THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

TRANSLATED BY

James C. VANDERKAM

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

TRANSLATED BY

James C. VANDERKAM

INTRODUCTION

I. PRELIMINARY COMMENTS

The Book of Jubilees, which is a heavily edited retelling of Genesis 1-Exodus 12, has endured a long, complicated textual history and has survived it in remarkable health. Scholars have proposed a wide range of dates for the time when the book was written (ranging from the fifth-fourth centuries B.C. to the first century A.D.)[1], but since 1902, when R.H. Charles published his annotated translation of Jubilees, the dominant view has been that the author composed his work at some point in the second century B.C. Charles, who contributed more to the study of the text of Jubilees than any other scholar, formulated the standard position that the book was written between 135 and 96 B.C., or more precisely between 109 and 105 B.C.[2] He adduced many reasons for his hypothesis, the most important of which were alleged references in the book to the Maccabean high priesthood, the failure of the Pharisaic author to mention the split between the Pharisees and John Hyrcanus (134-104) or Alexander Jannaeus (103-76), and historical references to events such as Hyrcanus' razing of Samaria in 109 B.C.[3] In more recent treatments of the topic, several writers have shown the weaknesses of Charles' dating and have preferred a time between 170 and 150 B.C. The present writer has argued at length that Jubilees was written between 161 and 152[4], while George Nickelsburg and Jonathan Goldstein have defended a date just before 167 B.C. on the grounds that the author betrays his knowledge of events that occurred in the first part of Antiochus IV's reign but is not aware of his religious edict which was promulgated in 167[5]. Since textual matters are the focus of

[1] For a survey of dates, see J. VANDERKAM, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (HSM 14; Missoula: Scholars, 1977) 207-13.

[2] *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1902) lxiii-lxvi (= Charles, 1902, in future references); *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1913) 2.6.

[3] Jub 30:2-4, 24 (cf. Gen 34:2-13, 25-29) is supposed to reflect this event (*The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, 2.6).

[4] *Textual and Historical Studies*, 214-85.

[5] NICKELSBURG, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981) 78-79; GOLDSTEIN, «The Date of the Book of Jubilees», *PAAJR* 50 (1983) 63-86. The apocalypse in Jubilees 23 plays a large part in these two attempts at dating.

this introduction, the dispute about dating need not be adjudicated here; but it now seems safe to claim that the Book of Jubilees was written between the years 170 and 150 B.C.

Today students of the book agree that it was composed in Hebrew and that from Hebrew it was translated into Greek. It has been suggested (on this see section II. C. below) that a Hebrew text also served as the base for a Syriac translation, but it is not certain that there was a full Syriac translation and that, if there was one, it rendered a Hebrew rather than a Greek model. Copies of the Greek version of Jubilees then became the *Vorlagen* of translations into Latin and Ethiopic[6]. The textual evidence which has survived from each of these stages in the history of the book will be discussed in the sections that follow. The introduction to this volume will then conclude with some explanatory comments about the translations of the textual material that is found in volume one and regarding the textual notes.

II. THE VERSIONS

A. The Hebrew Version: The scholars who studied and wrote about the text of Jubilees before the Dead Sea Scrolls were discovered usually agreed that the book was composed in the Hebrew language[7], but definitive evidence for their quite plausible thesis was lacking. The issue of the language in which Jubilees was written has now been settled conclusively due in large measure to finding fragmentary remains of 13 manuscripts of the book in the caves around Qumran. Since all of these manuscripts are written in Hebrew and some can be dated on paleographical grounds to times very near the period when the author penned his work, Hebrew must be regarded as the only serious candi-

---

[6] These claims are justified below; cf. also VANDERKAM, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 1-15.

[7] A. DILLMANN, «Beiträge aus dem Buch der Jubiläen zur Kritik des Pentateuch-Textes», *Sitzungsberichte der königlichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (Berlin: Verlag der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1883) 1.324; R.H. CHARLES, መጽሐፈ ፡ ኩፋሌ or the Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees (Anecdota Oxoniensia; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895) ix (= Charles, 1895, in future references); 1902, xxxii-xxxiii. Other early students of the book had opted for Greek as the original language. See Z. FRANKEL, «Das Buch der Jubiläen», *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums* 5 (1856) 311-16; A. Büchler, «Studies in the Book of Jubilees», *REJ* 82 (1926) 253-74. For a survey of the arguments that have been adduced for Hebrew or Greek as the original language of the book, cf. VANDERKAM, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 1-3.

date for the original language of Jubilees[8]. It has been known for more than 35 years now that the caves of Qumran had yielded fragments of Jubilees, but to date only a fraction of the material has been published. The fragments which have appeared, their dates, the locations of their texts in Jubilees, and publication data are given in the Introduction to volume one. Here it will suffice to list the fragments and to indicate the verses of Jubilees that are preserved on each.

Siglum	Location in Jubilees
1Q17	27:19-20
1Q18	35:8-10
2Q19	23:7-8
2Q20	46:1-3
3Q5 (= 3QJub) frg. 1	23:12-13
3Q5 (= 3QJub) frg. 3	23:6-7
4Q176 frgs. 19-20	23:21-23
4Q221 (Jub^f 1)	21:22-24
11QJub 1	4:7-11
11QJub M2	4:13-14
11QJub M3	4:16-17
11QJub 2	4:29-30
11QJub 3	5:1-2
11QJub 4	12:15-17
11QJub 5,8	12:28-29

This list is unchanged from the one compiled in the author's 1977 work *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, with one exception. The only fragments to be identified correctly since 1977 as parts of a copy of Jubilees are 4Q176 frgs. 19-20, which M. Kister has very recently recognized as preserving words and letters from Jub

---

[8] Before the Qumran discoveries, Aramaic had occasionally been considered the language of the author. See DILLMANN, «Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die kleine Genesis», *Jahrbücher der Biblischen wissenschaft* 3 (1850) 90; C.C. TORREY, «The Aramaic of the Gospels», *JBL* 61 (1942) 72, where for Jub 1:16 (literally: «I will *remove* them a righteous plant») he claims that the verb *remove* in the Ethiopic text is the product of a confusion between two Aramaic verbs — a confusion that is not possible in Hebrew (see the textual note to 1:16). After the first Hebrew fragment of Jubilees from Qumran was published, TORREY («A Hebrew Fragment of Jubilees», *JBL* 71 [1952] 39-41) drew the conclusion that in this fragment one had evidence that Aramaic texts were being translated into Hebrew at a very early date.

23:21-23[9]. As all of the other fragments of Hebrew Jubilees were studied in great detail in the book mentioned above, those discussions need not be repeated here. But it will be useful to add a few words about the two newly identified fragments (their contribution to the text of Jubilees is highlighted in the relevant textual notes).

The 57 fragments of 4Q176 were published by J. Allegro under the title «*Tanḥûmim*»[10]. J. Strugnell subsequently offered new, improved readings for some of the fragments and noted that materially frgs. 19-21 resembled one another[11]. Kister, however, was the first to maintain that these fragments where not parts of *tanḥûmîm* but of Jubilees 23. In his article, he offers a few revised readings and holds that frgs. 19-20 give words from Jub 23:21-23, while frg. 21 preserves parts of Jub 23:30-31. 4Q176 frgs. 19-20 Kister reads thus[12]:

20	19
באמ]ת ולוא בצדקה	
]ויהי קצף גדול על מעשי הדור	[א בח]
]ולבֿ ולאוכולה [ו]יער עליהום	[ם בחרב ולמשפט °]
]יכ]-[ל] [ל] [שאו לואו	[מים עׄליהמה ו]

In the second line, he follows Allegro in reading בה, but the traces of the second letter seem different than the ה in the line below. The traces seem to be consistent with the shape of a ת. There are problems in the third line as well. He reads a ו between א and כ in ולאוכולה, but a י seems more likely. The letter ה at the end of the word is possible, but the only remains are two dots at the bottom. The fragment may be shriveled at this point; consequently, it is difficult to determine whether there was a ו before the following verb in the imperfect tense or whether a converted perfect form is to be read. Naturally, the letters marked as uncertain at the bottom of the fragment are difficult to read.

Kister also holds that 4Q176 frg. 21 contains part of Jub 23:30-31. He reads it as[13]:

---

[9] «Newly-Identified Fragments of the Book of Jubilees: JUB. 23:21-23, 30-31», *RdQ* 12 (1987) 529-36.

[10] *DJD* 5.60-67, with Plates XXII-XXIII.

[11] «Notes en marge du volume V des 'Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan'», *RdQ* 7 (1969-71) 229-36; for his comment on frgs. 19-21, see p. 235.

[12] «Newly-Identified Fragments», 530.

[13] Ibid.

וּרֹֿאֹו[°
בכול קללתֿ[ם
ורוחותיהם°[
יש אל עושה[ה
לֹ[וֹ] [ולרֹ]°

Here his arguments for identifying the fragment are less convincing. One problem is that the lines which would have to be reconstructed are very short and not especially uniform in length (from 20 to 27 letters per line). They would be approximately half the length of the lines which can be restored for frgs. 19-20. This makes it likely that frgs. 19-20 and 21 are not from the same manuscript[14]. In line one of frg. 21 virtually nothing can be read. In fact, Allegro noted only the initial ו and offered no proposals for the remaining traces. Strugnell added nothing regarding the reading of the line. Kister's suggestions for the first word are possible, but the trace which he deciphers as ש do not fit well with the shape of this letter. Moreover, even if his debatable readings were to be accepted, the resulting text would disagree with the Ethiopic by not introducing the noun following the verb with a preposition and by using what seems to be a different noun (ש[ונאיהם for በርሔሙ)[15]. The readings in line two are secure, but again, if they are part of the proposed passage in Jubilees 23, they differ from Jub 23:30 in that the Ethiopic text treats the phrase ዘላ : መንፈሶሙ as a direct object and thus does not introduce it with a preposition as the Hebrew does[16]. Lines three and four must be regarded as the strongest evidence for identifying the fragment as corresponding with Jub 23:30-31, especially the unusual phrase in line four יש אל עושה. Finally, in the last line, neither of the proposed numbers would agree with the Ethiopic texts which here use the terms አምኣት (hundreds) and አእላፍ (thousands)[17]. For these reasons, Kister's identification of frg. 21 ought not to be accepted, though it is not impossible.

J.T. Milik announced in 1956 that the mass of fragments from

---

[14] Kister (ibid., 535), citing Strugnell, notes that shorter lines are sometimes found in columns at the end of a scroll or sheet. This leads him to consider whether Jubilees 23 was copied as an independent unit. There is no evidence for this at Qumran. One reason why several fragments of this chapter have been found is that it is in the middle of the book and would thus be wrapped in the most secure place in a scroll.

[15] See ibid.

[16] Ibid., 535-36.

[17] Ibid., 536.

Qumran Cave 4 included the remains of six manuscripts of Jubilees[18], but he has published only the one fragment (4Q221 [Jubᶠ]) which is mentioned in the list above and five letters from 4QJubᵉ 1.7 (Jub 25:12). M. Baillet has identified some small scraps from his lot as parts of a manuscript of Jubilees (4Q482). Yet, as he himself admits, they are too diminutive to allow a firm identification[19]. Eight fragments are involved. The first, which consists of 22 letters apportioned over five lines, may, on his view, overlap with Jub 13:29; yet, as Baillet observes, 11. 4-5 correspond with nothing in Jubilees. Frg. 2 has 10 letters on three lines. Baillet wondered whether they belong to Jub 36:9, but this seems unlikely. He offers no locations in Jubilees for frgs. 3-8. Baillet has also published two fragments of 4Q483 which he thinks may preserve parts of either Genesis or Jubilees[20]. The first may contain Gen 1:28 (cf. Jub 2:14); however, as only 11 letters on two lines are legible, nothing certain can be said. The second fragment of 4Q483 is even more problematic, since it has only one visible letter.

Qumran is not the only archeological site which is supposed to have furnished Hebrew fragments of Jubilees. Yigael Yadin has reported that a Hebrew fragment of Jubilees was found at Masada[21], while Milik has written that «de quelques autres» were uncovered at the fortress[22]. In October 1983 the author wrote Yadin for details about the fragment(s) because he had not yet published it (them) and had offered nothing about its (their) size or location. In a letter dated 22-11-83 Yadin responded most graciously by supplying a transcription of the *one* fragment from Masada. On it were letters belonging to the ends of seven lines in one column and to the beginnings of five lines in the next column. He commented that he was uncertain about the precise location of the fragment in Jubilees but that its general place-ment was clear (he did not specify where that might have been). The author made many unsuccessful attempts to locate the fragment relative

[18] «Le travail d'édition des fragments manuscrits de Qumran», *RB* 63 (1956) 60; and «Le travail d'édition des manuscrits du désert de Juda», *Volume du Congrès Strasbourg 1956* (VTSup 4; Leiden: Brill, 1957) 24. Since Milik's manuscripts remain unpublished, it cannot be determined whether 4Q176 frgs. 19-20 come from any of them. If they do, there would be only 12 copies of Jubilees from Qumran, not 13, as claimed above.

[19] *DJD* 7.1-2 (with Plate I); see also the «Introduction», xiii.

[20] *DJD* 7.2 (with Plate I).

[21] *Masada: Herod's Fortress and the Zealots' Last Stand* (New York: Random House, 1966) 179.

[22] «Recherches sur la version grecque du Livre des Jubilés», *RB* 78 (1971) 557.

to the text of Jubilees and finally wrote Yadin on February 3, 1984 to ask whether one could be sure that the fragment did indeed contain part of the text of Jubilees. In his reply, dated 5 March, 1984 (not long before his death), he indicated that he, too, was unable to position it in Jubilees and that its identification remained open. As a result it now appears most unlikely that the excavator of Masada uncovered a fragment of Hebrew Jubilees[23].

All of the published Hebrew fragments of Jubilees are printed and translated in this edition. They are the earliest textual evidence for the book and are thus of great value. It is regrettable that the majority of the Qumran evidence remains unpublished. Nevertheless, the words and letters that have been made available demonstrate, when compared with the complete and much later Ethiopic version, that the text of the book has been preserved with great care across the centuries (see section E. below).

B. The Greek Version: That there once was a Greek translation of the Book of Jubilees can hardly be doubted, but only indirect evidence for it is now available. That is, no Greek manuscript of the book or part of one has been identified. All that remains of the version is a series of near citations from or allusions to Jubilees in the writings of several Greek authors such as Epiphanius and the Byzantine chronographers Syncellus and Cedrenus. The arguments which scholars have formulated to support the claim that Jubilees once existed in Greek are of a familiar kind. In addition to the fact that authors who wrote in Greek and used Greek sources cited it, there are elements in the Latin and/or Ethiopic versions, both of which were translated from Greek models, that reflect ambiguities in the underlying Greek. For example, in Jub 16:10 the Latin version reads *finibus* (boundaries) where the Ethiopic has አድባረ (mountains). The simplest explanation for these variants is that the Greek texts which lay before the translators had the word ορος. Taken as ὅρος it means *boundary* but as ὄρος it means *mountain*[24]. Another example has to do with the recurrent claim in the

---

[23] The other remaining traces of Hebrew Jubilees — its title (CD 16:3-4), Jerome's citations of two words, and the evidence of the midrashim — are adduced and discussed in the textual notes to the pertinent passages.

[24] This example was noticed by H. RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die Kleine Genesis* (Leipzig: Fues's Verlag [R. Reisland], 1874; reprinted: Amsterdam: Editions RODOPI, 1970) 102.

Ethiopic manuscripts (see the textual note at 4:15) that the patriarchs of the early biblical genealogies married the daughters of their fathers' sisters. H. Gelzer[25] maintained that the word πατράδελφος lay behind the Ethiopic readings and that the scholar(s) responsible for the translation into Ethiopic had mistakenly thought the term meant *father's sister* rather than the correct *father's brother*—a suggestion that is supported by the Syriac list of the names of patriarchal wives (on which see section C. below). There are many other passages in Jubilees which can be clarified by reconstructing the Greek from which the Latin and Ethiopic came (e.g., 7:22; 8:6, 22; 12:14, 21; 18:12, 19:10, etc.), and they are treated in the textual notes.

Collections of the Greek material have been available to Western scholars for more than two and one-half centuries. J. Fabricius was the first to assemble the texts. He placed Greek and Latin citations, in which the authors explicitly attributed the material to Jubilees, under the rubric «Parva Genesis» (a Latin title for Jubilees) in his *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti*[26]. Approximately 150 years later, Hermann Rönsch compiled an exhaustive collection of explicit and possible citations from or references to Jubilees (both Greek and Latin)[27], while in his critical edition of 1895 and in his translation of 1902 Charles included a large amount of Greek evidence. The most recent publication of the Greek texts has been prepared by A.M. Denis who has also provided an introduction to them[28].

A cursory glance at the works of Rönsch and Denis might give the reader the impression that a fairly large amount of Greek textual material is extant despite the fact that there are no actual manuscripts of the Greek translation. Appearances are deceptive in this case, however. There are indeed many allusions to Jubilees (or to motifs expressed in it) in Christian Greek literature, but there are virtually no quotations which offer useful *textual* information. Almost the only true

[25] «Die apokryphischen Reste der Byzantiner und ihre Abstammung aus Panodorus und Africanus» in *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie*, 2, 1: *Die Nachfolger des Julius Africanus* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche, 1898) 252-53.

[26] (2 vols.; Hamburg: T.C. Felginer, 1722-23) 1.849-64; 2.120-22.

[27] *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 252-322 (texts which name Jubilees, under its various titles, as the source); 322-82 (passages for which Jubilees may be the source but in which it is not named).

[28] «Liber Jubilaeorum» in *Fragmenta Pseudepigraphorum Quae Supersunt Graeca* (PVTG 3; Leiden; Brill, 1970) 70-102; and «Les fragments grecs du Livre des Jubilés» in *Introduction aux pseudépigraphes grecs d'Ancien Testament* (SVTP 1; Leiden: Brill, 1970) 150-62.

citation of an extensive segment of text is Epiphanius' version of
Jub 2:2-5, 7-8, 10-16 (cf. 2:17, 19, 20, 23) in his *De mensuris et
ponderibus* 22 (he does not name Jubilees as his source); yet even this
extract has been edited to some extent, as have all allusions to the book
in other works. Moreover. there are indications in some cases that
Greek writers, though they name Jubilees as their source, were incorrect
about the attribution (see, for example, the first textual note to 2:23).
Milik has sharply criticized Denis for neglecting the works of several
Byzantine chronographers who many have used the *Chronographies* of
Sextus Julius Africanus as the source for their Jubilees material[29].
Nevertheless, the lines which he has culled from their chronicles almost
always suffer from the same defect as the texts that Denis does include,
viz., they are usually allusions, not citations—a fact which limits their
textual value.

The following excerpts are included in this edition as reflections of
the lost Greek version of Jubilees:

Source	Location in Jubilees
1. Epiphanius, *De mensuris et ponderibus*	2:2-5, 7-8, 10-16 (cf. 2:17, 19, 20, 23)
2. Syncellus, *Chronographia*	3:9-11 (cf. 3:1, 5, 33)
3. Michael Glycas, *Annales*	3:16
4. Syncellus, *Chronographia*	3:28
5. Syncellus, *Chronographia*	3:32 (cf. 3:17)
6. Syncellus, *Chronographia*	4:1-2, 9 (cf. 3:34; 4:9)
7. Epiphanius, *Panarion*	4:9, 11, 10
8. Cedrenus, *Historiarum Compendium*	4:17
9. *Chronicle on Creation*	4:30, 29
10. Syncellus, *Chronographia*	4:31
11. Syncellus, *Chronographia*	cf. 7:1
12. Cedrenus, *Historiarum Compendium*	8:2-4
13. Syncellus, *Chronographia*	10:1, 7, 8-9 (cf. 10:3)
14. Cedrenus, *Historiarum Compendium*	10:15
15. Catena of Nicephorus	10:21
16. Theodosius of Miletus	10:29-31, 34

[29] «Recherches sur la version grecque», 545-57.

The reader will find references to other Greek literature in the textual notes. Of course, it is important to remember that Jubilees closely parallels the text of Genesis and Exodus and that for this reason the various recensions of the Septuagint offer a very large amount of comparable Greek text. In fact, LXX minuscule 135 includes in its margins the names of the patriarchs' wives just as they appear in Jubilees. The evidence of the Greek Bible is discussed extensively in the textual notes of this edition[30].

There is insufficient evidence at hand for dating the Greek translation of Jubilees precisely, but some limits can be set. Gelzer has made a plausible case that the traditions from Jubilees in the writings of Byzantine chronographers such as Syncellus were derived from the works of the fourth-fifth century Alexandrian authors Panodorus and Annianos and that they in turn had borrowed their information from the *Chronographies* of Sextus Julius Africanus (written ca. 220 A.D.)[31]. This chain of dependence would imply that Jubilees had been translated into Greek before 220 A.D. The Greek version certainly existed before Epiphanius (ca. 315-403) wrote his *De mensuris et ponderibus* in 392 because, as noted above, he quotes a fairly extensive passage from it[32].

C. The Syriac Version (?): The first published Syriac composition

---

[30] See *Textual and Historical Studies*, 103-205, for an extended study of the relations between Jubilees' biblical citations and the various recensions of the Greek Bible and other ancient versions.

[31] «Die apokryphischen Reste», 249-97.

[32] Though the sections of Epiphanius' work that are pertinent for Jubilees have survived in Greek, the full text of *De mensuris et ponderibus* has been preserved only in a Syriac translation. For the Syriac text, see James E. DEAN, ed., *Epiphanius' Treatise on Weights and Measures: The Syriac Version* (The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, no. 11; Chicago: University of Chicago, 1935). The date for the original Greek is given on p. 2.

that had direct relevance for the text of Jubilees was a short document
which begins with the words «The names of the wives of the patriarchs
according to the book which among the Hebrews is called Jubilees»[33].
Because it is so short and employs some Greek loan words, it furnished
a rather insecure basis for positing that the entire Book of Jubilees had
been rendered into Syriac and that the names had been drawn from this
Syriac version[34]. The likelihood that there once had been a Syriac
version increased when E. Tisserant isolated a series of citations from
Jubilees in an anonymous Syriac chronicle that had been found by
Ignace Ephrem II Raḥmāni, the Patriarch of Antioch[35]. These cita-
tions, which correspond with all or parts of 137 verses in Jubilees (with
allusions to the material in eight others), are remarkably free of Greek
loan words. Tisserant argued from the lack of such loan words and
from the fact that the author of the chronicle seems to have employed
only Syriac and Arabic sources that he drew the quotations from a
Syriac Version of Jubilees which had been translated directly from
Hebrew without a Greek intermediate stage. As part of his argument,
he compared the section of the chronicle which reproduces much of
Jubilees' creation story (2:2-8, 10-14, 15-16) with the Syriac translation
of Epiphanius' Greek version of these verses. The Syriac Epiphanius
has several Greek terms and is known to be based on a Greek model;
the Syriac of the chronicle has no Greek terms, and it is therefore
unlikely that it is a rendering of a Greek original[36]. His conclusions are
not unreasonable and would account for the nature of the extant

[33] A.M. CERIANI, *Monumenta Sacra et Profana* (2 vols.; Milan: Bibliotheca Ambro-
siana, 1861-63) 2.ix-x. The list appears on folio 180 of an eighth/ninth-century manuscript
which is in the British Library (BM *Additional* 12.154). Charles reprinted the text in his
1895 edition (Appendix III [p. 183]; in the first line, ܪܐ is an error for ܘܪܐ).

[34] The term ܣܐܪܠܘ (= στάδιον) is used (CERIANI, *Monumenta*, 2.ix). and.
according to Eugene TISSERANT («Fragments syriaques du Livre des Jubilés», *RB* 30
[1921] 58), the spelling ܝܠܒܩ reproduces Greek 'Ιωβηλαῖα not the Hebrew spelling of
the word. Charles seemed to believe that there had been a Syriac Jubilees in his 1895
edition (cf. p. x), but by 1902 he would say only that «the evidence as to the existence of a
Syriac [version] is not conclusive». (p. xxix).

[35] He edited, translated, and annotated the excerpts in his «Fragments syriaques du
Livre des Jubilés», *RB* 30 (1921) 55-86; 206-32. The full text of the chronicle was edited by
I.B. CHABOT, *Scriptores Syri 36: Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens 1* (CSCO 81;
Louvain: Imprimerie orientaliste L. Durbecq, 1953). Parts of the chronicle have been
translated in F. NAU, «Traduction de la Chronique syriaque anonyme, éditée par Sa
Béatitude Mgr. Rahmani, Patriarche des Syriens catholiques», *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*
12 (1907) 429-40; 13 (1908) 90-99; 321-28; 436-43.

[36] Tisserant, «Fragments syriaques», 231-32.

evidence, but the issue is still open and no copy of the hypothetical Syriac translation has yet been found.

The situation with the Syriac material, then, resembles that with the Greek: only citations from or allusions to Jubilees are available, not the translation itself (if there ever was one). Moreover, the Syriac extracts, like their Greek counterparts, have been adapted to their new contexts to some extent. It is undeniable, however, that the Syriac citations are much closer in nearly all cases to the text of Jubilees than are the Greek excerpts. All of the sections which Tisserant identified have been printed in this edition, though some have less value than others because of the chronicler's editing.

Location in the Syriac Chronicle	Location in Jubilees
1. 27.14-28.22	2:2-8, 10-14 (cf. 2:9, 12)
2. 29.29-30.1	2.15-16
3. 30.3-7	2:25 (cf. 2:24)
4. 31.9-11	3:28
5. 39.1-8	4:17-19, 21
6. 38.26-39.1	4:25-26
7. 32.24-26	4:29
8. 33.12-16	4:30
9. 36.29-37.1	5:1
10. 40.19-24	5:2, 9 (cf. 5:1)
11. 42.22-31	6:1-3, 7 (cf. 6:10)
12. 46.5-12	8:2-4
13. 43.17-44.15	8:11-12, 22-27, 29-30 (cf. 8:21)
14. 47.28-48.1	10:29
15. 51.14-52.30	11:16, 18-21, 23; 12:1-7, 12, 14-23, 28-29 (cf. 11:16)
16. 53.4-15	13:17, 21-23, 25, 28-29 (cf. 13:24)
17. 55.24-56.10	33:2-10, 16
18. 56.11-58.25	37:1-9, 11-22, 24-25; 38:1-5, 8-9
19. 59.2-60.11	41:4-21, 23-24

The significance of the Syriac evidence (including the Syriac of Epiphanius' *De mensuris et ponderibus*) is discussed in the textual notes. For a comparison of the Syriac quotations with the Ethiopic manuscripts, see below (section E.).

D. The Latin Version: There once was a Latin translation of Jubi-
lees, and one partial copy of it has survived. In 1861 A.M. Ceriani
published a fifth- or sixth-century uncial manuscript (Ambrosiana C 73
Inf.) which contained about one-third of the text of Jubilees in Latin[37].
The surviving sections of Jubilees occupy folios 1-40 on the manuscript,
while the remaining eight contain the only extant copy of part of
the Assumption of Moses (or the Testament of Moses). Since the
manuscript is a palimpsest, it is extremely difficult to read, and some
passages in it are simply illegible. It is, nonetheless, an extraordinarily
valuable witness to the text of Jubilees, since it was copied perhaps 900
years before the earliest Ethiopic manuscript and is an independent
reflection of the Greek version. Since Ceriani's publication, two other
scholars have treated the Latin translation in detail. Rönsch has
devoted a long monograph to it[38]. In this work he gave a complete
description of the manuscript (pp. 1-3), then printed the Latin text
(with many corrections and restorations of gaps) on the lefthand page
and A. Dillmann's Latin translation of his own improved Ethiopic text
on the righthand page (10-95), and supplemented these sections with a
detailed commentary on the Latin material (96-196). Charles later
printed the text (with numerous corrections that are often taken from
Rönsch) opposite the relevant portions of his Ethiopic edition and
elucidated it with notes[39].

The literal nature of the Latin translation facilitates comparisons
between it and the Ethiopic manuscripts (also very literal) — compari-
sons that often allow one to identify mistakes or special features in one
or the other (see the textual notes to 13:15, 16; 15:24; 16:16; 17:3, 5;

[37] «Fragmenta Parvae Genesis et Assumptionis Mosis ex Veteri Versione Latina» in
Monumenta 1.9-64 (Jubilees occupies pp. 15-54). For further details about the manuscript,
see pp. 1-3 where he dates it to the sixth century or possibly earlier. The evidence from the
biblical passages quoted in this manuscript is included, with data from works such as
Pseudo-Philo's *Liber Antiquitatum*, under the siglum La[X] in J.Wm. WEVERS, *Genesis*
(Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottin-
gensis editum, 1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974 [see p. 36]).

[38] *Das Buch der Jubiläen.* The sections mentioned in the next sentence are only some of
the parts of this 553-page work.

[39] Charles, 1895. Charles wrote about Rönsch's book: «His Latin text is disfigured
with many corruptions, which I have been at pains to remove so far as possible; and his
work, however learned, is strangely wanting in reasonable order and method. It has no
perspective; things, good, bad, and indifferent are thrust with equal emphasis on the
attention of the weary and indignant student. He has, nevertheless, done much to merit
our gratitude, ...» (xi) Charles has, in fact, followed Rönsch on many points in his study
of the Latin text.

19:5, 10; 20:6, 10 for just a few examples). The Latin text is, of course, printed and translated in full in this edition, and its readings are discussed in the textual notes. In reproducing the text, no effort has been made to alter the «vulgar» Latin of the manuscript, despite its curious spellings and later usages, though more classical spellings of forms are frequently supplied in the textual notes. As was indicated above in section B., the Latin version displays clear evidence that it was translated from a Greek *Vorlage*.

25 sections of the text of Jubilees have been deciphered from Ambrosiana C 73 Inf.: 13:10-21; 15:20-31; 16:5-17:6; 18:10-19:26; 20:5-21:10; 22:2-19; 23:8-23; 24:12-25:1; 26:8-23; 27:11-24; 28:16-27; 29:8-31:1; 31:9-18; 31:29-32:8; 32:18-33:9; 33:18-34:5; 35:3-12; 36:20-37:5; 38:1-16; 39:9-40:8; 41:6-19; 42:2-14; 45:8-46:1; 46:12-48:5; 49:7-22.

In these sections one finds all or parts of 439 verses (.335 of the total of 1307 verses in the Ethiopic version). Much has been lost at the beginning, but once the legible Latin begins it preserves nearly half of the text. That is, if one subtracts the number of verses from 1:1-13:9 (the section of the text that precedes the beginning of the first decipherable Latin passage), the percentage of the verses available in Latin is 47.5 (439 of 923). It can safely be said that both in quantity and quality, the Latin is second only to the Ethiopic version. For the results of comparisons between the Latin and Ethiopic manuscripts, see section E. below.

E. The Ethiopic Version: The only version which preserves the complete text of Jubilees is the Ethiopic. The book was apparently translated from Greek at an early stage in the development of Ethiopic literature and enjoyed canonical status in the Abyssinian Church[40] — a fact which is evidenced by the many manuscripts which include both copies of Jubilees (called ኩፋሌ [Division(s)] in Geʿez) and the Octateuch or other biblical books. Western scholars first became aware of the Ethiopic text of the work in 1844 when H. Ewald published a description of a manuscript of Jubilees which had been brought to Tubingen[41]. It was a paper copy of another manuscript and was

---

[40] On this issue, see DILLMANN, «Ueber den Umfang des Bibelcanons der Abyssinischen Kirche», *Jahrbücher der Biblischen wissenschaft* 5 (1852-53) 144-51; and Charles, «Ethiopic Version», *A Dictionary of the Bible* (ed. James Hastings *et al.*; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1898) 1.790.

[41] «Ueber die Aethiopischen Handschriften zu Tübingen», *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 5 (1844) 176-79.

prepared in Ethiopia at the request of a missionary named J.L. Krapff
who then brought it to Tubingen (it is number 51 in the list below).
Dillmann based his German translation of 1850-51 on this one poor
manuscript and used it and one other (number 38 below) for his
Ethiopic edition of 1859[42]. R.H. Charles' edition, entitled መጽሐፈ ፡
ኩፋሌ or the Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees, appeared
in 1895. He derived his knowledge of readings in Dillmann's two
manuscripts from the latter's edition, and also consulted two manu-
scripts which had come to his attention (numbers 12 and 25 in the list
below)[43]. Since 1895 the number of identified copies has grown to 27.
For a list which gives the sigla for the manuscripts, their locations or
the place where films of them are available, their catalogue numbers,
dates, and the folios which contain the text of Jubilees, see the
Introduction to volume one. In the remainder of this section, the
Ethiopic manuscripts, arranged in chronological order and identified by
the sigla used in this edition, are very briefly described, and their
interrelations are explored.

1. The Ethiopic Manuscripts

9: The major value of the manuscript is its relatively great age. It has
suffered some damage at the top, especially at the beginning (folios 1-
7), leaving some words and parts of words illegible. The script changes
at folio 27 (13:26) but reverts to what appears to be the original hand
at 29 (14:23); at folio 52 it again changes (28:25b) and on 53 (29:16)
returns once more to the original script. The text ends at 46:1 in the
middle of a word (ፈድ[ፈዱ]). As this happens at the buttom of the last
column on the folio, it is likely that the last folios have been lost[44].

12: Charles used manuscript 12, which he designated A in 1895 and
a in 1902, as one of the two major witnesses for his edition and
translation. The text belongs to an inferior family but is important for
its age and an occasional reading. As Charles noted, some of its

---

[42] መጽሐፈ ፡ ኩፋሌ sive Liber Jubilaeorum (Kiel: C.G.L. van Maack, and London:
Williams and Norgate).

[43] 1895, xiv.

[44] For additional information about the manuscript, see W. BAARS and R. ZUURMOND,
«The Project for a New Edition of the Ethiopic Book of Jubilees», JSS 9 (1964) 72, where
they remark that it has been in Europe since 1860 (This date is also given on the title page
of the photographic copy of the manuscript); and ZUURMOND, «Oefeningen in Kufālē»
(unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Amsterdam, 1981) 13.

readings have been adapted to the Ethiopic version of Genesis[45]. Some pages have been displaced in the manuscript: 19b-20a must be placed after 26a; 33b-34a belong after 41a; and 40b-41a fit after 33a.

17: The Kebran manuscript must be regarded as textually one of the most valuable among the newly identified copies[46]. The script is beautiful, but there are many erasures and corrections over them as well as interlinear emendations — all in another hand. The manuscript also contains a copy of 1 Enoch and other biblical works.

20: The first two scholars who described the Berlin manuscript preferred a date in the fifteenth century[47], but Baars and Zuurmond place it in the sixteenth[48]. Many of its columns have brief headings which describe the major topics treated in them. There are several corrections which seem to be written over erasures and are in another hand.

21: EMML 3 is the original film copy of manuscript 21 but EMML 1510 is a superior one that includes the sixth folio which had been omitted from the former[49]. A displacement has occurred near the end of the manuscript, where 82b-83a should be located after 84a. The scribe wrote numbers and the first words of new sections in ink of a different color which has not photographed well. In the case of numerals, however, the reader is assisted by the fact they are also written in the margins in a darker ink. This manuscript is certainly not one of the better copies of Jubilees, but it has preserved some important

---

[45] The manuscript was described in H. ZOTENBERG, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens (gheez et amharique) de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1877) 51-53; also Charles, 1895, xii, xiv.

[46] For the catalogue description, see E. HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Äthiopische Handschriften von Ṭānāsee I: Reisebericht und Beschreibung der Handschriften in dem Kloster des Heiligen Gabriel auf der Inseln Kebrān* (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland 20; Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1973) 107-08.

[47] J. FLEMMING, «Die neue Sammlung abessinischer Handschriften auf der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin», *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 23 (1906) 12; M.CHAÎNE, «Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits éthiopiens de Berlin acquis depuis 1878», *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 17 (1912) 46.

[48] «The Project», 71-72.

[49] Details can be found in William F. MACOMBER, *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa and for the Monastic Manuscript Microfilm Library, Collegeville I: Project Numbers 1-300* (Collegeville: Monastic Manuscript Microfilm Library, St. John's Abbey and University, 1975) 6 (the volumes in this series will be abbreviated as *A Catalogue* followed by the appropriate volume number in subsequent footnotes). A photograph of the ornate first folio (1a) is given on the inside cover of *A Catalogue* I; it illustrates the difficulty of reading the lighter colored ink from a photograph. For EMML 1510, see *A Catalogue* V.9.

readings in places where the better copies have suffered corruptions
(e.g., 4:24 [አመፃእ])[50].

22: Between folios 1b and 2a there is a vast lacuna which extends
from Jub 1:13-13:4. Many of the columns are topped by headings
which describe their contents. The text of Deuteronomy follows Jubi-
lees on the manuscript[51].

23: This text, in which the color of the ink also varies, has suffered a
major loss of material at the end where 41:25 concludes the text of
Jubilees[52].

25: Charles used the sigla B (1895) and *b* (1902) for this beautifully
copied manuscript which he rightly made the basis for his edition.
Despite the fact that 23 more manuscripts have become available since
1895, none of the newer copies surpasses 25 in textual value. It is also
treated as the greatest authority in the present edition (a choice which is
defended below), but it is hoped that its readings have been reproduced
more fully and accurately than they are in Charles' book[53]. The text of
1 Enoch follows Jubilees on the manuscript.

35: In addition to the text of Jubilees, manuscript 35 includes
Chronicles, Ṣiruṣāydān, 3 Ezra, Ezra, and Nehemiah[54]. It has many
marginal notes and some descriptive headings; a number of corrections
have been inserted into the text in another hand.

38: Dillmann was the first to edit this peculiar, error-ridden copy
which he labeled A; Charles later assigned it the sigla D (1895) and *d*
(1902). Dillmann dated it to the eighteenth century, but the manuscript
itself bears the equivalent of 1684 as the date[55]. It was purchased by

---

[50] This reading was published already in VANDERKAM, «Enoch Traditions in Jubilees
and Other Second-Century Sources», *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* (ed.
Paul J. Achtemeier; Missoula: Scholars, 1978) 1.236.

[51] See ZUURMOND, «Oefeningen», 15. He indicates that on the film of this manuscript
in his possession there are 55 folios, with Deuteronomy beginning on 55a. Perhaps more is
to be found in the manuscript itself.

[52] Ibid., 15.

[53] The catalogue description is in William A. WRIGHT, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic
Manuscripts in the British Museum acquired since the year 1847* (London: Printed by order
of the Trustees, 1877) 7-8. See also CHARLES, 1895, xii. DILLMANN used some readings
from manuscript 25 for his essay «Beiträge aus dem Buch der Jubiläen zur Kritik des
Pentateuch-Textes», which appeared in 1883 (24 years after his edition). For criticisms of
Charles' efforts with the manuscript, see BAARS and ZUURMOND, «The Project», 71.

[54] Cf. BAARS and ZUURMOND, «The Project», 72, where its affinities with 25 are noted;
and ZUURMOND, «Oefeningen», 13-14.

[55] DILLMANN described the manuscript in መፅሐፈ ፡ ኩፋሌ *sive Liber Jubilaeorum*, v-vi.
The correct date is given in BAARS and ZUURMOND, «The Project», 70. See also CHAÎNE,

Antoine d'Abbadie from a Falasha and offers a text of the Octateuch, adding Jubilees in the last 34 folios.

39: This is another of the manuscripts which groups Jubilees with the Octateuch[56].

40: The manuscript, which aligns itself very closely in its readings with 39 and has many marginal notes, has been assigned an EMML number but the relevant catalogue has not yet been published. The contents in order are: 1 Enoch, Job, the Octateuch, Jubilees, and Isaiah[57].

42: Besides a few diverse notes at the end, the manuscript offers an Amharic introduction to Jubilees on 1b and the text of the book in the remaining folios[58].

44: «The Testament of Our Lord» occupies folios 3a-54a, while Jubilees fills 55a-133a. Folios 133a-135a add what Getatchew Haile calls «notes of commentary»[59]. The hand changes noticeably at 127a (Jub 46:2), and the subsequent pages (folios 127a-135a) are copied in what appears to be a twentieth-century script[60]. In his list of the Jubilees manuscripts, Zuurmond notes that there is a lacuna from 1:26-3:12[61]; however, there has actually been no loss of text but merely a displacement. The text of 1:26 (folio 56b) breaks off after the words ሀሀለም ፡ ይመጽእ; the manuscript then skips to 3:12 where, at the word ውስተ (before ኩሉ ፡ ምድር) the phrase ወሀሀለም ፡ ይመጽእ from 1:26 is repeated. The missing material is found after 4:12 on folios 58b-62a. Consequently, the order now is: 1:1-26; 3:12-4:12; 1:26-3:12; 4:13-end. As the apparatus to the Ethiopic text shows, 44 is a highly idiosyncratic manuscript which, from time to time, preserves valuable readings (e.g., ቃለት in 2:2).

45: Baars and Zuurmond drew attention to this manuscript which was formerly in a private collection in Rome but is now at the Hebrew University[62]. It contains many marginal notes, although their number decreases gradually as one moves toward the end of the text. Among

Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection Antoine d'Abbadie (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1912) 74-75.

[56] MACOMBER, *A Catalogue* IV.93.

[57] Cf. also ZUURMOND, «Oefeningen», 15.

[58] See MACOMBER, *A Catalogue* I.106.

[59] *A Catalogue* V.458.

[60] Ibid. The entire manuscript is treated on pp. 455-58.

[61] «Het oordeel over Kain in de oud-joodse traditie», *Amsterdamse cahiers* 3 (1982) 115 n. 18.

[62] «The Project», 72-73.

the notes are dates and even etymologies for names (ሄኖክ [Enoch] is explained as deriving from ተሐደሰ [to be renewed]). On the 217 folios one finds Jubilees, the Death of Moses, Ṣiruṣāydān, Sirach, 4 Ezra, Judith, and Esther[63].

47: One can date 47 accurately because it was copied during the reign of King Iyyo'as I (1755-69)[64]. Both the Octateuch and Jubilees are included in the manuscript.

48: The folios of 48 contain 1 Enoch, the Octateuch, and Jubilees[65]. The catalogue which will describe it has not yet been published. Its text of Jubilees, which is closely related to that of 39, has proved to be an excellent one.

50: This manuscript, which includes Jubilees, 4 Ezra, and Ezekiel[66], is not particularly reliable, but it does present some unusual features, most notably the numbering of chapters. These chapter numbers are, in every case, placed exactly where Dillmann, who originated the commonly accepted chapter divisions for Jubilees, located them in his translation and edition[67]. It also reads at least one of Dillmann's proposed emendations (ጎሜት for ሱባኤሁ at 11:1). As there is no evidence that Dillmann knew of the manuscript, one wonders whether the scribe borrowed the numbers and perhaps some readings from Dillmann's edition. In this regard it is noteworthy that 38 (one of Dillmann's two manuscripts) and 50 agree very frequently with one another. If the scribe was somehow familiar with Dillmann's edition, the manuscript would have to be dated no earlier than 1859.

51: In his edition Dillmann referred to 51 as T, and Charles used the sigla C (1895) and c (1902) for it. It is unfortunate that the first copy of the book to become known in the West was of such poor quality.

The remaining manuscripts are extremely recent in date and rather unimportant textually (with the exception of 63). It will suffice simply to note their contents.

---

[63] ZUURMOND, «Oefeningen», 15.

[64] A Catalogue VII.20.

[65] Cf. ZUURMOND, «Oefeningen», 15-16.

[66] Ibid., 16.

[67] DILLMANN wrote: «Die kapiteleintheilung is von mir selbst gemacht» («Das Buch der Jubiläen», 231). The same chapter numbers are employed in his 1859 edition.

57: the Octateuch and Jubilees[68]

58: Jubilees and Ṣiruṣaydān[69]

59: the Octateuch and Jubilees[70]

60: Jubilees, Chronicles, and Ṣiruṣaydān[71]

61: Jubilees and Chronicles[72]

62: the Octateuch and Jubilees (of the beginning, only Jub 1:1-5:16 is preserved; at folio 145b the text breaks off and folio 146a resumes with 50:12)[73]

63: Jubilees and 1 Enoch. In the colophon to folio 179b one finds the equivalent of the date 1919/1920. Though it is a late copy, its text of Jubilees has strong affinities with manuscript 17[74].

64: the Octateuch, Jubilees, 1 Enoch, the remainder of the Old Testament, Ṣiruṣaydān, and the New Testament[75].

2. *The Interrelations of the Ethiopic Manuscripts*

When only two or four manuscripts of Ethiopic Jubilees were known, scholars could say little about families of texts and their interrelations. Charles did observe that «*d* [= 38] is more nearly allied to *a* [= 12] and *c* [= 51] to *b* [= 25]»[76], but the availability of 23 additional copies has made it possible to speak in more detail and with greater precision about this topic. Zuurmond has pioneered the work of classifying the manuscripts, and his conclusions underlie Berger's recent translation of Jubilees[77]. Zuurmond has arranged most of the known manuscripts into six families, with their order reflecting their relative textual value (the capital letters which he used as sigla for the manuscripts are here translated into their equivalent numbers):

---

[68] ZUURMOND, «Oefeningen», 6.

[69] BAARS and ZUURMOND, «The Project», 73 (where they mention its affinities with what is now numbered as ms. 35); and ZUURMOND, «Oefeningen», 6.

[70] ZUURMOND, «Oefeningen», 16.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Ibid., 6.

[73] Ibid., 16.

[74] MACOMBER, *A Catalogue* I.218.

[75] ZUURMOND, «Oefeningen», 6.

[76] 1902, xx.

[77] «Oefeningen», 17-18; BERGER, *Das Buch der Jubiläen* (JSHRZ II, 3; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus [Gerd Mohn], 1981) 290-92.

1. 17
2. 20 25 35
3. 9 12 38
4. 21 22 23
5. 42 45 51
6. 57 58 61 63 64.

Zuurmond explains that 17 should be the starting point for a critical edition but that it alone is not sufficient. There are indications that the text has experienced slight stylistic and perhaps theological redaction. Within the second family the texts of 20 and 25 are better and nearly identical, while 35 has other, later readings in places. Manuscript 9 is the earliest and best in the third family, but 12, despite its age and value, has been reworked on the basis of the Ethiopic Bible in many passages. 38 betrays the influence of other, more recent text-types. He has rightly noted that the texts of the three manuscripts in family 4 are virtually identical; their text-type is a corrected, stylistically improved version whose readings are largely secondary. The fifth group presents an eighteenth-century eclectic text which lacks independent value. Finally, he observes regarding the sixth category that 58 and 61 closely resemble one another but that 63 distinguishes itself from the manuscripts in this group by some readings which derive from older text-types[78].

Zuurmond is fundamentally correct about most of the features of his classification, but a detailed comparison of the Ethiopic manuscripts with one another and with the versional evidence has led the present writer to nuance his system slightly. Any textual critic who works at length with a series of manuscripts soon recognizes patterns and can often predict which manuscripts will agree with one another. It is essential, though, to be able to support these observations and intuitions with statistics, and for this reason the writer has, in addition to collating manuscripts, compiled statistics from a number of extended comparisons in order to clarify the relations between the Ethiopic manuscripts and to assess their relative worth.

a. Comparisons of the Ethiopic Manuscripts:

Two kinds of comparisons were made. The first involved taking 1000 variants from the beginning of the book and recording which of the 27

---

[78] These explanatory words are a rather close paraphrase of «Oefeningen», 3-4.

manuscripts supported which reading. The variants included not only
textual differences but also orthographic deviations. In many cases only
one manuscript supported a reading, and these were of no use for
identifying families. Where two or more copies backed a variant,
patterns soon emerged. No attempt was made to evaluate the signi-
ficance of the readings; only raw statistics were collected. The results
confirmed the usefulness of this method because in virtually every case
sheer numbers coincided with the impressions gained from collating
manuscripts and with Zuurmond's independent analysis. The statistics
are most transparent for those instances in which a manuscript or
family deviated from the critical text in large numbers of cases; the
possibility of distortion in the patterns is greatest for the family which
showed the fewest variants — manuscripts 20, 25, and 35. In the list
below the manuscript number is given on the left, and on the right are
presented those manuscripts with which it agreed most often for these
variants. The numbers of agreements are in parentheses after each
manuscript number. Manuscript 22 is not included because its text
stops at 1:13.

9	38 (78), 12 (42), 50 (40), 21 (36), 23 and 44 (32)
12	21 (72), 23 (64), 38 (54), 9 (43), 44 (40), 50 (37)
17	63 (61), 38 (36), 12 (32), 60 (31), 9 and 50 (30), 61 (29)
20	25 (21), 23, 58, 61, and 63 (18), 21 and 51 (16), 35 and 62 (15)
21	23 (114), 12 (72), 38 (37), 9 (36), 44 (35)
23	21 (114), 12 (64), 38 and 50 (38), 42 and 51 (33), 9, 47, and 48 (32), 44 and 45 (31)
25	20 (21), 35 (12), 63 (9), 9, 17, 21, and 61 (8)
35	60 (38), 57 (37), 62 and 64 (36), 45 (35), 61 (34), 58 (33)
38	50 (109), 9 (78), 12 (54), 44 (48), 64 (46)
39	40 (71), 48 (66), 42 and 59 (63), 57 (62), 51 (56), 45 and 47 (55)
40	39 (71), 59 (70), 42 (68), 64 (64), 51 and 62 (62), 48 (61)
42	47 (79), 51 (77), 45 (71), 40, 48, and 59 (68), 64 (64), 39 (63)
44	38 (48), 58 (42), 61 and 62 (39), 60 (37)
45	64 (78), 57 (75), 60 and 62 (74), 42 (71), 50 (69), 51 (68), 61 (65), 47 and 58 (64)
47	51 (93), 42 (79), 45 (64), 48 (60), 40 (59), 59 (58), 39 (55)
48	42 (68), 39 (66), 59 (63), 40 (61), 47 (60), 51 (58), 45 and 62 (55)
50	38 (109), 45 (69), 64 (65), 51 (64), 60 (61), 57 (59), 62 (58)
51	47 (93), 42 (77), 45 (68), 40 and 50 (64), 64 (62), 62 (59), 48 and 57 (58), 39 and 59 (56)

57	58 and 60 (127), 61 (126), 62 and 64 (86), 45 (75)
58	61 (162), 60 (150), 57 (127), 64 (83), 62 (82), 45 (64)
59	40 (70), 42 (68), 39 and 48 (63), 47 (58), 51 (56), 64 (53), 45 and 62 (51)
60	61 (156), 58 (150), 57 (127), 62 and 64 (90), 45 (74)
61	58 (162), 60 (156), 57 (126), 64 (88), 62 (86), 45 (65)
62	64 (108), 60 (90), 57 and 61 (86), 58 (82), 45 (74)
63	17 (61), 12 (31), 9 and 38 (25), 44 (24), 23, 50, 58, and 60 (23), 61 (22)
64	62 (108), 60 (90), 61 (88), 57 (86), 58 (83), 45 (78)

These numbers at the very least do indicate several clear sets of relations (9 and 38;38 and 50;12, 21, 23 [especially the latter two; where extant, 22 almost always agrees with them]; 17 and 63;20 and 25;39, 40, 42, 47, 48, 51, and 59; and 57, 58, 60, 61, 62, and 64). Manuscripts 35, 44, and 45 are more difficult to classify, but 45 does seem to lie between the family of manuscript 39, etc., and that of 57, etc. (see below for additional details about 35 and 44).

Through experience with collating the manuscripts and with numbers such as these, it soon became clear that there would be little point in continuing to collate all manuscripts for the entire book. It was evident that virtually all readings of any significance could be gathered by collating all of the older and a selection of the more recent manuscripts in which all of the families would be represented. As a result, 15 manuscripts were selected for full collation, and their variations from the critical text are recorded in the apparatus to the edition of the Ethiopic text. They are: 9, 12, 17, 20, 21, 25, 35, 38, 39, 42, 44, 47, 48, 58, 63. The only more ancient manuscripts to be excluded were 22 and 23, but they are so closely akin to 21 that little is lost. Moreover, both of them have lengthy lacunae. Manuscript 40 was not included because it is allied very closely with 39;45 is a poor copy whose readings will very likely be found either in the 39, etc. family (especially in 42, 47, 51) or in the 57 etc. group; 51 parallels 47 and its readings have long been available in Dillmann's edition and to a lesser extent in that of Charles; and 59 because it is the latest copy in its family and its readings will probably be present in 39 or 48. Manuscript 50 offers little that does not appear in 38, while 58 is perhaps the best representative of the latest group of witnesses.

b. Additional Comparisons of the 15 Collated Manuscripts

Further comparisons of variant readings in the remaining manu-
scripts were then made in randomly selected chapters in different parts
of the book (11, 12, 24, 35, 45). This was done both to gain additional
data about each copy and to test whether relations between them
remained constant in all parts of Jubilees. The variants were taken from
the apparatus to the present edition. Hence they involve only the types
of readings with have been recorded there (for a description of these
types, see the Introduction to volume one). Once again only gross
figures are given; the writer has not found it helpful to resort only to
the subjective category «significant agreements» for this kind of study.

9	38 (121), 12 (86), 17 (87), 63 (63)
12	21 (105), 38 (88), 9 (86), 17 (84), 63 (80)
17	9 (87), 38 (86), 12 (84), 63 (80), 21 (70)
20	25 (91), 35 (73), 58 (44), 47 (40)
21	12 (105), 38 (83), 63 (74), 17 (70), 58 (68)
25	20 (91), 35 (80), 44 (44)
35	58 (92), 25 (80), 20 and 48 (73), 42 and 44 (66), 39 and 47 (65)
38	9 (121), 12 (88), 17 and 63 (86), 21 (83), 58 (75)
39	48 (148), 42 (130), 47 (118), 58 (115), 35 (65)
42	47 (194), 48 (141), 39 (130), 58 (107), 35 (66), 38 (63)
44	35 and 38 (66), 63 (65), 48 and 58 (63)
47	42 (194), 48 (131), 39 (118), 58 (110), 35 (65)
48	39 (148), 42 (141), 47 (131), 58 (106), 35 (73)
58	39 (115), 47 (110), 42 (107), 48 (106), 35 (92)
63	38 (86), 12 and 17 (80), 21 (74), 44 (65), 9 (63)

These data, the figures given in the preceding section, and the
collations of the manuscripts in the remainder of the book indicate the
following families among the fully collated manuscripts: 9 and 38; 12
and 21; 17 and 63; 20, 25, and 35; 39, 42, 47, and 48; and 58.
Manuscript 44 remains difficult to situate because it is so independent.
The five manuscripts with which it shares the largest number of variants
(in the list above) belong to five of the six families, while the data in the
preceding section indicate that it sides most frequently with the latest
group of manuscripts (57, etc.). The first three families (9-38; 12-21; 17-
63) are fairly closely related to one another. A different configuration of
manuscripts finds 35 (and 20 to a lesser degree) in association with

members of the fifth group (39-42-47-48) and with 58. That is, 35 seems to serve as a bridge between group four and groups five and six. 25, however, sides somewhat more frequently with 44. It is also unmistakable that groups five and six share a large number of readings. Thus, the manuscripts in the first three groups or families are allied as different parts of one broad textual stream; those of the latter three represent another.

c. Evaluation of the Manuscript Families

As noted previously, Charles regarded manuscript 25 as the best of the four which he knew, but Zuurmond has given 17 precedence over it. Internal evidence, such as grammatical accuracy, avoidance of omissions and unique readings, shows that these two are excellent, early copies of Jubilees. Nevertheless, comparisons with the readings of the other versions indicate that Charles was correct in his estimate of 25. The following chart gives the results of these comparisons. The author had earlier published statistics from a comparison of the published Hebrew fragments with Charles' four manuscripts[79], but for this edition he made a new study of the relations between all of the available Hebrew fragments and the 15 collated Ethiopic manuscripts. The same was done for all of the Syriac citations, though here the process was more difficult because the Syriac extracts have been edited to fit their new contexts. The Greek sample was too small to make the results meaningful. Statistics were also taken from substantial parts of the Latin translation in various sections of Jubilees: 13:10-21; 15:20-31; 16:5-17:6; 18:10-19:26; 20:5-13; 31:9-18; 33:18-34:5; 42:2-14. The chart below gives the number of *disagreements* between a particular Ethiopic manuscript and the Hebrew fragments, the Syriac citations, and the verses of the Latin translation that are listed above.

Manuscript number	Hebrew	Syriac	Latin
9	16	103	143
12	21	125	186
17	23	105	139
20	16	96	117
21	17	122	220
25	15	70	121

---

[79] *Textual and Historical Studies*, 18-95.

35	16	90	130
38	24	171	262
39	16	94	136
42	17	86	121
44	19	87	157
47	19	100	153
48	16	96	130
58	18	115	200
63	20	112	173

The very limited amount of Hebrew text shows the fewest disagreements with 25; 9, 20, 35, 39, 48 are in second position, and 21, 42 are in third. That is, the Hebrew fragments and members of the 20-25-35 family and of the 39-42-47-48 family are most nearly akin textually. It is striking that for these small parts of the text manuscript 17 has the second largest number of deviations. A similar picture emerges from the much larger samples that underlie the comparisons with the Syriac and Latin evidence. Manuscript 25 has the fewest variations from the Syriac citations, and the other members of its family (20 and 35) are sixth and fourth respectively. The family of 39-42-47-48 is also relatively close to the Syriac, as each of its members appears among the first eight. 44 too is near the top. It is the comparison with the Latin that should, however, be less susceptible to distortion because it covered large expanses of text and involved two actual translations of Jubilees. Here, the same two families disagreed the fewest times with the Latin: manuscript 20 had the lowest number of deviations (117), while 25 and 42 (121) were close and 35, 48, 39, and 17 were not far behind.

The results of these comparisons are instructive. They show that 20-25-35 is the manuscript family which agrees most often with the versions and that the group 39-42-47-48 is second. It does not follow from these statistics that these are necessarily the copies which are closest to the original text of Jubilees, but they do point strongly to the conclusion that they retain *the oldest form of the text that can now be attained.* It is not impossible that this conclusion will have to be modified when the remaining Hebrew fragments are published, but, given the available evidence, a critical text of Jubilees should be based primarily on the readings of 20-25-35. The earliest copies, especially 9 and 17, must be given their due weight, but the later family 39-42-47-48 (particularly 39-42-48) will also be a helpful check and source of

support. The following sugests itself as the most likely division and ranking of the 27 Ethiopic manuscripts (other than 44 which is unique).

1. 20-25-35 (35 has stronger relations with families 2 and 6)
2. 39-40-42-45-47-48-51-59 (39-40-48-59 are one sub-group with a better text; 42-47-51 have a less valuable text-type, and 45 is closely related to family 6)
3. 17-63
4. 9-38-50 (9 and 38 are closely akin, as are 38 and 50)
5. 12-21-22-23 (21-22-23 are virtual copies of one another)
6. 57-58-60-61-62-64 (57-58-60-61 are one sub-group, 62 and 64 another)

III. THE PRESENT EDITION:

In this volume, the reader will find translations of the critical Ethiopic text and of all the versional evidence, wherever it exists. Placed beneath the translation of the Ethiopic text are textual notes, which are keyed to words and phrases in the English translation of the Ethiopic.

In the English translations, an effort has been made to avoid the archaic words and expressions (behold, bore him a son, answered and said, arose and went, lifted up his eyes and saw, etc.) which so frequently mar modern renderings of ancient documents. It is less taxing for the translator to resort to these time-honored equivalents, but the meaning of the text should be clearer when it is rendered into a more contemporary idiom. The paratactic syntax of Ethiopic presents another problem. Obviously one cannot render literally the seemingly endless sequence of clauses that are joined by the conjunction *and* and achieve acceptable English style. The translator is compelled to use various sorts of subordination where the Ethiopic text simply coordinates clauses. This has been done throughout, but the author recognizes that the process involves some subjectivity and that others might arrange the sentences differently. The reader should also be aware that the English translations of the Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, and Latin texts conform as closely as their vocabulary and syntax permit to the rendering of the Ethiopic text. It was thought that in this way the similarities and differences between the Ethiopic text and the other versions could be highlighted more clearly.

Finally, a word should be said about the textual notes. These are meant to be discussions of textual problems only, not of exegetical issues (insofar as these can be separated). In them one will find, in addition to considerations of other secondary literature, many references to the editions and translations of Dillmann and Charles, the German translations of Littmann[80] and Berger, and the Hebrew renderings of Goldmann and Hartom[81]. These studies have been chosen for systematic treatment for several reasons. Naturally, the editions of Dillmann and Charles had to be compared, while the translations of Littmann, Charles (1902) and Berger offer the most valuable discussions of textual problems. The retroversions into Hebrew by Goldmann and Hartom are often helpful in uncovering how the original text may have read, and these scholars, too, append textual notes to their translations. There are other translations of Jubilees. Charles himself published four of them, but his translation of 1902 provides the most extensive notes and improves on his earlier work; his later publications were merely condensations of it[82]. For the sake of economy, references are made only to his edition of 1895 and to his translation and commentary of 1902. Very recently, translations by C. Rabin and O. Wintermute have appeared, but since work on this translation was completed before publication of their work, they are only very rarely

[80] «Das Buch der Jubiläen» in *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments* (2 vols.; ed. E. Kautzsch; Tübingen: Freiburg i.B. und Leipzig: Verlag von J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1900) 2.31-119.

[81] M. GOLDMANN, «ספר היובלים» in הספרים החיצונים (2 vols.; ed. Abraham Kahana; reprinted, Jerusalem: Makor, 1970) 1.216-313; A.S. HARTOM, « ספר היובלות » in his הספרים החיצונים: ספרי אגדות (vol. 2; 3rd. ed.; Tel Aviv: Yavneh, 1969) 9-147. HARTOM indicates (p. 10) that he made his translation from the English translations of G.H. SCHODDE (see the next note) and CHARLES (in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*). Apparently he did not use the Ethiopic texts, but he does show a decided preference for the readings of the Latin manuscript.

[82] In addition to his 1902 translation and the one in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, see his «The Book of Jubilees, translated from a text based on two hitherto uncollated Ethiopic MSS.», *JQR* 5 (1893) 703-08; 6 (1894) 184-217; 710-45; 7 (1895) 297-328; and *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis* (Introduction and Notes by G.H. Box; London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1917). Some other translations have been made, but their authors had access to very little textual evidence or provided no notes: S. RUBIN, ספר היובלים המכונה מדרש בראשית זוטרתא (Vienna: Beck'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung [Alfred Holder] 1870); G.H. SCHODDE, *The Book of Jubilees* (Oberlin, Ohio: E.J. Goodrich, 1888); and P. RIESSLER, «Jubiläenbuch oder Kleine Genesis» in *Altjüdisches Schrifttum ausserhalb der Bibel* (Heidelberg: Kerle, 1928) 539-666, 1304-11.

mentioned in the notes[83]. Wintermute based his translation on Charles' text and the versional evidence, while Rabin apparently did the same.

Because Jubilees regularly quotes from or paraphrases Genesis and Exodus, it is possible to compare its readings with those of other ancient versions of the Bible. The readings of these versions, identified by sigla, are cited from the following editions.

MT   = ELLIGER, K. and RUDOLPH, W., eds. *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 1977)

Sam   = GALL, A.H. VON, ed. *Der hebräische Pentateuch der Samaritaner* (5 vols.; Giessen: Verlag von Alfred Töpelmann, 1914-18)

Syriac = BARNES, Wm., ed. *Pentateuchus Syriace* (London: apud Societatem Bibliophilorum Britannicam et Externam, 1914)

LXX   = WEVERS, J.Wm., ed. *Genesis* (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum, 1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974)
          BROOKE, A.E., and McLEAN, N., eds. *Exodus and Leviticus* (The Old Testament in Greek, 1, 2; Cambridge: University Press, 1909)
          RAHLFS, A., ed. *Septuaginta* (2 vols. Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1935)

OL   = FISCHER, B., ed. *Genesis* (Vetus Latina: Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel, 2; Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 1951)

Eth   = BOYD, J.O., ed. *The Octateuch in Ethiopic* (Bibliotheca Abessinica; ed. E. Littmann, 3; Leiden: E.J. Brill; and Princeton: The University Library, 1909-11)

To   = SPERBER, A., ed. *The Pentateuch according to Targum Onkelos* (The Bible in Aramaic, 1; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1959)

Tj   = GINSBURGER, M., ed. *Pseudo-Jonathan (Thargum Jonathan ben Usiel zum Pentateuch)* (Berlin: S. Calvary & Co., 1903; Reprinted: Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1971)

Tn   = MACHO, A.D., ed. *Neophyti I, 1: Genesis* (Madrid and Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1970)

Tf   = GINSBURGER, M., ed. *Das Fragmententhargum* (Berlin: S. Calvary & Co., 1899)

---

[83] «Jubilees» (the Translation of R.H. CHARLES revised by C. RABIN) in *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (ed. H.F.D. Sparks; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984) 1-139; WINTERMUTE, «Jubilees» in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols.; ed. J.H. Charlesworth; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983, 1985) 2.35-142. Mention should also be made of two other very recent translations: F. CORRIENTE and A. PIÑERO, «Libro de los Jubileos» in *Apocrifos del Antiguo Testamento* (2 vols.; ed. A. Diez Macho, M.A. NAVARRO, A. DE LA FUENTE, and A. PIÑERO; Madrid: Ediciones Cristiandad, 1984) 1.67-193 (largely based on Charles' edition [see p. 77]); and A. CAQUOT, «Jubilés» in *La Bible: Écrits Intertestamentaires* (ed. A. DUPONT-SOMMER and M. PHILONENKO; Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1987) 629-810 (based on Charles' edition and ms. 22 [see p. 630]).

Ant.   = THACKERAY, H. St. J., ed. *Josephus*, 4: *Jewish Antiquities, Books I-IV* (The Loeb Classical Library 242; Cambridge: Harvard University Press; and London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1943)

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

ALEXANDER, P., «Notes on the 'Imago Mundi' of the Book of Jubilees», *JJS* 33 (1982) 197-213.

ALLEGRO, J., *Qumran Cave 4, 1 (4 Q 158-4 Q 186)* (DJD 5; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968).

BAARS, W. and ZUURMOND, R., «The Project for a New Edition of the Ethiopic Book of Jubilees», *JSS* 9 (1964) 67-74.

BAILLET, M., MILIK, J.T., and VAUX, R. de, *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumran* (DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962).

BAILLET, M., «Remarques sur le manuscrit du Livre des Jubilés de la grotte 3 de Qumran», *RdQ* 5 (1964-66) 423-33.

BARTH, J., Review of Charles, 1895 in *Deutsche Litteraturzeitung* 34 (1895) 1062-63.

BARTHELEMY, D. and MILIK, J.T., *Qumran Cave I* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955).

BERGER, K., *Das Buch der Jubiläen* (JSHRZ II.3; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus [Gerd Mohn], 1981).

BROCK, S., «Abraham and the Ravens: A Syriac Counterpart to Jubilees 11-12 and Its Implications», *JSJ* 9 (1978) 135-52.

BROWN, F., DRIVER, S.R., and BRIGGS, C.A., *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1907 (= *BDB*).

BÜCHLER, A., «Studies in the Book of Jubilees», *REJ* 82 (1926) 253-74.

CAQUOT, A., «Deux notes sur la géographie des Jubilés» in *Hommages à Georges Vajda: Études d'histoire et de pensée juives* (ed. G. NAHON and C. TOUATI; Louvain: Éditions Peeters, 1980) 37-42.

CAQUOT, A., «Le Livre des Jubilés, Melkisedeq et les dîmes», *JJS* 33 (1982) 257-64.

CERIANI, A.M., *Monumenta Sacra et Profana* (2 vols.; Milan: Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, 1861-63.

CHABOT, I.B., *Scriptores Syri 36: Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens 1* (CSCO 81; Louvain: Imprimerie Orientaliste L. Durbecq, 1953).

CHARLES, R.H., «The Book of Jubilees, translated from a text based on two hitherto uncollated Ethiopic MSS.», *JQR* 5 (1893) 703-08; 6 (1894) 184-217; 710-45; 7 (1895) 297-328.

CHARLES, R.H., መጽሐፈ ፡ ኩፋሌ or the Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees (Anecdota oxoniensia; Oxford: Clarendon, 1895).

CHARLES, R.H., *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1902).

CHARLES, R.H., ed., *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1913).

COWLEY, A.E., ed., *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar as Edited and Enlarged by the Late E. Kautzsch* (2nd ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1910). (= *GKC*).

DEAN, J., *Epiphanius' Treatise on Weights and Measures: The Syriac Version* (The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, 11; Chicago: University of Chicago, 1935).

DEICHGRÄBER, R., «Fragmente einer Jubiläen-Handschrift aus Höhle 3 von Qumran», *RdQ* 5 (1964-66) 415-22.

DENIS, A.M., *Fragmenta Pseudepigraphorum Quae Supersunt Graece* (PVTG 3; Leiden: Brill, 1970).

DENIS, A.M., *Introduction aux pseudépigraphes grecs d'Ancien Testament* (SVTP 1; Leiden: Brill, 1970).

DENIS, A.M., *Concordance latine du Liber Jubilaeorum sive Parva Genesis* (Informatique et étude de textes. Collection dirigée par P. Tombeur, 4; Louvain: Publications du CETEDOC, Université Catholique de Louvain, 1973).

DILLMANN, A., «Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die kleine Genesis», *Jahrbücher der Biblischen wissenschaft* 2 (1850) 230-56; 3 (1851) 1-96.

DILLMANN, A., መጽሐፈ ፡ ኩፋሌ *sive Liber Jubilaeorum* (Kiel: C.G.L. van Maack/ London: Williams & Norgate, 1859).

DILLMANN, A., *Ethiopic Grammar* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1907).

DILLMANN, A., *Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae* (reprinted: Osnabrück: Biblio, 1970).

FITZMYER, J., *A Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1* (Biblica et Orientalia 18A; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1971).

GELZER, H., *Sextus Julius Africanus und die Byzantinische Chronographie*, 2,1: *Die Nachfolger des Julius Africanus* (Leipzig: J.C.Hinrichs'sche, 1898).

GOLDMANN, M., «The Book of Jubilees» in *The Apocryphal Books* (ed. A. Kahana; 2 vols.; reprinted: Jerusalem: Makor, 1970) 1. 216-313 (Hebrew).

GOLDSTEIN, J., «The Date of the Book of Jubilees», *PAAJR* 50 (1983) 63-86.

GRÉBAUT, S., *Supplément au Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae de August Dillmann (1865) et Édition du Lexique de Justin d'Urban (1850-1855)* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1952).

HARTOM, A.S., «The Book of Jubilees» in *The Apocryphal Literature* (2 vols.; 3rd ed.; Tel Aviv: Yavneh, 1969) 2.9-147 (Hebrew).

HÖLSCHER, G., *Drei Erdkarten* (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 1944-48, 3; Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag, 1949).

KISTER, M., «Newly-Identified Fragments of the Book of Jubilees: JUB. 23:21-23, 30-31», *RdQ* 7 (1969-71) 229-36.

LAMBDIN, T.O., *Introduction to Classical Ethiopic (Ge'ez)* (HSS 24; Missoula: Scholars, 1978).

LITTMANN, E., «Das Buch der Jubiläen» in *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments* (ed. E. Kautzsch; 2 vols.; Tübingen: Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1900) 2.31-119.

MILIK, J.T., «Le travail d'édition des fragments manuscripts de Qumran», *RB* 63 (1956) 49-67.

MILIK, J.T., «Le travail d'édition des manuscrits du désert de Juda», *Volume du Congrès Strasbourg 1956* «VTSup 4; Leiden: Brill, 1957) 17-26.

MILIK, J.T., «Fragment d'une source du Psautier (4 Q Ps 89), et fragments des Jubilés, du Document de Damas, d'un phylactère dans la grotte 4 de Qumran», *RB* 73 (1966) 94-106.

MILIK, J.T., «Recherches sur la version grecque du Livre des Jubilés», *RB* 78 (1971) 545-57.

MILIK, J.T., «A propos de 11QJub», *Bib* 54 (1973) 77-78.

MILIK, J.T., *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976).

NAU, F., «Traduction de la Chronique syriaque anonyme, éditée par Sa Béatitude Mgr. Rahmani, Patriarche des Syriens catholiques», *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 12 (1907) 429-40; 13 (1908) 90-99; 321-28; 436-43.

PRÄTORIUS, F., Review of Charles, 1895 in *TLZ* 24 (1895) 613-16.

RABIN, C., «Jubilees» in *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (ed. H.F.D. Sparks; Oxford: Clarendon, 1984) 1-139.

RÖNSCH, H., *Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die Kleine Genesis* (Leipzig: Fues's Verlag [P. Riesland], 1874; reprinted: Amsterdam: Editions RODOPI, 1970).

ROFE, A., «Fragments From an Additional Manuscript of the Book of Jubilees in Cave 3 of Qumran», *Tarbiz* 34 (1965) 333-36 (Hebrew).

SKEHAN, P.W., «*Jubilees* and the Qumran Psalter», *CBQ* 37 (1975) 343-47.

STONE, M., «Apocryphal Notes and Readings», *Israel Oriental Studies* 1 (1971) 123-31.

SUKENIK, E.L., *Hidden Scrolls from the Ancient Geniza Which Was Found in the Judean Wilderness* (2 vols.; Jerusalem: Bialik Foundation, 1950 [Hebrew]).

THACKERAY, H.St.J., *Josephus, 4: Jewish Antiquities, Books I—IV* (LCL 242; Cambridge: Harvard/London: William Heinemann, 1930).

TISSERANT, E., «Fragments syriaques du Livre des Jubilés», *RB* 30 (1921) 55-86; 206-32.

TORREY, C.C., «A Hebrew Fragment of Jubilees», *JBL* 71 (1952) 39-41.

VANDERKAM, J., *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (HSM 14; Missoula: Scholars, 1977).

VANDERKAM, J., «Enoch Traditions in Jubilees and Other Second-Century Sources», SBLSP (1978) 1.229-51.

VANDERKAM, J., «The Putative Author of the Book of Jubilees», *JSS* 26 (1981) 209-17.

VANDERKAM, J., *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (CBQMS 16; Washington: CBA of America, 1984).

VAUX, R. DE, «La grotte des manuscrits hebreux», *RB* 56 (1949) 586-609.

WINTERMUTE, O., «Jubilees» in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; 2 vols.; Garden City: Doubleday, 1983, 1985) 2.35-142.

WEVERS, J., *Genesis* (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum, 1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974).

WOUDE, A.S. VAN DER, «Fragmente des Buches Jubiläen aus Qumran Höhle XI (11 Q Jub)» in *Tradition und Glaube: Das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt* (Festgabe für Karl Georg Kuhn zum 65. Geburtstag; ed. G. JEREMIAS, H.-W. KUHN, and H. STEGEMANN; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971) 141-46.

YADIN, Y., *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: IES, 1977 [Hebrew]).

ZUURMOND, R., «Oefeningen in Kufālē» (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Amsterdam, 1981).

ZUURMOND, R., «Het oordeel over Kain in de oud-joodse traditie», *Amsterdamse Cahiers* 3 (1982) 107-16.

PROLOGUE

These are the words regarding the divisions of the times of the law
and of the testimony, of the events of the years, of the weeks of their
jubilees throughout all the years of eternity as he related (them) to
5 Moses on Mt. Sinai when he went up to receive the stone tablets — the
law and the commandments — on the Lord's orders as he had told him
that he should come up to the summit of the mountain.

1:1 During the first year of the Israelites' exodus from Egypt, in the
third month — on the sixteenth of the month — the Lord said to
10 Moses: «Come up to me on the mountain. I will give you the two stone
tablets of the law and the commandments which I have written so that
you may teach them». 1:2 So Moses went up the mountain of the
Lord. The glory of the Lord took up residence on Mt. Sinai, and a
cloud covered it for six days. 1:3 When he summoned Moses into the

Prologue: and of the testimony ... weeks: The translation presupposes that the three
terms which are preceded by ለ(ስም፡, ዓበረ, and ተሳብያቶሙ resume the construct relation
which is expressed in the phrase ኩፋሌ ፡ መዋዕላት ፡ ሕግ. An alternate rendering would be:
and for the testimony, for the events ... for the weeks. The former option is preferable,
since at least the words ሕግ and ስም are regularly paired with one another (cf. 1:1). For
the words «the divisions of the times ... of the weeks of their jubilees», see CD 16:3-4:
ספר מחלקות העתים ליובליהם ובשבועותיהם. This is almost certainly a reference to the Book
of Jubilees.

the law and the commandments: The nouns appear without the accusative ending in
nearly all of the mss., and እብን lacks the construct ending. Several mss. prefix the word ዘ
to ሕግ or ትእዛዝ (only 38 and 58 place it before both terms; but cf. 1:1 where both have ዘ
attached). Perhaps one should understand ሕግ and ትእዛዝ as paralleling እብን; i.e., tablets
of stone — (tablets of) the law and the commandments. See Exod 24:12.

1:1 I will give you: Mss. 9 38 39 42 47 and 48 agree with EthExod in reading a
subjunctive form of the verb, reflecting אתנה in MT (Exod 24:12). The preferred indicative
form here agrees with the אתן of Sam and the δώσω of LXX.

1:2 the mountain of the Lord: For the phrase, see Exod 3:1; 24:13 (הר האלהים in both
cases).

1:3 he: 17ᶜ and 38 add እግዚአብሔር in agreement with Syriac, LXX, and EthExod
24:16.

into: The Ethiopic mss. unanimously support በማእከል, while the ancient versions of
Exod 24:16 are agreed that *from* is to be read (= እማእከል). Charles (1895, p. 1, n. 23;
1902) emended with the biblical versions, but such harmonizing is a risky text-critical
procedure. The reading of Jubilees may be influenced by Exod 24:18 where Moses enters
the cloud (בתוך).

cloud on the seventh day, he saw the glory of the Lord like a fire
blazing on the summit of the mountain. 1:4 Moses remained on the
mountain for 40 days and 40 nights while the Lord showed him what
(had happened) beforehand as well as what was to come. He related to
him the divisions of all the times — both of the law and of the   5
testimony. 1:5 He said to him: «Pay attention to all the words which I
tell you on this mountain. Write (them) in a book so that their offspring
may see that I have not abandoned them because of all the evil they
have done in *straying from* the covenant between me and you which I
am making today on Mt. Sinai for their offspring. 1:6 So it will be that   10
when all of these things befall them they will recognize that I have been
more faithful than they in all their judgments and in all their actions.
They will recognize that I have indeed been with them.

1:7 «Now you write this entire message which I am telling you
today, because I know their defiance and their stubbornness (even)   15
before I bring them into the land which I promised by oath to
Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: 'To your posterity I will give the land

blazing: MT and SamExod 24:17 read אכלת, but Syriac LXX EthExod have words for
burning. Charles (1895, p. 1, n. 24) emended to ያደድ (to set on fire), claiming that this
would reflect the reading of MT at Exod 24:17. He compares Jub 36:9 (which should be
36:10 [see Littmann, 39, n. d]): እሳት ፡ ዘይደድ ፡ በላዕ. His emendation would hardly
reflect MT, and it is unnecessary for the text of Jubilees.

1:4 remained: Literally: was. Here Jubilees follows the ancient versions of Exod 24:18
against EthExod which reads ነበረ.

He related: Charles (1902), who read ነገረ (supported only by d [= 38] of his four mss.)
here, translated the word in connection with the preceding ወኅዘ ፡ ይመጽእ ፡ «and the later
history of». Berger renders in a similar fashion. However, ነገረ is much too weakly
attested (by 9 and 38 only) to be correct. In the above translation, ዘቀዳሚ ፡ ወኅዘ ፡ ይመጽእ
is regarded as the object of the verb አመሮ. Rather abruptly, a new clause begins with the
verb ነገሮ (cf. ms. 44 ተናገሮ). Consequently there are parallel lines: the Lord showed him
what (had happened) beforehand as well as what was to come. ∥ He related to him the
divisions ... See also 1:26.

both: This is an attempt to translate the conjunction before ለኅግ. For this meaning of
ወ ... ወ, see Dillmann, *Lexicon*, 880. For the terms law and testimony, cf. Isa 8:16, 20
(= תורה and תעודה).

1:5 *straying from*: The text reads a causative form (አስሕቶ = to lead astray). Charles
(1895, p. 2, n. 4) emended to አስተ (= to neglect) but later (1902, p. 3, n.) preferred to
read ስሕቶ (to go astray). Littmann (39, n. e) suggested ኣውሥቶ which he translated as
auflösten. See also Deut 31:16, 17, 20 (where הפר is used with ברית); Ezra 9:9 (Hartom:
ובהפרם). The difficulty may have arisen from a confusion in the original Hebrew version
of Jubilees in which ב/לעבור was misread as ב/להעביר, a contracted form of the hiphil
infinitive. Goldmann translated with בעברם.

1:7 write: On the problem of who is construed in the text as the author of Jubilees, see
the note to 1:27. Cf. also Exod 34:27.

before ... Jacob: Cf. Deut 31:21. In Deut 31:20 the term אבותיו is used, while Jubilees

which flows with milk and honey'. When they eat and are full, 1:8 they
will turn to foreign gods — to ones which will not save them from any
of their afflictions. Then this testimony will serve as evidence. 1:9 For
5 they will forget all my commandments — everything that I command
them — and will follow the nations, their impurities, and their shame.
They will serve their gods, and (this) will prove an obstacle for them —
an affliction, a pain, and a trap. 1:10 Many will be destroyed. They will
be captured and will fall into the enemy's control because they aban-
10 doned my statutes, my commandments, my covenantal festivals, my
sabbaths, my holy things which I have hallowed for myself among
them, my tabernacle, and my temple which I sanctified for myself in the
middle of the land so that I could set my name on it and that it could
live (there). 1:11 They made for themselves high places, (sacred) groves,
15 and carved images; each of them prostrated himself before his own in
order to go astray. They will sacrifice their children to demons and to
every product (conceived by) their erring minds. 1:12 I will send
witnesses to them so that I may testify to them, but they will not listen
and will kill the witnesses. They will persecute those too who study the
20 law diligently. They will abrogate everything and will begin to do evil in

lists the patriarchs by name. Note that mss. 9 12 17ᶜ 38 58 read ለአበዊሆሙ before
ለአብርሃም. This may be original, despite its being a stock phrase, because the similarity in
appearance of ለአበዊሆሙ and ለአብርሃም could have caused ለአበዊሆሙ to be omitted from
the other mss. Yet, in Exod 33:1, which is quoted here, אבותי is not read except in some
mss. of the Ethiopic Bible.

1:8 turn ... gods: See Deut 31:20. The term ነኪር more nearly renders ἀλλοτρίους of
LXX than אחרים of MT.

Then this testimony will serve as evidence: Literally; this testimony will testify for a
testimony. The verb is ትስማዕ, but a fairly strongly supported variant is ትሰማዕ (will be
heard), which Dillmann read in his edition. Charles (1895) chose ትሰማዕ but translated as
though he had selected ትስማዕ. For አስማዕ in the sense «to give evidence, testify», see
DILLMANN, Lexicon, 337. The present sentence is modeled on Deut 31:19; cf. also 31:26;
Josh 24:27; 2 Kings 17:15.

1:10-11: The interchange of past and future tense verbs in these verses may reflect
confusions at some point in the history of transmission. In at least some cases it may have
resulted from the ambiguity in the Hebrew original between converted and non-coverted
forms of the imperfect with a prefixed conjunction. As Berger (316, n. b to 1:11) has
noted, the corrector of ms. 17 has altered the verbs of v 11 from perfect to future. For
ንበሩ, however, the original reading in the ms. (ንበር?) was defective.

1:12 will begin: Charles (1895) read ይፌልዩ, which was a mistake as he subsequently
realized (1902, p. 4, n.; see also Littmann, 40, n. a) for ይፌልሙ — a form supported only
by ms. 12. ይቀትሉ is clearly preferable before the infinitive.

my presence. 1:13 Then I will hide my face from them. I will deliver
them into the control of the nations for captivity, for *booty*, and for
being devoured. I will remove them from the land and disperse them
among the nations. 1:14 They will forget all my law, all my command-
ments, and all my verdicts. They will err regarding the beginning of the   5
month, the sabbath, the festival, the jubilee, and the decree.

1:15 «After this they will return to me from among the nations with
all their minds, all their souls, and all their strength. Then I will gather
them from among all the nations, and they will search for me so that I
may be found by them when they have searched for me with all their   10
minds and with all their souls. I will rightly disclose to them abundant
peace. 1:16 I will transform them into a righteous plant with all my
mind and with all my soul. They will become a blessing, not a curse;
they will become the head, not the tail. 1:17 I will build my temple

1:13 *booty*: Littmann (40, n. b), followed by Charles (1902, p. 5, n.), emended ሕብለ to
ሕብኣ (= a prey [Charles]; Beute [Littmann]; שלל [Goldmann]; בז [Hartom]); cf. ሕብኣየ
in mss. 35 58, and 2 Kings 21:14 (where משׁסה is used); Isa 44:22, 24; Jer 30:16; Ezek
7:21; Hab 2:7; and Zeph 1:13. DILLMANN (*Lexicon*, 99) comments that *praeda* is a
possible meaning for ሕብኣ, «sed non nisi in libris antiquioribus occurrit». Berger renders
with «zum Prahlen (der Heiden)», adding that this is «... typisches Verhalten der Heiden
beim Triumph über Israel ...» (316, n. c to v 13) He is relating the word to the root ፆብለ,
though Dillmann does not list a form ፆብለ. He also refers to 11QT 59:7-8: ואסתיר פני
ולבו ולמשסה (8) מהמה והיו לאוכלה. The biblical parallels and this passage from the Temple
Scroll do favor a word meaning prey, booty here, though only two of the later mss.
support the reading. Littmann's suggestion seems the simplest and most likely.

1:14 They will err regarding: As at 1:5, the mss. offer a form of the verb ስሕተ but
followed by nouns in the accusative case. Littmann (40, n. d), as he did for 1:5, wished to
relate the verb to the root ፖፆተ. DILLMANN (*Lexicon*, 249), however, lists nothing
corresponding to Littmann's suggested meaning auflösen, while he does recognize the use
of ስሕተ with the accusative (see 330, where he refers to this passage).

beginning of the month: The term ውርኅ must be translated in this way (or as «the first
of the month») and not as «new moon» in Jubilees, since the latter would be unthinkable
for the author (cf. 6:32-38).

1:16 transform: The Ethiopic verb ኣፈልሶሙ has occasioned a dispute about the
meaning of this clause. The verb could be translated «I will remove them», which seems
unlikely in the context. Charles (1902, p. 5, n.) proposed that two Hebrew verbs (נטע [=
to plant] and נסע [= to go, travel; to cause to go = to remove in its causative form]) were
confused by a translator. Hence the original meaning was «I will plant them» (cf. Jer
32:41; Ps 80:9). Hartom has accepted this emendation. DILLMANN (*Lexicon*, 1340) does
list as a meaning for ኣፍለስ *transferre* («to transform»), and he had so translated in 1850
(«werde sie versezen als»). Littmann, without a note, rendered in a similar way («werde
sie umändern zu»). The corrector of ms. 17 has attempted to clarify the matter by
inserting ወእትክል ፡ ሎሙ (= and I will plant for them) before ተክለ. C.C. TORREY («The
Aramaic of the Gospels», *JBL* 61 [1942] 72) argued that the Ethiopic reading had resulted
from a very simple confusion of the two Aramaic verbs עבר and עבד (the former in the
causative conjugation). Since it is most unlikely that the book was composed in Aramaic,
his attractive hypothesis should be rejected.

among them and will live with them; I will become their God and they will become my true and righteous people. 1:18 I will neither abandon them nor become alienated from them, for I am the Lord their God».

1:19 Then Moses fell prostrate and prayed and said: «Lord my God,
5 do not allow your people and your heritage to go along in the error of their minds, and do not deliver them into the control of the nations with the result that they rule over them lest they make them sin against you. 1:20 May your mercy, Lord, be lifted over your people. Create for them a just spirit. May the spirit of Belial not rule them so as to bring
10 charges against them before you and to trap them away from every proper path so that they may be destroyed from your presence. 1:21 They are your people and your heritage whom you have rescued from Egyptian control by your great power. Create for them a pure mind and a holy spirit. May they not be trapped in their sins from now
15 to eternity».

1:22 Then the Lord said to Moses: «I know their contrary nature, their way of thinking, and their stubbornness. They will not listen until they acknowledge their sins and the sins of their ancestors. 1:23 After this they will return to me in a fully upright manner and with all (their)
20 minds and all (their) souls. I will cut away the foreskins of their minds and the foreskins of their descendants' minds. I will create a holy spirit for them and will purify them in order that they may not turn away from me from that time forever. 1:24 Their souls will adhere to me and to all my commandments. They will perform my commandments. I will
25 become their father and they will become my children. 1:25 All of them will be called children of the living God. Every angel and every spirit will know them. They will know that they are my children and that I am their father in a just and proper way and that I love them.

1:19 lest they make: Literally: and so that they may not make. The extra negative is awkward after the negated verb ኢተመዋዉመዉ, but only ms. 58 omits it. Mss. 9 12 38 44 63 prefix ኢ to the verb ይከውንዎሙ also; this makes for a smoother text and is, therefore, suspect. Mss. 9 12 21 transform the verb ያገብርዎሙ into the indicative (causative).

1:20 Belial: The name is spelled ቤላሕር in Ethiopic. The final ር reflects the βελιαρ of LXX, whereas in Hebrew it appears as בליעל. See LITTMANN, 40, n. h.

1:22 their sins and: These words are omitted by mss. 17ᵗ 20 25, but, despite the value of these copies, their short text seems haplographic, as the parallels in Lev 26:40 and Neh 9:2 imply.

1:25 will know ... will know: The prefixes on the two forms of አመረ are different (የ and ይ), but there appears to be no distinction in meaning. In their editions both Dillmann and Charles read ያአምሩ for the first verb as well, but this spelling has less impressive support at this point. On the interchange of a/ā especially before ħ and ዐ, see DILLMANN, *Ethiopic Grammar*, sec. 48.5 (p. 92).

1:26 «Now you write all these words which I will tell you on this mountain: what is first and what is last and what is to come during all the divisions of time which are in the law and which are in the testimony and in the weeks of their jubilees until eternity — until the time when I descend and live with them throughout all the ages of   5 eternity».

1:27 Then he said to an angel of the presence: «*Dictate* to Moses (starting) from the beginning of the creation until the time when my temple is built among them throughout the ages of eternity. 1:28 The Lord will appear in the sight of all, and all will know that I am the God 10 of Israel, the father of all Jacob's children, and the king on Mt. Zion for the ages of eternity. Then Zion and Jerusalem will become holy».

1:29 The angel of the presence, who was going along in front of the Israelite camp, took the tablets (which told) of the divisions of the years from the time the law and the testimony were created — for the weeks 15 of their jubilees, year by year in their full number, and their jubilees from [the time of the creation until] the time of the new creation when

1:26 write: Note the variant አጽ ፡ እጽሕፍ (= I will write) in mss. 9 12 38 44. A reading of this sort (Charles adopted it in 1895, but not in 1902) shows that scribes sensed a problem in statements about the authorship of the book. See the note to v 27 below.

1:27 he said to an angel of the presence: «*Dictate* to Moses»: The text actually says: «Write for Moses». The several statements in Jubilees about authorship of the book offer conflicting information. One set of passages (1:5, 7, 26; 2:1; 23:32; 33:18) presents Moses as the author, while another (1:27; 30:12, 21; 50:6, 13) credits an angel of the presence (for the title, see Isa 63:9) with the same function. Several mss. (17 21 63) attempt to alleviate the conflict presented here by reading ወይቤሎ ፡ መልአከ ፡ ገጽ ፡ ለሙሴ and omitting ለሙሴ after ጻሕፍ. The result is: An angel of the presence said to Moses: «Write». The contradiction about who wrote Jubilees has been used by Gene Davenport (*The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees* [Studia Post-Biblica 20; Leiden: Brill, 1971] 15) as part of his argument for different redactions of the book. It seems quite possible, though, that either a Hebrew qal (כתוב) and hiphil (הכתיב) imperative were confused or that the Greek translator failed to distinguish the causative from the simple meaning in the verb that he used in his translation. On this problem, see VANDERKAM, «The Putative Author of the Book of Jubilees», *JSS* 26 (1981) 209-17.

1:28 I am: Though the reading «you are» has stronger ms. support, it can hardly be correct in this context in which the Lord is addressing an angel of the presence (unless a quotation from another work has not been edited fully to fit its new setting). The reading «you are» (= አንት) probably arose as a miscopying of አነ. In Ethiopia, at least some Christian scholars understood the second person pronoun here as original and interpreted the passage to mean that the angel of the presence was the second person of the Trinity. On this, see Getatchew HAILE, «The Homily of Aṣe ZÄR'A YA'ĀQOB of Ethiopia in Honour of Saturday», *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 13 (1982) 185-231, especially 204 (text) and 226 (translation). Cf. also Berger, 321, n. to 1:27-29.

1:29 from [the time of the creation until] the time of the new creation: The Ethiopic text indicates that the account in Jubilees extends from the time of the new creation onward, while the context implies that it should cover the period until the new creation. Charles (1895, p. 4, n. 23; 1902, p. 9, n.) omitted «new» (or regarded it as a corruption of

the heavens, the earth, and all their creatures will be renewed like the
powers of the sky and like all the creatures of the earth, until the time
when the temple of the Lord will be created in Jerusalem on Mt. Zion.
All the luminaries will be renewed for (the purposes of) healing, health,
5 and blessing for all the elect ones of Israel and so that it may remain
this way from that time throughout all the days of the earth.

2:1 On the Lord's orders the angel of the presence said to Moses:
«Write all the words about the creation — how in six days the Lord
God completed all his works, everything that he had created, and kept
10 sabbath on the seventh day. He sanctified it for all ages and set it as a
sign for all his works. 2:2 For on the first day he created the heavens
that are above, the earth, the waters, and all the spirits who serve
before him, namely: the angels of the presence; the angels of holiness;
the angels of the spirits of fire; the angels of the spirits of the winds; the
15 angels of the spirits of the clouds, of darkness, *snow*, hail, and frost; the

«until» [1895]) and added «until» after «creation». This relocation of «until» (እስከ
follows ፍጥረት) is now found in mss. 21 35 38ᶜ 42ᶜ 58, but it appears to be a scribal
attempt to solve the very problem that Charles was discussing. The bracketed words have
been restored in line with Michael Stone's proposal («Apocryphal Notes and Readings»,
Israel Oriental Studies 1 [1971] 125-26) that the phrase was omitted when a scribe's eye
skipped from the first instance of ዕለት to the second.

2:2 waters: Epiphanius adds a relative clause which is not attested in the Ethiopic
tradition, while the abbreviated account in the Syriac citation adds a reference to diffused
light.

namely: The Ethiopic reading is ወ, and the Syriac, too, has a conjunction where
Epiphanius has ἅτινά ἐστι τάδε. All of these probably mean the same thing, with the
conjunctions of Ethiopic and Syriac having the force of «namely» (against Charles, 1895,
p. 5, n. 35).

holiness: Epiphanius reads δόξης, but Syriac (ܪ ܐܩܘܤܐ) supports the Ethiopic. Cf.
Tisserant, «Fragments syriaques», 67.

the angels of the spirits of fire: Neither Epiphanius nor Syriac offers a parallel to this
class of angels. Both could, however, be haplographic, since they do mention the next
group in the Ethiopic list (see the reading of ms. 12). On the phrase «the diffused light» in
Syriac, cf. Tisserant («Fragments syriaques», 68) who regards it as an error and thinks the
term ܪ ܐܘܤ may have been influenced by the word ܪ ܐܩܘ in the Cave of Treasures.

of darkness: Literally: for darkness. Epiphanius has καὶ γνόθων. Syriac omits the
material from the word «winds» until the word «depths» toward the end of the verse. The
terms that follow specify what comes from the clouds.

snow: The Ethiopic reading is በረድ (all). The word «snow» appears in Epiphanius.
Charles (1895, p. 5, n. 44; 1902, p. 13, n.) emended ወበረድ to ወለበረድመ ([and of snow»
[1902]). He proposed that χιόνος (= Epiphanius) had been corrupted into πάντος. Berger
(323, n. k to v 2) thinks that ms. 9 (the same is found in 38) preserved the correct reading:
instead of ጽልመት ፡ ወበረድ it offers በረድ ፡ ጽልመት (= all darkness). But its reading has
weak support and may be a later attempt at wresting meaning from a difficult text.
«Snow» makes excellent sense here and is preferable (so also Goldmann).

angels of the sounds, the thunders, and the lightnings; and the angels of
the spirits of cold and heat, of winter, spring, autumn, and summer,
and of all the spirits of his creatures which are in the heavens, on earth,
and in every (place). [There were also] the depths, darkness and light,
dawn and evening which he prepared through the knowledge of his   5
mind. 2:3 Then we saw his works and blessed him. We offered praise

sounds: Of the Ethiopic texts, only ms. 44 (ms. 9 is similar) preserves this reading,
which is also supported by Epiphanius (φωνῶν). All other Ethiopic mss. reflect the
corruption of ቃላት to ቀለያት (ቀለይ፤ in ms. 58) — a term that occurs later in the verse.

angels of the spirits of cold: Greek Epiphanius omits an equivalent of the words «the
angels of the spirits», but the Syriac of Epiphanius has «angels of».

depths: In Epiphanius, the word ἀβύσσους is in the accusative case and is therefore
another object of the verb «created», but the corresponding Ethiopic term (ቀላያት) lacks
the accusative ending. The translation given above posits an abrupt break between ዘበሰማይ
(see 2:16 for a similar use of ኵሉ) and ቀላያት. The absence of an accusative ending on
ቀላያት may be due to the distance of the word from the verb. The Greek text of
Epiphanius adds τήν τε ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς, καὶ τοῦ χάους, and the Syriac Epiphanius has a
longer expansion. These words have no parallel in either the Ethiopic or the Syriac text of
Jubilees. The Syriac citation adds a second reference to the angels of the winds that blow
at the end of its version of the material in v 2. Tisserant («Fragments syriaques», 68)
attributes the second mention of these angels to «... une correction de la première
transportée de la marge dans le texte sans que la leçon condamnée en ait été éliminée».

which he prepared through the knowledge of his mind: Patrick W. Skehan («*Jubilees*
and the Qumran Psalter», *CBQ* 37 [1975] 343-47) has highlighted the close similarities in
wording between parts of Jub 2:2, 3 and a few lines of the Qumran «Hymn to the
Creator» (11QPsᵃ XXVI.11-12). For the end of v 2, the following words should be
compared (ll. 11-12): מבדיל אור מאפלה שחר הכין בדעת לבו. The Hymn locates the word
«dawn» precisely where it is in Epiphanius in both the Greek and Syriac versions, i.e., at
the end of the list and just before the last statement:

Ethiopic	Epiphanius	Hymn to the Creator
darkness	darkness	light
light	evening	darkness
dawn	night	
evening	light of day	
	of dawn	dawn

As Skehan explains (345, n. 7), the two terms «darkness» and «light» in Gen 1:3 here
are supplemented by words which occur first in Gen 1:5 (ערב, לילה, יום, and בקר [for
which שחר has been substituted]). For the text of the Hymn, see J.A. SANDERS, *The
Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11* (DJD 4; Oxford: Clarendon, 1965) 89-91. Cf. also on
this passage in Jubilees Charles, 1895, p. 6, n. 1; Littmann, 41, n. k, and Berger, 324, n. a
to v 3.

2:3 Then ... before him: Cf. the Hymn to the Creator, l. 12: אז ראו כול מלאכיו וירנו
כי הראם את אשר לוא ידעו. Though the person is different (Jubilees is the first-person
narrative of an angel), the wording of the first half of the line resembles the beginning of
2:3. In the Hymn, the verb וירנו stands where Jubilees uses two nearly synonymous terms:
ባረክናሁ ፤ ወሰባሕነ ፤ ቅድሜሁ (see SKEHAN, «*Jubilees* and the Qumran Psalter», 344). The
Syriac and Greek citations omit the first part of the verse because their authors appear to
be interested primarily in the list of created works.

before him regarding all his works because he had made seven great works on the first day.

2:4 On the second day he made a firmament between the waters, and the waters were divided on that day. Half of them went up above and
5   half of them went down below the firmament (which was) in the middle above the surface of the whole earth. This was the only work that he made on the second day.

2:5 On the third day he did as he said to the waters that they should pass from the surface of the whole earth to one place and that the dry
10 land should appear. 2:6 The waters did so, as he told them. They withdrew from the surface of the earth to one place apart from this firmament, and dry land appeared. 2:7 On that day he created for them all the seas — each with the places where they collected — all the rivers,

2:4 Half ... earth: There is a major text-critical problem in the text of Epiphanius at this point. Denis' text, which is given here, is taken from the very old editions of D. Petavius (1622) and Migne (PG 43). The text of ms. Marcianus is superior because it agrees more nearly with the Syriac of Epiphanius and the Ethiopic and Syriac texts of Jubilees. In this ms., after the word ὑδάτων one finds: καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐμερίσθη τὰ ὕδατα τὸ ἥμισυ αὐτῶν ἀνέβη ἐπάνω τοῦ στερεώματος [καὶ τὸ ἥμισυ κατέβη ὑποκάτω τοῦ στερεώματος τοῦ] ἐμμέσῳ. Here the text as given in Denis resumes. For this preferred text, with the restoration of a line that has been omitted by haplography, see RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 260; and Charles, 1895, p. 7. The OL of Gen 1:7 has the upper waters first as in Jubilees, while the other ancient versions show the reverse order.

(which was) in the middle: However unusual it may be (cf. Littmann, 42, n. b), this seems to be the only acceptable meaning for ዋስጥ in the context, as almost all of the translators have recognized, and it is supported by the τοῦ] ἐμμέσῳ of Epiphanius (ܪ ܠ ܡܨ in Syriac Epiphanius). Berger follows the unlikely reading of ms. 9 (it adds ገጽ after ዋስጥ) and renders (not quite accurately): «(das) in der Mitte der Oberfläche (war)».

2:5 he did as: Charles (1895, p. 6, nn. 12-13; cf. 1902) and Littmann (42, n. c) dismissed these words as an interpolation, but they are acceptable as they stand, though the abbreviated Syriac citation and Epiphanius lack them. In giving both the divine command and a description of its execution (in v 6), Jubilees agrees with the longer form of Gen 1:9 that is found in the LXX tradition. Epiphanius (both Syriac and Greek) omits all of this verse except the reference to the third day.

2:6 apart from: In the Syriac citation (included under v 5) the one place is «within» the firmament. Tisserant («Fragments syriaques», 68-69) considered the Syriac preferable «... car les eaux dont il est question sont les eaux inférieures, recouvertes par le firmament comme le sol d'une maison est recouvert par le toit ...» (68) He suggested that the Ethiopic translator read ἔξωθεν or ἔξω instead of the correct ἔσωθεν or ἔσω; or possibly Hebrew בתוך/מתוך were confused. While Tisserant may be correct, it is possible that the Ethiopic preverves the better text, since «apart from this firmament» means only that the land and water were separated.

2:7 the places where the waters collected in the mountains and on the whole earth: The Syriac reads «the springs [ܡܒܘܥܐ, which Tisserant («Fragments syriaques», 64) translates as «les réceptacles»] of water in the mountains and in the valleys». Epiphanius has only «the springs» or «the springs and the lakes» in this location (in both the Greek

and the places where the waters collected in the mountains and on the whole earth; all the reservoirs, all the dew of the earth; the seed that is sown — with each of its kinds — all that *sprouts*, the fruit trees, the forests, and the garden of Eden (which is) in Eden for enjoyment and for *food*. These four great types he made on the third day.   5

2:8 On the fourth day the Lord made the sun, the moon, and the stars. He placed them in the heavenly firmament to shine on the whole earth, to rule over day and night, and to separate between light and

and Syriac). These are explications of Gen 1:10 (למקוה המים קרא ימים). The Syriac citation has been influenced strongly by the parallel in the Cave of Treasures (on p. 64 Tisserant places the two texts in parallel columns), especially after the word «valleys». As the Syriac follows Jubilees loosely in parts of the verse, it is difficult to assess its textual significance. Epiphanius has abbreviated drastically.

all that *sprouts*: The Ethiopic is ኵሉ ፡ ዘይትበላዕ (= all that is eaten). Epiphanius offers τὰ βλαστήματα (cf. Syriac ܪܕܢܝܐ, in a slightly different location), a reading which led Charles (1895, p. 7, n. 27; 1902, p. 14, n.) and Littmann (42, n. d) to emend the Ethiopic to ዘይበቍል (= that which sprouts). The emendation is relatively simple and convincing. There is no reference to «what is eaten» in Gen 1:1o-12.

the fruit trees: Epiphanius (Greek and Syriac) adds a reference to non-fruit trees; the Syriac mentions just trees.

the garden of Eden (which is) in Eden: Epiphanius and the Syriac omit the entire reference to the garden. Contrary to the comment of Charles (1902, p. 14, n.), the words «in Eden» are not superfluous, since the garden was located in the country or territory of Eden according to Gen 2:8.

for enjoyment and for *food*: The prepositional phrase ለትዕይ was dismissed by Charles: «This phrase is due either to a corrupt dittography: *i.e.* — latadlâ is corrupt for batadlâ = ἐν τρυφῇ, a duplicate rendering of בעדן; or else tadlâ is corrupt for taklât = φυτά and should be transposed after kuellû». (1902, p. 14, n.) He in effect adopts the latter option in his translation (p. 15; 1895, p. 7, n. 33) by adding after the word «all»: «(plants after their kind)». Littmann (42, n. e) and Berger (326, n. k to v 7) accept his proposal. Epiphanius is the basis for the change (τὰ φυτὰ κατὰ γένος), but this phrase is lacking in the Syriac Epiphanius and in some Greek mss. It is an addition in ms. Marcianus (DENIS, *Fragmenta*, 72, n. to ll. 24-25). Hence Epiphanius provides weak support for the emendation.

Furthermore, plants have probably already been mentioned (all that *sprouts*). «For enjoyment» is a play on the word עדן (= luxury, dainty, delight, *BDB*, 726); ትዕይ is the translation of the word «Eden» in EthGen 3:23. «For all» (ለኵሉ) remains difficult, and apparently some scribes were struggling with the problem. Mss. 17 58 omit ለ before ኵሉ, and a larger number of copies omit the conjunction which introduces the next sentence. In the latter reading the ኵሉ is connected with the following statement about the four kinds of phenomena which God created on the third day. This, however, can hardly be correct, for in that case the third day would be the only day which includes «all» in the concluding statement. It is simpler to suppose that ለኵሉ reflects Hebrew לכול and that this is a mistake for לאכול or לאכלה (for eating / for food; the latter expression is found in Gen 1:29). Another option would be to asume an original לכלכל (= for sustenance).

2:8 to shine on the whole earth: Cf. Gen 1:17. Though neither the Syriac nor Epiphanius follows the text of Jubilees closely, the Syriac does have a reference to spreading the heat of the sun over the waters. For this element it may be dependent on the Cave of Treasures (see TISSERANT, «Fragments syriaques», 64-65, 69).

darkness. 2:9 The Lord appointed the sun as a great sign above the earth for days, sabbaths, months, festivals, years, sabbaths of years, jubilees, and all times of the years. 2:10 It separates between light and darkness and (serves) for wellbeing so that everything that sprouts and
5 grows on the earth may prosper. These three types he made on the fourth day.

2:11 On the fifth day he created the great sea monsters within the watery depths, for these were the first animate beings made by his hands; all the fish that move about in the waters, all flying birds, and
10 all their kinds. 2:12 The sun shone over them for (their) wellbeing and over everything that was on the earth — all that sprouts from the ground, all fruit trees, and all animate beings. These three kinds he made on the fifth day.

2:13 On the sixth day he made all the land animals, all cattle, and
15 everything that moves about on the earth. 2:14 After all this, he made

2:10 (serves) for wellbeing so that everything that sprouts and grows on the earth may prosper: See 2:12. Syriac: «for healing and for the growth of everything». Charles (1895, p. 7, n. 45) considered «for wellbeing» corrupt, though he suggested no improvement. Here, too, Tisserant («Fragments syriaques», 69) regarded the Syriac as superior. Admittedly, it offers a smoother text, but it may be damaged (it lacks an equivalent for the words ለይሥርዕ of the Ethiopic, though there is a blank in the ms.; Chabot suggests restoring ܫܘܫܝܢ) and it does give this information out of context.

2:11 all the fish ... birds: The translation presupposes that there are two units here, not four as in Charles' rendering («the fish and everything that moves in the waters, and everything that flies, the birds»). There is virtually no ms. support for separating ኵሉ ፡ ዘይትሐወስ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ማያት from ዓሣት (only mss. 9 38) and none for inserting a conjunction before አዕዋፈ to divide it from ኵሉ ፡ ዘይሰርር. The two units are parallel in structure, with each having ኵሉ + modifying relative clause + noun. Moreover, this reading of the text gives the required number (three) of created works for the day (as in Gen 1:21). Cf. Berger, 327, nn. d and e to v 11, but he does not arrive at three created items. Dillmann (1850) took ዓሣት and አዕዋፈ to be in apposition to the relative clauses; Littmann translated as above for the second unit, but not for the first. Epiphanius separates the fish and reptiles, apparently regarding them as one class. The Syriac citation is again influenced by the Cave of Treasures (TISSERANT, «Fragments syriaques», 65, 69), while the curious interpretation of behemoth as locusts or grasshoppers agrees with Jacob of Edessa's exegesis of the word (ibid., 69). Apparently the three works in Syriac are monsters, birds, and fish.

2:12 all that sprouts ... trees: Tisserant («Fragments syriaques», 69) thought that the Ethiopic text was interpolated at this point, since the benefit which plants receive from the sun was mentioned in the account about the fourth day. Syriac reads only «them» for the sea creatures and birds. But the Syriac abbreviates regularly and may, for that reason, not supply a more pristine text. Epiphanius omits all of the verse except the final enumeration of works.

mankind — as one man and a woman he made them. He made him
rule everything on earth and in the seas and over flying creatures,
animals, cattle, everything that moves about on the earth, and the
entire earth. Over all these he made him rule. These four kinds he made
on the sixth day.   5

2:15 The total was 22 kinds. 2:16 He finished all his works on the
sixth day: everything in heaven, on the earth, in the seas, in the depths,
in the light, in the darkness, and in every place. 2:17 He gave us the
sabbath day as a great sign so that we should perform work for six days
and that we should keep sabbath from all work on the seventh day. 10
2:18 He told us — all the angels of the presence and all the angels of
holiness (these two great kinds) — to keep sabbath with him in heaven
and on earth.

2:19 He said to us: 'I will now separate a people for myself from
among my nations. They, too, will keep sabbath. I will sanctify the 15
people for myself and will bless them as I sanctified the sabbath day. I
will sanctify them for myself; in this way I will bless them. They will

---

2:14 one: Mss. 9 12 21 38 44 omit ኣሕዶ; it is also absent from Syriac, while
Epiphanius reads only τὸν ἄνθρωπον (τὸν Ἀδαμ in Marcianus; Syriac Epiphanius has
ܪܒܢܝܫܐ). Dillmann translated as: «machte er den Menschen, éinen, mann u. weib».
Berger: «machte er einen Menschen. Als einen Mann und eine Frau». See Rönsch, *Das
Buch der Jubiläen*, 261-62, n. 1 for a discussion of the view that Adam was created an
androgyne. But the use in Jubilees of the words «man» and «woman» rather than «male»
and «female» makes it unlikely that the writer thought this of Adam. It may be that the
numeral here merely expresses the idea of an indefinite article; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*,
722, where he list «aliquis, quidam» as meanings for the word ኣሕዶ.

He made him rule: The singular suffix (opposed only by 9 17ᶜ 38) agrees with the
reading of OL and EthGen 1:26 (let him rule). The Syriac citation has a plural (ܐܢܘܢ)
in agreement with the remaining ancient biblical versions (see Tisserant, «Fragments
syriaques», 69-70). A singular suffix is found on ኣስልጠ in its second occurrence in the
verse as well.

animals: The Syriac lacks this word, and Tisserant («Fragments syriaques», 69)
considered this original (see Gen 1:26). However, it seems more likely that Jubilees is here
supplementing the original form of the biblical text, just as was done in the tradition
reflected in OL and EthGen (and several Greek witnesses).

2:15 Several mss. (9 12 38 44) omit the entire verse, perhaps by parablepsis (ወ to ወ).
Both Syriac and Epiphanius support its inclusion.

2:16 on the sixth day: Jubilees agrees with Sam LXX Syriac OL and Josephus (*Ant.*
1.33) in tendentiously correcting the השביעי ביום of MT and the targums at Gen 2:2.
Epiphanius also refers to the sixth day.

2:18 holiness: Though the form ቅድሳት (a noun; see Dillmann, *Lexicon*, 466) has the
strongest backing, ቅዱሳ (cf. 2:2) could also be defended as original. The resulting
meaning would, in either case, be the same.

2:19 will sanctify ... will bless: Cf. Epiphanius: He blessed it and sanctified it (i.e., the
sabbath day).

become my people and I will become their God. 2:20 I have chosen the descendants of Jacob among all of those whom I have seen. I have recorded them as my first-born son and have sanctified them for myself thoughout the ages of eternity. I will tell them about the sabbath days so that they may keep sabbath from all work on them'. 2:21 In this way he made a sign on it by which they, too, would keep sabbath with us on the seventh day to eat, drink, and bless the creator of all as he had blessed them and sanctified them for himself as a noteworthy people out of all the nations; and to keep sabbath together with us. 2:22 He made his commands rise as a fine fragrance which is acceptable in his presence for all times.

2:23 There were 22 leaders of humanity from Adam until him; and

2:20 the descendants of Jacob among all of those whom I have seen: Charles (1895, p. 9, n. 35) suggested, on the basis of Epiphanius' text (ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτοῦ) that ፍጥሩ ፡ አምኀርጎዲኁ is corrupt for አምጥሩ ፡ ዘርኡ (the form should be ዘርኦ). However, in 1902 he translated: «from amongst all that I have seen». Littmann: «von dem, was ich gesehen habe, ganz auserwählt» (for ፍጥሩ as «ganz», see DILLMANN, Lexicon, 815: omnino, prorsus, ὅλως). Dillmann himself rendered the passage as «unter allen aus ihnen, die ich gesehen habe». There is no need to emend, since ፍጥሩ = among all, while አምዘ = (of) those whom. Epiphanius provides a weak basis for changing the Ethiopic in any one place, as he differs extensively here from the Ethiopic text (e.g., the tense of the verb — ἐκλέξομαι).

them ... (sanctified) them: The suffixes are singular, but they refer to ዘርኡ (literally: seed, translated «descendants»); hence the translation «them». In the last sentence of the verse, plural pronouns are used in reference to the same group.

2:21 a noteworthy people: Charles (1895, p. 9, n. 44) emended ሕፍበተርኡ to ሕፍጠረ and translated (1902) as «a peculiar people». He listed Deut 7:6 (סגלה עם) as his evidence (Hartom: סגלה). The Greek equivalent would then be περιούσιος, which Epiphanius uses in this context. Littmann (43, n. d) followed Charles, while Goldmann oddly gives אשר בחר. Dillmann (1850): «das es erscheine (hervortrete)». Berger (330, n. b to v 21) rejects Charles' emendation («hervorragt»). However, in view of the facts that Epipphanius employs the term περιούσιος and that Deut 7:6, from which the phrase appears to come, reads העמים מכל סגלה עם, it must be admitted that Charles has formulated an impressive case. Cf. also Jub 33:20 where the noun ጥሪት is used for Israel. It is possible, though, that the expression ሕፍበተርኡ is an attempt at rendering περιούσιος (in Exod 19:5 the Ethiopic version gives ሕዝብ ፡ ኅሩይ — not at all a literal translation of the word). For this reason the above translation has been retained, recognizing that Charles has probably uncovered the history of the text for this word.

2:23 Charles (1902) thought that there was a lacuna after 2:22 because a number of ancient witnesses (including Epiphanius) mention that there were not only 22 works of creation and 22 leaders from Adam to Jacob but also 22 letters in the Hebrew alphabet and 22 books in the Hebrew scriptures. So, he wished to restore: «as there were two and twenty letters and two and twenty (sacred) books ...» (p. 18, n. to v 23). Syncellus would seem to give warrant for his proposal: ὁμοῦ τὰ πάντα ἔργα εἴκοσι δύο ἰσάριθμα τοῖς εἴκοσι δύο Ἑβραϊκοῖς γράμμασι καὶ ταῖς εἴκοσι δύο Ἑβραϊκαῖς βίβλοις καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ ἕως Ἰακὼβ εἴκοσι δύο γεναρχίαις, ὡς ἐν λεπτῇ φέρεται Γενέσει, ἣν καὶ Μωϋσέως εἶναι φασί τινες ἀποκάλυψιν. (Chronographia 5.13-17) Though the last line of the citation

22 kinds of works were made until the seventh day. The latter is blessed and holy and the former, too, is blessed and holy. The one with the other served (the purposes of) holiness and blessing. 2:24 It was granted to these that for all times they should be the blessed and holy ones of the testimony and of the first law, as it was sanctified and blessed on the seventh day. 2:25 He created the heavens, the earth, and everything that was created in six days. The Lord gave a holy festal day to all his creation. For this reason he gave orders regarding it that anyone who would do any work on it was to die; also, the one who would defile it was to die.

2:26 Now you command the Israelites to observe this day so that they may sanctify it, not do any work on it, and not defile it for it is holier than all (other) days. 2:27 Anyone who profanes it is to die and anyone who does any work on it is to die eternally so that the Israelites may observe this day throughout their history and not be uprooted from the earth. For it is a holy day; it is a blessed day. 2:28 Everyone who observes (it) and keeps sabbath on it from all his work will be holy and blessed throughout all times like us. 2:29 Inform and tell the Israelites the law (which relates to) this day and that they should keep

---

identifies Jubilees as the source for this information, it is unlikely that Charles is correct. Syncellus may be attributing only the last statement (about the 22 leaders) to Jubilees, or, if he is claiming that all of the groups of 22 derive from this source, he may not be right. It must be remembered that he did not use Jubilees directly. Note, too, that the remainder of the verse also presupposes only two groups of 22 (ዝንቱ — ውእቱ / ዝንቱ — ዝንቱ).

until him: Dillmann (1859) read እስከ ፡ ያዕቆብ (from ms. 51) and had so translated in 1850 («bis auf Jacob»). All others have followed his lead: Charles (1895, 1902); Littmann; Goldmann; Hartom; and Berger (who cites Epiphanius: ἄχρι τοῦ Ἰακώβ). Syncellus (see the previous note) reads ἕως Ἰακώβ. The fact remains that the name ያዕቆብ is very poorly attested in the Ethiopic mss. (only 42ᵐᵍ 47 51). The best reading is እስከሁ. For this form, see DILLMANN, Lexicon, 751; Ethiopic Grammar, sec. 160 (a) (p. 376); 165 (p. 395). Since Jacob was mentioned just before in v 20, the author felt it unnecessary to use his name again. A pronoun was sufficient.

2:24 they should be: A strongly attested variant (9 12 17 21 38 44 63) reads a singular verb (he should be) in grammatical agreement with ዝንቱ. But as ዝንቱ is collective here (translated «these»), the plural verb is acceptable.

testimony and of the first law: Charles (1902) incorrectly translated «the first testimony and law» as did Littmann.

2:29 (the day) on which it is not proper to do what they wish, namely: Behind the translation is the assumption that ዘ (እይከውን) refers to the sabbath (ዕት²) and that it is resumed by ዕት³. The words እይከውን ፡ ዘይስተርኢ ፡ ለገቢረ are rendered «it is not proper to do». Mss. 12 17 25 prefix the negative particle to ያስተርኢ. Berger translates: «die nicht geschehen soll und [= 17 which adds this conjunction] die nicht gesehen werden soll». Cf. Littmann: «die sich nicht geziemt, [nämlich] an ihm ihren [eigenen] Willen zu tun». Charles renders in a similar fashion. Littmann (p. 43, n. h) suggested that the original

sabbath on it and not neglect it through the error of their minds lest they do (any) work on it — (the day) on which it is not proper to do what they wish, namely: to prepare on it anything that is to be eaten or drunk; to draw water; to bring in or remove on it anything which one
5 carries in their gates — (any) work that they had not prepared for themselves in their dwellings on the sixth day. 2:30 They are not to bring (anything) out or in from house to house on this day because it is more holy and more blessed than any of the jubilee of jubilees. On it we kept sabbath in heaven before it was made known to all humanity that
10 on it they should keep sabbath on earth. 2:31 The creator of all blessed but did not sanctify any people(s) and nations to keep sabbath on it except Israel alone. To it alone did he give (the right) to eat, drink, and keep sabbath on it upon the earth. 2:32 The creator of all who created this day blessed it for (the purposes of) blessing, holiness, and glory
15 more than all (other) days. 2:33 This law and testimony were given to the Israelites as an eternal law throughout their history.

   3:1 On the sixth day of the second week we brought to Adam, on the Lord's orders, all animals, all cattle, all birds, everything that moves about on the earth, and everything that moves about in the water — in
20 their various kinds and various forms: the animals on the first day; the cattle on the second day; the birds on the third day; everything that

---

Hebrew was שלא יהיה ראוי, with the last word having its later meaning. Goldmann: ולא יֵרָאֶה לעשות בו חפצם . Charles and Littmann have translated correctly, but the point at which the author specifies what is not appropriate is after ⷆ, as the conjunction ⷐ suggests (cf. Berger, 331, n. g to v 29).

   work[2]: Charles read ⷀ in his text but omitted it from his translation. Dillmann: «etwas»; Littmann: «als Arbeit». Berger's appealing «in den sechs Tagen der Arbeit» (= Goldmann [but see his note to v 29, p. רכו]; Hartom) is impossible grammatically. In the above translation ⷀ is taken as the noun to which ⷇ refers, though the word-order is curious. If ⷈ : ⷀ could be emended to ⷈ : ⷉ, one would have the text which Berger's translation renders and it would make excellent sense.

   2:30 bring (anything) out or in: There is strong ms. support for transposing the verbs (9 20 25 35 38).

   2:31 The creator of all blessed: Littmann (44, n. a), though he translated «der Allschöpfer segnete», suggested (following Barth, in his review of Charles, 1895, in Deutsche Litteraturzeitung 34 [1895] 1063) that it would be preferable to read ⷊ, with the suffix referring to the sabbath. Charles (1902, p. 20, n.) accepted this («blessed it»), though without ms. support. Goldmann and Hartom render with ויברכהו, while Berger has «es segnete ihn». The masculine suffix is found only in mss. 9 17 and the feminine in the later copies 35 42 44 47 48 58 63 (cf. 2:32). So, several of the best mss. lack it. The contrast seems to be that the creator blessed all peoples and nations but he gave Israel alone the privilege of keeping sabbath (i.e., ⷋ : ⷌ : ⷍ is the object of both verbs).

   3:1 Syncellus preserves the same distribution of animals throughout the days of the second week.

moves about on the earth on the fourth day; and the ones that move about in the water on the fifth day. 3:2 Adam named them all, each with its own name. Whatever he called them became their name. 3:3 During these five days Adam was looking at all of these — male and female among every kind that was on the earth. But he himself was   5 alone; there was no one whom he found for himself who would be for him a helper who was like him. 3:4 Then the Lord said to us: 'It is not good that the man should be alone. Let us make him a helper who is like him'. 3:5 The Lord our God imposed a sound slumber on him and he fell asleep. Then he took one of his bones for a woman. That rib was   10 the origin of the woman — from among his bones. He built up the flesh in its place and built the woman. 3:6 Then he awakened Adam from his sleep. When he awoke, he got up on the sixth day. Then he brought (him) to her. He knew her and said to her: 'This is now bone from my bone and flesh from my flesh. This one will be called my wife, for she   15

3:3 whom he found: The active form of the verb reflects the text of MT Sam and the targums at Gen 2:20, against Syriac LXX OL which read passive verbs. The mss. of EthGen 2:20 are divided on this issue.

3:4 Let us make: The plural agrees with LXX OL EthGen 2:18 against MT Sam Syriac and the targums which use the first person singular. There are clear agreements in this verse between mss. 12 21 and EthGen 2:18: ኮነ for አኮ in ms. 21; and ቢጸ and ዘይደፅአ in ms. 12.

3:5 built ... built: For the verb, see Gen 2:22. Syncellus uses ἔπλασε, which is not the verb of LXX Gen 2:22 (ᾠκοδόμησεν) but is the one used by Josephus (*Ant.* 1.35). Cf. also OL[1]: aedificavit.

in its place: Berger (333, n. b to v 5) mentions that ms. M (= 17) «hat die rätselhafte Ergänzung: 'vier'», The numeral, however, appears to be the number one, perhaps referring to one flesh (as in 3:8).

3:6 he brought (him) to her: አምጽአ, with no suffix, seems to be the best reading, although the evidence is mixed (the አምጽአ of 17 35 44 is also in EthGen 2:22). The issue of the correct reading here is related to the one at the word ኀቤሃ where again the best witnesses disagree. Yet the weight of the evidence for ኀቤሃ is somewhat greater (9 12 21 25 35). The versions at Gen 2:22 indicate that the Lord brought the woman to the man; this implies that the reversal of roles in some mss. of Jubilees is more likely to be original because it differs from Genesis. It must be granted, though, that the difference between አምጽአ and አምጽአ is very slight and that a miscopying of the word (or the tendency to lengthen the a-vowel after a gutteral) could have produced a later change of the related prepositional phrase from ኀቤሁ to ኀቤሃ for the sake of the sense.

my wife: The suffix agrees with the reading of EthGen 2:23 against all other versions.

she was taken: ተነሥአት usually means «she arose», but forms of this verb are easily confused with ተነሥአ(ት) (was taken); see DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 637 under ተነሥአ. Most of the versions of the versions of Gen 2:23 read a passive verb here, but EthGen has ወዕለት ፡

was taken from her husband'. 3:7 For this reason a man and a woman are to become one, and for this reason he leaves his father and his mother. He associates with his wife, and they become one flesh.

3:8 In the first week Adam and his wife — the rib — were created, 5 and in the second week he showed her to him. Therefore, a commandment was given to keep (women) in their defilement seven days for a male (child) and for a female two (units) of seven days. 3:9 After 40 days had come to an end for Adam in the land where he had been created, we brought him into the Garden of Eden to work and keep it. 10 His wife was brought (there) on the eightieth day. After this she entered the Garden of Eden. 3:10 For this reason a commandment was written in the heavenly tablets for the one who gives birth to a child: if she gives birth to a male, she is to remain in her impurity for seven days like the first seven days; then for 33 days she is to remain in the blood 15 of purification. She is not to touch any sacred thing nor to enter the sanctuary until she completes these days for a male. 3:11 As for a female she is to remain in her impurity for two weeks of days like the first two weeks and 66 days in the blood of purification. Their total is 80 days. 3:12 After she had completed these 80 days, we brought her 20 into the Garden of Eden because it is the holiest in the entire earth, and

ይእቲ. The ወዕለት is found in ms. 12 (and at an earlier point in 17 38 44) and the ይእቲ in 38.

her husband: The suffix reflects the textual tradition of Sam LXX OL and Targum Onkelos (מאישה), not that of MT Syriac and the other targums (מאיש).

3:7 and a woman are to become one, and for this reason: These words are not found in the versions of Gen 2:24, nor do they appear in the best mss. of Jubilees (9 17 20 25 35ᵗ 44 63). Under normal circumstances they would be omitted from a critical text, but they do figure in some old copies (12 21) and omission of them could have resulted from a scribe's eye skipping from one clause to the next one which is very similar in appearance. One wonders whether the ወ which almost all of the mss. that omit these words prefix to የተደረገ is a remnant of the second instance of በእንተዝ. Both Dillmann and Charles included the full reading in their editions, while Berger (333, n. a to v 7) thinks that the biblical versions and the best mss. of Jubilees have preserved the better text.

they become: The subjunctive form ይኩኑ (they are to become) has impressive backing (9 17 42 47; cf. 25). The addition of ኀበዩሙ in mss. 12 21 39ᶜ 48 is intriguing because it agrees with Sam Syriac LXX OL EthGen 2:24. It could, nevertheless, be just another instance of the influence of EthGenesis on ms. 12 (cf. Charles, 1895, p. 11, n. 21).

one flesh: The terms ሥጋ ፡ አሐዱ are transposed in 12 21 44 48 58 63, in agreement with EthGen 2:24.

3:10-11: Cf. Lev 12:2-5. Although his text is hardly a quotation from Jubilees, Syncellus does retain the same number of days. The forty-sixth day at the beginning of his version of the material in Jub 3:9 is derived from the fact that Adam was created on the sixth day, to which number 40 was added.

3:12 in the entire earth: By replacing ውስተ with እም, mss. 12 21 39 42 47 48 58, make the comparative notion clearer.

every tree which is planted in it is holy. 3:13 For this reason the law of
these days has been ordained for the one who gives birth to a male or a
female. She is not to touch any sacred thing nor to enter the sanctuary
until the time when those days for a male or a female are completed.
3:14 These are the law and testimony that were written for Israel to   5
keep for all times.

3:15 During the first week of the first jubilee Adam and his wife
spent the seven years in the Garden of Eden working and guarding it.
We gave him work and were teaching him (how) to do everything that
was appropriate for working (it). 3:16 While he was working (it) he   10
was naked but did not realize (it) nor was he ashamed. He would guard
the garden against birds, animals, and cattle. He would gather its fruit
and eat (it) and would store its surplus for himself and his wife. He
would store what was being kept.

3:17 When the conclusion of the seven years which he had completed   15
there arrived — seven years exactly — in the second month, on the
seventeenth, the serpent came and approached the woman. The serpent
said to the woman: 'Is it from all the fruit of the trees in the garden
(that) the Lord has commanded you: «Do not eat from it?»' 3:18 She
said to him: 'From all the fruit of the tree(s) which are in the garden   20
the Lord told us: «Eat». But from the fruit of the tree which is in the
middle of the garden he told us: «Do not eat from it and do not touch

3:13 touch: All mss. except 20 25 35 use ትኣህሥ, while these three have the verb ትግሰስ
which is also found in v 10.

3:15 guarding: The word could also be translated «keeping» (as in 3:9), but in light of
v 16 «guarding» is quite likely. Cf. Dillmann (1850): «hüteten»; Littmann: «hütete».

that was appropriate: ዘያስተርኢ here, as in 2:29, has aroused debate. Dillmann (1850):
«sichtbare»; Littmann: «was sich ... erstreckt» (again suggesting [45, n. a — with BARTH,
Deutsche Litteraturzeitung 34 (1895) 1063] that it reflects Hebrew רֽאוּי [= Hartom]);
Goldmann: אֲשֶׁר יֵרָאֶה; Charles (1902): «that is suitable»; and Berger: «was sich ...
bezieht». The translation «visible, revealed» seems unlikely (but see Charles, 1902, p. 25,
n.), while «suitable, appropriate» fits the context.

3:16 He would store what was being kept: Charles (1902, p. 25, n.) regarded this
clause as a dittography. «Here 'which was being kept' = τὸ φυλασσόμενον = הַמִּשְׁמֶרֶת, a
corrupt dittography of הַנִּשְׁאֶרֶת = τὸ καταλειφθέν, 'the residue' (or הנשמר of הנשאר)». But
explaining this one Ethiopic word as a dittography does not account for the entire clause.
Note also that different Ethiopic expressions are involved (ትሪፍ / ዘይትዐቀብ). In his
reminiscence of this verse, Michael Glycas does not mention the words after «eat (it)».

3:17 the fruit: None of the ancient versions of Gen 3:1 reads this word (except the
LXX ms. 413); mss. 9 12 38 39 of Jubilees omit it also. It appears to be derived from
Gen 3:2.

trees: Ms. 12 uses a singular, as do all biblical versions exept Syriac. Cf. Littmann, 45,
n. b.

it so that you may not die»'. 3:19 Then the serpent said to the woman:
'You will not really die because the Lord knows that when you eat
from it your eyes will be opened, you will become like gods, and you
will know good and evil'. 3:20 The woman saw that the tree was
5   delightful and pleasing to the eye and (that) its fruit was good to eat. So
she took some of it and ate (it). 3:21 She first covered her shame with
fig leaves and then gave it to Adam. He ate (it), his eyes were opened,
and he saw that he was naked. 3:22 He took fig leaves and sewed
(them); (thus) he made himself an apron and covered his shame.
10   3:23 The Lord cursed the serpent and was angry at it forever. At the
woman, too, he was angry because she had listened to the serpent and
eaten. He said to her: 3:24 'I will indeed multiply your sadness and
your pain. Bear children in sadness. Your place of refuge will be with
your husband; he will rule over you'. 3:25 Then he said to Adam:
15

3:19 will be opened: As Charles (1895, p. 12, n. 37) observed, the unique verb
ይትረትሕ of ms. 12 agrees with EthGen 3:5.

3:21 his eyes ... he saw ... he was: Jubilees reads third-person singular forms, while
the versions of Gen 3:7 have plurals. See BERGER, 337, n. a to v 21. Where Jubilees reads
ርእየ the biblical versions reflct ידעו; the difference could be explained as due to a Greek
confusion between forms of εἶδον and οἶδα (though LXX uses ἔγνωσαν). Michael Glycas
(see DENIS, Fragmenta, 79) attributes to a work he calls ἡ δὲ λεπτὴ γένεσις (a common
Greek name for Jubilees) some additional information at this point: τὸν Ἀδαμ ἀπροόπτως
ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου λαβεῖν καὶ φαγεῖν, καὶ μὴ προσχεῖν ὅλως τῷ λόγῳ τῆς Εὔας, ὅτι
λειποθυμῶν ἦν ἀπό τε μόχθου καὶ πείνης. Unless he confused his sources or elaborated
on them, he took this information from a version of Jubilees that was different than the
extant one.

3:23 Although he did not explain why, Charles changed the location of the verse
division between 3:23 and 3:24. In 1895 he divided the verses as given above, but in 1902
he began v 24 with ወለብእሲት. He also asserted (1902) that a lacuna followed the phrase
ለዓለም because Michael Glycas «affirms that according to Jubilees the serpent had
originally four feet ...» (p. 26, n. to v 23) At an earlier point, Glycas had attributed
similar information about the serpent to Josephus and ἡ λεγομένη Λεπτὴ Γένεσις, which
should be Jubilees. As noted above at v 21, however, there is some problem with Glycas'
statements about sources; they form a weak basis for claiming a lacuna in the text of
Jubilees.

3:24 pain: This word follows the tradition of LXX OL EthGen 3:16, not that of MT
(הרינך) Sam (הריונך) Syriac.

Bear: With EthGen 3:16 Jubilees reads an imperative against all other versions.

Your place of refuge: ማዕገሊ, which could also be translated «place of return», echoes
LXX's ἡ ἀποστροφή (= Syriac OL EthGen 3:16) rather than the תשוקתך of MT Sam.

3:25-27 Milik («A propos de 11QJub», 77) has identified 11QJub 7 with parts of these
three verses. The fragment as read by Milik has these letters:

וי]צא
פר א]תה
ל]יום ?

While one can reconstruct lines of approximately the right length around these letters, it is

'Because you listened to your wife and ate from the tree from which I
commanded you not to eat, may the ground be cursed on account of
you. May it grow thorns and thistles for you. Eat your food in the
sweat of your face until you return to the earth from which you were
taken. For earth you are and to the earth you will return'.   5

3:26 He made clothing out of skins for them, clothed them, and
dismissed them from the Garden of Eden. 3:27 On that day, as he was
leaving the Garden of Eden, he burned incense as a pleasing fragrance
— frankincense, galbanum, stacte, and aromatic spices — in the early
morning when the sun rose at the time when he covered his shame.   10
3:28 On that day the mouths of all the animals, the cattle, the birds,
everything that walks and everything that moves about were made

unlikely that Milik has correctly identified the fragment. The conjunction lacks a
corresponding word in the Ethiopic text; the proposed verb ויצא would not reflect the
Ethiopic verb በፅአ; too little of the second line is preserved to draw any conclusions; and
the last line would hardly be the equivalent of በይአቲ ፡ ዕሰተ. See VANDERKAM, *Textual
and Historical Studies*, 97-98.

3:25 the tree: Literally: that tree. The demonstrative is found only in OL^K and
EthGen 3:17. As Charles (1902, p. 27, n.) wrote, it probably renders the Greek definite
article. It is omitted by mss. 20 25 44 63.

on account of you: Jubilees follows the reading בעבורך of MT Sam Syriac Gen 3:17,
while LXX OL presuppose בעבודך (as in ms. 12; cf. 38^c). See Charles, 1895, p. 13, n. 11.

May it grow: As Littmann (p. 45, n. d) observed, the form ኣስዋህ (accusative) requires
that ይበቍአh have a transitive meaning, «... doch ist diese Konstruktion noch nicht ganz
sicher (jedenfalls sehr selten) und *medr* wird hier meist als Fem. gebraucht». He translates:
«Dornen [reading ኣስዋህ] und Disteln mögen dir sprossen». Dillmann (1850) had
translated in the same way but had used the verb wachsen; Goldmann has יצמח.
EthGen 3:18 reads ኣስዋህ ፡ ወኣᎃዘላ ፡ ይበቍአh — a fact which suggests that the
accusative form of the first noun in Jubilees is original since it disagrees with the biblical
version. Charles (1895, p. 13, n. 13) simply asserts that the verb is to be taken in a
transitive sense and refers to the reading of MT and LXXGen 3:18. LXX's verb ἀνατελεῖ
may supply the key to understanding the Ethiopic text of Jubilees: it can mean both «to
bring forth» and «to rise». That is, in the Greek verb that probably lies behind the verb in
Jubilees no distinction is made between causative and simple meanings. DILLMANN
(*Lexicon*, 511-12) recognizes both transitive and intrasitive meanings for በቍአ. Berger has
taken it in a transitive sense («hervorsprossen lassen»), as has Hartom (תצמיח). As for the
gender of ምድር DILLMANN (*Lexicon*, 217) indicates that it is treated as either masculine or
feminine.

to the earth: Here and at the end of the verse, the mss. use ምድር three times (as in
LXX [and OL] where forms of γῆ appear in all instances). Ms. 12 employs መሬት (dust)
in the first and third cases, while EthGen 3:19 has መሬት in all three places.

from which: Jubilees agrees with LXX OL EthGen 3:19 in reading a relative clause,
not a כי clause as do MT Sam. The Syriac is ambiguous.

you were taken: See the note to Jub 3:6 and Littmann, 45, n. f. EthGen 3:19 has
ወንሥኣ.

3:26 dismissed: Ms. 38 reads ኣወዕአ which is also found in EthGen 3:23.

3:28 Syncellus (*Chronographia* 14:4-7) alludes to this verse: τὰ θηρία καὶ τὰ
τετράποδα καὶ τὰ ἑρπετὰ φησὶν ὁ Ἰώσηππος καὶ ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις ὁμόφωνα εἶναι πρὸ

incapable of speaking because all of them used to converse with one
another in one language and one tongue. 3:29 He dismissed from the
Garden of Eden all the animate beings that were in the Garden of
Eden. All animate beings were dispersed — each by its kind and each
5 by its nature — into the place(s) which had been created for them.
3:30 But of all the animals and cattle he permitted Adam alone to
cover his shame. 3:31 For this reason it has been commanded in the
tablets regarding all those who know the judgment of the law that they
cover their shame and not uncover themselves as the nations uncover
10 themselves.

3:32 At the beginning of the fourth month Adam and his wife
departed from the Garden of Eden. They lived in the land of Elda, in
the land where they were created. 3:33 Adam named his wife Eve.
3:34 They were childless throughout the first jubilee; afterwards he

τῆς παραβάσεως τοῖς πρωτοπλάστοις. διότι, φησίν, ὁ ὄφις ἀνθρωπίνῃ φωνῇ ἐλάλησε τῇ
Εὔᾳ .... See DENIS, *Fragmenta*, 79-80 for related references. The Syriac citation abbrevia-
tes, but note the verb ܫܬܩ܏ (= be silenced) in comparison with ꜣበየ (= be mute) in
mss. 17 63.

3:29 dismissed: Cf. 3:26. Here ms. 12 adds ለዐዕሎሙ which appears in EthGen 3:23.

3:32 the beginning of the fourth month: In Jub 3:17 the initial sin is dated to 2/17. In
Jubilees' calendar, month two has 30 days, month three has 31 (cf. 6:23-32). Thus
13 + 31 = 44 days, making 4/1 the forty-fifth day, as Syncellus indicates, saying he took
this fact ἐκ τῶν λεπτῶν Γενέσεως. His year number differs by one from Jubilees' figure.
Syncellus' seven units of 365 days are not, however, from Jubilees which allots 364 days to
a year (6:32).

Elda: Ms. 17 has ኤዴም, the normal spelling of *Eden* in Jubilees. Charles (1902) wrote:
«Can 'Êldâ be a corruption of מולדה? In that case 'land of 'Êldâ' would mean 'land of
nativity'. The phrase 'land of their creation' is an interpretation of the words in Gen. iii.23
'whence he was taken,' which are reproduced in Onkelos and Ps.-Jon. as 'whence he was
created' (אתברי), as in our text». (p. 29, n.) His explanation is more convincing than some
other proposals. See Gen 11:28; 12:1 where מולדתך parallels ארצך and בית אביך.
Goldmann (p. רכח, note to v לב) refers rather implausibly to the name אלדעה (one of
Keturah's children in Gen 25:4), while more recently A. CAQUOT («Deux notes sur la
géographie des Jubilés», *Hommage à Georges Vajda: Études d'histoire et de pensée juives*
[ed. G. Nahon and C. Touati; Louvain: Éditions Peeters, 1980] 37-39) has argued that
Charles' suggestion is unlikely, as «land of nativity» would be inappropriate for people
who were not born but were created. His proposal that ኤዴ is a corruption of Δαδουήλ
or Δουδαήλ (cf. 1 Enoch 10:4; 60:8) is shown to be improbable by his explanation of how
the one was altered into the other: «Le nom mutilé par aphérèse a subi ensuite une
mutation de syllabes». (39) The biblical parallels to מולדת indicate that it means one's
native land or homeland. Also, in the present verse ምድር ፡ ኤዴ and ምድር ፡ ፍጥረቶሙ
are parallel. Adam and Eve return to their original place which was outside the garden
(see 3:9).

3:34 throughout the first jubilee: The word እስከ means «until», but that would make
little sense in the context. Dillmann (1850) rendered with «bis zum ersten jubeljahr»
(which would be a very unusual sense of ኢየብልዖሙ in Jubilees). Charles (1902): «till the

knew her. 3:35 He himself was working the land as he had been taught
in the Garden of Eden.

4:1 In the third week in the second jubilee [years 64-70], she gave
birth to Cain; in the fourth [71-77] she gave birth to Abel; and in the
fifth [78-84] she gave birth to his daughter Awan. 4:2 During the first   5
(week) of the third jubilee [99-105] Cain killed Abel because we had
accepted his sacrifice from him but from Cain we had not accepted
(one). 4:3 When he killed him in a field, his blood cried out from the
ground to heaven — crying because he had been killed. 4:4 The Lord
blamed Cain regarding Abel because he had killed him. While he   10
allowed him a length (of time) on the earth because of his brother's
blood, he cursed him upon the earth.

first jubilee»; Goldmann and Hartom: עד היובל הראשון. It is preferable to follow
Littmann and Berger: «bis zum [Ende des] ersten Jubiläen», possibly assuming that ፍጻሜ
has fallen from the text because of the similarity between its ending and that of ቀዳሚ; or
one could translate as above. For this meaning of አለለ, see DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 751. The
chronology in Syncellus is quite different.
      4:1 The dates in Jub 4:1 and Syncellus are consistent with one another with one small
exception, even though Jubilees specifies only the week of years in which a child was born,
not the year itself.
Cain   Jubilees 64-70 / Syncellus 70
Abel   Jubilees 71-77 / Syncellus 77
Awan   Jubilees 78-84 / Syncellus 85.
For the different spellings of the wives' names, see the accompanying chart; RÖNSCH, *Das
Buch der Jubiläen*, 373; and Charles, 1902, p. 30, n.
      4:2 first (week) of the third jubilee [99-105]: Since Syncellus gives the year 99, Charles
(1902, p. 30, n.) understood the word «first» to refer to the first year of the week.
      4:3 his blood cried out: The singular forms agree with Sam Syriac LXX OL
EthGen 4:10, against MT.
      because he had been killed: The variant ቀተሎ was preferred by both Dillmann and
Charles in their editions. It is, however, certainly not the best reading and may be
influenced by ቀተሎ in 4:4. ተቀትለ is the better reading, and በእንተ : ዘ means «because»
in this context (see DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 776: propterea quod, quia quoniam).
      4:4 length (of time): The Ethiopic term ኑኀ means «length», but in this context it has
proven difficult. DILLMANN (*Lexicon*, 674) comments that the meaning of the word is
doubtful here, while S. GRÉBAUT (*Supplément au* Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae *de August
Dillmann (1865) et Édition du Lexique de Justin d'Urbin (1850-1855)* [Paris: Imprimerie
nationale, 1952] 223) gives as a meaning «Longue durée». Charles (1895, p. 14, n. 22;
1902, p. 31, n.) and Littmann (46, n. h) interpreted it as a transliteration of the Hebrew
word נע [= Hartom] in Gen 4:12 (cf. Dillmann's [1850] translation: «machte ihn
[flüchtig]»); but if that is the case it is a curious reproduction of the word. Goldmann
(p. רכט) agrees with Charles and Littmann, but in his view the Ethiopic tradition shows
that the transcribed Hebrew word was misunderstood as the Ethiopic word ኑኀ. None of
these explanations is very convincing. More recently R. ZUURMOND («Het oordeel over
Kain in de oud-joodse Traditie», *Amsterdamse cahiers* 3 [1982] 109-12) has argued that ኑኀ
is indeed the Ethiopic word for length of time, and, after citing other uses of the Hebrew
equivalent ארך in other contexts (e.g., Eccl 8:12), maintains that the reference here is to

4:5 For this reason it has been written on the heavenly tablets:
'Cursed is the person who beats his companion maliciously'. All who
saw (it) said: 'Let him be (cursed). And let the man who has seen but
has not told be cursed like him'. 4:6 For this reason we report, when
5 we come before the Lord our God, all the sins which take place in
heaven and on earth — what (happens) in the light, in the darkness, or
in any place.

4:7 Adam and his wife spent four weeks of years mourning for Abel.
Then in the fourth year of the fifth week [130] they became happy.
10 Adam again knew his wife, and she gave birth to a son for him. He
named him Seth because he said: 'The Lord has raised up for us
another offspring on the earth in place of Abel' (for Cain had killed
him). 4:8 In the sixth week [134-40] he became the father of his
daughter Azura. 4:9 Cain married his sister Awan, and at the end of
15 the fourth jubilee [148-96] she gave birth to Enoch for him. In the first

the delay in executing Cain's punishment. He reconstructs the original as האריך ל־ or נתן
ארכה ל־. He renders the second part of 4:4 as «ook al gaf hij hem uitstel van executie op
de aarde» (111). Berger follows him with «er gab ihm Strafaussetzung aud der Erde».
Zuurmond's analysis is the best to date, but it remains unclear why, if he is correct, the
phrase ቦአንተ ፡ ደም ፡ እትሁ forms the sequel. It seems to presuppose that a kind of
punishment has been mentioned. At this point ms. 12 again shows its close relation to the
Ethiopic Bible (4:12) from which it has derived ርዕይ ፡ ወደንጎ (cf. Charles, 1895, p. 14,
n. 23).

4:5 maliciously: ቦአኀይ seems to be a rendering of δόλῳ, which translates Hebrew
בסתר in LXXDeut 27:24. See Charles, 1902, p. 31, n.

4:7 four weeks of years: Syncellus preserves the same expression (ἑβδομαδικοὺς
τέσσαρας).

fourth year of the fifth week [130]: Jubilees does not say explicitly that Seth was born
in this year, but it may be implied by the text. Syncellus dates the end of the mourning
period to 127 (the first rather than the fourth year of the fifth week). Elsewhere (16.16)
Syncellus puts Seth's birth in the year 230. The ordinal numbers «fourth» and «fifth» are
confirmed by 11QJub 1.1.

He named: The masculine from ሴም, now attested by 11QJub 1.2 (ויקרא), agrees with
SamGen 4:25 against MT Syriac EthGen and the targums. LXX and OL are ambiguous.
See Charles, 1902, p. 31 n.

'another offspring on the earth in place of Abel' (for Cain had killed him): These
words are preserved in precisely the Ethiopic order in 11QJub 1.3. In VANDERKAM,
Textual and Historical Studies, 20, the readings of A (= 12) and B (= 25) — taken from
Charles' edition — are incorrect. These mss. omit ኀበል.

Abel: Ms. 12 adds, contrary to 11QJub 1.3, the phrase ዘቀተሎ which reflects the text of
LXX EthGen 4:25. So, 12 gives two readings at this point. see Charles, 1895, p. 15, n. 1.

4:8 his daughter Azura: 11QJub 1.4 has אזו[רה בתו.

4:9 his sister Awan: The Ethiopic text reverses, it appears, the order of the Hebrew
words (11QJub 1.4). The name *Awan* has elicited different explanations. Charles (1902
p. 30, n. to 4:1) related it to Hebrew און (= wickedness, trouble, sorrow); but see also
1895, p. 15, n. 5. It may be coincidental, but note Cain's words in Gen 4:13: עוני מנשוא.

year of the first week of the fifth jubilee [197] houses were built on the earth. Then Cain built a city and named it after his son Enoch. 4:10 Adam knew his wife Eve, and she gave birth to nine more children. 4:11 In the fifth week of the fifth jubilee [225-31] Seth married his sister Azura, and in its fourth (year) [228] she gave birth to Enosh   5 for him. 4:12 He was the first one to call on the Lord's name on the earth. 4:13 In the seventh jubilee, in the third week [309-15] Enosh married his sister Noam. She gave birth to a son for him in the third year of the fifth week [325], and he named him Kenan. 4:14 At the end of the eighth jubilee [344-92] Kenan married his sister Mualelit. She   10

Forms of the Hebrew verb נשא are regularly used for taking a woman in marriage (*BDB*, 671), and the first word closely resembles the name of his wife.

end of the fourth jubilee [148-96]: 11QJub 1.5 confirms the words «fourth jubilee». Syncellus dates the marriage itself to the year 135, not the birth of Enoch.

4:10 Adam: 11QJub 1.7 demonstrates that the original Hebrew of the verse began as it does in the Ethiopic: with a conjunction and the name Adam.

nine: Epiphanius preserves the same number and attributes the information to ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις (i.e., Jubilees).

4:11 its fourth (year) [228]: The natural sense of the text as it now stands is that the fourth year of the fifth week is intended (so Dillmann [1850], Littmann, Goldmann, Hartom, and Berger). Charles (1902) thought that one should restore it to read «fourth (year of the sixth week)». He bases his suggestion on the words of Syncellus (17.13-14): Τῷ υκε′ ἔτει ὁ Σὴθ ἔλαβε γυναῖκα Ἀζουρὰν τὴν ἰδίαν ἀδελφήν — dating the marriage to the year 425; and 17.15: τῷ υλε′ ἔτει ἐγεννήθη τῷ Σὴθ ὁ Ἐνως — dating the birth of Enosh to 435. As Syncellus has dated a series of events from 100 to 600 years later than Jubilees does (i.e., the tens and units are the same but not the hundreds; see Charles, p. 32, n.; RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 283-86), there is some warrant for placing his birth in 235 — one week of years later than the text now implies. His argument has force, but the date 228 is entailed by the text and it contradicts no other chronological statement.

4:12 He: Jubilees agrees with LXX OL EthGen 4:26 in reading a pronoun (Hebrew הוא) rather than the word אז of MT Sam (= Syriac). Cf. Charles, 1895, p. 15, n. 21.

was the first: The words ወእቱ ፡ ቀዳሚ reflect the form החל in Gen 4:26 (= Sam [?] Syriac), not the hophal form of MT. LXX's ἤλπισεν is also not echoed here. Note that several excellent mss. use the verb ወሐየ. See Charles, 1895, p. 15, n. 22.

4:13 a son for him in the third year: Though only three letters are visible on 11QJub M 2.1, they are consistent with the end of the word «son» and the beginning of «in the ... year». Milik («A propos de 11QJub», 78) restored the second word as בש[לישׁה, which would agree with the order of the Ethiopic words. For a discussion of this problem, see VANDERKAM, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 26.

third year of the fifth week [325]: Syncellus (17.15-16) dates Kenan's birth to the year 625 — again agreeing with Jubilees for the tens and units but not for the hundreds (see also 18.12).

4:14 At the end of the eighth jubilee: These words agree with the little that remains of 11QJub M 2.2. The Hebrew fragment opposes the omission by mss. 20 25 of ቀፅም. Syncellus (18.15-16) places the marriage in the year 790.

married: The Ethiopic uses the standard idiom for marriage (ነሥአ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ... ብእሲተ) but then repeats the words ሎቱ ፡ ብእሲተ (omitted by 21 42ᶜ 47; 17 63 omit only ብእሲተ)

gave birth to a son for him in the ninth jubilee, in the first week — in
the third year of this week [395] — and he named him Malalael.

4:15 During the second week of the tenth jubilee [449-55] Malalael
married Dinah, the daughter of Barakiel, the daughter of his father's
5 *brother*. She gave birth to a son for him in the third week, in its sixth
year [461]. He named him Jared because during his lifetime the angels
of the Lord who were called Watchers descended to earth to teach
mankind and to do what is just and upright upon the earth. 4:16 In the
eleventh jubilee [491-539] Jared took a wife for himself, and her name
10 was Barakah, the daughter of Rasu'eyal, the daughter of his father's
brother, in the fourth week of this jubilee [512-18]. She gave birth to a
son for him during the fifth week, in the fourth year, of the jubilee
[522], and he named him Enoch. 4:17 He was the first of mankind who

at a later point (after *ᎠᎰᎠᎯᎢᎧ* ᎓ ᎧᎢᎯ). The seemingly redundant ᎰᎢ ᎓ ᎧᎰᎯᎯᎢ recurs
frequently in this chapter (vv 15, 16, 20, 27, 28, 33) and in similar contexts (e.g. 11:14).
Charles (1895) followed ms. C (= 51) in omitting the extra words in 4:14 and elsewhere
(e.g. v 15) brackets them (see p. 15, n. 33: «Seems a corrupt addition»). Space considera-
tions in 11QJub M 2.2-3 suggest, though only a few letters can be read for each line, that
the repeated ᎰᎢ ᎓ ᎧᎰᎯᎢ of the Ethiopic text is to be retained; see VANDERKAM, *Textual
and Historical Studies*, 27-28. It would seem that the extra words serve a resumptive
purpose: the author repeats the phrase after he has broken the narrative flow to identify
the woman more fully. These additional words are never repeated in the translation.

[395]: Syncellus (18.13-14, 17-18) dates his birth to 795.

4:15 *brother*: The Ethiopic mss. read «sister» (ᎧᎢᎢ) rather than «brother» (ᎧᎢᎧ). The
Syriac list of the names of patriarchal wives identifies Dinah as ᎧᎶᎶ ᎧᎶᎶ («the daughter
of his uncle»), that is, the daughter of his father's brother. H. GELZER («Die apokryph-
ische Reste der Byzantiner und ihre Abstammung aus Panodorus und Africanus» in
Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie 2, 1 [Leipzig: J.C. Hin-
richs'sche Buchhandlung, 1898] 252-53) maintained that the person who translated
Jubilees into Ethiopic misunderstood the word πατράδελφος that stood in his Greek
model. He interpreted it as «father's sister» though it means «father's brother». Codex
Basel of the LXX (minuscule 135), in its scholia to the text, also gives the names of
patriarchal wives as they appear in Jubilees, and it uses the term πατράδελφος to describe
this relationship. Hence Gelzer's explanation, has been adopted for the translation. The
same error occurs in Ethiopic at 4:16, 20, 27, 28, and possibly 33. See Charles, 1895, p.
15, n. 32; 1902, p. 33, n.

