

### III

## THE EARLIEST TRACEABLE STAGE OF THE TEXTUAL TRADITION OF THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

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The textual tradition of the Greek pseudepigraphical writing *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* rests on twenty-six witnesses \* Eight out of these twenty-six depend exclusively on one or another surviving exemplar of the Greek text A textcritical reconstruction of the *Testaments* has therefore to be based on the testimony of eighteen witnesses, viz

- 11 MSS containing a continuous Greek text (*a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, l, m*),<sup>1</sup>
- 3 MSS containing excerpts from the Greek text (*k, n, Fm<sup>d</sup>*),
- 4 translations made after the Greek (Arm, Slav, Serb, Ngr)

As two witnesses, *b* and *k*, show peculiar errors in common as against all the other witnesses, these other witnesses can not possibly derive from *bk* Nor can *bk* derive from any of the other witnesses, since all witnesses except *b* and *k* exhibit common errors as against *bk* Thus the primary split in the textual tradition of the *Testaments* is into two branches or families :<sup>2</sup>

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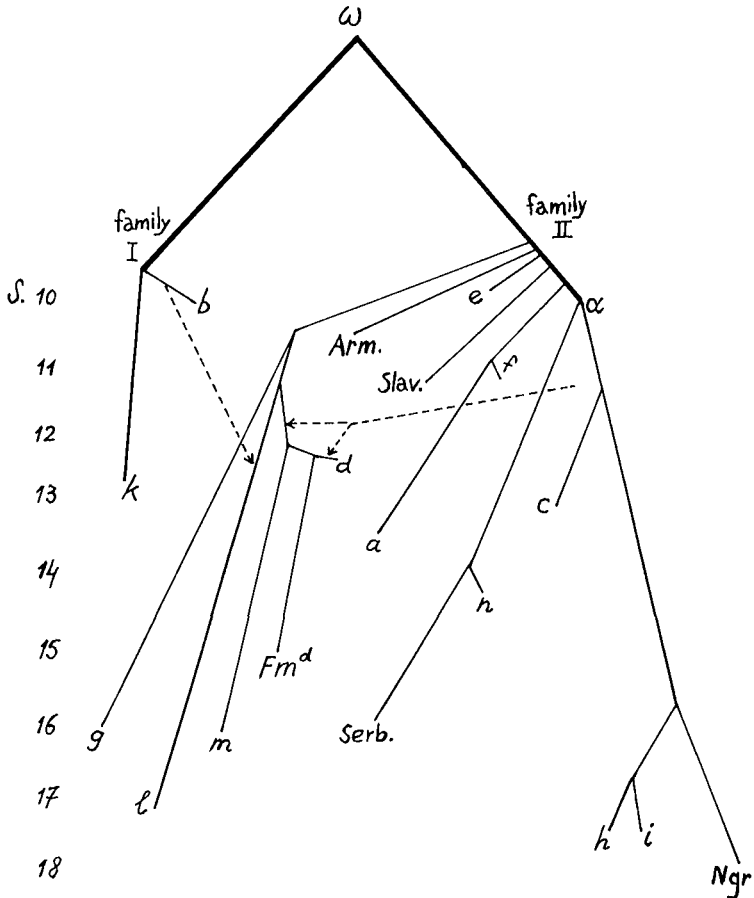
\* I am grateful to H E Gaylord who checked the English of this article

<sup>1</sup> For a descriptive list of the MSS to which these sigla refer, see *ZNW* 63, 1972, pp 27-8, in this volume pp 45-46

<sup>2</sup> For the discussion on stemmatic 'Zweispaltigkeit' see J Bedier, La tradition manuscrite du "Lai de l'Ombrie", *Romania* 54 1928, pp 161 ff and 321 ff, J Andrieu, 'Principes et recherches en critique textuelle' *Memorial des Et Lat offert a J Marouzeau*, Paris 1943, pp 458 ff, J Fourquet 'Le paradoxe de Bedier' *Publ de la Fac des Lettres de l'Univ de Strasbourg*, fasc 105, Melanges 1945 II (Et litter), Paris 1946, pp 1 ff P Maas *Textkritik*, Leipzig 1960<sup>4</sup>, pp 29-30, J Irigoin, 'Stemmas bifides et etats de mss', *Revue de philologie* 80 (3d Series 28) 1954, pp 211 ff, A Castellani, *Bedier, avait-il raison?* (Discours Universitaires, N S 20), Fribourg (Switzerland) 1957, S Timpanaro, *Die Entstehung der Lachmannschen Methode*, Hamburg 1971<sup>2</sup>, Anhang 3, 'Zweigeteilte Stemmata und Kontamination', pp 115-50 *idem*, 'Ancora su stemmi

family I, consisting of the witnesses *b* and *k*;

family II, comprising all the other witnesses: *g l m d Fm<sup>d</sup> Arm. e Slav. af Serb. nchi Ngr.* Within family II, *g l d m Fm<sup>d</sup>* and *Serb.-nchi Ngr.* (= *α*) form 'sub-families'. (See diagram).<sup>3</sup>



Stemma codicum et versionum libri qui vocatur  
*Testamenta duodecim Patriarum charum*  
(cf n 3)

bipartite contaminazione', *Maia* 17, 1965, pp 392-9, W Hering, 'Zweispaltige Stemmata Zur Theorie der textkritischen Methode', *Philologus* 111, 1967, pp 170-185, A Kleinlogel, 'Das Stemmproblem', *Philologus* 112, 1968, pp 63-83

<sup>3</sup> This stemma differs on three points (*g*, *Arm* and *Slav*) from the one I published in 1972 I willingly agree with Th. Korteweg that *g* has to be connected with the group *lmd*, and that *Slav* has to be detached from *af* and inserted between *e* and *af* (see Korteweg's contributions to this symposium, Ch IX and XI) On *Arm* see M de Jonge in Ch VIII

It follows that, in establishing the text of the *Testaments*, it is only by comparing the readings of family I with those of family II that one can try to restore the archetype<sup>4</sup>  $\omega$  of the whole tradition.

It will be obvious that the reconstruction of the archetype is far from being a mechanical operation.<sup>5</sup> Where both families agree, usually one has the text of the archetype; but where they do not agree, either or neither may have the text of  $\omega$ . Especially at this point the textual critic of the *Testaments* has to take into account all relevant external and internal evidence which is available. Not only here indeed his method will be eclectic.<sup>6</sup>

In many cases it is not easy to choose between the reading of family I and that of family II. To quote only a few examples:

<i>T. Levi</i> IX,5	καταλῦσαι	fam. I]	καταμείναι	fam. II
<i>T. Jud.</i> XXIII,5	ἐν ἀγάπῃ	fam. I]	ἀναγάγη/-ει	fam. II
<i>T. Iss.</i> IV,5	πορισμόν	fam. I]	περισπασμόν	fam. II
<i>T. Iss.</i> VII,3	ἐπόθησα	fam. I]	ἐπεθύμησα	fam. II

But the difficulty of deciding in such cases is not the only circumstance warning against optimism as to the degree of reliability which one can attain in reconstructing  $\omega$ , let alone in establishing the original text of the *Testaments*, which is something different. Another, even more serious problem is that in a great many of instances the readings of the hyparchetypes of family I and of family II cannot be reconstructed with certainty. As for family I, this uncertainty is due to the hiatuses in *k*. In family II it is a result of contamination (in *l* from a MS. related to *b*, and in *d* and *dm* from MSS. related to  $\alpha$ ), and of the divergencies between the readings of different witnesses. At times these divergencies are considerable and their development cannot be determined.

