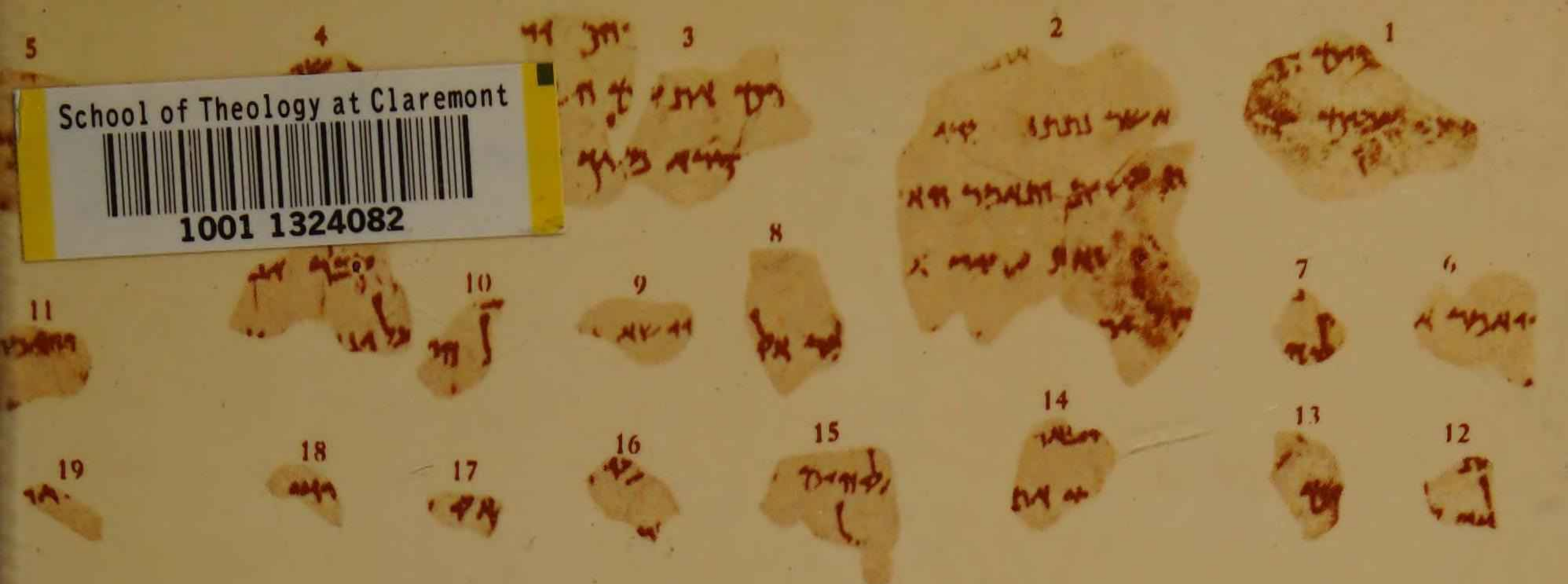


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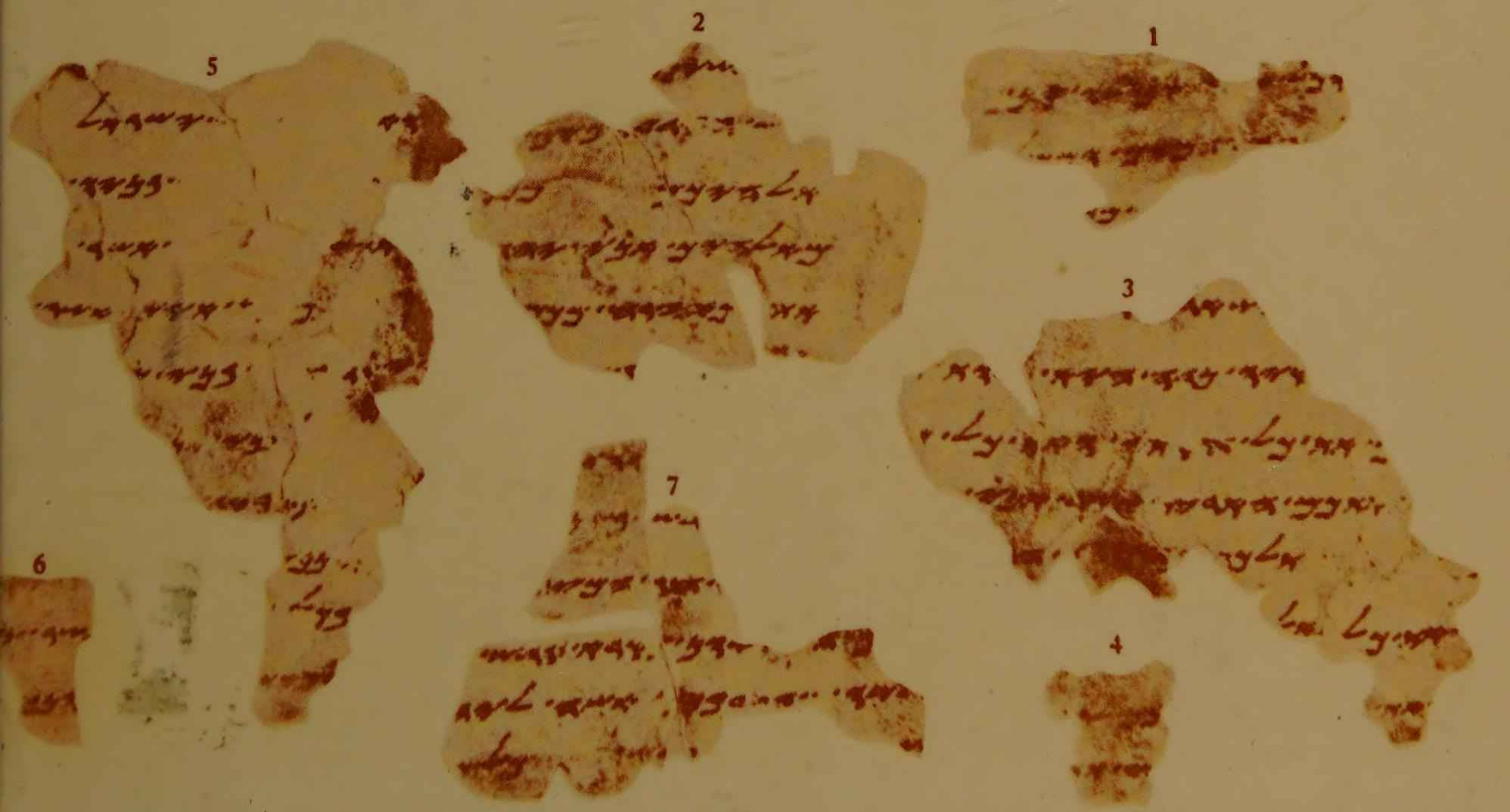
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THE HEBREW FRAGMENTS OF PSEUDO-PHILO



EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY
DANIEL J. HARRINGTON



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TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS 3

PSEUDEPIGRAPHA SERIES

3

THE HEBREW FRAGMENTS OF PSEUDO-PHILO'S

LIBER ANTIQUITATUM BIBLICARUM

PRESERVED IN THE *CHRONICLES OF JERAHMEEL*

Edited and translated by

Daniel J. Harrington

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE

1974

THE HEBREW FRAGMENTS OF PSEUDO-PHILO'S
LIBER ANTIQUITATUM BIBLICARUM
PRESERVED IN THE *CHRONICLES OF JERAḤMEEL*

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The editor-translator wishes to express his gratitude to the Curators of the Bodleian Library for permission to publish selections from MS. Heb. d. 11, to John Strugnell and Robert A. Kraft for editorial suggestions, and to Carol Cross for typing the manuscript.

INTRODUCTION

The *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* (hereafter *CJ*), a 14th century manuscript (MS. Heb. d. 11) preserved in the Bodleian Library, was compiled by Rabbi Eleazar ben Asher the Levite in the Rhine provinces. Almost all of the text was translated into English by Moses Gaster in 1899.¹ *CJ* contains among other things extracts and paraphrases in Hebrew corresponding to the Latin text of Pseudo-Philo's *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (hereafter *LAB*), a history of Israel from Adam to David.² *LAB* was composed in Hebrew, probably before A.D. 100,³ translated into Greek and then into Latin; only the Latin version survives.

This volume presents the Hebrew texts of *CJ* which correspond to Pseudo-Philo's *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* along with a new English translation of these Hebrew fragments. The texts from *CJ* are cited according to the numeration found in Gaster's translation while the references to *LAB* correspond to the numeration established by M. R. James and followed in the main by Guido Kisch. The volume should be useful as a tool for discussing the textual history of *LAB*, for tracing the influence of *LAB*, and for investigating the background of *CJ*.

The first twenty-five chapters of *CJ* deal with creation, the formation of the child, hell, paradise, and the early history of mankind. We join *LAB* in *CJ* 26-30 (MS. Heb. d. 11 22r-25v) which corresponds to *LAB* 1-7. We have the genealogy from Adam to Noah; the genealogy from Cain to Lamech; God's speech in response to Noah's sacrifices; the list of the sons of Japhet, Ham and Shem along with a list of Abraham's ancestors; the review of Noah's descendants; the

¹Moses Gaster, *The Chronicles of Jerahmeel Or, The Hebrew Bible Historiale*, Oriental Translation Fund, New Series IV (London, 1899); revised edition with a 124 pp. prolegomenon by Haim Schwarzbaum (New York: Ktav, 1971). Emphasizing the folklore background of *CJ*, Schwarzbaum's introduction is a substantial work in itself. His bibliography on pp. 112-124 is especially valuable.

²Guido Kisch, *Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, Publications in Mediaeval Studies 10 (Notre Dame, 1949). For an English translation, see M. R. James, *The Biblical Antiquities of Philo*, Translations of Early Documents Series I, Palestinian Jewish Texts (London, 1917); revised edition with a 169 pp. prolegomenon by Louis H. Feldman (New York: Ktav, 1971). See especially Feldman's bibliography, pp. CLVI-CLXI. A new edition of the Latin text with French translation and commentary will be published for the Philo collection of *Sources chrétiennes* by D. J. Harrington, P.-M. Bogaert and C. Perrot.

³See my articles, "The Original Language of Pseudo-Philo's *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*," *Harvard Theological Review* 63 (1970) 503-514; "The Biblical Text of Pseudo-Philo's *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 33 (1971) 1-17.

tower of Babel and Abraham's rescue from the fire; and the confusion brought about in building the tower. We rejoin *LAB* 9 again in *CJ* 42.5-9 (MS. Heb. d. ll 37v) which recounts Amram's refusal to despair during the afflictions in Egypt, Miriam's dream, and the birth of Moses. Finally, in *CJ* 57-59 (MS. Heb. d. ll 58r-61v) we have selections which are concerned with the exploits of Kenaz (*LAB* 25-28), the deeds of Ja'el (*LAB* 31.3-8), Gideon's demand for a sign (*LAB* 35.6-7), the deeds of Jair (*LAB* 38.1-4), the victories of Jephthah and the sacrifice of his daughter (*LAB* 39-40), the deception of Micah (*LAB* 44), and the war between Israel and Benjamin along with the departure of Phineas (*LAB* 46-48). *CJ* 60-100 continues the history of Israel down to the death of Judah the Maccabee.

The Relation Between CJ and LAB

In the introduction to his English translation of *CJ*, Moses Gaster contended that in *CJ* we have the original Hebrew text of *LAB*.⁴ Decisive for Gaster were the forms of proper names. If the original Hebrew of *LAB* were translated into Greek and then into Latin and then back into Hebrew (= *CJ*), he reasoned that the differences between ך and ך, ם and ן, ן and ן, ן and ן, ן and ן, ן and ן as well as among ן, ן and ן would have disappeared. If the Hebrew text were a translation from Latin, none of these double letters or letters representing peculiar Semitic sounds which were not distinctly noted in Latin or Greek could be expected to reappear correctly in the Hebrew text. Yet in the list of names given in *CJ* 26.2 (= *LAB* 1.3): עֲלֵי שֵׁאֵל צִיְרִי עֶלְמִיָּאֵל בְּרוּךְ כַּעַל : נַחַת וְזַרְחָמָה צִשָּׂא מַחְתָּל וְעֵנָה ('Elî, Še'el, Ŗûrî, 'Elmî'el, B^erôk, Ke'al, Naḥat, Zarḥamah, ŖiŖa, Maḥtal and 'Anat) the distinctions between the letters are carefully observed. According to Gaster, anyone retroverting from a Latin text could not have been so skilled and so accurate that he would have kept these distinctions. Gaster also found what he considered to be mistranslations of *CJ* in *LAB*. He argued that in *CJ* 27.4 וּבְנֵי is a proper name *Wābnî* mistakenly read as *ûb^enê* and rendered as *et filii* ("and the sons") in *LAB* 4.6. In *CJ* 28.3 instead of 640, *LAB* 5.3 has 340; the translator into Greek or Latin must have read שְׁלֹשׁ for שָׁשׁ. Finally in *CJ* 29.13 where the Hebrew text has "appeased the wrath of the people," *LAB* 6.16 has *liquefactus*; the translator read וִישַׁפֵּךְ for וִישַׁכֵּךְ of *CJ*. Therefore, Gaster concludes that the Hebrew text in *CJ* cannot be a translation from a non-Semitic original and that the Latin *LAB* can only be

⁴Gaster, pp. xxx-xxxix.

considered as a faithful but secondary translation.⁵

Leopold Cohn, in response to Gaster, maintained that the Hebrew sections of *CJ* corresponding to *LAB* are not the original text but rather are fragments retroverted from a Latin manuscript.⁶ Gaster's argument that accuracy in maintaining distinctions between Hebrew letters which merge in the Greek and Latin alphabets rules out the possibility of retroversion from Latin to Hebrew, is simply unsound. To a man learned in the Bible and skilled in Hebrew language, accurate retroversion from Latin to Hebrew of proper names would present little real difficulty. Such a man could even be expected to supply learned corrections. Furthermore, how does Gaster know which names are correct and which are not? The passage cited is not a biblical quotation, and the names are often unknown and implausible. Also, many names found in *CJ* are best understood as the result of translation. According to Cohn, it is impossible that the Hebrew original of *LAB* could have had such un-Hebraic forms as do appear in *CJ*. Moreover, Cohn feels that there are examples of textual corruption in the manuscript history of *LAB* which are reproduced in *CJ*. Cohn, then, has argued that the *LAB* sections contained in *CJ* are retroversions from the Latin and do not represent the original Hebrew version. Haim Schwarzbaum has agreed with Cohn that the compiler of *CJ* has inserted into his anthology Hebrew fragments and abridgements from the Latin *LAB*. He states: "I cannot endorse Gaster's theory that the Pseudo-Philo items incorporated in Jerahmeel constitute the original text (or *Urtext*) of the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*."⁷

It is possible that the limits of the debate (Hebrew original or retroversions from the Latin) have been too narrow. After all, the *CJ* fragments could be a translation from Greek or could represent a different Hebrew recension (the example of the Hebrew texts of Sirach comes to mind). Yet there does seem to be decisive evidence that the fragments preserved in *CJ* do not represent the original Hebrew of *LAB*. This evidence is the presence of certain readings in *CJ* which reflect errors most readily explainable at the level of Latin. (1) *CJ* 27.3 (= *LAB* 4.3-4) has אַז נַפְצָה שְׁלִישׁ אֶרֶץ (Then a third of the land of Rômêret was separated off. And his sons conquered Yadêd). *LAB* has *tunc divisa est pars tertia terre. Domereth et filii eius acceperunt Ladech*

⁵Gaster, p. xxxvi.

⁶Leopold Cohn, "Pseudo-Philo und Jerahmeel," *Festschrift zum siebzigsten Geburtstag Jakob Guttmans* (Leipzig, 1915), pp. 173-185.

⁷Schwarzbaum, p. 6.

(And then the third part of the earth was divided. Gomer and his sons took Ladech). The key word here is *דומירה* *Domereth*. According to Gen 10.2-4 we should expect the name *Gomer*. The *-eth* ending is the Latin *et* which has become fused with the Latin name *Gomer* (= *Domer*), and then another *et* was necessarily added. The Hebrew retroverter did not recognize that a mistake had occurred in the Latin, and so he merely reproduced it. Furthermore, he misread the sentence and so concluded the sentence after *Domereth*. (2) *CJ* 28.3 (= *LAB* 5.4) has *ידו תחת* while *LAB* has *secundum sceptru ducationum suarum* (or the like). It is incredible that the complex Latin phrase could have developed out of *ידו תחת* while, on the other hand, it is reasonable to suppose that *ידו תחת* does represent an attempt to retrovert the obscure Latin of *LAB*. *LAB* may be based on a Hebrew original close to that of Lev 27.32 *כל אשר יעבר תחת השבט*. (3) *CJ* 30.3 (= *LAB* 7.3) has *אקרבם בציינות*, while *LAB* has *in scuto approximabo eos* ("I will liken them to a shield"). In *LAB* the phrase appears in parallelism with *tamquam stillicidium arbitror eos* ("I will consider them like a drop of water"). The expressions are undoubtedly citations of Isa 40.15c, and so James's emendation (pp. 95, 247) of *scuto* ("shield") to *sputo* ("spittle") must be correct. The expression is based on Isa 40.15c where *LAB* reads with *LXX* *σύνελος* (= *ריר*) against the *MT*'s *דק*; the emendation is confirmed by 4 *Ezra* 6.56, 2 *Baruch* 82.5 and *LAB* 12.4 (*Et erit mihi hominum genus tamquam stillicidium urcei, et tamquam sputum estimabitur*). *CJ*'s *בציינות* suggests that a mistake possible only in Latin (*scuto* for *sputo*) had already occurred before *LAB* was retroverted into Hebrew. The verb *אקרבם* seems to be an attempt to make sense out of the corruption; we would expect the root *דמה*.

Comparison of the Hebrew in *CJ* with some passages from the Hebrew Bible confirms our view that we are dealing with retroversions. (1) *CJ* 26.9 (= *LAB* 1.20) has *ינחמנו ויניח* ("This one will comfort us and give rest") while *LAB* has *hic requiem dabit nobis* ("This one will give rest to us"). The retroverter has harmonized the biblical text of *LAB* with that of the *MT*. While *LAB* 1.20 with its *hic requiem dabit nobis* preserves the *LXX* reading, *CJ* 26.9 (*ינחמנו ויניח*) combines the *LXX* and *MT* readings. Since there is no *LAB* manuscript evidence whatever for *ינחמנו*, it can be explained as just the kind of reading which a retroverter, familiar with the *MT*, and embarrassed by the *LXX* reading, would add. (2) *CJ* 27.5 (= *LAB* 4.10) has *את שלפטרא ואח מוזאם וריאדורא ועוזים דיקלבל מימואל שביתתפין*, *LAB* has *Salastra et Muzaam, Rea, Dura, Uzia, Deglabal, Mimoel, Sabthfin*. Both these texts are lists of names taken originally from

Gen 10.26-9. When these lists are compared with the biblical lists of Yoqtan's sons (Sheleph, Hazarmaveth, Jerah, Hadoram, Uzal, Diklah, Obal, Abimael, Sheba, Ophir), both appear to be quite corrupt. The list in *CJ* is so corrupt that we could hardly imagine a Hebrew author doing such a bad job of reproducing the Hebrew Bible. On the other hand, the situation is perfectly understandable if we suppose that a translator failed to recognize the corrupt Latin list actually is Gen 10.26-9 or felt bound to translate mechanically what he found before him.