[461]: Syncellus gives 960 (19.16).

4:16 fifth week: 11QJub M 3.1 appears to preserve the final four letters of the word
«fifth»: שׁמ[חח. As for the location of the fragment, 4:11-12 may be a possibility, but in
that passage the number of letters which would have to be restored between the ones that
can be read is probably too high.

named him: Several of the best mss. add the word ᎧᎢᎮ either after ᎧᎠᎮ (20 25 39 42)
or after ᎰᎻ (17 48 63). ᎧᎢᎮ and ᎬᎻᎮ / ᎧᎻᎮ could easily be confused (see 4:17, 21), and
this may be the origin of these additions.

4:17 He was the first: Both 11QJub M 3.2 and Cedrenus preserve the same wording.

were born on the earth who learned (the art of) writing, instruction, and wisdom and who wrote down in a book the signs of the sky in accord with the fixed pattern of their months so that mankind would know the seasons of the years according to the fixed patterns of each of their months. 4:18 He was the first to write a testimony. He testified to 5 mankind in the generations of the earth: The weeks of the jubilees he related, and made known the days of the years; the months he arranged, and related the sabbaths of the years, as we had told him. 4:19 While he slept he saw in a vision what has happened and what will occur — how things will happen for mankind during their history until 10

The Syriac fragment mentions the name «Enoch» after a demonstrative. Cf. the word ‏חדא‏ added by mss. 12 44 and the note to 4:16.

writing, instruction, and wisdom: The Syriac terms are the same, while Cedrenus summarizes and uses two verbs. Denis (*Fragmenta*, 83) incorrectly relates Cedrenus' citation to 4:18. It reproduces parts of 4:17 and possibly reflects 4:19.

in accord with the fixed pattern of their months: The Syriac citation lacks these words.

the seasons of the years: Syriac: «the changes of the times and of the years». Tisserant («Fragments syriaques», 78-79) considers the Syriac wording superior because it more nearly resembles 1 Enoch 72:1; but see Berger, 343-44, n. f to v 17.

On v 17, see 4Q227.4-5 (Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1976] 12):   ‏ויכתוב את כול‏

‏ה]שמים ואת דרכי צבאם ואת]החוד[שים‏

See also VANDERKAM, «Enoch Traditions in Jubilees and Other Second-Century Sources», SBLSP (1978) 1.232-34. There 4:17 is reconstructed as Hebrew poetry. The lines may indeed be poetic (especially the first half of v 17), but one cannot be certain what the Hebrew for some of the words might have been. For that reason the verse is left as prose in the translation.

4:18 The weeks of the jubilees: Dillmann (1850) read ሱባዔታቲሆሙ and correctly translated it as a plural (die wochen). Charles (1895) preferred a singular form (ሱባዔሆሙ) but still translated (1902) «the weeks». Presumably Littmann adopted Charles' text and rendered with «die Jahrwochen». Milik has made the number of the noun an issue: «The Ethiopic text of Jub. 4:18 does not speak, in the plural, of 'weeks of the jubilees['] (as Charles translates), but in the singular, 'the week (subâ'ehomu)' of the jubilees. This expression refers, beyond doubt in my opinion, to the most extensive cycle to be found in the calendars of 4Q, namely to the cycle of the seven jubilees». (*The Books of Enoch*, 61) Berger follows Milik on this matter (344, n. c to v 18). While the grammatical point made by Milik and Berger is correct, it would not be advisable to place much weight on whether the form is singular or plural (the singular is much more strongly attested), since there is great fluidity on this score in Ethiopic. Goldmann and Hartom render with ‏שבועות‏ ‏היובלים‏. It may also be significant that all of the other units in the verse are plural in form.

the months: Syriac: the number of the months. The citation omits most of the verse. On this verse, see VANDERKAM, «Enoch Traditions», 234, where it, too, is presented as poetry. This is likely especially for the latter half of the verse.

as we had told him: 4Q227.1: ‏אחר אשר למדנהו‏ (Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 12).

4:19 will occur: Literally: will be. Syriac ‏ܢܗܘܐ‏, a participle, is a mistake, according to Tisserant («Fragments syriaques», 78 n. 1); one would expect an imperfect form.

how things will happen: Literally: how it will be. The Syriac citation has «everything that will happen», while the Ethiopic mss. preserve no trace of the word «all» at this

the day of judgment. He saw everything and understood. He wrote a testimony for himself and placed it upon the earth against all mankind and for their history.

4:20 During the twelfth jubilee, in its seventh week [582-88] he took a
5 wife for himself. Her name was Edni, the daughter of Daniel, the daughter of his father's *brother*. In the sixth year of this week [587] she gave birth to a son for him, and he named him Methuselah.

4:21 He was, moreover, with God's angels for six jubilees of years. They showed him everything on earth and in the heavens — the
10 dominion of the sun — and he wrote down everything. 4:22 He testified to the Watchers who had sinned with the daughters of men

point. It seems that the Syriac offers a three-part description of what Enoch saw: everything past, present, and future; the Ethiopic mentions only the past and future with an additional statement about the future (ይሔውን is used twice). It is true that the Ethiopic imperfect can express the present tense (see Dillmann, *Ethiopic Grammar*, sec. 89.2(b) [p. 171]) and for that reason it is possible that the Ethiopic and Syriac both divide what he saw into three areas of time, with the first instance of ይሔውን designating the present and the second the future. In addition, the word ዘከመ (ዘ in mss. 12 17 63) may be an error which resulted from misreading (or miscopying) Greek καὶ ὡς as καθώς. A problem with this suggestion is that it would be peculiar for the Ethiopic to use the same verbal form to refer to two different time frames. Note, too, that Syriac uses ܐܦ (which could be translated «even») rather than ܘ before the words ܡܕܡ ܕܐܝܬܘ ܒܠ.

4:20 Edni: In 1 Enoch 85:3 her name is ኤድና — the form found in mss. 17 20 38 63. See the chart for the various spellings, and Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 42.

4:21 moreover: Mss. 9 38 offer the variant ሐ//ዕኖክ for ሄኖክ Berger, against all other translators, prefers this poorly attested reading: «das 'enka ('weiterhin') ... ist Verschreibung für das hier allein richtig 'Henoch' von F [= 9]». (345, n. a to v 21) It is unlikely that the reading of 9 38 is correct, since virtually all Ethiopic mss. oppose it. The Syriac citation also lacks the name «Enoch» but it has nothing that corresponds with ሄኖክ either.

six jubilees of years: 4Q227.2: ‏[שש]ה יובלי שנים‎ (Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 12; cf. also 24-25). Six jubilees of years totals 294, whereas Gen 5:22 has 300. See VANDERKAM, «Enoch Traditions», 235. The grammar here is peculiar if the text as given is correct. It would mean literally: six years of jubilees. The phrase ስድስተ·ኢዮቤልዉሳት seems secure; only a few witnesses place the noun in the construct state, and the variant ኢዮቤሉ : ወስተ is merely the product of misdividing ኢዮቤለዉሳት. It would be plausible to read ዓመታት, as the form without the ending has strong support. Charles (1902) translated «these six jubilees of years», but one would have expected ‏ዝ‎ in that case.

4:22 mix with earthly women so that: The order of the text is «mix so that they became defiled with earthly women», but the order of the translation gives what appears to be a more appropriate sense. Mss. 21 38 transpose the two units «so that ... / with earthly women». The phrase «earthly women» (literally: women of the earth») is altered in several mss. to «daughters of men» — a combination which appears earlier in the verse. This variant (ኣዋልደ : ሰብእ) may be a harmonization with the previous designation or it may have arisen from a confusion of Hebrew ‏אדם‎ and ‏אדמה‎.

testified against all of them: 4Q227.3-4: ‏ויעד על כולם‎

‏[וונם על העירים‎ (Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 12).

because these had begun to mix with earthly women so that they became defiled. Enoch testified against all of them.

4:23 He was taken from human society, and we led him into the Garden of Eden for (his) greatness and honor. Now he is there writing down the judgment and condemnation of the world and all the wicked-   5 ness of mankind. 4:24 Because of him the flood water did not come on any of the land of Eden because he was placed there as a sign and to testify against all people in order to tell all the deeds of history until the day of judgment. 4:25 He burned the evening incense of the sanctuary which is acceptable before the Lord on the mountain *of incense.*   10 4:26 For there are four places on earth that belong to the Lord: the

4:24 did not come: Both Dillmann (1859) and Charles (1895) read አምጽአ (= he brought) and supplied Gott/God as subject in their translations. Littmann followed suit, as have Goldmann, Hartom, and Berger (though he does not supply Gott as subject). No one of these editors/translators commented on the fact that this reading produces a nonsensical text: it says that Enoch, the immortal righteous scribe, who has just been transferred to Eden, is the cause why the flood waters came to the garden. Mss. 21 and 35ᵗ (cf. 35ᶜ 44, and, among the uncollated mss., 23) show that a simple confusion has resulted in this widely attested but obviously incorrect text: ኢመጽአ was miscopied as አምጽአ (the same consonants are involved). On this reading, see VANDERKAM, «Enoch Traditions», 236.

4:25 evening incense of the sanctuary: The word ምሴት is omitted by the best family of mss. (20 25 35); ms. 12 has ሴት, and 21 gives እምሴት. Dillmann (1850) left a gap in his translation at this point and consigned the words ምሴት ፡ መቅደስ to a footnote. Charles (1895, 1902) opted for the reading of 12; Littmann rendered as «im (Hause des) Heiligtum(s)», though there is no basis for «im» in the text. Berger now translates as «des Abends im Heiligtum» — also without warrant for «im». Goldmann has בית המקדש, Hartom במקדש. The Syriac citation confirms the word «evening» (ܪܡܫܐ) but lacks a reference to «sanctuary». It does, however, have the word ܩܕܡܝܐ = first, though it is not in the same place in the text. Tisserant («Fragments syriaques», 73-75) correctly observed that the Ethiopic variants ምሴት/ሴት have resulted from the similarity between the letters ሴ and ሲ and the frequency of the phrase ሴት ፡ መቅደስ (73). The word ምሴት must be original and the sacrifice intended is the evening incense offering of Exod 30:8 (cf. Luke 1:8-10). Tisserant went on to argue that Syriac's ܩܕܡܝܐ represents the original reading and that the Ethiopic መቅደስ is a corruption of it (ቀዳሚ became መቅደስ). That is, v 25 describes another of Enoch's «firsts» (see also vv 17, 18). Nevertheless, the location of the word ܩܕܡܝܐ in the Syriac citation is a problem: the Syriac might better be translated as «he offered the first sacrifice of incense». One could, moreover, make a case that the Syriac word is itself a corruption of the word for sanctuary. Finally, it seems evident that in Jubilees Eden is a kind of sanctuary. In 3:10, 12-13 Eve remains outside the garden for the number of days that a woman was prohibited from entering the sanctuary after giving birth to a male or female (see Berger's notes to these passages, to which one can add 8:19 where the garden is called «the holy of holies»). For these reasons Tisserant's suggestion should be rejected.

of incense: The Ethiopic term ቀትር (omitted by 12) has been a problem. It means «noon» (DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 442) but, as that meaning seems inappropriate, other suggestions have been offered. Both Dillmann and Littmann thought that the term by

Garden of Eden, the mountain of the east, this mountain on which you
are today — Mt. Sinai — and Mt. Zion (which) will be sanctified in the
new creation for the sanctification of the earth. For this reason the
earth will be sanctified from all its sins and from its uncleanness into
5 the history of eternity.

4:27 During the jubilee — that is, the fourteenth jubilee — Methuse-
lah married Edna, the daughter of Ezrael, the daughter of his father's
brother, in the third week in the first year of that *week* [652]. He became
the father of a son whom he named Lamech. 4:28 In the fifteenth
10 jubilee, in the third week [701-707], Lamech married a woman whose
name was Betanosh, the daughter of Barakiel, the daughter of his
father's *brother*. During this week she gave birth to a son for him, and

extension could be rendered «south». Goldmann uses הדרום (= Hartom) with a note
which mentions the literal meaning; Berger has opted for «des Mittags». Charles (1902,
p. 39, n.) emended the word ቀተር to ቀታሬ («sweet spices» [see DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 442])
and altered the word-order of the sentence to yield «sweet spices, acceptable before the
Lord on the Mount». The Syriac citation, which was published after the translations of
Dillmann, Littmann, and Charles had appeared, seems to confirm the hypothesis of the
German scholars as it reads ܬܝܡܢܐ ܕܛܘܪ («the mountain of the south» [or: of
Teiman]). Caquot («Deux notes sur la géographie des Jubilés», 40) has observed that,
while ቀተር regularly renders μεσημβρία (= noon), in Dan 8:4, 9 μεσημβρία translates
Hebrew נגב (= the south). From this he concludes that «the south» is the correct
translation of ቀተር in Jub 4:25. The Syriac may, however, be an interpretation; it uses
ܛܘܪ again in its version of v 26 where the Ethiopic has «east». Tisserant's («Frag-
ments syriaques», 77) suggestion that ቀተር is a slightly corrupted transcription of Hebrew
קטרת (= incense) or נקטר makes excellent sense of the word and underlies the proposed
translation. See also RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 504-5; VANDERKAM, *Enoch and the
Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (CBQMS 16; Washington: CBA of America, 1984)
186-87.

4:26 Garden of Eden: The Syriac has «mountain of the Garden of Eden [= Paradise]
which may well be original. For a mountain in Eden see v 25 and the references in
VANDERKAM, *Enoch*, 187-88.

the mountain of the east: Syriac: the mountain of the south. The identification of this
mountain has aroused much discussion; see TISSERANT, «Fragments syriaques», 75-77;
Berger, 346, n. a to v 26 for surveys. Caquot («Deux notes», 40-42) maintains that this
mountain and the one in v 25 are the same: the one in v 25 is, on his view, the mountain
of the south (see the preceding note) and in v 26 it is called the mountain of the east to
indicate perhaps that it is located in the southeast where, according to 1 Enoch 28-30 and
Diodorus Siculus (*Library of History* 5.41-46), there were spices and (Diodorus) a sacred
mountain. See also VANDERKAM, *Enoch*, 186-87.

4:27 *brother*: Ms. 20 actually has this reading here (እኁ), while the others have
«sister». See the note to 4:15.

week: The mss. read ዓመት (= year) which makes no sense. Apparently a scribe simply
repeated the word «year» in this full chronological note. For the emendation, cf.
Dillmann, 1859, p. 19, n. 3; Charles, 1895, p. 17, n. 25.

4:28 whose name: Literally: and her name.

he named him Noah, explaining: '(He is one) who will give me consolation from my sadness, from all my work, and from the earth which the Lord cursed'.

4:29 At the end of the nineteenth jubilee, during the seventh week — in its sixth year [930] — Adam died. All his children buried him in the land where he had been created. He was the first to be buried in the ground. 4:30 He lacked 70 years from 1000 years because 1000 years are one day in the testimony of heaven. For this reason it was written regarding the tree of knowledge: 'On the day that you eat from it you will die'. Therefore he did not complete the years of this day because he died during it.

4:31 At the conclusion of this jubilee Cain was killed one year after him. His house fell on him, and he died inside his house. He was killed by its stones for with a stone he had killed Abel and, by a just punishment, he was killed with a stone. 4:32 For this reason it has been

(He is one) who: The mss. read ዘ, but all biblical versions have a demonstrative form in Gen 5:29. For this reason Charles (1895, p. 17, n. 31; 1902, p. 40, n.) emended ዘ to ዝ.

give me consolation: ይናዝዘኒ follows the reading of MT Sam Syriac and the targums at Gen 5:29 (ינחמנו) against the tradition of LXX OL EthGen which presuppose יניחנו. See Charles, 1895, p. 17, n. 32. The first-person singular suffix, however, is consistently used with this verb and the following two nouns in Jubilees. Of the ancient versions, only EthGen 5:29 displays singular forms in the same places, though in other respects the wording of Jubilees and this version are rather different. Cf. Charles, ibid., n. 34.

4:29 the end of the nineteenth jubilee: The Syriac citation preserves the word «end» but places it in a new context and applies it to Adam. See Tisserant, «Fragments syriaques», 71-72 for an analysis of how the chronicler has interwoven material from Jubilees and the Cave of Treasures.

[930]: The Chronicle of Creation also follows Gen 5:5 in crediting Adam with 930 years. The Syriac gives 970, apparently due to the easy confusion of the letters employed for the numbers 30 and 70 (ܠ / ܣ), but Tisserant («Fragments syriaques», 71-72) thinks that the appearance of the number 70 in the following verse may have caused the chronicler's mistake.

buried in the: 11QJub 2.1 confirms these words.

4:30 tree of knowledge: 'On the: 11QJub 2.3 gives the original Hebrew for these words. The word כיא is used here to introduce the quotation (cf. Gen 2:17).

day: Regarding the construct ending on ዕለተ, see DILLMANN, Ethiopic Grammar, sec. 184, I (a) 1 (a) (pp. 463-64).

you eat ... you will die: Jubilees uses plural verbs. In Gen 2:17, MT Sam Syriac have singular forms in both cases, but LXX OL and EthGen resort to plurals.

4:31 one year after him: Literally: after him in/by one year. Dillmann (1850) translated: «nach ihm, im selben jahre»; Littmann: «ein Jahr nach ihm»; Charles: «after him in the same year»; Berger: «ein Jahr nach ihm» (= Goldmann, with አሐተ in brackets); and Hartom: אחריו בשנה ההיא. Syncellus dated the death of Cain to the year 930 but adds that this was a year after Adam's death. For አሐደ = idem, see DILLMANN, Lexicon, 722. In whichever of these two ways the word አሐደ is translated, the meaning seems to be that Adam died at the beginning of the year 930 and Cain at its end. Mss. 9 17 21 38 read ዘ (= which) for በ(አሐደ).

ordained on the heavenly tablets: 'By the instrument with which a man kills his fellow he is to be killed. As he wounded him so are they to do to him'.

4:33 In the twenty-fifth jubilee Noah married a woman whose name was Emzara, the daughter of Rakiel, the daughter of his *father's brother* — during the first year in the fifth week [1205]. In its third year [1207] she gave birth to Shem for him; in its fifth year [1209] she gave birth to Ham for him; and in the first year during the sixth week [1212] she gave birth to Japheth for him.

5:1 When mankind began to multiply on the surface of the entire earth and daughters were born to them, the angels of the Lord — in a certain (year) of this jubilee — saw that they were beautiful to look at.

4:33 whose name: Literally: and her name.

father's brother: The reading is problematic. In 4:15, 16, 20, 27, 28 the expression took the form አጓተ ፡ አቡሁ which, it was argued above (see note to v 15), resulted from a misunderstanding of the Greek term πατράδελφος. Here, however, only mss. 12 44 offer the expected phrase (Charles accepted this reading and emended to አጕ ፡ አቡሁ for his 1902 translation [p. 42, n.]). The other mss. have አጓቲ. It may be that አጓቲ is the product of miscopying አጓተ ፡ አቡሁ. The Syriac list gives ܡܢ ܐܚܐ (= daughter of his uncle); and LXX Basel has πατραδέλφου αὐτοῦ. Consequently, it is very likely that አጓቲ is merely a corrupt reflection of an original አጕ ፡ አቡሁ.

Names of the Patriarchal Wives

Patriarchs	Ethiopic	Syriac List	Codex Basel	Other
Cain	አፓን	ܐܣܐܘ	ασαουλ	Σαυή (Epiphanius)
Seth	አዙራ	ܐܙܘܪܐ	αζουρα	'Αζουρά (Epiphanius)
				'Ασουάμ (Cedrenus)
Enosh	ኖአም	ܐܢܘܐ	νωα	
Kenan	መአሌሊት	ܡܥܘܠܬ	μαωλιθ	
Malalael	ዲና	ܕܝܢܐ	δινα	
Jared	በረካ	ܒܪܝܟܐ	βαραχα	
Enoch	እዳና	ܐܕܢܝ	εανι	
Methuselah	እዳና	ܐܕܢܐ	εδνα	
Lamech	ቤተኖስ	ܒܬܢܘܣ	βεθενως	בתאנוש (GA 2:3)
Noah	ዕምዛራ	ܐܡܙܪܐ	εμζαρα	

5:1 surface: Jubilees here follows the tradition of MT Sam Syriac against that of LXX OL EthGen 6:1 which omit the word.

the angels of the Lord: Many mss. of the LXX read ἄγγελοι (Gen 6:2), though Wevers did not select it as the reading of his edition. It is found also in OL EthGen and Josephus, *Ant*, 1.73; MT Sam Syriac have בני. The targums also have בני but replace the divine name with דייני (Tn) or רברביא (Toj).

in a certain (year): A few mss. add ዓመተ (42ᶜ 47 58) but the omission of the word is the preferred reading. Berger translates with «am Anfang».

So they married of them whomever they chose. They gave birth to children for them and they were giants.

5:2 Wickedness increased on the earth. All animate beings corrupted their way — (everyone of them) from people to cattle, animals, birds, and everything that moves about on the ground. All of them corrupted 5 their way and their prescribed course. They began to devour one another, and wickedness increased on the earth. Every thought of all mankind's knowledge was evil like this all the time.

5:3 The Lord saw that the earth was corrupt, (that) all animate beings had corrupted their prescribed course, and (that) all of them — 10 everyone that was on the earth — had acted wickedly before his eyes.

5:4 He said that he would obliterate people and all animate beings that

to look at: As Littmann noted (p. 48, n. e), there is a printing error in Charles' edition where ᎆᏟᎅ.ᎏ appears instead of ᎆᏟᎅ.ᎏ. Charles also drew attention to the mistake in 1902 (p. 43, n.). There is no parallel to this expression in Gen 6:2, but see חיו in Tn.

married of them whomever: Literally: took for themselves as wives from all whom. Syriac, which summarizes at this point, lacks a suffix on the verb.

giants: 11QJub 3.1 is very difficult to read (see VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 36), but the traces of letters can be interpreted as הג[נ]פ[לי]ם. Gen 6:4 (MT Sam Syriac) has הגברים, but LXX OL EthGen (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 1.73) offer οἱ γίγαντες and equivalents. It is of some interest that the LXX tradition also translates הנפלים in Gen 6:4 as γίγαντες. The word ܓܢܒܪܐ in the Syriac citation is the one used in the Peshitta at Gen 6:4 for הגברים.

5:2 Wickedness: The original Hebrew probably read חמס which appears in Gen 6:11, where EthGen also has ዐመፃ (LXX: ἀδικίας).

and their prescribed course: The reading of 11QJub 3.3 is וח[קתם, not יח]לו, as van der Woude («Fragmente», 143-44) proposed. See VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 37.

on the earth: 11QJub 3.4 confirms the reading (so VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 38), though van der Woude («Fragmente», 143-44) had read כו]ל אדם.

like this: The term ከማዝ stands where MTGen 6:5 has רק (= Goldmann, Hartom). Syriac and OL^k lack an equivalent, but LXX offers ἐπιμελῶς (= carefully). See Charles, 1895, p. 19, n. 1; Littmann, 48, n. f.

5:3 that: Ethiopic ፍዉ reflects the wording of MT SamGen 6:12 against Syriac LXX OL EthGen which omit.

(that): The conjunction which introduces this clause is paralleled only by EthGen 6:12 among the ancient versions.

5:4 he would: The variant ኢያመስኖ, which has significant backing among the mss., is, contrary to Charles (1895, 1902), Littmann, and Goldmann, unlikely to be original because it is influenced by Gen 6:7 where the EthGen reads ኢያመስኖ.

he had created: Charles (1895, p. 19, n. 12; 1902, p. 44, n.) emended ፈጠረ to ፈጠርኩ (= I had created) in order to make the text agree with Gen 6:7 (בראתי); but the third-person form in Jubilees is consistent with the indirect speech of Jubilees. Littmann (48, n. h) thought that the third-person form had resulted from an exchange of ἔκτισα and ἔκτισε. The verb in question must, though, be considered with the preceding verb which is also in the third person.

were on the surface of the earth which he had created. 5:5 He was pleased with Noah alone.

5:6 Against his angels whom he had sent to the earth he was angry enough to uproot them from all their (positions of) authority. He told
5 us to tie them up in the depths of the earth; now they are tied within them and are alone. 5:7 Regarding their children there went out from his presence an order to strike them with the sword and to remove them from beneath the sky. 5:8 He said: 'My spirit will not remain on people forever for they are flesh. Their lifespan is to be 120 years'. 5:9 He sent
10 his sword among them so that they would kill one another. They began to kill each other until all of them fell by the sword and were obliterated from the earth. 5:10 Now their fathers were watching, but afterwards they were tied up in the depths of the earth until the great day of judgment when there will be condemnation on all who have
15 corrupted their ways and their actions before the Lord. 5:11 He obliterated all from their places; there remained no one of them whom he did not judge for all their wickedness. 5:12 He made a new and righteous nature for all his creatures so that they would not sin with their whole nature until eternity. Everyone will be righteous — each
20 according to his kind — for all time.

5:5 He was pleased with Noah alone: Literally: Noah alone found favor before his eyes.

5:8 remain: Jubilees agrees with Syriac LXX OL EthGen 6:3 against MT Sam which have the peculiar ידן (unless, with C. Westermann [*Genesis 1-11: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984) 375] and others, one accepts the thesis that ידן means «remain»).

5:9 obliterated from the earth: The Syriac citation, which does little more than allude to Jubilees here, also mentions the earth but claims that it «rotted» (or: melted, became wet? [cf. the meaning of ܪܟܟ in the aphel]; Tisserant [«Fragments syriaques», 79] translates as «imprégnée», and Berger with «getränkt») with the blood of the slain.

5:10 great day of judgment: The feminine adjective ዐባይ should modify the feminine noun ዕለት rather than the masculine ደይን — against Charles (1902), Littmann, and Berger. Dillmann, too, gives «des grossen gerichts», but in his edition he read a masculine adjective (ዐቢይ).

5:11 obliterated ... remained: Charles (1902, pp. 44-45, n.) argued that the verbs in vv 11-12 were originally in the future tense and that they referred to eschatological rather than historical times. He thought that the past tenses of the Ethiopic text had resulted from difficulties with the Hebrew — apparently when a Greek translator failed to notice that he was dealing with converted perfects. There is, nevertheless, no textual warrant for changing the tense of the Ethiopic verbs. See Berger, 351, n. b to 5:12 for parallels to Jubilees' understanding of what happened — a kind of new creation — at this «historical» juncture.

5:12 will be righteous: The indicative is much more strongly attested than the subjunctive (= that they may be righteous) forms which are read by Dillmann (1859) and Charles (1895).

5:13 The judgment of them all has been ordained and written on the heavenly tablets; there is no injustice. (As for) all who transgress from their way in which it was ordained for them to go — if they do not go in it, judgment has been written down for each creature and for each kind. 5:14 There is nothing which is in heaven or on the earth, in the light, the darkness, Sheol, the deep, or in the dark place — all their judgments have been ordained, written, and inscribed. 5:15 He will exercise judgment regarding each person — the great one in accord with his greatness and the small one in accord with his smallness — each one in accord with his way. 5:16 He is not one who shows favoritism nor one who takes a bribe, if he says he will execute judgment against each person. If a person gave everything on earth he would not show favoritism nor would he accept (it) from him because he is the righteous judge.

5:17 Regarding the Israelites it has been written and ordained: 'If they turn to him in the right way, he will forgive all their wickedness and will pardon all their sins'. 5:18 It has been written and ordained that he will have mercy on all who turn from all their errors once each year. 5:19 To all who corrupted their ways and their plan(s) before the flood no favor was shown except to Noah alone because favor was shown to him for the sake of his children whom he saved from the

5:13 (As for): Another possibility for translating is to understand the conjunction here as meaning «even» — as Charles (1902) did: «even (the judgment of) all ...» Cf. also Littmann and Berger: «und (über) alle».

creature: Or: nature.

5:14 There is nothing: The thought of the sentence is that nothing/ no one escapes judgment. Consequently Dillmann inserted «[kann entgehen]» to complete the sense, and Littmann and Hartom have followed him. Charles (1902) added «(which is not judged)» after «dark place».

5:19 plan(s): The Ethiopic ምክር means «plan, counsel, advice; consideration; prudence», etc. (T.O. Lambdin, Introduction to Classical Ethiopic (Ge'ez) [Harvard Semitic Studies 24; Missoula, Montana: Scholars, 1978] 414). Littmann used «Sinn», but admitted (49, n. f): «dies gibt nur unvollkommen die Bedeutung des äth. mekr (βουλή und ἔννοια) wieder». Charles: thoughts; Berger: Willen; Goldmann: עצתם; Hartom: מעשיהם.

favor ... favor: The same expression (אך : אלא) as the one in 5:16 (it is passive in v 19) is used here. Hebrew נשא פנים underlies the Ethiopic words, but it is an ambiguous phrase which can have a pejorative meaning «to show partiality towards» (Deut 10:17) or a positive sense «to be gracious to» (Gen 32:21; see BDB, 670). In Jub 5:16 the context suggests the former; here it points toward the latter.

he saved: Presumably «the Lord» is the subject, something that ms. 20 makes explicit. Littmann and Charles supplied Gott/God as subject.

his sake ... his mind ... his ways ... concerning him: Several mss., most consistently 9 12 38, make all of the possessives plural, referring to Noah's sons.

flood waters for his sake because his mind was righteous in all his ways, as it had been commanded concerning him. He did not transgress from anything that had been ordained for him.

5:20 The Lord said that he would obliterate everything on the land
5 — from people to cattle, animals, birds, and whatever moves about on the ground. 5:21 He ordered Noah to make himself an ark in order to save himself from the flood waters. 5:22 Noah made an ark in every respect as he had ordered him during the *twenty-seventh* jubilee of years, in the fifth week, during its fifth year [1307]. 5:23 He entered (it)
10 during its sixth (year) [1308], in the second month — on the first of the second month until the sixteenth. He and all that we brought to him entered the ark. The Lord closed it from outside on the seventeenth in the evening.

5:24 The Lord opened the seven floodgates of heaven and the
15 openings of the sources of the great deep — there being seven openings in number. 5:25 The floodgates began to send water down from the sky for 40 days and 40 nights, while the sources of the deep brought waters up until the whole earth was full of water. 5:26 The waters increased on the earth; the waters rose 15 cubits above every high mountain. The ark
20 rose above the earth and moved about on the surface of the waters.

5:21 in order to save himself: Or: so that he [God] might save him.

5:22 *twenty-seventh*: All Ethiopic mss. have forms of the word «two» but this can hardly be correct. Dillmann (1850) substituted the ordinal *siebenundzwanzigsten* in brackets (without explanation); his 1859 edition reads ft ..., with a footnote (p. 23, n. 2) giving the number «two». Charles (1895, p. 20, n. 39) emended to ፩ምራ ፡ ወለ፯ብኤ; in 1902 he recognized this as a «slip» for «twenty-seventh» (47, n. to v 22; Littmann, 49, n. h and Goldmann, however, still read «twenty-sixth»). But Charles there compounded his error by claiming that all mss. read «twenty-second jubilee». Jub 4:33 places the births of Noah's three sons in the twenty-fifth jubilee; 6:18 dates the flood to the twenty-seventh jubilee (twenty-six jubilees and five weeks of years). Consequently, «twenty-seventh» must be the ordinal intended. Why «two» stands in the mss. is difficult to explain, but it may be noted that the word ፱ሙፇት after አ. P̊ብለው is strange in date formulas and that the Hebrew equivalent would be שנים (which, depending on the vowels supplied, could be either «years» or «two»).

5:23 from outside: In Gen 7:17 MT Sam have בעדו (= behind him) and Syriac reads ܒܩܘܡܗ (= in his presence). Jubilees agrees with LXX (ἔξωθεν αὐτοῦ, which is also reflected in OL EthGen).

seventeenth: Littmann and Berger have «27. abends», but the mss. give «seventeenth» (= Gen 7:11).

5:24 there being seven: Literally: with/in seven.

5:26 high mountain: Reading the adjective «high» at this point agrees with Syriac LXX OLGen 7:20 against MT Sam (EthGen omits) which have it in v 19. The biblical versions do, though, have plural forms, as do several mss. of Jubilees.

5:27 The waters remained standing on the surface of the earth for five
months — 150 days. 5:28 Then the ark came to rest on the summit of
Lubar, one of the mountains of Ararat. 5:29 During the fourth month
the sources of the great deep were closed, and the floodgates of heaven
were held back. On the first of the seventh month all the sources of the   5
earth's deep places were opened, and the waters started to go down into
the deep below. 5:30 On the first of the tenth month the summits of the
mountains became visible, and on the first of the first month the earth
became visible. 5:31 The waters dried up from above the earth in the
fifth week, in its seventh year [1309]. On the seventeenth day of the   10
second month the earth was dry. 5:32 On its twenty-seventh (day) he
opened the ark and sent from it the animals, birds, and whatever moves
about.

6:1 On the first of the third month he left the ark and built an altar
on this mountain. 6:2 He appeared on the earth, took a kid, and   15
atoned with its blood for all the sins of the earth because everything
that was on it had been obliterated except those who were in the ark

5:28 Then the ark ... Ararat: Cf. 1 QapGen 10:12: תבותא נחת חד מן טורי האררט; and
12:13: בלובר טורא. The name of the particular mountain is not given in Gen 8:4.

5:30 tenth: Jubilees agrees with MT Sam Syriac Gen 8:5; LXX OL EthGen (most
mss.; it is omitted in the text) read «eleventh».

5:31 seventeenth: The biblical versions at Gen 8:14 read «twenty-seventh», but some
septuagintal texts do have «seventeenth» (L 58 *b d* 54 59). See Charles, 1895, p. 21, n. 27;
1902, p. 48, n. Littmann mistakenly gives 16.

5:32 twenty-seventh: This number, like the one in v 31, also appears in some
septuagintal witnesses in this context: L 58-426 (O) *b d* 346 (*y*) 54 59.

animals: Mss. 9 38 add ወእንስሳ, which agrees with Syriac LXX OL EthGen 8:19.
Charles included these additional words in his text (see 1895, p. 21, n. 29), as did
Dillmann; but it is now apparent that they are poorly attested and possibly a product of
influence from the Ethiopic biblical text, or they may be a scribal addition that is drawn
from similar lists (6:7; 7:21, 23; 8:1, 11, 14; 9:2).

6:1 first of the third month: At the end of Gen 8:19 several septuagintal texts add the
same date.

mountain: The Syriac citation has «Mountain of Kardu». The name is related to
Syriac Gen 8:4 which has ܩܪܕܘ instead of Ararat. Tisserant («Fragments syriaques», 81)
refers to Epiphanius, Adv. Haer. 1.1, 4 (= PG 41, 184): ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῦ Ἀραρὰτ ἀνὰ
μέσον Ἀρμενίων καὶ Καρδυαίων ἐν τῷ Λουβὰρ ὄρει καλουμένῳ.

6:2 appeared on: Charles preferred the reading of 25 (አስተሥረየ = made atonement
for — the verb which is used later in the verse) in both 1895 and 1902; Littmann and
Hartom have agreed with him. Dillmann did not know of this reading and therefore
translated as «erschien auf». Goldmann departs from Charles and has וירא, explaining in
a footnote that the scribe of ms. 25 erred in changing አስተርአየ to አስተሥረየ. Berger gives
«erschien». አስተርአየ certainly has superior ms. support, but the text of 1 QapGen 10:13
(לכול ארעא כולא כפרת) increases the likelihood that it is a corruption of an original
አስተሥረየ.

with Noah. 6:3 He placed the fat on the altar. Then he took a bull, a
ram, a sheep, goats, salt, a turtledove, and a dove and offered (them as)
a burnt offering on the altar. He poured on them an offering mixed
with oil, sprinkled wine, and put frankincense on everything. He sent
5 up a pleasant fragrance that was pleasing before the Lord. 6:4 The
Lord smelled the pleasant fragrance and made a covenant with him that
there would be no flood waters which would destroy the earth; (that)
throughout all the days of the earth seedtime and harvest would not
cease; (that) cold and heat, summer and winter, day and night would
10 not change their prescribed pattern and would never cease.

6:5 Now you increase and multiply yourselves on the earth and
become numerous upon it. Become a blessing within it. I will put fear

6:3 goats: The Syriac citation omits the word, perhaps because it includes the kid
which is mentioned in 6:2 in this list. Tisserant («Fragments syriaques», 81) suggested
that the word in Ethiopic was an interpolation.

a turtledove and a dove: The Syriac reads plurals which Tisserant («Fragments
syriaques», 81) preferred on the grounds that these birds were offered in pairs.

on the altar: The preposition **ወ•ስ•ተ** reflects במזבח in MT SamGen 8:20, while the word
ዲስ of mss. 17 20 25 35 (= **ܠ** in the Syriac citation) agrees literally with Syriac LXX OL
EthGen. The meaning is, in either case, the same in this context. Cf. also 1 QapGen 10:15
(the context is slightly different; it seems to refer to what is in the last part of Jub 6:3):
על מדבחא אקטרת.

that was pleasing: Literally: and it was pleasing (**ܘܐܬܒܣܡ** in the Syriac citation).
Dillmann (1850): «der ... wohlgefällig war». Charles (1895) emended **ይሠምር** (= be
pleased with [in most contexts]) to **ሦሠምር** (22, n. 17), which would be the expected form
(so also Tisserant, «Fragments syriaques», 81). Littmann (50, n. c) accepted the emenda-
tion and argued against Dillmann's (*Lexicon*, 235) interpretation of **ይሠምር** as meaning
quod gratum habet (Deus). Littmann considered it «nicht möglich» with the preposition
ቅድመ here. However, the fact that the same form is found elsewhere suggests that a
number of scribes did not sense it to be impossible (see Jub 7:5; 49:15). Littmann and
Berger translated as «der ... gefiel», which would be curious in this setting. Note that
ms. 63 solves the problem by using **ይሳተሙ**.

6:4 (destroy) the earth: With MT Sam Syriac Gen 9:11, Jubilees lacks the word
«entire/all» which appears in LXX OL EthGen.

throughout all the days: Jubilees uses an accusative (note **ኵሎ**) to express extent of
time. MTGen 8:22 has עוד, but Sam has עד, which is either a defective spelling of עוד or
the preposition עד. LXX OL EthGen also indicate extent of time, while Syriac Genesis
has **ܟܠܗܘܢ**. There are several other minor points on which Jubilees here agrees with these
versions against MT: omitting **ወ** before **ዘርዕ** and before **ሕጻድ** (omission of **ወ** before
መዓልት by mss. 17 21 35 39 44 58); and **መዓልት** (literally = daytime) which may reflect
Sam's יממ rather than MT's יום.

6:5 become numerous: A few of the more ancient mss. offer variants at this point:
ኪዑ in 9 21 (accepted by Berger); **ኪዘዑ** in 12. The former agrees with the reading of
some septuagintal texts in Gen 9:7 (58-72′); other mss. of the LXX add καὶ κατακυ-
ριεύσατε αὐτῆς after ἐπὶ αὐτῆς (= **ወሰልጥዋ**). The problem may have originated on the
Hebrew level of the text where רבו and רדו were confused. See the next note.

Become a blessing: This clause is unparalleled in the ancient versions of Gen 9:7.

of you and dread of you on everything that is on the earth and in the sea. 6:6 I have now given you all the animals, all the cattle, everything that flies, everything that moves about on the earth, the fish in the waters, and everything for food. Like the green herbs I have given you everything to eat. 6:7 But you are not to eat animate beings with their   5
spirit — with the blood — (because the vital force of all animate beings is in the blood) so that your blood with your vital forces may not be required from the hand of any man. From the hand of each one I will require the blood of man. 6:8 The person who sheds the blood of man will have his blood shed by man because he made mankind in the image   10
of the Lord. 6:9 As for you — increase and become numerous on the earth.

Charles (1895, p. 22, n. 26; 1902, p. 50, n. [where his reference to רבו is inaccurate]) suggested that the Ethiopic presupposed וברכו which could be a mistake for ורדו or ודרכו (so the Vulgate).

within it: Ethiopic ᵐ7አhአ is peculiar here, though there are no variants. Charles (1895, p. 22, n. 27) emended to አδΛ.ᵧ and was followed by Littmann (50, n. d) and Hartom. One would expect a suffix on ᵐ7አhአ (Goldmann: בתוכה; Dillmann [1859, p. 24, n. 13] proposed ᵐ7አhΛ.ᵧ [cf. Jub 2:4]), unless scribes incorrectly understood it in connection with the following words. There may be some relationship between ᵐ7አhአ and the plus which precedes it in 9 17ᶜ 38 (ωአh ፡ ΛᵐC7ᵖ), the first part of which contains most of the letters of ᵐ7አhአ.

6:6 I have ... given: The first-person form reflects נתתי (= Sam LXX OL EthGen 9:2), not the passive נתנו of MT (= Syriac).

6:7 with their spirit — with the blood: Cf. Gen 9:4: בנפשו דמו. The precise phrasing in Jubilees differs from all the ancient versions (literally: which is with their spirit with the blood). The Syriac citation has ܡܬܐܒܠܐ ܦ ܡܒܢܬܐ ܕܒܢܬܐ.

(because ... blood): Josephus, Ant. 1.102, adds virtually the same clause here.

with your vital forces: Literally: in your souls. The preposition ω·ስ·ተ Charles (1895, p. 22, n. 35) first labeled «a misleading rendering ל in לנפשתיכם» (cf. Littmann, 50, n. e); later he termed it «a wrong rendering» (1902, p. 50, n.). Dillmann (1850) has «das blut eurer seele»; Goldmann reproduces the MT of Gen 9:5; and Hartom uses ב. The Ethiopic preposition certainly does appear to be an attempt at the ל in Gen 9:5.

from the hand of: The absence of a conjunction before አᵖω·ስ·ተ agrees with Sam LXX OLGen 9:5.

man: Here Jubilees sides with MT Sam Syriac Gen 9:5 against LXX OL which refer to animals.

each one: Charles (1902, p. 50, n.) added አ7ስስ (= beast), which could have been omitted before the verb which it resembles (አ·ᵧ·ᵖᵧ; Charles read አ·ᵧ·ᵖᵖ). Jubilees is, however, merely reproducing Gen 9:5 which also has two phrases: מיד האדם מיד איש אחיו.

6:8 he made: The third-person form agrees with MT Sam Gen 9:6; LXX OL EthGen use the first person. It appears that the similarity of ἐποίησε and ἐποίησα is the source of the variant.

mankind: The translators (other than Dillmann who saw the name Adam here) have rendered אדם in this way. One must presuppose, though, that the Hebrew word was transliterated into Greek and then into Ethiopic because አ89ᵖ is not the Ge'ez word for «mankind». The expression which is found here (7ብC ፡ ΛአΑ89ᵖ) lends force to the argument that the phrase עשה את האדם of Gen 9:6 underlies the text.

6:10 Noah and his sons swore an oath not to consume any blood
that was in any animate being. During this month he made a covenant
before the Lord God forever throughout all the history of the earth.
6:11 For this reason he told you, too, to make a covenant — accompa-
5   nied by an oath — with the Israelites during this month on the
mountain and to sprinkle blood on them because of all the words of the
covenant which the Lord was making with them for all times. 6:12 This
testimony has been written regarding you to keep it for all times so that
you may not at any time eat any blood of animals or birds throughout
10 all the days of the earth. (As for) the person who has eaten the blood of
an animal, of cattle, or of birds during all the days of the earth — he
and his descendants will be uprooted from the earth.

6:13 Now you command the Israelites not to eat any blood so that
their name and their descendants may continue to exist before the Lord
15 our God for all time. 6:14 This law has no temporal limits because it is
forever. They are to keep it throughout history so that they may
continue supplicating for themselves with blood in front of the altar
each and every day. In the morning and in the evening they are
continually to ask pardon for themselves before the Lord so that they
20 may keep it and not be uprooted.

6:15 He gave Noah and his sons a sign that there would not again be
a flood on the earth. 6:16 He put his bow in the clouds as a sign of the
eternal covenant that there would not henceforth be flood waters on the
earth for the purpose of destroying it throughout all the days of the
25 earth. 6:17 For this reason it has been ordained and written on the
heavenly tablets that they should celebrate the festival of weeks during
this month — once a year — to renew the covenant each and every

---

6:10 blood that was in any animate being: The Syriac citation differs slightly: any
animate being with its blood.

6:12 to keep it for all times: Or: so that you may keep it ... Milik thought that
11QJub 6 fit in this location. He read it as («A propos de 11QJub», 77-78):

לש[מרה דור ל]דור
עֹוֹֹﬦ

The Ethiopic expression ትእለ ፡ መፆሰለ is quite different from the Hebrew דור לדור, and
the identification seems unlikely. See VANDERKAM, Textual and Historical Studies, 98-99.

will be uprooted: Or: are to be uprooted (the Gt and Dt forms have the same
meaning). Cf. 6:14 where ይሠረዉ must be subjunctive.

6:14 each and every day: This is an attempt to render the phrase በዕለተ ፡ ዕለት ፡
ወዕለት. For ዕለት, some excellent mss. (20 25 35) have ነግህ(ት), while 17 42ᶜ 44 omit
ወዕለት. Charles (1895) read ነግህ and retained it in 1902 («at the time of morning»).

year. 6:18 This entire festival had been celebrated in heaven from the time of creation until the lifetime of Noah — for 26 jubilees and five weeks of years [= 1309 years]. Then Noah and his sons kept it for seven jubilees and one week of years until Noah's death [= 350 years]. From the day of Noah's death his sons corrupted (it) until Abraham's lifetime and were eating blood. 6:19 Abraham alone kept (it), and his sons Isaac and Jacob kept it until your lifetime. During your lifetime the Israelites had forgotten (it) until I renewed (it) for them at this mountain.

6:20 Now you command the Israelites to keep this festival during all their generations as a commandment for them: one day in the year, during this month, they are to celebrate the festival 6:21 because it is the festival of weeks and it is the festival of firstfruits. This festival is twofold and of two kinds. Celebrate it as it is written and inscribed regarding it. 6:22 For I have written (this) in the book of the first law in which I wrote for you that you should celebrate it at each of its times one day in a year. I have told you about its sacrifice so that the Israelites may continue to remember and celebrate it throughout their generations during this month — one day each year.

6:23 On the first of the first month, the first of the fourth month, the first of the seventh month, and the first of the tenth month are

6:18 until: There is strong ms. support for reading either ዕለተ (12 21 35 44 47) or አሎ ፡ ዕለተ (20 25 39 42 48 58 63). አሎ alone seems correct. The variant ዕለተ may have entered the text under the influence of the following እስዕለተ, while the addition of ዕለተ is an explanatory plus.

6:19 alone: A well supported variant to ባሕቲቱ is ባሕቱ, which was read by Dillmann (1859) and accepted by Littmann (51, n. c) but not by Charles (1895) though it appears in his 1902 translation.

6:20 in the year: Charles (1895, p. 24, n. 12; cf. 1902, p. 52, n.) emended the preposition በ to ለ. Mss. 9 17 21 38 63 read ለ, but there seems to be no difficulty with retaining በ.

6:21 Celebrate it: The last word in the verse (ግብሮ) poses a problem. Charles (1902, p. 53, n.) emended to ግብራ (so Goldmann: תעשׂיתה), which is the normal form of the imperative with a third-person feminine singular suffix. He understood ግብሮ to mean «its celebration». In 1850 Dillmann seems not to have translated the word; Littmann used «seine Bestimmung». Berger has also interpreted it as a noun («seine Agende»), as has Hartom (קנין). Nevertheless, the sense is somewhat awkward if it is read as a noun. There is probably no need to emend in order to read ግብሮ as an imperative, though, since this is apparently an acceptable alternate form (see ግብሩ in 20:9).

6:22 one day: A. Epstein's proposal («Le livre des Jubilés, Philon, et la Midrasch Tadsché», REJ 22 [1891] 7-8; cf. Charles, 1902; Hartom, 33, n.) that these words reflect Hebrew יום אחד (= Sunday) is unlikely to be correct. In Ethiopic, at least, one would expect ዕለተ ፡ ፩ኣሙ for this meaning.

memorial days and days of the seasons. They are written down and ordained at the four divisions of the year as an eternal testimony. 6:24 Noah ordained them as festivals for himself throughout the history of eternity with the result that through them he had a reminder. 6:25 On the first of the first month he was told to make the ark, and on it the earth became dry, he opened (it), and saw the earth. 6:26 On the first of the fourth month the openings of the depths of the abyss below were closed. On the first of the seventh month all the openings of the earth's depths were opened, and the water began to go down into them. 6:27 On the first of the tenth month the summits of the mountains became visible, and Noah was very happy.

6:28 For this reason he ordained them for himself forever as memorial festivals. So they are ordained, 6:29 and they enter them on the heavenly tablets. Each one of them (consists of) 13 weeks; their

6:24 with the result that: Literally the words እስከ ፡ አመ mean «until the time when». In this context a meaning such as «to the point that», or the like, would be more appropriate. Charles (1895) read እስከ alone, but in 1902 he translated with «so that» (= Berger). Dillmann (1859) read እስመ (translated «dass» in 1850); Littmann has «denn», preferring እስመ to እስከ ፡ አመ because of v 25. Goldmann and Hartom use כי.

6:26 There are several text-critical problems in this verse. The mss. indicate that there were four major options for wording. The text printed here is based on mss. 42ᶜ 47 (among the uncollated mss. 45 50 51 evidence the same option). Though these mss. are not the most likely ones to preserve an original reading when they disagree with the others, in this case the reading of the remaining mss. can be explained if one assumes their text. The readings of the various mss. may have resulted from several instances of haplography (similar phrases recur in the verse) and influence from the narrative about the flood in Jub 5:25 and especially 5:29. The result has been that descriptions of the events of 7/1 appear at different places in the mss., while they are absent altogether from the best copies (though absolutely required by the context). The following stages of development may have produced the present disorder in the Ethiopic mss.
(a) 42ᶜ 47 preserve the original form of the text.
(b) A copyist omitted the material from ወ(በሠርቀ ፡ ወርኅ ፡ ሳብዕ) through ወ(አንዘ). It will be noted that the word መዓሙቃት figures in both contexts. The text that was left is now represented in mss. 9 12 17 (largely in 20) 25 39 42ᵗ 48 63. It is also the text at this point of 21 38 44, but they have a later addition. This omission deleted any reference to 7/1 and placed the clause ወአንዘ — ውስቴቱ in the account about 4/1 where it makes no sense (as the scribe of ms. 20 observed and corrected).
(c) Once it was noted that nothing was said about 7/1, a scribe copied the description of what had happened on that day from 5:29 but erred by adding it to the end of the truncated version of 6:26 which is found in 9 12 17 25 39 42ᵗ 48 63. The expanded verse can now be seen in 21 38 44.
(d) The text of 35 shows even stronger influence from 5:29; in fact it is virtually a copy of it.

6:29 they enter them: The form could also be construed (with Dillmann, 1850) as an impersonal passive formation: they are entered. Literally the verb ያዐርጉምን means «they will bring them up».

memorial (extends) from one to the other: from the first to the second, from the second to third, and from the third to the fourth. 6:30 All the days of the commandments will be 52 weeks of days; (they will make) the entire year complete. 6:31 So it has been engraved and ordained on the heavenly tablets. One is not allowed to transgress a single year, year   5
by year.

6:32 Now you command the Israelites to keep the years in this number — 364 days. Then the year will be complete and it will not disturb its time from its days or from its festivals because everything will happen in harmony with their testimony. They will neither omit a   10
day nor disturb a festival. 6:33 If they transgress and do not celebrate them in accord with his command, then all of them will disturb their times. The years will be moved from this; they will disturb the times and the years will be moved. They will transgress their prescribed pattern. 6:34 All the Israelites will forget and will not find the way of   15
the years. They will forget the first of the month, the season, and the sabbath; they will err with respect to the entire prescribed pattern of the

6:31 transgress: A. JELLINEK (*Bet ha-Midrasch: Sammlung kleiner Midraschim und vermischter Abhandlungen aus den älteren jüdischen Literatur*, 3 [Leipzig: C.W. Vollrath, 1855] x-xi, n. 2) thought that the original Hebrew text read here, not the verb עֲבוֹר, but the noun עִבּוּר which means «intercalation». This relatively rare word was understandably misinterpreted by the person who translated Jubilees into Greek as the more familiar verb. His error is now enshrined in the Ethiopic ተዐድዎ. If Jellinek was right, Jubilees' statement about the annual calendar would include a prohibition against any sort of intercalation. It remains possible, nevertheless, that the author used the infinitive and that the Ethiopic text faithfully reproduces it.

a single year, year by year: The text is uncertain. Literally, the words mean «one year, year and year». After ዓመት, mss. 21 25 35 38 add ወ ፡ «a single year and». For ዓመ ፡ ወዓመት (which 12 58 omit) ms. 17 has the prepositional phrase እምዕለት (= from a day [so Berger]). As Mss. 39 42 47 48 63 show, the words ዓመ and አመ are easily interchanged. On the basis of his two mss. (38 51 = 47 here) Dillmann declared: «locus sine dubio corruptus» (1859, p. 28, n. 2). In 1850 he had translated as «jedes jahr, jahr aus, jarh ein». Charles (1895, p. 25, n. 7) emended: for ዓመ ፡ ወዓመት he proposed ወዓመ ፡ እምዓም («or from year to year» [1902]). Littmann (51, n. i) considered Charles' attempt unsuccessful but translated in a similar fashion.

6:32 to keep: Literally: and let them keep.

6:33 transgress: See the note to the same verb in 6:31.

will be moved ... will be moved: Charles (1895, p. 25, n. 19) raised the possibility that ይትሐወሱ derives, not from ሐወስ, but from ፖሡ (= to be mixed [Gt]). So, in these two cases, the prediction would be that the years will be mixed up or confused. በእምውስተዚ he interpreted as «in part», comparing Prov 29:11. In the first occurrence of the verb in this verse, ms. 9 spells it ይትነወሙ, which is precisely what Charles had proposed. No other ms. does this, though several use ነ for the first consonant of the root, not ሐ. His suggestion is an interesting possibility — one which he failed to mention in 1902.

years. 6:35 For I know and from now on will inform you — not from
my own mind because this is the way the book is written in front of me,
and the divisions of times are ordained on the heavenly tablets, lest they
forget the covenantal festivals and walk in the festivals of the nations,
5 after their error and after their ignorance. 6:36 There will be people
who carefully observe the moon with lunar observations because it is
corrupt (with respect to) the seasons and is early from year to year by
ten days. 6:37 Therefore years will come about for them when they will
disturb (the year) and make a day of testimony something worthless
10 and a profane day a festival. Everyone will join together both holy days
with the profane and the profane day with the holy day, for they will
err regarding the months, the sabbaths, the festivals, and the jubilee.

6:38 For this reason I am commanding you and testifying to you so
that you may testify to them because after your death your children will
15 disturb (it) so that they do not make the year (consist of) 364 days only.
Therefore, they will err regarding the first of the month, the season, the
sabbath, and the festivals. They will eat all the blood with all (kinds of)
meat.

7:1 During the seventh week, in its first year, in this jubilee [1317]
20 Noah planted a vine at the mountain (whose name was Lubar, one of
the mountains of Ararat) on which the ark had come to rest. It
produced fruit in the fourth year [1320]. He guarded its fruit and picked
it that year during the seventh month. 7:2 He made wine from it, put it
in a container, and kept it until the fifth year [1321] — until the first
25 day at the beginning of the first month. 7:3 He joyfully celebrated the
day of this festival. He made a burnt offering for the Lord — one
young bull, one ram, seven sheep each a year old, and one kid — to

6:35 festivals of the nations: Cf. 4QpHos^a (4Q 166) 2.16: במועדי הגואים.

6:36 is corrupt: Or: is disturbed. The G form is better attested, though the causative
might seem preferable (both Dillmann and Charles read the causative form in their
editions, and the translators have followed them).

7:1 With this verse compare 1QapGen 12:13: ונצבת כרם ... בלובר טורא ולשנין ארבע
עבד לי חמר ...

fourth year: Cf. Lev 19:23-24.

7:2 fifth year: See Lev 19:25 and 1QapGen 12:14: ושרית למשתיה ביום חד לשתא
חמישיתא.

7:3 burnt offering: Num 29:2, which describes the offering for the first day of the
second month (not 1/1 as in Jubilees), names the sacrifice an עלה. In 29:2, 5 the animals
which are listed here are also specified. The same sacrifice is given for 1/1 in 11QT 14.9-
18; see YADIN, The Temple Scroll (3 vols.; Jerusalem: IES, 1977). 1.74-75, 116; 2.44-45. In
this passage the same priority is given to the kid as in Jub 7:4.

make atonement through it for himself and for his sons. 7:4 First he prepared the kid. He put some of its blood on the meat (that was on) the altar which he had made. He offered all the fat on the altar where he made the burnt offering along with the bull, the ram, and the sheep. He offered all their meat on the altar. 7:5 On it he placed their entire sacrifice mixed with oil. Afterwards he sprinkled wine in the fire that had been on the altar beforehand. He put frankincense on the altar and offered a pleasant fragrance that was pleasing before the Lord his God. 7:6 He was very happy, and he and his sons happily drank some of this wine.

7:7 When evening came, he went into his tent. He lay down drunk and fell asleep. He was uncovered in his tent as he slept. 7:8 Ham saw his father Noah naked and went out and told his two brothers outside. 7:9 Then Shem took some clothes, rose — he and Japheth — and they put the clothes on their shoulders as they were facing backwards. They covered their father's shame as they were facing backwards.

7:10 When Noah awakened from his sleep, he realized everything

---

7:5 *pleasing*: The verb ይሠምር offers the same problem as the one encountered in 6:3: one would have expected the causative form (ያሠምር). Charles (1895, p. 26, n. 36) emended to the causative (so also Littmann, 52, n. g). Berger thinks that mss. 9 and 17 confirm Charles' conjecture, but these two copies very clearly have the G-form, not the causative.

7:6 *this*: No biblical version uses a demonstrative here (= Gen 9:21). Possibly it simply reflects a definite article in the Greek.

7:8 *and went out*: Jubilees follows the text which is represented in LXX OL EthGen 9:22; MT Sam Syriac lack these words. Jubilees does not, however, share the notion, found in EthGen and Josephus, *Ant.* 1.141, that Ham laughed at his father.

7:9 *took*: The singular verb ይነሥአ agrees with MT Sam Gen 9:23, against Syriac LXX OL EthGen which employ plurals.

clothes[2]: EthGen 9:23 (ms. y) is the only version which repeats this noun here.

their shoulders: Jubilees lacks the word שניהם that follows שכם in MTGen 9:23, or rather, it has only the suffix, not the number. LXX uses the word «two» before «shoulders», not after it.

as they were facing backwards: Charles (1895, p. 26, n. 46) emended ገጾሙ to ገቢአሙ (= «went backward» [1902]) and omitted the following conjunction (n. 47). In this way he avoided duplication and brought the text into harmony with the biblical versions of Gen 9:23 (וילכו אחרנית). Littmann (52, n. h) and Hartom (p. 35, n. to v 9) agreed. Note that ms. 35 adds the verb ኀጐብኡ (= they turned back) and ms. 38 adds ገብኡ (= they returned/ went back). Goldmann and Berger have retained the text, though the latter (363, nn. b and c to v 9) follows the inferior text of ms. 9 in omitting the second instance of ድኅሪት. As repetition is the more difficult reading and harmonizing with biblical wording is suspect, the text should be retained. It should be added that EthGen 9:23 uses ወኀፍ here, not the verb that Charles suggested.

7:10 *from his sleep*: The biblical versions of Gen 9:24 have «from his wine» (מיינו), but several witnesses to the LXX have ὕπνου rather than οἴνου. It is possible that these

that his youngest son had done to him. He cursed his son and said:
'Cursed be Canaan. May he become an abject slave to his brothers'.
7:11 Then he blessed Shem and said: 'May the Lord, the God of Shem,
be blessed. May Canaan become his slave. 7:12 May the Lord enlarge
5 Japheth, and may the Lord live in the place where Shem resides. May
Canaan become their slave'. 7:13 When Ham realized that his father
had cursed his youngest son, it was displeasing to him that he had
cursed his son. He separated from his father — he and with him his
sons Cush, Mizraim, Put, and Canaan. 7:14 He built himself a city and
10 named it after his wife Neelatamauk. 7:15 When Japheth saw (this), he
was jealous of his brother. He, too, built himself a city and named it
after his wife Adataneses. 7:16 But Shem remained with his father
Noah. He built a city next to his father at the mountain. He, too,
named it after his wife Sedeqatelebab. 7:17 Now these three cities were
15 near Mt. Lubar: Sedeqatelebab in front of the mountain on its east
side; Naeletamauk toward its south side; and Adataneses toward the
west.

two Greek words were confused in the Greek text of Jubilees. Charles (1895, p. 27, n. 1)
emended አግኅዋመ· to አግወይቲ; cf. Littmann, 53, n. a. Both make excellent sense in the
context; there appears to be no need to change the Ethiopic. See Berger, 363, n. a to v 10.
The word «his» agrees with MT Sam Syriac EthGen 9:24.
    everything: This word appears in Syriac OL EthGen 9:24 but not in MT Sam LXX.
    He cursed his son: Among biblical versions, only a few LXX texts offer these words
(53' [f], using αὐτόν).
    abject slave: The wording of Jubilees seems more nearly to reflect the tradition of LXX
OL EthGen 9:25 (and the targums), which presuppose a Hebrew original עֶבֶד עֶבֶד (so
Charles, 1895, p. 27, n. 2), than the reading of MT Sam Syriac (עבד עבדים).
    7:11 his: MT Sam Gen 9:26 read למו, which is ambiguous with respect to number.
Syriac (with Ton) has the plural «their» (= mss. 12 17 21 63 of Jubilees), while LXX OL
and EthGen (with Tj) have the singular «his». Note that in 7:12 the plural suffix (ግብርሙ)
occurs (singular in 9 35ᶜ 38 39 42 47 48 58).
    7:12 enlarge Japheth: The text agrees with MT Gen 9:27 (יפת ליפת), with the
preposition ለ prefixed to «Japheth». Literally it means: make spread out for Japheth
(Littmann: «schaffe Weite dem Japhet»).
    Lord: Jubilees specifies the subject of the verb וישכן in Gen 9:27, whereas the versions
do not. Ton add שכינתיה.
    their: See the note to «his» in 7:11 above. Here MT Sam again have למו. While many
Greek texts, OL EthGen 9:27 read «his», the best mss. of Jubilees agree with the plural
«their» of Syriac LXX (with the targums).
    7:14 Neelatamauk: For the various forms of the name, see the chart. Mss. 9 12 17 21
38 63, which combine with one another fairly frequently, have lost some text because a
scribe's eye jumped from ብኣሲቱ to the same word in v 15.

7:18 These were Shem's sons: Elam, Asshur, Arpachshad (he *was born* two years after the flood), Aram, and *Lud.* 7:19 Japheth's sons were: Gomer, Magog, Madai, *Javan, Tubal,* Meshech, and Tiras. These were Noah's sons.

7:20 During the twenty-eighth jubilee [1324-72] Noah began to pre-   5
scribe for his grandsons the ordinances and the commandments — every statute which he knew. He testified to his sons that they should do what is right, cover the shame of their bodies, bless the one who had created them, honor father and mother, love one another, and keep themselves

7:18 Asshur: The strongly supported variant አሱር is a product of confusing the Ethiopic letters ሱ and ሰ.

(he *was born* ...): All of the Ethiopic mss. offer ዝንቱ ፡ ትውልድ (literally = this is the generation). The text as it stands makes little sense; Berger's attempt to retain ትውልድ must be rejected («Dies ist die Nachkommenschaft»). In 1850 Dillmann left a blank for the remainder of the verse (and for v 19) after the name Arpachshad («hier ist der text ganz verdorben» [p. 256]). Charles (1895, p. 27, n. 28; 1902) emended ትውልድ to the verb ተወልደ (= was born). His proposal has the advantage that the same consonants are involved; only the vowels differ. Littmann (53, n. 1), Goldmann, and Hartom have agreed with Charles. It may be that the erring scribe was also misled by the appearance of the word «generations» in Gen 10:11.

two years after the flood: Charles' (1895, p. 27, n. 29) transposition of the words እምድኅረ after ዓም seems unnecessary, despite the fact that this is the order of the biblical versions at Gen 10:11 (and of 1QapGen 12:10).

and *Lud*: The Ethiopic mss. have suffered from copyists' errors here as well. The best mss. have either ወለደ (= to give birth to, become the father of; the form is third-person masculine singular perfect) or ወልደ (= son). Gen 11:10, however, reads: ולוד וארם — that is, the name Lud belongs to the list of Shem's sons. In *Ant.* 1.144 Josephus transposed these two names (Aram, Lud). Jubilees, it appears, follows the same tradition. The forms ወለደ and ወልደ at the end of the verse are corruptions of ወልዱ (the same consonants are used). Ms. 63 retains this text but adds an a-vowel at the end. Charles (1895, p. 27, n. 31) restored the name ሉድ before Aram, as did Littmann and Hartom. Goldmann correctly places לוד at the end of the verse. Berger, though, retains the Ethiopic text: «Nach zwei Jahren auf die Flut zeugte er Aram». Against this one may cite Jub 9:1-6 which includes Lud in the list. Some mss. add the name Lud after Arpachshad (42ᶜ 44ᶜ; cf. 44ᵗ). It is likely that the appearance of ወሉድ at the beginning of v 19 produced some of the confusion reflected in the mss.

7:19 The names in this verse regularly appear with the suffix ?, which marks them as direct objects, attached. In the present form of the sentence they are not direct objects. The accusative markers may have originated in texts such as 44 58 63 which read the verb ወለደ rather than the noun ወሉድ. Gen 10:2, with the best mss. of Jubilees, employs a noun.

Javan, Tubal: The Ethiopic mss., with the exception of 44, have created one name from the two (יון ותבל) in Gen 10:2. In Jub 9:10-11 they are distinguished. Jubilees, with MT Sam Syriac OL and against LXX EthGen 10:2, lacks Ελισα.

7:21 had illicit intercourse: The Ethiopic ዘመወ ... በድኅሬ literally reflects Hebrew זנו אחרי (e.g., Exod 34:15).

from fornication, uncleanness, and from all injustice. 7:21 For it was
on account of these three things that the flood was on the earth, since
(it was) due to fornication that the Watchers had illicit intercourse —
apart from the mandate of their authority — with women. When they
married of them whomever they chose they committed the first (acts) of
uncleanness. 7:22 They fathered (as their) sons the Nephi*l*im. They
were all dissimilar (from one another) and would devour one another:
the giant killed the Naphil; the Naphil killed the Elyo; the Elyo
mankind; and people their fellows. 7:23 When everyone sold himself to
commit injustice and to shed innocent blood, the earth was filled with
injustice. 7:24 After them all the animals, birds, and whatever moves
about and whatever walks on the earth. Much blood was shed on the
earth. All the thoughts and wishes of mankind were (devoted to)
thinking up what was useless and wicked all the time. 7:25 Then the
Lord obliterated all from the surface of the earth because of their
actions and because of the blood which they had shed in the earth.

7:26 We — I and you, my children, and everything that entered the
ark with us — were left. But now I am the first to see your actions —

7:22 Nephi*l*im: The term ናፊዲም is the result of the easy confusion between Greek Δ
and Λ. Note that the correct form ናፊል is used later in the verse.

giant ... Naphil ... Elyo: These names reproduce the ones found in 1 Enoch 7:1-2
(Syncellus): γίγαντας μεγάλους, Ναφηλείμ, 'Ελιούδ (*Chronographia* 21.9-10). See Dill-
mann, 1850, p. 256; Charles, 1902, p. 62, n.; MILIK, *The Books of Enoch*, 73, 240.

7:23 sold: Dillmann offered no verb in his translation of 1850; Littmann wished to
emend ተወይጠ to ተመይጠ (= «wandte sich dazu»), since he considered the verb in the
text ununderstandable (53, n. v). Charles (1902, p. 62, n.; so Goldmann) retained the text
and pointed to 1 Kgs 21:20 for the phrase that underlies the Ethiopic text: התמכרך לעשׂות
הרע. Berger, however, following ms. 17, renders with «fuhr fort» and declares Charles'
translation «ohne Sinn» (365, n. a to v 23). It is difficult to see, in light of 1 Kgs 21:20,
any basis for Berger's remark.

innocent: A strongly supported variant is «much» (ብዙኀ); cf. 7:24.

7:24 After them ... earth: The Ethiopic text lacks a verb. Dillmann (1850) added
«folgten» to his rendering, while Charles (1895, p. 28, n. 26) emended እሉ ፡ ትትሰሙ to
እሰሉ ፡ ሎሙ ፡ ለ (= «they sinned against» [1902]) on the authority of 1 Enoch 7:5: የእሰሉ
... ዲበ ፡ አራዊት. Littmann (53, n. w) accepted his suggestion, but Goldmann saw no need
for it (p. רלח, n. to v 24). Berger has also rejected it, noting correctly that «... der Satz
bezieht sich auf das Blutvergiessen» (365, n. b to v 24). In other words, 7:24 is the direct
continuation of v 23: after the offspring of the angels and mankind began killing one
another, the animals did as well.

useless: Goldmann (p. רלח, n. to v 24) suggests that Hebrew ריק ורע underlies this
expression and that the translator read these words instead of רק רע in Gen 6:5.

7:26 first: The translators, with the exception of Dillmann («ich sehe zuerst» [1850]),
have selected the reading of ms. 12 (ቅድሜየ = before me). However, as 12 is the only ms.
which supports it, it is unlikely to be the best reading.

that you have not been conducting yourselves properly because you have begun to conduct yourselves in the way of destruction, to separate from one another, to be jealous of one another, and not to be together with one another, my sons. 7:27 For I myself see that the demons have begun to lead you and your children astray; and now I fear regarding you that after I have died you will shed human blood on the earth and (that) you yourselves will be obliterated from the surface of the earth. 7:28 For everyone who sheds human blood and everyone who consumes the blood of any animate being will all be obliterated from the earth. 7:29 No one who consumes blood or who sheds blood on the earth will be left. He will be left with neither descendants nor posterity living beneath heaven because they will go into sheol and will descend into the place of judgment. All of them will depart into deep drakness through a violent death. 7:30 No blood of all the blood which there may be at any time when you sacrifice any animal, cattle, or (creature) that flies above the earth is to be seen on you. Do a good deed for yourselves by covering what is poured out on the surface of the earth. 7:31 Do not be one who eats (meat) with the blood; exert yourselves so that blood is not consumed in your presence. Cover the blood because so was I ordered to testify to you and your children together with all humanity. 7:32 Do not eat the life with the meat so that your blood, your life, may not be required from every person who sheds (blood) on the earth. 7:33 For the earth will not be purified of the blood which has been shed on it; but by the blood of the one who shed it the earth will be purified in all its generations.

7:34 Now listen, my children. Do what is just and right so that you may be rightly planted on the surface of the entire earth. Then your

that (you have not): The term ሐመዝ here seems to reflect Greek ὡς used as a conjunction. Mss. 20 25 35 58 omit ዘ, and ms. 63 reads ከመዝ (= thus, like this).

7:27 your children: Mss. 9 12 17 21 38 63 read «my children» (ውሉድየ).

(of the) earth: Several of the best mss. omit ምድር (9 17¹ 20 25 38), but of these only 38 reads ገጻ (= its surface) rather than ገጸ (= the surface of). Perhaps 38 has preserved the original form.

7:31 be one who: The translators, with the exception of Dillmann who did not know about the variant in 1850, have opted for the reading of ms. 38 (= like one who [ከመዘ]). It has no other support, however, and is probably not original. It must be granted, though, that the switch from a plural (ትኩኑ) to a singular (ይበልዕ) verb is jarring.

7:34 be ... planted: Dillmann (1859, p. 33, n. 11) proposed that ትተከሉ (= you will plant) which was found in his two mss. should be emended to the passive form ትተከሉ (= you will be planted [which is actually the correct reading of ms. 38]). His suggestion, which was adopted by Charles (1895, p. 29, n. 35), Littmann (54, n. b), Goldmann, and Hartom, is now confirmed by most of the mss.

honor will be raised before my God who saved me from the flood waters. 7:35 You will now go and build yourselves cities, and in them you will plant every (kind of) plant that is on the earth as well as every (kind of) fruit tree. 7:36 For three years its fruit will remain unpicked
5 by anyone for the purpose of eating it; but in the fourth year its fruit will be sanctified. It will be offered as firstfruits that are acceptable before the most high Lord, the creator of heaven, the earth, and everything, so that they may offer in abundance the first of the wine and oil as firstfruits on the altar of the Lord who accepts (it). What is
10 left over those who serve in the Lord's house are to eat before the altar which receives (it). 7:37 During the fifth year arrange relief for it so that you may leave it in the right and proper way. Then you will be doing the right thing, and all your planting will be successful. 7:38 For this is how Enoch, your father's father, commanded his

7:36 by anyone for the purpose of eating it: The text reads እምትሉ ፡ ለበሊዖቱ (so Dillmann, 1850, 1859). Charles (1895) preferred the reading ዘይትበላዕ to the infinitive and translated (1902): «of everything that is eaten». The same text is reflected in Littmann, Hartom, and Berger. As ms. 12 alone attests the relative clause printed by Charles, it is probably not correct.

in abundance: The word ጥሩላ means «rich, abundant, fat» (see DILLMANN, Lexicon, 1214). Dillmann translated with «mit dem besten» (1850; so Littmann). Berger uses «reichlich» and says that «Littmann verlas bei Dillmann 'optimus' statt 'opimus' und übersetzte 'mit dem Besten'» (367, n. e to v 36). If so, Dillmann made the same mistake! Their translations may well be interpretative at this point. Goldmann used the term כליל which could be the Hebrew original (Hartom: שפע).

accepts: ይትወከፍ may be translated either as active or passive; here the active sense seems preferable (with Littmann, Charles [1902]), as it is for the next instance of the verb as well (cf. DILLMANN, Lexicon, 922). Berger translates passively in both cases. Dillmann himself opted for an active rendering both times but he supplied an object («den er annimmt»).

7:37 fifth year: The text makes a sudden jump from the laws about the years for growing and eating fruit to the year of release. Charles thought that ኃምስ should perhaps be changed to ሳብዕ because the year of release was the seventh, not the fifth (Deut 15:1, 9 [1895, p. 30, n. 7; cf. also Exod 23:11; Lev 25:2-7]). As he later wrote: «The text should have proceeded to enunciate the right of eating the fruit of this year as in Lev xix.25 ...» (1902, p. 65, n.) Lev 19:25 reads: ובשנה החמישת תאכלו את פריו להוסיף לכם תבואתו. He is probably correct in claiming that something is missing from the text (contrary to the view expressed in Textual and Historical Studies, 12, n. 30). Jub 7:2 had mentioned the fifth year as the time when Noah made wine and 7:6 indicates that he and his sons drank some of it at that time. One would have expected similar information here but in legal form.

you may leave: The verb used is cognate with the noun translated «relief». Charles (1902, p. 65, n.) found this line tautologous with the beginning of the verse and wanted to emend the second verb: the Greek for ትኀድጋ would have been ἀφῆτε αὐτήν which is an error for ἀνῆτε αὐτήν = you will let it lie fallow (cf. Exod 23:11). He may indeed be correct about this because the writer does follow Exod 23:11 very closely, but the text has been left as it is because it does make sense in the context.

7:38 Enoch: This is obviously the correct name, but mss. 9 12 17 21 38 63 read

son Methuselah; then Methuselah his son Lamech; and Lamech
commanded me everything that his fathers had commanded him.
7:39 Now I am commanding you, my children, as Enoch commanded
his son in the first jubilees. While he was living in its seventh genera-
tion, he commanded and testified to his children and grandchildren 5
until the day of his death.

8:1 In the twenty-ninth jubilee, in the first week — at its beginning
[1373] — Arpachshad married a woman named Rasueya, the daughter
of Susan, the daughter of Elam. She gave birth to a son for him
in the third year of this week [1375], and he named him Kainan. 10
8:2 When the boy grew up, his father taught him (the art of) writing.
He went to look for a place of his own where he could possess his own
city. 8:3 He found an inscription which the ancients had incised in a
rock. He read what was in it, copied it, and sinned on the basis of what
was in it, since in it was the Watchers' teaching by which they used to 15
observe the omens of the sun, moon, and stars and every heavenly sign.

«Noah». Confusing the two names is a very simple matter in Hebrew (נוח/ חנוך). See v 39
for the same interchange of names.

7:39 his death: According to Gen 5:24 (Jub 4:23 suggests the same), Enoch did not
die. Only ms. 35ᵗ omits ጥቱ, while 58 adds ለማቱሳላ, thus making the death that of
Methuselah.

8:1 Kainan: MT Sam Syriac Gen 11:12 (and the targums) say that Arpachshad was
the father of Shelah; LXX OL (and EthGen in v 13) add the extra generation which
Jubilees attests. 1 Chr 1:24 (Hebrew and Greek) and Josephus, *Ant.* 1.146 agree with MT
of Gen 11:12, but Luke 3:36 also adds καινάμ. On the motive for the additional name,
see Charles, 1902, p. 66, n., and Hartom (38, n. to v 1) who observes that the name
Kainan may have been inserted in the text of Jubilees after the original and under the
influence of the LXX because adding the name means that there are 23 generations from
Adam to Jacob, not the 22 noted in 2:23.

8:2 possess: The Syriac citation reads a form of the verb «build». The variants may
have resulted from confusion between the Hebrew verbs קנה and בנה, as suggested by
Tisserant («Fragments syriaques», 207).

For some Greek phrases which correspond to this verse, see Milik, «Recherches sur la
version grecque», 555 (from the *Chronique Anonyme*): τοῦτον ὁ πατὴρ αὐξηθέντα
γράμμασιν ἐξεπαίδευσε, καὶ δήποτε ὁ Σάλα ἑαυτῷ πορευθεὶς ἀποικίαν κατασκευάσθαι, ...

8:3 copied it: Charles (1895, p. 30, n. 30) emended ለደሰ to ለደሰፕ («it led him
astray» [1902, p. 67, n.]). The Syriac citation now shows, though, that the text should
stand without change. In fact, Charles reverted to the text for his 1902 translation.

sinned: Dillmann (1859, p. 34, n. 13) suspected ረሰዐ and thought that it would be
preferable to read ረከፈ (= he found). Hartom agrees, as does Goldmann, though he
observes that ረሰዐ can mean «forget» and that the Ethiopic text may have been translated
from an Aramaic original because in Aramaic רשכ means «find» (p. רמ). Since there is no
evidence that Jubilees was ever available in Aramaic, his proposal can safely be rejected.
Littmann translated with «er ersah». Both the Syriac citation and Cedrenus (at a later
point) support the Ethiopic text.

used to observe: In 1895 (30, n. 33) Charles emended ይደፈልፕ of ms. 12 to ፈፈሰፕ
(which he translated as «were founding» in 1902, p. 67, n.). Littmann (55, n. c) and

8:4 He wrote (it) down but told no one about it because he was afraid to tell Noah about it lest he become angry at him about it.

8:5 In the thirtieth jubilee, in the second week — in its first year [1429] — he married a woman whose name was Melka, the daughter of Madai, Japheth's son. In its fourth year [1432] he became the father of a son whom he named Shelah, for he said: 'I have truly been sent'. 8:6 After he was born in the fourth year, Shelah grew up and married a woman whose name was Muak, the daughter of Kesed, his father's brother, in the thirty-*first* jubilee, in the fifth week, in its first year [1499]. 8:7 She gave birth to a son for him in its fifth year [1503], and he named him Eber. He married a woman whose name was Azurad, the daughter of Nebrod, during the thirty-second jubilee, in the seventh week, during its third year [1564].

8:8 In the sixth year [1567] she gave birth to a son for him, and he named him Peleg because at the time when he was born Noah's children began to divide the earth for themselves. For this reason he named him Peleg. 8:9 They divided it in a bad way among themselves

Hartom have followed this suggestion, but Charles must have sensed that he was wrong since he followed neither his emendation nor ms. 12 in 1902. The Syriac citation supports the Ethiopic text.

8:4 *but told no one*: Cedrenus' text has him hiding the information from Noah but teaching others about it. See Milik, «Recherches sur la version grecque», 555 for parallels. Jubilees clearly follows a different tradition. The Syriac citation is abbreviated in this verse.

8:5 *Madai*: The Ethiopic ኦበፄ is transparently wrong (see 7:19). The Syriac list of patriarchal wives has ܡܕܝ and Codex Basel gives μαδαι.

8:6 *thirty-first*: The Ethiopic reads «in the year and in the thirtieth jubilee». The prepositional phrase በዓመት is the cause of the awkwardness, as it lacks an ordinal. Dillmann (1859, p. 35, n. 3) emended to በቅዳሜ (= in the first); Charles, Littmann, and Hartom accepted his correction. Berger, however, claims that በዓመት reflects a corruption on the Greek level: ἐνιαυτῷ was by the translator instead of ἑαυτῷ (= for himself). The word ἑαυτῷ is then to be taken with the preceding clause as part of the standard marriage formula: he took for himself a wife. His solution, though attractive, does not fit the syntax very well, since ሱተ ፡ ብእሲተ (for himself a wife) is already present in the preceding line. The chronology of the context strongly favors reading «thirty-first» rather than «thirtieth», since if this were the thirtieth jubilee, Shelah would have been just 14 years of age when he married. Berger is probably correct in positing a Greek-level corruption, but it seems more likely that the confusion was between ἔτει (= in [the] year) and ἑνί (= in [the] one).

8:9 *in a bad way*: በእኩይ, which Dillmann (1850) translated as «schlecht», Littmann as «in Bösem», Goldmann as ברע, Charles rendered as «secretly» (so also Hartom [בסתר]), since he supposed that the Greek was δόλῳ (he refers to 4:5). With Berger (370, n. a to v 9) one should reject Charles' suggestion for which there is no basis.

and told Noah. 8:10 At the beginning of the thirty-third jubilee [1569-1617] they divided the earth into three parts — for Shem, Ham, and Japheth — each in his own inheritance. (This happened) in the first year of the first week [1569] while one of us who were sent was staying with them.   5

8:11 When he summoned his children, they came to him — they and their children. He divided the earth into the lots which his three sons would occupy. They reached out their hands and took the book from the bosom of their father Noah. 8:12 In the book there emerged as Shem's lot the center of the earth which he would occupy as an   10 inheritance for him and for his children throughout the history of eternity: from the middle of the mountain range of Rafa, from the source of the water from the Tina River. His share goes toward the west through the middle of this river. One then goes until one reaches the water of the deeps from which this river emerges. This river emerges   15 and pours its waters into the Me'at Sea. This river goes as far as the Great Sea. Everything to the north belongs to Japheth, while everything to the south belongs to Shem. 8:13 It goes until it reaches Karas. This is in the bosom of the branch which faces southward. 8:14 His share goes toward the Great Sea and goes straight until it reaches to the west   20 of the branch that faces southward, for this is the sea whose name is the Branch of the Egyptian Sea. 8:15 It turns from there southward toward the mouth of the Great Sea on the shore of the waters. It goes toward

8:10 was staying with them: Another possibility is to understand ኅቢሎሙ with ተፈንዉ: were sent to them. Dillmann, Littmann, Goldmann, Hartom, and Berger have opted for this interpretation.

8:12 occupy: Here, as elsewhere, the verb ኀደወ could be translated «possess».

Tina River: Cf. 1QapGen 16:16: טינה נהרא.

One then goes ... one reaches: The verbs are plural and are here understand as the impersonal plural which can be rendered as «one» (so Dillmann, 1850 [he reads plural forms in his 1859 text], Berger). Charles (1895, p. 31, nn. 35, 37) emended to singular forms (= «it extends till it reaches» [1902; Goldmann and Hartom have followed him]), whereas Littmann (55, n. m) argued that the second verb (ይበጽሕ) was plural originally and that it influenced a scribe/translator to make the first plural as well. This is unnecessarily complex.

8:13 branch: Literally: tongue. On the term, see G. HÖLSCHER, *Drei Erdkarten* (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 1944-48, 3; Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag, 1949) 62-63.

8:14 Branch of the Egyptian Sea: As Littmann (55, n. p) indicated, these words are found in Isa 11:15 (לשון ים מצרים). Berger (372, n. b to v 14) compares 1QapGen 21:18 which refers to the Red Sea but with an analogous expression: לשן ים סוף. Cf. also HÖLSCHER, *Drei Erdkarten*, 63.

the west of Afra and goes until it reaches the water of the Gihon River
and to the south of the Gihon's waters along the banks of this river.
8:16 It goes eastward until it reaches the Garden of Eden, toward the
south side of it — on the south and from the east of the entire land of
5 Eden and of all the east. It turns to the east and comes until it reaches
to the east of the mountain range named Rafa. Then it goes down
toward the bank of the Tina River's mouth.

8:17 This share emerged by lot for Shem and his children to occupy
it forever, throughout his generation until eternity. 8:18 Noah was very
10 happy that this share had emerged for Shem and his children. He
recalled everything that he had said in prophecy with his mouth, for he
had said: 'May the Lord, the God of Shem, be blessed, and may the
Lord live in the places where Shem resides'. 8:19 He knew that the
Garden of Eden is the holy of holies and is the residence of the Lord;
15 (that) Mt. Sinai is in the middle of the desert; and (that) Mt. Zion is in
the middle of the navel of the earth. The three of them — the one
facing the other — were created as holy (places). 8:20 He blessed the
God of gods, who had placed the word of the Lord in his mouth, and
(he blessed) the Lord forever. 8:21 He knew that a blessed and excel-
20 lent share had come about for Shem and his children throughout the
history of eternity: all the land of Eden, all the land of the Erythrean

8:15 Gihon River: 1QapGen 21:15: ניחון נהרא (also 21:18-19 = Gen 2:13).
   along: Dillmann, Littmann, and Berger use «entlang» as their translation of መንገለ,
though Dillmann gives no such meaning in his lexicon. Literally, it means «toward, to»
(so Charles, 1902; cf. Hartom: ליד) but that makes little sense after the preceding words.
   8:17 occupy: Or: possess (see note to v 12).
   8:18 places where (Shem) resides: The plural form መኃድሩ here differs from the
singular in 7:12 (ማኅደረ) to which passage reference is being made. Singular forms,
perhaps influenced by the reading in 7:12, have strong backing here in v 18.
   8:19 is (the residence): ውእቱ is the preferred reading, but mss. 20 25 have ውስቴቱ (=
in it) instead.
   navel of the earth: Cf. Ezek 38:12 (טבור הארץ) and Ezek 5:5; 1 Enoch 26:1.
   8:20 and (he blessed): These words have been inserted into the translation to provide a
context for the last phrase which otherwise seems loosely attached. The conjunction could
be rendered as «even». Dillmann left a blank at this point in his translation of 1850, as his
single ms. made no sense (his 51 agrees with the text of 47 among the collated mss.). See
Dillmann, 1859, p. 37, n. 7. It may be that the last words of the verse are a perhaps poetic
repetition of አምላከ ፡ አማልክት at the beginning of the verse (cf. Goldmann, p. רמא, n. to
v 20). Hartom (40, n. to v 20) refers to the words from the conjunction to the end of the
verse as a parenthetical comment of the author after the words of Noah.
   8:21 a blessed and excellent share: Literally: a share of blessing and blessed.
   Erythrean Sea: This name also figures in the Syriac citation.
   The Syriac citation is very free in its description of Shem's territory, though it does

Sea, all the land of the east, India, (that which is) in Erythrea and its mountains, all the land of Bashan, all the land of Lebanon, the islands of Caphtor, the entire mountain range of Sanir and Amana, the mountain range of Asshur which is in the north, all the land of Elam, Asshur, Babylon, Susan, and Madai; all the mountains of Ararat, all   5 the area on the other side of the sea which is on the other side of the mountain range of Asshur toward the north — a blessed and spacious land. Everything in it is very beautiful.

8:22 For Ham there emerged a second share toward the other side of the Gihon — toward the south — on the right side of the garden. It   10 goes southward and goes to all the fiery mountains. It goes westward toward the Atel Sea; it goes westward until it reaches the Mauk Sea, everything that descends into which *is* destroyed. 8:23 It comes to the

resemble Jub 8:12, 21 to a certain extent. Tisserant wrote a plausible explanation for the situation: «Mais les termes géographiques désuets l'ont embarrassé; ne les comprenant peut-être pas et soucieux en tout cas d'être intelligible pour ses contemporains, il en a omis plusieurs et a dû remanier en conséquence. En outre, il n'a conservé que la deuxième description de la part de Sem, et, se sentant sur un terrain connu, il a traité assez cavalièrement l'original, en rejeunissant les dénominations: 'Phénicie, Syrie, Palestine, Arabie, Mésopotamie, Perse' ont remplacé sous sa plume les noms encore bibliques des *Jubilés* 'Basan, Kaphtor, Élan, Suse, Médie'». («Fragments syriaques», 85).

8:22 goes to: Syriac citation: crosses/passes by (ܥܒ̈ܪ). It is possible that the difference was caused by confusion of the Greek verbs ἔρχομαι and διέρχομαι. If so, this would be evidence that a Greek text lies behind the Syriac. See also 8:26.

Mauk Sea: The Syriac version of the name is ܡܘܩ. Charles (1902, p. 73, n.) asked: «Is the word a distortion of 'Ὠκεανός, the Great Ocean Stream?» Tisserant («Fragments syriaques», 85, n. 1), building on Charles, entertained the suggestion that it derived from מי אוק]יאנס, thus providing an explanation for the first syllable as well as the second (see also Philip S. ALEXANDER, «Notes on the 'Imago Mundi' of the Book of Jubilees», *JJS* 33 [1982] 205). HÖLSCHER (*Drei Erdkarten*, 61) relates the name to the term חוג (= circle [of the earth]) of Isa 40:22 (so also Berger, 374, n. d to v 22) and notes that the name of Ham's wife and city (Naeletamauk [7:14, 17]) has the same element (ibid., n. 2). None of these explanations is convincing, since none of them provides a precise origin for all of the sounds in the name. One possibility which deserves attention is that the name «Mauk» (note especially its Syriac spelling) reflects the term מחוק (= destroyed). This derivation gains plausibility from the statement at the end of v 22 that everything which descends into this sea is destroyed.

everything that descends into which *is* destroyed: The Ethiopic reads literally: that in which everything that goes down is that which is not destroyed. This seems about the opposite of what is intended. The negative particle is omitted by mss. 35 39 42 47 48 58, and this was the reading that Dillmann chose (1859 = «jenes, worin alles, was hinabläuft (hinabfällt), umkommt» [1850]). Littmann, Goldmann, Hartom, and Berger have followed his lead. Charles retained the negative ኢ. in 1895 and in 1902 translated: «that (sea) into which everything which is not destroyed descends». In a note he commented: «What is required probably is: 'if anything descends into it, it perishes'». (1902, p. 73) The Syriac citation preserves what appears to be a more original form of the text. Literally it reads: nothing goes down into it but it perishes. Tisserant («Fragments

north to the boundary of Gadir and comes to the shore of the sea waters, to the waters of the Great Sea, until it reaches the Gihon River. The Gihon River goes until it reaches the right side of the Garden of Eden.

5   8:24 This is the land which emerged for Ham as a share which he should occupy for himself and his children forever throughout their generations until eternity.

8:25 For Japheth there emerged a third share on the other side of the Tina River toward the north of the mouth of its waters. It goes toward

10   the northeast, (toward) the whole area of Gog and all that is east of them. 8:26 It goes due north and goes toward the mountains of Qelt, to the north and toward the Mauq Sea. It comes to the east of Gadir as far as the edge of the sea waters. 8:27 It goes until it reaches the west of Fara. Then it goes back toward Aferag and goes eastward toward the

syriaques», 85) thought that the presence of the word ܐܠܐ in Syriac pointed to אם לא (= except, but) in the Hebrew original. The positive sense of these words escaped the translator— an error which is now enshrined in the Ethiopic version. A problem with Tisserant's explanation is that the Syriac and Ethiopic texts place the negative particle before different verbs. The Syriac reads it before ܢܚܬ; Ethiopic attaches it to ይትሕትው. Moreover, the Syriac lacks «all» before the first verb. One would have to argue, if Tisserant's view is accepted, that the Ethiopic clause was adjusted (the negative omitted before the first verb) once the word ኢ was used before the second verb. However the Ethiopic readings arose, it is most likely that Syriac here offers the better text.

8:23 boundary: The Syriac citation has ܪܝܫܗ (head, summit). The word can, however, mean «point, tip, top, end» and perhaps this is its meaning here. The Greek term ἄκρα carries a similar ambiguity.

waters of the Great Sea: Cf. 1QapGen 16:12: מי ימא רבא.

Gihon River goes: The Syriac citation confirms the Ethiopic text, but Charles (1902) rendered as: «[it] goes along the river Gihon», explaining in a note that he had added the preposition በ before ጊዮን, «for the writer could not say that the Nile flowed towards the Garden of Eden». (73) His proposal is unnecessary; the text says nothing about the direction of the Gihon's current but speaks about a boundary.

8:25 area: Ethiopic ክወል can mean «area, territory, boundary» (see DILLMANN, Lexicon, 1123-24). Syriac ܬܚܘܡ means «boundary», but like Hebrew גבול it can have the secondary meaning of «area» (Tisserant uses «marches»).

8:26 goes: Syriac «crosses». See 8:22.

Qelt: The Syriac spelling ܩܠܛ exhibits the same reversal of consonants as in ms. 63.

Gadir: Syriac has «north». As Tisserant («Fragments syriaques», 83, with n. 1) has seen, the term ܓܪܒܝܐ (north) is a corruption of ܓܕܝܪ or ܓܕܪ.

8:27 Fara: The identification of the place is uncertain. Tisserant («Fragments syria-ques», 85) thought that Syriac ܐܦܪܝܩܐ was preferable to the Ethiopic spelling and that «Africa» was meant by this term and by the name አፈራግ which appears later in the verse. HÖLSCHER (Drei Erdkarten, 68, 71) seems to agree. But it is possible that the Syriac, which gives an abridged form of the verse, is reproducing only the second of the Ethiopic names.

water of the Me'at Sea. 8:28 It goes to the edge of the Tina River toward the northeast until it reaches the bank of its waters toward the mountain range of Rafa. It goes around the north.

8:29 This is the land that emerged for Japheth and his children as his hereditary share which he would occupy for himself and his children throughout their generations forever: five large islands and a large land in the north. 8:30 However, it is cold while the land of Ham is hot. Now Shem's land is neither hot nor cold but it is a mixture of cold and heat.

9:1 Ham divided (his share) among his sons. There emerged a first share for Cush to the east; to the west of him (one) for Egypt; to the west of him (one) for Put; to the west of him (one) for Canaan; and to the west of him was the sea. 9:2 Shem, too, divided (his share) among his sons. There emerged a first share for Elam and his children to the east of the Tigris River until it reaches the east of the entire land of India, in Erythrea on its border, the waters of the Dedan, all the mountains of Mebri and Ela, all the land of Susan, and everything on the border of Farnak as far as the Erythrean Sea and the Tina River. 9:3 For Asshur there emerged as the second share the whole land of Asshur, Nineveh, Shinar, and Sak as far as the vicinity of India, (where) the Wadafa River rises. 9:4 For Arpachshad there emerged as

9:2 east of the entire land of India: The form ኩልሔ is undoubtedly the most strongly attested reading, and it must be construed, in its position after preposition መንገለ, as being in the construct state. Dillmann (1850), who at the time of his translation knew only ms. 51 (here = 47), rendered with: «in das land des ostens, das ganze land Indien». Charles (1902) translated in a similar fashion, though he read ኩልሔ (see also Hartom, and HÖLSCHER, *Drei Erdkarten*, 69). Littmann, Goldmann, and Berger have, however, translated as above.

9:3 and Sak as far as: Dillmann (1850) followed his only ms. (51) in presupposing ወእስከ (= «bis an»); the same reading is found in his 1859 edition. Charles (1895), too, read ወእስከ, and Littmann, Goldmann, Hartom, and Berger have agreed with him. All of the mss. that were collated for this edition— with the exception of 9 and 38, which share a longer omission, and 17 which also lacks the conjunction—read an additional word after the conjunction: ሰኬ, ሰኬ, or ሰኬ. One could argue that the consonants ሰ and ኬ are duplicates of the same consonants in the following word እስከ, but that seems unlikely. It is much more probable that the name of another area is given here. The word Sak (or Saka) would point to the Scythians, whose land is called Sak and whose people are named Saka in the Behistan Inscription of Darius, sec. 74, col. 5.21-23, 25, 31 (for text, translation, and notes, see Roland G. KENT, *Old Persian* [American Oriental Series, 33; New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1953] 132-34; 209). Scythia is located in the area of Asshur, near India, as the text indicates.

(where) the Wadafa River rises: Dillmann's one ms. reads ውስተ (see 1859) where the preferred reading can now be seen to be ወረፋ. Dillmann therefore translated with «hinauf

a third share all the land of the Chaldean region to the east of the
Euphrates which is close to the Erythrean Sea; all the waters of the
desert as far as the vicinity of the branch of the sea which faces Egypt;
the entire land of Lebanon, Sanir, and Amana as far as the vicinity of
5 the Euphrates. 9:5 There emerged for Aram as the fourth share the
entire land of Mesopotamia between the Tigris and Euphrates to the
north of the Chaldeans as far as the vicinity of the mountain range of
Asshur and the land of Arara. 9:6 For Lud there emerged as the fifth
share the mountain range of Asshur and all that belongs to it until it
10 reaches the Great Sea and reaches to the east of his brother Asshur.

9:7 Japheth, too, divided the land among his sons as an inheritance.
9:8 There emerged for Gomer a first share eastward from the north
side as far as the Tina River. North of him there emerged (as a share)
for Magog all the central parts of the north until it reaches the Me'at
15 Sea. 9:9 For Madai there emerged a share for him to occupy on the
west of his two brothers as far as the islands and the shores of the
islands. 9:10 For Javan there emerged as the fourth share every island
and the islands that are in the direction of Lud's border. 9:11 For
Tubal there emerged as the fifth share the middle of the branch which
20 reaches the border of Lud's share as far as the second branch, and the
other side of the second branch into the third branch. 9:12 For
Meshech there emerged a sixth share, namely all the (region on the)
other side of the third branch until it reaches to the east of Gadir.
9:13 For Tiras there emerged as the seventh share the four large islands
25 within the sea which reach Ham's share. The islands of Kamaturi
emerged by lot for Arpachshad's children as his inheritance.

---

am flusse» (1850; Hartom renders in a similar way). Charles (1895, p. 34, n. 17) emended
ውሕዝ ፡ ፈለግ to ወውሕዝ ፡ ፈለግ (= «and skirts the river» [1902]). In a note to his translation
he does consider the possibility that ውሕዝ is meant to be the name of a river. Littmann
took it as a river name, as did Goldmann who gives נהר ידבה; Berger, however, follows
ms. 17 in reading «zum Fluss Daf» (እስከ ፡ ፈድ ፡ ፈለግ). HÖLSCHER (*Drei Erdkarten*, 70,
n. 1) declared the end of the verse «nicht verständlich». It is clear, nevertheless, that the
text presents ውሕዝ as the name of a river; what is not clear is which river this might be.
The parenthetical word «where» in the translation above is used for the sake of the sense.
The Ethiopic text has a conjunction at this point.

9:8 for Gomer ... for Magog: See 1QapGen 17:16: לגמר יהב לקדמין בצפונא עד די דבק
לטינה נהרא וכתרה ל[מנ]וג.

9:12 namely: This is an attempt at rendering the conjunction. It is almost certainly
part of the text, since only ms. 12 omits it (Charles, 1895, followed 12).

9:13 his: Mss. 12 17 21 63 use the plural ሎሙ that one would expect. For that reason
it is textually dubious.

9:14 In this way Naoh's sons divided (the earth) for their sons in front of their father Noah. He made (them) swear by oath to curse each and every one who wanted to occupy the share which did not emerge by his lot. 9:15 All of them said: 'So be it'! So be it for them and their children until eternity during their generations until the day of judgment on which the Lord God will punish them with the sword and fire because of all the evil impurity of their errors by which they have filled the earth with wickedness, impurity, fornication, and sin.

10:1 During the third week of this jubilee [1583-89] impure demons began to mislead Noah's grandchildren, to make them act foolishly, and to destroy them. 10:2 Then Noah's sons came to their father Noah and told him about the demons who were misleading, blinding, and killing his grandchildren. 10:3 He prayed before the Lord his God and said: 'God of the spirits which are in all animate beings — you who have shown kindness to me, saved me and my sons from the flood waters, and did not make me perish as you did to the people (meant for) destruction — because your mercy for me has been large and your kindness to me has been great: may your mercy be lifted over the children of your children; and may the wicked spirits not rule them in

9:15 So be it for them: It is not at all clear why Berger translates the second instance of ይኩ፡ in this verse as though it were a perfect-tense form: «es geschah für sie».

10:1 grandchildren: Though only ms. 38 (with 50 51) omits the second term in the expression ደቂ ፡ ውሉ, Charles (1895, p. 35, nn. 17-19) wished to emend the phrase on the basis of Syncellus' wording (τοὺς υἱοὺς Νῶε) and a parallel passage from the Book of Noah (בבני נח; for the text, see JELLINEK, Bet ha-Midrasch, 3.155; Charles, 1895, Appendix 1, p. 179). His reasoning in 1902 went as follows: «Under the word daqîqa (= 'the children of') there may lie some corruption of the verb 'adqaqa, 'to beat small' = לדכות, a corruption for להכות, 'to slay'. Now this verb is the last infinitive in the passage of the Hebrew Book of Noah ..., and as the other three verbs in the Ethiopic text are literal equivalents of the preceding three infinitives in the same passage we may conclude that we have thus recovered the true text». (79, n. to v 1) A few lines later, however, he admits: «On the other hand the expression 'sons' sons' recurs in verses 2, 3ᵇ, and 5ᵇ, so that the text of a b [= 12 25] may be right». (79) Dillmann (necessarily), Goldmann, and Hartom have only «sons», but Littmann (57-58, n. 1) rightly rejected Charles' involved hypothesis: «... doch müsste wohl zunächst des Parallelismus im Äth. wegen wayādqeqe-wōmu gelesen werden; sodann passt die Bedeutung von 'adqaqa «zerstossen» nicht gut, und auch sonst stimmt V. 1 nicht ganz zu jener Parallelstelle». (58). It should be added that the Syncellus passage only alludes to the content of this verse; it does not quote it. It is surprising that Berger reads only «die Söhne Noahs» without comment.

to make them act foolishly: Or: to deceive them.

10:3 of your children: Mss. 12 35 58 have ውሉድየ (= my children), which was read by Charles in 1895 (see Littmann, 58, n. b; Hartom), while mss. 21 39 48 offer ገብርከ (= your servant [cf. 10:5]). It may be that the problem your children/my children arose when Greek υἱῶν μου and υἱῶν σου were interchanged.

order to destroy them from the earth. 10:4 Now you bless me and my
children so that we may increase, become numerous, and fill the earth.
10:5 You know how your Watchers, the fathers of these spirits, have
acted during my lifetime. As for these spirits who have remained alive,
5 imprison them and hold them captive in the place of judgment. May
they not cause destruction among your servant's sons, my God, for
they are savage and were created for the purpose of destroying.
10:6 May they not rule the spirits of the living for you alone know
their punishment; and may they not have power over the sons of the
10 righteous from now and forevermore'. 10:7 Then our God told us to tie
up each one.

   10:8 When Mastema, the leader of the spirits, came, he said: 'Lord
creator, leave some of them before me; let them listen to me and do
everything that I tell them, because if none of them is left for me I shall
15 not be able to exercise the authority of my will among mankind. For
they are meant for (the purposes of) destroying and misleading before
my punishment because the evil of mankind is great'. 10:9 Then he said
that a tenth of them should be left before him, while he would make
nine parts descend to the place of judgment. 10:10 He told one of us
20 that we should teach Noah all their medicines because he knew

   10:6 you alone know their punishment: Charles (1902, p. 80, n.) emended ትነኩፍሙ to
ኮኍፍ ፡ ስሙ (= «thou alone canst exercise dominion over them»). It is unclear why he
thought a change was needed.

   10:8 Mastema: Syncellus uses ὁ διάβολος for this leader of the spirits. For full lists of
references to him in Jubilees and elsewhere, see Charles, 1902, p. 80, n.; and Berger, 379-
80, n. a to v 8. In Jub 10:11 he is called by the title ስይፍጝ.

   10:9 that ... he would make: Beginning with Dillmann in 1850, the translators have
regarded the words following ይስ as a direct quotation (so Littmann, Charles, Hartom,
Berger). This interpretation is reasonable for the first clause (with the verb ይትረፉ) but it
would be awkward for the second clause where ይሙርኛ is the superior reading (unless
Mastema is the subject — which is implausible). Charles (1895) read ይሙርኛ but
translated (1902 — without a note): «let nine parts descend». But መኅረስት cannot be the
subject because it is in the accusative case, and moreover the verb is in the causative
conjugation. Berger has preferred a plural form of the verb. Unless the deity is addressing
an angel (cf. the beginning of v 10), the Lord must be the subject of ይሙርኛ For these
reasons, the sentence has been translated as indirect speech (the verb ይስ need not be
followed by ህሙ for indirect speech; see Dillmann, Lexicon, 483). Syncellus, whose text is
very periphrastic at this point, offers no assistance in this matter; nor does the Hebrew
Book of Noah.

   10:10 that we should: Littmann and Berger have again translated as though this were
direct speech. In that case, God would be including himself in the summons to teach. But
the following verse (We acted in accord with his entire command) and the presence of ህሙ
suggest strongly that Charles was correct in rendering the sentence as indirect discourse.

   teach ... medicines: The Hebrew Book of Noah, which expands this verse, includes the

that they would neither conduct themselves properly nor fight fairly. 10:11 We acted in accord with his entire command. All of the evil ones who were savage we tied up in the place of judgment, while we left a tenth of them to exercise power on the earth before the satan. 10:12 We told Noah all the medicines for their diseases with their deceptions so that he could cure (them) by means of the earth's plants. 10:13 Noah wrote down in a book everything (just) as we had taught him regarding all the kinds of medicine, and the evil spirits were precluded from pursuing Noah's children. 10:14 He gave all the books that he had written to his oldest son Shem because he loved him much more than all his sons.

10:15 Noah slept with his fathers and was buried on Mt. Lubar in the land of Ararat. 10:16 He completed 950 years in his lifetime — 19 jubilees, two weeks, and five years — 10:17 (he) who lived longer on the earth than (other) people except Enoch because of his righteousness in which he was perfect ([i.e.] in his righteousness); because Enoch's

words: וללמדו כל דברי רפואתם למרפא ולחיים (see Charles, 1895, Appendix 1, p. 179). The angel in question there is Raphael, whose name is related to the root רפא.

10:11 exercise power: Charles (1902) translated as «be subject» (following the reading of ms 38ᶜ; so Hartom); Goldmann gives יָשֵׁם. However, the Hebrew Book of Noah, in a list of actions which the remaining tenth is to perform, uses the phrase לרדות בם (see Charles, 1895, Appendix 1, p. 179) which supports the reading ለሐይል that is preferred here.

10:12 plants: The word ዕፅ (attested by the oldest mss.; later ones, including 25, have a plural which could be defended as correct [see עצי in the Hebrew Book of Noah]) usually means «tree, wood» (Littmann and Goldmann render as «trees»). But a more general sense is required in this context. Hence Dillmann and Berger use «Pflanzen», Charles uses for «herbs» (1902; see also 1895, p. 37, n. 22), and Hartom gives צמחי. DILLMANN (Lexicon, 1025) noted that in Wis 7:20 ዕፅ stands where the Greek text has φυτά.

The Hebrew Book of Noah overlaps significantly with Jub 10:12: ואת רפואות נעי בני אדם וכל מיני רפואות הגיד המלאר לרפא בעצי הארץ וצמחי האדמה ועיקריה וישלח את שרי הרוחות הנותרים מהם להראות לנח ולהגיד לו את עצי הרפואות עם כל דשאיהם ועיקריהם ועשביהם ועיקריהם וזירועיהם למה נבראו (Charles, 1895, Appendix 1, p. 179).

10:13 from pursuing: Literally: from after. The Hebrew Book of Noah also mentions Noah's writing of a book as does v 13a.

10:14 He gave ... Shem: The Hebrew Book of Noah: ויתנהו לשם בנו הגדול (Charles, 1895, Appendix 1, p. 179).

10:16 19 jubilees: The number 12 has surprising support among the mss., though it is obviously wrong (cf. Gen 9:29). It may be that the number «two» in the phrase «two weeks» which immediately follows misled a scribe into writing «ten-and-two» rather than «ten-and-nine».

10:17 lived longer: The words አፈድፈደ : ሕይወ clearly mean this, but the thought seems wrong, as some of his ancestors had lived longer lives. Charles (1895, p. 37, n. 31) emended the infinitive ሕይወ to ሕይዎ and translated (1902) as: «in his life on earth he excelled ...» Dillmann (1850) had translated in a similar fashion («U. sein leben auf erden

work was something created as a testimony for the generations of
eternity so that he should report all deeds throughout generation after
generation on the day of judgment.

10:18 During the thirty-third jubilee, in the first year in this second
5   week [1576], Peleg married a woman whose name was Lomna, the
daughter of Sinaor. She gave birth to a son for him in the fourth year
of this week [1579], and he named him Ragew, for he said: 'Mankind
has now become evil through the perverse plan to build themselves a
city and tower in the land of Shinar'. 10:19 For they had emigrated
10 from the land of Ararat toward the east, to Shinar, because in his
lifetime they built the city and the tower, saying: 'Let us ascend
through it to heaven'. 10:20 They began to build. In the fourth week
[1590-96] they used fire for baking and bricks served them as stones.
The mud with which they were plastering was asphalt which comes
15 from the sea and from the water springs in the land of Shinar.
10:21 They built it; they spent 43 years building it (with) complete

war ausgezeichneter als ...»), as do Hartom and Berger. Goldmann retains the text. If one
follows the Ethiopic text, the thought appears to be that Noah, who lived for 950 years
despite the limitation imposed in Gen 6:3, outlived his contemporaries in the generation
of the deluge because of his extraordinary righteousness. Enoch was, however, an
exception, as the sequel indicates. He had been born before Noah but lived beyond the
flood hero's time, though he no longer resided on the earth (see 4:23-25). Note that the
last part of v 17 stresses the temporal continuity of Enoch's work throughout the
generations.

on (the day): Charles (1895, p. 37, n. 36) changed ቢ to ለ (note that ms. 63 has እስህ) to
make the text conform with 4:24. Littmann (58, n. i) and Hartom (who translates with
עד) agree with Charles, but Goldmann and Berger have properly retained the text.

10:18 Sinaor: This name and the one that is translated «Shinar» are meant to be the
same. Cf. v 19.

Ragew: MT spells the name רעו (Gen 11:18), but LXX has 'Ραγαύ which is reflected
here. As Charles (1902, p. 82, n.) noticed, there is a play on the meaning of the name in
the expression «has (now) become evil».

through: Dillmann (1859) and Charles (1895) read ቢ which is attested by several later
mss.; the earliest and best ones have ለ (= to, for). Through the latter is more difficult, it
may have the sense of «with respect to». The translation «through» is an attempt to
capture this sense in the context.

10:20 used fire for baking: Literally: burned/baked in fire. Charles (1895, p. 37, n. 45)
emended ወፈሱ to ፐፀፈሩ: «they made brick» (1902) and in this he has been followed by
Littmann (59, n. c), Goldmann, and Hartom (45, n.). Berger, though, properly considers
Charles' emendation superfluous. Several mss., including 25, have ወፈሰሱ which must be
a copying error for ወፈሱ.

10:21 The Ethiopic text of this verse appears to be the product of several mistakes
which were made in the history of its transmission. It now appears in such garbled form
that Dillmann (1850) declined to translate the text after the words «43 years». The Catena
of Nicephorus, which contains a text-form with a greater claim to being original, is of

bricks *whose width* was 13 (units) and whose height was a third of one (unit). Its height rose to 5433 cubits, two spans, and thirteen stades.

10:22 Then the Lord our God said to us: 'The people here are one, and they have begun to work. Now nothing will elude them. Come, let us go down and confuse their tongues so that they do not understand one another and are dispersed into cities and nations and one plan no longer remains with them until the day of judgment'. 10:23 So the Lord went down and we went down with him to see the city and the tower which mankind had built. 10:24 He confused every sound of their tongues; no one any longer understood what the other was saying. Then they stopped building the city and the tower. 10:25 For this

some assistance in locating where mistakes occurred. The following are the problematic readings.

complete bricks: Charles (1895, p. 37, n. 50) emended ፍጽም (= complete) to ኣፍዱ (= its breadth) which agrees with τὸ πλάτος in the Catena. Littmann and Hartom have accepted his attractive proposal, but Berger takes ፍጽም as an adverb and renders «genau» (DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 1388-89, where he includes «plene, perfecte, exacte» as possible meanings). It is tempting to follow Berger, but the question remains for which object are measurements being given. The present Ethiopic text seems to be giving the dimensions of one brick without specifying the units that are being used. If so, Berger's suggestion is unnecessary.

whose width was 13 (units): The text has « 13 in it». This has impressed commentators as being incorrect, especially in light of the Catena passage. The consensus has been to follow the Catena and read «its breadth was 203 bricks» (= Charles, 1902; see 1895, p. 37, n. 51; for the words «its breadth» see the preceding note). While this produces a reasonable text, one should exercise some caution in using Nicephorus to correct the Ethiopic text because not all of his information comes from Jubilees — at least in its present form. It is possible that a two stage process gave rise to the received text: 1. The Hebrew may have been: שלש עשרה רחבה = its width was 13. The fact that the consonants רח and רה are almost identical in appearance may have caused the eye of a scribe or translator to skip from one to the other, producing a text that read עשרה שלש בה — the basis for the Ethiopic. 2. But the number « 13» may not be original, since the Catena here has 203 bricks. If in fact the width is under consideration, 203 is more likely because the height is given as 5433 cubits (the same number appears in the Syriac list of the names of patriarchal wives). Perhaps at some stage before the error described in 1. (above) occurred the number 203 was written in letters (רג) and misread as יג (= 13).

thirteen stades: The number makes no sense as the last (and presumably smallest) unit in the height of the tower. In the Catena, the 13 stades are the extent of a wall. Jerome (Epistola and Fabiolam, mansione 18) wrote that he had found the word רסה in «parva Genesis» (= Jubilees) in the story about the building of the tower and that it was used there for *stadio* (for the word רסה see Num 33:21, 22). A ריס was about 2/5 of a mile. Consequently, Charles (1902, p. 83) emended the verse to agree at this point with the Catena. It does seem quite likely that a word for «wall» has disappeared from the text — a view favored by RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 277).

10:22 elude: Literally: come to an end, disappear.

10:24 and the tower: These words are found also in Sam LXX OL and EthGen 11:8, but not in MT Syriac and the targums.

reason the whole land of Shinar was named Babel because there God confused all the tongues of mankind. From there they were dispersed into their cities, each according to their languages and their nations. 10:26 The Lord sent a wind at the tower and tipped it to the ground. It
5 is now between Asshur and Babylon, in the land of Shinar. He named it the Collapse.

10:27 In the fourth week, during the first year — at its beginning — of the thirty-fourth jubilee [1639], they were dispersed from the land of Shinar. 10:28 Ham and his sons went into the land which he was to
10 occupy, which he had acquired as his share, in the southern country. 10:29 When Canaan saw that the land of Lebanon as far as the stream of Egypt was very beautiful, he did not go to his hereditary land to the west of the sea. He settled in the land of Lebanon, on the east and west, from the border of Lebanon and on the seacoast. 10:30 His father
15 Ham and his brothers Cush and Mizraim said to him: 'You have settled in a land which was not yours and did not emerge for us by lot. Do not act this way, for if you do act this way both you and your children will fall in the land and be cursed with rebellion, because you have settled in rebellion and in rebellion your children will fall and be
20 uprooted forever. 10:31 Do not settle in Shem's residence because it emerged by their lot for Shem and his sons. 10:32 You are cursed and will be cursed more than all of Noah's children through the curse by which we obligated ourselves with an oath before the holy judge and before our father Noah'. 10:33 But he did not listen to them. He settled

10:27 [1639]: Charles (1902) erroneously gives 1688.

10:28 southern: The Ethiopic word ደቡብ usually means «north», but it can mean «south», as it must here in light of what has been said about the location of Ham's holdings (8:22-24 [cf. 9:1]). See DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 1106; Charles, 1902, p. 84, n.

10:29 stream of Egypt: The Syriac «border» is recognized even by Tisserant («Fragments syriaques», 207-8) as being incorrect. He notes that the normal translation in the Peshitta for Hebrew נחל is ܪܓܠܐ but that use of it here would have suggested the Nile to a reader. In Syriac «the sons of Canaan» is also unlikely to be original, and the reference to Joktan is peculiar, as is the allusion to Ham, since Joktan was from Shem's line (Gen 10:25; see Tisserant, ibid., 208).

Lebanon[3]: A strongly supported variant, which is preferred by Charles, Littmann, Goldmann, Hartom, and Berger is «Jordan» (Ethiopic ሊባኖስ / ዮርዳኖስ).

10:30 rebellion: As Charles (1902, p. 85, n.) indicated, Syncellus (83.17-18) uses similar language in describing Canaan's actions: νεωτερίσας ὁ τοῦ Χὰμ υἱὸς Χαναὰν ἐπέβη τοῖς ὁρίοις τοῦ Σὴμ καὶ κατῴκησεν ἐκεῖ παραβὰς τὴν ἐντολὴν Νῶε ... Cf. RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 292. The citation from Theodosius follows the text of Jubilees only very loosely.

in the land of Lebanon — from Hamath to the entrance of Egypt — he
and his sons until the present. 10:34 For this reason that land was
named the land of Canaan.

10:35 Japheth and his sons went toward the sea and settled in
the land of their share. Madai saw the land near the sea but it did   5
not please him. So he pleaded (for land) from Elam, Asshur, and
Arpachshad, his wife's brother. He has settled in the land of Medeqin
near his wife's brother until the present. 10:36 He named the place
where he lived and the place where his children lived Medeqin after
their father Madaï.   10

11:1 In the thirty-fifth jubilee, during the third week — in its first
year [1681] — Ragew married a woman whose name was Ara, the
daughter of Ur, Kesed's son. She gave birth to a son for him, and he
named him Serug in the seventh *year* of this week [1687]. 11:2 During
this jubilee Noah's children began to fight one another, to take cap-   15
tives, and to kill one another; to shed human blood on the earth, to
consume blood; to build fortified cities, walls, and towers; men to
elevate themselves over peoples, to set up the first kingdoms; to go to
war — people against people, nations against nations, city against city;
and everyone to do evil, to acquire weapons, and to teach warfare to   20
their sons. City began to capture city and to sell male and female slaves.

10:35 near the sea: Literally: of the sea.

11:1 *year*: The text reads «week» (ሰ·ባዕቱ·) which can hardly be correct. Perhaps the
preceding word ሳብዕ, which resembles ሰ·ባዕቱ·, caused a scribe to write the wrong word.
Dillmann (1859, p. 45, n. 9) emended to ዓመት, as did Charles (1895, p. 39, n. 7).

11:2 During this jubilee: The mss. are divided about the place where one verse or
sentence (v 1) ends and the next begins. A broadly supported option is to omit ወ before
በዝ : አይኅሊአሙ (in v 1) and to place the conjunction before ወአኅዘ in v 2. With these
readings the text could be translated: «in the seventh *year* of this week during this jubilee.
Then Noah's children began ...» (so Dillmann, 1859 [translated in 1851: 'und dieses
Jubiläums. — U. die söhne Noahs ...»], Charles, Littmann, Goldmann, Hartom, and
Berger) The rendering given above is based on the readings of another group of mss.
which place ወ before በዝ : አይኅሊአሙ and thus date the beginning of quarrels (v 2) to this
jubilee. An additional reference to a jubilee at the end of v 1 would be superfluous, while it
is meaningful at the beginning of v 2.

Cedrenus (see DENIS, *Fragmenta*, 89) wrote in this context words that are reminiscent
of several phrases in 11:2 (*Historiarum Compendium* 47.2-5): ἐπὶ τούτου οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸν
κατ' ἀλλήλων αὐξήσαντες τῦφον στρατηγούς τε ἑαυτοῖς κατεστήσαντο καὶ βασιλεῖς.
καὶ τότε πρώτως πολεμικὰ κατασκευάσαντες ὄργανα πολεμεῖν ἀλλήλοις ἐνήρξαντο. See
also RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen.* 307; Charles, 1902, p. 86, n; the information is from
the Anonymous Chronicle according to Milik, «Recherches sur la version grecque», 556.

men to elevate themselves: Or: individuals to elevate themselves. Charles (1895, p. 39,
n. 14) emended ተላዕሉ to ላዕሉ (= to raise). Littmann (60, n. f) accepted the change,
but Charles later withdrew it as unnecessary (1902, p. 86, n.).

11:3 *Ur*, Kesed's son, built the city of Ara of the Chaldeans. He named it after himself and his father. 11:4 They made molten images for themselves. Each one would worship the idol which he had made as his own molten image. They began to make statues, images, and unclean things; the spirits of the savage ones were helping and misleading (them) so that they would commit sins, impurities, and transgression. 11:5 Prince Mastema was exerting his power in effecting all these actions and, by means of the spirits, he was sending to those who were placed under his control (the ability) to commit every (kind of) error and sin and every (kind of) transgression; to corrupt, to destroy, and to shed blood on the earth. 11:6 For this reason Serug was named Serug: because everyone turned to commit every (kind of) sin.

11:7 He grew up and settled in Ur of the Chaldeans near the father of his wife's mother. He was a worshiper of idols. During the thirty-sixth jubilee, in the fifth week, in its first year [1744], he married a woman whose name was Melcha, the daughter of Kaber, the daughter of his father's brother. 11:8 She gave birth to Nahor for him during the first year of this week [1744]. He grew up and settled in Ur — in the

11:3 *Ur*: The form ኡር, which appears in all the mss. except 38ᶜ, probably resulted when Hebrew ר and ד were confused.

Ara of the Chaldeans: These words must be referring to אור כשׂדים (Charles, 1902, p. 86, n.; Goldmann; and Hartom).

11:4 unclean things: Dillmann (1859) and Charles (1895) omitted the conjunction before ርኩስ and took it as an adjective modifying ግብል. Reading the conjunction, however, has stronger support among the mss.

spirits of the savage ones: The construct form መናፍስት is far more strongly attested than the absolute form read by both Dillmann (1859) and Charles (1895) and presupposed by all translators. For ዐማፅያን mss. 20 25 35 44 47 63 have ችሉ፡ን.

11:5 by means of the spirits: Charles (1895, p. 39, n. 40) emended ብእዝ to ፀብእ (= other) and added an accusative ending to መናፍስት. Littmann and Hartom translate his emended text without comment, as did Charles himself (1902), but there is no need for the change.

to those: Though none of the translators indicates this, the relative pronoun እለ is preceded by the preposition ለ (only mss. 21 58 omit it; the preposition is in Dillmann's and Charles' editions of the text) which appears regularly after the verb ልእከ. So, the sentence has Mastema sending something (ability?) by means of the spirits to another group. It is possible that the translators have understood the preposition to have a resumptive force (cf. DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 23, 6) d)), but that usage occurs with accusative constructions in which the first object is expressed in the accusative form and later ones may be introduced by ለ.

11:8 in the one that is the Ur: There is some uncertainty in the mss. at this point, but, inspite of the choice by Dillmann (1859) and Charles (1895) to omit these words, the longer text has more impressive ms. backing (as Berger, too, has recognized [387, n. a to v 8]).

Cedrenus reflects several phrases in this verse but does not quote it.

one that is the Ur of the Chaldeans. His father taught him the studies of Chaldeans: to practice divination and to augur by the signs of the sky. 11:9 During the thirty-seventh jubilee, in the sixth week, in its first year [1800], he married a woman whose name was Iyaseka, the daughter of Nestag of the Chaldeans. 11:10 She gave birth to Terah for him   5
in the seventh year of this week [1806].

11:11 Then Prince Mastema sent ravens and birds to eat the seed which would be planted in the ground and to destroy the land in order to rob mankind of their labors. Before they plowed in the seed, the ravens would pick (it) from the surface of the ground. 11:12 For this   10
reason he named him Terah: because the ravens and birds reduced them to povery and ate their seed. 11:13 The years began to be unfruitful due to the birds. They would eat all the fruit of the trees from the orchards. During their time, if they were able to save a little of all the fruit of the earth, it was with great effort.   15

11:14 During the thirty-ninth jubilee, in the second week, in the first year [1870], Terah married a woman whose name was Edna, the daughter of Abram, the daughter of his father's sister. 11:15 In the

---

11:10-13 Jerome (Epistola 78, ad Fabiolam, Mansio 24 [PG 22.713]) clearly refers to this passage in his comment on Num 33:27: Et profecti de Thaath, castra metati sunt in Thare (Num. 33.27) ... Hoc eodem vocabulo [= Thare] et iisdem litteris scriptum invenio patrem Abraham, qui in supradicto apocrypho Geneseos volumine, abactis corvis, qui hominum frumenta vastabant, *abactoris*, vel *depulsoris* sortitus est nomen. Cf. RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 266-67; Charles, 1902, p. 88, n.

11:14 the (thirty-ninth): Literally: this. Here the demonstrative probably renders a Greek definite article. As the thirty-ninth jubilee has not yet been mentioned, a demonstrative would have no referent. It is omitted by mss. 20 21 58.

Names of the Patriarchal Wives

Patriarchs	Ethiopic	Syriac List	Codex Basel	Other
Shem	ሰዳቃተልባበ	ܢܘܡ ܒܪ		
Ham	ኔኣተማኩክ	ܠܒܣܘܩܘܣ		
Japheth	አደታዪበስ	ܐܝܬܘܪܝ		
Arpachshad	ራሱኣይ	ܐܘܡܪ		
Kainan	ሚዓክ	ܡܠܒܐ	μελχα	
Shelah	መውኣክ	ܡܘܟܐ	μωαχα	
Eber	አዘራዴ	ܐܙܘܪܐ	αζουρα	
Peleg	ሎምኝ	ܠܘܡܢ	δυμνα	
Ragew	ኣራ	ܐܘܪܐ	ωρα	
Serug	ሚዓክ	ܡܠܒܐ	μελχα	
Nahor	ኢያስከ	ܐܣܘܟ	ιεσθα	
Terah	ኤዳና	ܐܕܢܐ		Ἔδνα (Cedrenus)

seventh year of this week [1876] she gave birth to a son for him, and he named him Abram after his mother's father because he had died before his daughter's son was conceived. 11:16 The child began to realize the errors of the earth — that everyone was going astray after the statues
5 and after impurity. His father taught him (the art of) writing. When he was two weeks of years [= 14 years], he separated from his father in order not to worship idols with him. 11:17 He began to pray to the creator of all that he would save him from the errors of mankind and that it might not fall to his share to go astray after impurity and
10 wickedness.

11:18 When the time for planting seeds in the ground arrived, all of them went out together to guard the seed from the ravens. Abram — a child of 14 years — went out with those who were going out. 11:19 As a cloud of ravens came to eat the seed, Abram would run at them before
15 they could settle on the ground. He would shout at them before they could settle on the ground to eat the seed and would say: 'Do not come

11:15 seventh year of this week: When coupled with the date of Terah's birth in 11:10, this chronological note indicates that Terah was 70 years of age when Abram was born (= Gen 11:26). Cedrenus echoes this fact and some others found in Jubilees: his wife's name was Edna; Abram was named after his maternal grandfather who had died before the child was born. In the Syriac list of the names of patriarchal wives one finds similar information: «she gave birth to a son and named him Abram after her father». Cf. also Syncellus, *Chronographia* 183.17-19.

11:16 impurity: Syriac has «molten images». Tisserant («Fragments syriaques», 212) again prefers the Syriac term which is cognate with Hebrew מסכה. He thought that ርኩስ «... a pu s'introduire dans la version éthiopienne sous l'influence des LXX (Deut. xxvii, 15) γλυπτὸν καὶ χωνευτὸν βδέλυγμα, car le mot associé à gĕlēfō [*sic*] (= γλυπτόν, cf. ܓܠܝܦܐ) dans le texte éthiopien des *Jubilés*, est précisément *rekwas*, qui traduit βδέλυγμα dans ce passage du Deutéronome». Though Berger (389, n. c to v 16) accepts Tisserant's argument, one could also argue that the author of the Syriac Chronicle altered the text so that he could have a synonymous pair, while Jubilees has a more difficult reading which is more likely to be original. See Jub 11:17 where ስሕተ ፡ ርኩስ is again used.

two weeks of years: Syriac gives the number 12. S.P. Brock («Abraham and the Ravens: A Syriac Counterpart to Jubilees 11-12 and Its Implications», *JSJ* 9 [1978] 148) observes that the number 12 may be a corruption (there is one in 12:12) but notes that in the Kebra Nagast, sec. 13 Terah sends Abraham to see idols at the age of 12. The Syriac citation locates Abraham's (not Abram's) separation from his father at a later point in the tale.

11:17 not fall to his share: Literally: his share should not go down.

11:19 and would say: Before the quotation the Ethiopic text has the words ወይቤላ, though one might have expected እንዘ ፡ ይብል. The Syriac uses ܐܡܪ ܟܕ (a participial construction). The form does not mean «and said» as the translators have rendered it. The verbal form is, like the other main verbs in the verse, imperfect in tense; all of them indicate habitual action. The Syriac citation uses the compound ܗܘܐ ܡܟܢܫ to express the same meaning.

down; return to the place from which you came'! And they returned. 11:20 That day he did (this) to the cloud of ravens 70 times. Not a single raven remained in any of the fields where Abram was. 11:21 All who were with him in any of the fields would see him shouting: then all of the ravens returned (to their place). His reputation grew large 5 throughout the entire land of the Chaldeans. 11:22 All who were planting seed came to him in this year, and he kept going with them until the seedtime came to an end. They planted their land and that year brought in enough food. So they ate and were filled.

11:23 In the first year of the fifth week [1891] Abram taught the 10 people who made equipment for bulls — the skillful woodworkers — and they made an implement above the ground, opposite the plow beam, so that one could place seed on it. The seed would then drop down from it onto the end of the plow and be hidden in the ground; and they would no longer be afraid of the ravens. 11:24 They made 15

they returned: The Syriac again uses a compound (ܘܗܘ ܗܦܟ); compare the imperfect verb in mss. 20 25 44.

11:20 he did (this): Several mss. read a plural verb, while 38 has ገብኡ rather than ገብኡ. Charles read ገብረ in 1895, but in 1902 (p. 90, n.) he suggested that it be emended to አግብአ (= he caused to turn back [so Hartom]) or, if ገብረ were retained, that ይትሞፅዉ be understood after the word ሰብእ. Littmann (61, n. e) accepted the reading of ms. 38, but Berger has rendered with «er tat (es)». The Syriac verb ܐܗܦܟ would appear to support Charles' conjecture of አግብአ (see Tisserant, «Fragments syriaques», 212), but, however appealing it may be to adopt its reading, it should be recognized that the Syriac citation is rather free in this context and that as a result the verb may be the work of the chronicler. Note also the preposition ለ before ደመና — what would be its function if the emendation of the Ethiopic were accepted?

70 times: Berger translates as: «als Mensch ... siebzigmal». The words «als Mensch» he derives from the reading ሰብአ (accusative ending) in mss. 17 20 39 42 44 47 48 (58 63 have the same word but without the accusative ending) where the other mss. have the number ሰብዓ. But if Berger adopts the reading ሰብአ, he has no basis for adding «siebzigmal». ሰብአ is a transparent mistake for ሰብዓ, as the Syriac also shows.

After it summarizes the contents of 11:20, the Syriac has an expansion which, as Brock («Abraham and the Ravens», 149) has shown, comes from a Syriac account of this episode that can be reconstructed from the divergent versions which are found in a letter of Jacob of Edessa to John of Litarba and in the Catena Severi (see pp. 137-39 for the texts; but see also Tisserant, «Fragments syriaques», 213).

remained: Or: settled. The verb (ነበረ) is the same as the one which appears twice in 11:19 (translated «could settle» in both cases).

11:22 enough food: The Ethiopic word-play እክል/እኩል, though not found in the earliest mss. (other than the form እኩል in ms. 9), seems the best reading. The ኵሉ of ms. 17 and the እኩይ of 58 are corruptions of እኩል, and omission of እኩል by eight mss. was caused by its visual similarity to እክል.

11:23 In this verse, the Syriac citation omits the date and otherwise abbreviates, but the material which it does include coincides very closely with the Ethiopic text.

(something) like this above the ground on every plow beam. They planted seed, and all the land did as Abram told them. So they were no longer afraid of the birds.

12:1 During the sixth week, in its seventh year [1904], Abram said to
5   his father Terah: 'My father'. He said: 'Yes, my son'? 12:2 He said: 'What help and advantage do we get from these idols before which you worship and prostrate yourself? 12:3 For there is no spirit in them because they are dumb. They are an error of the mind. Do not worship them. 12:4 Worship the God of heaven who makes the rain and dew
10 fall on the earth and makes everything on the earth. He created everything by his word; and all life (comes) from his presence. 12:5 Why do you worship those things which have no spirit in them? For they are made by hands and you carry them on your shoulders. You receive no help from them, but instead they are a great shame for
15 those who make them and an error of the mind for those who worship them. Do not worship them'. 12:6 Then he said to him: 'I, too, know

11:24 all the land did: All of the translators have followed the reading of ms. 38 (now also backed by 21 63) which places the words translated «all the land» in the accusative case, thus making the phrase the object of ገብሩ: they tilled all the land. But the accusative endings are poorly attested; all of the better copies make ኵሉ ፡ ምድር the subject of the verb.

birds: Several of the best authorities, under the influence of the end of v 23, read «ravens». It is possible that the Syriac once had this secondary reading and that it omitted the verse by parablepsis from the last word of v 23. But, since the Syriac regularly shortens the text, the same may have happened here as well.

12:2 help and advantage: Besides abbreviating the verse, the Syriac citation transposes these nouns.

12:3 Do not worship: The verb is plural (as in vv 4-5).

12:4 Worship: The Ethiopic verb is plural in agreement with others in the context, but Syriac employs a singular form. Its material parallel to this verse comes slightly later (see Tisserant, «Fragments syriaques», 213, for the rearrangement in this section).

on the earth ... on the earth: The repetition of this phrase has led to omission of a clause («and makes everything on the earth») in mss. 17 21 25 38ᵗ.

earth ... presence: The Syriac citation departs sharply from the text reflected in the Ethiopic tradition for the end of the verse. For the Syriac ending, see Jacob of Edessa (these words come just after the ravens episode): «For just as you said, I am the God who has made heaven and earth, and to me belongs everything in them». (from Brock, «Abraham and the Ravens», 138). The Ethiopic text appears more original than the general, summary formulation in the Syriac.

12:5 your shoulders: In the Ethiopic text second-person plural forms are used consistently in 12:3-5. Here the Syriac supports the plural suffix (note that the material from Jubilees is in a different order in the Syriac than in the Ethiopic).

12:6 he said: Ten Ethiopic mss., including 20 25 35, add ኣሰው (ታሪ in 38), but Syriac supports the shorter text.

(this), my son. What shall I do with the people who have ordered me to serve in their presence? 12:7 If I tell them what is right, they will kill me because they themselves are attached to them so that they worship and praise them. Be quiet, my son, so that they do not kill you'. 12:8 When he told these things to his two brothers and they became   5
angry at him, he remained silent.

12:9 During the fortieth jubilee, in the second week, in its seventh year [1925], Abram married a woman whose name was Sarai, the daughter of his father, and she became his wife. 12:10 His brother Haran married a woman in the third year of the third week [1928], and   10
she gave birth to a son for him in the seventh year of this week [1932]. He named him Lot. 12:11 His brother Nahor also got married.

12:12 In the sixtieth year of Abram's life (which was the fourth week, in its fourth year [1936], Abram got up at night and burned the temple of the idols. He burned everything in the temple but no one knew   15
(about it). 12:13 They got up at night and wanted to save their gods from the fire. 12:14 Haran dashed in to save them, but the fire raged over him. He was burned in the fire and died in *Ur* of the Chaldeans before his father Terah. They buried him in *Ur* of the Chaldeans.

the people: Syriac adds «all».

ordered: The best Ethiopic reading is አዘዘ, while ረሰየ is a strongly supported variant. Syriac uses ܐܡܪܘ. Possibly פקד stood in the original, and both versions preserve aspects of its meanings. Goldmann renders with צוה, and Hartom translates with נתנוני.

12:7 them so that they worship and praise them: The Syriac, which otherwise renders the verse virtually verbatim, appears to summarize these words with ܕܠܗܝܢ (cf. Berger, 392, n. b to v 7).

12:8 he remained silent: Mss. 9 17 38 58 63 have a plural form of the verb — a reading which Berger has adopted («sie brachten ihn zum Schweigen» [i.e., he supplies an object for the verb]); but the plural is more readily explained as an adaptation to the plural verbs which precede than as the original form.

12:9 Sarai: The Ethiopic spelling is ሦራ (as in EthGen 11:29, etc.). In Jub 15:15 she will be renamed ሣራ.

12:12 sixtieth: Syriac has 56 and Syncellus 61 (in a different chronological system). Brock («Abraham and the Ravens», 148) explains the Syriac number as «... a corruption due to a misreading of *semkath* (= 60) as *nun* + *waw* (= 56)». Jacob of Edessa also gives his age as 60 (see ibid., 138).

temple of the idols: Syriac: temple of Kainan. See Brock («Abraham and the Ravens», 149-50; cf. 141) for an explanation of the Babylonian idol's name Kainan. It figures also in the accounts of Jacob of Edessa and the Catena Severi (ibid., 138) and is probably related to the name Kainan which is included in the genealogy of Genesis 11 by the LXX tradition (with Jub 8:1-5). Syncellus uses the words «idols of his father».

12:14 them: Syriac: the temple.

Ur ... *Ur*: In both instances the best mss. have ኢኡር; only 12 and 38ᶜ preserve the correct form. Berger, though he gives the wrong reading for 25 (his B), has solved the

12:15 Then Terah left Ur of the Chaldeans — he and his sons — to go
to the land of Lebanon and the land of Canaan. He settled in Haran,
and Abram lived with his father in Haran for two weeks of years.

12:16 In the sixth week, during its fifth year [1951], Abram sat at
5 night — at the beginning of the seventh month — to observe the stars
from evening to dawn in order to see what would be the character of
the year with respect to the rains. He was sitting and observing by
himself. 12:17 A voice came to his mind and he said: 'All the signs of
the stars and signs of the moon and the sun — all are under the Lord's
10 control. Why should I be investigating (them)? 12:18 If he wishes he
will make it rain in the morning and evening; and if he wishes, he will
not make it fall. Everything is under his control'.

---

problem by noting that ኡር = ἐν Οὺρ which was contracted into a single word and
transcribed (393, n. d to v 14). Presumably the preposition ቢ was added after the
contraction and transcription had occurred.

12:15 and (his sons): A.S. van der Woude («Fragmente des Buches Jubiläen aus
Qumran Höhle XI [11QJub]», in *Tradition und Glaube: Das frühe Christentum in seiner
Umwelt* [ed. G. Jeremias, H.W. Kuhn, and H. Stegemann; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck &
Ruprecht, 1971] 144) related the conjunction in 11QJub 4.1 (the only preserved letter on
the line) to the next instance of ወ in the Ethiopic text, but the line would be too short in
that case. The reconstruction of the text here follows that given in VANDERKAM, *Textual
and Historical Studies*, 39-40.

Haran: Many mss. place ምድረ before this name (12 20 25 35 39 42 44 47 48 58), but
the resulting phrase is not found in Genesis (see VANDERKAM, *Textual and Historical
Studies*, 40, where it is maintained that ארץ probably did not figure in 11QJub 4 either).
Neither the Syriac citation nor Syncellus attests «land of» before «Haran».

with his father: Many mss. add ታሪ, unlike the Syriac. For 11QJub 4.2, see VANDER-
KAM, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 41.

two weeks of years: Syriac supplies the equivalent number of 14 years (Tisserant,
«Fragments syriaques», 208, erroneously gives ܝ in the text but correctly translates as
«quatorze» [211]). The Syriac dates Abraham's (the Chronicle always uses the full name)
departure to his sixtieth year — a date which tallies with Jub 12:12 where the Syriac
mistakenly gives 56. The combined information of 12:12 and 12:28 indicate a gap of three
years between the temple fire and the departure from Ur. On this, see Brock, «Abraham
and the Ravens», 141-46.

12:16 during its fifth: 11QJub 4.3 confirms the reading. The Syriac citation also has
«fifth year», but as the chronicler does not use the week/year system of Jubilees this
appears to be a mistake for «fifteenth» (12:12 = 1936; 12:16 = 1951; cf. Tisserant,
«Fragments syriaques», 208, n. 1).

12:17 A voice came to his mind: Literally: a voice came to his heart. Ethiopic ቃል can
mean «voice, word». The Syriac citation has ܩܠܐ. It is likely that these two words
reflect the same original (both Goldmann and Hartom use דבר).

12:18 in the morning and evening: The Syriac words ܒܝܫܐ and ܠܩܝܫܐ are
adjectival and refer to early and late rains. They are not the words for «morning» and
«evening», despite the translations of Tisserant («Fragments syriaques», 211) and Berger
(394, n. a to v 18).

12:19 That night he prayed and said:
My God, my God, God most High,
You alone are my God.
You have created everything;
Everything that was and has been is the product of your hands.   5
You and your lordship I have chosen.
12:20 Save me from the power of the evil spirits who rule the thoughts
of people's minds.
May they not mislead me from following you, my God.
Do establish me and my posterity forever.   10
May we not go astray from now until eternity.

12:21 Then he said: 'Shall I return to Ur of the Chaldeans who are
looking for me to return to them? Or am I to remain here in this place?
Make the path that is straight before you prosper through your servant
so that he may do (it). May I not proceed in the error of my mind, my   15
God'.

12:22 When he had finished speaking and praying, then the word of
the Lord was sent to him through me: 'Now you, come from your land,
your family, and your father's house to the land which I will show you.

12:19 My God ... most High: The Syriac citation severely abridges the text of the
prayer. For v 19 it echoes only parts of the first two lines.

that was and has been: A number of later mss. omit the conjunction before ሀሎ and
read ሀሎ instead of this verb. Charles (1895) followed ms. 38 in replacing the
conjunction with ሂ, but this can hardly be the best reading.

12:20 evil spirits: Syriac has «this people». Several of the Ethiopic mss. read «spirits
of the evil ones» (9 20 21 25 38 39 48), and it is possible that Syriac gives an interpretive
rendering of this sort of reading (i.e., it may presuppose רוחות הרעים rather than הרוחות
הרעים).

12:21 he (said): Almost all of the best mss. have አሊ (= I said), but the first-person
form does not fit the context. Beginning with Dillmann (1851), the translators have either
emended (see Charles, 1895, p. 43, n. 19) or now follow mss. 17 21 58 63 in reading ይቤ
(e.g., Berger). Confusion between first- and third- person forms could have occurred on
the Hebrew (ויאמר and ואמר), the Greek (εἶπε and εἶπον), or the Ethiopic level (ይቤ and
አሊ) of the text. Syriac offers no help on the point, as it summarizes the verse briefly and
alters some of the wording slightly.

12:22 me: The Ethiopic text adds the standard introductory formula for direct speech
አንዘ ፡ ይቤለ (cf. Syriac ܐܡܪ ܠܗ). The fact that this verb is in the third person led
Dillmann and Littmann to translate «indem er sprach» (Berger: «indem er sagte»). The
original was probably לאמר (so Goldmann, Hartom). It is plausible, though, to under-
stand ቃል as the subject of ይቤለ so that the words አንዘ ፡ ይቤለ need not be expressed in
the translation. The Syriac citation, in which ܡܠܬܐ is the subject of ܐܡܪ, supports this
interpretation.

your family: The variant አዝማዲከ in mss. 20 25 35 44 agrees with EthGen 12:2.

I will make you into a large and populous people. 12:23 I will bless you
and magnify your reputation. You will become blessed in the earth. All
the nations of the earth will be blessed in you. Those who bless you I
will bless, while those who curse you I will curse. 12:24 I will become
5 God for you, your son, your grandson, and all your descendants. Do
not be afraid. From now until all the generations of the earth I am your
God'. 12:25 Then the Lord God said to me: 'Open his mouth and his
ears to hear and speak with his tongue in the revealed language'. For
from the day of the collapse it had disappeared from the mouth(s) of all
10 mankind. 12:26 I opened his mouth, ears, and lips and began to speak
Hebrew with him — in the language of the creation. 12:27 He took his

large and populous people: Syriac has «large people». The Ethiopic text is modeled on
Gen 18:18; the septuagintal witnesses *d* 458 make the same addition in Gen 12:2. The
Syriac citation conforms to all of the biblical versions and is not, therefore, likely to be
original.
12:23 become blessed: The wording agrees with that of Syriac LXX OL EthGen 12:2
against MT Sam which have a noun (ברכה).
nations: The best mss. are defective at this point. Mss. 9 12 20 25 38 44 63 have forms
of the word «father» (አቡሙ in 9, አቡመ in the others [this is read by Berger]). The reading
in ms. 17 is probably a scribe's attempt to make sense of the word he found in his base
text: he transformed it into a verb (ወአቡሙአሙ ፡ ወብት [= I will bring them into]). As all
of the versions of Gen 12:3 and the Syriac citation show, the correct reading is ኣሕዛብ
which appears in mss. 21 35 39 42 47 48 58. The word አቡመ may have entered the text as a
copying error in which ኣሕዛብ was written as አበ (ኣ[ሕዛ]ብ) and later pluralized to fit the
verb.
those who curse you: The plural verb agrees with Sam Syr LXX OL[1] EthGen 12:3
against the singular of MT OL[K] and the targums.
12:24 your son: A powerfully supported variant is ወኡደሕ (= your sons) which
Dillmann used in his edition and translation and which Goldmann, Hartom, and Berger
have accepted.
your grandson: Here, too, many mss. read plurals (literally: sons of your sons).
Dillmann (1851, 1859), Goldmann, Hartom, and Berger have adopted the plurals, but the
singular is preferable for both words because the referents are Isaac and Jacob, not all of
Abraham's descendants of the first and second generations.
12:25 his tongue: Mss. 20 25 35 44 offer አፉሁ (= his mouth).
revealed: Littmann (63, n. a) wrote: «... vielleicht hier wieder (wie 2,29 u. 3,15) =
ראוי». That would, though, be an unusual meaning for the qal passive participle; a niphal
form would be expected.
collapse: The same word as in 10:26 is used here. In 10:26 the fallen tower was given
the name the Collapse.
disappeared: Literally: came to rest.
12:26 Syncellus (*Chronographia* 185.6-8) alludes to the information found in v 26: ὁ
ἄγγελος ὁ λαλῶν τῷ Μωϋσῇ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, ὅτι τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ἐγὼ ἐδίδαξα τὴν Ἑβραΐδα
γλῶσσαν κατὰ τὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως λαλεῖν τὰ πάτρια πάντα ὡς ἐν λεπτῇ κεῖται
Γενέσει. See also Cedrenus (Denis, *Fragmenta*, 93). For the Syncellus text, cf. RÖNSCH,
Das Buch der Jubiläen, 296-97; and Charles, 1902, p. 96, nn. (he bases his chronological
discussion on Rönsch's work).

fathers' books (they were written in Hebrew) and copied them. From
that time he began to studt them, while I was telling him everything
that he was unable (to understand). He studied them throughout the six
rainy months.

12:28 In the seventh year of the sixth week [1953], he spoke with his   5
father and told him that he was leaving Haran to go to the land of
Canaan to see it and return to him. 12:29 His father Terah said to him:
Go in peace.
May the eternal God make your way straight;
May the Lord be with you and protect you from every evil;   10
May he grant you kindness, mercy, and grace before those who see
you;
And may no person have power over you to harm you.
Go in peace.
12:30 'If you see a land that, in your view, is a pleasant one in which to   15
live, then come and take me to you. Take Lot, the son of your brother
Haran, with you as your son. May the Lord be with you. 12:31 Leave
your brother Nahor with me until you return in peace. Then all of us
together will go with you'.

12:28 In the seventh: 11QJub 5, 8.1 confirms the Ethiopic text given here in that it
begins with ויהי (= ወኮነ) and continues with [בש]בעצה (Ethiopic has በ៩ዓ፦ ፡ ሳብዕ in
which the word «year» comes first, then the ordinal). Mss. 9 12 17 21 38 39 42ᵗ 47 48 thus
incorrectly omit the preposition.

seventh year of the sixth week [1953]: The Syriac citation provides the same date but in
non-Jubilean terms: «after two years». Cf. 12:16 (1951).

told him: Syriac: asked (permission). The chronicler has excerpted from the verse and
presumably has also altered the text by making Abram speak more politely to his father.

that he was leaving: The Ethiopic mss. place the pronoun ውእቱ after the verb, but in
11QJub 5, 8.2 it precedes the participle. The Syriac again abridges.

12:29 His father Terah said to him: The Hebrew again conforms the Ethiopic text and
shows that the Syriac abbreviates.

make your way straight: Syriac: arrange your way. The Syriac verb ܩܢ could be
translated as «establish, make firm», or even «prosper» (Tisserant, «Fragments syria-
ques», 212: «fixe»).

May he grant you ... see you: It is nearly certain that 11QJub 5, 8.4-5 lacks this line
because there is insufficient space for it and the preceding and following lines are partially
preserved on the fragments. See VAN DER WOUDE, «Fragmente», 144-45; VANDERKAM,
Textual and Historical Studies, 49. The Syriac, too, lacks this line, but, as it omits much
more of the verse as well, no certain conclusion can be drawn from this fact.

to harm you: On 11QJub 5, 8.5 van der Woude («Fragmente», 144-45) had read
[ולכה רע; but it is preferable to read לעשׂ[ותכה רע (see VANDERKAM, Textual and Historical
Studies, 50).

13:1 Abram went from Haran and took his wife Sarai and Lot, the son of his brother Haran, to the land of Canaan. He came to Asur. He walked as far as Shechem and settled near a tall oak tree. 13:2 He saw that the land — from the entrance of Hamath to the tall oak — was
5 very pleasant. 13:3 Then the Lord said to him: 'To you and your descendants I will give this land'. 13:4 He built an altar there and offered on it a sacrifice to the Lord who had appeared to him.

13:5 He departed from there toward the mountain of Bethel which is toward the sea, with Ai toward the east, and pitched his tent there.
10 13:6 He saw that the land was spacious and most excellent and (that) everything was growing on it: vines, fig trees, pomegranates, oak trees,

13:1 Asur: Charles (1902, p. 97, n.) obelised the name, claiming that one would have expected «Canaan». But possibly the name הָאַשּׁוּרִי for a people in Ishbosheth's kingdom according to 2 Sam 2:9 is relevant.

tall oak tree: For the adjective «tall» (ነዋኅ) Jubilees agrees with LXX OL Eth-Gen 12:6. This reading may have originated from a Hebrew variant of רומה for מורה (so Charles, 1895, p. 45, n. 24). Goldmann (p. רמס) has suggested that the original was ממרא (as in Syriac Gen 12:6; cf. also the LXX witnesses 911 and σ′) which was interpreted as meaning גבהה, but this seems less plausible than Charles' explanation. There are numerous variants for the words ዘላዕለ ፡ ቤቴል; in fact, the best mss. are corrupt. The strange spellings is probably a loss of the words: 'to the east of Bethel with'. This lacuna is not marked in the letter ዘ was corrupted into ለ.

13:3 to him: Jubilees follows the tradition of Sam Syriac LXX OL EthGen 12:7; MT lacks לו.

To you and: These words are not in Gen 12:7 (except in Chr Bo) but derive from parallel passages such as Gen 13:15; 17:8; 26:3.

13:4 and offered on it a sacrifice: These words are lacking from Gen 12:7, but cf. Josephus, Ant. 1.157: ... βωμὸν ᾠκοδόμησε καὶ θυσίαν ἐτέλεσε τῷ θεῷ.

13:5 Bethel: Charles (1895, p. 45, n. 32) emended to ግብአ ፡ ቤቴል which he took to be in harmony with Gen 12:8. He elaborated in 1902 (p. 98, n.): «After 'mountain' there is probably a loss of the words: 'to the east of Bethel with'. This lacuna is not marked in the MSS. Zasemû after Bêtêl in a [= 12] may be a corruption of westa = ἐν. If so, it should be placed before Bêtêl». Littmann (63, n. e) rejected Charles' view as unnecessary and unjustified. It may be asked, though, whether the text of Jubilees has resulted from parablepsis (as in some septuagintal witnesses) in the words of Gen 12:8 (בית־אל to בית־אל). The intervening clause, which was accidentally omitted (ויט אהלה), would then have been added at the end of the verse, contrary to all biblical versions, when a scribe noticed that it had been missed.

13:6 incense trees: ወዕፀ ሊባኖስ is omitted by mss. 9 20 25 35 38 so that its textual status is somewhat uncertain. It reproduces λίβανος (= a frankincense tree). DILLMANN (Lexicon, 43) defined the word as «arbor quaedam, sine dubio cedrus». However, since cedars have already been mentioned in the verse, he translated it in 1851 as «Libanonbäume» and commented in a footnote (p. 71, n. 80) that they were «andre nadelholzbäume». Littmann gives Libanosbäume and Hartom עצי לבנון. Charles (1895, p. 45, n. 39) emended to ዕፀ በለስ (cf. ms. 12: በለስ), which he regarded as the word Βάλανος (= date tree [1902, p. 98, n.]). But DILLMANN(Lexicon, 43) noted that in Isa 6:13 ባጽ ፡ በለስ renders βάλανος; consequently, the emendation ought to be rejected (with Littmann, 63, n. h).

holm oaks, terebinths, olive trees, cedars, cypresses, incense trees, and all (kinds of) wild trees; and (there was) water on the mountains. 13:7 Then he blessed the Lord who had led him from Ur of the Chaldeans and brought him to this mountain.

13:8 During the first year in the seventh week [1954] — on the first of   5
the month in which he had initially built the altar on this mountain —
he called on the name of the Lord: 'You, my God, are the eternal God'.
13:9 He offered to the Lord a sacrifice on the altar so that he would be
with him and not abandon him throughout his entire lifetime. 13:10 He
departed from there and went toward the south. When he reached   10
Hebron (Hebron was built at that time), he stayed there for two years.
Then he went to the southern territory as far as Boa Lot. There was a

13:7 mountain: Mss. 20 25 35 read ምድር, which was accepted by Charles (1895, 1902), Littmann, Goldmann, and Hartom. The weight of ms. authority opposes their choice.

13:8 in which he had initially: In 1895 Charles read ባሕ ፡ ቀዳሚ, but F. Prätorius (review of Charles, 1895, in *TLZ* 20 [1895] 615) and Littmann (63, n. i) argued that ባሕ was to be omitted with mss. C and D (= 51 and 38). The text would then read ወርኅ ፡ ቀዳሚ = first month. Charles (1902) accepted their proposal; Hartom has as well. Actually, ms. 51 omits only ባ, not ባሕ and ms. 38 has ባሕ (possibly marked for erasure); as a result, their readings do not provide warrant for omitting ባሕ before ቀዳሚ. Dillmann's misreading was not noticed because Charles and Littmann simply used his apparatus. The word ቀዳሚ is here to be understood in an adverbial sense (see DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 464). Ms. 12 supports this interpretation (though it expresses the notion with a different construction), while the word ቀዳሞ in ms. 21 can be taken in the same sense. The meaning is, then, that Abraham called on the Lord's name in the very month in which, during the previous year (see 13:4 and 12:28), he had built the altar. This is also the force of Gen 12:8b.

called on: The expression ጸውዐ ፡ ባ is curious (it was also read by Dillmann in 1859). A suffix-less form of the verb is attested in mss. 12 21 35 58 (read by Charles, 1895).

