

Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs

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Synopsis

In the biblical account of Genesis 49, Jacob, while sitting on his death bed, called his sons to him and told them what would happen to them and their offspring, the twelve tribes of Israel. Then Jacob died. The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs is modeled on this biblical account. Just as in the biblical account when their father had told them what would befall them and their offspring just before he died, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (T12P) presents the prophecies of each of Jacob's twelve sons to their offspring just before they die. However, in contrast to the biblical account of Jacob's death bed prophecies about the future, the T12P is not limited to the future. Instead, a large portion of the narrative is devoted to describing the twelve sons and giving their confessions of sin and exhortations to righteous behavior on the part of their offspring. The emphasis is on ethics.

Nevertheless, the prophecies are the part of the narrative that attracts a lot of attention in scholarly discussions. In 1953 Marinus de Jonge called attention to the fact that a pattern of sin, exile, and return (S-E-R theme) can be discerned in these prophecies, and his finding has been widely acclaimed. The prophecies also provide the basis for the special honor given to the tribes of Levi and Judah (L-J theme). But the most noticeable part of the prophecies is the Messianic theme that seems to point to Jesus as the coming Messiah.

The T12P says that the Lord will take a human body; be manifest on earth as a man; come from the tribe of Judah; be born of a virgin; be sinless; be God and man; eat with human beings; save Israel and the Gentiles; be impaled by the sons of Israel (more specifically their priests); be called a Deceiver, but His real name will be Christ (the Savior of the world); be sold for thirty pieces and killed; His innocent blood will be on their heads; the veil of the Temple will be torn when He is raised up on wood; He will be the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world; and He will take Israel back again through faith and water. All those who trust in Him will rule with Him.¹

Historical Review

Grosseteste

With these types of prophecies and other allusions that point to Jesus as the Christ, it is understandable that when Robert Grosseteste was finally able to get a copy from Greece of this Greek manuscript and translate it into Latin (and thus introduce it to the West) that he and other the church leaders of the West believed that T12P was an ancient witness that contained reliable and genuine prophecies that had originated with the patriarchs concerning Christ. Although it was not canonical, the Occident did rank its prophecies with that of the OT when they discovered it in the 12th century. Naturally, they assumed that it was originally written in Hebrew. They further believed that the Jews had kept this writing hidden because it clearly pointed to the fact that Jesus is the Christ.²

¹ See *Chart 1. Selected Christian Interpolations*.

² M. de Jonge, "Robert Grosseteste and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," *Journal of Theological Studies* 42 (1991).

Grabe

As can be seen in *Chart 2. Historical Overview*, this high opinion of the T12P was challenged by Grabe at the close of the 16th century.³ Like others, Grabe considered it a Jewish document that was written in Hebrew. However, he argued that the material that points so specifically to Jesus was added later by Christians. The naive days of considering the document as presenting authentic prophecies pointing to Jesus as Christ were gone forever. Nevertheless, it could still be valuable for understanding the Jewish and Christian periods from which the document and the interpolations came—if these parts could be distinguished. However, although scholars agreed with Grabe that the document had been interpolated, they did not agree with him that it was originally a Jewish document. The consensus was that it was written by a Christian in Greek and that the interpolations, if there were any, were added by other Christians. In other words, it was viewed as being originally a Christian document with possible subsequent Christian interpolations. For example, as indicated in *Chart 2*, some scholars during this period believed that the original document was written by a Jewish-Christian in Greek, and then a Gentile-Christian added material to it later.

Schnapp-Charles

However, beginning with Schnapp in 1884, the consensus switched back to the position that the document was originally a Jewish document, but now the specific prophecies were considered Christian interpolations. This consensus was established by literary criticism, source criticism, and text criticism. It was believed that although the earliest texts are Greek texts (10th century and later), they could be traced back by text criticism to a Hebrew original. Further, these Greek texts were divided into two families (A & B), with preference beginning given to the Greek group A since it had the shorter reading with less Christian interpolations. This was confirmed by the fact that there were some later Armenian texts which also had shorter readings with fewer interpolations. Although these positions did not originate with Charles, he is the one who brought them all together with the result that the consensus for about the next fifty years remained that T12P was a Jewish document written in Hebrew with Christian interpolations.

There are two important points about this period, however, that must be pointed out. Charles' textual theory was challenged by some within his own camp who concluded that Greek group A was not superior to Greek group B (which had the longer readings). Although this greatly weakened the textual basis for Charles' theory, his position was still assumed correct. Second, it was expected that from the Qumran discoveries that a copy of T12P in Hebrew would be found and thus confirmed the assumption that T12P was originally written in Hebrew.

³ As can be seen on in *Chart 2. Historical Overview*, there were at least two other scholars who challenged the popular position. See H. Dixon Slingerland, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Critical History of Research* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977), 16, n. 16.

