenly tables concerning Israel, that they shall celebrate the feast of tabernacles seven days with joy, in the seventh month, acceptable before the Lord—a statute for ever throughout their generations every year. 30. And to this there is no limit of days; for it is ordained for ever regarding Israel that they should celebrate it and dwell in booths, and set wreaths upon their heads, and take leafy boughs, and willows from the brook. 31. And Abraham took branches of palm trees, and the fruit of goodly trees, and every day going round the altar with the branches seven times [a day] in the morning, he praised and gave thanks to his God for all things in joy.

Expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael, 1-14. *Mastêmâ proposes that God should require Abraham to sacrifice Isaac in*

28. *All his seed.* Latin omits "all."

29. *A statute for ever*, etc. Lev. xxiii. 41.

30. Cf. Lev. xxiii. 40.

Set wreaths upon their heads. This is unknown to tradition in connection with the feast. The custom of wearing chaplets at feasts is referred to in Wisdom ii. 7-8; Joseph. *Ant.* xix. 9. 1 (cf. 3 Macc. iv. 8), but it cannot be established as a Jewish one. Bridegrooms, however, were adorned with myrtles and roses, Gittin 7 *a*, Sota 49 *b* (Beer, *Buch d. Jub.* 47). The metaphorical use of "crown" or "wreath" as ὁ στέφανος τῆς ζωῆς (Rev. ii. 10: cf. 2 Tim. iv. 8) is familiar also in Judaism; cf. Megilla 15 *b*.

31. *Branches of palm trees.* Text lebba dabart and Latin corde palmarum go back as Dillmann recognised to לולבי תמרי. לולב was wrongly taken as לבב by the Greek translator. We might observe that the Targums on Lev. xxiii. 40 have here simply לולבין.

Every day . . . seven times. According to Sukka iv. 5 it was only on the seventh day that the worshippers went round the altar seven times (Beer, *Buch der Jubiläen*, 46; Singer, 75).

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order to test his love and obedience: Abraham's ten trials, 15-18. (Cf. Gen. xxi. 8-21.)

XVII. And in the first year of the †fifth† week Isaac 1982 A.M
was weaned in this jubilee, and Abraham made a great banquet in the third month, on the day his son Isaac was weaned. 2. And Ishmael, the son of Hagar, the Egyptian, was before the face of Abraham, his father, in his place, and Abraham rejoiced and blessed God because he had seen his sons and had not died childless. 3. And he remembered the words which He had spoken to him on the day on which Lot had parted from him, and he rejoiced because the Lord had given him seed upon the earth to inherit the earth, and he blessed with all his mouth the Creator of all things. 4. And Sarah saw Ishmael playing and dancing, and Abraham rejoicing with great joy, and she became jealous of Ishmael and said to Abraham, "Cast out this bondwoman and her son; for the son of this bondwoman will not be heir with my son, Isaac." 5. And the thing was grievous in Abraham's sight, because of his maidservant and because of his son, that he should drive them from him. 6. And God said to Abraham "Let it not be grievous in thy sight, because of the child and because of the bondwoman; in all that Sarah hath said unto thee, hearken to her words and do (them); for in Isaac shall thy name and seed be called. 7. But as for the son of this bondwoman I will make him a great nation, because he is of thy seed." 8. And Abraham rose up early in the morning, and took bread and a bottle

XVII. 1. Cf. Gen. xxi. 8.

†*Fifth*†. This should be "fourth." See a similar error in xvi. 15.

2. *Because he had seen his sons*, etc. Cf. xvi. 16.

3. See xiii. 19 sqq.

4-13. Cf. Gen. xxi. 9-21.

4. *And dancing.* Since the Latin has cum Isac, wa-yezafen may be corrupt for ba-yeshaq = "with Isaac." These words are found in the LXX and Vulg. of Gen. xxi. 9 but not in the Mass. or Sam.

7. *A great nation.* The epithet "great" is supported by the Sam., LXX, Syr., and Vulg. of Gen. xxi. 13, but omitted by the Mass., Onkelos and Ps.-Jon. The last reads instead: "a nation of robbers."

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of water, and placed them on the shoulders of Hagar and the child, and sent her away. 9. And she departed and wandered in the wilderness of Beersheba, and the water in the bottle was spent, and the child thirsted, and was not able to go on, and fell down. 10. And his mother took him and cast him under an olive tree, and went and sat her down over against him, at the distance of a bow-shot; for she said, "Let me not see the death of my child," and as she sat she wept. 11. And an angel of God, one of the holy ones, said unto her, "Why weepest thou, Hagar? Arise take the child, and hold him in thine hand; for God hath heard thy voice, and hath seen the child." 12. And she opened her eyes, and she saw a well of water, and she went and filled her bottle with water, and she gave her child to drink, and she arose and went towards the wilderness of Paran. 13. And the child grew and became an archer, and God was with him; and his mother took him a wife from among the daughters of Egypt. 14. And she bare him a son, and he called his name Nebaioth; for she said, "The Lord was nigh to me when I called upon him."

2003 A.M. 15. And it came to pass in the seventh week, in the first year thereof, in the first month in this jubilee, on the twelfth of this month, there were voices in heaven regarding Abraham, that he was faithful in all that He told him, and that he loved the Lord, and that in every affliction he was faithful. 16. And the prince Mastêmâ came and said

10. *An olive tree.* Instead of ἐλαίας LXX has ἐλάτης.

12. *She opened.* We should with Gen. xxi. 19 expect "he."

14. *Nebaioth.* Eth. = Nâbêwôt. Cf. Gen. xxv. 13.

Was nigh. We should expect the original behind "was nigh" to contain some of the consonants in "Nebaioth."

15. Isaac is thus twenty-three when he was offered up by Abraham (cf. xvi. 12 and xvii. 15). According to the Seder Olam, Isaac was thirty-seven.

16. Here as elsewhere (cf. xlviii. 2, 17) our author attributes to Mastêmâ the conduct which he deems unworthy of God but which is ascribed to Him by Gen. xxii. 1. Cf. also James i. 13. We might compare with our text the following passage from Sanh. 89 *b* 'Satan spake before the Holy One, blessed be He. 'Lord of the World, Thou hast given fruit of the body to

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before God, "Behold, Abraham loves Isaac his son, and he delights in him above all things else; bid him offer him as a burnt-offering on the altar, and Thou wilt see if he will do this command, and Thou wilt know if he is faithful in everything wherein Thou dost try him. 17. And the Lord knew that Abraham was faithful in all his afflictions; for He had tried him through his country and with famine, and had tried him with the wealth of kings, and had tried him again through his wife, when she was torn (from him), and with circumcision; and had tried him through Ishmael and Hagar, his maid-servant, when he sent them away. 18. And in everything wherein He had tried him, he was found faithful,

this old man of 100 years, and yet in all the feasts celebrated by him, he has never offered in sacrifice to Thee a bullock or a young dove.' God answered him: . . . 'If I were to say to him, Sacrifice thy son, he would sacrifice him, etc.'" Cf. also Bk. of Jashar (ii. 1139).

17. According to xix. 8 Abraham was submitted to ten trials. Seven are mentioned in this verse: 1. The going forth from his country. 2. Famine. 3. The wealth of kings. 4. The seizure of his wife by the king of Egypt. 5. Circumcision. 6, 7. The dismissal of Ishmael and Hagar. In xix. 3, 8 the burial of Sarah is specially mentioned as the tenth. The eighth and ninth though not specifically reckoned as such in our text are the unfruitfulness of Sarah, xiv. 21, and the sacrifice of Isaac, xviii. This enumeration agrees closely with those of Maimonides, Jona Girondi and Simon Duran which are given below. From Beer's *Leben Abr.* 190-192 I draw the account in Pirke R. Eliezer, ch. 26 sq.: 1. Nimrod's attempt on his life. 2. Ten years imprisonment in Cutha and Khadr. 3. Departure from his country. 4. Famine. 5. Seizure of his wife. 6. War with the kings. 7. Covenant between the pieces. 8. Circumcision. 9. Rejection of Ishmael. 10. Offering of Isaac. The account given in Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 398, differs slightly from the above. According to Pirke R. Nathan, ch. 33, two trials were sustained when he was bidden to leave his home (Gen. xii. 1) and to go to Mt. Moriah to sacrifice Isaac (xx. 2): two in connection with his sons: two in connection with his wives: one with the kings: one between the sacrifical pieces: one in the furnace of the Chaldees: one in circumcision. According to the reckoning of Maimonides (see Fabricius (*ibid.* 399); Rönsch, 383) the trials were: 1. Going forth from his country. 2. Famine. 3. Seizure of his wife. 4. War with the kings. 5. Unfruitfulness of Sarah. 6. Circumcision. 7. Second seizure of his wife. 8, 9. Expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael. 10. Sacrifice of Isaac. It will be remarked that this last list corresponds best with our text; but the correspondence of the following lists is closer: Beer (*Leben Abr.* 191) writes: Die meisten späteren Aboth-Commentatoren schlossen sich den Pirke des R. Elieser an, blos darin variirend, dass Einige (Obadia Bertinoro and Menachem Meiri) anstatt des unterirdischen Aufenthaltes in Abraham's Kindheit den Vorfall mit Abimelech besonders zählen und Andere (R. Jona Girondi, Simon Zemach Duran) den Bund zwischen den Stücken nicht unter die Versuchungen aufnehmen, aber an dessen Stelle gegen alle früheren Referate, welche die Zehnzahl mit der Opferung Isaak's schliessen, die Beerdigung Sara's als zehnte Versuchung hinstellten. Thus Jona Girondi and Simon Duran agree with our text in making the burial of Sarah the tenth trial of Abraham.

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and his soul was not impatient, and he was not slow to act; for he was faithful and a lover of the Lord.

Sacrifice of Isaac: Mastêmâ put to shame, 1-13. *Abraham again blessed: returns to Beersheba,* 14-19. (Cf. Gen. xxii. 1-19.)

XVIII. And God said to him, "Abraham, Abraham"; and he said, "Behold, (here) am I." 2. And He said, "Take thy beloved son whom thou lovest, (even) Isaac, and go unto the high country, and offer him on one of the mountains which I will point out unto thee." 3. And he rose early in the morning and saddled his ass, and took his two young men with him, and Isaac his son, and clave the wood of the burnt-offering, and he went to the place on the third day, and he saw the place afar off. 4. And he came to a well of water, and he said to his young men, "Abide ye here with the ass, and I and the lad shall go (yonder), and when we have worshipped we shall come again to you." 5. And he took the wood of the burnt-offering and laid it on Isaac his son, and he took in his hand the fire and the knife, and they went both of them together to that place. 6. And Isaac said to his father, "Father"; and he said, "Here am I, my son." And he said unto him, "Behold the fire, and the knife, and the wood; but where is the sheep for the burnt-offering, father?" 7. And he said, "God will provide for himself a sheep for a burnt-offering, my son." And he drew near to the place of the mount of God. 8. And he built an altar, and he placed the wood on the altar, and bound Isaac his son, and placed him on the wood which was upon the altar, and stretched forth his hand to take the knife to slay Isaac

XVIII. 1-17. Cf. Gen. xxii. 1-19.

2. *Beloved son.* So LXX τὸν ἀγαπητόν = יחיד instead of Mass., Sam., Syr. יחיד.

The high country (*a d. b c* = "mountain") = (Gen. xxii. 2) LXX τὴν γῆν τὴν ὑψηλήν. Mass. = "Land of Moriah."

7. *Of the mount of God.* Gen. xxii. 9 reads: "which God had told him of."

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his son. 9. And I stood before him, and before the prince of the Mastêmâ, and the Lord said, "Bid him not to lay his hand on the lad, nor to do anything to him, for I have shown that he fears the Lord." 10. And I called to him from heaven, and said unto him: "Abraham, Abraham"; and he was terrified and said: "Behold, (here) am I." 11. And I said unto him: "Lay not thy hand upon the lad, neither do thou anything to him; for now I have shown that thou fearest the Lord, and hast not withheld thy son, thy first-born son, from me." 12. And the prince of the Mastêmâ was put to shame; and Abraham lifted up his eyes and looked, and, behold, a single ram caught ... by his horns, and Abraham went and took the ram and offered it for a burnt-offering in the stead of his son. 13. And Abraham called that place "The Lord hath seen," so that it is said "(in the mount) the Lord hath seen": that is Mount Sion. 14. And the Lord called Abraham by his name a second time from heaven, as he caused us to appear to speak to him in the name of the Lord. 15. And He said: "By Myself have I sworn, saith the Lord,

Because thou hast done this thing,

And hast not withheld thy son, thy beloved son, from Me,

9. *Prince of the Mastêmâ.* So *a b* here and in ver. 12 and xlviii. 9, 12, 15. *c d* wrongly give "prince Mastêmâ" in these passages and all MSS wrongly in xvii. 6, xlviii. 2. See note on x. 8.

Shown. Or "known," but see note on 11.

11. *I have shown* = Latin version, manifestavi (= יְדַעְתִּי). The Eth. could also be rendered "I have known," as Mass. and Sam. of Gen. xxii. 12 יָדַעְתִּי, but the Latin, manifestavi, is unmistakeable and this rendering is supported by both Eth. and Latin in ver. 16. The Syr. has the very same rendering: ܐܘܕܥ = I have shown. Ps.-Jon. has יְדִיעְנָא = manifestatum est. "I have shown" is suitable to the context. God proves Abraham's faithfulness to Mastêmâ and to others (ver. 16).

12. *Caught.* All the MSS add "and he came" = wa-yĕmaṣ'ĕ, (?) corrupt for ba'ĕḍaw = "in a thicket."

13. (*In the mount*). Added from Latin. It is found in Mass. and LXX of Gen. xxii. 14.

Hath seen. Syr. and Vulg. = "will see," "seeth." The verb is passive in the Mass. (יראה) and LXX, and also in the Latin version of Jubilees—visus est.

14. *He caused us to appear* (*b*). *a* "he caused him (*c* "me") to appear"; *d* "we appeared." Latin = fuimus is corrupt.

15. *Thy beloved son* (*a d*) = τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ σου = יחיד. Lat., tuo unigenito = τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου = יחיד. Hence Hebrew text seems to have had a dittographical text just as LXX (A) of Judges xi. 34: αὕτη μονογενὴς αὐτῷ ἀγαπητή, and LXX and Vulg. of Gen. xxii. 2, 12, 16 postulate similar dittographies of the same Hebrew word in Hebrew text. On the other hand *b c* under influence of ver.

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That in blessing I shall bless thee,
And in multiplying I shall multiply thy seed
As the stars of heaven,
And as the sand which is on the seashore.
And thy seed will inherit the cities of its enemies,
16. And in thy seed will all nations of the earth be blessed;
Because thou hast obeyed My voice,
And I have shown to all that thou art faithful unto Me in all that I have said unto thee:
Go in peace."

17. And Abraham went to his young men, and they arose and went together to Beersheba, and Abraham dwelt by the Well of the Oath. 18. And he celebrated this festival every year, seven days with joy, and he called it the festival of the Lord according to the seven days during which he went and returned in peace. 19. And accordingly has it been ordained and written on the heavenly tables regarding Israel and its seed that they should observe this festival seven days with the joy of festival.

Return of Abraham to Hebron. Death and burial of Sarah, 1-9. *Marriage of Isaac and second marriage of Abraham. Birth of Esau and Jacob*, 10-14. *Abraham commends Jacob to Rebecca and blesses him*, 15-31. (Cf. Gen. xxiii. 1-4, 11-16, xxiv. 15, xxv. 1-2, 25-27, xiii. 16.)

XIX. And in the first year of the first week in the
2010 A.M. forty-second jubilee, Abraham returned and dwelt opposite Hebron, that is Kirjath Arba, two weeks of years. 2. And

11 read "thy first-born son," and with Latin (quem dilexisti), add "whom thou hast loved." This addition may go back to אשר־אהבת (Gen. xxii. 2), or to יחיד (corruption (?) of יחיד Gen. xxii. 16 on which our text is based).

Cities = πόλεις (so also Sam. vers., LXX, Syr. (?), Onk. of Gen. xxii. 17 where Vulg. has portas = πύλας = שער of Mass. and Sam.).

16. *Go in peace.* 1 Sam. i. 17.

19. *With the joy of festival.* Latin has in laetitia gaudentes.

XIX. 1. *Kirjath Arba.* In MSS Qarjatàrbâq. LXX ἐν πόλει Ἀρβόκ.

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in the first year of the †third† week of this jubilee the days of the life of Sarah were accomplished, and she died in Hebron. 3. And Abraham went to mourn over her and bury her, and we tried him [to see] if his spirit were patient and he were not indignant in the words of his mouth; and he was found patient in this, and was not disturbed. 4. For in patience of spirit he conversed with the children of Heth, to the intent that they should give him a place in which to bury his dead. 5. And the Lord gave him grace before all who saw him, and he besought in gentleness the sons of Heth, and they gave him the land of the double cave over against Mamre, that is Hebron, for four hundred pieces of silver. 6. And they besought him, saying, "We shall give it to thee for nothing"; but he would not take it from their hands for nothing, for he gave the price of the place, the money in full, and he bowed down before them twice; and after this he buried his dead in the double cave. 7. And all the days of the life of Sarah were one hundred and twenty-seven years, that is, two jubilees and four weeks and one year: these are the days of the years of the life of Sarah. 8. This is the tenth trial wherewith Abraham was tried, and he was found faithful, patient in spirit. 9. And he said not a single word regarding the rumour in the land how that God had said that He would give it to him and to his seed after him, and he begged a place there to bury his dead; for he was found faithful, and was recorded on the heavenly tables as the friend of God. 10. And in the fourth year 2020 A.M.

2. †*Third*†. Read "second." Isaac married (xix. 10) at the age of 40 (Gen. xxv. 20) after Sarah's death. Hence he married in the fourth year of the second week.

2, 4. Cf. Gen. xxiii. 3, 4.

5-6. Cf. Gen. xxiii. 11-16.

5. *Double cave* = τὸ σπήλαιον τὸ διπλοῦν (LXX) = מערת המכפלה, "the cave of Machpelah."

Four hundred. So Latin. Eth. wrongly gives "forty."

7. Cf. Gen. xxiii. 1.

Of the years. *a* and Latin omit.

8. *Tenth trial.* In addition to the references on xvii. 17 see also the *Sayings of the Fathers*,[2] v. 3 (Taylor's edition, p. 80), which speaks of the ten trials of Abraham.

9. *Friend of God.* Cf. xxx. 20, 21. This expression springs from the O.T.:

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thereof he took a wife for his son Isaac and her name was Rebecca [the daughter of Bethuel, the son of Nahor, the brother of Abraham] the sister of Laban and daughter of Bethuel; and Bethuel was the son of Mêlcâ, who was the wife of Nahor, the brother of Abraham. 11. And Abraham took to himself a third wife, and her name was Keturah, from among the daughters of his household servants, for Hagar had died before Sarah. 12. And she bare him six sons, Zimram, and Jokshan, and Medan, and Midian, and Ishbak, and Shuah, in the two weeks of years. 13. And in
2046 A.M. the sixth week, in the second year thereof, Rebecca bare to Isaac two sons, Jacob and Esau, and Jacob was a smooth and upright man, and Esau was fierce, a man of the field, and hairy, and Jacob dwelt in tents. 14. And the youths grew, and Jacob learned to write; but Esau did not learn,

cf. Is. xli. 8 "Abraham, My friend"; 2 Chron. xx. 7; LXX of Dan. iii. 35. It is found in Philo, *De Sobrietate*, 11: *μὴ ἐπικαλύψω ἐγὼ ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ τοῦ φίλου μου;* (Gen. xviii. 17); also in James ii. 23; Clem. Rom. x. 1, xvii. 2; Targ. Jer. on Gen. xviii. 17. In Book of Wisdom vii. 27 the designation *φίλοι Θεοῦ* is applied to the faithful generally, and likewise in Philo, *Fragment* ii. p. 652: *πᾶς σοφὸς θεοῦ φίλος*. This application of the phrase may be due to Plato, *Legg.* iv. 8, where the wise man is said to be *θεῷ φίλος*: cf. also Max. Tyr. xx. 6. For Rabbinical references Singer, p. 151 note.

10. Cf. Gen. xxiv. 15.

Daughter of Bethuel; and Bethuel. Emended with help of Latin. See my text, p. 66.

[*The daughter . . . brother of Abraham*]. Bracketed as a dittography, already in the Greek, as it appears in the Latin version.

11. Cf. Gen. xxv. 1.

Keturah . . . for Hagar had died before Sarah. Our author here explains why Abraham did not take Hagar back. Later tradition—Gen. rabba 61, Ps.-Jon. and Targ. Jer. on Gen. xxvii. —got over the difficulty by identifying Hagar and Keturah. This view is mentioned by Jerome, *Quaest. Hebr. in Gen.* xxv. 1: Cetura Hebraeo sermone copulata interpretatur aut juncta (al. vincta). Quam ob causam suspicantur Hebraei mutato nomine eandem esse Agar, quae Sarae mortua de concubina transierit in uxorem. According to the Book of Jashar (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1147) Keturah was a Canaanitish woman. See Beer, *Leben Abr.* 83, 198; Singer, p. 118.

Daughters. Emended with Latin. Text = "sons."

12. Cf. Gen. xxv. 2. In the Ethiopic the names appear as Zenbar, Jâksen, Mâdâi, Mâdân, 'Ijazbôq, Sêhijâ.

13. Cf. Gen. xxv. 25-27.

Sixth. This date harmonises with that in xxv. 1, 4, according to which Jacob was 63 in 2109 A.M., but disagrees with that in xlv. 13.

Smooth and upright. So *bc.* Two different renderings of תם ישר (Gen. xxv. 27) seem to be conjoined here. On the other hand, since the description of Esau is borrowed from Gen. xxv. 27 and xxvii. 11, it is probable that the description of Jacob is drawn from both also, and that we should here read: "Smooth and upright."

14. *Jacob learned to write.* On the phrase cf. John vii. 15; Acts xxvi. 24; Plato, *Apol.* 26 D. According to Onkelos

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for he was a man of the field and a hunter, and he learnt war, and all his deeds were fierce. 15. And Abraham loved Jacob, but Isaac loved Esau. 16. And Abraham saw the deeds of Esau, and he knew that in Jacob should his name and seed be called; and he called Rebecca and gave commandment regarding Jacob, for he knew that she (too) loved Jacob much more than Esau. 17. And he said unto her: "My daughter, watch over my son Jacob,

For he shall be in my stead on the earth,
And for a blessing in the midst of the children of men,
And for the glory of the whole seed of Shem.

18. For I know that the Lord will choose him to be a people for possession unto Himself, above all peoples that are upon the face of the earth. 19. And behold, Isaac my son loves Esau more than Jacob, but I see that thou truly lovest Jacob.

20. Add still further to thy kindness to him,
And let thine eyes be upon him in love;
For he will be a blessing unto us on the earth from henceforth unto all generations of the earth.

21. Let thy hands be strong
And let thy heart rejoice in thy son Jacob;
For I have loved him far beyond all my sons.
He will be blessed for ever,
And his seed will fill the whole earth.

22. If a man can number the sand of the earth,
His seed also will be numbered.

on Gen. xxv. 27 Jacob attended a Hebrew school of theology, בית־אולפנא. The Ps.-Jon. and Jerus. Targums represent Heber as the head of this school. Cf. Ber. rabba 63. See Beer, *Leben Abr.* p. 200; Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 435-438; Singer, p. 103.

16. Abraham recognises by his conduct the predestined founder of the nation (ii. 20). The promise given in xvi. 16, xvii. 6 is here further defined. According to Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxv. 9; Ber. rabba 63, Abraham died before Esau took to evil ways; see also Baba bathra 16 *b* (Beer, *Leb. Abr.* 84).

18. *A people for possession* = λαὸν περιούσιον. See note on xvi. 18; also the note in my text p. 68 where I have shown that the Ethiopic translators of the Bible always mistranslated περιούσιος. This verse is drawn word for word from Deut. vii. 6.

Peoples. Restored from Latin.

22. Gen. xiii. 16. Contrast xiii. 20 of our text.

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23. And all the blessings wherewith the Lord hath blessed me and my seed shall belong to Jacob and his seed alway. 24. And in his seed shall my name be blessed, and the name of my fathers, Shem, and Noah, and Enoch, and Mahalalel, and Enos, and Seth, and Adam. 25. And these shall serve

To lay the foundations of the heaven,
And to strengthen the earth,
And to renew all the luminaries which are in the firmament."

26. And he called Jacob before the eyes of Rebecca his mother, and kissed him, and blessed him, and said: 27. "Jacob, my beloved son, whom my soul loveth, may God bless thee from above the firmament, and may He give thee all the blessings wherewith He blessed Adam, and Enoch, and Noah, and Shem; and all the things of which He told me, and all the things which He promised to give me, may He cause to cleave to thee and to thy seed for ever, according to the days of heaven above the earth. 28. And the spirits of Mastêmâ shall not rule over thee or over thy seed to turn thee from the Lord, who is thy God from henceforth for ever. 29. And may the Lord God be a father to thee and thou the first-born son, and to the people alway. Go in peace, my son." 30. And they both went forth together from Abraham. 31. And Rebecca loved Jacob, with all her heart and with all her soul, very much more than Esau; but Isaac loved Esau much more than Jacob.

24. This list of righteous patriarchs is peculiar for its omissions and its insertions. With regard to Mahalelel nothing special is known. On the other hand, the omission of Methuselah is strange. In later times opinions were divided as to the character of Adam. Some held him to be a saint (חסיד Erub. 18 *b*), others an atheist (כופר בעיקר Sanh. 38 *b*). See rabbinic references in Singer, pp. 125-126.

25. See note on i. 29. Cf. Is. li. 16.

27. *All the blessings wherewith*, etc. Cf. xxii. 13.

28. See note on xv. 31-32. Evil spirits have dominion over the Gentiles but not over Israel.

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Abraham admonishes his sons and his sons' sons to work righteousness, observe circumcision, and refrain from impurity and idolatry, 1-10. *Dismisses them with gifts,* 11. *Dwelling-places of the Ishmaelites and of the sons of Keturah,* 12-13. (Cf. Gen. xxv. 5-6.)

XX. And in the forty-second jubilee, in the first year of the †seventh† week, Abraham called Ishmael, and his twelve sons, and Isaac and his two sons, and the six sons of Keturah, and their sons. 2. And he commanded them that they should observe the way of the Lord; that they should work righteousness, and love each his neighbour, and act on this manner amongst all men; that they should each so walk with regard to them as to do judgment and righteousness on the earth. 3. That they should circumcise their sons, according to the covenant which He had made with them, and not deviate to the right hand or the left of all the paths which the Lord had commanded us; and that we should keep ourselves from all fornication and uncleanness, [and renounce from amongst us all fornication and uncleanness]. 4. And if any woman or maid commit fornication amongst you, burn her with fire, and let them not commit fornication with her after their eyes and their heart; and let them not take to themselves wives from the daughters of Canaan; for the seed of Canaan will be rooted out of the

2052 (?2045) A.M.

XX. 1. †*Seventh*†. "Seventh" seems corrupt for "sixth." The present text makes the date 2052 or the year after Abraham's death. If we read "sixth" it would give 2045. See note on xxi. 1. Thus some time would intervene between the dismissal of Ishmael and his sons to their distant homes (xx. 11) and the return of Ishmael and Jacob to celebrate the feast of weeks (xxii. 1).

His twelve sons. See Gen. xxv. 13-15.

2. *Men* = sab'ĕ emended from ṣab'ĕ, "war."

3. *Circumcise their sons.* Sanh. 59 *b* contains a discussion as to whether circumcision was obligatory on Ishmael's and Keturah's sons in conformity with Gen. xvii. 9. Owing to Gen. xxi. 12 it was held not to extend to Esau's descendants.

[*And renounce . . . uncleanness*]. Bracketed as a dittography.

4. This halacha does not agree exactly with those in Leviticus and Deuteronomy, etc., but with that implied in Gen. xxxviii. 24. According to Deut. xxii. 23 sqq.; Ezek. xvi. 40; Lev. xx. 10 the adulteress was to be put to

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land. 5. And he told them of the judgment of the giants, and the judgment of the Sodomites, how they had been judged on account of their wickedness, and had died on account of their fornication, and uncleanness, and mutual corruption through fornication.

6. "And guard yourselves from all fornication and uncleanness,
And from all pollution of sin,
Lest ye make our name a curse,
And your whole life a hissing,
And all your sons to be destroyed by the sword,
And ye become accursed like Sodom,
And all your remnant as the sons of Gomorrah.

7. I implore you, my sons, love the God of heaven,
And cleave ye to all His commandments.
And walk not after their idols, and after their uncleannesses,

8. And make not for yourselves molten or graven gods;
For they are vanity,
And there is no spirit in them;
For they are work of (men's) hands,
And all who trust in them, trust in nothing.
Serve them not, nor worship them,

9. But serve ye the Most High God, and worship Him continually:

death by stoning, whereas death by fire was reserved for the priest's daughter who had played the whore, Lev. xxi. 9. On the other hand Gen. xxxviii. 24, where Judah proposes to burn Tamar, comes under neither of these regulations. Tamar was still, according to custom, the wife of Er—for Shelah was simply to act as Er's representative—and should thereupon have been stoned according to the Levitical law. See notes on xli. 25, 26.

5. *Fornication, and uncleanness, and . . . corruption.* See note on vii. 21.

6. *Make our name a curse, and your whole life a hissing.* Based on Is. lxv. 15; Jer. xxix. 18. Cf. Eth. En. v. 6. For "a hissing" (so Latin) *a* gives "a threatening" and *b c d* "a cause of boasting."

8. Cf. xii. 5, xxii. 18.

Molten or graven gods. Cf. Deut. xxvii. 15.

Serve them not, nor worship them. Exod. xx. 5.

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And hope for His countenance always,
And work uprightness and righteousness before Him,
That He may have pleasure in you and grant you His mercy,
And send rain upon you morning and evening,
And bless all your works which ye have wrought upon the earth,
And bless thy bread and thy water,
And bless the fruit of thy womb and the fruit of thy land,
And the herds of thy cattle, and the flocks of thy sheep.
10. And ye will be for a blessing on the earth,
And all nations of the earth will desire you,
And bless your sons in my name,
That they may be blessed as I am."
11. And he gave to Ishmael and to his sons, and to the sons of Keturah, gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his son, and he gave everything to Isaac his son. 12. And Ishmael and his sons, and the sons of Keturah and their sons, went together and dwelt from Paran to the entering in of Babylon in all the land which is towards the East facing the desert. 13. And these mingled with each other, and their name was called Arabs, and Ishmaelites.

Abraham's last words to Isaac regarding idolatry, the eating of blood, the offering of various sacrifices and the use of salt, 1-11. *Also regarding the woods to be used in*

9. *Have pleasure in.* Lat. has dirigat, which with Praetorius should be changed into diligat.

Send rain. Cf. xii. 4, 18.

Bless all your works, etc. Cf. Deut. xxviii. 8.

Bless thy bread and thy water. Exod. xxiii. 25.

Fruit of thy womb and the fruit of thy land, And the herds, etc. Deut. vii. 13. The Ethiopic word rendered fruit generally = "seed," but it also means what springs from the seed as here. Latin has fructum. Greek was prob. καρπόν.

10. *Ye will be for a blessing.* Cf. Gen. xii. 2; and xxi. 25 of our text.

11. Cf. Gen. xxv. 6.

12. *Paran.* Eth. Phârmôn.

13. *Was called Arabs, and Ishmaelites.* So Eth. The Latin = "Clave to the Arabs and (they are) Ishmaelites unto this day."

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sacrifice and the duty of washing before sacrifice and of covering blood etc., 12-25.

2057 (?2050) A.M. XXI. And in the sixth year of the †seventh† week of this jubilee Abraham called Isaac his son, and commanded him, saying: "I am become old, and know not the day of my death, and am full of my days. 2. And behold, I am one hundred and seventy-five years old, and throughout all the days of my life I have remembered the Lord, and sought with all my heart to do His will, and to walk uprightly in all His ways. 3. My soul has hated idols, (and I have despised those that served them, and I have given my heart

XXI. 1. †*Seventh*†. Since Abraham was born in 1876 A.M. and lived 175 years, he must have died in 2051 A.M., whereas our text makes it 2057. Hence read "sixth." We should then have 2050.

Abraham called Isaac his son, and commanded him. Cf. Test. Levi 9: Ἰσαὰκ ἐκάλει με . . . τοῦ ὑπομνῆσαί με νόμον Κυρίου. The rest of this chapter according to our author deals with Abraham's directions to Isaac regarding the various kinds of sacrifices, the woods to be used on the altar, the ablutions of the priest, the duty of avoiding fornication. Now it is quite clear that the author of Test. Levi 9 had either our text before him or else a source common to both. The converse hypothesis that our author had the Test. Levi before him is not workable. In any case the text of the Test. Levi is less original than that of our author. It represents Isaac as transmitting to Levi the same ritual commands that our text describes Abraham as giving to Isaac. The only point that can be urged in favour of the originality of the Test. Levi is that the words in Jubilees xxi. 1 "I am become old and know not the day of my death" are used by Isaac in Gen. xxvii. 2 and not by Abraham. But the two views are compatible. Our text represents Abraham as giving directions as to sacrifices, etc., to Isaac; and the Test. Levi represents Isaac as handing them on to Levi. The ὡς κἀμὲ Ἀβραὰμ ἐδίδαξε support the view of our author. I will now give the portions of Test. Levi 9 which deal with the same matter as our text and insert after them the references to the parallels in our text. καὶ Ἰσαὰκ ἐκάλει με συνεχῶς τοῦ ὑπομνῆσαί με νόμον Κυρίου (Jub. xxi. 1) . . . καὶ ἐδίδασκέ με νόμον ἱερωσύνης, θυσιῶν, ὁλοκαυτωμάτων, ἀπαρχῶν, ἐκουσίων, σωτηρίων (Jub. xxi. 7-9) . . . καὶ ἔλεγε· Μὴ πρόσεχε, τέκνον, ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς πορνείας (xxi. 21-23) . . . καὶ πρὸ τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὰ ἅγια, λούου· καὶ ἐν τῷ θύειν, νίπτου· καὶ ἀπαρτίζων πάλιν τὴν θυσίαν, νίπτου (xxi. 16 almost word for word). Δώδεκα δένδρων ἀεὶ ἐχόντων φύλλα ἄναγε Κυρίῳ, ὡς κἀμὲ Ἀβραὰμ ἐδίδαξε (xxi. 12-13) . . . καὶ πᾶσαν θυσίαν ἅλατι ἁλιεῖς (xxi. 11).

I am become old, and know not the day of my death. These words are used by Isaac in Gen. xxvii. 2.

And am full. For "and" MSS read "for," but Latin rightly gives "et."

Full of my days. The pronoun is peculiar to this book and Eth. vers. and Syr. The Sam., LXX, Vulg. read "full of days" against Mass. and Onkelos of Gen. xxv. 8 which omit "of days." Cf. xxii. 7, xxiii. 8 of our text.

2. Cf. Gen. xxv. 7.

3. (*And I have despised . . . and spirit*). Supplied from Latin: probably lost in Ethiopic through homoioteleuton.

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and spirit) that I might observe to do the will of Him who created me. 4. For He is the living God, and He is holy and faithful, and He is righteous beyond all, and there is with Him no accepting of (men's) persons and no accepting of gifts; for God is righteous, and executeth judgment on all those who transgress His commandments and despise His covenant. 5. And do thou, my son, observe His commandments and His ordinances and His judgments, and walk not after the abominations and after the graven images and after the molten images. 6. And eat no blood at all of animals or cattle, or of any bird which flies in the heaven. 7. And if thou dost slay a victim as an acceptable peace-offering, slay ye it, and pour out its blood upon the altar, and all the fat of the offering offer on the altar with fine flour (and the meat-offering) mingled with oil, with its drink-offering — offer them all together on the altar of burnt-offering; it is a sweet savour before the Lord. 8. And thou wilt offer the fat of the sacrifice of thank-offerings on the fire which is upon the altar, and the fat which is on the belly, and all the fat on the inwards and the two kidneys, and all the fat that is upon them, and upon the loins and liver thou shalt remove, together with the kidneys.

4. *No accepting of (men's) persons and . . . gifts.* Cf. Deut. x. 17.

6. Cf. Lev. vii. 26. See vi. 10, 12 of our text; also xxi. 17 sqq.

7. Cf. Lev. iii. 7-10.

Peace-offering = θυσίαι εἰρηνικαί = וזבח שלמים, 1 Sam. x. 8, xi. 15 etc., but the Hebrew phrase is more usually rendered (ἡ) θυσία (τοῦ) σωτηρίου, Lev. iii. 3, 6, 9, iv. 26 etc.

(*And the meat-offering*). Latin omits the meat-offering. The phrase is most probably genuine as Littmann urges, though I rejected it in my Ethiopic text.

Mingled with oil. Cf. Lev. ii. 4, משחים בשמן.

8. *And thou wilt offer the fat of the sacrifice of thank-offerings . . . and the fat.* So Latin. For "and . . . and" in the above the Ethiopic reads "as . . . as." Lev. iii. 9-10, which our author has before him, supports the Latin: "And he shall offer of the sacrifice of peace-offerings an offering made by fire . . . and the fat which covereth the inwards, and all the fat that is upon the inwards and the two kidneys, and the fat that is upon them, which is by the loins . . . with the kidneys shall he take away." On the phrase "thank-offerings" see note on ver. 7.

On the belly, . . . on the inwards = ἐπὶ τῆς κοιλίας . . . ἐπὶ τῶν ἐντοσθίων (ἐντέρων). The Latin has super ventrum . . . super interanea. This variation is strange, since the Hebrew has קרב and the LXX κοιλία in both cases in Lev. iii. 10.

And upon the loins. Lev. iii. 10 has "which is by the loins."

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9. And offer all these for a sweet savour acceptable before the Lord, with its meat-offering and with its drink-offering, for a sweet savour, the bread of the offering unto the Lord, 10. And eat its meat on that day and on the second day, and let not the sun on the second day go down upon it till it is eaten, and let nothing be left over for the third day; for it is not acceptable [for it is not approved] and let it no longer be eaten, and all who eat thereof will bring sin upon themselves; for thus I have found it written in the books of my forefathers, and in the words of Enoch, and in the words of Noah. 11. And on all thy oblations thou shalt strew salt, and let not the salt of the covenant be lacking in all thy oblations before the Lord. 12. And as regards the wood of the sacrifices, beware lest thou bring (other) wood

Thou shalt remove = tĕblĕl. Emended with Latin separa from ṭeblûl = rolled up, covered up.

9. *Bread of the offering unto the Lord.* From Lev. iii. 11.

10. [*For it is not approved*]. I have bracketed this clause as a dittography.

Let it no longer be eaten = jĕtbalā'ĕ, emended from jĕtbahal (*a b*). *c d* = "thou shalt not eat."

Written in the books of my forefathers. According to x. 14 Noah gave all his secret books to Shem, who may have passed them on to Abraham, as, according to rabbinic tradition, Abraham attended the school of Shem. According to xii. 27, however, Abram is said to have been a "home" student, and to have studied the books of his fathers. Singer (p. 126 note) states that according to Pirke R. El. viii., Jalk. Gen. § 41, Abraham received from Shem the knowledge of the calendar which was imparted to Adam from heaven, and which had come down to Shem through Enoch and Noah. The present passage in our text as well as vii. 38 and Test. XII. Patriarch. Zeb. 3 trace back certain halachoth to commands or books of Enoch and Noah. None of the ancient books preserved under these names are of an halachic character. There was probably no ground for the statement made by our author.

11. *On all thy oblations thou shalt strew salt.* Cf. the parallel passage in Test. Levi 9: καὶ πᾶσαν θυσίαν ἁλατι ἁλιεῖς.

Salt of the covenant. Cf. Lev. ii. 13. MSS read "covenant of salt."

12. *Beware lest thou bring (other) wood for the altar in addition to these.* By a slight change (see my text, p. 75 note 30) we might read: "Be careful to offer on the altar the following woods (only)." This passage was written possibly to determine the meaning of עֲצֵי שִׁטִּים in Exod. xxv. 5, 10 etc. Our text or the subject of it is referred to in Test. Levi 9: δώδεκα δένδρων ἀεὶ ἐχόντων φύλλα ἀναγε Κυρίῳ, ὡς κἀμὲ Ἀβραὰμ ἐδίδαξε. The number here is probably corrupt. δώδεκα = יב, corrupt for יד = 14. The Eth. Enoch iii. speaks of fourteen evergreen trees, and may be in that passage dependent on our text. With the list of fourteen trees in our text, cf. that in the *Geoponica* xi. 1: δένδρα ἀειθαλῆ ἐστι . . . ιδ' (1) φοῖνιξ, (2) κίτριον, (3) στρόβιλος, (4) δάφνη, (5) ἐλαία, (6) κυπάρισσος, (7) κερατέα, (8) πίτυς, (9) πρῖνος, (10) πύξος, (11) μυρσίνη, (12) κέδρος, (13) ἰτέα καὶ (14) ἄρκευθος. Of these fourteen, ten, *i.e.* nos.

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for the altar in addition to these: cypress, dêfrân, sagâd, pine, fir, cedar, savin, palm, olive, myrrh, laurel, and citron, juniper, and balsam. 13. And of these kinds of wood lay upon the altar under the sacrifice, such as have been tested as to their appearance, and do not lay (thereon) any split or dark wood, (but) hard and clean, without fault, a sound and new growth; and do not lay (thereon) old wood, [for its fragrance is gone] for there is no longer fragrance in it as before. 14. Besides these kinds of wood there is none other that thou shalt place (on the altar), for the fragrance is dispersed, and the smell of its fragrance goes not up to heaven. 15. Observe this commandment and do it, my son, that thou mayst be upright in all thy deeds. 16. And at all times be clean in thy body, and wash thyself with water before thou approachest to offer on the altar, and wash thy hands and thy feet before thou drawest near to the altar; and when thou art done sacrificing, wash again thy hands and thy feet. 17. And let no blood appear upon you nor upon your clothes; be on thy guard, my son, against blood, be on thy guard exceedingly; cover it with dust. 18. And do not eat any blood, for it is the soul; eat no blood whatever. 19. And take no gifts for the blood of man, lest it be

6, 3, 8, 12, 1 (?), 5, 11, 4, 2 (or 7), 14, appear in our text. See my text, p. 75.

Dêfrân might be a corruption of πρῖνος but that daprono (ܕܦܪܢܐ) is found in Syriac, and is a kind of fir.