You, my God, are the eternal God: Compare 1QapGen 19:7-8: אנתה הוא לי אל[י אל]מא[ע] (reconstruction of Fitzmyer, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, 58, 105 [where he acknowledges indebtedness to A. Dupont-Sommer, *Les écrits esséniens découverts près de la Mer Morte* (Bibliothèque historique; Paris: Payot, 1959) 298]).

13:10 south: Ethiopic ደቡብ, whose meaning changed from «north» to «south», must mean «south» here. Cf. 1QapGen 19:9: לדרומא. In this reading Jubilees follows the tradition of MT Sam Syriac and the targums against ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ of LXXGen 12:9 (= OL EthGen).

When ... two years: 1QapGen 19:9-10: עד די דבקת לחברון ול[ה זמנא] אתב[נ]יאת חברון [ויתב [תרתין שנ]ין [תמן] (text according to Fitzmyer, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, 58, 107). For the building of Hebron, see Num 13:22.

The first preserved part of the Latin translation begins with the words «and stayed there for two years».

southern territory: Literally: land of the south. The Latin lacks an equivalent for ምድር.

Boa Lot: Latin: bahalot. Littmann (64, n. c) thought the name was probably biblical בעלת, but Charles (1902, p. 98, n.) proposed בעלות (Josh 15:24 [so Hartom, 53, n. to

famine in the land. 13:11 So Abram went to Egypt in the third year of the week [1956]. He lived in Egypt for five years before his wife was taken from him by force. 13:12 Egyptian Tanais was built at that time — seven years after Hebron. 13:13 When the pharaoh took Abram's

5 wife Sarai by force for himself, the Lord punished the pharaoh and his household very severely because of Abram's wife Sarai. 13:14 Now Abram had an extremely large amount of property: sheep, cattle, donkeys, horses, camels, male and female servants, silver, and very (much) gold. Lot — his brother's son — also had property. 13:15 The

10 pharaoh returned Abram's wife Sarai and expelled him from the land of Egypt. He went to the place where he had first pitched his tent — at the location of the altar, with Ai on the east *and* Bethel *on the* west. He blessed the Lord his God who had brought *him* back safely.

v 10]; he thought that this was also Littmann's identification though it clearly is not). The Ethiopic tradition braks the name into two words and alters the first vowel — perhaps because the name was misinterpreted as the words «Lot came».

in the land: The preposition ዛበ follows the idiomatic rendering of LXX OLGen 12:10 (ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς).

13:11 in Egypt: Latin adds «the land of» before «Egypt».

13:12 Tanais: Latin adds «ciuitas» before this name, contrary to Num 13:22.

seven years: Literally: in the seven (ms. 25: seventh) winters/years. Cf. Latin: annis septem.

13:13 took ... by force for himself: The mss. read ዛዖ — a suffixal form of the verb. Dillmann printed this form in his edition, but Charles (1895, p. 45, n. 60) emended to ዛሷ (with a feminine objective suffix; he expressed doubt whether ms. 25 had the masculine suffix but it clearly does). The Latin version reflects no suffix. The suffix appears to mean «for himself».

punished ... very severely: Literally: punished with great punishments (Gen 12:17). Latin quaestionauit ... quaestionibus magnis is peculiar. The verb means «to put to the question», but it can also have the sense of «to put to torture, put to the rack». See RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 97.

13:14 had an extremely large amount of property: Literally: was very wealthy in. The Latin text makes the Lord the understood subject and Abram the object of the verb glorificauit, which Charles (1895, p. 45, n. 65) emended to glorificatus.

very (much) gold: Literally: and in gold very much.

13:15 Sarai: Latin adds: to her husband.

with Ai on the east *and* Bethel *on the* west: The Ethiopic has: the altar of Ai on the east of Bethel and the sea (= west). The biblical versions (Gen 13:3) have: between Bethel and Ai. Charles (1895, p. 46, nn. 10-11) proposed two emendations based on the Latin text and read: ምሥዖ ፡ አጊ ፡ አ[!]ምጽብሕ ፡ ወቤቴል ፡ እምባሕር (for the word ምሥዖ he adopts a reading attested by mss. 21 25 38 alone). The present Ethiopic text does appear to be a corruption of this more pristine wording. The construct endings on ምሥዖ and ጽብሕ (cf. 17 63) could easily be scribal blunders, while ወበሕር (i.e., moving the conjunction away from ቤቴል; note ወሐረ in 9 38) may represent an attempt, after the previous errors were made, to lend some sense to the word «sea» in the context (mss. 12 39 42 47 omit the conjunction and verb). It is also possible that the unique transposition of phrases which come from the end of Gen 13:3 and the beginning of 13:4 contributed to the problem. Littmann (64, n. g), Hartom, and Berger have followed Charles' emendations.

13:16 During this forty-first jubilee, in the third year of the first week [1963], he returned to this place. He offered a sacrifice on it and called on the Lord's name: 'You, Lord, most high God, are my God forever and ever'.

13:17 In the fourth year of this week [1964] Lot separated from him.   5
Lot settled in Sodom. Now the people of Sodom were very sinful.
13:18 He was brokenhearted that his brother's son had separated from him for he had no children. 13:19 In that year when Lot was taken captive, the Lord spoke to Abram — after Lot had separated from him, in the fourth year of this week — and said to him: 'Look up from the   10

13:16 this: The fact that the demonstrative adjective is not found in the Latin text suggests that ዝ represents a Greek definite article.

(You), Lord: Latin omits the word «Lord», as do mss. 25 35. See 1QapGen 21:2 for similar material. Omission of both አንተ and እግዚአብሔር by 20 21 38 is due to haplography (እግዚአብሔር to እግዚአብሔር).

13:17 year: Latin preserves only the letters no from the word anno.

Lot[2]: Latin omits, as does ms. 44.

13:18: He was brokenhearted: Literally: it was bad for him in his heart. The Ethiopic tradition preserves some variations at this point, the most noteworthy of which are ሕሊና in mss. 21 35 39 42 47 48 58 and the plural suffix (ልበሙ) in 38 in place of the singular (ልቡ). Littmann (64, n. i) proposed: «Am Besten nimmt man die Lesarten von C [= 51, which here agrees with 47] and D [= 38] zusammen, so dass sich ergäbe: wa'a'ᵉkayu balebbomu (lat.: et iniqui in cordibus suis) wachazana». He translated: «und handelten böse in ihrem Herzen ...» (at the end of v 17) and then added at the beginning of v 18: «Und er war betrübt». No ms., it should be emphasized, offers this expanded text, but Berger nevertheless agrees with Littmann. It is true that Gen 13:13 makes two claims about the men of Sodom: they were רעים and חטאים ליהוה מאד; but Jubilees definitely reflects only the latter, not the former. The Ethiopic text given here seems the simplest one, while the plural term iniqui in Latin is a problem. Rönsch reconstructed the Latin text on the basis of Dillmann's Latin translation of the Ethiopic to read: et iniqui in cordibus suis. [Et contristatus est in corde suo] ... (p. 10) It is possible that one clause was dropped from the Ethiopic (the one represented in Latin) and the other from the Latin text (see RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 98), with the word «heart» being the trigger for the omissions (Charles [1895, p. 46, n. 20] suggested ወልቡ : ወአልቦ); but the Latin could also be regarded as an addition (the product of a scribe's adding the biblical iniqui) whose presence led to the subsequent omission of the correct clause. As it stands, the Ethiopic makes sense; the Latin does not. Cf. 1Qap Gen 21:7: ובאש עלי די פרש לוט בר אחי מן לואתי. Here the Genesis Apocryphon agrees with the Latin text's inclusion of the name Lot before «his brother's son».

13:19 In ... when: Latin lacks an equivalent for these words and is defective. See RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 12, for a reconstruction of it; Charles (1895, p. 47) reconstructs in the same way.

the Lord spoke to Abram — after Lot had separated: The Latin text lacks these words. If the Vorlage of the Latin followed the order of MT Sam Syriac LXX Gen 13:14 (לוט מעמו) rather than እምኔሁ : ሎጥ, the omission could be explained by parablepsis from «Lot» to «Lot».

week: Latin adds: of the same jubilee.

and said to him: Charles (1895, p. 46, n. 22) wrote that the mss. added this expression

place where you have been living toward the north, the south, the west, and the east; 13:20 because all the land which you see I will give to you and your descendants forever. I will make your descendants like the sands of the sea. (Even) if a man can count the sands of the earth, your descendants will (still) not be counted. 13:21 Get up and walk through its length and its width. Look at everything because I will give it to your descendants'. Then Abram went to Hebron and lived there.

13:22 In this year Chedorlaomer, the king of Elam, Amraphel, the

«against Lat. and Gen. xiii.14» (see also 1902, p. 99, n.; Littmann, 64, n. k). He was correct about Gen 13:14, but the Latin very clearly has the words dixit deus ad abram at this point. Charles erroneously reconstructed the text so that these words preceded the place where they figure in the text.

north ... south ... west ... east: Latin: west ... south ... east ... north. The biblical versions (Gen 13:14) support the Ethiopic text with the single exception that they reverse the order of west/ east. See RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 98. 1QapGen 21:9 offers yet another order: למדנחא ולמערבא ולדרומא ולצפונא (see also FITZMYER, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 147).

13:20 give to you and your descendants: Jubilees makes the words of Gen 13:15 flow more smoothly by placing the verb after the two prepositional phrases rather than between them as in the biblical versions. 1QapGen 21:10 locates the verb before the prepositional phrases: אנא יהב לך ולזרעך (cf. Gen 17:8).

sands of the sea: Mss. 9 12 17 21 63 read ምድር instead of ባሕር in agreement with MT Sam Syriac LXXGen 13:16, the targums, and 1QapGen 21:13. Latin Jubilees supports the Ethiopic text that is followed here — a fact which virtually assures that ባሕር is original. It is found also in OL EthGen and a few Greek witnesses. Charles (1895, p. 46, n. 27) suspected the reading ባሕር / maris, but in 1902 he simply noted that the wording was dependent on Gen 22:17.

(Even) if ... earth: Latin Jubilees omits, but all biblical versions include the protasis. The Latin omission may have been caused by parablepsis from «sands of the sea» to «sands of the sea/earth» (mss. 38 39 58 have ባሕር in this second case as well, as do some Greek witnesses, OL and EthGen 13:16). The word አመ, which agrees with the versions of Gen 13:16, is replaced by እለመ in mss. 17ᶜ 63. This could readily be dismissed as a copyist's error if Latin did not have etenim here. Charles (1895, p. 47, n. 10 to the Latin) has, though, proposed that etenim is an error for attamen (= nevertheless). Because of the lacuna at this point, the Latin does not provide a secure basis for altering the Ethiopic (though Berger opts for the reading of 17ᶜ [«Denn»]).

will (still) not be counted: The negative ኢ, which is omitted by mss. 9 21 35 38 39 42 47 48 58 63, is supported by the Latin text. MT Sam Syriac LXX OL EthGen 13:16 also lack it, but it is found in some septuagintal witnesses, Ton, and 1QapGen 21:13. Cf. Jub 19:22 (so Littmann, 64, n. m).

13:21 through its length and: The Latin version omits these words which are drawn from Gen 13:17, while 1QapGen 21:14 includes an equivalent phrase (כמן ארכהא). Charles (1895, p. 46, n. 33; 1902, p. 100, n.) added the words ምድር ፡ ውስተ after ውስተ on the basis of Gen 13:17 (בארץ) and because the expression «its length» presupposes them. But both the Latin Jubilees and 1QapGen 21:14 also lack the words that he supplies. Thus there is no adequate grounds for restoring them, though they could have been dropped from the text by haplography.

king of Shinar, Arioch, the king of Selasar, and Tergal, the king of the nations came and killed the king of Gomorrah, while the king of Sodom fled. Many people fell with wounds in the *valley* of Saddimaw, in the Salt Sea. 13:23 They took captive Sodom, Adamah, and Zeboim; they also took Lot, the son of Abram's brother, captive and all his possessions. He went as far as Dan. 13:24 One who had escaped came and told Abram that the son of his brother had been taken captive. 13:25 When he had armed his household servants, [Abram

13:22 Selasar: MTGen 14:1 has אלסר; Jubilees' spelling reflects that of the LXX tradition. At this point 1QapGen 21:23 has כפתוך, on which see FITZMYER, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 159-60.

Tergal: MT gives תדעל. According to Fitzmyer, 1QapGen 21:23 reads תדעל also, but the form is probably to be read as תרעל, which spelling agrees with the Θαργάλ of the LXX tradition (Gen 14:1). On this, see VANDERKAM. «The Textual Affinities of the Biblical Citations in the Genesis Apocryphon», *JBL* 97 (1978) 51.

wounds in the *valley* of Saddimaw: According to Gen 14:10, the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah fell in the valley of Siddim (עמק השדים). Ethiopic Jubilees has ሰሳ where one would expect to find ሰፅሳ(ት), judging from EthGen 14:10. It appears that the combination of the two similar-looking words ሰ፞ሳ : ሰፅሳ(ት) caused confusion in the Ethiopic ms. tradition so that the readings ሳ and ሰሳ resulted. For the emendation, see Charles, 1895, p. 48, n. 5. The name Saddimaw stands where MT has השדים and 1QapGen 21:25 reads סדיא.

Sea: Ethiopic ብሕፈረ (the more strongly backed reading) is a mistake for ባሕረ (in mss. 12 21 38 58 63). EthGen 14:3 also reads ብሕፈረ in this place. MTGen 14:3 identifies הוא ים המלח as עמק השדים.

13:23 his possessions: Syriac: their possessions. The plural possessive pronoun is found in EthGen 14:12 also. Ethiopic Jubilees mirrors MTGen 14:12 (רכשו). 1Qap-Gen 22:1 uses a singular suffix but attaches it to the word for «flocks» (נכסוהי).

He went: Only mss. 25 44 make the verb plural, but Charles (1902, p. 100, n.) felt the need to emend the singular to a plural verb. The problem has arisen because Jubilees abbreviates Gen 14:12-14, which concludes with a reference to Abram's going as far as Dan. Since he was the subject of Gen 14:13-14, the biblical text is clear; but Jubilees omits this material and leaves the subject of the singular verb unspecified. At least as the text now stands, Abram can hardly be the subject in Jub 13:23 (against Berger). Lot appears to be the one who, with his captors, goes as far as Dan, whereas in Gen 14:14 Abram overtook them there. A. Caquot («Le Livre des Jubilés, Melkisedeq et les dîmes», *JJS* 33 [1982] 257-58) discusses this problem briefly and concludes that «La fin des Jubilés 13:23 est donc déplacée».

13:25 When: The verse division given here is the one found in the editions of Dillmann and Charles and in the translations of Littmann and Goldmann. But in his 1902 translation Charles placed the beginning of v 25 after the expression ዐፅ ፡ ቤት. Berger adds to what is here called v 24 the Syriac material for what is here numbered as 13:24-25.

armed: The verb አስተፀደየ has been changed in mss. 9 21 to one that closely resembles it (አስተስረየ). As this is the reading in ms. 51, it is found in Dillmann's translation of 1851 («brachte zur versöhnung»), and he also adopted it for his edition (1859). Berger, too, accepts it («leistete als Sühne»), though at a later point in the verse (see the next note). Charles (1895, p. 48, n. 9; 1902, p. 101, n.) quite properly rejected it as contrary to the evidence of the better mss. He also noted that the verb «armed» was supported by To

went and killed Chedorlaomer. Upon returning, he took a tithe of
everything and gave it to Melchizedek. This tithe was] for Abram and
his descendants the tithe of the firstfruits for the Lord. The Lord made
it an eternal ordinance that they should give it to the priests who serve
5 before him for them to possess it forever. 13:26 This law has no

Gen 14:14 (Syriac Genesis and Tjn also back the reading). Caquot («Le Livre des
Jubilés», 258) has added the cogent objections that this reading» ... ne donne aucune
cohérence au passage» and that አስተሰረየ is intransitive and thus could not have «tithe»
as its object (cf. also p. 260). The Syriac citation, too, has «armed». Behind this verb is the
puzzling וירק of Gen 14:14 (literally: he emptied) which appears as וידק (= he scrutinized)
in Sam and as ἠρίθμησεν in the LXX tradition (that is, OL EthGenesis). 1QapGen 22:6
has בהר.

[Abram ... was]: All students of the text (apparently with the exception of Goldmann)
have recognized that there must be a lacuna in the Ethiopic text at this point. As
Dillmann (1851, p. 71, n. 84) remarked: «hier muss einiges fehlen: wenn hier nicht die
verfolgung der feinde durch Abram erzählt war, so ist das im folgenden von könig zu
Sodom gesagte unverständlich». Dillmann thought that the lacuna came before the words
ልደ ፡ ቤተ, but he was misled by his reading of the erroneous verb of ms. 51 አስተሰረየ (see
the preceding note). Charles (1895, p. 48, n. 9) located the lacuna after ቤተ, as have
Littmann and Hartom (see also Charles, 1902, p. 101, n.). The Syriac citation may seem to
solve the difficulty and confirm that the Ethiopic tradition is defective in that it supplies
the following words at this point: «and pursued the kings. He brought back everything
that they had captured from Sodom». Berger has added these words to what for him is
the end of v 24, and it must be granted that they do indeed furnish some of the expected
data. It should be observed, though, that even the Syriac Chronicle does not mention
Melchizedek in this context (see Tisserant, «Fragments syriaques», 215). Berger thinks
that the Ethiopic tradition became defective by a mechanical process of omission. In v 24
Abram arms (አስተረሰየ) his household servants, and in v 25 Berger reads አስተሰረየ
(«leistete als Sühne»): «In den äth. Hss. schon vor allen erhaltenen Versionen inner-
äthiopisch durch eine Buchstabenvertauschung von rsy (bewaffen) und sry (Sühne leisten)
ausgefallen». (400-401, n. c to v 24) But his proposal would not produce the present
Ethiopic text. What, for example, happened to «when Abram heard»? Also, no text (not
even the Syriac) reads the two verbs that he presupposes, and አስተሰረየ is intransitive. The
Syriac is very loosely related to the text of Jubilees elsewhere in this section; it may be
here as well.

None of the mss. that were collated for this edition offers additional text at this point
(with the exception of a marginal addition in 38), but several of the uncollated ones do. It
is a noteworthy fact for evaluating their readings that none of them derives from
EthGen 14:14-15 nor does any of them resemble the Syriac citation. After the words ልደ ፡
ቤተ they read: 40: ወሐረ ፡ አብራም ፡ ወቀተሎ ፡ ለኮሉዶጎሞር ፡ ወተመይጠ ፡ ወዐሠረ ፡ ዐስራተ ፡
እምኩሉ ፡ ወወሀቦ ፡ ለመልክ ፡ ጼዴቅ ፡ ወዝንቱ ፡ ዐስራት (Abraham went and killed
Chedorlaomer, and when he returned he took a title from everything and gave it to
Melchizedek. And this tithe).

45: ወሐረ ፡ ወቀተሎ ፡ ለኮሉዶጎሞር ፡ ወተመይጠ ፡ ወዐሰር ፡ ለመልክጼዴቅ (He went and
killed Chedorlaomer, and when he returned he tithed to Melchizedek).

50: ወመልክ ፡ ጼዴቅ ፡ አውጽሐ ፡ ጎብስተ ፡ ወወይነ ፡ ወባረከ (Melchizedek offered bread
and wine as a libation, and he blessed). There is also a marginal note in ms. 38 (it is
marked as applying to v 25) which reads: ሐረ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ፀብዐ ፡ ወተመይጠ ፡ ወተ (erased)
ዓሠር ፡ ለመልክ ፡ ጸጼቅ (He went to war, and when he returned he tithed to Melchizedek).
The Amharic word ብሎ (= saying, thinking) follows, the words ዲስ ፡ አብራም ፡ ወዲስ ፡
ዘርኩ are repeated, and the note ends with comments in Amharic. As the text of this

temporal limit because he has ordained it for the history of eternity to
give a tenth of everything to the Lord — of seed, the vine, oil, cattle,
and sheep. 13:27 He has given (it) to his priests to eat and drink
joyfully before him.

13:28 When the king of Sodom came up to him, he knelt before him   5
and said: 'Our lord Abram, kindly give us the people whom you

marginal addition closely resembles that of ms. 40 and the two do not belong to the same
ms. family, they do point to textual material that is more than the idiosyncratic plus of a
single scribe. These two mss. (38ᶜ 40) are the basis for the addition made in the Ethiopic
text. Yet, though these words are attested in mss., the exceedingly tentative nature of the
restoration should be stressed. Moreover, even if this should approximate the original
Ethiopic form of the text, the reason for the widespread omission in the Ethiopic mss.
remains unclear. It is the case that a number of the consonants which precede the lacuna
reappear near its hypothetical end and where the text resumes (ሬ, ሰ, · የ [note ms.
20: አበራተ ፡ ሬስ]ለሬ ፡ ቤቱ / [ዐሥሬት]ዲሰ); but, assuming that their similarity was the
cause for omission, the result(s) would not follow the normal pattern of haplography in
which only one of two similar items is omitted along with the intervening material. Here
the two similar expressions would be largely preserved and only the words between them
would have been dropped from the text. A more likely solution is to suggest that the
lacuna originated already on the Hebrew level. Possibly the text originally read: ‏וידק‏
‏ילידי ביתו [ויעל אברם‏ [... ‏על אברם‏. The words in brackets and those immediately after the
brackets are virtually identical and could have caused haplography precisely where the
gap in the text now appears. The verb ‏עלה‏ is used for going to war (e.g., 1Kgs 20:22) and
could been represented in Ethiopic by the simple verb ሐሬ. If this hypothesis is accepted, it
would imply that omission of the name Melchizedek from Jubilees was not tendentious (a
view that was entertained by Tisserant [«Fragments syriaques», 215]; also CAQUOT, «Le
Livre des Jubilés», 261-64) but merely accidental. It would also mean that Caquot's recent
proposal (ibid., 259-60) is not likely to be correct. He adopts the reading of ms. 74 from
Gunda-Gunde (= ms. 22) in reading ኣበሬም ፡ ዲቤሁ· rather than ዲሰ ፡
ኣበሬም ፡ «Sans être moins raboteuse, la phrase actuelle laisse entrevoir qu'elle repose sur
un original dans laquel Abraham était le sujet d'un verbe et non le régime d'une
préposition et que les suffixes de troisième personne du singulier -hu, -u ne peuvent
renvoyer à Abraham, mais à un personnage nommé dans la lacune et qui ne peut être que
Melkisedeq». (260) Ms. 22 here agrees with 21 and its reading is thus poorly attested.
Moreover, Caquot's interpretation hardly follows from the reading because he suggests
supplying the verb «give» before the name «Abraham».

firstfruits: Caquot («Le Livre des Jubilés», 260-61) again thinks that ms. 22 (it agrees
with 21) offers the preferred reading — the accusative ቀጸሚ rather than the nominative
ቀጸሚ. If the former is accepted it would entail not only the presence in the lacuna of a
verb for which ዓሥሬት ፡ ቀጸሚ could be the object but also that the phrase would render
Hebrew ‏מעשׂר־ראשׁית‏ (Num 18:21-24), not the tithe of the firstfruits. Again, however, the
reading is too weakly supported and is probably a corruption of ቀጸሚ.

13:28 came up to: Syriac: ‏ܐܠܐ‏; cf. 1QapGen 22:18: ‏קרב‏.

Our lord: Syriac omits, as do the versions of Gen 14:21, but 1QapGen 22:18 reads ‏מרי‏.

give us: Syriac: give me. The biblical versions (Gen 14:21) and 1QapGen 22:19 also
have a singular indirect object.

people: Literally: soul(s). Jubilees agrees with MT Sam Syriac Gen 14:21 (and
1QapGen 22:19) in reading a from of ‏נפשׁ‏, while LXX OL EthGen have τοὺς ἄνδρας and
equivalents.

rescued, but their booty is to be yours'. 13:29 Abram said to him: 'I lift
my hands to the most high God (to show that) I will not take anything
of yours — not a thread or sandal thongs, so that you may not say: «I
have made Abram rich» — excepting only what the young men have
5 eaten and the share of the men who went with me: Awnan, Eschol, and
Mamre. These will take their share'.

14:1 After these things — in the fourth year of this week [1964], on
the first of the third month — the word of the Lord came to Abram in
a dream: 'Do not be afraid, Abram. I am your protector; your reward
10 will be very large'. 14:2 He said: 'Lord, Lord, what are you going to
give me when I go on being childless. The son of Maseq — the son of
my maid servant — that is Damascene Eliezer — will be my heir. You
have given me no descendants. Give me descendants'. 14:3 He said to
him: 'This one will not be your heir but rather someone who will come
15 out of your loins will be your heir'. 14:4 He brought him outside and
said to him: 'Look at the sky and count the stars, if you can count
them'. 14:5 When he had looked at the sky and seen the stars, he said

booty: Cf. Syriac: goods (it also adds: and everything [else]). Jubilees agrees with MT
Sam Syriac Gen 14:21 (with the targums and 1QapGen 22:19); LXX OL EthGen have
ἵππον and equivalents.

13:29 I lift ... most high God: Syriac is quite different: The Lord forbid. The citation
also sharply abbreviates the remainder of the verse.

not ... — not: Neither of these negatives is explicit in the text, but, as in Gen 14:22-23,
the conditional sentence after an oath implies them.

14:2 the son of my maid servant: For the word ወለደ Jubilees agrees with Syriac LXX
OLGen 15:2; MT Sam omit it (EthGen omits the entire phrase). The word አመትየ is not
strongly attested; in fact, only 20 25 read it instead of አንተያል (several spellings) —
apparently to be understood as a woman's name. Dillmann (1859) had emended the name
to the word አመትየ even before the reading was attested; Charles (1895) was able to
follow ms. 25. The translators have accepted the verdict of two editors, and
LXXGen 15:2 (τῆς οἰκογενοῦς μου [= Syriac OL; MT has only ביתי (but see בן ביתי in
v 3)]) serves as the biblical base. Presumably ወለደ : አመትየ is a rendering of this phrase,
while the most strongly supported Ethiopic reading (አንተያል) is a corrupt form of it.

Give me descendants: This clause was read by neither Dillmann (1859) nor Charles
(1895, p. 48, n. 30), but the mss. show that it belongs in the text. The copies which omit it
have done so through parablepsis (ዘርአ — ዘርአ).

14:3 He said to him: This introductory clause differs from MT Sam LXX (but see 82)
OL EthGen 15:4, but it agrees with Syriac Gen and 1QapGen 22:34.

your loins: Jubilees follows MT Sam Syriac Gen 15:4; the LXX tradition has only
«you» (cf. ms. 12 and Charles, 1895, p. 49, nn. 1-2).

14:4 to him: In attaching the suffix to the verb (ይቤሎ) Jubilees conforms with Syriac
LXX OL EthGen 15:5 against MT Sam which have only ויאמר.

stars: Ms. 12 adds ሰማይ (cf. Gen 22:17; 26:4); Charles (1895, p. 49, n. 5) claimed that
mss. B and D (= 25 and 38) have the same plus but neither does.

to him: 'Your descendants will be like this'. 14:6 He believed the Lord,
and it was credited to him as something righteous.

14:7 He said to him: 'I am the Lord who brought you from Ur of
the Chaldeans to give you the land of the Canaanites to occupy forever
and to become God for you and your descendants after you'. 14:8 He 5
said: 'Lord, Lord, how will I know that I will inherit (it)'? 14:9 He said
to him: 'Get for me a three-year-old calf, a three-year-old goat, a three-
year-old sheep, a turtledove, and a dove'. 14:10 He got all of these in
the middle of the month. He was living at the oak of Mamre which is
near Hebron. 14:11 He built an altar there and sacrificed all of these. 10
He poured out their blood on the altar and divided them in the middle.
He put them opposite one another, but the birds he did not divide.
14:12 Birds kept coming down on what was spread out, but Abram
kept preventing them and not allowing the birds to touch them.

14:5 to him: For the suffix, Jubilees agrees with MT Sam Syriac Gen 15:5 (with many
LXX witnesses and most mss. of EthGen); LXX OL EthGen lack a reflex of it.

14:6 was credited: The passive form appears also in Syriac LXX OL EthGen 15:6
(with Rom 4:3; Gal 3:6; Jas 2:23; 1 Macc 2:52), but MT Sam have יחשבה, which both
Goldmann and Hartom use in their translations.

14:7 Ur: LXX OL EthGen 15:7 place χώρας (and equivalents) before «Ur» (=
ms. 63).

14:9 for me: Mss. 12 17 38 read «for you», which is also found in Syriac EthGen 15:9.

14:11 opposite one another: Though the versions show some variation in their
renderings of איש בתרו לקראת רעהו (MTGen 15:10), Jubilees aligns itself with LXX OL in
omitting any counterpart for בתרו and translating רעהו idiomatically.

birds: The plural form appears in Sam LXX OL EthGen 15:10 and Josephus, *Ant.*
1.184 (where he also mentions an altar and sacrifice). The word አዕዋፍ lacks the
accusative ending that one would expect (mss. 20 35 38 39 44 48 58 have the accusative
ending). The postpositive particle ሰ may be the reason why the terminal -a has been
dropped. When ሰ is added to the pronoun ኣየ, the word becomes ኣየሰ. It is, however,
unusual for the particle ሰ to alter the preceding vowel in other words (so DILLMANN,
Ethiopic Grammar, sec. 171 [p. 422]; cf. also sec. 143 [p. 323]).

14:12 birds: MTGen 15:11 has העיט (a collective term for «birds of prey»), but
Jubilees uses the generic አዕዋፍ in line with LXX OL EthGen.

kept coming ... kept preventing ... allowing: The tenses are imperfect and seem to
indicate continuous action. In MTGen 15:11 one finds converted imperfect forms, and
the versions also employ past-tense verbs.

what was spread out: For the word ስፉሕ DILLMANN (*Lexicon*, 403) gives the meaning
«segmenta hostiarum expansa». Charles (1895, p. 49, n. 28) wrote: «MSS. have here ስፉሕ
= *expansum*, what is spread out, whereas Mass. xv. 11 has הַפְּגָרִים; LXX τὰ σώματα, τὰ
διχοτομήματα αὐτῶν — a duplicate rendering. Hence Eth. translator confused τὰ
τμηθέντα = that which is divided, with τὰ ταθέντα = what is spread out, i.e. ስፉሕ.
Hence for ስፉሕ I have restored ход = τὰ διχοτομήματα or τμηθέντα». In 1902 he
translated as «the pieces» but added in a note that his hypothetical ταθέντα «might
possibly be a corruption of κταθέντα = פגרים as in Mass. text. In that case we should
render 'carcases'». (103) Littmann did not follow Charles' lead, though he acknowledged
(65, n. g) that he might be correct. Goldmann translated with המורים (indicating his

14:13 At sunset, a terror fell on Abram; indeed a great, dark fear fell on him. It was said to Abram: 'Know for a fact that your descendants will be aliens in a foreign land. They will enslave them and oppress them for 400 years. 14:14 But I will judge the nation whom they
5 serve. Afterwards, they will leave from there with many possessions. 14:15 But you will go peacefully to your fathers and be buried at a ripe old age. 14:16 In the fourth generation they will return to this place because until now the sins of the Amorites have not been completed'. 14:17 When he awakened and got up, the sun had set. There was a
10 flame and an oven was smoking. Fiery flames passed between what was

agreement with Charles in a note), while Hartom, without a note, gives הבתרים. Charles may be credited with considerable ingenuity, but the text is meaningful as it stands (see also 14:17). Ms. 17 has «coals».

preventing: It seems that Jubilees agrees with the vocalization of וישב in MTGen 15:11 (from נשב; so also Syriac Gen), not with the interpretation of LXX OL EthGen (though some mss. add ወኢሣመሙ to the end of the verse) according to which the form derives from שׁב. Cf. Charles, 1895, p. 49, n. 29.

14:13 terror: The word ፍርሀት can also mean «astonishment». MTGen 15:12 uses תרדמה (= Sam Syriac), and the LXX tradition has ἔκστασις.

a great, dark fear: The word ፍርሀ is in construct with ዐቢይ ፡ ጽልመት (= literally: a fear of great darkness). Some of the mss. reveal different attempts at handling the three words: ms. 9 reads ዐቢፅ; 20 omits the word; and 17 38 indicate that ዐቢፅ is to be read with ፍርሀ by adding a conjunction after the adjective. Cf. Littmann, 65, n. h.

It was said: The passive verbal form agrees with LXX OL against MT Syriac EthGen 15:13 which have active forms. As the difference involves only vowels, one cannot ascertain how Sam understood it (though Charles [1895, p. 49, n. 33] thinks he can). Neither Goldmann nor Hartom employs a niphal; they simply follow MT though there is no ms. support for doing so.

foreign: The biblical versions read «not theirs» (MT = לא להם = Hartom!), but several septuagintal witnesses and Acts 7:6 have ἀλλοτρία.

enslave them: LXX OL EthGen 15:13 (and Acts 7:6) offer the same reading, while MT Sam Syriac reflect עבדום (= Goldmann, Hartom).

14:14 from there: LXX has ὧδε (= OL EthGen 15:14); MT Sam Syriac omit, as do Goldmann and Hartom with no ms. support and no note.

14:16 In: The reading reflects the textual tradition of LXX OL EthGen 15:16 (τετάρτη δὲ γενεᾷ), not the רביעי דור of MT Sam (= Syriac). Hartom again reproduces MT.

until now: Jubilees places these words at the end of the verse, as do MT Sam-Gen 15:16; Syriac EthGen locate them after the negative, but not at the end of the sentence; and LXX OL have them in both places.

14:17 flame: Jubilees agrees with LXX (φλόξ) OL EthGen 15:17, not with MT Sam (עלטה).

what was spread out: Charles (1895, p. 50, n. 10) again emended (as in v 12) to ħፅአ; but there is as little warrant for the change here as in v 12. Jubilees, with a few LXX witnesses and possibly EthGen, omits a demonstrative adjective where MTGen 15:17 has האלה.

spread out. 14:18 On that day the Lord concluded a covenant with Abram with these words: 'To your descendants I will give this land from the river of Egypt as far as the great river, the Euphrates River: the Kenites, the Kenizzites, the Kadmonites, the Perizzites, the Rephaim, the Phakorites, the Hivites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Girgashites, and the Jebusites'. 14:19 It passed (along), and Abram offered what had been spread out, the birds, their (cereal) offering, and their libation. The fire devoured them. 14:20 During this night we concluded a covenant with Abram like the covenant which we concluded during this month with Noah. Abram renewed the festival and the ordinance for himself forever.

14:21 Abram was very happy and told all these things to his wife Sarai. He believed that he would have descendants, but she continued not to have a child. 14:22 Sarai advised her husband Abram and said

14:18 day: Note the variant ሱሴት in 39 42 47 48 (= 14:20).

I will give: MT SamGen 15:18 use the perfect נתתי; the remaining versions have imperfect / future forms.

Phakorites: The name is unique to Jubilees. See Hartom, 57, n. to v. 18.

Hivites: Jubilees omits the Hittites of the versions (Gen 15:20) but adds Hivites after the Phakorites. The Hivites also figure in Sam LXX OLGen 15:21, but each of these versions locates the name in a different place in the list, and none of those places corresponds with its position in Jubilees.

and the Jebusites: It is quite possible that these words were not in the original text of Jubilees, since mss. 9 12 17 21 38 39 42 47 48 63 omit them. They are found in the versions of Gen 15:21.

14:19 It: There has been some difficulty in identifying the subject of the verb ኀለፈ. Ms. 12 adds ይእቲ ፡ ዕለት (= that day), but the verb is masculine. Dillmann (1851) understood «Gott» to be the subject, while Charles (1895, 1902) accepted the reading of ms. 12 (= his A), as have Littmann and Hartom (Goldmann placed it in brackets). The new mss. make it even more transparent that ms. 12 is not original here but merely represents an attempt to solve a problem. Berger seems to think that Abram is the subject, yet v 19 clearly resumes v 17 where it is the fiery flames that pass between the pieces (the verb there is also ኀለፈ). The translation given above assumes that «the fiery flame(s)» is the subject here as well.

what had been spread out: Charles (1895, p. 50, n. 27) offered virtually the same unconvincing emendation here (ኀፍለተ) as in vv 12 and 17. Goldmann and Hartom once again have accepted his proposal.

them: Literally: it, but the suffix may be understood as referring to all combustible parts of the sacrifice.

14:20 night: A strong variant is «day» (cf. v 18) which is found in mss. 9 12 17 21 38 44 63. It may be original, though «night» is preferable because it differs from v 18 where «day» appears. Littmann, Charles, Goldmann, Hartom, and Berger all read «day».

ordinance: A variant to ሥርዐት is መሥዋዕት (-ት in 12 [= sacrifice, altar]) in mss. 9 12 17 21 38 44 63. Berger has opted for this variant.

to him: 'Go in to my Egyptian slave-girl Hagar; perhaps I will build up
descendants for you from her'. 14:23 Abram listened to his wife Sarai's
suggestion and said to her: 'Do (as you suggest)'. So Sarai took her
Egyptian slave-girl Hagar, and gave her to her husband Abram to be
5 his wife. 14:24 He went in to her, she became pregnant, and gave birth
to a son. He named him Ishmael in the fifth year of this week [1965].
That year was the eighty-sixth year in Abram's life.

15:1 During the fifth year of the fourth week of this jubilee [1986] —
in the third month, in the middle of the month — Abram celebrated the
10 festival of the firstfruits of the wheat harvest. 15:2 He offered as a new
sacrifice on the altar the firstfruits of the food for the Lord — a bull, a
ram, and a sheep; (he offered them) on the altar as a sacrifice to the
Lord together with their (cereal) offerings and their libations. He
offered everything on the altar with frankincense. 15:3 The Lord
15 appeared to him, and the Lord said to Abram: 'I am the God of

14:22 my Egyptian slave-girl Hagar: Gen 16:2 uses only שפחתי in reference to Hagar.
Jubilees (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 1.187) conflates 16:1 and 2 so that the additional information
about her figures here.

perhaps: The reading agrees with MT Sam Syriac Gen 16:2; the LXX tradition has
ἵνα.

I will build up: The first-person form agrees with MT Sam Syriac Gen 16:2, against the
second person of LXX OL EthGen. For an active rather than a passive verb these
loyalties are reversed: Jubilees sides with LXX OL EthGen against MT Syriac (Sam is
ambiguous because the difference involves vocalization alone). Goldmann, with no ms.
support, reproduces MT's niphal but uses a third-person form (יִבָּנֶה).

15:1 fourth: Some of the dates in Abra(ha)m's life, such as this one, do not harmonize
with others in the book. For example, 11:15 places Abram's birth in the year 1876, and
Jub 15:17 indicates that, as in Genesis, Abraham would be 100 years of age at Isaac's
birth (= 1976). Yet 15:1 dates the prediction that Isaac would be born the following year
to the year 1986 (ms. 25 gives the «seventh» week — 2007 — but ሳብዕ is a corruption of
ራብዕ), while 16:15 assigns the time of Sarah's pregnancy to 1987. Finally, in 17:1 Isaac is
weaned in the year 1989. Charles (1902, pp. 105-06, 115, 119) subtracted one week of
years from these numbers, but even with this adjustment they do not agree. Moreover, in
each of these passages where the Latin version of Jubilees is extant, it confirms the
numbers of the Ethiopic tradition (e.g., 16:15; 17:1). If numbers were expressed by
symbols or letters, opportunities for error in the mss. would be abundant. Perhaps a
number of confusions of this sort produced the present disarray. Many of the chronologi-
cal discrepancies in Jubilees have been catalogued by E. Wiesenberg («The Jubilee of
Jubilees», *RdQ* 3 [1961-62] 31-36), but his conclusion that the discordant numbers reflect
different sources and editors of Jubilees seems unnecessarily complex.

wheat: It is peculiar that almost all mss. read an accusative form (ሥርናየ). Possibly the
ending on ዕሴ induced a scribe to add a terminal -a.

15:3 Shaddai: The word in Ethiopic is clearly a transliteration of שדי in Gen 17:1. It
was not influenced by the LXX tradition which reads σου. See Charles, 1895, p. 51, n. 19.

Please me: Literally: be pleasing/ give pleasure before me. In Gen 17:1 MT Sam have

Shaddai. Please me and be perfect, 15:4 I will place my covenant
between me and you. I will increase you greatly'. 15:5 Then Abram fell
prostrate. The Lord spoke with him and said: 15:6 'My pact is now
with you. I will make you the father of many nations. 15:7 You will no
longer be called Abram; your name from now to eternity is to be   5
Abraham because I have designated you the father of many nations.
15:8 I will make you very great. I will make you into nations, and kings
shall emerge from you. 15:9 I will place my covenant between me and
you and your descendants after you throughout their generations and
as an eternal pact so that I may be God to you and to your descendants   10
after you. 15:10 [To you and your descendants after you I will give] the
land where you have resided as an alien — the land of Canaan which
you will rule forever. I will be their God'.

15:11 Then the Lord said to Abraham: 'As for you, keep my
covenant — you and your descendants after you. Circumcise all your   15
males; circumcise your foreskins. It will be a sign of my eternal pact

התהלך לפני (both Goldmann and Hartom use these words), but Syriac LXX (εὐαρέστει)
OL EthGen express the idea of being pleasing. Cf. Charles, 1895, p. 51, n. 21; 1902,
p. 107, n.

15:4 greatly: In Gen 17:2 MT Sam Syriac use a double expression (MT: במאד מאד).
Jubilees joins LXX OL EthGen in reading a single adverb.

15:5 fell prostrate: Literally: fell on his face.

15:6 pact: The Ethiopic term (ሥርዓት) is not the same as the word translated «my
covenant» (ኪዳን) in v 4. In both of these places MT (Gen 17:2, 4) has בריתי.

make you: The verb ኣረስዎ agrees with no biblical version. They reflect והייתי
(= ትከውን, as in mss. 9 12 17 21 38 63).

15:8 make you very great: The verb seems more nearly to mirror the reading of LXX
(αὐξανῶ) OL EthGen 17:6 than of MT (הפריתי) Sam (Syriac has both). Hartom,
nevertheless, uses הפריתי as his rendering.

15:9 will place: Jubilees agrees with OL (ponam) EthGen 17:7 (እሠይም) in their
general sense and with a large number of septuagintal witnesses which read θήσω rather
than στήσω. MT Sam Syriac agree on הקמתי (which Hartom uses).

15:10 [To ... give]: With the exception of Berger, the translators have restored words
to this effect at the beginning of the verse; Gen 17:8 is their source. Charles (1895, p. 51,
n. 33) correctly identified the repetition of the words ወለዘርእከ ፡ እምድኅሬከ at the end of
v 9 and hypothetically at the beginning of v 10 as the cause of the omission (see also
Littmann, 66, n. h; Hartom restores these words but with no indication that they are not
in the text). LXX witnesses 911 18-25-77′ -313-550* and 106 show the same haplography.
Berger (406, n. a to v 10) finds a restoration unnecessary because the reading of ms 17
(= his M) provides an acceptable text. It reads እምድኅሬ (= 17c) rather than ሁበ. He
translates: «Ein Land wirst du danach als Fremdling durchziehen ...» Yet the reading of
17c has no other support, and Berger has to change the tense of the verb to achieve his
rendering.

where you have resided: Jubilees' formulation stands closer to LXX (ἣν παροικεῖς) OL
EthGen 17:8 than to MT (מגריך) Sam Syriac.

(which is) between me and you. 15:12 You will circumcise a child on
the eighth day — every male in your families: the person (who has been
born in your) house, the one whom you purchased with money from
any foreigners — whom you have acquired who is not from your
descendants. 15:13 The person who is born in your house must be
circumcised; and those whom you purchased with money are to be
circumcised. My covenant will be in your flesh as an eternal pact.
15:14 The male who has not been circumcised — the flesh of whose
foreskin has not been circumcised on the eighth day — that person will
be uprooted from his people because he has violated my covenant'.

15:15 The Lord said to Abraham: 'Your wife Sarai will no longer be
called Sarai for her name will be Sarah. 15:16 I will bless her. I will
give you a son from her and will bless him. He will become a nation,

15:12 circumcise: The verb ትከስብም is replaced by ትገዘርም in mss. 39 42 47 48 (cf. 58)
here and throughout this section. This latter root is also used in EthGen.

child: Ms. 25 reads ወስትውልድ at the place which is here numbered as the beginning of
v 12, but its punctuation indicates that the scribe understood it with the last words of
v 11. These words, which make little sense either with v 11 or as the beginning of v 12, are
nevertheless found in all of the later mss. The earliest mss. (9 12 17 20), 35 38, and
Gen 17:12 show that the erroneous reading of 25 and the others resulted from a simple
corruption of ወልድ (-ድ) into ትውልድ (38 has ውሉድ). Charles (1895, p. 52, n. 4) proposed
emending the readings of his four mss. to ለወልድ ፡ (በግንቱ ፡ ዕለት) ; mss. which have been
identified since Charles' work now verify his suggestion. He was not entirely correct in
adding, though, that EthGen 17:12 alone supported this reading. Several mss. of EthGen
do mention the eighth day at this point, but others have «second». Moreover, it uses
ሕፃን, not ለወልድ. Cf. Josephus, Ant. 1.192.

15:14 on the eighth day: In Gen 17:14 Sam LXX OL and some mss. of EthGen
contain these words; MT Syriac and the targums lack them. See Charles, 1895, p. 52,
n. 12; and Hartom, 56, n. to v 14.

because: This conjunction is found in LXX OL EthGen 17:14 but not in MT Sam
Syriac or the targums. Cf. Charles, 1895, p. 52, n. 14.

15:15 longer: A word with a similar meaning is added in a number of septuagintal
witnesses and in EthGen 17:15; it is lacking in the other versions of Genesis.

be called: The variant in mss. 25 35 44 (ትሰመይ) is the verbal form found in
EthGen 17:15. The passive forms in most of the mss. agree with the reading of LXX OL
EthGen, not with the active verb of MT Sam (?) Syriac.

15:16 bless him: Jubilees sides with Sam Syriac, many Greek witnesses, and
OLGen 17:16 in reading a masculine suffix where MT LXX have a feminine object. Cf.
Charles, 1895, p. 52, n. 19; 1902, p. 109, n. Curiously, Hartom renders with וברכתיה which
lacks any ms. support.

He will become: Isaac is the subject, as in Syriac Gen 17:16 (LXX and OL are
ambiguous); but MT Sam and the targums understand Sarah to be the subject. Hartom,
again without textual warrant, translates with והיתה.

and (kings): Of the ancient versions, only MTGen 17:16 (with To) omits the conjunc-
tion.

from him: The masculine pronoun is also found in OLGen 17:16 (Syriac is ambiguous)
and Josephus, Ant. 1.191. The other versions have feminine pronouns (referring to Sarah).
Hartom predictably has ממנה.

and kings of nations will come from him'. 15:17 Abraham fell prostrate
and was very happy. He said to himself: 'Will a son be born to one who
is 100 years of age? Will Sarah who is 90 years of age give birth (to a
child)'? 15:18 (So) Abraham said to the Lord: 'I wish that Ishmael
could live in your presence'. 15:19 The Lord said: 'Very well, but   5
Sarah, too, will give birth to a son for you and you will name him
Isaac. I will establish my covenant with him as an eternal covenant and
for his descendants after him. 15:20 Regarding Ishmael I have listened
to you. I will indeed bless him, increase him, and make him very
numerous. He will father 12 princes, and I will make him into a large   10
nation. 15:21 But my covenant I will establish with Isaac to whom
Sarah will give birth for you at this time next year'. 15:22 When he had
finished speaking with him, the Lord went up from Abraham.

15:17 was very happy: Josephus (*Ant.* 1.193) and the targums share this interpretation
of Abraham's laughter (Gen 17:17).
   a son: This word is omitted by MT Sam OL^S (and by Hartom).
   be born: The passive form, which is employed in nearly all of the Jubilees mss., agrees
with MT Syriac LXX OL Toj Gen 17:17. Sam and EthGen, with Tn, evidence active
verbs (I will father). The verb ﻻ𝖆ﬥ.𝔉 of ms. 38^c also appears in EthGen.
   15:19 Very well: MTGen 17:19 reads אבל, and Jubilees' ﻻﬥ appears to render it
(LXX has Ναί). Jubilees lacks an equivalent of הנה (= Sam LXX OL EthGen) after this
word.
   you will name: All versions of Gen 17:19 and Jubilees agree on a second-person verb,
but Goldmann translated with קראה. The Ethiopic verb could be so rendered, but this is
most unlikely, given the evidence of the biblical versions.
   with him: Goldmann, with no backing among the mss., gives עמך. Note that
LXXGen 17:19 has πρὸς αὐτόν (= OL EthGen).
   and (for): Only MT Toj omit the conjunction.
   15:20 increase ... make him very numerous: This is also the order of verbs in the
versions of Gen 17:20, but Latin Jubilees appears to have transposed them. The form
generauit = generabit (RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 12; Charles, 1895, p. 53, n. 1 to
the Latin).
   He: The biblical versions lack the conjunction which is found at the beginning of this
clause in Ethiopic Jubilees. Latin Jubilees has nam (= for).
   princes: Jubilees echoes the word נשיאם (MT Sam = Syriac Gen 17:20); LXX OL
EthGen have «nations».
   15:21 next: Ethiopic ﻬﬥﬥ (= other, another, second) is a literal rendering of האחרת in
Gen 17:21. The other biblical versions translate literally (other than OL^1: sequentem).
BDB, 29 recognizes the meaning «following, next» as a rare sense for אחר. It appears that
Latin Jubilees has chosen an idiomatic equivalent (ueniente). Consequently, the transla-
tions of Dillmann («andern» [1851]) and Berger («anderen») are unduly literal.
   15:22 When he had finished: Charles (1895, p. 53, n. 35) emended ﻻﬥ.𝔉 to the perfect
tense with suffix (ﻻﬥ𝔉) = Latin and the biblical versions. Littmann (67, n. b) called the
change «möglich, aber nicht notwendig». Though ms. 17 now evidences ﻻﬥ𝔉, it seems an
error because the suffix makes no sense here.
   from: Literally: from above (= מעל in MTGen 17:22). Latin Jubilees translates
idiomatically (ab).

15:23 Abraham did as the Lord told him. He took his son Ishmael, everyone who was born in his house and who had been purchased with money — every male who was in his house — and circumcised the flesh of their foreskins. 15:24 On the same day Abraham was circumcised;
5 [those who were born in his house], the men of his household, and all those who had been purchased with money (even from foreigners) were circumcised with him.

15:25 This law is (valid) for all history forever. There is no circumci-

15:23 every: One could argue that the conjunction ወ should be prefixed to ዘኵሎ, since it has strong ms. support (17 25 35 44) and appears in LXX EthGen 17:23 (Berger accepts it). Yet it is not backed by Latin Jubilees (which uniquely has ergo) nor is it found in MT Sam Syriac or the targums.

foreskins: The Ethiopic term actually means «circumcision». The Latin version adds «in illo tempore». Charles (1895, p. 53, n. 3 to Latin) terms these words, with «in illa die» (v 24), a «double phrase» which is «due to a misunderstanding and mistranslation of ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης». The real problem, however, is that the words found at the end of Gen 17:23 (בעצם היום הזה כאשר דבר אתו אלהים) have, without the reference to «the same day», been transferred to the beginning of Jub 15:23; v 24 draws the same phrase from Gen 17:26. The Latin translation is probably influenced by the biblical versions (EthGen omits) in adding these words, though they are hardly an exact reproduction of the biblical statement of time.

15:24 was circumcised: The passive form agrees with MT Sam LXX EthGen 17:26; Latin Jubilees uses a reflexive verb, while Syriac Genesis and Tjn have active verbs.

[those who were born in his house]: After the word ቤቱ Charles (1895, p. 53, n. 43) restored ወአጋ ፡ ቤቱ, using the Latin as his support (so also Littmann, 67, n. c; Hartom [without comment]). Actually, the Latin reads dominatos suos et domesticos suos. Dominatos suos occurs in v 23 where Ethiopic has አጋ ፡ ቤቱ; thus it does not appear to be the equivalent of ሰብአ ፡ ቤቱ in this verse. So, Charles transposed the two Latin phrases (1895, p. 53, n. 4 to Latin). As the biblical versions also have an equivalent phrase (MTGen 17:27 reads יליד בית) and the two instances of ቤቱ would provide the necessary conditions for haplography, these words have been restored in the text above. Charles' transposition would not be necessary if one restored አጋ ፡ ቤቱ before ሰብአ ፡ ቤቱ (contrary to the order of the biblical versions). Interestingly, EthGen also lacks an expression corresponding to the phrase יליד בית.

all: Latin lacks this word.

even: Only the later mss. 42 44 47 48 omit the conjunction. Most of the biblical versions lack it, but Syriac Gen 17:27 has ܐܦ (LXX mss. 44-125 read καί). Latin Jubilees has etiam, which indicates that a word of this sort was present in the lost Greek version of Jubilees.

were circumcised: Again the Latin employs an active verb (= LXX [אתם becomes אתם]; ms. 12); the other biblical versions (Gen 17:27) read passive forms.

with him: Latin has «all», of which there is no trace in the biblical versions.

15:25 This: All mss. except 20 25 prefix a conjunction; Latin also lacks one.

There is no circumcising of days: Latin omits the clause through haplography (et non est ... et non est). For ክሰበት mss. 9 12 17 21 35ᶜ 42ᶜ 44 63 read ክተረት, which, as Charles (1895, p. 53, n. 52) saw, is an alternate spelling of ቀተረት (= a locking, closing). Berger has adopted this variant, but it destroys the paronomasia.

sing of days, nor omitting any day of the eight days because it is an eternal ordinance ordained and written on the heavenly tablets. 15:26 Anyone who is born, the flesh of whose private parts has not been circumcised by the eighth day does not belong to the people of the pact which the Lord made with Abraham but to the people (meant for)   5 destruction. Moreover, there is no sign on him that he belongs to the Lord, but (he is meant) for destruction, for being destroyed from the earth, and for being uprooted from the earth because he has violated the covenant of the Lord our God. 15:27 For this is what the nature of all the angels of the presence and all the angels of holiness was like   10 from the day of their creation. In front of the angels of the presence and the angels of holiness he sanctified Israel to be with him and his holy angels.

15:28 Now you command the Israelites to keep the sign of this

omitting: Literally: passing over (Latin: praeterire).

eight: Latin omits.

because: Latin quibus seems wrong. RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 12) and Charles (1895, p. 53, n. 6 to Latin) emended to quia = አስመ.

15:26 Anyone: The Ethiopic text begins with a conjunction but Latin has ut. Both RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 12) and Charles (1895, p. 53, n. 7 to Latin) have emended to et.

by the eighth day: Ethiopic እስከ and Latin usque in suggest that the original read עד. Charles (1895, p. 54, n. 3; cf. 1902, pp. 110-11, n., where he adds that ב and ל may have been confused) argued that this עד was a mistake for על and altered the Ethiopic to ላዕለ (= ms. 58) and the Latin to *in* (cf. Littmann, 67, n. d, though he does not accept Charles' emendation; Hartom, however, does). Charles also pointed to the similarity here with v 14, but there the preposition is በ. *BDB* 724 (I.2.b) recognize «during» as a rare meaning of עד.

people of the pact: Latin has only testamento, but inclusion of ውሉደ has a Semitic ring to it.

and for being uprooted from the earth: Mss. 9 12 17 21 38 63 omit the phrase, as does the Latin, but they may well have done so through haplography (እምን ፡ ምድር ... እምን ፡ ምድር). See Charles, 1895, p. 55, n. 8 Hartom omits it from his translation.

15:27 This is ... was like: Latin omits. Possibly the two instances of what in Ethiopic is ፍጥረቶሙ triggered the omission.

holiness: Latin: blessing. Littmann (67, n. e) proposed, on the basis of the Latin, that ቅዳሴ was corrupted from ውዳሴ (= praise). But since the Latin uses angelorum sanctificationis for the same group later in the verse (as Littmann recognized), one wonders whether the variation is not merely stylistic. See Epiphanius on 2:2 (above): ἄγγελοι τῆς δόξης. Hartom seems to have invented a new category of angels for his rendering: he has angels of the presence וכל ראשי המלאכים וכל ראשי מלאכי הקדשה.

his holy angels: Latin: angels of his holy places (for this translation, see RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 101). As Berger has noted, the Latin represents a «Fehlübersetzung der 2. Genitivs aus dem Griech».

15:28 the sign of this covenant: Latin: testamentum signi huius. The Ethiopic seems preferable (cf. Gen 17:11: אות ברית). Charles (1895, p. 55, n. 2 to Latin; n. 14 to Ethiopic)

covenant throughout their history as an eternal ordinance so that they may not be uprooted from the earth 15:29 because the command has been ordained as a covenant so that they should keep it forever on all the Israelites. 15:30 For the Lord did not draw near to himself either
5 Ishmael, his sons, his brothers, or Esau. He did not choose them (simply) because they were among Abraham's children, for he knew them. But he chose Israel to be his people. 15:31 He sanctified them and gathered (them) from all mankind. For there are many nations and many peoples and all belong to him. He made spirits rule over all in
10 order to lead them astray from following him. 15:32 But over Israel he made no angel or spirit rule because he alone is their ruler. He will guard them and require them for himself from his angels, his spirits, and everyone, and all his powers so that he may guard them and bless them and so that they may be his and he theirs from now and forever.

emended to signum testamenti hujus. Hartom omits the word for «sign» from his translation; this was perhaps a printing error caused by its similarity with את.

ordinance: The Ethiopic noun (ሥርዓት) is the same as the one translated «pact» in 15:6, 9, 11, 13 and «ordinance» in vv. 25, 33, 34.

so that they may not be uprooted: Dillmann also translates in this fashion. Since the Latin reads a future tense verb, it may appear preferable to analyze the Ethiopic verb as an imperfect tense Gt form (= they will not be uprooted [so Littmann, Charles, and Berger]). But the Latin does use future tense forms in place of the subjunctive at times, and hence one need not infer that the Ethiopic should be read in formal agreement with it.

15:29 command has been ordained: The Latin uses an active verb and connects decreto (= ትእዛዝ) with testamenti (= ኪዳን).

they should keep it: The Latin passive (custodiatur) could be construed as an idiomatic rendering of the impersonal plural verb that is reflected in the Ethiopic.

on: Both Ethiopic and Latin support reading the preposition «on», but the translators have opted for unusual equivalents: Dillmann (1851): unter; Charles (1902): among; Goldmann: ב; Hartom: בקרב; and Berger: bei. No one of these seems likely. Littmann rendered literally with über. It is tempting to follow Rabin («The command is binding on all the sons of Israel»), but the word-order in both versions is decidedly against this. Perhaps the preposition «on» refers to the fact that this covenant, which involves circumcision (in Gen 17:10 circumcision is the covenant), is quite literally to be effected on the bodies of male Israelites.

15:30 among: Literally: from.

15:31 to lead them astray from following him: Literally: so that he could lead them astray from after him. Mss. 12 17 35 58 make the verb plural, presumably to absolve the deity of responsibility for misleading the nations. The singular is far more strongly attested, though the translators have opted for the plural (Dillmann read a singular verb in 1859).

15:32 and everyone, and: Charles (1895) followed the text of ms. 12 which reads ወእኩል ፡ ኵሉ (cf. p. 55, n. 27); he then retained ትኃሥሦቱ (actually he emended to ትኃዝዟፅዮሙ) which is omitted by 12. Littmann and Hartom also accept the omission of ወኵሉ. Yet, 12 21 are the only mss. which lack these words (12 omits ትኃሥሦቱ also), with the result that this is probably not the original reading. Possibly the conjunction before ኵሉ[2] is another instance of waw explicativum (see GKC sec. 154a, n. 1b [p. 484]).

his powers: For this meaning of ትኃዝዟ, see DILLMANN, Lexicon, 793-94. Because the scribes of mss. 20 25 35 39 42 44 47 48 58 took the word in its more common meaning

15:33 I am now telling you that the Israelites will prove false to this ordinance. They will not circumcise their sons in accord with this entire law because they will leave some of the flesh of their circumcision when they circumcise their sons. All the people of Belial will leave their sons uncircumcised just as they were born. 15:34 Then there will be great 5 anger from the Lord against the Israelites because they neglected his covenant, departed from his word, provoked, and blasphemed in that they did not perform the ordinance of this sign. For they have made themselves like the nations so as to be removed and uprooted from the earth. They will no longer have forgiveness or pardon so that they 10 should be pardoned and forgiven for every sin, for (their) violation of this eternal (ordinance).

16:1 On the first of the fourth month we appeared to Abraham at the oak of Mamre. We spoke with him and told him that a child would be given to him from his wife Sarah. 16:2 Sarah laughed when she 15 heard that we had conveyed this message to Abraham, but when we chided her, she became frightened and denied that she had laughed about the message. 16:3 We told her the name of her son as it is ordained and written on the heavenly tablets — Isaac — 16:4 and (that) when we returned to her at a specific time she would have 20 become pregnant with a son.

16:5 During this month the Lord executed the judgment of Sodom and Gomorrah, Zeboim and all the environs of the Jordan. He burned them with fire and brimstone and annihilated them until the present in accord with what I have now told you (about) all their actions — that 25

(commandments), they read a plural verb (ይዕቀቡ), with «Israel» as the understood subject. Goldmann translated literally with מצותיו, as had Dillmann (1851), but the latter had access only to ms. 51 (= 47 here) and thus had no choice in the matter.

15:34 themselves: The translators (other than Goldmann) have given «their members» as the meaning of ነፍሳቲሆሙ. However, according to DILLMANN (Lexicon, 707-08), this form is the plural of ነፍስ, not of the word ነፍስት. It is the latter term which means «genitalia», not the former. Only ms. 47 uses ነፍስት here.

for (their) violation of this eternal (ordinance): Literally: for the violation of this which is forever.

16:2 when: Ethiopic እስመ means «because», but here it renders ultimately Hebrew כי (this is the word used by Goldmann), which can also have the meaning «when». Either interpretation could be defended in this context, and the translators are understandably divided on the matter. If one chooses «because», it would be helpful to translate the verb as past perfect: because she had heard.

conveyed: The verb literally means «spoken». The same word is used in 16:1.

16:5 commit sexual sins: Latin attests a different arrangement. Where Ethiopic reads two verbs («defile themselves, commit sexual sins»), Latin has a noun (inmundi) which seems to represent the idea of the first Ethiopic verb and a phrase (spurcitias exercentes) which expresses the sense of the second.

they were savage and very sinful, (that) they would defile themselves, commit sexual sins in their flesh, and do what was impure on the earth. 16:6 The Lord will execute judgment in the same way in the places where people commit the same sort of impure actions as Sodom — just like the judgment on Sodom. 16:7 But we went about rescuing Lot because the Lord remembered Abraham. So he brought him out from the overthrow (of Sodom). 16:8 He and his daughters committed a sin on the earth which had not occurred on the earth from the time of Adam until his time because the man lay with his daughter. 16:9 It has now been commanded and engraved on the heavenly tablets regarding

16:6 The Lord: Latin uses enim where Ethiopic has a conjunction at the beginning of the verse.

just like the judgment on Sodom: Charles (1895, p. 56, nn. 6-7) emended the phrase ከነኒ ፡ ለሰዶም to ከመና ፡ ለሰዶም (the verb is modeled on the Latin). Hartom accepts this without comment, but it is not obvious that a change is needed. RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 14) and Charles (1895, p. 57, n. 2 to Latin) changed iudicabit to iudicavit; yet the verb may not be referring to the specific judgment on Sodom but to the punishment of any place which exhibits the same kind of conduct. For a similar expression, see 16:9.

16:7 went about rescuing: The Ethiopic verb is imperfect tense (cf. Littmann, Berger: «sollten wir retten») and may indicate that the rescue involved a process. The Latin verb liberabimus also seems to be a future form, but the tense would be peculiar in the context. RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 14) and Charles (1895, p. 57, n. 3 to Latin) read liberavimus instead.

Lot: Latin adds inde.

So he brought him out: The Latin ms. has eliberaret, which, according to RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 102), does not exist elsewhere. He suggested deliberaret, while Charles preferred liberaret. The Latin text interprets the last clause as a purpose clause; in Ethiopic it is an independent sentence.

16:8 He: Instead of a beginning conjunction «and» as in Ethiopic, the Latin text uses etenim (see also 16:6, 9).

daughters: Latin oddly reads «sons» (filii).

earth: Latin places «entire» before this word.

Adam: The Latin abraham must be a scribal slip caused perhaps by the fact that Abraham is the dominant character in these chapters.

until his time: Latin: until him.

because: Latin has ut with a subjunctive verb. Possibly Greek ὥστε underlies the expressions in the two languages.

daughter: Latin: daughters. The Latin may be a «correction» based on Gen 19:30-38.

16:9 It: Here again Latin begins the sentence with etenim, while Ethiopic reads ወ.

commanded: Latin demandatum, which should mean «entrusted, commended», seems peculiar. Nevertheless, it does appear likely that in this text it means «commanded». See 21:1 where Ethiopic አዘዘ and Latin demandauit illi are paired. Dillmann (in RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 15) used this word to translate ተአዘዘ.

engraved: Latin has scriptum.

he is to remove ... uproot: The Ethiopic verbs are third-person singular, active forms, but Latin employs third-person plural, passive ones (so also for the verb «leave»). Both may be interpretations of the same original expression. The Latin word talis should be

all his descendants that he is to remove them, uproot them, execute
judgment on them like the judgment of Sodom, and not to leave him
any human descendants on the earth on the day of judgment.

16:10 During this month Abraham migrated from Hebron. He went
and settled between Kadesh and Sur in the mountains of Gerar.   5
16:11 In the middle of the fifth month he migrated from there and
settled at the well of the oath. 16:12 In the middle of the sixth month
the Lord visited Sarah and did for her as he had said. 16:13 She
became pregnant and gave birth to a son in the third month; in the
middle of the month, on the day that the Lord had told Abraham — on   10
the festival of the firstfruits of the harvest — Isaac was born.
16:14 Abraham circumcised him when he was eight days old. He was

tales (which would, then, be the subject of the verbs; so RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*,
14; Charles, 1895, p. 57, n. 9 to Latin).

execute: Latin: will be.

him: Latin has a plural (in ipsis [for in ipsi?]).

16:10 mountains: Latin reads «boundaries». As RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 102)
first observed, the two translations are based on a Greek model in which the letters ορος
appeared. The interpretation which is reflected in the Ethiopic is that the word was ὄρος,
and the one behind the Latin is that it was ὅρος. Cf. also Charles, 1902, p. 114, n.;
Hartom, 61, n. to v 10; Berger, 411, n. b to v 10.

16:11 well of the oath: Cedrenus (τὸ φρέαρ ... τοῦ ὅρκου) preserves the same
interpretation of the name Beersheba (Gen 21:31) as באר שבועה.

16:12 said: Though he had ended the verse here in 1895, in his translation of 1902
Charles extended it to include the next clause (ወሰብአተ). Goldmann follows his translation
on this point.

16:13 third: Latin reads «seventh», which is clearly wrong. Its ordinal may have been
influenced by the sequence in vv. 11-13: v 11 = fifth month; v 12 = sixth month;
therefore, v 13 would have the seventh month.

in (the middle): Latin, too, places a conjunction before the preposition; it thus opposes
omission of it by mss. 9 12 17 38 44 63.

firstfruits of the harvest: The form ቀዳሚ, which was read by Dillmann in 1859, is not
in the construct state (cf. mss. 12 48 which do have the construct [ቀዳሚ — read by
Charles in 1895]); but perhaps the two words ቀዳሚ : ማእረር are to be taken as a unit with
which በዓል stands in a construct relation. It is quite possible also that the two endings (-ሚ
and -ሚ) have been interchanged in the ms. tradition.

16:14 circumcised him when he was eight days old: Latin has «circumcised his son on
the eighth day». Though there is some variation in the ms. tradition, the best Ethiopic
reading employs the common Hebrew expression for age: a son of ... The Ethiopic
abbreviates Gen 21:4 by replacing את יצחק בנו with a pronominal suffix on the verb; the
statement of Isaac's age is an exact rendering of בן שמנת ימים. Some of the Ethiopic mss.
read, not ወልደ, but ለወልዱ and add a preposition before the word መዋዕል; in this way
they produce the very text that is found in Latin (see especially mss. 9; 39 42 47 48; and
58). But these changes appear to represent a misreading of the Hebrew expression. ሰሙን,
which can mean either «eight» or «eighth» (DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 334), may have
contributed to the problem through its ambiguity. All of the translators have followed the
interpretation which is here regarded as secondary and incorrect.

the first to be circumcised according to the covenant which was ordained forever.

16:15 In the sixth year of the fourth week [1987] we came to Abraham at the well of the oath. We appeared to him just as we had
5 said to Sarah that we would return to her and she would have become pregnant with a son. 16:16 We returned during the seventh month, and in front of us we found Sarah pregnant. We blessed *him* and told *him* everything that had been commanded for him: that he would not yet die until he became the father of six sons and (that) he would see (them)

16:15 fourth: Both Ethiopic and Latin agree on the ordinal, but Charles (1902, p. 115, n.) objected that «third» should be read (so Hartom, 62, n. to v 15). His emendation does not solve the chronological problem, though it would make the date more nearly correct. See the note to 15:1 above.

a son: Latin: her son. Gen 18:10, 14 also refer to «a son».

16:16 him ... him: The Ethiopic mss., with the exception of 12 which has the suffix -ひ for the first verb, read a feminine suffix on both verbs, and several specify the referent by adding ለሳራ afterባረክናሃ (35ᶜ 39 42 47 48 58). The feminine suffixes are not, however, consistent with the sequel in which the information that follows is divulged to Abraham, not to Sarah (see v 19). The Latin verifies the emendation by reading eum (after benediximus [see RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 103; Charles, 1895, p. 56, n. 27; 1902, p. 115, n.; Hartom (without a note); and Berger; Goldmann retains the feminine but mentions the masculine in a note]; the pronoun illi after indicauimus is ambiguous as to gender). It may be that the feminine suffixes in the Ethiopic mss. were written under the influence of the preceding ረከስሃ.

everything: Latin quaecumque (literally: whatever) is paired with Ethiopic ኵሎ (-ሎ) more frequently: 16:19; 29:20; 32:22; 42:9; 45:14.

that he would not yet die until: Latin: and in what way he would die and. The Latin makes poor sense in the context, and there are some possibilities for explaining the origin of its variations from the Ethiopic text. The word quomodo may be a copyist's mistake for quod non (cf. Dillmann's Latin translation in RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 17). It may also have been the case that after the Latin error was made the word «until» (= usque; Charles [1895, p. 57, n. 17 to Latin] proposed quoad) was altered since it no longer fit the context. The following clause thus became another in the series of indirect statements. But an explanation for the present state of the Latin text must also deal with two additional facts: it introduces the next clause with a conjunction, while Ethiopic has «until»; and there is a problem with the location of Ethiopic ዓዲ. It may be simplest to posit Greek variants behind the extant versions: οὔπω (= Ethiopic) was miscopied as ὅπως (= Latin). If so, it would imply that reading ዓዲ after ይመውት, where most mss. place it, is original and locating it after the verb ይወልድ as in 20 25 35 is a reinterpretation, even though it is also attested by the Latin. Note that the Hebrew equivalent of ዓዲ ∶ እስከ would be עד עוד; the similarity of the two words may have caused omission of עוד in some mss. and its subsequent reintroduction in a different place. All of the translators have understandably followed ms. 25 and Latin on this matter (Littmann seems to equivocate), but if the above explanation is correct, it supports the reading of the majority of the mss.

(them): Latin, which includes this word (eos) that is lacking in Ethiopic, also adds omnes.

he would have a reputation and descendants: Literally: a name and seed would be

before he died; but (that) through Isaac he would have a reputation and descendants. 16:17 All the descendants of his sons would become nations and be numbered with the nations. But one of Isaac's sons would become a holy progeny and would not be numbered among the nations, 16:18 for he would become the share of the Most High. All his descendants had fallen into that (share) which God owns so that they would become a people whom the Lord *possesses* out of all the nations; and that they would become a kingdom, a priesthood, and a holy people. 16:19 Then we went on our way and told Sarah all that we had reported to him. The two of them were extremely happy.

called for him. Latin: he would become numerous and have a reputation (note the indicative forms, on which see RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 103). Gen 21:12 (= Rom 9:7; Heb 11:18) lacks the noun «name»; the Latin of Jubilees has no equivalent for Ethiopic ወስሙ (= 63), though the noun is in all of the biblical versions. Of course, both Ethiopic and Latin use terms that are familiar in patriarchal blessings. Possibly Latin lacks et semen through homoioteleuton with nomen; also, the next verse begins with et omne semen.

16:18 a people whom the Lord *possesses*: The Ethiopic reads literally: a people of adornment (or: honor) for the Lord; Latin has: God's people sanctified (cf. Hartom: העם המקדש). Especially the words ትርሲት and sanctificatum have elicited emendations. Dillmann (1851) translated with «für den Herrn ein schaz des schmuckes» (his ms. [= 51] reads ሠናይት rather than አሕዛብ), but subsequent translators (apart from Berger who opts for another possible meaning of ትርሲት — Sohnschaft [actually DILLMANN (*Lexicon*, 283) gives *adoptio*]) have preferred to correct the troublesome words. Charles (1895, p. 58, n. 4) thought that the Latin was corrupt, since the same thought figured in the following line (populus sanctus). Behind the Latin he posited Greek λαὸς οὐσίας and ultimately Hebrew עם סגלה. The Ethiopic ትርሲት he took to be an error for ጥሪት. Hence, አሕዛብ : ጥሪት = λαὸς οὐσίας or περιούσιος. Charles has probably accounted for the extant readings correctly and has perceived that Exod 19:5 «was clearly before our author» (1902, p. 116, n. [19:5-6 would be more accurate]). There one meets all of the titles for Israel which appear in this verse of Jubilees.

19:5 והייתם לסגלה מכל העמים ...

19:6 ואתם תהיו לי ממלכת כהנים וגוי קדוש ...

It is likely that the peculiar አሕዛብ : ትርሲት occurs in the place where עם סגלה or just סגלה once stood. The normal Greek equivalent of סגלה was περιούσιος or λαὸς περιούσιος (Exod 19:5; Deut 7:6; 14:2; 26:18). This does make it probable that ትርሲት is a mistake for ጥሪት (= possession). The variant ርሲት, found only in ms. 38, is surely not original (Littmann [69, n. c] thought it was) but is rather a corruption of the word ትርሲት. The Latin sanctificatum = ὅσιος may have resulted from miscopying περιούσιος or οὐσίας (Charles, 1895, p. 59, n. 2 to Latin), though cf. EthExod 19:5 which has አሕዛብ : ንጹሕ.

a kingdom, a priesthood: Exod 19:6 does not, in MT Sam LXX, place a conjunction between these words as Jubilees does. Charles indicated, though, that Jubilees' formulation is widely attested (Rev 1:6; 5:10; Toj; Syriac Exod 19:6 [1902, p. 116, n.; in 1895, p. 58 n. 6 he had wanted to emend ወካህናት to ዘካህናት with the Latin and Exod 19:6 (see now ms. 9); in 1902 he thought that the Latin was influenced by the Vulgate]). Without noting the fact, both Goldmann and Hartom have simply reproduced MT.

16:20 There he built an altar for the Lord who had recued him and who was making him so happy in the country where he resided as an alien. He celebrated a joyful festival in this month — for seven days — near the altar which he had built at the well of the oath. 16:21 He
5 constructed tents for himself and his servants during this festival. He was the first to celebrate the festival of tabernacles on the earth. 16:22 During these seven days he was making — throughout all the days, each and every day — an offering to the Lord on the altar: two bulls, two rams, seven sheep, one goat for sins in order to atone
10 through it for himself and his descendants. 16:23 And as a peace offering: seven rams, seven kids, seven sheep, seven he-goats as well as their (cereal-)offerings and their libations over all their fat — (all of these) he would burn on the altar as a choice offering for a

16:19 extremely: Both Ethiopic and Latin echo the cognate accusative construction of the Hebrew original, but Ethiopic also adds ጥቀ (= very).

16:20 who was making him so happy: Latin gratiae eius is obviously wrong. RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 103) thought that the difference might go back to one word in the Hebrew original. It was understood as a verb in the tradition represented by the Ethiopic and as a substantive in the one embodied in the Latin. He did not, however, say what that word might have been. The Hebrew was very likely וישמחנו (Goldmann and Hartom use וישמחהו), and the Latin wording may have resulted from a copyist's error in which only the last letters of the verb were reproduced (חנ[וישמ, or, to account for the genitive case, וישמ[מחנו). Gratia = חן (see Jub 19:5; 39:12, 40:5).

where he resided as an alien: The variant ፍጥረቱ (9 12 17 21 38 63; cf. 48) is a corruption of ፍልሰቱ, and is opposed by the Latin. Berger, nevertheless, reads it («seiner Geburt»), though it makes no sense here.

which he had built at the well of the oath: Latin omits the relative clause — perhaps because of homoioarchton with the first words of v 21 (quod aedificauerat ... et aedificauit).

16:22 these seven: Latin omits. See RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 103.

throughout all the days: Latin also lacks these words.

offering: Latin fructum is a literal rendering of Greek κάρπωμα or κάρπωσις (or either one with a ὁλο- prefix) which are used to translate Hebrew עולה (RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 103-04).

16:23 peace offering: Literally: offering for safety/ rescue. The phrase זבח שלמים is translated as θυσία σωτηρίου in the LXX (e.g., Lev 3:1, 3, 6). Both Ethiopic and Latin reproduce this Greek wording.

over all: Latin: et uniuersum. Charles (1895, p. 58, n. 16) preferred the Latin and emended the Ethiopic to ወላዕሉ (= ms. 44; cf. 17). Littmann (69, n. f), Hartom (without note), and Berger (413, n. g to v 23) agree. But it is not obvious that Charles' proposal solves the problem because one would have expected ወዲበ, not ወላዕሉ (though the latter is not impossible). The Latin does appear to have the more likely text, and it may be that καί and ἐπί were interchanged (see Lev 3:16; Charles, 1895, p. 58, n. 17).

as a choice offering: RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 18) filled the gap in the Latin text with sacrificum electum, which, with the following ostiam would not be identical with the Ethiopic. Charles (1895, p. 59, n. 5 to Latin) inserted electam Domino in agreement with ms. 38. It is, however, the only ms. that adds these words. For support, Charles appealed to Lev 3:16 (p. 58, n. 18).

pleasing fragrance. 16:24 In the morning and evening he would burn
fragrant substances: frankincense, galbanum, stacte, nard, myrrh,
aromatic spices, and costum. All seven of these he would offer beaten,
equally mixed, pure. 16:25 He celebrated this festival for seven days,
being happy with his whole heart and all his being — he and all those   5
who belonged to his household. There was no foreigner with him, nor
anyone who was uncircumcised. 16:26 He blessed his creator who had
created him in his generation because he had created him for his
pleasure, for he knew and ascertained that from him there would come
a righteous plant for the history of eternity and (that) from him there   10
would be holy descendants so that they should be like the one who had
made everything. 16:27 He gave a blessing and was very happy. He
named this festival the festival of the Lord — a joy acceptable to the

16:24 fragrant substances: Where Ethiopic reads ሕፈመ, Latin has incensum composi-
tionis. RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 104) noted that the words קטרת סמים or קטרת
הסמים were rendered as θυμίαμα τῆς συνθέσεως in LXX (Exod 35:15; 39:38; 40:27, etc.).
He referred also to Num 4:16 which, in the Vulgate, contains the words compositionis
incensum. Charles (1895, p. 58, n. 20) preferred the Latin text, but in 1902 (117, n.) he
argued that Exod 30:34 (not Num 4:16; Lev 4:7) underlay the Ethiopic text (ἡδύσ-
ματα = סמים) and that it was correct. Note that ሕፈዖት (so also ms. 38 of Jubilees)
appears here in EthExodus. Exod 30:34 is indeed more nearly similar to Jub 16:24 than
the other passages, and this may indicate that the Ethiopic reading is to be preferred.

frankincense, galbanum, stacte, ... aromatic spices: Compare 3:27, where Adam offers
the same substances. The term translated «aromatic spices» in the list (ብዝኃት) is
rendered as «spicam» in Latin. Dillmann used the same term in his rendering of Jubilees
(in RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 19). The word clearly means «spice», but in Latin
«spica» means «ear of grain, spike». This fact led Hartom (62, n.) to suppose that a
translator had misread Hebrew שחלת as שבלת. While this is not impossible, it is quite
unnecessary to assume such a confusion to explain the Latin text.

All ... pure: It is likely that the Ethiopic and Latin texts have the same elements in this
sentence but in a different order. Latin places mundas at an early point in the line,
whereas in Ethiopic it comes at the end (ንጹሕ = טהור; for the same pairing of Ethiopic
and Latin words in Jubilees, see 33:7; 49:9). Ethiopic does have «all» (38 omits) which is
not in Latin. The verbs of the two versions also differ: offer/ burn. The Latin verb is
suspect because it is the same as the one used in the first part of the verse.

16:25 being happy: The Latin aepulans (epulor = to feast) acquired the meaning
laetari, exsultare among African Christians (so RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 105).

who was uncircumcised: Latin has either lost some words (Charles [1895, p. 59] adds
qui non) or circumcisus should be corrected to incircumcisus (so RÖNSCH, Das Buch der
Jubiläen, 18).

16:26 in his ... pleasure: Latin omits these words — a mistake that was perhaps
encouraged by the several repeated words or expressions (created him; because/ for); or
possibly the omission occurred on the Greek level when a copyist's or translator's eye
jumped from αὐτόν to αὐτοῦ.

righteous: Latin has «true». These are regular equivalents in Jubilees. See RÖNSCH, Das
Buch der Jubiläen, 105.

16:27 of the Lord: Latin has dies (of the days). RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 18)
made the natural suggestion that dies was an error for dei (forms of deus often stand in

most high God. 16:28 We blessed him eternally and all the descendants
who would follow him throughout all the history of the earth because
he had celebrated this festival at its time in accord with the testimony of
the heavenly tablets. 16:29 For this reason it has been ordained on
5 the heavenly tablets regarding Israel that they should celebrate the
festival of tabernacles joyfully for seven days during the seventh month
which is acceptable in the Lord's presence — a law which is eternal
throughout their history in each and every year. 16:30 This has no
temporal limit because it is ordained forever regarding Israel that they
10 should celebrate it, live in tents, place wreaths on their heads, and take
leafy branches and willow branches from the stream. 16:31 So Abra-
ham took palm *branches* and the fruit of good trees, and each and every

the Latin text where እግዚአብሔር appears in the Ethiopic). Charles (1895, p. 59, n. 10 to
Latin; cf. n. 30 to Ethiopic where he recognizes that emending to Dei is a possibility),
however, preferred Domini. In support of his seemingly less likely correction, one could
cite 18:18 where the Latin names the festival diem festum domini. But the Latin is not
consistent in its use of divine names, and dei is surely the simpler correction. Berger
apparently opposes this (414, n. d to v 27), but one wonders why in light of the Ethiopic
text which he translates.

16:28 all the descendants: Latin lacks «all» and has eius after semen. The Ethiopic
mss. which read ዘርእ place it in the wrong case.

who would follow him: Literally: who (will be) after him. Latin: with him.

of the earth: Latin: of the entire earth.

16:29 they should celebrate: Latin has sit (thus Hartom renders with יהיה). The
reference just before this to Israel makes the Ethiopic text more plausible. Perhaps a word
such as faciens (singular, agreeing with istrahel) has fallen from the Latin text.

joyfully: Latin: toti in laetitia.

16:30 This has: Latin omits.

and take: Latin uses an infinitive, as with facere and sedere. No conjunction precedes it
(= mss. 17 21 38).

leafy branches: Literally: branch(es) of leaf, The most strongly supported reading is
ቈጽል (a second accusative form?), not ቈጽአ; but Charles (1895) followed ms. 12 (against
his other witnesses) in reading ቈጽአ. The Latin favors reading these two words together
(denos = densos [RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 20; Charles, 1895, p. 61, n. 4 to Latin]),
not as two separate objects of the verb. Many of the Ethiopic mss. omit ወ after ቈጽል
(Latin retains it) and in this way perhaps place it in construct with the following noun.
The biblical base is Lev 23:40, where the words ענף עץ עבת correspond to the phrase
under discussion (EthLev has ወአምዕፅ ፡ ቈጽል ፡ ኀዱቅ [= the order of ms. 20 25 35]). The
simplest solution is to agree with Charles by accepting the reading of mss. 12 17 38
(ቈጽአ), though it does not have greatest backing. How Berger derived «je zehn Zweige»
from the text is a mystery (415, n. d to v 30).

willow branches: Latin calicem should be salicem (from salix [so RÖNSCH, Das Buch der
Jubiläen, 20, 105; Charles, 1895, p. 61, n. 5 to Latin]). Cf. Lev 23:40: ערבי נחל.

16:31 palm *branches*: Ethiopic ልብ ፡ በቍርት means literally: «the heart of palm(s)».
Latin may have had the same expression, as de decore palmarum could be a copyist's
error for de corde palmarum (Charles, 1895, p. 61, n. 6 to Latin; but Hartom uses מהדר
תמרים; see his note). That is, Charles' explanation appears more likely, in view of the

day he would go around the altar with the branches — seven times per day. In the morning he would give praise and joyfully offer humble thanks to his God for everything.

17:1 In the first year of the fifth week [1989], in this jubilee, Isaac was weaned. Abraham gave a large banquet in the third month, on the day when his son Isaac was weaned. 17:2 Now Ishmael, the son of Hagar the Egyptian, was in his place in front of his father Abraham. Abraham was very happy and blessed the Lord because he saw his own   5

Ethiopic, than Rönsch's observation that these words are «entweder eine poetische Umschreibung von תמרים כפת (Vulg. spathulae palmarum) oder eine etymologische Verwerthung des Ausdruckes κάλλυνθρα φοινίκων der LXX». (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 105) Dillmann (1851, p. 71, n. 94) had already adduced the rabbinic expression לולבי התמר in his dicussion of this phrase; and Charles (1895, p. 60, n. 16) indicated that the text presupposed by Jubilees was לבות תמרים (= the Syriac and Arabic versions of Lev 23:40, where MT has כפת תמרים). Littmann (70, n. b) doubted Charles' view and preferred to see לולבי behind the text. In 1902 (p. 118, n.) Charles maintained that לולב stood in the original and was wrongly understood by the Greek translator as לבב (so Goldmann, p. רנו, n.). Berger retains the texts and thinks that they refer to «die innen gewachsenen, besonders wertvollen Zweige» (415, n. a to v 31, comparing Ezek 17:22 [LXX — a passage to which Dillmann had pointed in *Lexicon*, 42]). Note that Syncellus has κλάδοις φοινίκων. There are, then, three alternatives: 1. retain the Ethiopic and correct the Latin to de corde (presumably both versions would then intend the inside and best branches of palm trees); 2. assume an original לולבי (the targums read לולבין in Lev 23:40 [see Charles, 1902, p. 118, n.]) and claim that both Ethiopic and Latin (emended) reflect a misreading of לולבי as לבבי; or 3. accept that the Latin decore (= adornment, beauty) is correct and explain the Ethiopic word አስ as a free way of expressing the same idea. The translation given above follows option 2, but it must be granted that the others are also quite plausible (and not rigidly distinguished from one another).

each and every day: Literally: in all the day(s) from the day(s). Latin lacks an equivalent for እምዕለት. Perhaps it was omitted by parablepsis.

altar: Latin adds meum. RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 106) understands the possessive pronoun to refer to the angel of the presence who is speaking to Moses.

per day: Latin has no equivalent for ለዕለት. Charles dismissed these words as «probably an interpolation» (1895, p. 60, n. 19).

offer humble thanks: Latin confitens also has the meaning «praise», as it represents an original הודה which can mean both «confess» and «praise». (*BDB*, 392; see RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 106) Of course, it also means «thank». Consequently, though the Ethiopic and Latin words are not identical, they represent interpretations of the same original. Dillmann uses confitebatur in his Latin translation (in Rönsch, ibid., 21).

for (everything): Latin has secundum. Probably the original read הודה על; cf. Ps 138:2.

17:1 fifth: Charles (1902, p. 119, n.) claimed that the number should be «fourth» (so Hartom). Latin here supports the Ethiopic. See the note to 15:1 above.

in (the third month): Latin places et before in, but this is clearly a mistake (RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 20; Charles, 1895, p. 61, n. 10 to Latin).

his son Isaac: Sam LXX OLGen 21:8 also add «his son»; MT Syriac EthGen omit.

17:2 the Egyptian: Latin adds «servant girl».

his place: Latin has only loco and places the word before in conspectu.

sons and had not died childless. 17:3 He remembered the message
which he had told him on the day when Lot had separated from him.
He was very happy because the Lord had given him descendants on the
earth to possess the land. With his full voice he blessed the creator of
5 everything.

17:4 When Sarah saw Ishmael playing and dancing and Abraham
being extremely happy, she became jealous of Ishmael. She said to
Abraham: 'Banish this girl and her son because this girl's son will not
be an heir with my son Isaac'. 17:5 In Abraham's opinion the
10 command regarding his servant girl and his son — that he should
banish them from himself — was saddening, 17:6 but the Lord said to
Abraham: 'It ought not to be a sad thing in your opinion regarding the
child and the girl. Listen to everything that Sarah says to you and do
(it) because through Isaac you will have a reputation and descendants.

17:3 the message: Ethiopic has ቃሉ, and Latin reads sermones. The suffix on the
Ethiopic noun may simply reflect a Greek definite article (see DILLMANN, Ethiopic
Grammar, sec. 172 [a] and especially [b] [pp. 425-26]; cf. also sec. 156 [pp. 359-60]).

earth ... land: The same word (ምድር) is used in both instances. Dillmann (1851), too,
used different renderings for the two (erde ... land), For the second word, Latin employs a
pronoun (eam).

17:4 playing and dancing: Latin: playing with Isaac. Charles (1895, pp. 60-61, nn. 29-
30) adduced מצחק in Gen 21:9 as the biblical base for the first verb; the second verb in
Ethiopic (ወይዴፍን; here Latin has «with Isaac») was, he concluded, a corruption for
በይስሐቅ: «Gen. xxi.9 Mass. thus seems defective, as in LXX we have μετὰ 'Ισαὰκ τοῦ
υἱοῦ ἑαυτῆς ...» (60-61; cf. 1902, p. 119, n.). Littmann (70, n. e) considered this possible,
and Hartom translated the Latin without indicating that the Ethiopic differs. Charles may
indeed be correct that the combination of a preposition and name was misread at some
point as a verb; but the Latin could have been influenced by the LXX tradition. It may
not be irrelevant, either, to note that the verb παίζω can mean both «to play» and «to
dance».

girl ... girl's: Ethiopic uses ወለት, while Latin has ancillam/ancillae. The Ethiopic term,
though it is not the normal one for a slave girl, could be translated in this way
(DILLMANN, Lexicon, 887 [5] «famula, ancilla, serva»]). MTGen 21:10 uses אמה in both
cases.

17:5 the command: The Ethiopic ቃሉ (= his voice, sound, word, saying) has a suffix
which appears to make no sense, as Sarah is the one who gave the order to Abraham.
Latin has no eius after sermo. Hence, it seems likely that the suffix again reproduces a
Greek definite article (see the note to 17:3 above).

his (servant girl): Latin has no possessive pronoun, though it does place one after
filium.

was: Latin reads «seemed» which reflects the wording of LXXGen 21:11 (ἐφάνη) and
of OL (visum est). See Charles, 1895, p. 61, n. 33; RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 107.

17:6 the girl: Jubilees follows the tradition of LXX OL EthGen 21:12 in not placing a
suffix on the noun. Mt Sam Syriac Genesis affix a second-person, masculine singular
suffix.

Listen to: Literally: listen to her word.

17:7 Now with regard to this girl's son — I will make him into a large nation because he is one of your descendants'. 17:8 So Abraham rose early in the morning, took food and a bottle of water, placed them on the shoulders of Hagar and the child, and sent her away. 17:9 She went and wandered about in the wilderness of Beersheba. When the water in   5 the bottle was gone, the child grew thirsty. He was unable to go on and fell. 17:10 His mother took him and, going on, she threw him under an olive tree. Then she went and sat opposite him at a distance of a bow-shot, for she said: 'May I not see the death of my child'. When she sat down she cried.   10

17:11 An angel of God — one of the holy ones — said to her: 'What are you crying about, Hagar? Get up, take the child, and hold him in your arms, because the Lord has heard you and has seen the child'. 17:12 She opened her eyes and saw a well of water. So she went, filled her bottle with water, and gave her child a drink. Then she set out and   15 went toward the wilderness of Paran. 17:13 When the child grew up, he became an archer and the Lord was with him. His mother took a wife for him from the Egyptian girls. 17:14 She gave birth to a son for him, and he named him Nebaioth, for she said: 'The Lord was close to me when I called to him'.   20

17:7 this: Sam (many LXX witnesses) OLGen 21:13 also read a demonstrative, while MT Syriac LXX lack it. Cf. EthGen (� ፡ ለመት).

large: So Sam Syriac LXX OL EthGen 21:13; MT and the targums lack the adjective.

17:9 water in the bottle was gone: Literally: water was finished from the bottle.

17:10 olive tree: Both Dillmann (1851, p. 71, n. 95) and Charles (1895, p. 62, n. 13) saw that Ethiopic ኦልፍስ presupposed Greek ἐλαίας, while LXXGen 21:15 (and Josephus, *Ant.* 1.218) read ἐλάτης (= a pine, fir tree). MT has שיח (bushes, shrubs, plants). Dillmann thought that ἐλάτης probably appeared in Greek Jubilees and that a translator had misread it.

my child: The possessive is found also in LXX OL EthGen 21:16, but not in MT Sam Syriac Genesis.

17:11 in your arms: Literally: in your hands.

17:12 She: The versions of Gen 21:19 read «he opened». Charles (1895, p. 62, n. 20), therefore, emended ሰውትት to ሰውት. Berger (417, n. a to v 12) rightly terms this «unnötig».

her (bottle): Only EthGen 21:19 also uses a suffix; the remaining versions follow MT in reading החמת (as does Hartom). Charles (1895, p. 62, n. 21) attributed the suffix in Jubilees to the influence of EthGenesis. Note that mss. 17 21 63 have ታቀ.

her (child): Again, only EthGen 21:19 (with the LXX group *b*) adds the suffix, as Charles noticed (1895, p. 62, n. 21).

set out: Literally: arose.

17:13 Egyptian girls: Literally: daughters of Egypt. The biblical versions read «land of Egypt» (Gen 21:21). Josephus, *Ant.* 1.220 has γένος.

17:14 Nebaioth: Gen 25:13 gives נְבָיֹת.

17:15 During the seventh week, in the first year during the first
month — on the twelfth of this month — in this jubilee [2003], there
were voices in heaven regarding Abraham, that he was faithful in
everything that he told him, (that) the Lord loved him, and (that) in
5 every difficulty he was faithful. 17:16 Then Prince Mastema came and
said before God: 'Abraham does indeed love his son Isaac and finds
him more pleasing than anyone else. Tell him to offer him as a sacrifice
on an altar. Then you will see whether he performs this order and will
know whether he is faithful in everything through which you test him'.
10 17:17 Now the Lord was aware that Abraham was faithful in every
difficulty which he had told him. For he had tested him through his
land and the famine; he had tested him through the wealth of kings; he
had tested him again through his wife when she was taken forcibly, and
through circumcision; and he had tested him through Ishmael and his
15 servant girl Hagar when he sent them away. 17:18 In everything
through which he tested him he was found faithful. He himself did not
grow impatient, nor was he slow to act; for he was faithful and one
who loved the Lord.

18:1 The Lord said to him: 'Abraham, Abraham'! He replied: 'Yes'?
20 18:2 He said to him: 'Take your son, your dear one whom you love —
Isaac — and go to a high land. Offer him on one of the mountains

17:15 this month ... this jubilee: For the sake of clarity, these two items have been
transposed in the translation from the Ethiopic order.

17:17 wealth of kings: Both Goldmann (p. רנו, n.) and Hartom (with no justification
for the change) have emended the word «wealth» (= Hebrew עשׁר) to «ten» (עשׂרת
/עשׂרה), with the result that the text reads «ten kings» (neither of these translators
separates vv 17 and 18). Apparently they are trying to bring the text into line with the late
tradition in Pirke R. Eliezer 26-27 that one of Abraham's trials was the war with the kings
in Genesis 14 (see Charles, 1902, p. 121, n.; RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 382-84;
Berger, 418, n. b to v 17 for other lists; cf. also, Hartom, 65, n. to v 17). In Genesis 14,
however, Abraham has dealings with nine kings at most, unless one adds Melchizedek
who could hardly be regarded as a trial for Abram. The «wealth of kings» probably refers
to Gen 14:21-24.

17:18 to act: Literally: to do it.

18:1 Abraham²: LXX OL and some mss. of EthGen 22:1 also double the name; MT
Sam Syriac have just one «Abraham». Note the preposition ላ which is prefixed to the first
«Abraham» in many of the Ethiopic mss. of Jubilees (= he said to Abraham: 'Abra-
ham').

Yes: Literally: Here I am. The word ኦ- with suffixes has been translated in this way
consistently in this edition.

18:2 your dear one: Jubilees more nearly resembles LXXGen 22:2 (τὸν ἀγαπητόν;
OLᴶ has amantissimum) than MT Sam Syriac OLᴷ (יחידך). The original Hebrew here was
probably ידידך (so Charles, 1895, p. 63, n. 12).

high land: The word «high» agrees with the interpretation of «Moriah» that is found
in LXX OL EthGen 22:2: τὴν ὑψηλήν (MT: המריה; Sam: המוראה; Syriac: ܐܡܘܪ̈ܝܐ).

which I will show you'. 18:3 So he got up early in the morning, loaded his donkey, and took with him two servants as well as his son Isaac. He chopped the wood for the sacrifice and came to the place on the third day. He saw the place from a distance. 18:4 When he reached a well of water, he ordered his servants: 'Stay here with the donkey while I and   5
the child go on. After we have worshiped, we will return to you'. 18:5 He took the wood for the sacrifice and placed it on his son Isaac's shoulders. He took fire and a knife in his hands. The two of them went together to that place.

18:6 Isaac said to his father: 'Father'. He replied: 'Yes, my son'? He   10
said to him: 'Here are the fire, the knife, and the wood, but where is the sheep for the sacrifice, father'? 18:7 He said: 'The Lord will provide for himself a sheep for the sacrifice, my son'. When he neared the place of the mountain of the Lord, 18:8 he built an altar and placed the wood on the altar. Then he tied up his son Isaac, placed him on the wood   15
which was on the altar, and reached out his hands to take the knife in order to sacrifice his son Isaac.

18:9 Then I stood in front of him and in front of the prince of Mastema. The Lord said: 'Tell him not to let his hand go down on the child and not to do anything to him because I know that he is one who   20
fears the Lord'. 18:10 So I called to him from heaven and said to him: 'Abraham, Abraham'! He was startled and said: 'Yes'? 18:11 I said to him: 'Do not lay your hands on the child and do not do anything to him

---

For «land» mss. 20 21 25 35 39 42 47 48 58 have «mountain», — a reading which may have been influenced by the latter part of the verse or perhaps a copyist confused ምድር and ደብር. The word ደብር also appears in EthGenesis at this point and later in the verse where Jubilees and the other biblical versions use a plural form.

18:3 came ... on the third day: These words could also be translated «went ... in three days» (so Dillmann, 1851; Littmann, Berger). Cf. Gen 22:4 (ביום השלישי).

18:7 mountain: Charles (1895, p. 63, n. 29) proposed to read ይቤሎ instead of ደብር as in Gen 22:9 (אמר לו); but by 1902 he had revised his thinking (p. 122, n.). There is no need to emend, despite the reading of the biblical versions, because v 7 echoes Gen 22:14 (הר יהוה). See also Jub 18:13, where the mountain is identified as Mt. Zion (cf. Hartom, 66, n. to v 7).

18:8 placed (the wood): So LXX OL EthGen 22:9 (and Josephus, Ant. 1.228); MT Sam Syriac use another verb (ויערך in MT). Hartom, nevertheless, translates with ויערך.
sacrifice: Or: slay.

18:10 I called: Mss. 17ᶜ 63 read «he called», while 38 has «the Lord called» (possibly it was influenced by EthGen 22:11 [አንጌልአብሐር ፡ አምላh]). Goldmann and Hartom strangely translate ms. 38. See RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 110.

18:11 because: Latin quo should be quod (RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 20; Charles, 1895, p. 65, n. 1 to Latin).

because now I know that you are one who fears the Lord. You have not
refused me your first-born son'. 18:12 The prince of Mastema was put
to shame. Then Abraham looked up and saw a ram caught; it was
coming with its horns. Abraham went and took the ram. He offered it
5 as a sacrifice instead of his son. 18:13 Abraham named that place 'The

I know: አእመርኩ means «I knew, know, understand, realize»; the D form means «to
show, tell, indicate». Here Latin has manifestaui, which would correspond with the sense
of the Ethiopic D form. Charles (1895, p. 64, n. 4) understood አእመርኩ to agree in
meaning with manifestaui (here and in 18:9) and to reflect, not the verb יָדַעְתִּי of
MTGen 22:12, but יִדַּעְתּ (so, too, in 1902, p. 123 n.). Hartom (66, n.) adds that the Lord
already knew that Abraham was faithful; now he shows this to others (he translates with
הודעתי. He refers to Bereshit rabbah 56.7 where the piel form of ידע is understood.
Littmann (71, n. e), following BARTH (*Deutsche Litteraturzeitung* 34 [1895] 1063), retained
the Ethiopic (= Gen 22:17). As he noted, Jub 18:16 uses the verb አይዐሱኩ to mean
«made known». It may be that the Latin text was influenced by v 16.
    Lord: Latin: your God. «Your» is a mistranslation of אתה in Gen 22:12.
    first-born: Latin primogenito. The biblical versions differ: MT Sam Syriac Gen 22:12
have יחידך, while LXX OL EthGen reflect ידידך.
    18:12 put to shame: For Latin confusus est in this sense, see RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der
Jubiläen*, 107.
    a ram: Ethiopic አሐዱ = Latin unus, both of which agree with Sam Syriac LXX OL
EthGen 22:13 (MT: אחר).
    it was coming: Dillmann (1851) omitted these words (they are in his text of 1859). In
his Latin translation (in RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 21, n. 12) he suggested that the
Ethiopic verb could have originated from በዕፅት = in virgulto. Charles (1895, p. 64, n. 10)
explained that he had emended the expression ወይመጽእ to በበዐወ = Gen 22:13 בסבך
[actually EthGen has በበዐ : ሰበቅ]). He repeated his proposal in 1902 (123, n.) and has
been followed by Hartom. Littmann (71, n. f) omits these words because Latin lacks them
and because the expression could have entered the text from elsewhere. Berger (420, n. b
to v 12) rejects Charles' emendation but offers no solution to the problem of how a ram
which is caught can still come at Abraham. Berger is correct in dismissing the Dillmann-
Charles approach; the two phrases which would have to be confused resemble one
another very little, though the verb in Jubilees appears at precisely the point where
Gen 22:13 mentions the thicket. LXX OL EthGen 22:13 offer duplicate renderings in the
context: they have the ram's horns caught in a bush and a transcription of the Hebrew
word for «thicket» (סבך). It seems that Jubilees, too, once had a duplicate rendering —
not of סבך, but of the word for «held» or «caught» which in LXX is κατεχόμενος. The
translator of Jubilees may have rendered it (= አኅዘ) and added to his text an alternate
reading of the Greek (possibly a variant in the margin) as καὶ ἐρχόμενος (= and it was
coming) or as κατερχόμενος which was transcribed or read as καὶ ἐρχόμενος, thus
producing the present, illogical text. The absence of this expression from Latin is
consistent with the notion of alternate readings (both of which made their way into the
Ethiopic version). Note the attempts in mss. 35 58 63 introduce some sense into the text.
    as a sacrifice: Latin omits, though the biblical versions and Ethiopic mss. include these
words.
    son: Latin adds isac in agreement with LXX OL EthGen 22:13. The Ethiopic mss.
follow the tradition of MT Sam Syriac.
    18:13 named: Latin and the biblical versions read a verb + שם, but the Ethiopic mss.,
perhaps idiomatically, lack ሰመ (EthGen 22:14 also employs just a verb — ሰመዮ).

Lord Saw' so that it is named 'The Lord Saw'. It is Mt. Zion.
18:14 The Lord again called to Abraham by his name from heaven,
just as we had appeared in order to speak to him in the Lord's name.
18:15 He said: 'I have sworn by myself, says the Lord: because you
have performed this command and have not refused me your first-born 5
son whom you love, I will indeed bless you and will indeed multiply
your descendants like the stars in the sky and like the sands on the
seashore. Your descendants will possess the cities of their enemies.

Saw: The perfect tense agrees with LXX OL EthGen 22:14 and Latin Jubilees. MT
Sam Syriac use imperfect forms (as does Hartom).

named: Latin and all biblical versions have either בהר or an equivalent at this point.

Saw²: Latin reads a passive form (uisus est) which, while it points to a past tense (with
the Ethiopic mss.), agrees in voice with MT Sam (?) LXX OL; Ethiopic Jubilees has an
active verb with Syriac EthGen 22:14.

Zion: The same identification is made in 1 Chr 3:1; Tnf; and Josephus, *Ant.* 1.227.
Hartom (66, n. to v 13) mentions that in Bereshit rabbah 56:10 the first part of the word
«Jerusalem» is explained as coming from the name יראה which Abraham gave the place.

18:14 The Lord: Latin omits. Mss. 9 12 17 21 38 63 may seem to support the omission,
but all of them add the divine name after ስም. Possibly the similarity between dominus
and nomine caused a Latin scribe to omit the word. The versions of Gen 22:15 have or
presuppose מלאך יהוה.

just as we had appeared: Latin has quia fuimus. RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 108-
10) argued in an extended note that the Latin expression means «we were to (speak)», as
the text is translated here. He thought that the Hebrew original would have been היינו
לדבר . He may have explained the Latin properly (Charles [1895, p. 65, n. 3 to Latin]
wrote simply that the Latin «seems corrupt» [1902, p. 123, n.: «is corrupt»]), but the
Ethiopic text is not entirely clear. Charles (1895, p. 64, n. 19) emended አስተርአየን to
አስተራአየን, but in 1902 he translated as «he caused us to appear» — apparently
abandoning his emendation but not following any of the mss. Though the best Ethiopic
reading is አስተርአየን, it seems advisable to accept the word አስተርአይን (it differs by one
vowel) that is attested in 21 38 39 48 (cf. 58). The form with -የ- could be explained as an
easy copying error. The previous incident that is mentioned is in 18:10, where the angel
also called Abraham by his name from heaven. Dillmann (in RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der
Jubiläen*, 23), Littmann (cf. 72, n. b), Goldmann, Hartom, and Berger have also translated
in this way. The Latin text may have lost a word after fuimus (e.g., uisi — which begins
with the same letter as the next word [ut]). The word quia, too, is incorrect. Ethiopic እንዘ
and Latin quia may be two renderings of Greek ὡς.

18:15 me: The Ethiopic እምኔየ agrees with Sam Syriac EthGen 22:16; Latin propter
me follows LXX OL. MT omits. See 18:11 where Latin has a me.

first-born: Latin reads unigenito (= MT Sam [יחידך (used by Hartom)] Syriac
Gen 22:16). The Ethiopic reflects בכורך, while LXX OL EthGen presuppose ידידך. Since
the Ethiopic is unique, it is perhaps more likely to be original (see also 18:11 where Latin
has primogenito). Charles (1895, p. 65, n. 4 to Latin) claimed that the Vulgate's reading (it
agrees with MT) influenced the Latin; in 1902 he omitted «first-born» from his transla-
tion.

like: Latin lacks an equivalent. RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 22) added sicut;
Charles (1895, p. 65) supplied ut.

cities: Latin has ciuitates. Jubilees here follows LXX (τὰς πόλεις) OL EthGen 22:17
(cf. Syriac ܩܘܪܝܐ). MT Sam read שער, but Jubilees' reading echoes ערי.

18:16 All the nations of the earth will be blessed through your descendants because of the fact that you have obeyed my command. I have made known to everyone that you are faithful to me in everything that I have told you. Go in peace'.

5   18:17 Then Abraham went to his servants. They set out and went together to Beersheba. Abraham lived at the well of the oath. 18:18 He used to celebrate this festival joyfully for seven days during all the years. He named it the festival of the Lord in accord with the seven days during which he went and returned safely. 18:19 This is the way it

10 is ordained and written on the heavenly tablets regarding Israel and his descendants: (they are) to celebrate this festival for seven days with festal happiness.

   19:1 During the first year of the first week in the forty-second jubilee [2010], Abraham returned and lived opposite Hebron — that is, Kiriath

15 Arba — for two weeks of years. 19:2 In the first year of the third week

18:16 your descendants: Hartom, with no support from any text, has ךב. As Berger (420, n. b to v 16) has noted, Littmann's translation erroneously gives Namen rather than Samen.

18:17 together: Latin omits (as does Hartom), but all versions of Gen 22:19 include this word (other than some LXX witnesses which also lack it).

18:18 He used ... years: Latin appears to have a doubled and slightly corrupt version of this first part of the verse. The word ter (which is placed in parentheses by RÖNSCH [*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 22], and omitted by Charles [1895]) means «three times' (which provides no satisfactory sense in the context, though Berger so translates it [421, n. a to v 18]) or «often» (which is what the context is emphasizing). But, as the Ethiopic offers no equivalent and the next word (per) is virtually identical in appearance, it is probable that the Latin is dittographic here. Latin then places the «seven days» in a new clause which also repeats the verb faciebat.

safely: Latin omits.

18:19 This is the way: Latin omits.

festal: The text looks suspicious. The best Ethiopic mss. read በዓለ — an accusative form (though it appears in both of his mss., Dillmann omitted the word from his 1859 edition; Charles read በዓለ [= ms. 12 (his a)] in 1895). Perhaps scribes who copied most of the mss. were influenced by the parallel expression in v 18 (ይትቤሐc ፡ ዛተ ፡ በዓለ) despite the fact that here an infinitive is used with ዛተ ፡ በዓለ. But the Latin text does not offer the same sense. It reads gaudentes (literally: rejoicing, being happy — note the plural). The textual cause for the difference between the versions is not immediately evident; Charles (1895, p. 65, n. 28) spoke vaguely of «some primitive corruption». For this reason no change has been made, but one possibility is that the word በዓለ, which is a noun, is a mistaken rendering of an original verb such as a form of שמח that was misconstrued at some point as חג.

19:1 first: Latin lacks the word. RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 22) and Charles (1895, p. 65) restored primo. Cf. 19:2.

19:2 first: Latin again lacks this word, and Rönsch and Charles again restored primo.

the (third week): Latin has «this» — possibly under the influence of «this jubilee» which follows.

of this jubilee [2024] the days of Sarah's life were completed and she died in Hebron. 19:3 When Abraham went to mourn for her and to bury her, we were testing whether he himself was patient and not annoyed in the words that he spoke. But in this respect, too, he was found to be patient and not disturbed, 19:4 because he spoke with the Hittites in a patient spirit so that they would give him a place in which to bury his dead. 19:5 The Lord gave him a favorable reception before all who would see him. He mildly pleaded with the Hittites, and they gave him the land of the double cave which was opposite Mamre — that is, Hebron — for a price of *400* silver pieces. 19:6 They pleaded with him: 'Allow us to give (it) to you for nothing'! Yet he did not take (it) from them for nothing but he gave as the price of the place the full amount of money. He bowed twice to them and afterwards buried his dead in the double cave. 19:7 All the time of Sarah's life was 127 —

third week: Latin confirms the reading, but for the resulting chronological problem see Charles (1902, p. 125, n.), who thought that one should read «second» (so Hartom).

19:3 and to bury her: Latin omits by parablepsis from eam to eam.

annoyed: Cf. 17:18 where the same verb is used (there it is translated «did [not] grow impatient»). It means «to be disgusted, impatient, indignant». The Latin pusillianimus, which means «faint-hearted, timid», seems a poor choice of words in the context. But RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 111) has observed that in Prov 14:29 it renders קצר רוח = ὀλιγόψυχος in LXX, of which pusill(i)animus is a regular equivalent (cf. Charles, 1895, p. 66, n. 3). Consequently, the Latin and Ethiopic appear to echo the same original. Dillmann (in Rönsch, ibid., 23) uses pusillanimus in his Latin translation.

19:5 land of the double cave: Latin: double land of the cave. The Ethiopic is undeniably correct, since the cave in question is Machpelah — a name (in MT it appears as מערת המכפלה) which is translated as τὸ σπήλαιον τὸ διπλοῦν in LXX (see Charles, 1902, p. 125, n.). RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 22) emended duplicem to duplicis, which agrees with the Ethiopic text (so also Charles, 1895, p. 67, n. 3 to Latin).

400: Ethiopic has 40, but Latin and Gen 23:16 read 400. The number 40 is unanimously supported in the Ethiopic mss. tradition (contrary to Berger's assertion [422, n. a to v 5] that C D [= 51 38] give 400). Charles (1895, p. 66, n. 8) emended the Ethiopic and Hartom has concurred (cf. Littmann, 72, n. f). Goldmann (רנט, n.) suggested that in the Hebrew original the word מאות was written in abbreviated form as מ and that ארבע מ was misread as ארבעים by a translator. But this is not a likely abbreviation and moreover the מ would not have been in its final form. It is more likely that the confusion arose on the Greek level when υ′ (= 400) was miscopied as μ′ (= 40).

19:6 They: Ethiopic uses the pronoun ለሙንቱ but Latin reads hoc, which may be a mistake for the plural masculine pronoun hii.

the full amount of money: Ethiopic ብፉረ ፡ ፃድም and Latin pecuni*am* conplens are not precise equivalents. The form conplens seems to be modifying Abraham, i.e., he was making the amount of money complete.

19:7 127: Latin adds anni.

that is, two jubilees, four weeks, and one year. This was the time in years of Sarah's life.

19:8 This was the tenth test by which Abraham was tried, and he was found to be faithful (and) patient in spirit. 19:9 He said nothing
5   about the promise of the land which said that the Lord would give it to him and his descendants after him. He pleaded for a place there to bury his dead because he was found to be faithful and was recorded on the heavenly tablets as the friend of the Lord.

19:10 In its fourth year [2027] he took a wife for his son Isaac. Her
10 name was Rebecca, the daughter of Bethuel (the son of Abraham's brother Nahor), the sister of Laban — Bethuel was their father — *the*

and (one year): Latin mistakenly reads «less» (one year). The Ethiopic calculation is correct. As Rönsch (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 24, n. 11; 111) observed, the Latin figure presupposes that a jubilee consists of 50, not 49 years as elsewhere in Jubilees (or: unum should be read for minus).

in years: Latin has no equivalent. Charles (1895, p. 66, n. 15) emended the Ethiopic to read just መዋዕል, though three of his mss. added ዓመታት. MT SamGen 23:1 read שׁני חיי שׂרה ; LXX omits the last part of the verse. Only ms. 12 omits ዓመታት.

19:8 This: Mss. 20 25 and Latin omit the initial conjunction.

Abraham was tried, and he was found: Latin: «was found, and in it Abraham was». It appears that the words inuentus est have been displaced. Charles (1895, p. 67, n. 5) emended the Latin to (tentatus est) in ipsa Abraham et inventus est.

(and): Only ms. 44 adds the conjunction ወ. Latin reads two conjunctions (et et) at this point (dittography).

19:9 nothing: Latin incorrectly omits the negative non before the verb. Rönsch (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 24) and Charles (1895, p. 67) restored it in their texts. Ms. 21 also omits the negative.

promise of the land: Littmann (72, cf. n. i) and Rönsch (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 112) understood the words ነገረ and sermone in the sense of «promise» (Rönsch referred to 1 Kgs 2:4; 8:20; Ps 33:4; 56:5). Dillmann (*Lexicon*, 657) gave as the meaning of the Ethiopic term «sermo i.e. *rumor*»; and Charles (1902) rendered with «rumour». The decision about how to translate the word hinges on the reading which follows. The Ethiopic mss. offer two strongly supported readings: ነገረ ምድር (read by Dillmann, 1859, and Charles, 1895); and ነገረ ምድር. As Latin agrees with the latter (sermone terrae), it is to be preferred. This implies that «rumour in the land» is unlikely to be the correct sense in this context and that the meaning «promise» is the better rendering. The mss. which supply the extra preposition በ may reflect a subsequent interpretation in the direction in which Charles read the expression.

the Lord would give it to him: Latin is obviously corrupt. Rönsch (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 112) wrote: «Der Abschreiber hatte vergessen, die zwei aus Versehen anticipirten und sofort als falsch erkannten Worte *illi dare* auszustreichen».

there: Latin: from them. MTGen 23:13 reads שׁמע (= LXX).

faithful: Several mss. (20 25 35 39 42 47 48 58) add ወእሙን under the influence of vv 3, 8. Latin, too, omits this addition.

19:10 he: Latin: Abraham.

Bethuel was their father: Literally: Bethuel fathered the Bethuelians (on this last word, see the next note). Latin lacks these words (through ወለደሙ), but the clause is not impossible, since Rebecca and Laban are mentioned immediately before it and by this

daughter of Bethuel, the son of Milcah who was the wife of Abraham's
brother Nahor. 19:11 Abraham married a third wife whose name was
Keturah — one of the children of his household servants — when
Hagar died prior to Sarah. 19:12 She gave birth to six sons for him —
Zimran, Jokshan, Medai, Midian, Ishbak, and Shuah — during two   5
weeks of years.

19:13 In the sixth week, during its second year [2046], Rebecca gave
birth to two sons for Isaac: Jacob and Esau. Jacob was perfect and

time the extended statement about her familial relations is becoming rather involved. But
it could also be construed as an attempt to create some sense in a difficult context. Charles
(1895, p. 66, n. 23) changed the Ethiopic to ወለት ፡ ለባቱኤል (= Latin).

the daughter of Bethuel: The text reads a form that would apparently mean «the
Bethuelians». Charles (1895, p. 66, n. 23) altered the form to read ወበቱኤል (= Latin).
The Latin text does indeed provide the necessary clue for tracing the source of the
Ethiopic corruption: it reads filia(m) bathuel twice in this verse. As Berger (423, n. b to
v 10) has perceived, the Ethiopic text, which clearly has the first instance of «daughter of
Bethuel», probably also contains the second but in distorted form: the curious word
በቱኤላዊያን is a transcription of two Greek words (Βαθουἠλ υἱάν [= the daughter of
Bethuel]) which have been improperly combined.

who was: Latin: et bathuel. Possibly the Ethiopic words ወበቱኤል ፡ ወለደሙ (see note
above) is a misplaced remnant of what is here represented in the Latin text.

19:11 children: Ethiopic ውሉድ is masculine, while Latin has «daughters». Charles
(1895, p. 66, n. 26; 1902) emended to አዋልድ with the Latin (so, too, Hartom; cf.
Littmann, 73, n. f). Berger (423, n. b to v 11) suggests that the Greek word υἱῶν, which is
ambiguous as to gender, was taken as masculine by an Ethiopic translator, while the Latin
tradition preserves the correct interpretation

when: Only ms. 35 reads እስመ (= because) rather than አመ (= when); but Latin has
«because» (eo quod). The majority Ethiopic reading may be a corruption of an original
እስመ, or perhaps Hebrew כי was interpreted differently in the two traditions. The simplest
solution is, however, to assume that ὅτι was misread as ὅτε by an Ethiopic translator or
was miscopied in this way by a Greek scribe.

19:12 Zimran: Ethiopic spells the name ዘንባረ; Latin gives it as jebram (on the j/z
interchange, see RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 112-13).

Ishbak: The Latin spelling sobec echoes the Greek spelling in Gen 25:2 ('Ιεσβοκ),
though the first two letters are omitted.

Shuah: Ethiopic has ሴኤ. Latin oe is a corrupt reflection of the Greek spelling Σωύε
(Gen 25:2).

19:13 year: The Latin anni should be anno, and secundi should be secundo (RÖNSCH,
Das Buch der Jubiläen, 113).

Jacob and Esau: Latin reverses the names (as does Hartom who often follows the
Latin), influenced, no doubt, by the biblical order of the brothers (Gen 25:25-27). The
Ethiopic order is preferred; it gives the reader the first clue in the Jacob stories about the
younger son's preeminence.

perfect: A variant to ፍጹም is ሕሙም which means «bad» (from EthGen 25:27: ሕሱም ፡
ራእይ [this is also the reading of 35 44]; see Charles, 1895, pp. 66-67, n. 33). Charles (ibid.)
emended the Ethiopic to agree with the Latin (reading ለሙዕ [Gen 27:11: חלק איש —
these words are omitted in EthGenesis]). But the Ethiopic text of Jubilees is here following
Gen 25:27 where Jacob is called איש תם. Littmann (73, n. n) realized that the Greek would

upright, while Esau was a harsh, rustic, and hairy man. Jacob used to live in tents. 19:14 When the boys grew up, Jacob learned (the art of) writing, but Esau did not learn (it) because he was a rustic man and a hunter. He learned (the art of) warfare, and everything that he did was
5 harsh. 19:15 Abraham loved Jacob but Isaac (loved) Esau.

19:16 As Abraham observed Esau's behavior, he realized that through Jacob he would have a reputation and descendants. He summoned Rebecca and gave her orders about Jacob because he saw that she loved Jacob much more than Esau. 19:17 He said to her: 'My
10 daughter, take care of my son Jacob because he will occupy my place on the earth and (will prove) a blessing among mankind and the glory of all the descendants of Shem. 19:18 For I know that the Lord will choose him as his own people (who will be) *special* from all who are on

have been τέλειος which the Latin translator misread as λεῖος = levis (or lenis). Cf. Jub 27:17. Hartom's translation lacks the words after «harsh» and vv 13 and 14 have been conflated, apparently through parablepsis from «rustic» to «rustic».

19:14 the boys grew up: Latin has (literally): «They grew up and both became young men» (Ethiopic ወፈ�ललቱ could be rendered as «young men»). Charles (1895, p. 69, n. 2 to Latin) drew attention to the curious fact that the Latin «... agrees with the Eth. Vers. Gen. xxv.27 ወአህቀ : ወኮነ : ወፈללቱ against all other authorities save that it adds *ambo*». Mss. 44 63 also have the text of EthGenesis.

19:15 loved ... (loved): Only Latin (with mss. 17ᶜ 63) has the second verb. Note that Ethiopic and Latin use imperfect tense forms. Here Abraham displaces Rebecca from her biblical role (Gen 25:28; cf. Jub 19:16).

19:16 reputation and descendants: Literally: name and seed (would be called). Latin transposes the nouns (semen et nomen).

he saw that: Latin omits.

much: Latin omits (perhaps the words quoniam ... quoniam caused haplography).

19:17 take care of: Latin adds in nomine, reflecting Hebrew שמר ב (see RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 115).

my place: Latin has a word fragment -nitatio after a gap. RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 115; followed by Charles, 1895, p. 69, n. 5 to Latin) reads «praesentatio», which agrees rather closely with the Ethiopic, though it does not quite fit the preserved Latin letters.

glory: The word ትፅኅፈተ translates תהלה in Deut 10:21, and Goldmann uses this Hebrew word in his translation. See DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 198.

descendants of Shem: The Hebrew would have been זרע שם. Latin has «my descendants (literally: seed)». Possibly the name שם was misconstrued in the Latin tradition as the word for «name»; nominis would then have been omitted because of its similarity to seminis; or mei may be explained as a corrupt remnant of the word nominis.

19:18 will choose: Latin: has chosen.

special: Latin reads sanctum. Charles (1895, p. 68, n. 18) declared the Ethiopic readings «... all alike corrupt, being hopeless attempts at rendering περιούσιος; for we have here a word for word reproduction of Deut. vii.6. In all cases also Eth. Vers. of Bible mistranslates or omits this word». He suggested reading Ḥፍቱተ, comparing Jub 16:18. It is obvious that the Ethiopic translators/ copyists had trouble with the word, and here (as in

the surface of the earth. 19:19 My son Isaac now loves Esau more than Jacob, but I see that you rightly love Jacob. 19:20 Increase your favor to him still more; may your eyes look at him lovingly because he will prove to be a blessing for us on the earth from now and throughout all the history of the earth. 19:21 May your hands be strong and your 5 mind be happy with your son Jacob because I love him much more than all my sons; for he will be blessed forever and his descendants will fill the entire earth. 19:22 If a man is able to count the sands on the earth, in the same way his descendants, too, will be counted. 19:23 May all the blessings with which the Lord blessed me and my 10 descendants belong to Jacob and his descendants for all time. 19:24 Through his descendants may my name and the name of my ancestors Shem, Noah, Enoch, Malaleel, Enos, Seth, and Adam be blessed. 19:25 May they serve (the purpose of) laying heaven's foundations, making the earth firm, and renewing all the luminaries which are 15 above the firmament'.

16:18) the Latin uses a word from the sanct- group. In Deut 7:6 Israel is called both קדוש עם and עם סגלה (LXX: λαὸν περιούσιον), the latter in precisely the context in which ኅዝብ ፡ ፆውም (the second word means: «protector, defensor, patronus» [DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 454]) is found in this verse of Jubilees. Charles' hypothesis appears convincing (note the variant reading ፆውም in ms. 9 [= «exclusus, segregatus» (Dillmann, ibid.)]). The Latin may again be a mistake or a sense translation of ὅσιον. See the note to 16:18 above.

all: Latin adds «the peoples», as in Deut 7:6.

earth: Latin: entire earth. Deut 7:6 agrees with the Ethiopic.

19:19 My son: Ms. 17 and Latin omit.

19:20 earth: ዓለም can mean «orbis terrarum, mundus» (DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 952, where he noted that in Judith 11:1 ዓለም renders γῆ).

19:21 May: Several mss. place ወ at the beginning of the verse; Latin lacks it but supplies ergo which has no equivalent in the Ethiopic copies (cf. also v 22).

much: Latin omits.

descendants will fill: Latin adds an extra conjunction before the verb erit. It is here rendered as «also».

19:22 If: Latin again adds ergo. Berger (424, n. a to v 22) claims that B (= 25) does so as well, but he is incorrect about this.

in the same way: Latin uses a conjunction.

19:23 May: Where Ethiopic resorts to a subjunctive (ይኩን), the Latin has a future indicative form (erunt).

19:24 may: Latin again employs a future indicative; here the Ethiopic form is ambiguous, i.e., it could be either indicative or subjunctive.

Shem ... Adam: The Ethiopic places a conjunction before each name other than the first (ms. 63 omits them except for the last). The Latin list omits the name Seth, but this seems a copyist's error: heno*s et* may originally have been henos set (see RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 26, n. 22).

19:25 May: Latin reads an indicative future (= mss. 17 35 38 48 58).

laying ... making: Where Ethiopic uses infinitival expressions, Latin employs participles (literally: they will be ones who lay ... make).

19:26 Then he summoned Jacob into the presence of his mother Rebecca, kissed him, blessed him, and said: 19:27 'My dear son Jacob whom I myself love, may God bless you from above the firmament. May he give you all the blessings with which he blessed Adam, Enoch,

5 Noah, and Shem. Everything that he said to me and everything that he promised to give me may he attach to you and your descendants until eternity — like the days of heaven above the earth. 19:28 May the spirits of Mastema not rule over you and your descendants to remove you from following the Lord who is your God from now and forever.

10 19:29 May the Lord God become your father and you his first-born son and people for all time. Go in peace, my son'.

19:30 The two of them departed together from Abraham. 19:31 Rebecca loved Jacob with her entire heart and her entire being very much more than Esau; but Isaac loved Esau much more than

15 Jacob.

20:1 During the forty-second jubilee, in the first year of the seventh week [2052], Abraham summoned Ishmael and his twelve children, Isaac and his two children, and the six children of Keturah and their sons. 20:2 He ordered them to keep the way of the Lord so that they

---

renewing: The Latin agnoscantur (= may be perceived; this is the only occurrence of the word in the surviving parts of the Latin translation) suggests that some error has produced the difference between the versions. Charles (1895, p. 69, n. 9 to Latin) wanted to emend the Latin verb to renoventur (which would agree with the Ethiopic), explaining: «corruption may be due to confusion of ἀνανεωθῶσι and ἀναγνωσθῶσι». His proposal is certainly plausible, but another possibility is that forms of Hebrew חדשׁ and חושׁ (= to feel, enjoy; the Arabic and Ethiopic cognates carry the nuance of perceive/perception [*BDB*, 301]) were interchanged.

which are above: Latin uses a simple genitival construction with no preposition.

19:26 he: Latin specifies Abraham.

19:31 her entire being: Literally: her entire spirit.

20:1 first year of the seventh week: This is another of the dates which does not agree with chronological data found elsewhere in the accounts about Abraham's life. According to the combined evidence of Jub 11:15 and 23:8 the patriarch's death occurred in the year 2051. Charles (1902, p. 129, n.) wanted to read «sixth week» (= 2045). Cf. also Hartom, 71, n. to v 1.

20:2 in every war: Charles (1895, p. 71, n. 17) emended ፀብእ (war) to the word for men (ሰብእ); so also in 1902, p. 129, n. Dillmann (1851) and Littmann reproduced the text as it stands, but Goldmann, Hartom (without a note), and Berger have followed Charles. Though a reference to war is unexpected, the word must be evaluated in connection with the sequel which can be understood in a martial sense (literally: so that they may go against each one against them). In other words, Abraham could be exhorting them to brotherly love so that in times of war they would be united against their opponents. Dillmann (1851) rendered the entire context as: «... dass sie ebenso sich in jedem kriege verhalten, dass sie gegen jeden, der gegen sie sei, ziehen ...»

would do what is right and that they should love one another; that they
should be like this in every war so that they could go against each one
(who was) against them; and do what is just and right on the earth;
20:3 that they should circumcise their sons in the covenant which he
had made with them; that they should not deviate to the right or left   5
from all the ways which the Lord commanded us; that we should keep
ourselves from all sexual impurity and uncleanness; and that we should
dismiss all uncleanness and sexual impurity from among us. 20:4 If any
woman or girl among you commits a sexual offence, burn her in fire;
they are not to commit sexual offences (by) following their eyes and   10
their hearts so that they take wives for themselves from the Canaanite
women, because the descendants of Canaan will be uprooted from the
earth. 20:5 He told them about the punishment of the giants and the
punishment of Sodom — how they were condemned because of their

and (do): The conjunction, which is omitted by mss. 12 20 25 44, should be read,
though Charles (1895) neither placed it in his text nor noted that it appeared in
Dillmann's two mss. (1859, p. 73). Omitting the conjunction would make the previous
reference to war most unlikely, but including it sets this phrase apart from the preceding
words.

20:3 dismiss: ኃደግ can also mean «renounce, give up». Mss. 9 12 17 21 63 preface ኢ
(= we should not allow). Hartom has omitted from his translation all of the words after
ዘሙት (apparently by parablepsis).

20:4 they are not to commit: The verb ይዘምዋ could be construed as a subjunctive,
third-person, feminine plural form (agreeing with the feminine suffixes on the following
two nouns); it is so translated here (with Hartom). Charles rendered as: «let them not
commit fornication with her» (1902; he apparently parsed the verb as a plural masculine
subjunctive with a feminine object suffix, as have Goldmann and Berger). The former is
preferable because of the following nouns with feminine plural suffixes: the women are
ordered not to pursue the lure of their sight and feelings.

so that they take: The verb is masculine plural. Charles (1895, p. 70) reads: ወኮነ ፡
ኢይንሥኡ (= «and let them not take» [1902; so Dillmann, 1851, 1859; Littmann;
Goldmann; and Hartom, who brackets the clause]). However, this is a combination that
at his time was attested by just one late ms. (C = 51); now 39 42 47 48 also support it.
Perhaps this reading would be more plausible if ኮነ were omitted, as in 12. The earliest
mss. read only ኮነ ፡ ይንሥኡ. The other readings (either ወ before ኮነ or ኢ before
ይንሥኡ; cf. 58 which places ወአዳዊሆሙ [= and their husbands] before ኮነ) appear to be
scribal attempts to ameliorate the difficulties raised by what may indeed be a defective
text.

20:5 impurity: Latin: because they commingled with prostitutes. Here, as in the cases
of the two nouns which follow, Latin has a clause where Ethiopic lists nouns. The Latin
may be seen as an expanded text, but Ethiopic could be corrupt. If one translated the
Latin into Ethiopic, it would be ተዘሙሩ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ዘማት (cf. 20:13). The eye of a scribe
could have skipped from ተዘሙሩ to ዘማት. The latter term would then later have been
altered into ዘሙት in order to make it fit the context. This would be more convincing if it
were an isolated case, but two more instances of such variation follow.

wickedness; because of the sexual impurity, uncleanness, and corruption among themselves they died in (their) sexual impurity.

20:6 'Now you keep yourselves from all sexual impurity and uncleanness and from all the contamination of sin so that you do not
5 make our name into a curse, your entire lives into a (reason for) *hissing* and all your children into something that is destroyed by the sword. Then you will be accursed like Sodom, and all who remain of you like the people of Gomorrah. 20:7 I testify to you my sons: love the God of heaven and hold fast to all his commandments. Do not follow their

uncleanness: Latin has inmunditiam exercebant.

corruption among themselves: Latin: Omnem abominationem faciebant.

they died in (their) sexual impurity: Latin: (they) disregarded the commandments. It is difficult to accept that such variation could have arisen from similar base texts. The Ethiopic is perhaps more likely to be correct than is the Latin, as a reference to violation of the commandments on the part of the giants and Sodomites would be an extreme understatement. One could speculate that words which have similar appearances in Hebrew (בזנות מתו = Ethiopic; מצות עזבו = Latin) or Greek (πορνείᾳ ἐτελεύτησαν = Ethiopic; παρῆκαν [τὰς] ἐντολάς = Latin) were garbled in the transmission of the text, but the differences between the two versions in the latter part of v 5 and the beginning of v 6 are so striking that one suspects someting more serious has happened.

20:6 Now you ... make: For these words Latin has only the difficult et ideo ne forte et uos detis. It is likely that something has fallen from the Latin text (Charles [1895, p. 71] restored the equivalent of the Ethiopic in parentheses). RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 116) wrote: «Die Formel *ne forte ... detis* ist hier imperativisch zu fassen, = gebet nicht etwa». Berger (427, n. b to v 6) translates the Latin as: «Und dass also nicht auch ihr euren Namen gebt». In the translation given in this edition, the words «be careful» are supplied for the sake of the sense of the line.

our name: Latin: your name (uestrum for nostrum, or ὑμῶν for ἡμῶν).

hissing: The best Ethiopic reading is ትምኅሕት (= boasting), which is accepted by Berger (427, n. d to v 6) who also notes the strongly supported variant (under different spellings) ትምክሕት (= threat) and the Latin «hissing». He comments: «Gemeint ist in jedem Falle eine Reaktion der Gegner, entweder als Sich-Brüsten (wegen Israels Schwäche und Unansehnlichkeit [he cites several parallels] ...; besonders aber, weil schlechtes Verhalten Lästern und Sich-Erhabenfühlen einbringt [more parallels] ... oder als Drohung im Gegensatz zum Segen ...» None of this is convincing. Already in 1851, Dillmann rendered with *schande* (in brackets and italicized), though he provided no note. In his Latin translation (in RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 27) he gave «gloriationem (*sic*!)». Rönsch (ibid., 116), however, drew attention to Jer 29:18 where the words לאלה and לשרקה are found. On the basis of this verse, Charles (1895, p. 71, n. 37) emended the Ethiopic to ለተፉጻፉ (= for hissing; this is the same root as the one used in EthJer 29:18 [DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 1390]). Both Goldmann and Hartom (without a note) translate with שרקה, while Goldmann added that לקלס (= for mocking/ derision) stood in the original (pp. רסא-רסב, n.). Rönsch and Charles seem to have discovered the pristine text, but how the defective Ethiopic reading originated is not clear.

by the sword: Latin adds et (here rendered as «also») before in gladium.

20:7 I: Latin, as in v 6, adds ideo (cf. also v 8).

hold fast to: The verb ፀመደ means «to bind, join together»; in the Gt it signifies «to be

idols and their uncleanness. 20:8 Do not make for yourselves gods that
are molten images or statues because they are something empty and
have no spirit in them. For they are made by hands, and all who trust
in them all trust in nothing at all. Do not worship them or bow to
them. 20:9 Rather, worship the most high God and bow to him   5
continually. Look expectantly for his presence at all times, and do what
is right and just before him so that he may be delighted with you, give
you his favor, and make the rain to fall for you morning and evening;
bless everything that you do — all that you have done on the earth;
bless your food and water; and bless the products of your loins, the   10
products of your land, the herds of your cattle, and the flocks of your

bound, etc.; to dedicate oneself to». The Latin adherete reflects the same original
(probably it was דבק).

idols: Latin has abominationes. Possibly βδελύγματα stood in the Greek text. It means
«abominations» but is regularly used to refer to idols. See Isa 2:8 (DILLMANN, Lexicon,
1243). Hartom translates with גלוליהם. Latin adds omnes before abominationes.

uncleanness: Latin uses a plural noun and places omnes before it.

20:8 Do not make: Latin employs a future indicative form (facietis).

have: Literally: is. Latin resorts to a future indicative form (erit).

all[2]: Latin has no equivalent. Charles (1895, p. 71, n. 47) omitted ኵሎሙ with the
Latin.

Do not worship: As in vv 6 and 7, Latin adds ideo. For ትግአህፆሙ Latin has servire.
The two are not quite synonymous, though they are again paired in v 9.

bow: Latin reads adorare: The Ethiopic verb could also be rendered «worship». Latin
has a singular feminine object (eam). RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 28) and Charles
(1895, p. 71, n. 6) both emended to ea (= the Ethiopic).

20:9 continually: Latin gives adorando.

Look expectantly: For the meaning of the Latin sustinendo, see RÖNSCH, Das Buch der
Jubiläen, 116 (= exspectare, sperare).

what is right: Ethiopic ጽድቅ is again coupled with Latin ueritatem.

may be delighted: Latin dirigat, which Charles first (1895, p. 71, n. 49) preferred (he
emended ይፈትውሙ ፡ ለዐለሂሙ to ይርቱዕ ፡ ርእሰሙ; cf. Hartom's יידר), was recognized as
an error for diligat by Prätorius (review of Charles, 1895 in TLZ 24 [1895] 615). See
Littmann, 74, n. i; Charles, 1902, p. 131, n. (where he accepts the change of the Latin);
and Berger, 428, n. d to v 9.

his (favor): Latin omits.

make ... fall: For the meaning of Latin deponant, see RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen,
116-17 (= deducere, demittere).

you have done: Latin reads operati. RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 117) suggested
operatis (= the Ethiopic). The final s was omitted by haplography with the next letter
(super). See also Charles, 1895, p. 73, n. 1 to Latin. For the active operare, cf. Rönsch,
ibid.

bless (the products of your loins): Latin reads a future form rather than a subjunctive.

the herds: For the conjunction before መራዕየ, Latin has ut which is probably a mistake
for et (so RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 28; Charles, 1895, p. 73, n. 3 to Latin). It is not
translated here because it is assumed to be the conjunction (in a series of phrases
introduced by conjunctions).

sheep. 20:10 You will become a blessing on the earth, and all the nations of the earth will be delighted with you. They will bless your sons in my name so that they may be blessed as I am'.

20:11 When he had given gifts to Ishmael, his sons, and Keturah's
5 sons and sent them away from his son Isaac, he gave everything to his son Isaac. 20:12 Ishmael, his sons, Keturah's sons, and their sons went together and settled from Paran as far as the entrance of Babylon — in all the land toward the east opposite the desert, 20:13 They mixed with one another and were called Arabs and Ishmaelites.

20:10 You: The verbal form in Ethiopic is singular, while Latin has a plural which would seem more appropriate in the context, since Abraham is addressing his sons and grandsons. The Ethiopic singular, which is probably wrong (Charles [1895, p. 72, n. 2] emended to the plural), may have resulted when a copyist thought that the blessing sounded proper only for Isaac and his descendants.

your sons: The Ethiopic mss., with the exception of 20 35, read the non-accusative form ወአዕዳኅክሙ; the Latin uses accusatives (filios uestros). This led Charles (1895, p. 72, n. 5) to change the Ethiopic to the accusative (to ወአዕዳኅክሙ — a change of one vowel), and all translators have followed him. It is not necessary, however, to emend the text in order to arrive at this meaning because before pronominal suffixes the accusative ending is at times abandoned (DILLMANN, Ethiopic Grammar, sec. 143 [p. 323]).

may be blessed: The Ethiopic expression (verb + adjective) differs from the Latin (verb + prepositional phrase). The Latin expression here is the same as the one at the beginning of the verse.

as I am: Latin adds a conjunction (et = too).

20:11 his son: There is a lacuna in the Latin after filio suo; it extends through the beginning of v 12 and may have been caused by the similarity of the words filio suo (v 11) and filii eius (v 12), though this would not follow the normal pattern of haplography. Charles (1895, p. 73) has restored the text on the basis of the Ethiopic. Several Ethiopic mss. have omitted all of the verse after ወአኅ (21; among the uncollated mss. 22 23 40 50 51 have also omitted [this explains the translations of Dillmann and Goldmann]) by parablepsis (ወአኅ — ወአኅ).

his son[2]: Jubilees agrees with Sam Syriac LXX OL EthGen 25:5 in adding «his son». MT and the targums omit.

20:12 Ishmael ... went: The Latin lacuna extends through these words.

together: Latin omits. Possibly the omission occurred on the Hebrew level when in the phrase בני יחדיו the second word was dropped by homoioteleuton. For this spelling of יחדו, see Jer 46:12, 21; 49:3.

20:13 were called: Latin has adhesit. Charles (1895, p. 72, n. 7) emended the Ethiopic ተጸውዐ to ተጸምደ (= the Latin), but in 1902 he translated the Ethiopic text («their name was called»). Littmann (75, n. b) had opposed the emendation and preferred to assume a defect or false translation in the Latin, though he offered no suggestions about what they might have been. Even Hartom follows the Ethiopic against the Latin. Ethiopic is clearly superior, since the origin of the name ערבי is being given (from ערב). The Latin may be the product of confusing forms of Greek καλεῖν and κολλᾶν (= to join — an LXX equivalent of Hebrew דבק).

Ishmaelites: Latin adds «until the present» — a phrase found in the Bible with similar etymological statements (e.g., Josh 5:9 for Gilgal). In 1895 (p. 72, n. 9) Charles wished to add these words to the Ethiopic text, and Littmann (75, n. c) supplied them in brackets. Hartom, however, gives them without an explanatory note. By 1902 Charles preferred to

21:1 In the sixth year of the seventh week of this jubilee [2057] Abraham summoned his son Isaac and gave him orders as follows: 'I have grown old but do not know when I will die because I have reached the full number of my days. 21:2 Now I am 175 years of age. Throughout my entire lifetime I have continually remembered the Lord and tried to do his will wholeheartedly and to walk a straight course in   5 all his ways. 21:3 I have personally hated idols in order to keep myself for doing the will of the one who created me. 21:4 For he is the living God. He is more holy, faithful, and just than anyone. With him there is no favoritism nor does he accept bribes because he is a just God and one who exercises judgment against all who transgress his commands   10

omit them. The words may have been added by a scribe who remembered the phrase from similar biblical passages.

21:1 because: Latin reads et (not realized in the translation). Charles (1895, p. 72, n. 12; 1902, p. 132, n.) emended the Ethiopic to agree with Latin, comparing Gen 25:8 (so also Littmann, 75, n. d; Hartom). The formulation in Gen 25:8 is not the same, however: there it is a third-person report, but here a first-person statement. Cf. also Gen 27:2.

reached: Literally: am full.

my days: Jubilees agrees with Sam Syriac LXX OL EthGen 25:8 in adding the word «days», while only Syriac EthGenesis also attach a suffix (= his [because the entire statement is cast in the third person]). See Charles, 1895, p. 72, n. 13.

21:2 175 years: Both versions preserve the Hebrew idiom «a son of x years». The form filii in the Latin should be filius (RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 28; Charles, 1895, p. 73, n. 9 to Latin).

entire: The word is lacking in Latin.

the Lord: Latin: our God.

tried: Latin: searched for him. The difference appears to lie only in the object which Latin supplies (eum) and Ethiopic lacks (except ms. 44). The underlying Greek may have been ἐζήτησα (= בקשתי).

wholeheartedly: Literally: with all my heart. Latin has uirtute, a word that elsewhere appears where Ethiopic ኀይል or ኀይሎ is found (31:18; 37:5; 48:3). The two phrases, which figure together in familiar passages such as Deut 6:5, have been interchanged here.

will: Latin adds omnem before this word.

walk a straight course: Latin reads dirigerem.

21:3 I: Latin again inserts ideo.

idols: Latin adds a line which has left no trace in Ethiopic. Charles (1895, p. 72, n. 17; 1902, p. 132, n.; Littmann, 75, n. e; cf. Hartom) thought that it had been dropped from the Ethiopic text through «homeoteleuton». This is quite well possible, with the words ኅፁፅ and መግደፎ being the causes of the difficulty.

for doing: Latin: and do.

21:4 more ... than anyone: By reading the conjunction et before ex omnibus and not before non est, Latin achieves a different sense: the just God shows favoritism to no one. Though Charles (1895, p. 73, n. 12 to Latin) wished to change the location of et to agree with the Ethiopic, it is arguable that Latin preserves the superior reading.

nor: Latin: so that.

exercises judgment: Latin (literally): judgment from all. RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 30) and Charles (1895, p. 73) emended to ex[ercens in], which would agree with the Ethiopic wording.

and despise his covenant. 21:5 Now you, my son, keep his commands, ordinances, and verdicts. Do not pursue unclean things, statues, or molten images. 21:6 Do not eat any blood of an animal, cattle, or of any bird that flies in the sky. 21:7 If you slaughter a victim for a peace
5 offering that is acceptable, slaughter it and pour their blood onto the altar. All the fat of the sacrifice you will offer on the altar with the finest flour; and the offering kneaded with oil, with its libation — you will offer it all together on the altar as a sacrifice. (It is) an aroma that is pleasing before the Lord. 21:8 As you place the fat of the peace

covenant: Latin: testimony. Cf. Jos 4:16, in which ארון העדות stands where LXX reads: τὴν κιβωτὸν τῆς διαθήκης τοῦ μαρτυρίου κυρίου. But possibly testimonium and testamentum have been confused in the Latin tradition.

21:5 my son: Latin filii should be corrected to the vocative fili (RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen. 30; Charles, 1895, p. 73, n. 9 to Latin).

statues: Latin omits an equivalent for the phrase ወድ፡ልቡፆ፡ ፡ ለግኤሮ. It was lost through parablepsis (three consecutive expressions begin with the same formula).

21:6 of an animal, cattle, or of any bird: Latin begins with the general term carnis and then specifies both land animals and birds. Berger (430, n. a to v 6) refers to CD 12:13-14 for a similar enumeration. Charles (1895, p. 73. n. 25) observed that Lev 7:26 supported the Ethiopic text.

21:7 peace offering: Latin fructuum is modeled on LXX's use of κάρπωμα as the name for this sacrifice (Lev 3:3, 5; see RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 119).

that is acceptable: Latin omits. Perhaps acceptabilem fell from the text through homoioarchton with occiditis.

pour: The forms in Ethiopic and Latin are imperfect and future indicative respectively (= you will pour out).

their: Ethiopic reads a plural suffix where Latin has eius.

altar: In his edition of the Latin text, Ceriani read altarium, but RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 119) wrote: «Nachdem Ceriani in seinem Textesabdrucke altarium hatte setzen lassen, fand er bei einer nochmaliger, genaueren Vergleichung der Schriftzüge im Codex, dass altarem zu lesen sei». Cf. also ibid., 30, n. 29.

fat: Latin: blood. Charles (1895, p. 75, n. 1 to Latin) emended sanguinem to adipem (= Ethiopic). The Latin word may have entered the text through the influence of the preceding sanguinem.

you will offer: Latin omits, but the context suggests that the word should be read. If the Ethiopic term ኖግ/ሐ is the equivalent of olocausti (= עולה), then the original may have read עולה תעלה, and one could explain omission of the verb in Latin as due ultimately to haplography of these graphically similar words. The same would be true if קרבן תקריב were used.

the offering: Latin omits, as did Charles in 1895 (p. 74, n. 3) and Hartom; but Littmann (75, n. h) argued rather that Latin had omitted sacrificium, as the words et confectum (which Charles [1895, p. 75, n. 2 to Latin] had emended to confecta) suggest. Charles (1902, p. 133, n.) later accepted Littmann's view, though he placed the words «and the meat-offering» in parentheses.

kneaded: Latin: prepared.

together: Latin omits.

as a sacrifice: For the Latin term fructuum, see the first note to this verse.

offering on the fire which is on the altar, so also *remove* the fat which is on the stomach and all the fat which is on the internal organs and the two kidneys and all the fat which is on them and which is on the upper thighs and liver with the kidneys. 21:9 All of this you will offer as a pleasant fragrance which is acceptable before the Lord, with its sacrifice   5
and its libation as a pleasant fragrance — the food of the offering to the Lord.

21:8 As ... so also: Latin: And [not in the translation] ... and. Charles (1895, p. 74, n. 10) emended the Ethiopic to agree with the Latin text (Hartom also follows the Latin) and compared Lev 3:9-10. Littmann (75, n. i) objected that it would be more likely that Latin et should be changed to ut than that ብhመ should be altered to መ. For this expression, see DILLMANN, *Ethiopic Grammar*, sec. 206.2 (pp. 554-55). Goldmann reads a conjunction for the first ብhመ but כ for the second. Berger: «Wie ... wie». The meanings of the two are not far separated, but a different base text probably lay before the translators of the two versions. Note that in 21:9 where Latin has Et sic Ethiopic reads only መ.

fat: Latin ad ipsum is corrupt for adipem (RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 30; Charles, 1895, p. 75, n. 4 to Latin).

peace: The expression in both Ethiopic and Latin is the same as in 16:23 (cf. 22:4, 5) and reflects θυσία σωτηρίου (noted already by Dillmann, 1851, p. 71, n. 2) as in LXX.

liver: Latin adds quod est super pulmonem. RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 30, n. 30; 120) regarded these words as a marginal explanation that had been inserted wrongly into the text. «Im Pentateuch wird in den Ritualvorschriften für das Heilsopfer bei der Leber niemals die Lunge erwähnt ...» (120) Only Hartom has included this plus in his translation.

remove: The Ethiopic mss. read ፐብስል (or- ስ) which means «rolled up, enveloped»; Latin has the more plausible separa. Charles (1895, p. 75, n. 15) emended the suspicious ፐብስስ to ፕብሰስ (= «thou shalt remove» [1902]). These words could have been confused, but, as Littmann (75, n. k) observed, the root ብሰስ is not used elsewhere (Dillmann lists no such verb). But Charles was correct in adducing יסירנה of Lev 3:10 as the verb behind the Latin and presumably the original word in Jubilees. Berger, who retains «verknüpft» in his translation, refers to 11QT 23:14-17 (cf. 20:5-8). Of this passage, ll. 14b-16 are particularly relevant for this problem (it, too, has יסירנה) and for the wording of much of v 8:

החלב המכסה את   14
הקרב ואת אשר על הקרבים ואת יותרת הכבד עם הכליות   15
יסירנה ואת אשר עליהמה ואת אשר על הכסלים   16

(YADIN, *The Temple Scroll*, 2.77, where he refers to Lev 3:14-17 but not to Jub 21:8-9). The Latin text of Jubilees is superior here, but perhaps a better explanation than Charles' hypothesis for the Ethiopic reading would be that a Greek translator thought he saw a form of Hebrew סרן (סרין = a wrapper) before him. It is more likely, however, that forms of περιαιρέω (aorist περιεῖλον) and περιείλλω (= περιειλέω) have been confused (περιελεῖ occurs in Lev 3:16).

21:9 this: Latin: In this way.

you will offer: Latin uses offers — an imperative form (cf. RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 120).

food of the offering: The word ፕብስት renders לחם in EthLev 3:11; 21:6, 8, etc., while fructuum again (see v 7) reflects the LXX translation of אשֶּׁה as κάρπωμα (RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 120).

21:10 Eat its meat during that day and on the next day; but the sun is not to set on it on the next day until it is eaten. It is not to be left over for the third day because it is not acceptable to him. For it was not pleasing and is not therefore commanded. All who eat it will bring
5 guilt on themselves because this is the way I found (it) written in the book of my ancestors, in the words of Enoch and the words of Noah. 21:11 On all your offerings you are to place salt; let the covenant of salt not come to an end on any of your sacrifices before the Lord.

21:12 Be careful about the (kinds of) woods (that are used for)
10 sacrifice so that you bring no (kinds of) woods onto the altar except these only: cypress, silver-fir, almond, fir, pine, cedar, juniper, *date,*

21:10 its: Latin omits.

commanded: The Ethiopic mss. overwhelmingly support ይትበላዕ, with only 38 (ትበላዕ [so Dillmann, 1851, 1859; Littmann, Berger]) and 58 (ይትባላዕ) differing. Charles (1895, p. 75, n. 19; 1902, p. 134, n.) emended to ይትባላዕ (= ms. 58 which he did not have), and Hartom has so rendered. It should be stressed that the verb «eat» is used three other times in the verse and that, if any force were to mislead a scribe here, it would be to change an original «commanded» to «be eaten» rather than vice versa.

21:11 let the covenant of salt not come to an end: Compare Lev 2:13; 11QT 20:13b-14a:

ועל כול קורבנכמה תתנו מלח ולוא תשב[י]ת   13

ברית מלח לעולם   14

(the words of l. 14 are from Rockefeller 43.978; YADIN, *The Temple Scroll*, 2.65). This passage confirms the verb ተኀድግ and the word-order «covenant of salt» (= Num 18:19), which Charles (1895, p. 75, n. 26; 1902, p. 134, n.; cf. Hartom) had wanted to reverse on the basis of Lev 2:13. The verb here translated «come to an end» means literally «stop, cease».