Three Positions

Essene

The Qumran discoveries led to a very popular hypothesis concerning the authorship of this document that was considered Jewish. Dupont-Sommer and his student Philonenko argued that T12P was produced by Essenes at Qumran and had little to do with Christ or Christianity. They argued that both the Qumran scrolls and the T12P have two Messiahs. The scrolls present two Messiahs from Aaron and Israel, and thus a double messiahship expectation was current in the time period of Qumran. The T12P, in its final form, fuses these two Messiahs together into one figure.⁴

Although there are a few other similarities between the Qumran material and the T12P, the dissimilarities are acknowledged today by scholarly consensus as being much more pronounced. The finds are too fragmentary and remote to carry any significant weight in the discussion of the T12P. Milik, the editor of the Aramaic fragments from Qumran, rejects the argument that the T12P originated in Qumran. Instead, he believes that the author of T12P was a Christian who drew on these and other Jewish sources.⁵ In short, he takes the position of M. de Jonge.

Christian

In 1953 M. de Jonge readvanced the argument that the author of T12P was a Christian “compiler, not an interpolator.”⁶ It evidences Christian compilation, not a Christian interpolation. Instead of presenting us with two Messiahs, M. de Jonge argues that the Messiah is presented (somewhat inconsistently and awkwardly) by the compiler as being from the tribes of both Levi and Judah. TJos 19:11 says that He shall come “from them” (Armenian text), that is, from “their seed” (Greek text). But the proceeding context establishes the perception that He shall **literally** come as a king from the tribe of Judah, being born of that tribe (TJos 19:8). And as M. de Jonge points out, there are other texts that also indicate that the Messiah shall come from Judah alone.⁷ But the Messiah shall apparently come **typologically** as a high priest from the tribe of Levi.⁸

In a lengthy article evaluating the Qumran position, M. de Jonge concludes that the Christian document hypothesis is the simplest one. “The Levitical priesthood will be

⁴ John J. Collins, “Testaments,” in Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period, ed. M. Stone (Fortress Press: Van Gorcum, 1984), 341.

⁵ Ibid., “The Testamentary Literature in Recent Scholarship,” in Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters, eds. Robert Kraft and George Nickelsburg (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 270.

⁶ M. de Jonge, The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, 2nd edition (Netherlands: Van Gorgum, 1975), 42.

⁷ Ibid., 88, 124. See TNaph 8:2f.; TJos 19:8, TLevi 18, and TLevi 19.

⁸ Considering the book of Hebrews, it is perhaps strange to the modern reader that a Christian writer would demonstrate the priesthood of Jesus from the tribe of Levi. It might be a little bit more understandable if the writer was a Jewish Christian from the tribe of Levi, as seems to be the case. However, “to the first commentator of the Bible whose writings are known to us, Hippolytus of Rome...and his readers Jesus was obviously to be connected with Levi as well as with Judah...Exegetical treaties like those of Hippolytus show early Christianity as a community reading and interpreting Scripture—often very much *ad hoc* and unsystematically.” M. de Jonge, “The Transmission of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs by Christians,” Vigiliae Christians 47 (1993): 18.

succeeded by Christ as high priest, as is taught in the Epistle to the Hebrews.”⁹ He further notes that the Qumran advocates use the T12P to support their interpretation of the certain Qumran texts and then use those same Qumran texts to prove that the T12P is Qumranic.¹⁰ The Qumran texts are not without difficulty in interpreting. Higgins even concludes that “at Qumran there was not a belief in a secular and a priestly Messiah, but only in a messianic Davidic prince and deliver.”¹¹ In other words, in his opinion, only one Messiah was expected by Qumran.

After evaluating the Qumran texts, Higgins then proceeds to examine the T12P texts such as TReu 6:8, for which he gives this translation: “Hearken to Levi, because he...gives ordinances for judgement (sic) and sacrifices for all Israel, until the consummation of the times of the anointed high priest [or, of Christ the high priest] of whom the Lord spoke.”¹² This could be paraphrased as, “Listen to Levi concerning the sacrifices **until** the consummation of Christ the high priest.”¹³ The result is that “Jesus Christ as high priest of another kind *succeeds* the tribe of Levi.”¹⁴ Thus, Higgins concludes that there was “no prior conception of a priestly Messiah which could have influenced the author of the epistle to Hebrews. While Jesus is depicted as both Messiah and high priest, Jewish thought separated the priestly and royal functions.”¹⁵

Jewish

Such an attitude toward the Qumran discoveries is not limited to the de Jonge camp, however. Bickerman is an example of the response to the discoveries of Qumran from Charles’ camp. Bickerman finds the two Messiah theory advanced as a result of the Qumran documents to be a figment of the imagination of modern scholars. He claims that T12P does not profess that a Messiah will come from the tribe of Levi and that the T12P asserts that salvation, not a Savior, will come from both tribes (TSim 7:2).¹⁶

Evaluation

The Qumran position has few advocates today. The issue has returned to viewing the T12P as originally a (non-Essene) Jewish document versus a Christian document. Even Kee and Charlesworth, advocates of the Jewish theory, admit that M. de Jonge has demonstrated that there are Christian redactions in T12P rather than mere

⁹ M. de Jonge, “Christian Influence in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,” Novum Testamentum 4 (1960): 211.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 220.