Sagâd. This has been identified with the שקד, "the almond"; but wrongly, since the trees are all evergreen.

Citron. I have taken qêdâr as corrupt for κίτριον. It may be a corruption of κερατέα. On wood for the sacrifices see Middoth ii. 5; Tamid 29 *b*; Sifra on Lev. i. 8 (Beer, *Buch d. Jub.* p. 35).

13. Nothing of this nature is found in the halacha. Tamid ii. 3 allows all kinds of wood but that of the olive and vine.

Clean = nĕsûḥ, emended from ṣĕnû'a (*b*) = "firm," ṣĕn'â (*c*). *a* omits.

[*For its fragrance is gone*]. I have bracketed this clause as originating in a dittography, or an interpolation from the next verse.

14. *Goes not up.* With Littmann I have inserted the negative.

16. On the duty of washing before approaching the altar, cf. Exod. xxx. 19-21, etc.

Wash again. Text = "return and wash," the familiar Hebrew idiom as Littmann has recognised.

17. *Nor upon your clothes.* *a b* omit "nor."

Be on thy guard, my son, against blood, . . . cover it with dust. Cf. Lev. xvii. 13.

18. Cf. Lev. xvii. 14; Deut. xii. 23.

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shed with impunity, without judgment; for it is the blood that is shed that causes the earth to sin, and the earth cannot be cleansed from the blood of man save by the blood of him who shed it. 20. And take no present or gift for the blood of man: blood for blood, that thou mayest be accepted before the Lord, the Most High God; for He is the defence of the good: and that thou mayest be preserved from all evil, and that He may save thee from every kind of death.

21. I see, my son,
That all the works of the children of men are sin and wickedness,
And all their deeds are uncleanness and an abomination and a pollution,
And there is no righteousness with them.

22. Beware, lest thou shouldest walk in their ways
And tread in their paths,
And sin a sin unto death before the Most High God.
Else He will [hide His face from thee,
And] give thee back into the hands of thy transgression,
And root thee out of the land, and thy seed likewise from under heaven,
And thy name and thy seed will perish from the whole earth.

23. Turn away from all their deeds and all their uncleanness,
And observe the ordinance of the Most High God,

19. *Causes the earth to sin.* This goes back to יחניף = "pollutes."

The earth cannot be cleansed, etc. Cf. vii. 33; Num. xxxv. 33.

20. *That thou mayest be accepted.* Emended (see my text, p. 76, note 1). *b* (*d*) = "and it will be accepted"; *a* "it will not be accepted"; *c* "and He will accept you."

21-24. This passage was written originally in Hebrew verse and the parallelism is still well preserved.

22. *Sin unto death* = ἁμαρτίαν θανατηφόρον = חֵטְא לָמוֶת, Num. xviii. 22. Cf. 1 John v. 16. See xxiii. 18 of our text.

[*Hide His face from thee, And*]. I have bracketed this clause (cf. i. 13) as an interpolation, since it spoils the parallelism.

Give thee back into the hands of thy transgression. Has this vigorous expression been suggested by Gen. iv. 7 "If thou dost not well, sin is a lurker at the door"?

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And do His will and be upright in all things.

24. And He will bless thee in all thy deeds,
And will raise up from thee the plant of righteousness through all the earth, throughout all generations of the earth,
And my name and thy name will not be forgotten under heaven for ever.

25. Go, my son, in peace.
May the Most High God, my God and thy God, strengthen thee to do His will,
And may He bless all thy seed and the residue of thy seed for the generations for ever, with all righteous blessings,
That thou mayest be a blessing on all the earth."

26. And he went out from him rejoicing.

Isaac, Ishmael, and Jacob celebrate the feast of first-fruits at Beersheba with Abraham, 1-5. *Prayer of Abraham,* 6-9. *Abraham's last words to and blessings of Jacob,* 10-30.

XXII. And it came to pass in the †first† week in the †forty-fourth† jubilee, in the †second† year, that is, the year in which Abraham died, that Isaac and Ishmael came from the Well of the Oath to celebrate the feast of weeks —that is, the feast of the first-fruits of the harvest—to Abraham, their father, and Abraham rejoiced because his two sons had come. 2. For Isaac had many possessions in Beersheba, and Isaac was wont to go and see his possessions

24. *Plant of righteousness.* See xvi. 26.

25. I have with some hesitation arranged this verse as Hebrew poetry.

Mayest be a blessing. Cf. xx. 10.

XXII. 1. All the dates in this verse appear to be wrong. The total = 2116. Dillmann suggests that for "forty-fourth" we should read "forty-third." But this would make the year of Abraham's death 2060, whereas (see on xxi. 1) he died in the year 2051. Hence I propose: "in the sixth week in the forty-second jubilee, in the seventh year" = 2051.

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and to return to his father. 3. And in those days Ishmael came to see his father, and they both came together, and Isaac offered a sacrifice for a burnt-offering, and presented it on the altar of his father which he had made in Hebron. 4. And he offered a thank-offering and made a feast of joy before Ishmael, his brother: and Rebecca made new cakes from the new grain, and gave them to Jacob, her son, to take them to Abraham, his father, from the first-fruits of the land, that he might eat and bless the Creator of all things before he died. 5. And Isaac, too, sent by the hand of Jacob to Abraham a best thank-offering, that he might eat and drink. 6. And he eat and drank, and blessed the Most High God,

Who hath created heaven and earth,
Who hath made all the fat things of the earth,
And given them to the children of men
That they might eat and drink and bless their Creator.

7. "And now I give thanks unto Thee, my God, because thou hast caused me to see this day: behold, I am one hundred three score and fifteen years, an old man and full of days, and all my days have been unto me peace. 8. The sword of the adversary has not overcome me in all that Thou hast given me and my children all the days of my life until this day. 9. My God, may Thy mercy and Thy peace be upon Thy servant, and upon the seed of his sons, that they may be to Thee a chosen nation and an inheritance from amongst all the nations of the earth from henceforth unto all the days of the generations of the earth, unto all the ages." 10. And he called Jacob and said: "My son Jacob, may

4. *Creator of all things.* A frequently recurring idea in our author: cf. xxii. 27. Cf. Sir. xxiv. 8: ὁ κτίστης ἀπάντων; 2 Macc. i. 24: ὁ θεὸς ὁ πάντων κτίστης; vii. 23: ὁ τοῦ κόσμου κτίστης (cf. 4 Macc. v. 25). Cf. "God of all," xxii. 10, 27, xxx. 19, xxxi. 13, 32; Assumpt. Mos. iv. 2.

6-9. Abraham's thanksgiving and prayer.

7. See xxi. 1.

8. *The sword of the adversary.* Cf. Jer. vi. 25; Ps. ix. 7 (LXX).

9. *An inheritance* (=נחלה). Cf. verses 10, 15, 29 and Deut. iv. 20.

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the God of all bless thee and strengthen thee to do righteousness, and His will before Him, and may He choose thee and thy seed that ye may become a people for His inheritance according to His will alway. And do thou, my son, Jacob, draw near and kiss me." 11. And he drew near and kissed him, and he said:

"Blessed be my son Jacob
And all the sons of God Most High, unto all the ages:
May God give unto thee a seed of righteousness;
And some of thy sons may He sanctify in the midst of the whole earth;
May nations serve thee,
And all the nations bow themselves before thy seed.

12. Be strong in the presence of men,
And exercise authority over all the seed of Seth.
Then thy ways and the ways of thy sons will be justified,
So that they shall become a holy nation.

13. May the Most High God give thee all the blessings
Wherewith He has blessed me
And wherewith He blessed Noah and Adam;
May they rest on the sacred head of thy seed from generation to generation for ever.

14. And may He cleanse thee from all unrighteousness and impurity,

10. *God of all, i.e.* God of the universe. See verses 4, 27.

11. *The sons of the God Most High* (or "his sons unto the God Most High"). For phraseology cf. Gen. xiv. 19. On Israel as sons of God, see i. 24 note.

May nations serve Thee, And all the nations, etc. From Gen. xxvii. 29—Isaac's blessing of Jacob.

12. *Exercise.* Eth. has "exercising" but Latin = "exercise."

All the seed of Seth, i.e. all mankind. The phrase is found also in Num. xxiv. 17, בל בני־שת, where, however, שת is not to be taken as the name of the patriarch but as a contraction of שׁאת = "confusion."

13. *Blessings . . . wherewith He blessed Noah*, etc. See xix. 27.

Rest on the sacred head. From Gen. xlix. 26, though with the Syr. it implies נזר instead of גזיר. Cf. Num. vi. 9.

14. *Unrighteousness and impurity.* Emended with Latin inquinamento et injustitia. MSS = "impure defilement."

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That thou mayest be forgiven all (thy) transgressions;
(and) thy sins of ignorance.

And may He strengthen thee,
And bless thee.
And mayest thou inherit the whole earth,

15. And may He renew His covenant with thee,
That thou mayest be to Him a nation for His inheritance for all the ages,
And that He may be to thee and to thy seed a God in truth and righteousness throughout all the days of the earth.

16. And do thou, my son Jacob, remember my words,
And observe the commandments of Abraham, thy father:

Separate thyself from the nations,
And eat not with them:

And do not according to their works,
And become not their associate;

For their works are unclean,
And all their ways are a pollution and an abomination and uncleanness.

17. They offer their sacrifices to the dead

Thou mayest be forgiven. Lat. = "He may forgive." The "thy" and "and" are supplied from the Latin.

15. *Renew His covenant.* See ver. 30.

Nation for His inheritance. See on ver. 9.

16. The exclusiveness of Judaism is here traced to Abraham. The very existence of Judaism in 200-150 B.C. made such exclusiveness indispensable.

Separate thyself from the nations. Cf. Is. lii. 11.

Eat not with them. A Jew could not eat with a Gentile; for the animals might not have been slaughtered according to the prescriptions of the Law (Deut. xii. 23, 24) or might have been amongst those that were forbidden to the Jew (Lev. xi. 4-7, 10-12, 13-20) or the meat and wine might have been offered to idols (cf. 1 Cor. x. 20, 27-29). Antiochus IV. tried to force the Jews to eat of unclean food, 1 Macc. i. 47-48, 62-63; 2 Macc. vi. 18-21, vii. 1. See Driver's Commentary on Daniel i. 8-10 note. Cf. Matt. ix. 11; Mk. ii. 16 for the Pharisaic attitude.

Their ways are a pollution. Cf. ver. 19. Observe how frequently this conception returns in all accounts of the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes and his successors: μιαίνειν in 1 Macc. i. 46, 63, iv. 45, vii. 34, xiv. 36; μιασμός, 1 Macc. iv. 43; ἀκάθαρτος, 1 Macc. i. 48, iv. 43; ἀκαθαρσία, 1 Macc. xiii. 48, xiv. 7; μύσος, 2 Macc. vi. 19, 25; μολύνω, 1 Macc. i. 37; 2 Macc. vi. 2, xiv. 3; μολυσμός, 2 Macc. v. 27; βεβηλόω, 1 Macc. i. 43, 45, 48, 63, ii. 12, 34, iii. 51, etc.; βεβήλωσις, 1 Macc. i. 48.

17. *Offer their sacrifices to the dead.* Cf. Deut. xxvi. 14; Ps. cvi. 28; Sir. vii.

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And they worship evil spirits,

And they eat over the graves,

And all their works are vanity and nothingness.

18. They have no heart to understand

And their eyes do not see what their works are,

And how they err in saying to a piece of wood: 'Thou art my God,'

And to a stone: 'Thou art my Lord and thou art my deliverer.'

[And they have no heart.]

19. And as for thee, my son Jacob,

May the Most High God help thee

And the God of heaven bless thee

And remove thee from their uncleanness and from all their error.

20. Be thou ware, my son Jacob, of taking a wife from any seed of the daughters of Canaan;

For all his seed is to be rooted out of the earth.

21. For, owing to the transgression of Ham, Canaan erred,

And all his seed will be destroyed from off the earth and all the residue thereof,

33; Tob. iv. 17, which allude to such sacrifices as being offered by Israel. They are derided Sir. xxx. 18, 19; Ep. Jer. 31, 32; Wisdom xiv. 15, xix. 3; Or. Sibyl. viii. 382-384. The Pirke Aboth iii. 4 speaks of "sacrifices to the dead" (זבחי המתים).

Worship evil spirits. Some of the Jews at the bidding of Antiochus Epiphanes consented to worship idols and offer them sacrifices, 1 Macc. i. 43. For other references to such worship generally see Deut. xxxii. 17; Lev. xvii. 7; Ps. cvi. 37; Eth. Enoch xix. 1; Baruch iv. 7; 1 Cor. x. 20: ἀλλ' ὅτι ἃ θύουσιν τὰ ἔθνη, δαιμονίοις . . . θύουσιν. See note on i. 11-13 of our text.

Eat over the graves. Just as the worshipper of Yahweh partook of the sacrifices offered to Him, so those who offered sacrifices to the dead partook of such sacrifices. These sacrifices were placed over the grave: see references given under "offer sacrifices to the dead" in earlier part of the verse: also Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, 21-24.

18. Cf. xii. 5, xx. 8; Jer. ii. 27.

Their works. Read gebrômû instead of gabrômû in my text.

[*And they have no heart*]. Bracketed as a dittography of the beginning of ver. 18. The parallelism is against it.

20. Cf. Gen. xxviii. 1. For similar commands see xxv. 5, xxvii. 10, xxx 7 of our text; Test. Levi 9.

For all his seed, etc. This line recurs in ver. 21^{b}; for the two Ethiopic verbs are not infrequently renderings of the same word in Greek.

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And none springing from him will be saved on the day of judgment.

22. And as for all the worshippers of idols and the profane
(*b*) There will be no hope for them in the land of the living;
(*e*) And there will be no remembrance of them on the earth;
(*c*) For they will descend into Sheol,
(*d*) And into the place of condemnation will they go,

As the children of Sodom were taken away from the earth
So will all those who worship idols be taken away.

23. Fear not, my son Jacob,
And be not dismayed, O son of Abraham:

May the Most High God preserve thee from destruction,
And from all the paths of error may He deliver thee.

24. This house have I built for myself that I might put my name upon it in the earth: [it is given to thee and to thy seed for ever], and it will be named the house of Abraham; it is given to thee and to thy seed for ever; for thou wilt build my house and establish my name before God for ever: thy seed and thy name will stand throughout all generations of the earth."

25. And he ceased commanding him and blessing him. 26. And the two lay together on one bed, and Jacob slept in the bosom of Abraham, his father's father and he kissed him seven times, and his affection and his

21. *Day of judgment.* Cf. xxiii. 11, "day of the great judgment": xxiv. 28, "day of wrath and indignation": also xxxvi. 10.

22. *The profane.* Se'ûlân = βεβηλωμένοι (cf. Lev. xxi. 7, 14), emended from selû'ân (*a b d*) = "the hated ones." *c* reads, "the perverse." If we emend *a b d* into salâ-čjân we should have "the adversaries."

(*e*) *And there will be no remembrance,* etc. It will be observed that I have transposed this verse on account of the parallelism.

They will descend into Sheol . . . will they go. The same passage with a transposition of the two verbs has already occurred in vii. 29 (see note): cf. Eth. En. ciii. 7, 8.

24. [*It is given,* etc.] A dittography from the second clause following.

25. *Commanding.* Gen. xlix. 33. This word goes back to צוה which is used technically of a man's last will

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heart rejoiced over him. 27. And he blessed him with all his heart and said: "The Most High God, the God of all, and Creator of all, who brought me forth from Ur of the Chaldees, that He might give me this land to inherit it for ever, and that I might establish a holy seed—blessed be the Most High for ever." 28. And he blessed Jacob and said: "My son, over whom with all my heart and my affection I rejoice, may Thy grace and Thy mercy be lift up upon him and upon his seed alway. 29. And do not forsake him, nor set him at nought from henceforth unto the days of eternity, and may Thine eyes be opened upon him and upon his seed, that Thou mayst preserve him, and bless him, and mayest sanctify him as a nation for Thine inheritance; 30. And bless him with all Thy blessings from henceforth unto all the days of eternity, and renew Thy covenant and Thy grace with him and with his seed according to all Thy good pleasure unto all the generations of the earth."

Abraham's death and burial, 1-8 (cf. Gen. xxv. 7-10). *Decreasing years and increasing corruption of mankind: Messianic woes: universal strife: the faithful rise up in arms to bring back the faithless: Israel invaded by sinners*

and testament: cf. 2 Sam. xvii. 23; 2 Kings xx. 1; Is. xxxviii. 1; Test. XII. Patriarch., Reuben 1; Baba bathra 147*a*, 151*b*.

27. This verse looks like an interpolation. It professes to give Abraham's blessing of Jacob, and yet does not mention him at all. Jacob's blessing begins in ver. 28. This verse follows well upon ver. 26. On the other hand some mention of the sacred name is required in ver. 28 if 27 is omitted.

God of all. See on verses 4, 10.

Creator of all, i.e., of the universe. See on ver. 4. See Neh. ix. 6.

Brought me forth from Ur of the Chaldees. Cf. Gen. xv. 7; Neh. ix. 7. Instead of "brought" 3rd sing. of *a d*, *b c* read "brought" 2nd sing.

Blessed be the Most High for ever, or "that the Most High may be blessed for ever." The latter is the more natural translation; but if we adopt it, there is no principal verb.

28. *Over whom with all my heart . . . I rejoice* (*c d*). But *a b* read "rejoice" in 3rd sing. This reading presupposes "heart and affection" as the subject of "rejoice," just as in ver. 26. In that case if instead of zaba (twice) we read baza (twice) we have as follows: "over whom all my heart and my affection rejoice." In either case we must reject ba'ella as corrupt.

Be lift up upon him. Cf. Num. vi. 26; Ps. iv. 6.

29. *Thine eyes be opened.* Cf. 1 Kings viii. 29, 52; Neh. i. 6; Dan. ix. 18.

30. *Renew Thy covenant.* Cf. ver. 15.

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of the Gentiles, 11-25. *Renewed study of the law and renewal of mankind: Messianic kingdom: blessed immortality of the righteous,* 26-31.

XXIII. And he placed two fingers of Jacob on his eyes, and he blessed the God of gods, and he covered his face and stretched out his feet and slept the sleep of eternity, and was gathered to his fathers. 2. And notwithstanding all this Jacob was lying in his bosom, and knew not that Abraham, his father's father, was dead. 3. And Jacob awoke from his sleep, and behold Abraham was cold as ice, and he said: "Father, father"; but there was none that spake, and he knew that he was dead. 4. And he arose from his bosom and ran and told Rebecca, his mother; and Rebecca went to Isaac in the night, and told him; and they went together, and Jacob with them, and a lamp was in his hand, and when they had gone in they found Abraham lying dead. 5. And Isaac fell on the face of his father, and wept and kissed him. 6. And the voices were heard in the house of Abraham, and Ishmael his son arose, and went to Abraham his father, and wept over Abraham his father, he and all the house of Abraham, and they wept with a great weeping. 7. And his sons Isaac and Ishmael buried him in the double cave, near Sarah his wife, and they wept for him forty days, all the men of his house, and Isaac and Ishmael, and all their sons, and all the sons of Keturah in their places; and the days of weeping for Abraham were

XXIII. 1. *He placed two fingers of Jacob.* Cf. Gen. xlvi. 4. The closing of the eyes was generally done by the eldest son, and according to Shabbath 151*b* it was strictly forbidden till death had ensued (Singer, 107 note).

Stretched out his feet. So Syr. and Eth. vers. of Gen. xlix. 33, but Mass., LXX, Vulg. = "gathered up his feet."

Slept the sleep of eternity. Cf. Jer. li. 39, 57.

To his fathers. This phrase is first in Judges ii. 10. Gen. xxv. 8 has "to his people."

5. From Gen. l. 1.

7. *Buried him in the double cave.* Gen. xxv. 9.

The days of weeping = יְמֵי בְכִי (cf. Deut. xxxiv. 8; Gen. l. 4). *b* = "the lamentation of the weeping" = נְהִי בְכִי (cf. Jer. xxxi. 15) which I take to be a corruption of ימי בכי. *d* reads "lamentation and weeping" and *a c* "weeping."

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ended. 8. And he lived three jubilees and four weeks of years, one hundred and seventy-five years, and completed the days of his life, being old and full of days. 9. For the days of the forefathers, of their life, were nineteen jubilees; and after the Flood they began to grow less than nineteen jubilees, and to decrease in jubilees, and to grow old quickly, and to be full of their days by reason of manifold tribulation and the wickedness of their ways, with the exception of Abraham. 10. For Abraham was perfect in all his deeds with the Lord, and well-pleasing in righteousness all the days of his life; and behold, he did not complete four jubilees in his life, when he had grown old by reason of the wickedness, and was full of his days. 11. And all the generations which will arise from this time until the day of the great judgment will grow old quickly, before they complete two jubilees, and their knowledge will forsake them by reason of their old age [and all their knowledge will vanish away]. 12. And in those days, if a man live a jubilee and a-half of years, they will say regarding him: "He has lived long, and the greater part of his days are pain and sorrow and tribulation, and there is no peace:

8. Cf. Gen. xxv. 8. See xxi. 1 of our text.

9. Men's years grow less, *pari passu*, with the growing corruption.

Days of the forefathers, of their life. Probably we should read "days of the life of the forefathers."

To decrease in jubilees, and to grow old quickly, and to be full of their days. The Latin has senescere celerius et minui dies vitae ipsorum. The Latin seems right. For a possible explanation of the corruption in the Eth. see my text, pp. 81-82.

10. *When he had grown old.* Both Eth. and Latin give "until" instead of "when." The error, I take it, arose from the corruption of ὡς = "when" into ἕως = "until."

By reason of the wickedness. Abraham grew old early because of the wickedness of others. He was himself "perfect," according to our author.

11. *Generations which will arise . . . until the day of the great judgment.* Here the judgment seems to precede the Messianic kingdom; but see note on ver. 30.

Their knowledge will forsake them by reason of their old age. Lat. = erunt transeuntes ab ipsis spiritus intellectus ipsorum, where spiritus and intellectus may be duplicate renderings of the same word. Otherwise it should correspond to the phrase "by reason of their age." I here withdraw the emendation in my text.

[*And all their knowledge will vanish away*]. A dittography. Lat. omits.

12. *The greater part of his days are pain and sorrow.* Ps. xc. 10. Our text gives the same rendering of רהבם as the LXX, Syr., Chald., and Vulg.

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13. For calamity follows on calamity, and wound on wound, and tribulation on tribulation, and evil tidings on evil tidings, and illness on illness, and all evil judgments such as these, one with another, illness and overthrow, and snow and frost and ice, and fever, and chills, and torpor, and famine, and death, and sword, and captivity, and all kinds of calamities and pains." 14. And all these will come on an evil generation, which transgresses on the earth: their works are uncleanness and fornication, and pollution and abominations. 15. Then they will say: "The days of the forefathers were many (even), unto a thousand years, and were good; but, behold, the days of our life, if a man has lived many, are three score years and ten, and, if he is strong, four score years, and those evil, and there is no peace in the days of this evil generation." 16. And in that generation the sons will convict their fathers and their elders of sin and unrighteousness, and of the words of their mouth and the great wickednesses which they perpetrate,

13-14. The calamities that befell Judah in the early decades of the second cent. B.C.

13. *Such as these.* So Latin secundum hoc ipsud = חלה.

One with another. Wanting in the Latin.

Fever, and chills. So Latin. The Ethiopic words are ἄπαξ λεγόμενα.

14. *Uncleanness,* etc. See vii. 21 note, xx. 5, xxii. 16 note.

15. *The days of our life . . . are three score years and ten,* etc. Ps. xc. 10.

16. This verse points most probably to the rise of the Chasids. These proceed to challenge the creed and conduct of their fathers and the elders (the spiritual rulers of Judaism). From their ranks (see Eth. Enoch xc. 7) arise the Maccabees. The armed resistance of the latter to the Hellenising party is represented in ver. 20. Finally after years of strife the Messianic era begins to set in and the years of men to grow many, till at last they become a thousand. We have herein an adumbration of the actual history and the expectations of the Chasids in the second cent. B.C. Bousset (*Z. f. NTliche Wissensch.* 1900, p. 199) has already recognised that this chapter deals with the Maccabean movement. The conclusiveness of this interpretation will grow stronger as we proceed. It is no little confirmation of our view that we find the same events in Judaism depicted in allegorical language in Eth. Enoch xc. 6-7: "But behold lambs were borne by those white sheep, and they began to open their eyes and to see and to cry to the sheep. But the sheep did not cry to them and did not hear what they said to them, but were exceedingly deaf, and their eyes were exceedingly and forcibly blinded." Here "the white sheep" are the faithful adherents of the theocracy; the "lambs" are the Chasids, a new and distinct party among the Jews. The Chasids appeal unavailingly to the nation at large. In the next verse (xc. 8) there is a symbolical description of Syria's attack on Judah.

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and concerning their forsaking the covenant which the Lord made between them and Him, that they should observe and do all His commandments and His ordinances and all His laws, without departing either to the right hand or the left. 17. For all have done evil, and every mouth speaks iniquity and all their works are an uncleanness and an abomination, and all their ways are pollution, uncleanness and destruction. 18. Behold the earth will be destroyed on account of all their works, and there will be no seed of the vine, and no oil; for their works are altogether faithless, and they will all perish together, beasts and cattle and birds, and all the fish of the sea, on account of the children of men. 19. And they will strive one with another, the young with the old, and the old with the young, the poor with the rich, and the lowly with the great, and the beggar with the prince, on account of the law and the covenant; for they have forgotten commandment, and covenant, and feasts, and months, and Sabbaths, and jubilees, and all judgments. 20. And they will stand (with bows and) swords and war to

Forsaking the covenant. Cf. Dan. xi. 30 and 1 Macc. i. 15 where the same charge is brought against the Hellenising Jews.

Observe and do . . . without . . . either to the . . . or the left. Cf. Deut. v. 31, 32, xxviii. 13, 14. A similar statement is found in 1 Macc. ii. 21-22: "Heaven forbid that we should forsake the law and the ordinances . . . *to go aside from our worship to the right hand or the left*" (παρελθεῖν τὴν λατρίαν ἡμῶν δεξιὰν ἢ ἀριστεράν). The phrase is most probably historical.

17. *All have done evil.* Cf. 1 Macc. i. 52, 53, "And from the people were gathered unto them many, *every one that had forsaken the law* and they *did evil things* in the land."

Every mouth speaks iniquity. Cf. 1 Macc. ii. 6, "And (Mattathias) saw the blasphemies . . . in Judah and in Jerusalem."

Pollution, etc. See note on xxii. 16.

18-24. The Messianic woes.

18. *Will all perish together, beasts . . . and birds, and all the fish of the sea.* Cf. Hos. iv. 3: also Ezek. xxxviii. 20; Zeph. i. 3; 4 Ezra v. 7.

On account of the children. Lat. = a malitia filiorum.

19. For other descriptions of the Messianic woes, see Or. Sibyl. iii. 796-807; Apoc. Bar. xxvii. 1-13, xlviii. 31-37, lxx. 2-10; 4 Ezra v. 1-12, vi. 14-18, 21-24; Matt. xxiv. 6-29 with Synoptic parallels; Sota ix. 15 sq. See Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*,[3] ii. 523 sq.

The poor with the rich, and (*b* omits) *the lowly with the great.* Apoc. Bar. lxx. 3-4.

For they have forgotten commandment, and covenant, etc. From a general description of the Messianic woes the writer passes on to a definite description of the Maccabean times, and the Apostate Jews.

Judgments, i.e. determinations, decisions.

20. This verse describes the warlike

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turn them back into the way; but they will not return until much blood has been shed on the earth, one by another. 21. And those who have escaped will not return from their wickedness to the way of righteousness, but they will all exalt themselves to deceit and wealth, that they may each take all that is his neighbour's, and they will name the great name, but not in truth and not in righteousness, and they will defile the holy of holies with their uncleanness and the corruption of their pollution. 22. And a great punishment will befall the deeds of this generation from the Lord, and He will give them over to the sword and to judgment and to captivity, and to be plundered and devoured. 23. And He will wake up against them the sinners of the Gentiles, who have neither mercy nor compassion, and who will respect the person of none, neither old nor young, nor

efforts of Judas the Maccabee to force the apostates to return to Judaism. In the year 162, owing to internal divisions, Syria felt it advisable to make terms with the Jews and allow them "to walk after their own laws as aforetime" (1 Macc. vi. 55-62; 2 Macc. xiii. 23-26; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 9. 6-7). This understanding was observed by all the subsequent kings of Syria. Hence from 162 onward the struggle was not so much to preserve Judaism against the attempts of Syria to crush it out of existence, as to determine the question whether the Hellenising faction or the national party should control the nation. Syria henceforth intervened in support now of the one now of the other of the two Jewish parties. (See Schurer, *op. cit.* i. 214; [Eng. transl.], I. i. 224 sq.)

(*With bows and*). Supplied from the Latin.

The way. Cf. Is. xxx. 21, "This is the way, walk ye in it." Cf. the use of ἡ ὁδός in Acts ix. 2, xix. 9, 23, xxiv. 22.

21. *Those who have escaped will not return . . . to the way of righteousness.* By the treaty of 162 referred to in the preceding note, the religious liberties of Judaism were secured against Syria; but the Hellenising party under the high priest Alkimus still pursued its own aims. This party is said in our text to "name the great name" and to "defile the holy of holies with their uncleanness." Though it embraced nearly the entire Sanhedrin, it was opposed by the Maccabees, the Chasids, and the great mass of the Jews.

Great name. Cf. Jos. vii. 9. On the phrase "name the . . . name," cf. LXX of Is. xxvi. 13; Acts xix. 13; 2 Tim. ii. 19.

22-23. These verses describe the sufferings of the nation during the civil wars and internal troubles that took place down to Simon's high priesthood (142-135 B.C.).

23. This verse refers in language borrowed from past prophecy to the frequent invasions of Palestine by the Syrians or possibly by some unknown nation from the north as in Zeph. i. 7; Jer. iii.-vi.; like Gog and Magog in Ezek. xxxviii.-xxxix.

Have neither mercy nor compassion. So Jeremiah (vi. 23) describes the nation that was to invade Judah: "they are cruel and have no mercy."

Neither old nor young. Cf. Ezek. ix. 6.

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any one, for they are more wicked and strong to do evil than all the children of men.

And they will use violence against Israel and transgression against Jacob,
And much blood will be shed upon the earth,
And there will be none to gather and none to bury.

24. In those days they will cry aloud,
And call and pray that they may be saved from the hand of the sinners, the Gentiles;
But none will be saved.

25. And the heads of the children will be white with grey hair,
And a child of three weeks will appear old like a man of one hundred years,
And their stature will be destroyed by tribulation and oppression.

26. And in those days the children will begin to study the laws,
And to seek the commandments,
And to return to the path of righteousness.

27. And the days will begin to grow many and increase amongst those children of men,

None to gather and none to bury, i.e. the fallen. The phrase is from Jer. viii. 2.

24. *Of the sinners, the Gentiles* = ἁμαρτωλῶν ἐθνῶν. The Ethiopic translator took these words to be in apposition. He ought rather to have taken the second as dependent on the first. Hence "sinners of the Gentiles." See verse 23 and Gal. ii. 15 where the phrase is reproduced somewhat differently: ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοί. To the writer the terms "Gentiles" and "sinners" were practically synonymous.

25. *Heads of the children will be white*, etc. Hesiod, *Op. et Dies*, 180-181, tells how in the iron age children will be born with hoary temples:

Ζεὺς δ' ὀλέσει καὶ τοῦτο γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων

Εὖτ' ἂν γεινόμενοι πολιοκρόταφοι τελέθωσιν.

This was to be one of the signs (as in our text) which foreshadowed the coming of the kingdom according to Sibyll. Or. ii. 155:

Ἐκ γενετῆς παῖδες πολιοκρόταφοι γεγαῶτες.

See also Latin apocalyptic fragment in the Cambridge *Texts and Studies*, ii. 3, p. 154.

26. It might seem possible that ver. 16 originally followed ver. 26.

26-30. The renewed study of the Law followed by a change for the better and the gradual approach to Messianic blessedness. With this spiritual transformation of Israel (cf. l. 5) there will take place a corresponding transforma-

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Till their days draw nigh to one thousand years,
And to a greater number of years than (before) was the number of the days.

28. And there will be no old man
Nor one who is not satisfied with his days,
For all will be (as) children and youths.

29. And all their days they will complete and live in peace and in joy,
And there will be no Satan nor any evil destroyer;
For all their days will be days of blessing and healing.

30. And at that time the Lord will heal His servants,

tion of the heaven and the earth. This idea appears also in Is. lxv. 17 sqq. (See i. 29 note; iv. 26.) This is their final renewal.

27. *Nigh to one thousand years.* In the Messianic kingdom men will attain to the age originally designed for them by God. Adam did not attain to 1000 years because of his sin; see iv. 30.

28. The writer appears to have Is. lxv. 20 before him but avoids making any reference to the presence of the wicked in the consummated kingdom, as is done in Isaiah. Yet apparently they are presupposed in ver. 30, though according to ver. 29 there are none such. They are gradually eliminated. Cf. Test. Levi 18.

Who is not satisfied. I have added the negative from a comparison of Is. lxv. 20.

29. *In joy.* Cf. Is. lxv. 14.

No Satan. Cf. Assumpt. Mos. x. 1. This statement need not mean very much: cf. xl. 9, xlvi. 2, l. 5.

Blessing and healing. Cf. i. 29.

30. If this verse refers to the resurrection, the righteous are raised to share in this (temporary?) Messianic kingdom. If ver. 11 is correctly handed down and to be taken literally, it follows that the final judgment precedes the Messianic kingdom. But the nature of this kingdom precludes such a view. It is to be introduced gradually *pari passu* with the spiritual transformation of man. Such a gradual and progressive transformation does not admit of the insertion of the final judgment at any single point of its evolution. Nor is there a hint of such a judgment in verses 23-27. Hence the final judgment can occur only at the close of this kingdom. The kingdom is therefore of temporary duration—a conclusion which presents some difficulty in the face of i. 17, 18, 29, but which agrees best with all other passages referring to the final judgment in this book. In that case the resurrection of the righteous and the final judgment are disjoined, if this verse asserts that the righteous rise to share in the kingdom. The eschatology of our author would thus differ alike from that of Eth. Enoch lxxxiii.-xc. (before 161 B.C.), Test. Jud. 25, Sim. 6, Zeb. 10, Benj. 10, where the final judgment precedes the kingdom and the righteous are raised to enjoy it for ever, and from that of Eth. Enoch xci.-civ. (104-95 B.C.) where the final judgment comes in at the close of the kingdom and the righteous are not raised to share in it, but in a blessed immortality.

But the teaching of our text agrees rather with that of Eth. Enoch xci.-civ.; for the words "will rise up" have apparently no reference to the resurrection, and mean merely that when God heals His servants (cf. Rev. xxii. 2) they become strong. The clauses in ver. 29, "all their days will be days of blessing and healing" and in i. 29, "for healing . . . for all the elect of Israel" render this view the most probable. In this case there is no resurrection to this temporary Messianic kingdom, and thus the eschatology harmonises perfectly with that of Eth. Enoch xci.-civ.

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And they will rise up and see great peace,
And drive out their adversaries.

And the righteous will see and be thankful,
And rejoice with joy for ever and ever,
And will see all their judgments and all their curses on their enemies.

31. And their bones will rest in the earth,
And their spirits will have much joy,
And they will know that it is the Lord who executes judgment,
And shows mercy to hundreds and thousands and to all that love Him.

32. And do thou, Moses, write down these words; for thus are they written, and they record (them) on the heavenly tables for a testimony for the generations for ever.

Isaac at the Well of Vision, 1 (cf. Gen. xxv. 11). *Esau sells his birthright*, 2-7 (cf. Gen. xxv. 29-34). *Isaac goes down to Gerar*, 8. *Dealings between Isaac and Abimelech*, 9-27. *Isaac curses the Philistines*, 28-32. (Cf. Gen. xxvi. 1-6, 11, 13-25, 32, 33.)

XXIV. And it came to pass after the death of Abraham, that the Lord blessed Isaac his son, and he arose from Hebron and went and dwelt at the Well of the Vision in the first year of the third week of this jubilee, seven years. 2073 A.M.
2. And in the first year of the fourth week a famine began 2080 A.M.

See great peace, i.e. "enjoy great peace." The word "peace" may go back to שלום: in that case the sense would be "enjoy sound health."

Drive out their adversaries. Such a conception is in keeping with the gradual growth of the kingdom.

31. After death there is no resurrection of the body, but a blessed immortality awaiting the spirit as in Eth. Enoch xci. 10, xcii. 3, ciii. 3, 4 (see my *Eschatology*, pp. 203 sqq.).

And to all (*a c d*). *b* reads "of all."

XXIV. 1. *Well of the Vision.* Cf. Gen. xxv. 11. The full name is Beer Lahai-roi = "the well of the living One that seeth me." Cf. also Gen. xvi. 14, xxiv. 62.

First year of the third week of this jubilee. This is the forty-third jubilee.

2. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 1. Observe that our author transposes Gen. xxvi. 1 before xxv. 29 sqq. in order possibly to explain Esau's hunger.

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in the land, besides the first famine, which had been in the days of Abraham. 3. And Jacob sod lentil pottage, and Esau came from the field hungry. And he said to Jacob his brother: "Give me of this red pottage." And Jacob said to him: "Sell to me thy [primogeniture, this] birthright and I will give thee bread, and also some of this lentil pottage." 4. And Esau said in his heart: "I shall die; of what profit to me is this birthright?" And he said to Jacob: "I give it to thee." 5. And Jacob said: "Swear to me, this day," and he sware unto him. 6. And Jacob gave his brother Esau bread and pottage, and he eat till he was satisfied, and Esau despised his birthright; for this reason was Esau's name called Edom, on account of the red pottage which Jacob gave him for his birthright. 7. And Jacob became the elder, and Esau was brought down from his dignity. 8. And the famine was over the land, and Isaac departed to go down into Egypt in the second year of this week, and went to the king of the Philistines to Gerar, unto Abimelech. 9. And the Lord appeared unto him and said unto him: "Go not down into Egypt; dwell in the land that I shall tell thee of, and sojourn in this land, and I shall be with thee and bless thee. 10. For to thee and to thy seed shall I give all this land, and I shall establish My oath which I sware unto Abraham thy father, and I shall multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and shall give unto thy seed all this land. 11. And in thy seed will all the nations of the earth be blessed, because thy father obeyed My voice, and kept My charge and My commandments, and My laws, and

3-6. Cf. Gen. xxv. 29-34.

3. *Red pottage.* Cf. Gen. xxv. 30. Text = "wheaten pottage." Here zašernāj = πυροῦ which is corrupt for πυρροῦ.

Sell = ἀπόδου (LXX) = Mass. מִכְרָה.

Thy [primogeniture, this] birthright. Here we have two renderings of τὰ πρωτοτόκιά σου.

And I will give . . . pottage. Not in Gen. xxv. 31.

6. *Esau's name:* literally "Esau, his name" (*a b*). *c d* read "Esau."

Red pottage. Same corruption as in ver. 3.

8. *Famine.* xxvi. 1.

Second year of this week. See note on date in ver. 1.

9-12. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 2-6.

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My ordinances, and My covenant; and now obey My voice and dwell in this land." 12. And he dwelt in Gerar three 2080-2101 A.M. weeks of years. 13. And Abimelech charged concerning him, and concerning all that was his, saying: "Any man that shall touch him or aught that is his shall surely die." 14. And Isaac waxed strong among the Philistines, and he got many possessions, oxen and sheep and camels and asses and a great household. 15. And he sowed in the land of the Philistines and brought in a hundred-fold, and Isaac became exceedingly great, and the Philistines envied him. 16. Now all the wells which the servants of Abraham had dug during the life of Abraham, the Philistines had stopped them after the death of Abraham, and filled them with earth. 17. And Abimelech said unto Isaac: "Go from us, for thou art much mightier than we"; and Isaac departed thence in the first year of the seventh week, and sojourned in the 2101 A.M. valleys of Gerar. 18. And they digged again the wells of water which the servants of Abraham, his father, had digged, and which the Philistines had closed after the death of Abraham his father, and he called their names as Abraham his father had named them. 19. And the servants of Isaac dug a well in the valley, and found living water, and the shepherds of Gerar strove with the shepherds of Isaac, saying: "The water is ours"; and Isaac called the name of the well "Perversity," because they had been perverse with us. 20. And they dug a second well, and they strove for

12. Isaac stayed at the Well of the Vision seven years and in Gerar twenty-one.

13. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 11. No reference is made in our text to Isaac's lie regarding Rebecca.

14-17. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 13-17.

14. *Household.* So Latin ministerium = עֲבֻדָּה. Our text renders loosely "possession."

18-20. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 18-22.

19. *The water.* Here Eth. has "this water" and the Latin merely "aqua," but the ze (=this) is merely a translation of the Greek article as is frequently the case. Hence Eth. and Lat. attest the same text.

The well. Eth. has "that well" but the we'etû is merely a translation of the Greek art. as is frequently the case. Latin has merely "putei."

Perversity. Gen. xxvi. 20 has עֵשֶׂק, LXX, ἀδικία.

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that also, and he called its name "Enmity." And he arose from thence and they digged another well, and for that they strove not, and he called the name of it "Room," and Isaac said: "Now the Lord hath made room for us, and we have increased in the land." 21. And he went up from thence
2108 A.M. to the Well of the Oath, in the first year of the first week in the forty-fourth jubilee. 22. And the Lord appeared to him that night, on the new moon of the first month, and said unto him: "I am the God of Abraham thy father; fear not, for I am with thee, and shall bless thee and shall surely multiply thy seed as the sand of the earth, for the sake of Abraham my servant." 23. And he built an altar there, which Abraham his father had first built, and he called upon the name of the Lord, and he offered sacrifice to the God of Abraham his father. 24. And they digged a well and they found living water. 25. And the servants of Isaac digged another well and did not find water, and they went and told Isaac that they had not found water, and Isaac said: "I have sworn this day to the Philistines and this thing has been announced to us." 26. And he called the name of that place the "Well of the Oath"; for there he had sworn to Abimelech and Ahuzzath his friend and Phicol the prefect of his host. 27. And Isaac knew that day that under constraint he had sworn to them to make peace with them. 28. And Isaac on that day cursed the

20. *Enmity* = śĕl'ĕ emended with Latin (inimicitias) from ṣabâb = "narrow." The corruption is native to the text. It most probably arose from a scribe's wishing to make an antithesis between the name of this well and that of the next "Room."