<sup>4</sup> I use the term archetype in the sense of last common source of the surviving tradition ('le-plus-proche-commun-ancêtre-de-la-tradition', as Dan termed it)

<sup>5</sup> Cf. P. Maas, *Textual Criticism*, Oxford 1958, p. 6 'We have here variants, between which it is not possible to decide on the lines of our procedure hitherto'

<sup>6</sup> The genealogical method *as a whole* primarily consists in judging variants and marking them either as (separative or conjunctive) errors, or as correct readings. The decision whether a reading is an error or not, often requires a cautious weighing of all kinds of evidence. This reminder has become necessary, it seems, since recent writers on the *Testaments* have recommended internal criticism and eclecticism as methods different from a consistent stemmatic procedure — whereas these are just components of it.

Here it should also be pointed out that in the ninth century or even earlier the size of the *Testaments* seems to have been reckoned at 5100 *stichoi*, whereas the last common source of all witnesses known today can only have contained *c.* 2600 *stichoi*, hardly more than half of the number recorded in Nicephorus' *Stichometry*.<sup>7</sup>

In the light of all this it may be a significant fact that no witness of the *Testaments* is earlier than the tenth century, which means that the whole surviving MS. tradition, without exception, may derive from one ninth- or tenth-century minuscule codex.

The question whether the archetype of the *Testaments* has been a minuscule or a majuscule codex, is of extreme importance for an evaluation of the reliability of the text reconstructed on the basis of the surviving witnesses. The degree of reliability which can be attained by such a reconstruction does not seem to worry many readers of the *Testaments*. The critic who cares for the trustworthiness of his knowledge, however, has to form a clear idea concerning the textual reliability of the documents on which his knowledge depends. Since texts are the foundation of all philological investigation, the least possible doubt should remain as to how far they are reliable.

If then the archetype of the *Testaments* was a MS. in minuscule script, our knowledge of the text does not reach back beyond the ninth century.<sup>8</sup> In that case the whole surviving MS. tradition is dependent on only one single majuscule codex of uncertain date. All other majuscule copies in which the text of the *Testaments* must have circulated during the first millennium of our era would have perished without leaving any trace, i.e., without contributing to our

<sup>7</sup> On the *Stichometria* of Nicephorus, see J. Leipoldt, *Geschichte des ntl. Kanons* I, Leipzig 1907, p. 100: "Das Verzeichnis geht in der vorliegenden Form nicht auf Nicephorus zurück, sondern muss um die Mitte des neunten Jahrhunderts in Jerusalem entstanden sein. Es ist aber immerhin möglich, dass der Grundstock von Nicephorus herrührt. Vielleicht ist aber auch Nicephorus nur der Bearbeiter älterer Vorlagen gewesen. In einer Beziehung erinnert die Stichometrie des Nicephorus sogar an den Kanon des Euseb von Caesarea." Cf. also Th. Zahn, *Geschichte des Nt. Kanons* II, Erlangen-Leipzig 1890, pp. 295-301.

<sup>8</sup> The only thing we know about the wording of the text in earlier centuries is that the words ἤπαρ πρὸς ὁμοιον and νεφροὺς εἰς πανουργίας in *T. Napht.* II,8 were already extant in a copy of the *Testaments* used by Jerome: "in libro quoque Patriarcharum ita inveni, ut quomodo *fel ad macundiam* sic *venes ad calliditatem* et ad *astutiam* sint creati" (E. Schurer, *Gesch. d. Jud. Volkes*<sup>4</sup>, III, p. 353). But Jerome's quotation arouses doubts as to the textual reliability of the words which the surviving MSS. present between the two Greek parts of the sentence just quoted.

knowledge of the history of the text, and without removing any of our doubts about the reliability of its reconstructed archetype.

Of course it detracts from the textual trustworthiness of any ancient Greek writing, when its archetype turns out to have been a minuscule copy and its majuscule tradition proves to have perished without any progeny except the one MS. which was the result of transliteration. In the case however of a popular book like the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, of which any exemplar may have been an individual recension, the disappearance of the majuscule tradition amounts to as much as a disaster. For we cannot assume that the uncial MS. which was transliterated in the ninth or tenth century, on which all the surviving witnesses depend, has been selected because of the purity of its text. If the scribe who transliterated the *Testaments* would have had the option of different MSS. — which is by no means probable —, he would not have known how to make the right choice.

If on the other hand the archetype of the *Testaments* has been a majuscule codex, then it is likely to have been earlier than the tenth century, and perhaps much earlier. But in that event one may also draw another conclusion, one of much greater importance in fact. In case the archetype was a majuscule copy, the surviving MS. tradition can only be split into two families if the *Testaments* have been transliterated at least twice from majuscule script into minuscule script.

In theory both transliterations might have been executed on the basis of one and the same majuscule model.<sup>9</sup> But in certain instances of double transliteration one branch of the tradition has been proved to derive from the transliteration of a different uncial book than the rest of the tradition. This is, for instance, the case with Plato.

\*In the tradition of Plato one manuscript (Vienna, supp gr 39) differs greatly from all others in its errors, and it is difficult to believe it derived from the same ninth-century exemplar, it may derive from the transliteration of a different uncial book, so that at least two old books would seem to have survived the dark ages. A confirmation of this is that when a Greek text has been translated into an Oriental language at an early date, perhaps the fifth century, the readings which are characteristic of the Oriental translation may occur also in a small group of the Greek manuscripts. This is true of the Armenian version

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<sup>9</sup> This possibility, which is generally disregarded, was brought to my notice by G J Wieberdink, of The Hague, who has investigated the textual tradition of some Hippocratic writings

of some of Plato's dialogues, the Arabic version of Aristotle's *Poetics*, and, if the example of a patristic text may be admitted here, of the Syriac translation of St Gregory of Nyssa's *de vngmitate*<sup>10</sup>

Accordingly, it is generally supposed that if a Greek text has been transliterated twice, two different uncial copies have served as models.

'S'il y eut pour un texte deux, trois et même quatre translitterations, c'est qu'elles furent exécutées dans des centres indépendants les uns des autres, et souvent à des dates éloignées, c'est le cas pour Sophocle Des *Discours* de Demosthène, de l'*Anabase* de Xénophon, nous avons deux translittérations, qui nous donnent deux textes parfois difficilement reductibles l'un à l'autre'<sup>11</sup>

Now it makes a considerable difference for the date of the archetype of a text, whether its surviving MSS. descend from one uncial copy or from two. For if a MS. tradition rests on *two* uncial copies dating from, e.g., the early middle-ages, the archetype dates with more probability back to late antiquity than in the case that all known MSS. derive from *one* single early-medieval codex in uncial writing. And as, *ceteris paribus*, an archetype dating from, e.g., Jerome's time claims more confidence regarding the condition of its text than one from the time of John of Damascus, it adds to the textcritical reliability of a reconstructed text, if its transmission can be traced back to more than one uncial copy.