¹¹ Angus J. B. Higgins, “The Priestly Messiah,” New Testament Studies 13 (1967): 218; cp. 222. See also his comments on p. 221 where the Qumran texts and the T12P are in different category of evidence. Therefore, they cannot be used to interpret the Qumran texts.

¹² *Ibid.*, 223. The insertion, “Christ the high priest,” is his. “Anointed high priest” (ἀρχιερέως χριστοῦ) is rendered, “Christ the high priest.”

¹³ Compare Marinus de Jonge, “The Future of Israel in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,” Journal for the Study of Judaism 17 (1986): 202.

¹⁴ Higgins, Priestly, 224. The “he” of v. 11 is then taken as referring to Judah.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 230.

¹⁶ Elias J. Bickerman, “The Date of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,” Journal of Biblical Literature 69 (1959): 252. However, note that although Charles’ text reads “salvation,” Kee’s text reads, “the Savior.”

interpolations.¹⁷ This acknowledgment is especially important in view of the differences between the *redactions* and *interpolations*. These key terms were defined at the seminar at Duke. Charlesworth was the chairman of the seminar. Both Kee and M. de Jonge were invited as specialists to present a paper in defense of their position and to respond to a discussion of their views. They were both accepted, and these definitions emerged.

Interpolations are insertions into the text that disrupt the flow of thought or add specific details...They can be removed because of their linguistic structure, which is usually genitival, parenthetical, or otherwise self-contained....

Redactions are passages embedded into the fabric of the document and cannot be excised. Early sources are so worked from a new perspective that they cannot be distinguished from the more recent sections....

...it is often impossible to distinguish between an interpolation and a redaction. Frequently it is difficult to find the precise borders of an interpolation, and an apparent interpolation might be a passage in which the redactor has failed to achieve the usual integration, transition or flow of thought. The discovery of an interpolation does not disclose that a document is to be characterized as an interpolated text; interpolations are often made to documents which are redactional in nature.¹⁸

At both the seminar and in the introduction to his translation, Kee claims that there are only twelve Christian interpolations in the T12P at the very most and that these interpolations can be easily identified!¹⁹ However, the reader can readily see in *Chart 1. Selected Christian Interpolations* that in Kee's text and textual notes he identifies many more interpolations. One would probably conclude that the rest are redactions. After all, Kee says that he agrees with M. de Jonge that the T12P "are the end product of a long literary process with Jewish and Christian redactional stages."²⁰ However, the more Christian redactions that are acknowledged, the weaker the Jewish argument becomes. Perhaps this is the reason that when Kee was confronted by M. de Jonge in a seminar, Kee claimed "that the only clear instance where removal of a phrase affects the whole context is TJos xix. 8."²¹ One redaction? In any case, Charlesworth acknowledged that he himself was convinced by M. de Jonge during the seminar that the removing of the interpolations in some of the places "effected ramifications elsewhere in the document. M. de Jonge convincingly showed that a hypothesis of minor Christian interpolations, self-contained and easily removed, would not suffice." Kee may find it easy to identify and remove the interpolations, but Charlesworth does not! Kee's acknowledgment of redactions is much more theoretical than practical.

¹⁷ Howard C. Kee, "Ethical Dimensions of the Testaments of the XII as a Clue to Provenance," *New Testament Studies* 24 (1978): 17. James H. Charlesworth, "Reflections on the SNTS Pseudepigrapha Seminar at Duke on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," *New Testament Studies* 23 (1977): 299.

¹⁸ Charlesworth, "Seminar," 303.

¹⁹ James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1983), 777. Compare Kee's similar statement and list in "Ethical," 267, n. 2; 268, n. 1.

²⁰ Kee, "Ethical," 17.

²¹ Charlesworth, "Seminar," 299, n. 4.

Author

The author implicitly identifies himself in TLevi 19:2-3 by using the first plural for numbering himself among the sons of Levi. As a result, it is best to take this self-identification to mean that he was either a literal descendent of the tribe of Levi or a priest.²² If Christian authorship is assumed, then it should be concluded that he was a Jewish-Christian from the tribe of Levi.

Date

The general consensus is that the Christian redaction of the T12P was completed in the second century. Both Origen and Jerome made a single brief quote of the T12P in their writings. Origen's quote is the oldest and establishes that it must have been completed by the end of the second century A.D. And the consistent use of the LXX in the document proves that it was written after the LXX was completed; thus, it was written after the beginning of the second century B.C. Those preferring a Jewish document hypothesis normally date it sometime during the second century B.C., while those preferring a Christian document hypothesis generally prefer a late second century A.D. date.

Place

Egypt, Palestine, or the Diaspora²³ are among the possibilities as well as Sidon, Gadara, and Antioch.²⁴ And of course, Alexandria is a top candidate.²⁵

Canonicity

Views on the authority of the T12P vary. Origen did not consider it canonical but attributed some authority to it,²⁶ as did St. Augustine.²⁷ M. de Jonge certainly has a high opinion of T12P: "Lack of authenticity does not preclude authority...Whoever exactly may have been the author of the Testaments, the words...they contain are as true and reliable as the testimonies of Christ contained in Holy Scripture." In his opinion, they are on the same ground as the words written in red in our New Testament translations! Bickerman's view is not quite as high—although the Greek church did not acknowledge its authority, the Occidental clergy accepted its authority, but critics came to regard it as "a Christian forgery."²⁸

²² M. de Jonge, Testaments, 112. See also H. Dixon Slingerland, "The Levitical Hallmark Within the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," Journal of Biblical Literature 103 (1984): 531-537.