21:12 except these only: Charles (1895, p. 75, n. 30) wished to omit the negative ኢ before ታበእ: «Be careful to offer on the altar the following woods» (so also Littmann, 76, n. a). But the word ሆመ remained unexplained by him. In 1902 he translated: «... beware lest thou bring (other) wood for the altar in addition to these ...» — giving no support for «in addition to». Berger, who renders with «ausser diesen», explains that the Ethiopic mss. omit «ausser»: «Der Übersetzer hat wohl statt εἰ μὴ ταῦτα gelesen: οὐ μὴ ταῦτα». (431, n. a to v 12) The solution is probably simpler: the ሆመ of most mss. is a mistake for ህየ which is preserved only in mss. 9 (?) 20 39. It is regularly placed after pronouns and can mean «nonnisi» (Dillmann, *Lexicon*, 830). Literally, then, the clause reads: that you may not bring ... except these.

silver-fir: Ethiopic ጸፍጸፍ. Dillmann (1851, p. 71, n. 4) derived the word from Syriac ܕܦܪܐ; so also in *Lexicon*, 1134 (abies). Cf. Charles, 1902, p. 135, n.; Littmann, 76, n. b (he adduced Akkadian dapranu in addition to the Syriac cognate).

almond: Dillmann (1851, p. 71, n. 5) explained ሶግድ as the equivalent of שקד (= Rabbinic שגדא [*Lexicon*, 398]); Littmann (76, n. c), Hartom, and Berger have followed him on this matter. But Charles (1902, p. 35, n.) demurred on the grounds that all of the trees in the list are evergreens and the almond tree is not (in 1895, p. 75, n. 33 he had accepted this identification). However, Jubilees does not claim that all trees in this list are evergreens.

fir: ስጠርቢሎን is an Ethiopic transcription of στρόβιλος (Dillmann, 1851, p. 71, n. 6 = *Lexicon*, 400; Charles, 1895, p. 75, n. 34; Littmann, 76, n. d).

olive wood, myrtle, laurel wood, the cedar whose name is the juniper

pine: ኢጢኅ is related to πίτυς (Dillmann, 1851, p. 71, n. 7 = *Lexicon*, 1253; Littmann, 76, n. c).

juniper: ብርት, according to Dillmann (1851, p. 71, n. 8 = *Lexicon*, 504), reflects βράθυ and ultimately Hebrew ברוש (see also Charles, 1895, p. 75, n. 36; Littmann, 76, n. f; and Hartom).

date: The term ትርህ poses a problem. Dillmann (1851, p. 71, n. 9) thought it made no sense: «... daher lese ich *têrk* oder *têrôk*, womit אתרונ [so Hartom translates it] im Talmudischen zu vergleichen» (he expressed less certainty in *Lexicon*, 563). The variants in the ms. tradition provide no support for his conjecture. Charles (1895, p. 75, n. 37) believed the word was «possibly a corrupt transliteration of תָּמָר = φοῖνιξ or a corruption of ደቀ = φοῖνιξ». The latter is a more convincing suggestion and underlies the translation *date* (or *palm* [though its wood is not suitable for incinerating sacrifices]). Cf. Littmann, 76, n. g; Goldmann; and Berger.

myrtle: ምርሲኔ transliterates μυρσίνη (Dillmann, 1851, p. 71, n. 10 = *Lexicon*, 166; in both places he compared Isa 41:19 where the same term occurs in the Ethiopic version). See also Charles, 1895, p. 75, n. 38; Littmann, 76, n. h.

laurel wood: Dillmann (1851, p. 71, n. 11 = *Lexicon*, 1135) derived ደፍኔ from δάφνη - דפנא; Charles (1895, p. 75, n. 39); Littmann (76, n. i); Goldmann; Hartom; and Berger have agreed with him.

cedar: The Ethiopic term ቄዳር clearly means «cedar», but Charles (1895, p. 75, n. 40) maintained that it may be «a corrupt transliteration of κίτριον, or possibly of κερατέα». Charles may have been influenced more by his desire to accommodate the list in Jubilees to the one in Geoponica 11.1 (where κίτριον appears) than by the text itself.

whose name is the juniper bush: Dillmann (1851, p. 71, n. 12 = *Lexicon*, 742) confessed his inability to explain the term ኣርሳት but thought it possible that it reflected Syriac ܐܪܟܐ and Greek ἄρκευθος. Charles (1895, p. 75, n. 42) suggested that it was a corruption of ኣርኬት which would be a transliteration of ἄρκευθος — a term which is also found in Geoponica 11.1. Charles also bracketed ዘስሙ (see n. 41). Littmann (76. n. k) accepted both of his proposals. For the above translation the text is retained as it is, and it is assumed that ኣርኬት is a slightly misspelled version of ἄρκευθος. The words ቄዳር ፡ ዘስሙ are intended, it seems, to distinguish this type from the ቄድርኅ that is the sixth in the list.

balsam: Dillmann (1851, p. 71, n. 13) recognized that behind ቢልሳም lay בֹּשֶׂם; in his *Lexicon* (509) he also mentioned בֶּשֶׂם (cf. Littmann, 76, n. m) — the term that both Goldmann and Hartom use in their translations.

The list as given here includes 13 names, while 1 Enoch 3 claims that there are 14 kinds of evergreens. T. Levi 9:12 says that the wood of only 12 types of trees is to be used in sacrifice; they are also evergreens. In the Aramaic fragments of this work, they are listed as follows: «Of all the *twelve* kinds of wood, he told me that those of them are fitting to burn on the altar whose smoke goes up with a sweet savour. And these are their names: — cedar, and bay, and almond, and fir, and pine [text שׁחיא (= thorns) corrupt for שׁוטא = pine], and mountain ash, and cypress, and fig, and olive, and laurel, and myrtle, and aspalathus». (Charles in *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* 2.364-65; for the Aramaic and Greek [which omits almond and olive and adds σχῖνος] texts side by side with the list in Jub 21:12, see CHARLES, *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* [Oxford: University Press, 1908; reprinted: Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1960] 248-49). The list in Geoponica 11.1 (see Charles, 1902, pp. 134-35, n.) includes these: φοῖνιξ, κίτριον, στρόβιλος, δάφνη, ἐλαία, κυπάρισσος, κερατέα, πίτυς, πρῖνος, πύξος, μυρσίνη, κέδρος, ἰτέα, ἄρκευθος. Though these lists do differ in number and for some items, they are useful for clarifying some of the Ethiopic names.

bush, and balsam. 21:13 Of these (kinds of) woods place beneath the sacrifice on the altar ones that have been tested for their appearance. Do not place (beneath it) any split or dark wood; (place there) strong (kinds of) woods and firm ones without any defect — a perfect and new
5 growth. Do not place (there) old wood, for its aroma has left — because there is no longer an aroma upon it as at first. 21:14 Apart from these (kinds of) woods there is no other which you are to place (beneath the sacrifice) because their aroma is distinctive and the smell of their aroma goes up to heaven. 21:15 Pay attention to this
10 commandment and do it, my son, so that you may behave properly in all your actions.

21:16 At all times be clean with respect to your body. Wash with water before you go to make an offering on the altar. Wash your hands and feet before you approach the altar [or: sacrifice]. When you have
15 finished making an offering, wash your hands and feet again. 21:17 No blood is to be visible on you or on your clothing. My son, be careful with blood; be very careful to cover it with dirt. 21:18 You are not, therefore, to consume any blood because the blood is the vital force. Do not consume any blood. 21:19 Do not take a bribe for any human
20 blood so that it may not be shed casually — without punishment — because it is the blood that is shed which makes the earth sin. The *earth* will not be able to become pure from human blood except through the

---

21:13 strong (kinds of) woods and firm ones: Charles (1895, p. 75, n. 44) emended the word צ׳רዐ (here translated «firm ones» — it is actually singular in form) to ንጹ.ሕ (= clean; see 1902, p. 135, n.). Littmann left the space blank in his translation and maintained (76, n. o) that one ought to read ሕ.ጽ׳ጾ.ይ (= not rotting [with DILLMANN, Lexicon, 1294]; ms. 38 has ጽ׳ጾ.ይ without the negative, and Dillmann read this word in 1859, but without the negative it makes poor sense in the context) or to follow Charles. Both Goldmann and Hartom have also agreed with Charles. But the text may be retained if one holds with Berger (432, n. b to v 13) that «es handelt sich wohl nur um eine Bekräftigung».

21:14 goes up: Littmann (76, n. p) first proposed that the verb should be negated, and Charles (1902, p. 135, n.), Goldmann, and Hartom have agreed. Since the verse is speaking about the special fragrance of the approved kinds of woods, one would expect a positive statement to the effect that these fragrances rise to heaven. Berger also does not insert a negative.

21:18 therefore: ኡነh could also be rendered: anymore/any longer (so Berger).

21:19 *earth*: The mss. repeat the word ደም. Dillmann (1859, p. 78, n. 1) proposed that ምድር be read here. Charles (1895, p. 75, n. 61), Littmann (76, n. r), Goldmann (without comment), and Hartom have followed him. Berger strangely translates «das Blut» though he mentions the emendation in a note (433, n. c to v 19). Num 35:33 provides warrant for changing the text: there הארץ is used, though the present text may have arisen through confusion of דם and אדמה.

blood of the one who shed it. 21:20 Do not take a bribe or gift for human blood; blood for blood — then it will be acceptable before the most high God. He will be the protection of the good; and (he will be this) so that you may be kept from every evil one and that he may save you from every (kind of) death.   5

21:21 I see, my son, that all the actions of mankind (consist of) sin and wickedness and all their deeds of impurity, worthlessness, and contamination. With them there is nothing that is right. 21:22 Be careful not to walk in their ways or to tread in their paths so that you may not commit a mortal sin before the most high God. Then he will   10 hide his face from you and will hand you over to the power of your offenses. He will uproot you from the earth and your descendants from beneath heaven. Your name and descendants will be destroyed from the entire earth. 21:23 Depart from all their actions and from all their impurity. Keep the obligations of the most high God and do his will.   15 Then you will act properly in every regard. 21:24 He will bless you in all your actions. He will raise from you a righteous plant in all the earth throughout all the history of the earth. Then my name and your name will not be passed over in silence beneath heaven throughout all time.

21:25 Go in peace, my son. May the most high God — my God and   20 your God — strengthen you to do his will. May he bless all your descendants — the remnant of your descendants — throughout the history of eternity with every proper blessing so that you may become a

21:22 not (commit): 4Q221 Jub^f 1.1 lacks a negative word, but the Ethiopic ኢ.can be explained as an addition which makes it clear that ትሳሕት is also subordinate to ትዐቀብ (VANDERKAM, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 52).

hand you over: On the interpretation of the Hebrew verb, which seems to be written וניתנכ]ה, see VANDERKAM, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 53-54 (suggestion of J. Strugnell). The scribe apparently began writing a converted perfect but changed to an imperfect form. Milik («Fragment d'une source du Psautier», 104) read ויאב[ל]כ]ה.

descendants: Milik («Fragment d'une source du Psautier», 104) read זכרך, but on the photograph (planche II) only the bottom tips of some letters are visible, none of which is sufficiently distinctive to permit identification. As his reading differs from that of the Ethiopic mss., one may surmise that he has another ms. in which this reading is clearer (see VANDERKAM, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 56). Naturally, זרע and זכר could easily have been interchanged.

21:23 and from all their impurity ... regard: 4Q221 Jub^f 1.6-7 contains a dittography of these words. It was caused by the two uses of כול (מכול) and בכול) in the context. The Ethiopic mss. show no such duplication (Milik, «Fragment d'une source du Psautier», 104; VANDERKAM, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 57).

21:24 all (the earth): Milik («Fragment d'une source du Psautier», 104) does not restore כול before ארץ; possibly he again has another ms. in which the omission is clear (see VANDERKAM, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 58).

blessing throughout the entire earth'. 21:26 Then he left him feeling happy.

22:1 In the first week in the forty-fourth jubilee, during the second year [2109] — it is the year in which Abraham died — Isaac and
5 Ishmael came from the well of the oath to their father Abraham to celebrate the festival of weeks (this is the festival of the firstfruits of the harvest). Abraham was happy that his two sons had come. 22:2 For Isaac's possessions in Beersheba were numerous. Isaac used to go and inspect his possessions and then return to his father. 22:3 At that time
10 Ishmael came to see his father, and all of them came together. Isaac slaughtered a sacrifice for the offering; he offered (it) on his father's altar which he had made in Hebron. 22:4 He sacrificed a peace offering and prepared a joyful feast in front of his brother Ishmael. Rebecca made fresh bread out of new wheat. She gave it to her son Jacob to
15 bring to his father Abraham some of the firstfruits of the land so that he would eat (it) and bless the Creator of everything before he died. 22:5 Isaac, too, sent through Jacob [his] excellent peace offering [and

22:1 first week ... forty-fourth jubilee ... second year: This date does not harmonize with others in the book (e.g., at 21:1). Dillmann (cf. 1851, p. 71, n. 14) placed «*dreiund-vierzigsten*» in his translation, but Charles changed all of the numbers in the verse. He proposed that one read: «in the sixth week in the forty-second jubilee, in the seventh year» (= 2051 [1902, p. 137, n.; so also Hartom, p. 75, n. to v ℵ]). There are, as noted before, several problematic dates in Jubilees for Abraham's life. One indication that the narrative has not yet reached jubilee 44 is in 24:1 where an event in the forty-third jubilee is mentioned.

22:2 his possessions: Latin uses a relative clause (with adhuc added) where Ethiopic employs a noun with suffix.

22:3 At: Ethiopic begins the verse with a conjunction which Latin lacks.

all of them: Latin has utrique, which led Charles (1895, p. 77, n. 24; 1902) to emend the word ተስዖሙ to ክልኢሆሙ = the two of them/ both of them (so also Littmann, 77, n. a; Goldmann, Hartom). The emendation is simple and appealing but hardly necessary.

sacrifice for the offering: Latin hostiam fructuum. The same Latin phrase appears at 21:7 where Ethiopic also has አኀዕልሕ as the equivalent of fructuum. Later in the same verse, these two terms are again paired.

22:4 peace offering: Literally: a sacrifice for safety. See v 5 and 16:23; 32:6 for the same phrase in Ethiopic and Latin.

bread: With the Latin term collyridam compare Syncellus, *Chronographia* 197.1 (κολλυρίδας DENIS, *Fragmenta*, 95).

22:5 excellent: Though it would be possible for the relative clause ዘይኄሪ to refer to Jacob, the Latin favors understanding it as modifying «offering» (cf. Littmann, 77, n. b).

peace offering: Latin reads a plural form. For the expression, see the first note to v 4.

[his] ... [and wine to his father]: The Latin text supplies these words. The Ethiopic is deficient in that it fails to mention something for Abraham to drink (see v 6a) and it lacks a preposition before Abraham. If one retroverts the Latin into Greek, the source of the Ethiopic omission is apparent: αὐτοῦ ... πατρὶ αὐτοῦ Αβρααμ (though one might have expected one of the possessive pronouns to be retained in Ethiopic).

wine to his father] Abraham for him to eat and drink. 22:6 He ate and
drank. Then he blessed the most high God who created the heavens and
the earth, who made all the fat things of the earth, and gave them to
mankind to eat, drink, and bless their Creator.

22:7 'Now I offer humble thanks to you, my God, because you have
shown me this day. I am now 175 years of age, old and with (my) time   5
completed. All of my days have proved to be peace for me. 22:8 The
enemy's sword has not subdued me in anything at all which you have
given me and my sons during all my lifetime until today. 22:9 May
your kindness and peace rest on your servant and on the descendants of
his sons so that they, of all the nations of the earth, may become your   10

eat and drink: The more strongly supported Ethiopic reading is to transpose these
verbs, but the Latin backs this order.

22:6 He: Latin: Abraham.

fat things: Latin pinguedinis confirms the reading በብሕ and opposes በፅሕ (= 17 35 39
42 47 48 58 63) which was read by Dillmann in 1851, though in 1859 he chose በብሕ.
Berger still retains «Weite».

22:7 offer humble thanks: Forms of ገነየ and confiteor are also paired in 16:31; see the
note to that passage.

to you: Latin omits.

with (my) time completed: ፍጹመ and plenus are not precisely synonymous. Cf.
Gen 25:8 where MT has שׂבע and LXX πλήρης ἡμερῶν (= ימים [so Sam Syriac OL]) but
EthGenesis reads ልኡም ፡ መዋዕሉ. See also Jub 23:8 (= 2Q19.5: שׂבע ימים).

peace: Latin uses a genitive form, perhaps presupposing «days of» (Hartom: ימי שלום).

22:8 The: Mss. 17 44, with Latin, introduce the sentence with a conjunction.

enemy's: Latin inimihi is a misspelling of inimici (RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 32,
122; Charles, 1895, p. 77, n. 1 to Latin).

subdued: Latin minatus (threatened), while plausible, is probably a mistake for
dominatus (= Ethiopic), as RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 32, 122) and Charles (1895,
p. 77) observed.

in anything at all: Latin in omnibus diebus. RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 122 [cf.
32]) suspected that the word diebus had entered the text under the influence of the sequel
where it is used again. Charles (1895, p. 77, n. 2 to Latin) excluded it from the text. Latin
has no equivalent for Ethiopic መ (before ቦቱሂ), which is here rendered as «at all»
(literally: even [in anything]). As only mss. 12 38 omit it, it has a secure place in the
Ethiopic tradition. Nevertheless, neither Dillmann (1859) nor Charles (1895; cf. p. 77.
n. 39) read it in their editions, and among the translators only Dillmann (1851) and Berger
(in brackets) represent it. Dillmann (1851, p. 71, n. 15) thought that a sentence had been
dropped from the text.

and: Latin hos must be an error. RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 32, 132) and Charles
(1895, p. 77, n. 3 to Latin) emended to et (= Ethiopic).

22:9 May: There is a small lacuna at the beginning of the verse in the Latin ms.
RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 32) and Charles (1895, p. 77, n. 44) inserted Sit
(= Ethiopic) in it. Latin also adds nunc which is not reflected in the Ethiopic mss.

your servant: Latin: puerum istum (Hartom: הילד הזה). Puer can mean «servant,
slave», but in other contexts in Jubilees where it has this sense (e.g., 24:16, 18, 19, 25)
Ethiopic uses ገብ (አለኪዩ in 40:5). After these words Latin has domine; no Ethiopic ms.

chosen people and heritage from now until all the time of the earth's
history throughout all ages'.

22:10 He summoned Jacob and said to him: 'My son Jacob, may the
God of all bless and strengthen you to do before him what is right and
5   what he wants. May he choose you and your descendants to be his
people for his heritage in accord with his will throughout all time. Now
you, my son Jacob, come close and kiss me'. 22:11 So he came close
and kissed him. Then he said: 'May my son Jacob and all his sons be
blessed to the most high Lord throughout all ages. May the Lord give
10 you righteous descendants, and may he sanctify some of your sons
within the entire earth. May the nations serve you, and may all the

reads a comparable word in this location, but 35 39 42 47 48 58 place አማላኪ፡ after the
initial verb.

the descendants of his sons: Latin semen eius.

nations: Latin has filii which seems unlikely. Charles (1895, p. 77, n. 5 to Latin)
emended to populis.

chosen: Latin reads acceptabilem, while ms. 17 has «blessed» (ቡራኬ).

from now: As RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 122) saw, the Latin phrase ex hoc nunc
is a literal translation of ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν.

22:10 He: Latin specifies the subject as Abraham.

Jacob: Latin reads: filium suum et iacob. The first two words would be a normal kind
of expansion, but the conjunction is curious. RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 32) placed it
in parentheses; Hartom, however, translates the full phrase. If it belongs to the text, the
word et could be regarded as a translation of a Hebrew waw-explicativum, as it is
rendered here. But Jacob seems to be the only one present with Abraham (see 22:4-5);
hence the Ethiopic is preferable.

what is right: Here again ጽድቅ and uirtutem are paired (see also v 11).

May he choose: Where Ethiopic uses a subjunctive verbal form (ይኃረይ) Latin employs
a second infinitive (eligere).

you and your descendants: Both Ethiopic (ብከ ... በዘርእከ) and Latin (in te ... in semine
tuo) reflect the Hebrew idiom ב בחר.

for his heritage: Latin lacks this expression. It may have been omitted by homoioteleu-
ton in Hebrew (נחלתו/רצונו) or in Greek by haplography (αὐτοῦ/ αὐτοῦ). The preposition
in may now, as a result of the omission, introduce the wrong noun; and the conjunction is
superfluous.

close: Latin adds «to me». Regarding the reflexive pronoun te with adproxima, see
RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 123.

22:11 he: Latin: Jacob.

his sons: Charles (1902) translated «And all the sons of God Most High» which is
possible but quite unlikely in the context (see his note, 1902, p. 139) and against the Latin.

all ages: Latin omits an equivalent for «ages». Possibly the word diebus appeared in
the text originally and it was lost through homoioteleuton with omnibus and/or under the
influence of the following word deus which it resembles.

may he sanctify: Latin reads a second-person future form which RÖNSCH, Das Buch der
Jubiläen, 32, 123) corrected to sanctificaberis («durch deine Söhne wirst du geheiliget
werden» [123]) and Charles (1895, p. 79, n. 2 to Latin) emended to sanctificet. The verb is
surrounded by other third-person forms so that the Ethiopic is likely to be correct (-bis
could be a mistake for -bit).

descendants: Latin nominis is probably a mistake for seminis.

nations bow before your descendants. 22:12 Be strong before people and continue to exercise power among all of Seth's descendants. Then your ways and the ways of your sons will be proper so that they may be a holy people. 22:13 May the most high God give you all the blessings with which he blessed me and with which he blessed Noah and Adam. 5 May they come to rest on the sacred head of your descendants throughout each and every generation and forever. 22:14 May he purify you from all filthy pollution so that you may be pardoned for all the guilt of your sins of ignorance. May he strengthen and bless you;

22:12 continue to exercise: Literally: you will be exercising. Latin uses an imperative (potestatem exerce). Presumably the original Hebrew read a waw-consecutive with perfect (Goldmann: וּמָשַׁלְתָ) after an initial imperative.

Seth's: Latin et is an error for set (so RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 32, 123; Charles, 1895, p. 79, n. 4 to Latin). Note the addition (before ሴት) in ms. 38: ም፡ደር ፡ ወገ፡ብ ፡ ዘ�cas.

will be proper: Rather than the stative sense of Ethiopic, Latin resorts to a passive construction (iustificabuntur).

22:13 May: Latin places et before the verb. Rönsch left the text as it was, but Charles (1895, p. 79, n. 4 to Latin) emended the word to ut. However, the Ethiopic also lacks a word that would correspond with ut.

sacred head: The biblical basis for the phrase is in Gen 49:26 where MT has קָדְקֹד נְזִיר; RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 123-24) and Charles (1895, p. 78, n. 14; 1902, p. 139, n.) have, though, noticed that the text of Jubilees presupposes נֹזֵר rather than נְזִיר (cf. also Goldmann, p. רסה, n.).

each and every generation and forever: Latin does not repeat generation- as Ethiopic does, and it omits a conjunction before usque.

22:14 May: Latin reads a future indicative (mundabit) here and also for the two other principal verbs in the verse (confortabit, benedicet), while Ethiopic has subjunctive forms in each case.

filthy pollution: Ms. 58 and Latin (inquinamento et iniustitia) read a conjunction between the two nouns. Charles (1895, p. 78, n. 15) emended the Ethiopic to agree with the Latin (ርኩስ ፡ ወ°ጢአ; so also 1902, p. 139, n.; Littmann, 77, n. e; Hartom; Goldmann places a conjunction in brackets). Berger (437, n. a to v 14) rightly rejects the emendation as «überflüssig». As ms. 58 shows, the word et of Latin could well be an addition to an original text which juxtaposed two nouns. For the word ርኩሴት, which Littmann (ibid.) and apparently Charles regarded as an inner-Ethiopic corruption for ርኩስት, see DILLMANN, Lexicon, 279 (pollutio).

you may be pardoned: Latin propitius sit. Charles (1895, p. 78, n. 16) emended with Latin to ይሰረይ (cf. 1902, p. 140, n.). Littmann (77, n. f) mentioned Charles' proposal but did not adopt it; he also perceived that the meaning which Charles attributed to his emended verb would be unusual for this form. Both Goldmann and Hartom, nevertheless, read יכפר without explanation. No Ethiopic ms. supports the change.

the guilt of your sins of ignorance: Latin: iniustitiis tuis et neglegentiae tuae. Here again Charles (1895, p. 78, n. 16; 1902, p. 140, n.) altered the Ethiopic to make it conform with the Latin: ኃጢአ ፡ ወ ... Hartom, as usual, simply translates the Latin (without a note). One has here the same sort of phenomenon as in the phrase translated «filthy pollution»; the conjunction between the nouns, supported only by ms. 17 and Latin, is probably an addition which was meant to clarify the meaning of the text.

May he strengthen: Dillmann (1859, p. 80, n. 20) proposed to emend the form of his mss. (ያዐሰን) to ያጸንዕ; the better mss. confirm his suggestion.

may you possess the entire earth. 22:15 May he renew his covenant
with you so that you may be for him the people of his heritage
throughout all ages. May he truly and rightly be God for you and your
descendants throughout all the time of the earth.

5   22:16 Now you, my son Jacob, remember what I say and keep the
commandments of your father Abraham.

Separate from the nations,

and do not eat with them.

Do not act as they do,

10   and do not become their companion,

for their actions are something that is impure,

and all their ways are defiled and something abominable and detest-
able.

22:17 They offer their sacrifices to the dead,

15   and they worship demons.

They eat in tombs,

and everything they do is empty and worthless.

22:18 They have no mind to think,

and their eyes do not see what they do

22:15 May he renew his covenant with you: Latin renouauis (= renouabis) testamen-
tum eius cum ipso reverses the persons of the verb and the pronominal object of the
preposition. Charles (1895, p. 79, n. 5 to Latin) corrected the verb to renovabit but left
cum ipso so that it remains awkward. Latin may here have been influenced by 22:30. The
Latin verb provides another case in which a future indicative stands where a subjunctive is
expected (so also erit [tibi], where the Ethiopic reads ይኩንh).

22:16 what I say: Literally: my word(s); Latin reads a plural noun (sermonum).

as they do: Literally: according to their deeds. For the form operas (feminine), see
RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 124.

ways: Ethiopic reads a plural (ፍናዊሆሙ); Latin has singular uia.

defiled and something abominable and detestable: In the readings adopted here, the
first term is an adjective (ግሙን) and the second and third are nouns. Several mss. (12 21
58 63) make the first a noun also, as does Latin.

22:17 They: Mss. 9 17 38 39 42ᶜ 44 58 prefix a conjunction to the sentence, and Latin
uses enim in a similar capacity.

offer their sacrifices: Latin employs only the verb sacrificant, a fact which led Charles
(1895, p. 79, n. 7 to Latin) to add the words sacrificia sua to the text.

in: Latin: super. Perhaps the double preposition በውስተ suggests «among» (Gold-
mann: בֵּין).

22:18 not: Though neither Rönsch nor Charles mentioned it, Latin misspells the
second instance of non (as nou).

what they do: Literally: what is their work/action. Littmann (78, n. a) and Charles
(1902, p. 141, n.) noted the fact that Charles' text of 1895 read ግብሮሙ instead of the
correct ግብሮሙ. Latin uses a plural noun (opera).

and how they err in saying to (a piece of) wood:

«You are my god»;

or to a stone:

«You are my Lord;

you are my deliverer».   5

(They have) no mind.

22:19 As for you, my son Jacob, may the most high God help you
and the God of heaven bless you. May he remove you from their
impurity and from all their error. 22:20 Be careful, my son Jacob, not
to marry a woman from all the descendants of Canaan's daughters, 10
because all of his descendants are (meant) for being uprooted from the
earth. 22:21 For through Ham's sin Canaan erred. All of his descen-
dants and all of his (people) who remain will be destroyed from the
earth; on the day of judgment there will be no one (descended) from
him who will be saved. 22:22 There is no hope in the land of the living 15
for all who worship idols and for those who are odious. For they will
descend to sheol and will go to the place of judgment. There will be no
memory of them on the earth. As the people of Sodom were taken from
the earth, so all who worship idols will be taken.

my deliverer: Latin omits meus after liberator.

(They have): Only mss. 38ᶜ 63 add a plural suffix to *ልቦ*, though the context implies
one. Latin illis makes it explicit.

22:19 may ... bless ... May: In this verse also one finds the frequent phenomenon that
where Ethiopic reads subjunctive verbs Latin offers future indicative forms.

heaven: Latin adae (= Adam). Charles (1895, p. 79, n. 9 to Latin) declared this
reading corrupt but suggested no explanation for its origin. Possibly it arose when Greek
οὐρανοῦ and ἀδάμου (the name is inflected in Josephus' writings [e.g., *Ant.* I.66]) were
interchanged. Or, adae could be corrupt for saddai (שדי אל for אל שמים?).

bless: Latin: strengthen. The verb confortabit is used three times (here and in 22:10,
14) in the extant Latin fragments, and in 22:10, 14 it is used alongside the verb «to bless».
It may be that the attraction of these other passages induced a scribe to write the wrong
verb in this place.

from their impurity: Latin: from all their abominable acts. The extra «all» is a
common sort of addition, while *ርኵሳቶሙ* and abominationibus may represent the same
original (תועבותיהם [so Hartom; Goldmann used טמאתם]).

22:20 for being uprooted: Literally: for uprooting.

22:22 odious: Literally: the hated/ detested ones (DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 1261). Dill-
mann (1851) rendered with «verstockten», but he was translating *ጽሉላን* of ms. 51 (= 47
here). Charles (1902) gave «profane» because he had emended to *ጽዑላን* (p. 142, n.),
referring to Lev 21:7, 14 (where, however, classes of women whom priests were not
allowed to marry are mentioned). Berger uses «Verblendeten» which is too heavily
interpretative.

will be: Or: is.

were taken ... will be taken: Berger: «Nicht auferstehen·werden ... werden ... nicht

22:23 Do not be afraid, my son Jacob, and do not be upset, son of Abraham. May the most high God keep you from corruption; and from every erroneous way may he rescue you. 22:24 This house I have built for myself to put my name on it upon the earth. It has been given

5 to you and to your descendants forever. It will be called Abraham's house. It has been given to you and your descendants forever because you will build my house and will establish my name before God until eternity. Your descendants and your name will remain throughout all the history of the earth'.

10 22:25 Then he finished commanding and blessing him. 22:26 The two of them lay down together on one bed. Jacob slept in the bosom of his grandfather Abraham. He kissed him seven times, and his feelings and mind were happy about him. 22:27 He blessed him wholeheartedly and said: 'The most high God is the God of all and Creator of

15 everything who brought me from Ur of the Chaldeans to give me this land in order that I should possess it forever and raise up holy

auferstehen». He claims (438, n. c to v 22) that he is following ms. M (= 17), but the negatives actually derive from 17c. Thus they have very weak textual status. He adds: «Ist M [i.e., 17c] als spätere (christliche?) Interpretation zu betrachten?» If one wonders whether this is a later, possibly Christian interpretation, why should one adopt it as the proper reading here?

22:23 from corruption: Goldmann (with no ms. support) omits these words from his translation.

22:24 It has been given[2]: Only ms. 38 reads the relative pronoun እንተ after the word ምድር and in this way makes the feminine noun ምድር the cause for the feminine third-person verb ተወህበት (though 38 reads a masculine form). Littmann («Lande, [das] dir ... gegeben ist»), Goldmann (האָרץ אֲשֶׁר נתנה), and Berger («Land, das dir ... gegeben ist») follow this interpretation of the passage. The relative pronoun is, nevertheless, too poorly attested to be original. It should also be noted that the noun ቤት can be either masculine or feminine (DILLMANN, Lexicon, 535), though it is considered masculine in several places in this verse (cf. ዝየ, ላዕሌሁ). Mss, 17 38 solve the problem by reading a masculine verb (38 does so again for the second occurrence of «give»). The latter half of the verse, though, favors the view that ቤት ፡ አብርሃም is the subject of ተወህበት in both instances (it immediately precedes the second use of ተወህበት). Moreover, «house of Abraham» and «land» may be identified with one another. Charles (1902, p. 142) bracketed the first «it is given to thee and to thy seed forever» as «a dittography from the second clause following» (ibid., n.). There is no compelling reason to agree with him.

22:27 God is the God: It is difficult to determine what is the main verb of Abraham's statement, which Charles (1902, p. 143, n.) suspected was an interpolation. The version given here is one way in which to construe the sentence (so Wintermute), but the translators have usually followed other options (see the next note). An argument in favor of the above rendering is the presence of third- (not second-) person verbs as the preferable readings at አውፅአኒ (though there is strong support for the second-person variant here) and የወሀበ. The second-person forms reflect a different understanding of the verse.

so that they may be blessed: The translation assumes that «descendants» (= ዘርእ, a singular, masculine noun [literally: seed]; hence ይትባረክ is singular, masculine) is the

descendants so that they may be blessed forever'. 22:28 Then he blessed Jacob: 'My son, with whom I am *exceedingly* happy with all my mind and feelings — may your grace and mercy continue on him and his

understood subject of the verb. However, the translators have viewed this last clause differently. One option (so Dillmann [1859], Littmann, Charles, Goldmann, Hartom, and Berger) is to adopt the reading of ms. 38 (= 9) in which አዐ-ለ is added after the verb: so that the Most High may be blessed forever. But Charles (1902) made this the main clause of the verse: «'— blessed be the Most High forever'» cf. also Goldmann, Hartom). This would be an unusual translation for a clause introduced by ከመ, as Charles (1902, p. 143, n.) recognized. Littmann and Berger have retained ከመ in their renderings («damit» = Berger; «[auf dass]» = Littmann), though they leave this an incomplete sentence. Moreover, አዐ-ለ may be the addition of a scribe who also had a difficult time finding the subject of the verbal form ይትባረh. Yet note that አዐ-ለ and ለዓላም share the first three consonants; there could, therefore, be a dittography here. Dillmann tried to connect vv 27 and 28 by translating the first verb of v 28 as the main verb of the sentence («segne»), but he had no imperative form in his ms.

22:28 Jacob: Ms. 38 adds ወይቤ (and said), which Littmann, Charles, Goldmann, and Hartom have included in their translations and Dillmann and Charles placed in their editions. It is almost certainly not original.

My son, with whom I am *exceedingly* happy with all my mind and feelings: There are two major textual problems in the first part of Abraham's blessing — a part separated from the latter half by a conjunction: 1. the word በእለ and 2. the person of the verb. In the text followed here, the verb is እትፌማh (first-person), but the overwhelming weight of the ms. evidence favors the third-person form ይትፌማh. If it were read, this most strongly attested Ethiopic form would yield literally: my son, who with all my heart and who with my feelings with which (common plural) he is happy with him. Dillmann (1859, p. 82, n. 12) preferred to read በእለ (with these [feminine]) for በእለ and accepted እትፌማh as the verb. Charles (1895, p. 80, cf. n. 20) simply bracketed በእለ, dismissing it as «corrupt»; he opted for the third-person verb. Goldmann and Hartom chose the first-person form and apparently ignored በእለ. Littmann performed more radical surgery and rendered the first half of the verse: «Mein Sohn, der in meinem ganzen Herzen und in meiner Liebe [ist, er ist es], an dem ich meine Freude habe; ...» In a note (78, n. c) he explained: «Der Text ist hier verderbt; die obige (vorläufige) Übers. setzt statt des handschriftl. *ba'ella* 'in denen' etwa *we'etū* und die Lesart von CD ([= 51 38] *'etfeśāh*) voraus». Berger takes yet another approach: «Mein Sohn, der du in meinem ganzen Herzen und in meiner Liebe bist! Wegen dieser sei ihm gnädig». He must supply «du ... bist» (which is acceptable) and «wegen dieser» must be his rendering of በእለ, while «sei ihm gnädig» results from his assumption that «... eine Form von χαιρίζεσθαι mit einer Form von χαίρειν verwechselt worden ist». (439, n. b to v 28). Berger's thesis is attractive, but Charles (1902, p. 143, n.) has offered what appears to be the simplest solution to the verbal problem. He pointed to 22:26 in which one meets words similar to those in v 28: ወተፌሥሐ : ምሕረቱ : ወለቡ : ለዐሉሁ. There, ምሕረቱ and ለቡ are the subjects which require a third-person verb. A parallel of this sort may have induced a scribe to repeat the third-person verb in the similar context here in v 28, though in this verse አብየ and ምሕረትየ are objects of the repeated preposition በ, not subjects of the verb. So (and most remarkably) only ms. 38 preserves the correct verbal form. Charles added that if one were to read በበ twice instead of the two cases of በበ, the nouns አብየ and ምሕረቱ would become the subjects of a third-person verb. Yet he ended by writing: «In either case we must reject ba'ella as corrupt». Either of his explanations for the verb is acceptable, but በእለ remains a problem. The Hebrew which ultimately lay behind the phrase was, in all likelihood, באשׁר which a reader

descendants for all time. 22:29 Do not leave or neglect him from now until the time of eternity. May your eyes be open on him and his descendants so that they may watch over them and so that you may bless and sanctify them as the people of your heritage. 22:30 Bless him
5 with all your blessings from now until all the time of eternity. With your entire will renew your covenant and your grace with him and with his descendants throughout all the history of the earth'.

23:1 He put two of Jacob's fingers on his eyes and blessed the God of gods. He covered his face, streched out his feet, fell asleep forever,
10 and was gathered to his ancestors. 23:2 During all of this Jacob was lying in his bosom and was unaware that his grandfather Abraham had died. 23:3 When Jacob awakened from his sleep, there was Abraham cold as ice. He said: 'Father, father'! But he said nothing to him. Then he knew that he was dead. 23:4 He got up from his bosom and ran and
15 told his mother Rebecca. Rebecca went to Isaac at night and told him.

---

would naturally parse as the preposition ‎ב‎ and the relative pronoun ‎אשר‎. However, these three consonants also form the word ‎אשֶׁר‎ (cf. Gen 30:13) which means «happiness». If this rare word did figure in the Hebrew text, it would be translated literally: I rejoice with happiness — i.e., I am exceedingly happy. This suggestion underlies the translation given above.

feelings: The word ም·ሕረት, which was used in v 26, recurs in the latter half of v 28 where it is rendered «mercy».

continue: ይኩን ... ነዊኅ means «may ... be for a long time» (see DILLMANN, Lexicon, 674 for this adverbial use of ነዊኅ [= diu]). In 1851 Dillmann translated these words as «sei lang (-mütig)», and Littmann and Berger use «sei ... lange». Charles (1902) expressed them as «may ... be lift up» which is possible but not probable especially before ትሰ· ፡ መዋዕል.

22:29 so that they may watch over them: The form ይዕቀብዎ (plural masculine, with a masculine singular suffix) is more strongly supported than the form ትዕቀብ which both Dillmann and Charles read in their editions (= Littmann, Charles [1902], Hartom). This latter form is an assimilation of the correct form to the following two verbs. ይዕቀብዎ is plural because አዕይንትከ continues to be the subject, though one would perhaps have expected a feminine plural form (ዐይን can be considered masculine; see DILLMANN, Lexicon, 1006) as with ይኩኑ and ሕዝበ·ትከ. Berger makes «er» the subject, but no ms. supports this.

sanctify them: Mss. 9 12 17 21 38 44 63 omit the remainder of the sentence.

23:1 fell asleep forever: Literally: slept the sleep which is to eternity.

his ancestors: Jubilees, with several septuagintal witnesses, presupposes ‎אבותיו‎ in Gen 25:8, but the biblical versions follow MT's ‎עמיו‎.

23:3 he said nothing to him: አልቦ ፡ ዘነበቦ could also be rendered as «no one spoke to him». Littmann and Berger have understood the clause as it is translated above; Charles, Goldmann, and Hartom have favored the other approach (Dillmann, 1851: «er redete nicht»). All of these scholars have accepted the suffix-less form of the verb that is now attested by 9 12 17 20 42 48 63. Neither Dillmann nor Charles noted the presence of the form ነበቦ in their mss.

They went together — and Jacob with them (carrying) a lamp in his
hands. When they came they found Abraham's corpse lying (there).
23:5 Isaac fell on his father's face, cried, and kissed him. 23:6 After the
report was heard in the household of Abraham, his son Ishmael set out
and came to his father Abraham. He mourned for his father Abraham   5
— he and all Abraham's household. They mourned very much.

23:4 Abraham's corpse lying (there): ስኔ፡ means «his corpse», and the suffix takes
the form attached to the accusative (only a few later mss. have ስኔ፡). The translators
have handled the term variously: Dillmann: «Abrahams leiche daliegen»; Littmann:
«Abraham als Leichnam daliegen»; Charles: «Abraham lying dead» (so Goldmann:
Hartom); Berger: «Abraham, wie sein Leichnam da lag» (the accusative form of ስኔ፡
excludes this translation). Dillmann's rendering relates the suffix on ስኔ፡ to ለአብርሃም
i.e., Abraham's corpse). This does not explain the suffix on the verb, unless the
preposition ለ before አብርሃም is doing double duty. This is the view that underlies the
above translation.
    23:5 cried: Several mss. replace በከየ with ባዕባ (12 17 21 44 63), and two (42 47) add
ወባዕባ.
    23:6 the report was heard in: The term ቃል can have a wide range of meanings, but
«report» is preferable here to Dillmann's «geschrei» and Charles' «voices». 3Q5 frg. 3
contains parts of 23:6, and the preserved letters support the Ethiopic readings at this
point. The published photograph shows no trace of a letter before the נ of נשמע (DJD 3,
Plate XVIII); the editor Baillet, however, later claimed («Remarques sur le manuscrit du
Livre des Jubilés de la grotte 3 de Qumran», RdQ 5 [1964-66] 427-28) that there were
traces of the letter ה. Consequently, he proposed that one read נשמע [הז]ה, preceded by
either הקול or הדבר (n. 15). As noted in Textual and Historical Studies, 61, this
demonstrative pronoun would involve a variant from any known ms.; there it was also
suggested that possibly מלה could be read but that it was safer to read just נשמע (so, too,
Rofe. «Fragments From an Additional Manuscript of the Book of Jubilees in Cave 3 of
Qumran», Tarbiz 34 [1965] 335 [Hebrew]; and Deichgräber, «Fragmente einer Jubiläen-
Handschrift aus Höhle 3 von Qumran», RdQ 5 [1964-66] 419-20, though these two
scholars also had only the published photograph with which to work).
    Abraham: A reconstruction of 3Q5 frg. 3.1-2 shows that there is space for more words
in the Hebrew ms. than appear in any of the Ethiopic mss. Rofe («Fragments», 335-36)
filled the space by fashioning a paraphrastic Hebrew retroversion:
                   נשמע ב]בית אברהם ויקם ישמעאל בנו אף הוא
                               וילך ו]יבוא
While this fills more space, there is no warrant for הוא וילך אף. Deichgräber («Frag-
mente», 420-21) took the wiser course of leaving open the question whether «ein Freiraum
oder ein Zusatz am linken Kolumnenrand gestanden hat». (421) It is preferable, though,
to assume a vacat (see 11QJub M 3.2; 11QJub 4.2; and 2Q19.3 for examples in Hebrew
mss. of Jubilees), since there is no evidence that additional text ever stood here. Moreover,
several of the Ethiopic mss. (25 44 58 63) place punctuation marks after አብርሃም; these
indicate a break in the text (a ሃተብ is used in ms. 25). There is, therefore, warrant for
positing a textual break here (see Textual and Historical Studies. 61, where it is noted that
at this juncture the narrative changes its focus from Isaac and Abraham to Ishmael and
his journey to mourn for his father).
    came to his father Abraham: 3Q5 frg. 3.2 preserves the letters]א אל יבוא[. The last
letter (א) could be either the first letter of אברהם or of אביו, but the Ethiopic word order
favors reading «Abraham» first (so Rofe, «Fragments», 335; Baillet, «Remarques», 428;
Deichgräber, «Fragmente», 420; VANDERKAM, Textual and Historical Studies, 61-62; only

23:7 They — both of his sons Isaac and Ishmael — buried him in the
double cave near his wife Sarah. All the people of his household as well
as Isaac, Ishmael, and all their sons and Keturah's sons in their places
mourned for him for 40 days. Then the tearful mourning for Abraham

5 was completed.

ms. 38 opposes this order and its ﾊﾊﾁ･ｻﾟ [plural suffix] may be an error caused by the
similar consonants in the name ﾊﾊﾉC'Vｻﾟ).

Abraham's household: It is difficult to read the first and last letters on 3Q5 frg. 3.3.
The first is probably שׂ (so Baillet, *DJD* 3.98 and «Remarques», 428; Rofe, «Fragments»,
335; Deichgräber, «Fragmente», 420; VANDERKAM, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 62);
but no Ethiopic word here corresponds with a Hebrew word which ends with שׁ.
However, in Jub 23:7 one finds the phrase ﾊﾊ እ ። ﾁ･ (= ביתו אנשי; 2Q19.2 reads אנש[י]
ביתו in a similar context). It is likely that 3Q5 frg. 3.3 contained the same phrase at this
point (so Rofe, ibid., 335, n. 16; Baillet, «Remarques», 428 [though in *DJD* 3.98 he
restored רא[שׁ before he was aware that this was a fragment of Jubilees 23; there he
considered א[נשׁ but did not adopt it]; Deichgräber, ibid., 419-20; VanderKam, ibid., 62-
63). The last letter on the line should be read as א, the first letter in אברהם, as the Ethiopic
text requires (so Rofe, ibid., 335, especially n. 15; Deichgräber, ibid. [he argues that the
traces of writing are parts of a deformed א and of the following ב]; VanderKam, ibid.,
63). Baillet (*DJD* 3.98), however, preferred to read יע[קו]ב (he did consider יש[ראל [cf. also
«Remarques», 428]).

They mourned very much: Literally: they cried a great crying. The original Hebrew
would have been either רב בכי ויבכו (Goldmann; Hartom uses גדול for רב). Hartom's
version, parallels to which are found in MT (e.g., Judg 21:2), raises the possibility that
3Q5 frg. 7 (גדו]ל) belongs here in the text (see VANDERKAM, *Textual and Historical
Studies*, 63-64). But since the letter which is visible above this word (it appears to be a שׁ)
would not fit in 1.2, the fragment probably does not fit at this point.

23:7 both of his sons Isaac and Ishmael: The Ethiopic word order, which is supported
by all of the mss., is peculiar in that the subjects of the verb ﾁﾉCｻﾟ («his sons Isaac and
Ishmael») are placed at the end of the sentence. It seems as if a scribe accidentally omitted
the names and later, upon noticing his error, tacked them to the end of the line. Rofe
(«Fragments», 335) and Deichgräber («Fragmente», 420) put the compound subject at
the beginning of their reconstructions of 3Q5 frg. 3.4 — directly after the verb (so also
VANDERKAM, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 64-66). This relocation is supported by
Gen 25:9 which reads the names directly after אתו ויקברו. It is interesting that Josephus
(*Ant*. I.256) reflects the order in Ethiopic Jubilees: θάπτεται ἐν Νεβρῶνι μετὰ τῆς
γυναικὸς Σάρρας ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων Ἰσάκου καὶ Ἰσμαήλου; but he uses a passive
construction. Before the word ﾜﾊﾛ the better Ethiopic reading is a conjunction (mss. 12
17 39 42 44 47 48 58 63); in the translation this conjunction is rendered as «both».

in the double cave: The Hebrew fragment has the letters מכ [at the end of 1. 4, and
they show that the original contained the word «Machpelah». The Ethiopic text offers an
interpretation of the name מכפלה as meaning «double» (so also LXX OL EthGenesis).
2Q19.1 overlaps with this line for the letter כ of Machpelah. The preposition ב (Ethiopic
renders literally with ﾜﾊﾁ) agrees with Syriac LXX OL EThGen 25:9 (and Ton) against
אל in MT Sam. The Hebrew fragment also lacks a definite article on מכפלה, unlike MT
Sam (cf. Syriac) LXXGen 25:9.

near: 2Q19.1 ends with the letter א which may be the first letter of אצל (so Baillet, *DJD*
3.78; VANDERKAM, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 65). As it is reconstructed here (i.e.,
with בניו וישמעאל יצחק located before the reference to Machpelah), 2Q19.1 is much too
short compared with the other lines that can be restored on the fragment (ca. 35 letters
versus ca. 57). Even with the subjects in the position which they occupy in the Ethiopic

23:8 He had lived for three jubilees and four weeks of years — 175
years — when he completed his lifetime. He had grown old and (his)
time was completed. 23:9 For the times of the ancients were 19 jubilees
for their lifetimes. After the flood they started to decrease from 19
jubilees, to be fewer with respect to jubilees, to age quickly, and to have   5
their times be completed in view of the numerous difficulties and

tradition (see Baillet, *DJD* 3.78; he retracted this order in «Remarques», 433) the line is
short by about seven letters. Although positing a *vacat* here may seem unlikely (see
VANDERKAM, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 66). here again some Ethiopic mss. mark a
break with a יꞵ٦ꞵ (20 25). Consequently, a break is not implausible. Another possibility
(VanderKam, ibid.) is that the word «Machpelah» was followed by אל שדה עפרן בן צחר
החתי (= Gen 25:9); then the א at the end of 2Q19.1 would be the first letter of אל and the
extra words would have dropped from the Hebrew text that was ultimately behind the
Ethiopic through paraplepsis from אל שדה to אצל שרה.
    All the people ... 40 days: 2Q19.2 offers precisely the same word order as the Ethiopic.
    places: 2Q19.3 is blank; apparently another *vacat* occurs here (Baillet, *DJD* 3. 78;
VANDERKAM, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 67). Mss. 12 17 20 21 38 39 42 44 47 48 63
mark a break with punctuation signs after በመካፍሙ.
    tearful mourning: Two nearly synonymous nouns (ላሕ [mourning] and ብካይ [weeping];
mss. 38 58 separate them with a conjunction) appear here. Charles (1895, p. 81, n. 13;
1902, p. 144, n.) emended, on the basis of Gen 50:4 (בכיתו ימי; cf. Deut 34:8) to መዋዕለ ፡
ብካይ. It is a tribute to his enormous influence that Goldmann, Hartom, and even Baillet
(*DJD* 3.78) translate or restore Charles' emendation into their versions without noting
that it failed to appear in any ms. (Littmann left it blank [p. 79]). Though it is possible
that נהי and ימי were confused, double terms for mourning do occur in the Bible
(Jer 31:15: נהי בכי; cf. Jer 9:9: בכי ונהי). Hence, it seems unlikely that there is a textual
problem here. Note, too, that Jer 31:15 contains the words which begin Jub 23:6 (... קול
נשמע).
    23:8 He: 2Q19.4 lacks a conjunction before שלושה, just as ms. 25 (against all others)
does.
    lived ... and four: 2Q19.4 supports the order in most of the Ethiopic mss. against the
transposition in ms. 17 of ሐይወ ፡ /ወኣርባዕተ ፡ ሱባኤ.
    lifetime ... time was completed: Mss. 35 42 47 omit these words through haplography
from መዋዕለ to መዋዕለ. 2Q19.5 and Latin combine with the other mss. to demonstrate
that the end of the sentence was part of the text.
    (his) time was completed: Literally: (he was) completed of days. This is the standard
Ethiopic rendering of the Hebrew idiom שבע ימים (as 2Q19.5 shows; EthGen 25:8 reads
ፈጸመ ፡ መዋዕሊሁ). The Latin translates more literally with plenus dierum. The end of
Gen 25:8 is the base for the last words in Jub 23:8. There MT and the targums omit ימים,
but all other versions include it. The suffix on the noun in mss. 39 48 58 (cf. 25) agrees
with Syriac EthGenesis but is opposed to the Hebrew and Latin texts of Jubilees (see
Baillet, *DJD* 3.78).
    23:9 19 jubilees for their lifetimes: The Latin text has virtually the same words and
order, but after uitae one would expect eorum or ipsorum (cf. ሕይወቶሙ), not ipsius et.
RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 34) emended to usque in and Charles (1895, p. 81, n. 3 to
Latin) proposed usque ad. It would be simpler to change ipsius to ipsorum, but the et is
strange, unless it means «even» (ms. 48 also reads a conjunction here). Charles (ibid., n. 2
to Latin) wrote of the term uitae: «Seems a gloss though found also in Eth». There are no
grounds for this arbitrary claim.

through the wickedness of their ways — with the exception of Abraham. 23:10 For Abraham was perfect with the Lord in everything that he did — being properly pleasing throughout all his lifetime. And yet (even) he had not completed four jubilees during his lifetime when he
5 became old — in view of wickedness — and reached the end of his time. 23:11 All the generations that will come into being from now until the great day of judgment will grow old quickly — before they complete two jubilees. It will be their knowledge that will leave them

to decrease from 19 jubilees: Or: to become less than 19 jubilees. Latin lacks these words and reads only *dies* where they appear in Ethiopic. Though the Ethiopic line says nearly the same thing as the next infinitival phrase, the shorter Latin text can readily be explained as the result of haplography from one infinitive to the next (possibly from להמעיט to להקטין, as Goldmann translates ይንትት and ወላኅእጽጽ).

to be fewer with respect to jubilees: Latin: *the times of these jubilees ... to decrease*. A demonstrative adjective may well have been omitted from the Ethiopic texts because it resembled the next word (e.g., מהיובלים האלה ולהזמין). Or, in Ethiopic the prepositional phrase እምኢየፍጸላዉኅት could be a mistaken abbreviation for an original እምእገንት ፡ ኢፍጸላዉ.ኅት. Charles (1895, p. 82, n. 1) wanted to rearrange this and the next two clauses, supposedly to reflect the Latin text; but he has misconstrued the evidence.

quickly: Latin: *more quickly*.

their times be completed: Latin: *the times of their lives [literally: life] to decrease*. Charles (1895, p. 82, n. 1) thought that ትጸግቦ was taken from v 10 (where it has the form ጸግበ [Latin: *satiatus est*]) «... in order to give sense». It means «be sated/ filled», which is not synonymous with *minui* — a verb that was used opposite ላኅእጽጽ earlier in the verse. These are the only occurrences of *minui* in the extant Latin sections. For መዋዕለ.ሕዉሙ Latin has *dies uitae ipsorum*.

Abraham: The Latin scribe erred by writing *abram*.

23:10 (even) he had not completed ... in view of wickedness: Baillet («Remarques», 429) suggested very tentatively that 3Q5 frg. 4 be located at Jub 23:10. In *DJD* 3.98 he read the two lines as:

<div dir="rtl">

ולﹸת ○ [ ] וﹽשﹶﻠﹶﹼ֯ם

ﹻﹻֹ. הרﹻﹻֹעﹻﹻﹷﹻﹻﹻﹻ

</div>

In his essay, he deciphered and restored the text as follows:

<div dir="rtl">

והנﹺﹷ֯ה לֹֹא הֹﹽﹶﻠﹺﹼﻢ] ארבעה יובלים

מפﹽﹻﹸﻰﹺ הרﹷשﹻﹷﹹﹻﹹﻪ]ה

</div>

There are several difficulties with accepting his reading of the first letter as ה and the fourth as א («à peine déformé»); on 1.2 the ש should be ע (see VANDERKAM, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 100-01). When one adds to these problems the fact that the line would be rather short for 3Q5 (only ca. 26 letters would intervene between השלים and וי), it becomes advisable to reject Baillet's proposal (Berger, 441, n. d to v 10 also rejects it).

when: Ethiopic እስከ ፡ አመ; Latin: *quousque*. Charles (1902, p. 145, n.) thought that «until» was an error which originated when ὡς was miscopied as ἕως. His suggestion is appealing, but perhaps the text may stand as it is if one understands these words to mean «by the time that».

wickedness: Latin uses a plural adjective, apparently referring to Abraham's evil contemporaries.

reached the end of his time: Literally: *he was filled/satiated with his days*. Here the Latin translation uses the same idiom.

23:11 All: Latin lacks this word.

will come into being: Ethiopic uses ይትንሥኡ (literally: *will arise*); Latin employs a verb

because of their old age; all of their knowledge will depart. 23:12 At
that time, if a man lives a jubilee and one-half of years, it will be said
about him: 'He has lived for a long time'. But the greater part of his
time will be (characterized by) difficulties, toil, and distress without

with the same meaning but in the past tense (surrexerunt) which makes no sense with the
following words which require a future form (ex hoc et usque). Rönsch (*Das Buch der
Jubiläen*, 36) read surrexerint, as did Charles (1895, p. 83, n. 2 to Latin). Their emendation
underlies the translation of Latin given here.

great day: The gender of ዐቢይ (feminine) connects it with the feminine noun ዕለት
(construct state), not with the masculine ደይን. Only mss. 9 17 38 read a masculine
adjective. Latin, however, reverses the relations, as magni must modify iudicii, not diem.

will grow old: Latin reads sed before senescent. Rönsch (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 36)
put parentheses around it, while Charles (1895, p. 83, n. 3 to Latin) omitted it. It may
have entered the text as a dittography of the first two letters of the next word (senescent);
these repeated letters a scribe would then have interpreted as the beginning of sed.

knowledge ... because of their old age: Latin has spiritus before intellectus. Charles
(1895, pp. 82-83, n. 8 and n. 4 to Latin) emended እምርስእሆሙ (literally: from their old age)
to እመንፈሶሙ (from their spirit) to make the text agree with Latin. He had, however, also
changed the Latin from spiritus to spiritibus (thus, ab ipsis spiritibus [cf. Littmann, 79,
n. c]). In 1902 (p. 145, n.) he withdrew his double emendation and suggested more
plausibly that spiritus and intellectus «may be duplicate renderings of the same word».
The form ርስእሆሙ (more properly spelled ርሥእሆሙ [DILLMANN, Lexicon, 277-78]) must be
the noun for «old age» and not the word for «wickedness» (the root is ረስዐ), though
several mss. (25 35 39 42 47 48) spell it with -ዕ (against Berger, 441, n. b to v 11; Dillmann
[ibid., 280-81] lists no form ርስዕ for «evil»).

all of their knowledge will depart: The Latin ms. does not have this statement; ms. 21
also omits what may be the same sentence (from እም [ርስእሆሙ] — ኀሊምርተሙ). Charles
(1895, p. 82, n. 9) dismissed it as a gloss and later (1902, p.145, n.) termed it a
dittography. Hartom, too, omits it. Though it seems repetitive, omission of these words
may easily be explained as the result of haplography (ኀኢምርተሙ [or its equivalent in
Hebrew, Greek, or Latin] — ኀኢምርተሙ [or equivalents]).

23:12 jubilee: Latin iubeleos should be iubeleum (Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 36;
Charles, 1895, p. 83, n. 5 to Latin).

it will be said: Literally: they will say. 3Q5 frg. 1.1 appears to preserve the last letter of
ו[אמר, which would demonstrate, if the letter does belong with the verb, that the original
also used the impersonal plural construction. For the reading, see Deichgräber, «Frag-
mente», 418; VANDERKAM, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 70-71.

about him: 'He has lived for a long time': 3Q5 frg. 1.1 may confirm the Ethiopic text,
but only the bottom tips of the letters are visible at the top of the fragment so that
certainty in reading them is impossible. Baillet (*DJD* 3.97) first deciphered the traces as
[ ] ○ [, but Deichgräber («Fragmente», 418), who recognized that מזֹי חלי[ם]פֹה להֹיֹת]
the fragment contained Jub 23:12-13, suggested the readings that are accepted here (see
also VANDERKAM, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 71-72; the letter ר remains question-
able). Baillet («Remarques», 429-30) agreed with Deichgräber's readings but preferred
חרבה to הרבה, which he regarded as a scribal error for הרבה. If Deichgräber's readings
are correct, then the Hebrew used the same verbal construction as the Ethiopic (a perfect-
tense verb with an infinitive). The Latin says much the same, but makes the words uita
sua the subject of abundauit.

the greater part: The writer is drawing from Ps 90:10 (one and one-half jubilees

peace, 23:13 because (there will be) blow upon blow, wound upon
wound, distress upon distress, bad news upon bad news, disease upon

translate to 73.5 years, a figure which falls between the «threescore and ten» and
«fourscore» years of this psalm). Where MT offers וְרָהְבָּם (= and their pride), LXX
(Ps 89:10) has καὶ τὸ πλεῖον αὐτῶν (= וְרָבָּם [plene וְרֻבָּם]) which lies behind the text of
Jubilees (so also Charles, 1902, p. 145, n.; Hartom, 78, n. to v יב: Deichgräber, «Frag-
mente», 418, n. 21).

difficulties, toil, and distress: 3Q5 frg. 1.2 may give the final two letters of the third item
listed: וּצָ[רֹ]ה. Baillet (DJD 3.97) first read the traces of letters as רֹת, but Deichgräber
(«Fragmente», 418) interpreted them as they are read here. Rofe («Fragments», 333) saw
only וצרו[ת here and indicated (n. 3) that in Prov 17:17 the Ethiopic Bible used ምንዳቤ
(singular) where LXX offers plural ἀνάγκαις. But in Prov 17:17 MT, too, employs a
singular form (צרה). Deichgräber's readings should be accepted (cf. VANDERKAM, Textual
and Historical Studies, 73; see צרה for the word ምንዳቤ in 1.3 [= v 13]) even though
Baillet («Remarques», 430) insists that ת is visible and that an earlier photograph shows
traces before it that fit שׁ better than ר. Consequently, he reads וּבוֹשֶׁת. On the basis of the
published photograph, however, it can be said that no ת is visible and that the trace of a
preceding letter is consistent with ר. The Latin is defective here: the only fully preserved
noun is angustiae (plural with a singular meaning); of the second noun in the list only a
final r can be read. RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 36) restored (labor et dolo)r, and
Charles (1895, p. 83, cf. n. 6 to Latin) reconstructed (dolor et maero)r. Perhaps (dolor et
labo)r would more nearly coincide with the Ethiopic words.

without peace: Literally: and there is no peace. Hebrew, Latin, and Ethiopic agree
exactly here. Omission of the conjunction by mss. 25 44 is opposed by 3Q5 frg. 1.2.

23:13 blow upon blow, wound upon wound: 3Q5 frg. 1.2 very clearly reads the words
מכה על מכה, which may agree with the Ethiopic (መቅሥፍት means whipping, plague,
punishment) and does correspond with Latin uulnus super uulnus (but see κόπος in
LXXPs 89:10). However, for «wound upon wound» the Hebrew has ומהו[מה = tumult,
confusion, trouble, distress (Baillet, DJD 3.97; Deichgräber, «Fragmente», VANDER-
KAM, Textual and Historical Studies, 73). Rofe («Fragments», 333) reads מכ]כאוב (a term
which is similar in meaning to LXX's πόνος), but the trace after מ is not part of a כ. The
Hebrew agrees with Latin but not with Ethiopic. The term ቍሳልን is peculiar here though
secure in the ms. tradition (9 12 17 20 25 42 47 63 spell it with the ending -ትን). DILLMANN
(Lexicon, 1262) did not list this spelling (he did note this reading in his ms. T [= 51] in
1859, p. 84, n. 9) but only the forms ቍሳል and ቍስል (= «vulnus, plaga; ulcus»). There is,
however, a noun ቍሳልን = «odium, simultas» which he claimed (ibid., 1261) occurred in
this passage in Jubilees. But no ms. to which he had access spells the word in this way,
and only ms. 35 approaches it (ቍሳልን). Mss. 21 39ᶜ 58 read ቍስል, and 38 44 48 spell the
word ቍሳል (listed in the apparatus with the mss. which have ቍስል in accord with the
principle enunciated in the Introduction to volume one, II, A. Clearly, ቍሳልን should be
read, and it must mean «wound, plague» etc. (VanderKam, ibid., 73; Deichgräber [ibid.,
417-18] confuses the matter since he has not checked the spellings in the mss.). One cannot
be sure how the divergence between the Ethiopic and Latin originated, but it may be
suggested that מהומה was rendered into Greek as κόπος which means both «striking,
beating» and «trouble, suffering, pain». The Latin translator would have opted for the
latter sense, the Ethiopic scholar for the former. One reason for considering κόπος as the
term behind the two versions is that in Ps 90 (LXX 89):10 LXX renders עמל with κόπος
(against Rofe [ibid., n. 5] who suggested πόνος — a word that presupposes his dubious
restoration of מכאוב, and Berger [442, n. b to v 13] who views the Latin dolor as an
expansion of the previous «wound upon wound»). In this case, no change in the order of
terms in Ethiopic would have to be posited (against Baillet, «Remarques», 431, and

disease, and every (kind of) bad punishment like this, one with the other: disease and stomach pains; snow, hail, and frost; fever, cold, and numbness; famine, death, sword, captivity, and every (sort of) blow and difficulty. 23:14 All of this will happen to the evil generation which

VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 73-74). LXX never uses a form of κόπος to translate מהומה, but the fact that it uses nine Greek terms to render the few instances of this Hebrew noun indicates both its range in meaning and some uncertainty about the proper rendering of it (Deichgräber, ibid., 417, n. 17).

distress upon distress: Here as in v 12 Hebrew צרה and Ethiopic ምንዳቤ are paired, but Latin uses a different term (tribulatio/-onem) than in v 12.

like this: The gap of ca. four letters in the Latin should be filled with -modi to form eiusmodi (= ከምዝዑ; so Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 36, 126; Charles, 1895, p. 83, n. 6 to Latin). It would mean: like this/ in the following way.

this, one with the other: Rönsch (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 127) interprets secundum hoc ipsud as the equivalent of κατὰ τὸ αὐτό (Acts 14:1) and simul, una, iunctim.

disease[3]: Latin corruptione is a general term as is the Ethiopic ደዌ. Rönsch (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 126) argued that corruptio refers to moral qualities, whereas the list that follows contains physical and natural problems. So, he emended to correptione, which means not only a general condition of sickness but epilepsy more specifically. Charles (1895, p. 83, n. 8 to Latin) followed him but read just correptio rather than cum correptione.

stomach pains: ጎምዓጎም was not defined by Dillmann (*Lexicon*, 1175), but he did relate it to ጎሙዕ = «vermina, tormina ventris» (1174; he referred to Sir 34:20; 37:30, where it corresponds with χολέρας; Berger translate here with «Cholera»). In 1851 Dillmann rendered with «bauchgrimmen» (cf. p. 71, n. 18). Charles (1895, p. 82, n. 18) emended to ግፍትአት on the basis of Latin clades (= calamity) and translated as «overthrow» in 1902. Littmann used «Vernichtung», maintaining (79, n. g) that the Ethiopic was corrupt. He also suggested that perhaps one should read ጎብጠታት (Dillmann, *Lexicon*, 1051: «verberatio, percussio, verber, plaga, ictus») — a very plausible emendation. Cf. Hartom: מכה; Goldmann: אבדן Yet, if the first word in the series is a medical term, a second type of disease would be likely here. Note, too, that clades can have the transferred meaning of «destroyer, scourge, pest».

fever, cold: Neither ይበርዳዉ nor ሰሐሕሐ is attested elsewhere (Dillmann [*Lexicon*, 655, 378] could refer only to the Latin terms that are used here).

numbness: Rönsch (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 36, 126) took prouocatio to be a mistake for praefocatio = choking; the Greek would have been ἀγχίνη for which the Ethiopic translator read ἀργία (idleness, laziness) or νάρκη (stiffness, numbness). Charles (1895, p. 83, n. 9 to Latin) accepted his emendation. Prouocatio would make little sense here, and Rönsch's suggestion has much to commend it.

blow and difficulty: Rönsch (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 36) and Charles (1895, p. 83) inserted et between plaga and planctus. The Ethiopic አሳም means «illness, pain, affliction, distress», while planctus means «striking, beating; lamentation». Dillmann (*Lexicon*, 74) noted that in Rev 9:18 አሳም is used where the Greek text has πληγαί. The two Ethiopic terms resemble the two nouns in Ps 90 (89):10 which in LXX are κόπος and πόνος.

23:14 will happen: Literally: will come. The Latin text has two different forms of the same verb: superuenit superuenient. Apparently the scribe forgot to mark the first for omission after writing the correct form (Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 127).

makes the earth commit sin through sexual impurity, contamination, and their detestable actions.

23:15 Then it will be said: 'The days of the ancients were numerous — as many as 1000 years — and good. But now the days of our lives, if 5 a man has lived for a long time, are 70 years, and, if he is strong, 80 years'. All are evil and there is no peace during the days of that evil generation. 23:16 During that generation the children will find fault

makes the earth commit sin: The causative form ታአብስ is read by the best mss.; several others replace it with ትአብስ. Charles (1895, p. 82, nn. 22-23) selected the more weakly attested ትአብስ and emended ምድር ፡ በኮኩስ of mss. 12 25 to በምድር ፡ ርኮኩስ, using Latin in terra as warrant for his change: «(an evil generation, which) transgresses on the earth» (1902). The remaining words in the verse he then took as terms describing their works. Littmann had done the same (without note), as has Hartom. But the Latin does not fit their interpretation (see below).

through: Latin has et; in this way it makes the following nouns additional objects of facit.

sexual impurity: Latin has two nouns joined by a conjunction: impurity and sexual wrongs (= mss. 20 44, but they prefix ወበ, not just ወ; so Charles by emendation in 1895), where Ethiopic uses two nouns in a construct relation.

and their detestable actions: The Ethiopic does not join these nouns by attaching a construct ending to በቆሬር, but Latin places operum in the genitive case. A possible rendering of the Ethiopic would be «and in/ through abomination are their works/ actions»; this would not, however, agree with the Latin. Littmann and Charles solved the problem by taking the nouns from ርኮኩስ though በቆሬር as terms defining the nature of their actions: «Unreinheit ... ist ihr Werk ...»; «their works are uncleanness ...» But this reading fits neither text. Though it is grammatically incorrect, it may be preferable to follow Dillmann and Berger in reading በቆሬር as though it were construct in form. This approach is supported by the fact that each member of the series of nouns which concludes with this phrase is introduced by a preposition. The final element in the series thus seems not to be an independent sentence. Latin omits et before abominationes. Both RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 36) and Charles (1895, p. 83, n. 11 to Latin) emended operum to opera; but there appears to be no need for this change.

23:15 it will be said: Literally: they will say.

ancients: Latin antiqui. Rönsch did not alter the Latin, but Charles (1895, p. 83, n. 12 to Latin) emended to Antiquorum. Perhaps, though, it would be preferable to change antiqui (either nominative plural or genitive singular) to antiquibus (= ለቀደምት), the ending of which may have been lost because of its visual similarity with dies.

good: Latin: good days.

But: Latin reads nam, for which Charles (1895, p. 83, n. 13 to Latin) proposed sed or et; however, nam can have the sense of «but now, certainly; but now, on the other hand».

has lived for a long time: Here, as in 23:12, Ethiopic uses a verb + infinitive; Latin reads multum uixerit.

is strong: Latin ualde was emended by RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 36, 127) and Charles (1895, p. 83, n. 15 to Latin) to ualide, but the two adverbs have much the same meaning.

All: Latin reads isti. Charles (1895, p. 83, n. 35) emended Ethiopic ኩሉ to እሉ. However, Ps 90:10, which continues to underlie Jubilees here, reads (according to Jubilees) רבם — a term which may support reading ኩሉ. In addition, the Latin has omnis in the next clause, where Ethiopic expresses the thought somewhat differently (ምንተኒ).

with their fathers and elders because of sin and injustice, because of what they say and the great evils that they commit, and because of their abandoning the covenant which the Lord had made between them and himself so that they should observe and perform all his commands, ordinances, and all his laws without deviating to the left or right. 5 23:17 For all have acted wickedly; every mouth speaks what is sinful. Everything that they do is impure and something detestable; all their ways are (characterized by) contamination, and corruption. 23:18 The earth will indeed be destroyed because of all that they do. There will be no produce from the vine and no oil because what they do (constitutes) 10

23:16 what they say: Literally: the word(s)/ speech of their mouth.

them and himself: Latin reverses the order of the pronouns.

without deviating: Literally: and not to deviate/ depart. Latin has et non est qui praetereat, which RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 36, 128) altered to ut non sit qui praetereat (so also Charles, 1895, p. 85, n. 1 to Latin). Rönsch explained that et non est was a mistaken rendering of ואין עובר (128). The Ethiopic presupposes ואין לעבור or ואין לסור.

left or right: Latin, with mss. 12 21 38 63, has the more common reversed order of directions.

23:17 have acted wickedly: Latin uses malignati sunt in place of an active verb.

impure: Latin, with mss. 9 20 39 47 48; cf. 17 63, reads a noun (inmunditia).

something detestable: Latin has odium. The same word probably lies behind both versions, since odium can mean «annoyance, disgust, offence».

contamination: Latin pollution ... should be pollutiones (RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 38; Charles, 1895, p. 85).

corruption: Latin: exterminium. Possibly the Hebrew original was a noun related to the root שחת, which embodies both the notion of corruption and destruction. Hartom translates with שחת.

23:18 The : Latin and ms. 21 place a conjunction before ecce/ ናሁ.

will ... be destroyed: Latin erit makes little sense here. RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 38) and Charles (1895, p. 85) added the letter p to produce perit (= will be destroyed).

that they do: Literally: their works/ actions.

will be no: The preceding imperfect tense verb shows that ኢአሎ has a future sense, but Latin reads et non est.

produce from the vine: Literally: seed of the vine. Latin places a conjunction between these two nouns, as do mss. 17 44. Latin is more likely to be correct both because the threefold «seed, wine, and oil» is probably original here (cf. Berger, 443, nn. a and b to v 18) and because there is a simple explanation for the absence of a conjunction in most Ethiopic mss.: ወወይን, though haplography, became ወይን.

complete disobedience: The noun ህሊና means «lack of faith, impiety, heresy; disobedience, rebellion» (LAMBDIN, Introduction to Classical Ethiopic, 409). Its Latin counterpart is only partially preserved as m ... tata. Both RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 38, 128) and Charles (1895, p. 85) restored m[align]ata, which does not, of course, match the ending that Ceriani read, though these letters are uncertain.

will be destroyed: The Latin verb was likely pereunt (RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 38; Charles, 1895, p. 85); cf. the beginning of v 18 where the same Ethiopic and Latin verbs were probably paired.

complete disobedience. All will be destroyed together — animals, cattle, birds, and all fish of the sea — because of mankind. 23:19 One group will struggle with another — the young with the old, the old with the young; the poor with the rich, the lowly with the great; and the needy
5   with the ruler — regarding the law and the covenant. For they have forgotten commandment, covenant, festival, month, sabbath, jubilee, and every verdict. 23:20 They will stand up with swords and warfare in order to bring them back to the way; but they will not be brought back until much blood is shed on the earth by each group.
10   23:21 Those who escape will not turn from their wickedness to the right way because all of them will elevate themselves for (the purpose of) cheating and through wealth so that one takes everything that belongs to another. They will *mention* the great name but neither truly

together: Latin lacks the word.

because of: Literally: from before. Latin reads: because of the evil of. The original behind the Ethiopic would have been מפני (so both Goldmann and Hartom) and behind the Latin perhaps מפשע.

23:19 the young: Latin places the word nam before iubenes (= iuuenes). RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 38) and Charles (1895, p. 85, n. 6 to Latin) changed it to nempe (= namely). *nam* does, though, make sense in the context (= for, for example) and may be retained despite the fact that Ethiopic has no equivalent (only ms. 9 prefixes a conjunction to ወሪሁት [it may be a dittography with the first letter of the noun]). It is also possible that Ethiopic has lost እስመ through homoioarchton with እሙ.

regarding: Latin: in.

covenant: The Latin spelling testamentom may represent, according to RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 129) «einen in der Vulgärsprache erhaltenen Archaismus».

23:20 with swords: Latin reads «with bow» before these words (RÖNSCH [*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 129] compares Gen 48:22), and Charles (1895, p. 84, n. 13) has added the equivalents in his Ethiopic text (በቀስት ፡ ወ [the addition is in parentheses in 1902; cf. p. 148, n.]). Littmann (80, n. a) supplies these words in brackets, while Hartom simply makes them part of his text. Strangely, Dillmann (1851) read «mit schwerten u. bogen», though his ms. did not contain the last term (ms. 51 reads the phrase ወበቀላት for ወበቀትላ). Perhaps he read ወበቀስት (cf. 1859, p. 86, n. 1) by mistake. It is possible that በቀስት was omitted from the list, but it is also plausible to think that the Latin tradition has added it.

way: Several Ethiopic mss. add forms of the adjective እኩይ (evil).

be brought back: Or: return.

23:21 right: Again Ethiopic ጽድቅ and Latin uerita(ti)s are paired.

will not turn: Latin, which has two verbs where Ethiopic uses one, has been expanded to provide a verb for both in uia ueritatis and a malitia sua.

for ... through: Ethiopic uses ውስተ here but ለ with ተዐግሉት, while Latin employs ad in both cases. Omission of the conjunction before ውስተ must be secondary (mss. 39 42 47 48 58) because et appears in Latin.

another: Both versions read (literally): his neighbor.

They will *mention* the great name: Literally: they will name the great name (so Latin also). Unless the passive form ይሰመይ (they will be named) means «mention» or «name

nor rightly. They will defile the holy of holies with the impure corrup-
tion of their contamination. 23:22 There will be a great punishment
from the Lord for the actions of that generation. He will deliver them

themselves», one should follow Charles (1895, p. 84, n. 18 = 1902), Littmann (80, n. b),
Hartom, and Berger (cf. 444, n. d to v 21) in reading an active form (ይሰጥዎ) whose
appearance is virtually identical with that of the passive (see also Dillmann in RÖNSCH,
Das Buch der Jubiläen, p. 39, n. 10).

truly nor rightly: 4Q176 frg. 20.1 and the Ethiopic text agree exactly for these words.

holy of holies: Regarding sanctificationem sanctam, RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*,
129) observed: «Unter dem Objecte scheint nicht das Allerheiligste ..., welches in der
Vulg. *sanctum sanctorum* heisst, sondern im Allgemeinen das Heiligthum des Tempels zu
verstehen zu sein». The Ethiopic expression is clear, but the Latin is peculiar. The original
behind both, however the Latin arose, would have been קדש קדשים (should sanctificatio-
num be read?).

They will defile: Kister («Newly-Identified Fragments», 530-32) read א בה in 4Q176
frg. 19.1 and understood the first preserved letter to be the end of טמא and the next two to
be the preposition and perhaps the first letter of ח[יללי. It should be objected, however,
that one would expect the construct form טומאת, and the Hebrew text would have a
preposition where the Ethiopic (ms. 12 has a preposition here but it is preceded by a
conjunction) and Latin lack one. It is preferable to view the א as the last letter in the verb
ויטמא, even though the Ethiopic and Latin offer plural forms here.

impure corruption: The letters read by Kister («Newly-Identified Fragments», 530-32;
see the previous note) as בה are more likely בת. The right vertical stroke is more bent than
in the ה in the line below, and the horizontal and vertical lines do not form a point as they
do in a ה. The preposition is supported at this point by both Ethiopic and Latin, while the
ת is probably the initial letter of the noun תועבת. See 4Q221.5, where תו[עבתם appears in
the place where Ethiopic reads ርኩሰሙ. Latin abominationibus poses no problem, but
ueritatis is surprising (though not impossible). RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 38) and
Charles (1895, p. 85, n. 9 to Latin) read pravitatis (perverseness, depravity) — a very
tempting emendation, although the word does not appear elsewhere in the extant Latin
sections.

of their contamination: Latin places a conjunction between the last two nouns and
does not reflect the suffix on ግማኡሙ.

23:22 punishment: Latin: anger. The Hebrew fragment (קצף) confirms Latin ira and
seems to oppose Ethiopic መቅሠፍት. As Kister («Newly-Identified Fragments», 532)
indicates, however, in 1 En 13:8 መቅሠፍት and ὀργή are translational equivalents. For the
remaining words on this line of the Hebrew fragment, the Hebrew, Ethiopic, and Latin
agree.

will deliver them to the sword: Ethiopic ይህቦሙ mirrors Hebrew יתנם (presumably the
first visible letter on 4Q176 frg. 19.2 is the last letter of this word), and Latin dabit illis
would also if illis were changed to illos with Charles (1895, p. 85, n. 10 to Latin). The
reading illis has led to a misunderstanding of what follows. Latin now has the Lord giving
a sword *to them*, etc., rather than handing them over to the carnage produced by the
sword. Charles (ibid., p. 85) inserted in before gladium so that it agrees with the Ethiopic.

sword, judgment: The Hebrew and Ethiopic texts agree, but note that Hebrew has ב
where Ethiopic uses ለ.

captivity: The word et should be added before in captiuitatem (so Charles, 1895, p. 85).

and devouring: Kister («Newly-Identified Fragments», 530) reads ולאוכילה where
Allegro (*DJD* 5.65) saw ולאיבו (he read לה with the next word). Strugnell («Notes en
marge du volume V des 'Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan'», *RdQ* 7 [1969-71]
235) suggested ולא יכולו. The letter כ is certainly more likely than ב, and there does not

to the sword, judgment, captivity, plundering, and devouring. 23:23 He will arouse against them the sinful nations who will have no mercy or kindness for them and who will show partiality to no one, whether old, young, or anyone at all, because they are evil and strong so that they
5 are more evil than all mankind. They will cause chaos in Israel and sin

appear to be a word division here. The last letter of the word is most uncertain. Only two dots remain which are apparently the bottom tips of a letter or letters. The consonant between א and כ does appear to be a י, not a ו. Kister (pp. 533-34) regarded the word that he read as «an unusual form of the infinitive of 'KL. If this is a form of L'WKLH the *waw* after the *kaf* may be explained as a prosthetic vowel. Dr. E. Qimron suggests that this form is similar to forms like 'WMWDH». It may rather be the case that a qiṭṭûl form related to the verb אכל is being used here; and, if a ה is correctly read at the end of the word, it would be a feminine noun of this pattern. See M.H. SEGAL, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1927), 109 (he mentions בְּכוּרָה).

23:23 will arouse: The Hebrew form is not clear. Possibly the dot preceding the visible letters is the bottom tip of ו, in which case one could read ויער. Kister («Newly-Identified Fragments», 530) reads [ו]יער. Latin reads obdormire faciet (= he will make fall asleep). RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 38, 129) emended the first word to oboriri (to spring up). Charles (1895, p. 85, n. 11 to Latin) wished to read expergisci faciet (= the Ethiopic text). Rönsch (ibid., 129) wondered whether ὑψώσει (cf. ያንቅህ in ms. 12 and see Deut 28:49) and ὑπνώσει had been interchanged, while Charles (ibid.) suggested that the Latin error was «due probably to loss of ἐξ in ἐξύπνωσε». In any case, the Ethiopic is obviously superior here.

sinful nations: Literally: sinners of the nations (cf. v. 24). The Latin ms. repeats the word peccatores.

mercy or kindness for them: The Hebrew text places the prepositional phrase after the nouns, not before as in Ethiopic.

show partiality to no one, whether: The final line on 4Q176 frg. 20 and the Ethiopic texts appear to disagree about some details. Allegro interpreted the first three visible letters as ובל, but Kister wishes to read [פנ] י כ[ו]ל, although he says that it would be better to read ולכול (sic) («Newly-Identified Fragments», 534). The first letter is probably ו, and it is located too close to the following כ to belong to the preceding word (yet, see 1.2 where על is written immediately before מעשי). At this point, therefore, the line should be read as וכול. If this is correct, then the Hebrew text almost certainly lacked the word פנים from the very common idiom נשא פנים. The Ethiopic mss. are unanimous, however, in reading the word for «face». In the gap which follows on the fragment, it is reasonable to read with Kister (531): [איש] לו[א י]שאו. The only debatable reading is whether the verb is plural. On the photograph, there is a small mark after א which could be the top of a letter, but there is no vertical stroke as in the other instances of ו. The Ethiopic mss., with the exception of 17 38, read a singular form of the verb. The Hebrew fragment does confirm the negative before the following noun. The superfluous letter at the end of it is a mistake that the scribe may have tried to erase (see Kister, 534).

cause: Or: do/perform.

chaos: ሁከ means 1) «strepitus, tumultus, perturbatio, turba; 2) tumultus, turbae, seditio, rixae, discordiae» (DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 9-10). He suggested that it meant «seditione» in this passage. Nevertheless, «Gewalt» appears in the translations of Dillmann, Littmann, and Berger; «violence» in Charles (1902); and חמס in Goldmann and Hartom.

Rofe («Fragments», 334-35) maintained that 3Q5 frg. 2 preserved parts of Jub 23:23; Baillet («Remarques», 431, n. 39) agreed. Deichgräber («Fragmente», 421), however, was

against Jacob. Much blood will be shed on the earth, and there will be
no one who gathers up (corpses) or who buries (them).

23:24 At that time they will cry out and call and pray to be rescued
from the power of the sinful nations, but there will be no one who
rescues (them). 23:25 The children's heads will turn white with gray   5
hair. A child who is three weeks of age will look old like one whose
years are 100, and their condition will be destroyed through distress
and pain.

23:26 In those days the children will begin to study the laws, to seek
out the commands, and to return to the right way. 23:27 The days will   10
begin to become numerous and increase, and mankind as well —
generation by generation and day by day until their lifetimes approach
1000 years and to more years than the number of days (had been).

---

unable to locate it. Rofe and Baillet can hardly be correct (see VANDERKAM, *Textual and
Historical Studies*, 99-100; Berger, 444, n. c to v 23, though he erroneously attributes the
placement to Milik). The visible letters can be read as:

[ואין חנינה ונמ]כרו

[יהיו ברורים להר]

The first line does not fit the order of the Ethiopic text, נמכרו agrees with nothing in
Ethiopic, and the second line also does not correspond with the Ethiopic. Rofe (ibid., 334)
sensed the problem here and claimed that ברורים was original (these people were «chosen
to do evil»). It was the Greek translator who then used two words for ברורים. There is no
reason to accept his explanation, despite Baillet's (ibid., 432) agreement.

23:27 *and increase, and mankind as well — generation*: The superior reading at this
point is: ወይልሁቅ ፡ ወውሉድ ፡ ሰብእ. The verb is third-person feminine plural, with the
feminine noun መዋዕል serving as subject. This leaves the phrase ወውሉድ ፡ ሰብእ without a
verbal connection, unless one opts for the rather weakly supported verbal variants to the
following noun ትውልድ (ትወልድ in ms. 9; ትወልድ in mss. 12 38; ይወልዱ in 20; note
that only the last is plural). But the word ትውልድ is part of a set expression, and the
variants are probably scribal attempts to supply a verb for ውሉድ ፡ ሰብእ. Dillmann (1851)
translated with «u. die menschenkinder älter werden» but without ms. support (cf. 1859,
p. 87). Charles (1895, p. 84, n. 37) emended ወውሉድ (= ms. 25) and በውእቱ ፡ ውሉድ
(= 12) to ለውእቱ ፡ ውሉድ and rendered (not very accurately): «amongst those children of
men» (1902). Littmann (80, n. d) and Hartom (without comment) have followed him. His
revision of the text is slight and produces a reasonable meaning, but it may not be
necessary if one assumes that the veb ይልሁቅ has two subjects: መዋዕል and ውሉድ ፡ ሰብእ,
with the gender of the verb determined by the first subject (and perhaps influenced by the
gender of the first verb). It is possible, too, that ወ(ውሉድ) is a corrupt remnant of መዋዕል
(note መዋዕሊሆሙ later in the verse).

to more years than the number of days (had been): The translators have understood
the phrase in this sense, but the text is awkward. Dillmann (1851, p. 71, n. 21) wrote:
«was hier steht, ist unvollständig; der sinn wäre: 'u. bis der jahre mehr werden, denn
zuvor der tage'». The text itself, which Dillmann left untranslated (p. 24), means literally:
to many more years than many days.

23:28 There will be no old man, nor anyone who has lived out his lifetime, because all of them will be infants and children. 23:29 They will complete and live their entire lifetimes peacefully and joyfully. There will be neither a satan nor any evil one who will destroy. For
5   their entire lifetimes will be times of blessing and healing.

23:30 Then the Lord will heal his servants. They will rise and see great peace. He will expel his enemies. The righteous will see (this), offer praise, and be very happy forever and ever. They will see all their punishments and curses on their enemies. 23:31 Their bones will rest in
10   the earth and their spirits will be very happy. They will know that the Lord is one who executes judgment but shows kindness to hundreds and thousands and to all who love him.

23:32 Now you, Moses, write down these words because this is how it is written and entered in the testimony of the heavenly tablets for the
15   history of eternity.

23:28 who has lived out his lifetime: Or: who will live out his lifetime. The underlying Hebrew was, in all likelihood, שְׂבַע יְמִים (= full of days), but Charles (1895, p. 85, n. 42; 1902, p. 150, n.) altered the text by inserting ኢ (= not) before the verb («nor one who is not satisfied with his days») and cited Isa 65:20 as his evidence. Littmann (80, n. e) and Berger (445, n. a to v 28) have properly rejected his restoration for which there is neither textual warrant nor need (cf. also VANDERKAM, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 269, n. 110).

23:30 servants: Hartom omits the words which follow «servants» through «will see (this)».

He will expel: Though both Dillmann (1859) and Charles (1895; he lists no variants) read a plural ይሰድዱ, the only mss. (collated for this edition) which offer this form are 9 38 58. That is, neither of Charles' primary mss. (12 25) has a plural ending. One must read the singular which is overwhelmingly supported. The singular suffix on ጸላእቶ also favors a singular verb; only late mss. and the editions of Dillmann and Charles (who does list variants here — 1895, p. 86, n. 6) have a plural suffix. An alternate rendering which would connect the first clauses of the verse would be: «Then the Lord will heal his servants, and they will rise and see great peace when he expels his enemies».

their enemies: The noun here (ፀርሙ) is different than the one translated «his enemies» above (ጸላእቶ). The form ፀርሙ, which is actually singular (though it can be used collectively [DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 1327]), could be rendered as «their adversaries».

23:31 and to all: The text adds «and» and «all» where Exod 20:6 (= Deut 5:10) lacks them. Charles' note (1902, p. 151) is not accurate; ms. 25 reads with the text above. Mss. 12 58 omit a conjunction with the biblical versions.

23:32 entered: The word የዐርጉ means «they go/ will go up» and is used elsewhere for entering commands onto the heavenly tablets (see 6:29 where a causative form appears). As the parallel term ጸሐፉ shows, the plural is to be taken as impersonal and thus as a circumlocution for the passive.

history of eternity: Literally: for the generation(s) which is (are) forever.

24:1 After Abraham's death, the Lord blessed his son Isaac. He set
out from Hebron and went during the first year of the third week of
this jubilee [2073] and lived at the well of the vision for seven years.
24:2 During the first year of the fourth week [2080] a famine
— different than the first famine which had occurred in Abraham's   5
lifetime — began in the land.

24:3 When Jacob was cooking lentil porridge, Esau came hungry
from the field. He said to his brother Jacob: 'Give me some of this
wheat porridge'. But Jacob said to him: 'Hand over to me your
birthright which belongs to the first-born, and then I will give you food   10
and some of this porridge as well'. 24:4 Esau said to himself: 'I will die.
What good will this right of the first-born do'? So he said to Jacob: 'I
(hereby) give (it) to you'. 24:5 Jacob said to him: 'Swear to me today'.
So he swore to him. 24:6 Then Jacob gave the food and porridge to his
brother Esau, and he ate until he was full. Esau repudiated the right of   15

24:1 He set out ... went: Jubilees adds these words to Gen 25:11.

during ... jubilee ... seven years: In the translation, the Ethiopic word order has been
changed for clarity. The Ethiopic texts bunch the jubilee/week/year statement with the
seven years that are mentioned at the end of the sentence, but the former refers to the time
of Isaac's departure and the latter to the period during which he lived at the well. The
year number (2073) presupposes that this is the forthy-third jubilee (with 21:1; cf. Char-
les, 1902, p. 151, n.; Hartom, 80, n. to v א4).

the well of the vision: Jubilees retains the shorter name of the well that is attested in
LXX OL EthGen 25:11; MT Sam Syriac and the targums read or reflect באר לחי ראי
(which Hartom gives as the translation here). See also Dillmann, 1851, p. 71, n. 22;
Charles, 1902, p. 151, n.

24:2 began: ሐይወ can mean «began», but when it has that sense it is usually followed
by a second verb which indicates what was beginning to happen. DILLMANN (Lexicon,
767) gives «incipere, coepisse» for this passage, and adds in parentheses «si non:
obtinuit». An acceptable translation would be «prevailed»; cf. Josephus, Ant. 1.259
(Λιμοῦ δὲ τὴν γῆν καταλαβόντος) and Tj (תקיף).

24:3 lentil: The LXX group b and Tjn also add this word, which is taken from
Gen 25:34 (עדשים), in Gen 25:29, where the other versions lack it.

wheat: Dillmann (1851, p. 71, n. 23) first observed (and most of the translators have
repeated the insight) that this implausible reading had resulted from confusion of πυροῦ
(= of wheat) and πυρροῦ (= red; so LXX Gen 25:30). The latter term (πυρρός = אדום)
provides the explanation for the name Edom in Jub 24:6 (= Gen 25:30), though the same
mistake is made there. A large number of septuagintal mss. evidence this error as well.

24:4 to himself: Literally: in his heart. The phrase appears in Syriac Gen 25:32 but
not in the other versions, which reflect הנה at this point. Cf. Charles, 1895, p. 86, n. 25;
Berger, 447, n. a to v 4.

(hereby) give: The translation is so worded to do justice to the fact that the verb is in
the perfect tense. The words «So ... you'» are not in Gen 25:32 and are omitted by ms. 38
through parablepsis (ወይቤሎ ... ወይቤሎ [in v 5]).

24:5 said to him: The suffix (= to him) agrees with Syriac LXX EthGen 25:33 against
MT Sam and the targums (cf. mss. 12 17 20 39ᶜ 47 48 63) which lack it.

24:6 was named Esau and Edom: The passive formulation agrees with LXX OL

the first-born. This is why he was named Esau and Edom: because of the wheat porridge which Jacob gave him in exchange for his right of the first-born. 24:7 So Jacob became the older one, but Esau was lowered from his prominent position.

5   24:8 As there was a famine over the land, Isaac set out to go down to Egypt during the second year of this week [2081]. He went to Gerar to the Philistine king Abimelech. 24:9 The Lord appeared to him and told him: 'Do not go down to Egypt. Stay in the land that I will tell you. Live as a foreigner in that land. I will be with you and bless you,
10   24:10 because I will give this entire land to you and your descendants. I will carry out the terms of my oath which I swore to your father Abraham. I will make your descendants as numerous as the stars of the

EthGen 25:30; MT Sam Syriac have an active verb. These words have caused the translators difficulty probably because Charles did not report accurately what was in ms. 25. Dillmann (1859, p. 88) had read ተሰምየ ፡ ዓሳው ፡ አዶም and Charles (1895, p. 86) ተሰምየ ፡ ስሙ ፡ [ዓሳው ፡] አዶም. He indicated (n. 31) that ms. 25 transposes ስሙ ፡ ዓሳው and (n. 32) that he considered ዓሳው a gloss. However, he failed to report that 25 places a conjunction before አዶም — in this it is supported by most of the newly identified mss. (cf. Dillmann, 1851: «auch») — and that 12 reads ወ in the same place though it replaces አዶም with a clause, the verb of which (አደም) reflects the original name. It may be that the original lacked a conjunction; that is, the text would the have read: the name of Esau was Edom (cf. Littmann, 81, n. c; Goldmann; Hartom [the latter two begin v 7 with this clause]; Berger; and Charles, 1902; see p. 152, n.). Nevertheless, the best Ethiopic reading is now to include the conjunction. Note that Gen 25:30 lacks both «Esau» and «and».

wheat: See the note to «wheat» in 24:3.

in exchange for: Both Dillmann (1859, p. 88, n. 8) and Charles (1895, p. 86, n. 36) rejected the preposition ለ (it is found in all of the mss. except 12 which omits a preposition) in favor of በ — presumably to reflect the Hebrew ב of price (*BDB*, 90 [translated בבכרתו by Goldmann and Hartom]; cf. DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 480). Possibly ለ is a mistake for በ, but it is firmly established in the Ethiopic tradition.

24:7 The verse is omitted in Goldmann's translation, probably by parablepsis from ויהי to ויהי (in v 8).

24:8 set out: Literally: came.

to Gerar to the Philistine king Abimelech: The order of the text has been changed in the translation. It reads (literally): to the Philistine king, to Gerar, to Abimelech. In Gen 26:1 the phrase אל אבימלך is located before מלך פלשתים. As the Ethiopic text is now worded, the final prepositional phrase has the appearance of an addition. With the spelling ገራር, compare Josephus, *Ant.* I.259 and LXX ms. 75 (γεράρων in both).

24:9 told him: The suffix agrees with Syriac EthGen 26:2; the other versions lack an equivalent (cf. Charles, 1895, p. 87, n. 3).

Live: The conjunction before the verb ኅፁን is also present in LXX OL EthGen 26:3, while the others omit it (as do mss. 20ᵗ 38; cf. Charles, 1895, p. 87, n. 4).

24:10 land: The singular noun ምድር sides with LXX OL EthGen 26:3 against MT Sam Syriac (ܐܪܥܬܐ) which attest plural forms. The alignment of versions obtains for the use of ምድር at the end of v 10.

my oath: The possessive appears also in LXX OL EthGen 26:3 but not in the other versions.

sky. I will give this entire land to your descendants. 24:11 All the
peoples of the earth will be blessed through your descendants because
of the fact that your father obeyed me and kept my obligations,
commands, laws, statutes, and covenant. Now obey me and live in this
land'.   5

24:12 So he lived in Gerar for three weeks of years. 24:13 Abimelech
gave orders as follows regarding him and everything that belonged to
him: 'Any man who touches him or anything that belongs to him is
to die'. 24:14 Isaac prospered among the Philistines and possessed
much property: cattle, sheep, camels, donkeys, and much property.   10
24:15 They planted seeds in the land of the Philistines, and he harvest-

24:11 your father: Jubilees follows no biblical version in omitting the name Abraham,
but it corresponds with Sam LXX OLGen 26:5 in reading «your father».

24:13 as follows: Literally: saying (= לאמר [Gen 26:11]).

him ... him: Latin omits the words after the first «him» through the second «him».
The omission is very likely due to parablepsis but probably not in Latin, as de illo would
be the first prepositional phrase and, judging from the identical phrase later in the verse,
aliquid eius would be the second. It could have occurred in Hebrew where ... כל אשר לו
עליו may have triggered the omission, or in Greek where forms of αὐτός could have
caused the problem. «Anything that belongs to him» stands where Gen 26:11 mentions
«his wife».

touches: ይደልቡ reflects הנגע of Gen 26:11, but Latin molestauerit is unexpected.

24:14 prospered: Literally: increased (= ויגדל in Gen 26:13).

Philistines: Latin prefixes terra. Note the ending -in rather than -im on filistin,
regarding which see RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 130.

cattle: Latin connects the noun boues to substantia with a conjunction, as though both
were items in a series (cf. Gen 26:14), while Ethiopic seems to understand ጥሪተ as a
general noun which is specified by the entities that follow (no conjunction is prefixed to
ኣልህምተ).

property[2]: Gen 26:14 reads עבדה, which is apparently a collective term for slaves or
servants (RSV: household). LXX offers γεώργια (= fields; it translates the only other
instance of עבדה with ὑπηρέσια [= work] in Job 1:3), and EthGenesis agrees (ገብሩ).
The word ጥሪተ is very general and was used at the beginning of the list, but Latin reads
ministerium, which can mean «occupation, work» or «retinue», much like the Hebrew
term. Charles translated with «household» (1902, p. 153, n.) on the basis of the Latin,
while Dillmann (1851), Littmann (81, cf. n. g), Goldmann (מקנה — a word found in
Gen 26:14; it may lie behind the Ethiopic reading), and Berger have retained the Ethiopic.
Hartom uses עבדה, which was probably in the original text here, and מקנה could have
been a variant.

24:15 They planted: Latin, with mss. 21 38 48 58 63 and all biblical versions
(Gen 26:12), reads a singular verb (seminauit). A plural is both more difficult and more
strongly attested among the Ethiopic mss. and is therefore to be preferred; yet only
Dillmann (1851) and Berger have so rendered. In their editions Dillmann (1859, p. 89,
with n. 2) and Charles (1895, p. 87, with n. 20) read the singular form. The difference
probably arose in Greek when ἔσπειρεν (= Gen 26:12) and ἔσπειραν were interchanged.

ed a hundred ears. When Isaac had become very great, the Philistines grew jealous of him. 24:16 (As for) all the wells that Abraham's servants had dug during Abraham's lifetime — the Philistines covered them up after Abraham's death and filled them with dirt. 24:17 Then
5 Abimelech told Isaac: 'Leave us because you have become much too great for us'. So Isaac left that place during the first year of the seventh week [2101]. He lived as a foreigner in the valleys of Gerar.

24:18 They again dug the water wells which the servants of his father Abraham had dug and the Philistines had covered up after his father
10 Abraham's death. He called them by the names that his father Abraham had given them. 24:19 Isaac's servants dug wells in the wadi and found flowing water. Then the shepherds of Gerar quarreled with Isaac's shepherds and said: 'This water is ours'. So Isaac named that

a hundred ears: Latin: a hundred-fold. These are two renderings of the consonants שערים (= measures [שְׁעָרִים] in Sam?) in Gen 26:12. LXX (κριθήν) apparently understood this to be שְׂעֹרִים (= barley, grains; so OL; cf. Syriac which is ambiguous), and Ethiopic Jubilees, which has ስፋት (= new ears [DILLMANN, Lexicon, 257]) follows this interpretation.

24:17 He lived ... Gerar: For this sentence the Latin ms. offers only the words cum suis. The reason for its defective text is not clear, but the biblical base (Gen 26:17) agrees with the Ethiopic. Possibly the similarity between ויגר and גרר produced an omission which led to further corruption of the text behind the Latin. The Ethiopic verb ፈለሰ differs from that of MT (ויחן); LXX reads κατέλυσεν, and Eth Gen 26:17 uses ኀደረ (here, too, ms. 12 has borrowed a reading from the Ethiopic Bible). The plural ቈላት, supported by all mss., agrees only with EthGenesis among the versions; the others read singular nouns.

24:18 again: Ethiopic and Latin literally reproduce וישבו ויחפרו (less the conjunction). Latin also uses inde (= afterwards) to assist in expressing the thought.

servants: The reading here agrees with Sam Syriac LXX OL EthGen 26:18 (and Tj) against MT Ton (בימי). Actually, Syriac and Tj offer both readings (cf. Charles, 1895, p. 88, n. 8).

had covered up: Both Ethiopic (ለ followed by a suffix on the verb) and Latin (quos ... illos) mirror the Hebrew construction אשר ... ויסתמום (Gen 26:18).

by the names that: Latin, with secundum (= mss. 20 25 35) nomina quae, suggests that the Ethiopic reading may be the result of haplography at some level of the text (e.g., τὰ ὀνόματα ἃ ὠνόμασεν from which τὰ ὀνόματα was omitted).

Abraham[3]: Latin omits: Ethiopic agrees with LXX OL EthGen 26:18.

24:19 wells: Both RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 40) and Charles (1895, p. 89; cf. p. 88, n. 14 where he made the same mistake) omitted puteos from their Latin texts; but it is in Ceriani's editio princeps (Monumenta Sacra et Profana 2.29, col. 2,1.2). The word is found only in EthGen 26:19 (and in LXX ms. 125) among the versions.

found: Latin adds in, which RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 40) and Charles (1895, p. 89, n. 5 to Latin) emended to ibi (= Gen 26:19).

and said: Literally: saying.

This: Latin lacks the demonstrative. Charles (1902, p. 153, n.) probably correctly explained ዝ as a rendering of a Greek definite article (as in τὸ ὕδωρ [Gen 26:20]); cf. also 1895, p. 88, n. 17.

well Difficult 'because they have been difficult for us'. 24:20 They dug a
second well, and they fought about it too. He named it Narrow. When
he had set out, they dug another well but did not quarrel about it. He
named it Wide. Isaac said: 'Now the Lord has enlarged (a place) for us,
and we have increased in numbers on the land'.   5

that: The same explanation as for This (see the previous note) applies to ው-እቱ; Latin
does not reflect it, nor do the biblical versions (cf. Charles, 1902, p. 153, n.). LXXGen
26:20 has τοῦ φρέατος, but note that several witnesses add ἐκείνου (A b d 56' 458 t 71).

Difficult ... for us: For the first word Ethiopic uses an adjective (ዐፅ-ብ), but Latin
employs a noun (difficultatem). The meaning of the Ethiopic and Latin terms is not that
of MT (עשׁק) nor that of LXX (ἀδικία = ዐመፃ in EthGen 26:20). The explanation of the
name reads literally: because they have been difficult with us (the biblical versions have
«with him»).

24:20 They dug: The plural (= Latin also) agrees with MT Sam SyriacGen 26:21
against the singular in LXX OL EthGenesis. Perhaps ὤρυξαν and ὤρυξεν are behind the
disagreement.

Narrow: ጸብብ is a feminine adjective which agrees in meaning with neither Latin
inimicitias nor with any version of Gen 26:21. Latin does agree with these versions.
Consequently, Charles (1895, p. 88, n. 22) emended to ጽአል (= «Enmity» [1902]) which
agrees with the other texts. He explained: «The corruption is native to the text. It most
probably arose from a scribe's wishing to make an antithesis between the name of this
well and that of the next 'Room'». (1902, p. 154, n.).

When he had set out: For ኀግዖእ in this sense, see DILLMANN, Lexicon, 637: «castra
movere, proficisci»). The Ethiopic mss. agree with the biblical texts (Gen 26:22) in
reading this clause (= ויעתק), while Latin omits it. Many Ethiopic mss. add እምዝየ. Which
is found in all versions of Gen 26:22, and Dillmann and Charles included this expression
in their editions. If the *Vorlage* of the Latin read ἐκεῖθεν, the similarity between it and
ἐχθρία may have caused the omission.

they dug: The plural agrees with Sam SyriacGen 26:22 against the other versions.

another: Ethiopic uses the same word (ካልእ) here as earlier in the verse (where it is
translated «second»), but Latin, contrary to Ethiopic and the versions of Gen 26:22
(other than EthGenesis which omits it), reads tertium, which must be a scribal improve-
ment.

Wide: Latin: Capacity. Charles emended the adjective ብፅሕ to ብፅሕ (a noun), which
he translated «Room» in 1902 (see 1895, p. 88, n. 27). Littmann (82, n. d) accepted the
change and called ብፅሕ an inner-Ethiopic corruption. The versions of Gen 26:22 reflect
MT's רחבות (ምርሕብ in EthGenesis). If, however, the adjectival forms ዐፅብ (24:19) and
ጸብብ (v 20) are original to the Ethiopic translation, then ብፅሕ would be formally
consistent with the other words in the context.

Now: The Ethiopic version uses no introductory word before the quotation, while
Latin has quoniam which ultimately renders the כי of Gen 26:22 — a word that has the
force of quotation marks in English. Charles (1895, p. 88, n. 28) wished to add እስመ
(= quoniam) before ይእዜ, but that hardly seems necessary.

the Lord: Latin adds deus, against the Ethiopic and Gen 26:22.

enlarged (a place) for us: Literally: made wide for us. For ለነ Latin reads an accusative
pronoun (nos).

we have increased: The first-person plural form follows MT Sam SyriacGen 26:22,
while Latin multiplicauit nos agrees with LXX OL EthGenesis (cf. ms. 63; Charles, 1895,
p. 88, n. 29; p. 89,n. 11 to Latin). The difference originated perhaps through confusion of

24:21 He went up from there to the well of the oath during the first year of the first week in the forty-fourth jubilee [2108]. 24:22 The Lord appeared to him that night — on the first of the first month — and said to him: 'I am the God of your father Abraham. Do not be afraid

5 because I am with you and will bless you. I will certainly make your descendants as numerous as the sand of the earth for the sake of my servant Abraham'. 24:23 There he built the altar which his father Abraham had first built. He called on the Lord's name and offered a sacrifice to the God of his father Abraham.

10 24:24 They dug a well and found flowing water. 24:25 But when Isaac's servants dug another well, they did not find water. They went and told Isaac that they had not found water. Isaac said: 'On this very

ηὔξημεν and ηὔξησεν. In reading past-tense forms, the two versions of Jubilees side with the LXX tradition; MT offers a converted perfect (= we will be fruitful/increase).

24:21 The Latin ms. is illegible except for the date. If the word Et is correctly deciphered, it corresponds to nothing in Ethiopic. RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 40) filled the gap by translating the Ethiopic but added (after iurationis): Et factum est; but there is no ms. support for these words. Charles (1895, p. 89) simply omitted Et without notifying the reader. Possibly Latin connects the date with v 22 which, unlike Ethiopic, lacks an initial conjunction; in this case, Rönsch might have been correct.

24:22 to him: So also Latin and Syriac OL EthGen 26:24 (with several Greek witnesses).

am: The verb ዐለዎቱ is perfect tense but has a present meaning here; cf. Latin sum (DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 4). EthGenesis uses the same form.

certainly ... earth: The intensifying infinitive አብዝኆ is unique to Ethiopic Jubilees (i.e., neither Latin nor the versions of Gen 26:24 use it) and is probably drawn from parallel passages (e.g., Gen 22:17 — a verse which may also be the source for ከመ : ኆጻ : ምድር. though MT has הים for the last word; see also Gen 32:13; 41:49). Several mss. of Jubilees have ባኅር here, and Goldmann and Hartom use הים in their translations (so Dillmann, 1851, 1859).

my servant: This is also the reading of MT Sam SyriacGen 26:24 (עבדי); LXX OL EthGenesis have «your father», a phrase used earlier in the verse.

24:23 There ... the altar ... first: A lacuna appears in Latin where words corresponding to these probably figured. RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 40, n. 12) estimated that there was space for 30-32 letters; Charles (1895, p. 89, n. 13) found that ca. 20 letters were missing. Rönsch (ibid., and 130-31) restored ibi altarem in loco prioris illius — which seems unlikely. Charles (ibid.) suggested altarem ibi and inserted prius after eius. His restoration, however, fails to fill the gap. There is space for about 25 letters, and rendering the Ethiopic into Latin would yield ibi altarem quod prius erat (though this would be awkward Latin).

24:25 But ... well: Latin places the subject (pueri isac) at the end of the clause (cf. Gen 26:25: ויכרו שם עבדי יצחק באר), whereas Ethiopic puts it at the beginning. Also, Latin adds iterum, of which there is no trace in Ethiopic.

they had not found: As RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 131), Charles (1895, p. 90, n. 1; 1902, p. 154, n.), and Hartom (81, n. to v כה) have observed, Jubilees aligns itself with LXX OL EthGen 26:32 in reading «not» (= לא) rather than «to him» (= לו) as in MT Sam (= Syriac).

day I have sworn an oath to the Philistines; now this has happened to
us'. 24:26 He named that place the well of the oath because there he
had sworn an oath to Abimelech, his companion Ahuzzath, and his
guard Phicol. 24:27 On that day Isaac realized that he had sworn an
oath to them under pressure to make peace with them. 24:28 On that
day Isaac cursed the Philistines and said: 'May the Philistines be cursed
from among all peoples at the day of anger and wrath. May the Lord
make them into (an object of) derision and a curse, into (an object of)
anger and wrath in the hands of the sinful nations and in the hands of

I have sworn ... now this has happened: Ethiopic uses no introductory word for Isaac's
statement, but Latin reads propter quod; moreover, in Ethiopic the second verb (ḥy) has
ω prefixed to it, while Latin has no conjunction. The statement is not found in Genesis,
but it may be that in the original Hebrew text the word kî introduced Isaac's remark. The
Ethiopic tradition did not reproduce it because it simply marks a quotation; Latin's
tradition rendered it literally and may subsequently have dropped a conjunction before
factus (cf. quoniam in 24:20). RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 131-32) proposed reading
iurauit rather than iuraui. «filistin» (singular) would be its subject. In this way, blame
would be shifted from Isaac to the Philistine. Nevertheless, there is no hint of a third-
person verb among the Ethiopic mss. The Latin of 24:26 seems to fit Rönsch's view, but
see Latin of v 27.

24:26 to Abimelech ... Phicol: Where Ethiopic prefixes ላ to these names, Latin makes
them the subjects of iurauit (note the case of sodalis, princeps). The versions also differ
about the title given to Phicol. The better Ethiopic reading is ዐቅቤሁ· but some excellent
mss. have peculiar forms (e.g., ዓቀቢሁ· in ms. 25). Charles (1895, p. 90, n. 7) revised the
text to ዐቅቤ ፡ ሰርዌሁ· («the prefect of his host» [1902] = Latin princeps exercitus ipsius).
Littmann (82, n. h) accepted his proposal and compared שַׂר־צְבָא in Gen 26:26. Berger's
(449-50, n. b to v 26) comment that «Die Übersetzung mit 'Wächter' ist möglicherweise
theologisch vorbelastet (ἀρχιστράτηγος wie 'Wächter' Engelname) ...» is reading more
into the text than it offers. If one opts for Charles' solution, one could maintain that a
scribe miscopied the phrase as ዐቅቤ ፡ [ሰርዌ]ሁ· so that the present single word resulted.
EthGen 26:26 reads መላኪ ፡ ሰራዊሁ·

24:27 under pressure: ግፋዕ means «injured, harmed, violent» and ግፍዕ, which is read
by 10 mss., means «harm. injury. violence; oppression» (LAMBDIN, Introduction to
Classical Ethiopic, 401; see DILLMANN, Lexicon, 1213). Charles (1902) rendered with
«under constraint» and Berger uses «unter Druck». There is a gap in the Latin text in
which only one letter is visible. RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 42, 132) restored falso et
in dolo, but this appears both inaccurate and too long. Charles (1895, p. 91) more
plausibly filled the lacuna with in injuria.

to them: Where Ethiopic has ሎሙ· Latin gives ille (the subject of the verb). Rönsch
retained the text of Latin, but Charles (1895, p. 91, n. 1 to Latin) changed ille to illis.

with them: Latin: cum ipso. Charles (1895, p. 91, n. 2 to Latin) emended ipso to ipsis.

24:28 derision: ትዝህፍት and obprobrium (= opprobrium) have similar though not quite
identical meanings.

(an object of) anger and wrath: Latin joins the two nouns, which Ethiopic separates
with a conjunction; but ire should, with RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 42) and Charles
(1895, p. 91, n. 3 to Latin), be corrected to irae. The translation «great indignation» is an
attempt to express the sense of Latin's use of two nouns.

sinful nations: Latin actually reads two singular nouns (literally: of the sinner of the
nation). Cf. the singular ኃጥእ in mss. 20 25.

the Kittim. 24:29 Whoever escapes from the enemy's sword and from the Kittim may the just nation in judgment eradicate from beneath the sky, for they will become enemies and opponents to my sons during their times on the earth. 24:30 They will have no one left or anyone who is rescued on the day of judgmental anger, for all the descendants of the Philistines (are meant) for destruction, eradication, and removal from the earth. All of Caphtor will no longer have either name or descendants left upon the earth.

Kittim: The reference is clearly to the Kittim (see RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 132; Charles, 1902, p. 155, n.), but Littmann, Goldmann, Hartom (who suggests a word-play involving חוטא and חתים [81, n. to v כח; see also 82, n. to v כט]), and Berger translate as though the Hittites were intended. At the end of the verse, several Ethiopic mss. add forms of the verb ሡረወ + plural suffix (= to eradicate/ uproot them); this addition is found in the translations of Dillmann and Goldmann (cf. v 29).

24:29 Whoever ... Kittim: Latin omits these words through parablepsis (Kittim ... Kittim); cf. RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 132-33; Charles, 1895, p. 90, n. 14. The conjunction et was probably added later.

may ... eradicate: Latin uses a future-tense indicative (eradicet), and the Ethiopic verb could be translated in the same way. But Latin often resorts to future forms where Ethiopic reads subjunctives, and the remainder of the verse implies that Isaac is expressing a wish rather than making a prediction.

will become: Latin reads sunt.

to my sons: Goldmann's translation contains a misprint (לפני instead of לבני).

times: Literally: days. Latin generationibus (= generations, here translated «history») inspired Charles (1895, p. 90, n. 18; 1902, p. 155, n.) to read ትውልዶሙ for ሡዖባሊፆሙ. Littmann (82, n. i) apparently agreed that «generations» stood in the original text but did not place the word in his translation. Hartom, however, renders with לדורותם.

24:30 or: Literally: and, Berger has missed this word, as he translates «Rest ..., der gerettet wird».

who is rescued: Latin uses two terms to render this phrase, and both have been misspelled: salus has lost a *u*, and euadens has attracted an initial *s* (perhaps it was repeated from the end of salus). See RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 42; and Charles, 1895, p. 91, n. 5 to Latin.

for: Latin reads sed. The original was very likely כי (so Goldmann and Hartom), which could mean either «for» or «but» after a negative. The traditions which lie behind the two versions have interpreted the word in these different senses.

and removal: Latin, rather than making this the third term in a list, phrases it as a purpose clause with ut. The Latin may differ from the Ethiopic only by lacking et before ut; perhaps the latter is an error for the conjunction.

from the earth: Latin reads facie before terrae.

All of Caphtor: Latin gives only illis (to them). Charles (1895, p. 90, n. 24; 1902, p. 155, n.) emended ኵሉ to ኤሉ (= «these»). Littmann (82, n. k) translated with «allen» but seems to have sided with Charles; Hartom uses ההם. But this would not agree with the Latin, as Charles claims, and is unnecessary. «Caphtor», which is singular, provides a parallel to «Philistines» in the preceding sentence.

longer: Latin lacks the word.

name or descendants left: Literally: a name which is left and seed. Latin omits an equivalent for ወዘርእ (note that semen could have been dropped before super). Several

24:31 For even if he should go up to the sky,
from there he would come down;
even if he should become powerful on the earth,
from there he will be torn out.
Even if he should hide himself among the nations,   5
from there he will be uprooted;
even if he should go down to Sheol,
there his punishment will increase.
There he will have no peace.
24:32 Even if he should go into captivity through the power of those 10
    who seek his life,
they will kill him along the way.

mss. fashion a list of three items at the end of the verse: name, remnant (reading ውተረፈ
for ሕተረፈ [ቅ]), and seed. Though it is abbreviated, Latin provides no support for such a
list (note nomen relictum). Berger, however, has translated in this way.

24:31 For: Latin omits.

would come down: Latin: be brought down (cf. RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 133,
for the meaning). A causative verb is weakly attested in the Ethiopic tradition (ms. 38;
cf. 9). The Latin may have been influenced by Amos 9:2 (where Caphtor is mentioned):
ואם יעלו השמים משם אורידם.

if he should become powerful on the earth: Latin: et ubi fugiens erit. Charles (1895,
p. 90, nn. 29-30) emended Ethiopic to agree with Latin except that he retained ውስተ ፡
ምድር. His revised text read: ወወአደ ፡ ነፍአ, though he considered ኀን a possibility for ነፍአ.
ኀን is very unlikely (though it does resemble the word ኀጎ), since it means «vergere,
devergere, se inclinare, labare» (DILLMANN, Lexicon, 1287). Littmann (82, n. 1) translated
the Ethiopic but thought that the Latin might be closer to the original; Hartom, as he
often does, simply renders the Latin. In 1902 Charles translated the Ethiopic, gave the
Latin in a note, and commented: «The corruption seems to have originated in the
Hebrew». (p. 156, n.) What that corruption may have been is difficult to say. In Amos 9:1
people who do not flee or escape are mentioned, but the surrounding phrases are not
similar. Moreover, in the anti-Philistine passages in prophetic literature (Isa 14:29-31;
Jeremiah 47; Ezek 25:15-17; Amos 1:6-8; Zeph 2:4-7; Zech 9:5-7) no parallels which
would explain the variant here in Jubilees are to be found.

Sheol: Latin: infernum.

24:32 go: Latin uses two verbal forms (uadens and abierit) which are here translated
«go away». Literally, they mean: if one going will go away.

those: Latin: all those.

his life: Latin reads eum before anima eius. The word may simply be a mistaken near
repetition of the last letters of quaerentium, or perhaps the scribe wrote eum but forgot to
erase it when he copied anima sua. As it stands, the best translation of Latin is: his life
(will be) in the hand of all those who seek him (so Berger, 450, n. a to v 32). But the
Ethiopic, which makes ነፍሱ the direct object of የኀሥሥዋ. opposes this text and favors
Charles' (1895, p. 91, n. 6 to Latin) emendation of eum anima to animam.

they: Latin has a conjunction before in medio.

they will kill him along the way: Latin: he will die in Sheol. The two texts are more
closely related than seem; they differ only in reading a plural transitive verb with an object
(Ethiopic) or a singular intransitive verb (Latin) and in the location of the person's death.

There will remain for him neither name nor descendants on the entire earth,

because he is going to an eternal curse'.

24:33 This is the way it has been written and inscribed regarding him on the heavenly tablets — to do (this) to him on the day of judgment so that he may be eradicated from the earth.

25:1 In the second year of this week, in this jubilee [2109], Rebecca summoned her son Jacob and spoke to him: 'My son, do not marry any of the Canaanite women like your brother Esau who has married two wives from the descendants of Canaan. They have embittered my life with all the impure things that they do because everything that they do (consists of) sexual impurity and lewdness. They have no decency because (what they do) is evil. 25:2 I, my son, love you very much; my heart and my affection bless you at all times of the day and watches of the nights. 25:3 Now, my son, listen to me. Do as your mother wishes. Do not marry any of the women of this land but (someone) from my

Latin's inferni can plausibly be corrected to itinere (so Charles, 1895, p. 91, n. 7 to Latin), in which case it would agree with Ethiopic.

There will remain for him: Literally: There is no leaving for him. Latin reads only non erit ipsi.

name nor descendants: The two nouns are reversed in Latin.

24:33 This: Ethiopic begins the sentence with a conjunction but Latin with quia.

inscribed: Latin has consignatum — the only occurrence of the word in the surviving sections. One would have expected incisum (with Dillmann in RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 43).

regarding him: As Latin aduersus illum suggests, the underlying Hebrew was עליו (so Goldmann and Hartom) which the two traditions have interpreted in two of its possible senses.

to do (this): Latin: ut fiat. The form fiat may be a mistake for faciat (= Ethiopic).

from: Latin: a facie. מן הארץ and מפני הארץ may have been Hebrew variants behind the difference in the versions.

25:1 this: Latin lacks the demonstrative.

embittered: As Charles (1895, p. 92, n. 1) observed, Jubilees here follows the MT tradition in Gen 26:35 (ותהיין מרת רוח), not that of LXX (καὶ ἦσαν ἐρίζουσαι). MT derives מרת from מרר, LXX from מרה.

impure things that they do: The most strongly supported reading is ግብሮሙ ፡ ርኵስ which means «their [masculine plural] deed(s), impurity». But, as DILLMANN (Lexicon, 301) indicated, the adjective ርኵስ (ms. 9 12 17) is regularly spelled ርኩስ. This interchange has occurred in most mss. at this point.

They have no decency: Literally: There is no righteousness with them (masculine plural).

(what they do) is evil: The forms are masculine singular (literally: it/he is bad), but the translators, beginning with Dillmann («böse ist [ihr thun]» [1851]), have understood them as referring to the behavior of Esau's wives (the noun ግብር is singular). Mss. 44 48 63 deal with the problem by reading a masculine plural adjective (እኩያን), and 44 63 also have plural pronouns. The translators are probably correct because a reference to Esau here (i.e., he is evil) is unlikely.

father's house and from my father's clan. Marry someone from my
father's house. The most high God will bless you; your family will
become a righteous family and your descendants (will be) holy'.

25:4 Then Jacob spoke with his mother Rebecca and said to her:
'Mother, I am now nine weeks of years [= 63 years] and have known   5
no woman. I have neither touched (one) nor become engaged (to one),
nor have I even considered marrying any women of all the descendants
of Canaan's daughters. 25:5 For I recall, mother, what our father
Abraham ordered me — that I should not marry anyone from all the
descendants of Canaan's house. For I will marry (someone) from the   10
descendants of my father's house and from my family. 25:6 Earlier I
heard, mother, that daughters had been born to your brother Laban. I
have set my mind on them for the purpose of marrying one of them.
25:7 For this reason I have kept myself from sinning and from becom-
ing corrupted in any ways during my entire lifetime because father   15
Abraham gave me many orders about lewdness and sexual impurity.
25:8 Despite everything he ordered me, my brother has been quarreling
with me for the last 22 years and has often said to me: «My brother,

25:3 your family: All of the translators except Berger have read «your sons/children»
(ወሉድከ), a word which is very poorly attested (only mss. 38 39 58) and must be a
corruption of ትወልድከ.

25:4 nine weeks of years [= 63 years]: RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 298) and
Charles (1902, p. 157, n.) drew attention to SYNCELLUS, Chronographia 197.14-15: Ἰωσηπ-
πός φησιν ὅτι ὁ Ἰακὼβ ἐτῶν ὑπάρχων ξγ´ οὐκ ἔγνω ὅλως γυναῖκα, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐξεῖπε τῇ
μητρὶ Ῥεβέκκα. (Denis does not cite this passage). As this information is not found in
Josephus' writings, the historian has erred in naming his source. Charles also noted
Bereshit rabbah 68:5 and Seder Olam 2 as texts which put Jacob's age at 63 when he
received the blessing (cf. also Hartom, 83, n. to v ז).

25:5 what ... ordered me: Literally: the word of our father Abraham, what he ordered
me. Mss. 12 38 provide a smoother text by reading እስመ (= because), and this word is
found in Dillmann, 1859; Charles, 1895, 1902; Littmann; and Berger («dass»; he
incorrectly claims [452, n. b to v 5] that this is the reading of B F M [= 25 9 17]; they have
ግብተ[ז]). Goldmann and Hartom use אשר which is attested in no ms. to which they had
access, though ms. 63 reads it (እንተ). It is tempting to regard ግብተ as an error for እንተ
(= which).

For I will marry: The verb እንስዕ is indicative (only mss. 12 17 read a subjunctive
form) and hence is not governed by ከመ. This implies that Jacob is beginning a new
sentence after reporting Abraham's command (compare 22:20). Charles (1895) read the
indicative form but translated (1902) as though it were subjunctive. In the original
Hebrew the verb would have been ambiguous with regard to mood.

25:7 I have kept myself from: Literally: I have guarded myself in my spirit so that I
might not.

25:8 the last 22 years: Literally: these 22 years (Dillmann, 1851: «22 jahre lang»).

have not been willing: Or: I am not willing/ do not wish/ will not want. The verb is in
the imperfect tense.

marry one of the sisters of my two wives». But I have not been willing
to do as he did. 25:9 I swear in your presence, mother, that during my
entire lifetime I will not marry any of the descendants of Canaan's
daughters nor will I do what is wrong as my brother has done.
5   25:10 Do not be afraid, mother. Be assured that I will do as you wish. I
will behave rightly and will never conduct myself corruptly'.

25:11 Then she lifted her face to heaven, extended her fingers, and
opened her mouth. She blessed the most high God who had created the
heavens and the earth and gave him thanks and praise. 25:12 She said:
10 'May God be blessed, and may his name be blessed forever and ever —
he who gave me Jacob, a pure son and a holy offspring, for he belongs
to you. May his descendants be yours throughout all time, throughout
the history of eternity. 25:13 Bless him, Lord, and place a righteous
blessing in my mouth so that I may bless him'. 25:14 At that time the
15 spirit of righteousness descended into her mouth. She put her two
hands on Jacob's head and said:

25:15 Blessed are you, righteous Lord, God of the ages;
and may he bless you more than all the human race.
My son, may he provide the right path for you
20 and reveal what is right to your descendants.
25:16 May he multiply your sons during your lifetime;
may they rise in number to the months of the year.
May their children be more numerous and great than the stars of the
sky;
25 may their number be larger than the sands of the sea.
25:17 May he give them this pleasant land
as he said he would give it for all time
to Abraham and his descendants after him;
may they own it as an eternal possession.

25:11 her fingers: Literally: the fingers of her hands.

25:15 may he bless you more than all the human race: The phrase translated «human
race» is literally «generation(s) of men», and the expression rendered «more than all»
could mean «out of all». The line is awkward in that Rebecca, after addressing the Lord
in the first line, abruptly begins speaking to Jacob here. Ms. 12 attempts to alleviate the
abruptness of the change in address by prefacing «she rose and said» to this line (cf.
Berger, 454, n. c to v 15). Ms. 38 changes the sense differently by omitting ኵም-: may all
the generation(s) of men bless you (so Dillmann, 1851; 1859, p. 93, cf. n. 8; see also
Hartom). Littmann (83, n. d) suggested that one could translate: «Dich aber preist vor
allen das Menschengeschlecht». This does not, however, seem to be the most natural sense
of the text.

25:18 Son, may I see your blessed children during my lifetime;
may all your descendants become blessed and holy descendants.

25:19 As you have given rest to your mother's spirit during her
lifetime,

so may the womb of the one who gave birth to you bless you.   5

My affection and my breasts bless you;

my mouth and my tongue praise you greatly.

25:20 Increase and spread out in the land;

may your descendants be perfect throughout all eternity

in the joy of heaven and earth.   10

May your descendants be delighted,

and, on the great day of peace, may they have peace.

25:21 May your name and your descendants continue until all ages.

May the most high God be their God;

may the righteous God live with them;   15

and may his sanctuary be built among them into all ages.

25:19 you have given rest: Charles (1895) read the poorly attested አዕረፈከ (= ms. 21) which he translated (1902, p. 159, n.): «has given thee rest» (with «the spirit of your mother» as subject). He claimed that both *c d* (51 38) supported the reading, but, as Dillmann (1859, p. 94, n. 1) indicated, ms. 38 (= Dillmann's A) gives አዕረፍከ with the other mss.

her lifetime: Charles (1902, p. 159, n.) wanted to read «'thy', as the sense requires it»; but he placed «my» (between daggers) in his translation. He apparently failed to notice that the suffix is third feminine singular. Hartom, without note, translates with בימי חייך.

the womb: Charles (1895, p. 93, n. 23) declared ሕምዘ «unintelligible», but by 1902 he seems to have had no trouble with it. If one translates as above (so Charles, 1902), then ሕምዘ must be analyzed as feminine (note ትባርክ), though DILLMANN (*Lexicon*, 76) gave no gender for it. In 1851, Dillmann translated as «am schosse»; Littmann (84, n. a) followed ms. 38ᵗ (እምሕምሶ) when he rendered with «von Mutterliebe» (cf. Goldmann, Hartom). The support is, however, much too weak to accept this secondary reading. Berger (454, n. c to v 19) adopts a variant attested only by ms. 17: for ሕምዘ it offers ወማኅፀን (= «und den Schoss»).

25:20 land: ምድር could be rendered «earth» with all of the translators, but the subject in the context seems not to be the entire earth but only the promised land (see vv 17,21).

great day of peace: The feminine adjective ዐባይ has stronger backing than the masculine ዐቢይ; yet both Dillmann (1859) and Charles (1895) read the latter. The feminine adjective must modify ዕለት, not ሰላም, whereas ዐቢይ strictly speaking would modify ሰላም. Oddly enough, both Dillmann (1851: «grossen friedenstage») and Charles (1902: «great day of peace») translated as though they had read ዐባይ. Littmann and Berger are more consistent in rendering with «Tage des grossen Friedens»; the Hebrew translations of Goldmann and Hartom are ambiguous on this point, since both יום and שלום are masculine.

peace²: Dillmann (1851, 1859) continued the sentence through one additional word (the word ስምከ which is in v 21 above): friede deines namens».

25:21 among them: Charles (1902) is alone in translating ቦሙ as «by them». All other translators have properly taken the word to mean «among them».

25:22 May the one who blesses you be blessed
and anyone who curses you falsely be cursed.

25:23 She then kissed him and said to him: 'May the eternal Lord love you as your mother's heart and her affection are delighted with you and bless you'. She then stopped blessing (him).

26:1 During the seventh year of this week [2114] Isaac summoned his older son Esau and said to him: 'My son, I have grown old and now have difficulty seeing, but I do not know when I will die. 26:2 Now take your hunting gear — your quiver and your bow — and go to the field. Hunt on my behalf and catch (something) for me, my son. Then prepare (some) food for me just as I like (it) and bring (it) to me so that I may eat (it) and bless you before I die'. 26:3 Now Rebecca was listening as Isaac was talking to Esau. 26:4 When Esau went out early to the open territory to trap (something), catch (it), and bring (it) to his father, 26:5 Rebecca summoned her son Jacob and said to him: 'I have just heard your father Isaac saying to your brother Esau: «Trap (something) for me, prepare me (some) food, bring (it) to me, and let me eat (it). Then I will bless you in the Lord's presence before I die».

25:23 eternal: The noun ዓለም could also mean «world» and has been so rendered by Dillmann, Littmann, Charles, and Berger.

are delighted ... bless you: Dillmann (1851) understood the Lord to be the subject of these verbs, probably because they are singular. Possibly the plural forms in ms. 39 were introduced to avoid such ambiguity.

26:1 have difficulty seeing: Literally: my eyes are dim/ dull for seeing. As Charles (1895, p. 94, n. 2; cf. 1902, p. 160, n.) observed, the infinitive ለርእይ resembles LXX's τοῦ ὁρᾶν (also ܠܡܚܙܐ in Syriac) more than MT's מראת (Gen 27:1). Nevertheless, both Goldmann and Hartom have translated with the latter expression.

26:2 Hunt on my behalf and catch (something) for me: Jubilees uses two verbs where the biblical versions (Gen 27:3) reflect MT's ציד [Syriac omits] צודה לי. Unless the author of Jubilees understood both צודה and ציד as verbs, it is difficult to agree with Charles (1895, p. 94, n. 4; cf. 1902, p. 160, n.) that «[t]here is no ground for assuming a divergence between original text of Jubilees and Mass.; ...» Cf. also Jub 26:4,5.

I like: Jubilees substitutes ዕፍሳf for the first-person pronoun of the biblical versions (Gen 27:4) and in this way forms a parallel with ተባርኮ ፡ ዕፍሳf (= Gen 27:4 תברכך נפשי]).

26:4 bring (it) to his father: Jubilees has a double reading. MT Sam (= Syriac) Gen 27:5 give להביא, while LXX (= OL EthGenesis) reads τῷ πατρί. The author has included these two ancient variants which were strongly similar in appearance (להביא and לאביו).

26:5 said to him: Jubilees, with MT SamGen 27:6 (Syriac omits), uses a verb of speaking, but LXX (= OL EthGenesis) has τὸν ἐλάσσω (the younger), which could have resulted from miscopying ἔλεξεν (she said). Several Greek mss. read the feminine participle λέγουσα here.

26:6 Now, therefore, listen, my son, to what I am ordering you. Go to your flock and take for me two excellent kids. Let me prepare them as food for your father just as he likes (it). You are to take (it) to your father, and he is to eat it so that he may bless you in the Lord's presence before he dies and you may be blessed'. 26:7 But Jacob said to his mother Rebecca: 'Mother, I will not be sparing about anything that my father eats and that pleases him, but I am afraid, mother, that he will recognize my voice and wish to touch me. 26:8 You know that I am smooth while my brother Esau is hairy. I will look to him like someone who does what is wrong. I would be doing something that he did not order me (to do), and he would get angry at me. Then I would bring a curse on myself, not a blessing'. 26:9 But his mother Rebecca said to him: 'Let your curse be on me, my son; just obey me'.

26:10 So Jacob obeyed his mother Rebecca. He went and took two excellent, fat kids and brought them to his mother. His mother prepared them as he liked (them). 26:11 Rebecca then took her older son Esau's favorite clothes that were present with her in the house. She dressed her younger son Jacob (in them) and placed the goatskins on

26:6 in the Lord's presence: Only Syriac TnGen 27:10 add these words. LXX (= OL) reads ὁ πατήρ σου πρό instead of them, while MT Sam EthGenesis have a shorter text with just one לפני expression. Cf. Jub 26:5 (= Gen 27:6).

26:8 I will look to him: Literally: I will be before his eyes (= Gen 27:12). The LXX tradition reads ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ rather than בעיניו.

he did not order me: The Latin citation which begins here reads consilii eius. It is possible that the difference arose in Hebrew when צוני and עצתו were confused or in Greek when forms of κελεύειν and βουλεύειν were interchanged.

26:10 his mother Rebecca: Latin reverses the order of the Ethiopic terms; ms. 44 agrees with the Latin.

excellent, fat: Latin: tender, excellent. Cf. 26:6 and Gen 27:9 where LXX reads ἁπαλοὺς [= tender] καὶ καλούς and OLᴱ gives bonos et teneros. Perhaps the additional words ወስቡሓን also stood in Jub 26:6 and were omitted by homoioteleuton with ሥነያን.

prepared them: Charles (1895, p. 95, n. 36) restored መብላዕ (= food) on the basis of Latin cibos (see also 1902, p. 161, n.; Littmann, 84, n. d; Hartom, 85, n. to vʼ). Gen 27:14, too, includes the word. It may have been dropped from the text reflected in the Ethiopic mss. on the Greek level by homoioteleuton (ἐδέσματα καθά).

26:11 favorite: Literally: the (most) desirable. Latin has optimas. Cf. Gen 27:15 (MT: החמדת; LXX: τὴν καλήν).

the house: Literally: her house. Latin offers only in domo, which suggests that the suffix in Ethiopic renders a Greek definite article (= LXX ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ; cf. Tn בייתה).

(in them): The Ethiopic text makes Jacob the object of the verb (as in Gen 27:15), but Latin adds eas.

placed: The verb አንበረት is closer to LXX's περιέθηκεν (= OLᴱ) and EthGen 27:16 (ወደየት) than to MT's הלבישה (= Sam Syriac).

goatskins: In place of its normal expression for a kid (note hedos caprarum in 26:10), Latin reads only caprarum (of she-goats). Ethiopic provides the expected two-word term መሕስአ ፡ ጠሊ (= MT Sam Syriac Gen 27:16). LXX uses only ἐρίφων, which is reflected in OLᴱ EthGenesis.

his forearms and on the exposed parts of his neck. 26:12 She then put
the food and bread which she had prepared in her son Jacob's hand.
26:13 He went in to his father and said: 'I am your son. I have done as
you told me. Get up, have a seat, and eat some of what I have caught,
5 father, so that you may bless me'. 26:14 Isaac said to his son: 'How
have you managed to find (it) so quickly, my son'? 26:15 Jacob said:
'It was your God who made me find (it) in front of me'. 26:16 Then

forearms: As Latin brachia (misspelled as branchia in Charles, 1895, p. 95) shows,
Ethiopic አዕፁ probably means «forearms» here, as ידי does in Gen 27:16 (where
brachia occurs in OL^E). Latin adds et humeros against Ethiopic and the biblical versions,
although Eth Genesis reads ውስተ ፡ መታከፍቱ for על ידי.

exposed parts: The word ዕርቃን agrees with LXX OL^E Gen 27:16 (EthGenesis omits),
not with חלקת (= smooth part) of MT (= Sam Syriac).

his²: The letters ei after ceruices should have a final s added, as RÖNSCH (Das Buch der
Jubiläen, 44, 134) and Charles (1895, p. 95, n. 5 to Latin) proposed.

26:12 She then put: Latin's obtendidit agrees neither with Ethiopic ወወሀበተ nor with
the versions of Gen 27:17 (MT: ותתן). RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 44,134) corrected
it to et dedit (= Ethiopic, except for the suffix which only EthGenesis among the biblical
versions supports [see Charles, 1902, p. 161, n.]), as did Charles (1895, p. 95, n. 6 to
Latin). As it stands, the Latin does make sense (= she extended to him), but it probably is
a corrupt reading nevertheless.

and bread which she had prepared: Latin moves panes after the verb.

hand: The singular form agrees with MT Sam OL^EGen 27:17; the plural of Latin
concurs with LXX EthGenesis (dual).

26:13 He: Latin and ms. 12 add «Jacob»; the versions of Gen 27:18 lack the name.

went in: So MT (Sam?) Gen 27:18, but Syriac LXX OL EthGenesis (and Josephus,
Ant. I.270) interpreted the verb as causative (the same Hebrew consonants would be
involved in the qal and hiphil forms).

26:15 Jacob said: No version supplies «Jacob» at Gen 27:20, but both Latin and
Ethiopic Jubilees attest it. Several mss. (20 25 35 38 44 58) add a suffix to the verb; it
agrees with EthGen 27:20 alone.

It was your God who made me find: There is variation in the witnesses of Jubilees as
there is among the biblical versions at this point. Latin agrees with all versions of
Gen 27:20 in reading a double divine name; Ethiopic uniquely omits it. Charles (1895,
p. 95, n. 47; 1902, p. 161, n.) suggested that it be restored in the Ethiopic text. The verb
and the word which precedes it constitute the main problem. It is likely that originally
Jubilees read as MT does, though now it has a different look. Charles (1895, p. 95, n. 46)
first emended his Ethiopic mss. to ዘአርቶዛ with Latin quod direxit (comparing 21:2
where these two verbs are paired). His emended verb remains unattested among the mss.,
though አርያአ in ms. 17 would be very much like it. Prätorius (review of Charles, 1895 in
TLZ 20 [1895] 616), however, argued that the verb አስተዛ should be retained, and
Littmann (85, n. b) agreed («mich finden liess»). By 1902 Charles, too, followed Prätorius
and translated with «caused me to find» (161-62, cf. n.). Dillmann had had to render his
one ms. in this fashion in 1851. Berger, though, has opted for the reading of ms. 17 (cf. 12
21 44 63): «Mir hat dazu geholfen» (456, cf. n. a). MT Sam (and Goldmann and Hartom)
give כי הקרה (= because he caused to happen; the word לפני then indicates «for me»
[RSV: granted me success]); LXX has παρέδωκεν (= he granted); and OL^E reads
tradidit. The word ዘ stands where MT Sam have כי, Syriac ܐܒ̈ܕ, LXX ὅ, OL quod,
and EthGenesis ዘ. Dillmann's translation presents one possibility: «der mich's hat finden
lassen, dein Gott, ist vor mir» (1851, pp. 29-30). The word ዘ may, however, simply reflect

Isaac said to him: 'Come close and let me touch you, my son, (so that I can tell) whether you are my son Esau or not'. 26:17 Jacob came close to his father Isaac. When he touched him he said: 26:18 'The voice is Jacob's voice, but the forearms are Esau's forearms'. He did not recognize him because there was a turn of affairs from heaven to   5
distract his mind. Isaac did not recognize (him) because his forearms were hairy like Esau's forearms so that he should bless him. 26:19 He said: 'Are you my son Esau'? He said: 'I am your son'. Then he said: 'Bring (it) to me and let me eat some of what you have caught, my son, so that I may bless you'. 26:20 He then brought him (food) and he ate;   10
he brought him wine and he drank.

26:21 His father Isaac said to him: 'Come close and kiss me, my son'. He came close and kissed him. 26:22 When he smelled the fragrant aroma of his clothes, he blessed him and said: 'Indeed the aroma of my son is like the aroma of a field which the Lord has   15
blessed.

כי ultimately and כי could be taken as introducing direct speech, just as quod in Latin can be construed in this fashion (see the translation). For the possibility that the Latin ms. reads est in the margin after meo, see RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 134; «Wahrscheinlich hatte ein Späterer, der sich den Satz *quod direxit* u.s.w. nur durch die Erhebung der Worte *in conspecto meo* zu einem Hauptsatze verständlich machen konnte, *est* beigeschrieben». Compare this with Dillmann's translation given above.

26:16 Come close: Latin and mss. 12 38 add «to me» and agree with LXX OL EthGen 27:21. The preferred Ethiopic reading follows MT Sam Syriac.

or not: Literally: or if it is not he (see Berger: «oder ob er es nicht ist»). Several mss. make the verb a second-person form (so EthGen 27:21). Latin omits the entire phrase, as do several LXX witnesses (53'-56ᶜ - 129 527).

26:18 is: Ethiopic uses no word here, but Latin reads quidem (with the following autem). The same word figures in OLGen 27:22; LXX has μέν.

forearms: Ethiopic employs the same word as in 26:11, while Latin reads manus.

turn of affairs: Or: a turning from (= Latin auersio). Charles (1895, p. 96, n. 1) found the Ethiopic a better rendering but it is not clear why he preferred it. RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 134) and he correctly noted that behind ᎓ᒿᖨᎈ lay μεταστροφή and ultimately סבה or נסבה (the word used by Hartom; see 1 Kings 12:15; 2 Chr 10:15 [in both cases *RSV* translates «turn of affairs»]; cf. Charles, 1902, p. 162, n.).

Isaac: Latin omits.

Esau's: Latin adds fratris sui, with all versions of Gen 27:23 except EthGenesis which also omits. אחיו may have been lost by homoioteleuton with עשו. Charles (1895, p. 96, n. 4) added «his brother» to the text (cf. 1902, p. 162, n.).

so that: Latin (literally): and he blessed him (= Gen 27:23). The Ethiopic may represent an interpretation because at this point Isaac does not yet bless Jacob.

26:19 He said[2]: Latin adds iacob to specify the subject; Gen 27:24 also lacks the name.

he said: Latin adds isac. Again, Gen 27:25 lacks it (except one LXX ms.).

26:21 Come close: Latin adds mihi, which agrees with LXX OLGen 27:26. For this reason, Charles (1895, p. 97, n. 7; cf. 1902, p. 162, n.) emended to ᎒ᓕᎅᎌ.

26:22 fragrant aroma: Ethiopic uses two words, though only Littmann and Berger have rendered both. Latin, in reading odorem alone, agrees with Gen 27:27.

26:23 May the Lord grant to you and and multiply for you

(your share) of the dew of heaven and the dew of the earth;

may he multiply grain and oil for you.

May the nations serve you,

5   and the peoples bow to you.

26:24 Become lord of your brothers;

may the sons of your mother bow to you.

May all the blessings with which the Lord has blessed me and blessed

my father Abraham

10   belong to you and your descendants forever.

May the one who curses you be cursed,

and the one who blesses you be blessed'.

26:25 After Isaac had finished blessing his son Jacob and Jacob had

field: Latin, which reads agri pleni in agreement with Sam LXX OLGen 27:27, can lay strong claim to being original here. Charles (1895, p. 97, n. 9), therefore, restored the adjective ምሉእ in his text (cf. 1902, p. 162, n.). EthGenesis offers a term at this point, but it is not the word «full» (either ጥዑቅ [excellent] or ጥዑ or both).

26:23 multiply for you: This expression is found in none of the versions of Gen 27:28. Charles (1895, p. 97, n. 10) termed it an interpolation (see 1902, p. 162, n.). Hartom,whose translation in this verse diverges considerably from the text of Jubilees and more nearly repeats MT, omits these words without explanation.

dew²: MTGen 27:28 reads ומשמני (so Hartom). EthGenesis, with Jubilees, has አሜሃ (see Charles, 1902, p. 162, n.).

may he multiply: The biblical versions, with the exception of EthGenesis which reads a verb, have or reflect רב and add no verb. Charles (1895, p. 97, n. 14) considered the verb here «a needless addition» (cf. 1902, p. 162, n.); Hartom again reproduces MT. Nevertheless, the cognate accusative construction encounters no compelling objections and should be retained.

oil: The versions read «wine» (so ms. 44), although OLᴷ Tn add «oil» as a third item. See Jub 26:31.

May (the nations): By reading a conjunction before the verb, Jubilees agrees with LXX OL EthGen 27:29 against MT Sam Syriac which omit it.

peoples: Jubilees departs from the LXX tradition (= ἄρχοντες) and sides with MT (לאומים).

26:24 lord: MTGen 27:29 has גביר, but LXX (κύριος) OL EthGenesis read «lord».

brothers: Though MT Sam SyriacGen 27:29 read plural forms, Jacob had just one brother. Thus, LXX OL EthGenesis offer singular nouns, as do several mss. of Jubilees (17 21 35 38 39 42 44 47 48 58). But this is obviously a corrected reading, as the parallel phrase «sons [plural in all versions of Genesis and in all mss, of Jubilees] of your mother» later in the verse shows. Cf. also Jub 26:31.

mother: So MT Sam SyriacGen 27:29; the LXX tradition reads «father».

the one who curses ... the one who blesses: The singular form of the verbs agrees with LXX OL EthGen 27:29; MT Sam Syriac have plurals, as do Goldmann and Hartom though no ms. of Jubilees gives warrant for doing so.

26:25 After: So LXX (μετά) OL EthGen 27:30; MT has כאשר.

his son: These words are found in LXX OL EthGen 27:30 but not in MT Sam Syriac.

left his father Isaac, he hid and his brother Esau arrived from his hunting. 26:26 He, too, prepared food and brought (it) to his father. He said to his father: 'Let my father rise and eat some of what I have caught and so that you may bless me'. 26:27 His father Isaac said to him: 'Who are you'? He said to him: 'I am your first-born, your son   5 Esau. I have done as you ordered me'. 26:28 Then Isaac was absolutely dumbfounded and said: 'Who was the one who hunted, caught (something) for me, and brought (it)? I ate some of everything before you came and blessed him. He and all his descendants are to be blessed forever'. 26:29 When Esau heard what his father Isaac said, he cried   10 out very loudly and bitterly and said to his father: 'Bless me too, father'. 26:30 He said to him: 'Your brother came deceptively and took your blessings'. He said: 'Now I know the reason why he was named

and: The repeated እምድኅሬ agrees only with OL^SGen 27:30 among the biblical versions.

had left: The double verb reproduces the infinitive absolute construction in MT SamGen 27:30; the other versions use a single verb.

he hid: Charles (1895, p. 97, n. 21; 1902, p. 163, n.) considered this a gloss, but there is no basis for his remark, although the clause is not present in Genesis.

his (hunting): The suffix agrees with MT Sam Syriac EthGen 27:30; LXX OL lack it.

26:26 to his father: The phrase ለአቡሁ in Charles, 1895 should be ለአቡሁ. These words apprear in the versions of Gen 27:31. except in OL EthGenesis (and some Greek witnesses).

Let ... rise and eat: Most of the mss. read ይትነሣእ and ወይብላዕ. but 35 38 44 (cf. 58) 63 have ተነሣእ (ለ) and ብላዕ which are used in EthGen 27:31. Charles (1895, p. 97, nn. 24-25) incorrectly claims that B (= 25) reads the imperative forms; in fact, it has subjunctives in both instances.

and (so that): Though it is found only in OL^EGen 27:31 among the versions, the conjunction has very strong backing in the Ethiopic mss. Berger is the only translator who has included it in his rendering.

26:28 hunted, caught: This expression also occurs in 26:2; in both Gen 27:3 and v 33 MT uses a verb and cognate noun (צד ציד).

26:29 When: The words ወኮነ at the beginning of the verse mirror the ויהי of Sam (= LXX OL EthGen 27:34); Syriac reads a conjunction, while MT omits entirely.

his father: These words also appear (though after «Isaac») in LXX OL Gen 27:34 but not in the remaining versions.

loudly: Literally: with a great voice. The noun ቃል renders φωνήν which LXX uses here (Gen 27:34; so also OL EthGenesis); MT Sam (= Syriac) offer צעקה.

to his father: The reading ለአቡሁ is somewhat doubtful, since mss. 20 25 35 and LXX OL EthGen 27:34 omit it.

father[3]: MT Sam (= Syriac) have אבי. but LXX (πατήρ) OL EthGen 27:34 lack the possessive pronoun as does Jubilees.

26:30 to him: So Syriac LXX OL EthGen 27:35; MT Sam omit.

blessings: The plural is found also in SyriacGen 27:35, though this version has a plural in v 36 as well, where Jubilees offers a singular form.

Now I know: No biblical version gives a parallel for these words (cf. Gen 27:36). Charles (1895, p. 97, n. 36) wrote about አእመርኩ: «False text due to corruption of ἥ δικαίως into οἶδα ὡς (?)». He explained in 1902 (p. 163, n.) that οἶδα ὡς could be a

Jacob. This is now the second time that he has cheated me. The first
time he took my birthright and now he has taken my blessing'.
26:31 He said: 'Have you not saved a blessing for me, father'? Isaac
said in reply to Esau: 'I have just now designated him as your lord. I
5 have given him all his brothers to be his servants. I have strengthened
him with an abundance of grain, wine, and oil. So, what shall I now do
for you, my son'? 26:32 Esau said to his father Isaac: 'Do you have
just one blessing, father? Bless me too, father'. Then Esau cried loudly.
26:33 Isaac said in reply to him: 'The place where you live is indeed to
10 be (away) from the dew of the earth and from the dew of heaven above.

corruption of δικαίως. The suggestion has merit, though ፅኅኔ too is unique. The author
may simply have rephrased the beginning of Gen 27:36.

was named: The passive form agrees with Syriac LXX OL EthGen 27:36.

The first time: The superior reading is undoubtedly ቀዲሞ·; only mss. 9 12 have ቀዲሞ
which Charles read in 1895 (Dillmann had given ቀዲሞ· in 1859). If it is proper to read
ቀዲሞ·. then it cannot be part of the expression for «right of the first-born» because that
would require the construct ending. Moreover, ቀዲሞ : ኣዲተ would be different than the
phrases used for «right of the first-born» in 24:3-6. The word ቀዲሞ· alone can mean
«first» (see DILLMANN, Lexicon, 463), and here it forms a contrast with ፅኅኔኔ. Only
Dillmann (1851), Goldmann, and Hartom have translated it correctly.

26:31 He: By omitting «Esau» Jubilees sides with MT SamGen 27:36; Syriac LXX
OL EthGenesis add both the name and «to his father».

father: So LXX OL EthGen 27:36; MT Sam Syriac omit.

said in reply: Literally: answered and said.

just now: ቅሁ· renders הן (MT Sam SyriacGen 27:37); LXX OL understood it as
meaning «if», while EthGenesis omits it.

lord: Jubilees, as in 26:24, more nearly sides with the κύριος of LXX (= OL
EthGen 27:37) than with the גביר of MT Sam (= Syriac).

abundance: The word is not found in Gen 27:37 but is in the parallel in Jub 26:23 (and
Gen 27:28). Cf. ኣብዝኅተ in EthGenesis.

oil: No biblical version adds this item here (cf. Jub 26:23).

my son: The possessive agrees with בני of MT Sam (= Syriac EthGen 27:37); LXX OL
lack it.

26:32 Isaac: Only EthGen 27:38 and many Greek witnesses (including A) add the
name.

Do ... just one: EthGen 27:38 resorts to the same order and phrasing (ኣዲተ : ሆሞ);
no other version places the number first.

father ... father: In both cases Jubilees uses a suffix-less form, with LXX OL EthGen
27:38 (EthGenesis omits the second instance). After the second vocative «father», LXX
OL have a plus (κατανυχθέντος δὲ Ἰσαάκ) which does not appear in Jubilees.

cried loudly: Literally: raised his voice and cried.

26:33 Isaac: Charles (1895, p. 97, n. 45) correctly noted that Jubilees agrees with
EthGenesis Vulgate Gen 27:39 in omitting «his father» which is in the other versions. It
should be added, however, that the omission in EthGenesis is part of a longer gap from
«his father» through «to him».

said in reply: Literally: answered and said.

dew ... dew: In both places Jubilees uses ጠል as does EthGen 27:39 (which reverses
«earth» and «heaven»); the other versions read or translate משמני in the first instance.

26:34 You will live by your sword and will serve your brother. May it
be that, if you become great and remove his yoke from your neck, then
you will commit an offence fully worthy of death and your descendants
will be eradicated from beneath the sky'.

26:35 Esau kept threatening Jacob because of the blessing with   5
which his father had blessed him. He said to himself: 'The time of
mourning for my father is now approaching. Then I will kill my brother
Jacob'.

27:1 Rebecca was told in a dream what her older son Esau had said.
So she sent and summoned her younger son Jacob and said to him: 10
27:2 'Your brother Esau will now try to get revenge against you by

26:34 live: The imperative forms that are read by several mss. may have been
influenced by አየው of EthGen 27:40 (the only version with an imperative here).

become great: The versions of Gen 27:40 differ about the word to be read here. MT
has תָּרִיד which apparently means «become restive» (cf. *BDB*, 923; J. SKINNER, *Genesis*
[ICC; 2nd ed.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1930] 373). Sam reads תאדר (= «become noble,
high, glorious» [*BDB*, 12]), which is very close to ወከበርከ (so Charles, 1902, p. 164, n.; but
see Hartom [86, n. to v לד] who thinks that the author of Jubilees may have related תריד
to רדה). LXX, which uses καθέλῃς, presupposes תוריד; Syncellus uses the same verb in
this passage which he attributes to Genesis.

you will commit an offence fully worthy of death: The writer adds these words to
Gen 27:40 and in so doing makes it even more explicit that Isaac is not blessing Esau (see
Hartom, 86, n. to v לד). Syncellus, too, mentions sinning to death (πλημμελήσῃς εἰς
θάνατον); the phrasing in Glycas (the text is in Charles, 1902, p. 164, n.) should also be
noted: πλημμέλειαν πλημμελήσεις θανάτου. The word ኵሎ is located after አበሳ, whereas
if it modified the latter (Charles, 1902: «complete sin»; so, too, Littmann) it would appear
before it. With Berger («ganz zu Tode») it should be rendered adverbially.