When the examples cited here are coupled with the weakness of Gaster's counterargument described above, then we can only conclude that the fragments in *CJ* represent a translation of the Latin *LAB*.

CJ, however, is difficult to use as a textual witness for *LAB*. Much of it (especially in chaps. 57-59) seems to be paraphrase rather than translation. It is often impossible to determine the Latin reading through the medium of Hebrew. There is, as we have seen, some tendency toward standardizing to the MT. Moreover, most of the good conjunctive errors in *LAB* occur in the sections omitted in *CJ*. In short, we cannot say with absolute certainty what type of *LAB* MS the translator had at his disposal. In fact, he could have used more than one MS and sifted out many of the distinctive conjunctive errors.

This is not the place to set out the whole stemma of the Latin MSS of *LAB*, but we can at least sketch it briefly to set the stage for our discussion of *CJ* as a textual witness.⁸ The eighteen complete and three fragmentary MSS of *LAB* are to be divided into two major groups: (Δ) = Fulda-Cassel Theol. 4^o, 3, Phillips 461, Phillips 391, Trèves 117; (Π) = (sub-group β) Budapest Cod. lat. 23, Vatican Lat. 448, Würzburg 276, Munich 18481, Munich 17133, Munich 4569, Fitzwilliam McClean 31; (sub-group δ) Admont 359, Salzburg a. VII 17, Rein 55; (sub-group θ) Berlin Görres 132, Cues 16, Götting 246 (254b), Melk 324, Trèves 71/1055, Vienna Lat. 446. Δ is higher on the stemma than Π .

Can we determine the textual value of *CJ* as a witness to *LAB*? Does it belong to Π or Δ ? Unfortunately, we cannot argue from conjunctive errors here; we must resort to distinctive readings. These

⁸For a full discussion of the significance of *CJ* for the MSS tradition of *LAB*, see the introduction to the forthcoming edition to be published in the Philo collection of *Sources chrétiennes*. For a preliminary report on the *LAB* MSS see my article "The Text-Critical Situation of Pseudo-Philo's *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*," *Revue Bénédictine* 83 (1973) 383-388.

are the most important agreements between *CJ* and *LAB*.

- (1) *LAB* 1.4 Sifatecia Δ Sifa Tetia Π; *CJ* 26.2 זִיפַת הַיְכִיָּאָה = Π
- (2) *LAB* 1.6 Malida Δ Malila Π; *CJ* 26.3 מְלִילָא = Π
- (3) *LAB* 2.8 uxores Δ uxorem Π; *CJ* 26.15 אִשָּׁה = Π
- (4) *LAB* 4.6 Filii Ethii Chus Δ Et hi filii Chus Π; *CJ* 27.4 וְאֵלֶּה בְּנֵי כּוּשׁ = Π
- (5) *LAB* 4.6 Et filii Sidona Δ Et filii Canaan Sidona Π; *CJ* 27.4 וּבְנֵי כְנַעַן צִידוֹן = Π
- (6) *LAB* 4.8 Segom Δ Seboim Π; *CJ* 27.4 צְבוּרִים = Π
- (7) *LAB* 4.12 Abielobth Δ Abiel Obthi Π; *CJ* 27.6 אַבְיָאֵל עוֹבֵד = Π
- (8) *LAB* 4.14 Recap Dediap Berechap Δ Recab Dediab Berechab Π; *CJ* 27.7 רֶכֶב דְּדִיָּאֵב בְּרִיכָב = Π
- (9) *LAB* 5.5 (Et filii Canaan)... XXXII milia DCCC Δ XXXII milia DCCCC Π; *CJ* 28.4 וּבְנֵי כְנַעַן שְׁנַיִם וּשְׁלֹשִׁים אֶלֶף וְחֲשַׁע מֵאוֹת = Π
- (10) *LAB* 6.7 et sustinete eos ibidem Δ et sustinete cum eis ibidem Π; *CJ* 29.7 וְתַהֲיֹו עִמָּהֶם שָׁם = Π
- (11) *LAB* 6.8 (Et adduxerunt viros) a domo eius Δ ad domum eius Π; *CJ* 29.8 וַיְבִיאוּם לְפָנַי יִקְטָן = Π
- (12) *LAB* 7.2 lingua una Δ lingua una omnibus Π; *CJ* 30.2 שְׁפָה אַחַת לְכֻלָּם = Π
- (13) *LAB* 9.8 et lumen sempiternum luceam ei Δ et lumen sempiternum luceat et Π; *CJ* 42.7 וְאוֹר עוֹלָם תֵּאִיר לוֹ = Π
- (14) *LAB* 9.9 uxorem de tribu sua Δ mulierem stirpis sue nomine Jacobe Π; *CJ* 42.8 וַיִּקַּח אֶת יוֹכְבֵד בַּת לֵוִי אִשְׁתּוֹ = Π
- (15) *LAB* 25.9 monte Abrahe...absconsa sunt sub Π; omit Δ by haplography; *CJ* 57.11-12 = Π
- (16) *LAB* 25.11 He sunt sancte nimphe Δ Et he sunt nimphe Π; *CJ* 57.13 וְהֵמָּה הָעַצְבִּים = Π
- (17) *LAB* 26.3 postquam concremaverit ignis homines istos Δ postquam concremaveris homines istos Π; *CJ* 57.18 כַּאֲשֶׁר חֲשַׁרְמָם = Π
- (18) *LAB* 26.15 et sunt usque in hodiernum diem Δ et sunt ibi usque in hodiernum diem Π; *CJ* 57.25 וַיְהִיֹו שָׁם עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה = Π
- (19) *LAB* 27.9 videntes dixerunt Δ videntes Amorrei dixerunt Π; *CJ* 57.33 וַיִּרְאוּ הָאֲמֹרְרִי וַיֹּאמְרוּ = Π
- (20) *LAB* 27.9 hec est romphea Cenez Δ ecce romphea Cenez Π; *CJ* 57.33 הִנֵּה חֲרָב קִנּוּז = Π
- (21) *LAB* 27.15 Quid nos interrogas? Quod nos interrogas? Δ Quid nos interrogas Π; *CJ* 57.37 לְמָה זֶה תִּשְׁאַל לָנוּ = Π
- (22) *LAB* 28.5 parcat...sue Δ parcet...sue hereditati sue Π; *CJ* 57.38 יַחְמוֹל יְיָ עַל נַחֲלָתוֹ = Π
- (23) *LAB* 40.6 corona Δ flores corone Π; *CJ* 59.7 פְּרָחֵי כְתָרֵי = Π

- (24) *LAB* 40.4 et abiens decidet in sinum matrum suarum Π ; omit Δ ;
CJ 59.6 ותבא שאילה בת יפתח ותשטח בחיק אמה = Π
- (25) *LAB* 40.8 filii Israel Δ filie Israel Π ; *CJ* 59.8 בנות ישראל = Π
- (26) *LAB* 44.5 effigies tres puerorum et vitulorum Δ effigies tres
 puerorum et tres vitulorum Π ; *CJ* 59.12 שלש צלמי אדם ושלשה צלמי
 עגלים = Π

These examples would seem to suggest that *CJ* should definitely be placed with the Π group. But there are other examples where *CJ* agrees with Δ ; some of these (*LAB* 5.5 = *CJ* 28.4; *LAB* 6.14 = *CJ* 29.12; *LAB* 28.8 = *CJ* 57.41) are significant.

- (1) *LAB* 1.14 Anac Δ Anas Π ; *CJ* 26.7 ענק = Δ
- (2) *LAB* 4.14 Ceneta Δ Cene Etha Π ; *CJ* 27.7 קניטא = Δ
- (3) *LAB* 4.16 Seruch autem et filii eius Δ Seruch autem et filie
 eius Π (filii BCDO); *CJ* 27.9 ושרוג ובניו = Δ
- (4) *LAB* 5.5 (Filii vero Sabaca)...XLVI milia CCCC Δ XXXVI milia
 CCCC Π ; *CJ* 28.4 בני סבחא ששה וארבעים אלף וארבע מאות = Δ
- (5) *LAB* 6.4 dixerunt Δ dixerunt ad illos Π ; *CJ* 29.3 ויאמרו = Δ
- (6) *LAB* 6.14 Frangentes fregerunt Δ Frangentes fregerunt vincula Π ;
CJ 29.12 שברו = Δ
- (7) *LAB* 7.2 et dixit Δ et dixit Deus Π ; *CJ* 30.2 ויאמר = Δ
- (8) *LAB* 28.8 scintilla ascendit Δ scintilla descendit Π ; *CJ* 57.41
 ניצוץ עלה = Δ
- (9) *LAB* 28.8 annis septem milia Δ annis quatuor milia Π ; *CJ* 57.41
 שבעת אלפי שנים = Δ

No conclusion can be drawn. The author of *CJ* could have used an early MS, and so *CJ* could possibly witness a stage in transmission prior to the division into two major groups. On the other hand, the author could have used more than one MS.

This Edition

This edition presents the Hebrew texts from *CJ* along with new English translations on facing pages. *CJ* is cited according to Gaster's numeration, and *LAB* is referred to according to the James/Kisch scheme. *CJ* references accompany the Hebrew, and *LAB* references accompany the English. Biblical quotations are italicized in the translation. Proper names are transliterated according to their form in the *Revised Standard Version* (RSV). Where a proper name is not found in the Bible, we have spelled the name according to its vocalization in the *CJ* text; where there is no vocalization, we have been guided first by *LAB* and then by Gaster. Where there is a significant difference between *CJ* and *LAB*, the reading of *LAB* is cited in the notes; where *LAB* sheds light on a translation, its text is also cited in the notes.

Critical signs employed in the text and translation:

- ' ' text of MS seems to be corrupt
- [] lacuna in MS
- () words or letters supplied by editor, although there is no actual lacuna in the MS
- words seem to be missing, although there is no actual lacuna in the MS
- { } suggested deletion of material that is present in the MS
- < > explanation or alternative rendering supplied by editor

The present translation is a new one which aims at a literal rendering of the Hebrew text. The translator has consulted Gaster's translation as well as the Latin text of *LAB*.

- 26.1 אדם הוליד שלשה בנים ושלוש בנות קין ותאומתו קַלְמָנָא אשתו והכל ותאומתו דבורה אשתו ושתי ותאומתו נוֹבָא אשתו:
- 2 ויחי אדם אחריו הולידו את שתי שבע מאות ויולד בנים אחד עשר ובנות שמנה:
- 1.3= ואלה שמות בניו עֵלִי שֶׁאֵל צוּרִי עֶלְמִיָּאל בְּרוּךְ כְּעַל נַחַת זֶרְחָמָה צֶשֶׂא מַחְתֵּל וְעֵנַת:
- 1.4= ושם הבנות חוה גיטש חַרְיִיבִיכָא זִיפְתָּהּ הִיכִיָּאָה שְׁבָא עֵזִיךְ:
- 3 ויחי שתי מאה וחמש שנה ויולד את אנוש: ויחי שתי אחרי הולידו את אנוש שבע מאות ושבע שנה ויולד בנים שלשה ושתי בנות:
- 1.6= ושם הבנים אֶלִידְעָה פֹּנָא וּמַחְתָּהּ ושם הבנות מְלִילָא וְתִילָא:
- 4 ויחי אנוש מאה ושמונים שנה ויולד את קינן: ויחי אנוש אחרי הולידו את קינן שני בנים אַהוּר וְאַאֵל ובת אחת קַטִּינָת:
- 5 וקינן הוליד אחרי מהללאל ג' בנים התך מוככו ולופא וב' בנות חנה לליבא:
- 6 ומהללאל הוליד אחרי ירד ז' בנים טִיקָא מָאִיא צִיכָר מִילִי אַאֲש אורִיָּאל לוראוטיך וה' בנות עדה נועה יבל מעדה צלה:
- 7 ירד הוליד אחרי חנוך ד' בנים לעיעד ענק סבכי יחר וב' בנות זִזְכוּ לִזְנָה:
- 8 חנוך הוליד אחרי מתושלח ה' בנים עֵנִז לִיאֹן עֶכוּוֹן פְּלִידִי אֶלִיד רג' בנות תִּיאִיז לִיפִיד לֶאִיאַד ויחפוץ יי בחנוך ויקחהו:
- 9 {מת} מתושלח (הוליד) אחרי למך בנים ב' ובנות ב' עינב רפוא עלומה עֶמוּגָה:
- 1.20= ולמך הוליד את נח לאמר זה ינחמנו ויניח לארץ ולכל אשר עליה כי יפקד יי רעה על הארץ למען החמס אשר ברעועים:

¹ *CJ* and *LAB* along with *LXX* have 700 years; *MT*, Samaritan and Jubilees have 800 years.

² *MT* has a slightly different form: חמש שנים ומאה שנה.

³ *MT* has a different form: שבע שנים ושמנה מאות שנה. Again *CJ* and *LAB* agree with *LXX* (707) against *MT*, Sam and Jub (807).

⁴ The *LXX* has 190 and the *MT* 90; *LAB* also has 180.

⁵ *LAB* has *annos DCCXV et genuit* in this place.

⁶ *LAB's et Leva* suggests וליבא.

⁷ In the *CJ* MS there is a false start -מת, then the proper name; but the verb has been omitted.

- 1.1 Adam fathered three sons and three daughters: Cain and his twin, Qalmanā', his wife; and Abel and his twin, Deborah, his wife; and Seth and his twin, Nôbā', his wife,
- 1.2 And Adam lived, after he had fathered Seth, 700 (years)¹ and he fathered eleven sons and eight daughters (Gen 5.4).
- 1.3 And these are the names of his sons: 'Elî, Še'el, Šûrî, 'Elmî'el, B^erôk, Ke'al, Naḥat, Zarḥamah, Šiša', Maḥtal and 'Anat.
- 1.4 And the name(s) of the daughters: Ḥawāh, Gîṭaš, Harêbîka', Zîpat, Hêki'ah, Šaba', 'Azîn.
- 1.5 And Seth lived 105 years² and fathered Enosh; and Seth lived after he had fathered Enosh, 707 years³ and he fathered three sons and two daughters (Gen 5.6-7).
- 1.6 And the name(s) of the sons: 'Elîde'ah, Pûna' and Matat; and the name(s) of the daughters: M^elîla' and Tîla'.
- 1.7-8 And Enosh lived 180 years⁴ and he fathered Kenan; and Enosh lived, after he had fathered Kenan (Gen 5.9-10)....⁵ two sons: 'Ehôr and 'A'al; and one daughter: Qaṭênat.
- 1.9-10 And Kenan fathered after Mahalalel (see Gen 5.12-13) three sons: Hatak, Mōkkō and Lûpa'; and two daughters: Ḥannah, L^eliba.⁶
- 1.11-12 And Mahalalel fathered, after Yared (see Gen 5.15-16), seven sons: Ṭêqa', Mā'ya', Šêkar, Mêlî, 'A'eš, 'Ūrî'el, Lûr'ûṭîn; and five daughters: 'Adah, Nô'ah, Yebal, Ma'adah, Šillah.
- 1.13-14 Yared fathered, after Enoch (see Gen 5.18-19), four sons: Le'ê'ad, 'Anaq, Sabkê, Yeter; and two daughters: Zezekô, Lezek.
- 1.15-17 Enoch fathered, after Methuselah (see Gen 5.21-22), five sons: 'Ānaz, Lê'ôn, 'Akawôn, P^elêdî, 'Elêd; and three daughters: Ṭê'îz, Lêpîd, La'ê'ad. And the Lord found delight in Enoch and took him away (see Gen 5.24).
- 1.18-19 Methuselah (fathered),⁷ after Lamech (see Gen 5.28-29), two sons and two daughters: 'Inab, Rapô', 'Alûmāh, 'Amûgah.
- 1.20 And Lamech fathered Noah saying: This one will comfort us and give rest⁸ to the earth and to everyone who is on it, for the Lord will visit evil upon the earth because of the violence which is in the evildoers.

[LAB 1.21 says that Lamech lived 585 years after Noah's birth (Gen 5.30).]

⁸The reading לַנְּחֻמָּנוּ is MT, but LAB has *requiem dabit nobis* (= LXX?; διαναπαύσει ἡμᾶς). CJ appears to offer both MT and LXX readings.

- 10 ונח הוליד ג' בנים שם וחם ויפת:
- 11 וישב קין ואשתו תַּמְד בארץ נד:
- 2.2= וידע קין את אשתו תַּמְד
- 2.3= בן עֹו שנה ותולד את חנוך ויבן שבעה עיירות ויקרא הראשונה כשם בנו חנוך מֵאוֹלִי לַיָּאֵד גִּיזָה יִשְׁכָּה קֶלֶר יִיבֵב:
- 12 ויולד קין אחרי חנוך ג' בנים אהֶלָף לַיִזָּף פּוּזֹל וּב' בנות צִיטָא ומַחַח:
- 13 ויקח חנוך את נִיבָא בת שם לאשה ותלד לו את זִירָא ואת קוּעִית ואת מֶפֶף וזירא הוליד את מתושאל ומתושאל את למך:
- 14 ויקח למך ב' נשים:
- 2.7= עדה ילדה יובל אבי כל יושב אהל (ו) מקנה ואת יבל אבי כל חופש כינור ועוגב:
- 15 אז החלו יתשבי הארץ לעשות החמס לטמא איש את אשת רעהו לחרות אף יי ויחל לזמר בכינור ועוגב ולשחוק בכל מיני זמר לשחת הארץ:
- [CJ 26.15-20 continues with descriptions of Jubal's contributions to the science of music, Tubalcain's inventions for working with metals, and Jabal's devices for safeguarding flocks and tents as well as information about Enoch's assumption.]
- 21 ויהי המבול ויצא נח מן התיבה ויעל עולות וירח יי ויאמר לא אוסיף עוד לקלל ולהכות את כל חי כי אם כאשר יחטאו אשפתם ברעב ובחרב ובאש ובדבר וברעש ואפיצם הנה והנה: ואזכור זאת ליושב (י) הארץ עד עת קץ:

⁹Some such addition must be made.

¹⁰As in *LAB*, the Mehujael generation is omitted. Also, the author has read זִירָע rather than the MT עִירָד.

¹¹The Hebrew does not correspond exactly to the MT here and in the preceding verse.

¹²A *waw* must be inserted (see the biblical text).

¹³The two names have been reversed in relation to their biblical sequence.

¹⁴The biblical sequence of words is not followed.

¹⁵In the light of the context and *LAB* (*qui inhabitant terram*) a plural reading is necessary.

- 1.22 And Noah fathered three sons: *Shem and Ham and Japhet* (Gen 5.32).
- 2.1 And Cain and his wife Tēmēd dwelt in the land of Nod (Gen 4.16).
- 2.2 And Cain knew his wife (Gen 4.17) Tēmēd
- 2.3 when he was 15 years old, and she bore Enoch; and he built seven cities, and he named the first according to the name of his son Enoch (Gen 4.17). (The names of the others were:)⁹ Ma'ôlî, Lê'ed, Gêzeh, Yeškah, Qeler, Yêbab.
- 2.4 And Cain fathered, after Enoch, three sons: 'Ûlap, Lêzup, Pûzal; and two daughters: Şêṭa' and Maḥat.
- 2.5 And Enoch took Nîba', the daughter of Shem, for a wife; and she bore to him Zêra' and Qû'ît and Maddap. And Zêra' fathered Methushael,¹⁰ and Methushael Lamech (see Gen 4.18).
- 2.6 And Lamech took two wives (Gen 4.19).
- 2.7 Adah bore Yûbal,¹¹ the father of everyone dwelling in tents (and having)¹² cattle, and Yabal,¹³ the father of everyone playing the lyre and pipe (Gen 4.20-21).
- 2.8 Then the inhabitants of the earth began to do violence, to defile each man the wife of his neighbor, to kindle the anger of the Lord; and he began to play on the lyre and pipe and to make sport with all kinds of song, to corrupt the earth.