²³ Collins, "Recent," 275.

²⁴ Knee, "Ethical," 270.

²⁵ Charlesworth, "Seminar," 302.

²⁶ M. de Jonge, "Transmission," 15.

²⁷ M. de Jonge, "Grosseteste," 12.

²⁸ Bickerman, "Date," 246. Charles points out that the Testaments were numbered among the "Apocrypha in the Stichometry of Nicephorus, the Synopsis of Athanasius, and in the Anonymous List of Canonical Books published by Montfaucon, Petra, and others." R. H. Charles, The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1908), lxxviii.

Texts

Hebrew

There are no ancient Hebrew texts of the T12P. Although Gaster thought that the Hebrew TNaph discovered at Qumran “was the original of the Greek Testament,” these fragments are late and only very loosely associated with the TNaph in the T12P.²⁹ The other Hebrew testaments of Judah and Naphtali are much later.

Aramaic

The fragments discovered at Qumran are only partial and remote parallels to TLevi.

Greek

T12P exists only in Greek manuscripts and in Armenian and Slavonic translations made from the Greek.³⁰ “Even de Jonge’s critics now reject Charles’ views on the text. It seems safe to say that the attempt to remove Christian interpolations by means of textual criticism has been thoroughly undermined.”³¹ “There is now a virtual consensus that the *Testaments* were written in Greek, contrary to the view of Charles.”³²

Armenian

The Armenian texts do not show interpolation but abbreviations.³³ They have a “tendency to shorten the text, even more so than the Greek manuscripts that have abbreviations. The text-critical rule *lectio brevior potior* certainly does not hold good for the Testaments...the shorter, less ‘Christian,’ Armenian text is not closer to the original.”³⁴ Both camps agree with this assessment of the Greek and Armenian texts, which practically destroys the textual basis for Charles’ theory.

Original Language

M. de Jonge states that the author’s theme for T1ss came from the LXX, which shows that he knew Greek.³⁵ But M. de Jonge’s opponent, Kee, gives even better arguments for believing that the T12P was originally written in Greek: consistent use of the LXX, Greek proper names without any Semitic counterpart, distinctively Greek names for various places, Hellenistic concepts, assonance, following the LXX in identifying the chief cook as the man who purchased Joseph rather than the captain of the guard, Hellenistic technical terminology for which there are no Hebrew equivalents.³⁶ Again, those within Charles’ camp are increasingly basing their convictions on considerations other than text criticism since they now acknowledge that it was written in Greek.

²⁹ Collins, “Testaments,” 332, n. 36.

³⁰ Bickerman, “Date,” 245.

³¹ Collins, “Recent,” 272.

³² *Ibid.*, 274.

³³ M. de Jonge, “The Main Issues in the study of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,” *New Testament Studies* 26 (1980): 509.

³⁴ M. de Jonge, “Transmission,” 11.

³⁵ M. de Jonge, *Testaments*, 78.

³⁶ Kee, “Ethical,” 269.

Significance

Qumran

From the view of the Essene origin of the T12P, the so-called Christian interpolations are not interpolations pointing to Jesus; rather, they point to the Teacher of Righteousness, and the T12P is an important link in helping us understand the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Christian

From the perspective of Christian origin, this document is a product of the early Christian church and shows a Jewish-Christian using Jewish Haggadah material, etc., to promote Jewish-Christian ethics³⁷ on the basis of what happened to the patriarchs and the prophesied Messiah, Jesus. These ethical promotions are also based on what will happen in the future to believers, non-believers, and the Messiah when the Lord returns. They promote love and morality. Additionally, the T12P may have been written as a Christian response to the Jews, as was the case for Justin's Dialogue.³⁸ As such, it would be another example of early Christian apologetics. However, it could also be considered an early example of Christian evangelism to the Jews.³⁹

Jewish

The Jewish advocates believe "it is a major witness to Jewish paraenesis [ethical exhortations and teaching] just prior to Christianity."⁴⁰ It was written to by a Jew to Jews to promote fidelity to the Jewish faith in the midst of apostasy (cp. Tlss 6:1) and love for fellow Jewish brethren in a powerful and original way two centuries before Christians began promoting love of Christian brethren.⁴¹ Kee gives a very extended list of their significance.⁴²

However, the above presentations fall short of Charles' enthusiasm. The very last chart of Charles' book is a list of 110 references from the New Testament, and he claims that in these 110 passages, the New Testament is dependent upon the T12P.⁴³ In 1908 Plummer tried to counter Charles' claim that the New Testament used the T12P so extensively and was so dependent upon the T12P by claiming that these parallels were really Christian interpolations.⁴⁴ But if Kee is correct and this Jewish book has only a dozen Christian interpolations and very few redactions, then even Charles' attitude toward this book is milder than it should be.