21-26. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 23-25, 32-33.

24-25. There is mention of only one well in Gen. xxvi. 25.

25. The implication of our text is that owing to Isaac having made a covenant with Abimelech his servants failed to find water.

They had not found. Our text and the LXX thus imply וימצאו לא in Gen. xxvi. 32, but Mass., Sam., Syr. read יש instead of לא and connect it with the preceding verb.

26. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 33.

Ahuzzath. Eth. 'Akôzat.

28-32. The hatred expressed in these verses is hardly intelligible save in a contemporary of the wars waged by the Maccabeans against the Philistine cities. This passage is here introduced gratuitously into the narrative (so also Bousset, *Z. f. NT liche Wissensch.* 1890, p. 200). Of the five chief cities of the Philistines (Jos. xiii. 3) four were still in existence

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Philistines and said: "Cursed be the Philistines unto the day of wrath and indignation from the midst of all nations; may God make them a derision and a curse and an object of wrath and indignation in the hands of the sinners the Gentiles and in the hands of the Kittim. 29. And whoever escapes the sword of the enemy and the Kittim, may the righteous nation root out in judgment from under heaven; for they will be the enemies and foes of my children throughout their generations upon the earth.

30. And no remnant will be left to them,
Nor one that will be saved on the day of the wrath of judgment;
For for destruction and rooting out and expulsion from the earth is the whole seed of the Philistines (reserved),
And there will no longer be left for these Caphtorim a name or a seed on the earth.

in Maccabean times, Askelon, Ashdod, Gaza and Ekron. Of these Ekron ('Ακκαρών) was given by Alex. Balas to Jonathan for his services (1 Macc. x. 89; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 4. 4), and Askelon submitted to him (1 Macc. x. 60, xi. 60). Ashdod ('Αζωτος) suffered severely under Judas the Maccabee (1 Macc. v. 68) and was captured, put to the sword, and burnt by Jonathan (147 B.C.); the temple of Dagon likewise and all that had taken refuge in it were burnt (1 Macc. x. 84; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 4. 4). It was again reduced to ashes by John Hyrcanus (1 Macc. xvi. 10). As regards Gaza its suburbs were burnt by Jonathan and the city forced to capitulate (1 Macc. xi. 61-62). It was afterwards destroyed by Alex. Jannaeus (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 13. 3). Our text reflects correctly the attitude of Judah towards the cities of the Philistines in the second cent. B.C.

28. *Sinners, the Gentiles.* The Latin has here "peccatoris populi." Cf. xxiii. 24. The Philistines suffered severely at the hands of the Assyrians and Egyptians — particularly the latter: see Herodotus i. 105, ii. 157, 159.

Kittim (כתים, Κιτιεῖς, Κίτιοι, Χετιείμ, Χεττάν). These were descended from Javan according to Gen. x. 4 and, therefore, belonged to the Graeco-Latin races. Their country is usually identified with Cyprus. In Dan. xi. 30 the Kittim are undoubtedly the Romans, whereas in 1 Macc. i. 1, viii. 5 they are the Macedonians. It is to the Macedonians that our text refers. Gaza was captured by Alexander the Great (Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 8. 4).

29. *The righteous nation.* Judah under the Maccabees. See note on 28-32 above.

Generations. Emended with Latin. Text = "days."

These Caphtorim. "These" = 'ellû emend. from kuĕllû = "all" with Latin. Text = "all Caphtorim." According to Amos ix. 7; Deut. ii. 23; Jer. xlvii. 4, the Philistines came originally from Caphtor. On the various views as to its locality see *Encyc. Bib.* i. 698-699.

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31. For though he ascend unto heaven,
Thence will he be brought down,
And though he make himself strong on earth,
Thence will he be dragged forth,
And though he hide himself amongst the nations,
Even from thence will he be rooted out;
And though he descend into Sheol,
There also will his condemnation be great,
And there also he will have no peace.
32. And if he go into captivity,
By the hands of those that seek his life will they slay him on the way,
And neither name nor seed will be left to him on all the earth;
For into eternal malediction will he depart."
33. And thus is it written and engraved concerning him on the heavenly tables, to do unto him on the day of judgment, so that he may be rooted out of the earth.

Rebecca admonishes Jacob not to marry a Canaanitish woman, 1-3. *Jacob promises to marry a daughter of Laban despite the urgent requests of Esau that he should marry a Canaanitish woman,* 4-10. *Rebecca blesses Jacob,* 11-23. (Cf. Gen. xxviii. 1-4.)

2109 A.M. XXV. And in the second year of this week in this jubilee, Rebecca called Jacob her son, and spake unto him, saying: "My son, do not take thee a wife of the daughters of Canaan, as Esau, thy brother, who took him two wives of the daughters of Canaan, and they have embittered my soul

31-32. Based on Amos ix. 2-4. Cf. Ps. cxxxix. 8 sqq.

31. *Though he make himself strong.* Lat. = ubi fugiens erit. The corruption seems to have originated in the Hebrew.

XXV. 1-3. Observe that our author transposes Gen. xxviii. 1-4 before Gen. xxvii., which contains Jacob's interception of Esau's blessing.

1. *Second year of this week in this jubilee.* See note on ver. 4.

Do not take thee a wife, etc. Cf. Gen. xxviii. 1.

Esau . . . who took him two wives, etc. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 34.

Embittered my soul. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 46, xxvi. 35.

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with all their unclean deeds: for all their deeds are fornication and lust, and there is no righteousness with them, for (their deeds) are evil. 2. And I, my son, love thee exceedingly, and my heart and my affection bless thee every hour of the day and watch of the night. 3. And now, my son, hearken to my voice, and do the will of thy mother, and do not take thee a wife of the daughters of this land, but only of the house of my father, and of my father's kindred. Thou wilt take thee a wife of the house of my father, and the Most High God will bless thee, and thy children will be a righteous generation and a holy seed." 4. And then spake Jacob to Rebecca, his mother, and said unto her: "Behold, mother, I am nine weeks of years old, and I neither know nor have I touched any woman, nor have I betrothed myself to any, nor even think of taking me a wife of the daughters of Canaan. 5. For I remember, mother, the words of Abraham, our father, for he commanded me not to take a wife of the daughters of Canaan, but to take me a wife from the seed of my father's house and from my kindred. 6. I have heard before that daughters have been born to Laban, thy brother, and I have set my heart on them to take a wife from amongst them. 7. And for this reason I have guarded myself in my spirit against sinning or being corrupted in all my ways throughout all the days of my life; for with regard to lust and fornication, Abraham, my father, gave me many commands. 8. And, despite all that he has commanded me, these two and twenty years my brother has

3. Cf. Gen. xxviii. 1, 2.

4. *Nine weeks.* If the date in ver. 1 is right, it follows that since Jacob was then sixty-three years old, he was born in 2046. This agrees with MSS reading in xix. 13; but the estimate based on that reading is at variance with that which follows from xlv. 13, which assigns Jacob's birth to the year 2041. With the statement as to Jacob's age cf. Ber. rabba 68: "Our father Jacob was sixty-three years old when he received the blessing: fourteen years he spent hidden in the house of Eber and seven years he served for Rachael: accordingly he was eighty-four when he married, but Esau was forty." See also Seder Olam ii.

I neither know . . . any woman. Syncellus (i. 197) wrongly attributes this statement to Josephus: Ἰώσηπποs φησιν ὅτι ὁ Ἰακὼβ ἐτῶν ὑπάρχων ξγ' οὐκ ἔγνω ὅλως γυναῖκα, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐξεῖπε τῇ μητρὶ Ῥεβέκκᾳ.

7. *With regard to . . . fornication*

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striven with me, and spoken frequently to me and said: 'My brother, take to wife a sister of my two wives'; but I refuse to do as he has done. 9. I swear before thee, mother, that all the days of my life I will not take me a wife from the daughters of the seed of Canaan, and I will not act wickedly as my brother has done. 10. Fear not mother; be assured that I shall do thy will and walk in uprightness, and not corrupt my ways for ever." 11. And thereupon she lifted up her face to heaven and extended the fingers of her hands, and opened her mouth and blessed the Most High God, who had created the heaven and the earth, and she gave Him thanks and praise. 12. And she said: "Blessed be the Lord God, and may His holy name be blessed for ever and ever, who has given me Jacob as a pure son and a holy seed; for he is Thine, and Thine shall his seed be continually and throughout all the generations for evermore. 13. Bless him, O Lord, and place in my mouth the blessing of righteousness, that I may bless him." 14. And at that hour, when the spirit of righteousness descended into her mouth, she placed both her hands on the head of Jacob, and said:

15. "Blessed art thou, Lord of righteousness and God of the ages;
And may He bless thee beyond all the generations of men.
May He give thee, my son, the path of righteousness,
And reveal righteousness to thy seed.

16. And may He make thy sons many during thy life,
And may they arise according to the number of the months of the year.

Abraham . . . gave me many commands. Cf. xx. 4, xxxix. 6.

8. *These two and twenty years.* This agrees with the statement of Esau's age in Gen. xxvi. 34, where he is said to have been forty when he married. Esau was now sixty-three.

14. *Spirit of righteousness* (or "truth") = τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας. Cf. John xiv. 17, xv. 26, xvi. 13. So *a b d*. Cf. xxxi. 12. *c* reads "Holy Spirit." The latter is Jewish also: cf. Is. lxiii. 10, 11 "His holy Spirit" (רוח קדשו). With the idea conveyed by

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And may their sons become many and great beyond the stars of heaven,
And their numbers be more than the sand of the sea.

17. And may He give them this goodly land—as He said He would give it to Abraham and to his seed after him alway—
And may they hold it as a possession for ever.

18. And may I see (born) unto thee, my son, blessed children during my life,
And a blessed and holy seed may all thy seed be.

19. And as thou hast refreshed thy mother's spirit during †my† life,
The womb of her that bare thee blesses thee,
[My affection] and my breasts bless thee
And my mouth and my tongue praise thee greatly.

20. Increase and spread over the earth,
And may thy seed be perfect in the joy of heaven and earth for ever;
And may thy seed rejoice,
And on the great day of peace may it have peace.

21. And may thy name and thy seed endure to all the ages,
And may the Most High God be their God,
And may the God of righteousness dwell with them,
And by them may His sanctuary be built unto all the ages.

both phrases cf. Deut. xxxiv. 9 "the spirit of wisdom" (רוח חכמה); Num. xi. 25, 26, 29; Neh. ix. 20; Is. xi. 2.

17. *As He said He would give it to Abraham and to his seed . . . alway.* Cf. Luke i. 55, καθὼς ἐλάλησεν . . . τῷ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. The words in Luke recall both Mic. vii. 20 and our text. Observe that this statement in Luke is added parenthetically or explanatorily as in our text.

Possession for ever. Cf. the Thucydidean phrase κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί.

19. *Hast refreshed* (*a b*). *c d* "has given thee rest."

†*My*†. Read "thy," as the sense requires it.

[*My affection*]. I have bracketed this phrase; for it comes in awkwardly between "womb," "breasts," "mouth," and "tongue." We should expect an "and" to precede it. It may be a dittography and have originated as a false alternative rendering of מֵעַי, "womb."

21. *His sanctuary . . . unto all the ages.* Cf. i. 29.

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22. Blessed be he that blesseth thee,
And all flesh that curseth thee falsely may it be cursed."

23. And she kissed him, and said to him:
"May the Lord of the world love thee
As the heart of thy mother and her affection rejoice in thee and bless thee."
And she ceased from blessing.

Isaac sends Esau for venison, 1-4. *Rebecca instructs Jacob to obtain the blessing*, 5-9. *Jacob under the person of Esau obtains it*, 10-24. *Esau brings in his venison and by his importunity obtains a blessing*, 25-34. *Threatens Jacob*, 35. (Cf. Gen. xxvii.)

2114 A.M. XXVI. And in the seventh year of this week Isaac called Esau, his elder son, and said unto him: "I am old, my son, and behold my eyes are dim in seeing, and I know not the day of my death. 2. And now take thy hunting weapons thy quiver and thy bow, and go out to the field, and hunt and catch me (venison), my son, and make me savoury meat, such as my soul loveth, and bring it to me that I may eat, and that my soul may bless thee before I die." 3. But Rebecca heard Isaac speaking to Esau. 4. And Esau went forth early to the field to hunt and catch and bring home to his father. 5. And Rebecca called Jacob, her son, and said unto him: "Behold, I heard Isaac, thy father, speak unto Esau, thy brother, saying: 'Hunt for me, and make me savoury meat, and bring (it) to me that I may eat and bless thee before the Lord before I die.' 6. And now, my son, obey my voice in that which I command thee: Go

22. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 29.

23. Cf. Sir. iv. 10.

XXVI. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 1-41.

1. *Are dim in seeing.* An imperfect rendering of Gen. xxvii. 1 which = "dim so that he could not see (כֵּהֲתָה)."

2. *Hunt and catch* = *θήρευσον καὶ ἐπιλάβου*, a loose rendering of the phrase in Gen. xxvii. 3.

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to thy flock and fetch me two good kids of the goats, and I will make them savoury meat for thy father, such as he loves, and thou shalt bring (it) to thy father that he may eat and bless thee before the Lord before he die, and that thou mayst be blessed." 7. And Jacob said to Rebecca his mother: "Mother, I shall not withhold anything which my father would eat, and which would please him: only I fear, my mother, that he will recognise my voice and wish to touch me. 8. And thou knowest that I am smooth, and Esau, my brother, is hairy, and I shall appear before his eyes as an evildoer, and shall do a deed which he had not commanded me, and he will be wroth with me, and I shall bring upon myself a curse, and not a blessing." 9. And Rebecca, his mother, said unto him: "Upon me be thy curse, my son only obey my voice." 10. And Jacob obeyed the voice of Rebecca, his mother, and went and fetched two good and fat kids of the goats, and brought them to his mother, and his mother made them (savoury meat) such as he loved. 11. And Rebecca took the goodly raiment of Esau, her elder son, which was with her in the house, and she clothed Jacob, her younger son, (with them), and she put the skins of the kids upon his hands and on the exposed parts of his neck. 12. And she gave the meat and the bread which she had prepared into the hand of her son Jacob. 13. And Jacob went in to his father and said: "I am thy son: I have done according as thou badest me: arise and sit and eat of that which I have caught, father, that thy soul may bless me." 14. And Isaac said to his son: "How hast thou found so quickly, my son?" 15. And Jacob said: "Because (the Lord) thy God caused me to find." 16. And

7. First half of verse added by our author in favour of Jacob.

10. (*Savoury meat*). Added from Latin.

12. *Gave.* Here Eth. adds "to him" against Latin and Gen. xxvii. 17. This addition is found also in the Eth. version of Gen. xxvii. 17.

15. (*The Lord*). Supplied from Latin. *Caused me to find* (='arkabani *b c*).

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Isaac said unto him: "Come near, that I may feel thee, my son, if thou art my son Esau or not." 17. And Jacob went near to Isaac, his father, and he felt him and said: 18. "The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau," and he discerned him not, because it was a dispensation from heaven to remove his power of perception and Isaac discerned not, for his hands were hairy as (his brother) Esau's, so that he blessed him. 19. And he said: "Art thou my son Esau?" and he said: "I am thy son": and he said, "Bring near to me that I may eat of that which thou hast caught, my son, that my soul may bless thee." 20. And he brought near to him, and he did eat, and he brought him wine and he drank. 21. And Isaac, his father, said unto him: "Come near and kiss me, my son." And he came near and kissed him. 22. And he smelled the smell of his raiment, and he blessed him and said: "Behold, the smell of my son is as the smell of a (full) field which the Lord hath blessed.

23. And may the Lord give thee of the dew of heaven
And of the dew of the earth, and plenty of corn and oil:
Let nations serve thee,
And peoples bow down to thee.

a="helped me"; *d*="caused me to see." Latin gives direxit. In my text I emended the phrase into 'artĕ'anî =direxit, comparing xxi. 2 where the Eth. has this verb as the equivalent of dirigere in the Latin. But the reading of *b c* may be right as Praetorius thinks.

18. *Because it was a dispensation from heaven.* This clause is borrowed from 1 Kings xii. 15; cf. 2 Chron. x. 15.

His power of perception, literally, "his spirit."

(*His brother*). Added from the Latin.

19. *I am thy son.* For an analogous evasion, Beer compares Ber. rabba 65: "I am Esau the first born" (Gen. xxvii. 24). R. Levi said: Jacob meant: I am he who will receive the ten commandments (which begin with the words "I am"), but Esau is thy first born.

21. *Come near.* Latin adds "to me." So also LXX and Vulg. of Gen. xxvii. 26.

22. (*Full*). Added from the Latin. So Sam., LXX, and Vulg. of Gen. xxvii. 27. Mass. omits.

23. *Give thee. b c d* add "and multiply thee." *a* transposes it before "may the Lord give thee."

Dew of the earth. The same rendering of τῆς πιότητος τῆς γῆς is found in the Eth. version of Gen. xxvii. 28.

And plenty. MSS add against parallelism and Gen. xxvii. 28 before "plenty" the clause "may He give plentifully to thee."

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24. Be lord over thy brethren,
And let thy mother's sons bow down to thee;
And may all the blessings wherewith the Lord hath blessed me and blessed Abraham, my father,
Be imparted to thee and to thy seed for ever:
Cursed be he that curseth thee,
And blessed be he that blesseth thee."
25. And it came to pass as soon as Isaac had made an end of blessing his son Jacob, and Jacob had gone forth from Isaac his father †he hid himself and† Esau, his brother, came in from his hunting. 26. And he also made savoury meat, and brought (it) to his father, and said unto his father: "Let my father arise, and eat of my venison that thy soul may bless me." 27. And Isaac, his father, said unto him: "Who art thou?" And he said unto him: "I am thy first born, thy son Esau: I have done as thou hast commanded me." 28. And Isaac was very greatly astonished, and said: "Who is he that hath hunted and caught and brought (it) to me, and I have eaten of all before thou camest, and have blessed him: (and) he shall be blessed, and all his seed for ever." 29. And it came to pass when Esau heard the words of his father Isaac that he cried with an exceeding great and bitter cry, and said unto his father: "Bless me, (even) me also, father." 30. And he said unto him: "Thy brother came with guile, and hath taken away thy blessing." And he said: "Now I know why his name is named Jacob: behold, he hath supplanted me these two times: he took away my birth-right, and now he hath taken away my blessing." 31. And he said: "Hast thou not

24. *The blessings wherewith the Lord . . . blessed Abraham*, etc. Cf. Gen. xxviii. 4.

25. †*He hid himself and*†. This looks like an addition to the text. Read "that."

28. *Hunted and caught.* See note on ver. 2.

30. *I know why* (or "how") = οἶδα ὡς. This may be a corruption of δικαίως. In that case the text would agree with Gen. xxvii. 36.

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reserved a blessing for me, father?" and Isaac answered and said unto Esau:

"Behold, I have made him thy lord,
And all his brethren have I given to him for servants,
And with plenty of corn and wine and oil have I strengthened him:
And what now shall I do for thee, my son?"

32. And Esau said to Isaac, his father:

"Hast thou but one blessing, O father?
Bless me, (even) me also, father":

And Esau lifted up his voice and wept. 33. And Isaac answered and said unto him:

"Behold, far from the dew of the earth shall be thy dwelling,
And far from the dew of heaven from above.

34. And by thy sword wilt thou live,
And thou wilt serve thy brother.
And it shall come to pass when thou becomest great,
And dost shake his yoke from off thy neck,
Thou wilt sin a complete sin unto death,
And thy seed will be rooted out from under heaven."

35. And Esau kept threatening Jacob because of the blessing wherewith his father blessed him, and he said in his

33. *Dew of the earth.* See note on verse 23.

34. *Becomest great*='abaika (so *b*). *a c*="refusest" ('abaika) which is (?) a corruption of the former. *d* is corrupt but supports *b*. The text here agrees with the Sam. תאזר (Gen. xxvii. 40) which is the niphal or hiphal of אזר. Mass. = תריד as to the meaning of which the versions vary. LXX has *καθέλῃς* = תורידי from ירד.

34. *Thou wilt sin a complete sin unto death*, or "every sin unto death." This change is contrary to all tradition. In Onkelos we have: "And it will come to pass when his (Jacob's) sons transgress the words of the law, that thou wilt remove his yoke from off thy neck." Similarly in the Jerusalem and Ps.-Jon. Targums and in Ber. rabba 67. This passage in our text is attributed to Genesis by Syncellus, i. 202: *τῷ Ἡσαῦ ἔφη ἐν ταῖς εὐλογίαις ὁ Ἰσαάκ, ἔσται δὲ ἡνίκα ἂν καθέλῃς καὶ ἐκλύσῃς τὸν ζυγὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ τραχήλου σου· πλημμελήσῃς εἰς θάνατον.* Glycas (p. 263) appears to assign it to Josephus: *τότε οὖν ἐπληρώθη ἡ τοῦ Ἰσαὰκ προφητεία ἡνίκα ἂν καθέλῃς τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου ἐκ τοῦ τραχήλου σου, πλημμέλειαν πλημμελήσεις θανάτου. καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῦ Ἰωσήπου τοιαῦτα.*

Sin unto death. Cf. xxi. 22.

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heart: "May the days of mourning for my father now come, so that I may slay my brother Jacob."

Rebecca alarmed at Esau's threats, prevails on Isaac to send Jacob to Mesopotamia, 1-12. *Isaac comforts Rebecca on the departure of Jacob,* 13-18. *Jacob's dream and vow at Bethel,* 19-27. (Cf. Gen. xxviii.)

XXVII. And the words of Esau, her elder son, were told to Rebecca in a dream, and Rebecca sent and called Jacob her younger son, and said unto him: 2. "Behold Esau thy brother will take vengeance on thee so as to kill thee. 3. Now, therefore, my son, obey my voice, and arise and flee thou to Laban, my brother, to Haran, and tarry with him a few days until thy brother's anger turns away, and he remove his anger from thee, and forget all that thou hast done; then I will send and fetch thee from thence." 4. And Jacob said: "I am not afraid; if he wishes to kill me, I will kill him." 5. But she said unto him: "Let me not be bereft of both my sons on one day." 6. And Jacob said to Rebecca his mother: "Behold, thou knowest that my father has become old, and does not see because his eyes are dull, and if I leave him it will be evil in his eyes, because I leave him and go away from you, and my father will be angry, and will curse me. I will not go;

35. *May the days,* etc. Observe the malicious turn given to Esau's words in Gen. xxvii. 41.

XXVII. 1-5. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 42-45.

1. *Were told to Rebecca in a dream.* In the Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxvii. 42 it is said: "And the words of Esau her elder son were told to Rebecca by the Holy Spirit." In Ber. rabba on the same passage Rebecca is called a prophetess.

6. This verse like xii. 31 owes its existence, as Singer has pointed out, to the author's desire to protect his heroes Abraham and Jacob from the reproach of leaving their fathers in their old age. Singer (p. 170) writes: In der Haggada wird nämlich Jakob darob getadelt, dass er so lange Zeit von seinen Eltern fernblieb und dadurch die Uebung der Kindespflichten verabsäumte (Megilla 16 *b*, Sed. Od. rabba 2, Tanch. u. Lek. Tob. Wagescheb in Raschi, Gen. xxxvii. 34), wogegen Esau in dieser Hinsicht sehr gepriesen und als Muster eines guten Kindes dargestellt wird (Ber. rabba 65, 82; Debarim rabba 1, Pesikta rab. xxiv.).

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when he sends me, then only will I go." 7. And Rebecca said to Jacob: "I will go in and speak to him, and he will send thee away." 8. And Rebecca went in and said to Isaac: "I loathe my life because of the two daughters of Heth, whom Esau has taken him as wives; and if Jacob take a wife from among the daughters of the land such as these, for what purpose do I further live; for the daughters of Canaan are evil." 9. And Isaac called Jacob and blessed him, and admonished him and said unto him: 10. "Do not take thee a wife of any of the daughters of Canaan; arise and go to Mesopotamia, to the house of Bethuel, thy mother's father, and take thee a wife from thence of the daughters of Laban, thy mother's brother. 11. And God Almighty bless thee and increase and multiply thee that thou mayest become a company of nations, and give thee the blessings of my father Abraham, to thee and to thy seed after thee, that thou mayest inherit the land of thy sojournings and all the land which God gave to Abraham: go, my son, in peace." 12. And Isaac sent Jacob away, and he went to Mesopotamia, to Laban the son of Bethuel the Syrian, the brother of Rebecca, Jacob's mother. 13. And it came to pass after Jacob had arisen to go to Mesopotamia that the spirit of Rebecca was grieved after her son, and she wept. 14. And Isaac said to Rebecca: "My sister, weep not on account of Jacob, my son; for he goeth in peace, and in peace will he return. 15. The Most High God will

8. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 46.

9-12. Cf. Gen. xxviii. 1-5.

14. *My sister.* This term as applied by Isaac to his wife is used as an expression of tenderness. It is possible that Singer (p. 168 note) is right in stating that it is designed by our author to justify the fact of Isaac's having called her his sister at the Court of Abimelech. As instances of the former use we might quote Tobit's address to his wife (Tobit v. 21): μὴ λόγον ἔχε, ἀδελφή: also vii. 15, viii. 4, 7; also Song of Solomon iv. 9, 10, 12, v. 1. This usage was common in the old Egyptian songs as Maspero and Spiegelberg have shown (see Budde, *Das Hohenlied*, pp. xvi-xvii). "Brother" was used in these songs also with a similar meaning. ἀδελφή in 1 Cor. ix. 5 has quite a different meaning. It denotes one who is connected by the tie of the Christian religion. The above usage, is according to Singer (p. 208 note), unknown in Rabbinic literature.

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preserve him from all evil, and will be with him; for He will not forsake him all his days; 16. For I know that his ways will be prospered in all things wherever he goes, until he return in peace to us, and we see him in peace. 17. Fear not on his account, my sister, for he is on the upright path and he is a perfect man: and he is faithful and will not perish. Weep not." 18. And Isaac comforted Rebecca on account of her son Jacob, and blessed him. 19. And Jacob went from the Well of the Oath to go to Haran on the first year of the second week in the forty-fourth jubilee, and he came to Luz on the mountains, that is, Bethel, on the new moon of the first month of this week, 2115 A.M. and he came to the place at even and turned from the way to the west of the road that night: and he slept there; for the sun had set. 20. And he took one of the stones of that place and laid it (at his head) under the tree, and he was journeying alone, and he slept. 21. And he dreamt that night, and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven, and behold, the angels of the Lord ascended and descended on it: and behold, the Lord stood upon it. 22. And He spake to Jacob and said: "I am the Lord God of Abraham, thy father, and the God of Isaac; the land whereon thou art sleeping, to thee shall I give it, and to thy seed after thee. 23. And thy seed will be as the dust of the earth, and thou wilt increase to the west and to the east, to the north and the south, and in thee and in thy seed will all the families of the nations be blessed. 24. And behold, I shall be with thee,

16. *Will be prospered* = jĕšĉrâḥ (= the Latin dirigentur) emended from jĕšĉrĕḥ. Text = "he will prosper."

17. *On the upright path.* So *b* and Latin, in via recta. *a c d* diverge in different directions.

And he is faithful. *a b* and Latin omit "and."

19-20. Cf. Gen. xxviii. 10, 11, 19.

19. *Luz.* Cf. Gen. xxviii. 19.

20. (*At his head*). Added from the Latin.

Under the tree. This phrase is not found in Gen. xxviii. 11. It seems to be the wooden post or mast (מַצֵּבָה) which stood at Canaanitish places of worship. See *Encyc. Bib.* i. 330-332.

21-27. Cf. Gen. xxviii. 12-22.

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and shall keep thee whithersoever thou goest, and I shall bring thee again into this land in peace; for I shall not leave thee until I do everything that I told thee of." 25. And Jacob awoke from his sleep, and said, "Truly this place is the house of the Lord, and I knew it not." And he was afraid and said: "Dreadful is this place which is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven." 26. And Jacob arose early in the morning, and took the stone which he had put under his head and set it up as a pillar for a sign, and he poured oil upon the top of it. And he called the name of that place Bethel; but the name of the place was Luz at the first. 27. And Jacob vowed a vow unto the Lord, saying: "If the Lord will be with me, and will keep me in this way that I go, and give me bread to eat and raiment to put on, so that I come again to my father's house in peace, then shall the Lord be my God, and this stone which I have set up as a pillar for a sign in this place, shall be the Lord's house, and of all that thou givest me, I shall give the tenth to thee, my God."

Jacob marries Leah and Rachel, 1-10. *His children by Leah and Rachel and by their handmaids*, 11-24. *Jacob seeks to leave Laban*, 25: *but stays on at a certain wage*, 26-28. *Jacob becomes rich*, 29-30. (Cf. Gen. xxix. 1, 17, 18, 21-35, xxx. 1-13, 17-22, 24, 25, 28, 32, 39, 43, xxxi. 1, 2.)

XXVIII. And he went on his journey, and came to the land of the east, to Laban, the brother of Rebecca, and he was with him, and served him for Rachel his daughter one
2122 A.M. week. 2. And in the first year of the third week he said

25. *Awoke from . . . sleep* = ἐξύπνωσε ἐξ ὕπνου. MSS corrupt = ὑπνωσε ὕπνον = "slept a sleep."

XXVIII. 1. Cf. Gen. xxix. 1.
2-4. Cf. Gen. xxix. 21-25.

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unto him: "Give me my wife, for whom I have served thee seven years"; and Laban said unto Jacob: "I will give thee thy wife." 3. And Laban made a feast, and took Leah his elder daughter, and gave (her) to Jacob as a wife, and gave her Zilpah his handmaid for an handmaid; and Jacob did not know, for he thought that she was Rachel. 4. And he went in unto her, and behold, she was Leah; and Jacob was angry with Laban, and said unto him: "Why hast thou dealt thus with me? Did not I serve thee for Rachel and not for Leah? Why hast thou wronged me? Take thy daughter, and I will go; for thou hast done evil to me." 5. For Jacob loved Rachel more than Leah; for Leah's eyes were weak, but her form was very handsome; but Rachel had beautiful eyes and a beautiful and very handsome form. 6. And Laban said to Jacob: "It is not so done in our country, to give the younger before the elder." And it is not right to do this; for thus it is ordained and written in the heavenly tables, that no one should give his younger daughter before the elder—but the elder one gives first and after her the younger—and the man who does so, they set down guilt against him in heaven, and none is righteous that does this thing, for this deed is evil before the Lord. 7. And command thou the children of Israel that they do not this thing; let them neither take nor give the younger before they have given the elder, for it is very wicked. 8. And Laban said to Jacob: "Let the seven days of the feast of this one pass by, and I shall give thee Rachel, that thou

3. *Zilpah.* Eth. Zalafâ. See note on ver. 9.

He thought. For "he" (*a*) *b c d* read Jacob.

5. Cf. Gen. xxix. 17-18[a].

Leah's eyes were weak. Ps.-Jon. *in loc.* and Ber. rabba 70 attribute this weakness to Leah's weeping.

6. *It is not . . . before the elder.* Cf. Gen. xxix. 26.

And it is not right to do this, etc. These are the words of the angels enunciating the law as Singer (p. 82) has recognised. There is no hint according to Beer and Singer of this ordinance in tradition.

But the elder (so *b*). *a c d* omit through homoioteleuton, as Littmann has pointed out.

8-10. Cf. Gen. xxix. 27-29. Jacob's marriage with two sisters was expressly forbidden by the later law: cf. Lev.

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mayst serve me another seven years, that thou mayst pasture my sheep as thou didst in the former week." 9. And on the day when the seven days of the feast of Leah had passed, Laban gave Rachel to Jacob, that he might serve him another seven years, and he gave to Rachel Bilhah, the sister of Zilpah, as a handmaid. 10. And he served yet other seven years for Rachel, for Leah had been given to him for nothing. 11. And the Lord opened the

xviii. 18. Justin Martyr, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 134, declares it to be *οὐ θεμιτόν*.

8. Our author rightly understands Gen. xxix. 27-29, and represents Jacob as receiving Rachel when the seven days of Leah's feast were over. Josephus (*Ant.* i. 19. 7) wrongly makes Jacob wait for seven years after his marriage with Leah.

9. *Bilhah.* Eth. Bâlân.

The sister of Zilpah. Bilhah and Zilpah appear as sisters also in Test. XII. Patriarch. Naph. i. Naphtali declares: *ἡ δὲ μήτηρ μου ἐστὶ Βάλλα, θυγάτηρ Ῥωθέου, ἀδελφοῦ Δεβόρρας, τῆς τροφοῦ Ῥεβέκκας. . . . ὁ δὲ Ῥόθεος ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἦν Ἀβραάμ . . . καὶ αἰχμαλωτισθεὶς ἠγοράσθη ὑπὸ Λάβαν· καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ Αἰνὰν τὴν παιδίσκην αὐτοῦ εἰς γυναῖκα· ἥτις ἔτεκεν θυγατέρα, καὶ ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὴν Ζελφάν . . . καὶ ἐξῆς ἔτεκεν τὴν Βάλλαν.* In later Jewish tradition they are still represented as sisters, but as daughters of Laban by a concubine: cf. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxix. 24, 29; Ber. rabba 74. Singer adds Pirke R. El. 36 on p. 118 note.

11-24. Cf. Gen. xxix. 31-xxx. 1-13, 17-22, 24.

11-24. The twelve sons of Jacob. The twelve appear in our text in the same order as in Gen. xxix. 32-34, xxx. 1-24, xxxv. 17-18. The following tables (taken from Rönsch, p. 330) will serve to make clear the different order of these names. I. In the narrative of Gen. xxix.-xxxv. and Jubilees. II. In Jubilees according to the date of birth. III. In Test. XII. Patriarchs according to date of birth. IV. In Gen. xlix.

	I. Gen. xxix.-xxx., xxxv. and Jubilees.	II. Jubilees according to the date of birth.	III. Test. XII. Patriarchs according to date of birth.	IV. Gen. xlix.
1	Reuben	Reuben	Reuben	Reuben
2	Simeon	Simeon	Simeon	Simeon
3	Levi	Levi	Levi	Levi
4	Judah	Dan	Judah	Judah
5	Dan	Judah	Dan	Zebulon
6	Naphtali	Naphtali	Issachar	Issachar
7	Gad	Gad	Naphtali	Dan
8	Asher	Issachar	Gad	Gad
9	Issachar	Asher	Zebulon	Asher
10	Zebulon	Joseph	Asher	Naphtali
11	Joseph	Zebulon	Joseph	Joseph
12	Benjamin	Benjamin	Benjamin	Benjamin

It will be observed that the order in II. diverges from all the others as to Dan, Issachar, and Joseph. The Midrash Tadshe, which is partly based on our text, shows the same order (see below). Probably the dates are corrupt. Rönsch proposes to read seventh instead of sixth (an easy emendation resting on

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womb of Leah, and she conceived and bare Jacob a son, and he called his name Reuben, on the fourteenth day of the 2122 A.M.

confusion of ו and י) in Jub. xxviii. 24. In that case Joseph would be born in 2135 A.M. and his place in the Jubilees list would agree with those of the other authorities. But this date does not agree with what is required by xxxiv. 10 and xlvi. 1 of our text. For these passages when taken together imply that Joseph was born in the year 2132. See note on xxviii. 24. Rönsch further supposes that the copyist transposed the dates for Judah and Dan, and again a corruption of seventh into sixth; and finally suggests in the case of Asher and Issachar that we should transpose the years of their births, and read fourth year in Asher's case and fifth in Issachar's. Thus we should have the following list:—

Reuben	born	14th of	9th	month in	1st	year of the 3rd week	= 2122
Simeon	„	21st of	10th	„	3rd	„ 3rd „	= 2124
Levi	„	1st of	1st	„	6th	„ 3rd „	= 2127
Judah	„	15th of	3rd	„	7th	„ 3rd „	= 2128
Dan	„	9th of	6th	„	1st	„ 4th „	= 2129
Naphtali	„	5th of	7th	„	2nd	„ 4th „	= 2131
Gad	„	12th of	8th	„	3rd	„ 4th „	= 2132
Asher	„	2nd of	11th	„	4th	„ 4th „	= 2133
Issachar	„	4th of	5th	„	5th	„ 4th „	= 2134
Zebulon	„	7th of	7th	„	6th	„ 4th „	= 2134
Joseph	„	1st of	4th	„	7th	„ 4th „	= 2135
Benjamin	„	11th of	8th	„	1st	„ 4th „	= 2143

This order, corrected as Rönsch proposes above, is found in Syncellus i. 198, though the dates differ from those in our text: καὶ δουλεύσας ἔτη ζ' ἔλαβε τὴν Λείαν καὶ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ῥουβὴν τῷ π' ἔτει καὶ τὸν Συμεὼν τῷ πα', τὸν δὲ Λευὶ τῷ πβ', τὸν Ἰούδαν τῷ πγ', τὸν Δὰν τῷ πε', τὸν Νεφθαλεὶμ τῷ πς', τὸν Γὰδ τῷ πζ', τὸν Ἀσὴρ τῷ πη', τὸν Ἰσσάχαρ τῷ πθ', τὸν Ζαβουλὼν καὶ τὴν Δείναν ἐκ Λείας τῷ ε', τὸν Ἰωσὴφ ἐκ τῆς Ῥαχὴλ τῷ ια'.

The following imperfect list (derived undoubtedly from our text) of the twelve patriarchs with their ages and the days of the month on which they were born is found in Eppstein's edition of the Midrash Tadshe viii. lines 2-4: "The years of Rebecca were 133, of Rachel 36, of Lea 46. Reuben was born on the 14th of the 9th month and died 125 years old. Simeon was born on the 21st of the 10th month and died at the age of 120 years. Levi was born on the 1st of the 1st month and died at the age of 137. Dan was born on the 6th of the 9th month and died at the age of 125; Judah on 15th of 3rd and died 119 (?) (text indistinct); Naphtali on the 5th of the 3rd and died aged 133; Gad on the 10th of the 7th and died 125; Issachar on 4th of 5th month and died 122; Asher on 2nd of (corrupt text) and died 123; Joseph on the 1st of the 7th and died 110." It will be observed that more than half the above dates of the month correspond exactly to those in Jubilees, and nearly all the ages to those in Test. XII. Patriarchs (see below). The Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1244, 1246, 1248) agrees with the Testament XII. Patriarch. in giving the same ages for Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Issachar, Gad, Joseph, but disagrees in the cases of Judah, Dan, Asher, Zebulon and Naphtali, to whom it ascribes respectively the following ages: 129, 124, 123, 114, 132.

In the Test. XII. Patriarchs the dates vary also. The facts have been collected by Dodwell and are found in Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 749-754. See also Rönsch, 327-329. The chief are:—

[LIST—OVER

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ninth month, in the first year of the third week. 12. But the womb of Rachel was closed, for the Lord saw that Leah was hated and Rachel loved. 13. And again Jacob went in unto Leah, and she conceived, and bare Jacob a second
2124 A.M. son, and he called his name Simeon, on the twenty-first of the tenth month, and in the third year of this week. 14. And again Jacob went in unto Leah, and she conceived, and bare him a third son, and he called his name Levi, in the
2127 A.M. new moon of the first month in the sixth year of this week. 15. And again Jacob went in unto her, and she conceived, and bare him a fourth son, and he called his name Judah,
2129 A.M. on the fifteenth of the third month, in the †first† year of the †fourth† week. 16. And on account of all this Rachel envied Leah, for she did not bear, and she said to Jacob: "Give me children"; and Jacob said: "Have I withheld from thee the fruits of thy womb? Have I forsaken thee?" 17. And when Rachel saw that Leah had borne four sons to Jacob, Reuben and Simeon and Levi and Judah, she said unto him: "Go in unto Bilhah my handmaid, and she will

Reuben was born in the		76th	year of Jacob's life,	and died aged 125 in the same year as Zebulon aged 114.
Simeon	,,	79th	,,	and died aged 120 in the same year as Joseph aged 110.
Levi	,,	81st	,,	and died aged 137.
Judah	,,	84th	,,	,, 119.
Dan	,,	85th	,,	,, 125.
Issachar, Naphtali, Gad		86th	,,	Issachar died aged 122; Naphtali, 130; Gad, 125.
Zebulon and Asher		87th	,,	Zebulon died aged 114; Asher, 126.
Dinah	,,	88th	,,	
Joseph	,,	89th	,,	and died aged 110.
Benjamin	,,	101st	,,	,, 125.

We must be content with these dates till a critical edition of this work is issued. For a different set of dates see Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* ix. 21.

11. *He called.* In Gen. xxix. 32 it is "she called." Perhaps we should so read here and in verses 13, 14, 15, 18. In 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24 this form is actually found.

15. From the context (cf. verses 15 and 18) it is obvious that the dates in the text are corrupt. Judah was born before Rachel gave Bilhah to Jacob. Yet the text sets the birth of Bilhah's son two years before that of Judah. See note on 11-24.

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conceive, and bear a son unto me." 18. (And she gave (him) Bilhah her handmaid to wife.) And he went in unto her, and she conceived, and bare him a son, and he called 2127 A.M. his name Dan, on the ninth of the sixth month, in the †sixth† year of the †third† week. 19. And Jacob went in again unto Bilhah a second time, and she conceived, and bare Jacob another son, and Rachel called his name Naphtali, on the fifth of the seventh month, in the second year of the fourth 2130 A.M. week. 20. And when Leah saw that she had become sterile and did not bear, she envied (Rachel) and she also gave her handmaid Zilpah to Jacob to wife, and she conceived, and bare a son, and Leah called his name Gad, on the twelfth of the eighth month, in the third year of the 2131 A.M. fourth week. 21. And he went in again unto her, and she conceived, and bare him a second son, and Leah called his name Asher, on the second of the eleventh month, in the 2133 A.M. †fifth† year of the fourth week. 22. And Jacob went in unto Leah, and she conceived, and bare a son, and she called his name Issachar, on the fourth of the fifth month, in the 2132 A.M. †fourth† year of the fourth week, and she gave him to a nurse. 23. And Jacob went in again unto her, and she conceived, and bare two (children), a son and a daughter, and she called the name of the son Zebulon, and the name of the daughter Dinah, in the seventh of the seventh month, in the sixth year 2134 A.M. of the fourth week. 24. And the Lord was gracious to Rachel, and opened her womb, and she conceived, and bare a son, and she called his name Joseph, on the new moon of the fourth month, in the †sixth† year in this fourth week. 2134 A.M.