A certain *terminus ante quem*, then, for an archetype is supplied by variants which can only have arisen from misreadings of majuscule script: e.g. between E, Θ, O, and C, and between A, Λ, and Δ.<sup>12</sup>

When we turn now to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, a fine specimen of the first kind of misreading can be registered in *T. Dan* VI, 6. There the patriarch says: "And it shall be in the time of the lawlessness of Israel, that the Lord will depart from them. He will go over to nations, ἐπι ἔθνη, that do his will".<sup>13</sup> Thus family II. In lieu of ἐπι ἔθνη, *b* has ὀπισθε, which makes the

<sup>10</sup> L D Reynolds, N G Wilson, *Scribes & Scholars, A Guide to the Transmission of Greek & Latin Literature*, Oxford 1968, p 52, 1974<sup>2</sup>, p 53

<sup>11</sup> A Dain, *Les manuscrits*, Paris 1964, p 130

<sup>12</sup> P Maas, *op cit* (sec n 5), p 36 For the groups of letters liable to be confused with each other in Greek uncial script, see B A van Groningen, *Traité d'histoire et de critique des textes grecs* (Verh der Kon Ned Akad van Wetensch, Afd Lett, N S, LXX, no 2), Amsterdam 1963, pp 88-89 and the literature quoted there

<sup>13</sup> As far as possible I use the English translation of R H Charles, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Translations of Early Documents, Series I, Palestinian Jewish Texts, pre-Rabbinic), London 1917

sentence incomprehensible : μετελεύσεται ὀπισθε ποιῶντα τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ. For ὀπισθε ποιῶντα *k* reads ἔμπροσθεν ποιούντων, which is obviously an attempt to improve the sense and the syntax of the corrupted sentence as given by *b*. How to account for ὀπισθε in *b*? That the most plausible explanation is that it is a transcriptional error, follows from a comparison of the words ἐπὶ ἔθνη (or ἔθνει, as it is written in *g*) and ὀπισθεν written in uncials :

ΕΠΙΕΘΝΕΙ or -NH  
ΟΠΙCΘΕΝ.

To my mind there is no better explanation for the reading of *b* (ὀπισθε) than that the scribe of one of its ancestors has misread the majuscule script of his model. The reading of family II on the other hand reflects a correct transliteration. Consequently, two different transliterations underlie the textual tradition of family I and that of family II.

Misreadings of the same character account for the variants of family I and family II in several other places. So in *T. Jos.* VII, 1. There family II reads: “But still, ἔτι δέ, her heart was addicted to licentiousness...”. Instead of ἔτι δέ, *b* has ὅτι δέ: “But because her heart etc.”. As a result of this mistake *b* also omits the conjunction καὶ which links the sentence quoted above with what follows: “and sighing deeply she became downcast”. As a matter of fact the mistake may also have been made the other way around. In that case ὅτι (*b*) has been misread to ἔτι (family II) and καὶ has been added. It is difficult to decide which reading is at the root of the corruption, and which is the result of it, but in any event the corruption is due to misreading of majuscule script. Either ETI has been read as OTI, or OTI as ETI.

To a similar mistake *b* owes its reading Βησσοῦς, at least the final sigma of this name, in *T. Jud.* VIII, 2. For here it is clear that not family II, but *b* is at fault. In *b* Judah’s wife (“Shua” in Gen. 38,2) is constantly called Βη(σ)σοῦε, except in the passage under consideration, where her name is Βησσοῦς. In family II her name ends in -σοῦε, not only in *T. Jud.* VIII,2, but also in X,6; XIII,3; XVI,4 and XVII,1. The reading Βησσοῦς of *b* in *T. Jud.* VIII,2 is best explained as a faulty transcription of BHCCOYE, i.e. as a misreading of majuscule script.

Confusion of the majuscules E and O has also played a part in the development of the text in *T. Iss.* IV, 5. Here a description is given of how a single-hearted man behaves :

“wrath overmastereth not his wit,  
 envy melteth not his soul,  
 neither doth his mind run covetously upon gain”.<sup>14</sup>

In *b* (*k defic.*) the last line runs: οὐδὲ πορισμὸν ἐν ἀπληστείᾳ ἐννοεῖ. The word πορισμός means, in this context, “gain”. But instead of πορισμὸν all witnesses of family II have περισπασμὸν, “occupation”, usually “toiling occupation”, “worry” (e.g. Ecclesiastes I, 13 LXX, and especially II,26, cf. *T. Gad* VII,6; in Epict. III,22,72 περισπασμός is connected with ἀσχολία). The verb ἐννοεῖν, “think of”, here — as often — in the sense of “intending to do, or to bring about” fits somewhat better with “gain” than with “toiling occupation”, I think, and the same is true for the words ἐν ἀπληστείᾳ, “in insatiate desire, greediness”. But on the other hand the transcriptional evidence is more in favour of περισπασμός. Not so much on account of the confusion of E and O, which may have worked in either direction, but because of the close similarity of Π and Μ in certain types of uncial script. “Il faut se rappeler qu’à partir du moment où le tracé de l’écriture [onciale grecque] prit un caractère cursif, la lettre *mu* se confondit avec la lettre *pi*”.<sup>15</sup> Accordingly, the combinations -CΠ- and -CM- in the word περιCΠαCΜος may have resembled each other very much. This may have caused a *saut du même au même*, as a result of which the letters -CΠA- were omitted. This explanation presupposes however that the mistake was made by a scribe who copied the *Testaments* after an exemplar in uncial script.

Several variant readings have been induced by confusion of A, Δ, and Λ. A curious instance of this error occurs in *T. Zeb.* I, 1. According to *b* (*k defic.*), Zebulun spoke his last words to his sons “*thirty-two* years after the death of Joseph”, μετὰ λβ’ ἔτη κτλ. According to family II he did so “*two* years after the death of Joseph” (μετὰ δύο ἔτη).<sup>16</sup> As early as 1698 J.E. Grabe has observed

<sup>14</sup> After the sixteenth-century translation of Arthur Golding, of which I use a copy of the edition Glasgow 1684

<sup>15</sup> A Dam, *Les manuscrits*, Paris 1964, p 131

<sup>16</sup> In a foot-note to his German translation in *Judische Schriften aus hellenistisch-romischer Zeit*, III, Gutersloh 1974, J Becker states “hg 32” This is incorrect. in *g* (and in *h*) the words μετὰ — Ἰωσήφ are missing Becker has copied the error from Charles’ textcritical apparatus, though he could have observed that Charles’ note 9 contradicts his note 8 Apparently Becker’s textual criticism dispenses with collations

that the reading  $\delta\upsilon\omicron$  of witness *a* should be preferred to the reading  $\lambda\beta'$  of *b*. In a note he pointed out that "thirty-two" is an error for "two" "male XXXII pro duobus annis positi sunt". The same conclusion had already been drawn by H. Dodwell,<sup>17</sup> who had examined the chronological information contained in the *Testaments*: "rectius in Graeco 2 annis post mortem Josephi, quam in Latino 32"<sup>18</sup>. That the reading  $\lambda\beta'$  cannot be right, may appear from the following calculation. Joseph died at the age of 110 (Gen. 50,22). Zebulun died when he was 114 (*T. Zeb.* 1,1). If Zebulun's death is dated thirty-two years after that of Joseph, the latter would have been born  $110 + 32 - 114 = 28$  years earlier than Zebulun. But this would contradict Gen. 30, 19-24, where Joseph is supposed to be born later than Zebulun was. If on the contrary Zebulun died only two years after Joseph, the latter would have been born two years after Zebulun. This is a disparity in age between Joseph and Zebulun which is perfectly in keeping with the chronological implications of Gen. 30, 19-24.

How can the lambda have entered into the text? The answer is obvious: it is no more than the repetition of the last letter of the preceding word  $\mu\epsilon\tau\Lambda$ . It may be clear that the dittography could not simply result in  $AB'$ , for in that case the interval between Joseph's and Zebulun's death would amount to 1002 years. Yet the mistake is best explained as occasioned by misreading of uncial script.

