

THE EPITOME OF  
THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

Erevan, Matenadaran, Ms no. 2679 is the most ancient Armenian manuscript written on paper. The oldest part of it was copied in the year 981 C.E. Its provenance is unknown, but it was copied by the scribe Łukas. The manuscript is large, containing 359 folios, measuring 28 × 19 cms. Its contents are remarkable and a list of the chief works in it takes up a full column of the *Catalogue of Manuscripts* of the Matenadaran<sup>1</sup>. It is particularly important since the number of literary manuscripts, as opposed to Gospels, etc., of comparable date is rather limited. The manuscript was recopied into Matenadaran, Ms no. 4381 of the nineteenth century<sup>2</sup>.

The manuscript is being prepared for facsimile reproduction by Dr. A. Mathévossian of the Matenadaran and in the abstract of a lecture he adds some details to the information available from the Erevan Catalogue. He writes "Le plus ancien manuscrit sur papier (Maténadaran, Ms 2679) est constitué de deux recueils dont le rédacteur fut le prêtre David, et le scribe, Ghoukas, fils de David. Le premier recueil fut écrit en 981, le second quelques années plus tard. Ils sont reliés ensemble depuis 1225<sup>3</sup>".

The text with which we are concerned is found between fols 251r to 252r of the manuscript. We were able to examine it in plates made available to us by Dr. Mathévossian, to whom thanks are expressed. We also collated the work from Ms no. 4381, but there, except for the introduction of some scribal errors and some minor spelling variants, the text is identical with that of Ms no. 2679 and is not quoted here.

Ms 2679 is written in a transitional uncial / *bolorgir* script, rather like that of the rubrics of the Paris Lectionary (BN no. 44) and the old Paris

<sup>1</sup> See Ō. EGANYAN, A. ZEY'UNYAN and P. ANT'ABYAN, Vol. 1, 1965, cols. 852-853.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 1202.

<sup>3</sup> See A.S. MATHÉVOSSIAN 1986, 136. With the publication of the facsimile we can expect many more interesting texts to become available. The list in the Erevan Catalogue is not complete. It does not include the *Epitome*, and my attention was drawn to it by the learned Fr. Michel van Esbroeck, to whom my thanks are expressed here.

fly-leaves (BN no. 303). It is undoubtedly important for the history of Armenian writing, since it shows the existence of an important stage on the way to the development of the *bolorgir* script already in the tenth century. Most probably this "transitional" script was used in non-formal books. The manuscript has few abbreviations, some of which are unusual, (see *TZ* 4:4). In addition a few strange grammatical forms and orthographies are to be noted, (see *TL* 8:4 note 1; 8:5 note 2; 12:5 note 8; 17:5 note 5). On the whole, however, the text is free of the later spellings, found in the next oldest witnesses to the Testaments, Erevan Ms no. 1500 and Jerusalem Ms no. 1925. Such readings as *-oc'* for *-woc'* are not to be found in it. There are a few corruptions, but not enough seriously to affect the character of the text, (see *TR* 3:13 note 2; *TL* 11:8 note 6; 16:1 note 2; 16:3 note 3; 17:4 note 4; *TJ* 8:3 note 2; 9:1 note 1; 24:1 note 4; 25:3 note on "Zebulun"; *TZ* 6:3 note 4; *TN* 1:9 note 1). There are few abbreviations, and in two instances, the ideogram for "sun" is found.

The *Epitome* provides excerpts from the text of the *Testaments* which are apparently not made according to any clear principles. Because of the haphazard nature of the *Epitome* it is not easy to extrapolate techniques used in abbreviation. A few such can be isolated, however, one of which is the ending of each *Testament* with the summary of the years of the life of the patriarch. These lifespans are drawn from the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, with some variation, and their textual affinities are discussed in the following commentary. Another is to present the material from each *Testament* in the order in which it occurs in that *Testament*<sup>4</sup>. Yet further techniques may be the turning of gentile adjectives into the shorter corresponding place names (*TL* 12:5 note 8) and the use of simple verbs instead of periphrastic forms (*TD* 5:10). Again, the material for Levi and Judah is much longer than that for all the other ten Testaments; the shortest is Issachar, for which just the name and an onomastic explanation have survived. The Epitomator has used only the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and a few onomastic traditions, in the case of Issachar just mentioned, and in *TB*. No other sources seem to have been utilized. The end result of his work is the production of a document that cannot be understood as an independent literary work, and which reads, on the whole, quite incoherently. This *Epitome*, therefore, forms a notable contrast with the

<sup>4</sup> Exceptional is *TG* 2:1 note 1.