26:35 is ... approaching: An imperfect tense form should be read, although the
subjunctive also has impressive support. יקרבו in MTGen 27:41 could be either imperfect
or jussive, but LXX, with ἐγγισάτωσαν, dispensed with the ambiguity.

27:1 Rebecca was told: Literally: it was told to Rebecca. The form ተነግረ is third-
person masculine singular with a third-person feminine singular suffix which is resumed
by ለርብቃ. Charles (1895, p. 98, n. 1) emended to ተነግረ, but this seems unneeded,
especially with the next verb taking the form ለአከ. Note, too, that Gen 27:42 reads a
finite verb (ויגד).

what ... Esau had said: Literally: the word of Esau. One would have expected the form
ነገረ (= 12 17 44 63), but ነገሮ has much more impressive support. The translator or
scribes have apparently conceived of it as the object of the verb (that is: Rebecca was told
what Esau had said), though the verb is passive.

27:2 try to get revenge: ይትቤቀሎ stands where MTGen 27:42 reads מתנחם (comfor-
ting himself?) and LXX ἀπειλεῖ (threatening). It is possible that the author of Jubilees
read a form of נקם rather than נחם.

by killing you: This is actually a purpose or result clause (in order that/ so that he may
kill you), but such a rendering yields an implausible sense. MTGen 27:42 reads להרגך,
which SKINNER (*Genesis*, 374) translated as «by killing thee». The same phrase probably
appeared in Hebrew Jubilees.

killing you. 27:3 Now, my son, listen to me. Set out and run away to
my brother Laban — to Haran. Stay with him for a few days until your
brother's anger turns away and he stops being angry at you and forgets
everything that you have done to him. Then I will send and take you
5 back from there'. 27:4 Jacob said: 'I am not afraid. If he wishes to kill
me, I will kill him'. 27:5 She said to him: 'May I not lose my two sons
in one day'. 27:6 Jacob said to his mother Rebecca: 'You are indeed
aware that my father has grown old, and I notice that he has difficulty
seeing. If I left him, it would be a bad thing in his view because I would
10 be leaving him and going away from you. My father would be angry
and curse me. I will not go. If he sends me, only then will I go'.
27:7 Rebecca said to Jacob: 'I will go in and tell him. Then he will send
you'.

27:8 Rebecca went in and said to Isaac: 'I despise my life because of
15 the two Hittite women whom Esau has married. If Jacob marries one of
the women of the land who are like them, why should I remain alive
any longer, because the Canaanite women are evil'? 27:9 So Isaac

27:3 run away: LXX OL EthGen 27:43 add «into Mesopotamia» which is not found
in the other versions or in Jubilees (cf. Charles, 1895, pp. 98-99, n. 7). Josephus (Ant.
I.278) also mentions that he was sent to Mesopotamia.

your brother's: So MT Sam Syriac EthGen 27:44; LXX OL omit.

stops: Or: abandons, gives up. With יֶשֹב compare Vulgate Gen 27:45: cesset
indignatio eius. MT Sam Syriac have «turn», and LXX OL EthGenesis omit.

27:5 May I not: MT Sam (= Syriac) Gen 27:45 read למה before the verb, but
Jubilees more nearly resembles the μήποτε clause of LXX (= OL; cf. EthGenesis).

in: So Syriac LXX OL EthGen 27:45; MT Sam read only יום אחד without a
preposition.

27:6 my: As Berger (459, n. a to v 6) has noticed, Littmann's translation incorrectly
gives «unser».

I notice that: A variant in mss. 20 25 35 58 (read by Charles, 1895, p. 98; cf. p. 99,
n. 14) is: He does/ can not see because (followed by Littmann, Charles [1902], Goldmann,
and Berger). The two readings differ by one Ethiopic consonant: ኣፈ / ኢይፈ. The
latter is the smoother reading here; for that reason it is somewhat suspect.

he has difficulty seeing: Literally: his eyes have become heavy.

because: Or: that.

27:8 Hittite women: Literally: daughters of Heth (= MT Sam SyriacGen 27:46).
LXX OL insert «sons of» between these words. Charles (1895, p. 99, n. 18) confused the
word order in reconstructing the phrase behind LXX; it should be בנות בני, but he gives
מבני בנות. EthGenesis reads «Canaan» for «Heth».

one of the women of the land who are like them: Jubilees, with LXX OL Eth-
Gen 27:46 omits חת ... מבנות (= MT Sam Syriac [which lacks the preposition]) here, but
it includes «who are like them» — a clause which resembles כאלה of MT Sam (= Syriac)
and is lacking in LXX OL EthGenesis.

summoned his son Jacob, blessed and instructed him, and said to him:
27:10 'Do not marry any of the Canaanite women. Set out and go to
Mesopotamia, to the house of Bethuel, your mother's father. From
there take a wife from the daughters of Laban, your mother's brother.
27:11 May the God of Shaddai bless you; may he make you increase,   5
become numerous, and be a throng of nations. May he give the
blessings of my father Abraham to you and to your descendants after
you so that you may possess the land where you wander as a foreigner
— and all the land which the Lord gave to Abraham. Have a safe trip,
my son'.   10

27:12 So Isaac sent Jacob away. He went to Mesopotamia, to
Laban, the son of Bethuel the Aramean — the brother of Rebecca,
Jacob's mother. 27:13 After Jacob had set out to go to Mesopotamia,

27:9 his son: This is also the reading of EthGen 28:1 and LXX ms. 527 (and the
Arabic version of Genesis). Only ms. 12 (contrary to Berger, 459, n. a to v 9) omits the
word, but it is part of a larger omission.

27:10 marry any: Equivalents of the words ለህ and ትትኦ are found in no version of
Gen 28:1.

Mesopotamia: The Greek base of the Ethiopic translation is evident in this name
(= Μεσοποταμίαν in LXXGen 28:2). EthGenesis renders with ሟልህለ ፡ ኢፍለግ.

27:11 Shaddai: The Hebrew original is evident here as Gen 28:3 uses ידש (= MT Sam
Syriac) but LXX OL EthGenesis have «my». The variant ስ᎐ፆ in mss. 20 21 25 35 39 42
47 48 58) is a simple scribal «correction» of the less familiar ስ� (though note that Tn
reads ידמש).

my father: Though MT Syriac lack these words, Sam EthGen 28:4 supply «your
father» after «Abraham». LXX, however, has τοῦ πατρός μου after «Abraham» and OL
places patris mei exactly where Jubilees does.

after you: The reading agrees with LXX (μετὰ σέ) OL EthGen 28:4; MT Sam Syriac
have «with you».

you may possess: Or: you may inherit. Latin uses a double translation (hereditate
possideas).

and all the land: The phrase is unique to Jubilees but is attested in both the Ethiopic
and Latin versions of it (mss. 20 25 omit the conjunction). It is possible that «and» is
meant in its explicative sense (= even); that is, it may be specifying what was intended by
ምፆሪ ፡ ፍለስትh, or it may indicate additional territory.

the Lord: ኢዝሀኢብሐር usually corresponds with הוהי which Sam TojnGen 28:4 read
instead of «God» in the other versions. Latin has deus.

Have a safe trip: Literally: go in peace.

27:12 the son: Most Ethiopic mss. repeat the preposition ‫ብ‬ before ወለፆ; mss. 25 38
44 58 and Latin do not, nor do the versions of Gen 28:5.

the Aramean: ימראה must have stood in the original (so MTGen 28:5), but the LXX
tradition modernized with τοῦ Σύρου which underlies the text here.

Jacob's mother: The versions of Gen 28:5 add «and Esau»; only a few Greek texts
(135 125 458 319) and Vulgate omit with Jubilees.

27:13 After Jacob had set out to go: Latin reads only «when he was going».

Rebecca: Literally: the spirit of Rebecca.

Rebecca grieved for her son and kept crying. 27:14 Isaac said to Rebecca: 'My sister, do not cry for my son Jacob because he will go safely and return safely. 27:15 The most high God will guard him from every evil and will be with him because he will not abandon him
5   throughout his entire lifetime. 27:16 For I well know that his ways will be directed favorably wherever he goes until he returns safely to us and we see that he is safe. 27:17 Do not be afraid for him, my sister, because he is just in his way. He is perfect; he is a true man. He will not be abandoned. Do not cry'. 27:18 So Isaac was consoling Rebecca
10   regarding her son Jacob, and he blessed him.

son: Latin inserts iacob before filium; it had not used the name nearer the beginning of the verse where Ethiopic includes it.

kept crying: Ethiopic reads an imperfect tense, while Latin opts for a past tense form.

27:14 My sister: Latin: sister; cf. soror mea in 27:17.

27:15 The: Latin begins the sentence with et (= mss. 20 35 58).

evil: Or: evil one.

because: Latin: and.

his: Latin lacks a possessive.

27:16 well know: Ethiopic አሜይቅ seems stronger in meaning than Latin scio. DILLMANN (Lexicon, 1246) listed this passage under the definition «exploratum habere, certo scire, bene novisse vel cognoscere». Note the variant አአምC (= I know).

will be directed favorably: Charles (1895, p. 99, n. 43; 1902, p. 167, n.) changed the active forms of his mss. to the passive ይኴረኁ; the mss. which have been identified since his edition indicate that his emendation was correct. Latin, which was the basis for the change, reads dirigentur.

his ways: Latin: all his ways.

safely to us: Literally: in peace to us. Latin and ms. 20 reverse the order: to us in peace.

we see that he is safe: Literally: we see him in peace.

27:17 Do not: Latin adds ergo.

just in his way: Latin: he is on the right way. Charles (1902, p. 167, n.) wrote: «On the right path. So b [= 25] and Latin, in via recta». But 25 very clearly reads what is here given as the text, and this does not agree with Latin (in 1895, p. 99, n. 47 he did not claim a reading for 25 that agrees with Latin). Littmann (86, n. c) translated «sein Weg ist der rechte» (following mss. 38 51). He added: «... vielleicht ist aber, wenn man die anderen Lesarten ('recht auf seinem Wege' B [= 25]) mit dem Lat. 'in via recta' vergleicht, zu lesen bafenōt retuᶜ 'auf rechtem Wege'». The only significant difference between the versions is the location of the adjective (the suffix on the noun ፍኖቱ could express a Greek definite article), but the variation here produces differing meanings.

He is perfect: Latin uses a future tense verb, but Ethiopic lacks a verb.

he is a true man: The Ethiopic and Latin word order favors taking ብእሲ /uir with the following adjective; mss. 20 25 35 58 make this explicit by inserting a conjunction before ብእሲ. Charles (1902) divided the clauses incorrectly: «he is a perfect man: and he is faithful» (he read [1895] ወምእመን; only 21 38 support the conjunction); Littmann, Goldmann, and Hartom have proceeded in a similar fashion. Berger renders correctly: «... vollkommen ist er, ein gläubiger Mann ist er ...» Latin has no equivalent for ውእቱ after ምእመን.

be abandoned: ተገድፈ can mean «perish» (so Dillmann, 1851; Littmann; Charles, 1902; Goldmann; and Hartom). However, DILLMANN (Lexicon, 1206) also lists «derelin-

27:19 Jacob left the well of the oath to go to Haran during the first
year of the second week of the forty-fourth jubilee [2115]. He arrived at
Luz which is on the mountain — that is, Bethel — on the first of the
first month of this week. He arrived at the place in the evening, turned
off the road *to* the west of the highway during this night, and slept there 5
because the sun had set. 27:20 He took one of the stones of that place

qui, negligi» as meanings for the verb. As Latin uses derelinquetur, the Ethiopic should be
translated «be abandoned».

27:19 Jacob: Latin moves the date formula to the beginning of the sentence; Ethiopic
locates it after the word ቤዛ፡ሕ. 1Q17.1 (חרן באחד) confirms the Ethiopic order.

to go: 1Q17.1 verifies the infinitival expression (and ut iret in Latin), since the letters
כת[fit the infinitive ללכת, not an indicative third-person form. Jubilees corresponds with
Sam (ללכת) Syriac OLGen 28:10; MT LXX EthGenesis employ a conjunction and past
tense verb. Milik (*DJD* 1.83) read ל[ללכת, but the photograph shows no ל (see VANDER-
KAM, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 75-76).

first year of the second week: The Hebrew fragment has אחד after which the text is
lost; in the Ethiopic mss. (other than 44) ዓመት figures before ቀዳሚ. The Hebrew text may
have read the word שנה after the number, but if it did one would have expected the
feminine אחת (Milik, *DJD* 1.83, n. to what he calls 1.2 [his first line is blank]). The Latin
text must be corrupt. RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 46) revised it to in anno [primo]
septimanae secundae (= Charles, 1895, p. 99, n. 3 to Latin).

Luz: In Gen 28:19 the place is named אולם לוז (so MT = LXX OL), but in Sam it is
called אולם לוזה. Jubilees does not reflect the first word (nor does SyriacGenesis), yet its
spelling ሉዚ (or ሉዝ) reproduces the long a attested in Sam. Latin reads lydiam. RÖNSCH
(*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 135-36) showed through copious examples that *di* was pro-
nounced *z*; so, the Latin would have been pronounced in the same way as the Ethiopic
name.

at the place in the evening: On 1Q17.3 (1.4 in *DJD* 1) parts of two letters are visible at
the right edge of the fragment. Milik (ibid., 83) read ב [בער[קום]למ, but the traces are
better suited to ם [למק]. If these letters are read, then there is also sufficient space for בער
in the gap, while Milik's proposal would place too many letters in it (see VANDERKAM,
Textual and Historical Studies, 77-78).

turned off the road *to* the west of the highway: The last traces of letters on 1Q17.3 (4)
are very difficult to interpret. Milik read ה[ים]למ (toward the west [literally: the sea]), but
possibly למע[רב is preferable (VANDERKAM, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 77-78). The
form הדרך opposes the suffix on ፍኖቱ (= his way) in ms. 25, unless the suffix renders a
Greek definite article. The preposition ל prefixed to מערב agrees with the Latin wording
ad occansum, but the Ethiopic mss. have (literally): from the way of the west. That is,
ፍኖት stands in construct relation with ዐረቢ. Ms. 12 reads ፍኖት ፡ እንተ (= the way
which is; Charles adopted this reading in 1895). Ms. 17, however, gives ፍኖት (without the
construct ending). Dillmann (1859, p. 100, n. 2) had emended his two mss. to read what 17
now has. This may indeed be the original form of the Ethiopic text (i.e., ፍኖት ፡ ዐረቢ)
and is assumed in the translation above. Later scribes would then have added the
construct ending to ፍኖት because they thought the word was related to the one that
followed.

and slept: Ethiopic places a conjunction before ሰዓ, and it separates the verb from
«during this night». Lack of the conjunction in Latin, however, makes it possible to
connect in hac nocte with dormiuit.

27:20 that place: The demonstrative is found in both Ethiopic and Latin, and the first

and set it [at the place (where) his head (would be)] beneath that tree. He was traveling alone and fell asleep. 27:21 That night he dreamed that a ladder was set up on the earth and its top was reaching heaven; that angels of the Lord were going up and down on it; and that the
5 Lord was standing on it. 27:22 He spoke with Jacob and said: 'I am the God of Abraham your father and the God of Isaac. The land on

letter of it is probably preserved on 1Q17.4 (5), though Milik (*DJD* 1.83) read differently: הזה] המקום. The forms ዐኅቱ and illius favor reconstructing הוא] rather than זה]ה. Both OL EthGen 28:11 also supply demonstratives here, but the other versions use a definite article. For መሕጓ the text of Charles (1895, p. 100) incorrectly reads መሕጓ.

set it: Mss. 12 63 and Latin, with all versions of Gen 28:11, omit «it»; but 1Q17.4 (5) probably confirms the suffixal form in the other Ethiopic mss. Most of the word is lost, but traces of ה]מנ[וישׂ׳ are visible; the letter נ indicates that the verb is an imperfect form with suffix. Milik (*DJD* 1.83) read ה]מי[וישׂ׳, but this is less likely and would yield an incorrectly spelled form (see VANDERKAM, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 79).

[at ... (would be)]: Gen 28:11 and Latin read words here which deal with Jacob's head or the place where his head was resting. There is space for MT's מראשׁתיו on the restored part of 1Q17.4 (5), and, with Milik, it should be placed in the text (so also VANDERKAM, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 79-80). Charles (1902, p. 167, n.), Littmann, Hartom, and Berger have included similar words in their translations. Cf. 27:26 where they are present in the text.

that tree: Latin lacks the demonstrative. There is space for it on 1Q17.5 (6) (VANDER-KAM, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 80), but Milik does not reconstruct it. It is possible again that it represents a Greek definite article (Charles, 1902: «under the tree»). Ms. 21 omits it.

traveling: 1Q17.5 (6) reads a pronoun and participle, thus confirming the tenses in the Ethiopic and Latin versions.

fell asleep: With Gen 28:11 the Ethiopic uses a verb in the past tense, while Latin reads a second participle. RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 46) understood et dormiens with the next verse, but Charles (1895, p. 101, n. 2 to Latin) emended the verb to dormivit. In the first publications of 1Q17 (DE VAUX, «La grotte des manuscrits hébreux», *RB* 56 [1949] 602-05; E.L. SUKENIK, *Hidden Scrolls*, 2.53; and TORREY, «A Hebrew Fragment of Jubilees», *JBL* 71 [1952] 39), the last line (5 [6]) was read as follows:] היה ה חלום [. This was regarded then as the beginning of 27:21. However, Milik's reading, which is accepted here, is superior. Hence, 1Q17.5 (6) preserves nothing of Jub 27:21, though Milik has strangely still given 27:19-21 as the verses covered by the fragment [p. 83]). Berger (461, n. a to v 19) retains the older reading of the Hebrew and attributes it to Torrey.

27:21 he dreamed: Latin reads sibi (for himself?) before somniauit. What its function may be is difficult to say. The Ethiopic text indicates that, with Gen 28:12, a conjunction should appear here.

was set up: ትቤላት and erecta seem to have the same meaning. For the former, see DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 565: «fixus, infixus, statutus». MTGen 28:12 has מצב.

that (the Lord): Latin omits ecce here, with LXX OL EthGen 28:13; all Ethiopic mss., in agreement with MT Sam Syriac Genesis, supply ናሁ.

standing: Latin: reclining. MTGen 28:13 gives נצב («station oneself, take one's stand», *BDB* 662), but LXX's ἐπεστήρικτο (he leaned upon) would seem to be the source of Latin's incumbebat (cf. also RÖNSCH [*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 137] who cites AUGUSTINE, *The City of God* 16.38, where incumbebat is also used). Note ይሰኀር in ms. 21.

27:22 God: Latin and ms. 38 prepose «Lord» (read by Charles, 1895, 1902), which

which you are sleeping I will give to you and your descendants after you. 27:23 Your descendants will be like the sands of the earth. You will become numerous toward the west, the east, the north, and the south. All the families of the nations will be blessed through you and your descendants. 27:24 As for me, I will be with you. I will guard you 5 wherever you go. I will bring you back safely to this land because I will not abandon you until I have done everything that I have said to you'. 27:25 Jacob said in (his) sleep: 'This place is indeed the house of the Lord but I did not know (it)'. He was afraid and said: 'This place,

agrees with Gen 28:13 (ms. 12 has «your God»). However, many septuagintal witnesses also omit «Lord» so that its textual status in Gen 28:13 is somewhat uncertain.

The land: Jubilees lacks the LXX (= OL EthGen 28:13) plus μὴ φοβοῦ which precedes «the land». Latin has autem which marks a transition from one thought to another and thus need not be realized in the translation.

sleeping: Latin ordomis should be corrected to obdormis with the Ethiopic (RÖNSCH. *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 46; Charles, 1895, p. 101, n. 3 to Latin). Jubilees reflects the tradition found in LXX OLGen 28:13, while MT Sam (שכב) Eth Genesis use «lying» (Syriac ܫܟܒ is ambiguous).

27:23 earth: So Ethiopic. Latin, and Gen 28:14. In reading ብሔር. mss. 17 35 38 44 58 agree with EthGenesis and a few LXX witnesses.

You: Latin, with LXX OL EthGen 28:14, reads a third-person verb, with semen as the subject.

toward the west: toward the sea. Latin reproduces the same idiom but uses the preposition super where Ethiopic has ውስተ. Super echoes ἐπί in LXXGen 28:14 and probably has the same meaning as the Ethiopic word (against Berger [461, n. a to v 23] who translates the Latin as: «... wird mehr sein als das Meer»). The versions of Gen 28:14 differ regarding the order of the directions; Jubilees agrees with MT Sam.

families of the nations: Latin: families of the earth (= Gen 28:14 in all versions). Charles (1895, p. 100, n. 13) thought that ምድር should be read but did not emend the text. The word ባሕውርት could be translated «lands, regions» (so Dillmann, 1851; Littmann; and Berger), but Latin tribus favors the sense given here (as does משפחת in Gen 28:14).

27:24 have done: Or: do.

everything: This word appears in LXX OL EthGen 28:15 but not in MT Sam Syriac.

27:25 said in (his) sleep: Literally: slept a sleep and said. The Ethiopic tradition is unanimous in support of the reading ወኖመ ፡ ያዕቆብ ፡ ንዋመ (Jacob slept a sleep); the versions of Gen 28:16, however, are unified in saying «Jacob awakened from his sleep». Charles (1895, p. 100, nn. 16-17) emended the Ethiopic to ወንቅሐ ፡ ያዕቆብ ፡ እምንዋሙ (= the biblical versions). Littmann (87, n. b) concurred but confessed: «Die Entstehung dieser Lesart ist freilich schwer zu erklären». By 1902 Charles (p. 168, n.) had found an explanation: ἐξύπνωσε ἐξ ὕπνου had been misread as ὕπνωσε ὕπνον. Hartom (88, 89, n. to v כה; in this verse his translation omits from «but I» through «this place» by parablepsis), too, follows Charles' lead. One minor objection to Charles' emendation is that LXXGen 28:16 has ἐξηγέρθη, not the verb which he had hypothesized for the original Greek text of Jubilees. Goldmann (p. רעו, n. to v כה) has argued that his change is baseless, since Jacob is speaking in his dream; the following verse has him awakening. Berger also retains the text (without discussion). Both options — keeping the present text or accepting Charles' emendation — can be defended on reasonable grounds, but the

which is nothing but the house of the Lord, is awe-inspiring; and this is the gate of heaven'.

27:26 Jacob, upon rising early in the morning, took the stone which he had placed at his head and set it up as a pillar for a marker. He
5 poured oil on top of it and named that place Bethel. But at first the name of this area was Luz. 27:27 Jacob vowed to the Lord: 'If the Lord is with me and guards me on this road on which I am traveling and gives me food to eat and clothes to wear so that I return safely to my father's house, then the Lord will be my God. Also, this stone
10 which I have set up as a pillar for a marker in this place is to become the house of the Lord. Everything that you have given me I will indeed tithe to you, my God'.

28:1 He set out on foot and came to the eastern land, to Laban, Rebecca's brother. He remained with him and served him in exchange
15 for his daughter Rachel for one week. 28:2 During the first year of the third week [2122] he said to him: 'Give me my wife for whom I have

latter would require that a scribe omitted ἐξ twice, if the verb that he posited was actually in the Greek text, and it does not explain the loss of αὐτοῦ which his translation presupposes. Perhaps it is possible, too, that the Hebrew verbs יקק and ישם were interchanged. Under the circumstances, it seems wiser to retain the text and to regard Jubilees' reading as a «correction» of Gen 28:16 in light of the following verse.

indeed: So MT Sam SyriacGen 28:16; the LXX tradition omits an equivalent.

awe-inspiring: Or: terrible, fearful, dreadful.

27:26 But at first the name of this area was Luz: The word ባሕቱ (= but, however) should, with Dillmann (1859), and Charles (1895), be read rather than ስሙ (= its name). As ባሕቱ means the same as Hebrew אולם the Hebrew text of Jubilees must have read ואולם here as in MT SamGen 28:19 (Syriac ברם); the LXX tradition understood אולם to be part of the city's name. Here, as in 27:19, Luz is spelled with a final long *a* in agreement with Sam. The word ብሔሩ has a third-person masculine singular suffix which probably has demonstrative force in this context (for this phenomenon, see DILLMANN, *Ethiopic Grammar*, sec. 172 [pp. 425-26]). The word means «place, area; people», etc. MTGen 28:19 has העיר (= Sam LXX); but Syriac reads ܐܬܪܐ, OL civitati, and EthGenesis ብሔሩ.

27:27 I return: So MT Sam SyriacGen 28:21 (= ושבתי); LXX OL EthGenesis have «he returns me» (= והשיבני [cf. Ruth 1:21] or והשבני [cf. 2 Sam 15:25]).

God: The variant አምላኪየ / -ኪ.የ agrees with EthGen 28:21.

is to become: LXX OL EthGen 28:22 add «for me».

28:1 set out on foot: Literally: he lifted his feet (= Gen 29:1).

eastern land: So LXX OLGen 29:1; EthGenesis omits «land». MT Sam Syriac have «land of the sons of the east».

to Laban, Rebecca's brother: These words, with additional statements about relations, appear in LXX OL EthGen 29:1 but not in MT Sam Syriac.

28:2 Give me: The pronoun is explicit in Syriac OL EthGen 29:21 (and in many other septuagintal texts); Mt Sam read only הבה.

I have served you seven years: The versions of Gen 29:21 read «my [or her/the] days [time] are [is] filled». The targums speak of «the days of my service».

served you seven years'. Laban said to Jacob: 'I will give you your wife'. 28:3 Laban prepared a banquet, took his older daughter Leah, and gave (her) to Jacob as a wife. He gave her Zilpah, his servant girl, as a maid. But Jacob was not aware (of this) because Jacob thought she was Rachel. 28:4 He went in to her, and, to his surprise, she was Leah. 5 Jacob was angry at Laban and said to him: 'Why have you acted this way? Was it not for Rachel that I served you and not for Leah? Why have you wronged me? Take your daughter and I will go because you have done a bad thing to me'. 28:5 For Jacob loved Rachel more than Leah because Leah's eyes were weak, though her figure was very lovely; 10 but Rachel's eyes were beautiful, her figure was lovely, and she was very pretty. 28:6 Laban said to Jacob: 'It is not customary in our country to give the younger daughter before the older one'. (It is not right to do this because this is the way it is ordained and written on the heavenly tablets: that no one should give his younger daughter before 15 his older one, but he should first give the older and after her the younger. Regarding the man who acts in this way they will enter a sin in heaven. There is no one who is just and does this because this action is evil in the Lord's presence. 28:7 Now you order the Israelites not to do this. They are neither to take nor give the younger before giving 20 precedence to the older because it is very wicked). 28:8 Laban said to

28:4 to his surprise: The translation attempts to express the force of ናሁ. For this meaning, see LAMBDIN, *Introduction to Classical Ethiopic*, 420.

28:5 her figure was lovely, and she was very pretty: Charles (1902) translated: «and a beautiful and very handsome form» (similarly Dillmann [1851] and Littmann). But the adjective ላሕይት is feminine and should not be construed as modifying the masculine (cf. ውሩይ) noun ራእይ. It is part of a new, independent clause (see Gen 29:17: יפת תאר ויפת מראה).

28:6 It is not customary: Literally: it is not like this. Jubilees' wording with ኮነ reflects LXX OL EthGen 29:26; MT Sam have יעשה (= Syriac).

but ... the older: Charles (1895; cf. p. 102, n. 1) rejected the reading of ms. 25 (አሕሞ ፡ አኀተ ፡ ተአኀዞ) as an addition; it is omitted by mss. 9 12 17 21 38 39 42 44 48 58. Littmann (88, n. a), though, observed that these words were omitted through homoioteleuton and were to be retained. In 1902 (p. 169, n.) Charles accepted Littmann's explanation (see also Berger, 463, n. c to v 6).

who is just and: Hartom, without warrant among the mss., omits these words. In mss. 25 35 44 58 ወ is replaced by ዘ (read by Charles, 1895, p. 102, n. 3).

28:8 days of the banquet: These words appear also in TjnGen 29:27, while Vulgate gives dierum huius copulae; cf. መ ዘበማሕበር in SyriacGenesis.

I will give: The verbal form agrees with all versions (and Tfn) of Gen 29:27 against נִתְּנָה of MT (= Toj).

so that: ከመ stands where Gen 29:27 has בעבדה (in exchange for the work); perhaps Jubilees originally read בעבור.

by tending: Literally: so that/ in order that you may tend.

Jacob: 'Let the seven days of the banquet for this one go by; then I will give you Rachel so that you serve me a second (term of) seven years by tending my flocks as you did during the first week'. 28:9 At the time when the seven days of Leah's banquet had passed by, Laban gave
5 Rachel to Jacob so that he would serve him a second (term of) seven years. He gave her Bilhah, Zilpah's sister, as a maid. 28:10 He served seven years a second time for Rachel because Leah had been given to him for nothing.

   28:11 When the Lord opened Leah's womb, she became pregnant
10 and gave birth to a son for Jacob. He named him Reuben on the fourteenth day of the ninth month during the first year of the third week [2122]. 28:12 Now Rachel's womb was closed because the Lord saw that Leah was hated but Rachel was loved. 28:13 Jacob again went in to Leah. She became pregnant and gave birth to a second son for
15 Jacob. He named him Simeon on the twenty-first of the tenth month and during the third year of this week [2124]. 28:14 Jacob again went in to Leah. She became pregnant and gave birth to a third son for him. He named him Levi on the first of the first month during the sixth year of this week [2127]. 28:15 He went in yet another time to her and she
20 gave birth to a fourth son. He named him Judah on the fifteenth of the third month during the first year of the fourth week [2129].

28:9 At the time: Or: on the day (so Charles [1902] and Berger).

28:10 seven years a second time: Or: another/ a second seven years (see Gen 29:30).

28:11 for Jacob: Only LXX OLGen 29:32 add these words.

He named: Gen 29:32 has «she named». Charles (1895, p. 103, n. 20) favored reading a feminine form here and in vv 13, 14, 15, and 18 (as in vv 19-24). See also 1902, p. 172, n.

Reuben: The spelling ርቤላ agrees with that of Syriac EthGen 29:32 and Josephus, *Ant.* I.304 (etc.). But see rubem in Latin Jub 28:17.

28:13 became pregnant: Jubilees lacks the name «Leah» with this verb, though LXX OL EthGen 29:33 supply it.

a second son for Jacob: MT Sam SyriacGen 29:33 read only «son», while LXX OL EthGenesis have the extra words (with the order δεύτερον τῷ Ἰακώβ).

and (during): The additional conjunction is omitted by mss. 20 25 35 44, probably because scribes considered it superfluous.

28:14 He named: So MTGen 29:34; Sam (קראה) Syriac EthGenesis read feminine forms, while LXX OL are ambiguous as to gender (though their contexts suggest that «she» is the subject).

28:15 yet another time: The reading ደገመ ፡ ኅበ is manifestly preferable to ደገመ ፡ ፆበተ which was read by Dillmann (1851, 1859) and Charles (1895, 1902) and accepted by Littmann, Goldmann, and Hartom. ፆበተ is probably a corruption of ኅበ.

He named: Gen 29:35 has «she named».

28:16 Through all of this Rachel was jealous of Leah, since she was
not bearing children. She said to Jacob: 'Give me children'. Jacob said
to her: 'Have I withheld the product of your womb from you? Have I
abandoned you'? 28:17 When Rachel saw that Leah had given birth to
four sons for Jacob — Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah — she said to   5
him: 'Go in to my servant girl Bilhah. Then she will become pregnant
and give birth to a son for me'. 28:18 So he went in, she became
pregnant, and gave birth to a son for him. He named him Dan on the
ninth of the sixth month during the sixth year of the third week [2127].

28:16 children[2]: Or: sons (= בנים in Gen 30:1).

to her: So Syriac OL EthGen 30:2; many septuagintal texts also read αὐτῇ.

Have I withheld: The first-person form is virtually unique here (it is found in one ms.
of EthGen 30:2). The biblical versions read a third-person verb, of which «God» is the
subject. The change of person in Jubilees may have been motivated by the author's desire
to absolve God of the charge.

Have I abandoned: Latin places aut before dereliqui. Though it means «or», it may
express no more than what the repeated interrogative particles (-ው ... -ው) indicate in
Ethiopic.

28:17 When: Latin: quoniam. Perhaps the two readings arose from כראות (= Ethio-
pic) and כי ראתה (= Latin).

Reuben, Simeon ... Judah: In Charles' edition footnote number 32 is written after
these names but it should be number 4, since A (= 12) omits the marker of the accusative
on the names in these instances. Where Ethiopic reads conjunctions between names 1 and
2, 2 and 3, and 3 and 4, Latin lacks all of them as well as the conjunction before ትቤሎ.

she said to him: Latin: Rachel said to Jacob. The biblical versions show considerable
variation at this point (Gen 30:3). Syriac alone agrees with Ethiopic Jubilees, and only
OL (and many LXX witnesses) sides with Latin Jubilees. MT Sam offer ותאמר (cf.
Charles, 1895, p. 103, n. 37).

28:18 So he went in: Instead of this abbreviated statement from Gen 30:4, Latin
supplies another shortened clause from the same verse: she gave her servant girl Bilhah as
a wife. Charles (1895) reconstructed the Ethiopic text to mirror the Latin by reading
ወወሀበቶ ፡ ባላ ፡ አመታ ፡ ትኩኖ ፡ ብእሲቶ (actually Latin lacks an equivalent for both of
the third-person masculine singular suffixes; RÖNSCH [Das Buch der Jubiläen, 48] added ei
in brackets after dedit). He placed the additional clause in parentheses at the beginning of
the verse (see also 1902). Littmann (88, n. e) and Hartom (see 91, n. to v �") have also
placed the Latin clause in their translations. Different explanations for the two versions
are possible: 1) the original Hebrew had both the Ethiopic and the Latin clauses, and each
version has suffered the loss of one of them; or 2) neither clause appeared in the original,
and scribes or translators in both traditions supplemented the short text with different
clauses from Gen 30:4. Which, if either, of these theories is correct cannot be said with
certainty, but one other reasonable possibility is that Ethiopic preserves the original text.
By using the verb ቦአ the writer has Jacob do precisely as Rachel had ordered him (ባእ) in
v 17. The author had omitted Rachel's words «Here is my maid Bilhah» (Gen 30:3
[RSV]) with the result that nothing has been said about her giving Bilhah to Jacob. The
Latin would then have to be considered a revision of this text.

for him: Latin omits.

He named: In Gen 30:6 the subject is feminine.

ninth of the sixth month during the sixth year of the third week: The Latin date is

28:19 Jacob once again went in to Bilhah. She became pregnant and gave birth to a second son for Jacob. Rachel named him Naphtali on the fifth of the seventh month during the second year of the fourth week [2130]. 28:20 When Leah saw that she had become barren and was not bearing children, she grew jealous of Rachel and also gave her maid Zilpah to Jacob as a wife. She became pregnant and gave birth to

almost certainly corrupt. RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 48) emended it to: [die] nono mensis sexti anni sexti septimanae tertiae (= Charles, 1895, p. 103; cf. n. 3 to Latin).

28:19 once again: Ethiopic has one more word (ħ∂ß) to express repetition than the Latin.

Rachel named: In Ethiopic ራሕል follows ስም but in Latin the two items are transposed (as they are in mss. 25 35 44).

Naphtali: The ending -ሊም is found in EthGen 30:8 where OL^E has Nepthalim and several other LXX witnesses give similar spellings.

fifth ... fourth week: By altering mense to mensis, secunda to secundi, and quarta to quartae (the plural septimanarum is a pervasive error) one obtains the date of the Ethiopic text (so RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 48; Charles, 1895, p. 103, nn. 4-5 to Latin).

28:20 had become barren: መኸነት means «to be sterile, childless» (LAMBDIN, *Introduction to Classical Ethiopic*, p. 414), but Latin detenta est suggests «to be held off, kept back, detained». RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 137) found the Latin (with the following et non est pariens) to be «eine Umschreibung» of עמדה מלדת in Gen 30:9. The variants in the two versions moved Charles (1895, p. 103, n. 45) to alter the Ethiopic verb to አቀመት which would be a literal rendering of the Hebrew expression (EthGen 30:9 reads: ኢወለደት ፡ ወነደገት ፡ ወለደ) but hardly a reflection of the Latin. In 1902 (p. 173, n.) he withdrew his emendation. Goldmann, however, accepted it (see his translation and the note to v כ, p. רעה); and Hartom must have done so too, though he mentions no textual problem here. Berger retains the text. It is reasonable to suppose that the present Ethiopic reading originated in Greek Jubilees where ἔστη (= LXX) or the like and στεῖρα (= barren) were confused. It is also possible that the similarity between עמדה and עקרה caused problems for a translator or scribe. The Latin is more taxing to explain. A form of ἐφίστημι may lie behind detenta est (some LXX mss. read ἐπέστη in Gen 30:9); it means «halt, stop», which, though it is not synonymous with detenta est, is close to it. For other instances of detineo in Latin Jubilees, see 39:9; 42:9 (Ethiopic uses forms of ኅዘ in both passages); and 39:11 (where Ethiopic differs; cf. κατέχονται in LXXGen 39:20).

she grew jealous of Rachel: These words are not present in Latin and Gen 30:9. Charles (1895, p. 103, n. 46) altered ቀንአት to ነሥአት (= Gen 30:9) and omitted ፀአተ ፡ ለራሕል (= ms. 51) with the biblical verse. He made the strange claim that «the et before dedit in Lat. implies this». How it does this one is left to guess. Littmann (88, n. h) properly objected that «das 'et' im Lat. kann ebenso gut von einem 'invidit in Rachel' herrühren». Charles withdrew his emendation in 1902 (p. 173, n.), but Hartom reproduces his emended text without comment, though no ms. supports it (his rendering is virtually a copy of MT at this point). The jealousy of Leah, it should be added, parallels that of Rachel in Jub 28:16 (= Gen 30:1).

also: An equivalent of ፀአተ (omitted by ms. 35) is lacking in Latin and Gen 30:9.

Zilpah: aliam can be explained as a corrupted form of zelfam (so RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 48; Charles, 1895, p. 103, n. 6 to Latin).

She became pregnant: These formulaic words appear in LXX OL^S EthGen 30:10 but not in MT Sam Syriac OL^O.

a son. Leah named him Gad on the twelfth of the eighth month during the third year of the fourth week [2131]. 28:21 He again went in to her, and she became pregnant and gave birth to a second son for him. Leah named him Asher on the second of the eleventh month during the fifth year of the fourth week [2133]. 28:22 Then Jacob went in to Leah. She   5 became pregnant and gave birth to a son for Jacob. He named him Issachar on the fourth (day) of the fifth month during the fourth year of the fourth week [2132]. She gave him to a nurse. 28:23 Again Jacob went in to her. She became pregnant and gave birth to twins: a son and

Leah named him: The two versions switch the order of the subject (Leah) and «his name», with Ethiopic placing the latter first and Latin the name lia (= ms. 63).

on the twelfth ... week: By altering the endings on mense (to mensis), on tertio (to tertii), and on quinti (to quintae) one arrives at a reading that is close to the Ethiopic date (it differs by one week of years; see RÖNSCH [Das Buch der Jubiläen, 48] who changed quinti to quartae; Charles, 1895, p. 103, nn. 4, 8 to Latin). The presence of et at the beginning of the line indicates, however, that in the Latin version the date is erroneously attached to the events of v 21. Rönsch (ibid.) changed Et in to die; Charles (ibid., n. 7 to Latin) simply omitted Et.

28:21 again: Latin omits adiecit and an initial et (which figures before the date at the end of v 20; see the previous note). The expression of repetition is absent also from Gen 30:12.

she became pregnant: Latin omits, but this part of the recurring formulae is found in LXX OL^S EthGen 30:12. MT Sam Syriac OL^O lack it.

second: Latin omits.

Leah: Latin and Gen 30:13 do not read the name.

eleventh month: Latin mense decimi diei is corrupt and should be changed to mensis undecimi (RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 48; Charles, 1895, p. 105, nn. 1-2 to Latin).

28:22 Then: Latin does not read an initial et because the date of v 21 is connected with the events of v 22.

to Leah: Latin ad illam is acceptable in itself, but since Ethiopic reads ኀበ ፡ ልያ it is likely that illam is a mistake for liam (RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 48; Charles,1895, p. 105, n. 4 to Latin).

for Jacob: The phrase is absent from Latin and mss. 12 20 38. It is present in all versions of Gen 30:17 except the Ethiopic.

He named: Gen 30:18 uses a feminine verbal form.

on the fourth ... week: As with several other other verses in this section, Latin here offers dating problems and, by prefacing et to the date, relates it to Leah's transferring her son to a nurse. The word anno is peculiar since anni occurs three words later where Ethiopic has ዓመት. RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 48) and Charles (1895, p. 105, n. 6 to Latin) omitted anno. These scholars have also noted that mense should be mensis, and die should be replaced by quarti.

28:23 Again Jacob: Ethiopic places ያዕቆብ before ዳግመ; Latin reverses the order by reading adhuc iacib.

to her: Latin: ad liam. In v 22 Ethiopic gave ኀበ ፡ ልያ and Latin ad illam. Charles (1895, p. 105, n. 4 to Latin) emended liam to illam.

a son and a daughter: Latin: a male and a female.

named ... the daughter: While Ethiopic places ስም at the end of the clause, Latin puts nomen before faeminae.

a daughter. She named the son Zebulun and the daughter Dinah on the
seventh (of the) seventh month, during the sixth year, the fourth week
[2134]. 28:24 Then the Lord was kind to Rachel. He opened her womb,
and she became pregnant and gave birth to a son. She named him
5 Joseph on the first of the fourth month, during the sixth year in this
fourth week [2134].

28:25 At the time when Joseph was born, Jacob said to Laban: 'Give
me my wives and my children so that I may go to my father Isaac and
make a house for myself, because I have completed the years during
10 which I served you in exchange for your two daughters. Then I will go
to my father's house'. 28:26 Laban said to Jacob: 'Stay with me in
exchange for your wages. Tend my flocks for me again and take your
wages'. 28:27 They agreed among themselves that he would give him
his wages; all the lambs and kids which were born a dark gray color

on the seventh ... week: The two versions almost certainly give the same date, but here
too Latin places et before it and in this way relates it to what is described in v 24. It
should be noted that the word order in Ethiopic is peculiar in that no word precedes ወርኅ
but ዘ is prefixed to its number (the same is true for ሱባኤ) and the word ዓመት lacks either
a preposition or ዘ while its number (ሳድስ) is preceded by በ.

sixth year: Latin in sexto should probably be corrected to anni sexti (= Ethiopic; so
RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 48, 50; Charles, 1895, p. 105, n. 12 to Latin).

28:25 At: Latin lacks a conjunction at the beginning of the verse because it once again
has connected a date (end of v 24) with the wrong event (v 25).

Give me: The pronominal suffix agrees with Syriac (many LXX witnesses) OL
EthGen 30:26; it is omitted by MT Sam LXX.

I may go ... make: Latin uses future indicative forms where the best Ethiopic reading is
in both instances a subjunctive. Note אלכה in Gen 30:26. For the reference to Jacob's
house, see Gen 30:30.

28:26 Stay with me: Latin expecta me is unlikely to be correct. Gen 30:28 is probably
the base text, and it reads נקבה שכרך עלי. After mentioning this verse, Charles (1902,
p. 174, n.) wrote: «Possibly 'expecta' goes back to קַוֵּה and 'tarry' to קוּם, but neither of
these takes us back to the right text». These sorts of confusions, though, could have arisen
from נקבה which may well have been the original reading.

for me: Latin omits.

take: Latin: I will give you. Latin echoes Gen 30:28 (אתנה; OL EthGenesis add «to
you» with many other LXX representatives; see also Jub 28:27). Charles (1902, p. 174, n.)
preferred Latin but gave no reason for his preference. No explanation for the variant
suggests itself.

28:27 They agreed among themselves: About Latin placuerunt de mercede, RÖNSCH
(Das Buch der Jubiläen, 139-40) observed: «D.h. 'Sie kamen überein, einigten sich über
den Lohn'». Ethiopic does not refer to wages here.

a dark gray color and dark mixed with white: Translating these terms is difficult
(Dillmann [1851, p. 72, n. 34] declined to render this section into German), and the Latin
fragment ends a few words earlier. The term ሐመድ means «ashes» and is a noun in the
construct state (cf. טלאים in Gen 30:39). ከዐ is more problematic. Dillmann did not list it
in his Lexicon because in 1859 he had read ጠዐ here with ms. 38 (latus; Lexicon, 1173-74).

and dark mixed with white were to be his wages. 28:28 All the dark-colored sheep kept giving birth to all with variously colored spots of every kind and various shades of dark gray. The sheep would again give birth to (lambs) which looked like them. All with spots belonged to Jacob and those without spots to Laban. 28:29 Jacob's possessions 5 grew very large; he acquired cattle, sheep, donkeys, camels, and male and female servants. 28:30 When Laban and his sons became jealous of Jacob, Laban took back his sheep from him and kept his eye on him for evil purposes.

29:1 After Rachel had given birth to Joseph, Laban went off to shear 10 his sheep because they were a three-day journey removed from him.

But, since ms. 38 is the only copy which reads this word, it must be a corruption. Charles (1895, p. 104, n. 20) emended to ሀቦ (before ሐመፅ). Berger (465, n. b to v 27) adduces Arabic *kabā* which means «trübe, dunkel»; this sense would correspond with φαιός in LXXGen 30:33, 35, 39. Berger thinks it should be an adjective; the context (the previous word is a noun in the construct state), however, requires a substantive. The phrase ሐመፅ : ሀቦ thus would mean «a dark ash (color)». The next phrase — ጋሰ : ፀዐዳ — also consists of a known and unknown word. ፀዐዳ means «white», but ጋሰ was listed by Dillmann in the section of his *Lexicon* that is devoted to doubtful or obscure words. For ጋሰ, ጋሰ he wrote: «nomen obscurum in loco corrupto ...» (1398) Berger (ibid.), though, suggests: «Für *gāsa* ist höchstens auf amharisch 'trüb' (Guidi, Vocabulario) zu verweisen». His proposal would leave one with two categories instead of three as in Genesis (mss. 35 38 58 63 prefix ወ to ፀዐዳ), but his is the best interpretation of the extant text. Charles arrived at three categories through some rearranging and by reading the poorly attested ወ before ፀዐዳ (1895, p. 104, nn. 20-22; 1902, p. 174, n.). Littmann (89, n. a); Goldmann (see n. to v כי. p. רעה); and Hartom have followed Charles.

28:28 dark-colored: For ጋሰ, see the preceding note. The most strongly supported form is nominative and hence it modifies the subject አባግዕ.

of every kind: The preferred reading is ሀቦ : ኵሉ; mss. 17 63 replace ቦ with ቧ (cf. ms. 12). The phrase is very difficult and the translation tentative.

various shades of dark gray: ሐመፅ : ሀቦ (with the latter spelled ሀቦ) appeared in v 27 (= a dark gray color); here the phrase is augmented by ኵኵኵ (= variously colored). For this phrase and the previous one Charles (1895, p. 104, nn. 21, 26-27; 1902, p. 104, n.) engaged in wholesale emendations to arrive at a text meaning «spotted and speckled and black, variously marked». Littmann, Goldmann, and Hartom have accepted his suggestions (both of the Hebrew translations read נקדים נקדים; one of these terms should be עקדים [cf. Gen 30:39]). Admittedly the text is obscure in places and possibly corrupt, but reasonable sense can be wrested from it without creating a new text.

28:29 cattle: So LXX OL EthGen 30:43. For a correction of Charles' n. 30 (1895, p. 105), see ibid., Addenda et Corrigenda (after p. 183); cf. Hartom, 92, n. to v. כב. Jubilees changes the order of several items in the biblical text so that the groups of animals are listed first and then the humans. They are mixed together in Gen 30:43.

29:1 Rachel ... Joseph: A strongly supported variant is Leah ... Issachar (mss. 9 12 17 21 38 63; ms. 44 combines the two readings), but Berger alone has adopted it for his translation. Jub 28:22 dates Issachar's birth in 2132; 28:24 places Joseph's birth two years later. Yet, as Charles (1902, p. 173, n.; cf. pp. 170-71) has noticed, a birth date for Joseph of 2132 is implied by 34:10; 46:3 (cf. v 1). Consequently, if this is correct, the same year would be implied by the two variants.

29:2 Jacob saw that Laban was going off to shear his sheep and
summoned Leah and Rachel. He spoke tenderly with them so that they
would come with him to the land of Canaan. 29:3 For he told them
how he had seen everything in a dream and everything about his
5 statement to him that he would return to his father's house. They said:
'We will go with you wherever you go'. 29:4 Jacob blessed the God of
his father Isaac and the God of his grandfather Abraham. He set about
loading up his wives and his children and took all his possessions. After
he had crossed the river, he reached the land of Gilead. But Jacob had
10 concealed his plan from Laban and had not told him.

29:5 During the seventh year of the fourth week [2135] Jacob re-
turned to Gilead on the twenty-first day of the first month. Laban
pusued him and found Jacob on the mountain of Gilead on the
thirteenth (day) in the third month. 29:6 But the Lord did not allow
15 him to harm Jacob because he had appeared to him at night in a
dream, and Laban told Jacob. 29:7 On the fifteenth of those days
Jacob prepared a banquet for Laban and all who had come with him.
That day Jacob swore to Laban and Laban to Jacob that neither would
commit an offense against the other on the mountain of Gilead with
20

29:3 how he had seen everything: Several mss. locate «everything» at the beginning of
the expression and read ዘ for ዘሙ. This produces a smoother text, but it may be modeled
on the following words.

29:4 wives ... children: This order is attested in Sam LXX OL EthGen 31:17, while
MT Syriac reverse the two.

reached: Compare LXX OLGen 31:21. MT (= Sam Syriac) reads וישם את פניו.

had concealed: So LXX (ἔκρυψεν) OL^S EthGen 31:20 (and To); MT's ויגנב
(= Sam Syriac) would be translated as ἔκλεψεν. See Charles, 1895, p. 106, n. 8; Hartom,
92, n. to v ז.

his plan from Laban: The text could be translated literally as: (Jacob hid) the heart of
Laban. In reading ኅብአ (see the preceding note) and አዕ Jubilees combines the versions
found in LXX and MTGen 31:20. LXX OL^S EthGenesis (with To) omit את לב from their
renderings. If one were to render «the heart of Laban», the text would be awkward and
one would wonder whether, in the Greek model, ἔκλεψεν was erroneously copied or
understood as ἔκρυψεν. It is, nevertheless, also possible to construe the suffix on አዕ as
referring to Jacob (so Berger: «Und Jakob hatte sein Herz vor Laban verborgen»). This
option is chosen here.

29:5 returned: Or: turned to/toward. Cf. Gen 31:21.

29:6 dream: Jubilees follows Gen 31:21 but not the wording of LXX (sleep) or OL
(vision).

told: Or: spoke to. See Gen 31:26 (ויאמר).

29:7 commit an offense against the other: The verb ተዐፀወ can take an accusative
object and mean to injure, commit an offense against (DILLMANN, Lexicon, 1012). Since
ኅልአ seems the preferred reading, the clause ought to be interpreted in this fashion, as

bad intentions. 29:8 There he made a mound as a testimony; for this reason that place is named the mound of testimony after this mound. 29:9 But at first the land of Gilead was named the land of *Rafaem* because it was the land of the Rafaim. The Rafaim were born, giants whose heights were ten cubits, nine cubits, eight cubits, and (down) to   5 seven cubits. 29:10 The places where they lived (extended) from the land of the Ammonites as far as Mt. Hermon. Their royal centers were

Berger has seen («dass nicht einer sich an seinem Nächsten vergehe»). It must be said, nevertheless, that this sounds peculiar in light of Gen 31:52 where it is a geographical point which is not to be crossed rather than a person who is not to be offended as in Jubilees. Charles (1895, p. 106, n. 16) recognized the problem and emended ኣሕፅ ፡ ኅሎኣ to ኣሕፅ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ኅሎኩ (literally: one to his fellow). Littmann (89, n. c) found this convincing, as has Hartom apparently; Goldmann has them agreeing not to cross the mountain. Dillmann (1851) translated with «nicht gegen einander überschreiten wollen». There is no evidence for Charles' emendation among the mss. (only mss. 42ᶜ 47 place a preposition — ኣም — before ኅሎኩ); thus, it may be best to leave the text as it is and attribute the strangeness of it to the drastic abbreviating which the author has effected in this chapter.

   29:8 this mound: Latin: that hill. Ethiopic uses the same word ፍሥሐት[ት]) three times in the verse, just as in Gen 31:46-48 only לֹגּ is employed (LXX βουνός). As the Greek term can mean either «hill» or «mound», it may be that the Latin translator decided to vary his vocabulary according to this ambiguity.

   29:9 But: Latin: for.

   was named: Ethiopic uses the indefinite plural construction (literally: they named/ called), while Latin has a singular passive verb.

   land of *Rafaem*: The familiar angel's name Raphael may have led to the misspelling in most mss. here of the name Rephaim (35 58 spell it correctly); or, Greek M and Λ could have been interchanged. The Latin scribe has written the two words terra and refain as one and contracted it (RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 50, 138; Charles, 1895, p. 107, n. 1 to Latin). The spelling with final *n* is also found in LXX (eg. Deut 3:13: γῆ Ραφαϊν).

   The: Latin adds «there» which makes for a smoother line.

   giants: Latin introduces this appositive noun with id est.

   nine cubits: Latin does not repeat cubitorum with the number nouem.

   (down) to: Literally: as far as. Latin has etiam which could be rendered «even».

   29:10 Hermon: The Latin heremoth is a slightly incorrect spelling of hermon; see RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 50, 138) who compares Josh 12:4, 15; 13:11, 12; Deut 3:8, 9, 10; and Charles, 1895, p. 107, n. 3 to Latin.

   Ashtarot: Latin reads *mastaroth*, the first uncertain letter of which should be *h* (RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 50, 138; Charles, 1895, p. 107, n. 4 to Latin).

   Edrei: The Latin spelling draa is attested elsewhere for אדרעי (RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 138).

   Misur, and Beon: The Ethiopic names are clear but the Latin text is partially illegible here. Ceriani read ... msum ... *et seo*. Charles (1895, p. 107, n. 5 to Latin) logically reconstructed the text as Misor et Beon. Rönsch, however, read [Ham Sa]msum[in] et [Hesebon]. He based his conjecture (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 138-39) on Deut 2:20 which reports that Ammon was also a land of the Rephaim and that the Ammonites called these earlier residents זמזמים. The name of their residences was הם. Rönsch derived the last name (Hesebon) from passages such as Josh 12:2, 5; 13:10. But his restorations are unlikely because they do not fit the available space and they do not match all of the letters

Karnaim, Ashtarot, Edrei, Misur, and Beon. 29:11 The Lord destroyed
them because of the evil things they did, for they were very wicked. The
Amorites — evil and sinful — lived in their place. Today there is no
nation that has matched all their sins. They no longer have length of
5 life on the earth.

29:12 Jacob sent Laban away, and he went to Mesopotamia, to the
eastern country. But Jacob returned to the land of Gilead. 29:13 He
crossed the Jabbok on the eleventh of the ninth month, and on the
same day his brother Esau came to him. They were reconciled with one

which Ceriani had read. Furthermore, the Ethiopic tradition unanimously opposes his
readings. The last letters of the text are uncertain, but S and B could have been confused
(= Beo[n]). The sequence msum is one letter different than misur, a plausible spelling of
Misor. Given the amount of deviation in spelling some of the other place names in this
verse, this is rather close.

29:11 they did: Literally: their work(s). The word studiorum could, in post-classical
Latin, have the same meaning. This is the only passage in the surviving Latin fragments
where a form of studium is used.

The Amorites ... lived: Latin reads a causative construction (habitare fecit) and places
«Amorites» and the adjectives that modify it in the accusative case. Charles (1895, p. 107,
nn. 34-35) emended the Ethiopic to agree with the Latin but seems to have changed his
mind by 1902 («the Amorites dwellt»; see p. 177, n.). The Latin may preserve a more
pristine understanding of the text, as «the Lord» is the subject of the first verb in the verse
and ነደረ is singular (except in mss. 38 58). Some mss. read a form of ነደነ but in the
plural.

Today ... nation that: Latin introduces these words with sicut (the reading is uncertain)
where Ethiopic has only a conjunction. The word odio has been corrected by RÖNSCH
(Das Buch der Jubiläen, 50) and Charles (1895, p. 107, n. 6 to Latin) to odie and hodie
respectively (= Ethiopic ዮም). Latin quia Rönsch allowed to stand, but Charles, with
Ethiopic ዘ, properly read qui.

matched: Literally: completed (Charles, 1902: «wrought to the full»).

29:12 to (the land of): Latin a should be ad (so RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 50;
Charles, 1895, p. 107).

29:13 He crossed the Jabbok: Latin locates the reference to the ninth month at the
beginning of the line and in this way separates it from the mention of the eleventh. For
«Jabbok» (= iaboc) Latin reads iacob — a metathesis of c and b (see OL^{S}Gen 32:23
where the same mistake occurs). RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 50) and Charles (1895,
p. 107, n. 7 to Latin) corrected the name to Jaboc.

on the eleventh: Literally: on its eleventh. These words are part of the date in Ethiopic,
but Latin has taken them (they are separated from «the ninth month») as a reference to
Jacob's eleven sons. Gen 32:22 does mention his eleven sons (as well as his other family
members) in the same context. RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 139) thought the Latin
was correct and should not be changed to agree with the Ethiopic, but the Latin text can
hardly be defended. It is likely that, once the iaboc /iacob confusion took place, a scribe
mistakenly construed the word eleven (note that the word «day» is not present in the
Ethiopic text) as it is understood in Gen 32:22. No conjunction precedes the number.
Charles read die undecimo ipsius. If die did follow the number, it would have appeared in
the very place where filii now stands.

same: Literally: this. Latin omits.

They were reconciled with one another: Ethiopic reads a plural perfect indicative verb

another. Then he went from him to the land of Seir, while Jacob lived
in tents. 29:14 In the first year of the fifth week during this jubilee
[2136] he crossed the Jordan. He settled on the other side of the Jordan
and tended his sheep from the sea of Fahahat as far as Bethshan,

(only ms. 63 offers a singular form), but Latin has a singular participle. Both are followed
by «and». RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 50) changed et to ei (= having been reconciled
to him), and Charles (1895, p. 107) added ei before et. If a change is to be made for the
conjunction (the first letter of which is uncertain), Rönsch's proposal produces a better
text. Charles also (ibid., n. 41) emended the Ethiopic to agree with his «improved» Latin
text (ወተኣነሣ; see 1902, p. 177, n.; so also Littmann, 90, n. c). The Latin and Ethiopic
versions say virtually the same thing but Latin has understood Esau to be subject here.

tents: See Gen 33:17 where Jacob travels to Succoth (= tents).

29:14 fifth week ... jubilee: The two versions give the same date but in Latin the
jubilee reference precedes the week number.

from the sea of Fahahat as far as: The presence of the word «sea» in Ethiopic and
Latin demonstrates that ፈሐረ (C) in mss. 9 (cf. 12) 21 38 63 is a simple mistake for ፋሐረ.
For the name of the sea Latin gives salso and the Ethiopic is uncertain. DILLMANN
(*Lexicon*, 1398) termed the Ethiopic name a «nomen dubium » (cf. 1851, p. 72, n. 43:
«kein wort»). Several Ethiopic mss. read «mound» (ቍርሐት [35 39 48; cf. 9 12 21 38 44
58)), In 1902 Charles translated «of the heap» (between daggers), though in 1895 he had
read ፉሐሐት. Goldmann proposed מארץ הגלעד, while Littmann (90, n. e) and Hartom.
have sided with the Latin. Berger transliterates the Ethiopic name and renders ፋሐረ with
«Strom». The Ethiopic is undoubtedly corrupt, yet «the Salt Sea» seems out of place in
this list. The true explanation for the Ethiopic and Latin readings here is not known, but a
guess may be hazarded. Could the original have been «Sea of Galilee»? The Hebrew
would have been מים גליל עד. The word גליל could easily have been confused with גל
(heap, mound), especially in this passage where גלעד (note the following עד) has been
under consideration. The term גל, then, could account for the Ethiopic readings on the
assumption that ቍርሐት was original in this version and the variants are misspellings of
it. Latin mare salso could also, though less confidently, be explained on this hypothesis.
The Greek for «Sea of Salt» would perhaps have been θαλάσσης ἁλυκῆς (see Deut 3:17;
cf. θάλασσαν ἁλός in Josh 3:16), while «Sea of Galilee» would be θάλασσα τῆς
γαλιλαίας (Mt 4:18; 15:29; Mk 1:16; 7:31; John 6:1). The term ἁλυκῆς resembles the
name γαλιλαίας apart from the initial γ of the latter, and for that reason the two may
have been interchanged in the tradition behind the Latin.

as far as ... Dothan: Latin omits (from usque to usque) by parablepsis.

forest: The best Ethiopic reading appears to be አሞ (when) which is almost certainly a
misspelling of the word አሞ (forest [= ያሞ]) that is found in mss. 12 39 42 47 48). In the
translation አሞ is assumed to be አሞ; the two words are very difficult to distinguish in
some scribal hands. The Latin term aggruum is unattested elsewhere. RÖNSCH (*Das Buch
der Jubiläen*, 50, 139), noting that gg are uncertain, proposed to read Acervum. Acervum
Acrabin would then be a rendering of the biblical מעלה עקרבים (Num 34:4; Josh 15:3),
although he admitted that acervum would not be an exact translation (it means «a heap»;
Latin agger has the same meaning). Charles (1895, p. 107, n. 11 to Latin and n. 48 to
Ethiopic; 1902, p. 177, n.) preferred arborem: «cf. Num. xxxiv.4, Jos. xv.3, where our text
would imply לאלה instead of Mass. למעלה». (See also Hartom, 92-93, n. to v יד). But
arborem means «tree» and would not correspond with አሞ / አሞ. Littmann translated
with «Walde»; Dillmann (1851) and Berger (468, n. e to v 14) use only «bis». Their
rendering presupposes that አስከ ፡ አሞ means «bis», though Dillmann does not give a
spatial meaning to አሞ in his *Lexicon*. No convincing account for the readings is
available.

Dothan, and the forest of Akrabbim. 29:15 He sent his father Isaac some of all his possessions: clothing, food, meat, things to drink, milk, butter, cheese, and some dates from the valley. 29:16 To his mother Rebecca, too, (he sent goods) four times per year — between the
5 seasons of the months, between plowing and harvest, between autumn and the rain(y season), and between winter and spring — to Abraham's tower. 29:17 For Isaac had returned from the well of the oath, had gone up to the tower of his father Abraham, and had settled there away

29:15 sent: Latin uses tradidit. Forms of trado are found in 30:6, where the Ethiopic has መበፅመ, and in 30:17, where it is paired with ተወህበት.

butter: Literally: bread of milk. Dillmann (1851, p. 72, n. 47) suggested that the double term be rendered «käse»; Latin botyterum later confirmed his view (cf. RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 139-40). The proper spelling of botyterum would be botyrum (Rönsch, ibid., 50; Charles, 1895, p. 109, n. 1 to Latin).

dates from the valley: Literally: dates of the valley. Latin places de after dactilos (= dates from the valley), while Ethiopic puts the preposition እምን before ተመርት.

29:16 mother: Latin matris should be matri (RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 52; Charles, 1895, p. 109, n. 2 to Latin).

per year: Latin is somewhat more explicit with per singulos annos (located before quater).

plowing: Latin area means «a piece of ground; threshing floor». RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 140) entertained the idea that by metonymy it could mean «time of threshing» but thought it should be regarded, in light of the Ethiopic, as a verbal substantive from arare (= to plow, till) which would correspond in meaning with aratio (plowing, cultivation of the ground). Charles (1895, p. 109, n. 3 to Latin) changed area to arationis.

and (harvest): Latin usque ad seems peculiar after the phrase in medio.

harvest: Latin adds autumnum.

autumn: Latin has autumni pluuias (= pluuiae; so RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 52, 140; Charles [1895, p. 109, n. 4 to Latin] preferred pluviarum [see the sequel]).

rain(y season): Latin: pluuiarum eius. RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 52, 140) and Charles (1895, p. 109, n. 5 to Latin) proposed that eius be changed to veris (of spring). Possibly the multiple instances of pluui- in this verse caused omission of a Latin phrase. The last time designation in Latin (pluuiarum [ueris]) may be the equivalent of Ethiopic ሐጋይ. This would imply that «the rain(y season), and between winter and» were omitted from the former.

tower: For other occurrences of baris, see RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 140-41, where he also explains huius as a rendering of a Greek definite article (literally: of this Abraham).

29:17 away from his son Esau: Latin: in his land and (that of) his son. Rönsch left the text unaltered, but Charles (1895, p. 109, n. 6 to Latin) called the Latin corrupt and wished to read with the Ethiopic absque Esau filio suo (= Dillmann in RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 53). The two texts are very close, and the difference can be explained from the Greek models of each: The Latin reflects Greek ἐν γῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, while the Ethiopic presupposes ἐκ ἠσαυ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ. The prepositions are similar in appearance, and γῇ αὐτοῦ and ἠσαυ share the same sequence of letters except for σ. The conjunction would have been added to the text behind the Latin after it was corrupted to ἐν γῇ αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ. As Berger comments (469, n. a to v 17). Ethiopic is more likely to be original «... denn Jub betont stets die Differenz zwischen Jakob und Esau».

from his son Esau, 29:18 because, at the time when Jacob went to Mesopotamia, Esau had married Mahalath, Ishmael's daughter. He had gathered all his father's flocks and his wives and had gone up and lived in Mt. Seir. He had left his father Isaac alone at the well of the oath. 29:19 So Isaac had gone up from the well of the oath and settled   5 at the tower of his father Abraham in the mountain of Hebron. 29:20 From there Jacob would send everything that he was sending to his father and mother from time to time — everything they needed. Then they would bless Jacob with all their mind and with all their being.   10

30:1 During the first year of the sixth week [2143] he went up safely to Salem, which is on the east side of Shechem, in the fourth month. 30:2 There Jacob's daughter Dinah was taken by force to the house of

29:18 because, at the time when: The Latin supports the reading of the text and opposes the shorter *ወኣሁ* of 20 25 35 58.

He had gathered ... wives: As it now reads, Latin uses one verb (accepit) for two functions: to express the notion of taking a wife in marriage and to indicate that Esau took this wife and his father's flocks (עבדי in Hartom is a mistake for עדרי). The singular uxor eius is an understandable error, since only one wife is mentioned earlier in the verse. It has been transposed (in comparison with the Ethiopic) with uniuersos greges patris sui. One does suspect, though, that something is missing from the Latin text. RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 52) proposed: et uxores suas [et] ...; Charles (1895, p. 109; cf. n. 7 to Latin) opted for et (ad se recepit) uxores suas (et) ....

alone: Latin omits. As ms. 9 also lacks the word, Berger (469, n. g to v 18) thinks it questionable whether it is original. The omission in ms. 9 is, however, part of a longer haplography and hence is not relevant to the issue.

29:19 and settled: Latin omits. It may be that the omission occurred already on the Hebrew level of the tradition behind Latin when the similarity between וישב and שבע caused parablepsis.

29:20 From there: Latin reads illic, which has the same meaning as illuc (see RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 141). Charles (1895, p. 108, n. 18) emended the Ethiopic by omitting ኣም. Littmann (90, n. 1) translated according to Charles' revised text («dorthin» [= Berger]), although he was not convinced that the change was necessary. Goldmann and Hartom used שמה. Latin better fits the context: Isaac's location has just been mentioned, and it is to Hebron that Jacob sent his goods.

everything that he was sending: Latin: whatever things were. Charles (1895, p. 109, n. 9 to Latin) changed erant to transmittebat. Latin does seem defective — as though a verb was lost and replaced by erant.

and (mother): Latin: or.

from time to time: Latin per singula tempora probably has about the same meaning as the Ethiopic, but the phrasing is noticeably different.

needed: Latin adds in omni usu suo, which may be an explanatory plus. Dillmann (1859, p. 107, n. 16) thought that some words had fallen from the Ethiopic text before the phrase ዘኵሎ : ተኀጕሎሙ; in 1851 he had supplied «[um zu lindern]».

30:1 which: Latin lacks a relative pronoun. Gen 33:18 calls Salem עיר שכם.

30:2 was taken by force: Literally (both Ethiopic and Latin): they took by force.

house: Latin dom should be corrected to domum (RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 52; Charles, 1895, p. 109).

Shechem, the son of Hamor the Hivite, the ruler of the land. He lay
with her and defiled her. Now she was a small girl, twelve years of age.
30:3 He begged her father and her brothers that she be given to him as
(his) wife. Jacob and his sons were angry with the Shechemites because
5 they had defiled their sister Dinah. They spoke deceptively with them,
acted in a crafty way toward them, and deceived them. 30:4 Simeon
and Levi entered Shechem unexpectedly and effected a punishment on
all the Shechemites. They killed every man whom they found in it. They

Hivite: So MT Sam SyriacGen 34:2. The LXX tradition reads «Horite» (החרי for
החוי).

He lay with her and defiled her: He defiled her since he slept with her. Here Ethiopic
agrees more nearly with Gen 34:2; cf. Charles, 1895, p. 109, n. 12 to Latin. The phrase
«with her» is in harmony with LXX OL EthGen 34:2 (= אתה; Tjn agree) against MT
(אתה) To. As the difference involves vocalization alone, Sam is ambiguous.

30:3 He begged: Latin reads illam as the object of petierat. The older Ethiopic
mss. lack a pronominal suffix (9 17 20 21 25 [so also in 44]), but the later ones (35 38 39 42
47 48 58 63) with ms. 12 have -ዣ as the last letter of the verb. The long vowel could be a
feminine pronominal object or it could be a case of lengthening an a- vowel after a
gutteral consonant. It is here assumed to be the latter, and for this reason the difference is
not recorded in the apparatus (see the Introduction, sec. VI). Latin also reads postea
which has no equivalent in the Ethiopic.

her father and her brothers: Cf. Gen 34:11. The Ethiopic mss. vary regarding the
gender of the suffix, but only 9 12 39 47 support a masculine suffix on ኣብ (= Gen 34:4)
and only 12 38 58 have «his» with «brothers». The Latin words suo and suis are
ambiguous with respect to gender. Charles (1895) read a masculine suffix on ኣብ and a
feminine suffix with ኣኃው. Only in 1902 did he indicate (p. 178, n.) that «her father» was
attested; yet he did not note that it was found in b (= 25). Latin adds omnibus before
fratribus. The Ethiopic order is unusual in that the words ትትወሀብ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ብኣሲት are
inserted between «her father» and «her brothers». Latin lacks these words.

deceptively: Ethiopic (literally): in/ with evil. DILLMANN (Lexicon, 789) listed «dolose»
(= craftily, deceitfully) as the sense of the phrase here (he read በኣኩይ). Latin in
simulationem (in insincerity/ deceit) is close in meaning to the Ethiopic. See Gen 34:13.

acted in a crafty way toward them: At this point major differences begin to separate
the Ethiopic and Latin versions. Latin introduces Simeon and Levi here; in Ethiopic they
do not appear until v 4. The addition of in dolo before deserierunt brings the meaning of
the two versions fairly near one another. In fact, this sort of double expression could
explain the presence of three verbs in Ethiopic. In favor of the Latin verb one can cite
ἐχλεύσαμεν in T. Levi 7:2 (Charles, 1895, p. 108, n. 33). The names Simeon and Levi are
somewhat suspect here, since they are repeated in the next line.

30:3-4 and deceived them. ... unexpectedly: The last clause in v 3 is the third of three
similar expressions in Ethiopic. The Latin text has Simeon and Levi resolving to
exterminate the Shechemites. One should also include in a discussion of this problem the
first clause in Ethiopic v 4 («Simeon and Levi entered Shechem unexpectedly» [cf.
Gen 34:25]). It is interesting that ms. 38 has ኣፐፅኣዮሙ (they destroyed/ annihilated them
[see v 5]) which agrees with Latin exterminare eos. Though it seems highly unlikely, one
could argue that the much more strongly attested Ethiopic verb ኣስፈጥዮሙ is a
corruption of the reading in ms. 38. In that case, there would be partial agreement

left absolutely no one in it. They killed everyone in a painful way
because they had violated their sister Dinah.

30:5 Nothing like this is to be done anymore from now on — to
defile an Israelite woman. For the punishment had been decreed against
them in heaven that they were to annihilate all the Shechemites with the   5
sword, since they had done something shameful in Israel. 30:6 The
Lord handed them over to Jacob's sons for them to uproot them with

between the two versions. There is reason to think that both Ethiopic and Latin have
suffered haplography. The Latin clause et posuerunt ... eos may well belong in the text;
note that Josephus (Ant. I.339: Συμεὼν δὲ καὶ Λευίς ... συντίθενται πρὸς ἀλλήλους
τοιάνδε τινὰ πρᾶξιν) offers similar words in the same context. The Ethiopic tradition may
have lost this sentence (or at least the part of it before exterminare eos; see above)
through homoioarchton with the first clause of v 4 which also begins with a verb and the
names of the two brothers. Latin has lost the first clause of v 4 by a similar haplography
of clauses that open with a conjunction and verb.

unexpectedly: Or: suddenly. The versions are divided about the meaning of בטח but
Jubilees agrees with none of them.

all the Shechemites ... every man: Latin omits all of these words except «Shechemites».
One could attribute this to haplography from «all» to «all» if it were permissible to
assume that the word ብኳሉ was also once followed by ብዙኵን; but there is no evidence for
this.

They (killed): Latin reads enim where Ethiopic uses a conjunction.

in a painful way: Latin: in judgment. Charles (1895, p. 108, n. 39) thought ኣዕሮ might
be corrupt for ምርጻት. Hartom (94, n. to v ז) has more plausibly pointed to the word
כאבים (LXX: ἐν τῷ πόνῳ) in Gen 34:25; that is, the newly circumcised Shechemites were
in pain when attacked. The Latin term seems general and bland in the context.

30:5 like this: The gap in Latin could be filled with et ita (RÖNSCH, Das Buch der
Jubiläen, 52; Charles, 1895, p. 111).

be done: Latin has erit, but the beginning of the verse is difficult to read (cf. v 6).
Gen 34:7 agrees with Ethiopic (יֵעָשֶׂה).

from now on: Latin omits; cf. v 6.

to defile: Latin uses a passive construction with filiae as the plural subject.

punishment had been decreed: Latin: sit iudicum. There is nothing in Latin correspon-
ding with «decreed», and iudicum should be iudicatum (RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen,
52; Charles, 1895, p. 111, n. 1 to Latin).

to annihilate: Latin: pugnent, Charles (1895, p. 111, n. 2 to Latin) preferred the
Ethiopic reading. In explanation of the Latin verb, one could think of a scribe's
miscopying a similar verb such as expugno (to capture, reduce, subdue, sweep away), or
better expungo (to blot out, erase). The reference to a sword could have induced a scribe
to use a form of pugno.

all: Latin: aduersus. The difference may be due to an interchange of כל (= Ethiopic)
and על (= Latin) or to an Ethiopic corruption of ላዕሊዮሙ to ኣኵሎሙ. These explana-
tions would be excluded, however, if with RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 54) and
Charles (1895, p. 111) one read [uniuers]um in the lacuna after sychem. Note that Latin
lacks uiros before sychem.

they had done: The plural in place of the singular in all versions of Gen 34:7 (except
Syriac which also uses a plural) indicates that all of the Shechemites were guilty, not just
Shechem himself.

the sword and to effect punishment against them and so that there should not again be something like this within Israel — defiling an Israelite virgin. 30:7 If there is a man in Israel who wishes to give his daughter or his sister to any foreigner, he is to die. He is to be stoned 5 because he has done something sinful and shameful within Israel. The woman is to be burned because she has defiled the reputation of her father's house; she is to be uprooted from Israel. 30:8 No adulterer or impure person is to be found within Israel throughout all the time of the earth's history, for Israel is holy to the Lord. Any man who has

30:6 to effect punishment: Latin resorts to a slightly different expression: fiat ... iudicum.

like this within: As reconstructed by Rönsch (in [filiis] Istrahel [*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 54] and Charles (in Istrahel [1895, p. 111, cf. n. 3 to Latin]), Latin does not have «like this». But both letters of in are uncertain. Perhaps it is the word *ita*, and it could have been followed by *in*.

defiling an Israelite virgin: Latin, as in v 5, has a passive verb with uirgo as subject.

30:7 in Israel who wishes: Latin alters the order and reads a conjunction where Ethiopic has a relative pronoun; the thought is, nevertheless, the same. For «in Israel», Latin has ex filiis istrahel (note እም in ms. 21).

or: Mss. 9 17 39 42 47 48 63 add: there is one who has given his daughter to him or. That is, he has committed the deed; it is not only a wish. Berger (471, n. b to v 7) attributes the absence of this clause in the other mss. to homoioteleuton. The addition is reasonable, but Latin also lacks it. It could have been inserted by a scribe who was concerned about the exclusive attention given here to the man's wish.

foreigner: Literally: who (Latin omits) is from the seed of the nations.

is to die ... is to be stoned: As it does frequently, the Latin text reads future tense verbs where Ethiopic has subjunctives (the same pairing occurs with «is to be burned» and «is to be uprooted» and often in the following verses). The meaning of the two is probably the same. On the form periet, see RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 143. Latin uses this one verb in the place where Ethiopic appears to reflect a Hebrew infinitive absolute with finite verb.

shameful: Ms. 25 with all of the later copies except 38 63 reads ኀጢአት ፡ ወ before ነፍረት. Latin lacks these extra words. ኀጢአት may have originated as a marginal variant to ነፍረት; later, it would have been incorporated into the text by mistake.

the reputation of: Latin omits, but nomen may have been skipped because of its similarity with domum.

she²: Ethiopic prefixes a conjunction; Latin does not.

30:8 adulterer or impure person: ዘማ can be used for either a male or female, but the masculine form of the verb requires that it be understood of an adulterer or fornicator. Latin fornicaria is, of course, feminine. The word ርኩስ should be a masculine singular adjective; yet the noun ርኩስ is often written ርኩስ (DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 301). Consequently, both texts may be employing abstract nouns here, but this is hardly a necessary inference and they do differ about the gender of the first noun. For this reason, ርኩስ has been rendered as «impure person».

be found: Hebrew מצא in the niphal can have the meaning «be» (*BDB*, 594); hence Latin erit (note the future tense) probably represents the same original text.

defiled (it) is to die; he is to be stoned. 30:9 For this is the way it has been ordained and written on the heavenly tablets regarding any descendant of Israel who defiles (it): 'He is to die; he is to be stoned'. 30:10 This law has no temporal limit. There is no remission or any forgiveness; but rather the man who has defiled his daughter within all of Israel is to be eradicated because he has given one of his descendants to Molech and has sinned by defiling them.

30:11 Now you, Moses, order the Israelites and testify to them that they are not to give any of their daughters to foreigners and that they

---

(it): Latin supplies the missing pronoun (eum).

is to die; he is to be stoned: Latin lacks a conjunction before «by stones» and omits the verb «stoned». RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 143) considered morietur in lapidibus to be «Ganz das hebräische יומת באבנים». Charles (1895, p. 111, n. 4 to Latin) was probably correct, though, in preferring the Ethiopic (he compared v 9). Hartom has rendered the end of the verse as באבן ירגמהו without supplying «die». No ms. or version supports his reading.

30:9 ordained and written: Latin reverses the terms.

who: Latin places quoniam before qui. It may represent Hebrew כי which can introduce quotations. The most logical spot for direct speech to begin in the Ethiopic is, however, with ሞት.

he is to be stoned: Literally: they are to stone him. Charles read ይትወገር (= mss. 25 35) which is passive like lapidabitur. But the Latin version more regularly and correctly renders indefinite plural active verbs with passive forms (e.g. twice in 30:7) in this section. In this passage Latin again uses future verbs where Ethiopic has subjunctives.

30:10 no remission: Latin adds illi.

all: Latin hominis is, in all likelihood, a copyist's error for omnis (RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 54; Charles, 1895, p. 111, n. 5 to Latin; Berger, 472, n. b to v 10).

one of his descendants: Literally: of/from his seed. Latin uses omni before semine.

Molech: Latin: alienigena (the ending should be -genae [RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 54; Charles, 1895, p. 111, n. 6 to Latin]). As Rönsch (ibid., 143) saw, the author is alluding to passages such as Lev 18:21; 20:2 which «... sind hier durch Verwandlung des Moloch in einen Heiden nach Massgabe der zeitweiligen Verhältnisse abgeändert worden, ...» Charles (ibid., p. 110, n. 22) rejected the Ethiopic reading as «certainly a corruption owing to Lev. xxiii.21, xx.2; ...» Cf. Littmann, 91, n. a. In 1902, however, he retained the Ethiopic. He had learned that T. Levi 18:21 gave a similar marital explanation for the passage (p. 181, n.). He also referred to Sanh 82a; Sanh ix.6; Megillah 25a; and Megillah iv.9 (see also Berger, 472, n. d to v 10). Charles' later view that Latin was an interpretation is reasonable in light of the passages which he cited.

has sinned: Latin: inpie egerunt. The plural is unexpected and possibly resulted from misreading ἐποίησεν as ἐποίησαν.

them: The pronoun is singular, but it refers to the collective ዘርእ which is translated «descendants». On the word intaminare which is not in the lexica, see RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 143.

30:11 not to marry: Literally: not to take. Latin reads filiis suis (for their sons) after the verb. The Ethiopic mss. offer nothing here, with the exception of ms. 12 which has ለኪያሆሙ. Charles (1895, p. 110, n. 23) emended this form to ለውሉዶሙ (= Latin). See

are not to marry any foreign women because it is despicable before the
Lord. 30:12 For this reason I have written for you in the words of the
law everything that the Shechemites did to Dinah and how Jacob's sons
said: 'We will not give our daughter to a man who has a foreskin
because for us that would be a disgraceful thing'. 30:13 It is a disgrace-
ful thing for the Israelites who give or take (in marriage) one of the
foreign women because it is too impure and despicable for Israel.
30:14 Israel will not become clean from this impurity while it has one

Hartom, 94-95, n. to v አ. Littmann (91, n. b) wondered whether Latin had read υἱοῖς
instead of αὐτοῖς. ለሊሆሙ is a form of ለለ which appears only with suffixes (DILLMANN,
Lexicon, 30) and means «ipse», etc. (cf. ms. 63 which reads the form ኪያሆሙኒ before
�†ሙ). It would mean «they themselves were not to take» (see Charles, 1902, p. 181,
n. = αὐτοί). This pronoun could have been omitted as unnecessary in most of the
Ethiopic tradition. It is also possible that the assumed αὐτοί was a mistake for αὐτοῖς. But
the Ethiopic tradition is now virtually unanimous in lacking anything corresponding with
filiis suis — words which may have been added to create a smoother text — and therefore
ms. 12 ought not to be regarded as preserving either the original reading or a word
pointing toward it.
  30:12 everything ... did: Literally: all their work(s). Latin reads sermones before
operum — perhaps under the influence of the preceding sermonibus.
  our daughter: Both Ethiopic and Latin support the reading, but all versions of
Gen 34:14 have «our sister».
  30:13 It is a disgraceful thing: Mss. 20 25 35 omit these words (and «for us» at the end
of v 12) by haplography (cf. Charles, 1895, p. 110, n. 28).
  Israelites who: As Ethiopic and Latin show, «Israel» is to be taken as «Israelites». The
two instances of ለ before እለ are resumptive of ለ before እስራኤል and need not be
translated (see the Latin).
  too impure and despicable for Israel: Ethiopic reads two adjectives, although the first
(ርኩስ) could be understood as an alternate spelling of a noun (several mss. give the noun
form here); Latin employs two nouns. But a more significant problem is deciding which
preposition to read before እስራኤል. Mss. 9ᶜ 20 25 35 read እም; 21 38 39 42 47 48 58 have
ለ; the others omit. Latin reads in, which does not agree exactly with either of the Ethiopic
options, and adds omni after it. If እም is accepted, as it is here, then a comparison is being
made. ለ would require the translation: it is impure and despicable for Israel. Omitting a
preposition would yield: it is impure and Israel is despicable. The only serious choices
obviously are እም and ለ, and of these the former has earlier and stronger backing.
  30:14 foreign women ... anyone has given: Latin deviates considerably from the
Ethiopic. It lacks «daughters of» before gentibus and, where Ethiopic has ወአመኒ ፡
እምአፃልዉ ፡ ዘወሀበ, it reads et non mundabimus de filiabus nostris. The Latin is suspect
because it is couched in the first person (apparently continuing the quotation begun in
v 12) though the context would lead one to expect a third-person statement. Also, et non
mundabi- occurs at the beginning of the verse. RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 54, 143-
44) thought that the text once read: et non mundabitur si dabimus, and that the similarity
of -dabitur and dabimus caused omission of the letters -dabitur si. However, this still
leaves one with a first-person verb and a text that is quite different from the Ethiopic.
Charles (1895, p. 111, n. 11) changed non mundabimus to si dabimus — a solution which
also fails to solve the problem of the differences between the two versions. The Latin
could be the product of several influences and mistakes. et non mundabi- may have been

of the foreign women or if anyone has given one of his daughters to any foreign man. 30:15 For it is blow upon blow and curse upon curse. Every punishment, blow, and curse will come. If one does this or shuts his eyes to those who do impure things and who defile the Lord's sanctuary and to those who profane his holy name, then the entire 5 nation will be condemned together because of all this impurity and this

encouraged by the first words of the verse, but Latin varies from Ethiopic just before this as well. The ending -mus on the verb may have been conditioned by the repeated termination -ibus (gentibus, filiabus) or perhaps the Hebrew forms יתן and נתן were confused. The word nostris could be explained as a subsequent accommodation to the first-person plural verb. The Ethiopic text uses the verb «give» and Latin probably retains it in corrupted form at the end of mundabimus. This leaves non mun- as problematic. Could an expression such as non nemo (= someone) have been used where Ethiopic has -በ ... ዝ? It might then have been miscopied when a scribe recalled the verb at the beginning of the verse. As this is very hypothetical, the defective Latin text has been translated as it is; but if these changes were made, a text very near to the Ethiopic would emerge: et non nemo dabit de filiabus suis.

to any foreign man: Literally: to a man from all the nations. Latin: to all the nations (that is, it lacks an equivalent for እብአ ፡ እም).

30:15 punishment, blow: Latin reflects the same text with the exceptions that it lacks a conjunction between the two words and places the second in the genitive case. Note that ms. 17 also omits the conjunction.

curse (will come): Latin: curse of curses — a phrase somewhat parallel to the preceding «punishments of blows». No Ethiopic ms. agrees with it.

will come. If: Latin continues (after aduenient) with super illum which agrees only with ms. 63 (ላዕሌሁ). Though he did not do so in 1895, Charles added the phrase in parentheses in 1902 (p. 182, n.). After the verb Ethiopic supplies ወላእመ (= and if). Either something is missing from the Latin (before faciet) or super illum stands where another reading once was. RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 54) inserted [qui] and Charles (1895, p. 113) added (si).

this: Literally: this (Latin: that) word/ thing. Hebrew דבר probably stood in the original text.

or shuts his eyes to those who do impure things and who defile: Ethiopic «or shuts his eyes» renders Lev 20:4 but in the singular, while Latin uses two verbs (disregards/ looks away). Charles (1902, p. 182, n.) called these a dittography, but they seem to be a paraphrase of the verb and noun reflected in the Ethiopic. The versions also differ regarding the words that follow. Ethiopic employs a plural relative pronoun with a verb and continues this pattern in the next two relative clauses to indicate those from whom one hides his eyes. Latin presents a singular nominative participle (masculine) with a noun in the genitive case; the former must be the subject of the two preceding verbs. The following verb is also singular. Both RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 56) and Charles (1895, p. 113, nn. 2-3 to Latin) emended faciens to facientes and polluerit to [qui] polluunt (= Ethiopic). For this last expression, see Lev 20:3.

profane his holy name: Like Lev 20:3 (ולחלל את שם קדשי), Ethiopic uses a different verb than in the preceding clause. Latin repeats the same verb.

this impurity and this contamination: Latin has only the first of these phrases (see above where abominationis and ርኩሰት are paired). Charles' note (1895, p. 112, n. 12) is misleading: he claimed that he emended ግማኔ ፡ ዛቲ to ግማኔዝ «with Lat. abominationibus hujus» but Latin has no equivalent for ወግማኔ ፡ ዛቲ (cf. 1902, p. 182, n.). The form huius

contamination. 30:16 There will be no favoritism nor partiality; there
will be no receiving from him of fruit, sacrifices, offerings, fat, or the
aroma of a pleasing fragrance so that he should accept it. (So) is any
man or woman in Israel to be who defiles his sanctuary. 30:17 For this
5 reason I have ordered you: 'Proclaim this testimony to Israel: «See how
it turned out for the Shechemites and their children — how they were
handed over to Jacob's two sons. They killed them in a painful way. It
was a just act for them and was recorded as a just act for them».

(genitive singular) requires the translation «of this» (Charles, 1902: «of this [man]»),
though it may be a mistake for *his* as the Ethiopic suggests.

30:16 nor partiality: Latin omits this phrase which is synonymous with the preceding
one. Charles (1895, p. 112, n. 13; 1902, p. 182, n. [here he strangely termed it a
dittography]) and Littmann (91, n. d) rejected it as a gloss; Berger (473, n. a to v 16) also
questions whether it was original (his claim that it is absent from ms. B [= 25] is false).
However, it is simpler to explain Latin as an omission due to parablepsis (personam ...
personam) than to determine why someone would add a phrase that was synonymous
with the first one.

from him of fruit: Literally from his hand of fruit. Latin omits. The word ፍሬ is of
dubious standing as mss. 25 44 omit it (though they read a conjunction after the place
where it would have been). Latin may have omitted fructum et by homoioteleuton with
sacrificium.

fat: Latin omits. One could possibly dismiss it as a doublet of ኅንሐሐ.

aroma: Ethiopic reads an infinitive, as with ገሢአ (twice) and አፅአሞ, while Latin uses
a finite form as it did with the two preceding verbs. Charles (1895, p. 112, n. 17)
considered the Ethiopic rendering inferior and proposed ይኣንሞ for the verb (cf.
Gen 8:21). The verbal pattern of the verse shows, however, that this is unnecessary.

his sanctuary: Though he read መቅደስ in 1895, Charles (1902) translated with «the
sanctuary» — as if the word lacked a suffix. Ms. 17, which Charles did not know, does
not place a suffix on the word, and Berger follows it. Latin, too, offers only sanctificatio-
nes (it uses a singular form for «sanctuary» in v 15). Littmann (91, n. e) wrote: «Vielleicht
ist (im Hinblick auf *lat. sanctificationes*) das äth. *maqdasō* eine moderne Pluralform, so
dass zu übersetzen wäre 'der Heiligtümer'». But this is unlikely. Since singular forms of
sanctificatio are used regularly for «sanctuary» (see 32:22; 49:16-18; cf. 23:21), it may be
advisable to emend here to sanctificationem. Another possibility is that sanctificationem
eius has been compacted into sanctificationes.

30:17 See: In Latin and ms. 21 a conjunction precedes the verb.

how it turned out: Or: how it happened to. Latin quid factum sit is slightly different.

the Shechemites: Literally: for Shechem; but Latin has sychimis. The feminine suffix
on ዑሉ (Latin: ipsius) refers to Shechem (= feminine).

two: Latin's hominum makes little sense here and should be emended to duorum
(RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 56; Charles, 1895, p. 113, n. 5 to Latin).

painful way: Latin: in judgment. The same terms appear in the two versions in 30:4.

was ... for them: Latin: conputatum est illis. Cf. Gen 15:6.

just act ... just act: The normal pairing (ጽድቅ and ueritas) occurs in the first instance,
but in the second ጽድቅ and iustitia figure opposite one another.

30:18 Levi's descendants were chosen for the priesthood and as levites
to serve before the Lord as we (do) for all time. Levi and his sons will
be blessed forever because he was eager to carry out justice, punish-
ment, and revenge on all who rise against Israel. 30:19 So blessing and
justice before the God of all are entered for him as a testimony on the   5
heavenly tablets. 30:20 We ourselves remember the justice which the
man performed during his lifetime at all times of the year. As far as
1000 generations will they enter (it). It will come to him and his family
after him. He has been recorded on the heavenly tablets as a friend and
a just man'.   10
    30:21 I have written this entire message for you and have ordered
you to tell the Israelites not to sin or transgress the statutes or violate

30:18 chosen: Latin: adscriptum est. See 30:21 where the same verb appears where
Ethiopic has a passive form of ጸሐፈ.

    priesthood: RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 56) and Charles (1895, p. 113) inserted [in]
before sacerdotium.

    will be blessed: Dillmann (1851: «gesegnet sei»), Littmann, and Berger («und dass
gesegnet werde[n]») read ይትባረክ as a subjunctive form. But Latin benedicitur suggests
that it should be construed as an indicative.

    eager to carry out ... revenge: Latin has the same words but transposes ut faceret (the
equivalent of ይገብር) and ueritatem (= ጽድቅ) so that the sense is slightly different.

    revenge: For defensionem in this sense, see RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 144.

    rise against: Latin: positi sunt. Both Goldmann and Hartom render with forms of קם;
Latin may represent a form of שם. Latin super could mean «over».

    30:20 We ourselves remember ... performed: Latin: memorabitur iustitia quam faciet
homo. Charles (1895, p. 113, nn. 8-9 to Latin) altered the text to: memoramur justitiam
quam fecit homo. The change of tenses (faciet to fecit) is simple, but memorabimur would
more accurately reflect the Ethiopic imperfect.

    of the year: Berger (474, n. c to v 20) prefers the reading ዓመ፟ም found in ms. 17 alone;
he considers ዓሙት of the other witnesses «weniger sinnvoll». But Latin, too, supports
the majority reading. ዓመም is probably a corruption of ዓሙት.

    generations: Latin reads annos, possibly under the influence of the preceding anni.

    will they enter (it). This standard expression for placing information on the heavenly
tablets (literally: they will bring [it] up) is rendered in Latin as refertur in v 19 (using the
passive singular for the indefinite plural active of the original text) and as offeretur here.
Charles (1895, p. 113, n. 11 to Latin) emended to referetur.

    family: Latin: descendants (literally: seed). ትውልድ is used twice in this verse, but in
neither case does the Latin reflect it. The difference would involve the Hebrew words דור
and זרע which are not likely to be confused. «Seed» is the expected term with the words
«after him» — a fact which may have caused a scribe to insert the wrong word here.

    and a just man: Latin lacks a conjunction between amicus and iustus; both RÖNSCH
(*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 56) and Charles (1895, p. 113) added it to the text. All Ethiopic
mss. support its inclusion. The adjective ጽድቅ is not too strongly attested in the ms.
tradition (mss. 17 21 42 47 58 read it), but Latin, too, backs it.

    30:21 I have written ... for you: Latin moves the verb to the beginning of the line,
whereas Ethiopic preposes ኵሎ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ነገረ.

    violate: Latin uses a verb with the same meaning as ሠሐተ but in the future indicative,
not the subjunctive, form. Charles (1895, p. 113, n. 13 to Latin) emended to dissipent (a

the covenant which was established for them so that they should perform it and be recorded as friends. 30:22 But if they transgress and behave in any impure ways, they will be recorded on the heavenly tablets as enemies. They will be erased from the book of the living and
5 will be recorded in the book of those who will be destroyed and with those who will be uprooted from the earth. 30:23 On the day that Jacob's sons killed (the people of) Shechem, a written notice was entered in heaven for them (to the effect) that they had carried out what was right, justice, and revenge against the sinners. It was recorded as a
10 blessing.

present subjunctive). It happens frequently, though, that Latin resorts to future indicative verbs where Ethiopic reads a subjunctive.

(perform) it: Latin ea is plural. It is possible to understand the suffix on ይግበሩ as having a plural referent; or perhaps ea should be eam.

and be recorded: ይጸሐፉ can be parsed as either subjunctive or indicative (they will be recorded). Latin uses a future indicative form.

friends: Latin adds dei, no trace of which surfaces in the Ethiopic tradition. Cf. Jub 19:9. Latin also furnishes dei after inimici in 30:22.

30:22 transgress: Latin adds testamentum, which is, it seems, a plus that was meant to lend more specificity to the verb.

behave in any impure ways: Literally: they do any of the ways of impurity. Latin, rather than combining uiis and abominationem, places the latter in the accusative case and produces a text which means (literally): they do an abomination from all ways. The simplest solution is to read abominationum (genitive plural) which would agree with Ethiopic.

they will be recorded ... enemies: Latin reads quaecumque scripta sunt (neuter plural). Ethiopic places no pronoun before the verb. The Latin text, as a result, now seems to have «ways» or «abominations» recorded on the tablets. This arrangement required that another verb (erunt) be added to make sense of the sequel. The Ethiopic is superior without a doubt. In his edition, Charles (1895, p. 113, n. 14 to Latin) omitted quaecumque and changed scripta sunt to scripti. Note that ms. 25 has omitted the last word of v 21 and v 22 through ይጸሐፉ by parablepsis (see Charles, ibid., n. 35).

the living: «Life» is supported by ms. 12 and Latin. The same Hebrew word (החיים) lies behind both readings.

those who will be destroyed: Latin: perditionum. The latter probably resulted when a plural participle was mistaken for a plural noun (destructions).

and with those: Latin does not read a conjunction before inter eos; ms. 20 also omits the word.

uprooted: Latin reads a present indicative verb which Charles (1895, p. 115, n. 1 to Latin) emended to eradicentur (subjunctive). With Dillmann (in RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 57), however, one would expect eradicabuntur (future). Charles, too, had read an imperfect form (ይሥረዉ) in his Ethiopic text of 1895.

30:23 was entered: Literally: went up.

that (they): Latin has no word that corresponds with ከመ.

against the sinners: Latin: in ipsis. The equivalent of the Ethiopic reading would be in (?) peccatoribus.

It was recorded: Ethiopic uses a singular verb, but Latin has a plural form of which Levi and Simeon are the subjects. Mss. 17 20 39 42 44 47 48 58 also read plural forms.

30:24 They led their sister Dinah from Shechem's house and cap-
tured everything that was in Shechem — their sheep, cattle, and
donkeys; all their property and all their flocks — and brought every-
thing to their father Jacob. 30:25 He spoke with them about the fact
that they had killed (the people of) a city because he was afraid of the 5
people who were living in the land — of the Canaanites and the
Perizzites. 30:26 A fear of the Lord was in all the cities which were
around Shechem. They did not set out to pursue Jacob's sons because
terror had fallen on them.

There is, then, a good chance that the plural is the more original form, although mss. 9 12
21 25 35 63 support the singular. It is possible, too, that a scribe, who recognized that two
brothers were involved, changed the verb to a plural.

30:24 their sister: Syriac EthGen 34:26 also add these words.

everything that was: Latin uses a plural expression.

donkeys: There is a suffix attached to the Ethiopic noun; Latin lacks a possessive
unless eorum (after substantiam) is meant to apply to sinos as well as to substantiam.

flocks: Latin: land. Both RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 58, 145) and Charles (1895,
p. 115, n. 3 to Latin) changed terram to armentam (cattle for plowing, herd). Charles
(ibid.) also transposed this clause and et omnem substantiam, but one wonders why he did
since the Ethiopic text does not support the shift.

30:25 He spoke with them: Both versions of Jubilees use general verbs of speaking.
Charles (1902, p. 185, n.) found this unacceptable. He thought that the underlying
Hebrew (particularly of the Latin) was דבר עליהם (= «he reproached them») which the
Greek translator should have expressed as ἐλάλησε κατ' αὐτῶν, not as ἐλάλησε πρὸς
αὐτούς (he compared Jer 6:10; 25:2; 26:2 for the same «error»). Nevertheless, as he
himself saw, Gen 34:30 reads ויאמר אל which was probably the original wording here.

about the fact that: Latin: quare. The original Hebrew may have been על אשר — a
phrase which could have been expressed in at least two similar ways in Greek: διὰ τό
+ infinitive (= Ethiopic) and διὰ τί (= Latin).

killed: Latin exterminauerunt is more graphic. Compare the two verbs which Jacob
uses regarding himself in Gen 34:30 (והכוני ונשמדתי). The former resembles ቀተለ in
meaning; the latter (in the hiphil) would agree with the Latin verb.

were living: The plural agrees with Syriac LXX EthGen 34:30; MT Sam read ישב.

Canaanites ... Perizzites: The plural forms agree with the versions of Gen 34:30 other
than MT Sam.

30:26 in: Latin super agrees with all versions of Gen 35:5 except OLᴬ which has in.

set out to pursue: All versions of Gen 35:5 and Latin Jubilees read «did not pursue».
But the Latin then adds ut nocerent eum — a clause that is without parallel in the biblical
texts. Charles (1895, p. 115, n. 8) adduced the Vulgate wording non sunt ausi persequi,
which resembles the Ethiopic Jubilees.

Jacob's sons: Ethiopic agrees with MT Sam LXX OL EthGen 35:5 in its inclusion of
the word «sons»; the other versions and Latin omit, although Syriac adds, ܘܒܢܝ ܝܥܩܘܒ
after «Jacob». For the name «Jacob» Jubilees follows the tradition of MT Sam Syriac;
LXX OL EthGenesis have «Israel».

terror: Ethiopic uses a different word here than at the beginning of the verse, but Latin
repeats timor.

31:1 On the first of the month Jacob told all the people of his household: 'Purify yourselves and change your clothes; we are to set out and go up to Bethel where I made a vow, on the day that I ran away from my brother Esau, to the one who has been with me and
5 brought me back safely to this land. Remove the foreign gods which are among you'. 31:2 They *handed over* the foreign gods, their earrings and necklaces, and the idols that Rachel had stolen from her father Laban. She gave everything to Jacob, and he burned them, broke them into pieces, ruined them, and hid them beneath the oak which is in the land
10 of Shechem. 31:3 On the first of the seventh month he went up to

31:1 people: In Gen 35:2 most versions have only «his household», but EthGenesis Tojn and Jubilees preface «men of» to it. Cf. Syriac ܟܠ.

who has: Most of the translators (Dillmann, Charles, Goldmann, Hartom) have rendered with «because he has». The text, however, reads a relative pronoun with LXX EthGen 35:3. The other versions use a conjunction. Littmann and Berger have translated correctly.

among you: Jubilees lacks the plus which LXX (μεθ' ὑμῶν) OLGen 35:2 locate before this prepositional phrase.

31:2 *handed over*: Most Ethiopic mss. read መስወዮሙ which means «they melted them» (mss. 12 35 read an imperative; cf. Berger, who renders rather freely with «demolierten»); but 38 has መስጥዮሙ (they tore them away; so Goldmann: ויקרצו). Charles (1895, p. 115, n. 9; 1902, p. 185, n.) emended to መሀውዮሙ («they gave up»), citing ויתנו in Gen 35:4 as a basis for the change. Littmann (92, n. b) seems to have agreed with Charles, though he claimed that he was following C D (= 51 38) in rendering with «sie nahmen ... weg ...» Hartom (96, 97, n. to v ב), too, sides with Charles. His alteration is reasonable and may be correct, but it is also worth asking whether the problem had surfaced already in Hebrew when forms of נתן and נתך (= to melt [in the hiphil]) were interchanged. The latter may have seemed to a copyist or translator the likelier verb in the context.

their earrings and necklaces: Literally: what was in their ears and what was on their necks. Charles (1895, p. 115, n. 10; 1902, p. 185, n.) thought that «their necks» was corrupt for «their hands» (ms. 63 reads እደዊሆሙ but in place of እኽዚሆሙ) and that «which were in their hands» was to be moved after «strange gods» (cf. ms. 47). This would bring the text into harmony with Gen 35:4, but it is certainly not what the Ethiopic says.

her father: Charles (1895, p. 115, n. 11) emended እቡሃ to እኁሃ (= her brother), but he must have forgotten that Laban was Rachel's father. He repeated the error in 1902 (p. 185, n.). All of this must have confused Hartom who reports (97, n. to v ב) that the erroneous reading «her brother» was found in the Ethiopic ms. tradition. Charles did rectify the matter in his 1913 translation, though his note there (p. 59) suggests that he still thought እኁሃ was present in some ms. Josephus (*Ant.* I.342) mentions this episode at the same point in his narrative.

ruined them: Clearly Jacob did not «destroy» (so Charles, 1902) them because he still had something left to hide after this. For the verb አማስኖ, compare the LXX plus at the end of Gen 35:4: καὶ ἀπώλεσεν αὐτὰ ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας (though EthGenesis reads ያጥፍኡሙ [causative forms appear in several mss.] for the verb).

in: So LXX OLGen 35:4; MT has עם (= Sam Syriac). EthGenesis reads ዘ (= of).

Bethel. He built an altar at the place where he had slept and had set up
a pillar. He sent word to his father Isaac and to his mother Rebecca as
well to come to him to his sacrifice. 31:4 Isaac said: 'Let my son Jacob
come so that I can see him before I die'. 31:5 Jacob went to his father
5   Isaac and his mother Rebecca in the house of his father Abraham. He
took two of his sons with him — Levi and Judah. He came to his father
Isaac and his mother Rebecca. 31:6 Rebecca went out of the tower into
the tower gates to kiss Jacob and hug him because she had revived at
the time she heard (the report): 'Your son Jacob has now arrived'. She
10   kissed him. 31:7 When she saw his two sons, she recognized them. She
said to him: 'Are these your sons, my son'? She hugged them, kissed
them, and blessed them as follows: 'Through you Abraham's descen-
dants will become famous. You will become a blessing on the earth'.

31:8 Jacob went in to his father Isaac, to his bedroom where he was
15   lying down. His two children were with him. He took his father's hand,
bent down, and kissed him. Isaac hung on his son Jacob's neck and
cried on his neck. 31:9 Then the shadow passed from Isaac's eyes and
he saw Jacob's two sons — Levi and Judah — and said: 'Are these
your sons, my son, because they look like you'? 31:10 He told him that
20   they were indeed his sons: 'You have noticed correctly that they are

31:3 and had set up a pillar: Some of the translators (Charles, Littmann, Berger) have
understood this to mean that on this occasion Jacob erected another pillar. But it seems
more likely that Dillmann is correct in viewing these words as parallel with the preceding
clause, i.e., they refer to the earlier time when he had set up a pillar (Jub 27:26-27).
his sacrifice: The word መሥዋዕቱ could be rendered «his altar» (so Littmann);
«sacrifice» is preferable, though, because ምሥዋዐ was used for the altar earlier in the
verse.
31:4 Let ... come so that I can see: Literally: let come ... and let me see.
31:6 tower gates: Charles, too, read አንቀጸ ፡ ማኅፈድ in 1895, but he translated as «the
front of it» in 1902. Dillmann (1851) used «vor demselben», and Hartom rendered with
חזיתו. These are poor attempts that do not reflect the text.
she had revived: Literally: her spirit lived.
31:7 Are these: By omitting the interrogative particle -ኑ mss. 9 17 38 turn the question
into a declaration (see Berger, 476, n. a to v 7).
31:9 look like: Latin similis should be similes (RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 58;
Charles, 1895, p. 115, n. 6 to Latin).
31:10 He told him: Latin adds dicens, which serves to introduce direct speech already
at this point. Ethiopic postpones the quotation one additional clause.
his sons: Latin: my sons (part of the direct speech). The difference could have resulted
from the similarity between Hebrew בניו (= Ethiopic) and בני (= Latin). Note that the
next letter would have been ו, and this fact may have caused a scribe to affix another ו to
בני.
that they were indeed: Where Ethiopic has hመ ፡ በአማን Latin offers quoniam pater.

indeed my sons'. 31:11 When they came up to him, he turned and kissed them and hugged *both* of them together. 31:12 A spirit of prophecy descended into his mouth. He took Levi by his right hand and Judah by his left hand.

5   31:13 He turned to Levi first and began to bless him first. He said to him: 'May the Lord of everything — he is the Lord of all ages — bless you and your sons throughout all ages.

31:14 May the Lord give you and your descendants extremely great honor;

Charles (1895, p. 115, n. 27; 1902, p. 186, n.) wondered whether ኣጋን (he adopted the reading of ms. 12 which lacks the preposition before this word) was a mistake for ኣበ (= pater). Cf. Littmann, 93, n. a; Hartom, 97, n. to v ፡. It is likely that the Ethiopic is incorrect here. Perhaps ኣበ was changed into በኣጋን (the first two letters of the phrase are those of ኣበ reversed) under influence of the earlier parts of the verse where ኣጋን is used two times.

31:11 *both* of them: Latin: utrosque. Dillmann (in RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 59, n. 2) commented that a slight change in the Ethiopic word would yield the equivalent of utrosque. Charles (1895, p. 115, n. 29; cf. 1902: «both of them») emended ክላሆሙ to ህላኤዩሙ; and Littmann (93, n. b) and Hartom have preferred the Latin reading (cf. Goldmann, p. רפב, n. to v יא; Berger, 476, n. b to v 11). This is almost certainly correct. The two Ethiopic words closely resemble one another, and «all» is inappropriate when only two people are involved. This emendation is now attested in ms. 63. Ms. 38 reads only the last two syllables of ክላሆሙ, while ms. 17 omits the full word.

31:12 descended: Latin: aduenit.

his mouth: Latin: os isac. Ms. 21 agrees with Latin but adds ኣቡሁ.

left hand: Latin, with ms. 12, lacks «hand».

31:13 first[2]: et (primis) should be *in* (RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 58; Charles, 1895, p. 117, n. 1 to Latin).

He said to him: Latin: benedixit leuui dicens. The Latin wording has the disadvantage of yielding three instances of benedic- and two of leuui in the verse.

he is: Latin reads a conjunction before ipse (cf. ms. 58). Hartom inserts a phrase here (ואלהי האמת[ו]) which is not attested in the mss.

all: Latin omits, though it does supply omnia with saecula at the end of the verse.

you: Latin does not repeat the pronoun as Ethiopic does. Both RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 58) and Charles (1895, p. 117) supply *te* in brackets.

31:14 extremely great honor: Literally: greatness for honor/ fame. Latin phrases with magno intellegere gloriam eius. Charles emended both texts. Latin became magnam intelligentiam gloriae eius, and Ethiopic was adjusted to agree with it: ዐቢየ ፡ ለክቡ ፡ ለክብሩ (1895, p. 116, n. 7; p. 117, nn. 3-4 to Latin). In 1902 he followed ms. 38 and translated (between daggers): «greatness and great glory»; but in a note (p. 186) he wrote that a slight change in the reading of *b* (= 25) would produce agreement with Latin (see above for the change). «Hence we should probably render: 'to thy great seed to understand His glory', or else by another change 'to thy seed to have great understanding of His glory'». Ethiopic is clearly defective, and Latin gives a better text. Yet it is doubtful whether Charles' emendation of the Ethiopic is correct. Both versions have a word for «great», though it modifies semini in Latin; next comes the contested word; and then both have a term for «honor/ glory» (the absence of a suffix in Ethiopic may be due ultimately to haplography of the sequence ו כבודו). «Greatness» is a virtue that is

may he make you and your descendants (alone) out of all humanity approach him

to serve in his temple like the angels of the presence and like the holy ones.

The descendants of your sons will be like them in honor, greatness,   5 and holiness,

May he make them great throughout all ages.

31:15 They will be princes, judges, and leaders of all the descendants of Jacob's sons.

They will declare the word of the Lord justly   10

and will justly judge all his verdicts.

They will tell my ways to Jacob

and my paths to Israel.

The blessing of the Lord will be placed in their mouths,

mentioned with ክብር later in the verse; the noun form is probably correct. Ethiopic uses a cognate adjective with ዕበይ and it is suspect. It may be that, under the influence of the word «greatness» (μέγαθος?), a scribe or translator misread μαθεῖν as μέγαν and thus gave rise to the Ethiopic adjective.

you[2]: Latin omits.

may he make ... approach: Here too Latin uses a future indicative where Ethiopic reads a subjunctive.

humanity: Literally: flesh. Goldmann's translation has a misprint (הכשׂר for הבשׂר).

to serve: Literally: so that he (= ያቀርህ?) may serve. Latin reads a second-person plural verb (ms. 21 uses a second-person singular form) and adds illi (= ms. 47).

temple: Here Latin offers a plural noun (sanctificationibus) for «sanctuary».

The descendants ... like them: Latin places a conjunction before secundum ipsos, where it marks the beginning of a new clause, and another before semen filiorum, where it seems to indicate «also/ too». Ethiopic mirrors neither of these.

make ... great: Latin sanctificauit (= -bit [RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 58; Charles, 1895, p. 117, n. 6 to Latin; this is another case of a future form paired with an Ethiopic subjunctive]) may be rejected as a mistake caused by the preceding sanctificationem.

throughout: Hartom adds a gratuitous בני before this preposition; the word is found in no ms. of Jubilees.

31:15 princes, judges: Both words could be translated as either «prince» or «judge», but as Latin reads principes et iudices they are rendered as above.

and leaders: Latin omits. መላእክት can mean «princeps, praepositus, dux», etc. (DILLMANN, Lexicon, 48), and this seems the most likely rendering here. Mal 2:7 does, however, call the priest (or Levi) מלאך יהוה צבאות.

sons: Latin and ms. 17 omit.

judge: ይኴንኑ means «they will judge/ condemn/ punish/ have power» (LAMBDIN, Introduction to Classical Ethiopic, 409). Latin examinabunt, though, suggests the notions of weighing, pondering, examining, trying, testing. The underlying Greek verb was probably a form of κρίνειν, which means «to decide/ judge» but also «to question/ examine». See Berger, 478, n. d to v 15.

to Jacob ... to Israel: As RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 145) observed, the demonstratives (huic in both instances) before these names render Greek definite articles.

in their mouths: Latin: semini eius. Charles (1895, p. 117, n. 7 to Latin) simply read os

so that they may bless all the descendants of the beloved.

31:16 Your mother named you Levi,

and she has given you the right name.

You will become one who is joined to the Lord

5   and a companion of all Jacob's sons.

His table is to belong to you;

you and your sons are to eat (from) it.

May your table be filled throughout all history;

may your food not be lacking throughout all ages.

10   31:17 May all who hate you fall before you,

and all your enemies be uprooted and perish.

May the one who blesses you be blessed,

and any nation that curses you be cursed'.

31:18 Then he said to Judah:

15   May the Lord give you the power and strength to trample on all who hate you.

---

eorum (= Ethiopic). In favor of the Ethiopic wording one may cite Mal 2:6 (בפיהו) and 2:7 (מפיהו), where Levi or a priest is under consideration. The reason for the Latin reading is not apparent.

of the beloved: The Latin adjective dilectum should modify semen with which it agrees in case, number, and gender. It could be brought into harmony with the Ethiopic by emending to dilecti as Charles (1895, p. 117, n. 8 to Latin) did. Berger (478, n. g to v 15) compares Isa 41:8 (וזרע אברהם אהבי).

31:16 Your: Ethiopic preposes the object pronoun ኪያከ and resumes it later; Latin does not place a pronoun first.

right name: Literally: the name in truth.

one who is joined to: With Gen 29:34, Jubilees interprets the name Levi as a derivative of לוה. Latin reads ad decorem, which Charles (1902, p. 188, n.) said «... seems to refer to Levi as derived from לויה, 'a crown' or 'garland'». Cf. Berger, 478, n. b to v 16 (he refers to 30:14a). RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 145-46) had earlier made the same proposal.

His (table): Latin: Your. RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 58) and Charles (1895, p. 117, n. 10 to Latin) emended tua to sua (= Ethiopic).

eat (from) it: For parallels to the expression, see RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 146. Latin uses a future tense verb; Ethiopic has an imperative.

history: Literally: generations. Latin employs saecula here and at the end of the verse.

31:17 enemies: inimi should be corrected to inimici (RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 60; Charles, 1895, p. 117, n. 11 to Latin).

uprooted: Latin exterminabuntur (future tense where Ethiopic has a subjunctive) is close to but not quite the same in meaning with the Ethiopic. The same two verbs are also paired at 15:28; 16:9; 30:10; 49:9.

May the one who ... and any: Latin gives quia ut ille ... et si at this point. RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 60) inserted [qui] after ille, but Charles (1895, p. 117, n. 12 to Latin) altered quia ut ille to et qui (= mss. 25 35 39 42 44 47 48 58). But the Latin construction is different: for as the one [who] blesses ... also if ...

31:18 Be: Latin: eris.

Be a prince — you and one of your sons — for Jacob's sons.
May your name and the name of your sons be one
that goes and travels around in the entire earth and the regions.
Then the nations will be frightened before you;
all the nations will be disturbed;   5
all peoples will be disturbed.
31:19 May Jacob's help be in you;
May Israel's safety be found in you.
31:20 At the time when you sit on the honorable throne that is
rightly yours,   10
    there will be great peace for all the descendants of the beloved's sons.
    The one who blesses you will be blessed,
    and all who hate and trouble you,
    and those, too, who curse you
    will be uprooted and destroyed from the earth   15
    and are to be cursed.

31:21 He turned, kissed him again, and hugged him. He was very
happy that he had seen the sons of his true son Jacob. 31:22 He moved
out from between his feet, fell down, and bowed to him. He then
blessed them. He rested there near his father Isaac that night. They ate 20
and drank happily. 31:23 He made Jacob's two sons sleep, one on his
right, one on his left; and it was credited to him as something righteous.

31:24 That night Jacob told his father everything — how the Lord
had shown him great kindness, that he had directed all his ways
favorably and had protected him from every evil one. 31:25 Isaac   25
blessed the God of his father Abraham who had not put an end to his

for Jacob's sons. May ... your sons: Latin omits these words by parablepsis (filiorum
tuorum to filiorum tuorum). See RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 60, 146; Charles, 1895,
p. 117.

travels around: Latin: optinens. RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 146) asked: «Ist
vielleicht auf περιεχόμενον und περιερχόμενον zurückzuführen?» Cf. Charles, 1895,
p. 117, n. 23.

31:20 that is rightly yours: Literally: of your righteousness.

beloved's sons: Hartom has created another reading (בְּנֵי הָאהוב), unless the first word is
a misprint for בְּנֵי.

destroyed: Or: perish.

31:21 his true son Jacob: Literally: Jacob his son who is in righteousness. Littmann
was certainly wrong in attaching the phrase ዘበጽድቅ to Jacob's sons («die echte Söhne
seines Sohnes Jakob»).

31:24 evil one: The masculine singular form እኩይ can be so rendered or it could mean
«evil».

31:25 faithfulness: Literally: righteousness.

son: Charles (1902) incorrectly translated «sons» — a reading that is now attested in
mss. 21 44 but which was present in no copy available to him.

mercy and faithfulness for the son of his servant Isaac. 31:26 In the
morning Jacob told his father Isaac the vow that he had made to the
Lord, the vision that he had seen, that he had built an altar and
everything was ready for offering the sacrifice before the Lord as he had
5 vowed, and that he had come to put him on a donkey. 31:27 But Isaac
said to his son Jacob: 'I am unable to come with you because I am old
and unable to put up with the trip. Go safely, my son, because I am 165
years of age today. I am no longer able to travel. Put your mother on
an animal and let her go with you. 31:28 I know, my son, that it was
10 on my account that you came. Blessed be this day on which you have
seen me alive and I, too, have seen you, my son. 31:29 Be successful
and carry out the vow that you made. Do not delay (in carrying out)
your vow because you will be held accountable regarding the vow. Now
hurry to perform it. May the one who has made everything, to whom
15 you made the vow, be pleased (with it)'. 31:30 He said to Rebecca: 'Go
with your son Jacob'.

So Rebecca went with her son Jacob and Deborah with her. They

---

31:27 put up with the trip: Literally: to persevere/ endure on the way. Note Dill-
mann's (1851) translation: «die reise ... ertragen».

today: The punctuation actually indicates that ʿʿ should be read with the following
clause, but it makes less sense there.

31:29 you will be held accountable regarding the vow: The form ትትኃሡሡ is more
strongly supported than ትትሩሡሡ, but the two may be alternate spellings (with the
gutteral consonant attracting the long a in the former). One could translate with Littmann
«sondern suche das Gelübde [auszuführen]»; it is preferable, though, to side with Charles,
Hartom, and Berger in construing the phrase as «for thou wilt be called to account as
touching the vow» (Charles, 1902). For ትሩሡ with the accusative, see DILLMANN,
Lexicon, 585.

made the vow: Latin orasti orationem is an erroneous rendering caused by the
ambiguity of Greek ηὔξω εὐχήν (either «pray a prayer» or «vow a vow»). See RÖNSCH
(Das Buch der Jubiläen, 146) who listed other instances of the same error and added that
the mistake could not have occurred if the translator had had the Hebrew expression נדרת
נדר before him (cf. also Charles, 1895, pp. 118-19, n. 14; Berger [480, n. b to v 29] gives an
incorrect translation of Latin as «das Gelübde gelobt hast»). The reference here is to
Jub 27:27 where Jacob made a vow at Bethel. Hence ጸለይከ ፡ ጸሎተ. which could also
mean «you prayed a prayer» (DILLMANN, Lexicon, 1263; see Jub 31:31), must be
translated as above.

31:30 Jacob: Latin omits.

her son Jacob: Ethiopic places the name before «her son», but Latin reverses the two
units.

Deborah: Latin adds nutrix sua, which could be a simple explanatory plus. It is also
possible, however, that the Ethiopic tradition has lost the corresponding word through
homoioteleuton (מינקתה עמה).

arrived at Bethel. 31:31 When Jacob recalled the prayer with which his
father had blessed him and his two sons — Levi and Judah — he was
very happy and blessed the God of his fathers Abraham and Isaac.
31:32 He said:'Now I know that I and my sons, too, have an eternal
hope before the God of all'. This is the way it is ordained regarding the   5
two of them, and it is entered for them as an eternal testimony on the
heavenly tablets just as Isaac blessed them.

32:1 That night he stayed at Bethel. Levi dreamed that he — he and
his sons — had been appointed and made into the priesthood of the
most high God forever. When he awakened, he blessed the Lord.   10

31:31 Jacob: Latin omits.

prayer: Latin: blessing. Cf. Jub 31:13-20; 26:22-24; 27:9. One would expect በረከት
here, as Charles (1895, p. 119, n. 17) indicated; but the Ethiopic is the more difficult
reading. The Latin seems preferable, although it could have been influenced by the verb
benedixit; yet the Ethiopic reading could have been affected by the several uses of ባረኮ
and of the cognate verb in v 29. It seems unlikely that a scribe or translator would have
confused ברכה and תפלה or εὐλογία and εὐχή.

31:32 He said: Latin omits. It may be that the expression was lost to this tradition
already in Hebrew when the last words of v 31 (ויצחק) caused the loss by homoioarchton
with ויאמר.

God of all: Latin: dei omnipotentis. Charles (1895, p. 119, n. 21) thought omnipoten-
tis, if translated into Ethiopic, would equal እግዚ ። ኵሉ or ኀያል (the noun አምላክ would
then be spelled አምላከ). The phrase «God of all» occurred in 31:13 (deus cunctorum) and
is frequent in Jubilees (e.g., 22:10, 27; 30:19): moreover, the Latin text does reflect «all»,
though it is part of the larger, familiar word omnipotentis.

ordained: Latin: deputatum, which is very close in meaning to the Ethiopic word but is
not synonymous with it (note decretum in 30:9).

it is entered for them: Latin: portio ipsorum. The latter word corresponds with ሎሙ
(literally: to/ for them), but portio is peculiar. In similar contexts, Latin uses refertur
(30:19), ascendit (30:23), etc. It may be that a form of the verb porto (or reporto) once
stood here; or possibly μερίς/ μέρος and a form of φέρω were confused in the course of
copying.

32:1 he stayed: Latin: they slept. In addition to the difference in number, it may be
that different verbs appeared in the Hebrew texts which lay behind the two versions. Both
Goldmann and Hartom have rendered with forms of לן, but possibly the variants reflect
שׁכב (= Ethiopic) and שׁן (= Latin). The context would have inclined a scribe to read the
latter.

that (he): Latin: quasi (= as, as it were, as if). The Latin seems to express the notion
that the appointment did not actually occur but took place in a dream. The appointment
itself transpires in v 3.

he and his sons: Latin omits. Compare T. Levi 8:3: σὺ καὶ τὸ σπέρμα σου ἕως αἰῶνος
(see Charles, 1902, p. 191, n.).

had been appointed: Latin properly uses a passive (ordinatus sit) formation, where an
impersonal plural active is used in Ethiopic (literally: they had appointed him).

and made: Latin omits, probably by haplography (note ordinatus sit and constitutus sit
[see Dillmann in RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 61]).

priesthood: Latin: priest (= ms. 12). There would be little difference in a Latin ms.
between sacerdotem and sacerdotium (= Ethiopic). T. Levi 8:3, though, reads γίνου εἰς
ἱερέα κυρίου (Charles, 1902, p. 191, n.).

awakened: Literally: awoke from his sleep.

32:2 Jacob got up early in the morning on the fourteenth day of this
month and gave a tithe of everything which had come with him — from
people to animals, from money to all utensils and clothing. He gave a
tithe of everything. 32:3 At that time that Rachel became pregnant
5   with her son Benjamin. Jacob counted his *sons* from him. He went up
(the list), and it came down on Levi in the Lord's share. His father put
priestly clothes on him and ordained him. 32:4 On the fifteenth of this
month he brought to the altar 14 young bulls from the cattle, 28 rams,
49 sheep, 7 kids, and *21* goats — as a burnt offering on the altar and as

32:2 animals: Latin reads omnem animam et, The words omnem and et (= ms. 58)
are common sorts of additions, but animam appears to be an error for animal (if the latter
were read, omnem would have to be changed to omne).
    to all: Latin places a conjunction before usque ad (= ms. 21).
    He gave: Latin omits a conjunction before the verb.
    32:3 *sons*: Latin is correct in reading plural filios. The Ethiopic singular noun could
have entered text when ወልዶ was miscopied as ወልድ (note the preceding ወልዶ); or the
similarity of בניו and בנו could have caused the problem.
    came down on Levi in the Lord's share: Latin: cecidit leuui in sortem dei. The verb
cado is used for the falling of lots on someone or something, and ወረደ can have the same
sense (DILLMANN [*Lexicon*, 901] cites Jon 1:7; cf. Est 3:7). As the name leuui is not
inflected in Latin, one is unable to determine its case, but Charles (1895, p. 119, n. 28;
1902, p. 191, n.) thought the text lacked an equivalent of ለለቡ (ለ). Hence leuui would be
the subject of cecidit: «Levi fell to the portion of the Lord» (1902; so also Goldmann and
Hartom). This seems unlikely, and it is possible that the Latin be rendered: it fell to Levi
in the share of God. That is, Latin may offer virtually verbatim what the Ethiopic text
reads. «It» could also be the appropriate subject of ዐርገ /ascendit (see RÖNSCH, *Das Buch
der Jubiläen*, 146). There are no satisfactory grounds for altering the text, since the two
versions agree so closely. For parallels to Jacob's reverse count, see Charles, 1902,
pp. 191-92, n.; Berger, 481, n. a to v 3.
    ordained him: Literally: filled his hands — a Hebrew idiom for ordaining priests
(RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 147; Charles, 1902, p. 192, n. [he compares Exod 28:41;
29:9]).
    32:4 On ... he brought: Ethiopic separates the clause from the preceding by a
conjunction which Latin lacks (with ms. 20). The Latin does, however, add et before
obtulit. This entails that the date be read with the reference to «filling the hands» at the
end of v 3. Once this change in location of the conjunction had occurred, it was found
appropriate to supply in ipso after obtulit to specify that the offering, too, took place on
the fifteenth. This explanation of in ipso is preferable, despite the gender conflict (die is
feminine), to rendering «through him» — i.e., through Levi — as RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der
Jubiläen*, 147) did. Charles (1895, p. 119, n. 9 to Latin) compared δι ἐμοῦ in T. Levi 9:4,
but the presentation in that work is rather different.
    young bulls: ላህም, can have this connotation (DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 384); it is the
standard meaning of uitulus.
    7 kids: This is the reading of Latin, but Ethiopic has «60 kids». RÖNSCH'S (*Das Buch
der Jubiläen*, 147) solution to the numerical problem — that the translator of Ethiopic
Jubilees read ξ′ (= 60) instead of ζ′ (= 7) — has been accepted by Charles (1895, p. 119,
n. 36; 1902, p. 192, n.) and Littmann (94, n. d). Goldmann (p. רפד, n. to v ז) is aware of
the problem but thinks that 60 is a variant to the number 49. Hartom inexplicably

a pleasing offering for a pleasant aroma before God. 32:5 This was his gift because of the vow which he had made that he would give a tithe along with their sacrifices and their libations. 32:6 When the fire had consumed it, he would burn incense on the fire above it; and as a peace offering two young bulls, four rams, four sheep, four he-goats, two   5 year-old sheep, and two goats. This is what he would do daily for the seven days. 32:7 He was eating happily there — he, all his sons, and his men — for the seven days. He was blessing and praising the Lord who had freed him from all his difficulties and who had granted him his

transposes the kids and goats, while Berger, who mentions Rönsch's solution (481-82, n. a to v 4), still places the Ethiopic number in his text.

21 goats: Ethiopic reads 29. Again RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 147) has correctly explained the variant by positing that ἐννέα (= nine) and ἕνα (= one) were confused. The Latin has properly maintained the heptadic system. See Charles, 1895, p. 119, n. 38; 1902, p. 192, n.; Littmann, 94, n. c; and Berger, 481-82, n. a to v 4. Goldmann (p. רפד, n. to v ד) merely mentions the variant; Hartom strangely follows the Ethiopic, though he usually prefers the Latin text.

as a (burnt offering): Latin: haec.

and as a (pleasing): Latin has no conjunction (with ms. 12); hence it refers to the altar of offerings — a reading preferred by Charles (1895. p. 120, n. 1). The Latin term fructuum reflects a form of κάρπωμα which is a regular equivalent in LXX for אשּׁה and, at times, for עלה.

32:5 gift: For መንኣ in this sense, see DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 527.

their (sacrifices): Latin omits.

32:6 it, he would burn: Latin omits these words which the context virtually requires. Charles (1895, p. 121) inserted ea incendebat (cf. Dillmann in RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 63: ea, suffiebat).

above it: Latin omits the pronoun.

four sheep, four he-goats: Latin omits by parablepsis (quattuor — quattuor). See Charles, 1895, p. 121.

This is what: Latin reads et se*mel* haec. Ethiopic has the demonstrative but offers ከመ where the conjunction and semel (= once) figure in Latin. Charles (1895, p. 121, n. 1 to Latin) emended to [et] secundum. Perhaps, though, it would be preferable to read secus (note that Ceriani found space for three uncertain letters) which can mean «according to, in proportion to».

for: Latin uses in.

32:7 He was ... seven days: Latin omits these words by parablepsis with the last words of v 6 (septem dies ... septem dies). See RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 147.

praising: The unusual Latin phrase hymnum dicebat must have approximately the same meaning as the Ethiopic verb.

who had granted him his vow: This interpretation was first offered by Dillmann (1851); and Charles (1902), Goldmann, and Hartom have sided with him. Littmann (94, n. g), too, followed his approach, although he noted that the text could be translated: to whom he had given the vow. Berger has now adopted this latter rendering, but he is also aware of the approach taken here (482, n. c to v 7). The translation given above is better because the last clause is parallel with ለሕጻል. Latin also confirms it, despite the facts that it introduces the clause with quoniam, which is possibly a corruption of qui (+ etiam?), and omits an indirect object.

vow. 32:8 He tithed all the clean animals and made an offering of them. He gave his son Levi the unclean animals and gave him all the persons of the men. 32:9 Levi rather than his ten brothers served as priest in Bethel before his father Jacob. There he was a priest, and
5 Jacob gave what he had vowed. In this way he again gave a tithe to the Lord. He sanctified it, and it became holy.

32:10 For this reason it is ordained as a law on the heavenly tablets to tithe a second time, to eat it before the Lord — year by year — in the place which has been chosen (as the site) where his name will reside.
10 This law has no temporal limits forever. 32:11 That statute has been written down so that it should be carried out year by year — to eat the tithe a second time before the Lord in the place that has been chosen. One is not to leave any of it over from this year to the next year. 32:12 For the seed is to be eaten in its year until the time for harvesting
15 the seed of the year; the wine (will be drunk) until the time for wine;

32:8 He gave: Charles (1895, p. 120; 1902, p. 193, n.) inserted ኢ (= not) before the verb, explaining: «In Test. Levi 9 Levi says that Jacob ἀπεδεκάτωσε πάντα δι᾽ ἐμοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ. Our text would limit this to the clean animals». (1902) Littmann (95, n. a) opposed Charles and maintained that the text is to be understood in the sense that «Jakob dem Levi Macht über das unreine Vieh gab (wie auch über die Menschenseelen), event. zu vernichten». Berger (482, n. c to v 8), too, notes that Levi is here given authority over two categories — unclean animals and people — which are not tithed and that this is perhaps the power to bind mentioned in 5Q13, col. 2.6-7:]you made known to Jacob in Bethel[ ]you have[ ]Levi and given him to bind[. For the text, see DJD 3.182.

32:9 rather than: Literally: from. Dillmann (1851) and Littmann translated with «im Vorzug vor» (the latter bracketed the first two words). Charles (1902) rendered with «in preference to».

gave: A number of mss. (21 35 38 44 47 58 63) attach a pronoun to the verb (= he gave to him).

again gave a tithe: Or: gave a second tithe.

sanctified it: The pronoun, which is lacking in several excellent mss. (9 12 20 25 35 63), could refer to Levi, but the context favors understanding «it» as referring to «tithe», the Ethiopic word for which can be considered masculine (DILLMANN, Lexicon, 960; if ዓሥም is an adjective here, then the word is masculine in this verse). See v 10.

32:10 tithe a second time: Or: give a second tithe, if one were to accept the accusative form ዓሥራተ in mss. 9 12 17 38 as the proper reading.

32:12 harvesting: The mss. show some variation: ሐፈሥ in 20 25 35 44; ኀለፈ in 9 17 38 63; ቀፀመ in 21 39ᶜ 42 47 48 (= Dillmann, 1851); and the others omit a word at this point. Neither of the latter two options has sufficient support, but the former two do. Charles (1895, 1902) and Littmann preferred ሐፈሥ, while Dillmann (1859), Goldmann, Hartom, and Berger (483, n. a to v 12) have selected ኀለፈ (= to pass). Since the gutterals ሐ and ኀ are easily interchanged, it would not have been difficult for a scribe to confuse the two verbs; but harvest times are under consideration here (see below) and this means that ሐፈሥ should be read. Charles (1895, p. 121, n. 28) emended the infinitive ሐፈሥ to ሐፈረ, but this is unnecessary as the infinitive can take an accusative object (DILLMANN, Ethiopic Grammar, sec. 187.1 [p. 472]).

and the olive (will be used) until the proper time of its season.
32:13 Any of it that is left over and grows old is to be (considered)
contaminated; it is to be burned up because it has become impure.
32:14 In this way they are to eat it at the same time in the sanctuary;
they are not to let it grow old. 32:15 The entire tithe of cattle and sheep   5
is holy to the Lord, and is to belong to his priests who will eat (it)
before him year by year, because this is the way it is ordained and
inscribed on the heavenly tablets regarding the tithe.

32:16 During the next night, on the twenty-second day of this
month, Jacob decided to build up that place and to surround the   10
courtyard with a wall, to sanctify it, and make it eternally holy for
himself and for his children after him forever. 32:17 The Lord ap-
peared to him during the night. He blessed him and said to him: 'You
are not to be called Jacob only but you will (also) be named Israel'.

the olive: Literally: as for the olive.

proper time of its season: Literally: the day/ time of the season of its day/ time. Several
mss. (9 12 21 38) omit *ⷫⷮⷦⷁⷮⷀⷮⷁ*.

YADIN (*The Temple Scroll*, 1.93) has argued that 11QT 43:4-10 and Jub 32:10-12 are
«almost identical». Especially in 32:12 he found the closest parallels to the Temple
Scroll's system of first-fruit festivals and its law that the festival of the next year marks the
end of the period during which the particular crop may be eaten: «until the time for
harvesting the seed of the year» refers to the time which the scroll designates as עד יום חג
הביכורים (i.e., first-fruits לדגן החטים); «until the time for wine» corresponds with עד יום
מועד התירוש; and «the olive until the proper time of its season» and the scroll's phrase
למועד יום הקרב שמן חדש intend the same point. For a similar notion of a yearly second
tithe Yadin also compares Josephus, *Ant.* IV.240-42 (see pp. 93-94; 2.128-29). Cf. also
J. Baumgarten, «4Q Halakahᵃ 5, the Law of Ḥadash, and the Pentecontad Calendar»,
JJS 27 (1976) 36-46 (= *Studies in Qumran Law* [SJLA 24; Leiden: Brill, 1977] 131-42).
The frequent uses of እስከ = עד here shows that Littmann (95, n. f) was incorrect in
translating it with «während».

32:13 impure: Or: unclean.

32:14 at the same time: ኅቡረ means «together» either in time or place (DILLMANN,
Lexicon, 598). The translators have rendered it with «together» here, but as the entire
context deals with the proper times for eating the different kinds of second tithes
«together in time/ at the same time» seems the better English equivalent.

32:15 who will eat (it): Or: which they will eat.

32:16 forever: Mss. 9 12 17 21 38 63 omit, as did Dillmann (1859) and Charles (1895).

32:17 only: The reading ባሕቲተ (-ቲ in 38; the form is actually ባሕቲቲተ. with
the extra syllable appearing at the point where the scribe switched columns) has
overwhelming support. Ms. 12 offers ባሕተ, which is probably a mistake for the word
ባሕቲተ, since the missing syllable was omitted when the scribe ended one column and
began another. Dillmann (1851: «nur»), Goldmann (לבדו, though he also inserts עוד),
and Berger («nur») have translated correctly; but Charles, who emended to ባሕተ
(= «but» [1902; see 1895, p. 121, n. 37]), Littmann («sondern» — he also inserts
«mehr»), and Hartom (עוד) have followed Gen 35:10 (עוד), not the preferred reading
among the mss. of Jubilees.

32:18 He said to him a second time: 'I am the Lord who created heaven and earth. I will increase your numbers and multiply you very much. Kings will come from you, and they will rule wherever mankind has set foot. 32:19 I will give your descendants all of the land that is
5   beneath the sky. They will rule over all the nations just as they wish. Afterwards, they will gain the entire earth, and they will possess it forever'. 32:20 When he had finished speaking with him, he went up from him, and Jacob kept watching until he had gone up into heaven. 32:21 In a night vision he saw an angel coming down from heaven with
10 seven tablets in his hands. He gave (them) to Jacob, and he read them. He read everything that was written in them — what would happen to

32:18 mankind has set foot: Literally: the footsteps of mankind have trod. Latin, which resumes with the word ubicumque, presents a rather different text: fecerint uestigium pedum suorum aduersus filios hominum. The words uestigium pedum suorum are nearly equivalent to ኣሰረ, and filios hominum agrees with ውሉ፡ ሰብእ. So, the two problems are the verb fecerint and the preposition aduersus. Dillmann (in RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 63) rendered the Ethiopic as calcaverit vestigium filiorum hominis. Charles (1895, p. 121, n. 44; cf. n. 2 to Latin) suspected that the Latin was corrupt. It may be that fecerint resulted from a Greek confusion of forms of πατέω (= to tread) and ποιέω (= to make), but aduersus remains puzzling.

32:19 land: Latin: blessings. In Gen 35:12 the versions read «earth». Charles (1895, p. 121, n. 45; 1902, p. 194, n.) thought that Latin might be correct, but it is difficult to understand why, as the context speaks of territory. The source of the variant may lie in parallel passages such as Gen 28:4; 48:3.

rule: Latin adds et potestatem exercent. RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 147) called exercent a «metaplastisches Futurum». If he is correct, Charles' (1895, p. 121, n. 4 to Latin) change to exercebunt would be unnecessary.

just as they wish: The Ethiopic mss. with the exception of 12 read a verb (ፈቀዱ), but Latin resorts to a nominal construction. Lengthening the vowel of ፈ to ፋ would produce the same nominal phrase in Ethiopic.

32:20 gone up: Latin adds a second instance of ab eo.

32:21 angel: Latin adds: of God.

tablets: Latin: tabulae buxeae. For the latter term, see RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 147) who referred to 4 Esdr 14:24 and LXXExod 24:12 where one finds τὰ πυξία [the Greek cognate of buxeus/ buxum] τὰ λίθανα.

hands: Latin uses a singular form. The difference between the singular and plural in the Hebrew would be very slight (ידו and ידיו).

gave (them): Ethiopic lacks a pronominal object, but Latin supplies illas.

read them: Here Latin lacks a pronominal object and Ethiopic provides one.

He read: Latin: cognouit. Charles saw a need to emend this passage. In 1895 (p. 122, n. 1; cf. Littmann, 95, n. h) he changed አግበበ to አልመረ; in 1902 he added that even his revised text should be improved: «But probably for 'read and knew' we should read 'read', ...» (p. 194, n.) He regarded the two Ethiopic verbs in this and the preceding clause as a dittography and the two in Latin as alternate renderings of ἀνέγνω,the first of which — «read» — was correct (see 1902, pp. xli-xlii). The Ethiopic አግበበ is probably an error, but it should be explained as the result of confusing the similar Greek verbs ἀνέγνω and ἔγνω.

him and his sons throughout all ages. 32:22 After he had shown him
everything that was written on the tablets, he said to him: 'Do not
build up this place, and do not make it an eternal temple. Do not live
here because this is not the place. Go to the house of your father
Abraham and live where your father Isaac is until the day of your   5
father's death. 32:23 For you will die peacefully in Egypt and be buried
honorably in this land in the grave of your fathers — with Abraham
and Isaac. 32:24 Do not be afraid because everything will happen just
as you have seen and read. Now you write down everything just as you
have seen and read'. 32:25 Then Jacob said: 'Lord, how shall I   10
remember everything just as I have read and seen'? He said to him: 'I
will remind you of everything'. 32:26 When he had gone from him, he
awakened and remembered everything that he had read and seen. He

everything: Latin omits.

what would: Latin places a conjunction before this subordinate clause, but Ethiopic
does not.

32:22 tablets: Latin uses an expression that resembles the one in v 21 — tabulis buxeis
(the scribe wrote the final two syllables of tabulis twice).

build up: Latin again uses a future tense where Ethiopic reads a subjunctive form.

here: Latin, for the second time in the verse, reads hunc locum; Ethiopic has ዝየ.

this is not the place: Latin: sic erit locus iste. RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 62) read:
hic [non] erit locus iste, while Charles (1895, p. 123, n. 3 to Latin) suggested (non) erit
locus iste (he claimed that the ms. added hic; this should be sic). Rönsch's proposal would
bring the two versions into near harmony, though iste has no parallel in the Ethiopic text.

Go: Latin places sed before the verb. Hartom has either omitted this verb from his
translation or the gratuitous לך which he inserts should have been pointed as לֵךְ.

house: Latin: locum barin. RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 147-48) argued that, unless
bareos were to be read, barin should be explained in one of two ways: either a translator
understood it as the name of Abraham's residence, or barin is in apposition to locum. One
wonders, though, whether locum barin resulted when domum and locum were confused.
A scribe may then have thought it helpful to add barin in order to define what that place
was.

32:23 in the grave of your fathers: Latin puts a conjunction before these words and
adds a verb (poneris) after them, thus forming a new clause.

32:24 Now you ... read: Latin: quae scripta sunt omnia. Charles (1895, p. 122, n. 13)
declared the Latin «... corrupt, as Jacob's question [see v 25] shows». He is probably
correct, but the Latin does reflect the words «write» and «all» which are in Ethiopic.
Rather than a command «write» Latin again (see v 21) uses a relative clause and simply
omits the last words (from ከመ to the end) which may have appeared redundant.

32:25 just as: The best reading is ከመ, with only ms. 12 using በ (Charles' note [1895,
p. 122, n. 14] is inaccurate). Latin, however, supports the relative pronoun with quae.

32:26 wrote down: Latin: «hid». RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 148) correctly
explained the variant as the result of interchanging ἔγραψε and ἔκρυψε. He added:
«Ferner schon liegt die Identificirung von celavit mit caelavit = insculpsit, inscripsit
(tabulae), ἔγλυψε». The former suggestion is preferable, and it has been accepted by

wrote down all the things that he had read and seen. 32:27 He
celebrated one more day there. On it he sacrificed exactly as he had
been sacrificing on the previous days. He named it Addition because
that day was added. He named the previous ones the Festival.
5 32:28 This is the way it was revealed that it should be, and it is written
on the heavenly tablets. For this reason it was revealed to him that he
should celebrate it and add it to the seven days of the festival. 32:29 It

Charles (1895, p. 122, n. 16), Goldmann (p. רפה, n. to v כו), and perhaps by Berger (485,
n. a to v 26). Hartom, who follows the Latin (ויסתר), comments that though Jacob was
ordered to write everything, he was not told to publish what he wrote (p. 101, n. to v כו).
Berger (ibid.) further notes that hiding what has been revealed corresponds to a general
tradition (e.g., Mark 16:8). Although this is true, it is more likely that the Ethiopic text is
correct here in stating that Jacob did as he was told.

32:27 more: Latin lacks a similar word, but the context virtually requires it (only
mss. 38 44 omit ዓዲ), since it is describing a day which is added to the prescribed seven of
the festival of tabernacles.

exactly as: Latin: quanta. The two are not identical but are similar in meaning. Behind
the two readings one could posit ככל אשר (see Goldmann) and כאשר (see Hartom).

Addition ... added: Latin: retentatio ... retentus est. The two versions represent
differing interpretations of the original text. The Hebrew would have been, according to
Hartom, נעצר ... עצרת (cf. Lev 23:36; Num 29:35; Neh 8:18; 2 Chr 7:9). עצר means «to
restrain, retain», while *BDB* (783) define the noun as «assembly (? *as confined, held in*)».
Latin has, it appears, preserved the etymological sense of the term, though retentatio is
not attested elsewhere (RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 148). There is a noun retentio
(= a keeping back, retaining), and the verb retineo means «to restrain, keep back». With
the word understood in this sense, Latin explains the name as arising from the fact that
Jacob was detained at Bethel (note ibi which is not paralleled in the Ethiopic) an extra
day. The Ethiopic tradition understands the word עצרת in the sense of «addition».
Rönsch (ibid.) referred to a Greek rendering of this word at Num 29:35 as πλείωσις
ἐπισχέσεως (the latter term means «a checking, stopping») and noted that the Greek
equivalent for «addition» ἐπίθεσις differed very little from ἐπίσχεσις. Rönsch did not say
which he considered original, but Charles (1895, p. 122, nn. 21-22) believed that the Latin
was corrupt. By 1902, however, he had reversed himself; he considered the Latin possible
and thought the Ethiopic had resulted from confusion of ἐπίσχεσις and ἐπίθεσις (p. 195,
n.). He also observed that if one accepts this explanation, one must also assume that
confusion of the nouns led to corruption of the following verb (ἐπεσχέθη became
ἐπετέθη). The Latin does seem the better text because it has at least an etymological
justification; the Ethiopic could be defended only as a free interpretation which is related
to the explanation in vv 28-29. The variant «that day» (Ethiopic)/ «one day» (Latin) is
also connected with the different ways in which the versions explain the name of the
eighth day.

previous ones: Latin specifies «days» as it did in the earlier instance of this phrase in
the verse.

32:28 it should be: Latin uses a plural verb (fierent) which both RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der
Jubiläen*, 64) and Charles (1895, p. 123, n. 9 to Latin) emended to fieret (= Ethiopic).

this (reason): Though እስመ rather than ዘ is poorly attested in the ms. tradition (only 12
38), Latin propter quod supports it. Charles (1895, p. 122, n. 24) emended the Ethiopic to
በእንተዝ (1902: «wherefore»).

(celebrate) it: Latin: that day.

(add) it: Latin omits the pronominal object.

was called Addition because of the fact that it is entered in the testimony of the festal days in accord with the number of days in the year.

32:30 That night, on the twenty-third of this month, Deborah, Rebecca's nurse, died. They buried her below the city, beneath the oak   5 (near) the stream. He named that place the Stream of Deborah and the oak the Oak of Mourning for Deborah.

32:29 Addition: As in v 27 Latin has retentatio, thought the explanation of the name is addita est. See below.

because of the fact that: Ethiopic and Latin have the same expression (because + pronoun). Though he admitted this, Charles (1902, p. 196, n.) thought that it did not give the correct sense, i.e., the following does not explain the reason for the name of the extra day. «Hence I suggest that propter quod = διότι = כי, which the Greek translator should have rendered in this context by ὅτε». That is, it was given this name *when* it was recorded on the celestial tablets. Nevertheless, one ought to reject his explanation, since it involves a misunderstanding of what is said in the latter part of the verse.

it is entered: The standard verb for placing information on the heavenly tablets appears here in Ethiopic (literally: they will bring [it] up). The word ይዕቲ (feminine singular, nominative case) is unexpected. Charles (1895, p. 122, n. 26) changed the verb to የዐርግ and retained the pronoun: «it was recorded» (1902); but the grammatical problem remains in his «corrected» text (contrary to ibid., p. 196, n.). The scribes of several mss. sensed the difficulty and omitted ይዕቲ (20 21 39 42 47 48 58). The simplest change would be to make the pronoun accusative (ይዕተ). Latin ironically uses addita est — a phrase which reflects the Ethiopic name «Addition», not the Latin. Because Ethiopic employs the expected verb with the heavenly tablets, the Latin is suspect.

testimony: Latin: dies. Charles (1895, p. 122, n. 26) emended to በዕለት to make Ethiopic agree with Latin (see also 1902, p. 196, n.). Littmann (96, n. b) left a blank here, although he did mention Charles' suggestion. The Latin may, however, have been influenced by the following dierum. «Testimony» is more likely in the context of the heavenly tablets.

in accord with: Charles (1902, p. 196, n.) also altered the text at this point. He proposed that an original ב was read as כ and that the text should read «in» (= ms. 38, though Charles did not mention this). His reconstuction of the entire verse is: «And its name was called 'a keeping back' (*i.e.* עצרת), when it was recorded amongst the days of the feast-days in the number of the days of the year». With Berger (485, n. c to v 29) one should reject this as unsatisfactory. Regarding this act of recording a calendaric regulation in the heavenly tablets he writes: «Zeugnis ist hier fast mit Gebot identisch. Erwähnung der Tage des Jahres, weil das Einzelfest unverrückbar seinen Ort darin hat». See also Hartom (101, n. to v כס) who suggests that the reference is to adding this day to the number of festival days in the year (reading ב with Charles, not כ).

32:30 twenty-third: Latin has the same text as Ethiopic but in a confused order so that nonsense results. With RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 64) and Charles (1895, p. 123) one should insert tertio after uigensimo. Curiously, Charles has also left tertia where it now stands.

beneath the oak: As RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 149) observed, the Latin translator must have had a form of βάλανος before him, since this word can mean either «acorn» or «oak tree». glans does mean «acorn» which is obviously inappropriate here.

(near): Literally: of (Latin: in).

He named: Latin: they named.

and the oak ... Deborah: Latin omits by parablepsis from debborae to debborae.

32:31 Then Rebecca set out and returned home to his father Isaac. Through her Jacob sent rams, he-goats, and sheep to make his father a meal as he would wish. 32:32 He followed his mother until he reached the country of Kabratan, and he remained there. 32:33 During the
5 night Rachel gave birth to a son. She named him Son of my Pain because she had difficulty when she was giving birth to him. But his father named him Benjamin on the eleventh of the eighth month, during the first year of the sixth week of this jubilee [2143]. 32:34 Rachel died there and was buried in the country of Ephrathah,

32:31 Rebecca: Latin: Jacob. The sequel shows that Jacob is not with his father. The Latin reading may have been occasioned by the phrase «to his father Isaac». RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 64) and Charles (1895, p. 123, n. 12 to Latin) emended Latin to make it agree with Ethiopic.

    home: Literally: to the house. Latin: to the tower. The same variants occur at 32:22.

    Through her: Literally: in her hands (Latin: hand).

    he-goats, and sheep: Latin and ms. 38 reverse the terms.

    to make: Literally (Ethiopic): so that she would make.

    as he would wish: Ethiopic has a verb, while Latin expresses the thought with a noun (literally: according to his wish). Mss. 20 25 35 44 have «as he would love» (ፍቅሩ).

32:32 country of Kabratan: Latin: in dabrata (this term should be corrected to cabrata [RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 64; Charles, 1895, p. 125, n. 1. to Latin]). The name derives from Gen 35:16 where MT's כברת הארץ (*RSV*: «some distance») was understood as the name of a place by LXX (χαβράθα εἰς γῆν) and OL⁰ (chabratha in terra). For Jerome's discussion of the phrase, see Rönsch, ibid., 149; cf. also Dillmann, 1851, p. 72, n. 53; Charles, 1895, p. 124, n. 2 (he thought that ምድር should follow the word as in LXX); 1902, p. 196, n.; Littmann, 96, n. d; Goldmann, p. רפו, n. to v לב; Hartom, 101-2, n. to v לב; and Berger, 486, n. b to v 32.

    remained: ነበረ means «lived» but can be rendered «stayed» (DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 613: manere), as remansit in Latin suggests it should here. Presumably ישב stood in the original.

32:33 the night: Latin: nocte illa. The latter word may reflect a Greek definite article.

    She named him ... named him: Latin, through parablepsis (uocauit nomen eius — uocauit nomen eius), omits the name which Rachel gave her son and the fact that it was Jacob who called him Benjamin. Cf. Gen 35:16, 18; RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 149; Charles, 1895, p. 124, n. 5; p. 125.

    on the eleventh ... this jubilee: Latin reads «tenth» for «eleventh» with mss. 42 47 48 58 63 (39 has «twentieth») but otherwise offers the same date, although it places the elements of it in different order (the jubilee reference comes first, not last, and is preceded by «and», not «when»). Latin in decimo could be a mistake for in undecimo or undecimo; yet Latin supplies die, while the Ethiopic has አሚረ — a word that means «day» but in this context with ዐሱሩ ፡ ወ furnishes the digit to compose the number «eleven». Thus, in this place the two versions have the same word though apparently with different meanings.

32:34 Rachel: Ethiopic, with all versions of Gen 35:19, begins the sentence with a conjunction. Latin uniquely uses tunc. Cf. Charles, 1895, p. 124, n. 11.

    country: Though this word is supported by Ethiopic and Latin, Gen 35:19 reads «way». See Charles, 1895, p. 124, n. 12; 1902, p. 196, n.

that is, Bethlehem. Jacob built a pillar at Rachel's grave — on the road above her grave.

33:1 Jacob went and lived to the south of the Tower of Eder Ephrathah. He went to his father Isaac — he and his wife Leah — on the first of the tenth month. 33:2 When Reuben saw Bilhah, Rachel's   5 maid — his father's concubine — bathing in water in a private place, he loved her. 33:3 At night he hid. He entered Bilhah's house at night and found her lying alone in her bed and sleeping in her tent. 33:4 After he

a pillar ... grave: Where Ethiopic has ω-ስ-ተ, Latin reads super. A more noteworthy difference arises at the end of the verse where eius sepulcri eius looks suspect. RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 64, 149) proposed reading secus [viam] sepulcri eius. He noted also that in the Vulgate and among ecclesiastical authors titulus meant στήλη (= monument, gravestone). Charles (1895, p. 125, n. 4 to Latin) adopted the same emendation. The genitive form of sepulcri does indicate that something has disappeared from the text.

33:1 lived: Latin: requieuit. Gen 35:21 (= LXX 35:16) has Jacob pitching his tent. The verb requieuit could be translated «he stopped».

