

H.W. Hollander

STUDIES ON THE TESTAMENT OF JOSEPH

edited by

George W.E. Nickelsburg, Jr.

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THE ETHICAL CHARACTER OF THE PATRIARCH JOSEPH :

A STUDY IN THE ETHICS OF THE TESTAMENTS OF THE XII PATRIARCHS <sup>1</sup>

Harm W. Hollander

Introduction

In I, I shall analyse the first two chapters of T. Joseph. The next two sections will treat Joseph's attitude as described in T. Joseph 3,1-10,4(II) and 10,5-18,4(III). Attention will be given to the mutual relationship of the two sections and especially to their relationship with T. Joseph 1-2. In IV I shall treat those paraenetic passages in the other Testaments where Joseph is held up as an ethical example, and I shall indicate parallels to Joseph's attitude in T. Joseph. In these sections the biographical material about Joseph (and his brothers) will be discussed only when it is useful to our understanding of Joseph as an ethical example.<sup>2</sup> The results of the investigation will be summarized in V.

I. T. Joseph 1-2; T. Joseph 1,3-2,6 : an individual thanksgiving

A.

After the usual introduction (1,1f.), in which ἡγαπημένου ὄνομα <sup>3</sup> is a striking phrase<sup>4</sup>, the patriarch Joseph points to the 'envy' and 'death' that played an important role in his life. In T. Joseph envy is mentioned again in 1,7 (ἐν φθόνους συνδοῦμαι - <sup>5</sup> is not correct) and 10,3. Elsewhere, it is particularly Simeon's attitude towards Joseph which is characterized by envy.<sup>5</sup> The thought of imminent death is also frequently found in connection with Joseph. Above all his brothers want to kill him.<sup>6</sup> Others who threaten him with death are the Egyptian woman (T. Joseph 3,1; 6,5<sup>7</sup>) and the leader of the Ishmaelites (T. Joseph 11,3).<sup>8</sup> Despite all these difficulties, the patriarch was not diverted from the truth of the Lord (1,3b).

In his study Die paränetischen Formen der Testamente der Zwölf Patriarchen und ihr Nachwirken in der frühchristlichen Mahnung. Eine formgeschichtliche Untersuchung<sup>10</sup>, H. Aschermann distinguishes three parts in T. Joseph 1,3(4)-2,6 : 1) a 'Lobpsalm' in a poetic style (1,3(4)-7); 2) a prose section (2,1-3); 3) a final poetic part in the style of a psalm (2,4-6). J. Becker, in his study Untersuchungen zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen<sup>11</sup>, takes over this conception and draws from it some far-reaching conclusions: a) 1,3-10,4 as a whole is secondary with regard to 1,1f.; 10,5ff.<sup>12</sup>; b) the prose part (2,1-3) is prominent, because it is found between two poetic parts; c) not only is 2,1-3 in prose, but also it contains as its central theme the story of Joseph and the Egyptian woman (the 'Tugendkampf Josephs'), a story which has absolutely nothing to do with the original T. Joseph.<sup>13</sup>

I believe that these opinions are for the greater part incorrect and therefore also give a wrong idea of the figure

of Joseph in T. Joseph. Surely there are three parts in the passage under discussion (1,3(4)-7; 2,1-3; 2,4-6), but the second part is closely connected with the first one. Not only do both parts share the same central theme (God's salvation of the pious man from his oppressions), but this second part is related to the whole of T. Joseph, and not just to the story about Joseph and the Egyptian woman. Furthermore, these three parts form a whole, a unity that can be described as an individual thanksgiving, as I shall attempt to demonstrate in the analysis that follows.

#### B. 1,4-7

The first part (1,4-7) is composed of four subdivisions. Three of these (vs. 4,5,7) consists of three small sentences which are built up in parallel, and one (vs. 6) consists of four such small sentences.<sup>14</sup> All these small sentences are constructed according to the same two-part pattern. The first part describes (in the first person<sup>15</sup>) the situation in which the patriarch found himself; the second part mentions God's saving activity (in the third person). Thus, e.g., 'I was in trouble, but God saved me.' We find this style in the psalms, specifically in the individual thanksgiving<sup>16</sup>: Ps. 118 (117), 13, 'They thrust hard against me so that I nearly fall; but the Lord has helped me'<sup>17</sup>; 18, 18 (17, 19), 'They confronted me in the hour of my peril, but the Lord was my buttress'<sup>18</sup>; and 116 (114), 6, '... I was brought low and he saved me'<sup>19</sup>. Although we do not find these sentences typically constructed in series as in T. Joseph 1,4-7, there do occur in the psalms series of small sentences which describe God's saving activity: e.g., Ps. 40, 1f. (39, 2f.), '... he bent down to me and heard my cry. He brought me up out of the muddy pit<sup>20</sup>, out of the mire and the clay; he set my feet on a rock and gave me a firm footing.'

Another characteristic of individual thanksgivings is the use of the third person to speak about God.<sup>21</sup> So, e.g., the above quoted Ps. 40, 1ff. (39, 2ff.); Ps. 66 (65), 16ff., 'Come, listen, all who fear God, and I will tell you all that he has done for me; I lifted up my voice in prayer, his high praise was on my lips. If I had cherished evil thoughts, the Lord would not have heard me; but in truth God has heard and given heed to my prayer. Blessed is God who has not withdrawn his love and care from me.' Joseph also addresses himself to others (namely to his sons) and speaks about God in the third person; thus it may be concluded that T. Joseph 1,4-7 has the style of an individual thanksgiving.<sup>22</sup>

The contents and terminology of 1,4-7 are also typical of an individual thanksgiving. In individual thanksgivings, God's saving activity is often described in terms like  $\varphi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu$  (cf. T. Joseph 1,4),  $\sigma\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu$  (cf. 1,5),  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  (cf. 1,6) and esp.  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu$  (cf. 1,7).<sup>23</sup> We also find in T. Joseph some other words that are less common in individual thanksgivings. So we read in Ps. 40, 2 (39, 3), 'He brought me up (LXX,  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu$   $\mu\epsilon$ ) out of the muddy pit...' <sup>24</sup> The terminology in T. Joseph 1,4 ( $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\kappa\kappa\omicron\nu\ \mu\epsilon$   $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\theta\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha\nu$ , and  $\acute{\omicron}$   $\theta\upsilon\lambda\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota$   $\mu\epsilon$ ) may be derived in the first instance from the story about Jeremiah in Jer. 38 (45), 1-13. Jeremiah is thrown into a pit and is pulled up out of it thanks to Ebed-melech<sup>25</sup>. The LXX uses not only  $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\kappa\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  (45 (38),

6f. lof. 13) and ἀνάγειν (45(38), lo. 13), but also χαλῶν (45(38), 6), a word seldom used in the Old Testament. The motif, however, that it is God who saves (and therefore is subject of ἀνάγειν), is not found in Jer. Undoubtedly this motif comes from the psalms; for this passages as Ps. 40, 2(39, 3) may have played an important role.<sup>26</sup>

Other terms in T. Joseph 1, 4-7 are undoubtedly derived from the psalms. <sup>27</sup> διατρέφειν (vs. 5) occurs several times; e.g., Ps. 33(32), 18f., 'The Lord's eyes are turned towards those who fear him... to deliver them from death, to keep them alive in famine (LXX, ῥύσασθαι... καὶ διατρέφαι αὐτοὺς ἐν λιμῷ)' <sup>28</sup>; 31, 3(30, 4), 'Thou art to me both rock and stronghold; lead me and guide me (LXX, διατρέφεις με) ...'; 55, 22(54, 23). For παρακαλεῖν see, e.g., Ps. 71(70), 2of., 'Thou hast made me pass through bitter and deep distress (LXX, θλίψεις) ... Restore me to honour, turn and comfort me (LXX, παρεκλέσθς με)'; 86(85), 17, '... let those who hate thee see... that thou, O Lord, hast been my help and comfort (LXX, ἐβοήθησθς μοι καὶ παρεκλέσθς με)' <sup>29</sup>. In the same kind of context we find λθεῖν several times; so, e.g., Ps. 102, 19f. (lol, 2of.), 'The Lord... surveys the earth to listen to the groaning of the prisoners and set free (LXX, τοῦ λθεῖν) men under sentence of death'; 146(145), 7, '... The Lord feeds the hungry, and sets the prisoner free (LXX, λθεῖ κεκεῖθμενους)'; Job 5, 19f. <sup>30</sup>

Thus, in T. Joseph 1, 4-7 God's saving activity is described in terms that are derived, for the greater part, from the psalms, and in particular from individual thanksgivings. <sup>31</sup> The same can be said of the terms used in this passage to describe Joseph's troubles. The psalmist's distress '... besteht in vielen Fällen in einer schlimmen Krankheit, durch die er dem Tode nahe gekommen ist. Andere Fälle werden ἅ mitgeteilt: da sind es Wanderer... Gefangene, im Kerker verschmachtet... Anfechtung durch Feinde...' <sup>32</sup> In T. Joseph 1, 4 the brothers are as it were the enemies who threaten Joseph (the oppressed man) with death. <sup>33</sup> This (imminent) death is an important motif in the psalms (sometimes death is described as an actual fact); so, e.g., in Ps. 56, 13(55, 14), 'for thou hast rescued me from death to walk in thy presence...'; 116(114), 8, 'He has rescued me from death...'; Dan. 3, 88 LXX <sup>34</sup>.

Whereas especially in the first part of T. Joseph 1, 4-7 (vs. 4) Joseph's troubles are described in terms that are partly derived from the Genesis-story <sup>35</sup>, this is not the case in the following verses. Although the contents of vs. 5ab may be connected with the Genesis-story, the terminology is different <sup>36</sup>. Moreover, from vs. 5c onwards both the terminology and the contents differ from the Gen.-story. <sup>37</sup> Some of the terms used here are derived without any doubt from the situation of distress described in the psalms. We have found in Ps. 33(32), 19 not only διατρέφειν but also λιμὸς. <sup>38</sup> The idea of being lonely (see T. Joseph 1, 6, μόνος ἦμην) occurs in the same kind of context in Esther 4, 17(1) LXX, Κύριε μου... βοήθησον μοι τῇ μόνῃ καὶ μὴ ἔχουσῃ βοήθῳ ἐὶ μὴ σέ... <sup>39</sup> Illness or weakness (ἀσθενεῖα - see T. Joseph 1, 6) is a term that often describes the distress of the oppressed: Ps. 6, 2(3), 'Be merciful to me, O Lord, for I am weak (LXX, ἀσθενής εἰμι) ...'; Lament. 1, 14, '... my strength failed beneath its weight (LXX, ἠσθένησεν ἡ ἰσχύς μου) ...'; cf. Ps. 30, 11 LXX; 88, 9(87, lo); lo7(lo6), 12; Judith 9, 11; T. Job 25, lo. <sup>40</sup> For φυλακῇ and δεσμός see, e.g., Ps. 107(lo6), 14, 'he brought them out

of darkness, dark as death, and broke their chains (LXX, τοὺς δεσμοὺς); 142,7 (141,8), 'Set me free from my prison (LXX, φυλακῆς), so that I may praise thy name...'; 116,16 (115,7).<sup>41</sup> The terms in T. Joseph 1,7 which describe the distress of the oppressed Joseph are probably also traditional, although less easily traced; for διαβολή see, e.g., Sir. 51,6.<sup>42</sup>

In summary: in T. Joseph 1,4-7 we hear Joseph speaking about his distress and his salvation by God; this speech has a form that in both style and terminology belongs to the genre of an individual thanksgiving. The fact that some terms occur in individual thanksgivings as well as in other kinds of psalms, and particularly in individual laments, is, of course, normal. In an individual thanksgiving the poet thanks God for salvation from distress, whereas in an individual lament the poet prays and asks God for salvation from distress. In both cases the distress is the same.

Before investigating T. Joseph 2,1-3 I want to make two remarks. First: does T. Joseph 1,3 belong to the individual thanksgiving? Although this problem cannot be solved with any certainty, it is quite possible that even vs. 3 belongs to the individual thanksgiving.<sup>44</sup> Whereas the style of vs. 3 does not directly correspond to the following verses, its terminology and contents are closely connected with them: we find the φθῆνος again in vs. 7; the θάνατος is connected not only with vs. 4 (ἀνελεῖν), but is also a known motif in the psalms to describe the lot of the oppressed. Besides this, the typical use of καὶ οὐκ ἐπλανήθην in this verse belongs to the same kind of context: see, e.g., Ps. 119 (118), 110, 'Evil men have set traps for me, but I do not stray from thy precepts (LXX, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐντολῶν σου οὐκ ἐπλανήθην).' Secondly: some terms used in T. Joseph 1,3-7 recur in the first story (about the Egyptian woman), and others in the second story (about the selling of Joseph). So we find λάκκος, φυλακῆ, δεσμοὺς, ῥυσεσθαι, φθῆνος only in the first story<sup>45</sup>, whereas οἱ ἀδελφοί, ἐπὶ πρῶσκην, βοῦλος (and αἰχμαλωσία) only occur in the second story<sup>46</sup>; ὄφου and θάνατος, however, occur in both stories.<sup>47</sup>

### C. 2,1-3

In the second part (T. Joseph 2,1-3), the style differs from that of 1,4-7. Most strikingly, the sentences are much longer; we no longer have the nice construction in small sentences. Nonetheless, as each of the preceding verses (except vs. 6) consists of three sentences each containing two parts, the same can be said of 2,1-3 as a whole. Leaving vs. 1 out of consideration for a moment - vss. 2 and 3 consist each of two parts, of which the second one describes God's saving activity (in the third person) and the first one describes Joseph's distress, again - as in 1,4-7 - in the first person. Vs. 1 does not fit into this scheme; it consists of only one part, which may be considered as parallel to vss. 2b and 3b.<sup>48</sup> The description of Joseph's distress, however, is lacking. Why is there such a lack? And is there any link with the previous sentence(s)? The answer to both these questions may be found in the use of the introductory words καὶ οὕτως. These words mostly refer back to the preceding phrase(s) and are frequently used in the very beginning of sentences or parts of sentences which

mention a conclusion or a final action or describe an action or a situation which must be considered as a more or less logical consequence or illustration of an action or a situation mentioned in the previous sentence(s). See, e.g., T.Zeb. 3,7, '...and so (καὶ οὕτως) they were put to shame before the Egyptians'; Acts 7,8, 'He then gave him the covenant of circumcision, and so (καὶ οὕτως), after Isaac was born, he circumcised him on the eighth day...'; see also T.Jud. 4,3; T.Zeb. 4,13; T.Gad 2,4; T. Joseph 5,1; T.BenJ. 2,5; Sir. 33,15; I Macc. 13,47; IV Macc. 12,19 (20); Acts 28,14. Such a use of καὶ οὕτως is also to be found in T. Joseph 2,1, which describes the fact that Photimar entrusted his house to Joseph: this action is closely linked with the last short sentence in 1,7, 'Enviied by my fellow-slaves, and He exalted me.' The verb used here (ὀφθόν) is not only a mere parallel to other verbs which describe the act of salvation, but is also used in connection with the idea of reaching a higher status: exaltation to authority.<sup>49</sup> T. Joseph 2,1 serves as a consequence and an illustration of this 'exaltation' (in the latter sense). Therefore, it is obvious that Joseph's mistress could not be mentioned in this verse.

Therefore, I am of the opinion that it is not right to separate 2,1-3 from 1,3(4)-7 in such a strong way, as Aschermann and Becker do.<sup>50</sup> From the following investigation concerning terminology and contents it will be obvious that some of the terms used in this passage also are derived from situations we usually find in the psalms, esp. in individual thanksgivings and individual laments.

It is noteworthy that the expression ἐπίστευσε μοι τὸν οὐκὸν αὐτοῦ (vs. 1), which is not found in the Genesis-story, recurs word for word in the second story in T. Joseph (11,6), which cannot be accidental.<sup>51</sup>

According to vs. 2, Joseph 'struggled' against the shameless woman who urged<sup>52</sup> him to transgress the law with her, but God delivered him from the burning flame. The Egyptian woman is introduced here; she is the subject of the whole first story in T. Joseph. Here, in vs. 2, she is called ἀναδράς, a term which the wisdom-literature applies to the 'bad' woman, the ἄρνη, who attempts to bring men to πορνεία<sup>53</sup>; so, e.g., Prov. 7 warns against the bad woman who 'dressed like a prostitute'<sup>54</sup>, tries to seduce (young) men. In vs. 13 we read, 'She caught hold of him (LXX, ἐπὶ λαβόμενή<sup>55</sup>) and kissed him; brazenly she accosted him and said (LXX, ἀναδράς δὲ προσέειπε προσέειπε αὐτῆ) ...'<sup>56</sup> Therefore, it is very likely that the Egyptian woman in T. Joseph is to be seen as a ἄρνη.

This woman wants to bring Joseph to παρανομία.<sup>57</sup> This idea comes from a combination of two closely related motifs. On the one hand παρανομία is connected with fornication and women; thus, e.g., Philo, Vita Mosis I 301, where in connection with the fornication committed by many Israelites, it is said, '...And this continued until Phinehas, the son of the high priest, greatly angered at what he saw, and horrified at the thought that his people had at the same moment surrendered their bodies to pleasure and their souls to lawlessness (τῆ παρανομίᾳ) and unholiness...' (see further I 308; Decal. 129).<sup>58</sup> More important, Philo connects this motif with Joseph. The patriarch says to the Egyptian woman, 'To this day I have remained pure, and I

will not take the first step in transgression (καρνομεν) by committing adultery... (De Jos.44). In De Jos.52, Philo remarks that, after the woman's false accusations, Joseph's master gave Joseph no opportunity to defend himself, and '...convicted unheard this entirely innocent person as guilty of the greatest misconduct (ὡς τὰ μέγιστα καρνομήσαντος)...'

On the other hand, we find the motif of a challenge to καρνομία in the martyr-traditions. The tyrant tries to bring the martyr to transgress the law, e.g., by charging him to eat forbidden food. In IV Macc.5,13 Antiochus says to Eleazar, 'For consider this, too, that even if there be some Power whose eye is upon this religion of yours, he will always pardon you for a transgression done under compulsion (ἐκτ' ἰδίῃ δὲ ἀνάγκῃν καρνομήσῃ γυναικί)', to which Eleazar replies, 'Therefore we do surely deem it right not in any way whatsoever to transgress the Law (καρνομεν)' (5,17; see further 5,20.27; 8,14; 9,3f.).<sup>59</sup>

In T. Joseph 2,2 both motifs are combined. On the one hand there is the traditional relationship between fornication and καρνομία. On the other hand the special setting comes from the martyr-traditions; like the tyrant, the woman wants to bring the pious man to transgress the law. Moreover, the motif of a mortal threat (T. Joseph 3,1) can also be found in the martyr-traditions. When the pious man does not want to transgress the law, the tyrant threatens him with death. In IV Macc.9,5 it is expressed in terms very similar to those in T. Joseph 3,1: ἐκροβεῖς δὲ ἡμᾶς τὸν ὄλα τῶν βασάνων θάνατον ἡμῶν ἀπέλειπεν...<sup>60</sup>

In T. Joseph 2,2, Joseph's attitude towards the Egyptian woman is described by the term ἡγωνισμῶν. The idea of the pious man's struggle (ἀγών) is wide-spread in the martyr-traditions.<sup>61</sup> On the other hand, however, this idea is very often found in the context of a struggle for the sake of virtue<sup>62</sup> and against the passions (e.g., ἡδονῆ and ἐκθυμῶν), an idea that originally belonged to hellenistic moral philosophy<sup>63</sup> and which in Judaism can be found especially in Philo.<sup>64</sup> It is, however, very important to note that Philo also uses it in connection with Joseph. According to Leg. All. III 242, 'Joseph, however, being but a youth and lacking strength to contend (ἀγωνισσάσθαι) with the Egyptian body and vanquish pleasure, runs away...'<sup>65</sup> Moreover, for the idea of a struggle in such a context, see T. Reub. 5. After vs. 1 tells us how bad (πονηραὶ) women are, we read in vs. 2, 'And whom she cannot overcome (καταγωνίσασθαι) by power, him she overcomes (καταγωνίζεται) by deceit.' On these grounds it is obvious that the motif of a 'struggle' in T. Joseph 2,2a belongs to the same kind of context.<sup>66</sup>

We turn next to the salvation described in T. Joseph 2,2b. Here, as in 1,4, the verb σὺλῶσασθαι is used. We have seen that it occurs in connection with God's saving activity especially in the psalms (in individual thanksgivings as well as in individual laments).

The origin of φλογὸς καίωμενης as it is used in 2,2b is very probably to be found in Dan. 3: εὐλογεῖτε... τὸν κύριον... ὅτι... ἐρρῶσατο ἡμᾶς ἐκ μέσου καίωμενης φλογὸς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐλυτρώσατο ἡμᾶς (vs. 88 LXX).<sup>67</sup> Since the similarity is confined to the terminology alone, how can T. Joseph connect the expression 'burning flame' with the Egyptian woman? The background of this is

in the wisdom-literature, where the sinner is described as a burning flame (fire) in relation to the pious man; so, e.g., Sir. 8, 10, 'Kindle not the coals of the wicked lest thou be burned with the flame of his fire (μη ἐπιπυρσῆς ἐν πυρὶ φλογὸς αὐτοῦ)'; cf. vs. 3; 28, 22. Moreover, for God's deliverance of the oppressed man from the 'flaming fire' of distress, see Sir. 51, 2ff. ... καὶ ἐλυτρώσω με... ἐκ πλεόνων θλίψεων, ἃν ἔσχον, ἀπὸ πυρὸς κυρῆς κυκλῶσεν καὶ ἐκ μέσου κυρῆς...<sup>68</sup> Thus, whereas the expression φλογὸς καιομένης in T. Joseph 2, 2b comes from Dan. 3 and the idea of the sinner as a burning flame has its roots in the wisdom-literature, the style and the construction of 2, 2b are typical of an individual thanksgiving.

In T. Joseph 2, 3, three terms describe the distress from which Joseph is saved: ἐφυλακίσθη, ἐτυκτήθη, ἐμυκτηρίσθη. Three facts are noteworthy. 1) The first two verbs recur later on in T. Joseph, but only in the second story about the selling of Joseph - φυλακίσειν in 14, 2<sup>69</sup>, and τυκτήειν in (13, 4; ) 13, 9; 14, 1f.<sup>70</sup> For this reason it is clear, that 2, 3a has nothing to do with the first story in T. Joseph.<sup>71</sup> 2) τυκτήειν plays an important role in the martyr-traditions: the tyrant tries by force to compel submission from the pious man (see, e.g., IV Macc. 6, 8, 10; 9, 12; The Acts of Euplus (Gr. rec.) 2, 2 (ed. Musurillo) ). Although not certain, it is quite probable that this tradition has influenced its use in T. Joseph. 3) An investigation of the third verb (μυκτηρίσειν)<sup>72</sup> makes it clear that in vs. 3 too Joseph's distress and his salvation by God are meant. The idea occurs frequently in the psalms. The pious man is mocked in his oppression: Ps. 22, 7 (21, 8), 'All who see me jeer at me (LXX, ἔεμυκτηρίσθη με)...'; see also 35, 15 (34, 16); 44, 13 (43, 14); 79 (78), 4; 80, 6 (79, 7); cf. Jer. 20, 7.

Joseph is saved by God from these troubles: καὶ ἔδωκε με κύριος εἰς οὐκίτητους ἐνώπιον τοῦ δεσμοφύλακος (2, 3b). This expression is based on Gen. 39, 21, 'But the Lord was with Joseph and kept faith with him, so that he won the favour of the governor of the Round Tower (LXX, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ χάριν ἐναντίου τοῦ ἀρχιδεσμοφύλακος)'.<sup>73</sup> Why do we find a different formulation in T. Joseph 2, 3b? This formulation is used especially in texts which describe the salvation of the pious man (or the people of Israel) from oppressions, -in particular in connection with 'being captive'. In I Ki. 8, 50, Solomon prays, 'Forgive thy people their sins and transgressions against thee; put pity for them in their captors' hearts (LXX, καὶ ἔδωκας αὐτοὺς εἰς οὐκίτητους ἐνώπιον αἰχμαλωτιστῶν αὐτοῦς)'. Ps. 106 (105), which narrates the distress (θλίψεις) which the people of Israel suffered in the past and from which it was saved, describes this salvation, 'he (= God) roused compassion for them in the hearts of all their captors (vs. 46. LXX, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοὺς εἰς οὐκίτητους ἐναντίου πάντων τῶν αἰχμαλωτιστῶν αὐτοῦς)'; II Chron. 30, 9.<sup>75</sup>

In summary: T. Joseph 2, 1-3 is not only closely linked with I, 3(4)-7, but also belongs -qua style (although it has not such an elegant style as we find in 1, 3(4)-7), contents and terminology- to an individual thanksgiving. Moreover, 2, 1-3, like 1, 3(4)-7, contains terms and expressions, some of which recur only in the second story of the selling of Joseph (ἐπίστευσε μοι τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ in vs. 1, φυλακίσειν and τυκτήειν in vs. 3), whereas on the other hand vs. 2 clearly refers to the first

story about the Egyptian woman, who is described as a τέρουη, and who -like the tyrant in the martyr-traditions- wants to bring Joseph to transgress the law. So it has been proved that in T. Joseph the individual thanksgiving does not end with 1,7, but runs over into ch.2.