18. On the date assigned to Dan see note on 11-24.

20. *Become sterile and did not bear.* Cf. Gen. xxx. 9 = "had left bearing." I here withdraw the emendation in my text.

Envied (Rachel) and she also gave. So MSS but the text is doubtful. My emendation of the text I here withdraw. Latin reads et dedit. Gen. xxx. 9 has "took and gave."

21-22. On the dates see note on 11-24.

24. According to xxxiv. 10 Joseph was sold into Egypt in 2149 at the age of seventeen (xlvi. 3). Hence this would require the date in our text to be 2132. This change is required also by xlvi. 1. This would require "fourth" instead of "sixth," but see note on 11-24.

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25. And in the days when Joseph was born, Jacob said to Laban? "Give me my wives and sons, and let me go to my father Isaac, and let me make me an house; for I have completed the years in which I have served thee for thy two daughters, and I will go to the house of my father." 26. And Laban said to Jacob: "†Tarry with me for thy wages†, and pasture my flock for me again, and take thy wages." 27. And they agreed with one another that he should give him as his wages those of the lambs and kids which were born black and spotted and white, (these) were to be his wages. 28. And all the sheep brought forth spotted and speckled and black, variously marked, and they brought forth again lambs like themselves, and all that were spotted were Jacob's and those which were not were Laban's. 29. And Jacob's possessions multiplied exceedingly, and he possessed oxen and sheep and asses and camels, and menservants and maidservants. 30. And Laban and his sons envied Jacob, and Laban took back his sheep from him, and he observed him with evil intent.

Jacob departs secretly, 1-4. *Laban pursues after him*, 5-6. *Covenant of Jacob and Laban*, 7-8. *Abodes of the*

25-26. Cf. Gen. xxx. 25, 28.

26. †*Tarry with me for thy wages.*† Latin has: Expecta me in mercede. Both seem wrong. Gen. xxx. 28 has "Appoint (נקבה) me thy wages." Possibly "expecta" goes back to קַוֵּה and "tarry" to קום, but neither of these takes us back to the right text.

Take thy wages. Latin: dabo tibi mercedem is better.

27. Cf. Gen. xxx. 32.

Those of. So *b*. *a b d* = "all the sheep of."

Black and spotted = חום ומלוא. See my text for emendation.

White. This is a false rendering of διάλευκα = נקוד (same false rendering in Eth. ver. of Gen. xxx. 39), or else it presupposes λευκόν which is itself wrong. We should render "speckled."

28. Cf. Gen. xxx. 39.

Speckled and black, variously marked. This agrees exactly with LXX of Gen. xxx. 39: ποικίλα καὶ σποδοειδῆ ῥαντά and Vulg. varia et diverso colore respersa. The Mass. has no equivalent of the σποδοειδῆ. See my text on this clause.

All that were spotted were Jacob's, etc. Cf. Gen. xxx. 32. Jerome (*Quaest. Hebr.* in loc.) seems to have had this passage in mind: Si quid igitur ex albis et nigris, quae unius coloris sunt, varium natum erit, meum erit; si quid vero unius coloris, tuum.

29. *And sheep.* So also LXX of Gen. xxx. 43. Mass., Sam., Syr., Vulg. omit.

30. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 1, 2.

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Amorites (anciently of the Rephaim) destroyed in the time of the writer, 9-11. *Laban departs*, 12. *Jacob is reconciled to Esau*, 13. *Jacob sends supplies of food to his parents four times a year to Hebron*, 14-17, 19-20. *Esau marries again*, 18. (Cf. Gen. xxxi. 3, 4, 10, 13, 19-21, 23, 24, 46, 47, xxxii. 22, xxxiii. 10, 16.)

XXIX. And it came to pass when Rachel had borne Joseph, that Laban went to shear his sheep; for they were distant from him a three days' journey. 2. And Jacob saw that Laban was going to shear his sheep, and Jacob called Leah and Rachel, and spake kindly unto them that they should come with him to the land of Canaan. 3. For he told them how he had seen everything in a dream, even all that He had spoken unto him that he should return to his father's house; and they said: "To every place whither thou goest we will go with thee." 4. And Jacob blessed the God of Isaac his father, and the God of Abraham his father's father, and he arose and mounted his wives and his children, and took all his possessions and crossed the river, and came to the land of Gilead, and Jacob hid his intention from 2135 A.M. Laban and told him not. 5. And in the seventh year of the fourth week Jacob turned (his face) toward Gilead in the first month, on the twenty-first thereof. And Laban pursued after him and overtook Jacob in the mountain of Gilead in the third month, on the thirteenth thereof. 6. And the Lord did not suffer him to injure Jacob; for He appeared to him in a dream by night. And Laban spake to Jacob. 7. And on the fifteenth of those days Jacob made

XXIX. 1. *Laban went to shear his sheep.* Cf. Gen. xxxi. 19.

2. *Called Leah*, etc. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 4.

3. *Seen everything in a dream* Cf. Gen. xxxi. 10.

Return to his father's house. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 3, 13.

4. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 20, 21.

Hid his intention (lit. "heart"). So LXX of Gen. xxxi. 20 ἔκρυψε and Onkelos יכס. Mass., Sam., Syr. = ἔκλεψε.

5-6. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 23, 24.

7. *The fifteenth*, i.e. of the 3rd month.

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a feast for Laban, and for all who came with him, and Jacob sware to Laban that day, and Laban also to Jacob, that neither should cross the mountain of Gilead to the other with evil purpose. 8. And he made there a heap for a witness; wherefore the name of that place is called: "The Heap of Witness," after this heap. 9. But before they used to call the land of Gilead the land of the Rephaim; for it was the land of the Rephaim, and the Rephaim were born (there), giants whose height was ten, nine, eight down to seven cubits. 10. And their habitation was from the land of the children of Ammon to Mount Hermon, and the seats of their kingdom were Karnaim and Ashtaroth, and Edrei, and Mîsûr, and Beon. 11. And the Lord destroyed them because of the evil of their deeds; for they were very

A Feast. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 46.

8. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 47.

9. *Rephaim.* Eth. Rafâ'êm. Cf. Gen. xiv. 5.

10. It is difficult to understand why our author mentions these seats of the Rephaim unless it is that certain victories of the Maccabees over the Amorites who succeeded the Rephaim are connected with them. To these we shall draw attention as we proceed.

Karnaim and Ashtaroth. Eth. Qarânâ'im and Astarôs. In Gen. xiv. 5 these two appear as one name "Ashtaroth-Karnaim" = "Ashtaroth of the two horns" (!) in the Mass. and Sam. and some MSS of the LXX. On the other hand the Syr. and some MSS of the LXX support our text. Kuenen, Buhl and Siegfried accept this reading. Ashtaroth Karnaim appears simply as Ashtaroth in Deut. i. 4; Josh. ix. 10, xii. 4, xiii. 12, 31 along with Edrei as a chief city of Og, king of Bashan. This Og was of the remnant of the Rephaim, Deut. iii. 11. See *Encyc. Bib.* i. 335, 336.

Karnaim. Eth. Qarânâ'îm. Cf. Gen. xiv. 5; Amos vi. 13. Karnaim a strong city (1 Macc. v. 26) was captured by Judas and its temple of Atargatis burnt and 25000 people put to the sword (1 Macc. v. 43, 44; 2 Macc. xii. 21, 26). The Rephaim were succeeded by the Amorites (ver. 11), and of these our text grimly declares that "they have no longer length of life on the earth." Judas must have nearly annihilated them.

Edrei. Eth. 'Adrâ'a. This is the biblical Edrei (אדרעי, Ἐδραί, Ἐδραίεν), the Ἄδρα of Ptolemy and the Ἀδράα of Eusebius. It was the chief city of Og, king of Bashan, who dwelt at Ashtaroth and at Edrei, Josh. xii. 4, xiii. 12, 31. Although this town is not mentioned as attacked by Judas in his eastern campaign (1 Macc. v.) the fact that it is mentioned here as having been destroyed makes it probable that it did suffer at the hands of Judas.

Mîsûr = Μεισώρ = מישור. Cf. Deut. iii. 10, where there is a list of the cities of the plain (מישור) belonging to Og which were captured by Joshua. This may be the same as the valley of Rephaim, Josh. xv. 8, xviii. 16.

Beon = בעין. Eth. Bêwôn. Cf. Num. xxxii. 3. It is the same as the Baal-meon (see *Encyc. Bib.* and *Bible Dict.* in loc.). It is most probably to be identified with the Maccabean Βαιαν which is described in the *Onomastica* 32. 40; 101. 32 as a πόλις τοῦ Ἀμορραίου. This suits our text exactly. Beon and its inhabitants were utterly destroyed by Judas (1 Macc. v. 4, 5; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 8, 1).

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malignant, and the Amorites dwelt in their stead, wicked and sinful, and there is no people to-day which has wrought to the full all their sins, and they have no longer length of life on the earth. 12. And Jacob sent away Laban, and he departed into Mesopotamia, the land of the East, and Jacob returned to the land of Gilead. 13. And he passed over the Jabbok in the ninth month, on the eleventh thereof. And on that day Esau, his brother, came to him, and he was reconciled to him, and departed from him unto the land of Seir, but Jacob dwelt in tents. 14. And in the first year of the fifth week in this jubilee he crossed the Jordan, 2136 A.M. and dwelt beyond the Jordan, and he pastured his sheep from the sea †of the heap† unto Bethshan, and unto Dothan and unto the †forest† of Akrabbim. 15. And he sent to his father Isaac of all his substance, clothing, and food, and meat, and drink, and milk, and butter, and cheese, and some dates of the valley, 16. And to his mother Rebecca also four times a year, between the times of the months,

11. *The Amorites dwelt.* Latin: habitare fecit.

13. *Passed over the Jabbok.* Cf. Gen. xxxii. 22.

He passed over the Jabbok . . . on the eleventh thereof. Latin has transivit Jacob et undecim filii ipsius, probably owing to Gen. xxxii. 22.

He was reconciled. Emended with Latin propitiatus (est) from takuânanû = "they were reconciled."

14. †*Of the heap*†. So *a d*. *b c* give fahahat a word of unknown meaning. Latin has salso. Hence Lat. = "from the Salt Sea."

Bethshan = Βαιθσάν (1 Macc. v. 52, xii. 40) = בית־שן (*i.e.* the Bethshan in 1 Sam. xxxi. 10; 1 Kings iv. 12). This town also is associated with Judas, but in a peaceful way: cf. 2 Macc. xii. 29-31, where it appears under a new name Σκυθῶν πόλις (cf. LXX Judg. i. 27, where B adds after Βαιθσάν the gloss ἡ ἐστιν Σκυθῶν πόλις). In the Roman war 65 A.D. the heathen inhabitants of this city slaughtered their Jewish fellow-citizens to the number of 13,000 (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 18. 3). Eth. has Bêtasan.

Dothan. Eth. Dôthâ'im = Δωθάειμ (Judith iv. 6, vii. 3, etc.) = דתין, Gen. xxxvii. 17.

Unto the †forest†. Latin has aggruum which may be corrupt for arborem, seeing that the Eth. has 'oma (*a*) = "forest." *b c d* read simply "unto Akrabbim." We should expect "unto the ascent of Akrabbim" from Num. xxxiv. 4; Josh. xv. 3.

Akrabbim. Eth. 'Aqrâbêth. This name is found only in the phrase "Ascent of Akrabbim." See preceding note. Ἀκραβαττήνη, a district in Idumea, where Judas fought against the Edomites, 1 Macc. v. 3; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 8. 1.

15-16. Jacob, in contrast to Esau who robs his father (ver. 18), sends presents to him and his mother four times a year. The four times may correspond, as Rönsch (p. 140) conjectures, to the four festivals instituted by Noah (see vi. 23 sqq.): the 1st

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between ploughing and reaping, and between autumn and the rain (season) and between winter and spring, to the tower of Abraham. 17. For Isaac had returned from the Well of the Oath and gone up to the tower of his father Abraham, and he dwelt there apart from his son Esau. 18. For in the days when Jacob went to Mesopotamia, Esau took to himself a wife Mahalath, the daughter of Ishmael, and he gathered together all the flocks of his father and his wives, and went up and dwelt on Mount Seir, and left Isaac his father at the Well of the Oath alone. 19. And Isaac went up from the Well of the Oath and dwelt in the tower of Abraham his father on the mountains of Hebron, 20. And thither Jacob sent all that he did send to his father and his mother from time to time, all they needed, and they blessed Jacob with all their heart and with all their soul.

Dinah ravished, 1-3. *Slaughter of the Shechemites*, 4-6. *Laws against intermarriage between Israel and the heathen*, 7-17. *Levi chosen for the priesthood on account of his slaughter of the Shechemites*, 18-23. *Dinah recovered*, 24. *Jacob's reproof*, 25-26. (Cf. Gen. xxxiii. 18, xxxiv. 2, 4, 7, 13-14, 25-30, xxxv. 5.)

2143 A.M. XXX. And in the first year of the sixth week he went up to Salem, to the east of Shechem, in peace, in the fourth

of the 4th month = "between the times of the months"; the 1st of the 7th = "between ploughing and reaping"; the 1st of the 10th month = "between autumn and the rain (season)"; the 1st of the 1st month = "between winter and spring."

16. *Between autumn and the rain (season)*. Latin has: in medio autumni pluviarum. This is the former rain (יורה), which falls from the middle of October to the middle of December.

Between winter and spring. Latin has: in medio pluviarum veris. Eth. could be rendered "between the rain and spring." This is the latter rain (מלקוש), which falls in March and April.

18. Cf. Gen. xxviii. 9, xxxvi. 6, 8. *Mahalath*. Eth. Mâ'êlêth.

XXX. 1. *Went up to Salem . . . in*

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month. 2. And there they carried off Dinah, the daughter of Jacob, into the house of Shechem, the son of Hamor, the Hivite, the prince of the land, and he lay with her and defiled her, and she was a little girl, a child of twelve years. 3. And he besought his father and her brothers that she might be given to him to wife. And Jacob and his sons were wroth because of the men of Shechem; for they had defiled Dinah, their sister, and they spake to them with evil intent and dealt deceitfully with them and beguiled them. 4. And Simeon and Levi came unexpectedly to Shechem and executed judgment on all the men of Shechem, and

peace. This passage is based on Gen. xxxiii. 18 שָׁלֵם יעקב וַיָּבֹא. The LXX, Syr., Eusebius, and Jerome here take שָׁלֵם as a proper name. The Sam. reads שלום. Our text combines both interpretations.

To the east. Gen. xxxiii. 18 has "city."

2-3. Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 2, 4, 7, 13.

2-6. The history of Jacob's connection with the Shechemites caused much trouble to our author. He could hardly approve of their slaughter after they had consented to circumcision. Accordingly he omits all reference to the circumcision of the Shechemites, as also does Josephus (*Ant.* i. 21. 1). On the other hand this is given as the reason for Jacob's anger against Simeon and Levi in Test. Levi 6: καὶ ἤκουσεν ὁ πατήρ, καὶ ὠργίσθη, καὶ ἐλυπήθη, ὅτι κατεδέξαντο τὴν περιτομὴν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπέθανον. Notwithstanding the severe disapprobation of Simeon and Levi in Gen. xlix. 5-7 for their conduct in this matter, it was highly extolled in the two centuries preceding the Christian era. This is done in our text and in Test. Levi 5 where the angel bids Levi: ποίησον ἐκδίκησιν ἐν Συχέμ ὑπὲρ Δίνας, κἀγὼ ἔσομαι μετά σου, ὅτι κύριος ἀπέσταλκέ με. καὶ συνετέλεσα τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἐμμώρ, καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν ταῖς πλαξὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν: and in the Test. Levi 6-7, where Levi says that he saw that "the sentence of God had gone forth for evil against Shechem," and still more strongly: ἔφθασε δὲ ἡ ὀργὴ κυρίου ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εἰς τέλος. Again in Judith (a Hebrew work of the first cent. B.C.) ix. 2: κύριε ὁ θεὸς τοῦ πατρός μου Συμεών, ᾧ ἔδωκας ἐν χειρὶ ῥομφαίαν εἰς ἐκδίκησιν ἀλλογενῶν, οἳ ἔλυσαν μήτραν παρθένου εἰς μίασμα καὶ ἐγύμνωσαν μηρὸν εἰς αἰσχύνην, κ.τ.λ. Again in Philo, *De Migr. Abrahami*, 39, Simeon and Levi are called οἱ φρονήσεως ἀκουσταὶ καὶ γνώριμοι for their action in this matter, and in the next few lines it is implied that Shechem was not circumcised. See also the Book of Jashar for a reproduction of the ancient favourable view of Simeon and Levi (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1166-1168). In the late rabbinic tradition, however, Simeon and Levi are judged more in accordance with the sentence pronounced upon them in Gen xlix. In Gen. rabba 80, it is true, there is some extenuation of their conduct; but in section 98 of the same work it is said that the fact that most of the poor were of the tribe of Simeon is to be traced to the curse in Gen. xlix. 7. Singer (p. 115 note) compares also Sifre on Deut. xxxiii. 8.

2. *Child of twelve years.* This agrees with the reckoning in Test. Levi 12. There Levi, who was six years older than Dinah, slew Shechem at the age of eighteen.

3. *His father* (*ab*). *cd* "her father."

And beguiled them. And Simeon . . . to Shechem. Latin has: Et posuerunt in corde suo Symeon et Lenui exterminare eos.

4. Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 25-27.

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slew all the men whom they found in it, and left not a single one remaining in it: they slew all in torments because they had dishonoured their sister Dinah. 5. And thus let it not again be done from henceforth that a daughter of Israel be defiled; for judgment is ordained in heaven against them that they should destroy with the sword all the men of the Shechemites because they had wrought shame in Israel. 6. And the Lord delivered them into the hands of the sons of Jacob that they might exterminate them with the sword and execute judgment upon them, and that it might not thus again be done in Israel that a virgin of Israel should be defiled. 7. And if there is any man who wishes in Israel to give his daughter or his sister to any man who is of the seed of the Gentiles he shall surely die, and they shall stone him with stones; for he hath wrought shame in Israel; and they shall burn the woman with fire, because she has dishonoured the name of the house of her father, and she shall be rooted out of Israel. 8. And let not an adulteress and no uncleanness be found in Israel throughout all the days of the generations of the earth; for Israel is holy unto the Lord, and every man who has defiled (it) shall surely die: they shall stone him with stones. 9. For thus has it been ordained and written in the heavenly tables regarding all the seed of Israel: he

5. *Wrought shame in Israel.* Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 7.

7. This statement does not agree quite with any in the O.T. The burning of the woman with fire, it is true, finds a precedent in Gen. xxxviii. 24, where Judah demands that such a punishment should be executed on Tamar—a punishment at variance with the later law in Lev. xxi. 9. See in note on xli. 17 the distortion of the biblical tradition had recourse to by the Rabbis in order to justify the demand of Judah. It is true that her crime is that of fornication, whereas our text deals merely with the marriage of a Hebrew woman and a Gentile. To our author, however, such a marriage was illegal and was no better than fornication. In Lev. xxi. 9 it is ordained that a priest's daughter who played the harlot was to be burnt with fire. Our text teaches that to give a daughter to a non-Israelite was to give her to Moloch (cf. ver. 10). Since our author holds the former to be equivalent to the latter, it follows that the man who was guilty of the former offence should justly be visited with the penalty exacted for the latter, and this was, according to Lev. xx. 2, death by stoning; hence our text ordains: "and they shall stone him with stones."

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who defileth (it) shall surely die, and he shall be stoned with stones. 10. And to this law there is no limit of days, and no remission, nor any atonement: but the man who has defiled his daughter shall be rooted out in the midst of all Israel, because he has given of his seed to Moloch, and wrought impiously so as to defile it. 11. And do thou, Moses, command the children of Israel and exhort them not to give their daughters to the Gentiles, and not to take for their sons any of the daughters of the Gentiles, for this is abominable before the Lord. 12. For this reason I have written for thee in the words of the Law all the deeds of the Shechemites, which they wrought against Dinah, and how the sons of Jacob spake, saying: "We shall not give our daughter to a man who is uncircumcised; for that were a reproach unto us." 13. And it is a reproach to Israel, to those who give, and to those who take the daughters of the Gentiles; for this is unclean and abominable to Israel. 14. And Israel will not be free from this uncleanness if it has a wife of the daughters of the Gentiles, or has given any of its

10. *Has given of his seed to Moloch.* This interpretation of Lev. xviii. 21: "Thou shalt not give any of thy seed to make them pass through the fire to Molech," as being equivalent to giving one's child in marriage to a Gentile, is found in Ps.-Jon. on this verse: "And of thy seed thou shalt not give to lie with a daughter of the Gentiles so as to draw him over to a strange worship." The Latin which gives alienigenae instead of Molech is an interpretation of the text but not the text itself. The same idea underlies the statement in Sanh. 82 *a*: R. Chija b. Abija said: "Whoever cohabits with a Gentile woman is to be regarded as though he had made himself the son-in-law of the idol; for it is said: And he cohabited with the daughter of a strange God." In Sanh. ix. 6 it enacts that "the zealous may slay a man taken in fornication with a Gentile or Roman woman (ארמית)." Nearly the same statement as is quoted above from Ps.-Jon. is found in Megilla 25 *a*. That such an interpretation was prevalent we see from Megil. iv. 9: האומר מורעך לא תתן להעביר לסולך ומורעך לא תתן לאעברא בארמיותא משחקין אותו = "Whoever translates 'Thou shalt not give of thy seed to pass through the fire to Molech' as 'Thou shalt not give of thy seed to cohabit with a Gentile woman,' bid him be silent." Singer (p. 200 note) says that this Mishna is directed against the Jewish Christians. However this may be, the interpretation was an ancient Jewish one to begin with. It may not be older than the Maccabean age. The circumstances of that time were such as to justify the extremest measures in order to save Judaism from annihilation.

11. *For their sons.* So Latin. *b c d* om., but *a* = *aûrol.*

12. *We shall not give*, etc. Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 14.

14-15. The sin of one man, the man who gives any of his seed to the Gentiles

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daughters to a man who is of any of the Gentiles. 15. For there will be plague upon plague, and curse upon curse, and every judgment and plague and curse will come (upon him): if he do this thing, or hide his eyes from those who commit uncleanness, or those who defile the sanctuary of the Lord, or those who profane His holy name, (then) will the whole nation together be judged for all the uncleanness and profanation of this (man). 16. And there will be no respect of persons [and no consideration of persons], and no receiving at his hands of fruits and offerings and burnt-offerings and fat, nor the fragrance of sweet savour, so as to accept it: and so fare every man or woman in Israel who defiles the sanctuary. 17. For this reason I have commanded thee, saying: "Testify this testimony to Israel: see how the Shechemites fared and their sons: how they were delivered into the hands of two sons of Jacob, and they slew them under tortures, and it was (reckoned) unto them for righteousness, and it is written down to them for righteousness. 18. And the seed of Levi was chosen for

or takes to wife a Gentile woman will affect the whole community. These verses are based on Lev. xx. 2-4, which deal with the man who gives his seed unto Moloch.

15. (*Upon him*). Added from the Latin.

Hide his eyes. This is the phrase in Lev. xx. 4, העלים עינים. The Latin, praeterierit et despexerit, seems to be a dittography.

Who commit uncleanness . . . defile the sanctuary of the Lord . . . profane His holy name. Cf. Lev. xx. 3, "Hath given of his seed unto Molech, to defile my sanctuary . . . to profane my holy name."

(*Then*) *will the whole nation together*, etc. In Lev. xx. 5 only the man's family is involved in his guilt. Our author's enlargement of the area of the guilt is to justify the action of Simeon and Levi in slaying all the Shechemites. Our text (ver. 2) makes the whole people share in the rape of Dinah. In Test. Levi 6 a very evil account of them is given: οὕτως ἐδίωξαν Ἀβραὰμ τὸν πατέρα ἡμῶν ξένον ὄντα, καὶ κατεπάτησαν τὰ πρόβατα ὀγκούμενα ὄντα ἐπ' αὐτόν· καὶ Ἰεβλὰδε τὸν οἰκογενῆ αὐτοῦ σφόδρα αἰκίσαντο. καί γε οὕτως ἐποίουν πάντας τοὺς ξένους, ἐν δυναστείᾳ ἁρπάζοντες τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν.

All the uncleanness (*a b* and Latin). *c d* "all this uncleanness."

Profanation of this (*man*). MSS read "this profanation." I have emended in accordance with the Latin.

16. [*And no consideration of persons*]. Bracketed as a dittography. Latin omits.

The fragrance of sweet savour. Latin: odorabitur odore suavitatis.

18. The ground for Levi's appointment to the priesthood is quite different in xxxii. 3. Levi is there consecrated to the work of the priesthood as the tithe or tenth in Jacob's family. Our author has thus made use of two conflicting traditions. Possibly a third is

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the priesthood, and to be Levites, that they might minister before the Lord, as we, continually, and that Levi and his sons may be blessed for ever; for he was zealous to execute righteousness and judgment and vengeance on all those who arose against Israel. 19. And so they inscribe as a testimony in his favour on the heavenly tables blessing and righteousness before the God of all: 20. And we remember the righteousness which the man fulfilled during his life, at all periods of the year; until a thousand generations they will record it, and it will come to him and to his descendants after him, and he has been recorded on the heavenly tables as a friend and a righteous man. 21. All this account I have written for thee, and have commanded thee to say to the children of Israel, that they should not commit sin nor transgress the ordinances nor break the covenant which has been ordained for them, (but) that they should fulfil it and be recorded as friends. 22. But if they transgress and work uncleanness in every way, they will be recorded on the heavenly tables as adversaries, and they will be destroyed out of the book of life, and they will be recorded in the book of those who will be destroyed and with those who will be rooted out of the earth. 23. And on the day when the sons of Jacob slew Shechem a writing was recorded in their favour in heaven that they had executed righteousness and uprightness and

to be found in Test. Levi 4, where Levi's appointment seems to be in answer to his prayer: *εἰσήκουσεν οὖν ὁ ὕψιστος τῆς προσευχῆς σου τοῦ διελεῖν σε ἀπὸ τῆς ἀδικίας καὶ γενέσθαι αὐτῷ . . . λειτουργὸν τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ.* Another tradition appears in Shem. rabba 19 to the effect that Levi received the priesthood because it held fast to the rite of circumcision in Egypt when all the other tribes neglected it (Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*[2] p. 309). For other reasons cf. Baba bathra 123 *a* and Bamidbar rabba 7. See Singer (p. 115 note).

19. *God of all.* See note on xxii. 4.

20. *Friend, i.e.,* of God. See note on xix. 9.

22. *Transgress.* Latin adds testamentum.

Book of life. See note on this expression in my edition of Eth. Enoch xlvii. 3. It may mean here the register of those who enjoy *temporal* blessings, but, in xxxvi. 10, of those who enjoy *eternal.*

Book of those who will be destroyed and. Latin has libro perditionum.

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vengeance on the sinners, and it was written for a blessing. 24. And they brought Dinah, their sister, out of the house of Shechem, and they took captive everything that was in Shechem, their sheep and their oxen and their asses, and all their wealth, and all their flocks, and brought them all to Jacob their father. 25. And he reproached them because they had put the city to the sword; for he feared those who dwelt in the land, the Canaanites and the Perizzites. 26. And the dread of the Lord was upon all the cities which are around about Shechem, and they did not rise to pursue after the sons of Jacob; for terror had fallen upon them.

Jacob goes to Bethel to offer sacrifice, 1-3 (cf. Gen. **xxxv.** 2-4, 7, 14). *Isaac blesses Levi*, 4-17, *and Judah*, 18-22. *Jacob recounts to Isaac how God prospered him*, 24. *Jacob goes to Bethel with Rebecca and Deborah*, 26-30. *Jacob blesses the God of his fathers*, 31-32.

XXXI. And on the new moon of the month Jacob spake to all the people of his house, saying: "Purify yourselves and change your garments, and let us arise and go up to Bethel, where I vowed a vow to Him on the day when I fled from the face of Esau my brother, because He has been with me and brought me into this land in peace, and put ye away the strange gods that are among

24. Cf. Gen. xxxiii. 26, 28.

And all their wealth. *c d* transpose after "flocks" against *a b* and Latin.

25. *Reproached them.* Text = ἐλάλησε πρὸς αὐτούς (so Latin, locutus est ad illos) = רִבֶּר עֲלֵיהֶם, which, however, in this context the Greek translator should have rendered by ἐλάλησε κατ' αὐτῶν. The same wrong choice of the two possible renderings of this phrase is found also in the LXX of Jer. vi. 10, xxv. 2, xxvi. 2, etc. I press the above correction of the translation because the context requires וירבר על and not ויאמר אל as in Gen. xxxiv. 30 in the corresponding passage. With our text "reproached them because they had put the city to the sword," cf. Test. Levi 6: οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἐπάταξαν τὴν πόλιν ἐν στόματι ῥομφαίας. καὶ ἤκουσεν ὁ πατήρ, καὶ ὠργίσθη, καὶ ἐλυπήθη.

26. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 5.

XXXI. 1-2. Cf. Gen. **xxxv. 2-4.**

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you." 2. And they gave up the strange gods and that which was in their ears and which was †on their necks,† and the idols which Rachel stole from Laban her brother she gave wholly to Jacob. And he burnt and brake them to pieces and destroyed them, and hid them under an oak which is in the land of Shechem. 3. And he went up on the new moon of the seventh month to Bethel. And he built an altar at the place where he had slept, and he set up a pillar there, and he sent word to his father Isaac to come to him to his sacrifice, and to his mother Rebecca. 4. And Isaac said: "Let my son Jacob come, and let me see him before I die." 5. And Jacob went to his father Isaac and to his mother Rebecca, to the house of his father Abraham, and he took two of his sons with him, Levi and Judah, and he came to his father Isaac and to his mother Rebecca. 6. And Rebecca came forth from the tower to the front of it to kiss Jacob and embrace him; for her spirit had revived when she heard: "Behold Jacob thy son has come"; and she kissed him. 7. And she saw his two sons, and she recognised them, and said unto him: "Are these thy sons, my son?" and she embraced them and kissed them, and blessed them, saying: "In you shall the seed of Abraham become illustrious, and ye will prove a blessing on the earth." 8. And Jacob went in to Isaac his father, to the chamber where he lay, and his two sons were with him, and he took the hand of his father, and stooping down he kissed him, and Isaac clung to the neck

2. *They gave up* = maṭawĕwômû. Emended from (*a*) *b* masawĕwômû = "they melted." *cd* give a bad emendation masaṭĕwômû = "they tore away."

And which was †on their necks†. Here kĕsâwdihômû seems corrupt for 'ĕdawîhômû = "their hands," and the whole emended clause "which were in their hands" should be inserted after "strange gods."

Her brother. The MSS corruptly give 'abûhâ = "her father" instead of 'ĕḫûhâ.

3-4. The same incident is referred to in Test. Levi 9, where it says of Isaac: *οὐκ ἠθέλησε πορευθῆναι μεθ' ἡμῶν εἰς Βεθήλ.*

5. This last meeting of Jacob with Isaac and Rebecca is unknown to later haggada (Beer).

6. *Spirit had revived.* Cf. Gen. xlv. 27 for the phrase.

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of Jacob his son, and wept upon his neck. 9. And the darkness left the eyes of Isaac, and he saw the two sons of Jacob, Levi and Judah, and he said: "Are these thy sons, my son? for they are like thee." 10. And he said unto him that they were truly his sons: "And thou hast truly seen that they are truly my sons." 11. And they came near to him, and he turned and kissed them and embraced them both together. 12. And the spirit of prophecy came down into his mouth, and he took Levi by his right hand and Judah by his left. 13. And he turned to Levi first, and began to bless him first, and said unto him: "May the God of all, the very Lord of all the ages, bless thee and thy children throughout all the ages. 14. And may the Lord give to thee and to thy seed †greatness and great glory†, and cause thee and thy seed, from among all flesh, to approach Him to serve in His sanctuary as the angels of the presence and as the holy ones. (Even) as they, will the seed of thy sons be for glory and greatness and holiness, and may He make them great

9. Part of this verse with the subject matter of ver. 5 and 10 sqq. is attributed by Syncellus (i. 202) to Josephus: Ἰωσήππου. τῷ ρνγ' ἔτει τοῦ Ἰσαὰκ ἐπανῆλθεν Ἰακὼβ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Μεσοποταμίας. καὶ ἀναβλέψας Ἰσαὰκ καὶ ἰδὼν τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰακὼβ ηὐλόγησε τὸν Λευὶ ὡς ἀρχιερέα καὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν ὡς βασιλέα καὶ ἄρχοντα.

10. *Seen that they are truly my sons.* The Latin has: Vidisti, pater, quoniam filii mei sunt, and is probably right; for 'amân = "truly" may be corrupt for 'abâ = "O father."

12. *Spirit of prophecy.* See note on xxv. 14.

13. *Turned to Levi first, and began to bless him.* Similarly in Test. Levi 9 it says of Isaac: καὶ εὐλόγησέ με ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ πατρός μου, κατὰ πάντας τοὺς λόγους τῶν ὁράσεών μου ὧν εἶδον.

God of all. See note on xxii. 4.

14. *To thy seed †greatness and great glory†.* So *c*. *b* "to thy seed the great greatness of glory." *a* is corrupt but points in the direction of *b*. Latin = magno intellegere gloriam ejus. This is decidedly better than the Ethiopic. By a slight change we can arrive at it from *b*. Hence we should probably render: "to thy great seed to understand His glory," or else by another change "to thy seed to have great understanding of His glory."

Serve in His sanctuary as the angels of the presence and as the holy ones. On these two classes, see notes ii. 2, 18, xv. 27. Here "the holy ones" appear to form a distinct class, whereas in xv. 27 they are used as a comprehensive term for the two (or "three" according to the Latin) highest orders. Levi is to serve in the sanctuary as the two highest orders of angels serve in the highest heaven. One or two such orders are mentioned in Test. Levi 3 (Armenian vers. A) as λειτουγοῦντες.

May He make them great. Lat. has sanctificabit.

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unto all the ages. 15. And they will be princes and judges, and chiefs of all the seed of the sons of Jacob;

They will speak the word of the Lord in righteousness,
And they will judge all His judgments in righteousness.

And they will declare My ways to Jacob
And My paths to Israel.

The blessing of the Lord will be given in their mouths
To bless all the seed of the beloved.

16. Thy mother has called thy name Levi,
And justly has she called thy name;

Thou wilt be joined to the Lord
And be the companion of all the sons of Jacob;

15. In this verse a double function is assigned to the descendants of Levi: they are to rule the nation (to be "princes and judges and chiefs") and to be the priests of the nation ("The blessing of the Lord will be given in their mouths"). This description, combined with other facts peculiar to the Maccabean period, requires us to recognise here the early Maccabean princes. The blessing given to Judah (verses 18, 19) confirms this interpretation.

Princes and judges, and chiefs. The Latin omits "and chiefs." We might compare Test. Levi 8: ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ κριταὶ καὶ γραμματεῖς, for the author of that work had either our text or a source common to both before him. In the same chapter of the Test. Levi there is, as Bousset (*Z. f. NTliche Wissenschaft*, 1900, pp. 165-167) has already pointed out, an undoubted description of Johannes Hyrcanus: Λευί, εἰς τρεῖς ἀρχὰς διαιρεθήσεται τὸ σπέρμα σου εἰς σημεῖον δόξης κυρίου ἐπερχομένης (so MS P. Arm. = τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ κυρίου). These three offices to be administered by Levi's descendants *are to be signs of the coming of the Messiah.* What these are is described in the words that follow: ὁ πρῶτος κλῆρος ἔσται μέγας· ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν οὐ γενήσεται ἕτερος (MS R). ὁ δεύτερος ἔσται ἐν ἱερωσύνῃ (Arm. as Bousset remarks prob. = ἡ δὲ δευτέρα ἔσται ἱερατεία): ὁ τρίτος ἐπικληθήσεται αὐτῷ ὄνομα κοινόν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἐν (so Arm.: Greek ἐκ) Ἰούδᾳ ἀναστήσεται, καὶ ποιήσει ἱερατείαν νέαν. The first refers to Moses, the greatest of Levi's descendants; the second denotes Aaron and the Aaronitic priesthood; the third the Maccabean ruling priests, and in particular to Johannes Hyrcanus, for the subsequent words ἡ δὲ παρουσία αὐτοῦ ἀγαπητή, ὡς προφήτης ὑψίστου point to his prophetic gifts. The threefold offices of prophet, priest and king were never claimed for any Jewish ruler save this Maccabean prince. See Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 10. 7; *Bell. Jud.* i. 2. 8.

The blessing of the Lord will be given in their mouths. Cf. Sir. l. 20: δοῦναι εὐλογίαν κυρίῳ ἐκ χειλέων αὐτοῦ, and Test. Reuben 6: πρὸς τὸν Λευὶ ἐγγίσατε ἐν ταπεινώσει καρδίας, ἵνα δέξησθε εὐλογίαν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ.

16. *Joined to the Lord . . . the companion*, etc. In the first, if not in the second, there is a play on the name Levi, as in Gen. xxix. 34 "will my husband be joined to me (ילוה אישי אלי) . . . therefore was his name called Levi" (לוי): cf. also Num. xviii. 2, 4. Instead of "joined to the Lord" the Latin has

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Let His table be thine,
And do thou and thy sons eat thereof;

And may thy table be full unto all generations,
And thy food fail not unto all the ages.

17. And let all who hate thee fall down before thee,
And let all thy adversaries be rooted out and perish;

And blessed be he that blesses thee,
And cursed be every nation that curses thee.

18. And to Judah he said:
May the Lord give thee strength and power
To tread down all that hate thee;

A prince shalt thou be, thou and one of thy sons, over the sons of Jacob;
May thy name and the name of thy sons go forth and traverse every land and region.

Then will the Gentiles fear before thy face,

ad decorem Dei, which seems to refer to Levi as derived from לוה, "a crown" or "garland."

Let His table be thine, etc. Cf. Test. Levi 8:

καὶ ἔδεσθε πᾶν ὡραῖον ὁράσει
καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν κυρίου διανεμήσεται
τὸ σπέρμα σου.

Also Test. Judah 21: καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν (Λευὶ) ὑπὲρ ὑμᾶς (Arm. Gk. σε) ἐξελέξατο Κύριος ἐγγίζειν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐσθίειν τράπεζαν αὐτοῦ.

18-19. In the note on ver. 15 we saw that according to the Test. Levi 8 the three great offices held in turn by the descendants of Levi were to be signs of the coming Messiah who was to spring from Levi or from Judah or from Judah and Levi combined (?). Thus according to Levi 18, Reuben 6, the Messiah (a Maccabean priest-king?) was to spring from Levi and to be the eternal High Priest and civil ruler of the nation. During his reign sin was gradually to come to an end just as our author supposes (xxiii. 26-30), the gates of Paradise to be opened and the saints to eat of the tree of life, as in Eth. Enoch xxv. 5, in an eternal Messianic kingdom on earth, as in Eth. Enoch xc. 29-38. In Judah 24-25 and Dan 5 the Messiah is to spring not from Levi but from Judah, as in Eth. Enoch xc. See Art. "Testaments of the XII Patriarchs" (in *Bible Dict.* vol. iv.). It is very probable that this last view underlies our text. The words "a prince . . . thou and one of thy sons" admit most naturally of this interpretation. If this is right, then the Messiah is to spring from Judah. In a kingdom which attains to realisation only gradually (see notes on i. 29, xxiii. 26-30) and not catastrophically no rôle seems to be assigned to him, as is also the case in Eth. Enoch xc. On the other hand this seems to be the earliest instance of the presence of a Messiah in a *temporary* Messianic kingdom (see note on xxiii. 30).

18. *May thy name . . . go forth*, etc., *i.e.* that of the *Jewish* nation.

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And all the nations will quake
[And all the peoples will quake].

19. In thee shall be the help of Jacob,
And in thee be found the salvation of Israel.

20. And when thou sittest on the throne of the honour of thy righteousness,
There will be great peace for all the seed of the sons of the beloved,
And blessed will he be that blesseth thee;

And all that hate thee and afflict thee and curse thee
Shall be rooted out and destroyed from the earth and accursed."

21. And turning he kissed him again and embraced him, and rejoiced greatly; for he had seen the sons of Jacob his son in very truth. 22. And he went forth from between his feet and fell down and worshipped him. And he blessed them. And (Jacob) rested there with Isaac his father that night, and they eat and drank with joy. 23. And he made the two sons of Jacob sleep, the one on his right hand and the other on his left, and it was counted to him for righteousness. 24. And Jacob told his father everything during the night, how the Lord had shown him great mercy, and how He had prospered (him in) all his ways, and protected him from all evil. 25. And Isaac blessed the God of his father Abraham, who had not withdrawn His mercy and His righteousness from the sons of His servant Isaac. 26. And in the morning Jacob told his father Isaac the vow which he had vowed to

[*And all the peoples will quake*]. Bracketed as a dittography.

20. *The throne of the honour of thy righteousness, There will be great peace.* So *d*. *b c* read "The throne of honour, Thy righteousness will be great peace."

The beloved, i.e. Abraham, as in ver. 15.

22. *And he blessed them.* This clause seems out of place here.

26. Jacob asks his father to go with him to Bethel; but Isaac is unable to go.

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the Lord, and the vision which he had seen, and that he had built an altar, and that everything was ready for the sacrifice to be made before the Lord as he had vowed, and that he had come to set him on an ass. 27. And Isaac said unto Jacob his son: "I am not able to go with thee; for I am old and not able to bear the way: go, my son, in peace; for I am one hundred and sixty-five years this day; I am no longer able to journey; set thy mother (on an ass) and let her go with thee. 28. And I know, my son, that thou hast come on my account, and may this day be blessed on which thou hast seen me alive, and I also have seen thee, my son. 29. Mayest thou prosper and fulfil the vow which thou hast vowed; and put not off thy vow; for thou wilt be called to account as touching the vow; now therefore make haste to perform it, and may He be pleased who has made all things, to whom thou hast vowed the vow." 30. And he said to Rebecca: "Go with Jacob thy son"; and Rebecca went with Jacob her son, and Deborah with her, and they came to Bethel. 31. And Jacob remembered the prayer with which his father had blessed him and his two sons, Levi and Judah, and he rejoiced and blessed the God of his fathers, Abraham and Isaac. 32. And he said: "Now I know that I have an eternal hope, and my sons also, before the God of all"; and thus is it ordained concerning the two; and they record it as an eternal testimony unto them on the heavenly tables how Isaac blessed them.