In Charles' opinion, the ethical teaching of the T12P is "indefinitely higher and purer than that of the Old Testament...and helps to bridge the chasm that divides the

³⁷ M. de Jonge, "The Pre-Mosaic Servants of God in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and in the Writings of Justin and Irenaeus," *Vigiliae Christianae* 39 (1985): 169.

³⁸ Graham N. Stanton, "Aspects of Early Christian-Jewish Polemic and Apologetic," *New Testament Studies* 31 (1985): 377-392.

³⁹ M. de Jonge, "Israel," 210-211.

⁴⁰ Charlesworth, "Seminar," 304.

⁴¹ Walter. Harrelson, "Patient Love in the Testament of Joseph," *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 4 (1977): 4-13.

⁴² Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha*, 778-780.

⁴³ Charles, *Testaments*, 238-239.

⁴⁴ Slingerland, *History*, 34-35.

ethics of the Old and New Testaments.”⁴⁵ For example, the T12P is far superior to the OT concerning the subject of forgiveness.⁴⁶ TGad 6:3-7 “is the most remarkable statement on the subject of forgiveness in all ancient literature.”⁴⁷ And the T12P is the first literary piece to join the commandments that we should love God and our neighbor.⁴⁸ The T12P is the first Jewish literature to use the phrase, “New Jerusalem.”⁴⁹ And it is the most ancient reference to “crowns” being given as eschatological rewards.⁵⁰ For these and many other items, the New Testament is dependent upon the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs according to Charles’ camp.

Conclusion

The old debate about whether the T12P is a Jewish or a Christian document continues. Although both sides talk today of redactions, in practice, the Jewish side of the argument still thinks primarily in terms of interpolations. Since the textual evidence favors it being a Christian document, it would appear that the Jewish argument is based more so on the results of higher criticism. In this case, we are presented with a document that deserves very careful attention since a considerable amount of the New Testament is dependent upon it. On the other hand, if it is a Christian document, it demonstrates dependency upon the New Testament. In either case, it shows how a second-century Jewish-Christian (be he interpolator or redactor) tried to reach out to those about him using ethical exhortations in the medium of a literary device that was accepted in the culture of his day. His purpose was to encourage his fellow believers in the faith and to attract his fellow Jews to the faith.

It should be remembered that both sides believe the final form of the document by the end of the second century A.D. was a Christian document. Even in the case of the Jewish hypothesis, it is acknowledged as being interpolated by Christians, preserved by Christians, and used by Christians. Although Christians today may find the idea repulsive of using Christian fiction evangelistically and apologetically, evidently, there were early Christians who did not have reservations about using it in this manner. On the one hand, it can be asked if it is ethical to use lies presented as truth to teach ethics! On the other hand, it can be asked that if the founder of Christianity used stories to illustrate spiritual truth, then is it not permissible for His followers to do the same. Sometimes the Christian community has had trouble deciding where the fiction ends, and the reality begins. For example, are the stories of the prodigal son and the rich man and Lazarus fictional or real. Even if they are fictional, does this nullify their truthfulness? The T12P is a Christian book about ethics from the past that raises interesting ethical questions for Christians today.

⁴⁵ Charles, *Testaments*, xvii.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, xcii-xcv.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 155.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, lxxix.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 131.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 203.

Appendix

*Chart 1. Selected Christian Interpolations*⁵¹

1. TSim 6:5	God the Lord...will be manifested upon the earth [<i>as a man</i>]	all Mss. contain this expression
2. TSim 6:7	I shall bless the Most High for his marvels, [<i>because God has taken a body, eats with human beings, and saves human beings</i>].	no textual evidence cited for omission (cp. TAsh 7:3; TDan 5:13; 6:9)
3. TSim 7:2a	For the Lord will raise up from Levi someone as high priest and from Judah as king [<i>God and man</i>].	no textual evidence cited for omission
4. TSim 7:2b	He will save { <i>all the gentiles</i> } and the tribe of Israel.	omissions by A of this type of phrase in TJos 19:11; TBenj 3:8; 12:2; TSim 7:2; but cp. TAsh 7:3
5. TLevi 4:4	The Lord shall visit all the nations forever, (<i>although your sons will lay hands on him in order to impale him</i>).	this text is omitted by Charles
6. TLevi 10:2	I am free of responsibility for your impiety or for any transgression which you may commit...[<i>against Christ, the Savior of the world</i>] in leading Israel astray	<i>Christ</i> is omitted by βAS ¹ ; cp. TLevi 14:2; Kee believes the entire chapter has been modified (redacted).
7. TLevi 10:3	...the curtain { <i>of the Temple</i> } will be torn	α = σχισθήσεται τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ (many texts read ἔνδυμα) Mk 15:38 = καταπέτασμα. Charles and Kee believe <i>veil</i> was the original reading and was changed to curtain by a Christian editor. Without citing any textual support, Charles suggests that <i>of the Temple</i> was interpolated.