Tower of Eder Ephrathah: There is significant variation in spelling among the mss., but behind the Ethiopic forms of the name there is at least מגדל עדר (Gen 35:21) and possibly מגדל עדר אפרתה (cf. Latin magdale efratam). See Dillmann, 1851, p. 72, n. 54; Charles, 1895, p. 124, n. 14; 1902, p. 197, n. (in both publications he cites T. Reub. 3:13: ἐν Γαδὲρ πλησίον 'Εφραθά); Littmann, 96, n. f; Goldmann, p. רפו, n. to v א; Hartom, 102, n. to v א; and Berger, 487, nn. a-b to v 1.

his wife Leah: Latin has the order uxor sua lia; Ethiopic places the name first.

33:2 When: Syriac, after the initial conjunction, adds (literally): in one of the days.

Rachel's maid: Syriac omits.

he (loved): Both Latin and Syriac place a conjunction before the verb as do mss. 21 35 38 39ᶜ 58 63. It is unlikely, however, that textual significance attaches to Ethiopic's omission of ω here because the first verb, rather than being indicative perfect (= Latin and Syriac), is a gerund (a «perfective active participle» in Lambdin's terms [*Introduction to Classical Ethiopic*, sec. 31.1 (pp. 140-41)]).

33:3 At night he hid. He entered Bilhah's house at night: Latin and Syriac express the notion of hiddenness or secrecy through a noun (Latin) or adverb (Syriac), but Ethiopic has made it into an independent clause and has attached በሌሊተ to it. Neither of the other versions refers to the night at this point. Charles (1895, p. 124, n. 21) emended Ethiopic to ω+ንብአ ፡ በሌሊት ፡ ቦአ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ባላን (he bracketed the next word ሌሊት [cf. also 1902, p. 197, n.]). This would yield a text quite close to that of Latin and Syriac, though it would not reproduce the word-order on which they agree. There are several elements in the Ethiopic text which may have facilitated scribal blunders: +ንብአ and ቦአ share two consecutive consonants (this would also be the case in Hebrew: אבה and אב); and በሌሊተ and ቤተ ፡ ባላን ፡ ሌሊት, with their several instances of በ and ላ, could have added to the difficulty of copying accurately. If the locations of ω+ንብአ and ωቦአ were switched, the Latin and Syriac order would be obtained (changing ω+ንብአ to +ንቢአ with Charles). The second reference to night may have been added after the text was disrupted. Latin, unlike Ethiopic and Syriac, lacks a reference to Bilhah's house.

lying ... sleeping: Though nearly all of the Ethiopic mss. read ተሰክብ (= she was lying), Charles (1895, p. 124, n. 23) read ተነውም (so mss. 21 [it uses the word ተሰክብ later] 38) because of Latin dormientem. The choice of the correct reading here is, however, part of a larger problem, as Ethiopic employs two verbs (ተሰክብ and ተነውም; Charles [ibid.,

1   had lain with her, she awakened and saw that Reuben was lying with
    her in the bed. She uncovered the edge of her (clothing), took hold of
    him, shouted out, and realized that it was Reuben. 33:5 She was
    ashamed because of him. Once she had released her grip on him, he ran
5   away. 33:6 She grieved terribly about this matter and told no one at
    all. 33:7 When Jacob came and looked for her, she said to him: 'I am

n. 24] omitted the latter with its conjunction) where Latin gives just one. Syriac omits the
remainder of the verse after the name «Bilhah» and, for that reason, offers no assistance
on this point. Ethiopic does seem somewhat verbose, but a Latin participle (Dillmann [in
Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 65] suggested that cubantem would correspond with ተስ
ክብ) could have been omitted by homoioteleuton (sol*am* et cubent*em*).

    in her tent: Latin: in tabernaculo suo. אהל may have appeared in the original and have
been differently translated in the Greek texts that underlie the present versions. It is more
likely, though, that the general word ቤት has here the more specific sense «a tent»
(Dillmann, *Lexicon*, 535).

    33:4 lain: Latin and Syriac: slept. One could render ሰከበ as «slept» (Dillmann,
Lexicon, 380).

    with her ... with her: Syriac's shorter text could be due to intentional abbreviating by
the chronicler or to haplography (with her ... with her). Latin omits ወእኂት perhaps also
by haplography (*et* uidit *et* ecce) and reads erat where Ethiopic has a second instance of a
form of ሰከበ. Here Latin can be explained as the product of homoioarchton (cubans
cum).

    She uncovered ... (clothing): Syriac omits this clause which Latin supplies, though
there is no possessive word with sagum. Sagum means «covering, garment», while the
term ክንፍ refers to a wing or to the edge of a garment and reflects כנף.

    33:5 She was ashamed because of him: Latin reverses the genders of the subject and of
the object of the preposition, but Syriac clearly supports Ethiopic (note ܐܐܡܒ). Charles
(1895, p. 125, n. 8 to Latin) made the two simple changes in Latin which produce the text
of the other versions: confusus/ confusa and ea/eo. Note that with dimisit the Latin must
add illa to clarify the change subject.

    her grip: Literally (in the three versions): her hands (singular in Syriac).

    he ran away: Mss. 25 39 42¹ (?) 44 48 read a feminine subject; Latin fugit is ambiguous
although the context implies that it is feminine; and Syriac omits the clause. In
T. Reub. 3:14 Reuben, who is speaking, says that he left her. There has been disagree-
ment among the translators, with Dillmann (1851; in 1859 he read the masculine form)
and Hartom opting for the feminine, and Charles (1895, 1902), Littmann, Goldmann, and
Berger preferring the masculine. The latter must be the superior reading. ጐየት was
probably a «correction» made to produce harmony between the verb and its context.

    33:6 terribly: Literally: very much/ greatly.

    matter: Latin lacks a noun, though hoc alone comes very close to expressing the same
idea. Syriac ܪ̈ܓܒܐ agrees with ግብር in ms. 17.

    told no one at all: Both Latin and Syriac «and to a man/ anyone» first in the clause,
but Ethiopic locates the verb in this position. Latin omni more nearly mirrors Ethiopic
ወኢለመኑ than Syriac which uses only the preposition ܠ. Ethiopic and Syriac negate the
verb; Latin, however, omits non with the result that it has Bilhah telling everyone about
the event. Rönsch, (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 66) and Charles (1895, p. 125) added non to
the text. Latin uniquely ends the verse with quemadmodum ueniret. It is unlikely to be
original and may be a doublet of the verb uenit at the beginning of v 7.

    33:7 and looked for her: So Ethiopic and Syriac; Latin has indicauit illi. This verb was

not pure for you because I am too contaminated for you, since Reuben defiled me and lay with me at night. I was sleeping and did not realize (it) until he uncovered the edge of my (garment) and lay with me'. 33:8 Jacob was very angry at Reuben because he had lain with Bilhah, since he had uncovered the covering of his father. 33:9 Jacob did not approach her again because Reuben had defiled her. 5

used at the end of v 6 as well. Possibly inquisiuit stood in the text, but a scribe, who had just written indicauit, may have written it again.

she said to him: Ethiopic and Syriac agree precisely, but Latin introduces a conjunction before dixit and uses «Jacob» instead of a pronoun.

pure for you: Ethiopic and Syriac place the prepositional phrase after the adjective, while Latin reverses the two elements.

because I am too contaminated for you: Syriac omits the clause, either through abbreviation or parablepsis (ܪ ܕܟ̇ܐ ... ܪ ܕܟ̇ܐ). Latin abs te agrees literally with Ethiopic አምኔከ — a phrase which has been variously translated: «for you» (Dillmann, 1851; Littmann, though he added [96, n. g] that the separative מ indicated: «so dass du mich nicht anrühren darfst»; Goldmann; and Hartom); «as regards thee» (Charles, 1902); and «weg von dir» (Berger). The translation given here interprets «from» as expressing a comparison.

Reuben: Syriac alone adds «your son».

lay: Latin and Syriac use «slept». See the note to 33:4 above.

at night: Or: in/during the night, Syriac omits.

I was: Ethiopic and Latin introduce this clause with a conjunction, while Syriac joins it to the preceding with ܟܕ .

uncovered ... (garment): Ethiopic and Syriac use the same idiom, but Latin offers decooperuit (on which see RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 150) coopertorium (= a cover).

and lay with me: For «lay» Latin has dormiuit again. Syriac omits the clause.

33:8 very angry at Reuben: Syriac and Latin locate the adverb «very» after «at Reuben» but Ethiopic reverses the order.

lain: Latin and Syriac: slept.

since ... father: Latin omits this clause which is the second one introduced by a causal word. Syriac includes it, though it introduces it with a conjunction. For the Syriac addition at the end of the verse (written in the margin), see Tisserant, «Fragments syriaques», 216, n. 1; CHABOT, *Chronicon*, 56, n. 1.

33:9 approach: Latin cognouit and Syriac ܩܪܒ̣ܬ̇ combine to oppose ቀርበ. Charles (1895, p. 125, n. 33) adduced T. Reub. 3:15 (μηδὲ ἁψάμενος αὐτῆς) in support of the suffixal form of the verb and against ቀርበ in mss. 12 25 44 48 63. He regarded (non) cognouit as a «free rendering». Syriac, too, reads a suffix, but the variation in meaning remains. It is possible that the Greek verbs ἔγνω (= he knew) and ἤγγισε (= he approached) became confused and thus the present disagreement was created.

because ... Lord: Syriac reproduces no more of the text as it is found in Ethiopic. Instead, the chronicler adds a statement about Reuben's penitential fast that finds a parallel in T. Reub. 1:10 (cf. Tisserant, «Fragments syriaques», 217-18): «... I did not drink wine or liquor; meat did not enter my mouth, and I did not eat any pleasurable food». (translation of H.C. Kee, in J.H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* [2 vols.; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983, 1985] 1.782). Berger (488, n. a to v 9) doubts that the chronicler refers here to a Syriac version of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: «Viel wahrscheinlicher ist, dass hier alter Jub-Text vorliegt oder dass — wie in XI 21 — eine Tradition mit dem Text des Jub kompiliert wurde, die selbst älter ist als

As for any man who uncovers the covering of his father — his act is indeed very bad and it is indeed despicable before the Lord. 33:10 For this reason it is written and ordained on the heavenly tablets that a man is not to lie with his father's wife and that he is not to uncover the
5   covering of his father because it is impure. They are certainly to die together — the man who lies with his father's wife and the woman, too — because they have done something impure on the earth. 33:11 There is to be nothing impure before our God within the nation that he has chosen as his own possession. 33:12 Again it is written a
10   second time: 'Let the one who lies with his father's wife be cursed because he has uncovered his father's shame'. All of the Lord's holy ones said: 'So be it, so be it'.

Jub». Only the second option seems likely, though why this tradition should be older than Jubilees is not clear.

As for any man ... — his act is indeed ... indeed: The text is difficult in that the relation of ወትሉ ፡ ሰብእ to the following words is not clear. Charles (1895, p. 124; cf. p. 125, n. 35) emended by omitting እስመ before እኩይ: «And as for any man who uncovers his father's skirt his deed ...» (1902; cf. Littmann who placed «denn» in parentheses; Goldmann; and Hartom). Berger (488, n. b to v 9) follows the readings of mss. 9 17 which replace ወ before ትሉ with ለ and have the word እስመ rather than ዘ: «... weil (sie) verunreinigt hatte für jeden Menschen, denn er hatte aufgedeckt die Decke seines Vaters, weil ...» This is quite well possible and enjoys early ms. support. Its weakness is that it is unlikely that the writer would claim Reuben's act had disqualified Bilhah for sexual relations with any man. The sequel suggests nothing of this sort. The Ethiopic sentence is taxing to the translator primarily because of the እስመ before እኩይ, as Charles noticed. Rather than omitting this unanimously attested word, however, one can retain it and explain it as a reflex of Hebrew כי which can mean «indeed, surely, certainly» (BDB, 472, under d. and e.). The second እስመ should be construed in the same way. If እስመ were also to be read for ዘ(ኩዐት), then it could be taken as conditional (see እም in ms. 21, and GKC, sec. 159 1 and aa [pp. 494-97]). For ነገር as deed/ action, see DILLMANN, Lexicon, 691; and idem, 1851: «seine that».

33:10 The Syriac chronicler abbreviates this verse drastically and replaces the characteristic phrase «heavenly tablets» with ܪܚܡܐ ܥܠܝ .

33:11 nothing impure: The most strongly attested form — ርኩስ — is in the accusative case, though with ይኩን one would expect ርኩስ as in mss. 9 35 44 or ርኩስ as in 42 47. Cf. Charles, 1895, p. 126, n. 4.

possession: The mss. offer a range of possible spellings for the word. Dillmann (1859) and Charles (1895) opted for the reading of ms. 51 (ለምአክኝ) which is now supported by eight other mss. They are, nevertheless, the latest of the collated mss. The earlier and best copies favor the forms መአክን or ምአክን. Dillmann listed neither of these spellings (see Lexicon, 150-53), but several early scribes knew them. They are clearly derived from መአክ which means «possidere, dominio tenere» (ibid., 150).

33:12 the Lord's holy ones: In Deut 27:20, which is here cited, all the people say «amen». Cf. Dillmann, 1851, p. 72, n. 57; Berger, 489, n. c to v 12.

33:13 Now you, Moses, order the Israelites to observe this command because it is a capital offence and it is an impure thing. To eternity there is no expiation to atone for the man who has done this; but he is to be put to death, to be killed, and to be stoned and uprooted from among the people of our God. 33:14 For any man who commits it in Israel will not be allowed to live a single day on the earth because he is despicable and impure. 33:15 They are not to say: 'Reuben was allowed to live and (have) forgiveness after he had lain with the concubine-wife of his father while she had a husband and her husband — his father Jacob — was alive'. 33:16 For the statute, the punishment, and the law had not been completely revealed to all but (only) in your time as a law of its particular time and as an eternal law for the history of eternity. 33:17 There is no time when this law will be at an end, nor is there any forgiveness for it; rather both of them are to be uprooted among the people. On the day on which they have done this they are to kill them.

33:18 Now you, Moses, write for Israel so that they keep it and do not act like this and do not stray into a capital offence; because the

33:13 capital offence: Literally: a judgment of death. But ጥፋት can mean «crime, fault» — that is, the act which calls for punishment (see DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 856: «crimen, culpa» [where he listed this passage]). The Hebrew would have been משפט מות (so Goldmann and Hartom; Charles, 1902, p. 198, n.).

33:14 he is: Or: it is.

33:15 while she had: Charles (1902) translated «and to her also ...» — i.e., Bilhah, too, continued to live and enjoyed pardon. Yet the text clearly does not say *to* her but *and/now she*.

33:16 For ... revealed: Syriac offers the substance of this line (with a reference to Reuben and pardon drawn from v 15), but it lists the three legal terms in a different order (cf. Tisserant, «Fragments syriaques», 218). With this statement, the chronicler's citation ends.

as a law of its particular time: Literally: as a law of the time in its day. Charles (1895, p. 127, n. 25), by emending በ(መዋዕሉ) to ወ and using the non-suffixal form መዋዕል of ms. 12 (it is also in 17 38 44 63), produced a text which he rendered as: «as a law of seasons and of days». (1902) He has been followed by Littmann (97, n. a) and Goldmann (without note; Hartom has omitted all of the words from አስተ፡ through በመዋዕሉ ፡ ወ). There is, though, no need for the emendation, since the text says forthrightly that the law belonged to a particular time in history. Once it was revealed in Moses' time, however, it became valid forever.

33:17 among: Though there are no variants to በማእከለ, it seems strange; one would have expected አማእከለ. In fact, Dillmann (1851), Goldmann, and Hartom have translated as though «from» were in the text.

33:18 do not act like this: Literally: do not do according to this word/ thing. Although Dillmann (1859) and Charles (1895) read ኢይግበሩ, neither reproduced the negative word in his translation. Littmann and Hartom have done likewise. Goldmann uses the negative but has committed a strange error: he does not translate ወይሰቀብዎ but comments in a

Lord our God, who shows no partiality and accepts no bribes, is the judge. 33:19 Tell them these words of the testament so that they may listen, guard themselves, be careful about them, and not be destroyed or uprooted from the earth. For all who commit it on the earth before 5 the Lord are impure, something detestable, a blemish, and something contaminated. 33:20 No sin is greater than the sexual impurity which

note (p. רפ) that some mss. add «and for Jacob» after «for Israel». He has failed to notice that the word is a verb, from which the name «Jacob» is derived. Berger correctly includes the negative (see 488, n. a to v 18).

partiality and accepts no bribes: Latin begins in this vicinity with a word fragment which RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 66) and Charles (1895, p. 127) completed as perso]nam (= אך). If this is correct, the end of the verse was worded somewhat differently in Latin; perhaps it did not repeat the verb accipere with munera.

33:19 these words of the testament: Latin attaches the demonstrative adjective to testamenti, not to sermones.

guard themselves: Latin omits, probably by haplography due to the repeated conjunctions with this series of verbs.

and not: Latin has ut non, where ut may be a mistake for et.

uprooted: Note the future indicative eradicabuntur in place of the subjunctive.

(commit) it: Latin has a plural pronoun (ea). Given the fluidity of number in the language, it would be possible to translate the Ethiopic in the same way.

impure: Latin reads a noun, and the Ethiopic word could be construed as an alternate spelling of the noun ርኩስ (as in mss. 21 39 44 48 58).

a blemish: Latin: odium (= hatred) can also refer to the object of hatred — e.g., something that is offensive, annoying, disgusting. Goldmann and Hartom use תבל to translate the word ኅፍረት, and תבל is rendered as μυσαρός (μυσερός) in Lev 18:23. This suggests the possibility that in Greek a word such as μυσερός and a derivative of μισέω were confused. As Dillmann (1859, p. 121, n. 17; he changed the word to ኅፀረት) and Charles (1895, p. 127, n. 35) observed, the standard spelling of the term is with ፀ, not ኅ (cf. ms. 42ᶜ).

33:20 No: Ethiopic uses አልቦ, but Latin lacks a negative. Charles (1895, p. 127) inserted it into his Latin text, while Rönsch left it as it was. Both texts make sense.

than the ... they commit: Latin omits these words. A Greek text which read ἀπὸ τῆς πορνείας ... ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς could have produced conditions for parablepsis.

the nation which he possesses: Literally: a/the nation of inheritance/ possession. Latin has plebs sortis: a/ the people of lot/ share. The noun ርስት can mean «portio hereditate vel sorte» (DILLMANN, Lexicon, 897) and can represent κλῆρος (e.g., Isa 57:6 where MT uses a form of גורל). It is likely, then, that the two versions reflect the same Greek base, as κλῆρος can mean «lot» or «inheritance», and the Ethiopic term carries the same two possibilities.

it is a priestly kingdom; it is what he owns: The Latin version has et regalis et sanctificationis. Charles (1895, p. 127, n. 45) apparently regarded measure ወጥሪት and et sanctificationis as occupying the same position in the text. For him the Latin, in which sanctus had already appeared, was a corruption «... due to confusion of οὐσίας and ὅσιος; cf. xvi.18, xix.18 ...» (For these passages he offered the same explanation; see also 1902, p. 199, n.). It may be, though, that et sanctificationis stands where ህይወት[2] appears in Ethiopic and that a word from the ἱερο- group figured in the Greek model (so Berger, 490, n. d to v 20). Several Ethiopic mss. also put a conjunction before ህይወት (21 38 42 47). This would imply

they commit on the earth because Israel is a holy people for the Lord
its God. It is the nation which he possesses; it is a priestly nation; it is a
priestly kingdom; it is what he owns. No such impurity will be seen
among the holy people.

33:21 During the third year of the sixth week [2145] Jacob and all his   5
sons went and took up residence at the house of Abraham near his
father Isaac and his mother Rebecca. 33:22 These are the names of
Jacob's sons: Reuben, his first-born, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar,
Zebulun were Leah's sons. Rachel's sons were Joseph and Benjamin.
Bilhah's sons were Dan and Naphtali. And Zilpah's sons were Gad and   10
Asher. Leah's daughter Dinah was Jacob's only daughter. 33:23 After
they had come, they bowed to Isaac and Rebecca. When they saw
them, they blessed Jacob and all his children. Isaac was extremely
happy that he had seen the children of his younger son Jacob, and he
blessed them.   15

34:1 During the sixth year of this week of this forty-fourth jubilee

that Latin lacks an equivalent for ወጥረት ፡ ውእቱ — an omission which could easily be
explained in this series of units introduced by et and concluded by est (ms. 12 shows the
same omission). Berger (ibid.) has argued at some length that the texts of Latin and
ms. 17 preserve the original: both have the word «people» followed by three items:
priestly/ priests; royal/ kingdom; and a word from the ἱερο- group/ priesthood respec-
tively. «Von M [= ms. 17] her wird nun auch Lat verständlich: Es handelt sich nicht um
drei gleichgeordnete Bestimmungen zu populus, sondern der populus sacerdotalis ist
zugleich königlich und geheiligt». It is, however, doubtful that these two texts point to the
original because 17 agrees with Latin no more closely than do the other mss. It omits
ውእቱ ፡ ወ, which are represented in Latin (est et), uses no conjunction between
«kingdom» and «priesthood» though Latin does; has ውእቱ after ክህነት where Latin lacks
est; and employs nouns where Latin gives two (and perhaps three originally) adjectives. It
seems more plausible to say that the text presented here has been slightly corrupted in
Latin where regalis was made into an adjective through the influence of sacerdotalis and
that this change also led to insertion of et before sanctificationis.
    such … will be seen: Latin offers no equivalent for ዘያስተርኢ ፡ በከመዝ.
    33:21 the sixth: Latin huius finds support in several later Ethiopic mss. (39 42 47 48
58); their word ዝ was read by both Dillmann (1859) and Charles (1895). Yet it is a
common sort of addition. If it were original, one would have expected to find it in at least
some of the older copies.
    Jacob: Though there is strong warrant for omitting the name, inclusion of it in Latin
supports mss. 20 25 35. etc. in reading it.
    house: Here as elsewhere (e.g., 29:19; 34:3) Latin supplies barin where Ethiopic has
the more general ቤት.
    his mother Rebecca: Only ms. 12 transposes the two nouns as Latin does.
    33:22 These: Latin autem indicates a break with the preceding material, just as the
words ወዝንቱ do in Ethiopic.
    his first-born: Latin does not express the possessive.
    33:23 children … children: Or: sons … sons.
    34:1 this forty-fourth jubilee: Latin omits the demonstrative, though it reads «this

[2148], Jacob sent his sons to tend their sheep — his servants were also with them — to the field of Shechem. 34:2 Seven Amorite kings assembled against them to kill them from their hiding place beneath the trees and to take their animals as booty. 34:3 But Jacob, Levi, Judah, and Joseph remained at home with their father Isaac because he was distressed and they were unable to leave him. Benjamin was the youngest, and for this reason he stayed with him. 34:4 Then came the

week» with the Ethiopic. It also transposes the jubilee number to the beginning of the date formula, as it does elsewhere.

their sheep: A strongly supported variant is አባግዒሁ· (= his sheep; so mss. 9 17 38 39 42 47 48 58 63), but the singular suffix may have been affixed to make the word agree with አግብርቲሁ·. Latin suas could be rendered either as «his» or «their». Littmann (97, n. b), Goldmann, and Berger (491, n. a to v 1) have preferred the singular suffix.

his servants: Though Latin is ambiguous, the singular suffix is far more strongly supported in Ethiopic than the plural. Hartom uses the plural suffix, as had Charles (1895, p. 128, n. 5); but later Charles (1902, p. 200, n.) opted for the singular.

34:2 against: The verb conuenerunt agrees in meaning with ተጋብኡ·, but there should be a preposition between it and eos, as Charles (1895, p. 129, n. 2 to Latin) proposed.

to kill them from their hiding place beneath the trees: Literally: in order that they, having hidden beneath the trees, might kill them. Latin places the purpose clause after sederunt in lucum. The words ኣዐ and lucum are synonymous, but the verbal forms ተነቢኣዐሙ· and sederunt (here rendered «they waited» — a possible meaning for sedeo [= remain]) clearly are not. Nor are ታሕተ and in. Charles (1902, p. 200, n.; cf. 1895, p. 128, n. 7) found the Latin preferable «for there is no hint of their hiding in any of the other versions of this legend». He wondered whether the verb (ተነቢኣዐሙ·) was a corruption of ነቢርዐሙ· (= they, having sat). If the latter were the original Ethiopic reading, the two versions once agreed. His case is certainly plausible, but the mistake in Ethiopic would have to be very early because the suggested form appears in none of the mss.

their animals: Several mss. add ወኣንስቲያሆሙ· (= and their wives; Dillmann read this word with v 3 in 1851 and with v 2 in 1859); mss. 9 38 use it instead of the term ኣንስሳሆሙ·. Latin has a short gap here. Ceriani marked it with just four dots so that there is probably not enough space for et mulieres which RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 68) reconstructed.

34:3 Jacob: Latin uses autem again to mark a break; Ethiopic accomplishes the same purpose with a conjunction and the name.

at home: Literally: in the house. Latin, as elsewhere, reads a form of barin where Ethiopic has «house».

he was distressed: Literally: his spirit was sad (for him). Latin pusillianimis seems wrong. The same word is used in 19:3 (see the note). The Hebrew behind the Latin might have been רוחו קצר and behind the Ethiopic רוחו (ה)עצבה. Charles (1895, p. 128, n. 10) first thought that የሕ[ነ]ዝና could be a mistake for የነብብ; he did not mention this possibility in 1902.

and (for): Latin omits.

with him: «With his father» has slight backing among the Ethiopic mss., but it is the Latin reading. Dillmann (1859) and Charles (1895) read ጎበ ፡ አቡሁ·.

kings of Tafu, the king of Ares, the king of Seragan, the king of Selo, the king of Gaaz, the king of Betoron, the king of Maanisakir, and all who were living on this mountain, who were living in the forest of the land of Canaan. 34:5 It was reported to Jacob: 'The Amorite kings have just surrounded your sons and have carried off their flocks by force'. 34:6 He set out from his house — he, his three sons, all his father's servants, and his servants — and went against them with 6000

5

34:4 kings ... king ... king ... king: 34:2 mentions that seven kings assembled against the brothers, and in this verse a word for king appears seven times. In the first instance, Ethiopic and Latin read plural forms — possibly because the word was meant to cover the seven names that follow. But for the second, third, and fourth uses, Ethiopic has the plural ነገሥት where Latin offers the more acceptable singular rex. Mss. 9 38 continue to read plurals in the remaining three cases as well. The plurals in instances two-four may have originated under the influence of the initial plural, and the mistake may have been aided by the similarity between βασιλεύς and βασιλεῖς.

Tafu: Latin saffo, which is clearly corrupt, as the Ethiopic spellings and those in other versions of this story show (for them, see Charles, 1902, p. 202, n.; VANDERKAM, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 220-27). The city is almost certainly biblical Tappuah (Josh 16:8), as recognized by Littmann (97, n. c); Charles (ibid.); Goldmann; Hartom (104, n. to v ז); Berger (492, n. a to v 4); and VanderKam (ibid, 220).

Ares: Latin arco. Littmann (97, n. d) was uncertain about its identification; and Charles (1902, p. 202, n.) considered it corrupt for Aser or Asor, i.e. Hazor (cf. Hartom, 104, n. to v ז). J. Goldstein («The Date of the Book of Jubilees», *PAAJR* 50 [1983] 84-85) has recently defended the same identification. VANDERKAM (*Textual and Historical Studies*, 220-21) argues for Adasa (= חדשה).

Seragan: Latin: saragan. Charles made no firm identification, while Hartom (104, n. to v ז) mentions the possibility that it is the סרטבא mentioned in *m. Roš Haš.* 2.4. VANDERKAM, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 221-22) proposes Pirathon, but Goldstein («The Date», 84) thinks Zarethan more likely.

Selo: Latin: silo. All recognize Shiloh in this name.

Gaaz: Latin: gaas. This appears to be biblical Gaash (Josh 24:30).

Betoron: Latin: boton. Clearly Beth-horon is intended.

Maanisakir: Littmann (98, n. a) thought the first element of the name was «Ammon»; Charles (1902, p. 202 and p. 203, n.) switched the two elements to produce Shakirmaani. VANDERKAM (*Textual and Historical Studies*, 223-27) considers this the name Mahaneh Soker (cf. John 4:5) — an identification that is accepted by Berger (492, n. h to v 4). Goldstein («The Date», 85) maintains that the first part of the word reflects *mahanayim* «... and Mahanayim in Josh 13:26 in the Hebrew and in the Greek is associated with Debir. Perhaps the Hebrew original of Jub 34:4 and [sic] *wmlk mhnym wdbyr* ([ʿ] and the king of Mahanayim-and-Debir') or *wmlk mhnym wmlk dbyr* ('and the king of Mahanayim and the king of Debir')». The latter alternative is thoroughly implausible, since it would yield eight kings, not seven as 34:2 requires. «Debir» is also not a very likely suggestion for the second element of the word.

this: Latin omits.

mountain, who: Latin inserts a conjunction between these words, as do mss. 21 35 58.

forest of: Latin locis is, as Ethiopic ላዕ indicates and as RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 68) and Charles (1895, p. 129, n. 7 to Latin) noticed, a mistake for lucis (cf. v 2). Latin also reads in before terra; only ms. 35 agrees in the Ethiopic tradition.

34:5 Jacob: Latin omits an equivalent of ላእከ ፡ ይቤሉ.

men who carried swords. 34:7 He killed them in the field of Shechem, and they pursued the ones who ran away. He killed them with the blade of the sword. He killed Ares, Tafu, Saregan, Silo, Amanisakir, and Gagaas 34:8 and collected his flocks. He got control of them and 5 imposed tribute on them so that they should give him as tribute five of their land's products. He built Robel and Tamnatares 34:9 and returned safely. He made peace with them, and they became his servants until the day that he and his sons went down to Egypt.

34:10 During the seventh year of this week [2149] he sent Joseph 10 from his house to the land of Shechem to find out about his brothers' welfare. He found them in the land of Dothan. 34:11 They acted in a treacherous way and made a plan against him to kill him; but, after changing their minds, they sold him to a traveling band of Ishmaelites.

34:7 He killed ... they pursued: Several mss. read a plural form of the first verb (9 38 39 42 47 48 58) to bring it into harmony with ፈጐ. Mss. 25 35 44, however, read ፈጐ, thus producing numerical agreement with ቅተሕወም.

blade: Literally: mouth.

34:8 and collected his flocks: Charles included these words with v 8 in 1895, as had Dillmann in 1859. But in 1902, the former tacked them to the end of v 7.

He got control of them: Literally: he became great over them. With ላዐላ the verb means «praevalere» (DILLMANN, Lexicon, 985).

five of their land's products: Littmann translated as «ein Fünftel der Frucht ihres Landes», and Goldmann and Hartom render with החמש מפרי ארצם. Their rendition of the text offers excellent sense, but Berger (493, n. b to v 8) has questioned whether the extant text has such a meaning («sprachlich leider nicht zu verifizieren»). Charles (1902) and he have understood it to mean five products. The spelling ኃምሕት can be construed as a variant (long a with the gutteral consonant) of ኃምሕት (= five) which is found in mss. 12 44. In fact, the numeral for «five» appears in mss. 20 38 39 42 47 48 (in 39 48 it has the ending -ት attached). Since the word ፍፁ is usually treated as masculine (DILLMANN, Lexicon, 1355), ኃምሕት would be the expected form of the adjective. Nevertheless, ኃምሕት is also the correct spelling of «fifth», and it could be used as a substantive here — a fifth part of — though one would have anticipated the masculine form. Because of this last problem, it is advisable to follow Charles and Berger, while admitting that the suggestion of Littmann, Goldmann, and Hartom produces a smoother text.

Robel: The spelling of this name is the same as that of Jacob's eldest son Reuben (see Littmann, Berger: Ruben; cf. also Goldmann, p. רפה, n. to v ח), but a city name is intended. It should be identified as Arbela (1 Macc 9:2) with Charles (1902, pp. 203-04, n.; so Goldmann; cf. Hartom, 105, n. to v ח; Berger, 493, n. c to v 8; VANDERKAM, Textual and Historical Studies, 227; and Goldstein, «The Date», 85-86).

Tamnatares: The city is Timnath-heres (Judg 2:9; so Littmann, 98, n. c; Charles, 1902, p. 204, n.; Goldmann; cf. Hartom, 105, n. to v ח; Berger, 493, n. c to v 8; VANDERKAM, Textual and Historical Studies, 227; and Goldstein, «The Date», 83).

34:10 land of Dothan: The word ምፅረ has no basis in Gen 37:17. ፈታአም reflects the spelling Δωθάϊμ of LXX (cf. דתין in Sam) more nearly than it does the דתן of MT (= Syriac).

34:11 changing their minds: Literally: they, having turned.

They brought him down to Egypt and sold him to Potiphar, the
pharaoh's eunuch, the chief cook, and the priest of the city Elew.
34:12 Jacob's sons slaughtered a he-goat, stained Joseph's clothing by
dipping it in its blood, and sent (it) to their father Jacob on the tenth of
the seventh month. 34:13 He mourned all that night because they had   5
brought it to him in the evening. He became feverish through mourning
his death and said that a wild animal had eaten Joseph. That day all the
people of his household mourned with him. They continued to be
distressed and to mourn with him all that day. 34:14 His sons and
daughter set about consoling him, but he was inconsolable for his son.   10

brought him down: Only LXXGen 37:28 uses a synonymous verb (κατήγαγον); MT
Sam Syriac OL have or echo ויביאו.

(sold) him: The suffix agrees with MT SyriacGen 37:36; Sam LXX OL EthGenesis
read «Joseph». Here Jubilees makes the Ishmaelites the subject, whereas in Genesis the
Midianites are.

chief cook: The Ethiopic follows the interpretation of שר הטבחים (Gen 37:36; 39:1) as
ἀρχιμάγειρος (= LXX OL EthGenesis). Josephus (Ant. II.39) evidences the same view.
Charles (1895, p. 129, n. 3; cf. 1902, p. 204, n.) emended the term መዐቅብተ to ዐቀብተ
(= guards) which would agree with MT (= Sam Syriac) Gen 37:36; 39:1. See also
Dillmann, 1851, p. 72, n. 61; Littmann, 98, n. f; and Berger, 494, n. c to v 11.

priest of the city Elew: Dillmann (1851) translated «den opferer von Heliopolis»; cf.
also Littmann, 98, n. g; Charles, 1902, p. 204, n.; Goldmann, p. רפה, n. to v א (ኡሊዎም
= אן); Hartom, 106, n. to v י (= אן); Berger, 494, n. d to v 11. The name appears in
Gen 41:45, 50; 46:20, where אן is translated Ἡλίου πόλεως. Jubilees translates πόλεως
(= ሀገረ) but transcribes Ἡλίου (= ኡሊዎም).

34:12 clothing: Ethiopic uses the general term ልብስ, though the biblical story
(Gen 37:31) refers to Joseph's coat (הכתנת). Jubilees omits the account of Jacob's giving a
special coat to Joseph.

its (blood): The suffix agrees with SyriacGen 37:31 (and Tn?); mss. 9 12 17 21 38 63
side with the other versions in omitting it.

34:13 night because ... in the evening: There is very strong backing for «day» — i.e.,
for ዕለት rather than ሌሊት (the two words resemble one another closely in Ethiopic
script). Also, a number of these mss. (though not 9 12 17) read እስከ (= until) for እስመ
(Charles [1895, p. 129, n. 10] erroneously claimed that B [= 25] had the former; it reads
እስመ). Since እስመ has the greater support, it is likely that ሌሊት is also original and ዕለት
a later change that was introduced to make sense of እስከ. Berger, however, prefers ዕለት
but retains እስመ. If these were the correct readings, the day in Jubilees would begin in the
evening. Cf. the following two instances of «that day» which may also have influenced
«day» at the beginning of the verse. The superior text pictures Jacob as mourning all
night and the members of his household joining him the next day.

said that: One could also interpret the words that follow as a direct quotation, in which
case «that» would be replaced by quotation marks.

34:14 daughter: Jubilees corrects the plural בנתיו of Gen 37:35, since Jacob had only
one daughter (cf. Hartom, 106, n. n. to v י). Tj handled the same problem by reading
«wives of his sons».

set about: Literally: arose. This agrees with MT Sam SyriacGen 37:35, not with

34:15 That day Bilhah heard that Joseph had perished. While she was mourning for him, she died. She had been living in Qafratefa. His daughter Dinah, too, died after Joseph had perished. These three (reasons for) mourning came to Israel in one month. 34:16 They buried
5 Bilhah opposite Rachel's grave, and they buried his daughter Dinah there as well. 34:17 He continued mourning Joseph for one year and was not comforted but said: 'May I go down to the grave mourning for my son'. 34:18 For this reason, it has been ordained regarding the Israelites that they should be distressed on the tenth of the seventh
10 month — on the day when (the news) which made (him) lament Joseph reached his father Jacob — in order to make atonement for themselves on it with a kid — on the tenth of the seventh month, once a year — for their sins. For they had saddened their father's (feelings of) affection for his son Joseph. 34:19 This day has been ordained so that they may
15 be saddened on it for their sins, all their transgressions, and all their errors; so that they may purify themselves on this day once a year.

34:20 After Joseph had perished, Jacob's sons took wives for themselves. The name of Reuben's wife was Oda; the name of Simeon's wife

συνήχθησαν in the LXX tradition — a tradition which also adds (against MT Sam Syriac and Jubilees) καὶ ἦλθον after «daughters».

was inconsolable: Literally: was not comforted. Charles (1902) rendered with «refused to be comforted» which translates MTGen 37:35 (וימאן להתנחם) rather than the single verb in Jubilees.

34:15 Qafratefa: Littmann (98, n. i) thought that perhaps behind this city name there lay the Hebrew words כפירת אפראים (= Goldmann, p. רפח, n. to v טו) and that this was probably the כפירה of Josh 9:17; 18:26 (see Hartom, 106, n. to v טו). Charles (1902, p. 205, n.), however, preferred either «Eder of Ephrath» (see 33:1) or, more likely, the city Kabratan mentioned in 32:32 (see also Berger, 494, n. a to v 15). Two factors militate against Charles' view: deriving the first element from כפירה fits the Ethiopic spellings more nearly, and it provides a reason for mentioning the name here: this passage (vv 18-19) deals with the day of atonement and כפירה is a word-play on this fact.

34:17 was not comforted: ידא means «shake off, dispel, put aside»; here it is his mourning which Jacob does not put aside. Mss. 35 58 have added the word «mourning» to clarify this point. Note Berger's literal rendering: «er legte (die Trauer) nicht ab». DILLMANN (Lexicon, 695) referred to this passage as a case in which the verb indicated «deponere luctum, se consolari» etc., but with omission of ላሕ.

mourning for my son: Jubilees may reflect the reading על בני in Gen 37:35 (= Sam Syriac Tn) rather than אל בני (= MT LXX OL).

34:18 should be distressed: As Charles (1902, p. 205, n.) observed, נפש ענה lies behind the verb ይሕሥሥ (both Goldmann and Hartom translated with לענות נפשם). In Lev 16:31 these Hebrew words are rendered as ወአሕምምክሙ ፡ ለነፍስክሙ in the Ethiopic Bible.

34:20 For the names of the wives of Jacob's sons in the Syriac list, see the chart. The list includes most of the ethnic details given in the Ethiopic for several of the names. There are, of course, many spellings in the Ethiopic mss., for which see the apparatus to the critical text. In addition, some of the mss. number the twelve members in the group; these numbers are in Dillmann's Ethiopic text (1859).

was Adebaa, the Canaanitess; the name of Levi's wife was Melcha, one
of the daughters of Aram — one of the descendants of Terah's sons;
the name of Judah's wife was Betasuel, the Canaanitess; the name of
Issachar's wife was Hezaqa; the name of Zebulun's wife was [Neeman];
the name of Dan's wife was Egla; the name of Naphtali's wife was   5
Rasu'u of Mesopotamia; the name of Gad's wife was Maka; the name
of Asher's wife was Iyona; the name of Joseph's wife was Asenath, the
Egyptian, and the name of Benjamin's wife was Iyaska. 34:21 Simeon,
after changing his mind, married another woman from Mesopotamia
like his brothers.   10

35:1 During the first year of the first week in the forty-fifth jubilee
[2157], Rebecca summoned her son Jacob and ordered him regarding
his father and brother that he was to honor them throughout Jacob's

Adebaa, the Canaanitess: For Simeon's Canaanite wife, see Gen 46:10; Exod 6:15.
The Syriac name is spelled ܟܢܥܢܝܬ. If ܢ were added after ܟ, or if ܥ were reversed and
ܘ were regarded as a mistake for ܢ, the Syriac form would be virtually the same as the
Ethiopic.

Betasuel, the Canaanitess: Gen 38:2 calls her בת שוע. The Syriac translates בת into the
construct form ܒܪܬ but otherwise has the better spelling of the second part of the name,
unless the ܫ is an error for ܥ (this mistake is found in Charles, 1895, p. 130, n. 13), in
which case the Syriac and Ethiopic would agree.

[Neeman]: All of the older Ethiopic mss. lack a name (9 12 17 20 25 = 38 44 63). Of
the seven mss. which do offer a name, 42 47 48 have virtually the same spelling, and those
of 39 58 are only slightly different. Charles (1895, p. 131, n. 17) considered the name
corrupt (he read ይኢⁿⁿ) and thought that one should read ኣዕ which agrees with Syriac
ܐܥܐܢ (cf. 1902, p. 206, n.). Though the name is attested in several mss., it is bracketed in
the text and translation to indicate the uncertainty which attaches to it.

34:21 after changing his mind: Literally: he, having turned (cf. 34:11). The expression
could be translated as «repented» (so Charles, 1902).

The Wives of Jacob's Sons

Jacob's Sons	Ethiopic	Syriac List	Other
Reuben	አ፱(አ፱)	ܐܪܐ	
Simeon	አዱባአ	ܐܕܒܥܐ ܟܢܥܢܝܬ	
Levi	᎗Ꮃክ	ܡܠܟܐ ܡܢ ܒܢܬ ܐܪܡ	μελχα (T. Levi 11:1)
Judah	ቤተሱኤል	ܒܪܬ ܫܘܥ ܟܢܥܢܝܬ	בת שוע (Gen 38:2)
			βησσουέ (T. Judah 8:2 etc.)
Issachar	ሔዘቃ	ܚܙܩܐ	
Zebulun	[ዜአⁿ፯]	ܐܢܝܢ	
Dan	ኤግላ	ܥܓܠܐ	
Naphtali	ራሱኡ	ܪܥܘ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܢܗܪܝܢ	
Gad	ᎋክ	ܡܥܟܐ	
Asher	ኢዮና	ܝܘܢܐ	
Joseph	አስኔት	ܐܣܝܢܬ	אסנת (Gen 41:45)
Benjamin	ኢያስክ	ܝܣܟܐ	

35:1 Jacob's: Though ለያዕቆብ is awkward, it clarifies whose lifetime Rebecca means.
The point could be unclear, since Isaac and Esau have just been mentioned. Charles
(1902, p. 207, n.), however, rejected it as a gloss.

entire lifetime. 35:2 Jacob said: 'I will do everything just as you ordered me because this matter will be something honorable and great for me; it will be a righteous act for me before the Lord that I should honor them. 35:3 You, mother, know everything I have done and all
5 my thoughts from the day I was born until today — that at all times I think of what is good for all. 35:4 How shall I not do what you have ordered me — that I should honor my father and brother? 35:5 Tell me, mother, what impropriety you have noticed in me and I will certainly turn away from it and will experience mercy'. 35:6 She said
10 to him: 'My son, throughout my entire lifetime I have noticed no improper act in you but only proper one(s). However, I will tell you the

35:3 everything ... today: Literally: from the day I was born until this day all my deeds and all that is in my heart. Latin places a conjunction after diem hunc.

I think of what is good: Latin: ego ... bona facere ... The presence of facere presupposes that another verb belongs in the line. RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 68) restored cogito, that is, the equivalent of ኅሊና, in the lacuna after ego and the word in after facere. Charles (1895, p. 131, n. 1 to Latin) left the gap after ego and altered facere to facio (= I do). In so doing he ignored the space after the verb (in ibid., n. 33, he mistakenly claimed that the ms. reads faciam; it does in the next verse, not here). He commented: «Hence ኅሊና which is weak, seems an addition; we should perhaps read ኅሊያ = Lat». He was partially correct. Probably the original read as RÖNSCH reconstructs: I think to do good. In Ethiopic one would then have found ኅሊ ፡ ኣውንዮ; the latter word was then mistakenly copied as the more familiar ውናየ.

35:4 what: Latin has both the relative pronoun quae, which Charles (1895, p. 131, n. 2 to Latin) changed to quem, and the preceding demonstrative hunc (= ms. 38). Possibly ዘንተ has disappeared from most of the mss. because of its visual resemblance to ዘ (cf. Charles [ibid., n. 34] who accepted the reading of Latin and C [= 51] D [= 38]).

I should honor: Latin reads faciam. Charles (1895, p. 131, n. 36) wondered whether the verb ኣከብር was a corruption of ኣንብር (= Latin). But the problematic reading is the Latin. The word honorem may have been omitted by homoioteleuton with faciam.

brother: Latin oddly enough reads a plural noun — a reading which has no parallel in the Ethiopic tradition (contrary to Berger [496, n. a to v 4] who mistranslates the Latin here).

35:5 Tell: Latin reads sed rogo before indica.

noticed in me: Literally (Ethiopic): seen on me.

and I will certainly turn away from it and will experience mercy: Latin uses ut followed by two subjunctives; Ethiopic has «and» followed by a reflex of the Hebrew infinitive absolute with a finite verb (ይኩወን). It may be that the difference originated when et was miscopied as ut; subsequently, the mood of the verbs would have been changed to accommodate ut. The expression that is translated «[I] will experience mercy», if rendered literally would be: mercy will be on me. At the end of the verse Latin adds «of the Lord».

35:6 She: Latin specifies Rebecca as the subject.

lifetime: Literally: days. Latin lacks diebus, which the context requires, through homoioteleuton with omnibus. Both RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 68) and Charles (1895, p. 131) added it to the text.

the truth: Latin adds omnem, which finds no support in the Ethiopic tradition.

I will die: Latin morior is a present tense form, while ኣሞውት is in the imperfect. RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 68) and Charles (1895, p. 131, n. 5 to Latin) emended to

truth, my son: I will die during this year and will not make it alive through this year because I have seen the day of my death in a dream — that I will not live more than 155 years. Now I have completed my entire lifetime that I am to live'. 35:7 Jacob laughed at what his mother was saying because his mother said to him that she would die, but she was sitting in front of him in possession of her strength. She had lost none of her strength because she could come and go; she could see and her teeth were strong. No sickness had touched her throughout her

<div style="text-align:right">5</div>

the future moriar. One wonders, though, whether the two texts actually differ in sense as they now stand. «I am dying this year» (the Ethiopic verb could be so translated) and «I will die this year» express largely the same notion.

make it alive through this year: cross over this year in life. Latin uses the same expression, though it adds (= ms. 12) mea after uita (it is not realized in the translation) and reads adhuc (= even). On the future form transeam, see RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 151.

because ... dream: Latin lacks this clause with the exception of an altered form of «day of my death» (*ego* moriar). Charles (1895, p. 131, n. 6 to Latin) changed ego moriar to mortis meae and reconstructed the words before this phrase. The reason for the shorter and somewhat different Latin text is not apparent.

that (I will not): Latin has et.

than 155 years: Latin shows a gap after amplius. It is probable that something resembling Charles' (1895, p. 131) reconstructed text should be read: (quam centum et). Space considerations make it unlikely that Latin also read et quinque. Hence, it appears that mss. 39 42ᵗ 47 48 agree with Latin in listing Rebecca's final age as 150 years. Rönsch's (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 68) suggestion to restore [nam ecce dies centum et] neither fits the space nor reproduces the Ethiopic. Berger (497, n. e to v 6) writes that Latin gives 145 years, but it obviously does not.

Now ... live: Latin reflects only a few words of the longer statement in Ethiopic: sum complens closely resembles እን ፡ ፈጸምኩ, and in uita mea partially mirrors ሕይወትየ. The last clause was dropped through the similarity between «my life» and «I am to live»; in Hebrew the two expressions would have been חיי and אחי(ה).

35:7 because ... die: The remnants of words in Latin coincide with the words which Ethiopic indicates would have to be reconstructed: qu[ia] ... [mo]ri[tu]ram (so both RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 68, and Charles, 1895, p. 131). But it seems doubtful that enough space remains between these letters for the equivalent of the full Ethiopic text.

in front of him: Literally (Ethiopic): opposite him. But the phrase can mean in conspectu eius (= Latin; so DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 703).

in possession of her strength: Literally (Ethiopic): her strength was on her. Latin expresses the same idea through a verb and an adjective.

She ... her strength: Literally (Ethiopic): she was not weak from her strength. Latin agrees nearly verbatim (it does not echo አም). The word infirmis must be regarded as nominative (RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 151).

come and go: Latin reverses the verbs.

she could see: Latin omits, probably by homoioteleuton (intrans — uidens).

touched: Latin: contristauit. Charles (1895, p. 131, n. 8; cf. n. 56) emended to contrectavit (= Ethiopic). The two Latin verbs could have been confused easily, since they closely resemble one another and both make good sense in the context.

lifetime: Literally (Ethiopic): days of her life. Latin lacks an equivalent for «life».

entire lifetime. 35:8 Jacob said to her: 'Mother, I would be fortunate if
my lifetime approached your lifetime and (if) my strength would remain
with me in the way your strength has. You are not going to die but
rather have jokingly spoken idle nonsense with me about your death'.

5   35:9 She went in to Isaac and said to him: 'I am making one request
of you: make Esau swear that he will not harm Jacob and not pursue
him in hatred. For you know the way Esau thinks — that he has been

35:8 Mother: Latin omits but incorrectly, it appears. The Hebrew behind the Ethiopic
words እም ፡ እመ would have been אם (אמי or) אם — a situation highly conducive to
omitting one of the terms.

my lifetime: Literally: my days.

and (if) ... nonsense: The Latin text is again broken here. The letters in me stand where
Ethiopic has ላዕሌየ, and *simil* is probably the beginning of similiter (RÖNSCH [*Das Buch
der Jubiläen*, 70] and Charles [1895, p. 133] agreed about these readings). Neither editor,
however, reproduces *est* (if it is properly read) in his reconstruction (Rönsch read frustra,
Charles nugas).

about your death: 1Q18.1 confirms the text of Ethiopic and Latin.

35:9 She: A gap in the Latin suggests that a word belonged here, but the Ethiopic
offers no clue about what it might have been. (RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 70)
restored [Rebecca]; Charles (1895, p. 133) failed to note that there was a blank space.

make: Latin resorts to a purpose clause (ut with a subjunctive). The word השבע in
1Q18.2, however, confirms the Ethiopic formulation.

Jacob: Latin adds «his brother». Though Milik (*DJD* 1.83) reconstructed אחיו. addi-
tion of the word makes the line somewhat long. See VANDERKAM, *Textual and Historical
Studies*, 84.

in hatred: Latin builds a clause, parallel to the preceding one, around the word
inimicitias instead of using it as the object of a preposition, as Ethiopic does. 1Q18.3 reads
באיבה with Ethiopic.

you know: Though it is a minor point and was perhaps not caused by a different
Vorlage, Latin and most of the Ethiopic mss. read a pronoun first and then a verb, while
1Q18.3 places the participle י[וד]ע first and the pronoun אתה second. Mss. 9 12 17 39 48
58 preserve the Hebrew sequence.

the way Esau thinks: Literally: the inclination of Esau (1Q18.3: עשׂו יצר).

he is devoid ... death: Ethiopic and Latin evidence virtually the same proposition here,
but 1Q18.3-4 lacks it. Though it seems implausible, there is reason for thinking that Latin
and Ethiopic have preserved the superior text and that the shorter Hebrew reading
resulted from parablepsis (ואתה [v 10] ... ואין; see VANDERKAM, *Textual and Historical
Studies*, 85-87; this view is also accepted by Berger, 498, n. c to v 9, while Milik [*DJD* 1.84]
considered it a variant, not a scribal error). The words translated «he is devoid of virtue»,
if rendered literally, would be «there is no virtue/ goodness on him» (= Ethiopic) and
«there is not with him anything right» (= Latin). The word nequa RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der
Jubiläen*, 151-52) explained as a first declension form alongside the indeclinable nequam.
The latter means «worthless, good for nothing» — a meaning that is not paralleled in the
Ethiopic texts. Charles (1895, p. 133, n. 1 to Latin) emended nequa et to namque ille
(= Ethiopic), and his suggestion underlies the translation given here. The remaining
traces of words in the Latin ms. also offer some disagreements with the Ethiopic: m meo
are probably from morte]m me[am (so RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 70; Charles [ibid.,
n. 2 to Latin] altered the text to agree with Ethiopic: morte]m tua[m). Finally, where
Ethiopic attaches a suffix (= him) to the verb, Latin specifies fratrem suum.

malicious since his youth and that he is devoid of virtue because he wishes to kill him after your death. 35:10 You know everything that he has done from the day his brother Jacob went to Haran until today — that he has wholeheartedly abandoned us. He has treated us badly; he has gathered your flocks and has taken all your possessions away from 5 you by force. 35:11 When we would ask him in a pleading way for what belonged to us, he would act like someone who was being charitable to us. 35:12 He is behaving bitterly toward you due to the fact that you blessed your perfect and true son Jacob since he has virtue only, no evil. From the time he came from Haran until today he has 10 not deprived us of anything but he always brings us everything in its season. He is wholeheartedly happy when we accept (anything) from him, and he blesses us. He has not separated from us from the day he came from Haran until today. He has continually been living with us at

35:10 everything that he has done: All Ethiopic mss. except 12 read ኵሎ (ኵሉ in ms. 21) after ገብረ. but Latin and ms. 12 place it before quaecumque/ መጠነ. 1Q18.4 probably supports the location of Latin and ms. 12 because the first legible letter is ה (part of עשׂה), not ל from כול.

his brother Jacob: If 1Q18.4 read אחיו, it placed the word before יעקב, not after it as in Ethiopic (cf. 11QJub 1.4).

until today — that: The letter u in the Latin ms. is probably the first letter of usque, and quo should be completed as quoniam (so RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 70; Charles, 1895, p. 133).

taken ... from you by force: The verb bears a suffix (second person masculine singular) in most of the mss. It was read by Dillmann (1859), while Charles (1895) preferred the suffix-less form now attested in mss. 20 21 25 44. The translation given above presupposes that the expression እምቅድመ : ገጽከ (literally: from before your face) explicates this suffix.

35:11 When we would ask him in a pleading way: Latin is illegible at the beginning of the verse and offers only petentes eramus. The two verbs in Ethiopic are separated by a conjunction in mss. 21 35 42 47 48 58; but the እንዘ construction suggests that a Greek participle with finite verb is being translated and that no conjunction should intervene between the two.

what belonged to us: Latin eo de nostris agrees literally with ዘእምዚአነ, though Charles (1895, p. 133) thought that quod should be inserted after eo. RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 70) mistakenly bracketed de nostris as though it were not in the text.

act like someone who: The Latin equivalent of ውእቱ : ይገብሥ is lost in the gap before quasi, but quasi (= as if) itself differs from ከመ : ዘብእሲ : ዘ.

35:12 behaving bitterly: For amaricabatur as a deponent verb, see RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 152.

toward you: Literally (Ethiopic): against you. Latin tibi confirms the second-person suffix, not the form ላዕሌን of mss. 9 12 17 21 38 48 63.

true: For ፍቱሕ in the sense verax, verus, see DILLMANN, Lexicon, 291.

but: Here እስመ probably represents כי which, after a negative, has the force of «but» (BDB, 474, sec. 3.e.).

from him: Literally: from his hand.

living: Or: staying.

home (all the while) honoring us'. 35:13 Isaac said to her. 'I, too, know
and see the actions of Jacob who is with us — that he wholeheartedly
honors us. At first I did love Esau more than Jacob, after he was born;
but now I love Jacob more than Esau because he has done so many bad
5 things and lacks (the ability to do) what is right. For the entire way he
acts is (characterized by) injustice and violence and there is no justice
about him. 35:14 Now my mind is disturbed about his actions. Neither
he nor his descendants are to be saved because they will be destroyed
from the earth and be uprooted from beneath the sky. For he has
10 abandoned the God of Abraham and has gone after his wives, after
impurity, and after their errors — he and his sons. 35:15 You are
saying to me that I should make him swear not to kill his brother
Jacob. Even if he does swear, it will not happen. He will not do what is
virtuous but rather what is evil. 35:16 If he wishes to kill his brother
15 Jacob, he will be handed over to Jacob and will not escape from his
control but will fall into his control. 35:17 Now you are not to be

35:13 the actions of Jacob who is with us: Beginning with Dillmann (1851), several
translators have understood ዘምስሌነ as referring to Jacob's actions, not to Jacob himself
(«das thun des Jakob an uns» [Dillmann, ibid.; similarly Littmann and Berger; the
Hebrew renderings of Goldmann and Hartom follow the Ethiopic literally]). Since,
however, the relative pronoun appears directly after ያዕቆብ, it is preferable though not
necessary to side with Charles: «the deeds of Jacob who is with us». (1902).

after he was born: The word ቀዲሙ follows አሕየሎሙ and thus refers to Isaac's former
preference for Esau. Ms. 51 (see Dillmann, 1859, p. 127, n. 9) adds a second instance of
ቀዲሙ after እምዘተወልደ; therefore, Dillmann rendered it as «weil er zuerst geboren
wurde» (1851 = Littmann, Hartom). Charles (1895, p. 132, n. 26) also read the second
ቀዲሙ but had doubts about it («... I have followed C [= 51], probably wrongly»).
Nevertheless, in 1902 he rendered with: «because he was the first-born; ...» The second
ቀዲሙ is too weakly attested to be accepted into the text. As a result, it is more likely that
Isaac is speaking of the time after the twins were born.

lacks (the ability to do) what is right: Literally: he has no righteousness.

the entire way he acts: Literally: all his way.

there is no justice about him: Charles (1902, p. 209, n.) regarded these words as a
dittography. ጽድቅ is indeed repeated, but ቦቱ makes the clause different than the earlier
statement about Esau's lack of justice/ righteousness.

35:14 they will be destroyed ... be uprooted: Literally: they are those who will be
destroyed ... they are those who will be uprooted.

35:15 it will not happen: Though only ms. 38 adds በመሐላሁ, both editors have placed
it in their texts, and the translators have rendered it (Charles, 1902: «he will not abide by
his oath»; Berger places it in parentheses). The phrase is, however, textually dubious at
best.

35:16 control ... control: Literally: hands ... hands. Charles (1902, p. 209, n.)
bracketed the last clause as a gloss and declared ይወርድ a mistake for the verb ይወድቅ (he
will fall). His first proposal is supported by no evidence, and the second is not needed as
in this context ወረደ is virtually a synonym of his suggested ወድቀ (note Dillmann [1851]:
«fallen» [= Littmann, Berger]).

afraid for Jacob because Jacob's guardian is greater and more power-
ful, glorious, and praiseworthy than Esau's guardian'.

35:18 Then Rebecca sent and summoned Esau. When he had come
to her, she said to him: 'I have a request that I will make of you, my
son; say that you will do it, my son'. 35:19 He said: 'I will do anything
you tell me; I will not refuse your request'. 35:20 She said to him: 'I
ask of you that on the day I die you bring me and bury me near your
father's mother Sarah; and that you and Jacob love one another, and
that the one not aim at what is bad for his brother but only at loving
one another. Then you will be prosperous, my sons, and be honored on
the earth. Your enemy will not be happy over you. You will become a
blessing and an object of kindness in the view of all who love you'.
35:21 He said: 'I will do everything that you say to me. I will bury you
on the day of your death near my father's mother Sarah as you have
desired that her bones may be near your bones. 35:22 My brother
Jacob I will love more than all mankind. I have no brother on the
entire earth but him alone. This is no great thing for me if I love him
because he is my brother. We were conceived together in your belly and
we emerged together from your *womb*. If I do not love my brother,
whom shall I love? 35:23 I myself ask of you that you instruct Jacob
about me and my sons because I know that he will indeed rule over me
and my sons. For on the day when my father blessed him he made

35:20 on (the earth): The text reads «in the middle of». Cf. በ፟ዪ፟ን in ms. 21.

35:21 day of your death: Or: the day (on which) you die.

35:22 your *womb*: The earliest, most strongly attested Ethiopic reading is ፱ሕረትh
which means «your mercy». Littmann (100, n. a) noted that this reading had resulted
from an incorrect translation of רחם: the noun רחם means «womb» while the plural
רחמים means «compassion». See also the comment of DILLMANN (*Lexicon*, 158): «At Kuf.
p. 128 lin. 15 [i.e., this passage] interpres τὰ σπλάγχνα *viscera* male voce ፱ሕረት interpre-
tatus esse videtur». Cf. Charles, 1902. p. 210, n.; and Berger, 500, n. a to v 22. Several of
the other mss. correct the text: ፖ፟ጠ፟ንh. in 21: ፟ን፟ብ፟C፟ተ፟h. (= «umbilicus, inguina»
[DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 108]) in 38 (read by Dillmann, 1859, and Charles, 1895); ሕC፟ፖ፟h. in
39 48; and ፟ፒ፟ረ፟ተ፟h. (= habitatio [DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 614]) in 63.

35:23 myself: The form ሕ፡ (rather than ሕ፡) is probably the superior reading in that
it is a fairly uncommon word and is supported by mss. 9 17 20 35 42, Dillmann emended
his two mss. from ሕ፡ to ሕ፡ in 1859 (p. 128, n. 9); Charles (1895, p. 134, n. 12) agreed
with him. Their conjecture now has strong backing among the mss. Berger (500, n. b to
v 23) argues for ሕ፡: «Das entspricht griech. Formulierungen mit ὡς 'wie' oder καθάπερ
'gleichwie', wo mit 'als' im 'prädikativen' Sinn zu übersetzen ist ...» He compares 1
Cor 7:25; 2 Cor 3:18; 5:20. He does not mention, however, that ሕ፡ is now found in
some of the best and oldest witnesses, including ms. 17 which he normally follows. For
ሕ፡ as «ipse», see DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 830.

instruct: Or: exhort.

him the superior and me the inferior one. 35:24 I swear to you
that I will love him and that throughout my entire lifetime I will not
aim at what is bad for him but only at what is good'. He swore to her
about this entire matter.

5   35:25 She summoned Jacob in front of Esau and gave him orders in
line with what she had discussed with Esau. 35:26 He said: 'I will do
what pleases you. Trust me that nothing bad against Esau will come
from me or my sons. I will not be first except in love only'. 35:27 She
and her sons ate and drank that night. She died that night at the age of
10   three jubilees, one week, and one year [= 155 years]. Her two sons
Esau and Jacob buried her in the twofold cave near their father's
mother Sarah.

       36:1 During the sixth year of this week [2162] Isaac summoned his
two sons Esau and Jacob. When they had come to him, he said to
15   them: 'My children, I am going on the way of my fathers, to the eternal
home where my fathers are. 36:2 Bury me near my father Abraham in
the double cave in the field of Ephron the Hittite which Abraham
acquired to (have) a burial place there. There, in the grave that I dug
for myself, bury me. 36:3 This is what I am ordering you, my sons:
20   that you do what is right and just on the earth so that the Lord may
bring on you everything which the Lord said that he would do for
Abraham and his descendants. 36:4 Practice brotherly love among
yourselves, my sons, like a man who loves himself, with each one

35:25 in front of: Literally: before the eyes of.
in line with what she had discussed: Literally: according to the word which she had
spoken.
35:27 the twofold cave: I.e., Machpelah.
36:2 burial place: The word ᵐᵖ⁴ⁿℂ alone means «grave», while ⁿⁿℂ has the sense of
«monumentum sepulchrale, sepulchrum». Greek equivalents are μνημεῖον or τάφος
(DILLMANN, Lexicon, 1052-53). The German translators have used «Grabdenkmal» to
render both words, while Charles (1902) gave «sepulchre». As Goldmann and Hartom
have noticed, Hebrew קבר אחזת lies behind the phrase (it is used in Gen 23:4, 9, 20 — the
chapter in which Abraham purchases this area), and it means «property for burying»
(cf. Gen 23:4: «property ... for a burying place» [RSV]). It seems unlikely that Abraham
was concerned about a burial monument.
36:3 said that ... for Abraham: The suffix on ⁱⁿℂ could be rendered as («he told)
him». But, as ᴧʰⁿℂᵞᵖ follows, it should be taken as anticipatory, though ᴧʰⁿℂᵞᵖ is
located in an unusual place (which is probably the reason why mss. 12 21 38 move the
prepositional phrase before ᵖⁿⁿℂ).
36:4 Practice brotherly love among yourselves: The clause reads literally: be, my sons,
among yourselves loving your brothers. The plural ʰⁱᵠʰᵒᵐ is unexpected; Charles (1902,
p. 211, n.) termed it a gloss. A singular would be more likely. The Hebrew forms for
«your brother» (אחיך) and «your brothers» (אחיך) are identical in a consonantal text, and

aiming at doing what is good for his brother and at doing things together on the earth. May they love one another as themselves. 36:5 Regarding the matter of idols, I am instructing you to reject them, to be an enemy of them, and not to love them because they are full of errors for those who worship them and who bow to them. 36:6 My 5 sons, remember the Lord, the God of your father Abraham (afterwards I, too, worshiped and served him properly and sincerely) so that he may make you numerous and increase your descendants in number like the stars of the sky and plant you in the earth as a righteous plant which will not be uprooted throughout all the history of eternity. 36:7 Now I 10 will make you swear with the great oath — because there is no oath which is greater than it, by the praiseworthy, illustrious, and great, splendid, marvelous, powerful, and great name which made the heavens and the earth and everything together — that you will continue to fear and worship him, 36:8 as each loves his brother kindly and properly. 15 One is not to desire what is bad for his brother now and forever, throughout your entire lifetime, so that you may be prosperous in everything that you do and not be destroyed. 36:9 If one of you aims at what is bad for his brother, be aware that from now on anyone who aims at what is bad for his brother will fall into his control and will be 20 uprooted from the land of the living, while his descendants will be destroyed from beneath the sky. 36:10 On the day of turmoil and curse,

a translator may have been misled by the plural verbs to analyse אחיך as plural and to change the suffix to a plural form. Brotherly love is transparently the concern here, with በበይናቲሆሙ expressing the notion that it is to be mutual.

36:5 be an enemy of: Or: hate.

36:6 (afterwards ...): Charles (1895, p. 135, n. 9) proposed that ወእምዝ be emended to ወከመ = et quomodo (1902: «how» [p. 211, n.]). Littmann (101, n. b), Goldmann, and Hartom have adopted his suggestion. Dillmann (1851) had translated with «u. wie auch ich nach ihm» — that is, he supplied «wie». Berger renders with «indem auch ich ihn verehrt habe», indicating in a note (502, n. b to v 6) that «wenn denn» would be possible instead of «indem». He seems to have misread the text as though እምዝ were there («emza ist so bei Dillmann, Lexicon, nicht belegt»). It reads እምዝ which means «afterwards» and which here introduces a parenthetical remark. Charles' emendation is unnecessary.

sincerely: Though Dillmann (1859) and Charles (1895) read በፍሥሓ, ስፍሓ (misspelled as ስፍሕ in Charles, ibid., p. 135, n. 10) should now be regarded as the superior reading of which ፍሥሓ is a corruption.

36:9 control: Literally: hands. With this passage, cf. Syncellus, *Chronographia* 203.4-6: καὶ παραινέσας αὐτοῖς προεῖπεν ὅτι ἐὰν ἐπαναστῇ τῷ Ἰακὼβ ὁ Ἡσαῦ, εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ πεσεῖται (see also DENIS, *Fragmenta*, 97).

descendants: In Littmann's translation, Name is an error for Same (cf. Berger, 502, n. c to v 9).

of anger and wrath — with a blazing fire that devours — he will burn
his land, his city, and everything that belongs to him just as he burned
Sodom. He will be erased from the disciplinary book of mankind. He
will not be entered in the book of life but in the one that will
5 be destroyed. He' will pass over to an eternal curse so that their
punishment may always be renewed with denunciation and curse, with
anger, pain, and wrath, and with blows and eternal sickness. 36:11 I
am reporting and testifying to you, my sons, in accord with the
punishment which will come on the man who wishes to do what is
10 harmful to his brother'.

36:12 That day he divided all the property that he owned between
the two of them. He gave the larger part to the man who was the first
to be born along with the tower, everything around it, and everything
that Abraham had acquired at the well of the oath. 36:13 He said: 'I

36:10 in the one that will be destroyed: One would expect: in the one of those who will
be destroyed. Mss. 42 47 58 63 have coped with the difficulty by changing ው·ሰተ to ው·ኢተ,
i.e., he is one who (will be destroyed). Charles (1902) translated: «in that which is
appointed to destruction» (so, too, Littmann).

36:11 in accord with: This appears to be the meaning of በሆመ here, though, apart
from Charles (1902: «according to»), the translators have rendered it in various other
ways: Dillmann (1851): «(das gericht), wie (es kommen wird)»; Littmann: «wie (das
künftige Gericht ... [stattfinden wird])»; Goldmann: במשפט; Hartom: את המשפט (most
improbable); and Berger: «wie (das Gericht ist)».

36:12 he divided: Milik (DJD 1.84) suggested that 1Q18 frg. 3 may contain parts of
Jub 36:12 (on p. 83 he notes that it is uncertain whether frg. 3 belongs to 1Q18). Only five
letters can be read:] פלג קם[. He has clearly based his proposal on the presence of the
verb hፈሰ here, and Berger (p. 503, n. a to v 12) apparently accepts his identification
because he places «teilte» in italics — his way of indicating that he is translating a
Hebrew word. There is, however, nothing in the Ethiopic tradition corresponding with
קם[(see VANDERKAM, Textual and Historical Studies, 99). A more likely location might be
Jub 10:18, where Peleg takes a wife, but this, too, is improbable, since the second letter on
the fragment is probably ה, not ת.

36:13 this portion: It is difficult to see what else ዛተ ፡ ... ዕበየ could mean, and all of
the translators have agreed. In 1859 Dillmann read ዛንተ ፡ ዕበየ with ms. 51 (he failed to
mention that 38 had ዛቲ); Charles did the same in 1895, though he followed the order of
those mss. which locate the verb between the demonstrative and the noun. The mss.
disagree about the form of the demonstrative: ዛተ = 17 44 (35 reads it after the verb); ዛቲ
(nominative) = 9 12 20 38 (25 places it after ዕበየ); ዛንተ = 21 39 42 47 48 58; and ዛ = 63.
So, the oldest mss. favor either ዛተ or ዛቲ, both of which are feminine and the latter is
nominative. ዕበየ appears to be masculine (DILLMANN [Lexicon, 986-87] did not specify a
gender for it) and is accusative. The nominative form of the demonstrative can hardly be
correct, since the subject of ኦሰ is the first-person singular pronoun. Consequently, ዛተ
should be retained and ዛንተ considered a later correction. As for the gender problem,
there is some fluidity on this score in Ethiopic (see v 14, for example, where በኢንታኢየ and
ባሰወተ presuppose a feminine noun though none is present). Note Berger's translation
which avoids connecting the demonstrative directly with the noun ዕበየ: «Dieses will ich
sehr gross machen ...».

making ... larger: Charles (1895, p. 135, n. 29) emended ኦሰ to ኦው·ሰ, adding: «...

am making this portion larger for the man who was the first to be
born'. 36:14 But Esau said: 'I sold (it) to Jacob; I gave my birthright to
Jacob. It is to be given to him. I will say absolutely nothing about it
because it belongs to him'. 36:15 Isaac then said: 'May a blessing rest
on you, my sons, and on your descendants today because you have   5
given me rest. My mind is not saddened regarding the birthright — lest
you do something perverse about it. 36:16 May the most high Lord
bless the man who does what is right — him and his descendants
forever'. 36:17 When he had finished giving them orders and blessing
them, they ate and drank together in front of him. He was happy   10
because there was agreement between them. They left him, rested that
day, and fell asleep. 36:18 That day Isaac was happy as he fell asleep
on his bed. He fell asleep forever and died at the age of 180 years. He
had completed 25 weeks and five years. His two sons Esau and Jacob
buried him.   15

36:19 Esau went to the land of Edom — to Mt. Seir — and lived
there, 36:20 while Jacob lived on the mountain of Hebron, in the tower
(which was located in) the land where his father Abraham had resided
as a foreigner. He worshiped the Lord wholeheartedly and in line with
the visible commands according to *the division* of the times of his   20

but I am doubtful». He made the same change in his translation (1902, p. 212, n.). There
seems to be no reason, however, for the alteration.

36:14 will say absolutely nothing: Literally: I have no word at all that I will say.

36:16 his descendants: ሕርሱ should be in the accusative case. Dillmann (1859) and
Charles (1895) read ሕርሳ — the correct form — but with virtually no ms. support (only
ms. 51). The form ሕርሱ may have been encouraged by its distance from the verb and by
the ending -ሱ on ኪያሁ.

36:18 He fell asleep forever: For the expression, see Jub 23:1 where Abraham, too, is
said to have (literally) «slept the sleep which is forever».

180 years: See Gen 35:28 for the number.

His two ... him: Cf. Gen 35:29 where only a few LXX witnesses (413 799 527 31) add
«two» as Jubilees does.

36:20 mountain: There is also significant backing for ምድረ (= 9 17 20 21 38 39 48 58
63).

wholeheartedly: Literally: with his entire heart. Latin adds the predictable et in tota
anima sua, which could have disappeared from the Ethiopic tradition by parablepsis
(from αὐτοῦ to αὐτοῦ), or, more likely, it should be dismissed as the addition of a familiar
phrase.

visible commands: While Latin praecepta uisibilia is unambiguous, the Ethiopic
expression could be rendered as it is here or, with Goldmann and Berger, as «commands
which were revealed» (the verb ሥርዕት is singular though a plural would be expected). It
would also be possible to translate it as «commands which were appropriate» (see
Littmann, 102, n. a; Hartom, 111, n. to v ኃ [he omits the word from his translation]). It
seems wiser to opt for the interpretation of the Latin because, as RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der*

generation. 36:21 His wife Leah died during the fourth year of the second week of the forty-fifth jubilee [2167]. He buried her in the twofold cave near his mother Rebecca, on the left of his grandmother Sarah's grave. 36:22 All her sons and his sons came to mourn with him
5 for his wife Leah and to comfort him regarding her because he was lamenting her. 36:23 For he loved her very much from the time when her sister Rachel died because she was perfect and right in all her behavior and honored Jacob. In all the time that she lived with him he

Jubiläen, 152) saw, the reference is to Jub 32:21-26 where an angel shows Jacob seven tablets from which he read all that «would happen to him and his sons throughout all ages» (v 21). The following words also indicate that this incident is in the author's mind (cf. Charles, 1902, p. 213, n.).

the division of the times of his generation: This is the meaning of the Latin text, and the Ethiopic deviates from it only with respect to diuisionem where it uses a verbal form (ፈለጠ). The emendation which is presupposed for the translation here involves reading ፍልጠት instead of the verb (see Charles [1895, p. 137, n. 19] who also considers ኩፋሌ which is less likely). With RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 152) and Charles (1902, p. 213, n.) one should understand this as another reference to the tablets of 32:21-26. The term አይት can mean «generatio» (DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 887-88). Note that Latin reads a plural and Ethiopic a singular noun. Berger's «Genealogie» (= γένεσις) is similar in meaning (504, n. f to v 20).

36:21 His wife: Latin: Jacob's wife.

during ... jubilee: Latin gives the same date, but, as elsewhere, it moves the jubilee section of the date formula to first position rather than last as in Ethiopic. The entire date is placed at the beginning of the sentence in Latin.

He buried: Latin reads a plural verb (= they buried).

on the left ... grave: These words have fallen from the Latin text, possibly by parablepsis (matrem eius ... patris eius). The words translated as «grandmother» are literally «mother of his father».

36:22 her sons and his sons: Though Ethiopic uses the same word (ወሉዳ / ወሉዱ) in both cases, Latin reads filii eius in the first and pueri eius in the second. The latter may refer to servants.

with him for his wife Leah: Ethiopic reads ምስሌሁ after «his wife Leah», but Latin puts cum eo before the reference to her. The presence of the marker of the accusative on አያ rather than a prefixed ለ (see mss. 12 21 35 38 39 48) after the anticipatory suffix (ይብክዩ) is strange.

36:23 the time when: Where Ethiopic employs አመ, Latin has the more specific word die.

behavior: Literally: ways.

Jacob. In: Ethiopic separates the statement about honoring Jacob from «In all the time» by a conjunction, but Latin, with mss. 9 21 38 44, lacks a conjunction and thus relates this temporal expression to Leah's honoring Jacob. Note that Latin reads et before non audiuit where Ethiopic has no conjunction.

she lived with him: Latin: he lived with her. Charles (1895, p. 137, n. 4 to Latin) emended ea et to eo.

a harsh word from her mouth: Latin places ex ore eius after omnem sermonem nequam, but Ethiopic exhibits the reverse order. Latin also has omnem which Ethiopic lacks. The words nequam and ድፉስ do not appear to be synonymous.

did not hear a harsh word from her mouth because she was gentle and
possessed (the virtues of) peace, truthfulness, and honor. 36:24 As he
recalled all the things that she had done in her lifetime, he greatly
lamented her because he loved her with all his heart and with all his
person.   5

37:1 On the day that Isaac, the father of Jacob and Esau, died Esau's
sons heard that Isaac had given the birthright to his younger son Jacob.
They became very angry. 37:2 They quarreled with their father: 'Why
is it that when you are the older and Jacob the younger your father
gave Jacob the birthright and neglected you'? 37:3 He said to them: 10

possessed ... honor: Latin is partially lost, but the form pacifica indicates that at least for
this word Latin continues with an adjective. Ethiopic, however, offers a series of nouns.
Ms. 35 actually agrees perfectly with Latin pacifica erat by reading ስላማዊት ፡ ደአት; but
for the last two items in the series it, too, has nouns (it is not possible to discern what
Latin read at these points). Possibly the original text was that of Latin and ms. 35, but the
adjective was levelled with the following two nouns; or perhaps Greek εἰρήνη and
εἰρηνική were confused.

36:24 he greatly lamented her because: Latin omits from (lugebat) to diligebat because
of the similarity in appearance of the two verbs (RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 152;
cf. Charles, 1895, p. 137). The word ideo remains difficult but may have been added after
omission of the lugebat clause. Ethiopic reads a similar term (አስመ) though without a
conjunction.

all his person: Or: all his soul. Latin lacks «all».

37:1 birthright: ኣበቅት is related to the root ኣበቀ = to grow old; it refers to that part
of the inheritance reserved for the first-born (DILLMANN, Lexicon, 28). Latin is only
partially legible here, but maiorem and portionem are reasonable though not exact
equivalents. There must have been more in the text as the dots in the edition and the word
fragment honorif show. RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 72) reconstructed as follows:
maiorem [et] honorif[icentiorem] portionem. Cf. maiorem portionem in v 2.

37:2 their father: Latin: esau; Syriac: ܐܒܘܗܘܢ (though it uses ܐܒܘܗܝ just before
this).

when you are the older and: Though Syriac has virtually the same expression, Latin
departs significantly by making Jacob the subject of praepositus est and adding tibi.
The Latin may have originated from a problem with translating בכר: the noun בכור
means «first-born» (= Ethiopic perhaps) and בְּכֵּר is «to recognize as first-born» (so
M. JASTROW, A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the
Midrashic Literature (reprinted: New York: Jastrow Publishers, 1967). The latter (per-
haps a pual form) may lie behind praepositus est. Hartom translates with בְּכֵּר, though he
does not give a very literal rendering of the verse and seems to include the idea of ኣበቅት
in the verb which he uses. A problem with this view is that one would perhaps expect זקן,
not בכור here. For the Latin, see 26:24, 31, 34 (and 24:7).

Jacob: Since Latin used the name in the preceding clause, it employs only «he» in this
place.

your: Latin places a conjunction before dedit; it is lacking in Syriac and Ethiopic.

birthright: So Syriac (which adds ܪܒܘܬܐ), but Latin has «the greater part».

neglected you: Latin: made you the inferior one.

'Because I sold my right of the first-born to Jacob in exchange for a little lentil broth. The day my father sent me to hunt and trap and to bring (something) to him so that he could eat (it) and bless me, he came in a crafty way and brought in food and drink to my father. My father
5 blessed him and put me under his control. 37:4 Now our father has made us — me and him — swear that we will not aim at what is bad, the one against his brother, and that we will continue in (a state of) mutual love and peace, each with his brother, so that we should not corrupt our behavior'. 37:5 They said to him: 'We will not listen to you

37:3 He: Latin: esau; Syriac also uses the name. It is possible that the Ethiopic tradition lost the name through homoioarchton with ኢሰሙ (some mss. [42 47 48 58] spell Esau ኤሳው in 37:1).

I sold: Latin and Syriac have «I gave». In 24:3-6 the verb «give» is used in the Ethiopic text for the incident which Esau describes. Latin and Syriac may preserve the original reading, while Ethiopic «sold» may derive from a misreading or miscopying of a form of δίδωμι as ἀποδίδωμι (= to sell [in the middle voice]). It is not unreasonable to suppose, however, that Ethiopic is the earlier reading, since ὅτι ἀπεδόμη (= Ethiopic) could have been mistaken for ὅτι ἔδωσα (= Latin and Syriac). See Gen 25:33 where one reads in LXX: ἀπέδοτο (= MT וימכר) δὲ Ἡσαὺ τὰ πρωτοτόκια τῷ Ἰακώβ. Another possibility is that the verb behind Latin (and Syriac) was an active form of ἀποδίδωμι (= to give up).

my ... to Jacob: Latin places iacob before primitiua; Ethiopic and Syriac locate the name after the equivalent terms. Syriac also adds ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܣܘ. The first-person singular suffix on ልደትየ is reflected in neither Latin nor Syriac.

to hunt and trap and to bring (something) to him: Latin and Syriac phrase with a verb for hunting and a cognate object; nothing in either of them corresponds with «and trap and to bring (something) to him». The three Ethiopic verbs are found in 26:2, 4, 5, but all are used together in 26:28 (see the textual notes to these passages). The agreement between Latin and Syriac here suggests that their shorter text is more original (cf. Tisse-rant, «Fragments syriaques», 224) and that the longer Ethiopic reading has been influenced by chap. 26.

food and drink: Syriac: ܘܡܐܟܠܐ.

My father[3]: Syriac omits.

37:4 our: Syriac: my (= mss. 12 21 38 44).

us — me and him: Syriac (literally): me [= mss. 12 44] — me and him.

we will not ... brother: Latin agrees literally, but Syriac is freer and in fact more nearly resembles the last clause in Latin.

mutual love: Syriac ܚܘܒܐ is rather different in meaning.

each ... behavior: Syriac omits. Latin and Ethiopic agree until the last clause where they diverge widely. The word ut appears where Ethiopic has a conjunction (= et); ut and et may have been confused. How the remaining differences arose is not clear. Tisserant («Fragments syriaques», 224) thought that the two texts looked «... comme s'il s'était trouvé en face d'un passage tronqué, qu'Eth. et Lat. auraient complété chacun à leur façon ...» Berger (506, n. d to v 4) is inclined to attribute the difference to variation in the Greek mss. which underlie the two «... in deren ältester das Stück fehlte». Charles (1895, p. 139, n. 2 to Latin) found the Ethiopic superior here.

37:5 They: So Latin and Ethiopic; Syriac: his sons.

listen: Syriac: agree.

by making peace with him because our strength is greater than his strength, and we are stronger than he is. We will go against him, kill him, and destroy his sons. If you do not go with us, we will harm you, too. 37:6 Now listen to us; let us send to Aram, Philistia, Moab, and Ammon; and let us choose for ourselves select men who are brave in battle. Then let us go against him, fight with him, and uproot him from the earth before he gains strength'. 37:7 Their father said to them: 'Do not go and do not make war with him so that you may not fall before him'. 37:8 They said to him: 'Is this not the very way you have acted from your youth until today. You are putting your neck beneath his yoke. We will not listen to what you are saying'.

37:9 So they sent to Aram and to their father's friend Aduram.

stronger: This is the reading of Ethiopic and Syriac; Latin has uiri fortes.

and destroy his sons: Mss. 12 21 38 add a suffix (= destroy him), and Latin supplies the corresponding pronoun. The latter then has et filios (here the text ends). Charles (1895, p. 138, n. 12; 1902, p. 215, n.) emended the Ethiopic to ⷨⷬⷵⷶ on the basis of the Latin; Littmann (102, n. d), Hartom, and Berger (506, n. c to v 5) have agreed. Syriac may seem to support this reading, as Berger (ibid.) claims, but it has amalgamated two clauses (this and the preceding one) to arrive at its shorter reading. For that reason its testimony is not decisive.

37:6 Now: With mss. 42 47, Syriac omits an initial conjunction.

let us ... against him: Syriac omits this section. Tisserant («Fragments syriaques», 224) supposed it was bypassed because the chronicler was not interested in Israel's neighbors. Cf. also Berger, 507, n. d to v 6.

fight: Syriac: make war.

uproot: Syriac: destroy.

37:7 father: Syriac adds «Esau».

before him: Syriac (literally): into his hands. It then adds: ＿ ⷣⷩⷶⷩⷵ. Berger (507, n. a to v 7) wonders whether this extre statement is original, but it is not likely to be the pristine reading as it has left no trace among the Ethiopic mss.

37:8 They: Syriac specifies «his sons».

Is this not: Syriac presents these words as a declaration, not a question. Mss. 20 21 35 38, although they do not agree among themselves, also lack an interrogative particle.

the very way: Syriac and most of the Ethiopic mss. show that ⷨⷬⷵ (noun with suffix = your action) is a better reading than the verbal form ⷨⷬⷵ. Syriac lacks an equivalent for ⷩⷸⷶ.

until: Syriac places a conjunction before ⷣⷵⷶ.

You: Syriac does not prefix a conjunction to the pronoun but Ethiopic does.

putting: Literally: bringing. Syriac uses the verb «bowing» which is common when speaking of the neck.

what you are saying: Literally: the word. Syriac reads only ⷩⷸⷶ = (literally) from you. This preposition is used to indicate the person heard.

37:9 they: Syriac: «Esau's sons». Between the material from vv 8 and 9 the chronicler inserted a notice about Leah's death and Jacob's mourning for her. Jubilees had described these events in 36:21-24.

to Aram ... them: Syriac omits.

Together with them they hired for themselves 1000 fighting men, select
warriors. 37:10 There came to them from Moab and from the
Ammonites 1000 select men who were hired; from the Philistines 1000
select warriors; from Edom and the Horites 1000 select fighters, and
5 from the Kittim strong warriors. 37:11 They said to their father: 'Go
out; lead them. Otherwise, we will kill you'. 37:12 He was filled with
anger and wrath when he saw that his sons were forcing him to go in
front in order to lead them to his brother Jacob. 37:13 But afterwards
he remembered all the bad things that were hidden in his mind against
10 his brother Jacob, and he did not remember the oath that he had sworn
to his father and mother not to aim at anything bad against his brother
Jacob throughout his entire lifetime.

37:14 During all of this, Jacob was unaware that they were coming
to him for battle. He, for his part, was mourning for his wife Leah until

1000 fighting men, select warriors: Syriac combines information from vv 9 (Aram) and
10 (Edom) and arrives at the number 4000 by adding the sums given in these two verses.
For ܪܕܝ ܐܠܦܝܢ, see v 10 (ጽጕፈን).

37:10 There came: Cf. SYNCELLUS, Chronographia 203.7-8: καὶ ἀθροίσας ἔθνη ἦλθε
κατὰ τοῦ 'Ιακωβ καὶ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς πόλεμον (see DENIS, Fragmenta, 97).

Kittim: Dillmann (1851), Littmann, Goldmann, and Hartom read ኲሲሞን as «Hit-
tites», but Charles (1902, p. 216, n.) rendered as «Kittim» (he compared 24:28 where the
spelling is ኲጥአም). Either interpretation would be possible here.

37:11 Go out: Syriac places ܝܩܘܡ before this verb.

lead them: Syriac, instead of a verb meaning «lead», combines ܣܩܘ with «at our
head» (not «Seite» as in Berger, 507, n. b to v 11) to express the notion of leading.

37:12 He: Syriac: Esau.

in front in order to lead them: Syriac omits.

his brother Jacob: Syriac: his brother.

37:13 afterwards: Syriac omits.

all: Syriac omits.

that were hidden in his mind: The word-order in the two versions differs, but the words
used are nearly the same. The major distinction is that Ethiopic reads ኅቡአት (or ኅቡአት)
last while Syriac gives the equivalent of it (ܪܕܝܐ) first.

his brother Jacob: Syriac: his brother. The chronicler adds: at an earlier time.

oath: Syriac: oaths. The plural is used, it appears, because both his father and his
mother are mentioned.

aim at anything bad: Syriac reads only the verb «harm».

Jacob... lifetime: Syriac omits.

37:14 that they ... battle: Syriac omits.

He, for his part: This is an attempt to express the force of ወውእቱሰ; cf. ܪܕ ܪ in the
Syriac.

him near: Syriac omits. In the Ethiopic text, ጥቃ (not ጥቅ) is employed, and it means
«proxime, secus, juxta» (DILLMANN, Lexicon, 1224). Consequently, the translation «very
near» in Charles, 1902 is incorrect, although Littmann, Goldmann, Hartom, and Berger
provide the same rendering. Dillmann (1851) used only «nahe an». See v 16 for the same
word.

they approached him near the tower with 4000 warriors, select fighting men. 37:15 The people of Hebron sent word to him: 'Your brother has just now come against you to fight you with 4000 men who have swords buckled on and are carrying shields and weapons'. They told him because they loved Jacob more than Esau, since Jacob was a more   5
generous and kind man than Esau. 37:16 But Jacob did not believe (it) until they came near the tower. 37:17 Then he closed the gates of the tower, stood on the top, and spoke with his brother Esau. He said: 'It is a fine consolation that you have come to give me for my wife who has died. Is this the oath that you swore to your father and your   10

tower: Syriac resorts to the more general ܥܠ ܐ ܪܓܝܐ.

warriors, select fighting men: Syriac abbreviates with ܓܢ̈ܒܪ.

37:15 The people of Hebron sent word to him: Literally: the people of Hebron sent to him saying. Syriac rearranges somewhat by omitting «to him» and changing «saying» to an independent clause with an indirect object: and they said to Jacob.

just now: This is a rendering of ነዋ (traditionally = behold). Syriac lacks the word. Note the frequent use of the suffixed particle -ህ to mark direct speech.

has ... come: The Syriac form ܐܬܐ is marked as a participle; Ethiopic uses a perfect tense verb.

to fight you: Syriac: for war (cf. v 14: ለቀትል).

with 4000 ... weapons: Syriac omits.

They told him: Syriac, with mss. 25 44, omits.

more generous and kind: Syriac uses nouns rather than adjectives and the nouns appear to reverse the order of the Ethiopic adjectives (see Tisserant, «Fragments syriaques», 220: «plus compatissant et plus généreux»).

37:16 they: Syriac agrees with the plural and thus adds to the evidence that the singular form of mss. 9 17 38 63 (cf. 42 47) is not to be read, although Berger opts for the singular.

near the tower: See v 14, Syriac again uses ܡܓܕܠܐ where Ethiopic reads its standard term ማኅፈድ. The Yalqut Shim'oni (see Charles, 1902, p. 217, n.), which describes this incident, also gives «tower».

37:17 Then ... tower: Syriac opens more graphically: at once he hastily. Compare SYNCELLUS, Chronographia 203.8-10 with this entire verse: Ἰακὼβ δὲ ἀποκλείσας τὰς πύλας τῆς βάρεως παρεκάλει τὸν Ἠσαῦ μνησθῆσαι τῶν γονικῶν ἐντολῶν (see DENIS, Fragmenta, 98). The beginning of Syncellus' citation more nearly resembles the Ethiopic text: it lacks «at once hastily» and uses «tower».

stood: Syriac reads ܩܡ ܠܗ before this verb.

his brother Esau: Ethiopic places the name after «his brother», but Syriac reverses the order.

said: Syriac: said to him (= mss. 35 44 63).

It is a fine: Syriac: how fine is (ܡܐ ܫܦܝܪ).

you have come to give me: Literally (Ethiopic and Syriac): you have come in order that you might comfort me.

Is this the oath: Syriac: are these the oaths (see v 13).

two times: ካዕበ means «again, a second time» (LAMBDIN, Introduction to Classical Ethiopic, 408). Syriac, in line with its references in this context to more than one oath, reads ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܙܒ̈ܢܝܢ = two times. This suggests that one should render Ethiopic as «twice» at this point (see DILLMANN, Lexicon, 867 [= bis]). In 1851 Dillmann translated: «2 mal», and Littmann, Hartom, and Berger have done likewise.

mother two times before he died? You have violated the oath and were condemned in the hour when you swore (it) to your father'.

37:18 Then Esau said in reply to him: 'Neither mankind nor animals have a true oath which they, once they have sworn, have sworn (it as valid) forever. Everyday they aim at what is bad for one another and at each one killing his enemy and opponent. 37:19 You will hate me and my sons forever. There is no observing of brotherly ties with you. 37:20 Listen to what I have to say to you. If a pig changes its hide and

5

---

he died: There is some support for reading a plural verb (mss. 9 20 39ᶜ 42 44 47 48; cf. 39¹), and the suffix of Syriac _ ܐܘ ܟܐ ܐܘ agrees with these mss. The singular is, nevertheless, more likely to be original, since the plural seems to be a scribal adjustment to the fact that both parents have just been mentioned.

You have violated the oath: Literally: you have sinned against the oath (Syriac: your oaths). The suffix in Syriac agrees with mss. 12 21¹ (?).

and were condemned ... father: Syriac omits. Tisserant («Fragments syriaques», 224) thought that the chronicler suppressed the line «... dont le sens n'est pas clair, il est possible qu'il y ait là une corruption du texte remontant à l'original hébreu». It is difficult to find any basis for his view; the line could hardly be clearer.

37:18 Then Esau said in reply to him: Literally: at that time Esau answered and said to him. The Syriac phrases slightly differently (literally): Esau answered Jacob and said. It omits an equivalent for ወእተ ፡ ዝላ.

true oath: Syriac: oaths. The word «true» represents the noun ጽድቅ in Ethiopic (literally: an oath of righteousness) and the adjective ܕܟܐܝܬ in Syriac.

once they have sworn: Syriac lacks a word that corresponds with ምሕለሰሙ.

have sworn²: Syriac uses a verb in the imperfect tense.

and at each ... opponent: Syriac omits.

37:19 You will hate me and my sons: Syriac paraphrases and balances this statement by noting two parties on both sides, while Ethiopic has only «you» on Jacob's side.

no: Syriac adds ܠ (= for me).

observing of brotherly ties: Literally: making brotherhood. For ትእኅዎ, see DILLMANN, Lexicon, 755: «consanguinitas vel necessitudo fratrum». Syriac reads ܫܠܡܐ (= peace), though it also supplies a verb meaning «making».

you: At the end of the verse Syriac adds several lines which are not present in the Ethiopic tradition (see the translation of the Syriac). Tisserant («Fragments syriaques», 224) thought (predictably) that the plus may be original and that it disappeared from the tradition represented by Ethiopic through homoioteleuton (from «with you» to «upon you»). But this would fit neither version, since a word (preserved in both) follows «with you». If homoioteleuton had operated, it would have been omitted. Berger, too, has argued for the originality of Syriac by showing that the terms and ideas of the passage (evil, anger, a reference to the judgment as the motivation in parenesis, combination of evil and heart) are consonant with what one finds elsewhere in Jubilees (509, n. a to v 19). Such general considerations do not constitute strong evidence that the extra words belong to the text of Jubilees, and no mechanical means for omission is apparent. It is more likely to be an addition from another of the chronicler's sources.

37:20 Listen: Since Syriac read an additional statement by Jacob just before this, it must introduce Esau as speaker again. Hence it prefaces «then Esau ...» to the words of v 20.

makes its bristles as limp as wool; and if horns like deer's and sheep's horns emerge from its head, then I will observe brotherly ties with you. The breasts have been separated from their mother, for you have not been a brother to me. 37:21 If wolves make peace with lambs so that they do not eat them or injure them; and if they have resolved to treat   5 them well, then there will be peace in my mind for you. 37:22 If the lion becomes the friend of a bull, and if it is harnessed together with it in a yoke and plows with it and makes peace with it, then I will make

what I have to say to you: The two versions have the same meaning, though Syriac lacks a word which would correspond with ኀገሪየ (literally: my word).

and makes its bristles as limp as wool: Syriac abbreviates, but it does supply the word «wool», and ܪܚܝܝ represents something of the sense of ኣድኅም (= to make weak).

horns ... horns: The Chronicle again shortens the text. It uses «horns» just once and omits «and sheep» (Tisserant [«Fragments syriaques», 224] prefers this reading because only one animal is mentioned in the other comparisons). Where Ethiopic has «like», Syriac uses a construct relationship between nouns.

The breasts ... me: Syriac lacks these words which have occasioned much discussion. Something of the difficulty which the line caused for scribes can be seen from the number of variant readings at its beginning. One problem is that it breaks the series of comparisons with the animal world — a series that resumes in vv 21-23. But the greatest problem is that its meaning is not readily apparent. Charles (1895, p. 140, nn. 4-5) suggested emending to ወእምእም : ተፈልጠ : አትቡዕ : እምእሞሙ = «since the twins [= the boys] were separated from their mother» (1902, p. 218, n.; he thought the line belonged with v 19). Cf. ms. 44 (= we have been separated). Goldmann and Hartom place a similar rendering in their texts (both make it the beginning of v 21) without confessing that it has no textual basis (for Goldmann, see p. רצד and the n. to v כא; for Hartom, see 114 and n. to v כא). Littmann (103, n. a) noted Charles' view without adopting it; and Berger (510, n. f to v 20) dismisses it as «ganz willkürlich». Though Charles' hypothesis is attractive, it is possible to work with the extant text. Berger (ibid.) thinks that the Greek read μήτρας (= womb) rather than μητρός (= mother): «Getrennt sind die Brüste von ihrem Mutterschoss». He explains that the image means that what belongs together is torn apart. But it is not clear that his emendation is needed in order to express this idea. The text, though it is not overly transparent, does make acceptable sense in the context (against Tisserant, «Fragments syriaques», 225). Note that the various words that precede ተፈልጠ in the mss. are found only in later copies and are unlikely to be original. Reading them only makes the line more troublesome and perhaps misled Charles.

37:21 so that they do not ... injure them: Syriac abbreviates by omitting the first verb («eat»). It also words the remaining clause as an independent statement rather than a purpose or result clause as in Ethiopic.

and if ... you: Syriac omits. The words rendered «they have resolved» mean literally: their hearts were upon them.

37:22 and if it is harnessed together with it in a yoke: Syriac shortens: it does not repeat «if» and it summarizes by saying «draws the yoke with it». After abridging here, the chronicler omits the remainder of the verse.

and makes peace with it: Two of the collated mss. (42 47 [51 also omits; hence this unit is not in Dillmann, 1851]) omit by parablepsis, and 38 lacks the next word as well. The other mss. attest the words, but Littmann (103, n. b) considered them an interpolation, and Charles (1902, pp. 218-19) transferred them so that they follow «bull». He appealed

peace with you. 37:23 If the raven turns white like the raza-bird, then
know that I love you and will make peace with you. (As for) you — be
uprooted and may your children be uprooted. There is to be no peace
for you'.

5   37:24 When Jacob saw that he was adversely inclined toward him
from his mind and his entire self so that he could kill him and (that) he
had come bounding along like a boar that comes upon the spear which
pierces it and kills it but does not pull back from it, 37:25 then he told
his own (people) and his servants to attack him and all his companions.

to «... the guidance of the parallelism» (ibid., n.) — a feature that is not immediately
obvious. Both Goldmann (p. רצה, n. to v כב [he appears to think that these words follow
«bull» in some of the mss.]) and Hartom omit, but Berger properly includes them where
the mss. place them.

37:23 raven turns white: Syriac reads a plural noun and verb.

raza-bird: Syriac: pelicans (ܡܩܐ). In 1851 Dillmann translated ሬዛ as «reiss» (see
Lexicon, 312: oryza), but all subsequent translators have understood it as a word of the
same spelling and designating a bird of some sort (cf. Dillmann [ibid.] where he cited
Isenberg's definition [in his Amharic Dictionary, 48]: «a large white bird, which eats
grasshoppers»). See also GRÉBAUT (Supplément, 157) who gives «gallus» (= a cock) as its
meaning. Littmann (103, n. c) also considered «stork» as a possible translation. Cf.
Charles, 1902, n.; and Tisserant («Fragments syriaques», 225, n. 4) who gave several
references and cited authorities in support of the view that the scientific name for this type
of stork is ciconia ephippiorhynca (a saddle-billed stork, which is a white-bodied kind).
Tisserant (ibid., 225) added that the Ethiopic translator may not have rendered precisely
and may have substituted the name of a local bird noted for its white color. He argued
that Syriac preserves a term that is more likely original to Jubilees, since the pelican
(= חסידה; see Goldmann, p. רצה, n. to v כב; Hartom, 114, n. to v כג) is the most
completely white bird in Palestine. Berger also renders with «Pelikan» (see 510, n. b to
v 23). In view of the fact that there is some doubt the proper translation of the word,
«raza-bird» has been used in the translation.

then ... with you: The Syriac shortens by omitting አአምC — ወ. After the clause which
mentions «making peace», it reproduces nothing of the remainder of the verse.

(As for) you — be uprooted: Dillmann (1859) and Charles (1895) placed the imperative
form ትሡረው, which must be the correct reading, in their editions. Yet most translators,
including Charles, have rendered as if the form were an imperfect (Charles, 1902: «Thou
shalt be uprooted»; Dillmann [1851] had translated similarly but he had access only to the
reading of ms. 51 [ትሰረC]). Only Goldmann and Hartom have noted that the form is
imperative (though they use הכרת).

37:24 he was ... kill him: Syriac rephrases so that Esau (it supplies the name) comes
with his entire (not in Ethiopic) mind and intelligence (Ethiopic: self/ soul); but Ethiopic
employs these prepositional phrases to indicate the thorough nature of his evil disposition.
The verb translated «was adversely inclined» means (literally) «made evil». Dillmann,
Goldmann, and Hartom translate as though አምላኩ were the object of the verb, but they
ignore the presence of the preposition.

and (that) ... pull back from it: Syriac omits.

37:25 he : Syriac: Jacob.

his own (people): Syriac: his sons.

and his servants: Syriac omits.

to attack him: Syriac (literally): to go out against him.

and all his companions: Syriac omits.

38:1 After this Judah spoke to his father Jacob and said to him:
'Draw your bow, father; shoot your arrow; pierce the enemy; and kill
the foe. May you have the strength because we will not kill your
brother, since he is near to you and, in our estimation, he is equal to
you in honor'. 38:2 Jacob then stretched his bow, shot an arrow,   5

38:1 After this: Syriac omits.
and said to him: Syriac omits.

Draw ... foe: Syriac supplies virtually the same words (it lacks «shoot your arrow»
and reads «your» with «enemy» [= ms. 12] and «foe») but after material that in part
appears toward the end of the Ethiopic verse. Tisserant («Fragments syriaques», 225-26)
found Syriac's order more logical. If this were the case, it should be noted, the Ethiopic
would be a better candidate for the original text and the Syriac more likely a revision of it.

May you have the strength because we will not kill your brother: Syriac preserves no
trace of the first clause, whereas the subordinate clause in Ethiopic resembles the Syriac
statement: we are not able to draw the sword before your brother.

since he is near to you: Literally: and he is to you. Littmann (104, n. a) found the
ending of the verse (from «since» to the end) corrupt and did not translate it in his text
(nor did Dillmann in 1851). In a note he wondered whether ኢብከ meant «wie du» (so
Berger). Goldmann used אצלך and Hartom כמוך, while Charles (1902) rendered with
«such as thou». Syriac lacks equivalents for these words. In the following line, which is
parallel to the present one, መግብአክ, occurs. The similarity of these two lines suggests
that the meaning of ኢብከ should be roughly synonymous with this noun. The translation
«is near to» is an effort to express the meaning of ኢብ in this context. DILLMANN (Lexicon,
592) took ኢብከ in a possessive sense (= he belongs to you) which is certainly possible
here.

in our estimation: The prepositional phrase በኢብለ has proved difficult. As indicated in
the previous note, neither Dillmann nor Littmann translated it in their texts; the latter
(104, n. a) did render it in a note as «bei uns». Goldmann again used אצל with the
appropriate suffix. Charles (1895, p. 141, n. 31; 1902, p. 219, n.) emended it to ይብ (see
the correction of his 1895 text in 1902, ibid.) on the basis of Latin demus illi. Hartom, too,
preferred Latin, though he introduces a gratuitous verb along with demus (והנח לנו לתת).
This seems, however, unlikely to be correct because Syriac ܚܒܝܒ very nearly reflects
what በኢብለ means. Tisserant («Fragments syriaques», 226) noticed that በኢብሁ rendered
ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ (see DILLMANN, Lexicon, 593) in Sir 8:16. Now Berger (511. n. d
to v 1) has followed Tisserant's suggestion about በኢብለ and rendered it as «Vor unseren
Augen». One need not, it seems, think that ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν stood in Greek Jubilees; if
it had, the Ethiopic would probably have reproduced it more literally. But Syriac does
point to the sense in which በኢብለ should be understood. If Ethiopic does preserve the
superior text, it entails that Latin is corrupt and that Charles' emendation is mistaken.
Yet it is not clear how the Latin reading originated.

in honor: Latin has gloriam, while Syriac omits the word. The ending of the verse in
Syriac is unique (from «because» to «questions») and finds no reflex in either Ethiopic or
Latin.

38:2 Jacob then stretched: Though most of the Ethiopic mss. begin the verse with a
conjunction, the absence of one in Syriac, Latin, and mss. 20 25 35 58 indicates that it is
an addition. The two Semitic texts read the verb before the subject, but Latin reverses
them.

pierced: Syriac: hit (or: wounded). Syncellus (Chronographia 203.11-12) agrees with the
Syriac (πλήξας).

pierced his brother Esau [on his right breast], and struck him down.
38:3 He shot another arrow and hit Aduran the Aramean on his left
breast; he drove him back and killed him. 38:4 After this Jacob's sons
— they and their servants — went out, dividing themselves to the four
5 sides of the tower. 38:5 Judah went out in front. Naphtali and Gad

[on his right breast]: Both Latin and Syriac offer this reading (Syriac reads «side»
rather than «breast»), but Ethiopic lacks it. Syncellus (*Chronographia* 203.12) also
includes it in his account (κατὰ τοῦ δεξιοῦ μαζοῦ). The same statement is found in the
Chronicles of Jerahmeel 37.5 and the Yalqut Shim'oni (see Charles, 1902, p. 220, n.;
Berger, 512, n. d to v 2). The combined testimony of these sources makes it overwhel-
mingly likely that Ethiopic improperly omits it, and Charles (1895, p. 141, n. 33; 1902,
ibid.) and all the other translators except Goldmann (who mentions this reading in a note
[pp. רצה-ו, n. to v ב]) have agreed on this point. Cf. also v 3 where the left breast of
Aduran is mentioned. The phrase was probably omitted on the Greek level of Jubilees
when the eye of a scribe or translator skipped from ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ to μαζοῦ αὐτοῦ.

struck him down: This is an acceptable sense for the Latin and Ethiopic verbs,
although both could be translated as «killed». Syriac has «made him fall» (= to throw
down). Cf. also SYNCELLUS, *Chronographia* 203.12: κατέβαλε. Perhaps וַיַּפֵּל appeared in
the original.

38:3 He shot another arrow: Literally: he again shot an arrow, Latin and Syriac
express the same notion but refer to a second arrow.

hit: Syriac agrees. Latin reads percussit as in v 2, but here it may mean «hit», as the
other two versions suggest. Note that the Latin scribe repeated et per.

Aduran the Aramean: The Latin text has made one word of the name and accompa-
nying gentilic (adoramarommenon). RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 72, 153) and Charles
(1895, p. 141, n. 2 to Latin) corrected the combination to Adoram Arameum. The Syriac
spelling ܐܪܘܢ has resulted in part from metathesis of ܝ and ܢ. If the original form of
the name was אדורם (cf. 2 Sam 20:24; 1 Kgs 12:18; RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 153),
Latin has preserved it more accurately than the Ethiopic or Syriac versions. See also
አዱራም in v 9.

drove him back: Latin deiecit was used in v 2 in the sense «strike down»; there
Ethiopic read ገደፈ. The same verb can mean «drive out, eject», so that here it is a near
equivalent of ለደፈ. Syriac omits.

killed him: Syriac adds a sentence which is found in neither Ethiopic nor Latin and
which is thus almost certainly not original. It is interesting, nevertheless, that at this
juncture — i.e., after Esau's death — the *Chronographia* of Syncellus states (203.12-13):
τοῦ δὲ θανόντος ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας οἱ υἱοὶ 'Ιακὼβ ἀνεῖλον τοὺς πλείστους (see
DENIS, *Fragmenta*, 98).

38:4 After ... went out: Syriac reflects only this part of the verse and does so in an
abbreviated form. It does, however, preserve the subject — they and their servants — as it
is in the other versions.

four sides: The Ethiopic text has the simple noun መርሕበት, but Latin quattuor spiritus
may more literally render the original בארבע רוחות (= the translation of Hartom). Cf.
RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 153-54) where he adduced Ezek 37:9.

38:5 in front: For ፍጽመ = «a fronte, parte antica, prae», see DILLMANN, *Lexicon*,
1390. Latin reads primus which offers a similar connotation but is hardly a literal
equivalent of the Ethiopic. Midrash Wayyisa'u (for the text, see Charles, 1895, p. 181)
presents the same episode in the words אז יצא יהודה ראשון, in which ראשון agrees with
Latin primus. This midrash offers a text that is very nearly what is found in Jubilees:
ונפתלי וגד עמו לדרום הבירה וחמשי' עבדי' עמהם מעבדי יעקב אביהם.

were with him, and 50 servants were with him on the south side of the
tower. They killed everyone whom they found in front of them. No one
at all escaped from them. 38:6 Levi, Dan, and Asher went out on the
east side of the tower, and 50 were with them. They killed the Moabite
and Ammonite warriors. 38:7 Reuben, Issachar, and Zebulun went out   5
on the north side of the tower, and 50 were with them. They killed the
Philistine fighting men. 38:8 Simeon, Benjamin, and Enoch — Reu-
ben's son — went out on the west side of the tower, and 50 were with
them. Of (the people of) Edom and the Horites they killed 400 strong

and 50 servants were with him on the south side of the tower: Midrash Wayyisaʿu
reverses the order of the units («on the south side of the tower» comes first; see the
previous note) and expands the statement about the servants. Where Ethiopic reads the
words አሥተ ፡ ገጸ ፡ ደብተ (rendered «der nördlichen seite» by Dillmann in 1851), Latin
offers secundum meridianum (the latter term is used as a substantive; see RÖNSCH, Das
Buch der Jubiläen, 154). meridianum indicates that ደብተ ought to be translated «south»,
as the other translators have seen. For the historical change in the meaning of the word,
see DILLMANN, Lexicon, 1105-06. Cf. also לדרום in Midrash Wayyisaʿu.

tower: Latin barin (הבירה in Midrash Wayyisaʿu) should be in the genitive case — bari
(see v 6 and RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 74 [but cf. pp. 154-55]; Charles, 1895, p. 141,
n. 3 to Latin).

everyone: So also Syriac (ܠܟܠ). For Latin quodquod, note Rönsch's (Das Buch der
Jubiläen, 155) comment: «Ebenso geschrieben finden wir quotquot (= ὅσοι) Mc. 3,10 und
6,56 in dem Evangeliencod. Vindob».

they found: Ethiopic and Latin agree, but Syriac reads a passive form.

at all escaped: Syriac does not reproduce the emphatic «at all» which is found in
Ethiopic and Latin, and it reads a plural verb as opposed to the singular of the other two
versions. It does so because it links this statement with the later one (cf. v 8) about the
survival of Esau's four sons. The chronicler then omits vv 6-7, parts of which were
abbreviated in v 4.

38: 6 Levi ... them: Midrash Wayyisaʿu: ולוי ודן ואשר יצאו למזרח הבירה ונ' עבדים עמהם.

38:7 Reuben: Almost all Ethiopic mss. begin the sentence with a conjunction, but
Latin (with ms. 38) omits it. Midrash Wayyisaʿu also reads a conjunction (and uses the
same names and verb).

on the north side of the tower: Latin omits, but RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 74; cf.
155) and Charles (1895, p. 141) have added: secundum septentrionem bari. Midrash
Wayyisaʿu: לצפון הבירה. For «north» (ደቡብ) Dillmann (1851) gave «der südlichen seite»,
but the midrash indicates that «north» is correct.

50 were with them: Latin (literally): 50 of theirs with them. Cf. the Latin in v 8.
Midrash Wayyisaʿu: ונ' עבדים עמהם.

They killed: Latin adds et ipsi to emphasize the subject.

38:8 went out: Latin uses a singular verb as in v 5; in vv 6-7 it read plurals in similar
contexts as in Ethiopic. Midrash Wayyisaʿu has a plural form. For the beginning of the
verse it has: ויצאו שמעון ובנימין וחנוך בן ראובן למערב הבירה ונ' עבדים עמהם.

50 were with them: As in v 7, Latin adds ipsorum after quinquaginta. Both Ethiopic
and Midrash Wayyisaʿu lack an equivalent.

strong warriors: Latin omits «strong». Midrash Wayyisaʿu: גבורים עושים מלחמה.

warriors, and 600 ran away. Esau's four sons ran away with them. They left their slain father just as he had fallen on the hill that is in Aduram. 38:9 Jacob's sons pursued them as far as Mt. Seir, while Jacob buried his brother on the hill that is in Aduram and then returned to his house. 38:10 Jacob's sons pressed hard on Esau's sons in Mt. Seir. They bowed their necks to become servants for Jacob's sons. 38:11 They sent to their father (to ask) whether they should make peace with them or

600 ran away: Latin lacks the verb «ran way» and is left with the number 600 dangling at the end of the clause. Both RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 74) and Charles (1895, p. 141) have added fugerunt to their texts. At this point Midrash Wayyisaʿu has: וברחו שש מאות הנותרים גבורים הם.

Esau's four sons: Syriac also mentions them. In Midrash Wayyisaʿu they are given names which are taken from Gen 36:4-5 (see RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 155).

their slain father just as he had fallen on the hill that is in Aduram: Latin places corpus before patris sui, but neither Ethiopic, Syriac, nor Midrash Wayyisaʿu sides with it. The midrash reads: והניחו לאביהם עשו מת מוטל בארוד״ין. Latin is shorter: it lacks «slain» against the other witnesses (note ܩܛܠ in Syriac), and for «just as he had fallen» it uses proiectum which resembles Syriac ܪܡܐ (= cast, laid, lying) and מוטל in the midrash. At this point, though Ethiopic is close in meaning to the others, its active verb ወድቀ is different. If ውድቀ were read, Ethiopic would agree with the others. Still, the word በሕመ is also unique, and this implies that the Ethiopic text represents a slight reworking of the original.

38:9 Jacob's ... Seir: Midrash Wayyisaʿu: וירדפו בני יעקב אחריהם עד ארוד״ין העיר. It abbreviates here by omitting the reference to Seir. Later, it relates that Jacob's sons buried Esau there. Syriac omits this part of the verse.

his brother: Latin and Syriac add «Esau», with Latin placing the name before «his brother» and Syriac putting the name after it.

returned to his house; Latin also reads a singular verb, but Syriac has both Jacob and his sons returning. Where Ethiopic gives «to his house» Latin supplies in barin. Syriac supports Latin in that its word ܡܓܕܠܐ has regularly been used where «tower» appeared in the other versions. Neither of these versions reflects the suffix on ቤቱ.

38:10 pressed hard on: Latin cumsederunt should be corrected to circumsederunt (RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 74; on p. 155 he compared T. Judah 9:4 where it is said that they besieged; Charles, 1895, p. 141, n. 4 to Latin). If this correction is made, however, there is disagreement between Ethiopic and Latin. Charles originally (ibid., n. 58) emended አመንደብዎሙ to ዐገትዎሙ which in his estimation agreed with Latin (it actually means to surround in the sense of protecting) and reflected ויצרו אותם in Midrash Wayyisaʿu (p. 182; cf. his claim on p. 180). But Littmann (104, n. d) set the record straight by noting that ויצרו in the midrash better fit the Ethiopic than the Latin and that ዐገተ did not furnish the correct nuance in this passage. Charles accepted his criticisms in 1902 (p. 221, n.). Perhaps the readings in Ethiopic and Latin could be explained as the consequences of confusion between the two similar Hebrew words צור (= besiege) and צרר (= to cause distress).

They bowed their necks: Latin uses the less colorful verb subiugauerunt. In so doing it expresses the same meaning but does not reflect the same word as in Ethiopic.

38:11 their father: Latin adds the name iacob before «their father».

should make: Here, as it does frequently, Latin uses a future indicative (facient) where a subjunctive form would be anticipated. Charles (1895, p. 143, n. 1 to Latin) emended to faciant. For this episode, see T. Judah 9:7.

kill them. 38:12 Jacob sent word to his sons to make peace. So they
made peace with them and placed the yoke of servitude on them so that
they should pay tribute to Jacob and his sons for all time. 38:13 They
continued paying tribute to Jacob until the day that Jacob went down
to Egypt. 38:14 The Edomites have not extricated themselves from the   5
yoke of servitude which Jacob's sons *imposed* on them until today.

   or kill them: Latin omits these words and the first part of v 12 by parablepsis. See the
note to v 12.
   38:12 Jacob ... peace: Latin omits this sentence and the end of v 11 by parablepsis
from pacem cum ipsis (v 11) to pacem cum ipsis (v 12). That is, if one assumes that the
Latin tradition had a text that agreed with mss. 38 39 42 47 48 58, which transpose the
words ምስሊዮሙ and ሰላም, the omission by Latin would follow the rules for this sort of
textual error. The Ethiopic text as given here would not provide the necessary trigger.
Both RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 74) and Charles (1895, p. 143) have reconstructed
the Latin gap according to the Ethiopic but with the last words properly transposed.
   servitude: Latin: timoris. RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 156) wrote: «Vielleicht hat
der Uebersetzer ζυγὸν δουλείας (vgl. Gal. 5, 1) mit ζυγὸν δειλίας verwechselt». Charles
(1895, p. 142, n. 4) accepted his explanation as has Berger (514, n. a to v 12). See v 14
where Latin has the same incorrect text. Midrash Wayyisaʿu: למס עובד.
   pay tribute: Latin reads dent honorem. The noun reproduces, according to RÖNSCH
(*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 156), an ambiguous term such as τιμή to which the translator
assigned its primary meaning. He did not notice, though, that in this context it has the
sense «Geldsumme, festgesetzte Steuer». He alluded to Ezek 22:25 (τιμὰς λαμβάνοντες).
Littmann (104, n. e), without mentioning Rönsch, proposed that either the translator
chose the wrong meaning for τιμή or read τίμημα instead of it. Charles (1895, p. 142, n. 5)
simply called Latin «wrong». See also p. 143, n. 3 to Latin, where he referred to
T. Judah 9:7 which mentions tribute; and Berger, 514, n. b to v 12. Midrash Wayyisaʿu:
ותתנום למס עובד. It should be added that *honor* can mean «fee, recompense». The same
word recurs in v 13.
   38:13 tribute: For honorem, see the preceding note.
   Jacob²: Latin lacks the name (as does ms. 12, which also omits ውስተ), or rather it
represents it with eius.
   went down: Latin defensionis is a simple copyist's error for descensionis (see RÖNSCH,
Das Buch der Jubiläen, 74; Charles, 1895, p. 143, n. 4 to Latin).
   38:14 extricated themselves: The verb ኀደገ means «decrease, cease; give up, aban-
don». Latin cessauerunt also means «cease, stop». Therefore, the text literally reads «the
sons of Edom have not ceased from the yoke of servitude». Charles (1902) rendered with
«got quit» (= Rabin), and Wintermute with «have ceased». «Extricated themselves» is a
slight circumlocution, the intent of which is to put this meaning into reasonable English.
   servitude: As in v 12, Latin reads timoris.
   Jacob's sons *imposed* on them: This is the Latin reading, and it is superior to the
evidence of the Ethiopic mss. which offer a mixed group of readings. If one assumes an
original Ethiopic text that agreed with Latin, it is easy to account for the various readings.
The original would have been ውCዑ : ውሉድ : ያዕቆብ which is now found only in ms. 44.
The verb ውCዑ (= imposuerunt [though in v 12 አንበሩ was used]) was misread or
miscopied as ዐውCት (= 10), a number which, together with ወኀሉ, often precedes
ውሉድ : ያዕቆብ. Once this mistake had been made, a scribe added ወኀሉ to complete
the familiar number. The result was the text of mss. 25 39 42 47 48. This hypothesis about
the evolution of the inferior Ethiopic text is preferable to assuming that Ethiopic once

38:15 These are the kings who ruled in Edom — before a king ruled the Israelites — until today in the land of Edom. 38:16 Balak, son of Bo'er, became king in Edom. The name of his city was Danaba. 38:17 After Balak died, Yobab son of Zara who was from Bosir
5 became king in his place. 38:18 After Yobab died, Asam who was from Mt. Teman became king in his place. 38:19 After Asam died, Adat son of Bared who slaughtered Midian in the field of Moab became king in his place. The name of his city was Awutu. 38:20 After Adat died,

read both ወርዖ and ዐወርዕት : ወሀለሎት because Latin has no number and only mss. 35 58 offer this combined reading. ወርዖ : ሀለሎት, which is found in many older mss. (9 12 17 20 21, with 38 63), represents another stage in the process: it resulted when haplography of the similar words ወርዖ : ዐወርዕት occurred. The word ለዐሉፎሙ presupposes that a verb such as «impose» once preceded it, though «of the twelve sons of Jacob upon them» could be acceptable. Latin places illis directly after the verb, but Ethiopic locates ለዐሉፎሙ after ዖዕቅብ.

38:15 These: RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 74) emended hii to ii, but Charles (1895, p. 143, n. 5 to Latin) preferred hi. In either case, the meaning would be «these».

in Edom: With LXX OL EthGen 36:31, Jubilees omits ארץ before אדום, while MT Sam Syriac supply it. Note that Jubilees (in both versions) includes «land of» before «Edom» at the end of the sentence.

king: Latin: regnum. RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 74) and Charles (1895, p. 143, n. 6 to Latin) corrected to rex (= Ethiopic and Gen 36:31). It is likely that the translator of Latin misread the last word in the phrase πρὸ τοῦ βασιλεῦσαι βασιλέα as βασιλεία(ν).

Israelites: Jubilees reads (in Ethiopic and Latin) «sons of» before «Israel» with MT Sam SyriacGen 36:31. The LXX tradition omits.

until today: Charles (1902, p. 222) bracketed these words, but they are present in both versions.

38:16 Balak: The spelling agrees with that of many Greek witnesses (βαλαακ or βαλακ), OL EthGen 36:32 and LXX 1 Chr 1:43. The Latin form barad follows no ancient version. RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 74) and Charles (1895, p. 143, n. 8 to Latin) emended to Balac. MT Sam Syriac LXX have בלע or equivalents.

became king in Edom: Latin omits, as do MT LXX 1 Chr 1:43 (Charles' note [1895, p. 143, n. 7 to Latin] should be corrected to read that the versions of Gen 36:32 [except the Vulgate] include these words). Retaining Ethiopic seems preferable here because the Latin version has lost the missing words by parablepsis from «Edom» at the end of v 15 to «Edom» at the end of this expression.

38:17 Balak: See the note to v 16.

Zara: Cf. LXX Ζάρα (= OL [Zare] EthGen 36:33); MT Sam Syriac have זרח.

Bosir: There are several variants among the mss., but this spelling agrees more nearly with SyriacGen 36:33 (ܒܨܘܪ) than with MT בצרה or LXX βοσόρρας.

38:18 Mt.: Charles (1902) and Hartom (both without note) translate «land of» which is the reading of Gen 36:34 but not of Jubilees.

38:19 Adat: None of the versions preserves this spelling, but LXX witnesses d n read αδατ.

Bared: MT (= 1 Chr 1:46) Sam SyriacGen 36:35 have בדד; LXX, however, in both Gen 36:35 and in 1 Chr 1:46 reads βαράδ.

Awutu: MTGen 36:35 gives עוית and LXX Γεθθάιμ, but in 1 Chr 1:46, where LXX resorts to the same form, MT (ketib) is עיות.

Saloman who was from Emaseqa became king in his place. 38:21 After
Saloman died, Saul who was from the river Raabot became king in his
place. 38:22 After Saul died, Beelunan son of Akbur became king in his
place. 38:23 After Baelunan son of Akbur died, Adat became king in
his place. His wife's name was Maytabit, daughter of Matrit, daughter   5
of Metabedezaab. 38:24 These are the kings who ruled in the land of
Edom.

   39:1 Jacob lived in the land where his father had wandered as a
foreigner — the land of Canaan. 39:2 This is the history of Jacob.
When Joseph was 17 years of age, they brought him down to Egypt.   10
The pharaoh's eunuch Potiphar, the chief cook, bought him. 39:3 He
put Joseph in charge of his entire house. The Lord's blessing was
(present) in the Egyptian's house because of Joseph. The Lord made
everything that he did succeed for him. 39:4 The Egyptian left every-
thing to Joseph because he noticed that the Lord was with him and that   15
the Lord made everything that he did succeed for him.

   39:5 Now Joseph was well formed and very handsome. The wife of
his master looked up, saw Joseph, loved him, and pleaded with him to

38:20 Saloman: MT Sam SyriacGen 36:36 spell the name שׂמלה (= LXX). However,
several LXX mss., including A, and OL reverse the second and third consonants as
Jubilees does.
   38:23 son of Akbur: Mss. 20 38 58 omit as do Sam OLGen 36:39 and MT 1 Chr 1:50.
   Adat: This spelling probably presupposes an original הדד (so Sam Syriac LXX
TnGen 36:39, and 1 Chr 1:50 in MT and LXX), not הדר as in MT Tfjo.
   daughter[2]: So MT SamGen: 36:39 and MT 1 Chr 1:50; Syriac LXX OL have «son».
   39:1 land ... foreigner: Literally: the land of his father's sojourning.
   39:2 This is the history: Literally: these are the generations. The word አስ appears to
be the plural relative pronoun which would make no sense in the context. Both Dillmann
and Charles read አሉ, but only ms. 38 supports it. Charles (1895, p. 143, n. 40) thought
that አስ stood for እሳ (= feminine plural demonstrative which would agree with the
gender of ትዉልድ), and no other solution suggestions itself. The versions of Gen 37:2 read
demonstratives.
   chief cook: See the note to 34:11. Here, too, Charles (1895, p. 143, n. 44) emended the
curious መብስልት to ዐቃቢት. This is unnecessary, since it is clear that the same Hebrew
Vorlage as the MT (שׂר הטבחים) appeared in Hebrew Jubilees. The translator simply
followed the precedent of LXX in interpreting the phrase to mean ἀρχιμάγειρος (= OL
EthGen 39:1). See also Littmann, 105, n. 1.
   39:4 to Joseph: Literally: before Joseph. Charles (1895, p. 143, n. 46) altered �武ማሁ
to በአፌሁ on the authority of Gen 39:6 and Jub 39:13 (only Latin; Ethiopic again reads
ፒ武ማሁ). Hartom reproduces Charles' emendation, but ፒ武ማሁ. which disagrees with all
versions of Gen 39:6, is more likely to be original because it varies from the biblical
reading.
   noticed: Literally: saw.
   39:5 was well formed and very handsome: Literally: his appearance was good and his
appearance was very beautiful. Charles (1895, p. 143, n. 51) wrote that he was emending

lie with her. 39:6 But he did not surrender himself. He remembered the
Lord and what his father Jacob would read to him from the words of
Abraham — that no one is to commit adultery with a woman who has
a husband; that there is a death penalty which has been ordained for
5 him in heaven before the most high Lord. The sin will be entered
regarding him in the eternal books forever before the Lord.
39:7 Joseph remembered what he had said and refused to lie with her.
39:8 She pleaded with him for one year and a second, but he refused to
listen to her. 39:9 She drew him close and held on to him in the house
10 in order to compel him to lie with her. She closed the door of the house
and held on to him. He left his clothes in her hands, broke the door,

ራእይ ፡ ወላሕይ ፡ ጥቀ ፡ ራእይ to ራእይ ፡ ወላሕይ ፡ ራእይ ፡ ጥቀ with Gen 39:6 (cf. Littmann,
105, n. n). It is not evident why he arrived at this formulation, since the two instances of
ራእይ would be grammatically incorrect and the only other change is in the order of the
last two words. In 1902 he simply translated the text of the mss. and commented (p. 223,
n.) that «there seems to be a dittography». It is more reasonable to maintain that the text
should stand as it is and that the word ራእይ has a different sense in each of its uses: in the
first case it means «form» (DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 299: species, forma [εἶδος, πρόσωπον —
here he referred to Jubilees 39]), and in the second it means «appearance». MT Sam
LXXGen 39:6 use two words with these values. Both Goldmann and Hartom, with
Gen 39:6, translate the first ራእይ with תאר. The word ጥቀ echoes σφόδρα of the LXX
tradition.

39:6 what: Literally: the words.

will be entered: Literally: will ascend.

eternal books forever before the Lord: Another translation, found in Dillmann (1851),
Littmann, and Berger, is: books which are forever at all times before the Lord.

39:8 and a second: This would be the meaning if ካልአ is the proper spelling. Both
editors and all of the translators, however, have read the verb ካልአ (= he refused) which
is attested in several good mss. (9 17 20 21 48; cf. 47 58 63). But 20 25 35 and several other
copies evidence ካልአ (= second). The noun ዓመት is feminine (though it can be construed
as masculine [DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 955]); hence one would expect ካልእት. Yet, 20 25 35
also use the masculine ካሕይ with ዓመት (see ፍጻሜ in ms. 12). Either reading can be
defended, and both make suitable sense: Joseph did refuse her advances; yet, nothing in
the chronology of Joseph's life contradicts allowing two years for the wife's attempts to
seduce him (see 46:3).

39:9 She drew him close: Latin: adgressa est eum lacks the causative sense of the
Ethiopic. Some support for ዐስቀተ can be found in ἐφελκομένη in T. Jos. 8:3 where the
same scene is depicted. The original may have read וַתִּקְרַב, which was read as a qal form in
the Greek tradition behind the Latin but as a hiphil in the Greek underlying the Ethiopic.

to lie: Ethiopic uses a subjunctive verb as does Latin, but the latter introduces it with
et, which RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 74) and Charles (1895, p. 145, n. 1 to Latin)
have changed to ut. If they are correct, the two versions would agree. Here, as it does
regularly, Latin reads a form of dormio where Ethiopic has a form of ሰከበ.

door: Latin: doors (ostia; note ostium below).

He left: Latin specifies ioseph as the subject.

in her hands: Latin omits, but all of the ancient versions support reading ውስተ ፡ እዴሃ
(Gen 39:12; Syriac LXX OL Ethiopic Genesis use plural or dual forms). The omission
may have been caused by the similar spellings of Greek possessive pronouns after
«clothes» and «hands» (αὐτοῦ and αὐτῆς in LXX).

and ran away from her to the outside. 39:10 When that woman saw that he would not lie with her, she accused him falsely to his master: 'Your Hebrew slave whom you love wanted to force me so that he could lie with me. When I shouted, he ran away, left his clothes in my hands when I grabbed him, and broke the door'. 39:11 When the   5

broke the door: Latin: *aperiens ostium*. These words are added to Gen 39:12. The reason for the difference between the two versions of Jubilees is not known. Jub 39:10 also refers to his breaking the door, but the Latin for that passage is lost. Charles (1895, p. 145, n. 3 to Latin) emended to *frangens ostium* (= Ethiopic).

39:10 that woman: As Latin reads only *mulier*, it is likely that ይእቲ renders a Greek definite article (= ἡ γυνή).

he would not lie with her: Latin: *he had defied her* (or: *despised her*). Charles (1895, p. 144, n. 14) wondered whether Ethiopic should be emended to conform with Latin. It may be that the Ethiopic reading originated as an explanation of the less specific statement found in Latin. But it is also possible that Latin has resulted from miscopying *quod non concumbet* (so Dillmann [in RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 77] rendered the Ethiopic) as *quoniam contempsit*.

she: Ethiopic (except ms. 9 which omits) prefixes a conjunction to the verb but Latin lacks one. RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 76) and Charles (1895, p. 145) have added *et* to the text before *mentita*.

to his master: Latin differs by adding *uiro suo* (after *mentita est*). The Latin is clearly inferior and may be a plus which explains that his master was also her husband. Charles (1895, p. 145, n. 4 to Latin) removed *uiro suo* from the text.

Your Hebrew slave: Latin adds *iste* after *hebreus*; it probably translates a Greek definite article (LXXGen 39:17: ὁ παῖς ὁ Ἑβραῖος). The pronoun «your» is found in both Ethiopic and Latin and in EthGenesis (with 59′ Arab Co). The fact that both versions of Jubilees have it shows that the Ethiopic text does not owe the reading to the Ethiopic Bible.

whom you love: Latin reads the same clause but rather improbably locates it five words after *seruus tuus hebreus iste*. These exact words are not present in the same place in Gen 39:17 (where the word-order agrees with the Ethiopic of Jubilees). Instead, the biblical phrase is: אשר הבאת לנו. The reading in Jubilees involves a transposition of the consonants in הבאת to אהבת.

wanted: Ethiopic and Latin (actually *molitus est* means «tried») offer this reading, although Gen 39:17 has בא at this point. It is very likely that Jubilees' reading is the result of a confusion between ἦλθε (= Genesis) and ἤθελε (= Jubilees).

force me: Note that Ethiopic preposes ኀቤየ against all witnesses. The Ethiopic and Latin verbs rendered «force» express a rather different notion than the biblical לצחק (*RSV* Gen 39:17: to insult).

so that he could lie with me: Though this clause is found in no ancient version of Genesis, it seems to presuppose a plus such as the one in LXXGen 39:17: καὶ εἶπέν μοι κοιμηθήσομαι μετὰ σοῦ (cf. also OL EthGenesis and Gen 39:14).

When I shouted: Literally: *and it was when I raised my voice*. The verbs ቃል and *factum est* reflect ויהי in MT SamGen 39:18, not ἤκουσεν ὅτι in LXX EthGenesis.

ran away: Latin and the versions of Gen 39:18 read «outside»; only the LXX group *b* joins Ethiopic Jubilees in omitting it here.

in my hands: So Syriac TnGen 39:18; the remaining versions have «with me». Cf. Gen 39:12 (see also v 13) where one meets the phrase ויעזב בגדו בידה.

when I grabbed him, and broke the door: The Latin text is partially illegible at the end

Egyptian saw Joseph's clothes and the broken door, he believed what his wife said. He put Joseph in prison in the place where the prisoners whom the king imprisoned would stay.

39:12 While he was there in the prison, the Lord gave Joseph a
5 favorable reception before the chief of the prison guards and and a kind reception before him because he saw that the Lord was with him and that the Lord was making everything that he did succeed for him. 39:13 He left everything to him. The chief of the prison guards knew

of the verse. RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 76) and Charles (1895, p. 145) have reconstructed it as follows: qui(bus tenue)ram ex imo ei vestimenta sua (et fregit ostium). As Charles (ibid., p. 144, n. 19) observed, the Vulgate of Gen 39:18 reads reliquit pallium quod tenebam at this juncture (cf. also v 15). The origin of ex im*o ei* is not clear, nor is it certain that there is enough space between uestimenta sua and the first words of v 11 to permit restoration of et fregit ostium.

39:11 the prisoners ... would stay: The versions differ in two respects: where Ethiopic has «prisoners whom the king imprisoned», Latin reads «prisoners of the king» (reges = regis [RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 76; Charles, 1895, p. 145, n. 6 to Latin]; and where Ethiopic reads «would stay», Latin has «were held». On the first point, Ethiopic seems redundant: either መቅሕን or እለ ፡ ምቁሕ would express what is found in Latin and in Gen 39:20. The verb ይነብሩ disagrees with both Latin and Gen 39:20 (MT: אסורים; LXX: κατέχονται) but agrees with EthGenesis and is similar to the reading of Arab Bo. It is reasonable to suppose that the same Greek text lay before the translators of the Ethiopic and Latin, but the former erred in assigning to the verb κατέχω the meaning «dwell in» which it can have though obviously does not in this context. Note that Latin, with the biblical texts, places the verb at the end of the verse, but Ethiopic locates it at an earlier point.

39:12 prison: Latin uincula is the equivalent of ምቁሕ; Berger's n. a (to v 12, p. 517) is misleading about this.

Joseph: Latin illi agrees with Syriac LXX OL EthGen 39:21. MT Sam, however, attach a third-person masculine singular suffix to the following noun (חנו). No version sides with Ethiopic Jubilees in using the name Joseph here.

favorable reception: Literally: favor/ grace.

chief of the prison guards: Latin omits «guards» as do most of the versions at Gen 39:21. LXX (= Eth Genesis) is an exception in that it uses ἀρχιδεσμοφύλακος.

everything: So Sam Syriac (cf. LXX ὅσα) EthGen 39:23.

he did: Latin: Joseph did (or: was doing). Only OL[S]Gen 39:23 supports Latin in reading the name here.

making ... succeed for him: Latin: dirigebat. For the Latin verb, see Vulgate Gen 39:23 (dirigebat). The suffix on the Ethiopic verb is paralleled only by EthGenesis which supplies the same verb. This raises the possibility that the suffix may be idiomatic. Jubilees lacks the addition «in his hands» of the LXX tradition (and Tn) at the end of Gen 39:23.

Lord[3]: Latin, against all versions of Gen 39:23 and Ethiopic Jubilees, reads deus.

39:13 He: Latin adds ideo (= for that reason).

left ... to him: Literally: left before him. Latin dedit ... in manus eius agrees with the versions of Gen 39:22 (only EthGenesis differs by reading ኦወፈዮ for both the verb and the prepositional phrase). Charles (1895, p. 144, n. 28; 1902, p. 224, n.) emended ቀድሞ to በኣደዊሁ but retained the verb. He also noted that this confirmed his correction in v 4

nothing at all about his affairs because Joseph would do everything and
the Lord would bring (it) to completion. He remained there for two
years.

39:14 At that time the pharaoh, the king of Egypt, became angry at
two of his eunuchs — the chief butler and the chief baker. He put them 5
in prison, in the house of the chief cook, in the prison where Joseph
was held. 39:15 The chief of the prison guards appointed Joseph to

(see the note to v 4 above). The Ethiopic has the advantage of being independent in its
renderings, and the fact that it uses the same verb and prepositional phrase here as in v 4
militates against seeing them as arbitrary scribal changes. Cf. also the end of Eth-
Gen 39:22: ገደገ ፡ ሉቱ ፡ ክሉ ፡ ለየሉዮ.

guards: See the note to v 12.

knew: Both versions reflect literally the verb γιγνώσκων of the LXX tradition at
Gen 39:23; MT Sam Syriac have «saw». Latin, perhaps idiomatically, places the two
parts of the verb together, while Ethiopic, with Gen 39:23, separates አለፀ and the verb.

about his affairs: Literally: with him. Latin omits. LXXGen 39:23 offers δι' αὐτόν
(= OLˢ) at this point, but the other versions omit. For the prepositional phrase, see
Gen 39:8 (Charles, 1902, p. 224, n.). Charles (1895, p. 144, n. 29; p. 145, n. 7 to Latin)
also treated Latin eorum quae fieban[t] in carcere in this context. He regarded it as an
«intrusion» from Gen 39:22 and noted the strange fact that the same reading appeared in
EthGenesis. It is probably an explanatory gloss.

Joseph ... everything: Both versions include the name, but Ethiopic locates it before
the word ክሉዮ while Latin places it at the end of the clause. The demonstrative ea is
unique to the Latin text. Literally it would read: all these things Joseph was doing. Since
Ethiopic shows no trace of a demonstrative, one suspects that ea represents a Greek
definite article.

bring (it) to completion: Latin: dirigebat ea. Cf. Gen 39:23 and Jub 39:12. Charles
(1895, p. 144, n. 30) preferred to change Ethiopic to ይሴርሕ so that it would agree with
Latin. In 1902, however, he retained the Ethiopic text which is unparalleled among the
biblical versions.

He remained there for two years: One cannot tell from Charles' version whether these
words are part of v 13 or of v 14. Littmann regarded them as part of v 13, as does Berger;
Charles (1902), Goldmann, and Hartom put them in v 14. For the two years, see
Gen 41:1 (Hartom, 117, n. to v ד).

39:14 the chief butler: Latin places an editorial id est before these words. In the same
version there is no equivalent for ለቀ, but RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 76) and
Charles (1895, p. 145) have inserted principem (= Ethiopic and all versions of Gen 40:2).
They also changed uinifusores to uinifusorum.

in (the house): LXXGen 40:3 reads παρά (OLˢ has aput); MT Sam Syriac Genesis lack
a preposition.

chief cook: On the rendering of שׂר הטבחים, see the note to 34:11. Charles (1895,
pp. 144-45, n. 31) emended መብሌን to ዐቀብት as he had done in the parallel passages.

where: The expression ኀበ ... ቦፀ reflects Hebrew שם ... אשר in Gen 40:3. Latin renders
idiomatically, not literally. Where Ethiopic reads ቦሉዮ, Latin uses et (= too).

39:15 The chief of the prison guards: Latin has no word corresponding with ዐቀብት
(= guards of). MTGen 40:4 reads שׂר הטבחים (= Sam Syriac), but LXX has ὁ ἀρχιδεσ-
μώτης (OLˢ: princeps vinculatorii). Only the latter makes explicit reference to «prison»,
though it says nothing about guards. Several LXX witnesses do, though, attest the

serve them. So he would serve in his presence. 39:16 Both of them
— the chief butler and the chief baker — had a dream and told it to
Joseph. 39:17 Things turned out for them just as he interpreted for
them. The pharaoh restored the chief butler to his job, but he hanged
5   the baker as Joseph had interpreted for him. 39:18 The chief butler

compound ἀρχιδεσμοφύλαξ which probably was the word in the Greek text underlying
Ethiopic Jubilees. RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 76) and Charles (1895, p. 145, n. 10 to
Latin) changed uinculorum to vinculatorum.

Joseph: Ethiopic mentions Joseph immediately after the verb; Latin places the name
after the subject. This is its position in Gen 40:4.

in his presence: The preferred Ethiopic reading is በቅድሜሁ, though Latin and the
versions of Gen 40:4 support the expected plural pronoun. Only mss. 12 20 39 58 offer the
plural (38 attaches a plural suffix to the verb, yet still uses ቅድሜሁ). Mss. 25 42 44 47 48
63 add ወይትለአኩ ፡ በቅድሜሆሙ. It should, however, be construed as a plus which was
tacked onto the verse because it ended with በቅድሜሁ (i.e., before the chief of the prison
guards) and not with a plural suffix on the preposition. It is probable that Latin preserves
the original reading and that the phrase በቅድሜሁ is an early corruption in the Ethiopic
tradition.

39:16 Both of them: Latin: uiri. Charles (1895, p. 145, n. 36) suggested that uiri was
«possibly due to a corruption of ἀμφότεροι into ἄνθρωποι». It is also possible that שניהם
(= Ethiopic) was misread as (ה)אנשים (= Latin) in the tradition behind the Latin. The
versions of Gen 40:5 support Ethiopic (note that in MT שניהם is followed by איש).

dream ... it: Latin reads plural forms in both instances. Only SyriacGen 40:5 supports
the plural for «dream», though the verse says that each man dreamt.

39:17 Things ... for them: Literally: and as he interpreted to them, so it was to them.
Latin specifies Joseph as the subject whereas Ethiopic uses a pronoun. At the end of the
sentence Latin is difficult to read but seems to have sic est eis et factum. The participle
factum should be taken with est (= factum est), and et is either transposed from its
proper position after factum or, as the translation here assumes, means «also/ too» and
reinforces sic (= so also [it turned out for them]). The translation «just as» captures the
sense of the words «as ... so [also]» sufficiently.

The pharaoh restored: Ethiopic places the subject after and Latin puts it before the
verb.

job: Latin: locum. The Vulgate, too, reads locum (Gen 40:21). Neither version of
Jubilees reflects משקהו of MT (LXX has ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ).

he hanged: There is strong ms. support for ቀተሎ (= he killed) which Dillmann (1859)
and Charles (1895) read. All translators except Hartom, who follows the Latin here, have
agreed with them. Nevertheless, Latin suspendit and תלה in Gen 40:22 indicate that ሰቀሎ
is to be preferred. ቀተሎ is merely a copyist's mistake for the correct form.

the baker: With the versions of Gen 40:22, Latin reads principem pistorum. Ethiopic
omits ኀባዚ, which it elsewhere uses for this official. Charles (1895, p. 146, n. 4) thought
that መልአከ ፡ ኀባዝት should be read. It is tempting, however, to regard the omission of ኀባዚ
as original and to see in Latin the influence of both Gen 40:22 and the repeated references
to this man in the context as principem (pistorum).

interpreted for him: Latin uses dixit interpraetatus est and places ei before it (the
reverse of the Ethiopic order). Here Ethiopic mirrors Gen 40:22 (MT: פתר). Only
Josephus (*Ant.* II.73) agrees with the reading of Latin (εἶπεν).

for him: Latin agrees that the pronoun is singular. Many Ethiopic mss. supply the
plural ሎሙ with the versions of Gen 40:22 (but EthGenesis has ሎቱ). Charles (1895,
p. 146, n. 5) read ሎሙ; the agreement of the best family of Ethiopic mss. (20 25 35) and
Latin, however, makes it improbable that he is correct.

forgot Joseph in prison although he had informed him (about) what would happen to him. He did not remember to tell the pharaoh how Joseph had told him because he forgot.

40:1 At that time the pharaoh had two dreams in one night about the subject of the famine which would come on the whole land. When he awakened, he summoned all the dream interpreters who were in Egypt and the enchanters. He told them his two dreams, but they were unable to understand (them). 40:2 Then the chief butler remembered

39:18 forgot: Though neither of his mss. read this form, Dillmann (1859, p. 139, n. 8; and in 1851 without note) recognized that the context required it and so emended to the correct ዘስዕ. Note the negative formulation in Latin (literally: he did not remember — the same phrase appears later in the verse), which coincides with the wording of Gen 40 23.

although: Charles (1895, p. 146, n. 6) changed እስመ (= because) to እም which must be a misprint for እሙ (= Latin cum with subjunctive). It seems likely that כי underlies both versions, since it can mean «when» in addition to «because», «Although» captures the sense of both expressions.

to tell the pharaoh how Joseph had told him: Latin differs considerably. Where Ethiopic has ከመ ፡ ይደዮ, it reads ut interueniret. Charles (1895, p. 147, n. 2) suggested that the verb be corrected to internuntiaret, but its meaning (to send messengers from two sides) is not synonymous with that of ይደዮ. One would expect a form of indico — the verb which appears opposite አይድዖ earlier in the verse. If *rex* is properly read before farao and it is not actually regi, then it must be the subject. Ethiopic does not have an equivalent for rex. The verb solueret, the reading of which is also difficult, and the preceding conjunction contrast with Ethiopic ከመ ፡ ነገሮ. Here the Latin may be recalling Gen 40:14 where Joseph asks the chief butler «to make mention of me to Pharaoh, and so get me out of this house». (*RSV*) Charles (ibid.) read solvisset, which could be rendered «solved». This understanding would bring the text nearer to ነገሮ (in the sense that Joseph had told him the meaning of his dream, while Latin would have him solving it). For the Ethiopic verb, see Jub 39:16. It must be confessed that a thoroughly satisfying explanation for how the differences between the two versions arose is not available.

40:1 the subject of: Latin lacks an equivalent for ነገር.

whole land: There is a gap in the Latin before terram; in it RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 78) and Charles (1895, p. 147) have restored omnem.

he awakened: Literally: he awakened from his sleep. Latin lacks a possessive after somno.

Egypt: Latin: in regno suo. Charles (1895, p. 146, n. 11) considered the Latin corrupt for Aegypto and compared Gen 41:8. There MT reads את כל חרטמי מצרים; the other versions, too, support the name «Egypt» here, with the exception of Syriac which transposes it after the second group of experts.

his two dreams: Latin: his dreams. The number in Ethiopic is unique, as no version of Gen 41:8 uses it. But the plural (dreams) of Ethiopic and Latin follows the text of Sam Syriac Genesis. The other versions read a singular noun.

to understand (them): Latin: to interpret his dreams for him. Gen 41:8 uses פותר which supports Latin. Moreover, the prepositional phrase לפרעה in the same verse lies behind Latin's illi, and somnia eius specifies what is meant by אתם. Either Ethiopic has lost some words, or Latin has been expanded with material from Gen 41:8.

40:2 Then: Ethiopic begins the sentence with a conjunction which Latin lacks.

Joseph. After he had told the king about him, he was brought from prison and he related his two dreams in his presence. 40:3 He said in the pharaoh's presence that his two dreams were one. He said to him: 'Seven years are coming (in which there will be) abundance in the entire
5 land of Egypt, but afterwards there will be a seven-year famine, the like of which famine has never been in the entire land. 40:4 Now let the pharaoh appoint *overseers* throughout the entire land of Egypt and let

chief butler ... Joseph: Ethiopic reads the name directly after the verb and before the subject; Latin puts the subject before ioseph.

the king: Latin adds faraoni.

he was brought: Literally: they brought him. Latin employs a singular verb (eiecit) and a direct object (eum). This reading is found only in ms. 38 among the Ethiopic witnesses and in the editions of Dillmann and Charles. Goldmann (p. רצח, n. to v ב) claimed that a variant reading here is אוציאהו, but no first-person form is attested in the Ethiopic mss. Berger (518, n. d to v 2) says that A B (= 12 25) read «rufen»; he has apparently confused forms of አውጽኦ and ኢወብኣ.

his two dreams: There is space in the lacuna at the end of the verse to restore sua (so RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 78; Charles, 1895, p. 147).

40:3 He: There is probably enough space remaining to place et in the gap at the beginning of the verse (with RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 78; Charles, 1895, p. 147). The Ethiopic text begins with a conjunction.

said: Latin: interpreted. Gen 41:25 supports the Ethiopic verb (ויאמר). The Latin version makes the nature of Joseph's speaking more specific.

in the pharaoh's presence that: Latin has another gap at this point. RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 78) filled it with ea et dixit Faraoni, but this does not correspond with the Ethiopic. It seems rather an attempt to adapt the Ethiopic reading to the different beginning and sequel of Latin (it lacks «He said to him»). Charles (1895, p. 147) simply retroverted the Ethiopic: coram Faraone quod (= Dillmann's translation in Rönsch, ibid., 79).

his: Latin omits. Note Gen 41:25: חלום פרעה.

He said to him: Latin does not have these words but has autem. Charles (1895, p. 147) restored et dixit ei in parentheses. At this point Gen 41:29 reads הנה.

are coming: Latin: continui erunt. Gen 41:29 (שנים באות) clearly backs the Ethiopic. There is some uncertainty about the reading of the Latin here.

abundance ... Egypt: Ethiopic follows the order of Gen 41:29, but Latin transposes ubertatis after aegypti.

afterwards: Latin omits, while Gen 41:30 has וקמו ... אחריהם.

seven-year famine: The form ዓመት would be the preferred Ethiopic reading, but the combined weight of Latin septem anni famis (= genitive singular) and Gen 41:30 (שבע שני רעב) indicates that ዓመተ (construct) should be adopted (= mss. 12 17 39 42 44 47 48 58; cf. 63). A literal rendering would be «seven years of famine».

the like of which famine: Latin: sic erit. Charles (1895, p. 147, n. 4 to Latin) revised this to qualis non fuit — which resembles but is not identical with Ethiopic which would require a second famis. It appears that Latin is haplographic (from famis to famis), but the words sic erit suggest that the text underlying Latin switched the order of the words corresponding to ከማሁ ፡ ዓበር (the verb erit [future] may have been supplied by the translator, although ms. 35 does have ይከውን). Mss. 17 20 are similarly haplographic.

40:4 *overseers*: The term ኀያይ (the variants are either related forms of this noun or of ምኅያይ) must signify something having to do with threshing or treading (DILLMANN

them store each city's food in the city during the period of the years of
abundance. Then there will be food for the seven years of famine, and
the land will not be destroyed because of the famine, since it will be
very severe'. 40:5 The Lord gave Joseph a favorable and kind reception
in the view of the pharaoh. The pharaoh said to his servants: 'We will   5
not find a man as wise and knowledgeable as this man, for the spirit of

[*Lexicon*, 872-73] did not list this form). **ምሕያፅ** he defined as «*locus* pedibus *calcatus, res
conculcata*» (873). The underlying biblical text (Gen 41:34) refers to officers (MT: פקדים;
LXX: τοπάρχας [variant: ἐπισκόπους]), and Latin speculatores (= spies, searchers,
examiners, investigators) shows that Jubilees also refers to officials of some sort. Rönsch
(*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 157-58) noted that speculatores corresponded with פקדים /
τοπάρχας and that the Ethiopic reading was perhaps the result of confusing σιτάρχας
(= Proviantmeister) and σιταρκίας (= Provianthäuser [also spelled σιταρχίας]), or of
mixing אוצרות and אצרים. Charles (1895, p. 146, n. 26; 1902, p. 225, n.) referred to
Rönsch's proposal regarding a confusion of Greek words but suggested that פקדים and
פקדון (= deposit, store; cf. Gen 41:36 [*BDB*, 824]) were interchanged. He emended the
text to **መሥዕሎ** rather than **ኀያፅ** (cf. Littmann, 106, n. c; Hartom, 118, n. to v ר; Berger,
518, n. a to v 4). Each of these explanations is plausible, and the Ethiopic is transparently
wrong. Latin places speculatores before in omnem terram aegypti, while Ethiopic
transposes these elements.

let them store: Latin: who are to collect. Cf. Gen 41:35 which reads a conjunction as in
Ethiopic. The verbs in the two versions of Jubilees differ in meaning. Elsewhere, forms of
congrego appear where Ethiopic has forms of **አስተጋብአ** (42:2, 13).

each city's food in the city: Literally: for a/ the city in a/ the city. Latin: per singulas
ciuitates. **ውስተ ፡ ሀገር** is omitted by mss. 12 35 38, but the phrase is secure in the Ethiopic
tradition. Gen 41:35 has only אכל בערים (**ውስተ ፡ አህጉር** in EthGenesis). The Ethiopic
version of Jubilees may simply offer a paraphrase or sense translation.

during the period of the years of abundance: Latin: et reponant eas annis septem
ubertatis. The two versions agree only for the words «years» and «abundance». The
number seven may have been omitted either in the Hebrew or Greek base of Ethiopic
because it begins with the same letter in both languages as the word for year (Hebrew:
שבע שנים; Greek ἑπτὰ ἐτῶν). Or, conversely, the Latin tradition may have added it to a
text which mentioned only the word «years». It is strange, however, that Latin reads et
reponant eas where Ethiopic has **ኀመዖሎ**. No explanation for the variant suggests itself.

Then there will be food: Latin: as food which will be. Cf. Gen 41:36: והיה האכל ל־.
Perhaps the difference in Latin is due to the presence of reponant eas (see the previous
note) which are not found in Ethiopic. For quae futura est, see Gen 41:36 (referring to the
seven years): אשר תהיין.

severe: Latin adds, without parallel in the versions of Gen 41:31: super omnem terram.
For this phrase, cf. verses such as Gen 40:3.

40:5 Lord: Latin: deus.

Joseph a favorable and kind reception: Literally: Joseph grace/ favor and mercy. Latin
places gratiam before ioseph; Ethiopic (except ms. 44) transposes the two elements.

in the view of: Literally: in the eyes of. Latin: in conspectu.