## D. 2,4-6

Now it is possible to describe 2,4-6 more precisely than has been done by Aschermann and Becker. Becker is of the opinion that '2,4-6 ist ebenfalls unter Aufnahme atl. Motive gestaltet und gut gegliedert... Im Gegensatz zu 1,4-7 ist es nicht ausgeschlossen, dass der Verfasser hier einen ihm bekannten Psalm eingearbeitet hat. Josephs Leben lässt sich zwar gut darin unterbringen, aber die Formulierungen sind so all-gemein, dass die Aussagen grundsätzliche Gültigkeit erhalten...'.<sup>76</sup> Because Becker (like Aschermann) has not seen that the individual thanksgiving, far from concluding with 1,7, runs over into ch.2, he has not noticed the real meaning and function of these verses. The fact is that in an individual thanksgiving it is quite normal for the speaker to conclude with some general sentences in which he proclaims that God is faithful and does not forsake the pious. Or, as Gunkel-Begriff say, 'Ein zweites Hauptstück des Dankliedes ist das Bekenntnis zu Jahve als dem Retter aus der Not... Laut und fröhlich soll es erschallen: alle anderen, Götter und Menschen, helfen nicht. Jahve allein ist getreu und hilft seinem Frommen! Ihm allein traue ich! Das hat der Dankende an sich erfahren, und das sollen die anderen Frommen von ihm lernen! Aus seinem Beispiel sollen sie den allgemeinen Satz bestätigt finden! So spricht das „Bekenntnis“ den geistigen Gehalt des Dankliedes in verhältnismässig abstrakter Form aus... „Jahve hört auf seine Frommen, wenn sie zu ihm schreien.“ ... Solche Verkündigung richtet sich ihrer Natur nach an die übrigen und redet demnach von Jahve gewöhnlich in der dritten Person: sie steht selbstverständlich an einer der wichtigsten Stellen des Gedichtes... : d.h. gewöhnlich am Schluss der Erzählung als das Ergebnis der Erfahrungen des Dichters.'<sup>77</sup> Among the many texts which are referred to in illustration of this are Ps. 31,23 (30,24), '...The Lord protects the faithful but pays the arrogant in full', and 69,33 (68,34), 'for the Lord listens to the poor and does not despise those bound to his service'. Thus it may be concluded that T. Joseph 2,4-6 is the generalizing end of the individual thanksgiving (which began with 1,3(4)).

Many of the terms in 2,4-6 occur frequently in the psalms.<sup>78</sup> Besides the term 'God-fearing' (vs.4), a term so general that it naturally occurs elsewhere (although it certainly has its place in the psalms), we find the idea that God does not forsake (οὐκ εγκαταλείπειν) his pious ones. See Ps. 9,10 (11), '...for thou, Lord, dost not forsake (LXX, οὐκ εγκαταλείπεις) those who seek thee'; 37(36), 28, 'for the Lord is a lover of justice and will not forsake (LXX, οὐκ εγκαταλείψει) his loyal servants...'; 94(93), 14.<sup>79</sup> In 2,4 the distress is described in terms that occur traditionally especially in the psalms: οὐδότης, δεσμός, θλίψις, ἀνάγκη. I have already discussed δεσμός in connection with T. Joseph 1,6.<sup>80</sup> θλίψις is a fairly common term which nevertheless is especially frequent in the Psalms.<sup>81</sup>

We find the term  $\sigma\delta\tau\omicron\varsigma$  <sup>82</sup> in this sense almost exclusively in the Psalms. See, e.g., Ps. 54, 6 LXX,  $\phi\delta\beta\omicron\varsigma$  καὶ τρῶμος ἤλθεν ἐκ' ἐμῆ, καὶ ἐκδύψεν με  $\sigma\delta\tau\omicron\varsigma$  <sup>83</sup>; cf. 143 (142), 3. <sup>84</sup> The term ἀνάγκη occurs in the same context: Ps. 25 (24), 17, 'Relieve the sorrows (LXX, αἱ θλίψεις) of my heart and bring me out of my distress (LXX, τῶν ἀναγκῶν)'; see also 31, 7 (30, 8); 119 (118), 143; Esther 4, 17 (w) LXX; Job 5, 19. <sup>85</sup> Finally, we note a text in which all four terms occur together: Ps. 107 (106), 13f., 'So they cried to the Lord in their trouble (LXX, ἐν τῇ θλίψεσθαὶ αὐτοῦς), and he saved them from their distress (LXX, τῶν ἀναγκῶν); he brought them out of darkness (LXX,  $\sigma\delta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ), dark as death, and broke their chains (LXX, τοὺς δεσμοῦς).'

T. Joseph 2, 5 explains why God does not forsake those who fear him in their distress. 'For God is not put to shame as a man, nor as the son of man is He afraid, nor as one that is earth-born is He weak or rejected' - a stylistically fine description of God's surpassing power, to be compared in style with Numb. 23, 19; Judith 8, 16; Philo, Vita Mosis I 283 (see also I Sam. 15, 29; Philo, Vita Mosis I 173). The verbs here are often used to describe a man's situation in distress and oppression. We have seen that the pious and oppressed man is weak and ill. <sup>86</sup> Often he complains that God has rejected him; see, e.g., Ps. 43 (42), 2; 44, 9. 23 (43, lo. 24); 60, 1. lo (59, 3. 12); 74 (73), 1; 77, 7 (76, 8); 88, 14 (87, 15). Often he complains that God has put him to shame; see, e.g., Ps. 44, 9 (43, lo); 44, 15 (43, 16); 69 (68), 20. He is urged not to be afraid, for God is with him; see, e.g., Deut. 1, 21; 31, 6. 8; Jo. 1, 9; 8, 1; lo, 25; cf. Ps. 27 (26), 1; 78 (77), 53; Sir. 34, 14; II Macc. 15, 8. God, however, is not as this weak and fearful man; he is powerful and does not forsake the pious ones in their distress.

Then we read in vs. 6, 'But in all places He is at hand, and in divers ways doth He comfort, (though) for a little space He departeth to try the inclination of the soul.' In connection with 1, 6 we have seen that God's saving activity can be expressed by the term παρακαλεῖν. <sup>87</sup> God comforts man in his distress in divers ways and in all places he is at hand (καρτοσασθαί). The verb καρτοσασθαί is also used in connection with the salvation of the oppressed man; so, e.g., Ps. 109 (108), 31, 'For he stands at (LXX, καρτοσση) the poor man's right side to save him from his adversaries.' Wisd. 19, 22 is especially important in this context: 'For in all things, O Lord, thou didst magnify thy people, and thou didst glorify them and not lightly esteem them; standing by their side in every time and place (καὶ οὐχ ὑπερετίδες ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ καὶ τόπῳ καρτοσάμενος)'. <sup>88</sup> Just as this idea closes the song in Ps. 109 (108) and the whole book of Wisdom, in T. Joseph 2, 6 it closes the individual thanksgiving: God is with his pious ones and comforts them. Vs. 6c is a reply to the 'why' of the pious man's oppressions, and it clearly forms the transition to vs. 7. If God is always with the pious man, where is he in times of distress? And why is the pious man in distress? The author of Ps. 109 (9) asks God in his oppression, 'Why stand so far off (LXX, ἀπέστηκας <sup>89</sup> μακροθεν), Lord, hiding thyself in time of need (LXX, ὑπερορῆς ἐν εὐκαιρίαις ἐν θλίψει)?' <sup>90</sup> The author of Ps. 22 (21) beseeches God, 'Be not far from me, for trouble is near (LXX, μὴ ἀποστής ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ὅτι θλίψις ἐγγύς), and I have no helper.' <sup>91</sup>

Indeed, in distress God is really 'absent'. But, as we read in T. Joseph 2,6, this absence is only for a short time (ἐν βραχεῖ). The pious man's distress is short-lived, and it is meant to test (δοκιμαζειν) him. The idea of a short time of sufferings and oppression occurs especially in those texts which speak about God's anger with, and his punishment of the people of Israel because of their trespasses; so, e.g., in Is. 57, 16f., 'I will not be always (LXX, οὐκ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα) accusing, I will not continually (LXX, οὐδὲ διὰ παντός) nurse my wrath...'. For a time (LXX, βραχὺ τι) I was angry at the guilt of Israel...'; II Macc. 7, 32f., 'We are suffering for our own sins, and though our living God is angry for a little (βραχέως), in order to rebuke and chasten us, he will again be reconciled to his own servants'; see also vs. 37, '...calling on God to show favour to our nation soon (ταχὺ)'; see further 5, 17 (βραχέως); Wisd. 16, 3 (ἐπ' ὀλίγον) .5f. (οὐ μέγα τι θάουσι... πρὸς ὀλίγον). 11 (ὀφέως). After this short period of God's anger and punishment, which is meant as a chastisement to bring the people to repentance (see II Macc. 7, 33, '...χάριον ἐπέλαξεως καὶ καιδέως... and Wisd. 16, 6, εἰς νοθεύσαν... εἰς ἀνέμνησιν ἐντολῆς νόμου σου), God has mercy on Israel and saves his people from distress (see Is. 57, 18f. (also παρακαλεῖν); II Macc. 7, 33, 37; Wisd. 16, 7f. 10ff. (also ὀδεσθαί and σφίσειν)).

This idea of a short period of sufferings occurs also in texts that deal with the sufferings of the righteous man.<sup>92</sup> After a short time of suffering, God will reward him in one way or another - during or after this earthly life; see II Macc. 7, 36; I Peter 5, 10; II Clem. 19, 3; Pastor Hermae, Sim. 7, 6. We find this complex in T. Benj. 5, 5<sup>3</sup> too, '...καὶ ὁ δίκαιος προσευχόμενος πρὸς ὀλίγον ταπεινωθεῖ, μετ' οὐ πολὺ<sup>93</sup> φαιδρότερος ἀναφαίνεται... It is esp. the wisdom-literature, that tells us how God tests the righteous man by making him suffer. If he goes through the trials, he is rewarded by God. I will deal with these ideas more extensively in my discussion of T. Joseph 2, 7; for the moment, let me just point to the fact that the idea of a short time of sufferings could easily be connected with this complex of ideas, and the connection is also found in other places besides T. Joseph 2, 6; see, e.g., Wisd. 3, 5f., in which it is said of the δικαίων ψυχαί (vs. 1), 'And having borne a little chastening, they shall receive great good; because God tested them, and found them worthy of himself. As gold in the furnace he proved them (καὶ ὀλίγα<sup>94</sup> καιδευθέντες μέγαρα εὐεργετηθήσονται, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἐπέκράσεν αὐτοὺς καὶ εὖρεν αὐτοὺς ἀξίους αὐτοῦ ὡς χρυσὸν ἐν χωνευτηρίῳ ἐδοκίμασεν αὐτοὺς)...'; and I Peter 1, 6f., 'This is cause for great joy, even though now you smart for a little while (ὀλίγον), if need be, under trials of many kinds (ἐν ποικίλοις πειρασμοῖς). Even gold passes (δοκιμαζομένου) through the assayer's fire, and more precious than perishable gold is faith which has stood the test (τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστewς)...'

In summary : T. Joseph 2, 4-6 speaks in general terms about God's loyalty to the pious. We often find something like this at the end of an individual thanksgiving. Thus, T. Joseph 2, 4-6 is the appropriate end of the individual thanksgiving, T. Joseph 1, 3(4)-2, 6. In 2, 6c we find the motif of the righteous man's trial by God, which is the transition to vs. 7.

## E. 2,7

In vs.7 Joseph applies the idea of the righteous man's trial by God, generally formulated in T. Joseph 2,6, to his own oppression in the past, 'In ten <sup>95</sup> temptations (πειρασμοίς) He showed <sup>96</sup> me approved (δοκιμῶν)...'. The idea of a trial by God occurs in the O.T. quite frequently. <sup>97</sup> Especially in the wisdom-literature, however, it is connected with the idea of the (temporary) suffering of the pious from which God saves and rewards him, if the latter shows himself faithful; see, e.g., Sir. 2,1-11; 33,1; Ps. 66(65), 10f.; Wisd. 3,5f. (see I D); 11,9f.; I Cor. 10,13; II Cor. 8,2; I Peter 1,6f. (see I D); 4,12; II Peter 2,9; Rev. 2,10; 3,10; Pastor Hermae, Visio 4,3,4; Sim. 7,1.

In Sir. 2,1-11, just mentioned, the attitude of the pious man is described - as in T. Joseph 2,7 ('And in all of them I endured' : ...ἐμακροθύησα) - by the verb μακροθυμῶν, 'My son, when thou comest to serve the Lord, prepare thy soul for temptation. . . Accept whatsoever is brought upon thee, and be patient (μακροθύησον) in disease and poverty' (Sir. 2,1.4). The attitude of the pious man in times of suffering and oppression is that of patience, of μακροθυμία; and patience is a μέγα εὐρημακόν (T. Joseph 2,7) <sup>98</sup>, a remedy through which God saves one from distress.

In T. Joseph 2,7 ὑπομονή is parallel with this μακροθυμία; it gives κολλᾶ ἀγαθῶν <sup>99</sup>. It is not surprising that ὑπομονή (ὀκνητεία), a term originally used in the martyr-traditions (see, e.g., IV Macc. 1,11; 5,23; 6,9, etc.; Ign., Smyrn. 4,2; Mart. Polyc. 2,2ff.; 3,1; 19,2; Mart. Carpi, Pamfili et Agathonicae 36; 40 (Gr. rec., ed. Musurillo); The Martyrs of Lyons 1,7.20.27.45 (ed. Musurillo)), should be used to describe the attitude of the righteous man in his distress, whether it is connected with the idea of a trial by God or not <sup>100</sup>. On these grounds it is to be expected that this combination of μακροθυμία and ὑπομονή should occur elsewhere too; so, e.g., II Tim. 3,10f.; II Cor. 6,4ff. <sup>101</sup> Job's attitude in his distress, is also characterized by both these terms in T. Job 26,4f. <sup>102</sup>, where he asks his wife to remember the good things they received from God ... τὰ κατὰ ἰδίαν οὐχ ὑπομένομεν; ἀλλὰ μακροθυμήσωμεν ἕως ἄν ὁ Κύριος σπλαγχνισθεῖς ἐλεήσει ἡμᾶς; see also 1,5 (and the variant in V); 4,6; 5,1; 27,7. <sup>103</sup>

Thus, when in T. Joseph we find that Joseph holds fast through his μακροθυμία and ὑπομονή in times of distress and oppression, it is the testing by God of Joseph as a pious man. In T. Joseph ὑπομονή is one of Joseph's most important qualities. The idea recurs in some very striking places: in 10,1 (just after the first story), 'Ye see, therefore, my children, how great things patience (ἡ ὑπομονή) worketh...' <sup>104</sup>; and in 17,1 (just after the second story), 'Ye see, therefore, children, what great things I endured (ὀκνητεία)...'. Already on these grounds alone it is justifiable to consider both stories under the same motif, namely under Joseph's ὑπομονή. Moreover we also find a recurrence of Joseph's μακροθυμία, in 18,3, 'For, behold, ye see <sup>105</sup> that out of my long-suffering (ἐκ τῆν μακροθυμῶν) I took unto wife even the daughter of my masters'. <sup>106</sup>

This attitude of ὑπομονή, which is characteristic of the martyr, and of the pious and righteous man, who is closely related to the martyr, could easily be connected with the figure of Joseph in T. Joseph. Joseph was traditionally one of the

righteous men who had been tested by God -like Abraham, Daniel and many others; see I Macc. 2, 51ff., 'And call to mind the deeds of the fathers which they did in their generations; that ye may receive great glory and an everlasting name. Was not Abraham found faithful in temptation (ἐν κερρασμῷ), and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness? Joseph, in the time of his distress, kept the commandment, and became lord of Egypt...' 107 Thus Joseph is one of the 'ancient pious fathers' who held out in distress and were, therefore, rewarded by God; and, as we have seen, because the attitude of the pious man in his oppression could often be described by ὑπομονή, a connection between Joseph and ὑπομονή could easily be made. Although in I Macc. 2, 51ff. ὑπομονή is not explicitly mentioned<sup>108</sup>, it is three times connected with Joseph in Josephus: in Ant. II 43, 'Nay, he (=Joseph) besought her (=the Egyptian woman) to govern her passions..., while for his part, he would endure (ὑπομένειν) anything rather than be obedient to this behest'<sup>109</sup>; II 50, '...he resisted her entreaties and yielded not to her threats<sup>110</sup>, choosing to suffer unjustly and to endure (ὑπομένειν) even the severest penalty...'; and II 69, 'nay, it was for virtue's sake and for sobriety that I was condemned to undergo (ὑπομένειν) a malefactor's fate...' Moreover, in Apoc. Pauli 47 (Ti. p. 65) we read, ... καὶ λέγει μοι εἰς ἕξ αὐτῶν, Ἰωσήφ ὁ κρατεῖς ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ '... οὐκ ἀπέδωκα τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς μου, οὐκ κατηρώσασθαι με. μακρὸς γὰρ ὁ θυμῶνός ὑπομένει κερρασμῶν... All this justifies the conclusion that T. Joseph 2, 7 (and also 10, 1; 17, 1) exhibits a motif which was traditionally connected with Joseph.

#### F. Summary

T. Joseph 1, 3(4)-2, 6 is an individual thanksgiving, in which Joseph describes his salvation from distress and oppression by God. It contains terms and expressions, of which some occur only in the first story, others only in the second story, others in both stories. Thus it may be concluded that this individual thanksgiving is intended to be an introduction to the whole of T. Joseph.<sup>111</sup> T. Joseph 2, 6c introduces the idea of the righteous man's testing by God. This links up with vs. 7, where this idea is applied to the actual life of Joseph. Joseph's attitude is described in terms which occur frequently in this kind of context, viz., μακροθυμία and ὑπομονή. The latter one is traditionally connected with Joseph, and is a recurring characteristic of Joseph elsewhere in T. Joseph, occurring immediately after the first and immediately after the second story. Thus once more it is clear that T. Joseph 1-2 is intended to be an introduction to the whole of T. Joseph.

#### G. Excursus :

T. Joseph 1, 3(4)-2, 6 : a late Jewish individual thanksgiving

Crüsemann, who deals extensively with the genre of the individual thanksgiving in his book<sup>112</sup>, remarks in his conclusions about the structure and the development of this sort of psalm<sup>113</sup>, '1. Konstitutives Formmerkmal der Dankpsalmen des Einzelnen ist ein Reden in zwei Richtungen. Sie reden einmal Jahwe direkt an (Du-Stil) und berichten zum anderen anderen Menschen über sein Tun (Er-Stil). ... 3. ... hat bei der Über-eignung des Tieres... eine als Toda-Formel zu bezeichnende,

relativ feste Wendung ihren Sitz...7. ...so ist die Geschichte der Gattung vor allem durch zwei Momente gekennzeichnet. Einmal werden beide Grundteile der Gattung durch Aufnahme weiterer Formelemente ausgebaut. Hauptsächlich die Verkündigung in der Runde der Zuhörer ist dadurch betroffen. Hier dringen in starkem Masse Redeformen der Weisheit (Heilruf, Mahnwort, Sentenz), ...ein... Mit ihnen werden vom Beter aus dem Erlebten allgemeingültige Konsequenzen gezogen...8. Zum anderen wird die strenge Bipolarität dadurch aufgelöst, dass der Adressat der Rede mehrmals innerhalb des Psalms wechselt. Hierbei kann die Anrede oder der Bericht zum beherrschenden Stil des Psalms werden... Diese Auflösung der Grundform wird mit einer gewissen Ablösung von der ursprünglichen kultischen Situation zu erklären sein...9. ...dass... die Auflösung der Grundform im Alten Testament nur zögernd und schrittweise und fast nirgends bis zu einem völligen Bruch vollzogen wird... und erst im nachkanonischer Zeit wird aus dem Dankpsalm ein Gebet eines Einzelnen an seinen Gott...<sup>114</sup>

When we compare the structure of T. Joseph 1,3(4)-2,6 with that of the canonical individual thanksgiving, we find some differences. Most important, the 'Du-Stil' and the 'Toda-Formel' are lacking in T. Joseph. Because of these differences the following question might be raised: is it right to call T. Joseph 1,3(4)-2,6 an individual thanksgiving?

As we have seen, Crüsemann notices a development in this type of psalm: other elements (an influence from the 'Weisheit' in particular) might be taken up, and either the 'Du-Stil' or the 'Er-Stil' become prominent, the more so in later (post-biblical) psalms. H. Ludin Jansen, in his book Die spätjüdische Psalmendichtung, ihr Entstehungskreis und ihr "Sitz im Leben". Eine literaturgeschichtlich-soziologische Untersuchung,<sup>115</sup> investigated especially these late Jewish psalms. He comes to the following thesis: 'Die spätjüdische Psalmendichtung entstand in den Kreisen der „Weisen“... Man brauchte diese Dichtungen zu erbaulichen und didaktischen Zwecken, in der Unterweisung...'<sup>116</sup> On pp. 28-35, he deals in particular with (individual) thanksgivings, among which he reckons Ps. Sol. 15; Dan. 2, 20-23; Ps. Sol. 2; 13 (and also Sir. 51, 1-12: see p. 65). In his conclusion on p. 35 he remarks, 'Kein alttestamentlicher Dankpsalm hat auch nur annähernd so viele Weisheitsgedanken aufgenommen als die Dichtungen, die wir bis jetzt behandelt haben. Diese neuen Gedanken haben auch das Stilschema gesprengt und die Ideen umgestaltet wie in keiner kanonischen Dichtung dieser Art.'<sup>117</sup> Moreover, it is interesting that, whereas the psalms in Ps. Sol. 2; 13; 15 are poetic, Dan. 2, 20-23 is in prose. Concerning the use of prose or poetry in these late Jewish psalms Jansen remarks, 'Da nun die Psalmen erbaulich-didaktischen Zwecken dienen sollten, wurde das frühere Schema der Psalmen gesprengt... Wo nur erbaulich-didaktische Zwecke verfolgt wurden, wurde oft die Psalmenform aufgegeben; es war ja leichter in Prosa zu schreiben.'<sup>118</sup>

From this the following conclusions can be reached: 1. T. Joseph 1,3(4)-2,6 is an individual thanksgiving, but it is in many respects different from an Old Testament individual thanksgiving and belongs to a later development of this type of psalm. We can find such a later development especially in

Zie ook p. 59: 'erbaulich-didaktisch' -  
dat alleen kan verklaard de eigen vorm/inhoud (= invloed  
v. wijsh. → krij. v. wijzen: Schule, Tempel, Synagoge  
pp. 100 ff

the non-canonical, late Jewish psalms; 2. Whereas in the Old Testament thanksgiving elements of wisdom are already present, they play an important, or rather prominent part in these later psalms. This explains why T. Joseph 1,3(4)-2,6 is so strongly reminiscent of ideas which belong to the wisdom-literature<sup>119</sup>; 3. Moreover, many of these later psalms have a didactic function.<sup>120</sup> Undoubtedly, T. Joseph 1,3(4)-2,6 fulfils the same function. This is made clear from the introduction (1,3) and its transition to 2,7; 4. The change in style in T. Joseph 2,1-3 does not justify a sharp separation of this passage from the previous and the following verses.

## II. Joseph's attitude towards the Egyptian woman (T.J. 3,1-10,4)

### A. Joseph's Praying, Fasting, Mourning and Humiliation

We have seen that T. Joseph 1,3(4)-2,6 is an individual thanksgiving uttered by Joseph. It contains many terms that come originally from the psalms, especially the genre of an individual thanksgiving, but also from the genre of an individual lament. The following investigation of T. Joseph 3,1-10,4 will argue that Joseph's attitude in his 'struggle' against the Egyptian woman is the attitude we find especially in an individual lament, where the poet complains of his distress and oppression and beseeches God for salvation.