Levi's dream at Bethel, 1. *Levi chosen to the priesthood, as the tenth son*, 2-3. *Jacob celebrates the feast of tabernacles and offers tithes through Levi: also the second tithe*, 4-9. *Law of tithes ordained*, 10-15.

27. *am . . . not able to bear the way*, etc. See note on verses 3-4 for the reference to the same event in the Test. Levi 9.

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Jacob's visions in which Jacob reads on the heavenly tables his own future and that of his descendants, 16-26. *Celebrates the eighth day of feast of tabernacles*, 27-29. *Death of Deborah*, 30. *Birth of Benjamin and death of Rachel*, 33-34. (Cf. Gen. xxxv. 8, 10, 11, 13, 16-20.)

XXXII. And he abode that night at Bethel, and Levi dreamed that they had ordained and made him the priest of the Most High God, him and his sons for ever; and he awoke from his sleep and blessed the Lord. 2. And Jacob rose early in the morning, on the fourteenth of this month, and he gave a tithe of all that came with him, both of men and cattle, both of gold and every vessel and garment, yea, he gave tithes of all. 3. And in those days Rachel became pregnant with her son Benjamin. And Jacob counted his sons from him upwards and Levi fell to the portion of the

XXXII. 1. According also to Test. Levi 8, Levi had this dream at Bethel, in which seven men appeared unto him and bade him: Ἀναστὰς ἔνδυσαι τὴν στολὴν τῆς ἱερατείας, καὶ τὸν στέφανον τῆς δικαιοσύνης . . . Ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν γίνου εἰς ἱερέα κυρίου, σὺ καὶ τὸ σπέρμα σου ἕως αἰῶνος. Cf. also Test. Levi 5. In ch. 9 of the same Testament Jacob is said to have had this dream also.

Priest of the Most High God. This was the specific title chosen by the Maccabean priest-kings. Thus they are called sacerdotes summi Dei in Assumpt. Mos. vi. 1 (where my emendation is wrong): Hyrcanus II. is designated ἀρχιερεὺς θεοῦ ὑψίστου by Joseph. (*Ant.* xvi. 6. 2), and the Rosh ha-Shanah 18*b* states that it used to be said: "In such a year of Johanan priest of the Most High God." This title, anciently borne by Melchizedek (Gen. xiv. 18), was revived by the new holders of the high priesthood. Our author has Gen. xiv. 18-20 before him; for in the next verse he adopts a clause from Gen. xiv. 20: "And he gave him a tenth of all." We have seen in the note on xxxi. 18-19 that the Messiah was to spring from this family according to Test. Levi 18. The same expectation seems to be at the base of Ps. cx. 1-4, which constitutes a Messianic hymn addressed to Simeon or Simon the Maccabee. As Bickell has recognised, this Ps. forms an acrostic on the name Simeon. On the frequency of this divine title "Most High" in the second cent. B.C. see note on xxxvi. 16.

Him and his sons for ever. This phrase in the same connection is found in Test. Levi 8, already quoted above.

2. *Jacob rose early in the morning*, etc. So also Test. Levi 9: καὶ ἀναστὰς τὸ πρωὶ ἀπεδεκάτωσε πάντα δι' ἐμοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ, though here the offering is said to be through Levi.

3. *Jacob counted his sons from him* (i.e., *Benjamin*) *upwards and Levi fell to the portion of the Lord*, etc. Our text in some form was before Cedrenus, i. 60: καὶ πάντα ἀποδεκατώσας ἃ ἐκέκτητο, τελευταῖον ὑποβάλλει κλήρῳ τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ τὸν Λευὶ τῷ Θεῷ ἀφιεροῖ, ἐτῶν ὑπάρχοντα ιη' καὶ ἀρχιερέα ἀναδείκνυσι, δέκατον ὄντα ἀπὸ ἑσχάτου κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀστρολογίας (λόγον). And still more clearly before his predecessor Syncellus, i. 200: Ἰακὼβ ἀποδεκατώσας τὰ ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Λευὶ ιη' ἐτῶν ὄντα ἀρχιερέα ἀνέδειξεν, ι' ὄντα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑσχάτου κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀναστροφῆς λόγον. And again on p.

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Lord, and his father clothed him in the garments of the priesthood and filled his hands. 4. And on the fifteenth of this month, he brought to the altar fourteen oxen from amongst the cattle, and twenty-eight rams, and forty-nine sheep, and seven lambs, and twenty-one kids of the goats as a burnt-offering on the altar of sacrifice, well pleasing for a sweet savour before God. 5. This was his offering, in consequence of the vow which he had vowed that he would give a tenth, with their fruit-offerings and their drink-offerings. 6. And when the fire had consumed it, he burnt incense on the fire over the fire, and for a thank-offering two oxen and four rams and four sheep, four he-goats, and two sheep of a year old, and two kids of the goats; and thus he did daily for seven days. 7. And he and all his sons and his men were eating (this) with joy there during seven days and blessing and thanking the Lord, who had delivered him out of all his tribulation and had

207: *ἱερωσύνη τῷ Λευὶ ἐδόθη, ὅτι δέκατος ὑπάρχων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑσχάτου τῶν υἱῶν Ἰακὼβ σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι τοῦ πατρὸς τῷ Θεῷ ἀπεδεκατώθη, καθὼς προσηύξατο Ἰακὼβ λέγων, καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἂν μοι δῷς ἀποδεκατώσω αὐτά.* And on p. 211: *Λευὶ γ' υἱὸς Λείας, ι' ἀπὸ Ἰωσὴφ ἀναστρέφοντι καὶ γ' ἀπὸ Ῥουβήν, ἐγεννήθη τῷ πατριάρχῃ Ἰακὼβ ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ τῷ πβ' ἔτει αὐτοῦ, ὡς πρόδηλόν ἐστι. τοῦτον ἀριθμήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ Βενιαμὶν ἔτι ὄντος ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ Ῥαχὴλ ι' ὄντα ἐν ἄρρεσιν, ἀφιέρωσε τῷ Θεῷ καὶ ἀρχιερέα ἀνέδειξεν, ὡς Ἰώσηππος, κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀναστροφῆς λόγον, συναποδεκατώσας αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ ἀναθέμενος τῷ Θεῷ, καθὰ προσηύξατο πορευόμενος εἰς Μεσοποταμίαν, ὅτι καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἂν μοι δῷς ἀποδεκατώσω αὐτά.* Jacob's dedication of Levi as his tenth son to the priesthood is found also in P. R. Eliez. ch. 37 (Beer, *Buch d. Jub.* 36-37), though the method of reckoning is different. Jacob is said to have separated the first four sons born of his four wives and to have counted his remaining sons from Simeon to Benjamin and then to have begun again with Simeon. Levi thus came to be the tenth.

Filled his hands. The technical expression for appointment to the priesthood. Cf. Exod. xxviii. 41, xxix. 9.

4. This celebration of the feast of tabernacles is peculiar as regards the number of victims. According to the Levitical law on each of the seven days a kid of the goats was offered as a sin-offering, and two rams and fourteen lambs as a burnt-offering. Throughout the seven days seventy bullocks were offered, beginning with thirteen on the first day, the number being diminished daily till on the seventh day seven were offered. See Num. xxix. 12-40; Lev. xxiii. 34-36, 39-44.

Seven lambs. MSS = 60, but since Latin has "septem," and the heptadic system prevails, we may assume with Rönsch (p. 147) that the corruption arose from a confusion of ξ' and ζ'.

One. MSS = 9. Emended with Latin "unum." Corruption possibly due to confusion of *ἐννέα* and *ἕνα* (Rönsch).

5. Cf. Gen. xxviii. 22.

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given him his vow. 8. And he tithed all the clean animals, and made a burnt sacrifice, but the unclean animals he gave (not) to Levi his son, and he gave him all the souls of the men. 9. And Levi discharged the priestly office at Bethel before Jacob his father in preference to his ten brothers, and he was a priest there, and Jacob gave his vow: thus he tithed again the tithe to the Lord and sanctified it, and it became holy unto Him. 10. And for this reason it is ordained on the heavenly tables as a law for the tithing again the tithe to eat before the Lord from year to year, in the place where it is chosen that His name should dwell, and to this law there is no limit of days for ever. 11. This ordinance is written that it may be fulfilled from year to year in eating the second tithe before the Lord in the place where it has been chosen, and nothing shall remain over from it from this year to the year following. 12. For in its year shall the seed be eaten till the days of the gathering of the seed of the year, and the wine till the days of the wine, and the oil till the days of its season. 13. And all that is left thereof and becomes old, let it be regarded as polluted: let it be burnt with fire, for it is unclean. 14. And thus let them eat it together in the sanctuary, and let them not suffer it to become old. 15. And all the tithes of the oxen and sheep shall be holy unto the Lord, and shall

8. *The unclean animals he gave (not) to Levi.* I have supplied the negative. In Test. Levi 9 Levi says that Jacob ἀπεδεκάτωσε πάντα δι' ἐμοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ. Our text would limit this to the clean animals.

Gave him all the souls of the men. Levi was to exercise his priestly functions on behalf of these.

9. *Discharged the priestly office*, or "was constituted a priest."

Tithed again the tithe to the Lord. Cf. Num. xviii. 26.

10. *To eat before the Lord*, etc. Our text holds closely to the law in Deut. xiv. 22 sq. Cf. Tobit i. 7.

11. *The second tithe* (so *a*). *b c d* "the tithe again."

15. *The tithes of the oxen and sheep.* These tithes are mentioned in the O.T. only in Lev. xxvii. 32 and 2 Chron. xxxi. 6. They were unknown to Nehemiah (x. 37-39, xii. 44-47, xiii. 5, 12). Our author took this law of tithing literally, but rabbinic tradition (Rosh ha-Shanah i. 1, quoted by Dillmann on Lev. xxvii. 32) sought to weaken the statement, and made it out to be merely a tithe of the yearly increase, but the context offers not the slightest justification for this step (see Bertholet on Lev. *in loc.*). See our text xiii. 26.

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belong to His priests, which they will eat before Him from year to year; for thus is it ordained and engraven regarding the tithe on the heavenly tables. 16. And on the following night, on the twenty-second day of this month, Jacob resolved to build that place, and to surround the court with a wall, and to sanctify it and make it holy for ever, for himself and his children after him. 17. And the Lord appeared to him by night and blessed him and said unto him: 'Thy name shall not be called Jacob, but Israel shall they name thy name." 18. And He said unto him again: "I am the Lord who created the heaven and the earth, and I shall increase thee and multiply thee exceedingly, and kings will come forth from thee, and they will judge everywhere whereever the foot of the sons of men has trodden. 19. And I shall give to thy seed all the earth which is under heaven, and they will judge all the nations according to their desires, and after that they will get possession of the whole earth and inherit it for ever." 20. And He finished speaking with him, and He went up from him, and Jacob looked till He had ascended into heaven. 21. And he saw in a vision of the night, and behold an angel descended from heaven with seven tablets in his hands, and he gave them to Jacob, and he read them and knew all that was written therein which would befall him and his sons throughout all the ages. 22. And he showed him all that was written on the tablets, and said unto him: "Do not build this place, and do not make it an eternal sanctuary, and do not dwell here; for this is not the place. Go to the house of Abraham thy father and dwell with Isaac thy father until the day of the death of thy father. 23. For in Egypt thou wilt die

17-18. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 10-11.

19. Our author here forsakes Gen. xxxv. 12 and promises to Israel the possession of the whole earth.

All the earth. Latin has: universas benedictiones, and perhaps rightly.

20. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 13.

21. *Tablets.* Cf. 4 Ezra xiv. 24.

Knew. Emended with Latin "cognovit." Text = "read." But probably for "read and knew" we should read "read," see Introd. p. xli sq.

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in peace, and in this land thou wilt be buried with honour in the sepulchre of thy fathers, with Abraham and Isaac. 24. Fear not, for as thou hast seen and read it, thus will it all be; and do thou write down everything as thou hast seen and read." 25. And Jacob said: "Lord, how can I remember all that I have read and seen?" And he said unto him: "I will bring all things to thy remembrance." 26. And he went up from him, and he awoke from his sleep, and he remembered everything which he had read and seen, and he wrote down all the words which he had read and seen. 27. And he celebrated there yet another day, and he sacrificed thereon according to all that he sacrificed on the former days, and called its name †"Addition,"† for †this day was added,† and the former days he called "The Feast." 28. And thus it was manifested that it should be, and it is written on the heavenly tables: wherefore it was revealed to him that he should celebrate it, and add it to the seven days

Our text seems to be the source of the words ascribed by Origen (Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 761) to the Prayer of Joseph: Διόπερ ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ δύναται οὕτω νοεῖσθαι τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰακώβ. ἀνέγνων γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πλαξὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὅσα συμβήσεται ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς ὑμῶν. Cf. xlv. 14.

25. *Will bring all things*, etc. Cf. John xiv. 26, where the Paraclete ὑπομνήσει ὑμᾶς πάντα.

27. †*Addition*†. This eighth day after the seven days of the feast of tabernacles was called עֲצֶרֶת (2 Chron. vii. 9), in New Hebrew עֲצֶרְתָּא (Joseph. *Ant.* iii. 10. 6, Ἀσάρτα): likewise the seventh day of the Passover feast. The translation in our text, "addition," points to some corruption in the Greek or Hebrew. The Latin "retentatio" is a possible rendering. Rönsch suggests that ἐπίσχεσις stood in the Greek version but was corrupted into ἐπίθεσις in the copy before the Ethiopic translator. Hence we might render: "Called its name 'a keeping back' for on that day he was kept back." Thus our author connects the origin of this additional feast-day with Jacob's detention an eighth day in Bethel. In the Talmud (Chag. 18*a*) the idea of "keeping back" (in עצר) is connected with work. For it states that on the seventh day of the Passover "there must be a keeping back from every kind of work" (חשביעי עצור בכל מלאכה). See Levy's *Neuhebr. Lexicon*, iii. 680. Scholars are now generally agreed that the word עצרת means "sacred assembly."

†*This day was added*†. Here we must suppose ἐπετέθη as corrupt for ἐπεσχέθη. See rendering proposed in preceding note. The last clause of the next verse may have given rise to the corruption or wrong correction.

The Feast. This agrees exactly with rabbinic usage. The feast of tabernacles was called חג = "the Feast." Cf. Sukk. 42*b*, 48*a*. Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 4. 1) designates it as ἑορτὴ ἁγιωτάτη καὶ μεγίστη and Philo ἑορτῶν μεγίστη.

29. A very corrupt verse in the Ethiopic and partially corrupt in the Latin. The restored translation is given below.

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of the feast. 29. And its name was called †"Addition,"† †because that† it was recorded amongst the days of the feast days, †according to† the number of the days of the year. 30. And in the night, on the twenty-third of this month, Deborah Rebecca's nurse died, and they buried her beneath the city under the oak of the river, and he called the name of this place, "The river of Deborah," and the oak, "The oak of the mourning of Deborah." 31. And Rebecca went and returned to her house to his father Isaac, and Jacob sent by her hand rams and sheep and he-goats that she should prepare a meal for his father such as he desired. 32. And he went after his mother till he came to the land of Kabrâtân, and he dwelt there. 33. And Rachel bare a son in the night, and called his name "Son of my sorrow"; for she suffered in giving him birth: but his father called his name Benjamin, on the eleventh of the eighth month in the
2143 A.M. first of the sixth week of this jubilee. 34. And Rachel died there and she was buried in the land of Ephrath, the same is Bethlehem, and Jacob built a pillar on the grave of Rachel, on the road above her grave.

†*Addition*†. See note on ver. 27.

†*Because that*†. The Ethiopic has a peculiar phrase here 'esma 'enta which usually = nam quod, but since an analogous yet rare phrase kama enta = quasi occurs in xliii. 19, xlviii. 13, we may take it that 'esma 'enta = propter quod as the Latin version has it. But this gives no right sense. The reason of the name is not given here but in ver. 27. Hence I suggest that propter quod = διότι = ב, which the Greek translator should have rendered in this context by ὅτε.

It was recorded. Text of MSS ungrammatical, but by a change of vocalisation in one letter we arrive at the above.

Amongst the days = ba 'ĕlâta emended with Latin "in dies" from basĕm'a = "for a testimony" (*b d*). *c* has basalâm = "in peace."

†*According to*†. Here we expect "in." Accordingly I suggest that we have here an original corruption of ב into כ. Thus the whole verse should run: "And its name was called 'a keeping back' (*i.e.* עצרת), when it was recorded amongst the days of the feast-days in the number of the days of the year."

30. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 8. Deborah dies on the eighth day of the feast of tabernacles.

Of this place. So *d*, Latin and Vulg. Gen. xxxv. 8 = "of this place." *b c* = "of this river." *a* omits.

32-34. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 16, 18-20.

32. *Land of Kabrâtân*. This goes back to כברת הארץ = "some distance" in Gen. xxxv. 16, but the translation like that of the LXX (Χαβραθα) took כברת to be a proper name.

34. *Rachel died*. According to Book of Jashar (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1172) Rachel was only forty-five years old.

In the land of Ephrath. Gen. xxxv 19, "in the way to Ephrath."

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Reuben sins with Bilhah, 1-9 (cf. Gen. xxxv. 21, 22). *Laws regarding incest*, 10-20. *Jacob's children*, 22. (Cf. Gen. xxxv. 23-27.)

XXXIII. And Jacob went and dwelt to the south of Magdalâdrâ'êf. And he went to his father Isaac, he and Leah his wife, on the new moon of the tenth month. 2. And Reuben saw Bilhah, Rachel's maid, the concubine of his father, bathing in water in a secret place, and he loved her. 3. And he hid himself at night, and he entered the house of Bilhah [at night], and he found her sleeping alone on a bed in her house. 4. And he lay with her, and she awoke and saw, and behold Reuben was lying with her in the bed, and she uncovered the border of her covering and seized him, and cried out, and discovered that it was Reuben. 5. And she was ashamed because of him, and released her hand from him, and he fled. 6. And she lamented because of this thing exceedingly, and did not tell it to any one. 7. And when Jacob returned and sought her, she said unto

XXXIII. 1. *To the south of Magdalâdrâ'êf.* This name is a compression of מגדל־עדר אפרת, "the tower of Eder of Ephrath," Gen. xxxv. 21. See a probably corrupt form of this name in xxxiv. 15. In Test. Reuben 3, where the same scene is recounted, we have ἐν Γαδὲρ πλησίον Ἐφραθά.

And he went to his father Isaac . . . 2. *And Reuben saw Bilhah*, etc. It was during Jacob's absence with Isaac that the outrage was done. So Test. Reuben 3: ἀπόντος γὰρ Ἰακὼβ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν πρὸς Ἰσαὰκ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ, ὄντων ἡμῶν ἐν Γαδέρ, πλησίον Ἐφραθὰ οἴκου Βηθλεέμ, Βάλλα . . . ἀκάλυφος κατέκειτο ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνι.

2. *Saw Bilhah . . . bathing*, etc. Cf. Test. Reuben 3: εἰ μὴ γὰρ εἶδον ἐγὼ Βάλλαν λουομένην ἐν σκεπινῷ τόπῳ, κ.τ.λ. A very different account of Reuben's conduct appears in later works: Gen. rabba 98, 99; Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxxv. 22, Shabb. 55 *b* and the Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* 1172). In these passages Reuben's guilt is denied absolutely. These writings state that on Rachel's death Jacob settled in the tent of Bilhah her handmaid, and that Reuben, being indignant on behalf of his mother Leah, went into Bilhah's tent and withdrew his father's couch from it, or threw Bilhah's couch into disorder etc., and that on this ground the Scripture held that he lay with Bilhah. In Shabb. 55 *b* it is recounted that the earlier teachers, R. Joshua and R. Eliezer, accepted the narrative in Gen. xxxv. 22.

3. *And he hid himself . . . house of Bilhah [at night].* Latin is preferable: Et introivit nocte occulte ad Ballan. The second "at night" is a dittography.

4. *He lay with her, and she awoke.* Test. Reuben 3 agrees with this: κἀγὼ εἰσελθών . . . ἔπραξα τὴν ἀσέβειαν, καί, καταλιπὼν αὐτὴν κοιμωμένην, ἐξῆλθον.

5. *She was ashamed because of him.* Latin: confusus est ab ea.

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him: "I am not clean for thee, for I have been defiled as regards thee; for Reuben has defiled me, and has lain with me in the night, and I was asleep, and did not discover until he uncovered my skirt and slept with me." 8. And Jacob was exceedingly wroth with Reuben because he had lain with Bilhah, because he had uncovered his father's skirt. 9. And Jacob did not approach her again because Reuben had defiled her. And as for any man who uncovers his father's skirt his deed is wicked exceedingly, for he is abominable before the Lord. 10. For this reason it is written and ordained on the heavenly tables that a man should not lie with his father's wife, and should not uncover his father's skirt, for this is unclean: they shall surely die together, the man who lies with his father's wife and the woman also, for they have wrought uncleanness on the earth. 11. And there shall be nothing unclean before our God in the nation which He has chosen for Himself as a possession. 12. And again, it is written a second time: "Cursed be he who lieth with the wife of his father, for he hath uncovered his father's shame"; and all the holy ones of the Lord said "So be it; so be it." 13. And do thou, Moses, command the children of Israel that they observe this word; for it (entails) a punishment of death; and it is unclean, and there is no atonement for ever to atone for the man who has committed this, but he is to be put to death and slain, and stoned with stones, and rooted out from the midst of the people of our God. 14. For to no man who does so in Israel is it permitted to remain alive a single day on the earth, for he is abominable and unclean. 15. And let them not say: to Reuben was granted life and forgiveness after

7. Test. Reuben 3 represents Jacob receiving this information from an angel.

Uncovered my skirt. Cf. Deut. xxii. 30.

9. *Did not approach her again.* So Test. Reuben 3: μηκέτι ἁψάμενος αὐτῆς.

10. *They shall surely die.* So Lev. xx. 11.

12. Cf. Deut. xxii. 30.

13. *A punishment of death* = κρίσις θανάτου = מִשְׁפַּט־מָוֶת (Jer xx. 16).

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he had lain with his father's concubine, and to her also though she had a husband, and her husband Jacob, his father, was still alive. 16. For until that time there had not been revealed the ordinance and judgment and law in its completeness for all, but in thy days (it has been revealed) as a law of seasons and of days, and an everlasting law for the everlasting generations. 17. And for this law there is no consummation of days, and no atonement for it, but they must both be rooted out in the midst of the nation: on the day whereon they committed it they shall slay them. 18. And do thou, Moses, write (it) down for Israel that they may observe it, and do according to these words, and not commit a sin unto death; for the Lord our God is judge, who respects not persons and accepts not gifts. 19. And tell them these words of the covenant, that they may hear and observe, and be on their guard with respect to them, and not be destroyed and rooted out of the land; for an uncleanness, and an abomination, and a contamination, and a pollution are all they who commit it on the earth before our God. 20. And there is no greater sin than the fornication which they commit on earth; for Israel is a holy nation unto the Lord its God, and a nation of inheritance, and a priestly and royal nation and for (His own) possession; and there shall no such uncleanness appear in the midst of the holy nation. 21. And in the third year of this sixth week Jacob and all 2145 A.M. his sons went and dwelt in the house of Abraham, near Isaac his father and Rebecca his mother. 22. And these were the names of the sons of Jacob: the first-born Reuben,

16. Our author here anticipates the Pauline doctrine: "where there is no law there is no transgression" (Rom. iv. 15).

18. *Sin unto death.* See note on xxi. 22.

Who respects not persons, etc. Cf. v. 16, xl. 8.

20. See note on xvi. 18.

A priestly and royal nation and for (His own) possession = λαὸς ἱερατικὸς καὶ βασιλικὸς καὶ περιούσιος (or οὐσίας). Cf. Latin populus sacerdotalis et regalis et †sanctificationis†. Here, as in xvi. 18, xix. 18 above, the Latin has mistranslated περιούσιος or οὐσίας as ὅσιος.

Royal nation (*a*). Literally = "nation of a kingdom." Cf. Latin (populus) regalis. *c d* = "of a kingdom."

22. Cf. Gen. xxx. 23-27.

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Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulon, the sons of Leah; and the sons of Rachel, Joseph and Benjamin; and the sons of Bilhah, Dan and Naphtali; and the sons of Zilpah, Gad and Asher; and Dinah, the daughter of Leah, the only daughter of Jacob. 23. And they came and bowed themselves to Isaac and Rebecca, and when they saw them they blessed Jacob and all his sons, and Isaac rejoiced exceedingly, for he saw the sons of Jacob, his younger son, and he blessed them.

Warfare of the Amorite kings against Jacob and his sons, 1-9. *Jacob sends Joseph to visit his brethren*, 10. *Joseph sold and carried down into Egypt*, 11-12 (cf. Gen. xxxvii. 14, 17, 18, 25, 32-36). *Deaths of Bilhah and Dinah*, 15. *Jacob mourns for Joseph*, 13, 14, 17. *Institution of Day of Atonement on day when news of Joseph's death arrived*, 18-19. *Wives of Jacob's sons*, 20-21.

2148 A.M. XXXIV. And in the sixth year of this week of this forty-fourth jubilee Jacob sent his sons to pasture their sheep, and his servants with them, to the pastures of Shechem. 2. And the seven kings of the Amorites assembled themselves together against them, to slay them, hiding themselves under the trees, and to take their cattle

[r] XXXIV. 1. *His servants* (*b c d*). *a* reads "their servants."

2. *Kings of the Amorites assembled . . . to slay them.* This clause is found also in the Midrash Wajjissau in this connection.

Hiding themselves. Latin gives "et sederunt." This seems right; for there is no hint of their hiding in any of the other versions of this legend.

2-8. In these verses we have a short outline of an ancient legend which, already attested in Gen. xlviii. 22, tells of Jacob's conquest of Shechem (see xlv. 14 and notes on p. 201), and is probably here recast so as to call to mind some of the great victories of the Maccabees (see below). A fuller account of this legend is given in Test. Judah 3-7, and a still fuller in the Midrash Wajjissau which is translated by Gaster in the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, 1899, pp. 80-87. I have introduced some corrections into this translation from a comparison of the Hebrew MS in the Bodleian, though I have not seen the British Museum MS from which Gaster has drawn occasional phrases. A version almost identical with that of Gaster's has been preserved in the Jalkut Shimeoni i. 40 *d*-41 *b*, and has been

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as a prey. 3. And Jacob and Levi and Judah and Joseph were in the house with Isaac their father; for his spirit was sorrowful, and they could not leave him: and Benjamin was the youngest, and for this reason remained with his father. 4. And there came the king[s] of Tâphû, and the king[s] of †'Arêsa,† and the king[s] of Sêrâgân, and the king[s] of Sêlô, and the king[s] of Gâ'as, and the king of Bêthôrôn, and the king of †Ma'anîsâkîr,† and all those who dwell in these mountains (and) who dwell in the woods in the land of Canaan. 5. And they announced this to Jacob saying: "Behold, the kings of the Amorites have surrounded thy sons, and plundered their herds." 6. And he arose from his house, he and his three sons and all the servants of

reprinted by Jellinek in his *Bet ha-Midrasch*, iii. 1-5. A German translation of part of this Midrash by Jellinek will be found in Rönsch, 390-394. From a comparison of the Hebrew text I have observed that this translation has been carelessly edited in one or more points. Thus on p. 393 line 11 instead of "Pasasi von Aram" we should read "Pasusi, König von Sartan, und Laban, König von Aram." A much enlarged and elaborated form of the legend is given in the Book of Jashar (see the French translation: *Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1173-1184). So far as I have compared this translation and the text it is trustworthy. A short but interesting study of this subject has appeared from the pen of Bousset in the *Z. f. NTliche Wissenschaft*, 1890, pp. 202-204, but in some cases he has been misled by the translations, and in others I have been obliged to disagree with his identifications.

A full treatment of this legend belongs rather to the Test. Judah 3-7, where the order of events corresponds closely with that in the Midrash Wajjissau, and in many cases presupposes details which are found in that Midrash. That some form of this legend is very ancient is attested by the fact that it is referred to in Gen. xlviii. 22 where Jacob declares: "I have given to thee one portion (שְׁכֶם אֶחָד) above thy brethren, which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow." So the Rev. Version following the rendering of Onkelos and the Syriac. But as most scholars are now agreed, שכם here refers to Shechem. So anciently also the LXX (Σίκιμα) and Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xlviii. 22 (קרתא דשכם, the city of Shechem). Thus our verse points to an overthrow of Shechem by all Israel under Jacob's direction, and the fact that Jacob makes it over to one of his sons to the exclusion of the rest can only be justified by the further fact that he was the personal leader of the war and had captured Shechem with his sword and with his bow (see Holzinger's Commentary *in loc.*). Thus this form of the story differs clearly from that in Gen. xxxiv. There Jacob has no part whatever in the onslaught on Shechem and is subsequently hostile to its authors (xxxiv. 30, xlix. 5-7). But the possibly older account has survived in the present work as in Gen. xlviii. 22. Before we pass on, we might observe that later rabbinic tradition changed "sword and bow" into "merits and good deeds" Targ. Jerus. *in loc.*; Gen. rabba 97 (to these Beer (*Buch d. Jub.* p. 3) adds: Baba bathra 123 *a*), and in a corrupt text of Onkelos we find "prayer and supplication."

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his father, and his own servants, and he went against them with six thousand men, who carried swords. 7. And he

Returning now to the legend in our text, I append here a table in which the proper names in the various authorities are compared.

	Jubilees.	Test. Judah chs. 3-7.	Midrash Wajjissau in Bodleian MS used by Gaster, with the forms in Jellinek's text in brackets when these differ.	Book of Jashar.
1	Tâphû	Ταφουέ	(1) Jashub of Tappuach	(1) Jashub of Tappuach
2	'Arêsa	'Ασούρ (MS O, corrupt for 'Ασώρ = חצור)	(4) Pir'athaho of Hazor	(4) Parathon of Hazor (wanting on ii. 1173-1174, but Hazor is mentioned on 1176, 1182)
3	Sêrâgân	'Αρεταάν	(5) Susi of Sartan [Pasusi of Sartan]	(5) Sartan
4	Sêlô	Σηλώμ	(3) Shilo [Zerori of Shiloh]	(3) Ihuri (איהורי) of Shiloh
5	Gâ'as	Γαάς (MSS OR)	(2) Gaash [Ilon of Gaash]	(2) Ilon (אילון) of Gaash
6	Bêthôrôn	Αχωρ (? for Χωράν. Χωρα in an Arm. MS)	(6) Laban of Cheldon (so Bodleian Hebrew MS. British Museum MS may have "Horan")[Laban of Aram]	(6) Laban of Bethoron
7	Ma'anîsâkîr (corrupt for Shakir-Maani)	Μαχιρ [compressed from Μαχανισακιρ. Cf. form in Jubilees]	(7) Shakir of Machnah [Shebir of Machnaim]	(7) Shakir of Machnaim

3. *Sorrowful.* Latin is "pusillanimes."

4. *King[s] of Tâphû.* In this and all the other cases in this verse we should read "king" and not the plural. The Latin has the singular in all the instances but one. Tâphû is to be identified with Τεφών in 1 Macc. and this with Tappuah in Jos. xv. 53, xvi. 8. It was fortified by Bacchides against Jonathan (1 Macc. ix. 50).

†*'Arêsa.*† This is corrupt for Aser (cf. Tobit i. 2, 'Ασήρ) or rather Asor, *i.e.*, Hazor (חצור). See above table. At Hazor, according to 1 Macc. xi. 67 sqq.; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 5. 7, Jonathan won a great victory over the Syrians. Parathon, who was king of Hazor (see table above), is of the same name as one of the cities fortified by Bacchides (1 Macc. ix. 50).

Sêrâgân. In the Hebrew authorities this word appears as Sartan. I can discover nothing further about it.

Sêlô. This is Shiloh. See above table.

Gâ'as. This may be the Gaash (געש) in the hill-country of Ephraim, where Joshua was buried (Jos. xxiv. 30; Judg. ii. 9).

Bêthôrôn. The city Bethhoron was closely associated with the victories of the Maccabees. Thus Judas defeated Seron, a Syrian general, in the neighbourhood of Bethhoron and put 800 of his troops to the sword (1 Macc. iii. 13-24; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 7. 1). A few years later it was the scene of

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slew them in the pastures of Shechem, and pursued those who fled, and he slew them with the edge of the sword, and he slew †'Arêsa† and Tâphû and Sarêgân and Sêlô and †'Amânîsakîr† and Gâ[gâ]'as, and he recovered his herds. 8. And he prevailed over them, and imposed tribute on them that they should pay him tribute, five fruit products of their land, and he built Rôbêl and Tamnâtârês. 9. And

Judas's great victory over Nicanor when 9000 Syrians were slain (1 Macc. vii. 39-47; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 10. 5). It was subsequently fortified by Bacchides against Jonathan (1 Macc. ix. 50; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 1. 3).

†*Ma'anisâkîr.*† This is corrupt for *Shakirmaani* or Shakir, king of Mahanaim. See table above.

(*And*). Supplied from Latin.

6. *Six thousand* (*a b d*). *c* gives 800.

7. According to our text six kings were slain out of the seven. This agrees with Test. Jud. 4.

8-9. With this passage cf. Test. Jud. 7: ἐδεήθησαν τοῦ πατρός μου καὶ ἐποίησεν εἰρήνην μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἐποιήσαμεν αὐτοῖς οὐθὲν κακόν, ἀλλ' ἐποιήσαμεν αὐτοὺς ὑποσπόνδους, καὶ ἀπεδώκαμεν αὐτοῖς πᾶσαν τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν. καὶ ᾠκοδόμησα ἐγὼ τὴν Θάμνα καὶ ὁ πατήρ μου τὴν Ῥαβαήλ (O, Ῥοβαήλ P). It will be observed that whereas in our text Jacob recovers his herds, in the Test. Jud. the sons of Jacob restore to the Amorites the herds which they had taken from them. This divergence in the tradition is seen also in the Hebrew versions. Thus the Yalkut (in Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrasch*) supports our text: "All the Amorites . . . came without arms . . . and besought them to make peace, and they made peace with them and gave them Timna (תמנה) and all the land of Hararya (הרריה). And then Jacob made peace with them, and they delivered up to the sons of Jacob all the cattle which they had taken from them, (returning) two for each one, and they gave them tribute, and returned (והחזירו) to them all the booty; and Jacob turned to Timnah and Judah to Arbael (ארבאל)." On the other hand Gaster's translation of the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* (pp. 83-84) supports the view in the Test. Jud.: "All the Amorites came without arms and promised to keep peace (and friendship, and they gave unto Jacob Timn'a and the whole land of Hararyah). Then Jacob made peace with them, and the sons of Jacob restored them all the sheep they had captured from them, and in returning them gave double, two for one. And Jacob built Timnah (תימנה) and Judah built Zabel (זבאל)." This translation does not represent the Bodleian MS, which (fol. 30 *a*) runs as follows: "All the Amorites . . . came to them without arms and surrendered themselves to be their hirelings, and they made peace with them, and they gave a present and they restored to them Jacob (sic, here I think the ungrammatical לחם יעקב is corrupt rather for לבני יעקב: hence "restored to the sons of Jacob" as in the Yalkut and our text; or for בני יעקב: hence "the sons of Jacob restored" as we presume is the text of the British Museum MS occasionally used by Gaster) all the cattle which they had captured twice over, and they restored (reading והחזירו instead of the intransitive חזרו) the booty and Jacob built (sic) and also Judah (sic)." The Bodleian MS mentions no towns. The view represented in the Test. Jud. has thus no indubitable support in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel. It has such, however, in the Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1184): Les fils de Jacob . . . leur rendirent tous les hommes qu'ils avaient emmenés prisonniers . . . et autre butin."

8. *Rôbêl.* This is most probably corrupt for Arbael, cf. Jalkut (ארבאל) quoted in preceding note. Thus Arbael appears in Test. Jud. 7 as Ῥαβαήλ (O) or Ῥοβαήλ (P), Ῥαμβαήλ (CR); זבאל apparently in the Brit. Museum

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he returned in peace, and made peace with them, and they became his servants, until the day that he and his sons went down into Egypt. 10. And in the seventh year of
2149 A.M. this week he sent Joseph to learn about the welfare of his brothers from his house to the land of Shechem, and he found them in the land of Dothan. 11. And they dealt treacherously with him, and formed a plot against him to slay him, but changing their minds, they sold him to Ishmaelite merchants, and they brought him down into Egypt, and they sold him to Potiphar, the eunuch of Pharaoh, the chief of the cooks, priest of the city of 'Êlêw. 12. And the sons of Jacob slaughtered a kid, and dipped the coat of Joseph in the blood, and sent (it) to Jacob their father on the tenth of the seventh month. 13. And he mourned all that night, for they had brought it to him in the evening, and he became feverish with mourning for his death, and he said: "An evil beast hath devoured Joseph"; and all the members of his house [mourned with him that day, and they] were grieving and mourning with him all that day. 14. And his sons and

MS used by Gaster but not in the Bodleian (see preceding note). We have here most probably the stronghold Arbela mentioned in 1 Macc. ix. 2, where it is said that Bacchides and Alcimus "went by the way that leadeth to Galgala and encamped against Mesaloth which is in Arbela (Μεσσαλὼθ τὴν ἐν Ἀρβήλοις) and got possession of it" (cf. Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 11. 1). Here it seems best with Tuch and Wellhausen to read Μεσαδωθ = מצודות = "strongholds" (see *Encyc. Bib.* i. 291). Arbela is mentioned in the Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1178) as one of the cities put to the sword by the sons of Jacob in this war.

Tamnâtârês = Θαμναθάρες = תמנת־חרס, Judg. ii. 9. This appears as Timna (תמנה) in the Jalkut: see note on verses 8-9. It was one of the cities fortified by Bacchides against Jonathan (1 Macc. ix. 50).

9. *Made peace with them, and they became his servants.* The Hebrew for these words is preserved in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel; see note on verses 8-9.

10-11. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 12, 13, 17, 20, 28, 36.

10. *Dothan.* Eth. Dôthâ'îm.

11. *Eunuch of Pharaoh.* Here "Eunuch" goes back to סרים. But this word need not be taken literally but simply as meaning "a court official"; cf. 2 Kings xxv. 19.

Chief of the cooks. Cf. xxxix. 2, 14, xl. 10. Our text and the LXX of Gen. xxxvii. 36 wrongly take שר־הטבחים as = ἀρχιμάγειρος. It should be "captain of the body-guard."

City of 'Êlêw = Ἡλίου πόλεως (cf. LXX Gen. xli. 45, 50, xlvi. 20), *i.e.* On (אן).

12-14. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 31-35.

13. [*Mourned with him that day, and they*]. Bracketed as a dittography.

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his daughter rose up to comfort him, but he refused to be comforted for his son. 15. And on that day Bilhah heard that Joseph had perished, and she died mourning him, and she was living in †Qafrâtêf,† and Dinah also, his daughter, died after Joseph had perished. And there came these three mournings upon Israel in one month. 16. And they buried Bilhah over against the tomb of Rachel, and Dinah also, his daughter, they buried there. 17. And he mourned for Joseph one year, and did not cease, for he said "Let me go down to the grave mourning for my son." 18. For this reason it is ordained for the children of Israel that they should afflict themselves on the tenth of the seventh month—on the day that the news which made him weep for Joseph came to Jacob his father—that they should make atonement for themselves thereon with a young goat on the tenth of the seventh month, once a year, for their sins; for they had grieved the affection of their father regarding Joseph his son. 19. And this day has been ordained that they should grieve thereon for their sins, and for all their transgressions and for all their errors, so that they might cleanse themselves on that day once a year. 20. And after Joseph perished, the sons of Jacob took unto themselves wives. The name of Reuben's wife is 'Adâ; and the name of Simeon's wife is 'Adîbâ'a, a Canaanite; and the

15. *Qafrâtêf* (*b* and so almost *a*). *c* reads Qarâftîfâ. These may be corruptions of "Eder of Ephrath," which was at one time the abode of Jacob. See xxxiii. 1 note. Or more probably Qafrâtêf is the same as Kabrâtân in xxxii. 32, where see note.

Dinah. According to Gen. rabba 80 Dinah married Simeon; according to Ps.-Philo, *Ant. bibl. Lib.* p. 51, she married Job.

17. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 35.

18-19. Cf. Lev. xvi. 29, 34, 15, 16.—Haggada knows nothing of this institution of the Day of Atonement. See notes on v. 17-18 which possibly belong to this context.

18. *Afflict themselves.* This phrase (= ταπεινοῦν τὴν ψυχήν, עַנֵּה נַפְשׁ) is a technical designation for fasting: see Lev. xvi. 31, xxiii. 27, 32; Ezra viii. 21; Dan. x. 12. So used in the Mishna: תַּעֲנִית = "fasting."

20. For the list of these names in the Syriac Fragment see my text, p. 183. A different list is given in the Book of Jashar, *Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1198.

'Adâ. So Syriac Fragment. Book of Jashar gives Elioram, daughter of Havi, a Canaanitess.

'Adîbâ'a, a Canaanite. This is referred to in Gen. xlvi. 10; Exod. vi. 15 where Shaul a son of Levi is said to

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name of Levi's wife is Mêlkâ, of the daughters of Aram, of the seed of the sons of Terah; and the name of Judah's wife, Bêtasû'êl, a Canaanite; and the name of Issachar's wife, Ḥêzaqâ; and the name of Zebulon's wife, †Nî'îmân†; and the name of Dan's wife, 'Êglâ; and the name of Naphtali's wife, Rasû'û, of Mesopotamia; and the name of Gad's wife, Mâka; and the name of Asher's wife, 'Îjônâ; and the name of Joseph's wife, Asenath, the Egyptian; and the name of Benjamin's wife, 'Îjasaka. 21. And Simeon repented, and took a second wife from Mesopotamia as his brothers.

be the son of a Canaanitish woman. Since such a marriage was an abomination for which death was the penalty, cf. xxx. 7 sqq., it is to our author's credit that he has not sought to explain away the statement in Gen. xlvi. 10. 'Adibâa may be corrupt; for the Syriac Fragment has ܐܕܒܐ, and Book of Jashar "Buna." Later rabbinic tradition sought to explain this away. According to Gen. rabba 80 Shaul the son of the Canaanitish woman is said to be the son of Dinah, who was deflowered by Shechem. The Rabbis say that Simeon married her (so also Book of Jashar, *op. cit.* ii. 1198). Another evasion is found in Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xlvi. 10 where Shaul is said to be "Zimri who did the work of the Canaanites in Shittim"; and in Sanh. 82 *b*, Shaul is said to have been called "the son of a Canaanite" "because he had committed an act like that of Canaan" (see Beer, *Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 51 sq.).