*Biblical Paraphrases*, in which work the careful excerpting of the Bible has produced an abbreviated but comprehensible document<sup>5</sup>.

The importance of this *Epitome* is to be seen in two dimensions. The first relates to the history of the Armenian text. A detailed study of its readings in comparison with the other Armenian and Greek witnesses will be published elsewhere, but that study's chief conclusions and references to the readings substantiating them will be given here<sup>6</sup>. In order properly to evaluate this matter, it is necessary to understand the issues at stake in the textual history of the *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and the role that the *Epitome* may play therein.

The Greek text of *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* survives in a number of manuscripts, the oldest of which is of the tenth century, while the next two oldest are of the eleventh century. The basic relationships between the Greek manuscripts were worked out by H.J. de Jonge and published in 1972<sup>7</sup>. He showed that the Greek manuscripts may be divided into two chief families which he calls I and II. Family I has only two members, but Family II is composed of numerous manuscripts. H.J. de Jonge demonstrated, moreover, that the manuscripts of Family II form a number of subgroups, which split off from Family II successively. The subgroup highest up the stemma broke off first, that second highest broke off next, and so forth. The first subgroup that he isolated was composed of four manuscripts (*g l d m*) and the second subgroup was the manuscript from which the Armenian version was translated. A third subgroup is constituted by Ms *e* and further manuscripts are found further down the stemma and they form yet other subgroups. From our point of view, what is important is that the ancestor of Armenian is preceded only by subgroup *g l d m* and is followed by *e*.

The theory developed by H.J. de Jonge had further implications, for not only did he investigate the relationship between the manuscripts and their families, but he also attempted to date the families. The oldest manuscript is the chief manuscript of Family I, i.e. Ms *b* of the tenth century. The next oldest are manuscripts *e f* of Family II, which are of

<sup>5</sup> For the text of this work, see M.E. STONE 1982, p. 81-126.

<sup>6</sup> The detailed study will be published in the *Proceedings of the International Conference on Medieval Armenian Literature* (Erevan) under the title "The Epitome of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs in Matenadaran No. 2679".

<sup>7</sup> H.J. DE JONGE 1972, p. 27-44. This article was reprinted in M. DE JONGE 1975A, p. 46-62. We cite this form of it.

the eleventh century. Since the ancestor of Armenian is situated above Ms *e* on the stemma, it follows that it must have separated off from the other manuscripts in or before the eleventh century. This does not mean, we may add parenthetically, that the Armenian translation had to be made before the eleventh century for conceivably its ancestor might have been quite old before it came into the hands of the Armenian translator. Indeed, it is the suggestion of the Leiden team, headed by M. de Jonge, to which H.J. de Jonge belonged, that the Armenian translation was made in the eleventh or twelfth century<sup>8</sup>. Furthermore, H.J. de Jonge adduced arguments that, if correct, would make it extremely unlikely that the Armenian version is older than the ninth century. He examined the question whether the split between Families I and II had occurred in Greek before or after the Greek script had shifted from majuscule to minuscule. He searched for errors shared by all the members of one or the other family and which could only have arisen from Greek written in the majuscule script. He showed, he claimed, that Family I split from Family II in majuscule, but that only this primary split took place in majuscule. All the sub-families of Family II, he argued, must have split off from Family II in minuscule script<sup>9</sup>. Consequently, there were two texts that were transcribed from majuscule to minuscule script, the ancestor of Family I and the ancestor of Family II. All subsequent splits from Family II took place in the minuscule. Since the ninth century is the time of such transcriptions, H.J. de Jonge argues that Families I and II had come into being before the ninth century, but the subfamilies of Family II only in the ninth century or later. This argument also affects the ancestor of Armenian, not to speak of the actual date of translation. This argument is interesting and very important from a methodological point of view.

The question arises, therefore, of what is to be learned from the *Epitome* and whether it helps us in the study of the history of the text of *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. The Armenian text of part of *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* was first published in the journal *Azgayin Araratean* in 1850<sup>10</sup>. Sargis Yovsēp'eanc' published all twelve Testaments in his collection of uncanonical writings of the Old Testament in 1896. He recognized the existence of two different forms of

<sup>8</sup> M. DE JONGE 1975B, p. 137-138.