⁵¹ The translations given in the chart are those given by Kee in Charlesworth's *Pseudepigrapha*, unless otherwise noted as being from Charles (*Testaments*). Quotations are from the respective author's textual note beneath the cited text. The various brackets and quotations are based on both the texts and textual notes of both works:

[] = considered Christian interpolation by both Charles and Charlesworth;

{ } = considered Christian interpolation by only Charles;

() = considered Christian interpolation by only Charlesworth.

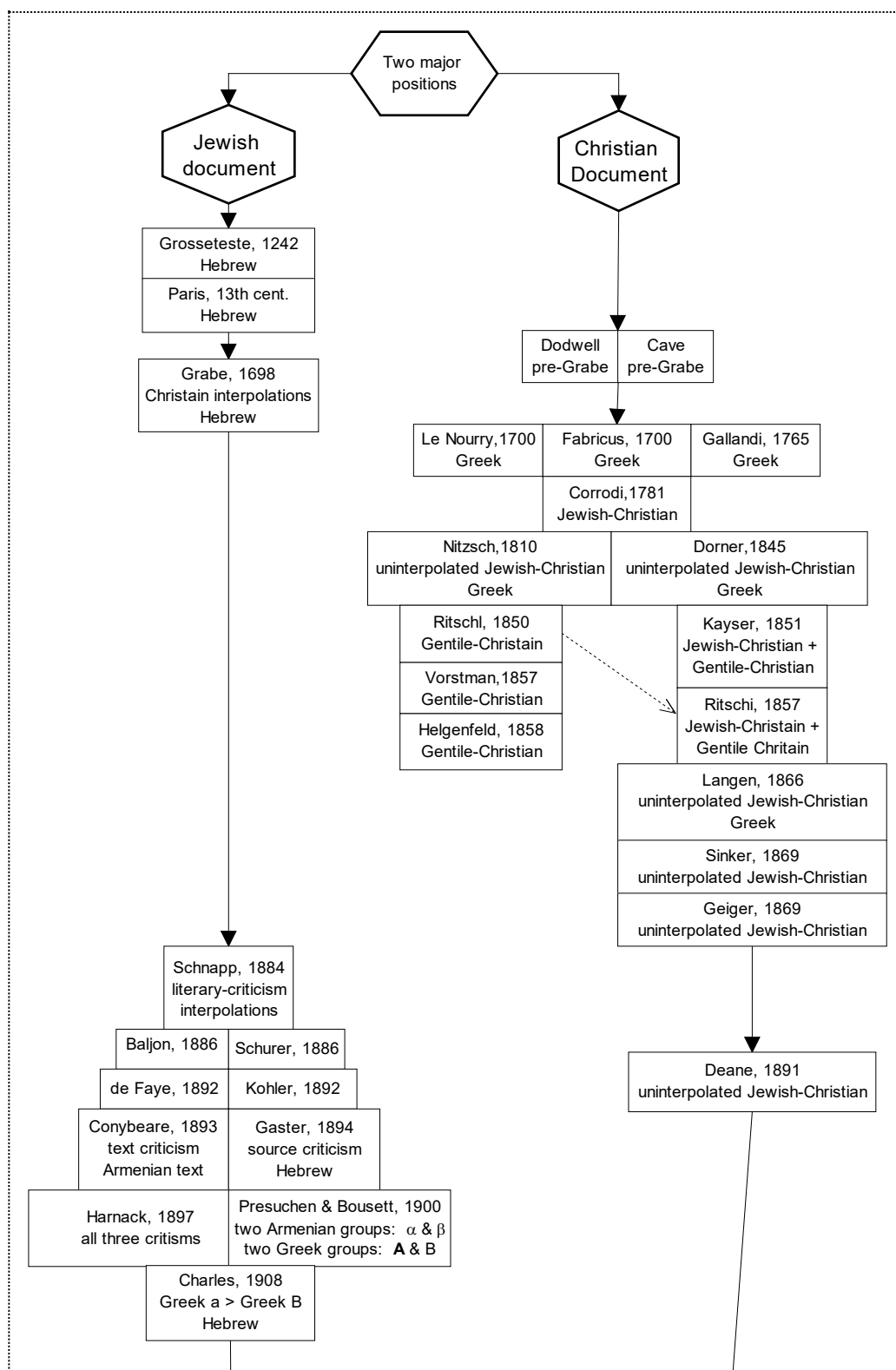
8. TLevi 14:1	You will act impiously against the Lord, setting your hands to every evil deed {against Him}	in α not β
9. TLevi 14:2	For your father, Israel, is pure with respect to all the impieties of the chief priests, [who laid their hands on the Savior of the world]	no textual evidence cited for omission; cp. TLevi 10:2
10. TLevi 16:3	You persecute just men... {A man who by the power of the Most High renews the Law you name "Deceiver," and finally you shall plot to kill him, not discerning his eminence; by your wickedness you take innocent blood on your heads.}	Cp. Mt 27:24-25,63. In his note, Charles explains that the verse has probably been recast (redacted) rather than interpolated. Kee believes the entire chapter has been reworked (redacted). In other words, since there is no textual or contextual reason to omit the verse from this supposedly Jewish document, they assume Christian redaction!
11. TLevi 16:5	he will...take you back in compassion {through faith and water}	omitted by Kee although contained in a variety of manuscripts
12. TLevi 18:6	The heavens will be opened, and from the temple of glory sanctification will come upon him, with a fatherly voice, as from Abraham to Isaac....And the spirit of understanding and sanctification shall rest upon him [in the water].	The heavens are opened; the voice of the father comes forth addressing him as from Abraham to Isaac, i.e., as a son, and the spirit comes and rests upon him. To this supposedly Jewish document, a Christian is assumed to have added the words <i>in the water</i> . With the exception of ϵ , These words are found in all the MSS and version.
13. TLevi 18:9	Lawless men shall rest from their evil deeds, {and righteous men shall find rest in him} .	no textual evidence cited for omission