Mêlkâ. So also in Test. Levi 11 and Syriac Fragment. Bk. of Jashar "Adina," daughter of Jobab, son of Joctan, son of Heber.

Terah. Eth. Târân.

Betasû'êl. Cf. xli. 7. So also in Test. Jud. 8, 13, 16 where the name appears variously as Βησσούς, Βησουέ, Βισσουέ. These are all derived from בת־שוע, "the daughter of Shua": see Gen. xxxviii. 2 and Syriac Fragment ܒܬ ܫܘܥ. The Bk. of Jashar gives her personal name as "Habith." She is here and in Test. Jud. 13, 16 and Bk. of Jashar called a Canaanitess. Here again the rabbinic tradition felt this an offence. Accordingly in some of the MSS of Onkelos on Gen. xxxviii. 2 איש כנעני is rendered by גבר תגרא, "a merchant." Similarly in Ps.-Jon. on the same passage: also in Gen. rabba 85; Pessach. 50 *a*. Simeon ben Lakish (*circ.* 200-250 A.D.) gave this interpretation on the ground of Hosea xii. 7, where he evidently took כנעני in the sense of "trader," "merchant."

Ḥêzaqâ. Syr. Frag. ܚܙܩܐ Bk. of Jashar, "Arida."

†*Nî'îmân*†. Since *abd* omit this name it may be the invention of an Ethiopic scribe. Furthermore the Syr. Frag. gives ܐܘܕܢ, "Adni." Bk. of Jashar, "Marusa."

'Êglâ. Syr. Frag. ܥܓܠܐ. Bk. of Jashar, "Aphlalath."

Rasû'û. Syr. Frag. ܪܫܘ̈ܬ. Bk. of Jashar, "Merimath."

Mâka. Syr. Frag. ܡܟܟܐ. Bk. of Jashar, "Usith," a daughter of Emoram, son of Hus, son of Nachor." The Syr. Frag. makes Ma'aka also to be of the house of Nachor.

'Îjônâ. Syr. Frag. ܥܝܕܢ Bk. of Jashar, first "Edon" and next "Hadora."

Asenath. Eth 'Asnêth. Cf. Gen. xli. 45.

'Îjasaka. Syr. Frag. ܟܣܒܠܐ Bk. of Jashar, "Mahalia" and "Harbath."

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Rebecca's admonition to Jacob and his reply, 1-8. *Rebecca asks Isaac to make Esau swear that he will not injure Jacob*, 9-12. *Isaac consents*, 13-17. *Esau takes the oath and likewise Jacob*, 18-26. *Death of Rebecca*, 27.

XXXV. And in the first year of the first week of the forty-fifth jubilee Rebecca called Jacob, her son, and commanded him regarding his father and regarding his brother, that he should honour them all the days of his life. 2. And Jacob said: "I will do everything as thou hast commanded me; for this thing will be honour and greatness to me, and righteousness before the Lord, that I should honour them. 3. And thou too, mother, knowest from the time I was born until this day, all my deeds and all that is in my heart, that I always think good concerning all. 4. And how should I not do this thing which thou hast commanded me, that I should honour my father and my brother! 5. Tell me, mother, what perversity hast thou seen in me and I shall turn away from it, and mercy will be upon me." 6. And she said unto him: "My son, I have not seen in thee all my days any perverse but (only) upright deeds. And yet I shall tell thee the truth, my son: I shall die this year, and I shall not survive this year in my life; for I have seen in a dream the day of my death, that I should not live beyond a hundred and fifty-five years: and behold I have completed all the days of my life which I am to live." 7. And Jacob laughed at the words of his mother, because his mother had said unto him that she should die; and she was sitting opposite to him in possession of her strength, and she was not infirm in her strength; for she went in and out and saw, and her teeth were strong, and no ailment 2157 A.M.

XXXV. 1. *His life.* MSS add a gloss "of Jacob." 5. *Mercy.* Latin has "Misericordia Domini."

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had touched her all the days of her life. 8. And Jacob said unto her: "Blessed am I, mother, if my days approach the days of thy life, and my strength remain with me thus as thy strength: and thou wilt not die, for thou art jesting idly with me regarding thy death." 9. And she went in to Isaac and said unto him: "One petition I make unto thee: make Esau swear that he will not injure Jacob, nor pursue him with enmity; for thou knowest Esau's thoughts that they are perverse from his youth, and there is no goodness in him; for he desires after thy death to kill him. 10. And thou knowest all that he has done since the day Jacob his brother went to Haran until this day; how he has forsaken us with his whole heart, and has done evil to us; thy flocks he has taken to himself, and carried off all thy possessions from before thy face. 11. And when we implored and besought him for what was our own, he did as a man who was taking pity on us. 12. And he is bitter against thee because thou didst bless Jacob thy perfect and upright son; for there is no evil but only goodness in him, and since he came from Haran unto this day he has not robbed us of aught, for he brings us everything in its season always, and rejoices with all his heart when we take at his hands, and he blesses us, and has not parted from us since he came from Haran until this day, and he remains with us continually at home honouring us." 13. And Isaac said unto her: "I, too, know and see the deeds of Jacob who is with us, how that with all his heart he honours us; but I loved Esau formerly more than Jacob, because he was the first-born; but now I love Jacob more than Esau, for he has done manifold evil

9. This passage is referred to Josephus by Syncellus, i. 202 at the beginning of the section, and to Jubilees at the close, but he attributes it wrongly to Josephus. ἡ Ῥεβέκκα ᾔτησε τὸν Ἰσαὰκ ἐν τῷ γήρᾳ παραινέσαι τῷ Ἡσαῦ καὶ τῷ Ἰακὼβ ἀγαπᾶν ἀλλήλους. καὶ παραινέσας αὐτοῖς προεῖπεν ὅτι ἐὰν ἐπαναστῇ τῷ Ἰακὼβ ὁ Ἡσαῦ, εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ πεσεῖται.

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deeds, and there is no righteousness in him, for all his ways are unrighteousness and violence, [and there is no righteousness around him]. 14. And now my heart is troubled because of all his deeds, and neither he nor his seed is to be saved, for they are those who will be destroyed from the earth, and who will be rooted out from under heaven, for he has forsaken the God of Abraham and gone after his wives and after their uncleanness and after their error, he and his children. 15. And thou dost bid me make him swear that he will not slay Jacob, his brother; even if he swear he will not abide by his oath, and he will not do good but evil only. 16. But if he desires to slay Jacob, his brother, into Jacob's hands will he be given, and he will not escape from his hands, [for he will descend into his hands.] 17. And fear thou not on account of Jacob; for the guardian of Jacob is great and powerful and honoured, and praised more than the guardian of Esau." 18. And Rebecca sent and called Esau, and he came to her, and she said unto him: "I have a petition, my son, to make unto thee, and do thou promise to do it, my son." 19. And he said: "I will do everything that thou sayest unto me, and I will not refuse thy petition." 20. And she said unto him: "I ask you that the day I die, thou wilt take me in and bury me near Sarah, thy father's mother, and that thou and Jacob will love each other, and that neither will desire evil against the other, but mutual love only, and (so) ye will prosper, my sons, and be honoured in the midst of the land, and no enemy will rejoice over you, and ye will be a blessing

13. [*And there is no righteousness around him.*] This is either a corruption or, as I take it, a dittography.

16. [*For he will descend into his hands.*] Here jĕwarĕd = "will descend" is corrupt for jĕwadĕq = "will fall." I have bracketed the clause as a gloss from xxxvi. 9.

17. *Guardian of Jacob.* We seem here to have the idea of men's guardian angels. In that case it is the earliest distinct reference to this belief. Cf. Mt. xviii. 10; Acts xii. 15; Heb. i. 14; Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, ii. 752.

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and a mercy in the eyes of all those that love you." 21. And he said: "I will do all that thou hast told me, and I shall bury thee on the day thou diest near Sarah, my father's mother, as thou hast desired that her bones may be near thy bones. 22. And Jacob, my brother, also, I shall love above all flesh; for I have not a brother in all the earth but him only: and this is no great merit for me if I love him; for he is my brother, and we were sown together in thy body, and together came we forth from thy womb, and if I do not love my brother, whom shall I love? 23. And I, myself, beg thee to exhort Jacob concerning me and concerning my sons, for I know that he will assuredly be king over me and my sons, for on the day my father blessed him he made him the higher and me the lower. 24. And I swear unto thee that I shall love him, and not desire evil against him all the days of my life but good only." And he sware unto her regarding all this matter. 25. And she called Jacob before the eyes of Esau, and gave him commandment according to the words which she had spoken to Esau. 26. And he said: "I shall do thy pleasure; believe me that no evil will proceed from me or from my sons against Esau, and I shall be first in naught save in love only." 27. And they eat and drank, she and her sons that night, and she died, three jubilees and one week and one year old, on that night, and her two sons, Esau and Jacob, buried her in the double cave near Sarah, their father's mother.

Isaac gives directions to his sons as to his burial: exhorts them to love one another and makes them imprecate destruction on him who injures his brother, 1-11. *Divides his*

22. *From thy womb.* So *d* probably by an emendation. *b c* = "from thy mercy" which goes back to a mistranslation of מרחם (Littmann).

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possessions, giving the larger portion to Jacob, and dies, 12-18. *Leah dies: Jacob's sons come to comfort him,* 21-24.

XXXVI. And in the sixth year of this week Isaac called 2162 A.M. his two sons, Esau and Jacob, and they came to him, and he said unto them: "My sons, I am going the way of my fathers, to the eternal house where my fathers are. 2. Wherefore bury me near Abraham my father, in the double cave in the field of Ephron the Hittite, where Abraham purchased a sepulchre to bury in; in the sepulchre which I digged for myself, there bury me. 3. And this I command you, my sons, that ye practise righteousness and uprightness on the earth, so that the Lord may bring upon you all that the Lord said that he would do to Abraham and to his seed. 4. And love one another, my sons, your brothers as a man who loves his own soul, and let each seek in what he may benefit his brother, and act together on the earth; and let them love each other as their own souls. 5. And concerning the question of idols, I command and admonish you to reject them and hate them, and love them not; for they are full of deception for those that worship them and for those that bow down to them. 6. Remember ye, my sons, the Lord God of Abraham your father, and how I too worshipped Him and served Him in righteousness and in joy, that He might multiply you and increase your seed as the stars of heaven in multitude, and establish you on the earth as the plant of righteousness which will not be rooted out unto all the generations for ever. 7. And now I shall make you swear a great oath—for there is no oath which is greater

XXXVI. 1. According to ver. 18 Isaac was 180 years old when he died. Hence he must have been born in 1982 and not in 1980 as in xvi. 12-13. Josephus (*Ant.* i. 22) sets Isaac's age down at 185.

The eternal house. Eccles. xii. 5, בית עלמו.

4. *Your brothers.* Seems a gloss.

6. *How* = wakama emended from waemze = "and after this."

Plant of righteousness. See notes on i. 16, xvi. 26, xxi. 24.

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than it by the name glorious and honoured and great and splendid and wonderful and mighty, which created the heavens and the earth and all things together—that ye will fear Him and worship Him. 8. And that each will love his brother with affection and righteousness, and that neither will desire evil against his brother from henceforth for ever all the days of your life, so that ye may prosper in all your deeds and not be destroyed. 9. And if either of you devises evil against his brother, know that from henceforth every one that devises evil against his brother will fall into his hand, and will be rooted out of the land of the living, and his seed will be destroyed from under heaven. 10. But on the day of turbulence and execration and indignation and anger, with flaming devouring fire as He burnt Sodom, so likewise will He burn his land and his city and all that is his, and he will be blotted out of the book of the discipline of the children of men, and not be recorded in the book of life, but in that which is appointed to destruction, and he will depart into eternal execration; so that their condemnation may be always renewed in hate and in execration and in wrath and in torment and in indignation and in plagues and in disease for ever. 11. I say and testify to you, my sons, according to the judgment which will come upon the man who wishes to injure his brother." 12. And he divided all his possessions between the two on that day, and he gave the larger portion to him that was the first-born, and the tower and all that was about it, and all that Abraham possessed at the Well of the Oath. 13. And he said, "This larger portion I shall give to the first-born." 14. And Esau said, "I have sold to Jacob and given my birthright to Jacob; to him let it be given, and I have not a single word to say

10. *Turbulence and execration and indignation and anger.* It can hardly be accidental that we find in Eth. En. xxxix. 2 "Books of wrath and anger and books of disquiet and turbulence." *Book of life.* See note on xxx. 22. In contrast with the Book of life we have here also a Book of destruction.

13. *I shall give* (='ĕhûb). MSS give "I shall make great" ('a'âbi).

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regarding it, for it is his." 15. And Isaac said, "May a blessing rest upon you, my sons, and upon your seed this day, for ye have given me rest, and my heart is not pained concerning the birthright, lest thou shouldest work wickedness on account of it. 16. May the Most High God bless the man that worketh righteousness, him and his seed for ever." 17. And he ended commanding them and blessing them, and they eat and drank together before him, and he rejoiced because there was one mind between them, and they went forth from him and rested that day and slept. 18. And Isaac slept on his bed that day rejoicing; and he slept the eternal sleep, and died one hundred and eighty years old. He completed twenty-five weeks and five years; and his two sons Esau and Jacob buried him. 19. And Esau went to the land of Edom, to the mountains of Seir, and dwelt there. 20. And Jacob dwelt in the mountains of Hebron, in the tower of the land of the sojournings of his father Abraham, and he worshipped the Lord with all his heart and according to the visible commands according as

16. *Most High God.* This divine title is frequently used by our author: see vii. 36, xii. 19, xiii. 29, xvi. 18, 27, xx. 9, xxi. 20, 22, 23, 25, xxii. 6, 11, 13, 19, 23, 27 (twice), xxv. 3, 11, 21, xxvii. 15, xxxii. 1, xxxvi. 16, xxxix. 6. Cf. Test. Levi 3, 4, 5 (twice), 8, 18. This frequency is characteristic of many writings of the second cent. B.C. Thus it is found forty-eight times in Sirach and thirteen times in Daniel. On the other hand it appears only once in the Prophets, six times in the Pentateuch (and of these four times in Gen. xiv. in connection with Melchizedek), in the Pss. twenty-one times. From the close of the second cent. B.C. till after the Christian era it is rare. Thus in Eth. En. xci.-civ. (before 79 B.C.) it is found nine times, four in xxxvii.-lxx., three times in Tobit, once in Judith, not at all in the Pss. of Solomon, twice in Wisdom, twice in the Assumption of Moses, nine times in the N.T. It is frequent in the Apocalypse of Baruch—twenty-three times, and also in 4 Ezra. From the above facts it follows that this title of God was most used in the second cent. B.C., though rare in some characteristic writings of that century such as Eth. Enoch i.-xxxvi. (twice), lxxii.-xc. (once) and 1 Macc. (not at all). After a long period of comparative disuse it again became prominent in writings of the latter half of the first cent. A.D.

18. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 29.

Slept the eternal sleep. Cf. Test. Dan 7; Issach. 7: ὕπνωσεν ὕπνον αἰώνιον. Test. Jos. 20: ἐκοιμήθη ὕπνον αἰώνιον.

20. *According to the visible commands according as He had divided.* (*a d*). *b c* almost wholly wanting. Latin: "secundum praecepta visibilia secundum divisionem temporum generationum ejus." The commands here referred to were made visible to Jacob on the seven tablets which the angel showed him in a vision: see xxxii. 21. All the history of Jacob's descendants was recorded here in their successive time divisions (so also Rönsch, p. 152).

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He had divided the days of his generations. 21. And Leah
2167 A.M. his wife died in the fourth year of the second week of the forty-fifth jubilee, and he buried her in the double cave near Rebecca his mother, to the left of the grave of Sarah, his father's mother. 22. And all her sons and his sons came to mourn over Leah his wife with him, and to comfort him regarding her, for he was lamenting her. 23. For he loved her exceedingly after Rachel her sister died; for she was perfect and upright in all her ways and honoured Jacob, and all the days that she lived with him he did not hear from her mouth a harsh word, for she was gentle and peaceable and upright and honourable. 24. And he remembered all her deeds which she had done during her life, and he lamented her exceedingly; for he loved her with all his heart and with all his soul.

Esau's sons reproach him for his subordination to Jacob, and constrain him to war with the assistance of 4000 *mercenaries against Jacob,* 1-15. *Jacob reproves Esau,* 16-17. *Esau's reply,* 18-25.

2162 A.M. XXXVII. And on the day that Isaac the father of Jacob and Esau died, the sons of Esau heard that Isaac had given

XXXVII.-XXXVIII. These two chapters give in some respects the fullest and in others an abridged form of an ancient legend dealing with the wars between the sons of Jacob and Esau. The legend is elsewhere found in the Test. Judah 9, in the Jalkut Shimeoni i. 132 (reprinted in Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrasch*, iii. 3-5 and on pp. 180-182 of my Ethiopic text of Jubilees), in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, pp. 80-87, and in the Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1236-1238). Our text preserves the oldest form. The same form though very abbreviated is presupposed in the Test. Judah 9: yet even this preserves some details on the capture of Adora (?) not found in any of the others. The account in the Jalkut and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel comes very close to—at times reproduces verbally—that in our text, though most probably with later amplifications. They show however a deliberate attempt to adapt the legend to later times. Thus Adora or Adoraim (אדורים) is changed to Arodin (in the Jalkut) or Merodin (מרודין, *a.l.* מרורין in the Chron. of Jerah.) where the M of the latter is due to a change of א into ם. This Arodin is Herodion built by Herod the Great. Gaster has recognised this fact, and on this ground would assign the origin of the legend to the beginning of the Christian era. He takes this legendary story to be a piece of contemporary

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the portion of the elder to his younger son Jacob and they were very angry. 2. And they strove with their father, saying: "Why has thy father given Jacob the portion of the elder and passed over thee, although thou art the elder and Jacob the younger?" 3. And he said unto them "Because I sold my birthright to Jacob for a small mess of lentils; and on the day my father sent me to hunt and catch and bring him something that he should eat and bless me, he came with guile and brought my father food and drink, and my father blessed him and put me under his hand. 4. And now our father has caused us to swear, me and him, that we shall not mutually devise evil, either against his brother, and that we shall continue in love and in peace each with his brother and not make our ways corrupt." 5. And they said unto him, "We shall not hearken unto thee to make peace with him; for our strength is greater than his strength, and we are more powerful than he; we shall go against him and slay him, and destroy him and his sons. And if thou wilt not go with us, we shall do hurt to thee also. 6. And now

history, "a reflex of the Jewish wars against Herod" (Chron. of Jerah. p. lxxxiii.). But the legend does not owe its origin to the times of Herod, but only this adaptation of it. We should observe also that there were two places called Herodion: the first was a fort built near Jerusalem by Herod (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 13. 9, xv. 9. 6, xvii. 8. 3), in which he was subsequently buried. The second was likewise a fort built in Idumea on the confines of Arabia (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 2. 1; *Bell. Jud.* i. 21. 10). Our legend underwent a further adaptation—indeed a complete recasting—in the Book of Jashar, which has here borrowed its materials from the Midrash in Josippon (see Bousset, *Z. f. NTliche Wissensch.* 1900, p. 205). The events recorded are placed after Jacob's death, and the story presupposes the struggles of the Idumean house of Antipater, by which through the help of Rome—here called "Aeneas"—it rose to royal power.

Thus the oldest form of the legend is found in our text and in the Test. Jud. 9; the next oldest in the Jalkut and Chronicles of Jerahmeel, and the latest in the Book of Jashar.

XXXVII. 1. *On the day that Isaac . . . died.* The sons of Esau began their opposition to Jacob from the day of Isaac's death (2162 A.M.), but did not attack him till Leah died (2167 A.M.). See ver. 14.

2-8, 11-12. The favourable view presented here of Esau contrasts strongly with that found in Jalkut Shimeoni reprinted in Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrasch*, iii. 3-5, or in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, xxxvii. 1. According to our text, it was not Esau but Esau's sons that were primarily to blame for this fraternal war.

5. *Him and his sons.* Emended with Latin from "his sons" (*b c d*). Text of *a*, though ungrammatical, = "him his sons."

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hearken unto us: Let us send to Aram and Philistia and Moab and Ammon, and let us choose for ourselves chosen men who are ardent for battle, and let us go against him and do battle with him, and let us exterminate him from the earth before he grows strong." 7. And their father said unto them, "Do not go and do not make war with him lest ye fall before him." 8. And they said unto him, "This too, is exactly thy mode of action from thy youth until this day, and thou art putting thy neck under his yoke. We shall not hearken to these words." 9. And they sent to Aram, and to 'Adurâm to the friend of their father, and they hired along with them one thousand fighting men, chosen men of war. 10. And there came to them from Moab and from the children of Ammon, those who were hired, one thousand chosen men, and from Philistia, one thousand chosen men of war, and from Edom and from the Horites one thousand chosen fighting men, and from the Kittim mighty men of war. 11. And they said unto their father: "Go forth with them and lead them, else we shall slay thee." 12. And he was filled with wrath and indignation on seeing that his sons were forcing him to go before (them) to lead them against Jacob his brother. 13. But afterward he remem-

6-10. To these verses the only equivalent in the Test. Jud. 9 is: ἐπῆλθεν ἡμῖν Ἡσαῦ, ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ πατρός μου, ἐν λαῷ βαρεῖ καὶ ἰσχυρῷ. For that in the Jalkut see note on verses 14-16.

6. The names of the nations mentioned here recur in verses 9-10.

9-10. Against nearly all the nations mentioned here the Maccabees waged war. With Aram or Syria they were at strife for many decades. The Ammonites were invaded by Judas (1 Macc. v. 6-8; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 8. 1), and discomfited in several battles. On the complete subjugation of the Philistines by the Maccabees see notes on xxiv. 28-32. As regards the Edomites Judas fought against them and smote them with great slaughter, 1 Macc. v. 3, 65. The Syrians invaded Judah frequently by Edom (1 Macc. iv. 29, 61), and were helped by the latter against Israel. Later John Hyrcanus wrested Adora and Mareshah out of the hands of the Edomites and compelled the whole nation to accept circumcision (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 9. 1, xv. 7. 9; *Bell. Jud.* i. 2. 6). As regards the Kittim, see note on xxiv. 28. These may have been Greek auxiliaries of the Syrians.

9. *'Adûrâm.* He was an Aramaean. See xxxviii. 3.

10. *Horites.* Eth. Kôrêwôs (*b*): *a* Kôrêws. See *Encyc. Bib., in loc.*

Kittim. The Eth. might also be rendered "Hittites" but the context is against this meaning in xxiv. 28.

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bered all the evil which lay hidden in his heart against Jacob his brother; and he remembered not the oath which he had sworn to his father and to his mother that he would devise no evil all his days against Jacob his brother. 14. And notwithstanding all this, Jacob knew not that they were coming against him to battle, and he was mourning for Leah, his wife, until they approached very near to the tower with four thousand warriors and chosen men of war. 15. And the men of Hebron sent to him saying, "Behold thy brother has come against thee, to fight thee, with four thousand girt with the sword, and they carry shields and weapons"; for they loved Jacob more than Esau. So they told him; for Jacob was a more liberal and merciful man than Esau. 16. But Jacob would not believe until they came very near to the tower. 17. And he closed the gates of the tower; and he stood on the battlements and spake to his brother Esau and said, "Noble is the comfort wherewith thou hast come to comfort me for my wife who has died. Is this the oath that thou didst swear to thy father and again to thy mother before they died? Thou hast broken the oath, and on the moment that thou didst swear to thy

14-16. These verses are found in the Jalkut Shimeoni (Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrasch*, iii. 3): "It was the year when Leah died and Jacob and his sons were mourning and some of their children had come to comfort them. Then came (Esau) against them with a mighty army of warriors, clad in armour of iron and brass, all armed with shields and bows and swords, 4000 warriors. All these surrounded the tower, in which were Jacob and his sons together with their servants, children and all their possessions; for they had all assembled there in order to comfort Jacob in his mourning for Leah. They were sitting there peacefully, and none imagined that any force had come upon them to contend with them, nor did they discover it till the whole host had encompassed the tower, in which there were only Jacob and his sons and their 200 servants." Similarly in Chron. of Jerahmeel, p. 84.

17-25. Jacob's attempt to bring about peace and Esau's reply are not referred to in the Test. Jud. 9, but are shortly summarised in the Yalkut: "When therefore Jacob saw that Esau had emboldened himself to come against him in war in order to put those in the tower to the sword, and that he shot arrows against them, Jacob stood upon the wall of the tower, and spake to Esau his brother words of peace, friendship and brotherliness (מרא); but Esau would have none of them." Similarly in Chron. of Jerah. p. 84.

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father wast thou condemned." 18. And then Esau answered and said unto him, "Neither the children of men nor the beasts of the earth have any oath of righteousness which in swearing they have sworn (an oath valid) for ever; but every day they devise evil one against another, and how each may slay his adversary and foe. 19. And thou dost hate me and my children for ever. And there is no observing the tie of brotherhood with thee. 20. Hear these words which I declare unto thee,

If the boar can change its skin and make its bristles as soft as wool,

Or if it can cause horns to sprout forth on its head like the horns of a stag or of a sheep,

Then shall I observe the tie of brotherhood with thee.

[And if the breasts separated themselves from their mother; for thou hast not been a brother to me.]

21. And if the wolves make peace with the lambs so as not to devour or do them violence,

And if their hearts are towards them for good,

Then there will be peace in my heart towards thee.

22. And if the lion becomes the friend of the ox and makes peace with him,

19. *The tie of brotherhood.* See this phrase in quotation in preceding note.

20. *Boar.* In Eth. Enoch lxxxix. 12, 42 sq., 49, 66, the boar is used to denote Esau symbolically. Cf. Ps. lxxx. 13. There is no doubt some such reference here.

Make . . . soft. Instead of 'adkama we should expect jâdakĕm.

It can cause horns to sprout forth. So *a*. *b c d* = "horns were to sprout forth."

[*And if* (*a b* omit) *the breasts separated themselves from their mother; for thou hast not been a brother to me.*] So *a b c d* save that for "thou hast not been a brother to me" *d* reads "I shall not be a brother to thee." These words do not belong to their present context; for the tristichs before and after deal with ideas taken only from the animal world. Nor do the words as they stand form a distich. If they belong to the text at all, they are corrupt. It is not improbable that originally they followed immediately after ver. 19[a] "thou dost hate me and my children for ever." By transposing the two clauses and by reading 'ĕm'ama **tafalta** atbû'ĕ 'ĕm'ĕmômû instead of wa'ĕma tafalta 'aṭbât 'ĕm'ĕmôn, we should get the following excellent sense in ver. 19 "And thou dost hate me and my children for ever; for thou hast not been a brother to me since the twins were separated from their mother. Yea, there is no observing the tie of brotherhood with thee."

22. *And makes peace with him.* This clause which *c d* omit is added by *a b* after "ploughs with him." With the

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And if he is bound under one yoke with him and ploughs with him,
Then shall I make peace with thee.

23. And when the raven becomes white as the râzâ,
Then know that I have loved thee
And shall make peace with thee.
Thou shalt be rooted out,
And thy sons shall be rooted out,
And there shall be no peace for thee."

24. And when Jacob saw that he was (so) evilly disposed towards him with his heart, and with all his soul as to slay him, and that he had come springing like the wild boar which comes upon the spear that pierces and kills it, and recoils not from it; 25. Then he spake to his own and to his servants that they should attack him and all his companions.

War between Jacob and Esau. Death of Esau and overthrow of his forces, 1-10. *Edom reduced to servitude "till this day,"* 11-14. *Kings of Edom,* 15-24. (Cf. Gen. xxxvi. 31-39.)

XXXVIII. And after that Judah spake to Jacob, his father, and said unto him: "Bend thy bow, father, and send forth thy arrows and cast down the adversary and slay the enemy; and mayst thou have the power, for we shall not slay thy brother, for he is such as thou, and he is like thee: let us give him (this) honour." 2. Then

guidance of the parallelism I have transposed it as above.

23. *The râzâ.* The râzâ is according to Isenberg, *Amharic Dictionary*, p. 48, "a large white bird which eats grasshoppers." Dillmann both in his Lexicon and translation took râzâ here to mean "rice," oryza, but there can be no doubt that the above is right. Littmann has followed my rendering.

XXXVIII. 1. In the Jalkut (cf. the Chron. of Jerah. p. 84) Judah says: "How long wilt thou extend words of peace and friendship to him, when he comes against us as an enemy with his mail-clad troops to slay us."

Let us give him = Nahabô (so read in my text instead of Nehabô). Emended with Lat. "demus illi" from baḥabêna = "with us."

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Jacob bent his bow and sent forth the arrow and struck Esau, his brother, (on his right breast) and slew him. 3. And again he sent forth an arrow and struck 'Adôrân the Aramaean, on the left breast, and drove him backward and slew him. 4. And then went forth the sons of Jacob, they and their servants, dividing themselves into companies on the four sides of the tower. 5. And Judah went forth in front, and Naphtali and Gad with him and fifty servants with him on the south side of the tower, and they slew all they found before them, and not one individual of them escaped. 6. And Levi and Dan and Asher went forth on the east side of the tower, and fifty (men) with them, and they slew the fighting men of Moab and Ammon. 7. And Reuben and Issachar and Zebulon went forth on the north side of the tower, and

2-3. These two verses are found in the reverse order in the Jalkut and the Chron. of Jerah. pp. 84-85. The former runs: "When Jacob heard this, he seized his bow and slew Adoram the Edomite. And again he seized his bow and smote Esau on the right breast." In the Test. Jud. 9 it is said shortly of Esau: ἔπαισεν ἐν τόξῳ Ἰακὼβ τὸν Ἡσαῦ.

2. (*On his right breast*). Supplied from the Latin and the Yalkut. See preceding note.

Slew him. A later tradition attributed the death of Esau to Chushim, son of Dan. See Ps.-Jon. on Gen. l. 13; Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1235); Sota 13 *a*. Beer (*Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 6) quotes also Pirke R. Eliezer 39.

3. *'Adôrân, the Aramaean.* This is consistent with the statement in xxxvii. 9. The Jalkut and the Chron. of Jerah. on the other hand make him an Edomite.

4-9. Here the sons of Jacob and their 200 servants (cf. Jalkut translated in note on xxxvii. 14-16) go forth from the four sides of the tower to meet the 4000 soldiers of Esau. So we find it exactly in the Yalkut: "And then Judah went forth first and Naphtali and Gad with him to the south of the tower, and 50 servants of the servants of Jacob their father with them. And Levi and Dan and Asher went forth on the east of the tower and 50 servants with them. And Reuben and Issachar and Zebulon went forth on the north of the tower and 50 servants with them. And Simeon and Benjamin and Enoch the son of Reuben went forth on the west of the tower and 50 servants with them." After a long tedious account of the achievements of the various brothers which are not alluded to in our text the Jalkut again comes into touch with it: "400 men that were warriors who had opposed Simeon fell and the remaining 600 fled, and amongst them were the four sons of Esau—Reuel, Jeush, Jolam, Korah . . . And the sons of Jacob pursued after them to the city Arodin, and they left their father Esau lying dead in Arodin, and they fled to Mount Seir to the ascent of 'Aqrabbim. And the sons of Jacob entered and rested there that night and they found Esau's dead body and they buried it out of respect for their father." The Test. Jud. 9 says shortly of Esau: καὶ πορευόμενος ἐν Ἀνονιράμ (O. Ἀνσονιράμ, P) ἀπέθανεν. The Armenian version of this Testament = ἐτάφη ἐν Ἀναιράμ.

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fifty men with them, and they slew the fighting men of the Philistines. 8. And Simeon and Benjamin and Enoch, Reuben's son, went forth on the west side of the tower, and fifty (men) with them, and they slew of Edom and of the Horites four hundred men, stout warriors; and six hundred fled, and four of the sons of Esau fled with them, and left their father lying slain, as he had fallen on the hill which is in 'Adûrâm. 9. And the sons of Jacob pursued after them to the mountains of Seir. And Jacob buried his brother on the hill which is in 'Adûrâm, and he returned to his house. 10. And the sons of Jacob pressed hard upon the sons of Esau in the mountains of Seir, and bowed their necks so that they became servants of the sons of Jacob. 11. And they sent to their father (to inquire) whether they should make peace with them or slay them. 12. And Jacob sent word to his sons that they should make peace, and they made peace with them, and placed the yoke of servitude upon them, so that they paid tribute to Jacob and to his sons always. 13. And they continued to pay tribute to Jacob until the day that he went down into Egypt. 14. And the sons of Edom have

8. *Horites.* Cf. xxxvii. 10. These are not mentioned in the Yalkut.

Four . . . sons of Esau. These are mentioned in the Jalkut translated in note on 4-9.

'Adûrâm. This appears as Adurin in the Latin, and as 'Ανουράμ in Test. Jud. 9 (see note on verses 4-9): in the Yalkut as אורין which is corrupt for אורים. This is the Ἄδωρα mentioned by Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 15. 4, along with Μάρισα (cf. 1 Macc. xiii. 20). These two towns of Edom were captured by Hyrcanus and forced to accept circumcision (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 9. 1; *Bell. Jud.* i. 2. 6).

10-13. The Jalkut is as follows: "In the morning the sons of Jacob armed themselves and pursued after them and pressed them hard on Mount Seir on the ascent of Aqrabbim. The sons of Esau and all the men who had fled with them came forth and fell down before the sons of Jacob and laid themselves prostrate and prayed them till they made peace with them. And they made them servants to tribute." Similarly in the Chron. of Jerah. p. 87. Test. Jud. 9 gives certain details of the siege of Adora, and then proceeds: *τότε αἰτοῦσιν ἡμᾶς τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην· καὶ γενόμενοι βουλῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν, ἐδεξάμεθα αὐτοὺς ὑποφόρους. καὶ ἦσαν δίδοντες ἡμῖν πυροῦ κόρους διακοσίους . . . ἕως ὅτε κατήλθομεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον.*

10. *Pressed hard upon.* Here 'amandabĕwômû (which is to be retained and not emended as in my text) = צרו אותם in the Jalkut.

11-13. The substance of these verses is found in Test. Jud. 9; see on 10-13 above.

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not got quit of the yoke of servitude which the twelve sons of Jacob had imposed on them until this day. 15. And these are the kings that reigned in Edom before there reigned any king over the children of Israel [until this day] in the land of Edom. 16. And Bâlâq, the son of Beor, reigned in Edom, and the name of his city was Danâbâ. 17. And Bâlâq died, and Jobab, the son of Zârâ of Bôsêr, reigned in his stead. 18. And Jobab died, and 'Asâm, of the land of Têmân, reigned in his stead. 19. And 'Asâm died, and 'Adâth, the son of Barad, who slew Midian in the field of Moab, reigned in his stead, and the name of his city was Avith. 20. And 'Adâth died, and Salman, from 'Amâsêqâ, reigned in his stead. 21. And Salman died, and Saul of Râ'abôth (by the) river, reigned in his stead. 22. And Saul died, and Ba'êlûnân, the son of Achbor, reigned in his stead. 23. And Ba'êlûnân, the son of Achbor, died, and 'Adâth reigned in his stead, and the name of his wife was Maiṭabîth, the daughter of Mâṭarat, the daughter of Mêtabêdzâ'ab. 24. These are the kings who reigned in the land of Edom.

Joseph set over Potiphar's house, 1-4. *His purity and imprisonment*, 5-13. *Imprisonment of Pharaoh's chief*

14. *Until this day.* Edom was finally made tributary to Israel by Hyrcanus.

15-24. Cf. Gen. xxxvi. 31-39.

16. Cf. Gen. xxxvi. 32. *Bâlâq* = LXX, Βάλακ = בלע.

Danâbâ. Cf. LXX, Δεννάβα = דנהבה.

17. *Zârâ.* Cf. LXX, Ζάρα, Mass. זֶרַח.

Bôsêr. Cf. LXX, Βοσόρρα ; Mass. בָּצְרָה.

18. *'Asâm ;* LXX, 'Ασόμ ; Mass. חֻשָׁם.

19. *'Adât ;* LXX, 'Αδάδ ; Mass. הֲדַד.

Barad ; LXX, Βαράδ ; Mass. בֶּרַד.

Avith. Eth. 'Aw'ûth ; LXX, Γεθθάμ ; Mass. עֲוִית.

20. *Salman ;* LXX, Σαλαμά ; Mass. שַׂמְלָה.

'Amâsêqâ ; LXX, Μασέκκα ; Mass. מַשְׂרֵקָה.

21. *Râ'abôth ;* LXX, 'Ροωβώθ ; Mass. רְחֹבוֹת.

22. *Ba'êlûnân ;* LXX, Βαλαεννών ; Mass. בַּעַל חָנָן.

23. *Achbor.* Eth. 'Akbûr.

'Adâth ; LXX, 'Αράθ ; Mass. הֲדַד.

Maiṭabîth ; LXX, Μετεβεήλ ; Mass. מְהֵיטַבְאֵל.

Mâṭarat ; LXX, Ματραεήθ ; Mass. מַטְרֵד.

Mêtabêdzâ'ab ; LXX, Μεζοόβ ; Mass. מֵי זָהָב.

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butler and chief baker whose dreams Joseph interprets, 14-18. (Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 2, xxxix. 3-8, 12-15, 17-23, xl. 1-5, 21-23, xli. 1.)

XXXIX. And Jacob dwelt in the land of his father's sojournings in the land of Canaan. 2. These are the generations of Jacob. And Joseph was seventeen years old when they took him down into the land of Egypt, and Potiphar, an eunuch of Pharaoh, the chief cook bought him. 3. And he set Joseph over all his house, and the blessing of the Lord came upon the house of the Egyptian on account of Joseph, and the Lord prospered him in all that he did. 4. And the Egyptian committed everything into the hands of Joseph; for he saw that the Lord was with him, and that the Lord prospered him in all that he did. 5. And Joseph's appearance was comely and very beautiful was his appearance, and his master's wife lifted up her eyes and saw Joseph, and she loved him, and besought him to lie with her. 6. But he did not surrender his soul, and he remembered the Lord and the words which Jacob, his father, used to read from amongst the words of Abraham, that no man should commit fornication with a woman who has a husband; that for him the punishment of death has been ordained in the heavens before the Most High God, and the sin will be recorded against him in the eternal books continually before the Lord. 7. And Joseph remembered these words and refused to lie with her. 8. And she besought him for a year, but he refused and would not listen. 9. But she embraced him and held him

XXXIX. 2. *Seventeen years old.* Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 2.

The chief cook. See note on xxxiv. 11.

2-5. Cf. Gen. xxxix. 3-7.

4. *Into the hands* = ba'ĕdĕhû. Emended with Latin "in manus ejus" in ver. 13 and Gen. xxxix. 6. From qĕdmĕhû = "before him."

5. *Joseph's appearance,* etc. There seems to be a dittography.

6. See xx. 4, xxv. 7 where Abraham's commands on this question are mentioned. According to Soteh 36*b* the image of Jacob appeared at the window and exhorted Joseph to be faithful (Hershon, Genesis with a Talm. Commentary, p. 428).

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fast in the house in order to force him to lie with her, and closed the doors of the house and held him fast; but he left his garment in her hands and broke through the door and fled without from her presence. 10. And the woman saw that he would not lie with her, and she calumniated him in the presence of his lord, saying: "Thy Hebrew servant, whom thou lovest, sought to force me so that he might lie with me; and it came to pass when I lifted up my voice that he fled and left his garment in my hands when I held him, and he brake through the door." 11. And the Egyptian saw the garment of Joseph and the broken door, and heard the words of his wife, and cast Joseph into prison into the place where the prisoners were kept whom the king imprisoned 12. And he was there in the prison; and the Lord gave Joseph favour in the sight of the chief of the prison guards and compassion before him, for he saw that the Lord was with him, and that the Lord made all that he did to prosper. 13. And he committed all things into his hands, and the chief of the prison guards knew of nothing that was with him, for Joseph did every thing, and the Lord perfected it. 14. And he remained there two years. And in those days Pharaoh, king of Egypt, was wroth against his two eunuchs, against the chief butler and against the chief baker, and he put them in ward in the house of the chief cook, in the prison where Joseph was kept. 15. And the chief of the prison guards appointed Joseph to serve them; and he served before them. 16. And they both dreamed a dream, the chief butler and the chief baker, and they told it to Joseph. 17. And

9-13. Cf. Gen. xxxix. 12-15, 17-23.

13. *Into his hands.* Emended as in ver. 4 from MSS = "before him." Latin "in manus ejus."

Knew of nothing that was with him. Cf. Gen. xxxix. 8.

Perfected it. Latin "dirigebat ea," *i.e.* "made it to prosper."

14-18. Cf. Gen. xl. 1-5, 21-23.

14. *Two years.* Cf. Gen. xli. 1.

Chief cook. See note on xxxiv. 11.

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as he interpreted to them so it befell them, and Pharaoh restored the chief butler to his office, and the (chief) baker he slew, as Joseph had interpreted to them. 18. But the chief butler forgot Joseph in the prison, although he had informed him what would befall him, and did not remember to inform Pharaoh how Joseph had told him, for he forgot.

Pharaoh's dreams and their interpretation, 1-4. *Elevation and marriage of Joseph*, 5-13. (Cf. Gen. xli. 1-5, 7-9, 14 sqq., 25, 29-30, 34, 36, 38-43, 45-46, 49.)

XL. And in those days Pharaoh dreamed two dreams in one night concerning a famine which was to be in all the land, and he awoke from his sleep and called all the interpreters of dreams that were in Egypt, and magicians, and told them his two dreams, and they were not able to declare (them). 2. And then the chief butler remembered Joseph and spake of him to the king, and he brought him forth from the prison, and he told his two dreams before him. 3. And he said before Pharaoh that his two dreams were one, and he said unto him: "Seven years will come (in which there will be) plenty over all the land of Egypt, and after that seven years of famine, such a famine as has not been in all the land. 4. And now let Pharaoh appoint overseers in all the land of Egypt, and let them store up food in every city throughout the days of the years of plenty, and there will be food for the seven years of famine, and the land will

XL. 1. Cf. Gen. xli. 1, 5, 7, 8.
2. Cf. Gen. xli. 9, 14 sqq.
3. Cf. Gen. xli. 25, 29, 30.
4. Cf. Gen. xli. 34, 36.

Overseers. We should here have makuannĕna. Cf. Latin "speculatores," and Gen. xli. 34; whereas *c d* read mĕkjâda, "threshing floors" or "barns." Perhaps פְּקִדִים = "overseers" was corrupted into פְּקָדִין. Rönsch thinks there was a corruption of σιτάρχας into σιταρχίας.