What is the attitude of the man who complains of his distress, and prays for salvation? 'Der Beter *fastet* lange Zeit, um die Gnade Gottes auf sich zu ziehen. Er trägt den „Sack“ des Sünders und bezeichnet sich mit Rücksicht darauf als „schwarz“... Auf die Erde hingestreckt, in Sack und Asche usw. klagt und fleht er'.<sup>121</sup> So we read in Ps. 69, loff. (68, 11 ff.), 'I have broken my spirit with fasting (LXX, ἐν νηστεῖα)... I have made sackcloth (LXX, σάκκον) my clothing... I lift up this prayer (LXX, τῆ προσευχῆ) to thee, O Lord... Rescue me (LXX, σῶσόν με) from the mire, do not let me sink; let me be rescued from the muddy depths (LXX, βυθούσιν ἐκ τῶν μυσοῦντων με κατ' ἐκ τοῦ βάθους τῶν ὑδάτων)...'; in Ps. 109 (108), 24ff., 'My knees are weak with fasting (LXX, ἀπό νηστείας)... Help me (LXX, βοήθησόν μοι), O Lord my God; save me (LXX, σῶσόν με), by thy unfailling love...' When Nehemiah hears the sad lot of those left behind in Jerusalem, his reaction is as follows, 'When I heard this news, I sat down and wept; I mourned for some days, fasting and praying to the God of heaven (LXX, ἔκλαισα καὶ ἐπένησα ἡμέρας καὶ ἤμην νηστεῶν καὶ προσευχόμενος ἐνώπιον θεοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ)'.<sup>122</sup> When the threat of the Assyrian armies is great, the reaction of the Israelites is as follows (Judith 4,9-15), 'And every man of Israel cried to God with great earnestness... put sackcloth (σάκκους) upon their loins... and cast ashes upon their heads, and spread out their sackcloth (σάκκους) before the Lord; and they put sackcloth (σάκκους) about the altar... And the Lord heard their voice, and looked upon their affliction (τὴν θλίψιν αὐτῶν): and the people continued fasting (νηστεῶν) many days in all Judaea and Jerusalem... had their loins girt about with sackcloth (σάκκους)... and they cried unto the Lord with all their power, that he would look upon (ἐπιπέσασθαι)<sup>123</sup> all the house of Israel for good'; see (for the description of such a situation) also II Chron. 20,3; I Macc. 3,44ff.; II Macc. 13, loff.; Syr. Bar. 5,6f.; see

further Esther 4,16-17 LXX; Ezra 8,21ff. From the texts mentioned above it is clear that not only in the Psalms, but also elsewhere the attitude of the man in distress is described in these terms. Two other texts are important in this context: Ps. 6, '...all night long my pillow is wet with tears, I soak my bed with weeping (LXX, ἐν δάκρυσίν μου)' <sup>124</sup> and '...for the Lord has heard the sound of my weeping (LXX, τοῦ κλαυθμοῦ μου)' <sup>125</sup>; and Ps. 34, 13f. LXX, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦς παρενοχλεῖν μου ἐνεδεδυμένον σάκκου καὶ ἐταπεινουν ἐν νηστεῖα τὴν ψυχὴν μου, καὶ ἡ προσευχὴ μου...ὡς κενθῶν καὶ σκυθροπαδίων, οὕτως ἐταπεινωθῆμην. <sup>126</sup>

So the attitude of the man in distress, that we find especially as expressed in an individual lament <sup>127</sup>, is as follows: he prays (προσεύχεσθαι, δεῖσθαι), he fasts (νηστεῖν), he weeps (κένθειν, δακρῦειν, κλαίειν, etc.), he wears the sackcloth, and he asks God to be saved (ῥύεσθαι, σφῆζειν, λυτροῦν, etc.) <sup>128</sup> from distress and from those who oppress him. It is just this attitude that characterizes Joseph in the story about the Egyptian woman: he prayed to God and asked to be saved and delivered from the Egyptian woman: 3, 3, '...and going into my chamber, I prayed unto the Lord (προσηυχόμενον κυρῶ)' <sup>129</sup>; 4, 3, 'Owing to all these things I lay upon the ground in sackcloth (ἐν σάκκῳ), and besought God that the Lord would deliver me from the Egyptian woman (ἐδέδυν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅπως ῥύεταί με ὁ κύριος ἐκ τῆς Αἰγυπτίας)'; 4, 8, 'And I gave myself yet more to fasting and prayer, that the Lord might deliver me from her (νηστεῖαν καὶ προσευχὴν, ὅπως ῥύεταί με κύριος ἀπ' αὐτῆς)'; 7, 4, '...I prayed unto the Lord (προσευξάμενος κυρῶ) ...'; 8, 1, '...and I knelt (γόνυ κλίνας) before the Lord all the day together with all the night; and about dawn I rose up, weeping the while (δακρῦων) and praying for a release from the Egyptian woman (αὐτῶν λυτρωσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγυπτίας)'; 9, 4, '...and listened to my voice as I prayed (προσευχόμενου) ...' <sup>129</sup> Several times we hear that Joseph fasted: 3, 4, 'And I fasted (ἐνηστευον) in those seven years ...'; 3, 5, '...I drank no wine' <sup>130</sup>; nor for three days did I take my food <sup>131</sup>; 4, 8, 'And I gave myself yet more to fasting (νηστεῖαν) ...' <sup>131</sup> Joseph also put on sackcloth: 4, 3, 'Owing to all these things I lay upon the ground in sackcloth (ἐν σάκκῳ) ...' <sup>132</sup>

Finally, we read that Joseph wept: 3, 6, '...and I wept (ἐκλαιον) for the Egyptian woman of Memphis, for very unceasingly did she trouble me (ἐνόχλει μοι <sup>133</sup>) ...'; 3, 9, 'And when I perceived it I sorrowed (ἐλυκῆθην) unto death... and I lamented (ἐπένησα) for her many days ...'; 6, 3, 'And when he (αὐτοῦ - b is not correct) had gone out I wept (ἐκλαιον) ...'; 8, 1, '...and about dawn I rose up, weeping the while (δακρῦων) ...' <sup>134</sup> We should observe, however, that here two kinds of 'weeping' are mentioned, viz., weeping over one's own oppression (8, 1) and weeping over (the sins of) the other, the 'adversary' (3, 6.9 and probably also 6, 3). Both kinds of weeping, which are closely related <sup>135</sup>, are characteristic of the one who complains in his distress. For weeping over one's own oppression, see, e.g., Ps. 6, 6 (7), 8 <sup>(9)</sup>. <sup>136</sup>; for weeping over the adversary, see, e.g., Ps. 34, 14 LXX <sup>137</sup>. The motif of weeping especially over the sins of another occurs elsewhere too. When Ezra hears that many Israelites have married foreign women, he reacts as follows, 'When I heard this news, I rent my robe and mantle (LXX, καὶ ὡς ἦκουσα τὸν λόγον τούτου, ἀέρωσα τὰ ἑμάτια μου) ... I knelt down (LXX, κλίνω ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατά μου) and spread out my hands to the Lord my God and said... While

Ezra was praying and making confession, prostrate in tears (LXX, καὶ ὡς προσέβατο...κλαίων καὶ προσευχόμενος) before the house of God ... Then Ezra left his place...he neither ate bread nor drank water, for he was mourning (LXX, ἐπέθει) for the offence, committed by the exiles who had returned' (Ezra 9, 3,5; 10, 1,6)<sup>138</sup>. In T. Joseph, when the Egyptian woman threatens to kill her husband, Joseph's reaction is the same, 'Εγὼ οὖν, ὡς ἤκουσα τοῦτο, διέρρηξα τὴν στολήν μου... (5,2).

It is now clear that T. Joseph 3ff. attributes to Joseph the attitude which is typical of the man who -in distress- asks God for salvation. I shall now investigate these chapters in greater detail, looking especially at Joseph's attitude in his 'struggle' against the Egyptian woman<sup>139</sup>, in order to discover other elements which belong to the same context of a man in distress.

First, the style in T. Joseph 3ff. is very striking. Several times we find exclamatory sentences introduced by κοσῆκος or πόσα. 'How often (κοσῆκος) did the Egyptian woman threaten me with death! How often (κοσῆκος) did she give me over to punishment...' (3,1); 'How often (κοσῆκος) did she flatter me with words as a holy man...' (4,1); 'How often (κοσῆκος), though she were sick, did she come down to me at unlooked-for times...' (9,4); 'Ye see, therefore, my children, how great things (πόσα) patience worketh...' (10,1); 'Ye see, therefore, children, what great things (πόσα) I endured...' (17,1).<sup>140</sup> Undoubtedly, this style is rhetorical. See, e.g., Epict. IV 1,95, 'I will become a friend of Caesar; no one will wrong me if I am a companion of his. But, in the first place, the number of things (πόσα) I must suffer and endure in order to become his friend! and the number of times (κοσῆκος), and the number of persons by whom (ὡς πόσων) I must first be robbed!' <sup>141</sup>; cf. III 26,3. In the O.T./LXX the same style is found, e.g., Ps. 78 (77), 40; Job 13,23; Sir. 20,17; IV Macc. 15,22. It is, however, interesting that such a style can also occur in an individual lament, making the lament more intense, more moving: Ps. 3,1(2), 'Lord, how my enemies have multiplied! (LXX, κύριε, τί ἐπληθύνθησαν οἱ ἐχθροί μου;)...' <sup>142</sup>

We have seen that threatening with death (see T. Joseph 3, 1)<sup>143</sup> is an action typical of the tyrant in the martyr-literature.<sup>144</sup> The following... τρωπῆρας παραδοῦσα ἀνεκάλεισά με ... also belongs to this context: the tyrant compels the martyr into submission through punishments; so, e.g., IV Macc. 4,24, '... he (=Antiochus) beheld all his threats and penalties (τὰς ἐπιτοὺς ἀπειλὰς καὶ τρωπῆρας) utterly despised...' ; cf. 5, 10.<sup>145</sup> From this it may be concluded that some elements from the martyr-traditions are connected with the idea of the suffering of the oppressed man (Joseph); we have seen the same for T. Joseph 2, 2<sup>146</sup> and the idea of ὑπομονή.<sup>147</sup>

In spite of the woman's alluring offer (3,2), Joseph did not succumb to her; he remembered his father's words<sup>148</sup>, he entered his chamber<sup>149</sup>, prayed and fasted (3,3f.). And when she (or 'he', that is: his master) was away from home, he drank no wine<sup>150</sup>, and ate no food during three days, and gave it to the poor and sick (3,5). Here we find the combination praying-fasting-'giving alms', well-known in Judaism: see, e.g., Tobit 12,8 BA, ἀγαθὸν προσευχῆ μετὰ νηστείας καὶ ἐλεημοσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης.  
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We read in 3,6 that Joseph 'sought the Lord early' :... ᾤθηριζον πρὸς κύριον ('and wept ...').<sup>152</sup> This expression appears several times in the O.T., again in connection with the situation of someone in distress. He rises early and prays to God for salvation; so, e.g., Ps. 78 (77), 34f., 'When he (=God) struck them, they began to seek him, they would turn and look eagerly for God (LXX, ᾤθηριζον πρὸς τὸν θεόν); they remembered that God was their Creator (LXX, βοηθός), that God Most High was their deliverer (LXX, λυτρωτής)'; Job 8, 5f., 'If only you will seek God before times (LXX, ᾤθηριζε πρὸς κύριον) and plead for the favour of the Almighty, if you are innocent and upright, then indeed will he watch over you...'; see also Ps. 63, 1 (62, 2); Sir. 39, 5; Hos. 5, 15; Is. 26, 9.

In the beginning the Egyptian woman embraced Joseph as a son, as Joseph was ignorant (cf. κατὰ ἡγνῶν<sup>153</sup>) concerning her real intentions; later on, however, 'she sought to draw<sup>154</sup> me into fornication' (3, 7f.).<sup>155</sup> Then, of course, he was no longer ignorant (cf. νοήσας), and he saw through her guile and deceit, and sorrowed unto death<sup>156</sup>, and made attempts to turn her from her evil lust (3, 9f.).

Hereafter the Egyptian woman flattered Joseph as a 'holy man', and praised his chastity openly before her husband... Βουλομένη καταθένας ὑποσκελεῖσαι με (see 4, 1f.). ὑποσκελεῖται is traditionally one of the actions which the enemies and adversaries undertake against the oppressed man; so, e.g., Ps. 140, 4 (139, 5), 'Guard me (LXX, φύλαξόν με), O Lord, from wicked men; keep me safe from violent men, who plan to thrust me out of the way (LXX, ὑποσκελεῖσαι τὰ διαβήματά μου)'; see also 37 (36), 31; cf. T. Dan 6, 3.

Finally, after many other attempts, the Egyptian woman used force: she held fast to his garment, but he fled away naked<sup>157</sup> (8, 2f.). Hereafter she accused him falsely<sup>158</sup>, and he was cast into prison (8, 4). Then, he tells us, 'When, therefore, I was in fetters, the Egyptian was sick with grief, and she heard (ἐκ-ηκροάτο) me, how I sang praises (ᾄμνουν) unto the Lord being in the house of darkness, and with glad voice rejoicing (χαίρων); glorified (ἐδόξαζον) my God only that I was delivered (ἀπηλλάγην)<sup>159</sup> by a pretext from the Egyptian woman' (8, 5). Joseph's action here described is the usual action of the oppressed man after his salvation: he praises and glorifies God who has saved him from his distress. For this action, terms as δοξάζειν and ὑμνεῖν<sup>160</sup> are used: δοξάζειν, e.g., in Ps. 86 (85), 12; ὑμνεῖν in Ps. 22, 22 (21, 23); 70, 8 LXX. In fact an individual thanksgiving gives expression to this praise of God, who has saved the oppressed man from his distress, as he had requested in an individual lament.<sup>161</sup>

The situation described in 8, 5, however, is especially reminiscent of that of Shadrach, Meshach and Abed-nego in Dan. 3 LXX. Because of their miraculous salvation from the fire they praise God, ... ᾄμνουν καὶ ἐδόξαζον ... τὸν θεόν ... ὑμνεῖτε ... ὅτι ἐξέλατο ... καὶ ἔσωσεν ... ἐρρύσασατο ... ἐλυτρώσασατο ... (vss. 51; 88), after which we read, καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἀκούσασα τὸν βασιλεῖα ὑμνοῦσται αὐτῶν... (vs. 91). Here is not only the combination ὑμνεῖν - 163, δοξάζειν<sup>162</sup> as a response following upon God's salvation<sup>163</sup>, but also the motif that the adversary, the one who causes the distress, hears the hymn of praise. In Dan. it is the king, in T. Joseph it is the Egyptian woman.<sup>164</sup>

Even when Joseph was in prison, the Egyptian woman did not give up her attempts, but Joseph did not succumb to her (9,1f.). And, as Joseph says, '...if a man liveth in chastity, and desireth also glory (δοξάν), and if the Most High knoweth that it is expedient for him, He bestoweth this also upon him, even as upon me.' (9,3).<sup>165</sup> The next two verses close the first story; they speak again of the woman's attempts to fulfil her desire. It is important to notice that the actions described here do not follow in time the actions narrated in the previous chapters.<sup>166</sup> If this is obvious for the action described in vs.5, then vs.4 too must be considered in the same way<sup>167</sup>; it narrates again how often the Egyptian woman -sick and groaning<sup>168</sup> - came to Joseph ἐν ἄσπλῳ<sup>169</sup>, and heard him praying. This situation did not take place when Joseph was in prison, but had taken place many times in the history of Joseph and the Egyptian woman.<sup>170</sup> This being the case, Joseph's reaction is easier to understand: '...and understanding<sup>171</sup> her groanings (that is: 'understanding the reason of her groanings') I held my peace (ἔσθην). Different from his master<sup>172</sup>, Joseph saw why the woman groaned and why she was sick. But he held his peace.<sup>173</sup> He did not reveal her evil intentions to anybody.<sup>174</sup> This characteristic will play an important role in the second story about the selling of Joseph (see III).

The story about the woman closes with a little sentence which -qua style (and terminology)- once more belongs to the genre of an individual thanksgiving: '...And the Lord guarded me (ἐφθάσε με)<sup>175</sup> from her devices.' (vs.5).

#### B. Joseph's σωφροσύνη

In T. Joseph 4,1f. the Egyptian woman praises Joseph's chastity (σωφροσύνη) openly before her husband. This characteristic of Joseph also occurs elsewhere in T. Joseph; so in 6,7, 'But that thou mayest learn that the wickedness of the ungodly hath no power over them that worship God in chastity (σωφροσύνη) ...'; in 9,2f., '...For God loveth him who in a den of darkness combines fasting with chastity (σωφροσύνη), rather than the man who in the chambers of the palace (b omits βασιλεῶν wrongly) combines luxury with licence (ἀκολασίας). And if a man liveth in chastity (σωφροσύνη) ...'; and in 10,2f.<sup>176</sup> From this it is obvious that Joseph's σωφροσύνη plays an important role in the first story in T. Joseph. It is, however, a motif that is traditionally connected with Joseph; so in IV Macc. 2,2f., 'This, certainly, is why we praise the virtuous (ὁ σωφροῦς) Joseph, because by his Reason, with a mental effort, he checked the carnal impulse. For he, a young man at the age when physical desire is strong, by his Reason quenched the impulse of his passions.' We find it in Philo too: De Jos. 40, 'But while he was winning a high reputation in household affairs, his master's wife made him the object of her designs, which were prompted by licentious love (ἐξ ἔρωτος ἀκολασίου)... she made proposals of intercourse to him which he stoutly resisted and utterly refused to accept, so strong was the sense of decency and temperance (σωφροσύνη) which nature and the exercise of control had implanted in him'; see also De Jos. 57:87. Joseph's σωφροσύνη is also mentioned in Josephus, Ant. II 48, 'Again, he might look not only for the enjoyment of those present privileges that were

already his, by responding to her love, but for benefits yet greater, would he only submit; but for vengeance and hatred on her part, should he reject her suit and set more store on a reputation for chastity (τὴν τῆς σωφροσύνης δόξην) than on gratifying his mistress'; see also Ant. II 50; 69. Finally, we find it in Jos. et As. 4, 9, καὶ ἔστιν Ἰωσήφ ἀνὴρ θεοσεβῆς καὶ σώφρων...

Moreover, in Philo, De Jos. 40 we heard that the Egyptian woman was carried away by an ἔρωσ ἀκόλαστος. The motif of the woman's ἀκολασία also occurs in T. Joseph 7, 1, 'But her heart was still set upon me with a view to lewdness (πρὸς ἀκολασίαν)...' ἀκολασία, however, is the antonym of σωφροσύνη, a contrast that we also find in T. Joseph 9, 2; see further, e.g., Arist., Eth. Nic. 1107 b 6; Thuc. 3, 37, 3; Dio Chrys. 23, 6; Philo, Quod omnis 159; Praem. Poen. 159f.; Spec. Leg. III 51; 62; Vita Mosis II 55; Quis Heres 209; Agric. 98; Mut. Nom. 197; Just., Apol. I 15, 7.<sup>177</sup> From all this it is clear that the author of T. Joseph took up a traditional motif when he mentioned Joseph's σωφροσύνη.

#### C. Paraenesis : 10, 1-4

After the first story, Joseph addresses his sons in direct paraenesis, 'Ye see, therefore, my children, how great things patience worketh, and prayer with fasting (... κῆσα κατεργάζεται 178 ἡ ὑπομονή, καὶ προσευχὴ μετὰ νηστείας)' (10, 1). Several times in this story we have found mention of prayer and fasting. Here, in 10, 1, they are connected with the idea of ὑπομονή, which we found in 2, 7 but which does not occur in the first story itself. We find it again in the paraenesis directly after the second story, 'Ye see, therefore, children, what great things I endured (κῆσα ὑπέμεινα) that I should not put my brethren to shame' (17, 1).<sup>179</sup> Thus, its position immediately before the first story, together with its use in the paraenetic passages directly following each story, indicates that the author of T. Joseph intended to illustrate Joseph's ὑπομονή from both stories.

Joseph's attitude as the attitude of an oppressed man in distress - praying, weeping, fasting, wearing 'sackcloth' - is ultimately to be understood in the light of this idea of ὑπομονή. We find it again in 10, 2, 'And ye, therefore, if ye follow after chastity and purity with patience and in humility of heart (... τὴν σωφροσύνην καὶ τὴν ἀγνείαν... ἐν ὑπομονῇ καὶ ταπεινώσει καρδίας)...'. Here σωφροσύνη occurs too, as well as a new term, traditionally connected with it (see, e.g., Philo, Vita Mosis II 137; I Clem. 64, 1; Ign., Eph. 10, 3), viz., ἀγνεία. It is also a term that is used especially in connection with chastity (sexual purity); see, e.g., Philo, Abr. 98; Spec. Leg. II 56; Pastor Hermae, Mand. 4, 1, 1. Parallel to ὑπομονή is another new term, ταπεινώσις καρδίας. Thus the correct attitude of man, as exemplified by Joseph, is patience and humility of heart. The virtue of humility is a traditional motif often found in Jewish and Christian writings. The pious Jew and Christian humbles himself before God and men.<sup>180</sup>

To return to the text of T. Joseph, God's response to the man who lives in this way is as follows: '... the Lord will dwell in you<sup>181</sup>, because He loveth chastity<sup>182</sup>. And wheresoever the Most High dwelleth, even though a man falleth into<sup>183</sup> envy<sup>184</sup>, or slavery<sup>185</sup>, or slander<sup>186</sup>, or darkness<sup>187</sup>, the Lord who

dwelleth in him, for the sake of his chastity not only delivereth (ῥύεται) him from evil, but also exalteth and glorifieth (ὕψοι καὶ δοξάζει) him even as me' (1o, 2b-3).<sup>188</sup>

Besides God's saving activity described by the verb ῥύσασθαι<sup>189</sup>, another action of God is mentioned: he exalts (and glorifies): ὕψοι (and δοξάζειν). Both activities, which are closely related, were mentioned in 1,7, ... καὶ ἔρρησαι με... καὶ ὕψοι με.<sup>190</sup> A good attitude in distress and oppression results not only in God's salvation from distress, but also in exaltation as a reward. In T. Joseph 9,3 we have seen the idea of exaltation: 'And if a man liveth in chastity and desireth also glory (δόξαν), and if the Most High knoweth that it is expedient for him, He bestoweth this also upon him, even as upon me.' But we find the idea of reward elsewhere too: 18,1, 'If ye also, therefore, walk in the commandments of the Lord, my children, He will exalt (ὕψοι) you there, and will bless you with good things (ἐν ἀγαθοῖς)<sup>191</sup> for ever and ever'; T. Sim. 4,5, 'Beware, therefore, my children, of all jealousy and envy... , that God may give you also grace and glory, and blessing (χάρις καὶ δόξαν, καὶ εὐλογίαν) upon your heads, even as you saw in his (= Joseph's) case'<sup>192</sup>; T. Benj. 4,1, '... Be followers of his (= Joseph's - see IV C) compassion with a good mind, that ye also may wear crowns of glory (στεφάνους δόξης)'. In this series of texts two things are striking. In the first place, we find this motif also in T. Joseph 18,1 (after the second story). Secondly, every other time it occurs in the Testaments, it is connected with Joseph.

Exaltation by God is a reward for the good and pious attitude of a man in general, and of the oppressed man in particular. In the latter case it is connected with God's 'saving' action.<sup>193</sup> The following examples illustrate this. Of the pious man in general (cf. T. Sim. 4,5; T. Benj. 4,1), see, e.g., Ps. 37 (36), 34, 'Wait for the Lord and hold to his way; (he will keep you safe from wicked men) and will raise you (LXX, καὶ ὕψοι σε) to be master of the land...'; 84, 11 (83, 12), '... grace and honour are his to give (LXX, χάρις καὶ δόξαν ἔσται<sup>194</sup>). The Lord will hold back no good thing (LXX, τὰ ἀγαθὰ<sup>195</sup>) from those whose life is blameless'; see also 88, 2o LXX; 149, 4; Prov. 18, 1o; cf. Ps. 113 (112), 7; 73 (72), 24; T. Job 43, 16; I Clem. 45, 8; Pastor Hermae, Visio 2, 2, 6. For στέφανος (cf. T. Benj. 4, 1), see, e.g., I Cor. 9, 25; II Tim. 4, 8; James 1, 12; I Peter 5, 4; Rev. 2, 1o; cf. T. Job 4o, 3.

This idea of exaltation and reward (usually described by such terms as ὕψοι, δοξάζειν, εὐλογεῖν, δόξα, εὐλογία) occurs specifically in connection with the oppressed man, who is saved by God because of his pious attitude. For examples, see: II Sam. 22, 49, '(God) who dost snatch me from my foes and set me over (LXX, ὕψοις με) my enemies, thou dost deliver me (LXX, ῥύσῃ με) from violent men'; Ps. 9, 14 LXX, 'Have pity on me, O Lord; look upon my affliction ἐκ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μου, ὃ ὕψον με from the gates of death'; Ps. 91 (90), 14f., 'Because his love is set on me, I will deliver (LXX, ῥύσεται) him; ... I will be with him in time of trouble (LXX, ἐν θλίψει); I will rescue him and bring him to honour (LXX, ἰσοψήσω αὐτόν)'; see further 18, 48 (17, 49); Is. 63, 9. In the first instance this idea of 'exaltation' differs little from that of 'salvation' and is not directly concerned with reaching a 'higher status'; but, because of the similar use of ὕψοι and the

combination ὑφ'αὐτοῦ - δοξάζειν<sup>196</sup>, both ideas could easily be connected, as we can see especially in T. Joseph 18, 1f.

It is not accidental that in the Testaments this idea of exaltation and reward occurs only in connection with Joseph. In these writings, Joseph is the person par excellence who - after a time of distress in which he kept faithful to God - is saved from his oppression and exalted and honoured: he becomes 'king' of Egypt. The reason for this is found in the fact that in the O.T./LXX the same pattern is connected with Joseph. The motif of the 'exaltation' of the slave Joseph to 'king' of Egypt, which has its roots in the Genesis-story, occurs in Ps. 105 (104), 17ff.<sup>197</sup> Moreover, in I Macc. 2, 53 Joseph's 'exaltation' is described as a reward by God because of Joseph's faithfulness throughout his troubles. And finally, we read in Wisd. 10, 13f., 'When a righteous man (=Joseph) was sold, wisdom<sup>198</sup> forsook him not<sup>199</sup>, but from sin she delivered (ἐρρύσαστο) him; she went down with him into a dungeon, and in bonds<sup>200</sup> she left him not, till she brought him the sceptre of a kingdom (σκήπτρα βασιλείας), and authority over those that dealt tyrannously with him; she showed them also to be false that had accused him, and gave him eternal glory (δόξαν αἰώνιον)'.<sup>201</sup>

The condition for this exaltation by God is, as we have seen, that one remains faithful to him and does his commandments. A characteristic of this attitude is humility, ταπεινότης. We have found this in T. Joseph 10, 2. Its place in the context, however, can be understood more clearly now: the pious man humbles himself; hereafter he will be exalted by God (see, e.g., Matt. 23, 12; Luke 14, 11; 18, 14; James 4, 10; I Peter 5, 6). More important, however, is the fact that this self-humiliation stands over against self-exaltation, which can be described also by the verb ὑφ'αὐτοῦ. Over against the pious, God-fearing man who humiliates himself, and is exalted by God afterwards (ὑφ'αὐτοῦ) stands the sinner who exalts himself (ὑφ'αὐτοῦ). Because Joseph is the one who possesses ὑπομονή, who wants to be completely dependent on God, and who humbles himself, after which he is saved and exalted by God, he stands over against the sinner who exalts himself. Joseph does not exalt himself. And it is precisely when this theme is reached that the second story about the selling of Joseph begins.

#### D. Summary

Joseph's attitude towards the Egyptian woman is the attitude of the oppressed man who asks God for salvation from his distress. Joseph's fasting, weeping and wearing sackcloth proved to belong to this kind of context. Joseph is not primarily the 'Tugendheld'; his praying and fasting are not the decisive weapons in his struggle against the woman.<sup>202</sup> Joseph is like the oppressed man in an individual lament: he beseeches God through prayers, fasting, etc. for salvation, and after he has been saved he praises God. From all this it has become clear that T. Joseph 1-2 in which we find an individual thanksgiving, is closely connected with 3, 1-10, 4. Other characteristics of Joseph are his silence (σιωπή)<sup>203</sup> and his σμωροσύνη; the latter is a motif which is traditionally connected with Joseph.<sup>204</sup>

In the paraenesis after the first story (10,1-4) we have found not only terms which occur in the previous story, but others such as ἀγνεῖα and ταπεινωσις καρδίας, and the important idea of ὑπομονή, which also occurs just before the first story and in the paraenetic passage directly after the second story. Finally, the motif of the pious man's exaltation (ὑψοῦν) is applied to Joseph.