14. TJud 24:4	{ <i>This is the Shoot of God Most High; this is the fountain for the life of all humanity.</i> }	second half of verse found in both α and β
15. TZeb 9:8	the Lord himself will arise upon you...with healing and compassion in his wings....He will liberate every captive...And you shall see [<i>God in human form</i>], he whom the Lord will chose: Jerusalem is his name.	various texts omit the phrase
16. TDan 5:11	And he shall take from Beliar the captives, { <i>the souls of saints</i> }	no textual evidence cited for omission
17. TDan 5:13a	And Jerusalem shall no longer undergo desolation...because the Lord will be in her midst [<i>living among human beings</i>].	no textual evidence cited for omission
18. TDan 5:13b	The Holy One of Israel will rule over them { <i>in humility and poverty, and he who trusts in him shall reign in truth in the heavens</i> }.	no textual evidence cited for omission; cp. TDan 6:4
19. TDan 6:7	His name shall be everywhere throughout Israel; [<i>and the Savior will be known among the nations</i>].	omitted by A; <i>Savior</i> found in β and S ¹
20. TDan 6:9	What you have heard from your father pass on to your children, { <i>so that the father of nations may accept you. For he is true and patient, lowly and humble, exemplifying by his actions the Law of God</i> }.	<i>The father of nations</i> is rendered <i>the Savior of the Gentiles</i> by Charles.
21. TNaph 8:3	Through his kingly power God will appear [<i>dwelling among men on the earth</i>], to save the race of Israel, and to assemble the righteous from among the nations.	no textual evidence cited for omission; cp. TSim 6:4 and TZeb 9:8
22. TGad 2:3	I sold him to the Ishmaelites (<i>for thirty pieces of gold; we hid ten pieces and showed only the twenty to our brothers</i>).	found in β AS ¹ not in α
23. TGad 7:3a	You will be scattered...in the dispersion...until such time as the Most High visits the earth. [<i>He shall come as a man eating and drinking with human beings</i>]	no textual evidence cited for omission
24. TGad 7:3b	He will save Israel and all the nations, [<i>God speaking like a man</i>]	no textual evidence cited for omission