The same applies to a variant reading in *T. Levi* VI,1. Here it is said that the mountain *Aspis*, on which Levi saw his vision of the heavens, was near *Gebal*, to the south of "Abila". The latter geographical name is given by *b* as  $\text{`}\Lambda\beta\iota\lambda\alpha$  (*k. defic.*). Family II reads  $\text{`}\Lambda\beta\iota\mu\alpha$ .<sup>19</sup> The variation can be explained in three different ways. Either (1)  $\alpha\beta\iota\Lambda\Lambda$  (*b*) is a haplography of  $\alpha\beta\iota\text{MA}$  misread as  $\alpha\beta\iota\Lambda\Lambda$ . Or (2)  $\alpha\beta\iota\text{MA}$  (family II) is a dittography of  $\alpha\beta\iota\Lambda\Lambda$ . Or (3) the primitive reading was  $\alpha\beta\iota\Lambda\Lambda\Lambda$ , and *b* gives a haplographic spelling

<sup>17</sup> On Dodwell, see our study "Die Patriarchentestamente von Roger Bacon bis Richard Simon", in this volume pp. 3-42, esp. 32-36.

<sup>18</sup> H. Dodwellus, "Tabula Chronologica contracta de annis Patriarcharum", in Grabe's edition, and in J. A. Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphus V T.*, I, Hamburg 1722<sup>2</sup>, p. 753.

<sup>19</sup> Thus *g e af*. In *ldm* the two consonants have been transposed. This secondary error may have been induced by the close similarity of beta and mu in older minuscule script. But it can also have arisen spontaneously: transposition of letters is very common. In *chu* any equivalent to "to the south of Abila" is missing.

-ΛΑ for -ΛΛΑ,<sup>20</sup> whereas family II presents the common misreading of -ΛΛ- as -Μ-<sup>21</sup> Whatever may be the error, it was made by a scribe who copied from an uncial

In *T Jud* III,7 the “King of all the kings” whom Jacob slew is called Βεελισα, thus *b* (*k defit*) According to family II his name was Βεελισαδ, though the final dental is written -τ by *ld*, and -ο by *af chu* The shorter form ending in -α (*b*) may be an attempt at de-barbarising the giant’s name But it is very possible as well that -Α is a haplography of -ΑΔ, misread as -ΑΑ- — if indeed the reverse is not the case

If in majuscule script a lambda is followed too closely by an iota the combination may look like the letter nu, especially in majuscule script of a sloping type (ΛΙ ∞ Ν). Thus in the MSS of 2 Peter II,18 οΛΙγως alternates with οΝτως<sup>22</sup> The reverse of this error has occurred to the scribe of some ‘ancestor’ of *b* When he had to copy, in *T Jos* XV,3, that Joseph desired greatly, παΝυ, to weep, he wrote down that he desired again, πύΛιν, to weep Obviously the scribe who made this error availed himself of a model in majuscule script Family II has remained free from the error in question<sup>23</sup> The difference between the readings ΛΗστρεύοντα of *b* and ΝΗστρευοντα of family II in *T Ash* IV,3 must have arisen from a similar oversight

Confusion of gamma, iota and tau is usually considered as due to misreading of uncial writing<sup>24</sup> Yet some caution should be exercised as to this inference Iota and tau could almost as easily be confused in minuscule writing as in majuscule writing, this is reflected in the many instances of confusion of καί and κατ(ά) definitely of recent date To quote some examples from only one Testament

<sup>20</sup> The reading -ΙΛΛ for -ΙΛΛΑ is not even a textcritical haplography, but only an orthographical variant In Greek MSS the letters for liquids between vowels, especially -λ- and -μ-, are often arbitrarily written single or double

<sup>21</sup> “If two lambdas were written too close together they could be taken as the letter mu, as has happened at Rom VI,5 where most MSS have ΑΛΛΑ (‘but’) but others have ΑΜΑ (‘together)”, B M Metzger, *The Text of the NT*, Oxford 1968<sup>2</sup>, p 187

<sup>22</sup> Metzger, *loc cit*

<sup>23</sup> Παλιν *b* (*k defit*) ] πανυ *gdm e af ch, lom, i incertae lectonis*

<sup>24</sup> See e.g. B A van Groningen, *Traite* (see n 12), p 88 “Dans la majuscule on a souvent confondu I, Γ, et T” On p 89 Van Groningen points out that especially on papyrus I and T were liable to confusion Cf also Dain, *op cit*, (n 15), p 47

- T. Levi* IX,2 κατά ] καὶ *d solus*.  
 IX,9 καὶ ἔλεγεν ] κατέλεγεν *f solus*.  
 XIV,7 καὶ κατὰ ] κατὰ *df*, καὶ *m*.  
 XIV,8 καταπαίξετε] καὶ καταπαίξεται *k solus*.  
 XIX,2 κατὰ ] καὶ κατὰ *chi*.

And when in the course of time more and more majuscule forms, among these that of the gamma, crept into the minuscule script and showed themselves side by side with their purely minuscule equivalents,<sup>25</sup> the gamma, too, could give again occasion to confusion with tau and iota. An example of such a recent confusion may be found in *T. Jos.* XII,2 :

γῆς *b, k defic.*, *gldm e af c (i incertae lectionis)* τῆς *h solus*.

Nevertheless a number of variants induced by confusion of gamma, iota and tau may be due to misreading of majuscule writing. For that reason I signalise here three cases in which the reading of family I (in each case = *b*) stands against that of family II.

- T. Sim.* VIII,4 τῆ (Αἰγ.) ] γῆ *d e*, τῆ γῆ *l af chi, gm defic*.  
*T. Jud.* I,6 καὶ εὐδοούμενος] κατευδοούμενος *gdl e af chi*,  
 καταιδούμενος *m*.  
*T. Jos.* XIII,8 τῆς (Xav.) ] γῆς *gldm e af ch, i incertae lect*.

Finally I cannot refrain from recording a most curious instance of confusion of Π and Γ. Most readers of the Greek Testament will remember the alternative readings in 2 Peter ii.13, where αΠαταις (“deceptions”, thus Codex Sinaiticus) stands against αΓαταις (“love meals”, thus Codex Vaticanus). The corruption dates back to the second or third centuries A.D. Much the same transcriptional error disfigures — or rather: adorns — the text of *T. Jud.* XXIII,5. There Juda foretells his sons that in the last times the Lord will visit them with mercy and, according to *b*, with love, εναγαΠη, (to deliver them) from the captivity of their enemies. According to all other witnesses, however, the Lord will visit them with mercy and will bring them up, αναγαΓη, from captivity among the gentiles. I suspect the reading of *b* to be grammatically too unwieldy to be right. But whatever may have been the original reading, there is

<sup>25</sup> E. M. Thompson, *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography*, London 1906, p. 161.

a great chance that the corruption has arisen from the misreading of uncial script.

Presumably there are more divergencies between the text of family I and that of family II which can be traced to different interpretations of uncial characters.<sup>26</sup> But among the thirteen instances mentioned so far there may be one that convinces the reader. And one convincing instance suffices to warrant the conclusion that the transliteration underlying *bk* is another than that or those on which the text of all other witnesses rests.