### III. Joseph's attitude towards his brothers (T.J.10,5-18,4)

#### A.

In the previous section I have discussed the motifs of man's exaltation (ὑψοῦν) by God and of the pious man's humility-his self-humiliation (ταπεινωσις), which stands over against self-exaltation, an idea which can also be described by the verb ὑψοῦν.<sup>205</sup> Therefore, it is not surprising that directly after the motif of exaltation by God (10,3) we find that of man's self-exaltation (10,5). Both are described by the verb ὑψοῦν. Elsewhere in T. Joseph both these motifs occur together, but now in reversed order: 17,8-18,1, 'And I exalted not myself (οὐχ ὑψώσα ἑαυτῶν) among them (=Joseph's brothers) in arrogance (ἐν ἀλαζονείᾳ) because of my worldly glory (τὴν κοσμικὴν δόξαν μου), but I was among them as one of the least (τῶν ἐλαχίστων). If ye also, therefore, walk in the commandments of the Lord, my children, He will exalt (ὑψώσει) you there...' Hence I conclude that it is not permissible to separate the first story from the second one, especially with respect to Joseph's attitude.<sup>206</sup> I have made such a separation only because the stories deal with two different situations.

Just as Joseph refrained from exalting himself among his brothers, when he had reached a position of honour in Egypt (17,8), so also he refrained from exalting himself among them when he was still with his father (before being sold). In spite of the fact that his father loved him, '...I did not exalt myself (οὐχ ὑψώθημι) in my heart' (10,5ab). Although he was still young then, he already feared God.<sup>207</sup> For, 'I knew that all things would pass away (τὰ πάντα παρελεύσεται), and I took the measure of myself (ἐμέτρουσιν ἑμαυτῶν) and I honoured my brothers' (10,5c-6a). Joseph humbled himself, and he did not exalt himself among his brothers - in spite of Jacob's love for him and in spite of the δόξα he had in Egypt; for he knew that everything would pass away, and that his δόξα in Egypt was worldly. He did not exalt himself - for he feared God.

What is the background to these ideas? In the first place, self-exaltation (described by the verb ὑψοῦν) is, on the one hand, traditionally connected with the activity of forgetting God and being disobedient to him. On the other hand, it is for the most part the result of having much power, wealth, glory, etc.<sup>208</sup>; see, e.g., Deut. 8,12ff., 'When you have plenty to eat and live in fine houses of your own building, when your herds and flocks increase, and your silver and gold and all your possessions increase too, do not become proud and forget the Lord your God (LXX, ὑψώθης τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ ἐπιδέῃς καρδίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ σου)...'<sup>209</sup>; II Chron. 26,16, 'But when he (=Uzziah) grew powerful his pride led to his own undoing (LXX, ὑψώθη ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταφθελεῖν): he offended against the Lord his God...';

Deut. 17, 19f.; Judith 9, 7; Ps. 131 (130); Prov. 18, 10ff. LXX; Ezek. 28, 2ff.; Dan. 5, 1f. LXX; 5, 22f.; Hos. 13, 6; Ps. Sol. 1, 4ff.; Par. Jer. 6, 21 (23).

Secondly, the *δδξα*, in which or because of which one exalts oneself, is perishable. It is a worldly *δδξα* (T. Joseph 17, 8) and everything in this world (wealth, power, *δδξα*, and also the man who possesses it) is perishable (T. Joseph 10, 5). For examples of this traditional emphasis, see, e.g., Sir. 11, 4ff., 'Glory not (*μὴ καυχῆσθαι*) in the putting on of raiment, and exalt not thyself in the day of honour (*δδξης*) ... many powerful have suffered great abasement, and also honourable (*ἐνδοξοὶ*) been delivered up into the hands of others'; Wisd. 5, 8f., 'What did our arrogance profit us? And what good have riches and vaunting (*ἀλαζονείας* 210) brought us? Those things all passed away (*παρήλθεν ἐκτίνα* 211) as a shadow...'; T. Job 33, 3f. *ἐμοῦ ὁ θρῆνος ἐν τῷ ἡεροσολύμῳ* 211 *ἐστίν, καὶ ἡ τοῦτου δδξα... ὁ κῆσμος* 211 *ὅλος παρελεύσεται* 212 *καὶ ἡ δδξα αὐτοῦ φθαροῖσται*...; see also Job 19, 9; Ps. 49, 16f. (48, 17f.); Prov. 18, 10ff. LXX; Sir. 44, 6ff.; Is. 3, 8 LXX; 14, 11; 16, 14; 28, 1ff.; 40, 6; Jer. 13, 18; Ps. Sol. 2, 5, 19ff.; Or. Sib. 8, 75ff.; Syr. Bar. 82f.; Philo, Spec. Leg. I 311; Acta Thomae 135.

Joseph's attitude towards his brethren is not characterized by self-exaltation. 213 He was one of the least 214 among his brothers. He took the measure of himself 215 and honoured (*ἐτίμων*) his brothers (10, 6a); he feared, had respect for, them. 216 The most important consequence of this attitude was his silence when he was sold: '...when I was being sold, I refrained from telling (*ἐκώπων* ... *μὴ εἰπεῖν*) my race to the Ishmaelites, that I am the son of Jacob, a great man and a mighty' (10, 6). And this is characteristic of Joseph's attitude in the story about his being sold: he held his peace for the sake of his brethren, and did not say that he was Jacob's son, and therefore, an *ἐλευθερος*. This 'silence' is the expression of the honour of his brothers and the contrary of self-exaltation. That indeed the honouring of the brothers (besides the fear of God) is the central theme, is also obvious from 11, 1, 'Do ye also, therefore, have the fear of God' 217 in all your works before the eyes (*ἐν τῷσιν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὑμῶν καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν*... -b is not correct), and honour (*τιμῶντε*) your brethren. For everyone who doeth the law of the Lord, shall be loved by Him.' 218

In the story about the selling of Joseph 219 Joseph did not tell anybody about his real status, but passed himself off as a slave. When he was interrogated, '...I said that I was their home-born slave, that I might not put my brethren to shame (*ἵνα μὴ αἰσχύνω τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς μου*)' (11, 2). Even when he was threatened until death, he kept saying that he was a slave (11, 3). Here again, in this story threatening with death plays a role; Joseph is, as it were, the martyr who, in spite of everything, is faithful 220 -to the love and the respect for his brothers. When he was interrogated and even punished and beaten by Pentephres, he kept saying that he was a slave and no free man, he kept 'holding his peace', '... *τιμωρεῖς* 221 *...ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἤλλαξα λόγον τιμωρευεῖς* 222 ...' (14, 1f.). When the Ishmaelites, after their return 223, said to Joseph that they had heard that he was the son of a great man 224 in Canaan, and that his father mourned for him (15, 1f.), his reaction was, the same, 'and again I desired to weep, but I restrained myself' 225, *ἵνα μὴ αἰσχύνω τοὺς*

ἀδελφοῦ μου .And I said I know not, I am a slave' (15,3). One other incident involves Joseph's silence: Pentephres' wife wanted to buy Joseph 'at any price'. Finally one of her eunuchs bought him for her at the price of eighty pieces of gold, though he claimed that he had paid a hundred pieces of gold. Joseph's reaction was the same, 'And though I saw (this) I held my peace, lest the eunuch should be unmasked (ἐξώκησα, ἵνα μὴ ἐπισθῆ ὁ εὐνοῦχος)' 226 (16,6).

Thus, being silent, hiding the truth, is the central characteristic of Joseph's attitude in this story. What its meaning is, we can discover from the paraenesis which directly follows the story, 'Ye see, therefore, children, what great things I endured that I should not put my brethren to shame (κῆσα ὑμέτερον, ἵνα μὴ κατασχῶμαι τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς μου)' (17,1). Joseph was silent because he had ὑπομονή; and, conversely, 'enduring' implied being silent and not telling his real status - for the sake of his brothers.<sup>227</sup> He respected them and did not exalt himself. On the contrary, he endured injustice and humiliated himself.<sup>228</sup> This feature of silence occurred once in the first story<sup>229</sup>, when he was silent and endured injustice for the sake of the Egyptian woman.

Our author's use of this motif of Joseph's silence may be traced to a tradition which is also found in Philo. We read in De Jos. 246ff., '...They (=his brothers) praised also the pre-eminence self-restraint of his modest reticence (τὴν ὑπερβῆλαιουσαν μετ' αἰδοῦς καρτερίαν). He had passed through all these vicissitudes, yet neither while in slavery did he denounce his brothers for selling him nor when he was haled to prison did he in his despondency disclose any secret, nor during his long stay there make any revelations of the usual kind, since prisoners are apt to descant upon their personal misfortunes ... though he had a suitable opportunity for disclosing the facts, did he say a word about his own high lineage... (... οὐτε δουλεύων βλασφημίαν οὐδὲν εἶπε κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὡς περὶ κείνων οὐτ' ... ἐξέλαμψε τι τῶν ἀπορήτων... οὐδ' ἐπέλεγε τι περὶ τῆς ἰσθμῆς εὐγενείας... ..)'.<sup>230</sup> It is important that Philo connects Joseph's silence with his καρτερία, since this word has its place in the martyr-terminology and is a synonym of ὑπομονή (see, e.g., IV Macc. 15, 30; Philo, Cher. 78). Later too the true history of Joseph's being sold by his brothers is kept secret, 'In fact the story of their conspiracy and selling of him to slavery was so completely unknown and remained so secret...' (De Jos. 250). When he wanted to make himself known to his brethren, Joseph sent away all the Egyptians who were present<sup>231</sup>, 'So then, overcome by family affection, he hastened to conclude his reconciliation. And that no reproach might attach to the brothers (ὕπερ τοῦ μὴδὲν ὄνειδος προσβαλεῖν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς) for their action, he judged it best that no Egyptian should be present at the first recognition' (De Jos. 237). Joseph does not reveal his brothers' deed, lest one should attach ὄνειδος to them. This motif in Philo is the same as that described by ἵνα μὴ αἰσχῶμαι τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς μου in T. Joseph.<sup>232</sup> Philo and T. Joseph differ in that the latter connects the motif much more obviously with Joseph's silence before his kingship.<sup>233</sup>

The same motif occurs in Josephus. When Joseph makes himself known to his brothers, he says, 'And for your part, I would

have you too forget the past and rejoice that that old imprudence has resulted in such an end, rather than be afflicted with shame (ἡ δυσφορεῖν αἰσχυνομένων) for your faults...' (Ant. II 163). Here, however, different from T. Joseph (and Philo), this idea is not introduced in connection with Joseph's silence, though Josephus knows of this too: 'Joseph, on his side, committing his cause entirely to God, sought neither to defend himself nor yet to render a strict account of what had passed, but silently underwent his bonds and confinement (τὰ δεσμὰ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην εὐχῶν ὑπέλαθεν), confident that God, who knew the cause of his calamity and the truth, would prove stronger than those who had bound him...' (Ant. II 60). Joseph's silence is here connected with his confidence that God will save him.<sup>234</sup> This connection is not explicit in T. Joseph, but it is possibly in the background - especially in the first story, where God's saving activity is emphasized.

In T. Joseph, however, Joseph's silence is not merely an expression of enduring injustice (connected or not with his confidence in God), but it is - more positively - connected with his brotherly love, and, in general, with his love to others. It is interesting that in T. Benj. 5, 4f. the attitude of keeping silent as an expression of enduring injustice is described as characteristic of the righteous and pious man in general<sup>235</sup>, 'For if any one does violence to a holy man, he repenteth; for the holy man is merciful to his reviler, and holdeth his peace (καὶ σιωπῆ). And if any one betrayeth a righteous soul, and the righteous man be humbled for a little - praying (all the time) - not long after<sup>236</sup> he appeareth more glorious, even as was Joseph my brother.' So, when the righteous man is done wrong, he holds his peace and has mercy on the one who does not treat him well; he prays (for him ?<sup>237</sup>), and is rewarded afterwards: 'he appeareth more glorious'. Such an idea occurs also in the final paraenetic passage in T. Joseph, 'And if any one seeketh to do evil unto you, do well unto him, and pray for him<sup>238</sup>, and ye shall be redeemed of the Lord from all evil (καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ λυτρωθήσεσθε διὰ κυρίου)' (18, 2). Here we also find the idea of salvation from all distress, a motif that often occurs in T. Joseph 1, 3-10, 4. In 18, 2 this motif is connected especially with the attitude towards the neighbour, and in particular towards the evil-doer.

Summing up - the author of T. Joseph has connected the traditional motif of Joseph's silence on the one hand with his ὑπομονή<sup>239</sup> and on the other hand - more positively - with his attitude towards his brothers<sup>240</sup> and towards others (the Egyptian woman, the eunuch).

In the paraenesis following the story about the selling of Joseph, Joseph exhorts his sons to love one another and to hide each other's faults, 'Do ye also, therefore, love one another (ἀγαπήετε ἀλλήλους), and with long-suffering<sup>241</sup> hide ye one another's faults (συγκρύψετε ἀλλήλων τὰ ἐλαττώματα). For God delighteth in the unity of brethren (τέρπεται γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἐν ὁμοθυμίᾳ ἀδελφῶν<sup>242</sup>), and in the purpose of a heart that takes pleasure in love (ἀγάπῃ)' (17, 2f.). This was also Joseph's attitude when Jacob and his sons had settled in Egypt. He did not reproach his brothers for anything, but comforted them and loved them after Jacob's death even more, ... καὶ οὐκ ἠνεθέσσα, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρεκάλεσα αὐτοὺς... ἠγάπησα αὐτοὺς... (17, 4f.).<sup>243</sup> Finally, Joseph

also translated this love towards his brothers into action, so that, 'Their children were my children, and my children as their servants; their life was my life, and all their suffering was my suffering, and all their sickness was my infirmity. My land was their land; their counsel was my counsel (ἡ βουλὴ αὐτῶν, βουλή μου. b is not correct)' (17,5ff.).<sup>244</sup>

In summary<sup>245</sup>: according to the second story Joseph does not exalt himself among his brothers, but honours and loves them. Hence, he holds his peace and does not reveal his social status. As in the first story, here too Joseph's situation is sometimes described in terms which are often used in the martyr-stories. His attitude can best be characterized by the term ὑπομονή/ὑπομένειν, which, though it does not occur in the story itself, is found in the paraenetic passage which directly follows the story (exactly as in the case of the first story and of the following paraenesis). Here, in the paraenesis, he exhorts his sons to love one another, to hide one another's faults, to do well to the evil-doer (in distress) and to pray for him. After that, they will be saved and rewarded by God.

#### B.

It is now possible to give a brief description of Joseph's attitude in T. Joseph. T. Joseph 1,3(4)-2,6 has the style of an individual thanksgiving, in which Joseph as the oppressed man gives thanks to God for his salvation. We find references to both the first and the second stories. Joseph's distress is described as a trial by God, in which his ὑπομονή (and μακροθυμία) becomes evident. This term ὑπομονή occurs in contexts of central importance in T. Joseph; thus it is the key to Joseph's attitude in the two stories following on ch.1-2.

In the first story, Joseph's attitude is that of the man who asks God for salvation - an attitude which we can find especially in an individual lament. His praying, fasting, weeping, etc. belong to this context. After his salvation he praises God and glorifies him who has saved him from his distress (i.e., the Egyptian woman). Moreover, we found here the traditional motif of Joseph's σιωπῆς. At the end of the story the motif of his silence occurs. In the paraenesis directly after the first story, ὑπομονή is mentioned and connected with ταπεινωσις καρδίας. We also found here the idea of exaltation and reward by God.

This exaltation, described by the verb ὑψοῦν (and δοξάζειν) stands over against the self-exaltation (also described by ὑψοῦν), with which the second story begins. In this story Joseph's attitude is characterized especially by his silence and is connected, on the one hand, with ὑπομονή/ὑπομένειν, which is -here also- not mentioned in the story itself, but in the paraenetic passage directly following on the story, and, on the other hand, with his attitude towards his brothers. In the paraenesis immediately after the second story, in addition to exhortations to brotherly love, to hiding one another's faults and to doing good to evil-doers, we find the term ὑπομένειν once more, as well as the ideas of salvation and exaltation by God.

Finally, in both stories, which -as we have seen- belong indissolubly together, traces of the martyr-traditions can be found.

## IV. Joseph as an example of ethics.

The paraenetic passages in the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs (except T. Joseph)

## A. Joseph's attitude towards the Egyptian woman: T. Reub. 4, 8-10

The warning against *κορνεῖα* is central in Reuben's paraenesis to his sons. According to T. Reub. 4, 6, *κορνεῖα* 'deceiveth the mind and understanding' and 'leadeth down young men into Hades before their time (κατάγει νεανίσκους εἰς ᾄδην, οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ αὐτῶν<sup>246</sup>)'. The connection between death and *κορνεῖα* (cf. also vs. 7, ... καὶ γὰρ πολλοὺς ἀπέλασεν ἡ κορνεῖα...) comes from the wisdom literature, and in particular from Prov. 5 and 7, where the terminology is the same.<sup>247</sup> Finally we read that *κορνεῖα* '... bringeth reproach<sup>248</sup> upon him and derision with Beliar and the sons of men' (4, 7). At this point Joseph is introduced as an example of good behaviour (4, 8-10).<sup>249</sup> 'For because Joseph guarded himself from every woman<sup>250</sup> and purged his thoughts from all fornication<sup>251</sup>, he found favour in the sight of the Lord and men<sup>252</sup>' (vs. 8). Then, in vs. 9, we hear about the Egyptian woman's attempts to bring Joseph to *κορνεῖα*, 'For the Egyptian woman<sup>253</sup> did many things unto him, and summoned magicians (μάγους), and offered him love potions (ἐρωμακα)...' This motif is often connected with *κέρση* - *κορνεῖα*<sup>254</sup>; the actions here described undoubtedly allude to the same event as in T. Joseph 6.<sup>255</sup> 'Whatever the woman did, ... the inclination of his soul admitted<sup>256</sup> no evil desire (ἐπιθυμίαν κτηνῆν)' (vs. 9). The expression *ἐπιθυμία κτηνῆν* occurs elsewhere in the Testaments only in T. Joseph 3, 10 and 7, 8, and in both places in connection with *κορνεῖα*.<sup>257</sup>

Because of Joseph's good and pious attitude, 'the God of my fathers delivered him from every visible and hidden death (ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων μου ἐρρύσατο αὐτὸν ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁρατοῦ καὶ κερτυμμένου θανάτου)' (vs. 10). God's deliverance of Joseph is described by the verb *ῥύσασθαι* also in T. Joseph<sup>258</sup>, and the wording here in T. Reub. represents a stereotyped formulation that occurs elsewhere in the Testaments: T. Sim. 2, 8, ... ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ... ἐρρύσατο αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν μου; and T. Gad 2, 5, ... ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων μου ἐρρύσατο αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν μου...<sup>259</sup> Since death is a serious threat for the oppressed man in the psalms<sup>260</sup>, we find God's deliverance (*ῥύσασθαι*) of him from death there also; see, e.g., Ps. 56, 13 (55, 14), 'for thou hast rescued me from death (LXX, ὅτι ἐρρύσω τὴν ψυχὴν μου ἐκ θανάτου)...'; see also 33 (32), 19.<sup>261</sup> The visible death referred to in T. Reub. 4, 10 probably means death as a consequence of overt action by others, whereas hidden death probably refers to the food prepared by the Egyptian woman.<sup>262</sup>

In summary: in Reuben's exhortation concerning *κορνεῖα*, Joseph is introduced as an example of virtue: he held aloof from *κορνεῖα* - in spite of all the attempts of the Egyptian woman. Therefore God saved him from death. The situation and the terminology are strongly reminiscent of T. Joseph, and especially of the first story. T. Reub. 4, 10 is - in thought and, at least for the first part, also in terminology - a stereotyped formulation in connection with Joseph in the Testaments.

## B. Joseph's attitude towards his brothers

## 1. T. Zeb. 8, 4f.

When Zebulun relates to his sons the story of the selling of Joseph, he describes how, when the brothers wanted to kill Joseph and Joseph pleaded for mercy, he had pity on Joseph and cried together with him. In ch. 5 Zebulun exhorts his sons, 'I bid you to keep the commands of the Lord, and to show mercy to your neighbour, and to have compassion towards all (κοιτεν ἕλεος ἐπὶ τὸν πλησίον καὶ εὐσπλαγχνύαν πρὸς πάντας ἔχειν).<sup>263</sup>' (vs. 1). This was Zebulun's attitude towards Joseph<sup>264</sup>, but also towards other people who were in troubles and in distress.<sup>265</sup> The beginning of ch. 8 contains the same exhortation (in almost the same terminology)<sup>266</sup>, ... ἔχετε εὐσπλαγχνύαν κατὰ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐν ἔλεει... (vs. 1).

Zebulun then puts forward Joseph as an example. The introduction ὅτι γὰρ κατήλθομεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον (vs. 4) is a stereotyped formulation for this purpose (see also T. Sim. 4, 3, καὶ ὅτι κατέβημεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον).<sup>267</sup> Zebulun describes Joseph's attitude towards his brothers in Egypt, and Zebulun's sons are exhorted to take up the same attitude, '... Joseph bore no malice (οὐκ ἐμνησιώκησεν) against us, but when he saw me, he had compassion (εὐσπλαγχνύσθη). To whom taking heed<sup>268</sup>, do ye also, my children, approve yourselves without malice (ἀμνησιώκατοι γίνεσθε), and love (ἀγαπήτε) one another, and do not reckon (μὴ λογιζέσθε), each one of you, the evil of his brother' (vss. 4f.). The same attitude of Joseph is mentioned in T. Sim. 4, 4, ... εὐσπλαγχνος καὶ ἐλεήμων, οὐκ ἐμνησιώκησε... ἀλλὰ καὶ ἠγάπησε... It is noteworthy that, although the words σπλαγχνύεσθαι, εὐσπλαγχνύειν, εὐσπλαγχνος and ἐλεεινός, ἐλεῖν are frequently used in the Testaments, this is not the case with μνησιώκατεν, (ἀ)μνησιώκατος. These words occur only twice in the Testaments, and both times in connection with Joseph (T. Sim. 4, 4; T. Zeb. 8, 4ff.). The reason for this is that this connection already occurs in Gen. 'When their father was dead Joseph's brothers were afraid and said: 'What if Joseph should bear a grudge against us (LXX, μήποτε μνησιώκησῃ ἡμῖν ἰωση) and pay us out for all the harm that we did to him?' (Gen. 50, 15). Then they said to Joseph, 'In his last words to us before he died, your father gave us this message for you: "I ask you to forgive your brothers' crime and wickedness (LXX, ἄφες αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀδικίαν καὶ τὴν ἀμαρτίαν αὐτῶν)..."' (Gen. 50, 16f.).

This act of remission, which characterizes Joseph's attitude here and which is precisely the act of οὐ μνησιώκατεν (an expression which occurs also in T. Zeb. 8, 4), is also mentioned in T. Zeb. 8. There, however, in Zebulun's paraenesis to his sons, he uses a different expression, ... μὴ λογιζέσθε ἕκαστος τὴν κακίαν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ (vs. 5).<sup>269</sup> A few examples may illustrate this: Ps. 32 (31), 1f., 'Happy the man whose disobedience is forgiven (LXX, ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι), whose sin is put away! Happy is a man when the Lord lays no guilt to his account (LXX, οὐ μὴ λογίσῃται κύριος ἀμαρτίαν)...'<sup>270</sup> In I Clem. 60, 1f., God is addressed, '... O "merciful and compassionate" (ἐλεήμων καὶ οἰκτιρῆμων)<sup>271</sup>, forgive us (ἄφες ἡμῖν) our iniquities and unrighteousness, and transgressions, and shortcomings. Reckon not every sin (μὴ λογίσῃ πᾶσαν ἀμαρτίαν) of thy servants and handmaids...' The connection here between this act of God and his mercy (ἐλεήμων) also occurs in

T.Zeb.9,7, '...for He is merciful and compassionate, and He setteth not down in account evil to the sons of men (ὅτι ἐλεήμων ἐστὶ καὶ εὐσπλαγχνός, μὴ λογιζόμενος κακίαν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων)...<sup>272</sup>

Thus it is clear how Joseph's ἀννησικακία and willingness to forgive his brothers (ideas present in the Gen.-story) could be connected with such terms as εὐσπλαγχνός (σπλαγχνύζεσθαι, εὐσπλαγχνία) and ἐλεήμων (ἐλεεῖν, ἔλεος). Moreover, whereas the terms εὐσπλαγχνός, etc., and ἐλεήμων, etc., traditionally belong together<sup>273</sup>, we find elsewhere μνησικακεῖν, etc., on the one hand, in connection with ἐλεεῖν, etc., and, on the other hand, in connection with σπλαγχνύζεσθαι, etc. So, e.g., Zech.7,9f., 'These are the words of the Lord of Hosts: Administer true justice, show loyalty and compassion (LXX, ἔλεος καὶ οὐκτιροῦν) to one another, do not oppress the orphan and the widow, the alien and the poor, do not contrive any evil (LXX, μὴ μνησικακεῖτω ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν) one against another' (see for the combination ἐλεεῖν, etc., - μνησικακεῖν, etc., further Prov.21,24ff.; I Clem.2,4f.); Pastor Hermae, Mand.9,2f., '...you shall know his (=God's) great mercifulness (εὐσπλαγχνίαν), that he will not desert you, but will fulfil the petition of your soul. For God is not as men who bear malice (μνησικακούντες), but is himself without malice (ἀμνησικακός) and has mercy (σπλαγχνύζεται) on that which he made.'