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not perish through the famine, for it will be very severe." 5. And the Lord gave Joseph favour and mercy in the eyes of Pharaoh, and Pharaoh said unto his servants: "We shall not find such a wise and discreet man as this man, for the spirit of the Lord is with him." 6. And he appointed him the second in all his kingdom and gave him authority over all Egypt, and caused him to ride in the second chariot of Pharaoh. 7. And he clothed him with byssus garments, and he put a gold chain upon his neck, and (a herald) proclaimed before him "'Êl 'Êl wa 'Abîrĕr, and he placed a ring on his hand and made him ruler over all his house, and magnified him, and said unto him: "Only on the throne shall I be greater than thou." 8. And Joseph ruled over all the land of Egypt, and all the princes of Pharaoh, and all his servants, and all who did the king's business loved him, for he walked in uprightness, for he was without pride and arrogance, and he had no respect of persons, and did not accept gifts, but he judged in uprightness all the people of the land. 9. And the land of Egypt was at peace before Pharaoh because of Joseph, for the Lord was with him, and gave him favour and mercy for all his generations before all those who knew him and those

5. Cf. Gen. xli. 38, 39.

6-7. Cf. Gen. xli. 40-43.

7. (*A herald*) *proclaimed.* The Latin has praeconaverunt; but the Sam., LXX, Syr., Vulg., Aquila, Symm. of Gen. xli. 43 have the singular. Hence I withdraw my change of the Ethiopic sing. into the plural.

Before him. MSS add against Latin "and he said."

'Êl 'Êl wa 'Abîrĕr = אֵל אֵל וְאַבִּיר אֵל, "God, God, the mighty one of God." The Latin has Elel et Habirel. This is a peculiar expansion of the term אַבְרֵךְ in Gen. xli. 43. With the interpretation of that term we have no concern here, but only with its derivation in our text. The phrase "mighty one of God" clearly designates Joseph, and, indeed seems to be a technical designation for a great magician. Thus in Acts viii. 10 Simon Magus is called ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ μεγάλη (or ἡ καλουμένη μεγάλη). In a late Christian version of a Jewish legend "The History of Asenath" (see Fabricius, *Codex Pseud. V.T.* i. 774-784, ii. 85-102; Batiffol, *Studia Patristica*, 1889), Joseph is twice (chaps. iii. and xv.) spoken of as "the mighty one of God," Ἰωσὴφ ὁ δυνατὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ. The following apt parallel may be cited from *Pap. Par. Bibl. nat.* 1275 sqq.; Wessely, i. 76 (quoted by Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, p. 336 note), ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε τὴν μεγίστην δύναμιν τὴν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ὑπὸ κυρίου Θεοῦ τεταγμένην.

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who heard concerning him, and Pharaoh's kingdom was well ordered, and there was no Satan and no evil person (therein). 10. And the king called Joseph's name Sĕphânṭî-phâns, and gave Joseph to wife the daughter of Potiphar, the daughter of the priest of Heliopolis, the chief cook. 11. And on the day that Joseph stood before Pharaoh he was thirty years old [when he stood before Pharaoh]. 12. And in that year Isaac died. And it came to pass as Joseph had said in the interpretation of his two dreams, according as he had said it, there were seven years of plenty over all the land of Egypt, and the land of Egypt produced abundantly, one measure (producing) eighteen hundred measures. 13. And Joseph gathered food into every city until they were full of corn until they could no longer count and measure it for its multitude.

Judah's sons and Tamar, 1-7. *Judah's incest with Tamar*, 8-18. *Tamar bears twins*, 21-22. *Judah forgiven because he sinned ignorantly and repented when convicted, and because Tamar's marriage with his sons had not*

9. *No Satan.* Cf. xxiii. 29.

10. *Sĕphânṭîphâns, i.e.* צפנת פענח. Gen. xli. 45. Latin Judaism took this to mean "revealer of secrets." Cf. Onk., גברא רמסתרין גלין ליה. So also Ps.-Jon. and Syr.

Daughter of Potiphar . . . priest of Heliopolis. Our author has rightly identified פוטיפר in Gen. xxxvii. 36 and פוטי פרע in xli. 45 as being one and the same name. He takes the two to refer to one and the same person: cf. xxxiv. 11, xliv. 24. Origen (*Cat. Niceph.* i. 463) refers to our book for this view: *οἰήσεταί δέ τις ἕτερον εἶναι τοῦτον (i.e.* Φουρτιφάρ) *παρὰ τὸν ὠνησάμενον τὸν Ἰωσήφ· οὐ μὴν οὕτως ὑπειλήφασιν Ἑβραῖοι· ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀποκρύφου λέγουσι τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ δεσπότην καὶ πενθερὸν γενέσθαι.* Later Judaism was offended with this marriage of Joseph to the daughter of a heathen priest. Hence Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xli. 45 represents Asenath as a daughter of Dinah by Shechem, who was reared by the wife of Potiphar, prince of Tanais. Singer (p. 119 note) states that this view is put forward in the Pirke R. Eliezer 36, 38. This was likewise the view of the Jewish legend which formed the basis of the Greek romance of "History of Asenath" (see Hasting's *Bible Dict.* i. 162; and Issaverden's translation of *Uncanonical Writings of the Old Testament*, 1901, Venice, pp. 94-96). In these later writings, however, Asenath is no longer represented as a Jewess by birth except in a single passage in the Syriac version.

11. Cf. Gen. xli. 46. I have bracketed the words "when he stood before Pharaoh" as a dittography.

13. Cf. Gen. xli. 49.

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been consummated, 23-28. (Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 6-18, 20-26, 29-30, xli. 13.)

2165 A.M. XLI. And in the forty-fifth jubilee, in the second week, (and) in the second year, Judah took for his first-born Er, a wife from the daughters of Aram, named Tamar. 2. But he hated, and did not lie with her, because his mother was of the daughters of Canaan, and he wished to take him a wife of the kinsfolk of his mother, but Judah, his father, would not permit him. 3. And this Er, the first-born of Judah, was wicked, and the Lord slew him. 4. And Judah said unto Onan, his brother: "Go in unto thy brother's wife and perform the duty of a husband's brother unto her, and raise up seed unto thy brother." 5. And Onan knew that the seed would not be his, (but) his brother's only, and he went into the house of his brother's wife, and spilt the seed on the ground, and he was wicked in the eyes of the Lord, and He slew him. 6. And Judah said unto Tamar, his daughter-in-law: "Remain in thy father's house as a widow till Shelah my son be grown up, and I shall give thee to him to wife." 7. And he grew up; but Bêdsû'êl, the wife of Judah,
2168 A.M. did not permit her son Shelah to marry. And Bêdsû'êl, the wife of Judah, died in the fifth year of this week. 8. And

XLI. 1. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 6.

From the daughters of Aram named Tamar. Cf. Test. Jud. 10: Θάμαρ ἐκ Μεσοποταμίας, θυγατέρα Ἀράμ.

2-3. Cf. Test. Jud. 10: καὶ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἀνεῖλεν αὐτὸν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ νυκτί, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔγνω αὐτὴν κατὰ πανουργίαν τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, οὐ γὰρ ἤθελεν ἔχειν τέκνα ἀπ' αὐτῆς.

3. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 7.

4. *Onan.* Eth. 'Aunân.

Perform the duty of a husband's brother = יַבֵּם. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 8; Deut. xxv. 5.

5-7. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 9-12: also Test. Jud. 10: ἐπεγάμβρευσα αὐτῇ τὸν Αὐνᾶν. καὶ γε οὗτος ἐν πονηρίᾳ οὐκ ἔγνω αὐτὴν . . . διέφθειρε δὲ τὸ σπέρμα ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ· καὶ γε οὗτος ἐν πονηρίᾳ ἀπέθανεν. ἤθελον δὲ καὶ τὸν Σιλὼμ δοῦναι αὐτῇ, ἀλλ' ἡ γυνή μου Βὴσσουε οὐκ ἀφῆκεν· ἐπονηρεύετο γὰρ πρὸς τὴν Θάμαρ, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν ἐκ θυγατέρων Χαναάν, ὡς αὐτή.

7. *Bêdsû'êl*, i.e. Bathshua. See xxxiv. 20.

Shelah. Eth. Sêlôm.

8-12. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 12-18: also Test. Jud. 12: Θάμαρ, μετὰ δύο ἔτη ἀκούσασα, ὅτι ἀνέρχομαι κεῖραι τὰ πρόβατα, κοσμηθεῖσα κόσμῳ νυμφικῷ, ἐκάθισεν ἀπέναντι τῇ πόλει πρὸς τὴν πύλην . . . μεθυσθεὶς . . . οὐκ ἐπέγνων αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου . . . καὶ ἐκκλίνας πρὸς αὐτὴν εἶπον, Εἰσέλθω πρός σε. καὶ εἶπέ μοι,

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in the sixth year Judah went up to shear his sheep at Timnah. And they told Tamar: "Behold thy father-in-law goeth up to Timnah to shear his sheep." 9. And she put off her widow's clothes, and put on a veil, and adorned herself, and sat in the gate adjoining the way to Timnah. 10. And as Judah was going along he found her, and thought her to be an harlot, and he said unto her: "Let me come in unto thee"; and she said unto him: "Come in," and he went in. 11. And she said unto him: "Give me my hire"; and he said unto her: "I have nothing in my hand save my ring that is on my finger, and my necklace, and my staff which is in my hand." 12. And she said unto him: "Give them to me until thou dost send me my hire"; and he said unto her: "I will send unto thee a kid of the goats"; and he gave them to her, (and he went in unto her), and she conceived by him. 13. And Judah went unto his sheep, and she went to her father's house. 14. And Judah sent a kid of the goats by the hand of his shepherd, an Adullamite, and he found her not; and he asked the people of the place, saying: "Where is the harlot who was here?" And they said unto him: "There is no harlot here with us." 15. And he returned and informed him, and said unto him that he had not found her; "I 2169 A.M.

Τί μοι δώσεις; καὶ ἔδωκα αὐτῇ τὴν ῥάβδον μου καὶ τὴν ζώνην καὶ τὸ διάδημα τῆς βασιλείας, καὶ συνελθὼν (sic) αὐτῇ συνείληφεν.

8. *Timnah.* Eth. Têmnâtâ.

9. *Adorned herself.* So Test. Jud. 12: κοσμηθεῖσα; also LXX, Syr. and Onk. on Gen. xxxviii. 14. Mass. = "covered herself."

11. *Ring . . . necklace . . . staff.* Corresponding to these Test. Jud. 12 has διάδημα, ζώνη, ῥάβδος, and the LXX of Gen. xxxviii. 18: δακτύλιον, ὁρμίσκος, ῥάβδος. διάδημα supposes כֶּתֶם as in Ps. xlv. 10, or כֶּתֶר as in Esther i. 11, ii. 17, instead of תֹּאַר, to which necklace, ζώνη and ὁρμίσκος go back, is said to be the cord round the neck, on which the signet ring was hung.

12. *And he went in unto her.* Restored from Latin "et coiit (MS fuit) cum ea." Cf. Test. Jud. 12: συνελθὼν αὐτῇ συνείληφεν, and Gen. xxxviii. 18.

14-19. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 20-26.

14. Cf. Test. Jud. 12: καὶ γε οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔλεγον, μὴ εἶναι ἐν τῇ πόλει τελισκομένην (=a woman being initiated into rites of Aphrodite, i.e. קְדֵשָׁה).

15. *And said unto him that he had not found her.* I have here transposed the text of *c d* (*a b*) which read "that he had not found her and he said

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asked the people of the place, and they said unto me: 'There is no harlot here.'" And he said: "Let her keep (them) lest we become a cause of derision." 16. And when she had completed three months, it was manifest that she was with child, and they told Judah, saying: "Behold Tamar, thy daughter-in-law, is with child by whoredom." 17. And Judah went to the house of her father, and said unto her father and her brothers: "Bring her forth, and let them burn her, for she hath wrought uncleanness in Israel." 18. And it came to pass when they brought her forth to burn her that she sent to her father-in-law the ring and the necklace, and the staff, saying: "Discern whose are these, for by him am I with child." 19. And Judah acknowledged, and said: "Tamar is more righteous than I am. And therefore let them burn her not." 20. And for that reason she was not given to Shelah, and he did not again approach her. 21. And after that
2170 A.M. she bare two sons, Perez and Zerah, in the seventh year of this second week. 22. And thereupon the seven years of fruitfulness were accomplished, of which Joseph spake to Pharaoh. 23. And Judah acknowledged that the deed which he had done was evil, for he had lain with his daughter-in-law, and he esteemed it hateful in his eyes, and he acknowledged that he had transgressed and gone astray; for he had uncovered the skirt of his son,

unto him." Perhaps we should read with Latin "dicens: Non inveni eam," "And said: I have not found her," as I have done in my text.

Let her keep = tĕnšâ'ĕ, emended with Latin "habeat" from tanšĕ'ĕ, "arise."

17. *Let them burn her.* See note on xxx. 7. In Ber. rabba 85 R. Meir of the second cent. states that Tamar was a daughter of the priest-king Shem. Hence her destruction by fire came under the law in Lev. xxi. 9, which prescribes this penalty for the sin of fornication in the daughter of a priest. In Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxxviii. 6, 24 Tamar is called a priest's daughter. Beer (*Buch d. Jub.* p. 52) cites Baba Mezia 87 *a* to the same effect.

20. *Did not again approach her.* Cf. Test. Jud. 12: *οὐδὲ ἤγγισα αὐτῇ ἔτι ἕως θανάτου μου.*

21. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 29, 30.

Perez . . . Zerah. Eth. Phârês . . . Zârâ.

22. Cf. Gen. xli. 53.

23. *Had gone astray; for he had uncovered,* etc. Cf. Test. Jud. 14: *ἐποίησα ἁμαρτίαν μεγάλην, καὶ ἀνεκάλυψα κάλυμμα ἀκαθαρσίας υἱῶν μου.*

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and he began to lament and to supplicate before the Lord because of his transgression. 24. And we told him in a dream that it was forgiven him because he supplicated earnestly, and lamented, and did not again commit it. 25. And he received forgiveness because he turned from his sin and from his ignorance, for he transgressed greatly before our God; and every one that acts thus, every one who lies with his mother-in-law, let them burn him with fire that he may burn therein, for there is uncleanness and pollution upon them; with fire let them burn them. 26. And do thou command the children of Israel that there be no uncleanness amongst them, for every one who lies with his daughter-in-law or with his mother-in-law hath wrought uncleanness; with fire let them burn the man who has lain with her, and likewise the woman, and He will turn away wrath and punishment from Israel. 27. And unto Judah we said that his two sons had not lain with her, and for this reason his seed was established for a second generation, and would not be rooted out. 28. For in singleness of eye he had gone and sought for punishment, namely, according to the judgment of Abraham, which he had commanded his sons, Judah had sought to burn her with fire.

24-25[a]. Cf. Test. Jud. 19: *εἰ μὴ ἡ μετάνοια σαρκός μου, καὶ ἡ ταπείνωσις ψυχῆς μου, καὶ αἱ εὐχαὶ Ἰακὼβ τοῦ πατρός μου, ἄτεκνος εἶχον ἀποθανεῖν. ἀλλ' ὁ θεός . . . ὁ οἰκτίρμων καὶ ἐλεήμων συνέγνω ὅτι ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ ἐποίησα.*

25. *Received forgiveness because he turned from his sin and from his ignorance.* Something seems wrong. We ought to have the idea expressed in Test. Jud. 19: *συνέγνω ὅτι ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ ἐποίησα.* Cf. 1 Tim. i. 13: *ἠλεήθην, ὅτι ἀγνοῶν ἐποίησα. b* transposes "because he turned" after "ignorance." If we transpose the clauses "because . . . sin" and "from his ignorance," we should have an excellent sense: "received forgiveness because of his ignorance and because he turned from his sin"; for the Eth. preposition emna means either "from" or "because of."

Every one who lies with his mother-in-law, let them burn him with fire. So Lev. xx. 14 enacts.

26. *Lies with his daughter-in-law.* Cf. Lev. xviii. 15, xx. 12. The punishment ordained for this offence is death in the passages referred to in Leviticus; but the form of death is not specified. On the other hand, death by fire is the penalty presupposed for this offence in Gen. xxxviii. 24. Our text (xx. 4) enjoins this penalty for adultery or fornication.

28. *According to the judgment of Abraham.* See note on xx. 4.

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Owing to the famine Jacob sends his sons to Egypt for corn, 1-4. *Joseph recognises them and retains Simeon, and requires them to bring Benjamin when they returned,* 5-12. *Notwithstanding Jacob's reluctance his sons take Benjamin with them on their second journey and are entertained by Joseph,* 13-25. (Cf. Gen. xli. 54, 56, xlii. 7-9, 13, 17, 20, 24-25, 29-30, 34-38, xliii. 1-2, 4-5, 8-9, 11, 15, 23, 26, 29, 34, xliv. 1-2.)

2171 A.M. XLII. And in the first year of the third week of the forty-fifth jubilee the famine began to come into the land, and the rain refused to be given to the earth, for none whatever fell. 2. And the earth grew barren, but in the land of Egypt there was food, for Joseph had gathered the seed of the land in the seven years of plenty and had preserved it. 3. And the Egyptians came to Joseph that he might give them food, and he opened the storehouses where was the grain of the first year, and he sold it to the people of the land for gold. 4. (Now the famine was very sore in the land of Canaan), and Jacob heard that there was food in Egypt, and he sent his ten sons that they should procure food for him in Egypt; but Benjamin he did not send, and (the ten sons of Jacob) arrived (in Egypt) among those that went (there). 5. And Joseph recognised them, but they did not recognise him, and he spake unto them and questioned them, and he said unto them; "Are ye not spies, and have ye not come to explore the approaches of the land?" And he put them in

XLII. 2. *In . . . Egypt there was food.* Cf. Gen. xli. 54.

3. Cf. Gen. xli. 56.

4. (*Now . . . Canaan*). Supplied from Latin. Cf. Gen. xli. 56.

And Jacob heard, etc. Cf. Gen. xlii. 1, 2, 4.

(*The ten sons of Jacob*), (*in Egypt*). Supplied from Latin, "in Aegypto decem filii Jacob."

5-7. Cf. Gen. xlii. 7-9, 17, 24, 25.

5. *Spake unto them and questioned them.* Lat. has "appellavit eos dure." Cf. Gen. xlii. 7.

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ward. 6. And after that he set them free again, and detained Simeon alone and sent off his nine brothers. 7. And he filled their sacks with corn, and he put their gold in their sacks, and they did not know. 8. And he commanded them to bring their younger brother, for they had told him their father was living and their younger brother. 9. And they went up from the land of Egypt and they came to the land of Canaan; and they told their father all that had befallen them, and how the lord of the country had spoken roughly to them, and had seized Simeon till they should bring Benjamin. 10. And Jacob said: "Me have ye bereaved of my children! Joseph is not and Simeon also is not, and ye will take Benjamin away. On me has your wickedness come." 11. And he said: "My son will not go down with you lest perchance he fall sick; for their mother gave birth to two sons, and one has perished, and this one also ye will take from me. If perchance he took a fever on the road, ye would bring down my old age with sorrow unto death." 12. For he saw that their money had been returned to every man in his sack, and for this reason he feared to send him. 13. And the famine increased and became sore in the land of Canaan, and in all lands save in the land of Egypt, for many of the children of the Egyptians had stored up their seed for food from the time when they saw Joseph gathering seed together and putting it in storehouses and preserving it for the years of famine. 14. And the people of Egypt fed themselves thereon during the first year of their famine. 15. But when Israel saw that the famine was very sore in the land, and that there was no deliverance,

6. *And after that . . . Simeon alone.* Latin differs: "Et mittens arcessivit illos et accipiens Symeonem ab ipsis ligavit eum."
8. Cf. Gen. xlii. 20, 13.
9. Cf. Gen. xlii. 29, 30, 34.
10-12. Cf. Gen. 36, 38.
12. Cf. Gen. xlii. 35.
13. Cf. Gen. xliii. 1.
15-16. Cf. Gen. xliii. 2, 4, 5.

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he said unto his sons: "Go again, and procure food for us that we die not." 16. And they said: "We shall not go; unless our youngest brother go with us, we shall not go." 17. And Israel saw that if he did not send him with them, they should all perish by reason of the famine. 18. And Reuben said: "Give him into my hand, and if I do not bring him back to thee, slay my two sons instead of his soul." And he said unto him: "He will not go with thee." 19. And Judah came near and said: "Send him with me, and if I do not bring him back to thee, let me bear the blame before thee all the days of my life." 20.
2172 A.M. And he sent him with them in the second year of this week on the first day of the month, and they came to the land of Egypt with all those who went, and (they had) presents in their hands, stacte and almonds and terebinth nuts and pure honey. 21. And they went and stood before Joseph, and he saw Benjamin his brother, and he knew him, and said unto them: "Is this your youngest brother?" And they said unto him: "It is he." And he said: "The Lord be gracious to thee, my son!" 22. And he sent him into his house and he brought forth Simeon unto them and he made a feast for them, and they presented to him the gift which they had brought in their hands. 23. And they eat before him and he gave them all a portion, but the portion of Benjamin was seven times larger than that of any of theirs. 24. And they eat and drank and arose and remained with their asses. 25. And Joseph devised a plan whereby he might learn their thoughts as to whether thoughts of peace prevailed amongst them, and he said to the steward who was over his house: "Fill all their sacks with food, and return their money unto them into

18. Cf. Gen. xlii. 37, 38.
19. Cf. Gen. xliii. 8, 9.
20. Cf. Gen. xliii. 11.
21. Cf. Gen. xliii. 15, 29.
22. Cf. Gen. xliii. 23, 26.
23-24. Cf. Gen. xliii. 34.
25. Cf. Gen. xliv. 1, 2.

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their vessels, and my cup, the silver cup out of which I drink, put it in the sack of the youngest, and send them away."

Joseph's plan to stay his brethren, 1-10. *Judah's supplication*, 11-13. *Joseph makes himself known to his brethren and sends them back for his father*, 14-24. (Cf. Gen. xliv. 3-10, 12-18, 27-28, 30-32, xlv. 1-2, 5-9, 12, 18, 20-21, 23, 25-28.)

XLIII. And he did as Joseph had told him, and filled all their sacks for them with food and put their money in their sacks, and put the cup in Benjamin's sack. 2. And early in the morning they departed, and it came to pass that, when they had gone from thence, Joseph said unto the steward of his house: "Pursue them, run and seize them, saying, 'For good ye have requited me with evil; you have stolen from me the silver cup out of which my lord drinks.' And bring back to me their youngest brother, and fetch (him) quickly before I go forth to my seat of judgment." 3. And he ran after them and said unto them according to these words. 4. And they said unto him: "God forbid that thy servants should do this thing, and steal from the house of thy lord any utensil, and the money also which we found in our sacks the first time, we thy servants brought back from the land of Canaan. 5. How then should we steal any utensil? Behold here are we and our sacks; search, and wherever thou findest the cup in the sack of any man amongst us, let him be slain, and we and our asses will serve thy lord." 6. And he said unto them: "Not so, the man with whom I find, him only shall I take as a servant, and ye will return in peace

XLIII. 2. Cf. Gen. xliv. 3, 4.
3-6. Cf. Gen. xliv. 6-10.
5. *Thy lord.* Gen. xliv. 9, "my lord."

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unto your house." 7. And as he was searching in their vessels, beginning with the eldest and ending with the youngest, it was found in Benjamin's sack. 8. And they rent their garments, and laded their asses, and returned to the city and came to the house of Joseph, and they all bowed themselves on their faces to the ground before him. 9. And Joseph said unto them: "Ye have done evil." And they said: "What shall we say and how shall we defend ourselves? Our lord hath discovered the transgression of his servants; behold we are the servants of our lord, and our asses also." 10. And Joseph said unto them: "I too fear the Lord; as for you, go ye to your homes and let your brother be my servant, for ye have done evil. Know ye not that a man delights in his cup as I with this cup? And yet ye have stolen it from me." 11. And Judah said: "O my lord, let thy servant, I pray thee, speak a word in my lord's ear; two brothers did thy servant's mother bear to our father; one went away and was lost, and hath not been found, and he alone is left of his mother, and thy servant our father loves him, and his life also is bound up with the life of this (lad). 12. And it will come to pass, when we go to thy servant our father, and the lad is not with us, that he will die, and we shall bring down our father with sorrow unto death. 13. Now rather let me, thy servant, abide instead of the boy as a bondsman unto my lord, and let the lad go with his brethren, for I became surety for him at the hand of thy servant our father, and if I do not bring him back, thy servant will bear the blame to our father for ever."

7-8. Cf. Gen. xliv. 12-14.

9-10. Cf. Gen. xliv. 5 ("ye have done evil"), 16, 17. Observe that Gen. xliv. 16 specifies "we and he also in whose hand the cup is found."

10. *Delights in his cup.* So MSS. A change of jâsta'adĕm into jâstaqasĕm = "divines" would bring our text into line with Gen. xliv. 15; but the change may be deliberate.

11-13. Cf. Gen. xliv. 18, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32.

11. *I pray thee.* Here the MSS = "on me," a mistranslation of עָנָּא = δέομαι in Gen. xliv. 18.

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14. And Joseph saw that they were all accordant in goodness one with another, and he could not refrain himself, and he told them that he was Joseph. 15. And he conversed with them in the Hebrew tongue and fell on their neck and wept. But they knew him not and they began to weep. 16. And he said unto them: "Weep not over me, but hasten and bring my father to me; and ye see that it is my mouth that speaketh, and the eyes of my brother Benjamin see. 17. For behold this is the second year of the famine, and there are still five years without harvest or fruit of trees or ploughing. 18. Come down quickly ye and your households, so that ye perish not through the famine, and do not be grieved for your possessions, for the Lord sent me before you to set things in order that many people might live. 19. And tell my father that I am still alive, and ye, behold, ye see that the Lord has made me as a father to Pharaoh, and ruler over his house and over all the land of Egypt. 20. And tell my father of all my glory, and all the riches and glory that the Lord hath given me." 21. And by the command of the mouth of Pharaoh he gave them chariots and provisions for the way, and he gave them all many-coloured raiment and silver. 22. And to their father he sent raiment and silver and ten asses which carried corn, and he sent them away. 23. And they went up and told their father that Joseph was alive, and was measuring out corn to all the nations of the earth, and that he was ruler over all the land of Egypt. 24. And their father did not believe it, for he was beside himself in his mind; but when he saw the wagons which

14-15. Cf. Gen. xlv. 1, 2.

15. *Conversed with them in the Hebrew tongue.* So Ber. rabba 93. According to Gen. Joseph caused all the Egyptians to go out.

16. Cf. Gen. xlv. 5, 9, 12.

Ye see that it is . . . Benjamin see. Emended: see my text p. 157. MSS = "Let me see him before I die and the eyes of my brother Benjamin while seeing."

17. Cf. Gen. xlv. 6.

18. Cf. Gen. xlv. 18, 20, 5, 7.

19. Cf. Gen. xlv. 8.

20. Cf. Gen. xlv. 13.

21-24. Cf. Gen. xlv. 21, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28.

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Joseph had sent, the life of his spirit revived, and he said: "It is enough for me if Joseph lives; I will go down and see him before I die."

Jacob celebrates the feast of first-fruits, and encouraged by a vision goes down to Egypt, 1-10. *Names of his descendants,* 11-34. (Cf. Gen. xlvi. 1-28.)

XLIV. And Israel took his journey from †Haran† from his house on the new moon of the third month, and he went on the way of the Well of the Oath, and he offered a sacrifice to the God of his father Isaac on the seventh of this month. 2. And Jacob remembered the dream that he had seen at Bethel, and he feared to go down into Egypt. 3. And while he was thinking of sending word to Joseph to come to him, and that he would not go down, he remained there seven days, if perchance he should see a vision as to whether he should remain or go down. 4. And he celebrated the harvest festival of the first-fruits with old grain, for in all the land of Canaan there was not a handful of seed (in the land), for the famine was over all the beasts and cattle and birds, and also over man. 5. And on the sixteenth the Lord appeared unto him, and said unto him, "Jacob, Jacob"; and he said, "Here am I." And He said unto him: "I am the God of thy fathers, the God of Abraham and Isaac; fear not to go down into Egypt, for I will there make of thee a great nation.

24. *It is enough for me.* The Ethiopic is here a literal equivalent of the LXX, Gen. xlv. 28, *μέγα μοί ἐστιν*, which is in its turn a literal rendering of רַב לִי. LXX, Syr., Vulg. (sufficit mihi) and Onkelos presuppose the לִי, which however the Mass. and Sam. omit.

XLIV. 1. †*Haran*†. This seems corrupt for "Hebron." Hebron is presupposed by the statement in ver. 6 and also by Gen. xxxvii. 14.

4. Cf. Gen. xlvi. 1. Jacob celebrates the feast of weeks on the 15th of the third month. He has a vision on the next day (see next verse).

(*In the land*). Bracketed as a dittography.

5-8. Cf. Gen. xlvi. 2-6.

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6. I shall go down with thee, and I shall bring thee up (again), and in this land wilt thou be buried, and Joseph will put his hands upon thy eyes. Fear not; go down into Egypt." 7. And his sons rose up, and his sons' sons, and they placed their father and their possessions upon wagons. 8. And Israel rose up from the Well of the Oath on the sixteenth of this third month, and he went to the land of Egypt. 9. And Israel sent Judah before him to his son Joseph to examine the Land of Goshen, for Joseph had told his brothers that they should come and dwell there that they might be near him. 10. And this was the goodliest (land) in the land of Egypt, and near to him, for all (of them) and also for the cattle. 11. And these are the names of the sons of Jacob who went into Egypt with Jacob their father. 12. Reuben, the first-born of Israel; and these are the names of his sons: Enoch, and

6. *Bring thee up.* Cf. xxvii. 24, xxxii. 23. Here wasada has the very unusual meaning of ἀναβιβάζειν or ἀνάγειν. Cf. Asc. Isaiah ix. 1. Usually it means "conduct," "lead."

9. Cf. Gen. xlvi. 28.

To examine = לְרָאוֹת. So practically Onkelos. Mass. alone has לְהוֹרֹת, while Sam., LXX, Syr. = לְהַרְאוֹת.

12-33. Our text makes the number of Jacob's descendants together with himself seventy. This was the view of the writer of Gen. xlvi. 26 and of Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 7. 4. On the other hand in Gen. xlvi. 15, 18, 21, 25 Jacob is expressly not included in the number seventy. Cf. Exod. i. 5. That chapter has admittedly undergone revision. Our text makes up the number seventy by a method somewhat different from that in Gen. xlvi. Thus whereas Dan and Naphtali have respectively one and four sons in Gen., our text assigns them five each. On the other hand Gen. includes in its reckoning two grandchildren of Asher, Er, Onan, two sons of Perez, and Dinah against Jubilees. The numbers in our text may be represented as follows:—

Leah's children	Reuben and 4 sons	5
	Simeon and 6 sons	7
	Levi and 3 sons	4
	Judah, 1 son, 2 grandsons	4
	Issachar and 4 sons	5
	Zebulon and 3 sons	4
		29
Zilpah's „	Gad and 7 sons	8
	Asher, 4 sons and 1 daughter	6
		14
Rachel's „	Joseph and 2 sons	3
	Benjamin and 10 sons	11
		14
Bilhah's „	Dan and 5 sons	6
	Naphtali and 5 sons	6
		12

29 + 14 + 14 + 12 = 69. Thus the number 70 includes Jacob. It is noteworthy that the LXX reads 75 in Gen. xlvi. 27: likewise in Exod. i. 5, while in Deut. x. 22 most MSS give 70 but some give 75. The number 75 in Acts vii. 14 is of course due to the LXX.

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Pallu, and Hezron and Carmi—five. 13. Simeon and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Jemuel, and Jamin, and Ohad, and Jachin, and Zohar, and Shaul, the son of the Zephathite woman—seven. 14. Levi and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Gershon, and Kohath, and Merari—four. 15. Judah and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Shela, and Perez, and Zerah—four. 16. Issachar and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Tola, and Phûa, and Jâsûb, and Shimron—five. 17. Zebulon and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Sered, and Elon, and Jahleel—four. 18. And these are the sons of Jacob, and their sons, whom Leah bore to Jacob in Mesopotamia, six, and their one sister, Dinah: and all the souls of the sons of Leah, and their sons, who went with Jacob their father into Egypt, were twenty-nine, and Jacob their father being with them, they were thirty. 19. And the sons of Zilpah, Leah's handmaid, the wife of Jacob, whom she bore unto Jacob, Gad and Asher. 20. And these are the names of their sons who went with him into Egypt: the sons of Gad: Ziphion, and Haggi, and Shuni, and Ezbon, (and Eri) and Areli, and Arodi—eight. 21. And the sons of Asher: Imnah, and Ishvah, (and Ishvi), and Beriah, and Serah, their one sister—six. 22. All

12. For Pallu, Hezron and Carmi, Eth. has Phâllûs, 'Êsrôm, Karâmî.

13. For Jemuel, etc., Eth. has 'Îjâmû'êl, 'Îjamên, 'Awôt (LXX, Ἀωδ), 'Îjakim, Sâ'ar (LXX, Σάαρ), Saul.

Zephathite woman. So *b* Siphnâwât. *a c d* corrupt. Zephathite, as Rönsch p. 499 has recognised, is an adjective formed from Zephath, צְפַת, a Canaanitish city destroyed by Judah and Simeon: Judg. i. 17. Hence reading of *b* should be restored in my text.

14. For Gershon and Kohath Eth. has Gêdsôn and Qa'âth.

15. For Perez and Zerah Eth. has Phârês and Zârâ.

16. *Phûa.* So Sam., LXX, Syr., Vulg., Onk. in Gen. xlvi. 13 (and also in 1 Chron. vii. 1, פּוּאָה), whereas Mass. has פֻּוָּה.

Jâsûb. So Sam. of Gen. xlvi. 13, יָשׁוּב, LXX, Ἰασουβ. Mass., Vulg., Onk. has יוֹב.

Shimron. Eth. Sâmarôm.

17. Eth. has Sa'ar, 'Êlôn, 'Îjâl'êl.

19. *Whom she bore unto Jacob.* So *c d.* *a b* = "who bore unto Jacob Gad and Asher."

20. Eth. has Sêphjôn, 'Agâtî, Sûn, 'Asibôn, 'Arôlî, 'Arôdî.

(*And Eri*). This was originally in the Ethiopic as the number "eight" shows.

21. Eth. has 'Îjômnâ, Jësû'a, Barija, Sârâ.

(*And Ishvi*). This was originally in the Eth. as the number "six" shows.

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the souls were fourteen, and all those of Leah were forty-four. 23. And the sons of Rachel, the wife of Jacob: Joseph and Benjamin. 24. And there were born to Joseph in Egypt before his father came into Egypt, those whom Asenath, daughter of Potiphar priest of Heliopolis bare unto him, Manasseh, and Ephraim — three. 25. And the sons of Benjamin: Bela and Becher, and Ashbel, Gera, and Naaman, and Ehi, and Rosh, and Muppim, and Huppim, and Ard — eleven. 26. And all the souls of Rachel were fourteen. 27. And the sons of Bilhah, the handmaid of Rachel, the wife of Jacob, whom she bare to Jacob, were Dan and Naphtali. 28. And these are the names of their sons who went with them into Egypt. And the sons of Dan were Hushim, and Sâmôn, and Asûdî, and 'Îjâka, and Salômôn—six. 29. And they died the year in which they entered into Egypt, and there was left to Dan Hushim alone. 30. And these are the names of the sons of Naphtali: Jahziel, and Guni, and Jezer, and Shallum, and 'Îv. 31. And 'Îv, who was born after the years of famine, died in Egypt. 32. And all the souls of Rachel were twenty-six. 33. And all the souls of Jacob which went into Egypt were seventy souls. These are his children and his children's children, in all seventy; but five died in Egypt before Joseph, and had no children. 34. And in the land of Canaan two sons of Judah died, Er and Onan, and they had no children, and the children of Israel

25. Eth. has Bâlâ, Bakar, 'Asbîl, Gû'ada, Nê'êmên, 'Abdčjô, Râ'ê, Sanânîm, 'Aphîm, Gâ'am. In this list the sixth, eighth and tenth names are corrupted almost beyond the possibility of recognition.

28. In Gen. xlvi. 23 only one son of Dan is mentioned, though the Mass. reads "sons of Dan." Cf. for similar case Gen. xxxvi. 25. On the other hand Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xlvi. 23 states that the sons of Dan were beyond numbering. Beer (*Buch d. Jub.* 37) quotes Baba bathra 143*b* to the same effect.

Hushim. Eth. has Kûsîm.

30. Eth. has 'Îjâsî'êl, Gâhânî, 'Ĕsa'ar, Sallûm. Here our text agrees with 1 Chron. vii. 13 rather than with Gen. xlvi. 24 in the case of the names Jahziel and Shallum. Gen. xlvi. 24 has here Jahzeel and Shillem.

And 'Îv. Not in Gen. xlvi. 24.

33. *Before Joseph* (*b c*). *a* gives "before they married"; *d* "who did not marry."

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buried those who perished, and they were reckoned among the seventy Gentile nations.

Joseph receives Jacob, and gives him Goshen, 1-7. *Joseph acquires all the land and its inhabitants for Pharaoh*, 8-12. *Jacob dies and is buried in Hebron*, 13-15. *His books given to Levi*, 16. (Cf. Gen. xlvi. 28-30, xlvii. 11-13, 19, 20, 23, 24, 28, l. 13.)

2172 A.M. XLV. And Israel went into the country of Egypt, into the land of Goshen, on the new moon of the fourth month, in the second year of the third week of the forty-fifth jubilee. 2. And Joseph went to meet his father Jacob, to the land of Goshen, and he fell on his father's neck and wept. 3. And Israel said unto Joseph: "Now let me die since I have seen thee, and now may the Lord God of Israel be blessed, the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac who hath not withheld His mercy and His grace from His servant Jacob. 4. It is enough for me that I have seen thy face whilst †I am† yet alive; yea, true is the vision which I saw at Bethel. Blessed be the Lord my God for ever and ever, and blessed be His name." 5. And Joseph and his brothers eat bread before their father and drank wine, and Jacob rejoiced with exceeding great joy because he saw Joseph eating with his brothers and drinking before him, and he blessed the Creator of all things who had preserved him, and had preserved for him his twelve sons. 6. And Joseph had given to his father and to his brothers as a gift the right of dwelling in the land of Goshen and in Rameses

XLV. 1-4a. Cf. Gen. xlvi. 28-30.

4. *It is enough for me.* Here the Ethiopic = μέγα μοί ἐστιν. See note on xliii. 24.

Whilst †I am† yet alive. In Gen. xlvi. 30: "that thou art yet alive"; but our text is probably corrupt; for by changing ana into anta it is brought into line with Gen. xlvi. 30.

6. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 11.

Rameses. Eth. has Râmêsêna = ⲣⲁⲙⲥⲏⲥ.

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and all the region round about, which he ruled over before Pharaoh. And Israel and his sons dwelt in the land of Goshen, the best part of the land of Egypt; and Israel was one hundred and thirty years old when he came into Egypt. 7. And Joseph nourished his father and his brethren and also their possessions with bread as much as sufficed them for the seven years of the famine. 8. And the land of Egypt suffered by reason of the famine, and Joseph acquired all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh in return for food, and he got possession of the people and their cattle and everything for Pharaoh. 9. And the years of the famine were accomplished, and Joseph gave to the people in the land seed and food that they might sow (the land) in the eighth year, for the river had overflowed all the land of Egypt. 10. For in the seven years of the famine it had not overflowed and had irrigated only a few places on the banks of the river, but now it overflowed and the Egyptians sowed the land, and it bore much corn that year. 11. And this was the first year of the 2178 A.M. fourth week of the forty-fifth jubilee. 12. And Joseph took of the corn of the harvest the fifth part for the king and left four parts for them for food and for seed, and Joseph made it an ordinance for the land of Egypt

One hundred and thirty years. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 9.

7. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 12.

As much as sufficed them. By reading bakama 'akâlômû instead of bakama ya'aklômû we should get (as in LXX of Gen. xlvii. 12) κατὰ σῶμα αὐτῶν, "according to their persons." The Hebrew is לְפִי טַפָּם = "according to their families."

8. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 13, 19, 20.

For Pharaoh. Emended with Latin "Pharaoni" from text of *b* = "and Pharaoh."

9. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 23.

(*The land*). Restored from Latin. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 23.

10. *Not.* Restored from Latin.

It bore = farajat, which, since Latin has collegerunt, may be corrupt for 'ararû = "collegerunt" or "harvested."

12. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 24.

Of the corn of the harvest = 'ĕm'ĕkl zazar'û. So the text should be translated. Zar'û is not a verb here, but zar'e (which here = seges, γεννήματα) with the suffix, which goes back to medr = "land" in verse 10, just as αὐτῆς after τὰ γεννήματα in LXX of Gen. xlvii. 24 goes back to γῆν in the preceding sentence. But since the Latin has de omnibus quidquid natum est, it is possible that for em'ekl zazar'û we should read 'ĕmkuellû zar'û = "of all the harvest." I hereby withdraw the emendation in my text.

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until this day. 13. And Israel lived in the land of Egypt seventeen years, and all the days which he lived were three jubilees, one hundred and forty-seven years, and he died
2188 A.M. in the fourth year of the fifth week of the forty-fifth jubilee. 14. And Israel blessed his sons before he died and told them everything that would befall them in the land of Egypt; and he made known to them what would come upon them in the last days, and blessed them and gave to Joseph two portions in the land. 15. And he slept with his fathers, and he was buried in the double cave in the land of Canaan, near Abraham his father in the grave which he dug for himself in the double cave in the land of Hebron. 16. And he gave all his books and the books of his fathers to Levi his son that he might preserve them and renew them for his children until this day.

Prosperity of Israel in Egypt, 1-2. *Death of Joseph*, 3-5. *War between Egypt and Canaan during which the bones of all the sons of Jacob except Joseph are buried at Hebron*, 6-11. *Egypt oppresses Israel*, 12-16. (Cf. Gen. l. 22, 25-26; Exod. i. 6-14.)

XLVI. And it came to pass that after Jacob died the children of Israel multiplied in the land of Egypt, and they became a great nation, and they were of one accord in heart, so that brother loved brother and every man helped his brother, and they increased abundantly and
2242 A.M. multiplied exceedingly, ten weeks of years, all the days

13. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 28.