Incidentally it may be observed, that the variant readings mentioned need not have arisen at the very moments of transliteration. Misreading of majuscule script has caused errors as long as majuscules have been copied. A transcriptional error committed by a scribe of e.g. the fourth century may have been copied in the sixth and eighth centuries, and thus have been adopted in the copy that happened to serve as basis for transliteration. Mistakes due to misreading of uncials may date back, therefore, to the oldest stages of textual transmission, as is plain from the variant readings of the New Testament referred to above. On the other hand mistakes of this type may have been produced until the ninth century. As a result, the uncial exemplars which were transliterated must have contained each its own reservoir of scribal errors due to misreading of uncials, dating from different stages of the tradition. It is owing to this that one finds the mu confused one time with the double lambda, another time with the pi. These confusions with letters of rather different appearance go back to distinct stages of the tradition. To the errors already extant the scribes who executed the transliteration may have added some others, but this cannot be ascertained.<sup>27</sup>

The variant readings discussed above seem to justify the supposition that the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* have been transliterated at least twice from majuscule into minuscule writing. From this it follows that the archetype of the textual tradition of the *Testaments* must be earlier than the ninth century.

I have not found a clue for establishing whether the two trans-

<sup>26</sup> E.g. *T. Gad* IV,5 μῑCOC ENεργεῖ *b, k defic.*] μῑCOC CυNεργεῖ *gdm e af chi, l contaminatus legit ut b.*

<sup>27</sup> Somewhat too optimistic on the other hand is Dain's judgment: "On devra admettre, en effet, qu'on ne commit qu'exceptionnellement des fautes de lecture de ce genre au moment même de la translittération, cette opération ayant été, en principe, un travail critique". (*Op. cit.*, see n. 15, p. 131).

iterations have been executed after one exemplar or after two. If one accepts the assumption generally made — for which there is indeed much to be said — that in case of two transliterations they were effectuated “dans des centres indépendants les uns des autres, et ... à des dates éloignées”, there is some likelihood that two different uncial codices underlie the surviving MS. tradition, and that the archetype dates back to late antiquity.<sup>28</sup> But this is no more than a vague sort of general probability.

It is true that the reader of the *Testaments* need no longer feel bound to suspect their reconstructed text of being later than the ninth century (what had never been proved so far). But on the other hand he cannot be sure either that their text dates back beyond the Middle Ages. It need not be remembered again that prior to the ninth century the copies of the *Testaments* may have differed as widely from each other as they did after that century. One cannot but draw the conclusion, that there are no longer grounds for excessive pessimism<sup>29</sup> as to the degree of reliability one can hope to attain in reconstructing the text of the *Testaments*. Yet an archetype of which no more can be said than that it is prior to the ninth century cannot warrant the reconstructed text to be congruent in all details with the authentic ancient Christian recension of the book.

I may be allowed to add some remarks to this conclusion.

(1) At one or two places the text of the *Testaments* turns out to be corrupt in all witnesses without exception. This is the case, e g., in *T. Zeb.* IV,1.<sup>30</sup> Such corruptions affecting the whole tradition can be taken as conjunctive errors of all witnesses. They prove that

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<sup>28</sup> One would be tempted to locate this archetype in the famous library at Caesarea. The basis of this library, built up by Pamphilus (d. 309) and specialised in Christian literature, had been the works left by Origen. Origen is the earliest known reader of the *Testaments* (Schurer, *loc. cit.*, see n. 8). The second father to quote the *Testaments*, Jerome, tells himself that he has done research in the library at Caesarea (He consulted Origen's *Hexapla* there). At Bethlehem he was constantly adding to his store of books. Perhaps he has disposed of a MS. of the *Testaments* copied from that in the library at Caesarea — All this is possible, but no more than that.

<sup>29</sup> I admittedly shared this pessimism with only a very few readers of the *Testaments*, but it is hardly likely that their optimism rests on better grounds than my pessimism did.

<sup>30</sup> I propose to read the sentence as follows: Μετα ταῦτα ελαβον ἐσθιειν ἐκεῖνοι. Φοι ελαβον ἐσθιειν, cf. Euripides' *Cyclop* 561 ὅπως ληψῶν πιεῖν. The confusion of λαβ- and βαλ- is one of the most common in Greek MSS. In copying the *Testaments* scribes have gone so far as to replace the name of Βαλλα with that of Λαβαν (*T. Rueb.* III,13 Βαλλα]Λαβα ι, *T. Napht.* I,12 Βαλλαν]Λαβαν α).

the whole MS tradition derives from one single archetype in which the corruptions at issue already figured. In case all witnesses can be traced back to a single archetype, some critics speak of the tradition as being "closed".<sup>31</sup> Others however reserve the term "closed" for traditions springing from one transliteration and from one minuscule archetype.<sup>32</sup> Only if more transliterations have to be postulated, they consider the tradition as open. The reason for this is that, if a text has been transliterated twice, the archetype does claim to be earlier than the ninth century, but cannot be dated more exactly. In that case it is impossible to mark the place of the archetype in a genealogical table or stemma of which one axis expresses the progress of time. Nor can one draw the lines suggesting the dependence of the hyp-archetypes on the archetype.<sup>33</sup> As a result the top of the stemma is missing, or, to put it less awkwardly, the tradition is open. The tradition of the *Testaments*, then, is closed in the sense that it can be traced back to a single archetype; but it is open in the sense that the archetype, apart from being prior to the ninth century, cannot be dated with any precision.

(2) The main inference drawn so far from the alternative readings in which family I stands against family II, is that the textual tradition of the *Testaments* goes back to two distinct transliterations. But the evidence seems to confirm at the same time that the tradition is split into two and no more than two branches or families: that of *bk* and that of all other witnesses.

True, it is possible that in all thirteen instances which I adduced, *b(k)* are at fault. It would follow, first, that in none out of those thirteen instances the reading of the remaining witnesses can be taken for an indication of a common source on which *bk* do not depend, and second, that *gldmeafnchi* do not constitute a family. But if it be supposed that *gldmeafnchi* form no family opposed to *bk*, one has to presume that groups like *gldm* and *eafnchi* (or worse: *gldm*, *eaf* and *nchi*) go back to distinct transliterations: distinct not only from that to which we owe *bk*, but also from each other.

<sup>31</sup> Reynolds-Wilson, *op cit* (n 10), ed 1968, p 144, 1974<sup>2</sup>, p 193, cf p 248, first paragraph

<sup>32</sup> Dam, *op cit* (n 15), pp 130 and 132

<sup>33</sup> The obvious solution, to my opinion, is that stemmas be provided with a simple marginal chronological scale that indicates the centuries (s X, s XI, s XII, etc) only for those events in the textual history concerned which are datable. Where no chronological information is supplied in the margin, the stemma should be supposed to imply nothing as to the chronology of the textual history.

In theory the possibility cannot be excluded that *gldm* and *eafnchi* do go back to two different transliterations. But this possibility can only be substantiated by a list of alternative readings of *gldm* and *eafnchi*, which must have resulted from misreading of uncial writing. — in the way I have demonstrated above for *hk* as against all other witnesses.

As a matter of fact I have deemed it my duty to look for such readings as might prove that *eaf* etc. represent another transliteration than *gldm* do. But so far I have not found any of them.

As long as no differences between *gldm* and *eafnchi* are found which are definitely due to misreading of uncial script, the supposition that *gldm* and *eafnchi* represent different transliterations remains without any foundation. As things are one cannot but assume that *gldmeafnchi* go back to a single transliteration.