<sup>9</sup> See H.J. DE JONGE 1975, p. 63-86.

<sup>10</sup> 1850, p. 446-448, 454-456, 469-472, 478-480. This text was reprinted in M.E. STONE 1969, p. 167-188.

the text, one short and the other long and published them separately for the first three testaments. For the remaining nine, he published a long text, and included the readings of the short text in his apparatus<sup>11</sup>.

The next major advance was the addition to Yovsēp'eanc's collations of readings from another four manuscripts that were used by R.H. Charles in his edition of the Greek text of *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*<sup>12</sup>. To this information the writer added the witness of six manuscripts of the long recension and one of the short recension in his preliminary edition of *The Testament of Levi* in 1969<sup>13</sup>. In subsequent years a list totaling fifty-one manuscripts was assembled and samples of nearly all of them were examined<sup>14</sup>. The analysis of these in selected samples showed that the best single witness is the text of Erevan 1500 and next best is Jerusalem 1925 and the closely associated manuscript, Erevan Matenadaran Ms no. 353.

Each of the four text types isolated, however, preserved some original readings not found in any of the others. These, together with certain other readings, proved that each of these four text types had to be consulted in preparing an edition of the Armenian version of *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Indeed, an *editio minor* of *The Testament of Joseph* was prepared according to these principles. A carefully selected group of manuscripts was utilized, designed to present all the four text-types mentioned<sup>15</sup>. The same group of manuscripts is being used in order to prepare an edition of the integral Armenian version of *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

The relationship between the Armenian texts is set forth in the following stemma:

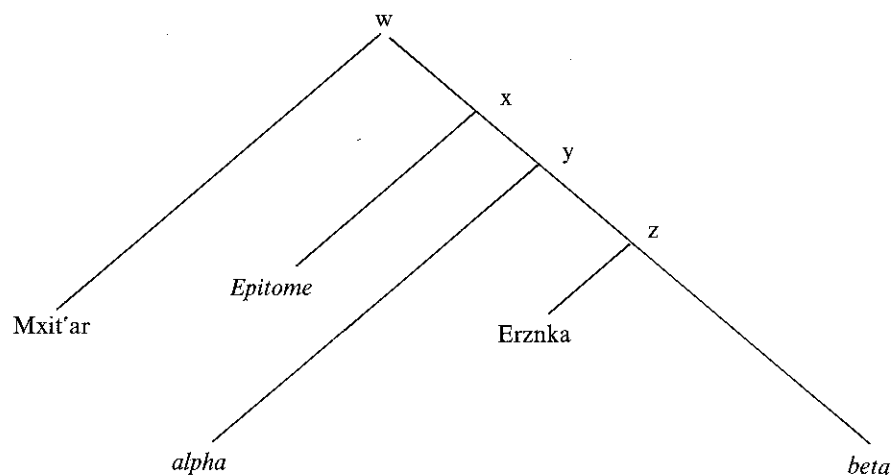
<sup>11</sup> S. YOVSEPEANC' 1896. Just at the same time, F.C. Conybeare published collations of isolated manuscripts in *JQR* (1896) p. 260-268 and p. 471-485.

<sup>12</sup> R.H. CHARLES 1908.

<sup>13</sup> See work cited above in note 9.

<sup>14</sup> M.E. STONE 1977. This list was expanded and to some extent corrected from the earlier list by Chr. BURCHARD 1969. The articles presenting the analysis of samples and selection of witnesses referred to below are: M.E. STONE 1975A and previous studies are referred to there.

<sup>15</sup> See M.E. STONE 1975B, p. 17.



This stemma expresses the relationship between the Armenian textual witnesses. They are the following:

*Mxit'ar* is the *Miscellany* of *Mxit'ar* of Ayrivank', Erevan Matenadaran, Ms no. 1500 copied in 1282-3

*Erznka* is the *Erznka Bible*, Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate Ms no. 1925 copied in 1269.

*Beta* is a large group of manuscripts of later date containing a long text;

*Alpha* is a smaller group of manuscripts containing a shorter text.