[LAB 2.9-3.8 records the birth of Tubal, the lament of Lamech, the reason for the flood and the instructions to Noah, and finally the story of the flood itself ending with the building of an altar.]

- 3.9 And the flood took place, and Noah went forth from the ark and offered holocausts. And the Lord smelled (them) and said: "I will never again curse¹⁴ (Gen 8.20-22) and smite every living thing; but, when they will sin, I will judge them with famine and with the sword and with fire and with pestilence and with earthquake, and I shall scatter them here and there. And I will remember this for the inhabitant(s)¹⁵ of the earth until the time of the end.

3.10= ויהי במלאת קץ העולם וידום האור ות <כב> ה החשך ואחיה את המתים
 ואקיץ ישיני האדמה: וישיב השאול את חובר והאבדון ישיב חלקו
 ואשיב לרשע כפרי מעלליו ואשפוט בין בשר לנפש: וינחה בהשקט העולם
 ובלע המות לנצח ושאול תסכר את פיה: ולא יהיה עוד הארץ בלי צמח
 ולא יעקרו יושביה ולא יטמאנה המשפטים כי הארץ חדשה ושמים חדשים
 יהיו ליושבת עולם:

¹⁶The MS has חבכה ("will weep"), but in view of LAB's *et extinguentur tenebre* חכבה would be correct. While I am not sure how the darkness can be extinguished, the context and parallelism implies that LAB and our emendation are more correct than CJ.

¹⁷For יעקרו Gaster has "be rooted out" while LAB has *sterilis*; LAB's interpretation has been followed in the translation.

3.10 And it will happen when the appointed time of the world is fulfilled that the light will cease and the darkness will <be extinguished>¹⁶ and I will resurrect the dead and arouse those sleeping in the ground, and Sheol will repay its debt and Abaddon will repay its portion, and I will repay the wicked man according to the fruit of his deeds, and I will judge between flesh and soul. And the world will rest in silence, and death will be swallowed up forever (see 1 Cor 15.54; Isa 25.8), and Sheol will shut its mouth. And the earth will no more be without growth, and its inhabitants will not be sterile,¹⁷ and those judged guilty¹⁸ will not defile it, for the new earth and the new heaven will be an everlasting habitation.

[LAB 3.11-4.1 describes the covenant with Noah and the promise of the bow, and begins the genealogy by listing the three sons of Noah.]

¹⁸As the text stands, we would translate: "the judgments will not defile it"; we should probably emend to הַנְּשַׁפְּטִים (suggested by Michael Stone), as our translation implies. LAB has *et non coinquinabitur ullus qui in me iustificatus est*.

- 27.1 בני יפת גומר ומגוג מדי ויון ותובל משך ותירס: ובני גומר
 אשכנז וריפת ותוגרמה: ובני יון אלישה ותרשיש כתים ודודנים:
 2 בני גומר טלד לוד דבר בלד: בני מגוג קשא טיפא פרוטא עמיאל
 פנחס גולאזא סמנה: בני דדן שלום פילוג טופליטא: בני תובל
 פאנטוניא אטיפא: בני תירס מאך טבאל בלענה שמפלא מיאה אילש:
 בני מלך אבורדד הורד בוצרה: בני אשכנז וכל סרדנא אננה: בני
 'יעירי' הרי איצודד דועת דיפסיאת חנוך: בני תוגרמה אביהוד שפט
 זיפטיר: בני אלישה זעק קנת מסטירידא: בני זיפתי מפשיאל טינא
 ארולא איאינוך: בני טיסי מקול לואוך צלגטבג: בני דודנים איטב
 ביאת ופנג:
 4.3= מאלה נפרדו יושבי ארץ פרס ומדי ואיי הים:
 3 ויעל פנג בן דודנים ויחל להיות ספן באניות הים: אז נפצה שלישי
 ארץ
 4.4= רומירת: ויכבשו בניו את ידיד: ובני מגוג כבשו להם את דיגל ובני
 מדי כבשו את בטטל ובני יון כבשו את צאל ובני תובל כבשו את פחת
 ובני משך כבשו את נפטי: ובני תירס כבשו את רואו ובני דינים
 כבשו את גודה וריפת בלא בניו כבשו את גודו ובני ריפת כבשו את
 בוצרה: ובני תוגרמה כבשו את פוט: בני אלישה כבשו את טבלו ובני
 תרשיש את מריבא: ובני כתים.....: ובני דודנים את קרובא:
 4.5= ואז החלו לעבוד את האדמה וכאשר צמאה למים ויקראו אל יי וירויה
 מטר: ויהי ברדת הגשם ונראה הקשת בענן ויראו יושבי הארץ את אות
 הברית ויברכו את יי:

¹Dedan stands in place of Madi or Javan; one of these has been omitted.

²The name should be משך rather than מלך in the light of Gen 10.2. Also this line should precede the "sons of Tiras."

³'Êrî/Herî should be Riphath. 'Êrî is probably a false reading corrected with the following Herî.

⁴Mastîdrîda' in LAB is two names--Mastisa (or Mastifa) and Rira.

⁵Zêptî must be Kittim.

⁶Têsî must be Tarshish. The order of this and the preceding lines has been reversed.

⁷LAB here has *Domereth et filii eius* which clearly should be *Gomer et filii eius*. The error, which is most explicable in Latin, has been compounded by the Hebrew retroverter. See the introduction.

⁸For Dînîm LAB has Duodenin; in fact, both CJ and LAB should

- 4.2 *The sons of Japhet: Gomer and Magog, Madai and Javan and Tubal, Meshech and Tiras. And the sons of Gomer: Ashkenaz, and Riphath and Togarmah. And the sons of Javan: Elishah and Tarshish, Kittim and Dodanim (Gen 10.2-4).*
 The sons of Gomer: Ṭeled, Lûd, Deber and Led.
 The sons of Magog: Qaše', Ṭîpa', Parûta', 'Amî'el, Pinhas, Gôla'aza', Samanāk.
 The sons of Dedan:¹ Šalûs, Pîlôg, Ṭûplîṭa.
 The sons of Tubal: Pa'anṭônya', 'Eṭîpa'.
 The sons of Tiras: Ma'ak, Ṭab'el, Bal'anah, Šampla', Mê'ah, 'Êlaš.
 The sons of Melek:² 'Abûradad, Hûrad, Bôšarah.
 The sons of Ashkenaz: Vekal, Sardana', 'Anak.
 The sons of 'Êrî' Herî:³ 'Êšûdad, Dô'at, Dêpasê'at, Ḥanôk.
 The sons of Togarmah: 'Abîhûd, Šapaṭ, Zêptîr.
 The sons of Elishah: Za'aq, Qenat, Maṣṭîdrîda'.⁴
 The sons of Zêptî:⁵ Mapšî'el, Ṭêna', 'Aula', 'Î'inôn.
 The sons of Ṭêsî:⁶ Mâqôl, Lû'ôn, Šilagtâbag.
 The sons of Dodanim: 'Îṭeb, Bê'at, and Paneg.
- 4.3 *From these were spread abroad (Gen 10.5) the inhabitants of the land of Persia and Media and the islands of the sea. And Paneg, the son of Dodanim, went up and began to sail in the boats of the sea. Then a third of the land of Rômêret⁷ was separated off.*
- 4.4 *And his sons conquered Yadêd, and the sons of Magog conquered for themselves Dêgel, and the sons of Madai conquered Biṭṭô, and the sons of Javan conquered Še'el, and the sons of Tubal conquered Paḥat, and the sons of Meshech conquered Neptî, and the sons of Tiras conquered Rô'ô, and the sons of Dînîm⁸ conquered Gôdah, and Riphath without his sons conquered Gôdô, and the sons of Riphath conquered Bôšarah, and the sons of Togarmah conquered Pûṭ, and the sons of Elishah conquered Ṭablô, and the sons of Tarshish Merîba', and the sons of Kittim....,⁹ and the sons of Dodanim Qarûba'.*
- 4.5 *And then they began to work the land; and when it thirsted for water, then they cried to the Lord and he soaked it by rain. And when the rain descended, the bow appeared in the cloud and the inhabitants of the earth saw the sign of the covenant and blessed the Lord.*

have Ashekanaz.

⁹Here LAB has *Cethim et filii eius acceperunt Thaan.*

- 4 ובני חם כוש ומצרי ופוט וכנען: ואלה בני כוש שבא וטודן:
 ובני מאיפון טינוש צילורו טילוף גילוג ליפון: ובני כנען צידון
 ואנדאים רצין שימים אורואין נימיגים חמתים ניפיים טילש אילג כושים:
 4.7= וכוש ילד את נמרוד הוא החל להיות נפיל גאה לפני יי: ומצרים ילד
 את לוודים ואת ענמים ואת להבים ואת נפתוחים ופתרוסים וכסלוחים
 וכפתורים:
 4.8= והם החלו לבנות עיירות אלה צידון ובנותיה ריסון ביאוזא מזאגר
 תשקלון דבר קמו טילון לאכיש סדום ועמורה אדמה וצבורים:
 5 ובני שם עילם ואשור וארפכשד ולוד וארן: ובני אשור גזרון ישי:
 וארפכשד ילד את שלח ושלח ילד את עבר: ולעבר יולד שני בנים שם
 האחד פלג כי בימיו נפלגה הארץ ושם אחיו יקטן:
 4.10= ויקטן ילד את אלמודד ואת שלפטרס ואת מוזאם וריאדורא ועוזים
 דיקלבל מימואל שְׁבִיטְתָּפִין חזילה יובב: ובני פלג רעו ריפוד שפרה
 אקולון זכר זיפך גבי שורי שזיאור פלאבוש רפא פלטיא שפדיפל שייש
 והרטמן אליפז: אלה בני פלג ואלה שמותם ויקחו להם נשים מבנות
 יקטן ויולדו בנים ובנות ותמלא הארץ מהם:
 6 ויקח לו רעו את מלכה בת רות לאשה ויולד את שרוג וימלאו ימיה ללדת
 ויאמר רעו: מזה יצא עד דור רביעי אשר יותן כסאו עליה ויקרא תמים
 צדיק ואב המון גוים: לא יעזבו עדותו וימלאו זרעו את העולם:
 4.12= ויולד רעו אחרי שרוג ז בנים אביאל עובד שלמא דיזול קניזא עכור
 נפש וה בנות קדימא דריפא שאיפא פיריטא תהילה:

¹⁰As in *LAB*, there is a lacuna in Gen 10.7: Seba (Havilah, Sabtah, Raamah and Sabteca. The sons of Raamah: Sheba) and Dedan. As in *LAB*, טודן has been misread for דדן.

¹¹*CJ* (against *LAB*) omits from Gen 10.14 the phrase "whence came the Philistines."

¹²For Bê'ôza', Mazagar, Yašqalôn, Dabir, Qamô *LAB* has Beosamaza (or Beosomata), Geras, Calon, Dabircamo.

¹³In this place in Gen 10.23 we would expect "The sons of Aram: Uz, Hul, Gether, and Mash." *LAB* is very corrupt here also: *filiarum* (some MSS *filirum*) Assum Gedrumese (some MSS Gredu Messe).

¹⁴The MT of Gen 10.26-29 yields "Sheleph, Hazarmaveth, Jerah, Hadoram, Uzal, Diklah, Obal, Abimael, Sheba, Ophir, Havilah, and Jobab." *LAB* is very corrupt here: *Salastra*, *Mazaam* (or *Muzaam*), *Rea*, *Dura*, *Uzia* (or *Ream*, *Duram*, *Uziam*), *Deglabal*, *Mimoel*, *Sabthfin* (or *Sabthifin*), *Evilach*, *Iubab*.

- 4.6 *And the sons of Ham: Cush, and Egypt, and Put and Canaan. And these are the sons of Cush (Gen 10.6-7): Šeba....¹⁰ and Țûdan. And the sons of Ma'îpûn: Țînuš, Ŝêlêwû, Tîlûp, Gêlûg, Lêpûk.*
And the sons of Canaan: Sidon and 'Anda'im, Rašin, Šîmîm, 'Ûrû'in, Nêmîgîm, Ĥamatîm, Nêfîm, Țêlaš, 'Êlag, Cûšîm (see Gen 10.15-18).
- 4.7 *And Cush fathered Nimrod; he began to be a proud giant before the Lord (Gen 10.8-9). And Egypt begat the Ludim and Anamim and Lehabim and Naphtuhim and Pathrusim and Casluhim and¹¹ Caphtorim (Gen 10.13-14).*
- 4.8 *And they began to build cities. These (were) Sidon and its daughter villages, Rêšûn, Bê'ôza', Mazagar, Yašqalôn, Dabir, Qamô,¹² Țêlûn, La'kîš, Sodom and Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboiim (Gen 10.19).*
- 4.9 *And the sons of Shem: Elam and Asshur and Arpachshad and Lud and Aran.*
And the sons of Asshur: Gezrôn, Yišî.¹³ And Arpachshad fathered Shelah, and Shelah fathered Eber; and to Eber were born two sons, the name of the one was Peleg, for in his days the earth was divided, and the name of his brother was Joktan (Gen 10.22-25).
- 4.10 *And Joktan fathered Almodad and (Gen 10.26) Šalaptra' and Mûza'am and Rê'adûra' and 'Ûzîm, Dêqlabal, Mîmô'el, Šabêtt^epîn, Hazilah, Jobab¹⁴ (see Gen 10.26-29).*
And the sons of Peleg: Reu, Rêpûd, Šeparah, 'Aqûlôn, Zakar, Zîpak, Gabî, Šûrî, Šezî'ûr, Pala'buš, Rafo', Paltîa', Šapdêpal, Šayîš and Harțeman, 'Elîpaz. And these are the sons of Peleg (see Gen 11.17-19), and these are their names. And they took for themselves wives from the daughters of Joktan; and sons and daughters were born, and the earth was filled by them.
- 4.11 *And Reu took for himself Melkah the daughter of Ruth for a wife, and he begat Serug. And her days to bear were fulfilled, and Reu said: "From this one there will issue in the fourth generation he whose throne will be raised high, and he will be called 'perfect, just and father of a host of nations.' And the promises made to him will not be abandoned, and his seed will fill the world."*
- 4.12 *And Reu fathered, after Serug (see Gen 11.21), seven sons: Abî'el, 'Ôbed, Šalma', Dêdazal, Qenêza, 'Akûr, Nepeš; and five daughters: Qedêma', Derîpa', Še'îpa, Pêrîta', Tehîlah.*

- 4.13= ויולד שרוג אחרי נחור ד בנים צילה דיגא סובא ופורא וג בנות גיזלא
 חוגלה שליפא:
- 7 ויולד נחור אחרי תרח ו בנים רכב דדיאב בריכב ושיבל שף נידב קמואל
 וח בנות יסכה טיפא ברונא קניטא: ויקח את אמתלאי בת כרנבו:
- 8 ויחי תרח ע שנה ויולד את אברם ואת נחור ואת הרן והרן הוליד את
 לוט:
- 9 אז החלו יושבי הארץ לראות במזלות ולהיות חוזים בכוכבים ולקסום
 כקסמים והיו נוחנים בניהם ובנותיהם באש ושרוג ובניו לא הלכו
 בדרכה>ם:

¹⁵The order in *LAB Zoba, Dica* is reversed in *CJ*.

¹⁶The *LAB MSS K and P* (Fulda-Cassel Theol. 4°3 and Phillipps 461) which are usually the best have *Recap, Dediap, Berechap* while the others have *Recab, Dediab, Berechab*. In *LAB Nahor* is said to have eight sons, and eight are named; in *CJ* he has six sons, and seven are named.

¹⁷*LAB* has *Cene, Etha*; also *Nahor* is said to have five daughters, and five are named. In *CJ* he has eight daughters, but only four

- 4.13 And Serug fathered, after Nahor (see Gen 11.22-23), four sons: Šêlah, Dîga', Sôba'¹⁵ and Pôra'; and three daughters: Gêzila', Hôglah, Šelîpa'.
- 4.14 And Nahor fathered, after Terah (Gen 11.24-25), six sons: Recab, Dedi'ab, Berêkab,¹⁶ and Šîbal, Šap, Nîdab, Qamô'el; and eight daughters: Yeskah, Tîpa', Berûna', Qanêta'.¹⁷ And he took 'Amtalai' the daughter of Karnabô.¹⁸
- 4.15 *And Terah lived 70 years and fathered Abram and Nahor and Haran; and Haran fathered Lot (Gen 11.26-27).*
- 4.16 Then the inhabitants of the earth began to divine by constellations and to be gazers by the stars and to practice divination like the diviners, and they were making their sons and daughters pass through the fire. But Serug and his sons did not walk in <their> ways.¹⁹

are named.

¹⁸The sentence has no parallel in LAB.

¹⁹The MS has בדרכייהם; the emendation to בדרכייהם is based on the context and LAB's *non ambulaverunt secundum eos*.

28.1 ואלה תולדות נח בארצותם למשפחותם ללשונותם ונפוצו כגוייהם בארץ
אחר המבול:

5.1= ויבואו בני חם וישימו עליהם את נמרוד לשר ולנגיד וגם בני יפת
נתנו עליהם את פנחס לשר ולנגיד וגם בני שם נתנו עליהם את יקטן
לשר ולנגיד:

2 ויבואו שלשת הנגידים האלה ויועצו יחדיו לקרב את עמם אליהם כעוד
נח אביהם חי ויקרבו כל העם אליהם ויהיו לנפש אחד ויהי השלום בארץ:

3 ויהי בשנת שש מאות וארבעים שנה לצאת נח מן התיבה ויפקד כל נגיד
את בני עמו:

5.4= ויפקד פנחס את בני יפת ובני גומר ויהיו כל פקודי פנחס חמשת אלפים
ושמנה מאות: ומבני מגוג אשר תחת ידו ששת אלפים ומאתים: ומבני
מדי תחת ידו חמשת אלפים ושבע מאות: בני תובל תחת ידו תשעת אלפים
וארבע מאות: ובני משך שבעת אלפים ומאתים: בני תירס שנים עשר אלף
ושלש מאות: בני ריפת אחד עשר אלף וחמש מאות: בני תוגרמה ארבעה
עשר אלף וארבע מאות: בני אלישה ארבעה עשר אלף ותשע מאות: בני
תרשיש שנים עשר אלף ומאה: בני כתים שמנה עשר אלף ושלוש מאות: בני
דודנים שבעה עשר אלף ושבע מאות: ויהיו כל פקודי בני יפת אנשי חיל
נרשאי כלי מלחמה כאשר פנחס נשיא שלהם פקדם מאה וארבעים ושתיים
אלפים לבד מן הנשים והטף:

4 גם נמרוד הנשיא העביר את בני חם תחת שבטו וימצאם שנים עשר אלף ושש
מאות: בני מצרים תחת ידו עשרים וארבעה אלף ותשע מאות: ובני פוט
עשרים ושבעה אלף ושבע מאות: ובני כנען שנים ושלשים אלף ותשע
מאות: בני שבא ארבעת אלפים ושלוש מאות: בני חוילה ארבעה ועשרים

¹LAB has 340.