Now going back to a single transliteration means nothing less than deriving from a single minuscule codex. And witnesses deriving from a codex on which other witnesses are independent, form what in textual criticism is termed a family. The conclusion is inescapable that *gldmeafnchi*, together with the Armenian, Slavonic and Serbian translations, form a family deriving from a single ninth- or tenth-century minuscule codex.

(3) Still, the minuscule codex referred to in the end of the preceding paragraph has another surprise in store for the critics of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. It provides the inevitable *terminus post quem* for the Armenian translation. This translation cannot possibly be earlier than the ninth century.

(4) Nothing is known with certainty of the circumstances under which the transliterations of the *Testaments* have been undertaken. But there are signs that at least one of the two, *viz.* that to which *b* and *k* owe their text, has been accomplished at Constantinople.

As for *b*, this witness is contained in a tenth-century codex. In an earlier article I have shown that this codex is very likely to have belonged to the library of Michael Choniates, metropolitan of Athens from 1182 A.D. From Choniates's letters we know that he had been collecting books ever since his studies at the Patriarchal Academy<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup> See on this institution F. Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter* (Byzantinisches Archiv 8), Stuttgart 1926, repr. Amsterdam 1964, pp. 47-48, and T. Ἰ. Γριτσοπούλου, Πατριαρχική Μεγάλη τοῦ Γένους Σχολή, τόμ. Α'. (Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθῆναις Φιλεκαπαιδευτικῆς Ἐταιρείας 37), Ἀθῆναι 1966.

at Constantinople. On his elevation to the bishopric at some distance from the capital, he took his library with him. Though the possibility cannot be excluded that Michael Choniates acquired his codex containing, among other writings, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, when already residing at Athens, there is a reasonable chance that he brought it with him from Constantinople.

It should be observed that *b* has not directly been copied from a MS. in uncial script. In fact, several errors of *b* are best explained as arisen from misreading of minuscule script. In *T. Dan* IV,3, e.g., *b* reads κινεῖσθε in lieu of μὴ κινεῖσθε as correctly preserved in all other witnesses. The error of *b* would seem to indicate that the mu of μὴ has been misread as a kappa — an obvious and common confusion in early minuscule hands — and that this induced a *saut du même au même* resulting in the omission of μὴ. In certain minuscule hands the alpha and the omega bear a striking resemblance to each other. In *T. Zeb.* IX,6 this has occasioned a *saut du même au même* in the word κακωθήσεσθε, which in my opinion is the correct reading. The witnesses *c* and *d*<sup>35</sup> have the lipography καθήσεσθε, independently of *b* that has καθίσεσθε. The reading ἔσται ὡς of *bk* in *T. Dan* VI,6 looks much like a transcriptional error for ἔσται ἴσος as given by other MSS. If so, the error is most likely due to the misreading of a minuscule exemplar, in which a sigma and an omicron, written too close together, could easily be taken for an omega closed at its top.

Apparently, *b* is not the 'autograph' of the man who executed the transliteration. Still there is some reason to suppose that this 'autograph', too, has been extant somewhere in the capital and has proliferated there. For when about 1250 the monastery of Prodomos-Petra at Constantinople procured or acquired a MS. of the *Testaments*, its text (*k*)<sup>36</sup> happened to be very closely related to that of Choniates's copy. True, this may be no more than a coincidence. But it may also indicate that Constantinople had something like a local text of the *Testaments*, emanated from a local transliteration brought about during

<sup>35</sup> As *hi* and *Ng* present the reading of the majority of the MSS, the reading of *c* is not distinctive of *a*. It cannot be ascertained, therefore, whether the agreement between *c* and *d* at this place is due to contamination or not (*k m def*).

<sup>36</sup> On the provenance of MS Marc gr 494 (*k*) from the Prodomos-Petra monastery in Constantinople, see our note "Additional notes on the History of MSS Bibl Marc gr. 494 (*k*) and Cambridge Univ Libr, Ff 124 (*b*)", Ch VI in this volume.

the Photian Renaissance. As is well-known there are grounds for thinking that the process of transliterating Greek literature originated as a whole in the capital.

The hypothesis that *b* and *k* represent a Constantinopolitan transliteration, distinguished from that accomplished somewhere else on which all other witnesses depend, would perfectly account for the MS. tradition of the *Testaments* being bifurcate.

To preserve myself from launching wilder conjectures than I have made so far, I close at this point. Some observations on the bifurcate character of the transmission of the text of the *Testaments*, will be added in an appendix to this paper. Here I confine myself to sum up the main conclusions reached in the above.

(1) The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* have been transliterated twice from majuscule into minuscule writing. One transliteration is represented by *bk*, the remaining witnesses reflect a different transliteration.

(2) The archetype or last common source of the surviving textual tradition was a MS. in uncial script, earlier than the ninth century; it cannot be dated more precisely, however.

(3) A faithfully established text of the *Testaments* need no longer be suspected of representing no more than the capriciously corrupted text of some indeterminate ninth- or tenth-century minuscule. Still one cannot be sure that the reconstructed text dates back beyond the Middle Ages. Such a gap of centuries separating the original ancient Christian book from its reconstruction, inevitably impairs the reliability of the reconstruction, even if it is the best obtainable.

(4) The witnesses *gldmeafnchi* seem to go back to a single transliteration and consequently constitute a family undependent of *bk*. This confirms the hypothesis, grounded till now on textcritical evidence only, that the textual tradition of the *Testaments* is split into two families: that of *bk* and that of all remaining witnesses.

(5) If conclusion 4. holds good, the Armenian translation cannot be earlier than the ninth century.

(6) Perhaps the transliteration to which *b* and *k* owe their text has been effectuated at Constantinople.

## APPENDIX

THE RELATION BETWEEN *bk* AND ALL OTHER WITNESSES

That the textual tradition of the *Testaments* is split into two branches and “die älteste Spaltung der Überlieferung gerade zwischen *bk* und allen anderen Handschriften liegt”, was one of the conclusions of an article which I wrote in 1970, and which was published in *ZNW* 63 of 1972 (in this volume pp. 45-62). In 1974, J. Becker criticised my position in the introduction to his German translation of the *Testaments* (sec n. 16); he has not presented, however, the single argument which would disprove my thesis, i.e. that the determinative errors upon which my argument is based are not in fact errors but original readings. Moreover, his own translation reflects and confirms time and again my view on the relation between *bk* and the other witnesses — as I shall demonstrate presently.

## § 1.

First of all it should be clear once and for all that in textual criticism no group of witnesses can be called a family, unless they share one or more errors not occurring in other witnesses. I say errors, not readings. For only common errors are the indication of a common ancestor, whereas correct readings may occur in any witnesses, without indicating anything about their relationship. For that reason good readings are worthless for the determination of relationships between witnesses. B. is astray, therefore, in defining a family as “ein Sammelbecken für konstitutive Gemeinsamkeiten”, whatever precisely that may be. Neither common features in general, nor common readings, nor the mere fact that witnesses “gemeinsam stehen gegen” other ones, but exclusively common errors prove that witnesses belong to a family.