How then does the *Epitome* fit into the pattern of the Armenian witnesses? The first point to be established is that the *Epitome* shares a common ancestor with all the other Armenian witnesses: so *TL* 2:2, 6:4, 11:5, 12:4, *TJ* 24:1, 25:2, etc.<sup>16</sup> The second point is that none of the surviving text forms is the direct ancestor of any of the others: so *Epitome*: *TR* 3:13, 4:4; 1500 *TL* 2:2, *TJ* 12:12, 25:2; 1925 *TL* 2:2, 17:5; *Yovsēp'eanc' alpha TS* 6:5; etc. These are only selected examples. With these basic relationships established, we can say that the ancestor of each of these forms did not derive from any other and that each of them may preserve original readings. Nonetheless, the examination of some conjunctive errors enables us to advance beyond that point and to establish more precisely the relationship between these text forms.

<sup>16</sup> The details of these examples may be found in the notes on the edition here following. The examples cited are indicative and not exhaustive in all categories: the material will be published in full in the author's article, referred to above, note 6.

On the basis of such errors we can prove that the ancestor of *Epitome*, *Erznka*, *beta* and *alpha* was not the ancestor of *Mxit'ar* (*TL* 6:4; *TJ* 3:7, 10:3, 24:1, *TG* 8:1, *TB* 1:6). Moreover, the ancestor of *Erznka*, *beta* and *alpha* is not the ancestor of the *Epitome* (*TL* 8:9) nor is the ancestor of *Erznka* and *beta* the same as the ancestor of the *Epitome* and *alpha* (*TL* 8:8). These readings are reflected in the stemma given above<sup>17</sup>.

Some conclusions flow from this situation. The hypothetical hyparchetypes «w» and «x» must be older than the *Epitome*. Moreover the complexity of the textual developments evident from our discussion and from footnote 17 implies a period of development to have taken place before the creation of «x». Since the *Epitome* is as old as the oldest Greek witness, its ancestor must be older, perhaps notably older, than that. This implies that the *Vorlage* of Armenian on the Greek stemma is most likely of the eighth century or earlier and in any case no later than the early ninth century at the very latest. From this it flows that we must reassess the reconstruction of H.J. de Jonge at certain points.

The position of Armenian on the Greek stemma, indeed the very structure of that stemma, seem to us to be absolutely certain. In 1976, however, I pointed out that this stemma implied that the ancestor of Armenian developed in the tenth century or later. I was reserved then about this date on stylistic grounds and observed that the discovery of an additional, older witness, would have important implications for H.J. de Jonge's reconstruction: «Should such (earlier) testimony turn up, since the relationship between the manuscripts seems morally certain, it will imply that the hyparchetype of *g l d m* Armenian is at least as old as that testimony, or somewhat older<sup>18</sup>». We may add that, in view of the complex textual development, we should say «notably older».

H.J. de Jonge was and remains quite emphatic that in order to assume differing transliterations, one must have definite evidence from the manuscripts. He insists that variant readings indicating such transliteration have been found between *b k* and the Family II manuscripts, but not between *g l d m* and *e a f n c h i*<sup>19</sup>. If his views are regarded as

<sup>17</sup> There are some readings that conflict with this stemma, a situation widely found in Armenian manuscripts. These include: *TG* 2:3, *TS* 6:5 and *TJ* 12:12.

<sup>18</sup> See M.E. STONE 1977, p. 104.

<sup>19</sup> See H.J. DE JONGE 1975, p. 77. This is still his view expressed in a letter to me dated January 1, 1987. Some arguments tending in the direction of viewing *g l d m* as a separate family were set forth by Th. KORTEWEG 1975, 161-179. Korteweg is not as certain as is H.J. de Jonge of the conjunctive errors of the Family II manuscripts. He holds final determina-

compelling, then we must set into the period of not more than 150 years (just when in the ninth century?) the transliteration of the ancestor of Family  $\pi$  in Greek; the development of this text type such that the hypothetical ancestors of  $g l d m$  and also of Armenian emerged; the translation into Armenian; the development of five text types in Armenian and their thorough conflation with one another; the editorial activity producing short Armenian *alpha* and the different editorial activity producing the *Epitome*. All of this is forced into a relatively short period, because of the argument arising from transliteration.