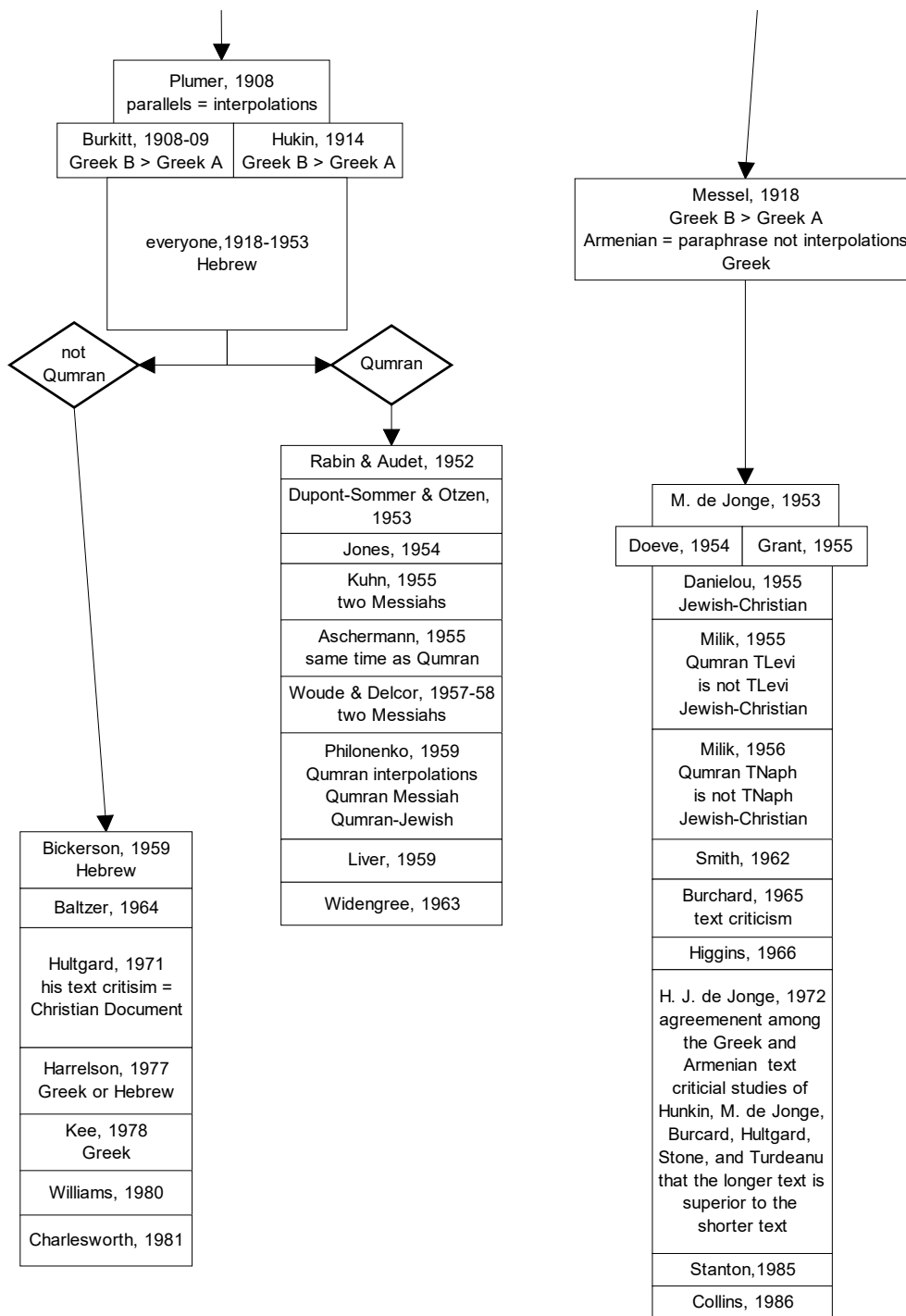
25. TJos 19:8	<p>cβS¹: And I saw that a [<i>virgin</i>] was born [<i>from Judah</i>], [<i>wearing a linen stole; and from her</i>] was born a [<i>spotless</i>] lamb.</p> <p>A: And I saw in the midst of the horns a certain [<i>virgin</i>] [<i>wearing a multicolored stole</i>]; from her came a lamb.</p>	All the texts state that a virgin gave birth to a lamb. However, by appealing to contextual rather than textual evidence and by assuming corruption and interpolation, Charles transforms the passage by transforming a calf into a lamb!
26. TJos 19:11	<p>cβS¹: Honor Levi and Judah, because from their seed will arise [<i>the Lamb of God who will take away the sin of the world</i>], and will save [<i>all the nations, as well as</i>] Israel.</p> <p>A: from them shall arise the salvation of Israel.</p>	The Armenian text simply reads salvation.
27. TBenj 3:8	Through you will be fulfilled the heavenly prophecy [<i>concerning the Lamb of God, the Savior of the world</i>], because the unspotted one will be betrayed by lawless men, and the sinless one will die for impious men [<i>by the blood of the covenant for the salvation of Israel and the destruction of Beliar and his servants</i>].	Found in cβS ¹ but not in A.
28. TBenj 9:2	The Most High shall send forth his salvation through the ministration of the { <i>unique</i> } prophet.	Charles translates μονογενής as <i>only-begotten</i> rather than <i>unique</i> and considers it “a Christian recast.”
29. TBenj 9:3-5	<p>cβS¹: [<i>He shall enter the first temple, and there the Lord will be abused and will be raised up on wood. and the temple curtain shall be torn, and the spirit of God will move on to all the nations as a fire is poured out. and he shall ascend from Hades and shall pass on from earth to heaven. I understand how humble he will be on the earth, and how splendid in heaven.</i>]</p> <p><i>continued:</i> A: [<i>And the Lord shall be treated with</i></p>	The Armenian translation is from Charles. Both Charles and Kee consider the passage a Christian interpolation in spite of the fact that it is contained in all the texts. Cp. TLevi 10:3.

	<i>outrage and set at nought. And he will depart from earth to heaven: for I knew how He is on earth and how in heaven, or what is His measure and place and way.]</i>	
30. TBenj 3:7-9	cβS ¹ : Then shall we also rise, each one over our tribe, worshipping the King of heaven, [<i>who appeared upon earth in the form of a man in humility. And as many as believe on Him on the earth shall rejoice with Him</i>]. Then also all men shall rise, some unto glory and some unto shame. And the Lord shall judge Israel first, for their unrighteousness; [<i>for when He appeared as God in the flesh to deliver them they believed Him not</i>]. And then shall He judge all the Gentiles, [<i>as many as believed Him not when He appeared upon earth</i>].	Charles' translation of cβS ¹ . On the basis of the Armenian text, which omits these phrases, Kee omits these phrases in his translation without even so much as a footnote that they exist!
31. TBenj 11:1-2	I shall not longer be called a rapacious wolf...but { <i>“the Lord’s worker” providing food for those who do good works. And in later times there shall rise up</i> } the beloved of the Lord, { <i>from the lineage of Judah and Levi,</i> } one who does his good pleasure by his mouth, { <i>enlightening all the nations with new knowledge</i> }.	These phrases are omitted in A.

Chart 2. Historical Overview⁵²



⁵² The early part of this chart (until 1970) is based primarily upon Slingerland, *History*. For subsequent references consult the bibliography of the present work.



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