In the article referred to above I adduced three conjunctive errors of the witnesses *gldm e af chi* which, if they are really errors, necessarily prove that these witnesses derive from one common source. Otherwise it is impossible to explain how a corruption that is not likely to arise more than once, occurs in more than one witness. At the same time these corruptions prove that *bk* form a group independent from *gldm e af chi*; for how could *bk* be free from the errors occurring in witnesses on which they depend? The three corruptions I pointed to were the following :

(1) *T. Levi* VIII,1 πῤῥᾱγμα *bk*] ὄραμα *gldm e af chi*. In my opinion it can be argued that πῤῥᾱγμα (*bk*) is the correct reading, and that all other witnesses present here a *lectio facilior* dictated by the apocalyptic context. In support of the reading πῤῥᾱγμα (*bk*) I cited *Henoch graece* XXI,2 ἔργον, to which I now add a parallel from the *Visions*(!) of Hermas 12, 1: Κυρία, μεγάλως καὶ θαυμαστῶς ἔχει τὸ πῤῥᾱγμα τοῦτο. If πῤῥᾱγμα is the correct reading, *gldm e af chi* are at fault and -- barring unforeseen circumstances -- derive from a common source on which *bk* cannot be dependent. -- Though I think that there is a good case for the correctness of πῤῥᾱγμα (*bk*), I admit that no one could be blamed for thinking differently. In B's translation the passage in question reads: '... sah ich wiederum einen Traum'. This implies that B. accepts the reading ὄραμα as original. Accordingly, B. cannot be expected to regard the reading of *gldm e af chi* as evidence for a common source from which *bk* are independent. In both following instances, however, he can.

(2) *T. Levi* IX,14 ἀπαρχάς *bk*] + τῷ κυρίῳ *omnes ceteri* (for details, see above, p. 50, n. 14). B's translation does not render the words added in all witnesses except *bk*. In a foot-note B. justifies his translation of *bk* as follows: "So *bk*. Alle anderen: + dem Herrn (Einfluss aus Vers 13)". Consequently, B. agrees with me that from a textcritical point of view the addition in *gldm e af chi* is an error. But the obvious conclusion which B. should draw as well is, that *bk* cannot depend on the common source of all other witnesses, and thus, that *bk* and *gldmeafchi* form two independent families. From B.'s preference for the reading of *bk* it follows, that the textual history of the *Testaments* is bifurcate, an early split separating *bk* and all other witnesses. The same conclusion may be drawn from the third example.

(3) *T. Zeb.* IV,9 οὐτως *b*] + καὶ ἐποίησαν οὕτως *omnes ceteri*. B.'s translation is a rendering of the shorter text in *b*. In a foot-note B. states: "Alle ausser *b* fügen an: Und sie taten so. Der Satz nimmt Vers 13b vorweg und steht vor Vers 10-12 zu früh". So according to B. himself, *b* preserves the original text, and all other witnesses are faulty. Now it is impossible that the error at issue has been made more than once. It must come from a common source. Consequently, B. will have to admit that *gldmeafchi* constitute a family to which *b* is not related.

In view of B's decisions on the variants 2. and 3. discussed above, he cannot avoid postulating a family *gldmeafchi* = family II, clearly

distinguished from *bk* = family I by the errors he himself has detected. Possibly he could not accept this conclusion on the authority of only two errors in *gldmeafchi*. But fortunately it appears from his translation that he has found a great many other separative errors of *gldmeafchi* as against *bk*. In at least twenty other instances, which will be listed below, B. is of the opinion that *gldmeafchi* present a common corruption of the text correctly preserved by *b(k)*.

## § 2.

B. states that I have a high estimation of the value ("Hochschätzung") of *bk*. However, this more accurately reflects his own inclination. I have found only two or three readings of *bk* which I would favour over those in family II and I have stated only that the  $\alpha$ -text is a late and free recension of the text as presented by the prototype of *af*. Apart from this evaluation of  $\alpha$ , I have not expressed any general preference for any family or any witness, but exclusively for certain readings. B. seems to be under the misconception that, if *b* and *k* are regarded as a family opposed to all other witnesses, their text is generally superior to that of the remaining witnesses. But this does not follow at all. In all individual instances of *bk* deviating from *gldmeafnchi* one has to decide which branch of the tradition preserves the authentic (or at least: the least corrupt) reading, and in most of these instances the reading of *bk* proves to be inferior to that of *gldmeafnchi*. I am not even sure now that all three examples of common errors in *gldmeafnchi* mentioned above in § 1 still hold (in *T. Zeb.* IV,9, e.g., M. de Jonge rightly prefers the longer text, see Ch. X in this symposium), though I do think that there are three other errors common to *gldmeaf(n)chi* (two decisive separative errors of *gldmeafchi*, proving that *bk* cannot depend on *gldmeafchi*, are mentioned by Th. Korteweg in Ch. XI, p. 171, n. 20.). If accepting three readings of *bk* as correct amounts to "Hochschätzung" of these witnesses, what are we to say of B. himself, who at least twenty-two times has preferred the text of *b(k)* to that of all or most other witnesses? It may be worth while to list here the readings in *b(k)* which B. authorises, and to oppose them to those of the other witnesses which he rejects, as at least a number among these compel B. to admit, firstly, that *gldmeafchi* derive from a common source on which *bk* do not depend, and secondly, that the group of witnesses formerly designated with the siglum  $\beta$  must

be dissolved into two independent families . *bk* (family I) and *gldmeaf*, now linked with the group  $\alpha$  (family II). In a third paragraph I shall have to say a few words on the authorship of this theory. The list I append here does not pretend to be exhaustive.

<i>T Lev</i> IX,14	( <i>vide supra</i> , p 81)
<i>T Zcb</i> IV,9	( <i>vide supra</i> , p 81)
<i>T Sim</i> III,1	τεκνα <i>b</i> , Becker "Kinder"] + μου <i>gldm e af hi, e om, k sua sponte ut gldm ut</i>
<i>T Sim</i> IV,6	και <sup>2</sup> <i>solus b, k defict</i> Becker "und (chrte)"] <i>gldm e af chi om</i>
<i>T I ev</i> IX,1	αμβημεν <i>bk</i> , Becker "zogen"] αμβηην <i>gldm af chi</i> , αμβαινον <i>e asyndetic</i> εν (τῷ πρ ἰωβ) <i>b, k defic</i> . Becker "Im "] και ἐν <i>g e af chi, dm defic, l contaminatus ut b</i>
<i>T Iud</i> XXIV,3	πορισεισθι <i>b</i> , Becker "weidet wandeln"] πορισεισθι <i>gld e, afchi defic, k sua sponte ut gld e, m sua sponte ut b</i>
<i>T Zeb</i> V,5	εν τῇ Χανααν <i>b, k defic</i> Becker "im Kanaan"] εις γῆν Χανανα <i>gl εν γῆ Χαναναυ dm e af Slav chi</i>
<i>T Dan</i> II,4	<i>asyndetic</i> δια <i>b, k defic</i> . Becker "Durch"] και δια <i>gld e af chi, m defic</i>
<i>T Gad</i> I,5	πατριρα αυτοῦ <i>b, k defic</i> . Becker "seinem Vater", <i>adnotans</i> "So <i>b, A α, β-b</i> unsciem (Angeleichung an Vers 6)"] πατριρα ἡμῶν <i>gldm e af chi</i>
<i>T Gad</i> V,2	το μῖσος <i>b, k defic</i> . Becker "den Hass", <i>adnotans</i> "So nur <i>b b</i> wird im Recht sein διαβολος haftet nur in der ehemdem selbständigen Ueberlieferung TN 8, 4 8 fest im Textbestand . und το διαβολικον wird unter Einfluss aus Vers 1 entstanden sein "] + τοῦ διαβολου <i>gldm e af</i> , + το διαβολικον <i>chi</i>
<i>T Gad</i> V,5	ἐννοιῶν <i>b, k defic</i> . Becker "Gedanken" <i>numero plurali (cui non "in seinem Denken" num sing ?)] ἐννοιας gdm e af ch, i lectionis mceitae, l def</i>
<i>T Ash</i> II,8	και πορνυει <i>b, k defic</i> . Becker "und treibt Hurerei"] <i>asyndetic</i> πορνυει <i>gdm e af chi, l contaminatus ut b</i>
<i>T Ash</i> III,1	οτι <i>b, k defic</i> . Becker "denn"] + και <i>gldm e af</i> , + κυριος <i>chi, l contaminatus ut b</i>
<i>T Iov</i> XII,1	κατ ἰκινον <i>b, k defic</i> . Becker "In jener (Zeit)"] + δε <i>gdm af ch, piam και l, e sua sponte ut b, i defic</i>
<i>T Benj</i> III,1	Και <sup>1</sup> <i>b, k defic</i> . Becker "Und (jetzt)" ( <i>cui non</i> "Nun denn" = νῦν οὖν <i>g e</i> ?)] <i>omnes ceteri om, l hi defic</i>
<i>T Benj</i> IV,5	συντριχει <i>b, k defic</i> . Becker "gibt er Hilfe"] συντριχει <i>omnes ceteri</i> (συντριχει <i>iv</i> = "jems Partei nehmen"), <i>m a chi defic</i>