²Where *CJ* has תחת ידו, *LAB transeuntes secundum scepra ducati-
onis sue*; see the Introduction for a discussion of the passage.

³Javan is absent, as in *LAB*.

⁴*LAB* has 5600.

⁵Ashkenaz is absent, as in *LAB*.

⁶*LAB* has 17300.

⁷Cush is absent, as in *LAB*.

⁸*LAB* has 24800.

⁹The best *LAB* MSS (*KP*) have 32800 while the others have 32900.

4.17 And these are the generations of Noah *in their lands according to their tribes according to their tongues*; and they were scattered according to their nations *on the earth after the flood* (Gen 10.31-32).

5.1 And the sons of Ham came and set over themselves Nimrod as prince and chief; and also the sons of Japhet placed over themselves Pinhas as prince and chief; and also the sons of Shem placed over themselves Joktan as prince and chief.

5.2 And these three chiefs came and took counsel together to bring their people near to them while Noah their father was still alive; and all the people drew near to them. And they were of one soul, and there was peace on earth.

5.3 And it happened that, 640 years¹ after Noah went forth from the ark, every chief numbered the sons of his people.

5.4 And Pinhas numbered the sons of Japhet and the sons of Gomer (see Gen 10.2-4).

And all those numbered by Pinhas were 5800.

And from the sons of Magog who were beneath his hand² 6200.

And from the sons of Madai beneath his hand 5700.³

The sons of Tubal beneath his hand 9400.

And the sons of Meshech 7200.⁴

The sons of Tiras 12300.⁵

The sons of Riphath 11500.

The sons of Togarmah 14400.

The sons of Elishah 14900.

The sons of Tarshish 12100.

The sons of Kittim 18300.⁶

The sons of Dodanim 17700.

And all those numbered of the sons of Japhet, men of valor, bearers of the arms of war, when Pinhas their leader numbered them, were 142000 apart from women and children.

5.5 Also Nimrod the leader made the sons of Ham (see Gen 10.6-7) pass beneath his staff and found them to be 12600.⁷

The sons of Egypt beneath his hand 24900.⁸

And the sons of Put 27700.

And the sons of Canaan 32900.⁹

The sons of Seba 4300.¹⁰

¹⁰The number is the same as that of LAB, but in both cases it is disproportionately small.

אלף ושלש מאות: בני סבכא חמשה ועשרים אלף ושלש מאות: ובני רעמה
 שלשים אלף ושש מאות: בני סבכא ששה וארבעים אלף וארבע מאות:
 ויהיו כל פקודי בני חם כאשר נמרוד הנשיא פקד אותם תשעה וארבעים
 אלף ומאתים אלף אנשי חיל יוצאי צבא לבד מן הנשים והטף:
 ויהיו כל פקודי בני נח ארבעה עשר אלף ושבע מאות אלפים ומאה: כל
 אלה התפקדו בעוד נח חי ויחי נח אחרי המבול שלש מאות שנה וחמישים
 שנה: ויהיו כל ימי נח תשע מאות שנה וחמשים שנה וימרת:

5

¹¹Here LAB KP have the 46400 with CJ while the others have 36400.

¹²LAB has 244900.

¹³The census of the sons of Shem, present in LAB 5.6--7, is absent from CJ.

The sons of Havilah 24300.

The sons of Sabtah 25300.

The sons of Raamah 30600.

The sons of Sabteca 46400.¹¹

And all those numbered of the sons of Ham when Nimrod the leader numbered them were 249000,¹² men of valor going out to war, apart from women and children.¹³

[LAB 5.6-7 records the census of the sons of Shem by Joktan.]

5.8 And all those numbered of the sons of Noah were 714100.¹⁴

And all these were numbered while Noah was still alive. *And Noah lived after the flood 350 years. And all the days of Noah were 950 years, and he died (Gen 9.28-39).*

¹⁴LAB has 814100.

- 29.1 ויהי כאשר נפרדו יושבי הארץ ויקהלו יחדיו ויסעו מקדם וימצאו בקעה בארץ בבל וישבו שם: ויאמרו איש אל רעהו הנה בא העת אשר נפוץ איש מאת רעהו באחרית הימים ואיש באחיו וילחם לנו: הבה נבנה לנו עיר ומגדל וראשו בשמים ונעשה לנו שם גדול על הארץ:
- 2 ויאמרו איש אל רעהו הבה נלבנה לבינים ויכתב כל איש את שמו ב { י } לבינתו ונשרפה לשרפה ותהי לנו הלבינה לאבן והחמר יהיה לנו לחמר:
- 6.3= ויעש כל איש לבינתו ויכתב את שמו עליה מלבד שנים עשר א < נש > ים אשר לא רצו להיות עמהם:
- 3 ואלה שמות האנשים אשר לא היו בעצתם אברם נחור לוט רעו טינוטי צבא אלמודד יובב אצר אבימאל שבא אופיר:
- 6.4= ויקחו אותם עם הארץ ויביאום אל נשיאיהם ויאמרו אלה האנשים אשר עברו על העיצה אשר יעצנו כי לא רצו ללכת בדרכינו:
- 4 ויאמרו להם הנשיאים למה לא חפצתם לעשות הלבינים עם עמי הארץ ויענו להם ויאמרו לא נעשה הלבינים ולא נדבק בכם כי אל אחד ידענו ואותו נעבד אף כי הייתם שורפים אותנו באש עם הלבינים לא נלך בדרכיכם:
- 5 ויחר לנשיאים ויאמרו כאשר דברו כן נעשה להם כי אם לא יעשו כמונו תשימו אותם באש עלם < ם > לביניכם:
- 6 ויען יקטן ראש הנשיאים ויאמר לא כן נעשה כי אם נתן להם זמן שבעת ימים והיה אם יחפצו לעשות עמכם חלבינים יחיו ואם לא יחפצו ימותו באש כי בקש להצילם מידם כי ראש לבית אבותם הוא ואף כי עבדו את יי:
- 6.7= ויעשו כן ויתנום בבית הסהר בית יקטן:

¹Either וילחם is to be understood as stative (as Gaster did) or emendation is necessary. LAB has for this *and* the preceding *alterutrum erimus expugnantes nos*. Perhaps read לו for לנו (M. Stone).

²There is an intrusive *yodh* between ב and ל in the MS form.

³The MS has אלפים; the emendation to אנשים is obviously correct from sense and LAB *extra viros duodecim*.

⁴The first four names are clear enough. For Almôdad, Yôbab, 'Abîma'el, Šaba' and 'Ôpîr, compare Gen 10.26-29. The remaining names in LAB are Tenute, Zaba and Esar as in CJ.

⁵עם is read for MS על in the light of the above phrase עם הלבינים and LAB *cum lapidibus vestris*.

- 6.1 And when the inhabitants of the earth had been spread abroad, they gathered together and journeyed *from the east and found a plain in the land of Babel and settled there. And they said, each man to his neighbor* (Gen 11.2-3): "Behold the time is coming when we will be scattered, each man from his neighbor, at the end of days; and each man will be against his brother, and there will be war¹ for us. Come, let us build for ourselves a city and a tower, and its top will be in the heavens; and we will make for ourselves a great name (Gen 11.4) upon the earth."
- 6.2 *And they said, each man to his neighbor: "Come, let us make bricks; and each man will write his name on his brick;² and let us burn them thoroughly. And the brick will be for us for stone, and the pitch will be for us for mortar* (Gen 11.3).
- 6.3 *And every man made his own brick and wrote his name on it except for twelve <men>³ who did not wish to be with them. And these were the names of the men who were not in their plan: Abram, Nahor, Lot, Reu, Tênuîê, Šaba', 'Almôdad, Yôbab, 'Ešar, 'Abîma'el, Šaba', 'Ôpîr⁴ (see Gen 10.26-29).*
- 6.4 And the people of the land took them and brought them to their leaders, and they said: "These are the men who rejected the plan which we planned, for they do not wish to walk in our ways."
And the leaders said to them: "Why are you not willing to make bricks along with the peoples of the land?" And they answered them and said: "We will not make bricks and we will not join with you, for the one God we know and him we serve. Even if you burn us in the fire along with the bricks, we will not walk in your ways."
- 6.5 And this angered the leaders, and they said: "As they said, thus we will do to them; for, if they do not do as we do, you will cast them in the fire <with>⁵ your bricks."
- 6.6 And Joktan the head of the leaders answered and said: "We will not act in this way, but we will give them the period of seven days. And if they are willing to make bricks with you, they will live; and if they are not willing, they will die in the fire." For he sought to rescue them from their hand, because he was head of the house of their fathers and because they served the Lord.⁶

⁶LAB has: *quoniam de tribu erat et Deo serviebat.*

- 7 ויהי בערב ויצו יקטן הנשיא לחמשים איש גבורי חיל ויאמר להם
 התאזרו וקחו לי האנשים הלילה האסורים בביתי ושימו אותם על עשר
 פרדים וגם צדה להם ולגמלים והביאום אל ההרים וחהיר עמהם שם והיה
 אם תגידו את הדבר הזה באש תשרפו:
- 8 וילכו האנשים ויעשו כן ויקחום לילה ויביאום לפני יקטן הנשיא:
 6.9= ויאמר להם אתם הדבקים ביי בטחו בו עדי עדי כי הוא יציל אתכם
 ויושיע אתכם: לכן הנה צויתי לחמשים האנשים האלה להביאכם אל
 ההרים וגם צדה לכם לאכלה ונחבאתם שם אל הבקעות כי מים בבקעה
 לשׁב>עות עד מלאת שלשים יום כי אז יעבור לב עם הארץ מעליכם או
 יחרה אף יי בעם וישחית אותם כי ידעתי כי לא ילינו בעצתם הרעה אשר
 {י}זמו לעשות כי און מחשבותם:
- 9 והיה לשבעת הימים כאשר יבקשו אתכם ואומר להם כי שברו את פתח בית
 הכלא ויצאו וברחו בלילה ושלחתי מאה לרדוף אחריהם ולבקשם וכל זאת
 אעשה לשכך חמתם מכם:
- 6.10= ויענו האחד עשר אנשים ויאמרו לו הנה מצאנו חן בעיניך כי הצלת את
 נפשותינו מיד אויבינו:
- 10 ויחריש אברם לבדו ויאמר לו יקטן הנשיא למה לא ענית לי דבר עם רעיך
 ויען אברם ויאמר הנה אנחנו בורחים היום אל ההרים להמלט מן האש
 ואם יצאו מן ההרים חיות רעות יאכלונו או אם יחסר לנו מאכל ונמות
 ברעב נמציאנו בורחים לפני עם הארץ ונמות בחטאתינו: ועתה חי יי
 אשר בטחתי בו כי לא אמיש מן המקום אשר כלאוני כן והיה אם יש בי
 עון אשר אמות בו אמות כרצון יי אשר ירצה:

⁷*CJ*'s text is simpler than *LAB*, but *LAB* makes no mention of camels as *CJ* does.

⁸Gaster's translation implies emending MS לשעות to לשבעות; לשחוח ("to drink") is also possible.

⁹The MS has the imperfect יזמו, but the perfect זמו seems in order. *LAB* has *consiliati sunt*.

- 6.7 And thus they did, and they put them in the jail at Joktan's house.
And it happened in the evening that Joktan the leader commanded fifty mighty men of valor and said to them:
"Gird yourselves, and take for me this night the men imprisoned in my house, and put them on ten mules and also food for them and for the camels.⁷ And bring them to the mountains, and stay with them there. And it will happen that, if you tell of this matter, you will be burned in the fire."
- 6.8 And the men went and did thus. And they took them by night and brought them before Joktan the leader.
- 6.9 And he said to them: "You who cling to the Lord, trust in him forever, for he will rescue you and save you. Therefore, behold I have commanded these fifty men to bring you to the mountains and also food for you for eating. And you will be hidden there in the valleys, for in the valley there is <sufficient>⁸ water until the end of thirty days; for then the heart of the people of the land will turn from you or the anger of the Lord will be kindled against the people and he will destroy them; for I know that they will not abide in their evil plan which they have devised⁹ to do because their plots are wicked.
And at the end of seven days when they seek you, I will say to them that 'they broke down the door of the prison and went forth and fled by night. And I sent 100 men to pursue them and to seek them out.' And all this I will do to abate their wrath from you."
- 6.10 And the eleven men answered and said to him: "Behold we have found favor in your eyes, for you have rescued our lives from the hand of our enemies."
- 6.11 But Abram alone was silent, and Joktan the leader said to him: "Why have you not answered me a word along with your companions?" Abram answered and said: "Behold we are fleeing today to the mountains to escape from the fire. And if wild beasts go forth from the mountains, they will devour us. Or if we lack food, then we will die by famine. We will be fleeing before the people of the land, and we will die in our sins. And now as the Lord lives in whom I have trusted, I will not move from the place in which they have imprisoned me. And if there is any iniquity in me for which I should die, I will die according to the will of the Lord as he wills."

- 11 ויאמר לו הנשיא דמך בראשך אם לא תברח עם האנשים האלה כי אם תברח
תינצל ויאמר אברם לא אברח כי אם אשאר:
- 6.12= ויקחו את אברם ויתננו¹⁰ וישלח הנשיא את האחד עשר
אנשים ביד חמשים איש אל ההרים וגם צדה שלח להם בעשרה גמלים ביד
חמשים אחרים ויצו להם להיות עמהם עד חמשה עשר יום ולשוב לאמר לא
מצאנום ואם לא תעשו כן אשרוף אתכם באש:
- 12 ויהי לשבעת ימים ויקהלו כל העם ויאמרו אל נשיאיהם תנו לנו את
האנשים אשר לא רצו להיות בעצתינו ונשרפם באש וישלחו להביאם ולא
נמצאו כי אם אברם:
- 6.14= ויאמרו פנחס ונמרוד הנשיאים אל יקטן הנשיא איה האנשים האסורים
בבית הסהר בביתך ויאמר להם יקטן הנה שברו הלילה ויצאו ושלחתי
אחריהם מאה אנשים לבקשם ולהמיתם:
- 6.15= ויאמרו כל העם הנה לא מצאנו כי אם אברם נשרפהו באש:
- 13 ויקחו את אברם ויעמידהו לפני הנשיאים וישאלוהו לאמר איה האנשים
אשר סגרנו עמך ויאמר אברם לא ידעתי כי ישנתי הלילה וכאשר הקיצותי
לא מצאתים:
- 6.16= ויעשו תנור כבשן ויחממוהו עד יקוד אש עם לבינה 'אברם' ויתנוהו
עם¹¹ הלבינה בכבשן האש וישכך יקטן את חמת כל העם בשריפת אברם:
- 14 ויי הרעיש רעש גדול בכל הארץ ותצא האש מן הכבשן ויהי ללהבה ותאכל
את כל האנשים אשר סביבות הכבשן ויהי מספר הנשרפים ביום ההוא
ארבעה ושמונים אלף וחמש מאות ואברם לא נשרף מן האש:
- 6.18= ויצא מן הכבשן מאור כשדים וינצל וילך אל ריעיו אל ההרים ויספר
להם את כל המוצאות אות¹²: וישוּבו עמו מן ההרים ששים ושמחים
בשם יי ואין דובר דבר אליהם ויקראו את שם המקום אלהי אברם:

¹⁰The MS has ויתננהו.

¹¹The name Abram seems misplaced in the Hebrew text.

¹²Again it seems necessary to emend MS על to עם. LAB has cum.

¹³LAB has 83500.

¹⁴Sense and LAB (*illi*) demand emending the MS אותם to אוהו.

¹⁵LAB has *Et cognominaverunt locum illum nomine Abrae et lingue Chaldeorum Deli, quod interpretatur Deus. Deli may be Beli (Artapanus in Eusebius' Preparatio Evangelica 9.18.2). At any rate, CJ's version is much simpler.*

And the leader said to him: "Your blood be upon your own head if you do not flee with these men, for if you flee you will be rescued." And Abram said: "I will not flee but I will stay."

6.12 And they took Abram and put him¹⁰ in prison. And the leader sent the eleven men in the care of 50 men to the mountains, and also he sent food for them with ten camels in the care of 50 others. And he commanded them to remain with them for fifteen days and to return saying: "We have not found them." "And if you do not do this, I will burn you in the fire."

6.13 And after seven days all the people gathered and said to their leaders: "Give us the men who were not willing to be part of our plan, and let us burn them in the fire." And they sent to bring them, but there was no one there but Abram.

6.14 And Pinhas and Nimrod the leaders said to Joktan the leader: "Where are the men who were imprisoned in the jail at your house?" And Joktan said to them: "Behold they broke out tonight and escaped, and I sent 100 men after them to seek them out and kill them."

6.15 And all the people said: "Behold, we have not found anyone except Abram; let us burn him in the fire." And they took Abram and made him stand before the leaders and questioned him saying: "Where are the men whom we locked up with you?" And Abram said: "I do not know for I was sleeping tonight; and when I awoke, I did not find them."

6.16 And they made an oven, a kiln, and they heated it until the fire along with the brick was kindled. And they put Abram¹¹ <with>¹² the brick in the kiln of fire, and Joktan abated the wrath of all the people with the burning of Abram.

6.17 And the Lord caused a great earthquake in all the earth, and the fire went forth from the kiln and became a flame and devoured all the men who were around the kiln. And the number of those burned on that day was 84500.¹³ But Abram was not burned by the fire.

6.18 And he went forth from the kiln, from Ur (= the fire) of the Chaldees, and he was rescued. And he went to his companions in the mountains and told them all that happened to <him>.¹⁴ And they returned with him from the mountains, happy and rejoicing in the name of the Lord. And no one was saying a word to them. And they called the name of the place "the God of Abram."¹⁵

- 30.1 ויהי אחר הדברים האלה והעם לא שבו ממועדנותיהם הרעים ויבואו אל נשיאיהם ויאמרו הנה לא ינצח אדם את העולם: הבה ונבנה לנו עיר ומגדל וראשו בשמים אשר לא יחדל לעולם:
- 2 ויהי כי החלו לבנות וירא יי את העיר ואת המגדל ויאמר הן עם אחד ושפה אחת לכולם ועתה הארץ לא תסבול וגם השמים לא תשא להם:
- 3 לכן הנני מפיצם בכל הארץ ואבל {ב} ל את לשונם אשר לא יכור איש את אחיו ולא ישמע איש את שפת רעהו ו <א> צום אל הסלעים: יהיו להם משכנות בקנים ובקש ויחפרו להם מערות ומחילות עפר וחיות השדה ישבו עמם ויהיו שם כל הימים ולא יזמו עוד לעשות כאלה ויאקרבם בצינות: מהם אכלה במים ומהם אכלה באש גם בצמא אשחיתם:
- 7.4= ואבחר באברם עבדי ואוציא אותם מארצם ואביאנו אל הארץ (אשר) עינ <י> י מקדם בה:
- 4 ויהי כאשר חטאו לפני ב <נ> י תבל והבאתי המבול עליהם והארץ ההיא לא נשחתה כי לא ירד עליה מבול בחמתי: ואושיב שם את אברם עבדי ואכרת לו ולזרעו ברית עד עולם ואברכהו ואהיה לו לאלהים עד עולם:
- 5 ויהי כאשר החלו לבנות את המגדל ויבל {ב} ל יי את לשונם וישנה דמותם לדמות קופים ולא הכיר איש את אחיו ולא הבין איש שפת רעהו:

¹The phrase וראשו בשמים is not in LAB.