We will not find: Latin: will we be able to find ...? Gen 41:38 reads a question here
(MT: הנמצא). LXX phrases it as μὴ εὑρήσομεν (as part of a question that expects a
negative answer — i.e., we will not find, will we ...?); this is probably what underlies the
Ethiopic rendering. OL^E Gen 41:38 also uses numquid, but poterimus is found in the
Vulgate (num invenire poterimus).

as wise and knowledgeable as this man: It is possible that Latin reverses the order of
the adjectives. Ethiopic agrees in its order with Syriac LXX (?) OL^S EthGen 41:39, while

the Lord is with him'. 40:6 He appointed him as the second (in command) in his entire kingdom, gave him authority over all Egypt, and allowed him to ride on his second chariot which was the pharaoh's. 40:7 He dressed him with clothing made of linen and hung a gold chain on his neck. He made a proclamation before him and said: 'Il il and abirer'. He put a signet ring on his hand and made him ruler over his entire household. He made him great and said to him: 'I will not be greater than you except with regard to the throne only'.

Latin, if it does reverse the two, sides with MT Sam. The construction in Ethiopic (with simple adjectives) follows that of MT Sam Syriac, but Latin's comparative forms mirror LXX OL. The Latin text omits «man» (= ms. 12). The term איש follows כזה in Gen 41:38 (= MT Sam Syriac EthGenesis), but the two words are not parts of the same construction there.

Lord[2]: Latin: dei.

with him: The variant ላዕለ·ሁ· in mss. 9 21 38 reproduces the reading in EthGen 41:38.

40:6 second: Latin adds se (= to himself).

gave him authority: Latin phrases slightly differently: it uses potestatem habentem in order to mark this as a second position or office parallel with secundum. The Ethiopic uses a verb as does Gen 41:43 (MT: ונתן אתו על).

Egypt: Latin reads terra aegypti with the versions of Gen 41:43. Several LXX witnesses show how the difference probably arose: γῆς was copied as τῆς (= Ethiopic).

allowed him to ride: Or: caused him to ride. This agrees with MT Sam Syriac LXX EthGen 41:43, while Latin inposuit is also found in OL[S].

his (second): Latin lacks the possessive. Of the versions, only OL[S]Gen 41:43 (suum) agrees with Ethiopic Jubilees.

40:7 clothing: Latin beste is a misspelling of ueste (RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 78; Charles, 1895, p. 147, n. 6 to Latin). The singular nouns in the two versions reflect στολήν (LXXGen 41:42); MT Sam read the plural בגדי.

hung: The suffix on the verb must anticipate the suffix on ክሳዱ. It is found only in EthGen 41:42 and OL[S] where it seeems to serve a similar function. The Latin posuit more nearly renders the verb of Gen 41:42 (MT: וישם).

He made a proclamation: Charles (1895, p. 147, n. 43) emended the singular ሰበከ to ሰ በኩ and cited Latin praeconauerunt and ויקראו in MTGen 41:43 as his authorities. Littmann (106, n. d) thought that Ethiopic, which presupposes ἐκήρυξεν (= LXX) rather than ἐκήρυξαν, was not to be emended, though the Latin could be more original. In 1902 (p. 226, n.) Charles withdrew his correction. He noted that Sam LXX Syriac Vulgate Aquila and Symmachus also read the singular form (he could have added that OL[S] EthGenesis do as well). The singular, then, is probably original, and Latin's plural came about through confusion on the Greek level (-ξεν/ -ξαν).

and said: Latin and all versions of Gen 41:43 omit this clause (see Charles, 1895, p. 147, n. 44). It should be noted that Tf does read אמרין here.

Il il and abirer: Latin elel et habirel. MTGen 41:43 reads אברך. Though Goldmann (p. רצח, n. to v ז) considered the readings corruptions of the form in MT and Hartom (118, n. to v ז) thought they were attempts to transcribe it, it is more likely that the formulation in Jubilees represents an interpretation. RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 158-59) and Charles (1902, p. 226, n.) saw אל אל ואביר אל behind the text («God, God, the mighty one of God» [1902]) and noted the parallel in Joseph and Aseneth 3:4; 18:1-2; 21:21, where Joseph is called ὁ δυνατὸς τοῦ θεοῦ (see also Berger, 519, n. b to v 7).

40:8 So Joseph became ruler over the entire land of Egypt. All of the
pharaoh's princes, all of his servants, and all who were doing the king's
work loved him because he conducted himself in a just way. He was not
arrogant, proud, or partial, nor did he accept bribes because he was
ruling all the people of the land in a just way. 40:9 The land of Egypt　　5
lived in harmony before the pharaoh because of Joseph for the Lord
was with him. He gave him a favorable and kind reception for all his
family before all who knew him and who heard reports about him. The
pharaoh's rule was just, and there was no satan or any evil one.
40:10 The king named Joseph Sefantifanes and gave Joseph as a wife　10
the daughter of Potiphar, the daughter of the priest of Heliopolis — the
chief cook. 40:11 On the day when Joseph took up his position with
the pharaoh he was 30 years of age when he took up his position with
the pharaoh. 40:12 (Isaac died that year). Things turned out just as
Joseph had reported about the interpretation of his two dreams, just as　15
he had reported to him. There were seven years of abundance in the
whole land of Egypt. The land of Egypt was most productive: one

said to him: Latin: dixit.

the throne: Latin: throno meo. A few LXX witnesses add the possessive in Gen 41:40,
but none of the versions reads it. Cf. Charles, 1895, p. 148, n. 3.

40:8 became ruler: Latin: accepit potestatem.

all of (his servants): Latin omits.

work: Though Latin reads the plural opera, the same original probably underlies both
versions. Both Goldmann and Hartom translate with מלאכה.

just: Latin: ueritate — a term that is often used opposite Ethiopic ዐመፃ.

He was not: Latin: non erat in illum.

arrogant, proud: The forms in Ethiopic are nouns (as in Latin), but they are rendered
as adjectives for the sake of English. The restoration extol[lentia was suggested by
RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 78, 159.

was ruling: Or: was judging.

40:9 favorable and kind reception: Literally: favor/ grace and mercy.

about him: Literally: with him.

40:10 Sefantifanes: The name צפנת פענח (Gen 41:45) is here given a slightly different
form. The element -ti- reflects the Samaritan spelling צפותי.

Heliopolis: This is the Greek name of the city (LXXGen 41:45: ἡλίου πόλεως). In
MT Sam it is called אן (סון in Tjnf).

cook: Charles (1895, p. 149, n. 14) once more emended መዐብሕን to 0ፀብት, but in 1902
he translated it as «cook».

40:11 took up his position: In both cases of ፀመ in v 11, it seems to have this
meaning. Literally, it means: he stood up. Cf. Gen 41:46 (בעמדו).

when ... pharaoh: Charles (1902, p. 227, n.) bracketed these words as a dittography.
Yet the words from «he was 30» through the end of the verse follow Gen 41:46. The extra
words are the first ones in the sentence (from the beginning through the first instance of
«pharaoh»). It is possible that the author intended the last clause of v 11 to introduce v 12
— i.e., in the year Joseph assumed office Isaac died.

40:12 Things turned out: Literally: and it came/ happened.

measure (would produce) 1800 measures. 40:13 Joseph collected (each) city's food in the city until it was so full of wheat that it was impossible to count or measure it because of its quantity.

41:1 In the forty-fifth jubilee, the second week during the second
5 year [2165], Judah took as a wife for his first-born Er one of the Aramean women whose name was Tamar. 41:2 He hated (her) and did not lie with her because his mother was a Canaanite woman and he wanted to marry someone from his mother's tribe. But his father Judah did not allow him. 41:3 That Er, Judah's first-born, was evil, and the
10 Lord killed him. 41:4 Then Judah said to his brother Onan: 'Go in to your brother's wife, perform the levirate duty for her, and produce descendants for your brother'. 41:5 Onan knew that the descendants would not be his but his brother's, so he entered the house of his brother's wife and poured out the semen on the ground. In the Lord's
15 estimation it was an evil act, and he killed him. 41:6 So Judah said to

---

40:13 so ... that: Literally: until when.

count or measure it: The suffix (= it) is affixed to the first infinitive only (literally: count it and measure).

41:1 whose name: Literally: and her name.

41:4 his brother Onan: The reading እኁሁ, found in all of the oldest mss., is superior to ወልዱ (= his son [= SyriacGen 38:8]) which appears to be a correction. The Syriac Chronicle also uses the word «brother», although it understands that Shelah (see Gen 38:5) was the next son of Judah (read «Judas» for «Jakobs» in Berger, 521, n. a to v 4; see also Tisserant, «Fragments syriaques», 229). The same text substitutes Shelah for Onan in v 5 as well. The Ethiopic አውናን is modeled on LXX's Αὐνάν rather than אונן as in MTGen 38:8.

wife: Syriac adds the name Tamar.

perform ... her: Syriac omits. For the levirate law, see Deut 25:5.

41:5 but: ኅሞ here has the sense of Syriac ܐܠܐ. Many Ethiopic mss. show that the less familiar ኅሞ was miscopied as the more common ከሞ.

he entered ... wife: Syriac is very different here (cf. T. Judah 10:4-5). Gen 38:9 supports the Ethiopic text, though it does not mention her house.

the semen: Syriac: his semen (literally: seed). Gen 38:9 lacks a corresponding word, though ms. C of EthGenesis reads ዘርአ.

ground: Syriac adds: so that he would not have sons. Gen 38:9 uses a somewhat different clause: לבלתי נתן זרע לאחיו.

In the Lord's estimation: Syriac reads simply «before God» (SyriacGen 38:10: before the Lord; LXX: ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ), but Ethiopic has literally «before the eyes of the Lord» which more nearly resembles MT's בעיני יהוה.

it was an evil act: The Ethiopic አኮየ ፡ ሥና could, with Littmann, Charles, and Berger, be rendered: he was evil. Syriac ܐܬܒܐܫ (aphel), however, favors taking the adjective as a reference to an evil act (ܒܥܝܢܘܗܝ is not reflected in Ethiopic). Dillmann translated as «das war böse» (1851). The ambiguity arose from the Hebrew original וירע (Gen 38:10) which could be translated either «he was evil» or «it was evil».

his daughter-in-law Tamar: 'Remain in your father's house as a widow until my son Selom grows up. Then I will give you to him as a wife'. 41:7 He grew up, but Judah's wife Bedsuel did not allow her son Selom to marry (her). Judah's wife Bedsuel died during the fifth year of this week [2168].   5

41:8 In its sixth year [2169] Judah went up to shear his sheep in

41:6 his daughter-in-law: Syriac omits (Berger's note [521, n. a to v 6] should be placed after «Schwiegertochter», not after «Thamar»), but Latin nurrum suam supports Ethiopic.

in: Ethiopic lacks a preposition here, as do MT Sam SyriacGen 38:11; both Latin (in) and Syriac (ܒ) supply one with LXX OL EthGenesis.

my son Selom: So Ethiopic and Latin. Syriac again has a different brother's name (my son Onan — the two words are in reversed order in comparison with Ethiopic and Latin). The spelling ሴሎም is that of LXX (Σηλώμ) EthGen 38:11; OLˢ has Selon (= Latin), but MT reads שלה (= Sam Syriac [ܫܠܐ]).

Then ... wife: Syriac phrases differently, but Ethiopic and Latin agree with one another. This sentence is not found in Gen 38:11.

41:7 He: Syriac specifies Onan as the subject.

Bedsuel: The Ethiopic spelling is not attested among the versions of Gen 38:12 (cf. also Jub 34:20). Latin batsuae reproduces the בת שוע of Gen 38:12 (cf. LXX: Σαύα), while Syriac ܒܪܬ ܫܘܥ is half translation, half transcription of the same form (it is also found in SyriacGenesis). The form uxori should be uxor (RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 80; Charles, 1895, p. 149 [without note]).

her son Selom: For the name, see the note to v 6. Here, too, Syriac names the son Onan; it also omits «her son».

to marry (her): The Ethiopic mss. do not supply an object for ያውስብ, which is not the usual expression for marrying in Jubilees. The Latin text presupposes the more common לשאתה (literally: to take her). Syriac ܢܣܒ ... ܬܡܪ may be based on a similar Vorlage, and it, too, specifies the object (with the name Tamar).

died: Latin mortua es should be corrected to mortua est (RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 80; Charles, 1895, p. 149, n. 1 to Latin).

during ... week: Though Ethiopic and Latin include the date, Syriac, in harmony with the chronicler's normal practice (see Tisserant, «Fragments syriaques», 229), omits it.

41:8 In its sixth year: Syriac offers only a general statement of time, but Ethiopic and Latin specify the sixth year. The suffix on ዓመት is represented by huius in Latin (literally: of this).

to shear: Syriac adds a superfluous «to Timnah» before the infinitive. The subjunctive or infinitival construction in the three versions differs from Gen 38:12 in which Judah goes up to those who are shearing his sheep (על גזזי צאנו). Jubilees' construction may be patterned on לגז צאנו in Gen 38:13.

Timnah: The Ethiopic spelling ተምናታ reflects MTGen 38:12 תמנתה (= Sam); Syriac ܬܡܢܬ reproduces the form in the Peshitta; but Latin tamnasar (Vulgate: Thamnas) is unique (OLᴱ has Thamna = LXX). RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 80) and Charles (1895, p. 149, n. 3 to Latin) changed it to T(h)amnatam. Later in the verse (i.e., in Jub 41:8) Latin reads tamnata. Many mss. have suffered from parablepsis (from Timnah to Timnah) in this verse (see Charles, ibid., n. 45), but Latin, Syriac, the remaining Ethiopic mss., and Gen 38:13 supply the missing words. Dillmann (1851, 1859) necessarily omitted these words, since his two mss. lacked them; but Goldmann has unjustifiably followed him and regarded them as an explanatory plus (p. רצט, n. to v. ה).

Timnah. Tamar was told: 'Your father-in-law is now going up to shear his sheep in Timnah'. 41:9 Then she put aside her widow's clothing, put on a veil, made herself up, and sat down at the gate near the road to Timnah. 41:10 As Judah was going along, he found her and
5   supposed that she was a prostitute. He said to her: 'Let me come in to you'. She said to him: 'Come in'. So he came in. 41:11 She said to him:

Tamar was told: The versions express the passive differently: Latin and Syriac employ singular verbs in the passive voice, while Ethiopic uses an indefinite plural active verb (literally: they told Tamar).

Your: Ethiopic lacks a word with which to introduce the quotation, but Latin has quia (= Hebrew כי) which is not realized in the translation. Syriac uses ד.

41:9 her: Syriac attaches no suffix to ܐܬܡܠܒܫ (= ms. 12; LXX OL^SGen 38:14), but Ethiopic and Latin indicate possession (= MT Sam Syriac OL^AEthGenesis).

clothing: Latin and Syriac support reading «from herself» directly after the verb; the versions of Gen 38:14 place the equivalents after «widowhood». Only EthGenesis (with several LXX witnesses) omits with Ethiopic Jubilees. Possibly the original Ethiopic reading in Jubilees was እምኔሃ which may have been omitted later by homoioteleuton with ምስስብሕግ.

a veil: Ethiopic and Syriac support the reading. Tisserant («Fragments syriaques», 227) translated ܢܚܬܐ as «vêtements fins» and thought it agreed with Latin uestes optimas (229). Berger (522, n. b to v 9) accepts his view and observes that «Lat und Syr folgen hier möglicherweise einer anderen griech Version, für deren Redaktor es nicht vorstellbar war, dass eine Dirne sich verschleierte». Compare also the comment of Hartom, 119-20, n. to v ט. The word ܢܚܬܐ, however, clearly means «veil» — a term which occurs in Gen 38:14, though there the preceding verb (MT Sam Syriac) means «covered herself». The LXX tradition supports «put on» which appears here in Jubilees. The reason for the Latin reading uestes optimas is not clear; LXX has θερίστρῳ (= a summer garment [so also OL]). This Greek term normally translates צעיף in Genesis (three times).

made herself up: Literally: adorned herself (= Syriac LXXGen 38:14 [MT: ותתעלף = Sam]). Tisserant («Fragments syriaques», 227) translated ܐܬܩܢܬ as «se para» and Berger (522, n. c to v 9) as «machte sich fertig». Although this is one meaning of the verb, the versions support another of its senses, viz., to adorn, beautify, etc. Cf. T. Judah 12:2 (κοσμηθεῖσα).

at the gate: Syriac omits. Gen 38:14 reads בפתח עינים.

near: For ኀበ ፡ መንገለ meaning «iuxta», see DILLMANN, Lexicon, 686. Syriac uses only the preposition ܒ at this point.

41:10 was going along: ኀወ ፡ የሐውር connotes that he was in the process of moving; Latin cum aduenissent (to be corrected to -set with RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 80; Charles, 1895, p. 149, n. 5 to Latin) and Syriac ܐܬܐ have the nuance of completed action. The chronicler's addition of «to that place» is backed by neither Ethiopic nor Latin.

he found her: So Ethiopic and Latin. Syriac ܚܙܗ (he saw her) agrees with the versions of Gen 38:15 and is, therefore, unlikely to original in Jubilees.

that she was: The word ከመ agrees with ܐܝܟ in SyriacGen 38:15 [MT: ל]). Latin lacks an equivalent word, although its text has the same meaning.

said to her: The indirect object (in all three versions) follows the text represented in Syriac LXX OL EthGen 38:16; MT Sam use only ויאמר.

Let me come in: Note the future form in Latin (literally: I will enter) where Ethiopic reads a subjunctive.

'Give me my fee'. He said to her: 'I have nothing with me except the ring on my finger, my neck chain, and my staff which is in my hand'. 41:12 She said to him: 'Give them to me until you send me my fee'. He

She said to him: Syriac omits from these words to the end of the verse. As v 11 begins with the same clause, parablepsis may have occurred; but Gen 38:16 also lacks these words. Latin omits «to him» and also does not have a conjunction at the beginning of the clause.

came in: Latin, with Gen 38:18, reads ad eam. (Hartom extends v 10 through the first two clauses of v 11.)

41:11 to her: Latin omits; Ethiopic and Syriac support the reading. However, if ille were a mistake for illi, Latin would agree with the other two versions.

I have nothing with me: Literally (Ethiopic and Latin): there is not in my hand. Syriac expresses the sense of these words with «there is not with me».

the ring on my finger: Latin adds quem habeo in. Syriac abbreviates by simply mentioning the ring. Cf. T. Judah 12:4: τὸ διάδημα τῆς βασιλείας.

my neck chain: Latin munile (= monile [RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 159-60] = OL^EGen 38:18) lacks a possessive adjective (= LXX OL); MT Sam Syriac read a second-person suffix (there Tamar is speaking). Syriac reads «staff» in the second position, but Ethiopic and Latin place it third. The third term in Syriac (ܡܪܙܢܘܬ). which is not supported by the other two versions, is found in SyriacGen 38:18 (see also To: שׁוֹשׁיִפָּךְ). Cf. Berger, 522, n. c to v 11. T. Judah 12:4: ἡ ζώνη (= belt, garment).

my staff which is in my hand: Syriac (see the previous note) lists «staff» but in the second position. Latin again dispenses with a possessive adjective (= Syriac LXX OL-Gen 38:18), but Ethiopic reads a suffix with MT Sam EthGenesis. T. Judah 12:4: ἡ ῥάβδος. In Syriac the relative clause is omitted (Gen 38:18 includes it).

41:12 to him: Syriac: to Judah.

He said to her: Latin supplies iudas as the subject but lacks «to her». Ethiopic and Syriac agree for a pronominal subject and «to her» (= EthGen 38:17; the other versions fail to use the indirect object).

I will send: Ethiopic reads an imperfect tense verb, while Latin has a present tense form and Syriac uses a participle (= present tense). The imperfect in Ethiopic could be rendered as referring to the present, but the context indicates that a future action is intended. MTGen 38:17 gives אשׁלח and LXX a future verb.

He gave them to her: Cf. Gen 38:18. Syriac omits.

[After he was with her]: Ethiopic omits this clause. Charles (1895, p. 150, n. 8) added ወቦአ ፡ ኀቤሃ (1902: «[and he went in unto her]») to the text and cited as evidence for the change Latin et coiit cum ea (he failed to mention in this note in 1895 that coiit was his emended form of Latin fuit; the relevant details are given on p. 151, n. 2 to Latin and in 1902, p. 229, n.) and T. Judah 12:4 (συνελθὼν αὐτῇ). The only pertinent fact is, though, that no text of Jubilees — Ethiopic, Latin, or Syriac — supports the reading. Gen 38:18 provides the words ויבא אליה (Goldmann [p. רצט, n. to v יב] claims that this is the Latin reading, and Hartom, without note, «translates» with the clause וישׁכב עמה), but both Latin and Syriac offer «and he was with her». Since two of the three versions back this reading, it has been supplied in the critical Ethiopic text. It may have been dropped by haplography: there are several clauses here which begin with a conjunction and a verb and end with a preposition and feminine object. In Greek the two objects of prepositions at the end of this clause and the previous one would be αὐτῇ. Littmann (107, n. 1) thought that Latin was influenced by Gen 38:18 and that this clause was unnecessary because 41:10 had already mentioned that Judah went in to her. Littmann did not, however, know of the Syriac which, as an independent witness, decides the case in favor of including the clause.

said to her: 'I will send you a kid'. He gave them to her. [After he was with her], she became pregnant by him.

41:13 Then Judah went to his sheep, but she went to her father's house. 41:14 Judah sent the kid through his Adullamite shepherd, but
5 he failed to find (her). He asked the men of the area: 'Where is the prostitute who was here'? They said to him: 'There is no prostitute

by him: Though the three versions have the same meaning, they express it differently, ሱኬ reflects לו in MT SamGen 38:18 (= Toj); ex eo and ܡܢܗ follow the idiom of Syriac LXX OL Tn.

41:13 his sheep: So Ethiopic and Syriac; Latin reads only oues.

but ... house: Latin and Syriac omit. Charles (1895, p. 150, n. 9) claimed that A B (= 12 25) also lacked the clause (Berger [523, n. b to v 13] repeats the claim), but both mss. clearly read the relevant words. Berger (ibid.) has correctly noted, nevertheless, that as the sentence has no basis in Gen 38:19 and is presupposed by Jub 41:17 (he writes 19 but means 17), it was present already in one of the Greek mss. of the book. One could speculate that the sentence was dropped through haplography from «his (αὐτοῦ) sheep» to «her (αὐτῆς) father». Latin may further have lost the possessive suas because of its resemblance to oues.

41:14 Judah: Latin and Syriac use the pronoun «he». The name «Judah» is found in Gen 38:20 as well. Where Latin lacks iudas, it reads illi.

the kid: Latin and Syriac use the terms here which are found in v 12. There Ethiopic had መኅስለ ፡ ጠሊ. but here it reads only መኅስለ (some later mss. do add the expected ጠሊ. [38 39 42 47 48 58]). Gen 38:20, like Latin and Syriac, repeats its earlier expression (38:17). Dillmann does, however, list the meaning «hoedus» for the word መኅስሰ (his spelling of it [Lexicon, 95]); consequently, there is no need to assume a different Vorlage for the Ethiopic.

his Adullamite shepherd: As Charles (1895, p. 150, n. 10) observed, the readings of Ethiopic and Latin presuppose רֵעֵהוּ in Gen 38:20 (= LXX OL EthGenesis), not רֵעֵהוּ as in MT (Sam?) Syriac. The Chronicle, however, follows the lead of MT Syriac. Cf. Goldmann, p. רצט, n. to v יד; Hartom, 120, n. to v יד. The form አዶላማዊ is a gentilic, as is the parallel Syriac term, although in it ܝ and ܢ have been interchanged. Latin adollam should perhaps be taken as the name of this man (= his shepherd Adollam). Vulgate Gen 38:20 spells it as Odollamitem.

failed to find (her): Both Latin and Syriac agree with the versions of Gen 38:20 in reading a negative, a verb, and a pronominal object. Ethiopic ኀጥአ expresses a negative notion without resort to the negative particle, but the mss. that were collated for this edition lack an object suffix. Dillmann read ኀጥአ in 1859 and noted no variant; Charles read the same in 1895, though his claim (p. 150, n. 11) that ms. D (= 38) supports it is incorrect. He apparently based it on Dillmann's silence about the reading of this ms.

the area: So Ethiopic and Syriac. In reading this noun alone, these versions side with Sam Syriac LXX OLGen 38:21 (= המקום). The Latin of Jubilees adds illius which agrees with EthGenesis and the Vulgate (loci illius). Note that in Gen 38:21 MT places a suffix (מקומה) on the noun (= of her place; this is a possible translation of Latin here). The Ethiopic and Latin versions provide introductory words of saying for the direct quotation, while Syriac uses ܢ.

was (here): Latin and Syriac express the verb, but it is understood in Ethiopic.

There is no ... with us: The reply involves two clauses in Ethiopic and just one in Latin and Syriac. The three versions agree for the words «there is no prostitute here», but for

here, nor do we have any prostitute with us'. 41:15 When he returned and told him that he had failed to find (her), he said to him: 'I asked the men of the area and they said to me: «There is no prostitute here»'. He said: 'Let her *keep* (them) so that we may not become the object of mockery'.

5

Ethiopic's «nor do we have any prostitute with us» Latin reads nobiscum and Syriac has nothing. It is possible, of course, that the Ethiopic text has been expanded — possibly to provide a smoother text with «here» and «with us» (Charles [1895, p. 150, n. 16] omitted H᎐ዋ ፎት ፡ ወአልብን though this does not produce the Latin word-order). Gen 38:21, too, has a one-clause reading (לא היתה בזה קדשה — i.e., it lacks an equivalent for nobiscum). It is also possible, nevertheless, that the shorter answer of Latin and Syriac was influenced by the one-clause response in v 15 or that the biblical versions have conditioned them.

41:15 returned: Syriac adds: to Judah (= Gen 38:22).

told him ... him: Latin indicauit supports the verb of Ethiopic; Syriac ܐܡܪ agrees with Gen 38:22. Latin then differs by specifying iudae rather than using a pronoun as Ethiopic and Syriac (and Gen 38:22) do. Ethiopic presents the shepherd's speech as indirect discourse introduced by ከመ; Latin and Syriac, with Gen 38:22, use a direct quotation which Latin introduces with dicens. The Ethiopic seems, therefore, to be defective at this point. Charles (1895, pp. 151-52, n. 17; 1902, pp. 229-30, n.) emended it toward Latin: for ከመ ፡ ኢ ፐአ ; ወ ፎ ቢ ሎ he proposed to read ወ ፎ ቢ ፡ ኢ ዝ አ ከ ፐ («and he said: I have not found her» [1902, p. 230, n.; in the text he translated the actual Ethiopic reading]). Cf. Littmann (108, n. a) who thought that the original may have read something resembling Charles' altered text. Charles may have been correct about this matter, but a fuller account which is consistent with his reconstruction can be given. In Greek «I did not find» would be οὐχ εὗρον (= LXX), an expression which could have been miscopied or misread as οὐχ εὗρεν (= Ethiopic Jubilees). Once the copyist or translator reached the next clause, which is unmistakably a direct quotation, he would have introduced (or transferred) another verb of speaking before it (= ወ ፎ ቢ ሎ). As in v 14, the verb ኢ ፐአ is used where Latin and Syriac have a negative, a verb, and a pronominal object. Only mss. 20 63 have the object in Ethiopic. In LXXGen 38:22 the verb also lacks an object.

I asked: Latin reads two conjunctions (sed et) and Syriac one before the verb; Ethiopic omits. Charles (1895, p. 151, n. 18) added ወ to his Ethiopic text.

the area: The same plus — illius — appears here as in v 14. See the note above.

they said to me: Latin lacks «to me». Syriac uses ܐܡ̈ܖ, while Ethiopic and Latin employ simple verbs of speaking.

There ... here: In Ethiopic and Syriac, which read «here», the reply is to be construed as direct discourse (= Gen 38:22). Latin words it as indirect discourse, as the phrase in illo loco indicates.

He said: Latin, Syriac, and Gen 38:22 name «Judah» as the subject. Ethiopic may have lost the word by homoioarchton (ፎ ቢ ፡ ፎ ሁ ፄ).

Let her *keep* (them): ት ን ሥ አ (= arise) can hardly be correct, though some of the later copies (42 47; 44; 39 48 58) show attempts to make it fit the context. While Goldmann still follows the given text, Charles (1895, p. 151, n. 22; 1902, p. 230, n.) had already solved the problem when he recognized that ት ን ሥ አ was an error for the very similar form ት ን ሣ አ (= Latin habeat; cf. Gen 38:23: תקח לה). Littmann (108, n. b) and Berger (523, n. c to v 15) have also accepted his proposal. Ethiopic still lacks an object for the verb even with the correction. Syriac omits the command.

so that ... mockery: Ethiopic and Latin agree in making this a negative purpose clause (note that MTGen 38:23 reads פן). Syriac, which omits the previous words, uses

41:16 When she reached three months, she was visibly pregnant. Judah was told: 'Your daughter-in-law Tamar has now become pregnant through prostitution'. 41:17 Judah went to her father's house and said to her father and brothers: 'Bring her out and let her be burned
5 because she has done something impure in Israel'. 41:18 When she was brought out to be burned, she sent the ring, the neck chain, and the

ܪܚܠܐ (= why) to introduce the clause. Ethiopic, Syriac, and MT Sam LXXGen 38:23 employ a first-person plural verb, but Latin reads a third-person singular form (deridat should be derideat [RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 80; Charles, 1895, p. 151, n. 5 to Latin]). It apparently understands Tamar, the supposed prostitute, to be the subject (cf. EthGen 38:23: they mock us).

41:16 When she reached three months: Each of the versions indicates the passage of three months but does so in a different way. አኅለፈት has the sense of pervenisse ad with time expressions (DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 782 [for the G-stem which he read in this verse, i.e., ኀለፈት as in 9 17 38]), and it is third-person feminine singular. Latin makes menses tres the subject of the passive verb facti fuissent and includes illi which refers to Tamar. Syriac has «after three months» which closely resembles Gen 38:24. It differs from Syriac Genesis only in lacking ܡܢ before ܝܪܚܐ.

she was visibly pregnant: Literally (Ethiopic): she was recognized/ made known that she was pregnant (= Syriac); Latin she was seen (or: it was apparent) that she was pregnant. The sense is unmistakable in each case, but it is unlikely that «it was apparent» should be selected as the meaning for Latin (= mss. 20 25 35 44) because the corresponding verb in both Syriac and Ethiopic is feminine. One should at least reject Charles' claim (1895, p. 151, n. 24) that the Latin text supports ms. 25 because the Latin verb is ambiguous. Dillmann (1851) translated with a feminine subject for the first verb, but the other translators have regarded it as impersonal (= it was recognized, etc.).

Judah was told: Literally (Ethiopic and Latin): they told Judah. Syriac uses a singular, passive form, which agrees with וַיֻּגַּד in Gen 38:24, and adds «to Judah» (= Gen 38:24). Ethiopic and Latin introduce the quotation with words of saying, as in Gen 38:24, but Syriac does not.

through prostitution: Or: through adultery. Gen 38:24 supports the inclusion of this phrase, but Latin omits it.

41:17 went: Latin and Syriac use verbs which mean «came».

her father's house ... brothers: Ethiopic and Latin agree with one another, but Syriac replaces the reference to her father's house with «to her father and brothers». It then uses ܠܗܘܢ after ܐܡܪ because the father and brothers have just been mentioned.

let her be burned: Literally (Ethiopic): let them burn her. Latin and Syriac have «let her be burned» but add» but add «with/ in fire» (this nearly redundant phrase is not realized in the translations). Only mss. 35 44 add these words in the Ethiopic tradition, and one ms. (R) of EthGen 38:24 also supplies them.

41:18 When: Literally (Ethiopic and Latin): and it was when. Syriac has only «and when».

she was brought out: Literally (Ethiopic and Syriac): they brought (were bringing [Syriac]) her out (cf. EthGen 38:25). Latin resorts to a passive construction: she was brought out (= MT Sam LXX).

to be burned: Ethiopic again has an active, third-person plural verb: that they should/ might burn her. Latin opts for a third-person feminine singular form as does Syriac.

the neck chain, and the staff: So Ethiopic, Latin, and Gen 38:25, except Syriac Genesis which reads ܩܛܝܢܘܬܐ for the second item. This is the term that is again found in the third position in the Syriac Chronicle (as in v 11), which puts the staff in second position. Note

staff to her father-in-law and said: 'Recognize whose these are because I
am pregnant by him'. 41:19 Judah recognized (them) and said: 'Tamar
has been more just than I; therefore, do not burn her'. 41:20 For this
reason she was not given to Selom, and he did not approach her again.
41:21 Afterwards she was pregnant and gave birth to two boys   5
— Perez and Zerah — during the seventh year of this second week
[2170]. 41:22 Following this the seven years of copious harvest (about)
which Joseph had told the pharaoh were completed.

41:23 Judah knew that what he had done was evil because he had
lain with his daughter-in-law. In his own view he considered it evil, and   10
he knew that he had done wrong and erred, for he had uncovered his
son's covering. He began to lament and plead before the Lord because

that MT reads a plural (הפתילים) for the second item, but Sam and the other versions
have a singular form with Jubilees.

because ... him: Ethiopic and Syriac support «because», but Latin lacks it with
Gen 38:25. As in 41:12, the various prepositions that are here translated «by (him)» agree
with different versions of the Genesis passage: ለት = MT Sam; de eo and ܡܢܗ mirror
Syriac Tofjn.

41:19 (them): Syriac supplies the object, while Ethiopic and Gen 38:26 do not.

Tamar: Ethiopic and Syriac agree with LXX OL¹ EthGen 38:26 in reading the name;
MT Sam Syriac omit it.

therefore: Syriac omits.

41:20 For ... Selom: Syriac omits. Gen 38:26 supports the Ethiopic text, though in
Genesis Judah is speaking and is the subject of the verb «gave». The change to a passive
verb alters the meaning of the biblical text.

approach: Syriac: know (= Gen 38:26). OL¹ reads contingere eam and EthGenesis
uses the same form as Jubilees. Charles (1902, p. 230, n.) indicated that T. Judah 12:8 also
evidences this verb: οὐδὲ ἤγγισα αὐτῇ.

41:21 Afterwards she was pregnant: Neither Dillmann (1859; cf. p. 143, n. 7) nor
Charles (1895; cf. p. 151, n. 29) read ፀነሰት ፡ ወ, and among the translators only Berger
includes these words. They are, nevertheless, overwhelmingly attested by the mss. (only 21
35 42 47 omit). Syriac lacks this entire clause.

gave birth: Syriac adds «for him».

two boys: Syriac also supplies the word «twins» with «two boys».

during ... week: As it does elsewhere, Syriac omits the chronological note.

41:22 Syriac omits this seemingly misplaced statement about the end of the years of
abundance (= Gen 41:53). Berger (520, n. at the beginning of chap. 41) sees its inclusion
here as an indication that this was a punishment which led Judah to recognize the evil of
his way and to regret it.

41:23 because: Syriac introduces what follows with ܘ.

lain: Syriac: slept.

In ... for: Syriac omits. It places a conjunction before ܪܠܝ, not a causal word as in
Ethiopic.

He began to lament and plead before: Syriac lacks an equivalent for አኀዘ and uses a
verb meaning «to long» where Ethiopic has «to lament».

of his sin. 41:24 We told him in a dream that it would be forgiven for
him because he had pleaded very much and because he had lamented
and did not do (it) again. 41:25 He had forgiveness because he turned
from his sin and from his ignorance, for the sin was a great one before
5   our God. Anyone who acts in this way — anyone who lies with his
mother-in-law — is to be burned in fire so that he burns in it because
impurity and contamination have come on them. They are to be
burned.

41:26 Now you order the Israelites that there is to be no impurity
10   among them, for anyone who lies with his daughter-in-law or his
mother-in-law has done something that is impure. They are to burn the
man who lay with her and the woman. Then he will make anger and
punishment desist from Israel. 41:27 We told Judah that his two sons
had not lain with her. For this reason his descendants were established

41:24 We told him: The wording in Jubilees is consistent with the fact that an angel is
narrating the story to Moses. The Chronicle, which lacks this framework, simply uses a
third-person singular passive form of the verb.

dream: Syriac: vision.

that ... lamented: Syriac words this as a direct quotation and uses different verbs in the
explanatory section. Ethiopic repeats the verbs of v. 23, but Syriac reproduces only
ܐܬܬܢܚ. There is no word for «very much» in the Syriac text.

and did not do (it) again: Syriac is almost completely different. It does use «lamented»
in a second explanatory statement but says nothing about Judah's not repeating his sinful
act.

41:25 his mother-in-law: Littmann (108, n. f) and Goldmann (p. ‏ש‎, n. to v כד [a
mistake for כה]), who sensed that «mother-in-law» was inappropriate in this context, have
placed «daughter-in-law» in their translations (= mss. 20 21 35 58). But the change which
they advocated is unneeded in light of v 26 which mentions both mother-in-law and
daughter-in-law. Berger, who incorrectly charges Charles with making this change (524,
n. e to v 25), also calls attention to v 26 and, in v 25, has adopted the reading ወሕሰ
(mss. 21 42 47 48 58) which, in his opinion, makes the text refer to two kinds of sins:
acting as Judah did (i.e., sleeping with his daughter-in-law [cf. Lev 20:12]) and sleeping
with one's mother-in-law (see Lev 20:14). But one could interpret the verse in this fashion
even without the conjunction.

burned in fire ... in it: Elsewhere in this translation «in/ with fire» with a verb of
burning is not rendered because it sounds redundant in English (see the end of v 25 for an
example). In the sequel, however, the word እሳት refers to fire, and this fact requires that
«in fire» be expressed in the translation.

They are to be burned: Literally: they are to burn them in fire. Cf. Lev 20:14.

41:26 that there is to be: Literally: and there is there is to be.

anger and punishment: Many good mss., including 20 25, place these nouns in the
nominative case so that they become the subjects of ይኀድግ = anger and punishment will
leave.

41:27 that: Dillmann (1851) put «weil» (= በእንተ) after «dass» in his translation
though it is clearly not located there in the text. Littmann did the same but bracketed

for another generation and would not be uprooted. 41:28 For in his integrity he had gone and demanded punishment because Judah had wanted to burn her on the basis of the law which Abraham had commanded his children.

42:1 During the first year of the third week of the forty-fifth jubilee [2171], the famine began to come to the land. The rain refused to be given to the earth because there was nothing which was coming down. 42:2 The earth became unproductive, but in the land of Egypt there was food because Joseph had gathered the seed in the land during the seven years of copious harvest and kept it. 42:3 When the Egyptians came to Joseph so that he would give them food, he opened the storehouses where the grain of the first year was and sold (it) to the

«weil». Berger has followed their lead but without explanation or brackets. He apparently thinks that ħ𝑜𝑚 represents כי which was meant in a causative sense. But the text makes perfectly acceptable sense as translated above.

41:28 his integrity: Literally: in the innocence of his eyes.

42:1 land: Or: earth; but the reference is probably to the land of Canaan (Hartom, 121, n. to v א).

42:2 gathered: At this point mss. 25 42 47 48ᶜ 58 add: to give them food, and [because (ms. 58)] Joseph gathered. One could include these words in the text and justify this by arguing that they were omitted from the other mss. through parablepsis (ፐላፍ to ፐላፍ). Yet, neither Latin nor most of the Ethiopic mss. support them with the result that they are unlikely to be original. The extra words may have originated when አስተጋብአ ፡ ፐላፍ was accidentally repeated by a scribe; the dittographic text was then made meaningful by addition of ħ𝑜𝑚 ፡ የሀቦሙ ፡ ሲሲተ from 42:3.

the seed: Latin: the grain.

in the land: Latin joins the preceding frumentum with terrae in a genitival construction (= ms. 38).

42:3 the storehouses ... was: Latin agrees nearly verbatim (except that ኅብ /in quibus are not literally the same) until one reaches «of the first year». Latin does have «in the first year», but places it later in the verse after a different clause which is not attested in Ethiopic («and gave [it] to them to eat»). The additional words in Latin are supported by no version of Gen 41:56 nor by any Ethiopic ms. Charles (1895, p. 153, n. 1 to Latin) rejected them as corrupt. A reference to the first year, however, is attested in the Ethiopic and Latin texts of Jubilees. Possibly the Latin words were supplied to make Joseph's action fit the reason why the people came to him (v 3a). The new Latin clause may also have led to a change of an original primi anni (so Charles [ibid., n. 2 to Latin] emends to make the text agree with Ethiopic) to in anno primo (cf. mss. 38 58). The phrase «storehouses where/ in which the grain ... was» is based on a non-MT text form of Gen 41:56: MT reads את כל אשר בהם, but «storehouses» is found in Syriac LXX OL EthGen 41:56; and «grain» figures in Sam LXX (cf. እኅል in EthGenesis) Toj (MT Syriac OL omit). See also Charles, ibid., p. 152, n. 11.

and sold (it): Latin reads quia where Ethiopic, with the versions of Gen 41:56, has a conjunction. The verb «sold» reflects Syriac LXX OL EthGen 41:56; MT incorrectly reads the qal form וישבר (= he bought) as does Sam, though some mss. of the latter have וישביר.

to the people of the land: Latin: illis. The versions of Gen 41:56 have «to the

people of the land in exchange for money. 42:4 Jacob heard that there
was food in Egypt, so he sent his ten sons to get food for him in Egypt.
But he did not send Benjamin. They arrived with those who were going
(there). 42:5 Joseph recognized them, but they did not recognize him.
5 He spoke with them, asked them questions, and said to them: 'Are you

Egyptians/ Egypt»; no one of them supports the pronoun of Latin. Charles (1895, p. 153,
n. 3 to Latin) wrote that the Ethiopic reading here «suspiciously resembles Eth. Vers. of
Gen xli.56 ሰተሱ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ ግብጽ». His suspicion was badly misplaced, however, because it
shares only the preposition ሰ with this version.

in exchange for money: Latin omits, and Gen 41:56 also lacks these words.

42:4 Jacob: Latin prefixes a sentence («But the famine was very severe in the land of
Canaan») which partially reflects Gen 41:57b (cf. 42:5). Charles (1895, p. 152, n. 18;
1902, p. 232, n.) considered it original and inserted the Ethiopic equivalent into his text.
Hartom and Berger (in parentheses) also include it in their translations. As Berger writes
(526, n. a to v 4): «Da in Gen 41, 56c nur ein schwacher Anhaltspunkt in der Vorlage
besteht, wahrscheinlich alter Text». A scribe's eye may have jumped from the conjunction
at the beginning of this clause to the beginning of the verse in Ethiopic.

heard: Though EthGen 42:1 is the only version to back this reading (the others have
«saw»), Latin audiuit shows that it must have been part of the Greek text of Jubilees and
thus not a product of the influence of EthGenesis on Ethiopic Jubilees.

food: Latin: frumentum. The original may have read שבר (so Goldmann, Hartom) as
in MTGen 42:1 (= Sam Syriac). If this were the case, Latin would be preferable here.
With ሲሲተ compare እህሰ (= food) in EthGen 42:1.

food[2]: Here Latin escam agrees with Ethiopic, as does PsPho 8.10 (escas). Compare
EthGen 42:3 (እህሰ). MT Sam (= Syriac LXX) have בר.

in Egypt[2]: Latin omits. Gen 42:3 reads «from Egypt» in several versions (MT Sam
Syriac LXX), but PsPho 8.10 gives in Egipto and some mss. of EthGenesis offer በብሔረ ፡
ግብጽ. OL[1] places in Aegyptam before the infinitive.

send ... (there): After «send» Latin, against Ethiopic and Gen 42:4, adds «with them».
But note that at a later point Latin lacks «with those who were going (there)» (the mss.
actually read singular forms), while Ethiopic fails to reflect Latin's «Jacob's ten sons» and
«in Egypt» at this point. See Gen 42:5: וירא בני ישראל לשבר בתוך הבאים. Syriac uses בר,
and LXX μετά in place of בתוך, and EthGenesis differs by omitting from לשבר to the end
of the verse (much as in Latin Jubilees). Both Ethiopic and Latin Jubilees read a verb for
«arriving», but Latin includes the reference to the sons and adds their number. Ethiopic
does not specify the subject and reproduces the last words of Gen 42:5 in the singular (see
the plural in 42:20). Latin's in aegypto is supported by a number of LXX witnesses. One
wonders whether the original of Jubilees might not have been very brief here («and they
arrived») and whether it was expanded in different ways in the two traditions on the basis
of the scriptural verse. Charles (1895, p. 152, n. 23) and Littmann (109, n. b) preferred the
Latin form of the text, although they retained ምስለ ፡ ሀⶊሐⶊር.

42:5 spoke with them, asked them questions: Latin uniquely names Joseph as the
subject, uses appelauit eos where Ethiopic follows Gen 42:7 (וידבר אתם), and gives dure
where Ethiopic has ተሰአሉⶉ (= Gen 42:7). The only support for this latter Ethiopic
verb among the ancient versions is interrogans eos in the Vulgate. The reading dure would
appear to be preferable (so Charles, 1895, p. 153, n. 26; he substituted ዐጸበጸሰ for
ⶊተሰአሉⶉ; cf. Berger, 526, n. a to v 5). Littmann (109, n. c), however, thought that dure
may have originated under the influence of v 9; and in 1902 Charles translated the actual
Ethiopic text (cf. p. 232, n.). The Ethiopic deviation, if it is one, could be explained by
explained by positing that on the Hebrew level בקש was read instead of קשׁת.

Are you not spies: Latin omits, but all versions of Gen 42:9 contain the line though

not spies? You have come to investigate the paths of the land'. He then imprisoned them. 42:6 Afterwards he released them. He detained only Simeon and sent his nine brothers away. 42:7 He filled their sacks with grain and put their money in their sacks. But they did not know (this). 42:8 He ordered them to bring their youngest brother because they had   5 told him that their father was alive and their youngest brother (also).

they do not supply an equivalent of አኅ✶. Latin may have lost the question through haplography from eis to et (explorare).

You have come to investigate: Latin, with Gen 42:9, places the main verb (uenistis) last. Ethiopic puts መጻእክሙ first, as does EthGen 42:9.

the paths: Latin omits, but in Gen 42:9 all of the versions read a word at this point. The term አሰረ agrees with ἴχνη in LXX and vestigia in OL¹. See Dillmann, 1851, p. 72, n. 71; and Charles (1895, p. 153. n. 27) who refers to the reading of Jubilees and LXX as «a loose rendering of "הא ערות [= MT], or it supposes "עקבות הא ...» Cf. also Goldmann, p. אש. n. to v ה. If the Greek base of Jubilees was ἴχνη χώρας. a scribe could have been misled by the two chi's to skip from the first word to the second (= Latin).

42:6 Afterwards he released them: Latin: et mittens arcessiuit illos. Neither version follows the biblical text very closely. Gen 42:18 dates their release to the third day of their imprisonment (cf. v 19). Charles (1895, p. 153, n. 28) suggested that ኀበ (read after ወአኀዘ in several mss.) could be corrupt for ለኢከ (= Latin mittens). In this regard, the reading of ms. 21 is interesting: ወአኀዘ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ፈነወ ፡ ወፈትሐሙ. Charles (ibid.) preferred arcessiuit to the Ethiopic verb, though he did not explain why. It is certainly possible that originally ፈነወ preceded ፈትሐሙ and that, by homoioarchton, the first verb was omitted. As for the verbs «released» and «summoned», a suggestion can be offered. The Ethiopic «released» may reflect ἐξέλυσε, while «summoned» of Latin could render ἐκάλεσε. These two Greek verbs are sufficiently alike in appearance to have caused problems for a copyist. Consequently, it seems that «sent» belonged in the original, and that if it did, the Latin is also correct in reading «summoned». The Ethiopic would then be the product of two errors: confusion of the two Greek verbs, and, on the Ethiopic level, loss of ፈነወ by homoioarchton with ፈትሐሙ.

He detained only Simeon: Latin differs drastically in reading: when he had taken Simeon from them, he bound him. Cf. Gen 42:24: אתו ויאסר שמעון את מאתם ויקח. Latin's resemblance to the biblical verse makes one suspect that it has been influenced by it. Charles (1895, p. 153, n. 29), nevertheless, commented: «What the true text is, I cannot decide».

sent ... away: Latin demisit should be spelled dimisit (RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 82; Charles, 1895, p. 153, n. 7 to Latin).

42:7 their sacks with grain: Latin omits «with grain» against the versions of Gen 42:25. The word አሕስሊሆሙ (= their sacks) is unusual. Latin uasa agrees with Gen 42:25 (כליהם in MT).

put: Ethiopic ወደየ finds its nearest parallel in EthGen 42:25 where ደደ is used (Joseph is giving orders in Genesis). Latin reddidit resembles להשיב in the same verse, and this word or an equivalent appears in the other versions. The Ethiopic verb may be the result of confusion between השיב and השים (= שים in meaning).

in their sacks. But ... (this): Latin omits. The versions of Gen 42:25 mention the return of money to each man's sack. The last sentence is not found at this point in Genesis, but a similar statement figures in Gen 43:22, where the brothers come to Joseph a second time and report about this earlier episode.

42:8 because ... (also): Latin omits by parablepsis from «younger brother» to «younger brother». That is, the omission can be explained in this way if one assumes the

42:9 They went up from the land of Egypt and came to the land of
Canaan. They told their father everything that had happened to them
and how the ruler of the area had spoken harshly with them and was
holding Simeon until they should bring Benjamin. 42:10 Jacob said:
5 'Me you have deprived of children. Joseph does not exist nor does
Simeon exist, and you are going to take Benjamin. Your wickedness
has come upon me'. 42:11 He said: 'My son will not go with you.
Perhaps he would become ill. For their mother gave birth to two; one

Ethiopic word-order, which does seem superior to Latin's awkward arrangement of the
sentence.

42:9 They: Latin: filii iacob. Gen 42:29 sides with Ethiopic. Josephus (*Ant.* II.111),
like Latin, mentions Jacob's sons as the subjects in this context.

Canaan: On the Latin spelling (the name ends with -*m*), see RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der
Jubiläen*, 160) who attributed it to a «Provincialismus».

the ruler of the area had spoken harshly with them: Latin places dure first, but the
Ethiopic equivalent appears at the end of the clause. The Ethiopic word ብሔር and Latin
terrae are located where Gen 42:30 reads הארץ. The two versions may presuppose the
same *Vorlage*, as ብሔር can mean «country», though one might have expected ምድር if
that meaning were desired here. EthGen 42:30 also reads ብሔር.

was holding: Latin detenuit should be detinuit (Charles, 1895, p. 153, n. 8 to Latin).

they should bring: Latin words this as direct discourse (note exhibeamus and also
nostrum) and adds illi fratrem nostrum. The text may be influenced by Gen 42:30 which
gives this part of the brothers' report as a quotation (note אתנו). Otherwise, the pluses in
Latin appear to be explanatory supplements. Cf. also Gen 42:33-34.

42:10 Joseph: Latin, with Gen 42:36, lacks a conjunction before the name, but
Ethiopic (other than mss. 12 58) includes one.

and you are going to take Benjamin: Latin: beniamin si acceperitis. The two versions
agree except for the word si in Latin. At this point Gen 42:36 reads the marker of a
definite direct object (את). That is, it makes «Benjamin» the object of the verb. It is
possible that in the Latin textual tradition, an original את was misread as אם, although it
would be understandable if a scribe, without ms. support, added a conditional word here.
Cf. v 11 below for a similar phenomenon.

Your wickedness has come upon me: Latin: in me et impletis malitiam uestram. The
words in me are also found in Vulgate Gen 42:36, while, as Charles (1895, p. 155, n. 1 to
Latin) noticed, Syriac Gen 42:36 parallels Latin's verb impletis (he gives ܬܡܠܘܢ. but it
actually reads the third-person singular ܬܡܠܐ) though the person and number are
different. Charles (ibid., p. 154, n. 4) added that Jubilees (and the Vulgate) presupposed
that רע appeared in the text of Gen 42:36, despite the fact that it is found in none of the
other versions (cf. Berger, 526, n. b to v 10 [where VgGen 42:46 should be 42:36]). The
word et is rendered as «also» in the translation.

42:11 Perhaps: Latin: ne quando (quando = when). RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*,
160) explained the reading thus: «Das in den Zusammenhang nicht passende *ne quando*
deutet unverkennbar auf ein griech. Original hin, in welchem der Lateiner μήποτε
vorfand. Anstatt *ne forte* übersetzte er *ne quando*». Literally the Latin would be: lest ever.

become ill: For infirmari in this sense, see RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 160. Latin
adds in uia — a phrase which figures later in the verse in both versions (and at that point
in Gen 42:38). It appears, then, to be an expansion here in Latin.

has died and this one, too, you will take from me. Perhaps he would
catch a fever on the way. Then you would bring down my old age in
sorrow to death'. 42:12 For he saw that their money was returned —
each one in his purse, and he was afraid to send him for this reason.

two: Latin: these two — possibly to render a Greek definite article. The Ethiopic could
be translated as «the two».

one: Latin does not have a conjunction before the number but Ethiopic does.

this one, too, you will take from me: Latin: et hunc si acceperitis. As in v 10. Latin uses
si which is not supported by Ethiopic. Latin also lacks an equivalent for «too» and «from
me».

Perhaps he would catch a fever: Ethiopic does not conjoin this clause with the previous
one by *ø*; Latin, however, uses et and another subjunctive verb to show that the
condition begun in the former clause continues here. Cf. וקראהו in MTGen 42:38. The
verb ደዌ is not synonymous with fuerit illi infirmitas aliqua (literally: there should be any
illness to him). The term infirmitas appears in OL� SGen 42:38 (= LXX) and EthGenesis
uses ደወየ. MT Sam have אסון (= harm = Syriac). Ethiopic Jubilees is more specific about
the kind of illness than are Latin (note also aliqua) and the LXX tradition.

Then you would: Here Ethiopic and Gen 42:38 employ a conjunction before the verb. Latin,
which used et before fuerit, omits it here.

in (sorrow): Latin: with. Gen 42:38 has «in».

death: Latin: infernum, which represents שאולה of Gen 42:38 (LXX: ᾅδου; OLˢ:
infernos). EthGenesis reads መቃብር (= grave), which, like ምት in Ethiopic Jubilees,
appears to be an interpretation.

42:12 he saw: Latin: they said to him. These sharply divergent readings could have
arisen in Greek where εἶδεν (= Ethiopic) and εἶπον (= Latin) were interchanged. The
word ei (to him) could then be explained as a subsequent expansion of the corrupt Latin
text.

their money: Latin reads et (= also) before pecunia. Ethiopic offers no equivalent.

each one in his purse: ተቤ (not paralleled in Latin) is difficult here. Charles (1895,
p. 154, n. 11) emended it to ለተቤ (= to each one [1902: «to every man»]) and asked
whether one should read ለለቤ with Latin illis (but illis = ለዕሙ). Littmann (109, n. g)
agreed that ለተቤ should be read (= «einem jeden»). But the text as it stands can be
retained and understood in two ways: 1) one could view ተቤ as modifying ወርቅሙ (= all
their money [so Goldmann, Berger; see also Dillmann (in RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*,
83): aurum eorum omne]). A difficulty with this approach is that ተቤ should precede the
noun it modifies (but compare 43:1 with 42:25). 2) ተቤ is to be construed with the
following ዕቅፉ (note the singular suffix) in the sense «each one» (= Dillmann, 1851: «je
in ihren bündeln»). This latter option is free of objections and is the one chosen here. The
word for «purses» is different than Latin's uasis, as is the preposition before each word
(«in» in Ethiopic, «with» in Latin). Charles (1895, p. 154, n. 12) referred to the plural
suffix on the word in C D (= 51 38), but neither one does contain this reading. Dillmann
(1859, p. 145, n. 10) emended the two mss. in order to obtain the plural suffix, but the mss.
themselves have either a singular suffix (= 51) or an incorrectly spelled form (= 38). Only
Latin supports «their» rather than «his» at this point.

and he was afraid ... reason: Latin places the verb timuit after the initial conjunction;
Ethiopic locates በዝ here and then the verb ፈርሀ. It may be that cum eis and በዝ are
differing interpretations of the same original prepositional phrase. The Hebrew behind the
Ethiopic reading would have been בזאת, a phrase that in 1 Chr 27:24 is translated ἐν

42:13 Now the famine grew increasingly severe in the land of Canaan and in every land except the land of Egypt because many Egyptians had stored their seed for food after they saw Joseph collecting seed, placing (it) in storehouses, and keeping (it) for the years of the famine.

5 42:14 The Egyptians fed themselves with it during the first year of the famine.

42:15 When Israel saw that the famine was very severe in the land and (that) there was no relief, he said to his sons: 'Go, return, and get

τούτοις in LXX. Rendering the same Hebrew phrase as σὺν τούτοις would also be plausible and would produce Latin's cum eis. Note that Latin specifies «Jacob» as the subject of timuit.

42:13 grew increasingly severe: Ethiopic (literally): became great and strong; Latin (literally): went and became strong. Both express the same idea (cf. Gen 41:57 [חזק] and 41:31; 43:1 [כבד]). The biblical base here is Gen 43:1 where, for MT's כבד, LXX reads ἐνίσχυσεν. The Ethiopic wording may reflect גדל וחזק (so Goldmann), while Latin renders הולך וחזק (cf. Hartom: הולך וכבד).

Canaan ... Egypt: Latin omits. The omission could be explained by parablepsis from «land» to «land», but that process would have left «Egypt» in the text. If so, a scribe may have dropped the place name when he noticed that reading «land of Egypt» here would contradict the following clause.

many Egyptians: Literally (Ethiopic): many of the sons of Egypt (Latin: of the Egyptians).

had stored: Latin custodierunt (= kept/preserved) does not offer quite the same sense as the Ethiopic verb. It is followed by in custodia, and custodirentur is used later in the verse where Ethiopic has its equivalent (ዖዐቀበ though it is singular). It is likely, thus, that custodierunt is secondary and that a scribe's or translator's choice of it was influenced by the context.

for food: Latin: in custodia (literally: in a place for keeping; see the previous note). The original Hebrew may have occasioned the variant: Ethiopic reflects לשבר; Latin renders לשמר.

after: Latin: ex quo tamen. According to RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 160), these words reproduce «ἐξ οὗ μέν, seitdem sie nämlich». Dillmann (in Rönsch, ibid., 83) rendered the Ethiopic as ex quo. Ethiopic does not express what tamen represents, but ex quo supports እምዘ and opposes እንዘ of mss. 9 17 38 63.

seed[2]: Latin: frumenta. See 42:2 for the same variant.

and keeping (it): Latin: ut custodirentur. The plural is used because frumenta is plural, or the passage could be rendered: so that they (i.e., the Egyptians) would be kept/ preserved. The verbal form in Ethiopic is active and singular.

42:14 The Egyptians ... it: Latin's manducauerunt does suggest a slightly different nuance than ተሰብዖ. Ethiopic may reflect ויכלכלו and Latin ויאכלו. The Latin text does not offer an equivalent for ሰብአ; ms. 17, too, omits this word.

the famine: There is also strong ms. support for ዐቅሞሙ (= their famine), which was read by Dillmann (1859) and Charles (1895; he did not indicate that ms. 25 lacked the suffix).

42:15 Go, return: Most of the translators (Dillmann, 1851; Charles, 1902; Littmann; and Berger) have rendered the second imperative as though it were an instance of the iterative use of «return» (Gen 43:2: שבו שברו). But if that were the case, one would have expected ግብኡ to precede ሑሩ, not follow it as it does here.

so that we may not die: The Arabic version of Gen 43:2 and two Bohairic mss. add the same words after «food».

us (some) food so that we may not die'. 42:16 But they said: 'We will
not go. If our youngest brother does not come with us, we will not go'.
42:17 Israel saw that if he did not send him with them they would all
die because of the famine. 42:18 Then Reuben said: 'Put him under my
control. If I do not bring him back to you, kill my two sons for his life'.   5
But he said to him: 'He will not go with you'. 42:19 Then Judah
approached and said: 'Send him with us. If I do not bring him back to
you, then let me be guilty before you throughout my entire lifetime'.
42:20 So he sent him with them during the second year of this week
[2172], on the first of the month. They arrived in the territory of Egypt   10
with all who were going (there) and (had) their gifts in their hands:
stacte, almonds, terebinth nuts, and pure honey.

42:21 They arrived and stood in front of Joseph. When he saw his
brother Benjamin, he recognized him and said to them: 'Is this your
youngest brother'? They said to him: 'He is'. He said: 'May the Lord   15
be gracious to you, my son'. 42:22 He sent him into his house and
brought Simeon out to them. He prepared a dinner for them. They
presented him with his gifts which they had brought in their hands.

42:18 Put him under my control: Literally: give him to me into my hands. The
seemingly unnecessary «to me» (a suffix on the verb) is found in OL^S EthGen 42:37
(Jubilees moves Reuben's speech so that it appears with the material at the beginning of
Genesis 43).

kill: The imperative agrees with Gen 42:37 in LXX OL EthGenesis. The other versions
have or reproduce the jussive form of MT (תמית).

with you: The singular suffix (referring to Reuben) is unique. Ms. 12, with its second-
person plural suffix, agrees with all versions of Gen 42:38. See also Charles, 1895, p. 154,
n. 22 and Jub 42:11.

42:19 with us: There is support for 9°ለኤe, although, apart from 9 21, later copies
provide the backing. The singular suffix of this variant agrees with MT Sam LXX OL
EthGen 43:8. But Syriac Genesis, one ms. of EthGenesis, and several septuagintal
witnesses use the plural pronoun.

42:20 stacte: The same phrase (9°ነ ፡ ልብን) occurs in 3:27; 16:24.

pure honey: The word መዓር corresponds with דבש in Gen 43:11, but ኤጹው-ስ finds no
parallel there. Charles (1895, p. 154, n. 28) suggested that this entry may be a corrupt
rendering of צרי in Gen 43:11 (BDB: «a kind of balsam»). ኤጹው-ስ does have the nuance
of something that is pure, flowing (note ρητίνης of LXX). It may indeed be the case that
Jubilees has here combined two terms from Gen 43:11 (the Bible lists six presents,
Jubilees only four).

42:21 to them: Only Syriac EthGen 43:29 and LXX witnesses A 761 add this element
after the verb of speaking.

They said to him: 'He is': The versions of Gen 43:29 allow the brothers no response,
but EthGenesis reads: መይቤሉ ፡ አው (for the latter word, see mss. 17^c 21 38 58). Josephus
(Ant. II.122) expands in a similar fashion.

42:22 hands: For the plural form, see Syriac LXX OL and one ms. of EthGen 43:26.
MT Sam read בידם.

42:23 They ate in front of him. He gave portions to all of them, but Benjamin's share was seven times larger than the share of any of them. 42:24 They ate and drank. Then they got up and stayed with their donkeys. 42:25 Joseph conceived of a plan by which he would know
5 their thoughts — whether there were peaceful thoughts between them. He said to the man who was in charge of his house: 'Fill all their sacks with food for them and return their money to them in their containers; put the cup with which I drink in the sack of the youngest — the silver cup — and send them away'.
10   43:1 He did as Joseph told him. He filled all their sacks with food for them and placed their money in their sacks. He put the cup in Benjamin's sack. 43:2 Early in the morning they went (off). But when they had left that place, Joseph said to the man of his house: 'Pursue them. Run and reprimand them as follows: «You have repaid me with
15 evil instead of good. You have stolen from me the silver cup with which

42:23 seven times: As Charles (1895, p. 155, n. 1), Hartom (123, n. to v ב), and Berger (528, n. b to v 23) have observed, Gen 43:34 says «five times». The reading «seven times» is attested by one LXX ms. (16: ἑπταπλασίως). Josephus (*Ant.* II.123) gives διπλασίοσι (twice as much).

42:24 They ate: Gen 43:34 lacks these words, but mss. Y C G of EthGenesis include them.

42:25 Fill ... return ... put: With MT Sam Syriac EthGen 44:1-2, Jubilees logically uses singular forms; LXX OL^s have plurals in each instance.

food: Charles (1895, p. 155, n. 6; cf. n. 11 where he mistakenly understood words from ms. 25 as if they were from 43:1) stated that B (= ms. 25) omits the remainder of the verse. This excellent ms. is decidedly defective here, but it does include: ወኅረ፡ ፡ ይይ ፡ ወ-ሰተ ፡ ሐበለ ፡ ብንያም. It lacks እከለ — መዋጲፉቶሙ, probably by haplography occasioned by the similar suffixes on this last word and on አሕበሊ.ሆሙ. Ms. 25 then omits all of 43:1 (actually, ብንያም should perhaps be construed as the last word of 43:1). The repetition of ሐበለ triggered the omission.

cup: Mss. 20 25 42 47 58 read ኵራየ, a form which agrees with the one in Gen 44:2. Dillmann (1859) and Charles (1895) read the suffixal form, and it does enjoy noteworthy support; but the suffix-less noun is more likely to be original.

with which I drink: Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* II.124: ᾧ πίνων ἔχαιρε. There is no parallel to this clause in Gen 44:2.

43:1 all their sacks: Though ኵሎ follows አሕበሊ.ሆሙ, Charles (1902), Goldmann, Hartom, and Berger have translated it as modifying አሕበሊ.ሆሙ, not ሲሲ.ተ. Dillmann (1851) and Littmann, however, rendered it as «ganz».

43:2 reprimand: Charles (1895, p. 155, n. 12) wished to emend ተኃኬሆሙ to a form which resembles it — ተሑ-ኀሎሙ. (= «seize them» [1902; he did not explain that this was an emendation]) — with ዐናሠጦ in Gen 44:4. But this Hebrew verb means (literally) «(and) you will overtake them». He must have had in mind the reading of LXX (καταλήμψῃ αὐτούς) which is supported by OL EthGen 44:4 (ኢኀሎሙ). Littmann (110, n. a) considered Charles' position possible but did not adopt it since it lacked ms. support. In whatever way the present reading entered the text, it makes good sense in the context.

You have stolen from me the silver cup: These words, not found in MT Sam Syriac (it

my master drinks». Bring their youngest brother back to me and bring him quickly, before I go out to the place where I rule'. 43:3 He ran after them and spoke to them in line with this message. 43:4 They said to him: 'Heaven forbid that your servants should do such a thing and should steal any container from the house of your master. Your 5 servants have brought back from the land of Canaan the money that we found in our sacks the first time. 43:5 How, then, should we steal any container? Here we and our sacks are. Make a search, and anyone of us in whose sack you find the cup is to be killed, while we and our donkeys are to serve your master'. 43:6 He said to them: '(That) is not 10 the way it will be. I will take only the man with whom I find it as a servant, and you may go safely to your home'. 43:7 As he was searching among their containers, he began with the oldest and ended with the youngest. It was found in Benjamin's sack. 43:8 They tore their clothing, loaded their donkeys, and returned to the city. When 15

does mention the cup) Gen 44:5, resemble the plus of LXX (= OL EthGenesis): ἵνα τί ἐκλέψατέ μου τὸ κόνδυ τὸ ἀργυροῦν.

43:3 in line with this message: Literally: according to this word/speech. ⋂ℎⁱⁿ agrees with Syriac LXX OLGen 44:6 against MT (את) Sam.

43:4 such a thing: Literally: this thing/ word.

in (our sacks): So LXX OL EthGen 44:8 and Josephus, *Ant.* II.130; MT Sam Syriac add «the mouth of».

the first time: Compare initio in OL^{S}Gen 44:8 and בקדמיתא in Tn.

43:5 anyone of us in whose sack you find the cup: Literally: where(ever) you find the cup in the sack of one man from us. For a translation similar to the one given above, see Dillmann, 1851: «in dessen sack du den becher findest».

is to be killed: For the passive form, cf. Sam Ton Gen 44:9; MT (= Syriac EthGenesis) reads ומת.

and our donkeys: Gen 44:9 lacks these words (see Charles, 1895, p. 156, n. 7). The same addition is made in Jub 43:9.

your master: Of the versions of Gen 44:9, only EthGenesis reads the second-person singular suffix; the others have «our master» (= Syriac LXX OL) or «my master» (= MT Sam).

43:6 to them: Only Syriac EthGen 44:10 add «to them» here.

I will ... find it: Literally: by/ with which man I find it — him alone will I take.

your home: Gen 44:17 reads «your father». Littmann placed «eurem» in parentheses, but the suffix is present in all of the mss.

43:7 with the oldest: Literally: from the oldest. The preposition እም reflects the reading of Syriac LXX OL EthGen 44:12; MT Sam give בגדול.

was found: The passive formulation agrees with MT (Sam?) Syriac Gen 44:12; LXX OL EthGenesis have active verbs (= mss. 9 20 38).

43:8 loaded: The plural form agrees with Sam Syriac LXX OL EthGen 44:13; MT has ויעמס.

they arrived at Joseph's house: Only ms. C of EthGen 44:14 uses a plural verb; the remaining versions specify «Judah and his brothers» as subject and employ a singular

they arrived at Joseph's house, all of them bowed to him with their
faces to the ground. 43:9 Joseph said to them: 'You have done an evil
thing'. They said: 'What are we to say and what shall we say in
our defense. Our master has discovered the crime of his servants.
5 We ourselves and our donkeys, too, are our master's servants'.
43:10 Joseph said to them: 'As for me, I fear the Lord. As for you, go
to your houses, but your brother is to be enslaved because you have
done something evil. Do you not know that a man takes pleasure in his
cup as I do in this cup? And you stole it from me'. 43:11 Then Judah
10 said: '*Please*, master, allow me, your servant, to say something in my
master's hearing. His mother gave birth to two brothers for your

verb in agreement with «Judah», the first element of the compound subject. The «house»
is mentioned in MT Sam and ms. C of EthGenesis, but Syriac LXX OL offer «to Joseph».

with their faces: The phrase በገጾሙ is found only in EthGen 44:14; the other versions
lack it. See Charles, 1895, p. 156, n. 12.

43:9 Joseph: Mss. 9 12 17 21 38 63 lack the name; Gen 44:15 supplies it. Cf. Charles,
1895, p. 156, n. 13.

They said: In Gen 44:16 Judah alone is the speaker. The form ይቤሎ in mss. 12 63
agrees with EthGenesis.

are we to say: Many mss. use the imperfect (ንብል), not the jussive (ንበል). The two
forms are virtually identical in appearance.

Our master: In Gen 44:16 the reference is to God, though it seems clear enough that
Jubilees is referring to Joseph (against Hartom, 124, n. to v ዐ). MT gives האלהים
(cf. LXX OL), but Sam prefaces a conjunction and Syriac places מר. כי (= the
targums) before the divine name. The word ሀ which many Ethiopic mss. prefix to ኣግዚኣን
echoes EthGen 44:16.

his servants: Gen 44:16 reads «your servants» (= mss. 9 21 38 39 42 44 47 48 58).

and our donkeys: Gen 44:16 lacks these words. See Jub 43:5.

our master's: The first-person plural suffix is also found in LXX OL EthGen 44:16;
MT Sam Syriac have «my master's». Cf. Jub 43:5.

43:10 takes pleasure in: Charles (1895, p. 156, n. 23) emended ይስተአርዮ to ይስተቀስም
(= divines») and cited Gen 44:5, 15 as support (v 15 is the base text here). Littmann (110,
n. b), however, found it more likely that» ... der Verf. der Jubiläen bereits den für ihn
sicher anstössigen Ausdruck durch einen harmloseren ersetzte». He referred to RÖNSCH
(*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 501-02) who had included this reading in his category «ersichtli-
chen *Correcturen* und *Omissionen*» (500). In 1902, Charles returned to the given text; he
mentioned (p. 236, n.) his earlier alteration but conceded that «... the change may be
deliberate». Cf. also Hartom, 124, n. to v ' and his prior comment (123, n. to v הכ of
chap. במ). There is, consequently, no warrant for changing the text.

43:11 *Please*: As Charles (1895, p. 156, n. 27; 1902, p. 236, n.; cf. Littmann, 110, n. c)
saw, ላዕሌ is a mistranslation of בי in Gen 44:18: «... hence for ላዕሌ which is here
meaningless, read በቍዕ = δέομαι». He is surely correct: the word appears in the very
location it has in Gen 44:18 and takes almost the same form (the literal meaning of the
prepositions is different). Goldmann and Hartom (both without notes) translate with בי.
while, curiously, Littmann («Auf mir») and Berger («Auf mich») render literally.

allow me: A first-person form is found also in EthGen 44:18 but not in the other
versions.

hearing: Literally: ear. This agrees with MT SamGen 44:18; Syriac LXX EthGenesis
have «before you».

servant our father. One has gone away and been lost; no one has found
him. He alone is left of his mother('s children). And your servant our
father loves him and his life is tied together with the life of this one.
43:12 If we go to your servant our father and if the young man is not
with us, then he would die and we would bring our father down in   5
sorrow to death. 43:13 Rather, I your servant will remain in place of
the child as a servant of my master. Let the young man go with his
brothers because I took responsibility for him from your servant our
father. If I do not bring him back, your servant will be guilty to our
father forever. 43:14 When Joseph saw that the minds of all of them   10
were in harmony one with the other for good (ends), he was unable to
control himself, and he told them that he was Joseph. 43:15 He spoke
with them in the Hebrew language. He wrapped his arms around their
necks and cried. But they did not recognize him and began to cry.
43:16 Then he said to them: 'Do not cry about me. Quickly bring my   15

tied together: Jubilees sides with MT SamGen 44:30 (קְשׁוּרה); LXX OL EthGenesis
give «depends on»; Syriac has «loves».

of this one: So LXX OLGen 44:30; MTSam have כנפשׁי (Syriac reads ܐ̈ܝܟ instead of
ـ); and EthGenesis offers «regarding this child».

43:12 If ... if: For አያህመ, see DILLMANN, Lexicon, 829-30. Here the first instance of
«if» reflects ἐάν of LXXGen 44:30 (= OL EthGenesis); cf. MT Sam כבא. For the second
«if» EthGen 44:31 uses አያህመ; the other versions phrase differently.

our father: The plural suffix can also be found in Syriac LXX OL EthGen 44:30;
MT Sam read אבי (Judah is speaking). See Charles, 1895, p. 156, n. 36.

with us: The prepositional phrase figures in Sam Syriac LXX OL EthGen 44:31; MT
omits.

we would bring ... down: EthGen 44:31, too, uses a first-person plural verb, though it
is not the same one as here in Jubilees. The remaining versions have «your servants» as
subject and thus require a third-person plural verb.

43:13 Rather: This is the proper meaning of ባሕቱ, not «only/ alone» as in Goldmann,
Hartom, and Berger.

I your servant will remain: The formulation, with a first-person verb, resembles that of
LXX OL EthGen 44:33 (= I will remain as your servant). MT Sam Syriac word the
clause as «let your servant remain». Charles' note (1895, p. 156, n. 40) should be
corrected to indicate that only MTSam Syriac Genesis favor the jussive.

my (master): So MT Sam SyriacGen 44:33; the others lack the suffix or possessive
form.

I took responsibility ... our father: Charles (1895, p. 156, n. 42) wanted to emend this
section with Gen 44:32 to read: ተወክፍ ፡ ገብርh ፡ አያአዚዑ ፡ ለአብ-ን; but he did not follow
his proposal in 1902 when he translated the received text. There is no cause to alter to a
third-person verb and to move ገብርh so that it becomes the subject as it is in Genesis.
Other texts which use the first person in Gen 44:32 are 72' Arab Aethᴾ; the mss. in d read
ἐκ τοῦ παιδός σου rather than παρὰ τοῦ πατρός. The words rendered «from ... our
father» mean more literally: from the hand of ... our father. For «our father» here, see
SyriacGen 44:32.

43:16 to me: Only Vulgate Gen 45:13 (ad me) agrees; the other versions mirror the
הֵנָּה of MT.

father to me and let me see him before I die, while my brother
Benjamin also looks on. 43:17 For this is now the second year of the
famine and there are still five more years without harvest, without fruit
(growing on) trees, and without plowing. 43:18 You and your house-
5 holds come down quickly so that you may not die in the famine. Do
not worry about your property because the Lord sent me first before
you to arrange matters so that many people may remain alive.
43:19 Tell my father that I am still alive. You now see that the Lord
has made me like a father to the pharaoh and to rule in his household
10 and over the entire land of Egypt. 43:20 Tell my father about all my
splendor and all the wealth and splendor which the Lord has given me'.

let me see him ... looks on: These clauses are problematic in several respects. Dillmann
(1851) translated with «dass ich meinen vater sehe, ehe ich sterbe» but declined to render
the last clause (p. 60). Charles (1895, p. 157, n. 9) emended drastically: after ንቢፆ, he read
ወትሬእዩ ፡ ዘይነብብ ፡ አፉየ ፡ ወአዕይንቲሁኒ ፡ ለእኁየ ፡ ብንያም ፡ ይሬእይ («and ye see that it
is my mouth that speaketh, and the eyes of my brother Benjamin see» [1902]). Littmann left
blank everything after «to me» (111, n. a, where he translated the words that he had left
out of the text and expressed some sympathy for Charles' view). There is no significant
difference between the last clause of Charles' reconstruction and Gen 45:12 (only እንዘ is
omitted) on which it is based (Berger's n. b to v 15 should apply to v 16 [530]). The other
parts of his new text Charles also derived from the Genesis passage which says: «And
now your eyes see, and the eyes of my brother Benjamin see, that it is my mouth that
speaks to you». (RSV) The text of Jubilees is suspect because it was Jacob's, not Joseph's,
age that was the problem (see 43:24 where the same words ወእርእዮ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ እሙት
appear on Jacob's lips [= Gen 45:28]). Part of the difficulty has been caused by the
author's rearrangement of the biblical material: in Jubilees Benjamin's eyes are to see the
meeting between Joseph and Jacob; but in Genesis they are to see that it is Joseph who is
speaking. A simpler solution than the large-scale rewording proposed by Charles is to say
that the first-person singular suffix on ንቢፆ led a scribe to place the following two words
in the wrong person. He would have been encouraged in his error by the familiar words of
Gen 45:28 (= Jub 43:24). The original may have read «let him see me before he dies,
while my brother Benjamin also looks on» (literally: the eyes of Benjamin see). This is the
solution favored by Goldmann. Note that ms. 25 reads «we die» rather than «I die».
43:17 now: The word ናሁ (traditionally = behold) reflects the reading of Syriac
EthGen 45:6; the remaining versions read «this» which is also found in this verse of
Jubilees.
are: Compare LXX (λοιπά) OL (reliqui ... erunt) EthGen (ህሉ) 45:6. MT Sam Syriac
lack a verb.
43:18 so that: Most mss. actually read a conjunction (only 12 has ከመ). A literal
rendering would be: and you are not to/ will not die.
so that many people may remain alive: This clause is drawn from Joseph's speech in
Genesis 50 (v 20), while the remainder of v 18 is based on Gen 45:5, 7, 20. Among the
LXX witnesses, only Theodoret adduces these words from Gen 50:20 at this point.
43:19 like: The words ከመ ፡ አንተ resemble the readings of LXX (ώς) OL (sicut)
Gen 45:8. MT Sam use ל, and Syriac EthGenesis omit.

43:21 By personal command of the pharaoh he gave them wagons and provisions for the trip, and he gave all of them colored clothing and silver. 43:22 To their father he sent clothing, silver, and ten donkeys which were carrying grain. Then he sent them away. 43:23 They went up and told their father that Joseph was alive and that   5 he was having grain distributed to all the peoples of the earth and ruling over the entire land of Egypt. 43:24 Their father did not believe (it) because he was disturbed in his thoughts. But after he saw the wagons which Joseph had sent, his spirit revived and he said: 'It is enough for me that Joseph is alive. Let me go down and see him before 10 I die'.

44:1 Israel set out from *Hebron*, from his house, on the first of the third month. He went by way of the well of the oath and offered a sacrifice to the God of his father Isaac on the seventh of this month.

43:21 By personal command of the pharaoh: Literally: by the word of the mouth of the pharaoh. The same wording appears in SyriacGen 45:21, where the other versions have either «word» (LXX OL EthGenesis [they actually use verbs: what was said]) or «mouth» (MT Sam).

silver: In Gen 45:22 only Benjamin receives money.

43:22 grain: The word is found in MT Sam SyriacGen 45:25 but not in LXX OL EthGenesis.

them: So SyriacGen 45:24; in the other ancient versions one finds «his brothers».

43:23 Joseph was alive: Jubilees has a short form of the text of Gen 45:26 in that, with LXX OL EthGenesis, it lacks a word representing עוד, and, with MT Sam Syriac, it does not add ὁ υἱός σου.

43:24 disturbed in his thoughts: Jubilees more nearly resembles the ἐξέστη of LXXGen 45:26 (EthGenesis has ፈርሀ) than the ויפג of MT Sam. Only Syriac Genesis places a preposition (ב) before «his thoughts/ mind»; the remaining versions (LXX also adds «of Jacob») make «thoughts/ mind» the subject of the verb. See Charles, 1895, p. 157, n. 27.

his spirit revived: Literally: his spirit was renewed and he lived. Note the renderings of Dillmann, 1851 («lebte sein geist wieder neu auf») and Littmann («sein Geist gewann neues Leben»). Cf. Gen 45:27 (ותחי).

It is enough for me: Syriac LXX OL EthGen 45:28 read «for me», but MT Sam lack לי. The word ዐቢይ (literally: great) renders רב = μέγα of the versions. See Charles, 1895, p. 157, n. 31; 1902, p. 238, n.

that: It is here assumed that አስመ (the variant እመ [= if] read by Charles, 1895, is supported by ms. 12 alone) reflects Hebrew כי and that the Ethiopic term does not have its normal meaning «because» here. Dillmann (1851) rendered with «dass». Both Goldmann and Hartom have translated with כי.

44:1 *Hebron*: Beginning with Dillmann (1851, p. 72, n. 74; cf. 1859, p. 149, n. 14), all of the translators have noted that the name ኀራን in the mss. must be a mistake for «Hebron» (= ኬብሮን). As support Charles (1902, p. 238, n.) cited Jub 44:6 and Gen 37:14; see also Jub 45:15. The error could have occurred in Hebrew (חברון became חרן), Greek (Χεβρών / Χαρράν), or Ethiopic.

sacrifice: Jubilees uses a singular noun with Syriac LXX EthGen 46:1 while the other versions have plural forms.

44:2 When Jacob remembered the dream that he had seen in Bethel, he
was afraid to go down to Egypt. 44:3 But as he was thinking about
sending word to Joseph that he should come to him and that he would
not go down, he remained there for seven days on the chance that he
5 would see a vision (about) whether he should remain or go down.
44:4 He celebrated the harvest festival — the firstfruits of grain — with
old grain because in all the land of Canaan there was not even a
handful of seed in the land since the famine affected all the animals, the
cattle, the birds, and mankind as well.

10   44:5 On the sixteenth the Lord appeared to him and said to him:
'Jacob, Jacob'. He said: 'Yes'? He said to him: 'I am the God of your
fathers — the God of Abraham and Isaac. Do not be afraid to go down
to Egypt because I will make you into a great nation there. 44:6 I will
go down with you and I will lead you (back). You will be buried in this
15 land, and Joseph will place his hands on your eyes. Do not be afraid;
go down to Egypt'.

         44:7 His sons and grandsons set about loading their father and their
property on the wagons. 44:8 Israel set out from the well of the oath

      44:4 the firstfruits of grain: Charles (1895, p. 158, n. 4) emended ✦ዳዋ኿ which he found
in his mss. to ✦ዳዋ኿. The change is now confirmed by mss. 9 17 20 35 42 47 48 and
perhaps 63.
      in the land: Charles (1902, p. 238, n.) bracketed these seemingly redundant words as a
dittography.
      affected: Literally: was to.
      44:5 Yes: The expression ኈ፞ ፥ ኽ፞ (Charles, 1902: «Here I am») agrees with MT (הנני)
Sam SyriacGen 46:2, not with LXX (τί ἐστιν) OL EthGenesis.
      to him[3]: Only Syriac EthGen 46:3 add this element after «he said».
      the God: With LXX OL EthGen 46:3 Jubilees omits האל which MT (= Sam Syriac)
places before אלהי.
      fathers: LXX OL EthGen 46:3 also read a plural form, but MT Sam Syriac have a
singular noun.
      make you into: Or: establish / constitute you as. Charles (1895, p. 158, n. 11)
maintained that Gen 46:3 supported the reading ኣ፝ልፍኸ (= EthGenesis) which he placed
in his text. This was the only reading available to Dillmann in 1851, and in 1859 he
retained it in his edition (cf. p. 150, n. 6). But if ኣ፞Cዐኸ differs in meaning from אשימך,
the distinction is very fine indeed.
      44:6 I will lead you (back): The verb ዐስ፞ means «to lead». In Gen 46:4 MT uses
אעלך גם עלה and the versions also reflect the idea of «bring up» (that is, returning Jacob
from Egypt to Canaan). OL is an exception; it has perducam which agrees with Ethiopic
Jubilees (DILLMANN [Lexicon, 90] lists perducere as a meaning for ዐስ፞). Charles (1902,
p. 239, n.) argued that the verb here means ἀναβιβάζειν (= LXX) or ἀνάγειν.
      44:7 set about loading: Literally: arose and loaded.
      property: So LXX OL EthGen 46:5; MT Sam have טפם and Syriac offers
ܘܛܦܠܗܘܢ (= children, baggage, belongings).

on the sixteenth day of this third month and went to the territory of
Egypt. 44:9 Israel sent his son Judah in front of him to Joseph to check
the land of Goshen because Joseph had told his brothers to come there
in order to live there so that they would be his neighbors. 44:10 It was
the best (place) in the land of Egypt and (it was) near him for each one   5
and also *all* the cattle.

44:11 These are the names of Jacob's children who went to Egypt

44:8 went: The singular form agrees with LXX OL EthGen 46:6; MT Sam Syriac use
plural verbs.

territory: EthGen 46:6 also reads ብሕሬ in this place; the other versions refer only to
«Egypt».

44:9 his son Judah: The accusative ወልዶ in 9 12 (cf. 17 where the noun is plural) 21
38 39 42 48 58 63 indicates that the word is to be understood with «Judah» which is also
in the accusative case. The form ወልዱ (non-accusative) in 20 25 35 44 shows that it is to
be read with «Joseph» (so Charles, 1895, 1902; Littmann; Hartom; Berger). Gen 46:28
does not add «his son» to either name.

to check: Charles (1895, p. 158, n. 15; cf. 1902, p. 239, n.) suggested that Jubilees'
rendering presupposed לִרְאוֹת in Gen 46:28 where MT uniquely offers לְהוֹרֹת. Sam reads
להראות (= Syriac; cf. וַיֵּרָא in 46:29) which may be the form which underlies LXX's
συναντῆσαι αὐτῷ (= OL EthGenesis). His hypothesis may be correct, but ከመ ፡
ያስተሐይጽ does seem to have a stronger, more specific meaning than לִרְאות.

land of Goshen: LXX OL EthGen 46:28 also supply «land of» while the other
versions lack it. Jubilees does not, however, refer to a city named Ἡρώων there as
LXX OL (cf. EthGenesis) do. In this respect it follows the shorter text of MT Sam Syriac.
The word «Goshen» (ጌሤም) also shows Jubilees' independence from the LXX tradition
which reads Ῥαμεσσή at this point. MT Sam Syriac, like Jubilees, use «Goshen». It
should be added, though, that the spelling ጌሤም reflects that of the word elsewhere in
LXX (Γέσεμ).

his neighbors: This is a literal rendering of the phrase which uses the adjectival form
ቅሩባን. Many mss. substitute ቅሩብ (near) for the adjective, and Dillmann (1859) and
Charles (1895) read it in their editions.

44:10 for each one ... cattle: The last words of the verse present problems. Dillmann
(1851) did not translate this segment of the text, while Littmann rearranged the verse to
read: «Dies aber war [ein] gut[es Land] im Land Ägypten 'für alle und auch für das Vieh'
und nahe bei ihm». He explained that the words which he set in single quotation marks fit
here only, «... falls sie einen Sinn haben sollen». (112, n. a) Hartom follows Littmann's
rearrangement (see 126, n. to v ᵕ). It is very difficult to determine what the best Ethiopic
reading is. The solution offered here can only be tentative, since the text may well be
corrupt. But it is possible that ለለ reproduces αὐτῶν in the phrase τοῖς αὐτῶν κτήνεσιν.
The meaning then would be: their cattle. This, however, is not entirely satisfactory, as the
reading ለለ is found in no more ancient ms. than 39 (though cf. 20). The two earliest
readings for the phrase in question are ወለ ፡ እንስሳ (9; cf. 38) and ወለለ ፡ እንስሳ. One
could regard either ወለ or ወለለ as a corruption of ወኵሉ (= and all [the cattle]). The
later reading ወለለለ would then have to be explained as an attempt to parallel ለኵሉ
which immediately precedes it.

cattle: At the end of the verse, ms. 17 alone adds: and Jacob and all his cattle entered
Egypt — and all his children.

with their father Jacob. 44:12 Reuben, Israel's first-born, and these are
the names of his sons: Enoch, Pallu, Hezron, and Carmi — five;
44:13 Simeon and his sons, and these are the names of his sons:
Jemuel, Jamin, Ohad, Jachin, Zohar, and Shaul, the son of the Phoeni-
cian woman — seven; 44:14 Levi and his sons, and these are the names
of his sons: Gershon, Kohath, and Merari — four; 44:15 Judah and
his sons, and these are the names of his sons: Shelah, Perez, and Zerah
— four; 44:16 Issachar and his sons, and these are the names of his

44:11 with their father Jacob: In Gen 46:8 MT Sam Syriac lack these words, but
many Greek mss., OL^A and PsPho 8:11 add them. For a similar phrase see Exod 1:1.
    In the translation of the list of names, the spellings of the *RSV* have been used. The
differences in the Ethiopic forms are treated in the notes.
    44:12 Reuben: For the spelling with final -*l*, see Syriac EthGen 46:8, 9; Josephus (*Ant.*
II.178) gives 'Ρουβήλου.
    Israel's first-born: «Israel» is the name in lists in Exod 6:14; Num 26:5; 1 Chr 5:3; but
Gen 46:8 has «Jacob».
    Pallu: The final -*s* is found in many LXX mss., OL and Josephus, *Ant.* II.178
(Φαλούς).
    Hezron: In Ethiopic the name ends with -*m* as in many LXX witnesses (Gen 46:9).
    44:13 Ohad: The Ethiopic form is አዎት which is modeled, it appears, on a base
similar to Ἀωδ in LXXGen 46:10 (cf. αωθ in 53'-56).
    Jachin: The Ethiopic spelling has a final -*m* which is paralleled in a number of LXX
witnesses at Gen 46;10; cf. also Iachim in OL^S.
    Zohar: ሰአር resembles Σάαρ in LXXGen 46:10. MT reads צהר.
    Phoenician: This is the reading of the oldest mss., but 20 25 35 44 offer ሲፍነፖት (cf. 42
47). Charles (1895, p. 158, n. 32) emended to ከናዓፖት in line with Gen 46:10. In 1902
(p. 240, n.), however, he followed Rönsch's (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 499) suggestion that
«Sephensäerin» was derived from צפח (Judg 1:17) and that it was the preferred reading.
Therefore he translated as «the Zephathite woman» and would have adopted ms. 25 for
his text. It should be noted, though, that Rönsch knew of the readings of mss. 38 51 alone
and thus could not have been aware that «Phoenician» predominated in the more ancient
copies. Moreover, «Phoenician» is a modernizing touch for «Canaanite» (see Mt 15:22;
Mk 7:26), while readings such as those of 20 25 35 44 involve a simple transposition of *s*
and *fn* in the term.
    44:14 sons: There is no doubt that from a text-critical standpoint አነፀዑ is superior to
ወኡዱ; but there can also be little doubt that ወኡዱ is correct in this list. The reading
«brothers» may owe its existence to the fact that «your/ his/ their brothers» was a fairly
common way of referring to the Levites (see Num 16:10; 18:2, 6; Deut 18:7; 2 Chr 35:15;
Ezra 3:8; 1 QM 13.1; 15.4).
    Gershon: The name is spelled with *d* instead of *r* (MTGen 46:11 has גרשׁון) — a
confusion that probably occurred in Hebrew. The form γεδσων is found in a considerable
number of LXX witnesses.
    Kohath: ቃዓፕ is a form attested in some LXX texts (καασ); MTGen 46:11 reads קהת
and LXX Καάθ.
    44:15 Shelah: ሴሎም reproduces Σηλώμ, the form in LXXGen 46:12, not שׁלה of MT.
    Perez: ፋሬስ agrees in form with Φάρες of LXXGen 46:12; MT has פרם.
    four: Like Josephus (*Ant.* II.178) Jubilees lists Judah's surviving sons, while Gen 46:12
mentions the two deceased brothers as well — Er and Onan. They are later noted in
Jub 44:34.

sons: Tola, Puvah, Iob, and Shimron — five; 44:17 Zebulun and his
sons, and these are the names of his sons: Sered, Elon, and Jahleel
— four; 44:18 These are Jacob's sons and their sons to whom Leah
gave birth for Jacob in Mesopotamia — six and their one sister Dinah.
All of the persons of Leah's sons and their sons who went with their   5
father Jacob to Egypt were 29. And, as their father Jacob was with
them, they were 30.

44:19 The sons of Zilpah, the maid of Jacob's wife Leah, to whom
she gave birth for Jacob were Gad and Asher. 44:20 These are the
names of their sons who went with him into Egypt. Gad's sons: 10
Ziphion, Haggi, Shuni, Ezbon, [Eri], Areli, and Arodi — eight.
44:21 The children of Asher: Imnah, Ishvah, [Ishvi], Beriah, and their

44:16 Puvah: ፉአ reproduces פואה of SamGen 46:13 (= Syriac LXX [Φουά]);
1 Chr 7:1 offers the same spelling. MTGen 46:13 has פוה. See Charles, 1895, p. 159, n. 3;
1902, p. 240, n.; Littmann, 112, n. h.

Iob: ኢያሱብ agrees with the spelling ישוב in SamGen 46:13 (= LXX Ιασούβ);
Num 26:24; 1 Chr 7:1 (qere); MTGen 46:13 reads יוב. Cf. Charles, 1895, p. 159, n. 4;
1902, p. 240, n.; Littmann, 112, n. i; Hartom, 126, n. to v יט.

Shimron: With ሰምሮም compare Josephus, Ant. II.178 (Σαμαρων) and LXX ms. 59
(ζαμεραμ). MTGen 46:13 has שמרן and LXX Ζαμβράμ.

44:17 Sered: The Ethiopic spelling is unique. MTGen 46:14 reads סרד (= LXX).

44:18 Mesopotamia: LXXGen 46:15 gives Μεσοποταμία τῆς Συρίας (= OL
EthGenesis). MT refers to the area as פדן ארם (= Sam Syriac).

their one sister: The versions of Gen 46:15 read «his daughter».

29: As the text says, this number includes only Leah's sons and their sons; thus it
excludes Dinah (who had died by this time). Also, the deceased sons of Judah are not
counted. Gen 46:15 gives 33 as the number; it includes Judah's two sons who had died
and the two sons of Perez (Gen 46:12).

44:20 Ziphion: The spelling ሴፍዮን follows the pattern of the name in MTGen 46:16
(צפיון = Syriac), not that of Sam (צפן) LXX OL (= Num 26:15).

Haggi: Jubilees offers the unique form ኢጋቲ; MTGen 46:16 has חגי and LXX Ἀγγίς.

[Eri]: The mss. lack this name, but the number «eight» at the end of the verse
presupposes that one name has fallen from the text. MTGen 46:16 reads עֵרִי
(= Num 26:16), but Sam has עדי (= Syriac) and LXX gives Ἀηδίς (= OL). The form in
LXX OL is the basis for the name reconstructed here (ዓዲስ). All translators except
Dillmann (though he noted the problem [1851, p. 72, n. 75] and left a blank at this point
in 1859) and Berger (but see 533, n. d. to v 20) have restored a name here. Mss. 44 and 58
add a name at the end of the list.

Areli, and Arodi: Jubilees uniquely transposes these two names. The spelling of ኦሩዲ
reflects the form in MT LXXGen 46:16 (ארודי [= Sam] and Ἀροηδίς (= OL), not ארוד
as in Num 26:17 (=SyriacGen 46:16).

44:21 Ishvah: ይሱአ reproduces the form of the name in LXXGen 46:17 (Ἰεσουά =
OL); MT Sam have ישוה (= Syriac).

[Ishvi]: Another name must have been omitted here where MTGen 46:17 reads ישוי
(note how similar it is to the preceding name). The number at the end of the verse
presupposes one additional name, as does the total in v 22. The restored name has been
patterned on LXX's Ἰεούλ (Charles [1895, p. 159, n. 31] spelled it as ይሱኤ; note that
ms. 44 adds ይሰዕኤ). All of the translators except Dillmann (cf. 1851, p. 72, n. 75) and

one sister Serah — *six*. 44:22 All the persons were 14, and all those of Leah were 44.

44:23 The sons of Rachel who was Jacob's wife were Joseph and Benjamin. 44:24 Before his father came to Egypt children, to whom

5 Asenath — the daughter of Potiphar, the priest of Heliopolis — gave birth for him, were born to Joseph in Egypt: Manasseh and Ephraim — three. 44:25 The sons of Benjamin were: Bela, Becher, Ashbel, Gera, Naaman, Ehi, Rosh, Muppim, Huppim, and Ard — eleven. 44:26 All the persons of Rachel were 14.

10 44:27 The sons of Bilhah, the maid of Jacob's wife Rachel, to whom

Berger have restored a name at this point. Goldmann and Hartom divide the verses differently in this context: both begin v 21 with «Gad's sons» and v 22 with «the children of Asher». They retain the same number of verses (34) in the chapter by combining vv 23 and 24 as v 24.

Serah: Ethiopic ሳራ matches Σάρα of LXXGen 46:17 (= OL); MT spells the name שֶׂרַח (= Sam Syriac).

six: Since one name was lost, the text reads *five*; but 44:22 requires that the number be corrected. The total includes Serah.

44:24 Heliopolis: LXXGen 46:20 gives Ἡλίου πόλεως (= OL) where MT Sam read אֹן (= Syriac).

were born: The plural form of the verb agrees with Syriac LXX OL.EthGen 46:20, though Jubilees does not offer an equivalent for «sons» in this verse as LXX OL EthGenesis do (MT Sam Syriac also omit).

44:25 Becher: The spelling ቦኬር does not agree precisely with the other witnesses, but its consonantal structure reflects MT SamGen 46:21 (בכר; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* II.180: Βάκχαρις), not the metathesized Χόβωρ of LXX (= OL).

Gera: ገኤር may have been formed by transposing consonants two and three of גרא, the form in MT SamGen 46:21 (= Syriac LXX OL) and by reading *r* as *d*. The names አስቤል and ገኤር, in their various spellings, are written as a single word in mss. 21 39 42 47 48.

Ehi: As Charles (1902, p. 241, n.) wrote, this name, with numbers eight and ten in the list, is «... corrupted almost beyond the possibility of recognition». The spelling ኢቦኩር has no near parallels in the ancient versions (MTGen 46:21 has אחי and LXX Ἀγχίς).

Rosh: The form is ሮስ, and it too is unique. MT SamGen 46:21 read ראש, and LXX has Ῥώς(= OL). The Ethiopic spelling resembles that of MT Sam but without the final consonant and with different vowels.

Muppim: Ethiopic ሰኝም also falls into Charles' category of «corrupted almost beyond the possibility of recognition». MT SamGen 46:21 give מפים (= Syriac); LXX has Μαμφίν (OL: Mamfin).

Huppim: ኡፍም resembles Ὀφίμ of LXXGen 46:21 but without the rough breathing mark. MT Sam have חפים (= Syriac).

Ard: ኦርም is the third of the names which Charles considered hopelessly corrupt. MT SamGen 46:21 spell it as ארד, while LXX uses Ἀραδ (= OL) and EthGenesis, which omits almost all of the names in this list, gives ኦሬት. Note that Jubilees does not offer the plus «Gera became the father of Arad» that appears in LXX OL EthGenesis (cf. Num 26:40; 1 Chr 8:3).

44:26 14: So MT Sam SyriacGen 46:22; LXX OL EthGenesis give 18 as the total.

she gave birth for Jacob were Dan and Naphtali. 44:28 These are the
names of their sons who went with them to Egypt. The sons of Dan
were: Hushim, Samon, Asudi, Iyaka, and Salomon — six. 44:29 They
died in Egypt during the year in which they came (there). Only Hushim
was left to Dan. 44:30 These are the names of Naphtali's sons: Jahzeel,   5
Guni, Jezer, Shillem, and Ev. 44:31 Ev, who was born after the years of
the famine, died in Egypt. 44:32 All those of Rachel were 26.

44:33 All the persons of Jacob who entered Egypt were 70 persons.
So all of these sons and grandsons of his were 70, and five who died in
Egypt before they married. They had no children. 44:34 Judah's two   10
sons Er and Onan had died in the land of Canaan. They had no

44:28 Hushim: MT SamGen 46:23 have חשים (= Syriac; the form שוחם in Num 26:42
involves a transposition of the first two consonants and ו is used rather than י); LXX
spells it as Ἀσόμ (= OL) and EthGenesis as ኣሶ (in some mss.).

Samon ... Salomon: The versions of Gen 46:23 (see also Num 26:42) lack these names
and list Hushim alone, although all of them read «sons of Dan». See Charles, 1902,
p. 241, n.; Hartom, 126, n. to vv כח-כט for later references to this anomaly. Jub 44:29
explains that these four died the very year they entered Egypt. Since these names do not
figure in Genesis and therefore are not in the *RSV*, the forms in the translation are
transcriptions of the Ethiopic spellings.

44:30 Naphtali: For spelling with final -m, see PsPho 8:12 (Neptalim) and EthGen
46:24 (ንፍታሌም).

Jahzeel: ኢያጽኤል is also the spelling in LXXGen 46:24 (Ἰασιήλ = OL); MT Sam
have יחצאל (= Syriac). See also Num 26:48; 1 Chr 7:13 (where the spelling יחציאל does
not fully support Charles' contention [1902, p. 241, n.] that Jubilees agrees with it).

Guni: The form ጐኒ is without parallel. MT SamGen 46:24 offer גוני (with Syriac and
Num 26:48; 1 Chr 7:13). LXX reads Γωυνί (OL: Goyni).

Jezer: The Ethiopic spelling ኣሳኤር more nearly reproduces Ἰσσααρ (OL: Iessaar) of
LXXGen 46:24 than יצר of MT Sam and of Num 26:49; 1 Chr 7:13.

Shillem: ሰሉም reflects שלום of SamGen 46:24 (= MT 1 Chr 7:13), not שלם of MT
(= Syriac and Num 26:49). The LXX spelling Συλλήμ (OL: Symeon) differs from all of
these. Cf. Charles, 1895, p. 160, n. 14, though he misinterprets the Syriac.

Ev: This name is not found in Gen 46:24; see Jub 44:31 for an explanation. Only mss.
42 47 add the expected number «six» at the end of the verse.

44:31 years: The word is singular, but ዓመት can be used for the plural as well.

44:33 persons ... persons: መንፈስ means «spirit» and is not the term used elsewhere in
the numerical summaries of this chapter (vv 18, 22, 26, 32 [ነፍስ = literally: soul; but
translated as «persons»]).

70: So MT Sam SyriacGen 46:27 and Josephus, *Ant.* II.176, 183 (he does not include
Jacob). LXX OL EthGenesis have «75» (= Acts 7:14). Dillmann read «75» in 1859 (see
p. 152, n. 9), and Goldmann has followed him.

they married: Though Charles (1895, p. 160, n. 19; 1902, p. 241, n.) read ፈለሱ (= mss.
25 39ᶜ 42 47 48), the name is probably a corruption of የወስቡ.

44:34 Judah's ... had died: Charles (1895, p. 160, n. 20) emended ሞትም to ሞቱ (none
of the more recently identified mss. that were collated for this edition evidences this word),
but the suffixal form is appropriate with the phrase ለይሁዳ which functions as an indirect
object (literally: they died to Judah).

children. The sons of Israel buried those who died, and they were
placed among the 70 nations.

45:1 Israel went into the territory of Egypt, into the land of Goshen,
on the first of the fourth month during the second year of the third
5   week of the forty-fifth jubilee [2172]. 45:2 When Joseph came to meet
his father Jacob in the land of Goshen, he wrapped his arms around his
father's neck and cried. 45:3 Israel said to Joseph: 'Now let me die
after I have seen you. Now may the Lord, the God of Israel, the God
of Abraham, and the God of Isaac — who has not withheld his
10 kindness and his mercy from his servant Jacob — be blessed. 45:4 It is
enough for me that I have seen your face while I am alive, because the
vision that I saw in Bethel was certainly true. May the Lord my God be
blessed forever and ever and may his name be blessed'. 45:5 Joseph and
his brothers ate food and drank wine in front of their father. Jacob was
15 extremely happy because in front of him he saw Joseph eating and
drinking with his brothers. He blessed the creator of all who had
preserved him and preserved his twelve sons for him. 45:6 As a gift
Joseph gave his father and his brothers (the right) to live in the land of

nations: Charles' «Gentile nations» (1902) is redundant.

45:1 went: The singular form of the verb agrees with Sam Syriac Vulgate Gen 46:28;
MT, with the targums, resorts to a plural, while LXX OL EthGenesis omit the entire
clause.

45:2 Jacob: The versions of Gen 46:29, except EthGenesis which also uses ያዕቆብ
(with the septuagintal group *n*), read «Israel».

Goshen: So MT Sam SyriacGen 46:29; LXX offers Ἡρώων πόλιν (= OL; cf. EthGen-
esis).

wrapped his arms around his father's neck: Jubilees uses ሐቀፈ which means «to
embrace» (cf. DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 99), but Gen 46:29 employs the expression ויפל על =
he fell on (EthGenesis has ሐቀጸ). Why, therefore, Dillmann, Littmann, Charles, Gold-
mann (though see his note, p. שזז, n. to v ב), and Hartom translate as «fell on» is puzzling.
Berger correctly renders with «er umarmte den Hals seines Vaters».

45:3 after: MT Sam SyriacGen 46:30 support እምዝ; LXX OL EthGenesis have
«since/ because» = እስመ as in mss. 39 42 47 48 58.

45:4 It is enough: Literally: it is great. See the note to 43:24, and Charles, 1902,
p. 242, n.

while I am alive: Charles (1902, p. 242, n.) placed «I am» between daggers and referred
to Gen 46:30 (כי עודך חי = «that you are still alive» [*RSV*]) in support of his suspicion
that «... our text is probably corrupt; for by changing ana into anta it is brought into line
with Gen. xlvi.30». It is quite possible that such a mistake was made, but there is no
longer any evidence that it did, apart from the biblical text.

45:5 was extremely happy: Literally: rejoiced a very great rejoicing.

45:6 gift: Gen 47:11 reads אחזה = «a possession» (*RSV*).

Goshen and in Ramses: Gen 47:11 lacks the conjunction (as do mss. 17 63) so that
«land of Ramses» stands in apposition to «in the land of Egypt, in the best part of the

Goshen and in Ramses; and (he gave) them all its districts which they
would rule in the pharaoh's presence. Israel and his sons lived in the
land of Goshen, the best part of the land of Egypt. Israel was 130 years
of age when he came into Egypt. 45:7 Joseph provided as much food
for his father, his brothers, and also for their livestock as would be　　5
sufficient for them for the seven years of famine.

45:8 As the land of Egypt suffered from the famine, Joseph gained
the whole land of Egypt for the pharaoh in exchange for food. *He*
acquired the people, their cattle, and everything *for* the pharaoh.
45:9 When the years of the famine were completed, Joseph gave seed　　10
and food to the people who were in the land so that they could sow
seed in the eighth year because the river had overflowed the entire land

land». In Jubilees Goshen and Ramses seem to be separate territories. Where Jubilees
reads «Goshen», Gen 47:11 has «Egypt». For «Ramses» MT offers רעמסס (= Sam
Syriac LXX EthGenesis), whereas OL provides Gesem (Josephus, *Ant.* II.188: Ἡλίου
πόλει).

(he gave) them all its districts: ነተሎ ፡ አጸያቅ,ሃ is in the accusative case and is therefore
to be construed as another object of ወሀበ.

45:7 their livestock: ጥሪት means «possessions», but here it clearly refers to their
animals. For this meaning, see DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 1221. It reproduces Hebrew מקניהם
(so Goldmann and Hartom). At this point, Gen 47:12 refers to «all his father's house-
hold» (*RSV*).

would be sufficient: Charles (1895, p. 161, n.8) wrote regarding በከመ ፡ ይአክሎሙ ፡ «As
Gen. xlvii. 12 has לפי הטף and LXX κατὰ σῶμα, the above seems a corruption of በከመ ፡
አካሎሙ = κατὰ σῶμα αὐτῶν». EthGenesis reads nothing of the sort (ለሰ ፡ ፩ ፡ ነፍሰ), and
there is no compelling reason to accept his suggestion. In 1902 he translated the text as it
stands, though in a note (p. 243) he repeated his argument.

45:8 suffered: MT SamGen 47:13 read וַתֵּלַהּ which means «languish, faint» (the root
is להה [*BDB*, 529]); Syriac has ܘܐܝܠ; and LXX uses ἐξέλιπεν (= OL EthGenesis). The
Ethiopic and Latin verbs in Jubilees offer the different nuance of «suffering».

from: Literally: from before the face of. The idiom mirrors MT Sam (מפני) Syriac-
Gen 47:13; LXX OL have «from» (ἀπό/ a respectively); and EthGenesis uses እም.

He ... for the pharaoh: The Ethiopic text reads (literally): and men and their cattle and
everything the pharaoh acquired. But Latin, which introduces the sentence with· nam
(= for) and lacks an equivalent for «their», understands Joseph to be the subject and
places the royal title in the dative case (pharaoni). Charles (1895, p. 161, n. 16) emended
the Ethiopic to ለፈርዖን and by this simple change brought it into harmony with Latin (so
also in 1902, p. 243, n.; Littmann, 113, n. b; Berger [without note]). Charles' solution has
been adopted here because the Latin supports it and it fits the sense of the passage in
which Joseph is the actor, not the monarch. It is likely that the erroneous Ethiopic text
resulted from the confusing fact that in Greek both the nominative and dative forms of
the Egyptian title are spelled Φαραώ (LXX distinguishes the dative only by the form of
the definite article [τῷ]).

45:9 years: Latin: septem anni. The number is probably an addition (cf. v 10).

the people who were in the land: Latin phrases somewhat differently with populo
terrae.

sow seed: Latin adds terram after the verb. Charles (1895, p. 161, n. 17; 1902, p. 243,

of Egypt. 45:10 For during the seven years of the famine it had irrigated only a few places at the river bank, but now it overflowed. The Egyptians seeded the land, and it yielded good *produce* that year. 45:11 That was the first year of the fourth week of the forty-fifth

n.) inserted ምዕር into his text on the basis of Latin and Gen 47:23. Cf. Jub 45:10 where ዘርእ ... ምዕር appears in the Ethiopic text.

the river had overflowed: Unlike Ethiopic, Latin places the subject before the verb. Ethiopic means (literally): the river had filled; The Latin verb, however, signifies «had gone up».

45:10 famine ..., but now it overflowed: Latin adds non ascenderat et. Ms. 38 alone offers a similar text: እስመ ፡ መልአ ፡ ፈለግ ፡ ወ (mss. 9 12 17 39 42' 47 48 63 also read ወ before the following negated verb; contrary to Charles' assertion [1895, p. 161, n. 20], 25 [= B] does not). From Latin and ms. 38 Charles (ibid.; cf. 1902, p. 243, n.) reconstructed Ethiopic as ዐቅር ፡ ወኢመልአ ፡ ወ ... Littmann (113, n. d), Hartom, and Berger (535, n. a [where he incorrectly adds the negative to the verb of ms. 38 [= D]) have accepted Charles' revised text. The Ethiopic could have lost the clause through parablepsis (ወኢ — ወኢ), but the situation is complicated by the fact that all Ethiopic mss. have a positive version of the missing clause at a later point in this verse (ወየዐብስ ፡ መልአ). Here Latin lacks it. The context in which the clause occurs determines whether it should be negative (at the beginning of the verse) or positive (later in the verse). The variant, then, concerns the location of the clause; it is doubtful that it occurred twice in one verse (only 38, of all the witnesses, evidences such repetition). Where the clause was located originally remains an open question.

irrigated: The Ethiopic verb is transitive as is Latin adaquauerant, but the latter is plural — as though modica loca were the subject and the verb itself passive. One should probably read adaquauerat. Neither Rönsch nor Charles commented upon this problem.

but now it overflowed: Latin, as indicated above, lacks this clause but reads a negative form of it earlier in the verse.

, seeded: After the verb Latin adds in anno octauo. It may be that seminarent terram anno octauo in v 9 influenced a scribe or translator to make the addition here.

the land: Latin adds suam.

it yielded: Latin: collegerunt (= [they] gathered). Charles (1895, p. 161, n. 26; cf. 1902, p. 243, n.) emended ፈርየት to አረፉ = collegerunt. The two Ethiopic verbs are not graphically similar so that confusion between them is unlikely to have occurred. The only other passage in the Latin fragments in which a form of colligo figures is 24:15 where collegit and አዕረገ correspond with one another. Perhaps it is preferable to account for the variant by positing that different forms of the verb καρπόω were present in the Greek version of Jubilees: Ethiopic renders an active and Latin a middle form (= to gather fruit, reap crops).

good *produce*: As it stands, the Ethiopic text means «much good». Here Latin reads a more likely «good produce/ fruit». Mss. 9 20 35 38 39 42 47 48 58 (cf. 12) offer ሰ[ሙ]ናየ rather than ውናየ, but Dillmann (1859) and Charles (1895) understandably adopted the former. Charles (ibid., p. 161, n. 27) suggested that one should perhaps read ፍሬ ፡ ውናየ with Latin. Yet, ብዙኀ should ultimately render a form of רב, a word whose consonants when reversed would be בר = grain, corn. This, in turn, is a possible meaning for καρπός which must underlie fructus. For this reason, the Ethiopic text has been emended. The variant ሰ[ሙ]ናየ may have arisen when a scribe, noting that no name for a crop appeared in his text (that is, it read ብዙኀ ፡ ውናየ), altered the second to ሥናየ. Hence, the original Hebrew would have been בר טוב which was corrupted into רב טוב (= Ethiopic).

45:11 That: Latin: Hic. Latin does not place a conjunction before this term.

fourth: Latin quinti, which is inconsistent with the date in 45:1 (where no Latin is

jubilee [2178]. 45:12 Joseph took the king's fifth of the food which had been sown, and he left *four* parts for them for food and seed. Joseph made it a law for the land of Egypt until today.

preserved), is a mistake for quartae (so RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 84; Charles, 1895, p. 161, n. 2 to Latin). The following quinto probably misled a scribe into writing the wrong ordinal.

45:12 the king's fifth of the food which had been sown: Latin differs in several ways. It transposes «fifth part» and the prepositional phrase «of ...» Where the Ethiopic mss. read ኅብስ(ት) (= food) Latin has omnibus. This led Charles (1895, p. 162, n. 4) to emend the Ethiopic to ኵሉ (note the graphic similarity of the two words — a feature which is present also for the Hebrew equivalents אכל and כל). He may indeed have been correct, although he seems to have withdrawn the change in 1902 (p. 243, n., where he mentioned it as a possibility). The word «all» makes better sense with «which had been sown». This relative clause involves a different verb in the two versions: Ethiopic has (literally) «they had sown» (the indefinite plural has the force of a passive), and Latin gives «had been produced». Littmann (113, n. f) asked whether natum were not a mistake for satum, which is a participle of sero = to sow. His proposal has a good chance of being correct and offers a better sense than Charles' suggestion (1895, p. 162, n. 5) that one read ዘዐጸደ. In fact, in 1902 he rejected his emendation. He translated «(of the corn) of the harvest» and explained: «Zar'û is not a verb here, but zar'e (which here = seges, γεννήματα) with the suffix, which goes back to medr = 'land' in verse 10, just as αὐτῆς after τὰ γεννήματα in LXX of Gen. xlvii.24 goes back to γῆν in the preceding sentence». (ibid.; in the next sentence he reiterated his suggestion of 1895) But this is most unlikely as the Latin reads a verb here and the masculine suffix would not agree with the gender of ምድር (see Jub 45:9-10). Berger (535, n. a to v 12) has advanced a new view: γεννάω, which can refer to giving birth both to children and to «pflanzlicher Frucht», appeared in the Greek text and, through its ambiguity, produced the present variants. One could compare τὰ γεννήματα in Gen 47:24. It is certainly possible that a form of this verb was found in Greek Jubilees at this point, but Littmann's view is at least as likely. Latin also adds an explanatory «in the land of Egypt» which is not paralleled in Ethiopic. Finally, where Ethiopic reads «the king's», Latin has portionem regalem.

left ... for them: Or: allowed ... to them. Latin has «gave them». Possibly נתן stood in the original, since it can mean both «to give» and «to permit» (*BDB*, 679 for the latter sense). The same options would apply for δίδωμι as well.

four parts: Ethiopic reads literally «a fourth part», but Latin quattuor partes must be correct, since this statement summarizes how all of the produce was divided. The king received one-fifth; the remaining four parts were allotted to the people. The evidence of the Ethiopic mss. is more complex than the critical apparatus indicates. The ordinal ራብዕት (-ት) is found in all collated mss. except 17 39 42 47 58 63 which supply the number four — presumably the correct reading. But it is not clear how one is to interpret these numbers because the same mss. (with 21 38) read the number five for the preceding ኃምስት where the cardinal number is clearly incorrect. It is possible, then, that these numerals are used for ordinals in both instances in this verse. For this reason, they are not listed as variants in the critical apparatus. It may be suggested that the ordinal ራብዕት entered the text under the influence of the preceding ኃምስት.

made it: The two verbs �ረሰየ and praepono have the same meaning (see DILLMANN [*Lexicon*, 281] who listed praeponere as one of the senses of this verb [= שׂים in Gen 47:26]). Latin reads hoc instead of the suffixal «it» of Ethiopic, and it adds «for all the Egyptians» — a phrase not found in Gen 47:26.

land: Latin: entire land. Gen 47:26 lacks an equivalent for tota (see Charles, 1895, p. 163, n. 3 to Latin).

45:13 Israel lived for 17 years in the land of Egypt. All of the time
that he lived was three jubilees — 147 years. He died during the fourth
year of the fifth week of the forty-fifth jubilee [2188]. 45:14 Israel
blessed his sons before he died. He told them everything that would
5   happen to them in the land of Egypt; and he informed them (about)
what would happen to them at the end of time. He blessed them and
gave Joseph two shares in the land. 45:15 He slept with his fathers and
was buried near his father Abraham in the double cave in the land of
Canaan — in the grave which he had dug for himself in the double cave
10   in the land of Hebron. 45:16 He gave all his books and the books of

45:13 17 years: With Gen 47:28 Ethiopic reads the word «years» after while Latin
places it before the number.

the time that he lived: Literally: the days that he lived. Latin reads «the years of his life
that he lived». Gen 47:28 employs a double expression: «the days of Jacob, the years of
his life» (RSV). Latin reflects the second (which makes «that he lived» redundant), while
Ethiopic resembles the first. The preposition in which follows uixit seems strange; the
phrasing of facti sunt ... in suggests Hebrew ל ... ויהי (= they became).

three jubilees: Latin tertio iubeleo should be tres iubeleos (RÖNSCH, Das Buch der
Jubiläen, 84; Charles, 1895, p. 163, n. 4 to Latin). It now reads: in the third jubilee.

147: Latin lacks conjunctions between 100/ 40 and between 40/ 7. Gen 47:28 furnishes
the same number of years except in OL (146) and EthGenesis (148 in most mss.).

He died: Latin prefaces deficiens to «he died».

during ... jubilee: Latin gives the same number but typically places the jubilee category
first while Ethiopic characteristically puts it last. As it also does elsewhere, Latin uses a
conjunction before the number, thus suggesting that the date is to be taken with the
following, not the preceding sentence.

45:14 Israel: Since Latin placed et before the date at the end of v 13, it does not repeat
it at the beginning of v 14 where Ethiopic has ወ.

them: Latin omits.

everything: Latin expresses a very similar notion through the word quaecumque
(= whatever). Note the erroneously reduplicated form in the text and see RÖNSCH, Das
Buch der Jubiläen, 84; Charles, 1895, p. 163, n. 8 to Latin.

and he informed ... to them: Latin omits. It reads no conjunction before in nouissimis
diebus and then lacks anything that would correspond with ወከመ — አይድዖሙ. The
missing words, though they express a sentiment which is similar to that of the preceding
clause, are needed because without them the sons of Jacob are located in Egypt during the
last days.

gave Joseph two shares: Latin places ioseph before the verb and reads benedixit where
Ethiopic uses ወሀበ (= dedit). See Gen 48:22 in which נתתי appears but also Gen 48:15-20
where Jacob blesses Joseph's two sons. Here Latin repeats the preceding verb. In addition,
for Ethiopic's «two shares» Latin employs the adverb dupliciter.

45:15 in the double cave in the land of Hebron: Latin: in chebron. Besides omitting
terra before chebron, Latin disagrees with Ethiopic by omitting «in the double cave» — a
clear case of parablepsis (from in to in).

45:16 fathers: Latin: father.

his fathers to his son Levi so that he could preserve them and renew them for his sons until today.

46:1 After the death of Jacob, the children of Israel became numerous in the land of Egypt. They became a populous nation, and all of them were of the same mind so that each one loved the other and each   5 one helped the other. They became numerous and increased very much — even for ten weeks of years [= 70 years] — for all of Joseph's lifetime. 46:2 There was no satan or any evil one throughout all of

renew: Here again Latin reads a future form where traditional grammar would require a subjunctive. RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 84) and Charles (1895, p. 163, n. 10 to Latin) emended to renovaret. Goldmann's translation omits the previous verb (inadvertently, as the conjunction before לחדש shows).

46:1 populous: Latin: magnam. The Ethiopic and Latin words may render different senses of רב (= much, many, great).

all of them: Latin omits. Perhaps the text read uniuersi here, and its similarity with the following unianimes led to its omission.

were of the same mind: Literally: were the same in their heart (Latin: with respect to their hearts).

each one loved the other: Latin uses plural forms (each one loved his brothers) and has singuli where Ethiopic reads አሐዱ.

each one helped the other: Latin employs an imperfect indicative verb whereas Ethiopic reads another subjunctive and repeats ም before it. The verbs mean «helped» and «joined» respectively. RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 161) spoke of «diese auffallende Construction von *se adiungere* mit *cum*» as modeled on a Greek verbal expression such as παρίστημι which, in the middle voice, can mean «beistehen» (see Ethiopic). However, though παρίστημι can mean «to help», it does not signify «to join». Another possibility is that a Latin confusion between forms of adjuvo (to help) and adjungo (to join) has occurred. If there was a confusion of this sort in Latin, the Ethiopic indicates that the form of adjuvo would have been the original Latin reading. The versions also disagree in their ways of expressing «each one ... the other»: Ethiopic (literally) gives «a man with his brother» and Latin (literally) offers «a brother with his neighbor».

even: The Ethiopic mss. overwhelmingly support a conjunction here (only mss. 35 58 omit), but the clause that results hardly fits the context (and ten weeks of years [were] all [in the wrong case] the days of the life of Joseph). Dillmann (1851) did make a clause of these words, but the only ms. to which he then had access added at the end of the verse እለ ፡ ሐይወ ፡ እምድኅረ ፡ አቡሁ (= «die er nach seinem vater lebte» [Goldmann places this clause in brackets]). As no other ms. collated for the present edition reads these words, they are unlikely to be original in the Ethiopic version. Moreover, the same words occur in v 2. Charles (1895, p. 163, n. 29) omitted the conjunction against all of his mss. (see his translation of 1902); Littmann (114, n. a) and Hartom (without note) have followed his lead, while Berger puts «und» in brackets. Rather than omitting a word that is so strongly supported, one should translate ወ as «even». It is regrettable that the first visible letters of 2Q20 belong to the following word.

weeks of years — for all: 2Q20.1 preserves most of the letters of these words (the final two consonants of «weeks of» and of «all» must be restored). For this line, see Baillet, *DJD* 3.79; VANDERKAM, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 88-89.

46:2 throughout all of Joseph's lifetime that: Literally (as in v 1): all the days of

Joseph's lifetime that he lived after his father Jacob because all the
Egyptians were honoring the children of Israel for all of Joseph's
lifetime. 46:3 Joseph died when he was 110 years of age. He had lived
for 17 years in the land of Canaan; for ten years he remained enslaved;
5 he was in prison for three years; and for 80 years he was ruling the
entire land of Egypt under the pharaoh. 46:4 He died and all his
brothers and all of that generation. 46:5 Before he died he ordered the
Israelites to take his bones along at the time when they would leave the
land of Egypt. 46:6 He made them swear about his bones because he
10 knew that the Egyptians would not again bring him out and bury him
on the day in the land of Canaan, since Makamaron, the king of
Canaan, — while he was living in the land of Asur — fought in the
valley with the king of Egypt and killed him there. He pursued the
Egyptians as far as the gates of Ermon. 46:7 He was unable to enter
15 because another new king ruled Egypt. He was stronger than he, so he
returned to the land of Canaan and the gates of Egypt were closed with
no one leaving or entering Egypt.

46:8 Joseph died in the forty-sixth jubilee, in the sixth week, during
its second year [2242]. He was buried in the land of Egypt, and all his
20 brothers died after him. 46:9 Then the king of Egypt went out to fight
with the king of Canaan in the forty-seventh jubilee, in the second

Joseph's life. 2Q20.2 preserves parts of an identical text. See Baillet, *DJD* 3.79; VANDER-
KAM, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 89.
    were honoring: Ethiopic uses an imperfect tense verb, while 2Q20.3 expresses the same
sense of continuous action through the compound נותצים היו. Note that the Hebrew does
not use מכבדים but the verb «to give» and the noun «honor». Baillet (*DJD* 3.79)
reconstructed כב]ודם, but the suffix on ያከብርዎሙ is anticipatory before ለወላዱ and
would not be expressed in Hebrew (cf. VANDERKAM, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 90).
    46:3 110: As 2Q20.4 shows, the Ethiopic phrase «son of + number of years» exactly
reproduces the Hebrew idiom. Gen 50:26 uses the same expression (in MT Sam Syriac).
    17 ... ten ... three ... 80: With these numbers, compare Cod. Athos Koutloumous 178,
11v, ll. 5-7: Ἰωσὴφ ιζ' ἐτῶν ἐπράθη καὶ τριὰ ἔτη ἐποίησεν δοῦλος καὶ γ' ἔτη ἐν τῇ
φυλακῇ καὶ π' πάσης γῆς ἐγύπτου ἄρχων (DENIS, *Fragmenta*, 99). The numbers, which
amount to 103, agree with Jub 46:3 in each case except for the three years when he was a
slave.
    46:6 Ermon: Dillmann (1851, p. 72, n. 78) identified the city as probably being
Ἡρώων πόλις (cf. *Lexicon*, 1417: «oppidum Aeg.»); so also Charles, 1902, p. 246, n.
    46:7 ruled Egypt: Literally: was king for Egypt (mss. 20 25 35 44: in Egypt).
    so ... closed: Berger's translation omits these words without explanation.
    with no one leaving or entering: Literally: and there was no one who was leaving and
there was no one who was entering.
    46:8 He was buried: Literally: they buried him.

week, during its second year [2263]. The Israelites brought out all the
bones of Jacob's sons except Joseph's bones. They buried them in the
field, in the double cave in the mountain. 46:10 Many returned to
Egypt but a few of them remained on the mountain of Hebron. Your
father *Amram* remained with them.   5

46:11 The king of Canaan conquered the king of Egypt and closed
the gates of Egypt. 46:12 He conceived an evil plan against the
Israelites in order to make them suffer. He said to the Egyptians:
46:13 'The nation of the Israelites has now increased and become more
numerous than we are. Come on, let us outwit them before they   10

46:10 *Amram*: The mss. preserve several variant spellings. The name עמרם (Exod
6:18, 20) appears as Αμβραμ in LXX and as አምራም / አም‌ረም in EthExodus. These
Ethiopic spellings strongly resemble those of mss. 21; 35 38. Some of the Ethiopic mss. of
Jubilees exhibit a confusion with «Abram» here. Charles (1902, p. 247, n.) observed that
the spelling *Abram* is found also in Philo (*De Cong. Erud. Gratia* 24) and in an LXX ms.
at Num 26:59.

46:11 conquered the king: In the older and superior mss. (9 17 25 [also in 63]) the verb
lacks a suffix and the object is introduced by the preposition ላ(ላንግሥ). For this usage,
see DILLMANN, *Ethiopic Grammar*, sec. 164.2 (p. 391). Most of the Ethiopic mss. offer ቀአ
(so Dillmann, 1859 and Charles, 1895) which is the expected and less difficult reading.

46:12 He: Latin: rex chanaam, which can hardly be correct, though Berger accepts it
(cf. 539, n. a to v 12). The monarch of Egypt is speaking in v 13 («their mind[s] ... toward
the land of Canaan»). The Latin reading may have been placed in the text when a scribe
or translator assumed that the subject of the preceding verse remained the subject here.
See Charles, 1895, p. 164, n. 14; Goldmann, p. שׁ, n. to v יב; and the note (below) on «He
said to the Egyptians».

against the Israelites: Latin omits, but the context requires the phrase.

He said to the Egyptians: Latin reads an otherwise unattested «and at that time» (i.e.,
it is in neither the Ethiopic mss. nor in Exod 1:9); and it has the Egyptians doing the
speaking, not the king (contrary to Ethiopic and Exod 1:9). The Greek text behind the
Latin probably contained εἶπεν (= Exod 1:9) which could easily have been misread as
εἶπον (see ms. 38) while αἰγύπτοις with little difficulty could have been transformed into
αἴγυπτοι. Another factor which may have encouraged these changes is the subject rex
chanaam at the beginning of the verse: once it had entered the text, these words had to be
altered to make the Egyptians do the speaking. Otherwise, the sequel would have been
most confusing. Cf. Charles, 1895, p. 165, n. 2 to Latin.

46:13 has ... increased: Latin adds ualde.

numerous: LXX EthExod 1:9 read two items (great/ numerous) where MT Sam Syriac
have just one (either «great» or «many»). Jubilees reflects this double reading and lacks
the second adjective of MT (עצום) Sam Syriac which is presented as the third element in
LXX EthExodus.

Come on: Latin adds ergo (= LXXExod 1:10). Note that Jubilees uses a plural form
with Syriac LXX EthExod 1:10 (and the targums); MT Sam have הבה.

let us outwit them: The Ethiopic verb agrees with the versions of Exod 1:10 (MT:
נתחכמה), but Latin offers adfligamus (the same verb was used in 46:12). Charles (1895,
p. 164, n. 17; p. 165, n. 3 to Latin) thought the Latin reading was influenced by Vulgate

multiply. Let us make them suffer in slavery before war comes our way
and they, too, fight against us. Otherwise they will unite with the enemy
and leave our land because their mind(s) and face(s) look) toward the
land of Canaan'. 46:14 He appointed taskmasters over them to make

Exod 1:10 (sapienter opprimamus). Nevertheless, it, too, expresses the notion of wise
(smart/ clever) action through sapienter. All versions of Exod 1:11 have the equivalent of
Latin's verb just a few words later, just as Ethiopic Jubilees does. But there Latin supplies
a different verb (see below). For the plural object, see Syriac LXX EthExod 1:10; MT
Sam have לו.

before: MT SamExod 1:10 have פן (= lest = LXX); but Syriac Exodus ܒܠܚܘܕ and
קדם עד לא in Tjn agree with Jubilees. See Charles, 1895, p. 164, n. 18.

they multiply: The plural form of the verb agrees with Syriac (many LXX witnesses)
EthExod 1:10 (and the targums) against the singular of MT Sam LXX.

make them suffer: A plural object is found in Sam Syriac LXX EthExod 1:11; MT has
a singular suffix on the verb. Latin reads a unique humiliemus. Vulgate Exod 1:11 gives
the expected affligerent. Charles (1895, p. 164, n. 19) wrote: «Lat. *humiliemus* not so good,
though we find the same twofold rendering of this word עָנָּה in Exod (LXX) i.11 κακοῦν
and in i.12 (ταπεινοῦν)». It does appear to be the latter verb that Latin translates.

in slavery: Latin: in operibus ipsorum. Exod 1:11 is the base text, and in it MT reads
סבלתם (= Sam Syriac) but LXX offers τοῖς ἔργοις (EthExodus: በግብር). The Latin
operibus obviously reflects the LXX's reading. The word ipsorum agrees with the suffix in
MT Sam Syriac (= OL) but LXX EthExodus lack an equivalent. Charles (1895, p. 164,
n. 20) preferred the Latin here, but, given the differences among the versions, it is difficult
to decide which reading is superior.

before[2]: Latin is different: ne forte (see the note on «before» earlier in this verse).

war comes our way: Literally: war comes to us. The words «to us» reproduce the suffix
of תקראנו in Sam (= Syriac LXX EthExod 1:10); MT reads תקראנה.

they, too, fight: Latin reads tunc before a future tense verb. Ethiopic lacks an
equivalent, though it repeats ወይትዌሰኩ here, and uses a subjunctive verb.

Otherwise ... the enemy: ወእመ : አኮ means literally: and if not (= otherwise). Latin
omits all of this sentence, but it does read super inimicos nostros which must represent a
remnant of the line. The preposition super does not agree exactly with Ethiopic ምስለ. It
is, however, conditioned by Exod 1:10 where MT Sam give על שנאינו (Vulgate uses
inimicis nostris). This preposition may suggest that Latin read a verb meaning «be
added» here as the versions of Exodus do (Vulgate: addatur). The possessive nostros
reflects the wording of the biblical versions except LXX which, with Ethiopic Jubilees,
omits it (though it does have the definite article). Charles (1895, p. 164, n. 23) emended ፀር
to ፀርነ with Latin and Exod 1:10; his corrected form is now found in mss. 21 39 58. But
LXX shows that a suffix-less form is quite plausible. Since the Latin phrase is part of what
was very likely once a complete sentence, it is preferable not to try translating it in its new
context as Berger did («mehr als unsere Feinde» [539, n. d to v 13]).

and leave our land: Latin lacks the initial conjunction, using a participial construction
instead. The meaning of the verb is in harmony with LXX (ἐξελεύσονται) OL
EthExod 1:10, not with MT Sam (עלה) Syriac. The possessive «our» is attested by many
mss. of LXX and by most of the copies of EthExodus.

land (of Canaan): Note the misspelling tera.

46:14 He: Latin: rex, which is unique. LXX OL EthExod 1:11 read a singular verb,
but MT Sam Syriac resort to a plural form. The LXX tradition could be based on a
confusion of ἐπέστησεν and ἐπέστησαν. See Charles, 1895, p. 164, n. 24.

taskmasters: Ethiopic reads (literally) «chiefs of workers» and Latin «those who carry

them suffer in slavery. They built fortified cities for the pharaoh
— Pithom and Ramses. They built every wall and all the fortifications
which had fallen down in the cities of Egypt. 46:15 They were enslaving
them by force, but however much they would make them suffer the

out actions/ works». Both attempt to render the title in Exod 1:11 (MT: שׂרי מסים; LXX:
ἐπιστάτας τῶν ἔργων). Charles (1895, p. 164, n. 25) emended the readings of mss. 12 25 38
51 to ግባር to reflect operum of Latin and the reading of Exod 1:11. Mss. 48 58 now offer
his emended word. Berger (539, n. b to v 14) suggests that the differences may have
resulted from the two similar words ἔργων and ἐργάτων. It is also noteworthy that
EthExod 1:11 reads ግባር at this point. Though there is a slight difference between the
Ethiopic and Latin versions of Jubilees, they may be translated with the same term.

them (suffer): The plural suffix is also supported by Sam Syriac LXX OL
EthExod 1:11; MT alone opts for a singular form.

in slavery: Latin, as in v 13, has in operibus ipsorum. See the note to v 13. The same
versions of Exod 1:11 support the variants here.

They built: The plural is found in Sam Syriac LXX OL EthExod 1:11; MT again uses
a singular form.

fortified cities: Ethiopic and Latin agree with the interpretation put forth in LXX
(ὀχυράς) OL EthExodus, not with מסכנות of MT Sam (= Syriac). See Charles, 1895,
pp. 164-65, n. 26; 1902, p. 247, n.

Pithom: The most strongly attested Ethiopic spelling mirrors Πειθώ of LXX; phytoni
of Latin resembles SamExod 1:11 (פיתם), though RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 86) and
Charles (1895, p. 165, n. 7 to Latin) altered it to Phytom.

Ramses: Latin adds et oon, a plus which reflects the reading of the LXX tradition at
Exod 1:11: καὶ Ὢν ἥ ἐστιν Ἡλίου πόλις (= OL EthExodus). Rönsch, who devoted a
long note to this reading (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 162-63), saw in the addition, strangely
enough, «... ein Zeugniss für den nichtpalästinensischen Ursprung des Jubiläenbuches»
(162). The fact that it is not found in Ethiopic makes it more likely that the reading is not
original in the book. Rönsch described the double o of oon as «ein archaistisches und
rustikes Bezeichnungsmittel der Vocallänge». (163)

all the fortifications: Latin omits. As Jubilees is amplifying Exodus in this entire last
sentence, once cannot compare the two texts with the biblical versions.

which had fallen down: Latin, which refers only to «every wall», reads qui erat dirutus.
The two versions are rather close (dirutus can mean «overthrown»; the noun ድቀት,
derived from ወድቀ, means «fall, ruin, collapse» [LAMBDIN, Introduction to Classical
Ethiopic, 441]). In fact, Dillmann (in RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 87) rendered the
Ethiopic as qui erat dirutus.

46:15 were enslaving: Latin uses a compound expression: redigerunt (on the form, see
RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 163-64) ... in seruitutem. The past tense of Latin agrees
with the biblical versions (Exod 1:13), although EthExodus, which uses a different verb,
also attests the imperfect.

by force: ግፍዐ is in form an adjective which is used adverbially here. A few late mss.
read the noun ግፍዕ and all of them prefix በ to it (mss. 35 38 58; ms. 12 also has በ). Latin
gives cum ui.

make them suffer: The Ethiopic text reproduces ויענו of MTExod 1:12 (= Sam Syriac
EthExodus), but Latin humiliabant agrees with LXX ἐταπείνουν. See Charles, 1895,
p. 165, n. 32; n. 9 to Latin.

and the more they would increase: These words, found in Exod 1:12, are omitted by
Latin, possibly by parablepsis (and — and). The plural verb here and at ይበዝኁ reflect
Syriac LXX OL EthExod 1:12; MT Sam have singular forms.

more they would multiply and the more they would increase. 46:16 The Egyptians considered the Israelites detestable.

47:1 During the seventh week, in the seventh year, in the forty-seventh jubilee [2303], your father came from the land of Canaan. You were born during the fourth week, in its sixth year, in the forty-eighth jubilee [2330], which was the time of distress for the Israelites. 47:2 The pharaoh, the king of Egypt, had given orders regarding them that they were to throw their sons — every male who was born — into the river. 47:3 They continued throwing (them in) for seven months until the time when you were born. Your mother hid you for three months. Then they told about her. 47:4 She made a box for you, covered it with pitch and asphalt, and put it in the grass at the riverbank. She put you in it

46:16 The Egyptians: So LXX OL EthExod 1:12; the other versions omit.

47:1 During ... jubilee: Latin again puts the jubilee number first; otherwise its date formula differs only in having eius where Ethiopic uses ዓመት, not ዓመተ፡.

your father ... You were born: The Latin scribe temporarily (see v 3) forgot that an angel of the presence was speaking directly to Moses and phrased this section in the third person. RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 86) and Charles (1895, p. 165, nn. 11-12) read tuus for suus and genitus es for genuit.

which was: Latin: hoc est. Mss. 21 35 38 also read a demonstrative pronoun instead of ዘ.

47:2 The pharaoh, the king of Egypt: Latin, with ms. 17, reverses the titles. Exod 1:22 uses only «pharaoh».

every male: Latin reads plural words against the evidence of Exod 1:22. The term «male» agrees with LXX (ἄρσεν) OL EthExodus; MT Sam Syriac have «son».

born: Latin adds illis which recalls the words «to the Hebrews» in Sam LXX OL EthExod 1:22. Ethiopic follows the shorter text form of MT Syriac. See Charles, 1895, p. 165, n. 14 to Latin.

river: MT SamExod 1:22 have יאר, but Syriac LXX EthExodus read «river».

47:3 throwing: Latin prospicientes is an error for proicientes (RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 86; Charles, 1895, p. 165, n. 15 to Latin).

seven months: CEDRENUS, Historiarum Compendium 85.19-22 (DENIS, Fragmenta, 99) claims that Jubilees extended the period for drowning the Hebrew males over ten months, i.e., the seven that are mentioned here and the first three months of Moses' life, during which time his mother hid him. For Cedrenus, these ten months provided the reason why there were ten plagues. See also RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 164; Charles, 1902, p. 248, n.

the time: Literally: the day; but cf. Latin tempus.

47:4 She: Latin adds timens which is not found in Exod 2:3.

box for you: Latin tibin transcribes LXX's θῖβιν (Exod 2:3; see RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 164). Latin lacks «for you»; the similarity between tibi and tibin probably triggered the omission (cf. «for him» in Exod 2:3).

covered: Charles (1895, p. 166, n. 2) emended the Ethiopic of his four mss. to ኣጠነተ፡ which is now attested in mss. 9 39 42 44 48 58 and is the preferred form. DILLMANN (Lexicon, 41), though he listed a verb ኣጠነ, indicated that it was not used (forms of it are read by 12 17ᵗ 21 25 35 47 63). ጸለለ (see 17ᶜ 20 38) means «to cover» (ibid., 1139).

pitch and asphalt: Latin reverses the two terms with Exod 2:3. Note that uitumine should be bitumine (RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 86; Charles, 1895, p. 167, n. 2 to

for seven days. Your mother would come at night and nurse you, and during the day your sister Miriam would protect you from the birds. 47:5 At that time Tarmuth, the pharaoh's daughter, went out to bathe in the river and heard you crying. She told her *slaves* to bring you, so they brought you to her. 47:6 She took you out of the box and pitied you. 47:7 Then your sister said to her: 'Should I go and summon for

<div style="margin-left:2em">

5

Latin). Berger, who considers it meaningless to regard these as two different substances, follows mss. 17 21 38 39 48 in omitting the conjunction between them («Pech von Asphalt»; see 540, n. c to v 4; he is incorrect in attributing this reading to F [= 9] because its text ended in chap. 46).

put it: Syriac LXX EthExod 2:3 supply the pronoun; MT Sam OL do not.

in the grass: Latin omits, but see Exod 2:3 (MT: בסוף).

riverbank: Only LXXExod 2:3 omits a reference to the bank or shore.

and (during): Latin omits the conjunction.

your sister ... you: Latin's order differs: it transposes «your sister» before «Miriam» and places the entire subject before the verb.

47:5 Tarmuth: Latin: termot. The Syriac text which gives the names of the patriarchal wives according to Jubilees spells her name ܬܪܡܘܬܐ. It appears in several other texts, for which see RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 164, 265; Charles, 1902, p. 248, n.; Hartom, 131, n. to vv ה-ו (who refers to a rabbinic view that her name was בתיה [b Meg 13.1; Lev Rab 1.3; cf. 1 Chr 4:18]); and Berger, 540, n. a to v 5.

heard your voice: Literally: heard your voice.

slaves: Most of the Ethiopic mss. read «Hebrew women», while Latin has «slave». The biblical passage that is the source here is Exod 2:5 which agrees with Latin (MT: אמתה — only Syriac Exodus reads a plural form). Dillmann (1851, p. 72, n. 80) already saw that the Ethiopic error arose from a misunderstanding of Greek ἅβραι (LXXExod 2:5 reads τὴν ἅβραν) as the term for «Hebrew women» (= εβραῖαι). His view has been endorsed by Littmann (115, n. c — he referred to ἅβραις — the proper dative plural form); Charles (1895, p. 166, n. 16; 1902, p. 248, n.); Goldmann (p. נשׁ, n. to v ה); and Berger (541, n. c to v 5). The fact that the Hebrews were enslaved may have added to the confusion which the similar words would have caused (see v 7 below).

to bring you, so they brought you to her: The Ethiopic mss. present forms which appear to be third-person masculine singular with second-person masculine singular suffixes. Since female slaves should be the subjects, the forms are unexpected. The only difference between these forms and the feminine plural is the length of the *a*-vowel before the suffixes. Hence, one would have expected ይምጽእክ ፡ ወአምጽእክ. Dillmann (1859) read these verbs with the long *a*-vowel, as did Charles (1895, though see p. 166, nn. 17-18); but in the mss. collated for the present edition (this includes ms. 38, one of Dillmann's texts) the vowels are short (ms. 21 has a masculine plural form for the first verb). There is little doubt, though, that these forms should be understood as feminine plural. Latin continues to use the singular for the first verb but switches to the plural for the second. It also places «to her» after the first verb (Ethiopic reads it after the second) and adds infantem (after adferret sibi) instead of a second-person pronoun as in Ethiopic. Exod 2:5 provides no support for infantem.

47:7 Should ... summon for you: Ethiopic phrases Miriam's speech as a question and uses subjunctive forms; Latin lacks an overt indication that this is a question and employs future indicative verbs (the verb uocauo should be uocabo [RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 88; Charles, 1895, p. 167, n. 3 to Latin]). Exod 2:7 reads as a question in MT Sam (האלך) but the interrogative is indicated in LXX only by punctuation (;). This

</div>

you one of the Hebrew women who will care for and nurse this infant
for you'? [She said to her: 'Go'.] 47:8 She went and summoned your
mother Jochebed. She gave her wages and she took care of you.

47:9 Afterwards, when you had grown up, you were brought to the
5 pharaoh's *daughter* and became her child. Your father *Amram* taught

may explain the formulation of Latin Jubilees. The words si uis that Latin adds agree with
θέλεις which LXXExod 2:7 (= OL EthExodus) gives in place of האלך. See Charles, 1895,
p. 166, n. 20; p. 167, n. 4 to Latin.

one of the Hebrew women: The wording of Ethiopic agrees with Exod 2:7 where MT
reads אשה ... מן העבריות); Latin expresses the same notion with mulierem hebream.

care for and nurse this infant: Latin reads just one verb (nutriat). In Exod 2:7 two
forms of ינק appear: the first is a participle which modifies אשה, while the second is an
indicative form (ותינק). Ethiopic Jubilees seems to echo this repetition. Charles (1895,
p. 166, n. 21) thought the Latin had been influenced by Vulgate's omission here. Also,
Ethiopic follows Exod 2:7 in reading «infant» (Syriac EthExodus add the demonstrative,
as do some Greek witnesses) where Latin uses illum.

[She said to her: 'Go'.]: These words from Exod 2:8 have fallen from the Ethiopic mss.
with the exception of 38 (which lacks «to her»). Latin supplies them, and it is likely that
they are original here. Charles (1895, p. 166, n. 23; cf. 1902, p. 248, n.) read with ms. 38
(though he changed the verb to ተቤላ with Latin), as have Littmann (115, n. d),
Goldmann, Hartom (who makes these words the beginning of v 8), and Berger. It should
be added, nevertheless, that the Ethiopic mss. preserve the verb but place it in the past
tense and locate it at the beginning of v 8 where Latin lacks it. Exod 2:8 reads both the
imperative and the indicative forms; this may suggest that originally Jubilees, too,
contained both and that each version is haplographic: Ethiopic omitted the first instance
and Latin the second (in v 8).

47:8 She went: Latin omits (see the previous note).

your mother Jochebed: Latin inserts suam et which is not present in Exod 2:8. For the
name of Moses' mother, see Exod 6:20; Num 26:59.

gave her: Latin: dedit illi mulieri.

wages: See Exod 2:9 (שכרך; note the suffix on the noun in many Ethiopic mss.). At this
point the Latin becomes illegible. RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 88, 165) restored the
text as mer[cedem eius, educ]ar[e te. He maintained that educare in «Vulgärlatein» had
the sense «säugen». Charles (1895, p. 167) offered only (educ)ar(e te, which more nearly
fits the space. A difficulty for both of these suggestions is that Ceriani read *l* after
mercedem.

took care of: Or: nursed.

47:9 you were brought: Literally: they brought you (indefinite plural). Exod 2:10 has
«she brought him».

daughter: The Ethiopic mss. read ቤት (= house); the Latin text is illegible. Charles
(1895, p. 166, n. 27; cf. p. 167, n. 6 to Latin [there is no Latin here so that he has not, as
he asserted, «emended from domum»]) argued that «the Greek translator read לבית
instead of לבת, which the context requires». As he noted, Exod 2:10 supports the change.
Since the sequel speaks of Moses' becoming her son, the emendation is highly likely. See
also Littmann, 115, n. f; Charles, 1902, p. 249, n.; Goldmann, p. שח, n. to v ט; and
Hartom, who translates as לבת without explaining the problem.

her child: Cf. Exod 2:10: ויהי לה לבן. The Ethiopic mss. offer several variants here, and
there is no Latin. The form ወልዳ, which appears to be a noun with suffix meaning «her
sons/ children», is actually the passive participial form (DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 886) which
means «natus, filius». Mss. 12 17 evidence this form, while ወልደ in 25 39 is probably a

you (the art of) writing. After you had completed three weeks [=
21 years], he brought you into the royal court. 47:10 You remained in
the court for three weeks of years [= 21 years] until the time when you
went from the royal court and saw the Egyptian beating your compan-
ion who was one of the Israelites. You killed him and hid him in the   5
sand. 47:11 On the next day you found two of the Israelites fighting.
You said to the one who was acting unjustly: 'Why are you beating
your brother'? 47:12 He became angry and indignant and said: 'Who
appointed you as ruler and judge over us? Do you want to kill me as

misspelling of it (cf. ው·ስ·ዶ in 21 48). The forms ወልዷ, ወልዶ, ወልዱ, and ወልዟ are, it
seems clear, later scribal corrections of the relatively rare passive participle.

Amram: The spelling ዕብራ·ን is curious. The forms in mss. 21 and 38ᶜ are more normal
representations of the name in Ethiopic (cf. Exod 6:18, 20).

After: Latin: quando. Both may be interpretations of the meaning of a Greek
participle. Dillmann (1859, p. 157, n. 13) emended the readings of his two mss. to ኣማ·ዘ
which now appears in the earliest mss. and is the preferred form.

he brought: The Latin ms., though its text is broken here, preserves -erunt which
indicates that its verb was plural. Among the Ethiopic mss., only 12 offers a plural form.

47:10 You remained: Latin: era*s* ex. RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 88) restored
ex[inde illic tempore]; but these words have no basis in the Ethiopic and would occupy
more space than the gap allows. Perhaps ex[sistens in a]trium should be read.

your companion who was one of the Israelites: Latin: your brother. That is, it omits
the relative clause which is also supported by Syriac LXX OL EthExod 2:11. The words
fratrem tuum and ኅልእ are two attempts at rendering what MTExod 2:11 expresses as
אישׁ עברי מאחיו (אחיו was translated as a singular noun in some Greek witnesses).

killed: ቀተል agrees literally with Syriac EthExod 2:12 (= Tfn); Latin percussisti
renders ויך of MT Sam (= LXX Toj) exactly, although הכה can mean «kill» (*BDB*, 646).

hid him: Latin cooperuisti means «cover, bury», while ኀብእ means «hide». Exod 2:12
uses ויטמנהו which is closer to the Ethiopic nuance (LXX: ἔκρυψεν αὐτόν). The Latin text
places et fodisti in terram before this verb; it has no parallel in Exod 2:12 or in the
Ethiopic mss.

47:11 you found: Among the versions of Exod 2:13. only the Ethiopic attests this
verbal notion (ረከብ), although Syriac LXX OL have verbs of seeing. Latin Jubilees also
has «found», and this entails that the corresponding verb appeared in Greek Jubilees.

acting unjustly: Exod 2:13 supports Ethiopic (MT: רשׁע), but Latin reuses the verb of
the preceding verse (percutiebat; it also figures in Moses' question) and it adds proximum
suum which is absent from Exod 2:13, though LXX reads πλησίον at the end of the verse
where MT has רעך (compare Acts 7:27 where τὸν πλησίον appears in a similar context).

47:12 angry and indignant: Latin phrases slightly differently: iratus est in indigna-
tione.

ruler: መልእ may be so translated (DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 48). Where MTExod 2:14
uses שׂר, EthExodus has መልእ. The reading «König» in Berger can hardly be correct, as
only ms. 17 supports it and it is obviously an error for መልእ.

and (judge): Latin reads aut (= or).

over us: Most Ethiopic mss. use the prepositional phrase ላዕለ·ን after the verb and
before the two titles; mss; mss. 12 17 42 47 place it between the titles; and 20 44; 38 put it
after them, as do Latin and Exod 2:14.

you killed the Egyptian'? Then you were afraid and ran away because of this matter.

48:1 During the sixth year of the third week of the forty-ninth jubilee [2372], you went and lived there for five weeks and one year [= 36 years]. Then you returned to Egypt in the second week, during the second year in the fiftieth jubilee [2410]. 48:2 You know who spoke to you at Mt. Sinai and what the prince of Mastema wanted to do to you while you were returning to Egypt — on the way at the shady fir tree.

want: MTExod 2:14 reads אמר (participle = Sam Syriac) but LXX OL EthExodus and Acts 7:28 read «want». *BDB* (p. 56) suggest «thinkest thou» for אמר in this verse.

killed: Latin adds hesterna (= yesterday) as do mss. 12 38. They follow the tradition of Syriac LXX OL EthExod 2:14 (= Acts 7:28), while most of the Ethiopic mss. of Jubilees agree with the shorter text of MT Sam which omit the word.

matter: Or: word/ saying. Cf. Charles, 1902: «these words». The few legible letters of Latin nearly agree with the Ethiopic which, if rendered into Latin, would read: et timuisti et fugisti propter sermonem hunc (Charles, 1895, p. 167; cf. Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 88). See also Acts 7:29.

48:1 During ... jubilee: Latin gives the same date, but here too it moves the jubilee statement to first position.

there: Latin: in terram mad ... Exod 2:15 reads «land of Midian» here, and this fact, coupled with the Latin reading, led Charles (1895, p. 167, n. 48; 1902, p. 249, n.) to emend to ውስተ ፡ ምድረ ፡ ምድያም. Littmann (115, n. h) thought that Charles was probably correct; and Hartom has simply reproduced the Latin without comment. Berger (542, n. a to v 1), however, seems to oppose Charles' view (he translates with «dort»). He writes: «Lat. liebt solche Verdeutlichungen». It could indeed be argued that Ethiopic, with its bland «there» is more likely to be original in this context in which the writer is quickly summarizing a fairly large amount of biblical material. The Latin, then, would be an explanatory replacement which was inserted into the text under the influence of Exod 2:15.

Then ... jubilee: Latin again gives virtually the same text, but it reverses the positions of «you returned to Egypt» (both versions omit «land of» with Syriac LXX OLExod 4:20) and «in the fiftieth jubilee». Ethiopic reads (literally) «in that fiftieth jubilee», but it is here assumed that ውእቱ represents a Greek definite article. Latin adds ipsius after secundo, but Ethiopic lacks an equivalent.