Now, admittedly, methodological rigour is to be applauded in text-critical matters as in other fields of learning and H.J. de Jonge has earned the right of judgment through his fine work on the Greek text of *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Yet we may be permitted to remark that the absence of readings is not proof positive. If other evidence for an early date is present, it should be given full weight. Now the style of the Armenian can no longer be dismissed as deliberate "classical or classicizing" (M. de Jonge 1975A, 138). The stylistic argument could be set aside or suspended (with reservations) as long as the earliest Armenian witnesses were of the thirteenth century and the gap between them and the period best suited to their style was seven or eight hundred years. Now that the earliest Armenian witness, and that a developed one, is of the tenth century, this is more difficult to do. It seems to us that we should entertain the real possibility of a pre-ninth century date of Armenian. We would certainly do so unreservedly were it not for H.J. de Jonge's transliteration argument. Of course, arguments from style take a lot proving, and that will not be done here, but we can report, at least, that our estimation of the style is borne out by the opinion of Archbishop Norair Bogharian, one of the great scholars of Armenian of the generation. He has pointed to the absence from *Testament of Levi* of the stratum of Armenian vocabulary that entered the language as a result of the influence of the stylistic aberrations of the Philo-Hellene school of the late fifth and early sixth centuries<sup>20</sup>.

If this is correct, then there would have been at least three transcriptions from Greek majuscules to minuscules: the transcription of the ancestor of Family  $\iota$ , the transcription of the ancestor of  $g l d m$  *Arm*

tion in abeyance, however, and does not entertain the possibility of a separate transliteration of  $g l d m$ .

<sup>20</sup> Oral communication in discussion of *The Testament of Levi*.

and the transcription of the ancestor of  $e a f n c h i j$ . Therefore, at this level of discussion it must be admitted that the chief significance of the *Epitome* is its potential contribution to the textual history of *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. It is another, fifth Armenian text type and although it preserves few readings of any intrinsic merit it does add weight to the view of an earlier date of the Armenian translation. This would make it hundreds of years older than M. de Jonge had thought. It also throws into question the issue of the early history of the Greek textual tradition, calling for a reassessment of certain basic aspects of it.

A good deal has been written in recent years on the "Cilician revision" of the Armenian biblical text<sup>21</sup>. For *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* the Cilician revision is likely represented in recension *beta*. As was true of 4 Ezra, where we have access to text-forms prior to or not influenced by that revision, they are valuable witnesses to the text of the book. For books of the Old Testament and associated apocryphal writings, such non-Cilician texts are rare: hence the important role played by the Erznka Bible and Mxit'ar's *Miscellany*. Although both of these are thirteenth century in date, they are from Greater Armenia and not from Cilicia and their text forms are accordingly valuable. The *Epitome* is a major contribution to this matter. Where it exists, its spelling, pattern of abbreviation and orthography are preferable to both the thirteenth century witnesses. Because of its fragmentary literary character it makes little direct textual contribution in the form of new readings, although one or two interesting instances may be found.

It is an extremely interesting contribution to the history of the Armenian text however. How complex it was, even in this period into which we have almost no insight! After all, our oldest complete Old Testaments are of the thirteenth century<sup>22</sup>. We have very few manuscripts of Old Testament writings of the tenth century. The *Epitome* is not just a copy of a book intimately bound to the biblical corpus, it also shows that these works had undergone considerable literary handling by the tenth century. This is, itself, another important innovation.

<sup>21</sup> See C. COX 1984A, 209-222; *idem* 1984B, 68-77; S.P. COWE 1983, p. 41-60.

<sup>22</sup> S.P. Cowe in a lecture delivered in Brussels in September 1986 suggested that the very formation of the one-volume Old Testament or whole Bible was a Cilician innovation.

## THE EDITION AND TRANSLATION

In the edition given below the procedures adhered to are the following. The text has been divided up into pericopae. It is presented in two columns. The left-hand column is the text of the *Epitome*, transcribed *litteratim*. Any editor's additions, including the resolution of abbreviations, have been set into round brackets (parentheses). The punctuation of the original has been preserved. The only points at which we depart from its physical presentation in the manuscript are in capitalization. Proper names and *nomina sacra* have been capitalized. Letters indicating numerals have also been capitalized.

In the right-hand column we have printed the text of Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate 1925. This has been presented following the same procedures as for the *Epitome*. Verse numbers have been marked on this text, and both columns are referred to using these numbers. Where the text of Jerusalem 1925 is substantially longer and not parallel to the text in the *Epitome*, we have omitted it and signalled the omission by «... ...».