²Perhaps we should read חטאו rather than תשא.

³We should read ואבלל (after Gen 11.9) rather than MS ואבלל.

⁴The *heth* in אחיו is blurred, but the reading is certain.

⁵CJ has singular ישמעו while MT has plural ישמעו.

⁶We have read ואצום rather than MS ויצום; cf. LAB *commendabo eos petris*.

⁷יהיו is blurred, but the reading is almost certain. LAB has *et edificabunt*.

⁸James's (p. 247) emendation of Latin *scuto* to *sputo* on the basis of Isa 40.15 (LXX) and LAB 12.4 (*tamquam sputum estimabitur*) as well as 4 Ezra 6.56 and 2 Bar 82.5 is correct. CJ clearly was reading *scuto* in the LAB MS and then trying to make sense out of an already corrupt text.

⁹Some connecting word such as אשר or ו is needed. LAB has ... *in terram quam respexit*.

¹⁰The MS has עינוי. LAB has *oculus meus*.

¹¹We have read בני for MS ביי. LAB has *inhabitantes*.

- 7.1 And after these events the people did not turn from their evil schemings, and they came to their leaders and said: "Behold, will not man conquer the world? Come, let us build for ourselves a city and a tower, (and its top will be in the heavens)¹ (Gen 11.4) which will never come to an end."
- 7.2 And when they began to build, the Lord saw the city and the tower, and he said: "Behold one people, and there is one language for all (Gen 11.5-6). And now the earth will not bear them, and also the heavens will not take² them."
- 7.3 Therefore, behold I am scattering them in all the earth, and I will confuse³ their speech so that a man will not understand his brother⁴ and a man will not hear⁵ the language of his neighbor (Gen 11.7). And <I> will order⁶ them to the cliffs. There will be⁷ dwellings for them made out of reeds and straw, and they will dig for themselves caves and holes in the ground, and the beasts of the field will dwell with them. And they will be there all the days, and they will not plan to do deeds such as these again. And 'I will draw near them with shields (thorns?)'.⁸ Part of them I will annihilate with water, and part of them I will annihilate with fire. Also with thirst I will destroy them.
- 7.4 And I will choose Abram my servant, and I will bring him out of their land and will bring him to the land (on which)⁹ <my eyes>¹⁰ have rested from of old. And it happened that, when the <people>¹¹ of the earth sinned before me, then I brought the flood upon them. But that land was not destroyed, for the flood did not descend upon it in my wrath. And I will make Abram my servant dwell there, and I will make for him and for his seed an eternal covenant. And I will bless him and will be for him for a God forever."
- 7.5 And when they began to build the tower, the Lord confused¹² their speech and changed their form to the form of monkeys.¹³ And a man did not understand his brother, and a man did not comprehend the language of his neighbor. And when the builders gave a command to bring the stones they brought the water; and when they said to bring the water, they brought the straw.

¹²Again the MS has the בלבל form (יבלבל); see note 3 to this chapter.

¹³The equivalent of "to the form of monkeys" is not in LAB.

ויהי כאשר ציור הבנאים להביא את האבנים ויביאו את המים וכאשר
 אמרו להביא את המים הביאו את הקש: על כן הופר (ו) מזימותם ויחדלו
 לבנות את המגדל ויפץ יי אוחם משם על פני כל הארץ:

[CJ 30.6-42.4 presents another version of the tower story (30.6-8), more genealogies (31), Nimrod's dynasty (32), Nimrod and Abraham (33), Abraham's destruction of the idols (34), Abraham's further exploits and the birth of Jacob (35), the military victories of Jacob's sons (36), the battle between the sons of Judah and Esau (37), the testament of Naphtali (38), Joseph and Potiphar's wife (39), the sons of Noah according to the *Josippon* (40), the kings of Rome (41) and Israel's fate in Egypt (42.1-4).

In this way their evil designs were frustrated¹⁴ and they ceased building the tower.¹⁵ And the Lord scattered them from there over the face of all the earth (Gen 11.7-8).

[LAB 8.1-9.1 tells how Abraham dwelt in Canaan and became the father of Isaac, and presents lists of Isaac's and Esau's wives, Isaac's sons, Jacob's wives and sons. The revenge by Jacob's sons on Shechem, the descent into Egypt, the genealogies of the twelve patriarchs, and the persecution in Egypt are also recounted.]

¹⁴We have emended singular הופר to plural הופרו.

¹⁵MT has עיר, and LAB has *civitatem* in Gen 11.8 while LXX and Samaritan Pentateuch have "city" and "tower." CJ has only "tower."

- 42.5 ויאספו הזקנים וכל העם ויבכו ויספדו: לו ישכלו בְּחַמֵי נְשׁוֹתֵינוּ כִּי פְרִי בְטַנֵּינוּ לֵאמֹן: ועתה נתן זמן שלא יקרב איש אל אשתו כי טוב לנו למות בלא בנים מראת את בנותינו ממאות ביד ערלים עד אשר נדע מה יעשה יי:
- 9.3= ויען עמרם ויאמר הטוב בעיניכם אשר במצוק ימעט העולם או באין משפם יכרת העולם: אם לב התחומות יגיש עד שחק <לא> זרע ישראל יכלה: ויי נשבע לאברהם לענות את זרעו ארבע מאות שנה והנה עברו מברית בין הבתרים אשר כרת את אברהם שלש מאות וחמשים שנה ואשר נשתעבדנו במצרים מאת ושלשים שנה:
- 9.4= ועתה לא אעמוד בעצתכם לתת זמן במעשה יי למנוע את אשתי למלא את הארץ כי לא לנצח יחרה אף יי ולא לעלמים יזנח עמו ולא על און כרת ברית עם אבותינו ולא לריק הרבה את זרע ישראל:
- 6 ועתה אלכה אל אשתי כמצות יי ואם טוב בעיניכם עשו כמוני והיה כאשר תהר נשותינו תצפנו את בטן הריתם עד שלשה חדשים כאשר עשתה תמר אמינו אשר אין במזימתה לזנות מאחרי ישראל כי אמרה טוב לי למות מלערב עם הגוים: ותצפן את בטנה עד שלשה חדשים ותתודה:
- 9.6= ועתה נעשה כן גם אנחנו וכאשר ימלאו עת לדתנה ולא נמנע את פרי בטנינו ומי יודע אם בזה יקנא יי ויושיענו מעינינו:
- 7 וייטב בעיני יי את דברי עמרם ויאמר יי דבר (י) ך יטיבו בעיני: לכן ילוד לך בן עבד לי לעולם לעשות פלאות בבית יעקב ואותות ומופתים בעמים ואראה לו את כבודי ואודיעהו את דרכי:

¹The sentence is not in LAB.

²או is the MS reading, but לא or אז or even אך would make better sense. Perhaps, "Shall the heart..., or will the seed...."

³The MS has דברך יטיבו; either the noun should be made plural (as we have done) or the verb made singular (as we could just as easily have done). Our choice is governed by the preceding sentence.

- 9.2 And the elders and all the people gathered together and wept and lamented: "Would that the wombs of our wives were barren, for the fruit of our wombs is to be annihilated! And now set a time when a man will not approach his wife, for it is better for us to die without sons than to see our daughters defiled by Gentiles until we know what the Lord will do."
- 9.3 And Amram answered and said: "Is it better in your eyes that the world be diminished by constraint or that the world be cut away unjustly?¹ If the heart of the deeps should reach the heaven, the seed of Israel will <not>² perish. And the Lord swore to Abraham to afflict his seed for four hundred years (see Gen 15.13), and there have passed from the covenant between the pieces which he made with Abraham three hundred and fifty years, and of these we have been enslaved in Egypt one hundred and thirty years.
- 9.4 And now I will not stand for your plan to set a time for the work of the Lord, to hold back my wife from filling the earth, for not forever will the anger of the Lord be kindled and not unto eternity will he reject his people and not out of perversity has he made a covenant with our fathers and not in vain has he multiplied the seed of Israel.
- 9.5 And now I will go to my wife according to the commandment of the Lord; and if it is good in your eyes, do as I do. And when our wives conceive, you will conceal the womb of their conception for three months as Tamar our mother did (see Gen 38.24-25).
This was not by design to turn from Israel, for she said: 'It is better for me to die than to mingle with the heathen.' And she concealed her womb for three months, and she made a confession.
- 9.6 And now let us also act in this way. And when the time of bearing is fulfilled and we do not hold back the fruit of our wombs, who knows if over this the Lord will become zealous and save us from our afflictions?"
- 9.7 And the words of Amram were pleasing in the eyes of the Lord, and the Lord said: "Your word(s)³ are pleasing in my eyes. Therefore there will be born to you a son, my servant forever, to do marvels in the house of Jacob and signs and wonders among the nations. And I will show him my glory and will make him know my ways.

- 9.8= ואדליק נרי בו ואלמדהו את עדותי ותורותי ואדריכהו על במותי
 צדקותי ומשפטיי ואור עולם תאיר לו: כי עליו חשבתי מקדם לאמר לא
 ידון רוחי באדם לעלם בשגם הוא בשר והיו ימיו מאה ועשרים שנה:
 8 וילך עמרם משבט לוי ויקח את יוכבד בת לוי אשתו ויקחו כל העם את
 נשיהם ויהי לעמרם בן ובת אחרון ומרים:
 9.10= ותחל רוח יי במרים והיא בחלום הלילה ותגד לאביה לאמר ראיתי הלילה
 והנה איש לבוש שני: אמר לי אמרי לאביך ולאמך הנה אשר נולד מכם
 הלילה יושלך ויובא במים ועל ידו יבשה המים: וארתות ומופתים יעשו
 בו ויושיע את עמי ישראל ויהיה מוהלם לעלם: ותגד מרים את החלום
 לאביה ולאמה ולא האמינו לה:
 9 ותהר יוכבד ששה חדשים ויהי בחדש השביעי ותלד בן: ולא יכלה עוד
 הצפינו כי בתים עשה להם לידע את לדת 20 ±':
 9.14= ויאמרו הזקנים אל עמרם הלא זה דברינו אשר דברנו אליך כי טוב לנו
 למות בלא בנים מראות פרי בטנינו מושלך במים ויאמר עמרם אל מרים
 בתו איה נבואת חלומיך: ותתיצב אחרתו מרחוק לדיע מה יעשה לו:
 9.15= ותרד בת פרעה לרחוץ ותקח את הילד ויהי לה לבן:

[CJ 43.1-56.4 has the *Chronicle of Moses* (43-48) which tells of Moses' birth (43), his concealment and discovery, his flight from Egypt (44), his stay in Cush (45), Pharaoh's plan to destroy Israel (46), Moses' appearance before the royal court (47), and the plagues and the subsequent exodus (48). There are also accounts of Aaron's death (49), Moses' death (50), Moses' special merit and other matters

⁴LAB has *superexcellentiā meam et iusticias et iudicia*.

⁵Gaster (p. 105) translates: "and through him shall the light of the world be kindled." LAB has *et lumen sempiternum luceam ei*.

⁶LAB has *in veste bissina*; scarlet = שני and byssus = שש.

⁷The reading מוהלם is orthographically certain. Gaster (p. 106) translates as "their leader." LAB has *et ipse ducatum eius aget semper*.

⁸The sense of the first part ("made houses") is difficult, and the reading of the second part is impossible. LAB has *quia rex Egipti preposuerat principes locorum, ut quando parerent Hebreæ statim in flumen proicerent masculos eorum*. Gaster (p. 106) avoids the problem: "for the Egyptians had made houses by which they knew of the birth of a child. They therefore made a little ark and placed the child among the bulrushes." There are not enough spaces for all that is in Gaster's version. Perhaps, read בתים (ראשי) in the first part (M. Stone).

- 9.8 And I will light my lamp in him and teach him my statutes and my laws. And I will lead him over the heights of my righteousness and judgments.⁴ And the eternal light will shine forth for him.⁵ For of him I have thought from of old saying: *'My spirit will not abide in man forever, for he is flesh; and his days will be one hundred and twenty years'* (Gen 6.3)."
- 9.9 And Amram from the tribe of Levi went and took Jochebed the daughter of Levi (Exod 2.1; 6.20) as his wife, and all the people took their wives. And Amram had a son and a daughter, Aaron and Miriam.
- 9.10 And the spirit of the Lord disturbed Miriam, and she was in a dream by night. And she told her father, saying: "I have seen tonight, and behold, a man dressed in scarlet.⁶ He said to me: 'Say to your father and your mother: "Behold that which is born from you tonight will be cast forth and put in the waters, and by him the waters will be dried up. And signs and wonders will be done by him, and he will save my people Israel. And he will be their circumciser⁷ forever.'"" And Miriam told the dream to her father and mother, and they did not believe her.

[LAB 9.11 summarizes the sufferings of Israel.]

- 9.12 And Jochebed was pregnant for six months, and it happened in the seventh month that she bore a son. And she was no longer able to conceal him (Exod 2.2-3) for he made houses for them to know the birth [\pm 20].⁸

[LAB 9.13 says that Moses was born circumcised.]

- 9.14 And the elders said to Amram: "Are not these our words which we spoke to you, that it is better for us to die without sons than to see the fruit of our wombs cast forth on the waters?" And Amram said to Miriam his daughter: "Where is the prophecy of your dreams?" And his sister stationed herself from afar to know what would be done to him (Exod 2.4).
- 9.15 And the daughter of Pharaoh went down to bathe (Exod 2.5). And -16 she took the child, and he was as a son to her (Exod 2.9-10). [LAB 10.1-24.6 deals with the crossing of the Red Sea (10), the giving of the Law (11), the golden calf (12), rules for furnishing the altar, the sacrifices and festivals (13), the census of the people (14), the spies (15), the rebellion of Korah (16), the choice of the priestly family (17), the deeds of Balaam (18), the death of Moses

concerning him (51), his reception into heaven (52), Israel's order in the wilderness (53), the smiting of the firstborn (54), the rebellion of Korah (55), and history from Joshua to the Judges (56).]

(19), Joshua as Moses' successor (20), the building of the altar (21), the schismatical altar (22), the farewell speech of Joshua (23) and the death of Joshua (24).]

- 57.1 ויאמר פִּילוֹ רִיעַ יוֹסֵף בֶּן גּוֹרִיוֹן בִּסְפָרוֹ כִּי כֹאשֶׁר מֵת יְהוֹשֻׁעַ לֹא הָיָה לְיִשְׂרָאֵל רוּעָה לְהִנְהִיגֵם וַיִּשְׁאַלּוּ בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּיַד מִי יַעֲלֶה לְפָנֵיהֶם לְהַלְחֵם בְּכַנְעָנִי בְּתַחֲלִילָה: וַיֹּאמֶר יִי אִם לֵב הָעַם הַזֶּה שָׁלֵם עִם יִי יְהוּדָה יַעֲלֶה וְאִם לֹא יַעֲלֶה: וַיּוֹסֵף לִשְׁאֹל בְּמָה נִדְעָ אֶת לֵב הָעַם: וַיֹּאמֶר יִי הַקְּרִבָּת בְּגוֹרְלוֹת לְשַׁבְּטֵיכֶם וְהָיָה הַשַּׁבָּט אֲשֶׁר יִלְכְּדוּ יִי יִקְרַב לְמִשְׁפַּחוֹת וְתִדְעוּ אֶת לֵב הָעַם:
- 2 וַיַּעַן הָעַם וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֶל יִי הַפֶּקֶד עֲלֵינוּ רֹאשׁ וְקִצִּיךָ לְהַקְרִיבֵנוּ בְּגוֹרְלוֹת וְאֲשֶׁר יוֹצִיאֵנוּ וְאֲשֶׁר יִבְיָאֵנוּ: וַיַּעַן מִלֶּאךְ יִי לֵאמֹר שְׁלַח גּוֹרֵל בְּשַׁבָּט כָּלֵב וְהָיָה הַנִּלְכָד בְּגוֹרֵל הוּא יְהִי לָכֶם לְרֹאשׁ וְלִקְצִיךָ: וַיַּעֲשׂוּ כֵן וַיֵּצֵא הַגּוֹרֵל עַל קִנֹּז וַיַּעֲמִידוּהוּ לְשֵׁר עַל יִשְׂרָאֵל:
- 25.3= וַיֹּאמֶר קִנֹּז אֶל הָעַם הִבִּיאוּ אֵלַי אֶת שַׁבְּטֵיכֶם וְשָׁמְעוּ בְּקוֹל יִי וַיִּבְאוּ אֵלָיו:
- 3 וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלֵיהֶם אַתֶּם יָדַעְתֶּם כִּי מִשָּׁה עֶבֶד יִי צוּהָ לָכֶם לֵאמֹר לֹא תִסְרוּ מִן הַדֶּרֶךְ אֲשֶׁר צוּיַתִּי לָכֶם בְּתוֹרָה יְמִיךָ וְשִׁמוּאֵל וְגַם יְהוֹשֻׁעַ הַזֶּהִיר אֶתְכֶם כֵּן:
- 4 וְעַתָּה הִנֵּה שָׁמַעְנוּ מִי כָלֵב כִּי לֵב הָעַם הַזֶּה אֵינְךָ אֶתוֹ וְצִיּוֹנוֹ אֲשֶׁר נִקְרַב בְּגוֹרֵל לְשַׁבְּטֵינוּ וְאֵל יַחֲרָה אַף יִי בְּנוֹ וְאִם אֲנִי וּבֵיתִי נִלְכְּדוּ תִשְׁרַפּוּנוּ בְּאֵשׁ וַיֹּאמְרוּ בּוֹ הָעַם טוֹב הַדָּבָר:
- 5 וַיִּקְרְבוּ הַשַּׁבְּטִים בְּגוֹרֵל לְפָנָיו וַיִּלְכְּדוּ מִשַּׁבָּט יְהוּדָה שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת וָאַרְבַּעִים וְחֲמִשָּׁה אִישׁ וּמִשַּׁבָּט רְאוּבֵן חֲמֵשׁ מֵאוֹת וָאַרְבַּעִים וּמִשַּׁבָּט שִׁמְעוֹן שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת וְשָׁלִשִׁים וְחֲמִשָּׁה וּמִשַּׁבָּט לֵוִי שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת וְחֲמִשִּׁים וּמִשַּׁבָּט יִשְׁשָׁכָר שֵׁשׁ מֵאוֹת וְשָׁשִׁים וְחֲמִשָּׁה וּמִשַּׁבָּט זְבוּלוּן חֲמֵשׁ מֵאוֹת וָאַרְבַּעִים וְחֲמִשָּׁה וּמִשַּׁבָּט גַּד שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת וְשִׁמּוֹנִים וּמִשַּׁבָּט אֲשֶׁר שֵׁשׁ מֵאוֹת וְשָׁשִׁים וְחֲמִשָּׁה וּמִשַּׁבָּט מְנַשֶּׁה אַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת וְשִׁמּוֹנִים וּמִשַּׁבָּט אֶפְרַיִם אַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת וְשָׁשִׁים וְשִׁמּוֹנָה
- 6 וַיְהִי מִסְפַּר הַנִּלְכָדִים שֵׁשֶׁת אֲלָפִים וּמֵאָה וְעֶשֶׂר וַיִּתְּנֵם קִנֹּז בְּמִשְׁמַר לְשִׁאוֹל לָהֶם עַל פִּי יִי:

¹The compiler of *CJ* apparently identifies the author of these texts with Philo Judaeus.

²Presumably, there was no need to repeat לא.

³*LAB* has 560 for Reuben.