This date conflicts with that in xix. 13, *i.e.* 2046, which according to the present passage should be 2041. See also note on xxv. 4.

14. *Told them everything*, etc. Gen. xlix. 1. See xxxii. 21, note.

Blessed them. Cf. Gen. xlix.

Two portions. Gen. xlviii. 22. See notes p. 201.

15. Cf. Gen. l. 13.

16. Cf. x. 14. According to our author these traditions were in the keeping of Levi's descendants. It is reasonable to infer that our author who gave them to the world was a descendant of Levi, and probably a priest.

XLVI. 1. Cf. Exod. i. 7.

Ten weeks of years. Hence Joseph

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of the life of Joseph. 2. And there was no Satan nor any evil all the days of the life of Joseph which he lived after his father Jacob, for all the Egyptians honoured the children of Israel all the days of the life of Joseph. 3. And Joseph died being a hundred and ten years old; seventeen years he lived in the land of Canaan, and ten years he was a servant, and three years in prison, and eighty years he was under the king, ruling all the land of Egypt. 4. And he died and all his brethren and all that generation. 5. And he commanded the children of Israel before he died that they should carry his bones with them when they went forth from the land of Egypt. 6. And he made them swear regarding his bones, for

died seventy years after the arrival of Jacob in Egypt, *i.e.* in 2242. See note on xxviii. 24. Joseph had already been ruling ten years before Jacob's coming (ver. 3).

2. *No Satan*, etc. See xxiii. 29.

3. *Joseph died being a hundred and ten years old.* Cf. Gen. l. 22, 26; Exod. i. 6.

5-6a. Cf. Gen. l. 25.

6-9. This war between the Egyptians and the Canaanites is referred to in the Test. Sim. 8 and Test. Benj. 12 as being waged when the bodies of these patriarchs were buried at Hebron. Thus in Sim. 8: ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν ἐν θήκῃ ξύλων ἀσήπτων, τοῦ ἀναγαγεῖν τὰ ὀστᾶ αὐτοῦ ἐν Χεβρών. καὶ ἀνήνεγκαν αὐτὰ ἐν πολέμῳ Αἰγυπτίων κρυφῇ: and Benj. 12: καὶ ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν ἐν παραθήκῃ καὶ . . . ἀνήγαγον τὰ ὀστᾶ τῶν πατέρων αὐτῶν ἐν κρυφῇ, ἐν πολέμῳ Χαναάν (O. Arm. = ὅτε ἦσαν ἐν πολέμῳ οἱ Χαναναῖοι). If we could trust the date in Test. Gad 8 which says that the body of Gad was buried in Hebron five years after his death: ἐκοιμήθη ἐν εἰρήνῃ. καὶ μετὰ πέντε ἔτη ἀνήγαγον αὐτὸν καὶ ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν εἰς Χεβρών, we could arrive at the date to which the authors of Jubilees and the Testaments assigned this war between Egypt and Canaan. Since Gad died at the age of 125 (Test. Gad, 1 (MS O); Midrash Tadshe and Book of Jashar, *op. cit.* ii. 1246) and was 40 when he went down into Egypt (see note on xxviii. 11-24), his burial in Hebron took place 90 years after the descent into Egypt in the year of the world 2262. But this date would be too early for Levi and Benjamin. The statement in Benj. 12 that this expedition to Hebron was in the 91st year (Greek MSS) before the exodus, is not supported by the Armenian version. Our text fixes it at 2263. Notwithstanding it seems clearly to have been the view of the author of the Testaments that the bones of all the patriarchs save those of Joseph were buried in Hebron on the occasion of a war between Egypt and Canaan. Thus, in addition to the statements in Simeon, Gad and Benjamin, observe that after mentioning the death of Levi, Zebulon and Dan, the Testaments (Lev. 19; Zeb. 10; Dan 7) add that "afterwards" (ὕστερον) they were buried in Hebron. Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 8. 2) appears to have held the same view, though he makes no mention of the war. He states: "His (Joseph's) brethren also died . . . and their posterity and sons carried their bodies after some time (κομίσαντες μετὰ χρόνον) and buried them in Hebron." St. Stephen is beholden to this tradition for the statement in Acts vii. 15-16.

Merenptah (about this date?) waged war against Palestine. See Articles on Egypt in *Encyc. Bib.* ii. and *Bible Dictionary*, i. 662, 665. But our text,

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he knew that the Egyptians would not again bring forth and bury him in the land of Canaan, for Mâkamârôn, king of Canaan, while dwelling in the land of Assyria, fought in the valley with the king of Egypt and slew him there, and pursued after the Egyptians to the gates of 'Êrmôn. 7. But he was not able to enter, for another, a new king, had become king of Egypt, and he was stronger than he, and he returned to the land of Canaan, and the gates of Egypt were closed, and none went out and none came into Egypt. 8. And Joseph died in the forty-
2242 A.M. sixth jubilee, in the sixth week, in the second year, and they buried him in the land of Egypt, and all his brethren died after him. 9. And the king of Egypt went
2263 A.M. forth to war with the king of Canaan in the forty-seventh jubilee, in the second week in the second year, and the children of Israel brought forth all the bones of the children of Jacob save the bones of Joseph, and they buried them in the field in the double cave in the mountain. 10. And the most (of them) returned to Egypt, but a few of them remained in the mountains of Hebron, and

which emphasises the weakness of Egypt, points rather to the period of the successors of Rameses III. when Egypt lost her Syrian dependencies.

In Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 10) there is an account of a war between Cush and Egypt in which the latter prevails under the generalship of Moses. An enlarged form of this legend, having many details in common with that in Josephus, is given in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, xlv. Here the war is between Cush and Syria and the people of the East. Another form appears in the *Palaea Historica* (Vassiliev, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina*, i. 228), where Egypt is at strife with India. A later and still more elaborate, and still more grotesque, edition is found in the Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1244-1253). The oldest form of the tradition is that in our text where the war is between Egypt and Canaan. The account in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel comes nearest to this in representing Cush and Canaan as the opposing countries.

6. *'Êrmôn, i.e.* Heroônpolis which stood close to the Desert on the canal of Ramses. I cannot identify Mâkamârôn.

8. *All his brethren died after him.* This statement holds even if we accept the birth-dates in our text (see p. 171 note), and the ages assigned to the twelve sons of Jacob by the Test. XII. Patriarchs (see p. 172 note).

9. The date 2263 is not late enough to allow of all the sons of Jacob being dead if we accept the ages assigned to them by the Test. XII. Patriarchs. Thus Benjamin was born in the year 2143 and as he lived 125 years (see note on p. 172) the date of his death would be 2268.

10. According to Beer there is no other mention of this stay of Amram in Canaan. To Josephus (see *Ant.* ii. 8. 2), however, some such legend may have been known.

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Amram thy father remained with them. 11. And the king of Canaan was victorious over the king of Egypt, and he closed the gates of Egypt. 12. And he devised an evil device against the children of Israel of afflicting them; and he said unto the people of Egypt: 13. "Behold the people of the children of Israel have increased and multiplied more than we. Come and let us deal wisely with them before they become too many, and let us afflict them with slavery before war come upon us and before they too fight against us; else they will join themselves unto our enemies and get them up out of our land, for their hearts and faces are towards the land of Canaan." 14. And he set over them taskmasters to afflict them with slavery; and they built strong cities for Pharaoh, Pithom and Raamses, and they built all the walls and all the fortifications which had fallen in the cities of Egypt. 15. And they made them serve with rigour, and the more they dealt evilly with them, the more they increased and multiplied. 16. And the people of Egypt abominated the children of Israel.

Birth of Moses, 1-4. *Adopted by Pharaoh's daughter*, 5-9. *Slays an Egyptian and flees (into Midian)*, 10-12. (Cf. Exod. i. 22, ii. 2-15.)

XLVII. And in the seventh week, in the seventh year, in the forty-seventh jubilee, thy father went forth from the land of Canaan, and thou wast born in the fourth 2303 A.M. 2330 A.M.

Amram, i.e. עַמְרָם, Eth. 'Abrâm. This last form is found in Philo, *De Cong. Erud. Gratia* 24: also in one of the LXX MSS in Num. xxvi. 59.

13-15. Cf. Exod. i. 10, 11, 14, 12.

13. *Their hearts . . . are towards the land of Canaan.* Rönsch (p. 162) compares for the diction Ezek. xxi. 2.

14. *Strong cities.* This is עָרֵי מִסְכְּנוֹת, usually rendered "treasure" or "store cities," but the LXX renders πόλεις ὀχυραί here and in 2 Chron. viii. 4.

Pithom and Raamses. Eth. Pîtô waRamêsê. Latin adds "et Oon" probably through influence of LXX of Exod. i. 11.

And all the fortifications. Latin omits.

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week, in the sixth year thereof, in the forty-eighth jubilee; this was the time of tribulation on the children of Israel. 2. And Pharaoh, king of Egypt, issued a command regarding them that they should cast all their male children which were born into the river. 3. And they cast them in for seven months until the day that thou wast born. And thy mother hid thee for three months, and they told regarding her. 4. And she made an ark for thee, and covered it with pitch and asphalt, and placed it in the flags on the bank of the river, and she placed thee in it seven days, and thy mother came by night and suckled thee, and by day Miriam, thy sister, guarded thee from the birds. 5. And in those days Tharmuth, the daughter of Pharaoh, came to bathe in the river, and she heard thy voice crying, and she told her maidens to bring thee forth, and they brought thee unto her. 6. And she took thee out of the ark, and she had compassion on thee. 7. And thy sister said unto her: "Shall I go and call unto thee one of the Hebrew women to nurse and suckle this babe for thee?" And she said (unto her): "Go." 8. And she went and called thy mother Jochebed, and she gave her wages, and she nursed thee. 9. And

XLVII. 2-4. Cf. Exod. i. 22, ii. 2-4.

3. *For seven months.* Cedrenus (i. 85) takes our text as stating that the casting of the children of the Hebrews went on for "ten" months, *i.e.*, until Pharaoh's daughter adopted Moses: ὅτι ἐν τῇ λεπτῇ Γενέσει κεῖται μόνους δέκα μῆνας ῥιφῆναι τὰ βρέφη τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἕως οὗ ἀνελήφθη Μωϋσῆς ὑπὸ τῆς βασιλίσσης· διὰ τοῦτο δέκα πληγαὶ ἐδόθησαν ἐν δέκα μησὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις, καὶ τέλος ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ κατεστράφησαν δν τρόπον τὰ βρέφη τῶν Ἑβραίων ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἀπέπνιγον, χιλίων ἀνδρῶν ἀπονιγέντων ἰσχυρῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀνθ' ἑνὸς βρέφους Ἰσραηλιτικοῦ.

5-8. Cf. Exod. ii. 5-9.

5. *Tharmuth.* Syr. This appears in Syr. Frag. as ܬܪܡܘܬ, as Θέρμουθις in Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 9. 5, 7: 10. 2: similarly in Syncellus i. 227: Θερμοῦθις ἡ καὶ Φαρίη. This Φαρία is identified with Isis; see Tertullian *Ad. Nat.* ii. 8; *Apol.* 16. For other references consult Rönsch, p. 265.

Her maidens. Eth. = "her Hebrew maids," a mistranslation as Dillmann recognised of ăbraiś. The plural is also found in the Syr. of Exod. ii. 5, but our Latin version and the Mass., Sam., LXX, and Vulg = ăbrą.

7. (*Unto her*). Restored from the Latin and Exod. ii. 8.

8. *Jochebed.* Cf. Exod. vi. 20; Num. xxvi. 59.

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afterwards, when thou wast grown up, they brought thee unto the daughter of Pharaoh, and thou didst become her son, and Amram thy father taught thee writing, and after thou hadst completed three weeks they brought thee into the royal court. 10. And thou wast three weeks 2351-2372 A.M.
of years at court until the time when thou didst go forth from the royal court and didst see an Egyptian smiting thy friend who was of the children of Israel, and thou didst slay him and hide him in the sand. 11. And on the second day thou didst find two of the children of Israel striving together, and thou didst say to him who was doing the wrong: "Why dost thou smite thy brother?" 12. And he was angry and indignant, and said: "Who made thee a prince and a judge over us? Thinkest thou to kill me as thou killedst the Egyptian yesterday?" And thou didst fear and flee on account of these words.

Moses returns from Midian to Egypt. Mastêmâ seeks to slay him on the way, 1-3. *The ten plagues,* 4-11. *Israel goes forth out of Egypt: the destruction of the Egyptians on the Red Sea,* 12-19. (Cf. Exod. ii. 15, iv. 19, 24, vii. sqq.)

XLVIII. And in the sixth year of the third week of 2372 A.M.
the forty-ninth jubilee thou didst depart and dwell in the land of Midian five weeks and one year. And thou didst return into Egypt in the second week in the

9. Cf. Exod. ii. 10.

Daughter. Eth. and Lat. = "house." Here the Greek translator misread בת as בית.

Amram. Eth. 'Ĕbrân.

Taught thee writing. This is not the view of Acts vii. 22; Philo, *Vita Mos.* ii. 83 (Mangey); Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 23, 153.

Three weeks. Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 9. 6) says that when he was only three years old God gave him θαυμαστὸν . . . τὸ τῆς ἡλικίας . . . ἀνάστημα. According to the Chron. of Jerahmeel, xliv. 12 and the Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1265) Moses was only eighteen when he slew the Egyptian.

10-12. Cf. Exod. ii. 11-14.

XLVIII. 1. *In the land of Midian.* Restored from Latin "in terram Med(ian)," and Exod. ii. 15.

One year. Corrupt for three "years."

Return into Egypt. Cf. Exod. iv. 19.

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2410 A.M. second year in the fiftieth jubilee. 2. And thou thyself knowest what He spake unto thee on Mount Sinai, and what prince Mastêmâ desired to do with thee when thou wast returning into Egypt on the way when thou didst meet him at the lodging-place. 3. Did he not with all his power seek to slay thee and deliver the Egyptians out of thy hand when he saw that thou wast sent to execute judgment and vengeance on the Egyptians? 4. And I delivered thee out of his hand, and thou didst perform the signs and wonders which thou wast sent to perform in Egypt against Pharaoh, and against all his house, and against his servants and his people. 5. And the Lord executed a great vengeance on them for Israel's sake, and smote them through (the plagues of) blood and frogs, lice and dog-flies, and malignant boils breaking forth in blains; and their cattle by death; and by hail-stones, thereby He destroyed everything that grew for them; and by locusts which devoured the residue which had been left by the hail, and by darkness; and (by the death) of the first-born of men and animals, and on all their idols the

2. We have in this verse another instance (cf. also ver. 17) where our author has followed the example of the Chronicler in 1 Chron. xxi. 1, where he assigns to Satan the action that in 2 Sam. xxiv. 1 is ascribed to Yahweh. The LXX and the Targums replace the divine name by the phrase "an angel of the Lord." We have already called attention to an earlier instance as xvii. 16, where our author has similarly got rid of the offence in the Biblical text. On Mastêmâ see note on x. 8.

On the way when thou didst meet him at the lodging-place. Here the Eth. is hopelessly corrupt. *c* which represents an attempt at emendation = "on the feast of tabernacles." *a b d* are unintelligible. It is best therefore to follow the Latin: "in via in qua praeteristi eum in refectione," and Exod. iv. 24, בדרך במלון וישמהו.

3. Our author here quite explains away the true meaning of the incident in Exod. iv. 24 sqq. This is followed more faithfully by the Ps.-Jon. *in loc.* and the Chron. of Jerah. xlvii. 1, 2 where the angel seeks to slay Moses for not circumcising his son. It is explained, however, that it was owing to Jethro that the child had not been circumcised.

5. We have here an enumeration of the ten plagues of Egypt.

And (by the death) of the first-born. I have supplied the words in brackets. They are wanting both in the Eth. and Lat. The Lat. has simply "primitivorum" and so *a b*. *c d* have prefixed "and." Hence there was a lacuna here in the Greek version. Only for the concluding words "and burned them with fire" we might connect the clause with the words that follow and merely supply a preposition: "(on) the first-born." But the genitive "primitivorum" is also against this.

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Lord took vengeance and burned them with fire. 6. And everything was sent through thy hand, that thou shouldst declare (these things) before they were done, and thou didst speak with the king of Egypt before all his servants and before his people. 7. And everything took place according to thy words; ten great and terrible judgments came on the land of Egypt that thou mightest execute vengeance on it for Israel. 8. And the Lord did everything for Israel's sake, and according to His covenant, which He had ordained with Abraham that He would take vengeance on them as they had brought them by force into bondage. 9. And the prince of the Mastêmâ stood up against thee, and sought to cast thee into the hands of Pharaoh, and he helped the Egyptian sorcerers, and they stood up and wrought before thee. 10. The evils indeed we permitted them to work, but the remedies we did not allow to be wrought by their hands. 11. And the Lord smote them with malignant ulcers, and they were not able to stand, for we destroyed them so that they could not perform a single sign. 12. And notwithstanding all (these) signs and wonders the prince of the Mastêmâ was not put to shame because he took courage and cried to the Egyptians to pursue after thee with all the powers of the Egyptians, with their chariots, and with their horses, and with all the hosts of the peoples of Egypt. 13. And I stood between the Egyptians and Israel, and we delivered Israel out of his

6. *Declare* = tenger, emended from tegbar = "shouldest do." The context shows that this is the idea required. In xlix. 22 the same corruption is found in three out of the four MSS.

8. Cf. Gen. xv. 13, 14.

9. *Prince of the Mastêmâ.* So *a b* here and in verses 12 and 15 and in xviii. 9, 12.

11. Cf. Exod. ix. 11.

12. Cf. Exod. xiv. 8, 9.

Was not put to shame because he took courage. The Eth. = "was not put to shame until he took courage." As this fails to give a good sense, I omitted the negative in my text. Thus we should have: "was put to shame until he took courage." Cf. xviii. 12. I now think that the corruption lies in the "until he took courage" = עד־אשר תחזק, where I take עד־אשר to be corrupt for על־אשר = "because." Instead of hajjala = "took courage," *a* reads halaja = "took thought."

13. I have omitted "between thee and" which *a b* insert before "between

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hand, and out of the hand of his people, and the Lord brought them through the midst of the sea as if it were dry land. 14. And all the peoples whom he brought to pursue after Israel, the Lord our God cast them into the midst of the sea, into the depths of the abyss beneath the children of Israel, even as the people of Egypt had cast their children into the river. He took vengeance on 1,000,000 of them, and one thousand strong and energetic men were destroyed on account of one suckling of the children of thy people which they had thrown into the river. 15. And on the fourteenth day and on the fifteenth and on the sixteenth and on the seventeenth and on the eighteenth the prince of the Mastêmâ was bound and imprisoned behind the children of Israel that he might not accuse them. 16. And on the nineteenth we let them loose that they might help the Egyptians and pursue the children of Israel. 17. And he hardened their hearts and made them stubborn, and the device was devised by the Lord our God that He might smite the Egyptians and cast them into the sea. 18. And on the fourteenth we bound him that he might not accuse the children of Israel on the day when they asked the

the Egyptians." *c d* add these words after "between the Egyptians."

14. Another example of the *lex talionis* mentioned in iv. 31 (see note), and enunciated in Wisd. xi. 16: δι' ὧν τις ἁμαρτάνει, διὰ τούτων κολάζεται. See also Gen. ix. 6; Exod. xviii. 11; Wisd. xi. 7, xii. 23, xvi. 1, xviii. 4, 5; Philo, *Adv. Flacc.* 20; Joseph. *Contra Ap.* ii. 13.

One thousand . . . men. Cf. Wisd. xviii. 5.

17. Cf. Exod. xiv. 8 for diction. Here again our author attributes to the immediate agency of Mastêmá the action which Exod. xiv. 8 assigns to Yahweh. Cf. xvii. 16, xlviii. 2.

18. *The fourteenth.* So we should read with *b*. *a d* = "the seventeenth," but sabû'ĕ in *a d* is corrupt for rabû'ĕ in *b*. *c* gives "the fifteenth." Cedrenus (i. 87), who has cited our text but a few sentences before, confirms *b*: τῇ ιδ' τούτου τοῦ μηνὸς σκυλεύσαντες τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐξῆλθον. This would admit of the Israelites setting out on the 15th of Nisan as in Joseph. (*Ant.* ii. 14. 6; 15. 2), where it states Israel went forth from Egypt on the 15th of Nisan having already received gifts from the Egyptians (ii. 14. 6): so also in Shabb. 87 *b*. Our text then supposes that the Israelites marched from the 15th to the 18th, and that on the 19th Mastema and his powers were let loose. Beer points out that in the Mechilta on Exod. xiv. 3 it is stated that the Egyptians pursued after Israel from the 19th of the first month.

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Egyptians for vessels and garments, vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and vessels of bronze, in order to despoil the Egyptians in return for the bondage in which they had forced them to serve. 19. And we did not lead forth the children of Israel from Egypt empty handed.

The Passover: regulations regarding its celebration. (Cf. Exod. xii. 6, 9, 11, 13, 22-23, 30, 46, xv. 22.)

XLIX. Remember the commandment which the Lord commanded thee concerning the passover, that thou shouldst celebrate it in its season on the fourteenth of the first month, that thou shouldst kill it before it is evening, and that they should eat it by night on the evening of the fifteenth from the time of the setting of the sun. 2. For on this night—the beginning of the festival and the beginning of the joy—ye were eating the passover in Egypt, when all the powers of Mastêmâ had been let loose to slay all the first-born in the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pharaoh to the first-born of the captive maid-servant in the mill, and to the cattle. 3. And this is the sign which the Lord gave them: Into every house on the lintels of which they saw the blood of a lamb of the first year, into (that) house they should not enter to slay, but should pass by (it), that all those should be saved that were in the house because the sign of the blood was on its lintels. 4. And the powers of the Lord did everything according as the Lord commanded them, and they passed by all the children of Israel, and the plague came not upon them to destroy from amongst them any soul either of cattle, or man, or dog. 5. And

XLIX. 1. Cf. Exod. xii. 6.

2. *When all the powers of Mastêmâ had been let loose to slay*, etc. See note on x. 8. According to Ps.-Jon. on Exod. xii. 29 it was the word (מימרא) of Yahweh which slew the Egyptians. Here again (cf. xvii. 16, xlviii. 2, 17) our author interprets after his manner the statement in Exod. xii. 29 that "Yahweh smote all the first-born."

3. Cf. Exod. xii. 13, 22, 23.

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the plague was very grievous in Egypt, and there was no house in Egypt where there was not one dead, and weeping and lamentation. 6. And all Israel was eating the flesh of the paschal lamb, and drinking the wine, and was lauding and blessing, and giving thanks to the Lord God of their fathers, and was ready to go forth from under the yoke of Egypt, and from the evil bondage. 7. And remember thou this day all the days of thy life, and observe it from year to year all the days of thy life, once a year, on its day, according to all the law thereof, and do not adjourn (it) from day to day, or from month to month. 8. For it is an eternal ordinance, and engraven on the heavenly tables regarding all the children of Israel that they should observe it every year on its day once a year, throughout all their generations; and there is no limit of days, for this is ordained for ever. 9. And the man who is free from uncleanness, and does not come to observe it on occasion of its day, so as to bring an acceptable offering before the Lord, and to eat and to drink before the Lord on the day of its festival, that man who is clean and close at hand will be cut off: because he offered not the oblation of the Lord in its appointed season, he will take the guilt upon himself. 10. Let the children of Israel come and observe the passover on the day of its fixed time, on the fourteenth day of the first month, between the evenings, from the third part of the day to the third part of the night, for two portions of the day are given to the light,

5. Cf. Exod. xii. 30.

6. *Drinking the wine.* This seems to be the earliest reference to the use of wine at the Passover feast. For later references, see Pesach. x. 2; Bababathra 97 *b*.

7-8. Compare the directions regarding the feast of weeks, vi. 20, 22.

7. *Do not adjourn (it) from day to day* (*b*) or "do not change a day from (its) day" (*a*). The translation is doubtful, and the Latin "praeteribit et erit illud a diebus suis" is corrupt.

9. Cf. Num. ix. 13.

To bring an acceptable offering. According to Pesach. ix. 4 it was the duty of every man within a radius of 15 miles, if not ceremonially impure, to present an offering at this feast.

10. Cf. Exod. xii. 6.

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and a third part to the evening. 11. This is that which the Lord commanded thee that thou shouldst observe it between the evenings. 12. And it is not permissible to slay it during any period of the light, but during the period bordering on the evening, and let them eat it at the time of the evening until the third part of the night, and whatever is left over of all its flesh from the third part of the night and onwards, let them burn it with fire. 13. And they shall not cook it with water, nor shall they eat it raw, but roast on the fire: they shall eat it with diligence, its head with the inwards thereof and its feet they shall roast with fire, and not break any bone thereof; for †of the children of Israel no bone shall be

12. *Slay it . . . during the period* (or "*time*") *bordering on the evening.* According to our text the Passover victim might be slain "during the period bordering on the evening." This is the meaning it attaches to the phrase "between the evenings" (בֵּין הָעַרְבַּיִם). It corresponds well with Deut. xvi. 6, which gives directions for the sacrificing of the passover "at even, at the going down of the sun." But in ver. 10 of our text, a wider definition is given—"from the third part of the day to the third part of the night." The Pharisees and the Sadducees differed in the interpretation of the phrase "between the evenings." The former said it meant from the time when the sun inclined towards his setting till his final disappearance, *i.e.*, from 3 to 6 p.m., but according to the latter it was the time between actual sunset and darkness, *i.e.*, 6 and 7 p.m. (Pesachim v. 1). The hours (the 9th to the 11th) assigned by Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* vi. 9. 3) agree with the Pharisaic determination (θύουσιν μὲν ἀπὸ ἐνάτης ὥρας μέχρις ἑνδεκάτης). If then we combine the statements in verses 10 and 12 of our text we may infer that the slaughtering of the victim might take place any time during "the third part of the day" before sunset; and this harmonises on the whole with the rabbinic tradition. The Samaritans and Karaite Jews support the usage of the Sadducees in limiting the act of sacrificing to the hour between sunset and complete darkness.

Eat it at the time of the evening until the third part of the night. Night was divided into three parts 6 to 10 p.m., 10 p.m. to 2 a.m. and 2 to 6 a.m. Hence the time for eating seems to be from 6 to 10 p.m. The rabbinic rule fixed midnight as the hour when the eating must be concluded (Berachoth i. 1; Pesach. x. 9).

13. *And they shall not cook . . . roast on the fire.* Cf. Exod. xii. 9.

They shall eat it = jĕbl'ĕwô, emended with Lat. "comedetis illud" from the unmeaning besûla.

They shall eat it with diligence. Cf. Exod. xii. 11. "With diligence" = σπουδαίως, which in the LXX is a rendering of בְּחִפָּזוֹן. In ver. 23 this Hebrew phrase is rendered more literally.

Its head with the inwards, etc. Cf. Exod. xii. 9.

Not break any bone thereof. Cf. Exod. xii. 46.

†*Of the children of Israel no bone shall be crushed*†. The Latin differs and is to be followed: "Non erit tribulatio in filiis Istrahel in die hac." If we might suppose two distinct Greek versions of the Hebrew and that the original of "in die hac" was בעצם היום חוה, we could explain the Eth. by supposing the loss of היום חוה and the change of בעצם into עצם. But the cor-

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crushed†. 14. For this reason the Lord commanded the children of Israel to observe the passover on the day of its fixed time, and they shall not break a bone thereof; for it is a festival day, and a day commanded, and there may be no passing over from day to day, and month to month, but on the day of its festival let it be observed. 15. And do thou command the children of Israel to observe the passover throughout their days, every year, once a year on the day of its fixed time, and it will come for a memorial well pleasing before the Lord, and no plague will come upon them to slay or to smite in that year in which they celebrate the passover in its season in every respect according to His command. 16. And they shall not eat it outside the sanctuary of the Lord, but before the sanctuary of the Lord, and all the people of the congregation of Israel shall celebrate it in its appointed season. 17. And every man who has come upon its day shall eat it in the sanctuary of your God before the Lord from twenty years old and upward; for thus is it written and ordained that they should eat it in the sanctuary of the Lord. 18. And when the children of Israel come into the land which they are to possess, into the land of Canaan, and set up the tabernacle of the Lord in the midst of the land in one of

ruption seems native to the Ethiopic. If the text referred here to the "breaking" of a bone, it would most probably have used sabara as in the clause before and in the verse after, where the Latin uses frangere and confringere respectively. In this clause, therefore, 'ijĕt-qataqat (= "will not be crushed") is to be taken metaphorically = the Latin "non erit tribulatio." This idea, that no evil will befall on the day of the right celebration of the Passover, recurs in ver. 15 in an intensified degree.

15. *Every year, once a year.* Cf. verses 7-8.

No plague will come upon them, etc. Cf. Exod. xii. 13.

In every respect according to His command. Latin seems better: "secundum universa praecepta ejus."

16. *Before the sanctuary of the Lord.* Cf. ver. 17 and see note on ver. 20.

17. *Your God.* Latin has Dei nostri, but the phrase recurs in ver. 22.

From twenty years old, etc. Rabbinic tradition determines fourteen years and upwards as the qualifying age. The determination in our text may be based on such passages as Exod. xxx. 14; Num. i. 32 which prescribe that in numbering the people only the males from twenty years old and upwards should be taken account of. Man was not accountable for the first twenty

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their tribes until the sanctuary of the Lord has been built in the land, let them come and celebrate the passover in the midst of the tabernacle of the Lord, and let them slay it before the Lord from year to year. 19. And in the days when the house has been built in the name of the Lord in the land of their inheritance, they shall go there and slay the passover in the evening, at sunset, at the third part of the day. 20. And they will offer its blood on the threshold of the altar, and shall place its fat on the fire which is upon the altar, and they shall eat its flesh roasted with fire in the court of the house which has been sanctified in the name of the Lord. 21. And they may not celebrate the passover in their cities, nor in any place save before the tabernacle of the Lord, or before His house where His name hath dwelt; and they will not go astray from the Lord. 22. And do thou, Moses, command the children of Israel to observe the ordinances of the passover, as it was commanded unto thee; declare thou unto them every year †and the day of its days, and† the festival of unleavened bread, that they should eat unleavened bread seven days, (and) that they should observe its festival, and that they bring an oblation every day during those seven days of joy before the Lord on the altar of your God.

years according to some rabbis, and no punishment was to be enacted for them.

20. *Eat its flesh . . . in the court of the house*, etc. This direction can be justified by an appeal to Deut. xvi. 7 (cf. 6) "thou shalt eat it in the place which the Lord thy God shall choose." But the Mishna extended this privilege to Jerusalem at large (Sebach. v. 8; Makkoth iii. 3). This extension was necessitated by the vast multitudes which came up to this feast (cf. Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* vi. 9. 3, ii. 14. 3).

21. *May not.* Here Eth. and Latin (poterunt) = οὐ δυνήσονται, which is a faulty rendering of לא יוכלו, where the phrase denotes moral inability. The text is based on Deut. xvi. 5, where the LXX (οὐ δυνήσῃ) and the Vulg. (non poteris) render in the same faulty manner לא תוכל.

In any place. Eth. prefixes "and," which I have omitted with the Latin.

Will not go astray from the Lord. Cf. Zeph. i. 6.

22. *Every year* = 'âmata (*c*) la'amatât (*d*). So Latin "per singulos . . . annos." *a b* = "its year every year."

†*And the day of its days, and*†. Here the Latin "in tempore dierum suorum" is most probably right, and we should render "during its days and during."

(*And*) *that.* "And" supplied from the Latin.

During those. Latin omits "those." Hence it probably represents the Greek article.

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23. For ye celebrated this festival with haste when ye went forth from Egypt till ye entered into the wilderness of Shur; for on the shore of the sea ye completed it.

Laws regarding the jubilees, 1-5, *and the Sabbath,* 6-13.

L. And after this law I made known to thee the days of the Sabbaths in the desert of Sin[ai], which is between Elim and Sinai. 2. And I told thee of the Sabbaths of the land on Mount Sinai, and I told thee of the jubilee years in the sabbaths of years: but the year thereof have I not told thee till ye enter the land which ye are to possess. 3. And the land also will keep its sabbaths while they dwell upon it, and they will know the jubilee year. 4. Wherefore I have ordained for thee the year-weeks and the years and the jubilees: there are forty-nine jubilees
2410 A.M. from the days of Adam until this day, and one week and two years: and there are yet forty years to come (lit.
2450 A.M. "distant") for learning the commandments of the Lord, until they pass over into the land of Canaan, crossing the Jordan to the west. 5. And the jubilees will pass by, until Israel is cleansed from all guilt of fornication, and uncleanness, and pollution, and sin, and error, and dwells with confidence in all the land, and there will be no more a Satan or any evil one, and the land will be clean from that time for evermore.

6. And behold the commandment regarding the Sabbaths—I have written (them) down for thee—and all the judgments

23. *With haste.* See note on ver. 13. Cf. Exod. xii. 11. For Shur (Eth. Sûr) see Exod. xv. 22.

L. 1. *Sin[ai], which is between Elim and Sinai.* Cf. Exod. xvi. 1. Sin[ai] corrupt for Sin.

2. *Jubilee years.* Cf. Lev. xxv. 8.

3. Cf. Lev. xxvi. 34, etc.

4. *Year-weeks, i.e.,* seven years. *Jubilees.* Our author assumes jubilee periods of 49 years each, as R. Jehuda (Nedarim 61 *a*), whereas the majority of Jewish writers reckoned it at 50 years (Beer, *Buch d. Jub.* p. 38).

5. Forecast of the Messianic kingdom. A gradual transformation: cf. i. 29 note; xxiii. 26-28 note.

A Satan or any evil one. See note on xxiii. 29.

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of its laws. 7. Six days wilt thou labour, but on the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord your God. In it ye shall do no manner of work, ye and your sons, and your men-servants and your maid-servants, and all your cattle and the sojourner also who is with you. 8. And the man that does any work on it shall die: whoever desecrates that day, whoever lies with (his) wife, or whoever says he will do something on it, that he will set out on a journey thereon in regard to any buying or selling: and whoever draws water thereon which he had not prepared

7. Cf. Exod. xx. 9, 10.

8-12. On the Talmudic laws relating to the Sabbath see Schürer, *History of N.T. Times*, II. ii. 96-105; Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*,[2] ii. 777-787; and the Bible Dictionaries, *in loc.*

8. *The man that does any work on it shall die.* This statement found in Exod. xxxv. 2 makes death the penalty for any and every breach of the Sabbath.

Whoever lies with (his) wife. This law sprung probably from the fanatical period referred to in Sanh. 46*a*, the period of the Syro-Grecian domination, when a man was put to death for riding a horse. That certain regulations of this nature existed we must infer from our text, as well as from the Talmudic treatise Nidda 38*a*. Early Chasids refrained from cohabitation with their wives from the close of the Sabbath to the fourth day of the week, in order that their wives might not desecrate the Sabbath 271 to 273 days later by child-bearing. Against this ascetic attitude towards marriage a reaction set in which resulted in the laws of the Mishna on this subject. Thus the cohabitation of husband and wife is enjoined on the Sabbath in Nedar iii. 10, viii. 6, while in Baba kamma 82*a* it is stated that one of the ordinances instituted by Ezra directed that a man should "eat garlic" (*i.e.* cohabit) on the eve of the Sabbath. The severer usage is followed by the modern Samaritans (Eichhorn's *Repertorium*, xiii. 257, 282; de Sacy, *Notices et extraits de la Bible*, xii. 175: also by the Abyssinian Falashas (*Univ. Isr.* 1851, p. 482) and the Karaite Jews (see Singer, pp. 198-199 note). The Karaite Jews inferred the unlawfulness of cohabitation on the Sabbath from a literal interpretation of Exod. xxxiv. 21. As regards the usage of the ancient Samaritans there has been some diversity of opinion. Karo (Beer, *Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 54) argues that the text in Nedar iii. 10 speaks for the existence of the strict law having existed among the Samaritans at a date anterior to the time of the Karaite Jews, but this is disputed by Frankel (*Einfluss d. pal. Exeg.* 252 sq.).

That he will set out on a journey thereon (*b d*). *a c* omit "thereon." This command was derived from Exod. xvi. 29, where the people are bidden "to abide every man in his place . . . on the seventh day" and not to go in quest of manna. Permission was given to go a distance of 2000 cubits (Erubin iv. 3, 1, v. 7), which was called the "Sabbath limit" (תחום השבת) or simply "limit" (תחום), or Sabbath-day's journey (Σαββάτου ὁδός, Acts i. 12). See Lightfoot, *Exercitations on the Acts*, i. 12; Buxtorf and Levy's Lexicons on תחום; Schürer, *History of the New Testament Times*, II. ii. 102-103. Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 8. 4) speaks of this halacha: οὐκ ἔξεστι δ' ὑμῖν οὔτε τοῖς σαββάτοις οὔτ' ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ὁδεύειν.

In regard to any buying or selling. All the MSS prefix "and." The true text is uncertain and probably transposed. Buying and selling are prohibited in Neh. x. 31, xiii. 16, 17.

Whoever draws water. This was forbidden by the Karaite Jews (Jost,

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for himself on the sixth day, and whoever takes up any burden to carry it out of his tent or out of his house shall die. 9. Ye shall do no work whatever on the Sabbath day save what ye have prepared for yourselves on the sixth day, so as to eat, and drink, and rest, and keep Sabbath from all work on that day, and to bless the Lord your God, who has given you a day of festival, and a holy day: and a day of the holy kingdom for all Israel is this day among their days for ever. 10. For great is the honour which the Lord has given to Israel that they should eat and drink and be satisfied on this festival day, and rest thereon from all labour which belongs to the labour of the children of men, save burning frankincense and bringing oblations and sacrifices before the Lord for days and for Sabbaths. 11. This work alone shall be done on the Sabbath-days in the sanctuary of the Lord your God; that they may atone for Israel with sacrifice continually from day to day for a memorial well-pleasing before the Lord, and that He may receive them always from day to day according as thou hast been commanded. 12. And every man who does any work thereon, or goes a journey, or tills (his) farm, whether in his house or any other place, and whoever lights a fire, or rides on any beast, or travels by ship on

Gesch. d. Judenth. ii. 304, quoted by Singer, p. 199 note).

Which he had not prepared on the sixth day. This clause comes in awkwardly. A command against "eating or drinking anything" may have originally preceded this clause in our text. Cf. ii. 30, note.

Takes up any burden to carry it, etc. See note on ii. 29. This is the 39th form of work forbidden in the treatise Shabbath. If a man dropped his false teeth it would be unlawful to lift and carry them; for they would constitute a "burden." Similarly as much ink as would suffice for writing two letters (Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*,[2] ii. 782, 784).

9. See note on ii. 29.

10. Cf. ii. 21.

11. Cf. Num. xxviii. 9, 10; Matt. xii. 5.

12. *Goes a journey.* See note on ver. 8.

Tills (his) farm. Ploughing and harvesting are forbidden in Exod. xxxiv. 21; Shabb. vii. 2.

Whether in his house or any other place. These words seem to be in their wrong place. They would give good sense if they were read immediately after "every man who does any work thereon."

Lights a fire. Forbidden in Exod. xxxv. 3; Shabb. vii. 2. The man who gathers sticks for this purpose is to be stoned. Num. xv. 32, 33.

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the sea, and whoever strikes or kills anything, or slaughters a beast or a bird, or whoever catches an animal or a bird or a fish, or whoever fasts or makes war on the Sabbaths: 13. The man who does any of these things on the Sabbath shall die, so that the children of Israel shall observe the Sabbaths according to the commandments regarding the Sabbaths of the land, as it is written in the tables, which He gave into my hands that I should write out for thee the laws of the seasons, and the seasons according to the division of their days.

Herewith is completed the account of the division of the days.

Rides on any beast. This is forbidden in Beza v. 2: also in Sanh. 46 *a*, which states that during the Syro-Grecian domination an offender against this law was arraigned before the judicial court and sentenced to death by stoning: cf. Jebam. 90 *b*.

Strikes or kills anything. Killing any animal is the 26th forbidden Sabbatical offence (Shabb. vii. 2).

Fasts. Israel is to "eat and drink" on the Sabbath (see ver. 9). This law was observed by Judith (Judith viii. 6, a book which in its shorter form probably goes back to the early Maccabean times). The injunction against fasting in our text is not in harmony with the severe ascetic law against the marriage-bed on the Sabbath.

Makes war. This prohibition of all warfare, which is found also in the Mishna, Shabb. vi. 2, 4, was observed literally before and during the outbreak of the Maccabean wars (1 Macc. ii. 31-38; 2 Macc. vi. 11; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 1; 2 Macc. xv. 1; cf. Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 12. 4, xviii. 9. 2 for later occasions). But on the urgent representations of Mattathias this prohibition of warfare, offensive and defensive, was abandoned, and defensive measures were declared legitimate (1 Macc. ii. 41; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 6. 2): but offensive warfare was still forbidden (2 Macc. viii. 26). Jonathan's battle against Bacchides (1 Macc. ix. 43 sqq.) can be justified from the new standpoint. This emended law was in force when Pompey besieged Jerusalem (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 4. 2), but as it only allowed of an active resistance against an active assault, it did not permit of the destruction of fortified works raised by the enemy on the Sabbath, and so exposed the Jews to defeat (*op. cit.* xiv. 4. 2). Once during the final war with Rome the Jews broke through this Sabbatical law, and successfully attacked the Romans (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 19. 2).

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[1] I have not given the passages in Genesis which are reproduced in the text. These are indicated generally in the headings to the chapters and in detail in the notes.

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[1] See note on iv. 17-23 of the Translation.

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[1] On the following list of passages from this work, see Introduction, § 19.

[2] See Introduction, § 22.

* Passages so asterisked are dealt with in the Introduction, § 23.

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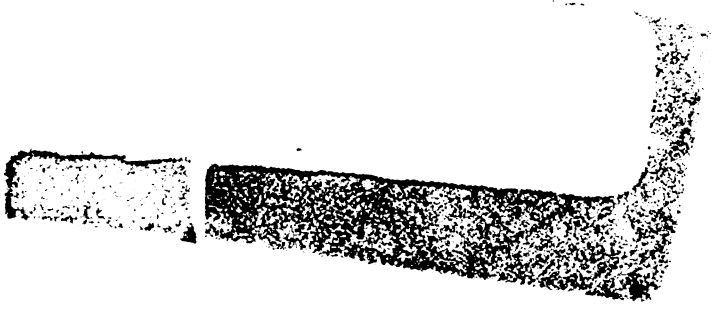
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