In summary : in an exhortation concerning ἔλεος and εὐσπλαγχνία, Zebulun cites Joseph as an example (8,4f.). He did not bear malice against his brethren in Egypt. The term μνησικακεῖν is taken from the Gen.-story. The willingness to forgive, which also occurs in Gen. in connection with Joseph, recurs (worded differently) in 8,5. Because of this, and since μνησικακεῖν, etc., can be connected with both ἐλεεῖν, etc., and σπλαγχνύζεσθαι, etc., a combination of these three terms was natural. This combination occurs also in T.Sim.4,4. Finally, the willingness to forgive, together with love to one another, to which Zebulun exhorts his sons with reference to the example of Joseph, is in accordance with Joseph's own paraenesis to his sons in T. Joseph 17,2 (after the second story) and with his attitude towards his brothers, especially in Egypt (T. Joseph 17,4ff.)<sup>274</sup>.

## 2. T.Sim.4,3-6;5,1a

Over against Zebulun's attitude towards Joseph (ἔλεος, εὐσπλαγχνία) stands Simeon's attitude which is characterized as ζῆλος (T.Sim.2,6f.) and φθόνος (T.Sim.2,13f.; cf. ch.3).<sup>275</sup> According to T.Sim.2, Simeon wanted to kill Joseph, but God 'delivered him out of Simeon's hands'.<sup>276</sup> After a warning against φθόνος (3,1), and a description of the bad consequences of envy and the method of getting rid of it (3,2-6), we hear that Simeon wept even more than the other brothers, since he was αἴτιος τῆς πράξεως Ἰωσήφ (4,2). Therefore he did not grieve when he was bound as a spy by Joseph in Egypt, for he knew that he was suffering justly (4,3).<sup>277</sup> But, 'Joseph was a good man (ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός), and had the spirit of God within him'<sup>278</sup>: being compassionate and pitiful, he bore no malice against me (εὐσπλαγχνός καὶ ἐλεήμων, οὐκ ἐμνησικακῆσθε μοι); but even loved (ἠγάπησεν) me even as the rest of his brethren' (4,4). Here Joseph is called a 'good man', an epithet used elsewhere in the Testaments in connection with Joseph (T.Dan 1,4; T.Benj.3,1 - on which see IV C).

In T.Sim.4,4,Simeon calls Joseph εὐσεβιαρχος and ἐλεῆμων, and explains that Joseph bore no malice against (οὐκ ἐμνησκώθησεν) him. Joseph's attitude here is the same as was found in T.Zeb. 8,4. Moreover, Joseph even loved (ἠγάπησεν) Simeon, as his other brothers. As we have seen, Joseph's love for his brothers is also mentioned in T. Joseph 17,5, ... ἠγάπησα αὐτοὺς...<sup>279</sup> Moreover, in T. Joseph 17,4 we are told that Joseph did not reproach his brothers, ... οὐκ ἀνετίθεισα. It is striking that both of these verbs also occur in T.Sim.4,6, 'All his days he reproached us not (οὐκ ἀνετίθεισεν ἡμᾶς) concerning this thing, but loved us (ἠγάπησεν ἡμᾶς) as his own soul and beyond his own sons...' This last sentence is strongly reminiscent of T. Joseph 17,7. Simeon also tells how Joseph helped his brothers with all kinds of gifts (cf. T. Joseph 17,5f.) in T.Sim.4,6, ἐδόξασεν ἡμᾶς, καὶ πλουτοῦν καὶ κτήνη καὶ καρποὺς πᾶσιν ἡμῖν ἐχαρίζετο.<sup>280</sup> It is evident that a close relationship exists between T.Sim.4,4.6 (esp. vs.6) and T. Joseph 17,4-7 - in terminology as well as in contents.

Referring to the example of Joseph<sup>281</sup> Simeon exhorts his sons to beware of ζῆλος and φθόνος, through which he himself was blinded in his attitude towards Joseph, to walk ἐν ἀλάτῃτη ψυχῆς<sup>282</sup> καὶ ἐν ἀγαθῇ καρδίᾳ (4,5; cf. vs.7), and to love one another (4,7). If they do this, they will be rewarded by God, even as Joseph was<sup>283</sup> (cf. T. Joseph 9,3; 10,3; 18,1).<sup>284</sup> Then Simeon describes the harmful effect of φθόνος on the man who is possessed by it (T.Sim.4,8f.). One can even see when a person is seized with this πνεῦμα τοῦ φθόνου (connected with ζῆλος); his appearance makes it immediately clear.<sup>285</sup> Therefore Joseph was 'comely in appearance, and goodly to look upon'<sup>286</sup>, because no wickedness dwelt in him' (5,1a). Since man's external appearance corresponds with his internal character, and Joseph had a good appearance, the conclusion is obvious: in Joseph dwelt no wickedness (οὐκ ἐνοίκησεν ἐν αὐτῷ οὐδὲν πονηρὸν)<sup>287</sup>, an idea closely related with Joseph's epithet (in the Testaments) ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός.

In summary : in Simeon's exhortation concerning φθόνος and ζῆλος, Joseph is held up as an example. He is the ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός. No wickedness dwelt in him; he was εὐσεβιαρχος and ἐλεῆμων and bore no malice against his brethren. He loved them and did not reproach them, but gave them many gifts. Simeon's sons are exhorted to beware of φθόνος and ζῆλος, and to love one another so that they may be rewarded by God. Joseph's attitude here is closely related to that described in T. Joseph 17,4-7, and it is strongly reminiscent of T. Zeb. 8,4f.

### 3. Excursus : T. Dan 1,4-9 and T. Gad

In T. Dan and in T. Gad, Joseph is mentioned only in the biographical material and is not cited in the paranesis as an example of ethics. Hence, I may confine the discussion of these two Testaments to a few remarks.<sup>288</sup>

a. T. Dan 1,4-9. In this passage three things are important for the subject under discussion: 1. Joseph's epithet: he is called 'the true and good man' (see IV C); 2. Dan's attitude towards Joseph: it is characterized by ζῆλος and ἀλαστονεία, with which θυμὸς and the desire to kill Joseph are connected; 3. the recurrent idea, that God saves Joseph (vs.9).<sup>289</sup>

b. T. Gad. According to ch. 1f., Joseph brought a bad report of the sons of Zilpah and Bilhah to his father. This is undoubtedly intended to give an explanation of Gen. 37, 2. The act provoked Gad's hatred of Joseph. He wanted to kill Joseph, but God saved him (2, 5) and punished Gad (5, 6-11). In the paraenesis, Gad warns against *μίσος*, through which he himself was blinded in his attitude towards Joseph. Over against the hatred, love is mentioned; so, e.g., 6, 3, 'love ye, therefore, one another from the heart; and if a man sin against thee, cast forth the poison of hate and speak peaceably to him...' Now Joseph's role in T. Gad becomes clear. Joseph is the one who sinned only a little (cf. 4, 6 : *ἐν ὀλίγῳ*) against his brothers. Gad's reaction to Joseph's sin was, however, completely wrong. He hated him, whereas he should have spoken to him peaceably (cf. ch. 6). So from the example of his wrong attitude (hatred and envy) towards Joseph, who sinned against him, Gad makes clear what the right attitude (especially love and forgiveness) is towards the sinner. Because the biographical material in T. Gad describes Joseph's attitude towards his brothers as (a little) sin, Joseph cannot be introduced as an example of ethics in the paraenesis!

#### C. Joseph as an *ἄνθρωπος ἀγαθός*: T. Benj. 3ff.

At the very beginning of his exhortations to his sons, Benjamin introduces Joseph as an example of ethics. 'Do ye also, therefore, my children, love the Lord God of Heaven, and keep His commandments, following the example of the good and holy man (τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ ὅσιον ἄνθρωπον) Joseph' (3, 1). As we have seen, Joseph is called *ἄνθρωπος ἀγαθός* elsewhere in the Testaments: T. Sim. 4, 4 (*ἄνθρωπος ἀγαθός*); T. Dan 1, 4 (*ἀνθρώπους ὁλοκλήρου καὶ ἀγαθού*). It is especially in T. Benj. that the figure of the *ἄνθρωπος ἀγαθός* plays an important role (see 4, 1f.; 6, 1). The origin of this expression, which occurs in the O. T./LXX several times, is undoubtedly in the wisdom-literature. Here '*ἄνθρωπος ἀγαθός*' is one of the expressions used to describe the good, wise and righteous man as the counterpart of the sinner, the fool, the wicked; see, e.g., Prov. 13, 22, 'A good man (*ἀγαθός ἄνθρωπος*) leaves an inheritance to his descendants, but the sinner's hoard passes to the righteous (*δικαίους*)'; 14, 14, 'The renegade reaps the fruit of his conduct, a good man (*ἄνθρωπος ἀγαθός*) the fruit of his own achievements'; see further 30, 23 LXX; Sir. 29, 14. In the Testaments it is Joseph who is considered as this *ἄνθρωπος ἀγαθός*.

In the paraenesis to his sons Benjamin gives a description of the *ἄνθρωπος ἀγαθός* or *ἄνθρωπος ὅσιος*, using the example of Joseph. It is, however, obvious that not everything that Benjamin says about the good and holy man refers to Joseph. Rather, the figure of Joseph is only the peg, on which Benjamin hangs his speculations on the good and holy man. The expression *ἄνθρωπος ἀγαθός*, which is another important motif in T. Benj., is closely connected with that of 'the good man'.

In 3, 3 Benjamin exhorts his sons to fear God and to love their neighbour. He continues, '...and even though the spirits of Beliar ask for you to be delivered up to every evil of tribulation, yet shall no evil of tribulation have dominion over you (*κατακυριεύσει ὑμῶν*), even as it had not over Joseph my brother' (3, 3). After pointing out how many dangers Joseph was

exposed to in his lifetime and how he was saved by God ('How many<sup>305</sup> men wished to slay him<sup>306</sup>, and God ἐσκέπασεν αὐτόν' -vs. 4a), Benjamin takes up the idea expressed in vs. 3 and specifies it in vs. 4b-5, 'For he that feareth God<sup>307</sup> and loveth his neighbour<sup>308</sup>, : a) 'cannot be smitten<sup>309</sup> by the spirit of the air<sup>310</sup> of Beliar --- ἀπειθαρχήμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ θεοῦ' and b) 'cannot be ruled over<sup>311</sup> by the device of men or beasts --- βουθούμενος ὑπὸ τῆς (τοῦ κριτοῦ) 312 ἀνάγκης, ἧς ἔχει πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον.' In 5,2 we find a related idea, 'If ye do well, even the unclean spirits will flee (φεύξεται) from you, and the very beasts will dread you and flee from you (φεύξεται... φοβηθήντες)'. This idea occurs also elsewhere in the Testaments : see T. Iss. 7,7; T. Napht. 8,4.6. The idea is sometimes connected with God's help to the righteous man : '313... since you have with you the help of heaven...' (T. Iss. 7,7).

This complex of ideas is to be traced originally to the O.T. : Job 5,19ff., 'You may meet disaster six times, and he will save you; seven times, and no harm shall touch you. In time of famine he will save you from death, in battle from the sword... and when violence comes you need not fear. You will laugh at violence and starvation and have no need to fear wild beasts (ἄνδρ δὲ θηρίων ἀγρίων οὐ μὴ φοβηθῆς)', after which LXX continues, θῆρες γὰρ ἀγριοὶ εἰρηνεύσουσίν σοι. 314

So in T. Benj. 3,3-5 Benjamin says that the man who fears God and loves his neighbour (and thus does well) cannot be 'overcome' either through the δαίμων which comes from Beliar and his spirits or through that which comes from men and beasts. On the contrary, he is saved<sup>315</sup>, even as Joseph was saved by God. Although God's saving activity is described by a different verb (σκέπτεται), the idea of Joseph's salvation is the same as we have so often found it in T. Joseph. 316

As an example of Joseph's brotherly love, Benjamin tells how Joseph asked Jacob<sup>317</sup>, 'that he would pray for our brethren that the Lord would not set down in account<sup>318</sup> whatever evil they had devised regarding him<sup>319</sup>' (3,6).

In 3,1, Benjamin exhorted his sons to follow the good and holy man Joseph. Almost the same exhortation is found in 4,1<sup>320</sup>, 'See ye, children, the end of the good man (τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἀνδρός τὸ τέλος)? Be followers (μιμησαθε) of his compassion (εὐσπλαγχνίαν) with a good mind, that ye also may wear crowns of glory (στεφάνους δόξης)'. Although Joseph is not mentioned, he is undoubtedly meant by the 'good man'. We may deduce this : a) from the use of μιμησαθε which also occurred in 3,1; b) from the occurrence of εὐσπλαγχνία which, as we have seen<sup>321</sup>, is one of Joseph's virtues; c) especially from the occurrence of the idea of God's reward<sup>322</sup> which we find elsewhere in the Testaments exclusively in connection with Joseph. 323

Benjamin goes on to say that the good man has no 'dark eye'<sup>324</sup>, 'for he showeth mercy to all men (ἐλεᾷ γὰρ πάντας) 325, even though they be sinners, even though they devise with evil intent concerning him. So by doing good (ὁ ἀγαθοποιῶν) he overcometh evil<sup>326</sup>, being shielded by the good; and he loveth the righteous (τοὺς δὲ δικαίους ἀγατᾷ) as his own soul.' (4,2f.). It is striking that here the good man is characterized by qualities which originally belong to God. In the LXX it is God who has

mercy on all men (see Wisd.11,23f., ἐλεεῖς δὲ πάντας...ἀγαθὸς γὰρ τὰ πάντα πάντα...;cf.15,1f.;Sir.18,13)<sup>327</sup>. We also find in the O. T. the idea that God loves the righteous; see Ps.146(145),8 (LXX, ...κἀλοῦς ἀγαθῶ δίκαιους); cf. Prov.15,9.

What is especially important in the next two verses (4, 4f.)<sup>328</sup> (also because of 5,1) is the good man's attitude towards the wicked man, the sinner: 'him that rejecteth the Most High he admonisheth and turneth back (νοῦθετῶν ἐκτροφεῖ)'. In 5,1 we read among other things, 'the profligate will reverence you and turn unto good (ἐκτροφεύουσιν εἰς ἀγαθόν)'. This idea that the wicked man or the sinner is 'turned unto good' by the pious man's attitude, is a traditional motif<sup>329</sup>. It is, however, very important that we also find it in connection with Joseph: T. Joseph 6,6.8, '...I have kept it to convict thee (εἰς ἐλεγχὸν σου), if haply thou mayest see it and repent (μετανοήσεις)... I raised her up and admonished her (ἐνοουήθησα)'<sup>330</sup>, and in particular in Philo, De Jos. 80ff., esp. 86f., '...they (=the fellow-prisoners) were rebuked (ἐνοουετοῦντο) by his wise words and doctrines of philosophy, while the conduct of their teacher effected more than any words. For by setting before them his life of temperance and every virtue... he converted (ἐπέστρεψε) even those who seemed to be quite incurable, who as the long-standing distempers of their soul abated reproached themselves for their past and repented (μετανοοῦσι) with such utterances as these...' Similarly we read in T. Benj. 5,1, '...and the covetous will not only cease from their passion, but even give the objects of their covetousness to them that are afflicted.'

Moreover, the attitude of the wicked man also changes towards the good man (or the man who has a good mind) himself: '...wicked men will be at peace with you (εἰρηνεύουσιν ὑμῖν)' (5,1).<sup>331</sup> From T. Gad 6,6, e.g., it is obvious that both ideas are closely connected, '...For he who denieth may repent (μετανοῦν) so as not again to wrong thee<sup>332</sup>; yea, he may also honour thee and fear and be at peace (σοβηθήσεται καὶ εἰρηνεύσει)'. The origin of the idea that the wicked man will be at peace with the 'good man' is, in my opinion, to be found in the wisdom-literature; see, e.g., Sir. 6,5f., 'Gentle speech multiplieth friends (ἐληθύνει φίλους αὐτοῦ) ... let those that are at peace with thee (οὗ εἰρηνεύοντές σου) be many...'; see further Prov. 15,28a LXX; cf. Job 5,19ff. LXX (see above).<sup>333</sup>

Not only do the wicked change their attitude towards the good man, but even the unclean spirits and wild beasts<sup>334</sup> flee (φεύγεται - φοβηθέντες).<sup>335</sup> And even 'darkness fleeth away from him' (5,2f.).

Ch. 5,4f. describes the attitude of the good man (ἀνὴρ δικαίος/ δίκαιος) towards the one who does wrong to him, 'For if any one does violence to a holy man, he repenteth; for the holy man is merciful to (ἐλεεῖ) his reviler, and holdeth his peace (σιωπῆ)' (vs. 4). In oppression the pious man's attitude is characterized by ἔλεος<sup>336</sup> and by 'being silent', qualities characteristic of Joseph.<sup>337</sup> In vs. 5 Joseph is explicitly mentioned, 'And if any one betrayeth a righteous soul, and the righteous man be humbled (ταπεινωθῆ) for a little - praying (all the time) - not long after<sup>338</sup> he appeareth more glorious, even as was Joseph my brother.' Already in the O.T. we find the idea of

'humiliation' by others (enemies) in connection with Joseph : Ps.105(104),18, 'he (=Joseph) was kept a prisoner (LXX, ἐστράτευμα) with fetters on his feet...'.<sup>339</sup> T.Benj.5,5 also mentions the idea of a reward found in the Testaments exclusively in connection with Joseph.<sup>340</sup> So in these verses (vss.4f.) some characteristics of Joseph are transferred to the portrait of the good, pious and righteous man, which is central in T.Benj.

In summary<sup>341</sup> : Benjamin exhorts his sons to imitate the ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ δούλος Joseph. He cites the example of Joseph in the description of his ideal of the good and pious man. He mentions φιλία and love to one another. εὐσεβεία and ἔλεος also play an important role, and even the keeping of silence is mentioned. The consequences of such an attitude are that God will save in times of oppression, that he will shield the good man and reward him, that the wicked men and the sinners will repent, and that Beliar, his spirits, the wild beasts and the wicked deeds of men will have no power over him. In conclusion, T.Benj. uses some elements in connection with Joseph which can be found in T.Joseph (in the first and the second story/the paraenesis after the first and the second story), and other elements which can be found either in other Testaments (apart from T.Joseph) or both in other Testaments and in T.Joseph.

#### D. Joseph as a wise man ? T.Levi 13

In the first verse of T.Levi 13, Levi exhorts his sons to fear the Lord with their whole heart and to walk in simplicity<sup>342</sup> according to his<sup>343</sup> law.<sup>344</sup> Here, in the very first verse, the word νόμος occurs; it is the central term in the next three verses : 'And do ye also teach your children letters<sup>345</sup>, that they may have understanding (σύνεσις) all their life, reading unceasingly the law (τὸν νόμον) of God. For every one that knoweth the law (γινώσκειται νόμον) of God shall be honoured... and many men shall desire to serve him, and to hear the law (νόμον) from his mouth.'

We must first of all ask ourselves why specifically does this passage occur in T.Levi. The answer must be : because Levi and the Levites are very closely related to the law of God and have of old a special function to perform with regard to it. In the Testaments themselves it is Levi who knows the law, and who is taught the law by Isaac : T.Reub.6,8, 'Therefore I command you to hearken to Levi, because he shall know the law of the Lord (γινώσκειται νόμον κυρίου)...'; T.Levi 9,6f., 'And Isaac called me continually to put me in remembrance of the Law of the Lord... And he taught me the law of priesthood, of sacrifices...'. In the O.T. the Levites read and teach (διδάσκουσιν) the law, while the people of Israel listen (ἀκούουσιν) : see, e.g., Deut. 31,9ff.; 1 Esdras 9,40-55 LXX; Neh. 8,3ff.; 9,3f.

In T.Levi 13 this function has clearly changed : here, the 'Levite' is the wise man, the σοφός, who reads the law and so gets wisdom in his life; through his knowledge of the law and (connected with it) the fear of God, he gets wisdom and walks in righteousness. As a result of this, he is honoured and people desire to hear the law from his mouth. In addition to verses 2-4 quoted above, one should also notice vs.5, καὶ ἦσαν ἐκατασθη... and vs.7, σοφὸν<sup>346</sup> κηρύσσει ἐν φόβῳ θεοῦ...

The origin of the idea of the σοφός as it is described here, is to be found especially in the wisdom-literature. See Sir. 15, 1ff., 'For he that feareth the Lord (ὁ φοβούμενος κύριου) doeth this, and he that taketh hold of the law (τοῦ νόμου) findeth her (=wisdom)... she will feed him with the bread of understanding (συνέσεως), and will give him the waters of knowledge (σοφίας) to drink... and she will exalt him above his neighbour, and will open his mouth in the midst of the assembly. Joy and gladness shall he find...'; Prov. 9, 10-10a LXX; 2, 2ff.; for the combination νόμος - σοφία/σύνεσις, see further Deut. 4, 6ff.; Ps. 37 (36), 30f. (also δεικνύου); Sir. 24, 23ff.; cf. 6, 37 (;Syr. Bar. 44, 14; 46, 3f.; 77, 16); other important texts are Sir. 1, 4ff.; 21, 11. 17; 25, 9; 33 (36), 1ff.; 37, 23ff.; 39, 1-11; 44, 10-15; 45, 1ff. For the idea that the people listen to the wise man's wisdom -expressed by the verb ἀκούειν (cf. T. Levi 13, 4) - see, e.g., I Ki. 4, 29ff. (5, 9ff.); cf. Sir. 25, 9.<sup>347</sup>

In Sir. 15, 1ff. (quoted above) we have also found the idea that the wise man will find joy and gladness and will be praised. This well-known motif (see further Sir. 37, 23f.; 39, 9 ff.; 44, 10-15) also occurs in T. Levi 13, 3f., 'For every one that knoweth the law of God shall be honoured, and shall not be a stranger whithersoever he goeth. Yes, many friends shall he gain more than his parents<sup>348</sup>, and many men shall desire to serve him<sup>349</sup>....'

After the sons of Levi have been exhorted to 'work righteousness' (vss. 5f.)<sup>350</sup>, they are urged to gain wisdom: σοφίαν κτήσασθε<sup>351</sup>... (vs. 7); for, 'if there be a leading into captivity, and cities and lands be destroyed, and gold and silver and every possession<sup>352</sup> perish, the wisdom of the wise nobody can take away (τοῦ σοφοῦ τὴν σοφίαν οὐδεὶς δύναται ἀρῆσθαι), save the blindness of ungodliness, and the maiming (that comes) of sin.' (vs. 7). The background of this idea<sup>353</sup> is in Greek-hellenistic philosophy; thus, Plut., Mor. 475E<sup>353</sup>, '... Fortune, in fact, can encompass us with sickness, take away (ἀρῆσθαι) our possessions, slander us to people or despot; but she cannot make the good and valiant and high-souled man base or cowardly, mean, ignoble, or envious, nor can she deprive us of that disposition, the constant presence of which is of more help in facing life than is a pilot in facing the sea'<sup>354</sup>; and Mor. 607 EF<sup>355</sup>, '... And yet for a plant one region is more favourable than another for thriving and growth, but from a man no place can take away happiness, as none can take away virtue or wisdom (ἀνθρώπου δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀφαιρεῖται τόπος εὐδαιμονίαν, ὥστερ οὐδὲ ἀρετὴν οὐδὲ φρόνησιν); nay, Anaxagoras in prison was busied with squaring the circle, and Socrates, when he drank the hemlock, engaged in philosophy...'

What wisdom really means for the wise man, we learn from T. Levi 13, 8, 'for even among enemies it (=σοφία) shall be a glory<sup>356</sup> to him, and in a strange country a fatherland, and in the midst of foes shall prove a friend.' Finally we read in vs. 9, 'If he ὁ σοφός teaches and does those things (i.e., if he reads the law of God, has the fear of God, does justice, gains wisdom and teaches to live according to the law and so to get wisdom and fear of God<sup>357</sup>), he shall be enthroned with a king, as was also Joseph our brother.' The idea that the wise man will be σύντροφος βασιλέως through his wisdom, comes undoubtedly

from the wisdom-literature; see Wisd.6,2of., 'So then desire of wisdom promoteth to a kingdom. If therefore ye delight in thrones and sceptres, ye princes of people, honour wisdom, that ye may reign for ever.' It is with reference to this idea that Joseph is mentioned in T. Levi 13.

But are we allowed to conclude that T. Levi 13 depicts Joseph as a wise man, a σοφός? It is, of course, possible that this text really does see him as a σοφός. Besides the idea of kingship, to which wisdom leads the wise man, reference to a stay in a foreign country (see vs. 8) can also be applied to Joseph. Moreover, the idea that the wise man stands firm, even when he loses everything, is easily connected with the history of Joseph; for we have seen in T. Joseph that Joseph shows ὑπομονή in all his oppressions, as Job in T. Job: see T. Job 4,4ff., ... ἐπιφέρει δὲ σοὶ πληγὰς πολλὰς, ἀπαρμενίαι σου τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, τὰ καὶ δὲ σου ἀναρῆσαι. ἀλλ' ἐὰν ὑπομείνης...; cf. 37,3ff. Moreover, the expression ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός which plays a prominent role in the wisdom-literature where it is connected with the σοφός<sup>358</sup>, could have contributed to identification of Joseph with the σοφός. Finally, wisdom is traditionally connected with Joseph, especially because of his explanation of dreams; so already in Gen. 41,39, '... Since a god has made all this known to you, there is no one so shrewd and intelligent as you (LXX, φρονιμώτερος καὶ συνετώτερός σου)'; cf. vs. 33; further Ps. 105(104), 22, 'to correct (LXX, καθεύουσαι)<sup>359</sup> his officers at will and teach his counselors wisdom (LXX, σοφίαι)<sup>360</sup>'; Philo, De Jos. 106, where the Egyptian king says among other things, 'My soul has a prophetic inkling that my dreams will not for ever remain veiled in obscurity, for in this youth there are signs and indications of wisdom (σοφίας) ...'; Jos., Ant. II 87, 'Marvelling at the discernment and wisdom (φρόνησιν... σοφίαν) of Joseph, the king asked him...'; cf. II 9.