⁴*LAB* has 150 for Levi - a disproportionately low figure.

⁵As in *LAB*, the tribes of Dan and Naphthali have been omitted.

⁶*LAB* adds *et de tribu Benjamin, CCLXVII*.

- 25.1 And Philo,¹ the friend of Joseph son of Gurion, said in his book that when Joshua died there was no shepherd for Israel, to lead them. *And the sons of Israel asked the Lord who would go up before them to fight first against the Canaanite* (Jdgs 1.1). And the Lord said: "If the heart of this people is perfect with the Lord, Judah will go up; if not, no one² will go up." And they continued to ask: "How will we know the heart of the people?" And the Lord said: "Arrange your tribes in lots, and the tribe which the Lord will choose will be arranged according to families; and you will know the heart of the people."
- 25.2 And the people answered and said to the Lord: "Appoint over us a chief and a ruler to arrange us in lots, and one who will bring us out and who will bring us in." And the angel of the Lord answered, saying: "Cast a lot in the tribe of Caleb, and he who is chosen in that lot will be for you a chief and a ruler." And they did so, and the lot fell to Kenaz, and they appointed him prince over Israel.
- 25.3 And Kenaz said to the people: "Bring to me your tribes and hear the voice of the Lord." And they came to him. And he said to them: "You know that Moses the servant of the Lord commanded you, saying: 'You shall not turn from the way which I commanded you in the Law to the right or left (see Deut 28.14; Jos 1.7).' And also Joshua warned you in this way. And now behold we all have heard from the Lord that the heart of this people is not with him, and he has commanded us that we should be arranged by lot according to our tribes; and let not the anger of the Lord be kindled against us. And if I and my house be chosen you will burn us in the fire." And the people said about this: "This word is good."
- 25.4 And the tribes were arranged by lot before him; and they were chosen from the tribe of Judah 345 men, and from the tribe of Reuben 540,³ and from the tribe of Simeon 335, and from the tribe of Levi 350,⁴ and from the tribe of Issachar 665, and from the tribe of Zebulun 545,⁵ and from the tribe of Gad 380, and from the tribe of Asher 665, and from the tribe of Manasseh 480, and from the tribe of Ephraim 468⁶ And the number of those chosen were 6110. And Kenaz put them in custody to ask about the word of the Lord for them.

- 25.5= ויאמר קנז על אלה אמר משה עבד יי פן יש בכם שורש פורה ראש ולענה
וברוך יי אשר גילה לנו את החטאים אשר לא נכשל בהם:
- 7 ויתפלל קנז ואלעזר הכהן וכל זקני העדה אל יי לאמר אתה יי הודעת
את האנשים אשר לא האמינו בנפלאותיך אשר עשית את אבותינו בהוציאם
מארץ מצרים עד היום הזה:
- 8 ויאמר יי שאל נא את פיהם והתודו את עונם ותשרפו אותם באש:
- 25.7= ויאמר להם קנז אתם ידעתם כי עכך בן זבדי מעל בחרם ונלכד בגורל
והתודה את חטאתו: גם אתם תנו תודה ליי ותחיו עם אשר יחיה יי
בתחיית המתים:
- 9 ויען אחד מהם ושמו אֱלֶה ולא נמות כי אם באש ועתה שאל את פי כל שבט
לבד:
- 25.9= וישאל קנז את פי יהודה שבטו ויאמרו הנה בחרנו לעשות לנו את העגל
כאשר עשו את אבותינו במדבר:
- 10 וישאל לשבט ראובן ויאמרו לזבוח בחרנו לאלהי העמים: ובני לוי
אמרו בחרנו לבחון ולנסות אם המשכן קודש הוא: ובני יששכר אמרו
בחרנו לשאול באלילים מה יהיה לנו:
- 11 ויאמרו בני זבולון בחר(נו) לאכול בשר בנינו ובנותינו למען נדע אם
חפץ בהם יי: ויאמרו בני דן בחרנו ללמ<ו>ד לבנינו את אשר למדנו
מן האמורי הנה הספרים גנוזים וטמונים תחת הר העברים ושם תמצאם
וישלח קנז וימצאם:
- 12 וישאל לבני נפתלי ויאמרו עשינו ככל מעשה האמורי אשר עשו והטמינום
באהל אֱלֶה אשר אמר לך לשאל לכל שבט ושבט לבד וישלח קנז וימצאם שם:

⁷Our translation has been guided by *LAB Numquid non iam aderit nobis mors ut moriamur in igne?*

⁸As in *LAB*, the tribe of Simeon has been omitted.

⁹The MS has only בחר rather than בחרנו.

¹⁰The MS has ללמוד ("to learn"). *LAB* has *ut doceremus filios nostros*.

¹¹*LAB* has *sub monte Abrahæ* which could conceivably refer to Mount Moriah.

- 25.5 And Kenaz said: "Concerning these Moses the servant of the Lord said: '*Lest there be among you a root bearing poisonous and bitter fruit*' (Deut 29.17) and blessed is the Lord who has revealed to us the sinners so that we would not stumble on account of them."
- 25.6 And Kenaz and Eleazar the priest and all the elders of the congregation prayed to the Lord saying: "You, Lord, have made known the men who did not believe your wonders which you have done with our fathers in leading them out from the land of Egypt until this day."
And the Lord said: "Ask them, I pray. And they will confess their sin; and you will burn them in the fire."
- 25.7 And Kenaz said to them: "You know that Achan the son of Zabdi acted treacherously in the matter of the ban, and he was chosen by lot and confessed his sin. You also make a confession to the Lord, and you will live along with whomever the Lord will revive in the resurrection of the dead."
- 25.8 And one of them answered, and his name was Elah: "Will we not die in the fire?"⁷ And now ask every tribe individually."
- 25.9 And Kenaz asked Judah his own tribe, and they said: "Behold we chose to make for ourselves the calf as they did with our fathers in the wilderness."
And he asked the tribe of Reuben, and they said: "We chose to sacrifice to the gods of the nations."⁸ And the sons of Levi said: "We chose to try and to test whether the tabernacle is holy." And the sons of Issachar said: "We chose to ask the idols what will happen to us."
And the sons of Zebulun said: "We chose⁹ to eat the flesh of our sons and our daughters in order to know if the Lord loves them." And the sons of Dan said: "We chose to teach¹⁰ our sons what we learned from the Amorite. Behold the books are hidden and concealed beneath Mount Abarim,¹¹ and there you will find them." And Kenaz sent and found them.
And he asked the sons of Naphthali, and they said: "We made everything the Amorites made, and we have concealed them in the tent of Elah who told you to ask each and every tribe individually." And Kenaz sent and found them there.

- 13 ויאמרו בני גד אנחנו שכבנו את נשי עמיתינו: גם בני אשר אמרו
אנחנו מצאנו שבעה עצבי זהב אשר קראום האמורי קדשי נִינְפֵי ועמם
אבנים יקרות אשר עליהם והטמינום תחת הר שכם שלח נא שמה ותמצאם
וישלח וימצא אותם:
- 25.11= והמה העצבים אשר הגידו לאמורי כל מעשיהם לעתים:
- 14 ואלה שמות שבעה אנשים החטאים אשר עשו אותם אחר המבול כנען פוט
שלח נמרוד אֵלֶּה דיעול שוח: ולא היה כתבניתם מעשה ידי חרש עוד
- 25.12= והאבנים מארץ חוילה אשר שם הבדולה ואבן השהם: ואלה האבנים יקרות
היו לאמורי לעצבים ולא 'תסולם' דבר כי בלילה היו מאירים כאור
יומם וגם כאשר האמורי העיורים היו מנקשים את העצבים ונוגעים את
האבנים בעיניהם היו רואים: ויקחם קנז וישמרם עד יוודע מה יעשה מהם:
- 15 וישאל עוד קנז לבני מנשה ויאמרו לא שמרנו את השבת לקדשו: ובני
אפרים אמרו רצונינו להעביר בנינו ובנותינו באש כמשפט האמורי:
ובני בנימין אמרו חפצנו לבחון את ספר התורה אם מיי היא אם מאת
משה היא:
- 26.1= ויכתב קנז את דבריהם בספר ויקראם לפני יי:
- 16 ויאמר אליו יי קח את האנשים האלה ואת כל אשר תמצא אתם ואת כל אשר
להם והורדתם אל נ<ח> ל פישון ושם תשרפם באש:
- 26.2= ויאמר קנז גם את האבנים יקרות אשר אין ערכם נשרפם או נקדישם אליך
ויאמר יי אם אלהים יקח מן החרם אף כי בני האדם:

¹²See LAB que vocabant Amorrei sanctas nimphas.

¹³LAB has these last two names as one *Desuath*, but this may be a corruption of *Dedan Suah* (cf. Gen 10.7), or perhaps it is רשעתים of Jdgs 3.8 read as דשעתים.

¹⁴LAB has *quorum precium ideo inestimabile erat*.

¹⁵For "everything" we follow LAB's *ea que inventa sunt*.

¹⁶The MS has נהל.

- 25.10 And the sons of Gad said: "We have slept with the wives of our neighbors." Also the sons of Asher said: "We found seven golden idols which the Amorites called the 'holy to the nymphs',¹² and along with them precious stones which were upon them, and we concealed them beneath Mount Shechem. Send there, we pray, and you will find them." And he sent, and he found them.
- 25.11 And they were the idols which told the Amorites all their deeds at particular times.
And these are the names of the seven sinful men who made them after the flood: Canaan, Puṭ, Šelah, Nimrod, 'Elah, Dî'ûl, Šûah.¹³ And the work of a skilled craftsman is not executed according to their pattern any more. And the stones were from *the land of Havilah where there are bdellium and onyx stone* (Gen 2.11-12).
- 25.12 And these precious stones were idols for the Amorite, and their ' ? ' was priceless,¹⁴ for by night they were shining like the light of day; and also when the blind Amorites were kissing the idols and touching the stones with their eyes, they could see. And Kenaz took them and guarded them until it would be known what would become of them.
- 25.13 And Kenaz again asked the sons of Manasseh, and they said: "We have not observed the sabbath to sanctify it." And the sons of Ephraim said: "It was our good pleasure to make our sons and our daughters pass through the fire according to the Amorite custom." And the sons of Benjamin said: "We desired to try the book of the Law whether it is from the Lord or is from Moses."
- 26.1 And Kenaz wrote their words in a book and read them before the Lord.
And the Lord said to him: "Take these men and everything¹⁵ which you find with them and everything which is theirs; and bring them down to the river¹⁶ Pishon, and there you will burn them in the fire."
- 26.2 And Kenaz said: "Shall we also burn the precious stones which are invaluable, or shall we dedicate them to you?" And the Lord said: "If God will take from the ban, how much more the sons of man!"

- 17 קח נא את הספרים ואת האבנים הטובים לשמור עד אשר אודיעך מה תעשה מהם ובמה תאבדם כי אש לא תאכלם ואת האנשים תשרף באש ויאמרו כל העם ככה יעשה לאיש אשר יסור את לבבו מי:
- 18 והיה כאשר תשרפם קח את האבנים הטובות אשר לא תשרפם אש ואשר הברזל לא יוכל להם ותנם בראש ההר אצל מזבח החדש ושם אצוה על העבים להוריד עליהם את טלם למחותם:
- 26.4= ואצוה למלאכי ליקח את האבנים הטובות להשליכם בעמוקי הים אשר לא ייראו עוד ולהעלות לי תחתיהם שנים עשר אבנים טובות מאלה ונתת אותם אל האפוד ואל החשן וקדש אותם לי:
- 19 וילך קנז ויקח את כל הנמצא עם האנשים החטאים וידבר אל העם לאמר אתם ראיתם נוראות ונפלאות אשר הראנו יי עד היום הזה ואשר הודיענו את האנשים החטאים להשיב להם כעלילותם:
- 20 ועתה ארור האיש אשר יעשה כן בישראל: ויענו כל העם אמן וישרפום באש:
- 26.6= ואחר לקח קנז את האבנים ורצה לבחון אותם באש ויכבה האש ויקח לו ברזל לכתותם ויפץ הברזל מפניהם:
- 21 וגם את ספריהם נתן במים למחותם ויבש המים מעליהם ויאמר קנז ברוך יי היום אשר עשה נפלאות ונוראות עם בני אדם כאשר יחטאו ולא יכחשו:
- 26.7= ויקח את האבנים ואת הספרים ויתנם בהר כאשר צוהו יי אצל מזבח החדש ויעל עליו זבחים שלמים ויאכלו שם כל העם יחדיו:
- 22 ויהי בלילה ההוא ויעש יי לאבנים ולספרים כאשר דבר:
- 26.9= ויהי בבקר וימצא קנז את שנים עשר אבנים הטובות מפותחות פיתוחי חותם את שמות בני ישראל:

Take, I pray, the books and the fine stones to guard until I let you know what you should do with them and how you will destroy them, for fire will not consume them. But the men you will burn in the fire. And all the people will say: 'Thus shall it be done to a man who will turn away his heart from the Lord.'

- 26.3 And it will happen that when you burn them, take the fine stones which fire will not burn and which the iron will not conquer, and put them on the top of the mountain beside the new altar. And there I will command the clouds to bring down upon them their dew to destroy them.
- 26.4 And I will command my angel to take the fine stones, to cast them into the depths of the sea so that they will not be seen again, and to bring up for me in their place twelve stones better than these. And you will place them on the ephod and on the breastplate, and sanctify them to me."
- 26.5 And Kenaz came and took everything which was found with the sinful men, and he spoke to the people saying: "You have seen the awesome and wonderful things which the Lord has shown us until this day and which have made known to us the sinful men so as to requite them according to their evil deeds.
And now cursed is the man who will act in this way in Israel." And all the people answered: "Amen." And they burned them in the fire.
- 26.6 And afterwards Kenaz took the stones and wished to try them in the fire, and the fire was extinguished. And he took for himself iron to crush them, and the iron was broken apart by them.
And also their books he put in the water to blot them out, and the water dried up before them. And Kenaz said: "Blessed is the Lord this day who has done wonderful and awesome things with the sons of man, for they sin but do not deceive (him)."
- 26.7 And he took the stones and the books, and he put them on the mountain as the Lord commanded him beside the new altar. And he offered upon it sacrifices (peace offerings), and all the people ate there together.
- 26.8 And in that night the Lord did with the stones and the books as he said.
- 26.9 And in the morning Kenaz found the twelve fine stones *engraved like the engravings of a signet* (Exod 39.6) with the names of the sons of Israel.

- 26.12= ויאמר יי קח את האבנים האלה ושמתם בארון עם לוחות עד אשר יבנה שלמה בית לשמי ויתנם על שני הכרובים והיו לי לזכרון על בני ישראל:
- 23 והיה כמלאות חטאת בני האדם לחלל את הבית אשר עשו לי ואקח את האבנים האלה ואת הלוחות ואתנם במקום אשר נלקחו שם מקדם ויהיו שם עד קץ זכרון עולם בפוקדי יושבי הארץ ואקחם ויהיו לאור עולם לאוהבי ולשומרי מצותי וחפרה הלבנה ובושה החמה מפני אורם כי שבעתיים יאירו מהם:
- 24 ויקם קנז ויאמר הנה טובות רבות אשר עשה אלהים ונלקחו בחטאות האדם ועתה ידעתי כי מעשה האדם תוהו וחייהם הבל:
- 25 ויקח קנז את האבנים ממקומם אשר ניתנו ויאירו בכל הארץ כאור השמש בצהרים וישם אותם אל ארון העדות עם לוחות הברית כאשר צוהו יי ויהיו שם עד היום הזה:
- 26 ויבחר קנז שלש מאות אלף איש חלוצי צבא ביום השיני למלחמה ויהרגו חמשת אלפים באיביהם:
- 27.2= ויהי ביום השלישי וידבר העם בקנז לאמר הנה קנז עם נשיו ועם פילגשיו בביתו ואנחנו נחלץ למלחמה על איבינו להשמידם:
- 27 וישמעו עבדי קנז ויגידו לו ויאמר להביא את שרי החמשים אליו ויצום לתת את שלשים ושבעה האנשים אשר דברו עליו רעה אל בית הסהר ויעשו כן:
- 28 ויאמר כאשר יעשה יי תשועה לעמו אמית את האנשים האלה:
- 27.5= ויצו אל שר החמשים לאמר לכה בחרת לי מעבדיי שלש מאות איש בשלש מאות סוסים ואל יוודע צאתיננו למלחמה ויהיו נכונים לצאת עמי הלילה:

¹⁷ LAB has *Iahel*. Louis Ginzberg in *The Legends of the Jews* (volume VI, p. 183) notes that אהיאל is one of Solomon's 10 names. *CJ* avoids this matter by simply identifying the temple-builder as Solomon.

¹⁸ האדם is marginal; LAB has *peccata populi mei*

¹⁹ LAB has *quousque memor sim seculi*.

²⁰ LAB supplies the names of Kenaz's detractors.

²¹ The incident described in these paragraphs is loosely based on Jdgs 7.8-18.

[LAB 26.10-11 describes the twelve stones.]

- 26.12 And the Lord said: "Take these stones, and you will place them in the ark along with the tablets until Solomon¹⁷ will build a temple to my name. And he will place them on the two cherubim, and they will be for me a memorial for the sake of the sons of Israel.
- 26.13 And when the sin of the sons of man¹⁸ is complete so as to defile the temple which they made for me, then I will take these stones and the tablets and will put them in the place from where they were taken of old. And they shall be there until the time for remembering the world¹⁹ when I visit the inhabitants of the earth. And I will take them, and they shall be for an everlasting light for those who love me and keep my commandments. And the moon will be confounded and the sun ashamed before their light, for they will shine seven times more than they do."
- 26.14 And Kenaz arose and said: "Behold the many good things which God has done, but by the sins of man they have been taken away. And now I know that the work of man is empty and their lives are vanity."
- 26.15 And Kenaz took the stones from their place where they were put, and they shone through all the earth like the light of the sun at noon. And he placed them in the ark of the testimony along with the tablets of the covenant as the Lord commanded him. And they are there until this day.
- 27.1 And Kenaz chose 300000 men equipped for warfare on the second day of the war, and they slew 5000 among their enemies.
- 27.2 And it happened on the third day that the people spoke against Kenaz saying: "Behold Kenaz is with his wives and his concubines in his house, and we are armed for war against our enemies to annihilate them."
- 27.3 And the servants of Kenaz heard and told it to him. And he said to bring the captains of the fifties to him and commanded them to put the thirty-seven men who spoke evil against him in the jail. And they did so.
- 27.4 And he said: "When the Lord works victory for his people, I will kill these men."²⁰
- 27.5 And he commanded the captain of his fifties saying: "Go, and choose for me from my servants 300 men with 300 horses. And let not our going out for war be known, and let them be prepared to go out with me tonight."²¹

- 29 וישלח קנז מרגלים לראת את מקום חניית האמורי וילכו ויראו כי רבים הם מאד להלחם על ישראל וישוּבוּ ויגידו אל קנז:
- 30 ויקם קנז הוא ושלוש מאות איש אשר אתו לילה ויקח שופר בידו ויהי כאשר קרב במחנה ויאמר אל עבדיו שבו לכם פה ואלכה לבדי ואראה במחנה האמורי והיה אם תשמעו את קול השופר תבאו אלי ואם אין תשבו:
- 31 וירד קנז לבדו ויתפלל ויאמר יי אלהי אבותינו אתה הראית לעבדיך את כל הגדולות אשר עשית ועתה הפלא נפלאותיך עם עבדך ואלחם באיביך וידעו כל הגוים כי לא קצרה ידך להושיע ברב או במעט כי אתה יי איש מלחמה:
- 32 ויאמר קנז לפני יי זאת אות התשועה אשר תעשה עמי היום והיה כאשר אריק חרבי מתערתו ואבריק במחנה האמורי אם באלה ידעו האמורי כי אני קנז ידעתי כי תחנם בידי ואם אין לא שמעת לי כי אם נתחני בידם בחטאתי:
- 33 ויהי אחרי זאת וישמע קנז את דברי האמורי לאמר נקומה ונלחמה בישראל כי אלהינו קדושים נִינְפֵי בידם והוא יתנם בידינו:
- 27.9= ורוח לבשה את קנז ויקם ויבריק את חרבו על האמורי ויראו האמורי ויאמרו הנה חרב קנז למלאת קבורות ופצעים וידענו כי האלהים אשר לנו בידם נתנו אתם בידינו ועתה קומו למלחמה עליהם:
- 34 וישמע קנז את דבריהם וירד אל מחנה האמורי ויך בהם וישלח יי את גבריאֵל המלאך ויך את האמורי בסנוירים ויכו אחד את אחד ויכם קנז ארבעים וחמשה אלף איש לבד: מאשר הכה איש את רעהו ארבעים וחמשה אלף:
- 35 ויהי כאשר הכם קנז וידבק חרבו בכפו והנה איש אמורי נס מן המחנה ויאמר קנז אליו הן ידעת את אשר עשיתי לאמורי ועתה הגד נא לי במה אפריד ידי מחרבי ויאמר האמורי הן נא איש עברי ושפוך דמו חם על ידך ותפרידנו ויך קנז את האיש האמורי ויתן דמו בידו ויפרד:

²² LAB has *sancte nostre nimphe*.