48:2 You: Latin adds ipse.

who: RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 88) and Charles (1895, p. 169, n. 2 to Latin) emended qui to quid. But «who» rather than «what» is an acceptable reading in the context, though all of the translators have opposed Latin and preferred «what».

at: Latin reads sub, which can mean «at» in addition to its more common meaning «under». Ethiopic has በ. The Latin could be translated literally to indicate that the burning bush was located at the foot of, not on, Mt. Sinai.

at the shady fir tree: The Ethiopic text has posed a problem that has proved insoluble for editors and translators until recently. The incident under discussion is the encounter (Exod 4:24-26) between Moses and a supernatural being (Yahweh in MT Sam Syriac Exod 4:24; angel of the Lord in the LXX tradition; the prince of Mastema in Jubilees). The Latin text of Jubilees is clear: in qua praeteristi eum in refectione. In it the «inn» of Exod 4:24 is mentioned (for refectione, see RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 165 = κατάλυμα, the term in LXX for MT's מלון). The strange Ethiopic readings have inspired

48:3 Did he not wish with all his strength to kill you and to save the
Egyptians from your power because he saw that you were sent to carry
out punishment and revenge on the Egyptians? 48:4 I rescued you from
his power. You performed the signs and miracles *which* you were sent
to perform in Egypt against the pharaoh, all his house, his servants,   5

various proposals. Dillmann (1851) had access only to the reading of ms. 51 (በዓለ ፡
ምጽላ) and translated «an dem hüttenfest» (nothing in the text corresponds with «an»).
In 1859 he read the same words, though he could consult ms. 38 by that time (see p. 158,
n. 5). Charles (1895, p. 168, n. 8) emended «provisionally from the hopelessly corrupt
text» to ትትቄበው ፡ በምጽላ = «when thou didst meet him at the lodging place» (1902;
see p. 250, n.). The obvious objections to his proposals, besides the fact that they are
emendations, are that there is no textual basis for «when» and that ምጽላ does not mean
«lodging place» but «locus umbrosus; umbraculum, tabernaculum» (DILLMANN, *Lexicon*,
1257). Littmann left the passage blank in his translation (cf. p. 115, n. i); Goldmann
rendered with «when you were in the tent (בהיותך ב[סכה; see p. שׁ, n. to v ב); and
Hartom, without reporting that he was translating neither Latin nor Ethiopic, used בבואך
למלון. Berger, however, has now solved the problem of what በላተ might be by
explaining it as the Greek loan word ἐλάτη = Tanne (542, n. c to v 2). He adds that
κατάλυμα of Exod 4:24 was interpreted as «Baumschattens». He translates as «bei der
Tanne am schattigen Ort». Both Rabin and Wintermute have followed Latin here, but the
former observes (p. 132, n. 2) that the Ethiopic could mean «on the way, at Elath, in the
lodging place». However, as noted above, there is no word for lodging place in the text;
moreover, the Ethiopic spellings resemble «Elath» only remotely. The translation given
here follows Berger's suggestion, but to it one might add that if ἐλάτη lies behind ኣላተ, it
may be that the original Hebrew of Jubilees read, not במלון, but באלון. See Ezek 27:5 (6)
where ἐλάτινος renders אלון. The Latin version would then have to be regarded as a
revision of the original toward the biblical text.

48:3 and to save: Latin: ut eruerent. The combination te ut could have occasioned loss
of et between these words, or ut could be an error for et. Both RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der
Jubiläen*, 88) and Charles (1895, p. 169, n. 3 to Latin) have altered the plural eruerent to
erueret (= Ethiopic).

power: Literally: hand.

because: Though ኣመ (= when) has very strong ms. support and Dillmann (1859 — it
is in both of his mss.) and Charles (1895) read it, Latin quia shows that mss. 20 25 35 have
the preferred reading.

revenge: Latin expresses this idea with a verb and cognate accusative.

48:4 power: Literally: hand.

which: The Ethiopic mss. read either በሕ (in which) or ላሕ (to which/ for which), but
neither phrase fits very smoothly in the context. Latin uses quaecumque (which[ever]).
Dillmann and Charles accepted ላሕ and translated with «die» (Dillmann, 1851) and
«which» (Charles, 1902). These renderings, which are supported by Littmann, Goldmann,
and Hartom, fail, however, to express the force of the preposition. Berger gives «wegen
derer». One possibility is that በሕ is a mistake for በሕ which has the force of an indefinite
pronoun (DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 481). It could be doing double duty here as an indefinite
relative pronoun.

in Egypt: Latin adds et, which indicates either that Moses performed the miracles
against Egypt (thus making them the first in a list of four audiences against which the
plagues were sent), or it has an explicative meaning (= even against) so that it clarifies
what is intended by «in Egypt». Cf. Exodus 8:21 (v 17 in Hebrew) where ב precedes the

and his nation. 48:5 The Lord effected a great revenge against them on account of Israel. He struck them and killed them with blood, frogs, gnats, dog flies, bad sores which break out in blisters; (and he struck) their cattle with death; and with hailstones — with these he annihilated
5 everything that was growing for them; with locusts which ate whatever

names for the groups that were struck by a plague. Ethiopic, which lacks this conjunction, uses ጠ before «Egypt» but አስ before the following groups.

his servants: Latin omits. As Charles (1895, p. 168, n. 14) indicated, Exod 8:11 (Hebrew v 7), 21 (Hebrew v 17) include servants in the list. If a word such as domesticos had been used in Latin, it would explain what caused the omission: a scribe overlooked the phrase because of its similarity with what precedes (et in omnem domum et in [omnes? see ms. 21] domesticos).

his nation: Latin, with ms. 21, places «all» before «nation».

48:5 The Lord: Latin: deus.

revenge: For defensio in this sense, see RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 144.

against them: Latin reads in pa ... which RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 90) completed as in pa[lam] = ἐν τῷ φανερῷ. But this would not agree with the Ethiopic. Charles (1895, p. 169, n. 4 to Latin) suggested in eos which reproduces the Ethiopic but does not fit the traces of letters in the Latin ms. Latin may have differed with Ethiopic here.

He struck: Latin percus should be completed as percussit (RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 90; Charles, 1895, p. 169).

and killed them: Latin omits. Charles (1895, p. 168, n. 15) dropped these words from his Ethiopic text because he considered them a gloss (he did not translate them in 1902); most translators have agreed with him (Littmann [115, n. k]; Goldmann who rendered with וכם and charged that the translator chose the wrong sense of this Hebrew verb which means «to strike» and «to kill» [p. שׁ, n. to v ח]; and Hartom). Berger, however, retains the text and argues that it is no gloss since people were not only struck but also killed by the plagues (he compares Revelation 6-9, especially 9:18 [543, n. b to v 5]). Though not all of the plagues led to death, some did. Moreover, there is insufficient textual warrant for dismissing this clause which Latin may have lost through parablepsis (eos — eos).

gnats: The word scynifis (= cinifis) refers to some sort of stinging insect (Greek σκνῖπες). See RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 168.

which break out in blisters: The Latin text is broken, but it gives a singular pronoun (quod) followed by the plural verb erant. RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 90) restored the text as quod erant [accipientes a facie] venti (an emendation of uento). He explained (167) that *wind* here refers to the fact that Moses, for this plague, took ashes and threw them heavenward. The wind then presumably spread the fine dust over all of Egypt, and the dust produced the sores that broke out in boils or blisters (Exod 9:8-12; cf. also Berger, 543, n. d to v 5). If that is the case, the two versions differ sharply at this point. Charles (1895, p. 169, n. 7 to Latin) restored (vesicae efflorescentes) which renders the Ethiopic but does not match the legible letters, whereas Rönsch's proposals fit neither the traces of letters nor their locations. It may be that uento is the end of a word rather than an entire word.

their cattle with death: Latin reverses the order by reading in morte first.

with these: Latin omits these seemingly superfluous words.

that was growing for them: Latin nascentia eorum. It is likely that the same Greek text lay behind these readings. Berger (543, n. h to v 5) suggests that the ambiguity of γεννάω produced the renderings «growing» of Ethiopic and (literally) «things born» of Latin.

was left for them from the hail; with darkness; (and with the death of) their first-born of men and cattle. The Lord took revenge on all their gods and burned them up. 48:6 Everything was sent through you, before it was done, so that you should do (it). You were speaking with the king of Egypt and in front of all his servants and his people. 5 48:7 Everything happened by your word. Ten great and severe punishments came to the land of Egypt so that you could take revenge on it for Israel. 48:8 The Lord did everything for the sake of Israel and in accord with his covenant which he made with Abraham to take revenge on them just as they were enslaving them with force. 48:9 The 10 prince of Mastema would stand up against you and wish to make you fall into the pharaoh's power. He would help the Egyptian magicians and they would oppose (you) and perform in front of you. 48:10 We

with locusts which ate: Latin: lucusta (= locusta — a feminine singular noun) comedit. That is, it uses neither a preposition before lucusta nor a relative pronoun after it.

whatever was left for them: Literally: the remainder which was left for them. Latin phrases more succinctly (quae derelicta sunt — a plural expression) and lacks an equivalent for «for them».

(and with the death of) their first-born: RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 90) inserted (et in morte) into the text because the genitive form of primitiuorum presupposes a preceding noun. Charles (1895, p. 168, n. 27; p. 169, n. 8 to Latin; 1902, p. 150, n.) did the same (as has Hartom) and thought that a lacuna was found here in the Greek version. Littmann (115. n. 1) preferred another of Charles' suggestions, viz., reading n before nh̄ʿመ· (so Goldmann). Berger (543, n. j to v 5), though, thinks that an addition such as «with the death of» was presupposed by the author who is merely summarizing a list that he assumes his readers know. This may be the case, but the Latin genitive does hint that something is missing.

all their gods: Latin: all the gods of the Egyptians.

48:6 through you: Literally: in/ by your hand.

before it was done, so that you should do (it): The text is not especially clear. Charles (1902, p. 251, n.) emended ትግnር (you should do) to ትንግር (= you should say/ tell) and pointed to 49:22 where, in the Ethiopic mss., one finds either ትንግርመ· or ትግnር. It must be granted that these verbs could be confused and that reading ትንግር here would yield a smooth statement: so that you should tell (it) before it was done. That is, Moses would announce the plagues before they occurred (cf. also Hartom, 133, n. to v ፤). Littmann (116, n. a) left the words «before it was done» out of his translation, but Berger renders with «bevor es getan wurde, damit du es tätest». He explains (544, n. a to v 6) that the before-clause may have been worded πρὸ τοῦ ποιηθῆναι and that it was to be related, not to the purpose clause, but to the first part of the sentence («sent through you»). This option has been followed here, and it requires no emendation.

48:9 power: Literally: hand.

oppose (you) and perform in front of you: The verb ይትቃመመ· means «to rise against» with the opponent often introduced by ቅድመ (see ይትቀመመh: [variant ይትቃመመh] ቅድምh at the beginning of the verse). Possibly በቅድምh at the end of the verse has the same function, but, since the words መይገብፉ intervene, the verb has been translated «oppose (you)». On the verb, see DILLMANN, Lexicon, 453-54.

permitted them to do evil things, but we would not allow healings to be performed by them. 48:11 When the Lord struck them with bad sores, they were unable to oppose (you) because we deprived them of (their ability) to perform a single sign. 48:12 Despite all the signs and
5   miracles, the prince of Mastema was not put to shame until he gained strength and cried out to the Egyptians to pursue you with all the Egyptian army — with their chariots, their horses — and with all the throng of the Egyptian people.

48:13 I stood between you, the Egyptians, and the Israelites. We
10   rescued the Israelites from his power and from the power of the people. The Lord brought them out through the middle of the sea as if on dry ground. 48:14 All of the people whom he brought out to pursue the Israelites the Lord our God threw into the sea — to the depths of the abyss — in place of the Israelites, just as the Egyptians had thrown

48:10 evil things ... healings: The particles -ኬ and -ስ function like Greek μέν ... δέ. See DILLMANN, Lexicon, 811.

allow ... by them: Literally: allow them that healings should be done by their hands.

48:11 we deprived them of (their ability) to perform: Literally: we destroyed them from doing. DILLMANN (Lexicon, 19) lists «defraudare, evertere, circumvertere» as possible meanings for the causative ኣአጕስ. Note Berger's rendering: «wir machten sie machtlos» (cf. 544, n. b to v 11).

48:12 not (put to shame): In 1895 (p. 169, n. 11) Charles omitted the negative which appears in all the mss. «as it conflicts with the sense». Littmann (116, n. b) and Berger (544, n. a to v 12) have rightly rejected his omission, and Charles himself (1902, p. 251, n.) included «not» in his later translation. Nevertheless, Goldmann, without note, fails to represent the negative in his Hebrew rendering.

until he gained strength: Or: until he took courage. Charles (1902, p. 251, n.), once he had recognized that the negative belonged in this sentence (see the previous note), decided that the problem lay with «until» (= עד אשר) which should have been «because» (על אשר). But he misunderstood the meaning of the line which is saying that the prince of Mastema was finally shamed when the disastrous pursuit by the Egyptians took place — the pursuit which is described in the following verses.

the Egyptian army: Though the two oldest of the preserved mss. for this passage (12 17) read ለግብጽ, only 38 44 support them, while the others omit ለ. If ግብጽ alone were the correct reading, however, it would have to be the subject of ይዴግኑ which would be rather repetitive after the previous ለግብጽ (to the Egyptians that the Egyptians pursue) and ግብጽ would be in a strange location.

48:13 between you, the Egyptians, and the Israelites: Charles (1895, p. 169, n. 16; 1902, pp. 251-52, n.) omitted ማእከሎ, although all of his mss. supported it (either after the verb [12 25] or with ወ after ለግብጽ). Littmann also (116, n. c) found too many «between» phrases and regarded either «between you» or «between Israel» as a gloss — probably the latter. Hartom omits ማእከሎ without reporting its presence in the mss., but Berger retains it: «Vielmehr wird so die umfassende Wirksamkeit des Engels für die Vermittlung jeglichen Geschehens zum Ausdruck gebracht». (545, n. a to v 13)

48:14 in place of: This is the translation of Dillmann (1851), Littmann, and Berger. Charles (1902) rendered with «beneath» — a possible translation of ታሕተ(ሆሙ) but not a very likely one in this context where a connection is made between the numbers of

their sons into the river. He took revenge on 1,000,000 of them. 1000 men (who were) strong and also *very* brave perished for one infant of your people whom they had thrown into the river.

48:15 On the fourteenth day, the fifteenth, the sixteenth, the seventeenth, and the eighteenth the prince of Mastema was bound and 5 locked up behind the Israelites so that he could not accuse them. 48:16 On the nineteenth day we released them so that they could help the Egyptians and pursue the Israelites. 48:17 He stiffened their resolve and made them stubborn. They were made stubborn by the Lord our God so that he could strike the Egyptians and throw them into the sea. 10 48:18 On the fourteenth day we bound him so that he could not accuse the Israelites on the day when they were requesting utensils and

Hebrew boys drowned in the river and Egyptian soldiers who drowned in the sea. The same association is preserved in CEDRENUS, *Historiarum Compendium* (note: ὃν τρόπον; DENIS, *Fragmenta*, 101).

1000 men (who were) strong and also *very* brave: It seems likely that only one unit of 1000 men is here intended, though a conjunction intervenes between ኀያላን and � (only ms. 12 omits ወ). In Cedrenus one finds χιλίων ἀνδρῶν ἀποπνιγέντων ἰσχυρῶν Αἰγυπτίων, that is, only the equivalent of ኀያላን figures in his version. Dillmann (1851) left a blank where ወኀያ5 stands, while Littmann, Charles, and Goldmann translated as though the ወኀ5 clause was the equivalent of another adjective that modifies ዕደው (cf. Hartom: גבורים ואמיצים). Berger translates literally. The Littmann-Charles-Goldmann approach seems the best, and it offers excellent sense (something that a literal translation fails to do). The word ሥላሰት (12 21 38 omit) should be understood with Berger (545, n. c to v 14) as a «Fehlübersetzung von τρισ-» (a prefix which intensifies the adjective that follows). It is here rendered *very*. His other suggestion that ሥላሰት represents γ[ε] is less likely.

48:16 we released them: Dillmann (1859) and Charles (1895) read a plural suffix, but Littmann translated with a singular pronoun («ihn» [= Dillmann, 1851]). Goldmann (p. ኛ, n. o to v ዘ) declared the Ethiopic plural an error; and Hartom, without note, used a singular pronoun both employed the form ፈታሕናሁ. But Berger properly notes that the demons are meant by the plural (545, n. a to v 16). The singular pronominal suffix is very poorly attested (42ᶜ 58) for this verb, and the plural form of the next verb (ይረድእዎሙ) is also overwhelmingly supported.

48:17 He stiffened their resolve: Traditionally: he hardened their hearts.

They were made stubborn: For this translation, see DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 608: «obfirmari» (where he cited this passage). There are several variants among the mss. They were occasioned in part by the similarlity between ጸንዐ and ዐነፀ; but forms of the latter are found only in 12; 20 25 (Charles, 1902: «the device was devised»). The remainder have forms of ጸንዐ, with 17 21 35 58 reading the plural which is here adopted as the preferred reading (see Berger, 545, n. b to v 17).

48:18 fourteenth: «Seventeenth» (so Littmann) also has strong backing among the mss., but it is a corruption of «fourteenth» (ሰብዐ for ዐርባ). Two mss. give «fifteenth» — a reading accepted by Dillmann (1851) and Goldmann. For a discussion of the date, see Charles, 1902, p. 252, n.; Hartom, 134, n. to v ዝ; and Berger, 545-46, n. a to v 18. «Seventeenth» cannot be correct because the plundering of the Egyptians transpired before the exodus itself which apparently took place on the fifteenth.

they were made to work when: Dillmann (1859) and Charles (1895) read ትቄንዮ — an

clothing from the Egyptians — utensils of silver, utensils of gold, and utensils of bronze; and so that they could plunder the Egyptians in return for the fact that they were made to work when they enslaved them by force. 48:19 We did not bring the Israelites out of Egypt
5   empty-handed.

49:1 Remember the commandments which the Lord gave you regarding the passover so that you may celebrate it at its time on the fourteenth of the first month, that you may sacrifice it before evening, and so that they may eat it at night on the evening of the fifteenth from
10   the time of sunset. 49:2 For on this night — it was the beginning of the festival and the beginning of joy — you were eating the passover in Egypt when all the forces of Mastema were sent to kill every first-born in the land of Egypt — from the pharaoh's first-born to the first-born of the captive slave-girl at the millstone and to the cattle as well.
15   49:3 This is that which the Lord gave them: into each house on whose door they saw the blood of a year-old lamb, they were not to enter that house to kill but were to pass over (it) in order to save all who were in

infinitive (Charles, 1902: «the bondage»); but this form is attested only in later mss., while all of the earlier ones (except 17 which omits) have ተቀንዩ (= they were made to work). This is the reading of ms. 25 which Charles represented incorrectly as ተቀንዩ in 1895, p. 170, n. 31. If this finite form is read, it leaves አንተ without a noun to modify. In the translation given here Dillmann's (1851) «dieweil» is followed.

48:19 We did not bring: The earliest and best mss. (except 21 35) omit the negative and read አውፃእናሆሙ. The first consonant, which is normal in the non-negated perfect, may be corrupt for the negative አ.

49:2 you were eating: Literally: you were remaining/ sitting eating.

when all: Literally: and all.

kill: MTExod 12:29 uses הכה (the Lord is the subject) and Sam LXX agree. But Syriac EthExodus and the targums have «kill».

at the millstone: Literally: of the millstone. Exod 11:5 reads השפחה אשר אחר הרחים («The maid-servant who is behind the mill» [RSV]).

to the cattle as well: Literally: against the cattle, too. Charles (1895, p. 171, n. 4) thought that one should emend with Exod 11:5 to ውስተ ፡ በእተ ፡ እንስሳ; but there is no trace of such a variant in the mss.

49:3 This is that which the Lord gave them: There is rather strong warrant for reading ተእምርተ (-ት) either before the relative clause (mss. 35 39 42 48 58; cf. 47) or in place of it (20 25 44). But 12 17 21 38 63 lack «sign». Dillmann (1859, p. 161, n. 3) and Charles (1895, p. 171, n. 6) included ተእምርተ ፡ ዘወሀበ in their editions. This is, however, a decidedly late and perhaps conflate reading. It is safer to follow the older copies and to regard ተእምርተ (-ት) as an explanatory addition, taken from the end of the verse (cf. Exod 12:13), to the vague opening line. It may be that ዝየ presupposes a word such as ተእዛዝ (see v 4), since a command follows. It should be admitted, though, that the combination האות זאת in a Hebrew ms. could have caused a scribe to omit the second word.

that house: The suffix of ቤቱ must represent something like «that» because «his» would make little sense.

the house because the sign of the blood was on its door. 49:4 The
Lord's forces did everything that the Lord ordered them. They passed
over all the Israelites. The plague did not come on them to destroy any
of them — from cattle to mankind to dogs. 49:5 The plague on Egypt
was very great. There was no house in Egypt in which there was no   5
corpse, crying, and mourning. 49:6 All Israel was eating the paschal
meat, drinking the wine, and glorifying, blessing, and praising the Lord
God of their fathers. They were ready to leave the Egyptian yoke and
evil slavery.

49:7 Now you remember this day throughout all your lifetime. 10
Celebrate it from year to year throughout all your lifetime, once a year
on its day in accord with all of its law. Then you will not change a day

49:6 was eating: Literally: was remaining/ sitting eating. The form ይነብር supplies the
nuance of continuous action for all of the verbs through ያከብት.

49:7 your lifetime: Literally: the days of your life.

Celebrate it: Latin reads a purpose clause in contrast to a conjunction with imperative
(and pronominal object) in Ethiopic.

from year to year: Latin per singulos annos expresses largely the same idea in slightly
different words. Latin does support ዓም ... ዓም of the text against the variant ዓለም ...
ዓለም of many Ethiopic mss.

throughout all your lifetime[2]: Literally: all the days of your life. Latin omits this
second instance of the phrase.

day: Latin employs a plural noun which is curious, since passover is a one-day festival.
Perhaps the scribe or translator who was responsible for the plural form was thinking of
its particular day, year after year, or he may have been including the days of unleavened
bread.

all of its law: Latin lacks an equivalent for «all».

Then you will not change a day from the day: The Ethiopic verb probably belongs to
conjugation IV, 3 (= «permutare» [DILLMANN, Lexicon, 581; here he referred to this
passage]). It is possible, however, that the long vowel which follows the initial gutteral is a
secondary development conditioned by the gutteral consonant. Two early mss. (21 25) do
read the IV, 1 form (see Dillmann, ibid.: «praetermittere [cf. praeteribit of the Latin text],
retardare»). The verb is probably, like the others in the verse, second-person masculine
singular, not third feminine singular. It could be analyzed as either indicative or
subjunctive. Consequently, one could translate as either «do not change» or (if it is IV, 1)
«do not allow to pass by/ do not omit». The Latin ms. reads et non praeteribit Et erit
illud a diebus suis.The plural diebus again appears opposite a singular noun in Ethiopic
(see above). It is likely that the Latin is corrupt in this context (cf. Charles, 1902, p. 254,
n.). RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 90) changed it to et non praeteribis et transtuleris
illud a diebus suis — an emendation that differs significantly from the Ethiopic at et
transtuleris. Charles (1895, p. 171, n. 1 to Latin) read: et non erit ut praetereat illud a
diebus suis. This, too, does not mirror the Ethiopic. The verb praeteribit is close in
meaning to the variant ታስተጋብኡ, but it is a third-person form. A change to second
person (praeteribis) would be very simple. The major discrepancy involves et erit illud
where Ethiopic has ዕለት. It is quite possible that et erit is a dittography of the latter parts
of praeteribit. If so, only illud would have stood opposite ዕለት. Perhaps the Latin once
read præteribis illum diem (you will not pass over/ omit that day). One could maintain

from the day or from month to month. 49:8 For it is an eternal statute
and it is engraved on the heavenly tablets regarding the Israelites that
they are to celebrate it each and every year on its day, once a year,
throughout their entire history. There is no temporal limit because it is
5 ordained forever. 49:9 The man who is pure but does not come to
celebrate it on its prescribed day — to bring a sacrifice that is pleasing
before the Lord and to eat and drink before the Lord on the day of his
festival — that man who is pure and nearby is to be uprooted because
he did not bring the Lord's sacrifice at its time. That man will bear

that diem was omitted by homoioteleuton with illum and that illum represents a Greek
definite article. If all of these suppositions should be correct, the Ethiopic and reconstruc-
ted Latin texts would be nearly identical.

49:8 it is engraved: Latin: it is written.

regarding the Israelites: Latin: super omnes filios istrahel. The only difference between
the versions is that Latin has «all» but Ethiopic does not. Charles (1895, p. 171, n. 28)
emended Ethiopic to ላዕለ with Latin super omnes (cf. Littmann, 117, n. a) — a curious
change since ላዕለ, not ላ, = super. It is more likely that ላዕለ ፡ ከሉ or כל על would, by
homoioteleuton, become ላዕለ / על than that Charles' change would take place.

(celebrate) it: The Ethiopic pronoun is masculine singular in form, but ea is neuter
plural. In the remainder of the verse, Latin uses singular pronouns to refer to the festival.

each and every year: Literally: in every year and year. Latin reads a shorter expression:
per singulos annos (cf. v 7 where the same words are used in another passage in which
Ethiopic repeats «year»).

their entire history: Literally: all their generations. Latin lacks «entire».

There is: Latin adds illi (= to/ for it) which echoes the Hebrew expression for
possession (there is [not] to x). The term ኃለፈ could also be understood in this sense.

49:9 does not come: Latin: non sciet. Charles (1895, p. 173, n. 1 to Latin) emended
with Ethiopic to ierit, but Berger (548, n. a to v 9) is more persuasive in suggesting that
ηδει and ηκει have been confused. He favors ηδει as a better candidate for the original
reading. See v 10, however, where a form of መጽአ is also used. Num 9:13 enunciates a
similar rule.

its prescribed day: Ethiopic (literally): the time of its day; Latin (literally): the day of
its time. Both seem to express the same sense.

pleasing: Latin: acceptabilem.

and (to eat): Latin lacks the conjunction, as do mss. 20 44.

of his festival: Or: of its festival. Latin festo is an adjective which agrees in form with
its antecedent. It can be used as a substantive, but if the text were to agree literally with
the Ethiopic, it would have to be changed to festi.

that man ... is to be uprooted: Latin does not have a conjunction before the verb
(= mss. 42 47 58) and spells the future tense form with -uitur instead of -bitur. The
Ethiopic and Latin verbs resemble one another closely in meaning. The word et before
homo is curious unless it is an explicative use of the conjunction (as it is here translated
[namely]). RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 90) and Charles (1895, p. 173, n. 2 to Latin)
changed it to ille (= Ethiopic). Ethiopic reads a relative pronoun only before ንጹሕ, while
Latin employs one only before proximus. The word inmundus is an error for mundus;
possibly ille mundus was corrupted into inmundus (see homo ille at the end of the verse).

the Lord's sacrifice: Latin uses the dative domino (= to the Lord) which Charles
(1895, p. 173, n. 4 to Latin) attributed to the influence of Vulgate Num 9:13. Ethiopic
conjoins ቍርባነ ፡ እግዚአብሔር in a construct relationship.

responsibility for his own sin. 49:10 The Israelites are to come and
celebrate the passover on its specific day — on the fourteenth of the
first month — between the evenings, from the third part of the day
until the third part of the night. For two parts of the day have been
given for light and its third part for the evening. 49:11 This is what the   5
Lord commanded you — to celebrate it between the evenings. 49:12 It
is not to be sacrificed at any hour of the daylight but in the hour of the
boundary of the evening. They will eat it during the evening hour(s)

his own sin: Ethiopic expresses «his own» with ለርእሱ, but Latin opts for a less literal
suum with the noun. Charles (1895, p. 173, n. 4 to Latin) thought that suum, too, was due
to the wording of Vulgate Num 9:13.

49:10 are to come: Ethiopic employs a subjunctive (ይብጽሑ), but Latin, as it does
frequently in these situations, resorts to a future indicative form.

on its specific day: Literally: on the day of its time. Latin does not offer an equivalent
for «day».

between the evenings: The biblical base is Exod 12:6 where MT reads בין הערבים (cf.
Lev 23:5) but LXX uses πρὸς ἑσπέραν which clearly underlies Latin's ad uesperam. Cf.
Charles, 1895, p. 172, n. 8. He emended Latin to ad uesperas (ibid., p. 173, n. 5 to Latin),
but there is no advantage in so doing. See also 11QT 17:6.

third part of the day: Latin: third part of it. The word autem, if it is properly read,
may be used here in its function of indicating a continuation of what was said in the
previous clause rather than in its more common meaning of «but» or «however». It is
understood in the former sense here, though either of the latter translations would be
possible renderings in the context.

two parts of the day have been given for: Latin does not represent the verb. RÖNSCH
(Das Buch der Jubiläen, 90) and Charles (1895, p. 173) restored it, though Rönsch
suggested dedit and Charles datae sunt. Where Ethiopic has ለ Latin uses in. Charles
(ibid., n. 6 to Latin) has also corrected duas to duae.

its third part for: Latin lacks a possessive, and only a fragment (tiam) of tertiam
remains (see RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 90; Charles, 1895, p. 173, n. 7 to Latin).
Here, as above, Ethiopic has ለ where Latin supplies in.

49:11 between the evenings: Latin: in uespertino. Compare 11QT 17:8b, where Yadin
read יעשו אותו ואכלוהו בלילה (see The Temple Scroll, 2.55, where he noted the
difficulty of deciphering בלילה). Berger (548, n. a to v 11) prefers the Latin formulation,
but the more specific statement of Ethiopic appears to be more original and in uespertino
an interpretation of it.

49:12 It is not to be sacrificed: Literally: its sacrificing will not be done. Latin uses a
more personal expression, with ut quis sacrificet standing where Ethiopic መሥዋዕቱ
appears. Possibly both are ultimately interpretations of a Hebrew infinitive construct with
suffix (Goldmann: זבחו).

hour of the daylight: Or: time of the light. ጊዜ can mean «hora» (DILLMANN, Lexicon,
1196-97) which is the word used here by Latin.

in the hour of the boundary: Or: in the time of the boundary. Latin omits the phrase,
Charles (1902, p. 255, n.) compared Deut 16:16 («in the evening at the going down of the
sun» [RSV]) which may clarify what the «boundary of the evening» is.

They will eat: Latin uses a subjunctive verb (with mss. 12 38 44 58), but most of the
Ethiopic mss. read an indicative form. With RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 92) and
Charles (1895, p. 173, n. 8 to Latin), one should change manducet to manducent.

until the third part of the night. Any of its meat that is left over from the third part of the night and beyond is to be burned. 49:13 They are not to boil it in water nor eat it raw but roasted on a fire, cooked with care on a fire — the head with its internal parts and its feet. They are to

until: Latin does not use a preposition before tertia noctis, but one would be expected in this section which is defining a fixed point in the night.

its meat: Latin lacks the possessive.

and beyond: Latin reads only hoc here. The biblical phrase to which the verse alludes is עד בקר in Exod 12:10. DILLMANN (*Lexicon*, 823) listed as a Hebrew counterpart to ዝኣ ሀላእ which may have been misconstrued, if it stood in Hebrew Jubilees, as הלזה (= this [masculine]) or as הַלָּה (= that one).

is to be burned: Literally: they are to burn it. Latin appropriately renders with a passive verb (it is in the future tense).

49:13 They are not to boil it: Latin coquitur should, with RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 92) and Charles (1895, p. 173, n. 9 to Latin), be changed to coquetur, i.e., a future form where Ethiopic reads a subjunctive. As elsewhere, Latin expresses with a passive verb what Ethiopic articulates through an indefinite third-person plural active form.

nor eat it: Again Ethiopic uses a third-person plural subjunctive verb that is active, but Latin has a passive third-person singular future form (-uitur = -bitur).

roasted on a fire, cooked with care on a fire: Ethiopic reads «roasted» before «on a fire» but Latin reverses the units. The words በእስተሕምም and diligenter appear in the same place and are attempts at rendering בהפזון in Exod 12:9 (LXX: μετὰ σπουδῆς). Dillmann (in RÖNSCH, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 93) translated the Ethiopic phrase with «diligenter». but Rönsch himself (ibid., 167-68) adduced evidence that diligenter should be translated «hastily» — a possible rendering of μετὰ σπουδῆς. As the Ethiopic infinitive, however, expresses the sense of «taking pains», it is preferable to translate both versions with «carefully/ with care» (see DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 73). A noteworthy difference between the versions appears where Ethiopic reads ብሱል ፡ በእሳት and Latin gives comedetis illud (በእሳት is omitted by mss. 20 25). Charles (1895, p. 172, n. 24) emended ብሱል (he called it «the unmeaning besûla» [1902, p. 255, n.]) to ይበልዖ, though the Latin form is second person, not third. Littmann (117, n. c) accepted his proposal (note that Exod 12:11 does read ואכלתם אתו in this setting). But Goldmann and Berger have retained the Ethiopic text, with the former (p. אש, n. to v ני) claiming that ብሱል ፡ በእሳት is an interpretation of צלי (represented by ጥቡስ; see Exod 12:9). It is possible, then, that the Latin text has been influenced here by the biblical wording.

the head: There would be good reason for reading ርእሶ rather than ርእስ, since many Ethiopic mss. and Latin (caput eius) support the suffixal form. Here mss. 17 20 25 47; 63 follow the textual tradition of LXX OLExod 12:9; the mss. with suffixal forms agree with MT Sam Syriac EthExodus.

its internal parts: Latin does not indicate possession; the Ethiopic suffix agrees with MT Sam Syriac Exod 12:9.

its feet: LXX OL EthExod 12:9 offer the same reading, while MT Sam (כרעיו = Syriac) have a word which means «legs». See Charles, 1895, p. 172, n. 27.

They are to roast it: Latin continues with a second-person future tense verb where Ethiopic retains a third-person plural subjunctive form. The verb assauitis (= assabitis) is not accompanied by a pronominal object and is thus to be read with the preceding words, unlike Ethiopic.

roast it on a fire. There will be no breaking of any bone in it because no bone of the Israelites will be broken.

49:14 Therefore the Lord ordered the Israelites to celebrate the passover on its specific day. No bone of it is to be broken because it is a festal day and a day which has been commanded. From it there is to be no passing over a day from the day or a month from the month because it is to be celebrated on its festal day.

5

There will be no breaking of any bone in it: Latin begins much as Ethiopic does with et non erit quod frangatur, but where Ethiopic uses እምውስቴቱ ፡ ምንተኒ Latin has ex omnibus ossibus eius. Exod 12:46 is behind the phrase, and there MT words it as לא תשברו בו. The compound እምውስቴቱ seems to represent בו (EthExodus has እምውእቱ ፡ [ሥጋ] at this point). Latin may simply be explicating the meaning of the phrase that is now found in Ethiopic Jubilees.

because no bone of the Israelites will be broken: Latin is quite different: et non erit tribulatio in filiis istrahel in die hac. Charles (1895, p. 172, n. 31) claimed that the Ethiopic should be translated like the Latin and that the Greek *Vorlage* of the two versions was probably οὐ γὰρ ἔσται συντριβή. Later (1902, pp. 255-56, n.), however, he offered a more detailed defence of the Latin: «If we might suppose two distinct Greek versions of the Hebrew and that the original of 'in die hac' was היום הזה, we could explain the Eth. by supposing the loss of היום הזה and the change of בעצם into עצם [see 1895, pp. 172-73, n. 33]. But the corruption seems native to the Ethiopic. If the text referred here to the 'breaking' of a bone, it would most probably have used sabara as in the clause before and in the verse after, where the Latin uses frangere and confringere respectively. In this clause, therefore, 'ijětqaṭaqaṭ (= 'will not be crushed') is to be taken metaphorically = the Latin 'non erit tribulatio'». His thesis regarding עצם היום הזה is more helpful than the metaphorical rendering that he favored for the Ethiopic — a version that is, incidentally, very literal, not «metaphorical». Forms of tribulatio occur here and in 23:9 (= ሐጎም), 23:13 (= ምንዳቤ = צרה), and 32:7 (= ምንዳቤሙ). In LXX the various forms of צרר, which is the root of צרה, are translated by forms of θλίβειν (e.g., Ps 119 [120]:1) and of θλῖψις (Gen 35:3; 42:21, etc.). This fact suggests that Latin's tribulatio may have resulted from a confusion of συνθλίβειν or συνθλῖψις with the verb συντρίψετε (= LXX Exod 12:46 [see DILLMANN, *Lexicon*, 469]). This raises the question whether the mistake that Charles posited — בעצם היום הזה, which occurs in Exod 12:51, to עצם — took place in the opposite direction. At any rate, if ይትቀጠቅጥ is original, a reference to bones would be natural. Berger (549, n. g to v 13) also accepts the Ethiopic text.

49:14 No bone of it is to be broeken: Latin agrees exactly as far as the infinitive confringere, but then it reads: in ea omne os *illius*. RÖNSCH (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 92) and Charles (1895, p. 173, n. 13 to Latin) emended ea to eo (it refers to the paschal sacrificial animal; it is considered neuter in vv 12, 13). But illius seems to be the equivalent of እምኔሁ, so that ea is to be regarded as unique to Latin and as referring to dies which, though it is usually treated as masculine, can be feminine (especially in the singular; note in die hac in v 13). One may, therefore, retain in ea and translate it as «on it». Where Latin reads omne, Ethiopic has ምንተኒ. Though almost all mss. read the accusative ምንተ, one would have expected ምንት, since ዐጽም is not accusative. For this reason Charles (ibid., n. 35) changed the form to ምንተኒ.

a day from the day or a month from the month: Presumably the two versions intend to say that the festival is not to be moved either from its specific day or from the first month to another, but the prepositions seem to have suffered in the transmission of the texts. The prepositional phrase እምውስቴቱ is not reflected in Latin and is difficult in its context. If it

49:15 Now you order the Israelites to celebrate the passover each
year during their times, once a year on its specific day. Then a pleasing
memorial will come before the Lord and no plague will come upon
them to kill and to strike (them) during that year when they have
5 celebrated the passover at its time in every respect as it was command-
ed. 49:16 It is no longer to be eaten outside of the Lord's sanctuary but

referred to ዕለት, እምውስቴታ would be the expected form. Perhaps በዓል is the antecedent.
Ethiopic reads ዕለተ (accusative case) first, whereas Latin has in diem second. In its
present position ዕለተ should be construed as the object of the infinitive (as should ወርኀ).
Latin lacks a conjunction between days/ months and, strangely, reads et mense instead of
in mensem (= Ethiopic).

    because ... day: Latin: sed in tempore suo. The word እስመ probably represents כי in
its meaning of «but» (= Latin sed; see Dillmann [in RÖNSCH, Das Buch der Jubiläen, 93]).
Otherwise, Latin lacks most of the Ethiopic clause. It is difficult to believe that the bland
phrase in Latin is more original than the precise one in Ethiopic.

    49:15 during their times: Latin: in generationibus suis (literally: in their generations).
Cf. Exod 12:14: לדרתיכם (LXX: εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεὰς ὑμῶν). However, in this verse
EthExodus reads በመዋዕሊክሙ. DILLMANN (Lexicon, 925-26) does not give generatio as a
possible meaning for መዋዕል.

    Then a pleasing memorial will come before the Lord: Latin: et erit in testimonium in
conspectu dei acceptabile. Exod 12:14 begins somewhat as Latin (והיה היום הזה לכם ל-)
but then uses זכרון (LXX: μνημόσυνον) as in Ethiopic. Charles (1895, p. 173, n. 46)
supported the accusative ending of ms. 38 (= 58), but he would have to have supplied a
preposition with it to produce his rendering «for a memorial» (1902). The preposition
translated «before» is እምቅድመ (literally: from before) in Ethiopic but in conspectu in
Latin. Finally, Latin acceptabile appears opposite ዘይሠምር; for similar parallel uses of
these and related words, see 32:4; 49:9.

    upon them: Latin: ab illo. Exod 12:13 (בכם) reinforces the plural of Ethiopic.

    to kill and to strike (them): Latin: ut perdat et ut exterminet eos. The two versions are
related to the phrase למשחית בהכתי in Exod 12:13: exterminet more closely resembles the
first unit, and ሞጺአት literally translates the meaning of the second. The pronominal object
eos is not supported by the versions of Exod 12:13 other than by a few later LXX
witnesses.

    have celebrated: The Ethiopic reads a perfect tense form (except mss. 21 35; cf. 38), but
Latin has a future indicative.

    in every respect as it was commanded: Latin: secundum uniuersa praecepta eius.
Charles (1895, p. 174, n. 5; cf. 1902, p. 256, n.) preferred Latin and thought one should
read በኵሉ ፡ ኵሉ = secundum uniuersa. The Ethiopic text could be the product of
confusion between the similar words በኵሉ and በከመ, although it makes sense as it stands.
As for the variant ትእዛዝ /praecepta eius, mss. 12 38 show that the verb and related noun
(ትእዛዝ = Latin) can easily be interchanged. Compare Exod 12:50 which uses a verb of
command (EthExodus: በከመ ፡ አዘዞሙ).

    49:16 It is no longer to be eaten: Ethiopic begins the sentence, as in vv 12, 13, and 14,
with ወኢይትበላዕ and a verbal form (here an infinitive) which specifies what is not to be
done. Latin simply uses a future tense verb (manducauitur = -bitur) which corresponds in
meaning with the Ethiopic infinitive. Most of the Ethiopic mss. also add እንከ which could
mean either «therefore» (which seems inappropriate here) or «longer» (which may be
understood as distinguishing the first passover from subsequent celebrations).

before the Lord's sanctuary. All the people of the Israelite congregation
are to celebrate it at its time. 49:17 Every man who has come on its
day, who is 20 years of age and above, is to eat it in the sanctuary of
your God before the Lord, because this is the way it has been written
and ordained — that they are to eat it in the Lord's sanctuary.   5
    49:18 When the Israelites enter the land which they will possess —

    before the Lord's sanctuary: Latin: secus tabernaculum domini. Using tabernaculum
may be an attempt to vary the wording rather than repeating sanctificatio-. It would also
be especially appropriate for the sanctuary of Moses' time. The tabernacle is mentioned in
both versions in v 18.
    people of the Israelite congregation: Latin: multitudo filiorum istrahel. The Ethiopic
probably reflects עם קהל ישראל, while Latin reproduces בני ישראל. That is, filiorum is
suspect. It is possible that multitudo represents עם קהל.
    are to celebrate: Latin again uses a future indicative form where most of the Ethiopic
mss. have a subjunctive. Mss. 20 25 47 63 agree with Latin.
    49:17 Every: Latin and mss. 25 35 58 introduce the verse with a conjunction.
    has come on its day, who is 20 years of age and above: Latin: praetermiserit in
uisitatione. Charles (1895, p. 174, n. 16; p. 175, n. 4 to Latin) dismissed the Latin as
corrupt. Earlier, RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 168) had supplied erit after uisitatione
and had noted that the noun corresponded with פקדה. The reference to those aged 20 and
above is, as Rönsch (ibid.) and others have observed, derived from passages such as
Exod 30:14; Lev 27:3; Num 1:32; it does not follow later rabbinic law (see Charles, 1902,
pp. 256-57, n.; Hartom, 136, n. to v יז). The Temple Scroll prescribes the same age limit:
מבן עשרי[ם] שנה ומעלה (17:8; see YADIN, The Temple Scroll, 2.55; Berger, 550, n. d to
v 17). All of this may explain the origins of at least some parts of the curious Latin text.
One passage where «20 and above» occurs is Exod 30:14 which deals with the census:
כל העבר על הפקדים מבן עשרים שנה ומעלה(cf. Num 1:32). The verb praetermiserit could be
regarded as an inexact reflection of העבר, and uisitatione (or -onem; see Rönsch, ibid., 92,
n. 7) is a well attested meaning of פקדה. In other words, the Latin translation says that
everyone who enters the census is to eat the passover (cf. Hartom, ibid.). The reference to
the age limit seems to have led someone to insert the word for census where Ethiopic
reads በዕለቱ. The verb praetermiserit, which surfaces only here in the extant Latin
fragments, remains something of a problem. It means «to let pass by/ neglect; pass over,
by». One might have expected a form of praetereo or praetermeo if the explanation given
here is correct.
    is to eat: The form ይበልዕ must be the main verb in the verse, though it could be
rendered as part of a purpose clause as in Latin. But the Latin infinitive leaves no main
verb, so that one should supply erit (or sit) with it, or it should be changed to manducaret.
    your God: Latin: dei nostri, in which nostri is an error for uestri.
    written and ordained: Latin, with the order praeceptum/ scribtum, seems to transpose
the verbs, as do mss. 20 48.
    they are to eat it: Latin, possibly because the translator interpreted the plural active
form as the equivalent of a passive, reads manducetur.
    Lord's: Latin: eius.
    49:18 When: For አምßhዎ, see DILLMANN, Lexicon, 829-30 (= ὡς ἄν in Gen 12:12).
Latin gives quemadmodum (= in what manner/ how). RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen,
168) probably uncovered the source of the disagreement when he noted that either
Hebrew כ or Greek ὡς. which can mean «as» or «when», was improperly translated into
Latin; that is, the wrong option was selected by the translator. Charles (1895, p. 175, n. 5
to Latin) emended to quando.

the land of Canaan — and set up the Lord's tabernacle in the middle of the land in one of their tribal groups (until the time when the Lord's temple will be built in the land), they are to come and celebrate the passover in the Lord's tabernacle and sacrifice it before the Lord from
5 year to year. 49:19 At the time when the house is built in the Lord's name in the land which they will possess, they are to go there and sacrifice the passover in the evening when the sun sets, in the third part of the day. 49:20 They will offer its blood on the base of the altar. They are to place the fat on the fire which is above the altar and are to eat its

which they will possess: Latin expresses the same sense but uses a noun in the genitive case (with ipsorum) instead of a relative clause (literally: of their possession).

and set up: Latin inhabitabunt is implausible. Charles (1895, p. 174, n. 22) suggested that it had resulted when στήσωσι and οἰκήσωσι were confused; but the Ethiopic verb means literally «to plant».

their tribal groups: ሡራፁቶሙ should mean (their armies/ companies/ bands» (see DILLMANN, Lexicon, 345-46). Cf. Num 10:28 where it refers to the hosts of each tribe (= στρατιαί). The efforts of some translators reveal their awareness of the word's meaning but also their conviction that «tribes» (= Latin; the form is singular: one tribe of theirs) must be intended here. Dillmann (1851) used «heerschaafen (stämme)»; Littmann gave «Scharen» (118, n. a: «d.h. wohl 'Stämmen'»); and Berger opts for «Heerhaufen». See also Goldmann, p. שׁבט, n. to v ח׳.

the time when: Latin reads diem which is lacking in Ethiopic.

they are to come: Latin again uses a future form while ይኩት is subjunctive (cf. mss. 17;21).

in the Lord's tabernacle: Latin: in conspectu tabernaculi dei. Note that በቅድመ : እግዚአብሔር follows shortly in Ethiopic; it is omitted from Latin.

and sacrifice it before the Lord: Latin omits, perhaps by parablepsis from dei to domini or dei. Ethiopic reads the same divine name in both places.

from year to year: Latin expresses the idea more simply with per singulos annos.

49:19 is built: The verb in Ethiopic is in the perfect tense, but Latin renders with a future indicative form.

they are to go there and sacrifice: Ethiopic subjunctive verbs appear where Latin has a participle (offerentes) and a future indicative (mactabunt). Charles (1895, p. 175, n. 9 to Latin) asked: «Is offerent [his and Rönsch's (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 94) emendation of offerentes] due to confusion of ἀνίασι and ἀνοίσουσι?» One should answer negatively because these seem unlikely antecedents for the two verbs in question. A more likely suggestion is that qal (= Ethiopic) and hiphil (= Latin) forms of עלה were read by Greek translators; the two would be indistinguishable in Hebrew if imperfect or jussive forms were used.

in the evening: Latin: ad uespera. See 49:12. A confusion between ὡς (= Ethiopic) and ἕως (= Latin) could account for the difference.

when the sun sets: Latin: circa occansum solis. It is likely that כבוא השמש lies behind both versions.

49:20 They are to place: Latin: offerent, that is, a future indicative opposite an Ethiopic subjunctive form. The same verbs correspond with one another at 21:8 (offeres and ታነብር).

which is above the altar: Latin: of the altar.

are to eat its meat: Latin uses a future tense verb and lacks a possessive with carnes. Charles (1895) switched the order of ሥጋሁ : ይበልዑ.

meat roasted on a fire in the courtyard of the sanctuary in the name of
the Lord. 49:21 They will not be able to celebrate the passover in their
cities or in any places except before the Lord's tabernacle or otherwise
before the house in which his name has resided. Then they will not go
astray from the Lord.   5

49:22 Now you, Moses, order the Israelites to keep the statute of the
passover as it was commanded to you so that you may tell them its year
each year, the time of the days, and the festival of unleavened bread so
that they may eat unleavened bread for seven days to celebrate its
festival, to bring its sacrifice before the Lord on the altar of your God   10

courtyard of the sanctuary: Cf. 11QT 17:8-9: קודש [ ] ואכלוהו בלילה בחצרות. Latin
(santificatae) and 11QT support the reading ቤተ ፡ መቅደስ (= Dillmann, 1859), not ቤተ ፡
ዘተቀደሰ (= 12 17 63) which Charles adopted.

49:21 will not be able: As Charles (1902, p. 257, n.) noticed, Deut 16:5 lies behind this
phrase. There, MT's לא תוכל is rendered as οὐ δυνήσῃ in LXX and as non poteris in the
Vulgate. He considered the latter two faulty renderings, since the Hebrew text «denotes
moral inability».

or: Literally: and. Latin omits. Charles (1902, p. 157, n.) claimed that he had omitted
the word from his translation, but he obviously did not, as he used the word «nor».

places: Latin employs the singular loco.

or otherwise: Latin: et.

has resided: Ethiopic uses a perfect tense form, and Latin habitauit supports it. The
latter should not, therefore, be read as habitabit as RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 94)
and Charles (1895, p. 175, n. 11 to Latin) did.

from the Lord: Literally: after the Lord (= Ethiopic); from after the Lord (= Latin).
For the expression, see RÖNSCH (Das Buch der Jubiläen, 168) who compared Zeph 1:6
(ואת הנסוגים מאחרי יהוה). One would have expected እምድኅሬ here, not just ድኅሬ.

49:22 to keep: The better Ethiopic mss., in proper Semitic style, place a conjunction
before ይዕቀቡ, while Latin translates correctly without one.

as it was commanded to you so that you may tell: Latin disagrees with Ethiopic only
by placing et before quemadmodum (thus beginning a new independent clause here) and
by using an imperative instead of a result clause. The word indica shows that the preferred
reading is ትነግሮሙ, not ትዓቦሙ (see Charles, 1895, p. 175, n. 41).

its year each year: Latin: per singulos enim annos, where enim seems to mean «indeed/
truly/ in fact». The translation «throughout each and every year» is an attempt to
incorporate this nuance into the phrase. Charles (1895, p. 175, n. 42) gave an incorrect
reading for ms. D (= 38; for the correct ዓመት see Dillmann, 1859, p. 164, n. 1) and
indicated in 1902 (p. 257, n.) that he preferred a combination of C (= 51; it reads ዓመት)
and D (ለዓመታት) which agrees with Latin. But this is hardly the case. ዓመት must be the
object of ትነግሮሙ. Latin seems to have omitted an equivalent for ዓመት, or the Ethiopic
tradition has added the word.

the time of the days: ዕለት is also the object of ትነግሮሙ, but Latin tempore (unlike
ዕለት, it is preceded by a preposition) suggests that the word should be taken in its less
specific sense of «time». Latin uses suorum after dierum, but Ethiopic does not indicate
possession.

the festival: Latin places per before diem festum, and in this way it coordinates it with
per singulos ... In Ethiopic በዓሉ is an object of ትነግሮሙ.

each day during those seven joyful days. 49:23 For you celebrated this
festival hastily when you were leaving Egypt until the time you crossed
the sea into the wilderness of Sur, because you completed it on the
seashore.

5   50:1 After this law I informed you about the sabbath days in the
wilderness of *Sin* which is between Elim and Sinai. 50:2 On Mt. Sinai I
told you about the sabbaths of the land and the years of jubilees in the
sabbaths of the years, but its year we have not told you until the time
when you enter the land which you will possess. 50:3 The land will
10   observe its sabbaths when they live on it, and they are to know the year
of the jubilee. 50:4 For this reason I have arranged for you the weeks
of years and the jubilees — 49 jubilees from the time of Adam until
today, and one week and two years. It is still 40 years off (for learning
the Lord's commandments) until the time when he leads (them) across
15   to the land of Canaan, after they have crossed the Jordan to the west of
it. 50:5 The jubilees will pass by until Israel is pure of every sexual evil,
impurity, contamination, sin, and error. Then they will live confidently
in the entire land. They will no longer have any satan or any evil
person. The land will be pure from that time until eternity.
20   50:6 I have now written for you the sabbath commandments and all
the statutes of its laws. 50:7 You will work for six days, but on the

to celebrate: Latin adds et before ut faciant.
to bring: Latin places et before ut offerant (= mss. 12 44 58; cf. 35).
each day: Literally (Ethiopic): day from day. Latin uses per singulos annos.
those: Latin lacks the demonstrative. Charles (1902, p. 257, n.) explained that ኣላ «...
probably represents the Greek article».
49:23 you crossed: Charles (1895, p. 174) read ተበውኩ (1902: «entered») — a verb
that is attested in no ms. However, he did not explain this in n. 48 (p. 175), where it is
implied that B (= 25) reads this verb. Ms. 25 clearly gives ተዐደዉ.
50:1 Sin: The mss. read ሲና = Sinai, a name that figures later in the verse. Exod 16:1,
however, demonstrates that ሲን is to be read (see Charles, 1902, p. 258, n.; Hartom, 137,
n. to v ℵ; and Berger, 552, n. a to v 1).
50:3 they are to know: The subjunctive form, which differs by one vowel from the
indicative which Dillmann (1859) and Charles (1895) read, is much more strongly
supported.
50:4 arranged: Or: ordained.
he leads (them): The causative singular form is supported by mss. 12 20 25, while 35 38
39 44 48 58 63 also back the singular (non-causative). If the causative singular is the best
reading, then the Lord is the understood subject and Israel the assumed object. If the
plural, non-causative form is preferred, then Israel would be the understood subject
(= Dillmann, 1859; Charles, 1895). All translators have chosen the latter alternative.
50:5 until eternity: Literally: until all days/ time.
50:7 on the seventh day: LXX OL EthExod 20:10 read in a similar fashion (τῇ
ἡμέρᾳ), but MT Sam Syriac place no preposition or temporal word before «the seventh
day».

seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord your God. Do not do any work on it — you, your children, your male and female servants, all your cattle, or the foreigner who is with you. 50:8 The man who does any work on it is to die. Any man who desecrates this day; who lies with a woman; who says anything about work on it — that he is to set out on 5 a trip on it, or about any selling or buying; who on it draws water which he had not prepared for himself on the sixth day; or who lifts any load to bring (it) outside his tent or his house is to die. 50:9 On the sabbath day do not do any work which you have not prepared for yourself on the sixth day so that you may eat, drink, rest, keep sabbath 10 on this day from all work, and bless the Lord your God who has given you a festal day and a holy day. This day among their days is to be the day of the holy kingdom for all Israel throughout all time. 50:10 For great is the honor which the Lord has given Israel to eat, drink, and be filled on this festal day; and to rest on it from any work that belongs to 15 the work of mankind except to burn incense and to bring before the Lord offerings and sacrifices for the days and the sabbaths. 50:11 Only this (kind of) work is to be done on the sabbath days in the sanctuary of the Lord your God in order that they may atone continuously for Israel with offerings from day to day as a memorial that is acceptable 20 before the Lord; and in order that he may receive them forever, day by day, as you were ordered.

50:12 Any man who does work; who goes on a trip; who works farmland whether at his home or in any (other) place; who lights a fire; who rides any animal; who travels the sea by ship; any man who beats 25 or kills anything; who slits the throat of an animal or bird; who catches

your God. Do not do: The plural suffix on አምላክክሙ, the plural verb ትግበሩ, and the other second-person plural pronouns to the end of the verse agree only with TjnExod 20:10.

on it: Some Syriac mss., LXX OL EthExod 20:10 add this prepositional phrase, and SamDeut 5:14 does so as well. MT Sam Syriac lack it in Exod 20:10.

all (your cattle): So LXX OL EthExod 20:10 (= Deut 5:14).

foreigner: The lack of a suffix on the noun agrees with LXX OL EthExod 20:10.

50:8 says anything about work: Literally: who speaks a word of work. ምግባር has the support of mss. 20 25 35 44 58; the others read the subjunctive verb ይግበር (= Dillmann, 1859; Charles, 1895). The latter with its context Charles (1902) rendered as «says he will do something».

selling or buying: Charles (1902, p. 259, n.) thought that these words should be transposed. Dillmann (1851) had reversed them, as has Berger; but Littmann gave the correct order.

load: Literally: that which he carries.

50:9 day of the holy kingdom: Or: holy day of the kingdom.

50:12 slits the throat of: Or: slaughters.

either a wild animal, a bird, or a fish; who fasts and makes war on the sabbath day — 50:13 a man who does any of these things on the sabbath day is to die, so that the Israelites may continue observing the sabbath in accord with the commandments for the sabbaths of the land

5 as it was written in the tablets which he placed in my hands so that I could write for you the laws of each specific time in every division of its times».

Here the words regarding the divisions of the times are completed.

50:13 each specific time: Literally: time and time.

Here ... completed: Several mss. read additional material after the brief postscript. Mss. 17 35 38 offer a statement of praise to God; 42 contains a comment about the writing of the book; 39 47 48 contain a prayer; and 47 58 also supply several pages of interpretations (ትርጓሜ) of Jubilees. Since none of these is part of the text of the book, they have not been included here.

THE VERSIONAL EVIDENCE

Syriac Chronicle (27.14-28.22)

2:2 In the beginning, on the first day which is the first of the week, God created the heavens, the earth, the waters, the diffused light, and all the classes of the angels who serve before God: all the angels of the presence; the angels of holiness; and the ones who make the winds blow; the depths, darkness; and the angels of the winds that blow.

2:3 He made seven great works on the first day.

2:4 On the second day he created the lower heaven and named it the firmament. The upper heaven was that of light; it is, according to the doctrine of the church, the spiritual paradise — that is to say, the heavenly Jerusalem. On that day the waters were divided: half of them went up above and half of them were on the surface of the whole earth. This was the only thing God made on the second day.

2:5 On the third day he told the waters to pass from the surface of the earth to one place within this firmament; 2:6 and dry land appeared. 2:7 On that day he created all the seas, the places where they collected [literally: their reservoirs], the rivers, and the springs of water in the mountains and in the valleys. Beneath the earth

Epiphanius, *De mensuris et ponderibus* 22

2:2 For on the first day he made the heavens that are above, the earth, the waters from which come snow, ice, hail, frosts, and dew; the spirits who serve before him, which are as follows: angels before the presence; angels of the glory; and angels of blowing winds; angels of clouds and darkness, snow, hail, and ice; angels of sounds, thunders, lightnings, of cold, heat, of winter, autumn, spring, and summer, and of all the spirits of his creatures which are in heaven and on the earth; the depths, which are beneath the earth, and the chasm; darkness, evening, and night, the light of day, and of dawn.

2:3 God made these seven great works on the first day.

2:4 On the second [he created] the firmament in the middle of the waters, and the division of the waters which are above the firmament and those below the firmament on the surface of the whole earth. This was the only work God made on the second day.

2:5 On the third day

2:7 the seas, the rivers, the springs, and the lakes; the seed that is sown; the plants, the fruit trees and the ones without fruit, the forests, and all the plants by kind.

God made the passages, the hollows, and the watercourses for the passage of water and the wind, through which the heat and the cold rise for the service of those who live on the earth. The earth is like a sponge. God commanded the earth, and it conceived and produced the grass, trees, seeds, and the plants. He made four great works on the third day.

2:8 On the fourth day God made the sun, the moon, and the stars. [cf. 2:10 and 2:12] The heat of the sun was spread out over the surface of the waters for healing and for the growth of everything ... and grows on the earth. [cf. 2:8-10] He appointed the sun to divide between light and darkness. 2:10 He made three works on the fourth day.

2:11 On the fifth day God commanded the waters, and they gave birth to different kinds: the sea monsters, leviathan, and frightful behemoth — that is, the locusts, the birds, and the fish.

2:12 The sun shone over them for growth. Three works he made on the fifth day.

2:13 On the sixth day he made all the land animals, the cattle, and everything that creeps on the earth. 2:14 After everything he created mankind — male and female he made them. He made them rule everything on the earth and in the seas, the birds, the cattle, and everything that creeps on the earth.

Syriac Chronicle (29.29-30.1)

2:15 The total was 22 works.

2:16 God finished all his works in heaven, on the earth, in the seas, in the depths, in the light, in the darkness, and in every place.

These four great works God made on the third day.

2:8 On the fourth the sun, the moon, the stars.

2:10 These three great works God made on the fourth day.

2:11 On the fifth the great sea monsters, the fish, and the other reptiles that are in the waters; the feathered birds.

2:12 These three great works God made on the fifth day.

2:13 On the sixth day the animals, the cattle, the things that move about on the earth; 2:14 mankind. These four great works God made on the sixth day.

2:15 All the things which were made by God during the six days were 22 works. 2:16 God finished all (of them) on the sixth day: whatever was in heaven, on the earth, in the seas, in the depths, in the light, in the dark-

ness, and in every place. [cf. 2:17] God rested from all his works on the seventh day.

[cf. 2:19] He blessed it and sanctified it; he showed to Moses through an angel that [cf. 2:23] there also were 22 leaders from Adam to Jacob. [cf. 2:20] «I will choose for myself from his descendants a special people out of all the nations».

Syriac Chronicle (30.3-7)

[cf. 2:24] For this reason he blessed the sabbath day, and on the seventh day everything which had been created in six days was blessed. 2:25 For this reason he gave orders to the Hebrews regarding it that anyone who would do work on it was to die; and anyone who would violate it was to die.

Syncellus, *Chronographia* (7.20-9.14)

[cf. 3:1] On the first day of the week, which was the third day after Adam was formed, the eighth of the first month Nisan, the first of the month April, and the sixth of (what is) Pharmuth among the Egyptians, Adam named the wild animals by a certain divine grace. On the second day of the second week he named the cattle; on the third day of the second week he named the birds; on the fourth day of the second week he named the reptiles; on the fifth day of the second week he named the swimming creatures. [cf. 3:5] On the sixth day of the second week, which was the sixth of April according to the Romans, but the eleventh of Pharmuth according to the Egyptians, after God had taken a certain part of Adam's rib, he formed the woman.

3:9 On the forty-sixth day of the creation of the world, on the fourth day of the seventh week, on the fourteenth of Pachon, on the ninth of May, when the sun was in Taurus and the moon diametrically in Scorpio, at the rising of the Pleiades, God brought Adam in the Garden of Eden during the fortieth day after he was formed. [Omit, 8.16-21] On the ninety-third day of the creation, on the second day of the fourteenth week, during the summer solstice, when the sun and moon were in Cancer, on the twenty-fifth of the month June, on the first of Epiphi, Adam's helper Eve was brought in the Garden of Eden by God, on the eightieth day after she was formed [cf. 3:33] — she whom Adam took and named Eve which means life. 3:10 For this reason God commanded through Moses in Leviticus [= Leviticus 12], surely because of the days of their separation from the Garden of Eden after the creation: for giving birth to males that she be impure for 40 days; 3:11 and for giving birth to females for 80 days. Since Adam was brought in the Garden of Eden on the fortieth day after he was formed, for this reason those boys who have been born are brought to the temple on the fortieth day according to the law. But for a female she is to be impure for 80 days because of her entering the Garden of Eden on the eightieth day and because of the impurity of the female in comparison with the male.

Michael Glycas, *Annales* I

3:16 Adam used to scare away the birds and the reptiles, gather the fruit in the Garden of Eden, and eat it with his wife.

Syriac Chronicle (31.9-11)

3:28 On that day the mouth(s) of the animals and of everything that moves about on the earth were silenced so that the animals could not speak.

Syncellus, *Chronographia* (13.16-14.3)

3:32 [cf. 3:17] In the seventh year he transgressed, and in the eighth they were expelled from the Garden of Eden, as it says, after 45 days of the transgression, at the rising of the Pleiades. Adam spent seven (units) of 365 days in the Garden of Eden. He was driven out with his wife Eve on the tenth of the month May because of the transgression.

Syncellus, *Chronographia* (14.15-15.10; cf. also 16.18 and 17.13-15)

[cf. 3:34] In the eighth year, it says, Adam knew his wife Eve.
    4:1 In the seventieth year (their) first son Cain was born to them. In the seventy-seventh year, they say, the righteous Abel was born. In the eighty-fifth year a daughter was born to them, and they named her Asouam. In the ninety-seventh year Cain brought an offering; in the ninety-ninth year Abel offered up a sacrifice to God. [Omit 14.24-15.2] 4:2 During the same ninety-ninth year Cain killed Abel.
    [cf. 4:7] The first-formed people mourned for four weeks, that is, 28 years. In the 127th year Adam and Eve put aside their mourning. 4:9 In the 135th year Cain married his own sister Asaunan when she was 50 years of age and he 65 years of age.

11QJub 1	Epiphanius, *Panarion* 39,6.4-5
4:7　　] in the fourth (year) [of] the f[　　　　　　　　]and she gave birth to a son for him. He named [　　　another [offspring on the] earth in place of Abel (for [Cain] had killed him). 4:8　　　] his daughter [Azu]ra. 4:9 Cain married [his] sister] the fourth [jubi]lee[fif]th [jubilee] houses were built on the ear[th. his [son] Enoch. 4:10 Ad[am	4:9 Cain [joined with] his older sister Saue (so named). 4:11 while Seth, the third son born after Abel, [with] his sister named Azura. 4:10 Other sons, too, were born to Adam, as the Little Genesis has it — nine (of them) after these three, so that he had two daughters and 12 sons (one having died while 11 continued to live).

4:11   f[ifth wee]k

11QJub M2

4:13   s]on [for him] in the [third]
y[ear] 4:14 At the end of the [eighth]
ju[bilee   ] married [
                              thi]rd
[year] of [

11QJub M3   Cedrenus, *Historiarum Compendium*
                                       (17.13-15)

4:16   fi]fth [week
4:17 He was the fir[st   4:17 He was the first to learn and
                                       teach letters and to be considered
                                       worthy of a revelation of divine
                                       secrets.

Syriac Chronicle (39.1-8)

4:17 This Enoch was the first to learn (the art of) writing, instruction, and
wisdom. And he wrote down in a book the signs of the sky to inform mankind
about the changes of the times and of the years according to their fixed patterns
and according to their months. 4:18 He made known the days of the year; the
number of the months he arranged.
4:19 He saw in his dream vision everything that has happened and is (occurring)
— also everything that will happen to mankind during their history until the day
of judgment.
   4:21 He was with God's angels ...

Syriac Chronicle (38.26-39.1)

4:25 He first offered the sacrifice of incense in the evening as a pleasing fragrance
before the Lord on the mountain of the south. 4:26 For there are four places that
belong to the Lord: the mountain of the Garden of Eden, the mountain of the
south, Mt. Sinai, and Mt. Zion.

11QJub 2	Syriac Chronicle (32.24-26; 33.12-16)	Chronicle on Creation
4:29	4:29 In the nineteenth jubilee, during the seventh	[cf. 4:29] When Adam was 230 years of age, he became
bur]ied in the [	week when Adam had lived 970 years [⟑ (= 70) and ⟑	the father of Seth. After living for 700 years in addi-
	(= 30) have been confused] — at the time of his end —	tion to these, 4:30 he died during the very day of the
	the patriarchs who had been born during Adam's life	transgression. For as 1000 years is the interval for
4:30	were gathered to him. 4:30	God's day, he died after he

	He lacked 70 years from	had lived just 930 years,
] 1000 years [	1000 years because 1000 years are one day in the testimony of heaven. For it was written regarding the	4:29 This one is said to be the first to be buried in the ground from which he was taken
tr]ee of knowledge: 'On the [	tree of knowledge: 'On the day that you eat from it you will indeed die'. Therefore he did not complete the	
the years of [this] day [	years of this day but he died during it.	

Syncellus, *Chronographia* (19.3-5)

4:31 In the same 930th year Cain also died when his house fell on him. For with stones he had also killed Abel. When, therefore, a year was completed after the death of Adam, he died.

11QJub 3   Syriac Chronicle (36.29-37.1)

5:1   5:1 They took as wives for themselves
                                                 whomever they chose. By them they
   the ne]ph[il]im. 5:2 [Wickedness]   gave birth to children, the giants (who
increased   were) like towers.
           ] cattle, an[imals
           ] corrupted their way and
[their] pr[escribed course]
       o]n the earth.

Syriac Chronicle (40.19-24)

[cf. 5:1] At that time when mankind multiplied, 5:2 and all animate beings corrupted their way, 5:9 God permitted them to attack one another in battle until they had killed one another with the sword — thousands and ten thousands of people — until the land on which they had made war was rotted by their blood.

Syriac Chronicle (42.22-31)

6:1 On the first of the third month they left the ark, and Noah built an altar for the Lord on the mountain of Kardu. 6:2 He took a kid, 6:3 a calf, a ram, a lamb, salt, turtledoves, and doves and offered (them as) a sacrifice on the altar. He placed on them an offering mixed with oil, sprinkled wine, and put frankincense on everything. He sent up a pleasant fragrance that was pleasing before the Lord.
   [cf. 6:10] Noah and his sons swore an oath not to eat 6:7 any animate being with its blood and with its spirit, as the Lord commanded them because the vital force of all animate beings is in the blood.

Syncellus, *Chronographia* (147.1-2)

[cf. 7:1] In this 2251st year, as they say, Noah planted a vineyard on Mt. Lubar of Armenia.

Syriac Chronicle (46.5-12)

Cedrenus, *Historiarum Compendium* (27.11-14)

8:2 When Kainan grew up, his father taught him (the art of) writing. He went to build a place and a city of his own. 8:3 He found an inscription which the ancients had written on a rock. He read it, copied it, and sinned through it, since in it was written the ancients' teaching for observing the omens of the sun, the moon, and the stars, and all the heavenly signs. 8:4 He told no one about it because he was afraid that Noah would become angry at him.

8:2 In the 2585th year, as Kainan was travelling through the open country, 8:3 he found the writing of the giants, 8:4 and hid (it) from him. He sinned in these matters and educated the others in the same unnatural thing(s).

Syriac Chronicle (43.17-44.15)

8:11 Noah divided the earth for his three sons, for Shem, Ham, and Japheth. 8:12 There emerged as Shem's lot all of the center of the earth which is in the center of the inhabited territory, [cf. 8:21] from the boundary of Egypt and the Erythrean Sea as far as this sea of Phoenicia and Syria. These well known places belonged to Shem and his children: Palestine, all of Arabia, Phoenicia, Syria, all of Mesopotamia, Hyrcania, Asshur, and the country of Sanir and Babylon, all of the land of Persia and all the regions around it, with northern India and the rest of the eastern countries.

8:22 For Ham, Noah's second son, there emerged a second share from the south of the Gihon, from the right side of the Garden of Eden. It goes toward the south and crosses all the fiery mountains. It goes westward toward the Atel Sea until it reaches the Mahuq Sea, everything that descends into which is destroyed. 8:23 It comes to the north to the summit of Gadir and comes to the shore of the Great Sea as far as the Gihon River. The Gihon goes until it reaches the right side of the Garden of Eden.

8:24 This is the land which emerged as a share for Ham and his children throughout their generations.

8:25 For Japheth, Noah's third son, there emerged a third share from the other side of the Tina River, from the north of the source of its waters and all the boundaries of Gog. 8:26 It crosses to the north of the mountain of Qetl and to the Mahuq Sea. It comes from the east of the north [grby' read instead of gdr = Gadir]. 8:27 It goes until it reaches the west of Afgara.

8:29 This is the land that emerged as the hereditary share of Japheth and his children — five large islands and the large land of the north — throughout their

generations forever. 8:30 Shem's land is neither hot nor cold but is a mixture of heat and cold. The land of Ham is hot; the land of Japheth is very cold.

Syncellus, *Chronographia* (49.6-15)

10:1 After the flood, in the 2582nd year of the world, (the Watchers), motivated by jealousy after death, misled Noah's children. [cf. 10:3] When Noah prayed that they would withdraw from them, 10:7 the Lord ordered the archangel Michael to throw them [cf. 10:9] into the depth(s) until the day of judgment.

10:8 But the devil asked to take part of them for (the purpose of) tempting people. 10:9 A tenth of them were given to him, in accord with the divine command, in order to tempt people as a test of each one's preference for God; the nine remaining parts were thrown into the depth(s).

Cedrenus, *Historiarum Compendium*

10:15 ... and was buried on Mt. Lubar ...

Catena of Nicephorus (I, col. 175)

10:21 ... they spent 43 years building(it). Its height was 5433 cubits and two palms. Its width was about 203 bricks. The height of the brick was a third of one brick. The extent of one wall was 13 stades and of the other 30.

Syriac Chronicle (47.28-48.1)	Theodosius of Miletus
10:29 Canaan's sons saw that the land of Palestine as far as the border of Egypt was very good and beautiful. The land of Palestine belonged to the sons of Joktan, the grandsons of Ham [error for Shem]. As it pleased them, they settled in it and did not want to go to their hereditary land.	10:29 But when Ham's son Canaan saw that the land toward Lebanon was good and productive and differed very much from his own, he settled there, 10:30-31 though he cut off the share of Shem's descendants and their father and brothers hindered (him) and reminded (him) of those things which their father Noah had imposed as the penalty for those who transgressed it. 10:34 From that time all that land has been named Canaan.

Cedrenus, *Historiarum Compendium* (47.8-11, 15-19)

11:8 When Nahor had grown up, his father taught (him the) explanation of all (kinds of) omens, interpretations of the heavenly signs and of all the things on the earth, and all of Chaldean divination. 11:10 When Nabor was 79 years of age, he became the father of Terah. 11:15 While Ninus, the first king of the Assyrians, was in the forty-third year of his reign, Abraham was born ... Terah, when he was 70 years of age, became — through his wife Edna, the daughter of his father's brother Abraham — the father of Abraham whom his mother named after her father. For it was said that he had died before this one's birth.

Syriac Chronicle (51.14-52.30)

11:16 Abraham, when he was 12 years of age, began to realize the error of the earth — for everyone was caught in the error of the statues and molten images. 11:18 At the time for planting seeds, all the people went out — each to guard his seed from the ravens. Abraham also went out with them. 11:19 He would shout at the ravens: «Return, return to the place from which you came». And they would return. 11:20 That day he made the ravens go back 70 times. He called on the God of heaven and he answered him. He freed (them) from the ravens. From that time Abraham knew God and promised to serve him. [cf. 11:16] He separated from his father. 11:21 Abraham's reputation was growing large throughout the entire land of the Chaldeans. 11:23 He taught the workmen to make a share-beam above the ends of the plows so that one could place seed on them. The seed would drop down and be hidden in the ground; and they were no longer afraid of the ravens.

12:1 One day Abraham said to his father Terah: 12:2 «What advantage or help is there in these idols which you worship? 12:3 They are only dumb and an error of the mind. 12:5 They are made by hands and are carried on your shoulders. 12:3 There is no spirit in them. 12:4 Worship the God of heaven who makes the rain and dew fall and does everything that he wishes in heaven and on the earth». 12:6 Then he said to him: «I, too, know (this), my son. But what shall I do with all the people who have appointed me to serve in their presence? 12:7 If I tell them the truth, they will kill me because they themselves are attached to the fear of the idols. But be quiet, my son, so that they do not kill you».

11QJub 4		Syncellus, *Chronographia* (185.9-13)
	12:12 When Abraham was 56 years of age, he burned the temple of Kainan. 12:14 Abraham's brother Haran went in to save the temple. He was burned in the fire and died. 12:15 When he was 60 years of age, Abraham, his father Terah, his brother Nahor, and Lot, Haran's son, left Ur of the Chaldeans and went (and) lived in Haran for 14 years.	12:12 In the 3373rd year of the world, when Abraham was 61, Abraham burned the idols of his father. 12:14 Haran was burned with them when he wished to extinguish the fire during the night. 12:15 Then Terah left with Abraham to go to the land of Canaan, and, changing his mind, he settled in Haran, worshiping idols until his death.
12:15]and[ ]with[		
12:16]during [its] fif[th]]the star[s		12:16 During the fifth year, on the first of the seventh month — when Abraham was in Haran — he sat at night to observe the stars from evening to dawn in order to see what would be the character [literally works] of the year with respect to the rain. As he was

]he[12:17

]the star[s

observing, 12:17 a word came to his mouth and he said: «All the signs of the stars, of the moon, and of the sun are under God's control. Why am I examining (them)? 12:18 For if he wishes, the Lord makes either the early or the latter rain fall; and if he does not wish, the rain does not fall».

12:19 That night Abraham prayed and said:
God, my God,
You alone are God most High.
12:20 Save me from the error of this people.
12:21 Make straight before me the path which is pleasing to you.

12:22 When he was finished praying, the word came to him: «Come from your land, your family, and your father's house to the land which I will show you. I will make you into a large people. 12:23 All the nations of the earth will be blessed in you».

11QJub 5,8

12:28 In the seven[th

]he was leaving[
12:29 his] f[ather] Terah [said] to him[
    wi]th you and pro[tect
        to] harm you.[

12:28 After two years, Abraham asked (permission) from his father to go to the land of Canaan. 12:29 He said to him: «Go in peace.
May the eternal God arrange your way. May no person have power over you to harm you».

Latin

13:10 ... he stayed there for two years. Then he went to the southern territory as far as Bahalot. There was a famine in the land. 13:11 So Abram went to Egypt in the third year of the week. He lived in the land of Egypt for five years before his wife was taken from him by force. 13:12 Tanais, the Egyptian city, was built at that time — seven years after Hebron. 13:13 When the pharaoh took Abram's wife Sarah by force, the Lord punished the pharaoh and his household very severely because of Abram's wife Sarah. 13:14 At that time he made Abram extremely wealthy with all (kinds of) sheep, cattle, donkeys, camels, horses, male and female servants, silver and very (much) gold. Lot — his brother's son — was also wealthy. 13:15 The pharaoh returned Abram's wife Sarah to her husband and expelled him from the land of Egypt. He went to the place where he had first pitched his tent — at the location of the altar, with Ai on the east side and Bethel on the west. He blessed the Lord his God who had brought him back safely.

13:16 During the forty-first jubilee, in the third year of the first week, he returned to this place. He offered sacrifices and called on the Lord's name: 'You, most high God, are my God forever and ever'.

Syriac Chronicle (53.4-15)

13:17 But Lot, the son of his brother, went (and) settled in Sodom. Now the people of Sodom were very sinful.

13:17 In the fourth year of this week Lot separated from him. He settled in Sodom. Now the Sodomite people were very sinful. 13:18 They were evil in their hearts that Lot, his brother's son, had separated from him for he had no children. 13:19 Lot was taken captive from him. But in the fourth year of this week — of the same jubilee — God said to Abram: 'Look up from where you are staying toward the west, the south, the east, and the north; 13:20 because all the land which you see I will give to you and your descendants forever. I will make your descendants like the sands of the sea, for your descendants will not be counted. 13:21 Now you — get up and walk its width. Look at everything because I will give it to your descendants'. Then Abram went to Hebron and lived ...

13:21 But Abraham was living in Hebron.

13:22 The king of Elam, the king of Shinar, and the remaining kings of the areas around them came. 13:23 They took captive Sodom and Lot, the son of Abraham's brother, and all their possessions. [cf. 13:24] When Abraham heard, 13:25 he armed his household servants and pursued the kings. He brought back everything that they had captured from Sodom.

13:28 When the king of Sodom came, he knelt before Abraham and said: 'Give me those people whom you rescued, but the goods and everything (else) is to be yours'. 13:29 Abraham said: 'The Lord forbid that I should take (anything) from you — not a thread or sandal thong(s), so that you may not say: «I have made Abraham rich»'.

Latin

15:20 '... him, make him numerous, and increase him very much. For he will father 12 princes, and I will make him into a larger nation. 15:21 But my covenant I will establish with Isaac whom Sarah will bear for you at this time next year'. 15:22 When he had finished speaking with him, God ascended from Abraham.

15:23 Abraham did as God told him. He took his son Ishmael, all the men of his household, and those who had been purchased — every male, therefore, in his house; he circumcised the flesh of their foreskins at that time. 15:24 On that day Abraham circumcised himself, the men of his household, his domestic servants, and also those who had been purchased from foreigners — he circumcised all.

15:25 This law is (valid) for all the history of eternity. There is no omitting any day of the days for which an eternal ordinance has been commanded and written on the heavenly tablets. 15:26 Anyone who is born, the flesh of whose private parts has not been circumcised by the eighth day, does not belong to the pact which God made for Abraham but to the people (meant for) destruction. Moreover, there is no sign on him that he belongs to God, but (he is meant) for destruction and for being destroyed from the earth, because he has violated the covenant of the Lord our God. 15:27 For all the angels of the presence and all the archangels of blessing were from the days of their creation. In front of the angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification he sanctified Israel to be together with him and the angels of his holy places.

15:28 Now you command the Israelites to keep the covenant of this sign throughout their history as an eternal covenant; then they will not be uprooted from the earth 15:29 because he has determined in the ordinance of the covenant that it is to be kept forever on all the Israelites. 15:30 For God did not draw near to himself either Ishmael, his sons, his brothers, or Esau. He did not choose any of them (simply) because they, too, were among Abraham's children, since he knew them. But he chose Israel to be his people. 15:31 He sanctified them and ...

Latin

16:5 ... all their actions — that they were hostile and very sinful, (that those) impure people would commit filthy acts in their flesh, and do abominable things on the earth. 16:6 For God will execute judgment in the same way in the places where people have acted in the abominable ways of Sodom — in the same manner he will judge them. 16:7 But we rescued Lot afterwards because God remembered Abraham so that he might deliver [read deliberaret; Rönsch, 102] him from the overthrow (of Sodom). 16:8 Now he and his daughters [text reads sons] committed a sin on the earth the like of which was not committed on the entire earth from the time of Abraham [error for Adam] until him in that the man lay with his daughters. 16:9 For it has now been commanded and written on the heavenly tablets with regard to all (his) descendants that such (people) will be removed and uprooted and that their judgment will be like the judgment of Sodom so that there may not be left among them any human descendants on the earth on the day of judgment.

Cedrenus, *Historiarum Compendium*

16:10 Afterwards, Abraham, having migrated from the oak at Mamre,
16:11 settled at the well of the oath.

16:10 During this month Abraham departed from Hebron. He went and settled between Kadesh and Sur in the boundaries of Gerar. 16:11 In the middle of the fifth month he removed himself from there and settled at the well of the oath. 16:12 In the middle of the sixth month God visited Sarah and did for her as he had said. 16:13 She became pregnant and gave birth to a

son in the seventh month; in the middle of the month, at the time that God had told Abraham — on the festival of the firstfruits — Isaac was born. 16:14 Abraham circumcised his son on the eighth day. He was the first to be circumcised according to the covenant which was ordained forever.

16:15 In the sixth year of the fourth week we came to Abraham at the well of the oath. We appeared to him just as we had said to Sarah that we would return to her and she would have become pregnant with her son. 16:16 We returned during the seventh month, and in front of us we found Sarah pregnant. We blessed him and and told him what had been decreed for him and in what way he would die, that he would become the father of six more sons, and that he would see them all before he died; but (that) through Isaac he would become numerous and have a reputation. 16:17 All the descendants of his sons would become nations and be numbered with the nations. But one of Isaac's sons would become a holy progeny which would not be numbered with the nations; 16:18 for he would become the share of the Most High, since all his descendants had fallen into that which God posseses; that they would become God's people sanctified out of all his nations; and that they would become a priestly kingdom and a holy people. 16:19 Then we went on our way and told Sarah what we had reported to him. The two of them were extremely happy.

16:20 There he built an altar for the Lord who had rescued him, and of his grace [corrupt, see Rönsch, 103] (was) in the country where he resided as an alien. He celebrated a joyful festival in this month — for seven days — near

16:21 After he had pitched tents for himself and for his servants by family, Abraham for the first time celebrated the festival of tabernacles for seven days.

the altar. 16:21 He constructed tents for himself and his servants during this festival. He was the first to celebrate the festival of tabernacles on the earth. 16:22 During the days he was making — throughout each of the days — an offering [cf. Rönsch, 103-104] to the Lord on the altar: two bull calves, two rams, seven sheep, one goat for sins in order to have atonement made through it for himself and his descendants. 16:23 And as a peace offering: seven rams, seven kids, seven sheep, seven he-goats as well as their (cereal)-offerings and their libations; and he would burn all their fat on the altar ... offering for a pleasing fragrance. 16:24 In the morning and evening he would burn as a composite incense-offering [cf. Rönsch, 104]: frankincense, galbanum, stacte, nard, myrrh, aromatic spices, and costum. These seven clean kinds he would burn beaten and equally mixed. 16:25 He celebrated this festival for seven days, being happy [cf. Rönsch, 105] with his whole heart and all his being — he and all those who belonged to his household. There was no foreigner with them; everyone was circumcised. 16:26 He blessed his creator who had created him for he knew and ascertained that from him there would come a true plant for the history of eternity and (that) from him there would be holy descendants so that they should be like the one who had created everything. 16:27 He gave a blessing and was very happy. He named this festival the festival of the days — a joy acceptable to the most high God. 16:28 We blessed him eternally and all his descendants with him throughout all the history of the entire earth because he had celebrated this festival at its time in accord with the testimony of the heavenly tablets. 16:29 For this reason it has been ordained on the heavenly tablets regarding Israel that the festival of tabernacles should be (celebrated) completely (?) with joy for seven days in the seventh month, acceptable in the Lord's presence — a law which is eternal throughout their history in every year. 16:30 There will be no temporal limit because it is ordained forever that Israel should celebrate it, live in tents, and to place wreaths on their heads, to take thick branches and willow branch(es) from the stream.

Syncellus, *Chronographia* (184.1-2)

16:31 Abraham was the first to go around the altar with branches of palms and olive trees.

16:31 So Abraham took some palm branches [cf. Charles, 1895, reading de corde for de decore] and the fruit of good trees, and during all the days he would go around my altar with branches seven times. In the morning he would give praise and and joyfully laud [cf. Rönsch, 106] his God for all things.

17:1 In the first year of the fifth week, in this jubilee, Isaac was weaned. Abraham gave a large banquet, and in the third month, on the day when his son Isaac was weaned. 17:2 Now Ishmael, the son of Hagar the Egyptian servant girl,

was in the place in front of his father Abraham. Abraham was very happy and blessed God because he saw his own sons and had not died childless. 17:3 He remembered the message which he had told him on the day when Lot had separated from him. He was very happy because God had given him descendants on the earth to possess it. With his full voice he blessed (the one) who created everything.

17:4 When Sarah saw Ishmael playing with Isaac and Abraham being extremely happy, she became jealous of Ishmael. She said to Abraham: 'Banish this servant girl and her son because the son of this servant girl will not be an heir with my son Isaac'. 17:5 In Abraham's opinion the command regarding his servant girl and his son — that he should banish them from himself — seemed bad, 17:6 but God said to Abraham ...

Latin

18:10 He was startled and said: 'Yes'? 18:11 I said to him: 'Do not lay your hand on the child and do not do anything to him because now I have shown that you fear your God. You have not refused me your first-born son'. 18:12 Prince Mastema was put to shame [cf. Rönsch, 107]. Then Abraham looked up and saw a ram caught by its horns. Abraham went and took the ram. He offered it instead of his son Isaac. 18:13 Abraham named that place 'The Lord Saw' so that it is said: 'In the mountain the Lord appeared'. This is Mt. Zion. 18:14 He again called to Abraham by his name from heaven, since we were to speak to him in the Lord's name. 18:15 He said: 'I have sworn by myself, says the Lord: because you have performed this command and have not refused on account of me your only son whom you love, I will indeed bless you and will indeed multiply your descendants (like) the stars in the sky and like the sand which is at [cf. Rönsch, 110] the seashore. Your descendants will possess [read hereditabit for hereditavit] the cities of their enemies. 18:16 All the nations of the earth will be blessed through your descendants because of the fact that you have obeyed my command. I have made known to all that you are faithful to me in all that I have told you. Go in peace'.

18:17 Then Abraham went to his servants. They set out and went into Beersheba. Abraham lived at the well of the oath. 18:18 He used to celebrate the festival often — every year. For he used to celebrate joyfully those seven days also. He named it the festival of the Lord in accord with the seven days during which he went and returned. 18:19 It was ordained and written on the heavenly tablets regarding Israel and his descendants that they should celebrate the festival for seven days with great happiness.

19:1 During the year of the first week in the forty-second jubilee, Abraham returned and lived opposite Hebron, that is, Kiriath Arba, for two weeks of years. 19:2 In the year of this third week of this jubilee, the days of Sarah's life were completed and she died in Hebron. 19:3 When Abraham went to mourn for her, we tested whether he himself was patient and not faint-hearted in the words that he spoke. But in this respect he was found most patient and not disturbed, 19:4 because he spoke with the Hittites in a patient spirit so that they would give him a place in which to bury his dead. 19:5 God gave him a favorable reception before all who would see him. He mildly pleaded with the Hittites, and they gave

him the double land of the cave which is opposite Mamre — that is, Hebron — for 400 silver pieces. 19:6 They requested this from him: 'Allow us to give (it) to you for nothing'! Yet he did not take (it) from them for nothing but he gave as the price of the place the full amount of money. He bowed twice to them and afterwards buried his dead in the double cave. 19:7 All the time of Sarah's life was 127 years — that is, two jubilees, four weeks less one year. This was the time of Sarah's life.

19:8 This was the tenth test in which he was found, and in it Abraham was faithful and patient in spirit. 19:9 He said the word about the promise of the land, to the effect that God said [omit illi dare, cf. Rönsch, 112] to him that he would give it to him and his descendants after him. He pleaded with them for a place to bury his dead because he was found to be faithful and was recorded on the heavenly tablets as the friend of God.

19:10 In its fourth year Abraham took a wife for his son Isaac. Her name was Rebecca, the daughter of Bethuel (the son of Abraham's brother Nahor), the sister of Laban, the daughter of Bethuel. Bethuel was the son of Milcah, the wife of Abraham's brother Nahor. 19:11 Abraham married a third wife whose name was Keturah — one of the daughters of his household servants — because Hagar died prior to Sarah. 19:12 She gave birth to six sons for him — Zimran [cf. Rönsch, 112-13], Jokshan, Medai, Midian, Ishbak, and Oe — during two weeks of years.

19:13 In the sixth week, during its second year, Rebecca gave birth to two sons for Isaac: Esau and Jacob. Jacob was gentle and upright, while Esau was harsh and a rustic, hairy man. Jacob used to live in tents. 19:14 When they both grew up and became young men, Jacob learned (the art of) writing, but Esau did not learn (it) because he was a rustic man and a hunter. But he learned (the art of) warfare. and all the things that he did were harsh. 19:15 Abraham loved Jacob but Isaac loved Esau.

19:16 As Abraham observed Esau's behavior, he realized that through Jacob he would have posterity and a reputation. He summoned Rebecca and gave her orders about Jacob, since she loved Jacob more than Esau. 19:17 He said to her: 'Daughter, take care of the reputation of my son Jacob because he will be for me ... on the earth and (will prove) a blessing for mankind and the glory of all my descendants. 19:18 For I know that God has chosen him as his own holy people from all the peoples who are on the surface of the entire earth. 19:19 Isaac now loves Esau more than Jacob, but I see that you rightly love Jacob. 19:20 Increase your favor to him still more; may your eyes look at him lovingly because he will prove to be a blessing for us on the earth from now and throughout all the history of the earth. 19:21 May your hands therefore grow strong and your mind be happy with your son Jacob because I love him more than all my sons; for he will be blessed forever and his descendants will also fill the entire earth. 19:22 If, therefore, a man is able to count the sand on the earth, then his descendants, too, will be counted. 19:23 All the blessings with which God blessed me and my descendants will belong to Jacob and his descendants for all time. 19:24 Through his descendants my name and the name of my ancestors Shem, Noah, Enoch, Malalael, Enos, and Adam will be blessed. 19:25 They will serve (the purpose of) laying heaven's foundations and making the earth firm so that all the luminaries of the firmament may be perceived'.

19:26 Then Abraham summoned ...

Latin

20:5   'how they were condemned because of
their wickedness; because they commingled with prostitutes, engaged in unclean
acts, did every (kind of) abominable act, and disregarded the commandments.
20:6 For that reason (be careful) that you, too, do not perhaps make your name
into a curse, all your lives into a (reason for) hissing, and all your sons into
something that is also destroyed by the sword. Then you will be accursed like
Sodom, and all who remain of you like the people of Gomorrah. 20:7 For this
reason I testify to you, sons: love the God of heaven and hold fast to all his
commandments. Do not follow all their abominations and all their uncleanness.
20:8 You will not make for yourselves gods that are molten images or statues
because they are something empty and will have no spirit in them. For they are
made by hands, and all who trust in them trust in nothing. Therefore do not serve
them or worship it. 20:9 Rather, serve the most high God and worship him —
worshiping and looking expectantly for his presence continually, and do what is
true and just before him so that he may direct you, give you favor, make the rains
fall for you morning and evening; bless all things that *you* have done on the
earth; bless your food and water; and he will bless the products of your loins, the
products of your land, the herds of your cattle, and the flocks of your sheep.
20:10 You will become a blessing on the earth, and all the nations of the earth
will be delighted with you. They will bless your sons in my name so that they may
become a blessing as I, too, am'.
      20:11 When he had given gifts to Ishmael, his sons, and Keturah's sons and
sent them away from his son Isaac ... 20:12 ... his sons, Keturah's sons, and their
sons ... and settled from Paran as far as the entrance of Babylon — in all the land
toward the east opposite the desert. 20:13 They mixed with one another, and
their name has attached itself to the Arabs and to the Ishmaelites until the
present.
      21:1 In the sixth year of the seventh week of this jubilee Abraham summoned
his son Isaac and gave him orders as follows: 'I have grown old but do not know
when I will die. I have reached the full number of my days. 21:2 Now I am 175
years of age. Throughout my entire lifetime I have continually remembered our
God and have searched for him with all my strength in order to do his entire will
and to set a straight course in all his ways. 21:3 Therefore I have personally hated
idols and have despised those who serve them. I have devoted my heart and spirit
to keep and do the will of the one who created me. 21:4 For he is the living God.
He is holy, faithful and just, and with him there is no favoritism for anyone so
that he should accept bribes because he is a just God and (there is) judgment
against all who transgress his commands and despise his testimony. 21:5 Now
you, son, keep his commands, ordinances, and verdicts. Do not pursue abomi-
nable things and molten images. 21:6 Do not eat any blood of any flesh, either of
those which are on the earth or of those which fly in the air. 21:7 If you kill a
victim for a peace offering, kill it but pour out its blood onto the altar. All the
blood of the sacrifice on the altar with the finest flour and prepared in oil with its

libation — you will offer all these on the altar as a sacrifice. It is an aroma that is pleasing before God. 21:8 You will offer the fat of the peace offering on the fire (which is) on the altar, and remove the fat which is on the stomach and all the fat which is on the internal organs and the two kidneys and all the fat which is on them and which is on the upper thigh and the liver that is on the lungs with the kidneys. 21:9 In this way offer everything as a pleasant fragrance (which is) acceptable before the Lord, with their sacrifice and its libation as a pleasant fragrance — the food of the offering to the Lord.

21:10 You will eat the meat during that day and on the next day; but the sun will not set ...

4Q221 (Jub^f 1)

21:22 their [paths] and commit [
        hid]e his [fac]e from you and will hand you over [
        and your descendants [from benea]th heaven.
        Your name [and] memory will be destroyed from the entire earth [
21:23 their [imp]urity. Keep the obligatio[ns of the] most high [God   and
from all their impurity. K[eep   Then you will] be successful in
every regard. 21:24 He will bless you in al[l   ear]th
throughout all the histor[y of the ear]th. Then [my name and your name will] no[t

Latin

22:2 ... Isaac's possessions in Beersheba were numerous. Isaac used to go and inspect what he still possessed and then return to his father. 22:3 At this time Ishmael came to see his father, and both of them came together. Isaac slaughtered a sacrifice for the offering; he offered (it) on his father's altar which he had made in Hebron. 22:4 He sacrificed a peace offering and prepared a joyful feast in front of his brother Ishmael. Rebecca made fresh bread out of new wheat. She gave it to her son Jacob to bring to his father Abraham some of the firstfruits of the land so that he would eat (it) and bless the Creator of everything before he died. 22:5 Isaac, too, sent through Jacob the best of his peace offerings and wine to his father Abraham for him to eat and drink. 22:6 Abraham ate and drank. Then he blessed the most high Lord who created the heavens and the earth, who made all the fat things of the earth, and gave them to mankind to eat, drink, and bless their Creator.

22:7 'Now I acknowledge (you), my God, because you have shown me this day. I am now 175 years of age, old and with (my) time completed. All my days have proved to be peace for me. 22:8 The enemy's sword has not subdued me during all the days which you have given me and these my sons during all my lifetime until today. 22:9 ... now your kindness and peace [rest] on this young man, Lord, and on his descendants so that they, of all the sons of the earth, may become your acceptable people and heritage from now until all the time of the earth's history throughout all ages'.

22:10 Abraham summoned his son, that is, Jacob, and said: '(My) son Jacob, may the God of all bless and strengthen you to do before him what is true and what he wants; and choose you and your descendants to be his people and in his

will throughout all time. Now you, (my) son Jacob, come close to me and kiss me'. 22:11 So Jacob came close and kissed him. Then he said: 'May my son Jacob and all his sons be blessed to the most high God in all things. May God give you true descendants, and you will sanctify some of your sons within the entire earth. The nations will serve you, and all peoples will bow before your name. 22:12 Be strong before people and exercise power among all of Seth's descendants. Then your ways and the ways of your sons will be justified so that they may become a holy people. 22:13 May the most high God give you all the blessings with which he blessed me and blessed Noah and Adam. May they come to rest on the sacred head of your descendants throughout each and every generation forever. 22:14 He will purify you from all filth and injustice so that he may forgive all your unjust acts and your sins of negligence. He will strengthen and bless you; you will possess the entire earth. 22:15 You will renew his covenant with him so that you may be for him the people of heritage throughout all ages. He will truly and rightly be God for you and your descendants throughout all the time of the earth.

22:16 Now you, (my) son Jacob, remember what I say and keep the commandments of your father Abraham.

Separate from the nations,
and do not eat with them,
nor should you act as they do.
You are not to become their companion,
for their actions are something that is impure,
and their entire way is something impure, abominable, and filthy.
22:17 For they sacrifice to the dead,
and they worship demons.
They eat on tombs,
and everything they do is empty and worthless.
22:18 They have no mind to think,
and their eyes do not see what they do
and how they err in saying to (a piece of) wood:
«You are my god»;
or to a stone:
«You are my Lord;
you are (my) deliverer».
They have no mind.
22:19 As for you, (my) son Jacob, the most high God will help you, and the God of Adae will strengthen you. He will remove you from all their abominable acts and from al[l ...

3Q5 frg. 3

23:6 [After the report] was heard in [
       ] came to [his father] A[braham
       ] A[braham's hou]sehold [
23:7   ] in the cave of Mach[pelah

2Q19

23:7   Ma]chpelah ne[ar his wife Sarah. All the peop[le
          ] for forty days.[Abra]ham
     23:8 He had lived for three jubilees and fo[ur

Latin

                                        23:8 ... 175 years. He completed his
He had grown old and (his) time was   lifetime. He had grown old and (his)
filled up.   time was filled up. 23:9 For the times
of the ancients were as many as nineteen jubilees for (their) lives. After the flood
the times of these jubilees began to decrease, to grow old more quickly, and the
times of their lives to decrease because of the numerous difficulties and being
wicked in their ways — with the exception of Abram. 23:10 For Abraham was
perfect with God in everything he did — being truly pleasing throughout all his
lifetime. And yet (even) he had not completed four jubilees during his lifetime
when he became old — because of the evil ones — and reached the end of his
time. 23:11 The generations that are to come into being from now until the day
of the great judgment ⟨but⟩ will grow old quickly — before they complete two
jubilees. The spirits of their knowledge will leave them. 23:12 At that time, if a
man lives a jubilee and one-half of years,

3Q5 frg. 1

23:12 it [will be said] about him: 'He   it will be said about him: 'He has lived
has lived for a long time'. [for a long time'. But the greater part of
                          dis]tress   his time ... and distress without peace,
without peace, 23:13 because (there   23:13 because (there will be) blow
will be) blow upon blow, trou[ble   upon blow, trouble upon trouble, dis-
          distre]ss upon distress, bad   tress upon distress, bad news upon bad
news upon [bad] news   news, disease upon disease, and every
(kind of) bad punishment (like) this, together with epilepsy (?) and calamity;
snow, frost, and ice; fever, cold, and choking; famine, death, sword, captivity,
and every (sort of) blow (and) beating. 23:14 All of these will happen to the
generation which is evil, which commits sin on the earth along with impurity,
sexual wrongs, contamination, their detestable actions.
    23:15 Then it will be said: 'The days of the ancient one were numerous — as
many as 1000 years — and the days were good. But now the days of our lives, if a
man has lived for a long time, are 70 years, and, if he is strong, 80'. They are evil
and there is no peace during the days of that evil generation. 23:16 During that
generation the children will find fault with their fathers and elders because of sin
and injustice and because of what they say and the great evils that they commit,
because they abandon the covenant which God made between himself and them
to observe and perform all his commandments, ordinances, and all his laws.
There is no one who passes to the right or left. 23:17 For all are evil; every mouth
speaks what is evil. Everything that they do is impure and something hateful; all
their ways are (characterized by) contamination ... abomination, and destruc-
tion. 23:18 The earth will indeed be *destroyed* because of all that they do. There is
no produce, wine, or oil because what they do is completely [evil ?] ... beasts,

animals, birds, and all fish of the sea because of the evil of mankind. 23:19 One group will struggle with another — that is, the young with the old, the old with the young; the poor with the rich, the lowly with the great; and the needy with the ruler — in the law regarding the covenant. For they have forgotten commandment, covenant, festival, month, sabbath, jubilee, and all verdicts. 23:20 They will stand up with bow, swords, and warfare in order to bring them back to the way; but they will not be brought back until much blood is shed on the earth by each group.

23:21 Those who escape will not depart into the true way; they will not turn from their wickedness because all will elevate themselves for (the purpose of) cheating and for wealth so that each one takes all things that belong to another. They will mention the great name neither truly nor rightly. They will defile the sanctuary with abominations of the truth and impurities. 23:22 There will be great anger from the Lord for the actions of that generation. He will deliver to them the sword, judgment in captivity, plundering, and devouring. 23:23 He will arouse against them the sinful nations who [will have] no

4Q176 frgs. 19-20

23:21   tru]ly nor rightly.
defil]e [   ] with the
i[mpure]
23:22 There will be great anger
[   ] for the actions of [   ]
generation. [the]m
to the sword, judgment, [   ]
plundering, and devouring. 23:23 He
will arouse against them [
                              kind-
]ness for them and show [partiality] to
n[o] one, whether

24:12 ... of years. 24:13 Abimelech gave orders as follows regarding him: 'Any man who troubles him or anything that belongs to him is to die'. 24:14 Isaac prospered in the land of the Philistines and possessed much property, cattle, sheep, camels, donkeys, and many servants. 24:15 He planted seeds in the land of the Philistines, and he harvested a hundred-fold. When Isaac had become very great, the Philistines grew jealous of him. 24:16 (As for) all the wells that Abraham's servants had dug during Abraham's lifetime — the Philistines covered them up after Abraham's death and filled them with dirt. 24:17 Then Abimelech said to Isaac: 'Leave us because you have become much too great for us'. So Isaac left that place with his (people) during the first year of the seventh week.

24:18 Afterwards they again dug the water wells which the servants of his father Abraham had dug and the Philistines had filled up after his father Abraham's death. He called them by the names that his father had given them. 24:19 Isaac's servants dug wells in the wadi and found there (?) flowing water. Then the shepherds of Gerar quarreled with Isaac's shepherds and said: 'The water is ours'. So Isaac named the well Difficulty 'because they were difficult for us'. 24:20 They dug a second well, and they quarreled about it too. He named it Hostility. They dug a third well but did not quarrel about it. He named it

Capacity. Isaac said: 'Now the Lord has enlarged us and multiplied us on the land'.

24:21 ... during the first year of the first week. 24:22 The Lord appeared to him that night — on the first day of the first month — and said to him: 'I am the God of your father Abraham. Do not be afraid because I am with you and will bless you. I will make your descendants as numerous as the sand of the earth for the sake of my servant Abraham'. 24:23 He built ... which his father had built. He called on the Lord's name and offered a sacrifice to the God of his father Abraham.

24:24 They dug a well and found flowing water. 24:25 But when Isaac's servants once more dug another well, they did not find water. They came and told Isaac that they had not found water. Isaac said: 'Because I have sworn an oath to the Philistines on this very day this has happened to us'. 24:26 He named that place the well of the oath because there Abimelech, his companion Ahuzzath, and the leader of his army Phicol had sworn an oath. 24:27 On that day Isaac realized that ... he had sworn an oath to make peace with him. 24:28 On that day Isaac cursed the Philistines and said: 'May the Philistines be cursed from among all peoples at the day of anger and indignation. May God make them a disgrace, a curse, and (an object of) great indignation in the hands of the sinful nation(s) and in the hands of the Kittim. 24:29 The just nation in judgment will eradicate them from beneath the sky, for they are enemies and opponents to my sons during their history on the earth. 24:30 They will have no one left or anyone who escapes safe(ly) on the day of judgmental anger; but all the descendants of the Philistines (are meant) for ruin and destruction so that they may be removed from the surface of the earth. They will have no name left upon the earth.

24:31 If he should go up to the sky.
from there he would be brought down;
where(ver) he would flee,
from there he would be removed.
If he should hide himself among the nations,
from there he will be uprooted.
If he should go down to Sheol,
there his punishment will increase.
There he will have no peace.
24:32 If he should go away into captivity,
his life will be in the power of all those who seek him;
he will die in Sheol.
He will have neither descendants nor name on the entire earth,
because he is going to an eternal curse'.

24:33 For this is the way it has been written and recorded against him on the heavenly tablets — that it may happen to him on the day of judgment so that he may be eradicated from the surface of the earth.

25:1 In the second year of this week, in the jubilee, Rebecca summoned her son Jacob and spoke to him: 'Son, do not marry ...'.

26:8 '... his advice, and he would get angry ⟨and he would get angry⟩ at me.

Then I would bring a curse on myself, not a blessing'. 26:9 But his mother Rebecca said to him: 'Let your curse be on me, son; just obey me'.

26:10 So Jacob obeyed his mother Rebecca. He went and took two tender, excellent kids and brought them to his mother. His mother prepared them as food as he liked (them). 26:11 Rebecca then took her older son Esau's favorite clothes that were present with her in the house. She dressed her younger son Jacob in them and put the goatskins around his forearms and shoulders and on the exposed parts of his neck. 26:12 She then put the food which she had prepared and the bread into her son Jacob's hands. 26:13 Jacob went in to his father and said: 'I am your son. I have done as you told me. Get up, have a seat, and eat some of what I have caught, father, so that you may bless me'. 26:14 Isaac said to his son: 'How have you managed to find (it) so quickly, son'? 26:15 Jacob said: 'The Lord your God guided (it) in front of me'. 26:16 Then Isaac said to him: 'Come close to me and let me touch you, son, (so that I can tell) whether you are my son Esau'. 26:17 Jacob came close to his father Isaac. When he touched him he said: 26:18 'The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are Esau's hands'. He did not recognize him because there was a turn of affairs from heaven to distract his mind. He did not recognize (him) because his hands were hairy like Esau's hands. So he blessed him. 26:19 He said: 'Are you my son Esau'? Jacob said: 'I am your son'. Then Isaac said: 'Bring (it) to me and I will eat some of what you have caught, son, so that I may bless you'. 26:20 He then brought him (food) and he ate; he brought him wine and he drank.

26:21 His father Isaac said to him: 'Come close to me and kiss me, son'. He came close and kissed him. 26:22 When he smelled the aroma of his clothes, he blessed him and said: 'Indeed the aroma of my son is like the aroma of a full field which God has blessed.

26:23 May [God] grant to you ...'

Syncellus, *Chronographia* (202.15-17)

26:34 In his blessings Isaac said to Esau: «When you take down and loosen his yoke from your neck, you will commit an offence worthy of death».

Latin

27:11 '... and to your descendants after you so that you may possess by inheritance the land where you wander as a foreigner and all the land which God gave to Abraham. Have a safe trip, son'.

27:12 So Isaac sent Jacob away. He went to Mesopotamia, to Laban, the son of Bethuel the Aramean — the brother of Rebecca, Jacob's mother. 27:13 When he was going to Mesopotamia, Rebecca grieved for her son Jacob and she cried. 27:14 Isaac said to Rebecca: 'Sister, do not cry for my son Jacob because he will go safely and return safely. 27:15 The most high God will guard him from every evil and will be with him. He will not abandon him for all time. 27:16 For I know that all his ways will be directed wherever he goes until he returns safely to us and we see that he is safe. 27:17 Therefore do not be afraid for him, my sister, because he is on the right way. He will be perfect — a true man. He will not be abandoned, Do not cry'. 27:18 So Isaac was consoling Rebecca regarding her son Jacob, and he blessed him.

1Q17

27:19   to g]o   27:19 In the forty-fourth jubilee, in
to Haran during the first [the year of the second week, Jacob left
                                                       the well of the oath to go to Haran.
                    wh]ich is on the   He arrived at Luz which is on the
mountain — that is, Bethel [mountain — that is, Bethel — on the
                                                       first day of the first month of this
                 at the pl]ace [in the   week. He arrived at the place in the
eveni]ng, turned off the road to the   evening, and turned off the road to the
we[st   west of the highway. During this night
                                                       he slept there because the sun had set.
27:20   too]k one of the stones of   27:20 He took one of the stones of
t[hat] place [and se]t i[t   that place and set (it) at (the place
                                                       where) his head (would be) beneath
                 H]e was travel[ing]   the tree. He was traveling and sleeping
alone [alone.
27:21 That night he dreamed that a ladder was set up on the earth and its top was
reaching heaven; that angels of God were going up and down on it; and that the
Lord was reclining on it. 27:22 He spoke with Jacob and said: 'I am the Lord
God of Abraham your father and the God of Isaac. The land on which you are
sleeping I will give to you and your descendants after you. 27:23 Your
descendants will be like the sand of the earth. They will become numerous
toward the west, the east, the north, and the south. All the families of the earth
will be blessed through you and your descendants. 27:24 As for ...'.

28:16 '... of your womb? Or have I abandoned you'? 28:17 Since Rachel saw
that Leah had given birth to four sons for Jacob — Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and
Judah — Rachel said to Jacob: 'Go in to my servant girl Bilhah. Then she will
become pregnant and give birth to a son for me'. 28:18 She gave her servant girl
Bilhah as a wife. She became pregnant and gave birth to a son. He named him
Dan in the ninth month of this sixth year of the week. 28:19 Jacob once again
went in to Bilhah. She became pregnant and gave birth to a second son for Jacob.
Rachel named him Naphtali on the fifth of the seventh month during the second
year of the fourth week. 28:20 When Leah saw that she was held back and was
not bearing children, she gave her maid Zilpah to Jacob as a wife. She became
pregnant and gave birth to a son. Leah named him Gad. And on the twelfth of
the eighth month of the third year of the fifth week 28:21 he went in to her, and
she gave birth to a son for him. She named him Asher. On the second of the tenth
month during the fifth year of the fourth week, 28:22 he went in to her. She
became pregnant and gave birth to a son. He named him Issachar. On the fourth
of the fifth month of the [fourth] year of the fourth week, she gave him to a nurse.
28:23 Again Jacob went in to Leah. She became pregnant and gave birth to
twins: a male and a female. She named the male Zebulun and the female Dinah.
On the seventh of the seventh month of the sixth year of the fourth week, 28:24
God was kind to Rachel. He opened her womb, and she became pregnant and
gave birth to a son. She named him Joseph. On the first day of the fourth month,
during the sixth (year) of the fourth week, 28:25 at the time when Joseph was

born, Jacob said to Laban: 'Give me my wives and my sons. I will go to my father Isaac and make a house for myself, because I have completed the years during which I served you in exchange for your two daughters. Then I will go to my father's house'. 28:26 Laban said to Jacob: 'Wait for me in exchange for wages. Tend my sheep again, and I will give you (your) wages'. 28:27 They agreed about the wages that he would give him ....

29:8 ... (for) this (reason) that place is named the mound of testimony after that hill. 29:9 For at first the land of Gilead was named the land of Rafaim because it is the land of the Refaim. There the Refaim — that is, the giants — were born whose heights were ten cubits, nine, eight cubits, and also seven cubits. 29:10 The place where they lived (extended) from the land of the Ammonites as far as Mt. Hermon. Their royal centers were Karnaim, Mastarot, Edrei, ... Misur (?), ... and Seo. 29:11 The Lord destroyed them because of the evil things they did, for they were very wicked. He made the Amorites live in their place — so evil and sinful that there is *today* no nation *that* has matched all their sins. They no longer have length of life on the earth.

29:12 Jacob sent Laban away, and he went to Mesopotamia, to the eastern country. But Jacob returned *to* the land of Gilead. 29:13 In the ninth month, Jacob, his eleven sons, crossed, and on the (same) day his brother Esau came to him. He was reconciled. Then he went from him to the land of Seir, while Jacob lived in tents. 29:14 In the first year of the fifth week of this jubilee he crossed the Jordan. He settled on the other side of the Jordan and tended his sheep from the Salt Sea as far as the *aggrum* of Akrabbim. 29:15 He deliverd to his father Isaac some of all his possessions: clothing, food, meat, things to drink, milk, butter, cheese, and dates from the valley. 29:16 To his mother Rebecca (he sent goods) four times per year — between the seasons of the months, between plowing as far as the autumnal harvest, between the autumnal rains and the vernal rains — to Abraham's tower. 29:17 For Isaac had returned from the well of the oath, had gone up to the tower of his father Abraham, and had settled there in his land and (that of) his son, 29:18 because, at the time when Jacob went to Mesopotamia, Esau had married Mahalath, Ishmael's daughter. (He had gathered) his wife (and) all his father's flocks and had gone up and lived in Mt. Seir. He had left his father Isaac at the well of the oath. 29:19 So Isaac had gone up from the well of the oath to the tower of his father Abraham in the mountain of Hebron. 29:20 There Jacob would send whatever things were for his father or mother from time to time — all the things they needed in their every want. Then they would bless Jacob with all their mind and with all their being.

30:1 During the first year of the sixth week he went up safely to Salem, to the east side of Shechem, in the fourth month. 30:2 There Jacob's daughter Dinah was taken by force to the house of Shechem, the son of Hamor the Hivite, the ruler of the land. He defiled her since he slept with her. Now she was a small girl, twelve years of age. 30:3 Afterwards he begged her father and all her brothers for her as a wife. Jacob and his sons were angry with the Shechemites because they had defiled their sister Dinah. They spoke deceptively with them. Simeon and Levi mocked them in a crafty way, and Simeon and Levi resolved to destroy them. 30:4 They effected a punishment on the men of Shechem whom they found

in it. They left absolutely no one in it, for they killed all in judgment because they had defiled their sister.

30:5 ... will not be any more — that Israelite women should be defiled. For there is to be a punishment against them in heaven that they were to fight against Shechem ... with the sword, since they had done something shameful in Israel. 30:6 The Lord handed them over to Jacob's sons for them to uproot them with the sword and for there to be punishment against them and so that there should not again be ... Israel — that an Israelite virgin should be defiled. 30:7 Any man who is of the Israelites and to whom it is pleasing to give his daughter or his sister to any foreigner is to die. He is to be stoned because he has done something shameful in Israel. The woman is to be burned because she has defiled her father's house; she is to be uprooted from Israel. 30:8 No fornicator or detestable thing is to be within Israel throughout all the time of the earth's history, for Israel is holy to the Lord. Any man who defiles it is to die by stones. 30:9 For this is the way it has been written and ordained on the heavenly tablets regarding any descendant of Israel, since the one who defiles is to die and be stoned. 30:10 This law will have no temporal limit. There will be no remission for it or any forgiveness; but rather the man who defiles his daughter within all of Israel is to be eradicated because he has given one of all his descendants to a foreigner and they have acted impiously by contaminating them.

30:11 Now you, Moses, order the Israelites and testify to them that they are not to give any of their daughters to foreigners and that they are not to take any of their daughters for their sons because it is a despicable thing before the Lord. 30:12 For this reason I have written for you in the words of the law the full account of what the Shechemites did to Dinah and how Jacob's sons said: 'We will not give our daughter to a man who has a foreskin because for us that would be a disgraceful thing. 30:13 It is a disgraceful thing for the Israelites who give or take (in marriage) one of the foreign women because it is a despicable thing and an impure thing in all Israel. 30:14 Israel will not become clean from that despicable thing if it has one of the foreign women, and we will not become clean (?) one of our daughters to all foreigners'. 30:15 For it is blow upon blow and curse upon curse. All the punishments of blows and the curse of curses will come upon him (if) he does this; and if the one who does the despicable thing disregards (it) and looks away and defiles God's sanctuary and those who defile his holy name, then the entire nation will be condemned together because of all the despicable (acts) of this one. 30:16 He will show no favoritism nor will he accept a sacrifice or burnt offering; nor will he smell a pleasing fragrance so that he should accept it. (So) is any man or woman in Israel to be who defiles the holy things. 30:17 For this reason I have ordered you: 'Proclaim this testimony in Israel: «See what happened to the Shechemites and their children — how they were handed over to the men of Jacob's sons. They killed them in judgment. It was counted for them as a truthful act and was recorded as a just act for them». 30:18 Levi's descendants were appointed as the priesthood and as levites to serve before the Lord as we too (do) for all time. Levi and his sons are blessed forever because he was eager for the truth so that he could carry out justice and revenge on all who were placed against Israel. 30:19 So blessing and justice

before the God of all are entered for him as a testimony on the heavenly tablets. 30:20 The justice which the man would perform during his lifetime will be remembered at all times of the year. As far as 1000 years it will be offered. It will come to him and his descendants after him. He has been recorded on the heavenly tablets as a just friend'.

30:21 I have written this entire message for you and have ordered you to tell the Israelites not to sin or transgress the statutes. Then they will not violate the covenant (which) was established for them so that they should perform them and be recorded as friends of God. 30:22 But if they transgress the covenant and do what is despicable in any of the ways which have been recorded on the heavenly tablets, they will be the enemies of God. They will be erased from the book of life and will be recorded in the book of destructions, among those who are uprooted from the earth. 30:23 On the day that Jacob's sons killed (the people of) Shechem, a written notice was entered in heaven for them (to the effect that) they had carried out what was true, justice, and revenge on them. They were recorded as a blessing.

30:24 They led their sister Dinah from Shechem's house and captured all things that were in Shechem — their sheep and cattle; the donkeys; all their property and all their land — and brought everything to their father Jacob. 30:25 He spoke to them (about) why they had destroyed (the people of) a city because he was afraid of the people who were living in the land — of the Canaanites and the Perizzites. 30:26 A fear of the Lord was over all the cities which were around Shechem. They did not pursue Jacob in order to harm him because fear had fallen on them.

31:1 On the first day of the month ...

31:9 '... son, because they look like you'? 31:10 He told him: 'They are indeed my sons. You have noticed correctly, father, that they are my sons'. 31:11 When they came up to him, he turned and kissed them and hugged both of them together. 31:12 A spirit of prophecy came into Isaac's mouth. He took Levi by his right hand and Judah by his left.

31:13 He turned to Levi first and began to bless him first. He blessed Levi as follows: 'May the God of everything — and he is the Lord of the ages — bless you and your sons throughout all ages.

31:14 May the Lord give you and your great descendants (the ability) to understand his glory.

He will make your descendants (alone) out of all humanity approach him

so that you may serve him in his sanctuary like the angels of the presence and like the holy ones.

The descendants of your sons, too, will be like them in honor, greatness, and holiness.

He will sanctify them throughout all ages.

31:15 They will become princes and judges of all the descendants of Jacob.

They will declare the word of God truly

and will justly test all his verdicts.

They will tell my ways to Jacob

and my paths to Israel [Rönsch, 145].

The blessing of God will be given to his descendants,
so that they may bless all the beloved descendants.
31:16 Your mother named you Levi,
and she has given you the right name.
You will be for the adornment of God
and a companion of all Jacob's sons.
Your table will belong to you;
you and your sons will eat (from) it.
Your table will be filled throughout all ages;
your food will not be lacking throughout all ages.
31:17 All those who hate you will fall before you,
and all your enemies will be destroyed and perish.
For as the one (who) blesses you will be blessed,
also if any nation curses you, it will be cursed'.
31:18 Then he said to Judah:
God will give you the power and strength to trample on all who hate you.
You will be a prince — you and one of your sons.
It will go and possess the entire earth and the regions.
Then the peoples will be frightened before you;
all the nations will be disturbed;
all ...'

31:29 '... the one who has made everything, to whom you made the prayer ...'
31:30 He said to Rebecca: 'Go with your son'.

So Rebecca went with her son Jacob and her nurse Deborah with her. They arrived at Bethel. 31:31 When he recalled the blessing with which his father had blessed him and his two sons — Levi and Judah — he was very happy and blessed the God of his fathers Abraham and Isaac. 31:32 'Now I know that I and my sons have an eternal hope before the almighty God'. This is the way it was destined regarding the two and (this is) their share in the eternal testimonies on the heavenly tablets just as Isaac blessed them.

32:1 That night they slept in Bethel. Levi dreamed as though he were appointed as priest of the most high God forever. When he awakened, he blessed God. 32:2 When Jacob got up early in the morning on the fourteenth day of this month, he gave a tithe of everything which had come with him — from people to every living thing, and from money to all utensils and clothing. He gave a tithe of everything. 32:3 At that time, when Rachel became pregnant with her son Benjamin, Jacob counted his sons from him. He went up (the list), and it came down on Levi in the Lord's share. His father put priestly clothes on him and ordained him 32:4 on the fifteenth day of this month. On it he brought to the altar 14 young bulls from the cattle, 28 rams, 49 sheep, 7 kids, and 21 goats. These were burnt-offerings on the altar of offerings for a pleasant aroma before God. 32:5 This was his gift because of the vow which he had made to give a tithe along with the sacrifices and with their wine. 32:6 When the fire had consumed [it he would burn] incense on the fire above; and as a peace offering two young bulls, four rams, two year-old lambs, two goats. This is what he would do once daily during the seven days. 32:7 He was blessing and uttering a song of praise to the

God who had freed him from all his difficulties and because he had granted his vow. 32:8 He tithed all ....

32:18 '... wherever they make their footprint against mankind. 32:19 I will give your descendants all of the blessings that are beneath the sky. They will rule and exercise power over all the nations just as they wish. Afterwards, they will gain the entire earth, and they will possess it forever'. 32:20 When he had finished speaking with him, he went up from him, and Jacob kept watching until he had gone up from him into heaven. 32:21 In a night vision he saw an angel of God coming down from heaven with seven boxwood tablets in his hand. He gave them to Jacob, and he read (them). He learned what things were written on them and what things would happen to him and his sons throughout all ages. 32:22 After he had shown him what things were written on the boxwood tablets, he said to him: 'You will not build this place, and do not make it into an eternal temple. Do not live in this place because this will [not] be that place. But go to the place of your father Abraham — the tower — and live with your father Isaac until the day of your father's death. 32:23 For you will die peacefully in Egypt and be buried honorably in this land; you will be put in the grave of your fathers with Abraham and Isaac. 32:24 Do not be afraid because just as you have seen and read so will all the things which have all been written happen'. 32:25 Then Jacob said: 'Lord, how shall I remember all the things that I have read and seen'? He said to him: 'I will remind you of all things'. 32:26 When he had gone up from him, he awakened and remembered all the things that he had read and seen. He hid all the things that he read and seen. 32:27 He celebrated one day there. On it he sacrificed as much as he had been sacrificing on the previous days. He named it Detaining because he was detained there one day. He named the previous days the Festival. 32:28 This is the way it was revealed that they should be, and it was written on the heavenly tablets, for which reason it was revealed to him that he should celebrate that day and add (it) to the seven festal days. 32:29 It was called Detaining because of the fact that it was added to the days of the festival in accord with the number of days in the year.

32:30 On the twentieth day of this month, in the third night, Deborah, Rebecca's nurse, died. They buried her below the city, beneath the oak at the stream. They named that place the Stream of Deborah.

32:31 Jacob went and returned to the tower of his father Isaac. Through her Jacob sent rams, sheep, and he-goats to make his father a meal as he would wish. 32:32 He followed his mother until he reached Dabrata, and he remained there. 32:33 During that night Rachel gave birth to a son. She named him Benjamin, i.e. (?) in this jubilee, on the tenth day of the eighth month, during the first year of the sixth week. 32:34 Then Rachel died there and was buried in the country of Ephrathah, that is Bethlehem. Jacob built a pillar above Rachel's grave, on the road of her grave.

33:1 Jacob went and rested to the south of the Tower of Ephrathah. He went to his father Isaac — he and his wife Leah — on the first day of the tenth month.

Syriac Chronicle (55.24-56.10)

| 33:2 One day Reuben saw Bilhah, his | 33:2 When Reuben saw Bilhah, |

father's concubine, bathing in water in a private place, and he loved her.

33:3 He secretly entered the place where Bilhah lived at night.
　　　　33:4 After he had slept with her in the bed, she took hold of him and shouted out. When she realized that it was Reuben,

　　　　33:5 she was ashamed because of him. She released her grip on him.
　　　　33:6 She grieved terribly about this deed and told no one.
33:7 When Jacob came and looked for her, she said to him: «I am not pure for you because your son Reuben defiled me and slept with me while I was sleeping. I did not realize (it) until he uncovered the edge of my (garment)».
33:8 Jacob was very angry at Reuben because he had slept with Bilhah and had uncovered the covering of his father. He cursed him and said: «Like water you have gone astray [cf. Gen. 49:4]; you will not desist ...» 33:9 Jacob did not know Bilhah again.

Rachel's maid — his father's concubine — bathing in water in a private place, he loved her.
33:3 At night he entered secretly to Bilhah and found her sleeping alone in her bed in her tent. 33:4 After he had slept with her, she awakened and there was Reuben with her on the bed. When she removed the covering, she took hold of him, shouted out, and realized that it was Reuben. 33:5 He was confused by her. Once she had released her grip from him he ran away. 33:6 She grieved terribly about this and told no one how he came. 33:7 When Jacob came, she told him and said to Jacob: 'I am not pure for you because I am too contaminated for you, since Reuben defiled me and slept with me at night. I was sleeping and did not realize (it) until he uncovered my covering and slept with me'. 33:8 Jacob was very angry at Reuben because he had slept with Bilhah.

　　　　　　　　　　　　33:9 Jacob did not know ....

Reuben proclaimed a fast for himself that he would not eat meat or drink wine because of his offence. 33:10 For this reason it is written in the law that anyone who sleeps with his father's wife is to die. 33:16 Reuben had pardon because the laws, the commandments, and the punishments had not yet been revealed.

Latin

　33:18 ... shows [no] partiality and [accepts no] gifts. 33:19 Tell them the words of this testament so that they may listen and be careful about them in order that they may not be destroyed or uprooted from the earth. For all who commit them on the earth before our God are something impure, something detestable, an offence, and something contaminated. 33:20 It is a great sin on the earth because Israel is a holy people for the Lord its God. It is the people of (his) share; it is a priestly nation and a royal and holy one (?). No impurity is among the holy people.
　33:21 During the third year of this sixth week Jacob and all his sons went and took up residence at the tower of Abraham near his father Isaac and his mother Rebecca. 33:22 These are the names of Jacob's sons: Reuben, the first-born, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun were Leah's sons. Rachel's sons were

Joseph and Benjamin. Bilhah's sons were Dan and Naphtali. And Zilpah's sons were Gad and Asher. Leah's daughter Dinah was Jacob's only daughter. 33:23 After they had come, they bowed to Isaac and Rebecca. When they saw them, they blessed Jacob and all his children. Isaac was extremely happy that he had seen the children of his younger son Jacob, and he blessed them.

34:1 During the forty-fourth jubilee, in the sixth year of this week, Jacob sent his sons to tend their sheep — his servants were with them — to the field of Shechem. 34:2 Seven Amorite kings assembled [against] them. They waited in the woods in order to kill them and take their sheep as booty ... 34:3 But Jacob, Levi, Judah, and Joseph remained at the tower with their father Isaac because he was faint-spirited and they were unable to leave him. Benjamin was the youngest; for this reason he stayed with his father. 34:4 Then came the kings of Saffo, the king of Arco, the king of Saragan, the king of Silo, the king of Gaas, the king of Boton, the king of Manesacer, and all who were living on the mountain and who were living in the forest in the land of Canaan. 34:5 It was reported to Jacob: 'The Amorite kings have just ...'.

35:3 '... everything I have done and all my thoughts [from the day I was born] until today — that at all times I ... to do what is good ... for all. 35:4 How shall I not do this matter about which you have ordered me — that I should do (it) for my father and brothers? 35:5 But I ask: «Tell me, mother, what impropriety you have noticed in me so that I may turn away from it and experience the mercy of the Lord». 35:6 Rebecca said to him: 'Son, throughout my entire [lifetime] I have noticed no improper act in you but only proper one(s). However, I will tell you the whole truth, son: I am dying during this year and will not even make it alive through this year. I will die and will not live more than ... 50 years. I am completing my lifetime'. 35:7 Jacob laughed at what his mother was saying be[cause] ...., but she was sitting in front of him and she was strong. She had lost none of her strength because she could go and come; and her teeth were strong. No sickness had harmed her throughout all her days. 35:8 Jacob said to her: 'I would be fortunate if my lifetime approached your

1Q18

35:8

'wi]th me
about your death'. [
    35:9
        ] 'I am ma[ki]ng [one reque]st
of you: make Esau swear that [he will]
n[ot]
                with hostility. For you
k[no]w the way Esau thinks — that h[e

                35:10
        don]e from the day [his
brother Ja]cob w[ent] to Haran [

lifetime .... in me ...... in the way ...... you have spoken with me about your death'.

35:9 She went in ... to Isaac and said to him: 'I am making one request of you: that you make Esau swear that he will not harm his brother Jacob, not pursue him, and not act in hatred against him. For you know the way Esau thinks — that he has been malicious since his youth and that he is devoid of virtue *because he* ...... my ...... his brother. 35:10 ...... all the things that he has done ...... the day .... u[ntil] today — th[at] ....

... has taken by force ...... 35:11 (When) we would ask him in a pleading way for what belonged to us, ... as if he were being charitable to us. 35:12 He is behaving bitterly toward you due to the fact that you blessed your perfect and true son Jacob since he has no evil ...'.

36:20 ... He served God wholeheartedly and with his entire self and in line with the visible commands according to the division of the times of his generations. 36:21 In the forty-fifth jubilee, during the fourth year of the second week Jacob's wife Leah died. They buried her in the twofold cave near his mother Rebecca. 36:22 All her sons and his children came to mourn with him for his wife Leah and to comfort him regarding her because he was lamenting her. 36:23 For he loved her very much from the time when her sister Rachel died because she was perfect and right in all her behavior and honored Jacob in all the time that he lived with her. He did not hear any bad word from her mounth because she was gentle and peaceful and .... hono[r] ...... 36:24 He recalled all the things that she had done in her lifetime, and for this reason he loved her very much with all his heart and his person.

Syriac Chronicle (56.11-58.25)

37:1 After Isaac's death,

37:1 On the day that Isaac, the father of Jacob and Esau, died Esau's sons heard that Isaac had given the older ... honor ... part to his younger son Jacob. They became very angry.

37:2 Esau's sons quarreled with their father and said to him: «Why is it that when you are older than your brother Jacob your father gave him the birthright and the greatness, although he is younger than you»? 37:3 Esau said to his sons: «Because I gave the birthright and the greatness to my brother Jacob in exchange for a little lentil broth. Also, the day my father sent me to hunt game so that he could eat (it) and bless me, he came in a crafty way and brought in cooked food to my father. He blessed him and put me under his control.   37:4 Now my father has made me and him swear that neither of us will harm his brother, and that we will continue in (a state of) tranquillity and peace».

37:2 They quarreled with Esau: 'Why has Jacob been placed before you when he is the younger, and (why) has your father given him the greater part and made you the inferior one'? 37:3 Esau said to them: 'Because I gave the right of the first-born to Jacob in exchange for a little lentil broth. The day my father sent me to hunt game for him so that he could eat (it) and bless me, he came in a crafty way and brought in food and drink to my father. My father blessed him and put me under his control. 37:4 Now our father has made us — me and him — swear that we will not aim at what is bad, the one against his brother, and that we will continue in (a state of) love and peace, each with his brother, so that we should not practice what is wrong toward one another'. 37:5 They said to him: 'We will not listen to you in order to make peace with him

37:5 His sons said to him: «We do not agree with you to make peace with him because

our strength is greater than his strength, and we are stronger than he is. We will go against him and kill him and his sons. If you do not go with us, we will harm you too. 37:6 Now listen to us. Let us make war with him and destroy him from the earth before he gains strength». 37:7 Their father Esau said to them: «Do not go and do not make war with him so that you may not fall under his control and he destroy you». 37:8 His sons said to him: «This is the way you have acted from your youth and until today. You are bowing your neck beneath his yoke. We will not listen to you».

because our strength is greater than his strength, and we are stronger men than he is. We will go against him, kill him, and destroy him and [his] sons ...'.

At that time Jacob's wife Leah died, and he was sitting in mourning regarding the death of his wife. 37:9 Esau's sons sent and hired for themselves 4000 strong men from Aram and Edom. 37:11 They said to their father: «Get up, lead us. Otherwise, we will kill you». 37:12 Esau was filled with anger and wrath when he saw that his sons were forcing him to go against his brother. 37:13 But he remembered the bad things that were hidden in his mind against his brother at an earlier time, and he did not remember the oaths that he had sworn to his father and mother not to harm his brother.

37:14 During all of this, Jacob was unaware; rather, he was mourning for his wife Leah until they approached his enclosure with 4000 men. 37:15 The people of Hebron sent and said to Jacob: «Your brother is coming against you for war». For they loved Jacob more than Esau, since Jacob was a more kind and generous man than Esau. 3716 But Jacob did not believe (it) until they came near his enclosure. 37:17 At once he hastily closed the gates of the enclosure, went up, stood on the top, and spoke with his brother Esau. He said to him: «How fine is the consolation that you have come to give me for my wife who has died. Are these the oaths that you swore to your father and your mother two times before their death? You have violated your oaths».

37:18 Esau said in reply to Jacob: «Neither mankind nor animals have true oaths which they swear (as valid) forever. But every day they aim at what is bad for one another. 37:19 You and your sons will be enemies for me and my sons forever. There is for me no making of peace with you». Jacob said: «Do not do (this), my brother. As for me, there is no evil in my mind against you; do not plan evil against me. Be aware that there is a God, and he sees secrets and repays each one in accord with what he does. Calm your great anger and do nothing hastily. Then evil would come upon you». 37:20 Then Esau replied and said harshly: «Listen to what I have to say to you. If a pig changes its hide to soft wool; and if the horns of a deer emerge on its head, then I will observe brotherly ties with you. 37:21 If wolves make peace with lambs and do not harm them; 37:22 if the lion becomes the friend of a bull and draws the yoke with it; 37:23 and if the ravens turn white like pelicans, then I will make peace with you».

37:24 When Jacob saw that Esau had come against him with all his mind and all his intelligence so that he could kill him, 37:25 then Jacob told his sons to attack him.

38:1 Judah said to his father Jacob: «We are not able to draw the sword before your brother, since in our estimation he is equal to you. Draw your bow; slay your enemy; and kill your foe, because he is your brother. Leave the rest of the warriors to us. Do not ask any more questions». 38:2 Jacob then drew his bow, shot an arrow, hit his brother Esau on his right side, and struck him down. 38:3 He shot a second arrow and hit Aroda the Aramean on his left side. He killed him. When Jacob's sons saw that Esau was dead, they opened the gates of the enclosure.

38:4 They and their servants went out

and massacred all who
were found in front of them. No one escaped from them

38:8

except Esau's four sons. They left their father when he was killed and thrown.

38:9 Then Jacob
went out (and) buried his brother Esau. He and his sons returned to the enclosure.

38:1

'... in order that we may give him the honor'. 38:2 Jacob then stretched his bow, shot an arrow, pierced his brother Esau on his right breast, and struck him down. 38:3 He shot a second arrow and hit Adoram the Aramean on his left breast; he drove him back and killed him.

38:4 After this Jacob's sons — they and their servants — went out, divided to the four sides of the tower. 38:5 Judah went out first. Naphtali and Gad were with him, and 50 servants were with him on the south side of the tower. They killed whomever they found
in front of them. No one at all escaped from them. 38:6 Levi, Dan, and Asher went out on the east side of the tower, and 50 were with them. They killed the Moabite and Ammonite warriors. 38:7 Reuben, Issachar, and Zebulun went out and their 50 with them. They also killed the Philistine warriors. 38:8 Simeon, Benjamin, and Enoch — Reuben's son — went out on the west side of the tower, and their 50 were with them. Of (the people of) Edom and the Horites they killed 400 warriors and 600 and the four sons of Esau ran away with them. They left the body of their father thrown on the hill that is in Adurin. 38:9 Jacob's sons pursued them as far as Mt. Seir, while Jacob buried his brother Esau on the hill that is in Adurin and then returned to the tower. 38:10 Jacob's
sons besieged Esau's sons in Mt. Seir. They subjugated them to become servants

for Jacob's sons. 38:11 They sent to their father Jacob (to ask) whether they should make peace with them. 38:12 They placed the yoke of fear on them so that they should give honor to Jacob and his sons for all time. 38:13 They continued giving honor to Jacob until the day of his descent to Egypt. 38:14 The Edomites have not extricated themselves from the yoke of fear which Jacob's sons imposed on them until today.

38:15 These are the kings who ruled in Edom — before a kingship ruled the Israelites — until today in the land of Edom. 38:16 Barad, son of Beor, and the name of his city ...

39:9 She approached him and held on to him in the house in order to compel him and so that he would sleep with her. She closed the doors of the house and held on to him. Joseph left his clothes and, having opened the door, ran away from her to the outside. 39:10 When the woman saw that he had defied her, she accused him falsely to her husband in front of his master: 'That Hebrew slave of yours whom you love tried to force me so that he could sleep with me. When I shouted, he ran outside, left his clothes in my hands with whic[h I grab]bed his clothes from below ...' 39:11 When the Egyptian saw Joseph's clothes and the broken door, he believed what his wife said. He put Joseph in prison in the place where the prisoners of the king were held.

39:12 While he was there in the prison, the Lord gave him a favorable reception before the chief of the prison and a kind reception before him because he saw that the Lord was with him and that the Lord was directing all the things that Joseph did. 39:13 For that reason he handed everything over to him. The chief of the prison knew nothing of what was done in the prison because Joseph would do all these things and the Lord would direct them. He remained there for two years.

39:14 At that time the pharaoh, the king of Egypt, became angry at two of his eunuchs, i.e. the butlers and the chief baker. He put them in prison, in the house of the chief cook, in the prison where Joseph, too, was held. 39:15 The chief of the prison appointed Joseph to serve them. So he would serve in their presence. 39:16 The men — the chief butler and the chief baker — had dreams and told them to Joseph. 39:17 Things turned out for them just as Joseph interpreted for them. The pharaoh restored the chief butler to his position, but he hanged the chief baker as Joseph had told him. 39:18 The chief butler forgot Joseph in prison although he had informed him (about) what would happen to him. He did not remember so that king pharaoh could intervene and release Joseph because he forgot.

40:1 At that time the pharaoh had two dreams in one night about the famine which would come on the ... land. When he awakened, he summoned all the dream interpreters who were in his kingdom and the enchanters. He told them his dreams, but they were unable to interpret his dreams for him. 40:2 Then the chief butler remembered Joseph. After he had told king pharaoh about him, he brought him from prison and he related [his] two dreams in his presence ... 40:3 He interpreted ...... '... two dreams are one. But there will be seven successive years of abundance in the entire land of Egypt; and in the same way a seven-year famine will be in the entire land. 40:4 Now let the pharaoh appoint throughout

the entire land of Egypt overseers who are to collect the individual cities' food and store it during the seven years of abundance as food which will be for the seven years of famine. Then the land will not be destroyed because of the famine, since it will be very severe over the entire land'. 40:5 God gave Joseph a favorable and kind reception before the pharaoh. The pharaoh said to his servants: 'Will we be able to find a man more wise and knowledgeable than this one is, for the spirit of God is with him'? 40:6 He appointed him as the second to himself in his entire kingdom and as one who had authority over all the land of Egypt; and he put him on the second chariot which was the pharaoh's. 40:7 He dressed him with clothing made of linen and put a gold chain on his neck. They made a proclamation before him: 'Elel and habirel'. He put a signet ring on his hand and made him ruler over his entire household. He made him great and said: 'I will not be greater than you except with regard to my throne only'.

40:8 So Joseph took control over the entire land of Egypt. All of the pharaoh's princes, his servants, and all who were doing the king's work loved him because he conducted himself in a truthful way. In him there was no arrogance, pri[de ...

Syriac Chronicle (59.2-60.11)

41:4 Then Judah said to Er's brother Shelah: «Go in to your brother's wife Tamar and produce descendants for your brother». 41:5 Shelah knew that the descendants would not be his but his brother's; so, when he was joined with her, he poured out his semen on the ground so that he would not have sons. In this he did something evil before God, and he killed him.

41:6 So Judah said to Tamar: «Remain in your father's house as a widow until my son Onan grows up. Then he will become your husband». 41:7 Onan grew up, but Bedsuel did not allow Onan to marry Tamar. Judah's wife Bedsuel died.

41:8 After some time Judah went up to Timnah to shear his sheep in Timnah. Tamar was told: «Your father-in-law is now going up to shear his sheep in Timnah». 41:9 Then she removed the widow's clothing from herself, put on a veil, made herself up, and sat down on the road to Timnah. 41:10 When Judah came to that place, he saw her. He supposed that she was a prostitute and said to her: «Let me come in to you». 41:11 She said to him: «Give me my

41:6 ... his daughter-in-law [Ta]mar: 'Remain in your father's house as a widow until my son Selon grows up. Then I will give you to him as a wife'. 41:7 He grew up, but Judah's wife

Batsua did not allow her son Selon to marry her. Judah's wife Bethsua died during the fifth year of this week.

41:8 In its sixth year Judah went up to shear his sheep in Timnah. Tamar was told: 'Your father-in-law is now going up to shear his sheep in Timnah'. 41:9 Then she put aside her widow's clothing from herself, put on the best clothes, made herself up, and sat down at the gate near the road to Timnah. 41:10 When Judah arrived, he found her and supposed that she was a prostitute. He said to her: 'Let me come in to you'. She said: 'Come in'. So he came in to her. 41:11 She

fee». He said to her: «I have nothing with me except a ring, a staff, and a robe».

41:12 She said to Judah: «Give them to me until you send me my fee». He said to her: «I am sending you a kid». After he was with her, she became pregnant by him.

41:13 Then Judah went to his sheep. 41:14 He sent the kid through his Arullamite friend, but he did not find her. He asked the men of the area: «Where is the prostitute who was here?» They said to him: «There is no prostitute here». 41:15 When he returned to Judah, he said to him: «I did not find the prostitute. I asked the men of the area and they answered me: 'There is no prostitute here'». Judah said: «Why should we become an object of mockery?»

41:16 After three months she was visibly pregnant. It was told to Judah: «Your daughter-in-law Tamar has now become pregnant through prostitution» 41:17 Judah came to her father and brothers and said to them: «Bring her out and let her be burned because she has done something impure in Israel». 41:18 When she was brought out to be burned, she sent the ring, the staff, and the robe to her father-in-law and said: «Recognize whose these are because I am pregnant by him». 41:19 Judah recognized them and said: «Tamar has been more just than I; do not burn her». 41:20 He did not know her again. 41:21 She gave birth to two boys for him — twins: Perez and Zerah.

said to him: 'Give me my fee'. He said: 'I have nothing with me except the ring which I have on my finger, a neck chain, and the staff which is in my hand'. 41:12 She said to him: 'Give them to me until you send my fee'. Judah said: 'I am sending you a kid'. He gave them to her. After he was with her, she became pregnant by him.

41:13 Then Judah went to the sheep. 41:14 He sent the kid to her through his shepherd Adollam (?), but he did not find her. He asked the men of that area: 'Where is the prostitute who was here?' They said to him: 'There is no prostitute here with us'. 41:15 When he returned, he told Judah: 'I did not find her. But I also asked the men of that area and they said that there was no prostitute in that area'. Judah said: 'Let her have them so that she does not mock us'.

41:16 When three months were completed for her, she was visibly pregnant. Judah was told: 'Your daughter-in-law Tamar is now pregnant'. 41:17 Judah came to her father's house and said to her father and brothers: 'Bring her out and let her be burned because she has done something impure in Israel'. 41:18 When she was brought out to be burned, she sent the ring, the neck chain, and the staff to her father-in-law and said: 'Recognize whose these are; I am pregnant by him'. 41:19 ...

41:23 Judah knew that what he had done was evil — that he had slept with his daughter-in-law and had uncovered his son's covering. He was longing and pleading to God because of this sin. 41:24 He was told in a vision: «It has been forgiven for you because you have prayed and pleaded». He received pardon because he had lamented very much about the matter.

Latin

42:2 ... but in the land of Egypt there was food because Joseph had gathered the grain of the land during the seven years of abundance and was keeping it. 42:3 When the Egyptians came to Joseph so that he would give them food, he opened the storehouses in which the grain was and gave (it) to them to eat during the first year because he was selling (it) to them. 42:4 But the famine was very severe in the land of Canaan. Jacob heard that there was grain in Egypt, so he sent his ten sons to get food for him. But he did not send Benjamin with them. Jacob's ten sons arrived in Egypt. 42:5 Joseph recognized them, but they did not recognize him. Joseph addressed them harshly and said to them: 'You have come to investigate the land'. He then imprisoned them. 42:6 He sent and summoned them; when he had taken Simeon from them, he bound him and sent his nine brothers away. 42:7 He filled their containers and returned their money to them. 42:8 He ordered them regarding their youngest brother that they were to bring him. 42:9 Jacob's sons went up from the land of Egypt and came to the land of Canaan. They told their father what had happened to them and how the ruler of the land had spoken harshly with them and was holding Simeon 'until we should present our brother Benjamin to him'. 42:10 Jacob said: 'Me you have deprived of children. Joseph does not exist nor does Simeon exist; if you take Benjamin, you are also making your evil full on me'. 42:11 He said: 'My son will not go with you lest he should ever become ill on the way. For their mother gave birth to these two boys; one has died, and if you take this one and he would catch some sickness on the way, you would bring down my old age with sorrow to the depths'. 42:12 For they said to him that their money was also returned to them with their containers, and Jacob was afraid to send him with them.

42:13 Now the famine grew increasingly severe in the land because many Egyptians had kept their seed in storage place(s), that is, after they saw Joseph collecting grain and placing (it) in storehouses so that it would be kept for the years of the famine. 42:14 The Egyp[tians] ate it ...

45:8 ... the land of Egypt [suffer] ed from the famine, Joseph gained the whole land of Egypt for the pharaoh in exchange for food. For he acquired the people, the cattle, and everything for the pharaoh. 45:9 When the seven years of the famine were completed, Joseph gave seed and food to the people of the land so that they could seed the land in the eighth year because the river had overflowed the entire land of Egypt. 45:10 For during the seven years of the famine it had not overflowed and had irrigated only a few places at the river bank. The Egyptians seeded their land during the eighth year and gathered good produce that year. 45:11 That was the first year of the fifth week in the forty-fifth jubilee. 45:12 Joseph took a fifth of everything that had been produced in the land of Egypt as the royal share, and he gave them four parts for food and seed. Joseph made this a law for all the Egyptians in the entire land of Egypt until today.

45:13 Israel lived for 17 years in the land of Egypt. All of the years of his life that he lived were *three jubilees* — 147 years. Then he departed and died. During the forty-fifth jubilee, in the fourth year of the fifth week, 45:14 Israel blessed his sons before he died. He told what would happen to them in the land of Egypt in the last days. He blessed them and blessed Joseph doubly in the land. 45:15 He

slept with his fathers and was buried near his father Abraham in the double cave in the land of Canaan — in the grave which he had dug for himself in Hebron. 45:16 He gave all his books and the books of his father to his son Levi so that he could preserve them and renew them for his sons until today.

46:1 After the death of Jacob, the children of Israel became numerous in the land of Egypt. They became a great nation; and they were of the same mind so that each one loved the others. Each one joined his neighbor.

2Q20

46:1	] wee[ks of] years — for a[ll
46:2	] throughout all of Joseph's li[f]etime t[hat
	] were honor[ing
46:3	] when he [was] 1[10 years of age

Latin

46:12 The king of Canaan conceived an evil plan in order to make them suffer. At that time the Egyptians said: 46:13 'The nation of the Israelites has now greatly increased and they have become more numerous than we are. Come on, therefore, let us make them suffer before they multiply and let us humble them through their works so that war may not come our way, and then they, too, will fight against us to (?) our enemies as they leave our land because their mind(s) and faces (look) toward the land of Canaan'. 46:14 The king appointed taskmasters over them to make them suffer through their works. They built fortified cities for the pharaoh — Pithom, Ramses, and Oon. They built every wall which had been destroyed in the cities of Egypt. 46:15 They reduced them to slavery by force, but however much they would humble them the more they would multiply. 46:16 The Egyptians considered the Israelites detestable.

47:1 During the forty-seventh jubilee, in the seventh year of its seventh week, his father came from the land of Canaan. He was born during the fourth week, in its sixth year, in the forty-eighth jubilee. This was the time of distress for the Israelites. 47:2 The pharaoh, the king of Egypt, had given orders regarding them that they were to throw their sons — all the males who were born to them — into the river. 47:3 They continued throwing (them in) for seven months until the time when you were born. Your mother hid you for three months. Then they told about her. 47:4 As she was afraid, she made a box, covered it with asphalt and pitch, and put it at the river bank. She put you in it for seven days. Your mother would come at night and nurse you; during the day your sister Miriam would protect you from the birds. 47:5 At that time Termot, the pharaoh's daughter, went out to bathe in the river and heard you crying. She told her slave to bring the baby to her, so they brought you. 47:6 She took you out of the box and pitied you. 47:7 Then your sister said to her: 'I will go and summon for you, if you wish, a Hebrew woman who will nurse him for you'. She said to her: 'Go'. 47:8 She summoned her and your mother Jochebet. She gave that woman wages
....
47:9 ... taught .... When [you had] comple[ted] .... weeks ... they [brou]ght you into the royal court. 47:10 You remained ...... for three weeks of

years until the time when you went from the royal court and saw the Egyptian beating your brother. You struck him, dug into the ground, and buried him in the sand. 47:11 On the next day you found two of the Israelites fighting. You said to the one who was beating his fellow: 'Why are you beating your brother?' 47:12 He became angry with indignation ... said: 'Who appointed you as ruler or judge over us? Do you want to kill me as you killed the Egyptian yesterday?' ... because of this ...

48:1 During the forty-ninth jubilee, in the sixth year of the third week, you went and lived in the land of Mid[ian] ... for five weeks and one year. In the fiftieth jubilee, in the second week, during its second year, you returned to Egypt. 48:2 You yourself know the one who spoke with you at Mt. Sinai and what the prince of Mastema wanted to do to you while you were returning to Egypt — on the way on which you passed him, at the lodging place. 48:3 Did he not wish with all his strength to kill you so that they could save the Egyptians from your power because he saw that you were sent to carry out punishment and to take revenge on the Egyptians? 48:4 I rescued you from his power. You performed the signs and miracles which you were sent to perform in Egypt and against the pharaoh, all his house, and all his nation. 48:5 God effected ...... a great revenge on account of Israel. He struck them with blood, frogs, gnats (?), dog flies, bad sore(s) which .... their cattle with death; and with hailstones he annihilated all their plants; locusts ate the things that were left from the hail; with darkness; (and with the death) of their first-born of men and cattle. The Lord took revenge on all the gods of the Egyptians ...

Cedrenus, *Historiarum Compendium* (85.21-86.1)

48:14 For this reason ten plagues were given to the Egyptians in ten months, and finally they were subdued in the sea in the manner in which the babies of the Hebrews were drowned in the river. 1000 strong men of the Egyptians were drowned in place of one Israelite baby.

Latin

49:7 ... throughout [all] your lifetime so that you may celebrate (it) each year, once a year, on its days, in accord with its law. It will not pass by nor will it be (away) from its days and from month to month. 49:8 For it is an eternal statute and it is written on the heavenly tablets regarding all the Israelites that they are to celebrate them each year on its day, once a year, throughout their history. It has no temporal limit because it is ordained forever. 49:9 The man who is pure but does not know how to celebrate it on its prescribed day — to bring a sacrifice that is acceptable before the Lord, to eat and drink before the Lord on his festal day — will be destroyed, namely, the man who is impure and who is nearby, because he did not bring a sacrifice to the Lord at its time. That man will bear responsibility for his own sin. 49:10 The Israelites will come and celebrate the passover at its time — on the fourteenth day of the first month — until the evening, from the third part of it until the third part of the night. For two parts of the day are in the light and a third part in the evening. 49:11 This is what the Lord commanded you — to celebrate it in the evening. 49:12 One is not to

sacrifice at any hour of the daylight but in the evening and one is to eat it during the evening hours in the third part of the night. Any of the meat that is left over from the third part of the night — this is to be burned. 49:13 It is not boiled in water nor will it be eaten raw; but you will eat it carefully roasted on a fire — its head with the internal parts and its feet you will roast on a fire. None of its bones is to be broken. There is to be no distress among the Israelites on this day.

49:14 Therefore the Lord ordered the Israelites to celebrate the passover on its specific day. No bone of it is to be broken on it because it is a festal day and a day which has been commanded. There is to be no passing over from day to day, from month and month but (it is to be celebrated) at its time.

49:15 Now you order the Israelites to celebrate the passover each year during their history, once a year on its specific day. Then it will be an acceptable testimony before God and no plague will come from him to destroy and to extirpate them during that year in which they will celebrate the passover at its time in accord with all its commands. 49:16 It will not be eaten outside of the Lord's sanctuary but at the Lord's tabernacle. All the Israelite throng will celebrate it at its time. 49:17 Every man who passes (?) in the *census* — from 20 years of age and above — *is* to eat it in the sanctuary of our God before the Lord, because this is the way it has been commanded and written — that it is to be eaten in his sanctuary.

49:18 *When* the Israelites enter the land which they will possess — the land of Canaan — and live in God's tabernacle in the middle of the land in one of their tribes (until the day when God's temple will be built in the land), they will come and celebrate the passover before God's tabernacle each year. 49:19 At the time when the house will be built in the Lord's name in the land which they will possess, there they will offer and sacrifice the passover until evening — about sunset — in the third part of the day. 49:20 They will offer its blood on the base of the altar. They will offer the fat on the fire of the altar and will eat the meat roasted on a fire in the courtyard of the sanctuary in the name of the Lord. 49:21 They will not be able to celebrate the passover in their cities, in any place, except before the Lord's tabernacle or before the house in which his name has resided. Then they will not go astray from the Lord.

49:22 Now you, Moses, order the Israelites to keep the statute of the passover, and as it was commanded to you tell them throughout each and every year, at the time of its days and throughout the festival of unleavened bread so that they may eat unleavened bread for seven days, celebrate its festival, and bring a sacrifice befo[re the Lord] each day during the seven joyful days ...

TABLE OF CONTENTS