In summary: in Levi's exhortation to his sons, we find that the traditional relationship of Levi and the Levites to the law of God is reaffirmed, but the nature of it has changed. Here the ideal of the wise man, the σοφός, who knows the law, who has the fear of God and who gets σθένος and σοφία, is the central theme. Through his wisdom he makes many friends and the people desire to serve him and to hear the law from his mouth. He stands firm, whatever catastrophe may touch him. Wherever he is, he has σοφία as a friend (and a fatherland) with him. He achieves even a king's throne. On this point Joseph is introduced as an example. But is Joseph to be considered as a σοφός in this text? He was in distress, he lost everything, he was in a foreign country, and yet he became 'king'. Because of this, because elsewhere in the Testaments Joseph is called ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός (an expression which in the wisdom-literature is parallel to σοφός) and because wisdom is traditionally connected with Joseph, it is possible that in T. Levi 13 Joseph is to be considered as a σοφός. But in the other Testaments we do not find a trace of this idea.<sup>361</sup>

## V. Conclusions

## I. Joseph's attitude in T. Joseph

1. T. Joseph 1-2 is an introduction to the whole of T. Joseph.
- a. 1,3(4)-2,6 is an individual thanksgiving in which Joseph describes his salvation from distress by God. It is different from an Old Testament individual thanksgiving, and it belongs to a later development of this type of psalm. Moreover, this explains why it contains so many reminiscences of ideas which belong to the wisdom-literature. Its function is didactic-ethical.
- b. 2,6c-7 : 1. God tests the pious man (Joseph) with affliction.  
2. Joseph's attitude is characterized by ὑπομονή (and μακροθυμία); his attitude in the following two stories must be understood in the light of this.
- c. in 1-2 terms and expressions are used which occur either in the first story, or in the second story, or in both stories.
2. Both stories in T. Joseph (3,1-10,4 and 10,5-18,4) are intended to illustrate Joseph's ὑπομονή and his self-humiliation in oppression (hence the occasional use of terms from the martyr-traditions), followed by his salvation and exaltation/reward by God. Both stories belong indissolubly together.
- a. T. Joseph 3,1-10,4 : Joseph's attitude towards the Egyptian woman is the attitude of the man in oppression, who complains of his distress and asks God for salvation - it is characterized especially by praying, weeping, fasting and wearing sackcloth. After his salvation he praises God and gives thanks to him. This attitude is in particular characteristic of the man in distress as described in an individual lament. Other characteristics of Joseph in this story are his σιωπῶσθαι and his 'keeping silence'.  
In the paraenesis at the end of the first story we find besides ὑπομονή (and praying, fasting, σιωπῶσθαι, etc.) and the idea of salvation by God, also the idea of exaltation/reward by God, which is the consequence of self-humiliation, and which stands over against self-exaltation, a theme with which the second story begins.
- b. T. Joseph 10,5-18,4 : Joseph's attitude towards his brothers : he does not exalt himself; he honours his brethren; therefore he holds his peace and does not tell his social status.  
In the paraenesis at the end of the second story we find again, besides ὑπομένειν and the exhortation to brotherly love and forgiveness (also illustrated by Joseph's attitude towards his brothers in Egypt), the ideas of salvation and exaltation/reward by God.

II. Joseph as an example of ethics in the paraenetic passages in the other Testaments

1. The idea of Joseph's salvation and exaltation/reward by God occurs several times in other Testaments -sometimes in stereotyped formulae; ὑπομονή, however, is not mentioned.
2. Joseph's attitude towards the Egyptian woman (in general terms) occurs in T.Reub.4,8-10 (in a paraenesis about κορψία).
3. Joseph's attitude towards his brothers in Egypt is characterized by such terms as οὐ μνηστικακεῖν, εὐσεπλαγγυῖα, ἔλεος, ἀγνῆ, and forgiveness. He is described in this way in the paraenetic passages in T.Zeb. as well as in T.Sim.
4. In T.Benj.3ff. Joseph serves as a model of the ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, an expression which occurs also elsewhere in the Testaments with reference to Joseph. Important characteristics include : φόβος θεοῦ, ἀγνῆ, εὐσεπλαγγυῖα, ἔλεος, 'keeping silence' in oppression. The ideas of salvation from (protection in) oppression and of exaltation/reward by God play an important role. T.Benj. contains terms and expressions which are found either in T.Joseph, or in other Testaments, or both in T.Joseph and other Testaments.
5. In T.Levi 13 Joseph is possibly considered as a wise man (σοφός). We do not, however, find this idea elsewhere in the Testaments, so that it is not an important feature of the portrait of Joseph in the Testaments at all.

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## NOTES

1. This article has been composed during a one year's stay in Cambridge, England. I would like to thank the Netherlands Organisation for the Advancement of Pure Research (Z.W.O.), The Hague, The Netherlands, and the Dullerstichting, Arnhem, The Netherlands, for providing grants to make this possible. I would also like to thank Dr. F.C. Lindars and Dr. J.C.O'Neill, who were so kind to correct my English. This article forms a part of a doctoral dissertation on the ethics of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs which is in preparation under the supervision of Prof. dr. M. de Jonge, Leiden, The Netherlands.
2. For this reason I shall deal only very briefly with the motifs which appear in the first story about Joseph and the Egyptian woman in T. Joseph; the biographical account of the selling of Joseph in T. Joseph; T. Joseph 18, 3f.; T. Sim. 2; T. Zeb. 1-5; T. Dan 1, 4-9; T. Gad 1-3; 5f. For the same reason I shall deal neither with T. Napht. 5-7 (for these chapters, see esp. Th. Korteweg, 'The meaning of Naphtali's visions', in Studies on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. Text and Interpretation, ed. by M. de Jonge, Leiden 1975, ch. XVI), nor with T. Reub. 1, 2; 6, 7; T. Sim. 1, 1; 8, 3f.; T. Levi 12, 7; T. Jud. 12, 11; 25, 1f.; T. Napht. 1, 8; T. Benj. 1, 4; 2; 10, 1. Moreover, T. Joseph 19f. will be excluded from discussion.
3. On the whole the text followed is that of the new edition (shortly to be issued) prepared at Leiden under the guidance of M. de Jonge, with the cooperation of H. J. de Jonge, Th. Korteweg and the present writer. This new text follows in broad outline the text of MS b, published in M. de Jonge, Testamenta XII Patriarcharum (Ps. V. T. 1), Leiden 1970. The cases where the new text differs from b (except in cases of orthographical variants) will be noted explicitly. The translation of passages of the Testaments given in this article are taken from R. H. Charles, The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, London 1908, and, if this is not possible (because Charles follows a different text), the translation is my own.
4. The theme of Jacob's love towards Joseph (cf. Gen. 37, 3f.) plays an important role in the Testaments: see T. Joseph 10, 5; T. Sim. 2, 6; T. Dan 1, 5; T. Gad 1, 5. It determines the brothers' attitude (jealousy) towards Joseph for the greater part.
5. See T. Sim., passim. Cf. also T. Dan 2, 5 and T. Gad 3, 3; 4, 5, passages in which envy is closely connected with hate, a passion which already in Gen. characterizes the brothers' attitude towards Joseph (see 37, 4.8). It is also important to note that we find the brothers'  $\epsilon\theta\upsilon\sigma\omicron\varsigma$  (an idea not found in Gen.) in Philo, De Jos. 5 (connected with  $\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ) and in Jos., Ant. II 10 (connected with  $\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ); 13; 27. See also IV B2.
6. Already a theme in Gen. 37. See also T. Joseph 1, 4; T. Sim. 2, 7, 11; 3, 3; T. Zeb. 1, 7; 2; 4, 2, 11; T. Dan 1, 4, 7ff.; T. Gad 2, 1f. 4; 6, 2.
7. Cf. T. Reub. 4, 10: 'every visible and hidden death'. 'Visible death' most likely means the overt threatening with death (esp. by the brothers), whereas 'hidden death' refers to the food prepared by the Egyptian woman (see

- T.Reub.4,9 and T.Joseph 6).
8. See further T.Benj.3,4, 'How many men wished to slay him ...'
  9. Cf. also T.Asher 5,4. For T.Joseph 1,3 (esp.concerning its relation to the following verses), see I B.
  10. Diss.Berlin 1955 (typescript). For the discussion of T. Joseph 1-2, see pp.77-82;136-140.
  11. (AGJU VIII), Leiden 1970. For the discussion of this passage, see pp.230-234.
  12. Op.cit., p.229;243.
  13. Op.cit., pp.232f. See esp. p.233 n.5.
  14. I find it a real contempt of textual criticism to omit (in the text) ἐν θεσμοῖς, καὶ ἑλευσέ με (vs.6), which can be found in all MSS (except d), as Aschermann, op.cit., p.77 n.2 and Becker, op.cit., p.232 (see esp.n.2) do, because in their opinion it is a dittography and disturbs the structure; Charles too thought that it was an interpolation, and put it between brackets in his edition: see R.H. Charles, The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Oxford 1908, p.183. Obviously, it forms the transition to vs.7: thematically, it is parallel to the previous sentences; formally, it goes with what follows, for it is the first of four sentences in which there is no name for God, who is the subject of the second verb. For the structure of 1,4-7, see esp. Aschermann, op.cit., pp.78f. and Becker, op.cit., pp.231f.
  15. Although vs.4 has the verb in the third person, it describes the situation from the point of view of the first person (see με...με...με...).
  16. I follow the terminology used among others by Gunkel (see H.Gunkel-J.Begrich, Einleitung in die Psalmen. Die Gattungen der religiösen Lyrik Israels, Göttingen 1933) and prefer the term 'individual thanksgiving' ('Danklied') to the one used by Aschermann and Becker ('Lobpsalm'). Cf. also F.Crüsemann, Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymnus und Danklied in Israel (WMANT 32), Neukirchen 1969, p.210 n.1, 'Der Gunkelsche Terminus „Danklied(er) des Einzelnen" (Einleitung S.265ff) soll gegenüber Westermanns Umbenennung in „Berichtender Lobpsalm des Einzelnen" (Loben Gottes S.76ff) zunächst beibehalten werden.'
  17. LXX, ... καὶ ὁ κύριος ἀντιλάβετό μου. I shall frequently give the LXX-reading beside the translation of the Hebrew text, because I am of the opinion that the Testaments as a whole were written originally in Greek and that the author of the Testaments (T.Joseph) used the LXX (see also M.de Jonge, The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. A Study of their Text, Composition and Origin, Assen 1953, p.118). Naturally, I am aware of the possibility of a Greek translation of an original Hebrew document, and with respect to this particular problem it will be useful to quote the LXX-reading. The translations of Old and New Testament texts are taken from the New English Bible; I shall also follow the verse divisions in the N.E.B. (which -in the case of a number of Psalms- differ from the verse divisions in the Hebrew text); in the cases in which a special LXX-reading is quoted, this will be mentioned; in this case the translation given is my own. The translation of passages

- in apocryphal and pseudepigraphical writings (except those of the Testaments) are taken from R.H. Charles, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English I, II, Oxford 1913. The text and translation of passages in the Apostolic Fathers are taken from The Apostolic Fathers I, II, ed. by Kirsopp Lake (Loeb ed.).
18. LXX, ... καὶ ἐγένετο κύριος ἀντιστήριγμά μου.
  19. LXX, ἐταπεινώθη, καὶ ἔσωσέν με. See further Ps. 34, 4 (33, 5); 107 (106), 13; 120 (119), 1; Ezra 8, 23; Jonah 2, 2 (3).
  20. LXX, ... καὶ ἀντήγαγέν με ἐκ λάκκου ταλαίπωρίας. See T. Joseph 1, 4.
  21. In individual thanksgivings God can also be addressed directly; then, of course, the second person is used. See esp. Crüsemann, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-284 (*passim*).
  22. See further Gunkel-Begrich, *op. cit.*, p. 268, where it is said with regard to the description of the speaker's lot we find in an individual thanksgiving: 'Sie richtet sich gewöhnlich an die Gäste der Feier... Daher erklärt es sich, dass von Jahve in diesen Zusammenhängen in dritter Person gesprochen wird.'
  23. See the concordance (Hatch-Redpath) on the Old Testament (particularly on the Psalms), s.v. these words. σωτήρ (1, 6) is also a term which often occurs in this context.
  24. See above, and esp. n. 20.
  25. In the story about Joseph in Gen. neither ἀνάγειν nor χαλᾶν is used (in the LXX).
  26. See also Ps. 71 (70), 20, '...and lift me (LXX, ἀνήγαγές με) again from earth's watery depths'; Ps. 30, 3 (29, 4), ... ἀν-ήγαγες... τὴν ψυχὴν μου, ἔσωσάς με ἀπὸ τῶν καταβαλισμάτων εἰς λάκκον.
  27. These terms, however, are found neither always nor exclusively in an individual thanksgiving. Some of them also occur in other kinds of psalms, esp. in an individual lament. See below.
  28. λυτός occurs in the same context in T. Joseph 1, 5. For the combination λυτός-ἐταπείνειν see also Judith 5, 10.
  29. The idea that God comforts people in their distress (ἐλπίεις) is also found in II Cor. 1, 4; T. Sol. D 4, 11. Other important texts, in which the term ἐλπίεις, however, does not occur, are Is. 40, 11; 49, 13; 51, 3. 12; 57, 18; 66, 13; Bar. 4, 30; II Cor. 7, 6; cf. Matt. 5, 4. See also T. Joseph 2, 6.
  30. 'You may meet disaster six times, and he will save you; seven times, and no harm shall touch you. In time of famine he will save you from death, in battle from the sword (LXX, ἐν λιμῷ ῥύσεται σε ἐκ θανάτου, ἐν πολέμῳ δὲ ἐκ χειρὸς αἰσθηροῦ λύσει σε)'. Cf. Acts 2, 24; Ign., Philad. 8, 1. In Ps. 105 (104), 20 the verb ἴδεν is also used in connection with Joseph; but here the subject is not God, but the Egyptian king, 'Then the king sent and set him free (LXX, ἔλυσεν αὐτόν)...'
  31. For ἐλευθεροῦν with God as subject (vs. 5) see also II Macc. 1, 27. For ὄφθον in this context (vs. 7) see also II Sam. 22, 49; I Chron. 17, 17 LXX. See further, among others, Ps. 9, 13 (14); 18, 48 (17, 49); 27 (26), 5; Is. 63, 9, and see II C. The expression ἡ κρατία αὐτοῦ χεῖρ (1, 5) is used esp. in connection with the salvation of the people of Israel from Egypt by God: see, e.g., Ex. 13, 3. 9. 14. 16; Deut. 5, 15; 6, 21; 7, 8. 19; 9, 26; 26, 8; Jer. 39, 21; Bar. 2, 11; Dan. 9, 15 Th; Ps. 136 (135), 12; Neh. 1, 10. See further I Clem. 60, 3 where this formula also occurs in connection with God's saving activity.

32. Gunkel-Begrich, *op.cit.*, pp.269f.
33. See esp. αὐτοὶ ἤθελόν με ἀνελεῖν. See also above.
34. See also, among others, Ps.33(32),19;87,7 LXX;1o7(1o6),1o.14.18;Job 5,2o;Sir.51,6.9. The attitude of the adversaries towards the oppressed man can also be characterized by μῦθος; so, e.g., Ps.35(34),19;1o9(1o8),3.5 (see T.Joseph 1,4).
35. Namely ἐμύσησαν and λάκκων. For ἀνελεῖν and ἐχθίσαν see above.
36. For ἐκράσθη εἰς δοῦλον see Ps.1o5(1o4),17;cf.Wisd.1o,13; Philo, De Jos.27o. For κτεράσειν see also T.Joseph 1o,6; for δοῦλος see also T.Joseph 11,2f.;13,6ff.;15,2f. For αἰχμαλωσία see also T.Joseph 14,3 (αἰχμαλώτων). It is remarkable that these terms in 1,5 only occur in the second story about the selling of Joseph in T.Joseph. See also below.
37. Exceptions may be ἐν φυλακῇ and ἐν δεσμοῖς in vs.6; but the terms themselves do not occur in the Genesis-story about Joseph (LXX).
38. See above and n.28.
39. See also vs.17(t). Cf.Lament.3,28.
40. See also Matt.25,36.39.43f. In this text ἐπισκέπτεσθαι and φυλακῇ also occur, while the style characteristic of T. Joseph 1,4-7 is also used here. But in Matt. it is not God who saves; therefore, only the contents (the terminology) of both texts agree; see Aschermann, *op.cit.*, pp.137ff.
41. Cf. Is.49,9. For the combination δεσμός - φυλακῇ see Is.42,6f., 'I, the Lord, have called you (=the Lord's servant) with righteous purpose... I have formed you, and appointed you... to open eyes that are blind, to bring captives out of prison (LXX, ἐκ δεσμῶν), out of the dungeons (LXX, ἐξ οὐκοῦ φυλακῆς) where they lie in darkness.' In Wisd.1o,14 δεσμός is used in connection with Joseph: 'And in bonds (ἐν δεσμοῖς) she (=wisdom) left him not...' See further, of course, T.Joseph 2,4;9,1(δεσμός) and 8,4(φυλακῇ).
42. βασιλεὺς διαβολὴ γλώσσης ἀδύκου... In the Psalms ἐνόσασθαι occurs as an activity of the adversaries towards the pious man in his oppression: 38,2o(37,21);71(7o),13;1o9(1o8),4.2o.29.
43. See Gunkel-Begrich, *op.cit.*, pp.282f., 'Beide Gattungen sind einander in manchem ähnlich...: beide enthalten eine Schilderung der Not, die in den Klagepsalmen gegenwärtig ist, in den Dankliedern aber der Vergangenheit angehört: beide reden von der Errettung, die in jenen als Gewissheit der Erhöhrung vorweggenommen wird, in diesen aber bereits geschehen ist... Ähnliche Bilder und Ausdrücke finden sich in beiden; dieselben Verhältnisse werden überall vorausgesetzt... Hinzu kommt, dass beide Gattungen auch beieinander Anleihen zu machen pflegen.'
44. Against Becker, who attacks Aschermann because he 'allerdings T Jos 1,3 nicht stark genug abhebt, sondern mit in das Gedicht einbezieht.' (*op.cit.*, p.231 n.3). See also I G.
45. λάκκος: 9,2; φυλακῇ: 8,4; δεσμός: 9,1; ὀδεσθαί: 4,3.8;1o,3; φθόνος: 1o,3.
46. οἱ ἀελαφοὶ: 1o,5f.;11,1f.;15,3;17,1(.3).4; κτεράσειν: 1o,6; δοῦλος: 11,2f.;13,6ff.;15,2f.(17,7); αἰχμαλωσία: cf.14,3 (αἰχμαλώτων).
47. ὄφθον: 1o,3(.5;17,8);18,1; θάνατος: 3,1(.9);6,5;11,3(17,5).

45. The grammatical subject, however, is Photimar, and not God himself. See T. Joseph 11,6, 'And the Lord gave me favour in the eyes of the merchant, and he entrusted unto me his house.'
49. See II C.
50. See I A. Moreover, I think it not permissible to separate poetry from prose in this kind of literature in such a way as Aschermann and Becker do. If one wanted to use these categories, one would have to admit that 2,3a, in which three verbs Aor.Pass. occur, is also poetic (see Deut. 32,15; cf. Hebr. 11,37, a verse which is very well constructed), so that a sharp distinction (1,4-7: poetry; 2,1-3: prose) is in any case wrong. See also I G.
51. This expression is not found in connection with Joseph in Josephus or Philo either. For the construction (which, although not unusual, is not so frequent), see for instance I Macc. 8,16; IV Macc. 4,7; Xen., Memor. 4,4,17.
52. ἐπέχειν - b is not correct.
53. Cf. T. Joseph 3,8.
54. Vs. 10; LXX, εὐδός ἔχουσα κορυμβόν. See also the following words : ἡ κορυβὶς νόσος ἐξέστασθαί κορυβίς.
55. See T. Joseph 8,2; this word does not occur in the Genesis-story about Joseph.
56. Other texts, in which ἀνατόης occurs in such a context, are Sir. 23,6; 26,11. See further K. Berger, 'Materialien zu Form und Überlieferungsgeschichte neutestamentlicher Gleichnisse, N.T. XV (1973), p. 35 n.4, where the author rightly says that ἀνατόης is probably originally erotic.
57. In vs. 2 it is not said that the woman wants to act lawlessly, but that she wants to bring Joseph to commit a lawless action.
58. Quoted according to the edition and translation of Colson-Whitaker (Loeb ed.), as for all the other Philo quotations in this article.
59. See also Philo, Somn. II 124.
60. See also Philo, De Jos. 68, '... I will fear none of the tyrant's menaces, even though he threaten me with death (καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἀπειλή)...'
61. See, e.g., IV Macc. 11,20; 15,29; 16,16; 17,11.13f. Cf. Philo, Flacc. 48; Spec. Leg. I 57; 79; Vita Mosis I 307; Mart. Polyc. 19, 2; The Acts of Euplus (Gr. rec.) 2,2 (ed. Musurillo); The Martyrs of Lyons 1,40 (ed. Musurillo).
62. Cf. Wisd. 4,1f.; Sir. 4,28.
63. See also Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 233.
64. See, e.g., Mut. Nom. 81; Migr. Abr. 200; Leg. All. II 108; Abr. 48.
65. That in this text Joseph is described negatively, as almost everywhere in Philo, except in De Jos., is not directly important for what is argued here.
66. Therefore, its use is not primarily influenced by the martyr-traditions, although it is not always possible as in the case of IV Macc. - to make a sharp distinction between both kinds of context.
67. Cf. I Macc. 2,59; III Macc. 6,6.
68. See also IV Macc. 18,14f. For Sir. 51,1ff. as an individual thanksgiving see also I G.
69. For ἐπαυχεῖται see also I Clem. 45,4.
70. In 14,2 both words are found together.
71. M. de Jonge, *The Testaments...*, p. 102 as well as Becker, *op.*

- cit., p.233 have not noticed this; they both wrongly try to connect vs.3a with the first story about the Egyptian woman.
72. In T.Joseph this word occurs only here.
  73. Cf.39,4;T.Joseph 11,6.
  74. I am of the opinion that the author used the LXX, and not the MT. See n.17.
  75. For the same expression see also Neh.1,11. Moreover, from a comparison of the translations of Dan.1,9 by LXX and Th it is evident that the alteration in T.Joseph 2,3b from Gen.39,21 could be made very easily; it is, however, not permissible to conclude from this that in T.Joseph 2,3b one has to do only with a translation-variant of the MT.
  76. Op.cit., pp.233ff.
  77. Op.cit., p.272.
  78. For the division of these verses see Becker, op.cit., pp.233f.
  79. See also among others II Macc.6,16; Bel et Dr.38; I Clem. 11,1; Pastor Hermae, Sim.2,9.
  80. See I B.
  81. See the concordance, s.v.  $\theta\lambda\epsilon\psi$ .
  82. See also T.Joseph 8,5;9,1f.
  83. See also  $\theta\lambda\epsilon\psi$  in vs.4.
  84. For this use of  $\sigma\kappa\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$  see also Is.42,7;49,9.
  85. Cf. II Cor.6,4(;12,10). Here, however, the idea of God's salvation of the pious man from his distress is not present; its background is rather to be found in popular moral philosophy.
  86. See I B.
  87. See I B.
  88. See further Wisd.10,11, in which wisdom plays this role, and II Tim.4,17. Both these texts also deal with the idea of salvation of the oppressed, which is expressed among others by the term  $\rho\upsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ .
  89. See Wisd.19,22, in which  $\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\omicron\rho\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  stands over against  $\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  (see above).
  90. Ps.10,1(9,22).
  91. Vs.11(12). See further Ps.35(34),22;38,21(37,22); I Sam.28,15f.
  92. Of course, the idea of a chastisement and punishment by God because of sins is absent here.
  93. b is not correct.
  94. It does not matter very much that the term  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\gamma\alpha$  does not directly imply a time limit. See also The Martyrdom of the Saintly Dasius 4,4 (ed. Musurillo), 'Better for me to endure a few tortures and penalties ( $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\gamma\alpha\varsigma \upsilon\pi\omicron\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\iota$   $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\tau\epsilon\mu\mu\omicron\rho\lambda\epsilon\varsigma$ ) for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and then after death I shall inherit eternal life together with all the saints'; The martyrdom of Saints Agape, Irene, and Chione at Saloniki 2,4 (ed. Musurillo), ...  $\delta\iota\alpha$   $\kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$   $\kappa\rho\omicron\sigma\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\upsilon$ ...  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ ...  $\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\delta\delta\epsilon\lambda\eta\varsigma$   $\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\omicron\nu$ ... For this idea of a short period of sufferings, see also K. Berger, Die Amen-Worte Jesu. Eine Untersuchung zum Problem der Legitimation in apokalyptischer Rede (BZNW 39), Berlin 1970, pp.164f. Nr.4.
  95. See Becker, op.cit., p.234 n.6, 'Nach Jub 19,8 bestand Abraham... 10 Versuchungen (vgl. 17,17; 18,1ff.; 19,2f.) ebenso Aboth 5,4 (Aboth 5,1ff. finden sich weitere Bei-