²³ LAB has *multiplicavit vulneratos nostros*.

²⁴ In LAB the angel's name is *Ingethel*.

- 27.6 And Kenaz sent spies to look at the place of the Amorite camp, and they went and saw that there were very many to fight against Israel. And they returned and told Kenaz. And Kenaz and his 300 men who were with him arose that night, and he took a ram's horn in his hand. And when he drew near to the camp, he said to his servants: "Stay by yourselves here, and I will go alone and look at the Amorite camp. And if you hear the sound of the ram's horn, you will come to me; if not, return home."
- 27.7 And Kenaz went down alone and prayed and said: "Lord God of our fathers, you have shown your servants all the good things which you have done. And now work your wonders with your servant, and I will fight against your enemies, and all the Gentiles will know that your hand is not too short to save by many or by few, for you, *Lord, are a man of war* (Exod 15.3)."
And Kenaz said before the Lord: "This is the sign of the victory which you will work with me today: And when I draw my sword from its sheath and flash it in the Amorite camp, if by these the Amorites know that I am Kenaz, I know that you will give them into my hand; and if not, you have not heard me but you gave me into their hand on account of my sin."
- 27.8 And after this Kenaz heard the words of the Amorites saying: "Let us arise and fight against Israel, for our gods, the holy nymphs,²² are in their hand and will give them into our hands."
- 27.9 And the spirit clothed Kenaz, and he arose and flashed his sword against the Amorites; and the Amorites saw and said: "Behold the sword of Kenaz to fill graves and us with bruises,²³ and we know that our gods in their hand have given them into our hands. And now arise for war against them."
- 27.10 And Kenaz heard their words and went down to the Amorite camp and smote them. And the Lord sent the angel Gabriel,²⁴ and he smote the Amorites with sudden blindness. And they smote one another, and Kenaz alone smote 45000 men. Of those who smote each man his neighbor 45000.
- 27.11 And when Kenaz smote them, his sword clung in his palm. And behold an Amorite man fled from the camp, and Kenaz said to him: "Behold, you know what I have done to the Amorites. And now tell me, I pray, how I may separate my hand from my sword." And the Amorite said: "Smite, I pray, a Hebrew man and pour his hot blood over your hand, and you will separate it." And Kenaz smote the Amorite man and put his blood on his hand and separated it.

- 27.12= וישב קנז אל חילו וימצאם ישנים כי תרדמה נפלה עליהם ולא ידעו את אשר עשה קנז בלילה ויעורו משנתם ויראו כל השדה מלאה חללים ויתמהו מאד ויאמר קנז הדרכי יי כדרכי איש כי ירשיע יי את עמו בידי ואחם קומו ושובו לאהליכם:
- 36 וישמעו כל ישראל את התשועה אשר עשה יי על ידי קנז ויצאו לקראתו ויאמרו ברוך יי אשר הקימך לקצין בעמו כי עתה ידענו כי בחר יי בעמו:
- 27.14= ויאמר קנז שאלו לאנשים אשר עמי את כל עמלי וישאלו להם ויאמרו חי יי כי לא ידענו כי אם מצאנו את השדה מלא חללים:
- 37 ויאמר קנז אל שרי חמישיו לאמר הוציאו את האנשים האסורים ונשמע את דבריהם וירציאום ויבאו ויאמר להם קנז מה התלונות אשר הלינותם עלי ויאמרו למה זה תשאל לנו ויי הסגירנו וצוה נא לשורפינו באש ולא על התלונה כי אם על הראשונים אשר התודו את עונם ואנחנו לא נודענו בעם וידינו עם החטאים ועל כן הסגירנו יי ויאמר קנז הן עתה העידותם בנפשיכם ולמה אחדל מכם ויאמר לשורפם באש:
- 38 ויקרבו ימי קנז למות ויקרא לשני הנביאים אל פנחס ואל יבין וגם אל פנחס בן אלעזר הכהן לאמר ידעתי את לב העם הזה כי ישובו מאחרי יי ואעיד בהם:
- 28.3= ויאמר פנחס כאשר העד משה ויהושע כן העיד אבי בהם כי נתנבאו על הכרם נטע שעשועי יי אשר לא ידע את נוטעו ולא יתבוננו את אריסו ונשחת הכרם ולא יטב פיריו ואלה הדברים אשר ציוני אבי לאמר לעם הזה:

²⁵The MS has לקנרתו; LAB has *obviam ei*.

- 27.12 And Kenaz returned to his army and found them sleeping, for a deep sleep fell upon them and they did not know what Kenaz had done by night. And they awoke from their sleep and saw all the field full of slain men and were very surprised. And Kenaz said: "Are the ways of the Lord like the ways of man? For the Lord will save his people by my hand. And you arise, and return to your tents."
- 27.13 And all Israel heard the salvation which the Lord worked by means of Kenaz and went out to meet him²⁵ and said: "Blessed is the Lord who appointed you as ruler among his people, for now we know that the Lord has chosen his people."
- 27.14 And Kenaz said: "Ask the men who are with me about all my labor." And they asked them, and they said: "As the Lord lives, we do not know anything except that we found the field full of slain men."
- 27.15 And Kenaz said to the captains of his fifties saying: "Bring out the men who are imprisoned, and we will hear their words." And they brought them out, and they came. And Kenaz said to them: "What are the murmurings which you murmured against me?" And they said: "Why do you ask us this, for the Lord has handed us over? Give the command, we pray, to burn us in the fire, and not on account of murmuring but as with the former men who confessed their iniquity. And we were not exposed among the people, but our hands were with the sinners. Therefore, the Lord handed us over." And Kenaz said: "Behold now you have testified against yourselves, and why should I spare you?" And he said to burn them in the fire.
- [LAB 27.16 says that Kenaz ruled 57 years.]
- 28:1-2 And the days of Kenaz drew near for him to die, and he called the two prophets Phineas and Jabin and also Phineas son of Eleazar the priest saying: "I know the heart of this people, for they will turn from the Lord; and I testify against them."
- 28.3-4 And Phineas said: "As Moses and Joshua testified, so my father testified against them. For they prophesied about the vineyard, *the planting of the Lord's delight* (Isa 5.7) which did not know its planter and would not recognize its cultivator, and the vineyard was corrupted, and its fruit was not good. And these are the words which my father commanded me to say to this people."

28.5= וישא קנז את קולו בבכי וגם כל הזקנים והעם בכרו בכי גדול עד הערב
ויאמרו הבעד עון הצאן נאבד הרועה ועתה יחמול יי על נחלתו ולא
יעמול לשוא:

39 ותהי רוח יי על קנז ויתנבא לאמר ראיתי את אשר לא קיויתי ואביט
באשר לא חשבתי: שמעו נא יושבי הארץ המתנבאים לפניי הרואים את
הדור הזה טרם תשחת הארץ למען תדעו ותבינו בנבואות רבות אשר בארץ:
40 ועתה הנה אני רואה להבה אינה יוקדת ואשמע מקורות פרודות ויוצאות
בחלומי אשר אין להם יסוד ואין דרך בהרים להם ואין יסודתם באויר
כי אם נראו בתבניתם ומקום אין להם וכאשר העין לא ידע באשר יראה
הלב מה יבין:

41 מן הלהבה אשר איננה יוקדת ואראה והנה ניצוץ עלה ועמד באויר ועשה
מעמדו כמגן כעורג עכביש בקורה ואראה כי זה יסודו ויוציא מקורו
קצף רותח וישנה להיות ליסוד תהום ונתיבות בין יסוד עליון ליסוד
תחתון אשר שם תאיר אורה נעלמה וכדמות בני אדם הולכים בם ואשמע
קול אומר בין אלה היסודות ישבו בני האדם שבעת אלפי שנים:
28.9= ויבלה יסוד התחתון והעליון אשר הוא כקצף יהיה ליסוד והאורה אשר
ביניהם אשר תאיר לבני אדם על נתיבותם היא ירושלים ושם בני האדם
והיה כאשר יחטאו לי במלאות עת חטאתם תכבה הניצוץ ויבש המקור
ויעבירו כל:

42 ויהי בהנבא קנז כן ותשב רוח נפשו אליו והוא לא ידע מה דבר
בנבואתו ויאמר אל העם אם מנוחת הצדיקים אחרי מותם כן טוב להם
למות בילדותם בעולם הזה ולא יחטאו: וימת קנז ויקם עתניאל בנו
תחתיו:

[CJ 58.1-3 tells of Othniel, Ehud, Shamgar, Deborah and Barak.]

²⁶The translation follows LAB's *ipse* (= God).

²⁷See LAB *omnes vos qui habitatis in ea*.

- 28.5 And Kenaz lifted up his voice in weeping, and also all the elders and the people wept a great weeping until evening. And they said: "Is it because of the iniquity of the flock that the shepherd is destroyed? And now may the Lord have pity on his inheritance, and let him²⁶ not labor in vain."
- 28.6 And the spirit of the Lord came upon Kenaz, and he prophesied saying: "I have seen what I did not expect and have viewed what I did not imagine. Hear, I pray, the inhabitants of the earth, those who prophesied before me, who were seeing this generation before the earth was corrupted in order that you may know and understand the many prophecies, you who are on the earth."²⁷
- 28.7 And now behold I see a flame which is not burning, and I hear in my dream springs dividing into branches and going out which had no source and had no course in the mountains and had no base in the air, but they appeared in their form, and they had no place. And as the eye did not know what it should see, what would the heart understand?
- 28.8 From the flame which was not burning, I saw, and behold, a spark going up and stand in the air and take its position like a shield, like the twisting of a spider in its web. And I saw that this was its source, and its spring poured out boiling foam; and it was changed to be the base of the abyss, and there were paths between the upper base and the lower base where there shone the hidden light and beings like the sons of man were walking in them. And I heard a voice saying: "Between these bases the sons of man will dwell for 7000 years."
- 28.9 And the lower base will be worn out, and the upper which is like foam will be the base. And its light which is between them which shines for the sons of man on their paths is Jerusalem and there are the sons of man. And it will happen when they sin against me, when the time of their sinning is complete, the spark will be extinguished and the spring will dry up, and all will pass away."
- 28.10 And when Kenaz had prophesied in this way, the spirit of his soul returned to him, and he did not know what he said in his prophecy. And he said to the people: "If the rest of the just after their death is thus, it is better for them to die at their birth in this world and not sin." And Kenaz died, and Othniel his son arose in his place.

[LAB 29.1-31.2 tells of the exploits of Zebul (29) and the crises facing Israel in the time of Deborah and Barak (30.1-31.1).]

58.4 וסיסרא בנס ברגליו אל אהל יעל כי יצאה לקראתו ותשקהו ותכסהו
 ויושן וירדם: ותתפלל יעל אל יי ותאמר אנא יי החזק את אמתך באיבך
 ובזה אדע אשר תמכרהו בידי אם אורידהו ממשכב ארצה ולא יקיץ ותעש
 כן ותקח את יתד האהל ואת המקבת בידה ותתקע את היתד ברקתו כנבואת
 דבורה: וילכד ברק את חצור ויהרג את מלכה ואת כל אשר בה:
 5 ויהי בצאת סיסרא להלחם על ישראל ותקסם תמר אמו בקסמיה היא
 ונערותיה ושרותיה לאמר כי סיסרא מנשי בני ישראל ומבנותיהם עם
 צבעי רקמיהם ישלול לו כי ראתה בקסמיה כי ישכב במיטת יעל אשת חבר
 ונתכסה ב <ש> מיכה הוא מעיל מרוקם כצבעים ועל כן אמרה רחם רחמתי
 לראש גבר:

[CJ58.6 gives chronological information and notes Gideon's succession as judge.]

7 מצאתי כי עוד שאל גדעון אות אחר כי אמר תן לי אות שבחר אותי
 הקדוש להושיע את ישראל כאשר נתן יי למשה אשר הושיע את ישראל
 ממצרים ויאמר לו המלאך רוץ והבא לי מים מן האגם ההוא ושפוך על
 הצור הזה ואתן לך אות וירץ ויבא את המים ויאמר המלאך ש {ל} אל לך
 אות אם דם אם אש יהיו המים ויען גדעון ויאמר מקצת המים יהיו אש
 ומקצתם דם ויהי כן ולא כיבה הדם את האש וגם האש לא הוביש את הדם:
 [CJ 58.8-9 provides further chronological information and Tola's suc-
 cession.]

¹Jdgs 4.17 and CJ have Sisera fleeing on foot; LAB has him *sedens equo*.

²In LAB her name is Themech.

³The MT for Jdgs 4.18 spells with *śin*: בשמיכה, but the CJ MS has *samek* בסמיכה.

⁴The MS has שלאל.

31.3-7 *And when Sisera fled on foot¹ to the tent of Jael (Jdgs 4.17), she went out to meet him and kissed him and covered him. And he slept and went into a deep slumber. And Jael prayed to the Lord and said: "Lord, I pray that you strengthen your handmaid against your enemy. And by this I will know that you will hand him over into my hand, if I bring him down from the bed to the ground and he does not wake up." And thus she did. And she took the tent-peg and the hammer in her hand, and she drove the peg into his temple (Jdgs 4.21) according to the prophecy of Deborah. And Barak conquered Hazor and killed its king and everyone who was there.*

31.8 *And when Sisera went out to fight against Israel, Tamar² his mother, she and her maidens and princesses, divined by her instruments (see Jdgs 5.28) of divination saying that Sisera would take as plunder for himself from the wives of the sons of Israel and their daughters along with their embroidered dyed stuff, for she saw in her divinations that he would recline on the bed of Jael the wife of Heber and he would be covered with a coverlet³ that is with an embroidered dyed robe and therefore she said: "A maiden or two for every man" (Jdgs 5.28-30).*

[LAB 31.9-35.5 presents the hymn of Deborah (32), the death of Deborah (33), the magical enticements of Aod (34) and the call of Gideon (35.1-5).]

35.6-7 *I find that Gideon asked for yet another sign, for he said: "Give me a sign (see Jdgs 6.17-21) that the Holy One has chosen me to save Israel as the Lord gave to Moses who saved Israel from the Egyptians." And the angel said to him: "Run and bring to me water from that pool, and pour it on this rock. And I will give you a sign." And he ran and brought the water, and the angel said: "Ask⁴ the sign for yourself, whether the water will become blood or fire." And Gideon answered and said: "Part of the water will become fire, and part of it blood." And thus it was. And the blood did not extinguish the fire, and also the fire did not dry up the blood....*

[LAB 36.1-37.5 tells of Gideon's victory (36) and the parable of Jotham (37).]

10 ויקם אחרי יאיר הגלעדי ויעש יאיר מזבח לבעל ויפך ישראל אחרי י
 ויעבדו את הבעל לבד משבעה אנשים צדיקים אשר לא עבדוהו ואלה שמותם
 דָפֶל ואבי יזרעאל גותיאל שלום אשחור יונדב שמעי:
 38.2= ויאמרו אל יאיר זכרנו את אשר צוה משה לישראל כשמרו לכם פן תסורו
 מאחרי יי ואתה תשחת העם לעבד לבעל:
 38.3= ויצו יאיר לעבדיו לשרפם באש על אשר הגיו בבעל ויקחום וישליכום
 באש ותצא האש מאתם ותשרף את עבדי יאיר אשר השליכום וכל בית יאיר:
 והאנשים שבעה יצאו מן האש והלכו לדרכם כי האנשים אשר סביבותיהם
 הוכו בסנוירים ולא ראו אותם:
 38.4= ותגע האש עד בית יאיר ושמע יאיר את קול יי אומר הקימותך לשופט על
 ישראל ותשחת את העם לסור מאחר ולעבד לבעל והם הדבקים בי שרפת באש
 המה יחיו ואתה תמות בשריפת אש אשר לא תכבה עוד וישרף יי את יאיר
 ואת ביתו ואת הבעל ועשרת אלפי איש עמו ויקבר יאיר בקמרון:

[CJ 58.11 records the capture of Helen as well as that of Castor and Pollux, the building of Carthage, and the invention of the Latin alphabet.]

⁵In LAB there is a gap of uncertain length between the end of 37.5 and the start of 38.1.

⁶LAB has two names in one: Abiesdrel.

⁷LAB has Memihel.

⁸Perhaps we can suppose: כ(אשר אמר) שמרו.

⁹LAB has blasphemaverunt. Perhaps, read הגידו.

- 38.1 *And Jair*⁵ *the Gileadite rose up after him* (Jdgs 10.3). And Jair made an altar to Baal, and Israel turned in its direction. And they served Baal, except for seven righteous men who did not worship him. And these are their names: Dapal and Abi Yezre'el,⁶ Gūtî'el, Šalôm, 'Ašhûr, Yônadab, Šim'î.⁷
- 38.2 And they said to Jair: "We remember what Moses commanded Israel when (he said):⁸ 'Watch yourselves, lest you turn from the Lord and you corrupt the people to serve Baal.'"
- 38.3 And Jair commanded his servants to burn them in the fire because they spoke⁹ against Baal, and they took them and cast them into the fire. But the fire went away from them and burned the servants of Jair, who had cast them in, and all the household of Jair. And the seven men went out from the fire and went on their way, for the men who were around them were struck with sudden blindness and did not see them.
- 38.4 And the fire reached the house of Jair, and Jair heard¹⁰ the voice of the Lord saying: "I have appointed you judge over Israel, and you have corrupted the people to turn away and to serve Baal. And those who cling to me, you have burned in the fire. Those will live, but you will die in the burning fire which will not be extinguished again." And the Lord burned Jair and his house and the Baal and 10000 men with him. And *Jair was buried in Qamôn* (Jdgs 10.5).

[LAB 39.1-6 includes Jephthah's prayer of petition.]