<i>T Benj IX,2</i>	μονογενούς <i>bk</i> , Becker “Einziggeborenen”, <i>adnotans</i> “So <i>b</i> ”] + προφητου <i>gld e af</i> , + υίου αὐτοῦ <i>e, hi deftc</i>
<i>T Benj X,4</i>	ἐποίησαν <i>bk</i> , Becker “taten”] ἐποίησε(ν) <i>omnes ceteri, m hi deftc</i>
<i>T Benj X,10</i>	ἀδελφους αὐτῶν <i>bk</i> , Becker “ihre Bruder”] αὐτον ἀδελφους <i>g</i> , ἀδελφους αὐτοῦ <i>l</i> , ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῶν <i>ef</i> , ἀδελφον αὐτῶν <i>a, m chi deftc</i>
<i>T Jud III,7</i>	Βεελισᾶ <i>b, k deftc</i> , Becker “Belisā”, <i>adnotans</i> “Alle verschiedenen Namensformen in den MSS sind wohl corr aus <i>bā’āl silō</i> , d h Herr von Silo ”] Βεελισαυ <i>g</i> , Βιλιατ <i>d</i> , Βιλισαβι <i>τ l</i> , Βιηλισαδ <i>e</i> , Βιλισαθ <i>af chi</i>
<i>T Levi VI,1</i>	Ἀβιλᾶ <i>b, k deftc</i> , Becker “Abila”, <i>adnotans</i> “Die Ortsbestimmung fehlt in <i>a</i> . Da die Hauptstadt Abila der Tetrarchie Abilene geographisch abwegig ist, ist eine Identifizierung nicht möglich”] Ἀβιμᾶ <i>g e af</i> , Ἀμιβᾶ <i>ldm, chi om</i>

## §3.

According to B., I have tried, “offenbar ohne Kenntnis von Hultgård’s Arbeit... ein Stemma für G (= the Greek witnesses) zu erstellen”. But in the first place I am not at all interested in a stemma. The only thing I have tried to do is to establish the interrelationships between witnesses. The diagram which I added has no value in itself. It is intended only to be a summary of my conclusions and an aid for the reader. Criticism, however, should be levelled at my argumentation, not at the diagram.

Secondly, how could I have known in 1970 Hultgård’s dissertation of 1971? And that I wrote the article to which B. refers in 1970, is clear enough from its second sentence.

Now B. states that Hultgård has proposed to dissolve the family formerly designated as  $\beta$  in various smaller groups. In order to prevent Hultgård from being charged with a theory which he did not develop, I cannot refrain from inserting at this place the postscript which I wrote on the appearance of Hultgård’s dissertation, but was suggested, from various sides, not to publish.

“Nachtrag Nach Abschluss des Manuskripts erschien die Dissertation von A. Hultgård, *Croyances messianiques des Test XII Patri Critique textuelle et commentaire des passages messianiques* (maschinenschr Dissert.), Uppsala 1971. Der erste Teil des ersten Kapitels (S. 1-21) handelt vom griechischen Text der Testamente, speziell vom ‘groupement des manuscrits grecs’. Jedoch, was H. seine Methode nennt (l’eclectisme, S. 5), ist bei ihm nichts als Willkür. Ich verstehe nicht, warum man, wenn sich das Abhängigkeitsverhältnis zwischen den Zeugen grossten-

teils einwandfrei aufzeigen lasst, auf die feste Grundlage der genealogischen *recensio* verzichten soll H beschuldigt die genealogische Methode, "par le moyen de la critique externe" zu operieren (S 8), aber seine "critique interne" besteht darin, dass er beliebig ausgewählte Lesarten zur Grundlage seiner Überlegungen macht [See now above n 6] Ich hatte die Darstellungen H's mit Stillschweigen übergangen, wenn er nicht unerwarteterweise zu einigen Ergebnissen gekommen wäre, die mir bekannt vorkamen "Resumons Il n'est plus exact de parler de deux groupes (familles) qui s'opposent  $\alpha$  et  $\beta$   $\alpha = c h$  i est certainement une famille et selon toute vraisemblance également les mss d l m" (S 21) Diesen Schluss nun kann H unmöglich aus seinen eigenen Analysen gezogen haben Er entnimmt ihn wie er selber mit Recht in einer Fussnote angibt — einem Vortrag, den M de Jonge September 1970 zu Uppsala gehalten hat In diesem Vortrag [see now *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok* 36, 1971, pp 77-96] hat M de Jonge mit meiner Genehmigung auf das Manuskript meiner Arbeit "Die Textüberlieferung " Bezug genommen Nur daher kommt die auf den ersten Blick befremdende Übereinstimmung der von H erzielten Resultaten mit den meinen Dass H selber mit diesen Ergebnissen noch nicht völlig vertraut ist, erhellt daraus, dass er fortfährt "Un groupement a part est constitue par les mss b d g k l (m)" [my italics], obwohl die älteste Spaltung gerade zwischen *bk* und *gldm* liegt!"

#### §4.

There are eleven other instances of confusion, misrepresentation and misconception in B's section of three and a half pages on the textual criticism of the *Testaments*. One of them I should like to correct here. In B's opinion my stemma is "zu einfach angesichts der komplizierten Textgeschichte. Dies betrifft ... vor allem auch die angenommene allzu gradlinige Rückführung der Hyparchetypen". As a matter of fact there may lie an unlimited number of copies between the different points of the tradition where splits occurred, and between the final points of splitting and the surviving witnesses. But as far as the textual transmission of the *Testaments* is concerned, it is methodically impossible to prove that there have existed more intermediate copies than I have marked in my earlier stemma with the numbers 1, 4, 6, 7, 9, 13, 15, 16, 18, 21= $\alpha$ , 23, 25, 26, and 35, to which can be added the last common source of *d* and *Fm*<sup>*d*</sup> and the last common source of *Arm.* and *e Slav. a/ a*. There is no evidence to prove that more than sixteen intermediate copies existed, except the one or two uncial codices underlying the transliterations to which family I and family II owe their texts. Contamination can be established in *l*, *d*, and *m*. But further complications

in the textual history of the *Testaments* cannot be demonstrated. I cannot rid myself of the impression, therefore, that the alleged complexity of this history is little more than an excuse for arbitrariness.