- spiele für die Beliebtheit der Zahl zehn als abgerundete Zahl der Fülle). Nach Jub 39,8 dauerten Josephs Versuche ein Jahr, sieben Jahre nach TJos 3,4. Hiobs Versuche erstrecken sich nach THiob 16ff. über Jahrzehnte.'
96. ἀνθεκτε. For such a construction see also Dan.1,20LXX.
97. See, e.g., Gen.22,1; Ex.16,4; 20,20; Deut.8,2; 13,3; Ju.2,22; 3,1.4; II Chron.32,31.
98. For such a use of the term *ἐδραμακον* see also Sir.6,16; Philo, Agric.98; Ign., Eph.20,2.
99. See T.Joseph 18,1, 'If ye also, therefore, walk in the commandments of the Lord, my children, He will exalt you there, and will bless you with good things (ἐν ἀγαθοῖς) for ever and ever', and see also the next verse. See further n.100.
100. Connected with the idea of a trial: e.g., Ps.Sol.16,14f.; Rom.5,3f.; James 1,2ff.12ff.; Did.16,5; cf.Hebr.12,1ff. Without explicit mention of a trial: see, e.g. Rom.12,12; II Cor.1,6; II Thess.1,4; II Tim.2,9f.; Hebr.10,32f.36; Rev.1,9; II Clem.11,4f. (here also τὰ ἀγαθὰ - see above, and n.99); 17,7; Pastor Hermae, Visio 2,2,7.
101. See further I Cor.13,4ff.; Col.1,11; James 5,7ff.; I Clem.62,2; 64,1; Barn.2,2; Ign., Polyc.6,2; Ign., Eph.3,1.
102. See moreover James 5,11, ... τὴν ὑπομονὴν ἰδὲ ἠκούσατε...
103. Ed. Brock. See also ed. Kraft.
104. It also plays a part in the direct paraenesis of Joseph to his sons: see vs.2.
105. One should also notice the use of ὁρᾶτε in these three texts (10,1; 17,1; 18,3).
106. Besides ὑπομονή (see n.104), μακροθυμία also plays a role in the direct paraenesis of Joseph to his sons: see 17,2.
107. Many other 'fathers' are mentioned here. For such series of pious men see further Sir.44ff.; IV Macc.18,11ff.; Judith 8,26ff.; Hebr.11; I Clem.45,4ff. (here also in connection with ὑπομονή).
108. It does occur, however, in I Clem.45,4ff. (see n.107); but in this text Joseph is not mentioned.
109. Text and translation according to the edition of Marcus-Thackeray (Loeb ed.), as also the other Josephus quotations in this article.
110. ἀκτελας. See T.Joseph 3,1.
111. And so it is not only connected with the first story (see also I A).
112. See n.16.
113. See pp.282-284. The underlining is mine.
114. Namely in I QH and Sir.51LXX.
115. SNAO II. Hist. Filos. Klasse 1937, Nr.3, Oslo 1937.
116. Op.cit., p.55.
117. See also p.50, 'In den Dankpsalmen (sc. of the late Jewish period) spielte die Belehrung die vorherrschende Rolle, oder ein Weisheitmotiv füllte die ganze Dichtung aus'.
118. Op.cit., pp.131f.
119. This is, of course, also due to the genre of a 'testament'.
120. Cf. Jansen, op.cit., p.132, 'Seid bussfertig und demütig, willig zu leiden, seid geduldig und glaubt an Gottes Güte und Fürsorge trotz aller Widerwärtigkeiten: das ist das Leitmotiv all dieser erbaulichen Gebete (i.e. the '„literarische“ spätjüdische Psalmen und Prosagebete')...'.
121. Gunkel-Begriff, op.cit., p.179; cf. p.231.
122. Neh.1,4. Cf. Dan.9,3, 'Then I (=Daniel) turned to the Lord

- God in earnest prayer and supplication with fasting and sackcloth (LXX, προσευχῆν... ἐν νηστεύματι καὶ σάκκῳ) and ashes.'
123. Cf. T. Joseph 1,6.
  124. Vs. 6(7).
  125. Vs. 8(9).
  126. See further II Sam. 12, 16ff.; I Ki. 21(20), 27; I Clem. 55, 6.
  127. Naturally, we find such a description not only in laments, for it is the attitude of the pious Jew in general who is in distress and wants to be saved from his troubles by God.
  128. For these terms and the idea of salvation by God, see I.
  129. 3, 7b is not important here.
  130. (ἐὰν δὲ ἀπέθῃμι,) οὐκ οὐκ ἔκινον -b is not correct.
  131. On this verse see also above. See further 9, 2.
  132. On this verse see also above.
  133. Cf. Ps. 34, 13 LXX (see above). See further Jos. et As. 7, 3.
  134. On this verse see also above.
  135. Therefore it is sometimes very difficult to decide which kind of weeping is meant.
  136. See above. Cf. Ps. 114, 8 LXX.
  137. See above.
  138. Cf. T. Levi 2, 3f.
  139. See Introduction and n. 2. For the motifs used in this story see M. Braun, History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature, Oxford 1938, pp. 44-95; De Jonge, The Testaments..., pp. 102ff.; Becker, op. cit., pp. 234ff.
  140. See also T. Benj. 3, 4, 'How many (ἄσσοι) men wished to slay him (=Joseph), and God shielded him !...' Cf. T. Joseph 9, 1, κολλᾶς...
  141. Text and translation according to the edition of W.A. Oldfather (Loeb ed.).
  142. See Gunkel-Begriff, op. cit., pp. 216f., 'Gern verstärkt man die Wirksamkeit der Klage... verrät die leidenschaftliche Aufwallung des Betenden. Sie wird am deutlichsten fassbar in der bezeichnenden Umbildung der Schilderung zur Form der Frage. Statt der einfachen Schilderung „viel sind meiner Feinde“ heisst es hier „wie viele sind meiner Gegner...' See also n. 140.
  143. See also T. Joseph 11, 3.
  144. See I C.
  145. For ἀκυλῆ, see further The Martyrdom of the Saintly Dasius 9, 2 (ed. Musurillo); Ep. Phileae (A) 3 (ed. Musurillo); for ταμάρτα, see further The Martyrdom of the Saintly Dasius 4, 4; 11, 1.
  146. Esp. in connection with the use of παρανομεῖν. See I C.
  147. See I E.
  148. See for this De Jonge, The Testaments..., pp. 157f. n. 309. b is not correct. 'κατέρων' should be omitted.
  149. εἰσερχόμενος εἰς τὸ ταμίετον. Undoubtedly from Gen. 43, 30.
  150. See above and n. 130.
  151. See W. Bousset-H. Gressmann, Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter (HbNT 21), Tübingen 1966, pp. 179ff.
  152. Cf. 8, 1.
  153. Cf. 14, 4, 'For she wished to see me out of desire of sin, but I was ignorant (καὶ ἠγνόουν) concerning all these things.' This is again a clear proof that both stories belong together, and that it is impossible to consider the one as secondary with respect to the other.
  154. ἐφέλωσατο. Cf. 8, 2, '...forcibly dragging (ἐφέλωμένη) me to

- have connection with her.' See for this use of ἐφέλκεσθαι also Ep.Jer.43.
155. It is clear that T.Joseph 3ff. -in any case 3f- is not intended to give a description of a series of events which follow one after the other (in time); see also below.
156. ἐλυτήθη ἕως θανάτου. Cf. Sir.37,2; Jonah 4,9.
157. γόνυος ἔστυγον. Cf. Mark 14,52. This combination does not occur in the Gen.-story.
158. ἐσυκοφαντήσα. Cf. lo,3. See also Philo, De Jos.270, 'Of these years he (=Joseph) spent seventeen up to adolescence in his father's house, thirteen in painful misfortunes, the victim of conspiracy, sold into slavery, falsely accused (πικρασκόμενος, δουλεῶν, συκοφαντούμενος), chained in a prison... This motif is also found in connection with the adversaries of the oppressed man in the psalms; see, e.g., Ps.119 (118), 122.134, '...let not the proud oppress me (LXX, μὴ συκοφαντήσῶσίν με ὑπερήθωνοι)... Set me free from man's oppression (LXX, λύτρωσάί με ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ἀνθρώπων)...'
159. Cf. 9,1, ... λυτρώσω... καὶ ἀκαλλάξω. For the use of ἀκαλλάσσειν in such a context see IV Macc.9,16, '...Consent to eat, that so you may be released (ἀκαλλαγῆς) from your tortures...'; cf. T. Job 25,10.
160. Others too, as for instance αἰνεῖν. For χαῖρεν -also used in T. Joseph 8,5- see among others Is.66,14; Hab.3,18; Zech. 10,7; cf. I Peter 4,13.
161. See also Gunkel-Begrich, *op.cit.*, pp.248f.
162. For this combination see also Is.25,1; 42,10; T. Sol.1,8; Dan.3,56 LXX; Johannis Liber de Dormitione Mariae 25 (Ti. p.102); cf. Ps.22,22f. (21,23f.).
163. See also the use of δεῖ ; see namely T. Joseph 8,5 where it is used too.
164. T. Joseph 8,5, ... ἐπικροῦσθε μου, ὡς ὕμνον κύριον... Although it is true that the verb ἐπακροῦσθαι does not occur in the LXX and the N.T. except in Acts 16,25 where Paul and Silas 'προσευχόμενοι ὕμνον τὸν θεοῦ' in prison, the situation described here is quite different: in the first place they praise God not after their salvation; in the second place we do not find here the combination ὕμνεῖν-δοξάζειν, but ὕμνεῖν-προσεύχεσθαι; in the third place it is not their adversary who hears them singing, but their fellow-prisoners (against De Jonge, *The Testaments...*, p.106; 158 n.320).
165. On this verse see II C.
166. See also n.155.
167. See the introducing word ποσάκις, which in my opinion clearly tends in this direction (see above).
168. Cf. ἀσθενόσασα... τοὺς στεναγμοὺς αὐτῆς. See also 7,1f.; 8,5.
169. Cf. 3,6; 8,1.
170. Praying was one of Joseph's actions in his 'struggle' against the woman. Nowhere do we read that he prayed in prison. On the contrary, there he praised and glorified God (see above); against De Jonge, *The Testaments...*, p.106.
171. συνῶν. Cf. 3,9 (νοήσας... ἔγνω).
172. See 7,1f.
173. This must not be connected with the beginning of vs.4 in such a way as to mean that, when Joseph heard the woman (in prison), he stopped praying (against De Jonge, *The Testaments...*, p.106).
174. Cf. also 5,2f.

See also  
Philo's Jos.  
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175. Cf. 1,4;2,2. See also I B and C. For the first part of this verse see IV A and n.249.
176. For these verses see II C.
177. Both of these terms come from the Greek world, and are originally neither Jewish nor Old Testament.
178. For such a use of *κατεργάζεται* see James 1,3; Pastor Hermae, Visio 2,3,1.
179. See also I E.
180. With regard to the Testaments, see T.Reub.6,10; T.Jud.19,2; T.Gad 5,3. See further among others II Chron.33,12,23; Ps.34,13f.LXX; Sir.2,17;7,17; Is.58,3; Ps.Sol.3,8; Matt.18,4; I Clem.53,2;55,6; Barn.3,1. For this idea of 'humility' see below.
181. *κύριος κατοικῆσει ἐν ὑμῖν* (10,2; cf. vs.3). For this expression see T.Zeb.8,2; T.Dan 5,1; T.Benj.6,4; cf. Barn.16,8ff.; Ign., Philad.8,1; Pastor Hermae, Mand.3,1; 10,1,6.
182. Cf.9,2. See also Ps.83,12 LXX.
183. ... *κῶν τις περιπέσῃ*... For such a use of *περιπέσκειν* see T. Dan 4,5 (in my opinion the correct text here is as follows: *ἐὰν ζημιῶ, ἐὰν ἀκαλεῶ τινὲ περιπέσῃτε*...); Dan.2,9 LXX; II Macc.6,13;9,21; 10,4; James 1,2; I Clem.51,2; cf. Acta Joannis 111(20)v.1.
184. Cf.1,3,7; see I A and B.
185. Cf.1,5; see I B and n.36.
186. Cf.8,4; see II A and esp.n.158.
187. *ἢ σκοπῶ* (b omits it because of *hmt.*). Cf.2,4; see I D.
188. This is motivated by vs.4, 'For in every way the man is held fast (*συνέχεται*), whether in deed, or in word, or in thought.' That is to say, the man in whom God dwells, is held fast by it completely, and does not give up his *σωφροσύνη*, so that he is saved and exalted by God. He does not sin, when God dwells in him, but keeps his *σωφροσύνη*. Cf. Job 31,23 LXX, *φόβος γὰρ κυρίου συνέσχευ με, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ λήμματος αὐτοῦ οὐκ ὑπόσω*, and see T. Joseph 10,5, ... *εἶχον τὸν φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῇ θειότητι μου*.
189. Cf.1,7; see I B.
190. See I B and esp.n.31.
191. Cf.2,7, *καὶ πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ δέδωκεν ἡ ὑπομονή*. See I E.
192. Cf. also Gen.49,25f.; Deut.33,13ff.
193. Hence it is often found in the Psalms.
194. See esp. T. Sim.4,5.
195. See esp. T. Joseph 18,1; see also n.191.
196. For this combination (T. Joseph 10,3), see also Ps.36,20 LXX; Is.4,2; cf. Ps.149,4f.
197. Cf. A. Weiser, *Die Knechtsgleichnisse der synoptischen Evangelien* (STANT 29), München 1971, p.185, 'In den Psalmen und auch im Midrasch lebt die Erzählung von der Erhöhung des Sklaven Josef, zum Teil wiedergegeben mit den gleichen Formulierungen, fort...'
198. It does not make much difference that in this text Joseph is saved and exalted by *σοφία*.
199. *οὐκ ἐγκατέλιπεν*. Cf. T. Joseph 2,4.
200. *ἐν δεσμοῖς*. Cf. T. Joseph 1,6;2,4.
201. Cf. Deut.33,13ff.
202. Against among others Becker, *op.cit.*, pp.229ff.; K.H. Rengstorf, 'Herkunft und Sinn der Patriarchen-Reden in den Testamenten der zwölf Patriarchen', in *La Littérature Juive entre Tenach et Mischna. Quelques problèmes*, sous

- la rédaction de W.C.van Unnik, Leiden 1974, pp.40f. Moreover, in T.Sim.2,13;3,4 too praying, weeping and fasting are the characteristics of the man in distress (c.g. Simeon) who asks God for salvation (c.g. for healing); see also T.Reub.1,8-10.
203. For  $\sigma\omega\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$  see the next section.
204. Hence it is not correct to emphasize this particular characteristic of Joseph, and to subordinate to it his fasting and praying, etc. (see also n.202).
205. See also T.Reub.6,5.10; cf. Ps.131(130), 1f.; Dan.5,22f.
206. See also I A.
207. Cf. I Ki.18,12; Ps.71(70),5; Eccl.12,1; Did.4,9; Barn.19,5. On the whole the time of youth is seen as a time in which one easily falls into -particularly sexual- sins; see, e.g., T.Reub.1,6;2,9; T.Jud.11,1 (over against 1,4); and further among others Prov.7,10 LXX;22,15; Plut., Mor.450F;496F-497 A. See also IV A and n.247. It is, however, striking that in T.Joseph 10,5  $\nu\eta\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$  is used.
208. The investigation concerning man's self-exaltation is partly based on material collected by Dr.K.Berger and the present author on the idea of  $\kappa\alpha\upsilon\chi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  in Paul. It is hoped that the conclusions of this study may be published in the future.
209. Cf. Philo, Virt.161ff.
210. Cf. T.Joseph 17,8.  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\gamma\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}$  is one of the words which occur regularly in the context of 'self-exaltation'.
211. Cf. T.Joseph 17,8.
212. For such a use of  $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\chi\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  see besides the texts mentioned (T.Joseph 10,5 and Wisd.5,9) further : Wisd.2,4; T.Job 33,8;34,4;43,7; James 1,10; Acta Thomae 88 (cf. Matt.24,35; Mark 13,31; Luke 21,33; II Peter 3,10; Did.10,6).
213. See also the Apocryphal Story of Joseph in Coptic, trsl. by J.Zandee (in Vig.Chr.15(1961), pp.193-213), p.18,36f., '...Joseph went to his brothers and he humiliated himself for them all'.
214. T.Joseph 17,8. Cf. I Cor.15,9; Eph.3,8.
215.  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\tau\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ . This expression belongs also to the context of self-exaltation and boasting. See, e.g., Ign., Trall.4,1, 'I have many thoughts in God,  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda'$   $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\mu\epsilon\tau\omega\delta\omega$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$   $\mu\grave{\eta}$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\kappa\alpha\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota$   $\acute{\alpha}\pi\delta\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ ...'.
216. ... $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$   $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\phi\theta\beta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$  (10,6). For the combination  $\tau\epsilon\mu\omega\delta\omega$  -  $\phi\theta\beta\epsilon\iota\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ , see further Levit.19,32; Prov.3,7.9;7,1a LXX; I Peter 2,17.
217. Cf. 10,5.
218. Cf. 9,2;10,2.
219. See Introduction and n.2. It is, however, very important that (as has been argued above) in this story many terms and expressions are used which have already occurred in the first two chapters of T.Joseph : so  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\mu\iota$   $\mu\omicron\iota$   $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\omicron\upsilon\lambda\kappa\omicron\upsilon\sigma\theta\eta\eta\alpha\iota$  (11,6; cf.2,1);  $\phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\kappa\iota\sigma\theta\eta\eta\alpha\iota$  (14,2; cf.2,3);  $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\pi\tau\epsilon\iota\upsilon$  (13,(4),9;14,1f.; cf.2,3);  $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  (11,2f.;13,6f.;15,2f. (17,7); cf.1,5; see, however,  $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$  in 10,3). On the other hand there are some terms which occur in both stories : so  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota\upsilon$  'until death' (11,3; cf.3,1);  $\tau\epsilon\mu\omega\rho\epsilon\iota\upsilon$  (14,1; cf.3,1,  $\tau\epsilon\mu\omega\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha$ );  $\eta\gamma\gamma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$  (14,4; cf.3,8); for  $\sigma\omega\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$  see below.
220. Cf.3,1. See I C; II A.
221. Cf.3,1. See II A.
222. Cf.2,3. See I C.
223. See 11,5.

224. ἀνόρθος μεγάλου. Cf. 10,6;15,5.
225. Cf. Gen. 42,24 and esp. 43,30f.
226. ἐτασθή is undoubtedly original. Cf. Esther 2,23 LXX, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἤτασεν τοὺς δύο εὐνοῦχοὺς καὶ ἐκράμασεν αὐτοὺς...
227. And one time (16,5f.) for the sake of an eunuch.
228. Cf. 10,2, ἐν ὑπομονῇ καὶ ταπεινώσει καρδίας. See above, and also II C and D.
229. 9,4. See II A.
230. See also the following.
231. Cf. Gen. 45,1.
232. αἰσχῶνη (αἰσχύνειν, κατααἰσχύνειν) and ὀνειδος (ὀνειδισμός, ὀνειδίζειν) are often parallel: see, e.g., T. Levi 15,2; Is. 30,5; 54,4; Jer. 15,9.
233. Also Joseph himself does not reproach (ὀνειδίζειν) his brothers (during his kingship): T. Joseph 17,4; T. Sim. 4,6. See below.
234. The same idea also occurs in Ps. 38,13ff. (37,14ff.); cf. Is. 53,7.
235. Cf. n. 234. See also K. Berger, 'Die königlichen Messias-traditionen des Neuen Testaments', NTST 20 (1973/74), p. 16 n. 58, '...und die Weisheitsschrift aus der Kairoer Geniza fol. 2b, 2ff.: 'Der Weg der Gerechten und Demütigen ist, sich schweigend beiseite zu halten, zu ertragen ohne Aufhören die Angriffe der Toren und sich nicht den Heuchlern anzuschließen.' ' For Jesus' silence, as it is described in the passion-narratives (and in I Peter 2,22 f.) see among others G. Schneider, Verleugnung, Verspottung und Verhör Jesu nach Lukas 22,54-71. Studien zur lukanischen Darstellung der Passion (STANT 22), München 1969, esp. p. 33 n. 56; p. 68 (no. 23). Silence as an expression of enduring injustice is a known motif in the martyr-traditions: see, e.g., The Martyrs of Lyons 1,20 (ed. Musurillo) 'Sanctus, too, withstood (ὑπέμειναν) all the indignities that men heaped on him with extraordinary, superhuman strength. These wicked men hoped that the severity and persistence of the tortures would make him say something that he should not; but he resisted them with such determination ὥστε μὴδὲ τὸ ἕδον κατακεῖν ὄνομα μῆτε ἔθνος μῆτε κλέως ὅθεν ἦν μῆτε εἰς ὁδὸς ἢ ἐλευθέρως εἴη...' (see also the following verses); The Martyrdom of Saint Irenaeus Bishop of Sir-mium 3,3 (ed. Musurillo); see also The Martyrdom of Pionius the Presbyter and his Companions 18,10 (ed. Musurillo); The Martyrdom of Saint Conon 2,7; 6,2 (ed. Musurillo). Finally, reference may be made to Plut., Mor. 487C, 'Thus it was with Cato: he so won over his elder brother Caepio by obedience and gentleness and silence (σιωπῇ) from his earliest childhood that finally, by the time they both were men, he had so subdued him and filled him with so great a respect for himself...' (text and translation from Plutarch's Moralia, ed./trsl. by W.C. Helmbold, Loeb ed. vol. VI).
236. b is not correct; read: ...μετ' οὐ καλῶ...
237. It is not clear whether the righteous man prays for salvation from his distress or prays for the evil-doer; the latter is quite possible.
238. εὐχέσθε ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. Cf. T. Gad 7,1; Matt. 5,44 and others. This motif is also found in the martyr-traditions; see, e.g., The Martyrs of Lyons 2,5 (ed. Musurillo). See also n. 237.

239. Cf. καρτερία in Philo. See above.
240. The same connection is also found in Philo; but there Joseph's silence is referred to esp. after his enthronement. See above.
241. ἐν μακροθυμίᾳ (read the singular, against b). For this term see I E.
242. Cf. Sir. 25, 1, 'Three things hath my soul desired, and they are lovely in the sight of God and men: the concord of brethren (ὁμόνοια ἀδελφῶν), and the friendship of neighbours, and a husband and wife suited to each other.' For such a use of τέρπεται see Wisd. 1, 13, 'Because God made not death; neither delighteth he when the living perish (οὐδὲ τέρπεται ἐπ' ἀπωλείᾳ ζώντων).'
243. Whereas ἡγάθησα refers to ἀγαπάτε (vs. 2) and ἀγάπην (vs. 3), οὐκ ἠνεύδισα takes up συγκροῦσθε ἀλλήλων τὰ ἐλαττώματα (vs. 2). This stands out more clearly, when one compares Prov. 17, 9 (LXX, ὅς κρύπτει ἀδικήματα, ζητεῖ φίλων; ὅς δὲ μισοῖ κρύπτειν, διώσθησιν φίλους καὶ οὐκείους) with Sir. 22, 20 (... καὶ ὁ ὄνειδος φίλων διαλύσει φίλων). For κατεκάλεσα see Gen. 50, 21, where Joseph 'comforts' his brothers, when they are afraid of his vengeance after Jacob's death, '... Thus he comforted them (κατεκάλεσεν αὐτούς) and set their minds at rest.'
244. Cf. T. Sim. 4, 6; see Gen. 47, 11f.; 50, 21.
245. For 17, 8; 18, 1-3 see above and I E; II C. 18, 4 (cf. T. Sim. 5, 1; T. Napht. 1, 7f.; Gen. 39, 6) and ch. 19-20 are not important for this subject (see Introduction and n. 2).
246. Cf. T. Jud. 16, 3, ... ἀπολέσθαι οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ ὑμῶν.
247. See Prov. 5, 5 (LXX, τῆς γὰρ ἀφορσῆς οἱ πόδες κατὰ γουστῶν τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτῇ μετὰ θανάτου εἰς τὸν ᾄδην...); 7, 27 (LXX, ὅσοι ᾄδου ὁ οἶκος αὐτῆς κατὰ γουστῶν εἰς τὰ ταυτεία τοῦ θανάτου); 5, 23 (LXX, ... καὶ ἀπέλετο δι' ἀφορσῆν); 7, 26 (LXX, πολλοὺς γὰρ τρώσσα καταβέβηκεν καὶ ἀναρῶντων εἰς αὐτὴν οὐκ κερθνευκεν); cf. 6, 32; Sir. 9, 6. 9. For the combination κερνεῖα - κλανῶν (T. Reub. 4, 6; cf. 5, 3; T. Jud. 17, 1; T. Benj. 6, 3) see also Prov. 7, 21 (LXX, ἀπεκλήθησαν δὲ αὐτὸν...); Sir. 9, 8, ... ἐν κήλει γυναικὸς πολλοὶ ἐκλανήθησαν... For the idea that esp. young people become easily victims of a πόρνη, see, e.g., Prov. 7, 10 LXX, ... ἢ ποιεῖ νέων ἐξέστασθαι καρδίας; Philo, Spec. Leg. III 51; Virt. 39f.; and see also n. 207.
248. ὄνειδος αὐτὸν ποιεῖ. Cf. 6, 3. This idea also occurs in the wisdom-literature: Prov. 6, 32f., 'So one who commits adultery is a senseless fool... he will get nothing but blows and contumely and will never live down the disgrace (LXX, τὸ δὲ ὄνειδος αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐξαλειφθήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα)'; cf. Sir. 23, 26.
249. In ch. 5 the well-known motif of κέρμητος occurs, through which women try to seduce men, and which is also found in T. Joseph 9, 5.
250. ἐφύλαξεν ἐαυτὸν Ἰωσήφ ἀπὸ πόσης γυναικὸς. Cf. Prov. 6, 24, 'to keep you from the wife of another man (LXX, τοῦ διαφύλασσειν σε ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ὑπεύδρου)...'
251. τὰς ἐνομοίας ἐκαθάρισεν (b is not correct) ἀπὸ πόσης κερνεῖας. Cf. T. Benj. 8, 2, 'He that hath a pure mind (ὁμόνοια καθαρῶν) in love, looketh not after a woman with a view to fornication (εἰς κερνεῖαν)...'; T. Reub. 6, 1; T. Joseph 4, 6.
252. εὐδεν χερῶν ἐνώπιον κυρῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων. For this expression, which stands over against 'it bringeth reproach upon him and derision with Beliar and the sons of men' (vs. 7); see