¹⁰Perhaps we should emend to *גישמע*.

- 59.1 ויקם אחרי יאיר יפתח הגלעדי אשר הושיע ישראל מיד בני עמוך:
- 39.7= ויתפלל יפתח וכל ישראל לפני יי במצפה לאמר אנא יי הושיעה נא ואל תתן נחלתך להרג ואת כרמך למפציה ופקוד נא את הגפן אשר נטעת והסעת ארתה ממצרים:
- 39.8= וישלח יפתח מלאכים אל גתאל¹ מלך בני עמוך לאמר מה לי ולך כי באתה אלי וגו':
- 2 ותהי על יפתח רוח יי ויצא להלחם את בני עמוך ויודר יפתח נדר ליי ויאמר אם נתון תתן את בני עמוך בידי והיה יוצא מדלתי בייתי לקראתי בשובי בשלום מבני עמוך והיה ליי והעלייתהו עולה:
- 40.1= ויך יפתח את בני עמוך ויכנעו מפני ישראל וישב יפתח מצפתה והנה כל הבתולות והנשים יצאו לקראתו בתופים ובמחולות ותצא בתו ראשוני לקראתו ורק היא יחידה ואיך לו ממנו בן או בת:
- 3 ויהי כראותה ויקרע את בגדיו ויאמר אהה בתי הכרע הכרעני ואת היית בעכרי ומי יתן ל [± 25] יס ואראה מי יכריע כי הד <אב> תיני במשחה שמחת ניצחון מלחמותיי ואנכי פציתי פי אל יי ולא אוכל לשוב:
- 4 ותאמר לו שאילה² בתו על מה דאבת על מיחתתי אחרי אשר עשה יי לך נקמות מאיביך: אך זכור נא את אבותינו אשר האב העלה את הבן לעולה ונתרצו המקריב והנקרב:

¹MT has אשר יצא while LXX, LAB and Vulgate omit יצא.

²There is space for about 25 letters. LAB here has *Et nunc quis dabit [cor meum in statera et animam in pondere, et stabo] et videbo....*

³The MS has incorrectly הדבאתיני.

39.6 And after Jair Jephthah the Gileadite, who saved Israel from the hand of the sons of Ammon, arose.

39.7 And Jephthah and all Israel prayed before the Lord in Mizpah saying: "Lord, we pray, save us, we beg; and do not give your inheritance over to the slaughter and your vineyard to those who would scatter it. And tend, we pray, the vine which you planted and led out from Egypt.

39.8 *And Jephthah sent messengers to Gete'al king of the sons of Ammon saying: "What is there between me and you that you have come to me (Jdgs 11.12), etc.?"*

[LAB 39.8-9 presents an exchange of messages between Jephthah and Gete'al.]

39.10 And the Spirit of the Lord came upon Jephthah, and he went out to fight the sons of Ammon. And Jephthah vowed a vow to the Lord and said: "If indeed you give the sons of Ammon into my hand, then whoever goes out¹ from the doors of my house to meet me when I return in peace from the sons of Ammon will be the Lord's, and I will offer it as a holocaust" (Jdgs 11.30-31).

[LAB 39.11 tells of God's anger at Jephthah's foolish vow.]

40.1 And Jephthah smote the sons of Ammon, and they were humbled before Israel. And Jephthah returned to Mizpah, and behold all the virgins and women went out to meet him with timbrels and with dances. And his daughter went out first to meet him. And she was his only child; and beside her he had neither son nor daughter.

And when he saw her, he rent his garments and said: "Alas my daughter, you have brought me very low, and you have been a source of great trouble to me (Jdgs 11.34-35). And who will put [± 25]² and I will see which will go down. For you have made me faint³ at the feast celebrating my victories in battle. And I have opened my mouth to the Lord, and I cannot take it back."

40.2 And Š^e'êlah his daughter said to him: "Why do you faint over my death after the Lord has exacted for you revenge from your enemies (Jdgs 11.36)? But remember, I pray, our fathers that the father offered the son as a holocaust (see Gen 22), and both the sacrificer and the sacrificed were received with favor.

40.3= כן עשה לי אבי כאשר יצא מפיו: אך שאלה אחת אשאלך בטרם אמרת הרפה

ממני שנים חדשים ואתפללה לאשר אשיב את נפשי ואלכה וירדתי אל
ההרים ואלינה בגבעות ואדרכה בסלעים ואבכה על בתולי אני ורעותי
ואשפכה עליהם דמעותי ואקרר דאגת ילדותי ויבכוני עצי השדה
ויספדוני חיות שדי כי לא דאבתי במיתתי ולא ידאבני משיבי נפשי
בפיצת פי אבי אשר נדרני לזבוח ליי: אך כי יראתי אשר לא יתקבל
קרבן נפשי לרצון ותהי מיתתי חנם:

5 ויעש לה כן אביה ותלך היא ורעותיה ותספר לחכמי עמה ואין משיב לה

דבר ותעל להרי תִּלְגַּ ויזכריה יי בלילה ויאמר הנה נא סכרתי את פי
הכמי עמי אשר לא ענו דבר לבת יפתח ועתה יותן נפש <ה> כשאלתה
והמות שלה יקר בעיני כי חכמת החכמות לה:

6 ותבא שְׁאִילָה בת יפתח ותשטח בחיק אמה:

40.5= ותלך ותבכה בהרי תִּלְגַּ ותספור ותאמר שמעו הרים מספד תאנותי

והקשיבו גבעות את דמעי עיניי וצורי הסלעים תעידו בבכי נפשי איכה
נמסרה נפשי למות ולא לחנם נפשי: יתכפרו דברי בשמים ויתכתבו
דמעותי ברקיע כי לא <ר> חם האב את הבת אשר נדר אותה להקריב וגם
אל שריו לא שמע כי אמר יחידתו להקריב:

40.6= ואנכי לא ראיתי מחופתי ולא נמלאה כתר נשואי ולא לבשתי פארי עדי

כלה היושבת בבתוליה ולא הוקטרת במור ואהל ריח ניחוח:

⁴MT has על.

⁵תִּלְגַּ in Aramaic means "snow"; Targum Onkelos on Deut 3.9 calls Mt. Hermon the "mountain of snow." LAB has *Stelac*.

⁶The MS has נפשי.

⁷MT has המותה.

⁸All LAB MSS except K and P (usually the best!) have *et abiens decidet in sinum matrum suarum*.

⁹We have emended MS נלחם to רחם, but LAB does have *expugnet (ut pater non expugnet filiam quam devovit sacrificare....)*.

¹⁰In translation I follow P. M. Bogaert's emendation of LAB *sedens in genua mea* to *sedens in genicio meo* where *genicio* comes from *gynaecium* (= "woman's quarters").

- 40.3 Therefore, do to me, my father, according to the word that went forth from your mouth. But one request I ask you before I die. Let me alone two months, and let me pray to the one to whom I will return my soul. And let me go and wander about⁴ the mountains and lodge in the hills and make my way in the cliffs and bewail my virginity, I and my companions (Jdgs 11.36-37). And I will pour out my tears upon them and will cool the grief of my youth. And the trees of the field will bewail me, and the beasts of the field will lament me. For I did not faint over my death and it did not make me faint to return my soul when my father opened his mouth and vowed to sacrifice me to the Lord. But I am afraid that the offering of my soul will not be accepted as pleasing and my death will be for nought."
- 40.4 And her father did this for her. And she and her companions went. And she told the wise men of her people, but no one answered a word to her. And she went up to mountains of T^elag,⁵ and the Lord remembered her by night and said: "Behold, I pray, I have shut the mouth of the wise men of my own people who did not answer a word to the daughter of Jephthah. Now <her>⁶ soul will be given over according to her request, and her death⁷ is precious in my eyes (Ps 116.15) for she has supreme wisdom."
And Š^e'êlah the daughter of Jephthah came and lay flat on the bosom of her mother.⁸
- 40.5 And she went and wept in the mountains of T^elag, and she lamented and said: "Hear, mountains, the lament over my coupling; and give heed, hills, to the tears of my eyes; and, you rocks of the cliffs, bear witness to the weeping of my soul. Alas, my soul has been handed over to death, but not for naught. My words will be atoned for in the heavens, and my tears inscribed on the firmament, for the father who vowed to sacrifice his daughter did not <have mercy on>⁹ her and also did not heed his captains but intended to sacrifice his only daughter.
- 40.6 But I have not looked out from my bridal canopy, and my wedding crown is not completed. And I have not put on the beautiful adornments of a bride sitting in her woman's quarters,¹⁰ and I have not been perfumed with myrrh and sweet-smelling aloes,

7 ולא נמשחתי בשמן המשחה אשר נכוך לי: אהה אמי לשוא ילידתיני הנה
 יחידתך בשאול חופתה אך שוא יגעת בי בשמן משחתיני ולבנים
 הלביש <ו>ני כי {עס ו} סס יאכלם ופרחי כתרי באשר גדלתני יבלו
 ויבשו ובגדיי המרוקמים בתכלת וארגמן רימה ישחיתם ועתה יאנחו
 ריעותי כל ימי מספדי:

40.7= ויטו העצים פארותם ובדיהם ויבכו כל בתוליי ויבאו חיות יער וירמסו
 על בתוליי כי נגזרו שנותיי וימי חיי בחשך יעתיקו:

8 ויהי מקץ שנים חדשים ותשב אל אביה ויעש לה את נדרו אשר נדר ותבאו
 בתולי ישראל ויקברוה ויספדוה ותהי חוק בישראל מימים ימימה
 תלכנה בנות ישראל לתנות לבת יפתח ארבעה ימים בשנה:

[CJ 59.8-11 discusses the death of Hercules, more judges in Israel,
 the capture of Troy and the founding of Rome.]

12 ויעש מיכה כל אשר צותה אמו אותו ויעש לו שלש צלמי אדם ושלשה צלמי
 עגלים ודמות נשר וארי ותנין: והיה כל מבקש לשאל לבנים יבקש
 מצלמי אדם והמבקש לעושר יבקש מן הנשר ומבקש לגבורה מן האריה
 ומבקש לבנים (ו) לבנות מן העגלים ומבקש לאורך ימים מן התנין
 והמבקש מכל דבר יבקש מן היונה:

44.6= ויזנו כל בית ישראל אחריהם ויעזבו את יי ויעבדום וימכרם יי ביד
 עמי הארץ וישובו ויפקדם יי לעתים:

¹¹The MS has הלבישיני.

¹²רַי עס may be merely a false start; LAB has *tinea* only.

¹³חדשים is supralinear but certain from the biblical text.

¹⁴We have added *waw*; LAB has *pro pueris et pro puellis*.

and have not been anointed with the oil of anointing which is prepared for me. Alas, my mother, in vain have you given birth to me. Behold your only daughter - her bridal canopy is in Sheol. But in vain have you toiled for me with the oil you anointed me! The white garments which clothed me,¹¹ the moth¹² will devour them. And the sprouts of my crown with which you exalted me will wear out and dry up, and my garments embroidered in blue and purple the worm will destroy. And now my companions will bemoan all the days of my lamenting.

40.7 And trees will stretch out their boughs and their limbs, and all will weep over my virginity. And the beasts of the forest will come and trample on my virginity, for my years are cut off and the days of my life will move forward in darkness.

40.8 *And at the end of two months¹³ she returned to her father and he fulfilled with her his vow which he vowed. And the virgins of Israel came and buried her and lamented her. And it became a custom in Israel that year by year the daughters of Israel came to lament the daughter of Jephthah the Gileadite four days in the year (Jdgs 11.39-40).*

[LAB 40.9-44.4 tells of Jephthah's death (40.9), the judgeships of Addo and Elon (41), the promise of Samson (42), the birth of Samson (43), and the rise of Micah (44.1-4)]

44.5 And Micah did everything which his mother commanded him. And he made for himself three images of man and three images of calves and the likeness of an eagle and a lion and a serpent. And everyone seeking to ask for sons would seek them from the images of man; and one seeking for wealth would seek it from the eagle; and one seeking for strength, from the lion; and one seeking for sons (and)¹⁴ daughters, from the calves; and one seeking for a long life, from the serpent; and one seeking something of everything would seek it from the dove.

44.6 And all the house of Israel went astray after them and forsook the Lord and served them. And the Lord handed them over to the peoples of the land; and they repented, and the Lord visited them at intervals.

[LAB 44.6-46.1 continues the Lord's speech with its emphasis on the Decalogue (44.6-10), the murder of the concubine (45) and the search for a course of action (46.1).]

- 13 ויהי כאשר עלו בני ישראל על שבט הדני למלחמה על אודות הפלגש אשר מתה בגבעה ויתנגפו בני ישראל לפני בני דן וישחיתו בישראל ביום ההוא שנים ועשרים (אלף) איש:
- 46.3= ויעלו בני ישראל ויבכו לפני יי עד הערב ויאמרו נשאלה ביי לאמר במה העוין הזה אשר כשלנו וישאלו ביי לאמר האוסיף לגשת למלחמה עם בני בנ<ימ>ן אחי ויאמר יי עלו אליו ואחר אודיעכם במה יכשלו העם ויצאו ביום השיני להלחם עם בנימין וישחיתו בבני ישראל עוד שמונת עשר אלף איש:
- 46.4= ויעלו כל ישראל ביתאל כי שם ארון ברית יי ויבכו ויצומו ביום ההוא עד הערב ויעלו עולות ושלמים לפני יי:
- 14 ויתפלל פנחס בן אלעזר הכהן לפני יי ויאמר יי אלהים אם יישר בעיניך את אשר עשו בני בנימין למה השאת אותנו בהם לנפול בידם ואם רע בעיניך את אשר עשו למה נפלנו לפניהם:
- 47.1= הגד נא לעבדך במי העוין הזה ונטיבה לך כי הנני זוכר את אשר עשיתי: דקרתי את זמרי בקנאתי והצלתני מיד כלי עמו והרגת בהם ארבעה ועשרים אלף:
- 47.2= ואתה עתה אמרת לשבטי ישראל עלו להלחם את בנימין:
- 15 וישמע יי בקול פנחס ויאמר {הקנאתי} קנאו לי בני ישראל בנבלה הזאת ולא קנאו לי בפסל מיכה אשר עשה להזנות את כל ישראל אחריי: על כן קנאתי ונקמתי בישראל כי נבהלו על פלגש אחת לבער עשה נבלה ולא ביערו את עובדי פסל מיכה: ועתה אסיפו בני ישראל לעלות למלחמה עם בנימין ומחר אתננו ביד<כם>:

¹⁵According to LAB and Jdgs 20.12-13 this should be Benjamin (as it is as CJ's story unfolds).

¹⁶אלף must be supplied; LAB has *quadragintaquinque milia virorum* but MT and CJ agree.

¹⁷The MS has בנימין.

¹⁸Again CJ agrees with MT; LAB has *quadraginta sex milia virorum*.

¹⁹The MS has הקנאתי קנאו, but הקנאתי seems to be a false start or perhaps we should read בקנאתי "with jealousy for me."

²⁰The MS has בידי; LAB has *Tradam vobis illos*.

- 46.2 And when the sons of Israel went up for battle against the tribe of Dan¹⁵ on account of the concubine who died in Gibeah (see Jdgs 20.12-13), the sons of Israel were smitten before the sons of Dan and they destroyed in Israel on that day 22000 (twenty-two (thousand))¹⁶ men (see Jdgs 20.21).
- 46.3 *And the sons of Israel went up and wept before the Lord until evening, and they said: "Let us ask the Lord, saying: 'What is this iniquity through which we have stumbled?'" And they asked the Lord, saying: "Shall I continue to draw near for battle with the sons of Benjamin¹⁷ my brother?" And the Lord said: "Go up against him (Jdgs 20.23), and later I will inform you why the people stumbles." And they went out on the second day to fight with Benjamin, and they destroyed among the sons of Israel 18000¹⁸ more men (Jdgs 20.25).*
- 46.4 *And all Israel went up to Bethel because there was the ark of the covenant of the Lord, and they wept and fasted on that day until evening. And they offered holocausts and peace-offerings before the Lord (Jdgs 20.26-28). And Phineas the son of Eleazar the priest prayed before the Lord and said: "Lord God, if what the sons of Benjamin have done is right in your eyes, why did you bring us against them to fall into their hands; and if what they did is wrong in your eyes, why have we fallen before them?"*
- 47.1 Tell, I pray, your servant in whom is this iniquity, and we will do what pleases you. For, behold, I remember what I did - I speared Zimri in my zeal (see Num 25.6-18) - and you saved me from the weapons of his people and killed among them 24000.
- 47.2 But you now have said to the tribes of Israel: 'Go up to fight Benjamin.'
- 47.3-
12 And the Lord heard the voice of Phineas and said: "The sons of Israel were zealous¹⁹ for my sake in regard to this corpse, but they were not zealous for my sake in regard to Micah's idol which he made to lead astray all Israel after him. Therefore I was zealous and took revenge in Israel, for they were disturbed about one concubine so as to burn out the one responsible for the corpse, but they did not burn out the makers of Micah's idol. And now gather, you sons of Israel, to go up for battle with Benjamin, and tomorrow I will give him into <your> hand."²⁰

16 ויעלו ויגוף יי את בנימין לפני ישראל ויפלו מבנימין שמונה עשר אלף
 איש ויהי כל הנפלים מבנימין עשרים וחמשה איש אלף וינרוסו שש מאות
 איש אל סלע הרמון ונמלטו וינחמו בני ישראל בנימין אחיו והיה שלום
 לנותרים וישבו לנחלתם ויבנו את הערים וישבו בם ובני ישראל הלכו
 איש לשבטו ואיש לנחלתו:

17 ויקרבו ימי פנחס למות ויאמר יי אליו בן מאה ועשרים שנה אתה היום
 אשר הם ימי האדם ועתה קום ולך לך אל הרי ושב שם ימים רבים ואצוה
 שם את ה { י } ערבים לכלכלך ואל נשריי ואל תרד לבני אדם עד געת קץ
 ואז תסגור השמים ובפיך יפתח ואחר תתנשא במקום אשר נתנשאו אבותיך
 ושם תהיה עד אשר אזכור את העולם:

48.2= ויעש פנחס בן אלעזר הכהן כאשר צוהו יי:

[CJ 60.1-100.5 continues the history of Israel down to the death of
 Judah the Maccabee.]

²¹In the MS שנה is written twice.

²²The MS היערבים must be modified to הערבים.

²³LAB mentions the eagle only (*aquile mee*).

And they went up, and the Lord smote Benjamin before Israel. And from Benjamin there fell 18000 men, *and all those fallen from Benjamin were 25000 men.* And 600 men fled to the cliff of Rimmon (Jdgs 20.46-47), and they escaped. And the sons of Israel had pity on Benjamin their brother, and there was peace for the survivors. And they returned to their inheritance and built cities and dwelt in them. And the sons of Israel went, each man to his tribe and each man to his inheritance.

48.1 And the days of Phineas drew near to die, and the Lord said to him: "You are 120 years²¹ old today which equals the days of man's life. And now rise up and go by yourself to my mountain, and remain there many days. And there I will command the ravens (see 1 Kgs 17.4)²² to supply you (and also my eagles).²³ But do not descend to the sons of man until the appointed time has arrived. And then you will close the heavens, and at your word they will open. And afterwards you will be lifted up to the place where your fathers are lifted up, and there you will be until I remember the world."

48.2 And Phineas son of Eleazar the priest did as the Lord commanded him.

[LAB 48.3-65.5 continues the history of Israel down to the death of Saul.]

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