- also T.Sim.5,2;cf.Prov.3,3f.(cf.II Cor.8,21;Polyc.,Phil.6,1);Sir.45,1;Luke 2,52. With regard to Joseph, see T. Joseph 11,6;12,3;cf.Gen.39,4.21;50,4;Acts 7,10.
253. ἡ Αἰγυπτία. Cf.T.Joseph 3,1.6;4,3;8,1.5;16,5.
254. So already in II Ki.9,22 LXX, ...ἐτι αἱ κορυφαὶ Ἰεραβελ τῆς μητρὸς σου καὶ τὰ φάρμακα αὐτῆς τὰ πολλὰ (cf.Rev.9,21);Nahum 3,4 LXX. For the combination μάγοι - φαρμακοὶ see Dan.2,2;cf.Did.2,2;5,1;Barn.20,1.
255. See vs.1, καὶ ἀποστέλλει μοι βρῶμα ἐν γοητείᾳ κεφυραμένον. For γοητεῖα in this connection see,e.g.,Plut.,Mor.139A;256C.
256. ἐδέξατο. Cf.Sir.51,26,...καὶ ἐκιδεξάσθω ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν παιδεύαν...
257. See also Pastor Hermae,Visio 1,1,8;1,2,4;Mand.12,2,2. Without direct connection with the idea of κορυφαί, the expression ἐκθυμιά κωνηρᾶ also occurs elsewhere in Pastor Hermae : Visio 3,8,4;Mand.8,5;12,1,1ff.;12,2,4f.;Sim.5,1,5;5,3,6;6,2,1;9,25,2.
258. See 1,7;4,3.8;10,3.
259. See esp. the stereotyped formulation of the subject God in T.Reub.4,10;T.Sim.2,8 and T.Gad 2,5.
260. See I B.
261. For the construction ῥυεσθαι - ἐκ χειρῶν... which is found in T.Sim.2,8;T.Gad 2,5, see Ps.31,15(30,16), '...rescue me from my enemies (LXX, ῥύσασθε με ἐκ χειρῶν ἐχθρῶν μου) ...';71(70),4;82(81),4;97(96),10;Wisd.2,18;Esther 4,17(z) LXX.
262. See I A and esp.n.6,7 and 8.Cf.T.Joseph 6,5, ...ἐπλήρωσας αὐτὸ θανάτου... and 6,6, (God) ...ἀπεκάλυψε μοι τὴν καρδίαν σου...
263. Cf.vs.3, ἔχετε οὖν ἔλεος ἐν σιδήχωνοις ὑμῶν...
264. See 2,4ff.;4,2;cf.5,2.
265. See ch.6-7. For the whole of T.Zeb., and esp. for the problem of the longer and the shorter text in T.Zeb., reference may be made to M.de Jonge, 'Textual criticism and the analysis of the composition of the Testament of Zebulun', in Studies on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. Text and Interpretation, ed. by M.de Jonge, Leiden 1975 (ch.X), in which he argues that the longer text must be original.
266. See also 7,2f.
267. Cf.T.Joseph 17,4, καὶ ὅτε ἦλθον οἱ ἀόλεφοί μου εἰς Αἰγυπτου... For T.Sim.4,3, see also IV B2.
268. εἰς ὃν ἐμβλέποντες. Cf.Sir.2,10, ἐμβλέψατε εἰς ἀρχαῖας γενεάς. See also T.Sim.4,5, ...ἐννοῶντες τὸν πατράδελφον ὑμῶν (see IV B2) and T.Benj.3,1, ...μικροῦμενοι τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ ὄσιον ἀνδρὰ Ἰωσήφ (see IV C).
269. See also T.Joseph 17,2, ...συγκορθετε ἀλλήλων τὰ ἐλαττώματα. See III A.
270. Cf.Rom.4,7f.;I Clem.50,6.
271. Well-known epithets of God; see,e.g.,T.Jud.19,3;Ex.34,6;II Chron.30,9;Neh.9,17;Ps.86(85),15;103(102),8;111(110),4;145(144),8;Sir.2,11;Joel 2,13;Jonah 4,2.
272. For the expression 'not setting down in account evil to ...', see also T.Benj.3,6 (see IV C);II Sam.19,20 R(LXX);II Cor.5,19;Apoc.Sedr.16.
273. See,e.g.,Apoc.Mosis 27;T.Job 26,5;Apoc.Sedr.5;13 (here in connection with the remission of sins);14f.;II Clem.1,7;Polyc.,Phil.6,1;Pastor Hermae,Visio 1,3,2;cf.Prov.12,10;17,5 LXX;Luke 1,77f. (here in connection with the remission of sins). In the Testaments this combination occurs very often; see T.Sim.4,4;T.Zeb.,passim;T.Benj.4.

274. Moreover, Joseph's μακροθυμία, as it is found in this context in T. Joseph 17,2 (cf. 2,7; 18,3) and his ἀμνησκιακά, as it is found in Gen. 50; T. Sim. 4,4; T. Zeb. 8,4 are only different words for the same thing. See, e.g., Pastor Hermae, Mand. 8,10, ... μακροθυμον εἶναι, ἀμνησκιακῶν μὴ ἔχειν ... and I Clem. 62,2, ... μακροθυμίᾳ... ἀμνησκιακῶς...
275. For the attitude of ζῆλος towards Joseph, cf. Gen. 37,11 (LXX, ... ἐζήλωσαν...); see also Jos., Ant. II 10. In Gen. the attitude of φθόνος towards Joseph is not found; but it occurs in Jos., Ant. II 10; 13; 27; Philo, De Jos. 5. Cf. T. Dan 2,5; T. Gad 3,3; 4,5; T. Joseph 1,3(7); 10,3. See I A and n.5.
276. Vs. 8. For this formulation (see T. Gad 2,5; cf. T. Dan 1,9), see IV A and esp. n.261. For the expression ἀκοσιτάλλειν τὸν ἀγγελὸν αὐτοῦ, mostly used in connection with man's salvation by God, see II Chron. 32,21f.; II Macc. 15,22f.; Dan. 3,95 LXX; 6,23 Th; Acts 12,11; cf. Gen. 48,16; Ps. 34,7(33,8). See also T. Joseph 6,6f.
277. See esp. the formulation ὅτε κατέβημεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον; see IV B1 and n.267. For ἔδοξε με ὡς κατάσκοπον, see Gen. 42,24 and 42,9.11.14.16.31.34.
278. ἔχων πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐν ἑαυτῷ, which comes from Gen. 41,38. Cf. T. Benj. 8,2.
279. Cf. T. Joseph 17,2f.; T. Zeb. 8,5. See III A.
280. It is interesting that the subject of the verbs δοξάζειν and χαρίζεσθαι is often a monarch; in such cases both these verbs have to do with gifts the monarch grants to some people; so δοξάζειν in Esther 3,1; 6,6ff.; Dan. 1,20 LXX; 2,6; I Macc. 2,18; 10,65.88; 11,42.51; 14,39; so χαρίζεσθαι in Esther 8,7; II Macc. 1,35; IV Macc. 11,12; cf. II Macc. 4,32.
281. See also ἐνοῦντες τὸν πατρὸς δέλφον ὑμῶν. Cf. T. Zeb. 8,5; T. Benj. 3,1.
282. Discussion of ἀλάττης, which is one of the central themes in the Testaments, is outside the scope of this article.
283. 4,5, "...that God may give you also grace and glory, and blessing upon your heads, even as ye saw in his (=Joseph 's) case."
284. See also T. Joseph 1,7; T. Benj. 4,1. See II C.
285. ...ὡς πνεῦμα πονηρὸν καὶ ἰσθλὸν ἔχων, οὕτως φαίνεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις (vs. 9). See also 5,1b, ἐκ γὰρ παραχῆς τοῦ πνεύματος τὸ κρῖσκον ὀηλοῦ. Cf. T. Sim. 4,1f. (and also T. Joseph 7,1f.).
286. ἄρατος τῷ εἶδει καὶ καλὸς τῇ ὄψει. See Gen. 39,6 LXX, καλὸς τῷ εἶδει καὶ ἄρατος τῇ ὄψει... Cf. T. Napht. 1,7f.; T. Joseph 18,4.
287. For such a use of ἐνοικεῖν see, e.g., Rom. 7,17.20; cf. 7,18; cf. also Wisd. 1,4.
288. See also Introduction and n.2.
289. For vs. 8 see T. Gad 2,2; for (οὐδὲ ἔασε) τὸ ἀνδρῆμα τοῦτο ποιῆσαι... (vs. 9) see T. Zeb. 1,7; 4,12; T. Gad 2,5.
290. See De Jonge, *The Testaments...*, pp. 98f.
291. For the brothers' μίσος towards Joseph, see T. Joseph 1,4; Gen. 37,4.8; Jos., Ant. II 10; Philo, De Jos. 5.
292. Cf. T. Zeb. 2,3, Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἡμαρτον, ἐν παιδείᾳ παιδεύσατέ με... See also the Apocryphal Story of Joseph in Coptic (see n. 213) p. 18,38f., 'saying (to them), "Forgive me my dreams..."'
293. See also Levit. 19,15-18.
294. Ch. 2 will not be discussed. Here -in particular from vs. 3 onwards- we have to do with three different texts, "B" ;C; and A. The A-text is not without interest (cf. De

Jonge, The Testaments..., p.30, 'It has taken the leitmotiv of T.Jos.X 5 - XVII 1, Joseph's attempts to spare his brothers, and has developed this to almost ridiculous extremes', but it is (probably) secondary. See De Jonge, The Testaments..., pp.29f.

295. μιλούμενοι... ἰσθῆσθε. Cf. T.Sim. 4,5; T.Zeb. 8,5. See also T. Benj. 4,1, ...μῆσασθε... τὴν εὐστραγγυλίαν αὐτοῦ (= τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἀνδρός); see below.
296. See IV B2 and 3.
297. For such a use of ἀληθινός, see Job 1,1 LXX, 'There lived in the land of Uz a man named Job, καὶ ἦν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος ἀληθινός, ἀμεμπτός...' (see also 1,8; 2,3; 8,6).
298. See, e.g., I Sam. 9,2; II Sam. 18,27; Tobit 9,6 S; II Macc. 15,12; IV Macc. 4,1; cf. Luke 23,50; Acts 11,24.
299. See the context, in which also σοφός, δερμων, ἀσεβής, εὐσεβής, ἄδικος occur.
300. See the context, in which also ἄκακος, κανουργος, σοφός, δερμων, φρόνιμος occur.
301. For the expression ἀνὴρ δοῦλος which occurs in T. Benj. 3,1 in connection with Joseph, see also 5,4; Deut. 33,8; cf. T. Joseph 4,1, ...ὡς ἀγῶν ἀνδρῶν.
302. ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός also occurs in 4,1 (cf. vs. 2); 6,1; ἀνὴρ δοῦλος also occurs in 5,4.
303. So already in 3,2.
304. καὶ εἰάν τὰ πνεύματα τοῦ Βελζαρ εἰς πᾶσαν κούρησαν θλιβέως ἐξεπιφάνονται ὑμᾶς... Cf. T. Job 20,2, καὶ ἀπελθὼν (subj.: Satan) ἤρῃσατο τὸ σῶμά μου παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἕνα ἐπετέγγη μοι κληγὴν; 16,1f. v. 1., ...ὁ διάβολος... ἐξήρῃσατο κατ' ἐμοῦ τὸν κλέμον παρὰ τῷ θεῷ (V); Luke 22,31. See for the construction esp. Esther 8,12 (n) LXX, τὸν τε ἡμέτερον σωτήρα... Μαρδοχαίου κατ' ἐσθήρ... αἰτησόμενος (subj.: Haman) εἰς ἀπέλειαν.
305. κῆσοι. This is strongly reminiscent of the use of κῆσος and κῆσικος in T. Joseph. See II A.
306. ἠέλησαν ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν. The threat of death proved to be used very often in connection with Joseph. See I A and esp. n. 6,7 and 8.
307. See vs. 3, 'Fear ye the Lord...'
308. See vs. 3, '...and love your neighbour...'
309. οὐ δύναται κληγῆσαι.
310. τοῦ ἀέρλου πνεύματος τοῦ Βελζαρ. Cf. T. Sol. 16,3, ...ὁ Βελζεβοῦλ ὁ τῶν ἀέρλων καὶ ἐπιγέλων καὶ καταχθονῶν πνευμάτων δεσπότης...; 18,3; 22,1; cf. Eph. 2,2.
311. οὐ δύναται κυριευθῆναι. See vs. 3, ...κατακυριεύσθρ...
312. Although the text given here is textcritically beyond doubt, it is quite possible that τοῦ κυρίου was originally a gloss: it clearly disturbs the context, whereas on the other hand it could easily be put into the text by the scribe who did not understand the context, as a parallel to τοῦ φόβου τοῦ θεοῦ (vs. 4). It is interesting that MS d (and c) omits it.
313. Cf. T. Napht. 8,6, '...and the Lord shall hate him.'
314. Cf. T. Benj. 5,1, ...οἱ κούρητοι ἄνθρωποι εἰρηνεύσουσιν ὑμῖν... (see below). For the same complex of ideas, see also Ps. 106 (105), 41f.
315. 5,2 expresses the same theme; it also occurs in 4,3, '... even though they devise with evil intent concerning him. So by doing good he overcometh evil, being shielded (σχεπαζόμενος) by the good...'

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316. σκεπαζόμενος, used in T.Benj.3,4, is parallel to βοηθοῦμενος, used in 3,5. σκεπάζειν as an action of God is very often parallel to other verbs which express an action of 'saving', as βοηθεῖν, ῥύεσθαι, σῶζειν, etc. See, e.g., Ex.12,27; I Sam. 26,24 LXX; Judith 8,15; Ps.17(16),7f.; 27(26),5; 64,1f. (63, 2f.); 91(90),14; Ps.Sol.13,1ff.; cf. Ex.15,2; Judith 9,11; Ps. 71(70),4ff.; Sir.51,2f.; III Macc.6,6ff. The fact that it is said that man is shielded by the fear of God (T.Benj. 3,4) or by the good (T.Benj.4,3; cf.3,5, 'helped by the love...'), does not make much difference. In the first place, in T.Benj.3,4 in the example of Joseph, God himself is subject of σκεπάζειν. In the second place, the pious and God-fearing men are the very people who are shielded by him; see, e.g., Ps.31,19f. (30,20f.); 61,4f. (60,5f.).
317. b cannot be correct. The text now constituted (see n.3) reads : καὶ γὰρ ἐδέξατο τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωσήφ, ἵνα... According to the next verse (...ὁ τέκνον Ἰωσήφ) the subject of ἐδέξατο must be Joseph. See also below, n.320.
318. ἵνα μὴ λογίζηται αὐτοῖς ὁ κύριος. See IV B1.
319. εἴ τι ἐνεθυμήσαν κουνῆρον περὶ αὐτοῦ. See T.Sim.2,14, ἔγνω γὰρ, ὅτι κουνῆρον πρᾶγμα ἐνεθυμήσθη ἐνώπιον κυρίου. Cf. for such an expression Wisd.3,14; Matt.9,4; cf. T.Job 49,1.
320. The last two verses of ch.3 do not fit in the context. One expects that Jacob would pray to God and would ask forgiveness for his sons (Joseph's brothers). And indeed, vs.7 begins with καὶ οὕτως ἔβδ' Ἰακώβ (it is interesting that in the O.T. βδᾶν is often used as a description of calling on and praying to God, and so it can often be parallel to προσεῦχεσθαι/εὐχεσθαι - as in T.Benj.3,6f.: see Ex.8,8.12(8,4.8); I Sam.7,5.8f.; II Chron.32,20; Jonah 2,1f. (2,2f.); moreover, in these texts God is asked for salvation, whether for one's own salvation-II Chron.32,20; Jonah 2,1f. (2,2f.), or for another's sake (κερὶ)-Ex.8,8.12(8,4.8); I Sam.7,5.8f.). But instead of the prayer we expect, we read : 'O child Joseph, thou hast prevailed over the bowels of thy father Jacob.' And then, 'he embraced him, and kissed him for two hours...' (περιλαβὼν αὐτόν, ... κατεσχέλει. Cf. Gen.46,29. For the combination περιλαμβάνειν - (κατα-)φιλεῖν see Gen.29,13; 33,4; 48,10). Not only vs.7, but also vs.8 does not fit in the context. With regard to this verse Charles (in his Translation, p. 202) and Becker (in Die Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen (JSHRZ III 1), Gütersloh 1974, pp.132f.) think that 'concerning the Lamb of God and Saviour of the world' and 'in the blood of the covenant, for the salvation of the Gentiles and of Israel, and shall destroy Beliar and his servants' are Christian additions to the originally Jewish 'In thee shall be fulfilled the prophesy of heaven, that a blameless one shall be delivered up for lawless men, and a sinless one shall die for ungodly men'; so both scholars mentioned above hold in fact the A-text to be original. Charles remarks among other things, 'The idea of vicarious suffering and propitiation was not unfamiliar to pre-Christian Judaism, and especially with regard to the martyrs under Antiochus Epiphanes...' (Becker seems to agree with Charles). Charles' remark is, of course, right, but nowhere do we read that the martyr dies as a blameless and sinless

man for lawless and ungodly men. Moreover, it is altogether unlikely that ἀνόδος belongs to the Christian addition but ἄνομος belongs to the (original) Jewish text, as in T. Joseph 19,8 the expression ἀνόδος ἄνομος (cf. I Peter 1,19) occurs. Therefore I conclude that T. Benj. 3,8 cannot be divided into Christian and Jewish phrases. This verse is either wholly Christian or wholly Jewish. And this question can only be solved on the basis of a thorough investigation of related passages in the Testaments. This, however, would be far beyond the scope of the subject.

On these grounds it is likely that both these verses are additions to the original text of T. Benj. The textual difficulties of vs. 6 (see also n. 317) make this all the more probable. Moreover, vs. 8 has (almost) nothing to do with the figure of Joseph: Joseph has not died for the sake of others.

321. See IV B1 and 2.
322. στεφάνους ὁδῆς. It is obvious that by 'τὸ τέλος' also this reward (ὁδῆα) is meant. Moreover, see Philo, De Jos. 122, where Philo referring to Joseph's exaltation remarks, τοιαῦτα τῶν εὐσεβῶν τὸ τέλος... (cf. 246).
323. See II C.
324. Cf. 3,2, '...he that hath his mind right, seeth all things rightly (κρίντα βλέπει ὀρθῶς)'; see also T. Dan 2,4, 'For the spirit of anger encompasseth him with the nets of deceit, and blindeth his natural eyes (τυφλοῦ τοὺς φυσικοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ), (and) through lying darkeneth (σκοποῦ) his mind, and giveth him its own peculiar vision'; T. Gad 5,7, 'For true repentance after a godly sort... driveth away the darkness (τὸ σκότος), and enlighteneth the eyes (φωτίζει τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς)...'; cf. T. Jud. 13,6; 14,1.
- + 5,1 325. Cf. T. Zeb. 7,2; 8,1. See also T. Benj. 4,4; 5,4.
326. See above. Cf. 5,2; T. Joseph 18,2.
327. See also Rom. 11,32.
328. Since vs. 4 and 5 have not so much to do with the figure of Joseph as such (see also above), it is not necessary to discuss them in detail.
329. See, e.g., II Clem. 17,2, 'Let us then help one another, and bring back those that are weak in goodness, that we may all be saved, and convert and exhort one another (ἐπιστρέψωμεν ἀλλήλους καὶ νουθετήσωμεν)'; Pastor Hermae, Visio 1, 3, 1f.; Mand. 8,10; cf. Clem. Hom. 18,19,3.
330. Here, however, the woman's repentance is not brought about by Joseph's pious attitude as such, but by the miracle that Joseph as a pious man did. Without any doubt a (temporary) repentance on the part of the woman is meant. We hear that she wept (ἐκλάουσε), a reaction connected with the act of repentance (see, e.g., T. Reub. 1, 9f.; T. Sim. 2,13). Moreover, she promised to behave better (vs. 9), while also ὅτι in 7,1 points to the fact that in ch. 6 a (temporary) repentance is meant.
331. See also '...will reverence you...' in the same verse.
332. Undoubtedly, the statement 'For if any one does violence to a holy man, he repenteth (μετανοεῖ)' in T. Benj. 5,4 has the same meaning.
333. For T. Levi 13,4, see IV D and n. 348.
334. See also above.

335. See, besides the texts mentioned above, also T. Dan 5,1; James 4,7; Pastor Hermae, Mand. 11,14; 12,2,4; 12,4,7; 12,5,2.
336. For ἔλεεν see also above.
337. On Joseph's silence, see II A; III A. On Joseph's mercy and compassion, see IV B1 and 2.
338. See n.236.
339. For the idea of 'humiliation' (ταπεινοῦν) by others, see further also Ps. 38,8 (37,9); 94 (93),5; 106 (105),42; 116 (114),6; 116,10 (115,1); 142,6 (141,7); cf. 9,13 (14); 25 (24),18; 31,7 (30,8); Lament. 1,3.7.9. This idea of 'humiliation' by others is, however, not the same as the idea of 'self-humiliation', although both these ideas are related.
340. See esp. II C.
341. In ch.6 the description of the good man (cf. vs.1, ... τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἀνδρός ...) is continued. But because in my opinion it is not directly concerned with Joseph himself, it is not necessary to discuss this chapter (as well as the rest of T. Benj.); see also Introduction and n.2. In my dissertation (see n.1) I hope to return to the subject of the 'good man'.
342. ἐν ἀπλότητι. See n.282.
343. b is not correct. Read : αὐτοῦ.
344. See 19,2; cf. T. Reub. 3,8; T. Joseph 4,5.
345. διδάξατε... γράμματα. Cf. Dan. 1,4.
346. It is obvious that σύνεσις (vs.2) and σοφία (vs.7) mean the same thing; see, e.g., T. Zeb. 6,1; Ex. 35,31.35; I Chron. 22,12; II Chron. 1,10ff.; Judith 8,29; Job 28,20; Ps. 49,3 (48,4); Prov. 24,3; cf. Dan. 1,4; Prov. 16,21; 17,24; Sir. 3,29; 18,27ff.; 47,14. See also below.
347. For T. Levi 13,2bc reference may be made esp. to Sir., prol. 1ff., ... τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν... καὶ ὡς οὐ μόνον αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἀναγιγνώσκοντας δεῖν ἐστὶν ἐκιστήμονας γίνεσθαι... (cf. Deut. 17,19).
348. Cf. T. Benj. 5,1 (see IV C). In T. Levi 13 it is the wise man who -through his wisdom, his knowledge of the law and his fear of God- makes many friends.
349. Cf. Sir. 10,25. See also Philo, Leg. All. III 192ff.
350. For these verses, cf. Job 4,8; Prov. 11,21 LXX; 22,8; Sir. 7,1 ff.; Hos. 8,7; 10,12; Gr. Apoc. Bar. 15,2; II Cor. 9,6; Gal. 6,7ff.
351. Cf. Prov. 4,4f.; 17,16; Sir. 51,25.
352. κηρύσσει. Cf. ... σοφίαν κηρύσσει... in the same verse.
353. Text and translation from Plutarch's Moralia, ed./trsl. by W.C. Helmbold (Loeb ed., vol. VI).
354. Cf. 476A, ἡ δὲ τοῦ προνόμου δέδρασις...
355. Text and translation from Plutarch's Moralia, ed./trsl. by Ph.H. de Lacy and B. Einarson (Loeb ed., vol. VII).
356. λαμπρόν. Cf. Wisd. 6,12, λαμπρὰ καὶ ἀμείραντος ἐστὶν ἡ σοφία...
357. εἰάν διδάσκη ταῦτα... This, however, is different from what has been said in vs.2 (διδάξατε... γράμματα). In vs.9 it has to do with instruction in the law and in wisdom, which flows from it, in short with teaching the people to walk according to the law of God (see also καὶ κρᾶττη in the same verse).
358. On Joseph as the good man in the Testaments, see IV C.
359. For the idea that the wise man teaches (καταδιδόναι) see, e.g., Sir. 37,23, ἀνὴρ σοφὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λαὸν καταδίδουε...
360. Cf. also Wisd. 10,13f., where it is σοφία which saves Joseph from his oppressions and ... ἤνεγκεν αὐτῷ σκήπτρα βασιλείας.

361. Hence it is an overstatement to say that Joseph is '... für die Testamente...der Typus des Weisen' (Rengstorf, art. cit., p.43). Intentionally I have omitted a discussion on the Aramaic fragments of T.Levi. It is almost certain that these fragments and the corresponding Greek chapters go back to a common source (see, among others, De Jonge, The Testaments..., pp.38-52; 129-131). In the case of T.Levi 13 the question of which of the two texts is nearest to the original cannot be solved with any certainty (see also De Jonge, The Testaments..., p.43). It is, however, noteworthy that in the Aramaic fragments Joseph is explicitly mentioned in connection with wisdom: 'My sons, behold Joseph my brother, Who gave instruction in the writings and discipline of wisdom' (Charles, Translation, p.234; cf. Charles, Edition, p.255). If it is true that in T.Levi 13 the fragments are nearer to the original than the corresponding Greek text -which is quite probable in other passages (see also De Jonge, The Testaments..., p.42)-, it is the more striking that in the Greek T.Levi 13 the connection between Joseph and wisdom was not taken over from the original source.

SYNTACTICAL EVIDENCE OF A SEMITIC VORLAGE OF  
THE TESTAMENT OF JOSEPH

R. A. Martin

A. Method

In my book Syntactical Evidence of Semitic Sources in Greek Documents (SBL Septuagint and Cognate Studies, 3; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1974) a number of Greek syntactical features were isolated by means of which it may often be determined whether a Greek document, or part of it, is a translation of a Hebrew or Aramaic original. These syntactical features are as follows:<sup>1</sup>

(a) Syntactical features which are less frequent in Greek which is a translation of Hebrew or Aramaic than in original Greek prose writings:

(1) eight prepositional usages: dia with the genitive; dia with all its cases; eis; kata with the accusative; kata with all its cases; peri with all its cases; pros with the dative; hypo with the genitive;

(2) the use of de;

(3) the separation of the article from its substantive;

(4) the placement of a genitive before the word upon which it depends;

(5) the placement of attributive adjectives before the words they qualify;

(6) the use of the adverbial (circumstantial) participle;

(7) the use of the dative case; other than its use as the object of en.

(b) Syntactical features which are more frequent in Greek which is a translation of a Semitic original than in original Greek:

(1) the use of the preposition en;

(2) the use of kai to join main (independent) clauses;

(3) the use of genitive personal pronouns;

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1. Cf. Martin, Syntactical Evidence, pp. 1-43.