To the texts of each pericope we have added a translation and a commentary. The chief weight of the Commentary, given the nature of the *Epitome*, had to be textual. In this commentary we use the following sigla:

1500	Erevan, Matenadaran, Ms no. 1500.
1925	Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, Ms no. 1925.
YOV	Yovsēp'ēanc's text, where he prints only one.
YA	Yovsēp'ēanc's short text (left-hand page) where he prints two (= <i>alpha</i> ).
YB	Yovsēp'ēanc's long text (right-hand page) where he prints two (= <i>beta</i> ).

The sigla for manuscripts follow those used in Stone 1977<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> The author's thanks are expressed to M. de Jonge who kindly made many helpful comments on an early form of the manuscript and H.J. de Jonge who carefully read and commented on the final form of it. I have benefited much from both of their comments. The views expressed are my own.

## EPITOME

## TESTAMENTS, Ms 1925

251r ԿՏԱԿԲ:

Ռուբին: Մինչդեռ էաք

մեք ի Գաղեր. մերձ յԵբրաթէ. Բաղա.

անկէն ջերարբէլ որով ցանկացեալ ախտացայ.

զի Երեւոյցին նոցա զուարթունք թէ

Հասանիցեն յերկինս.

Աստուած ճարմնով երևեցի:

ՃԻՆ ամաւ մեռաւ:

3:13 և մինչդեռ էաք

ՄՂԹ մեք ի Գաղեր մերձ յԵբրաթէ ...

Բալլա էր արբեալ՝ և ննջէր.

5:7 զի երեւէին նոցա զուարթունքն

որպէս թէ Հասանէին ի յերկինս ...

TESTAMENTS: Ruben: While we were in Gader, close by Ep'rat'ē, Bilhah having (fallen down, slept drun)k, being made desirous by whom, I sinned.

For the watchers will appear to them as if they reached the heavens.

God will appear in the body.

He died in the 125th year.

## COMMENTARY

1. ԿՏԱԿԲ "Testaments" appears to be a general title for the work. It is marked out by lines above the letters.

2. The first phrase is drawn from TR 3:13. *անկէն ջերարբէլ* is surely corrupt for *անկեալ ննջէր արբեալ* "having fallen down, slept drunk". The meaning of the Armenian letters ՄՂԹ in the right margin is probably the number of this writing in the manuscript, viz. 199.

3. The second phrase may be a periphrastic summary of TR 3:14.

4. The third phrase, about the Watchers, is drawn from TR 5:7. It is incoherent in the *Epitome*.

5. The fourth phrase does not seem to come from TR.

6. The lifespan is present in Greek Mss *m f* at the end and in all Greek Mss at the start. Greek *m f* read 125 as does Ms *d* at TR 7:1 and do most Mss at the start.

## EPITOME

## TESTAMENTS, Ms 1925

Շճաւոն: Աջ իմ ցամաքեալ լինէր

աւուրս Կ.

1:12 վասն զի ձեռն իմ աջ ցամաքէլ լինէր

մինչև յաւուրս վաթսուն

Սևմ փառաւորեցի զի Տէր Աստուած մեծն  
 Խորայեղի Երևեցի  
 Ի Յուդայէ իբրև  
 Քաշանայապետ  
 Աստուած և ճարդ  
 Կեցեալ անս ճԻՆ. մեռաւ:

6:5 Սէմ փառաւորեցի զի Տէր Աստուած մեծն  
 Խորայեղի փառաւորեցի յերկրի Երևեցի  
 7:2 յայնժամ յարուցէ Տէր Ի Ղևէ իբրև  
 զքաշանայապետ և ի Յուդայէ որպէս զթագաւոր  
 և Աստուած և ճարդ:

Simeon: My right hand was withered for sixty days.  
 Shem will be glorified because the great Lord God of Israel will appear  
 from Judah as high-priest, God and man.  
 Having lived for 125 years, he died.

## COMMENTARY:

The *Epitome* shows a number of points of great interest here, chiefly of a text-critical character.

1. The first phrase is cited from *TS* 2:12. *YA* has thirty days; *Epitome*, 1925, 1500, and *YB* all have sixty. Most Greek witnesses have seven days, but *Mss m e a f* have sixty like most Armenian witnesses.

2. In the second phrase, cited from *TS* 6:5, Shem is the reading of 1925, 1500, and *YB* as of the *Epitome*, while *YA* has Seth. Further on, 1500 and *YA*, however, differ from the *Epitome* reading *մեր* "our" for *մեծն* "great"; Greek has μέγας. Furthermore, in 1500, another, undeciphered sign follows this.

3. The third phrase, based on *TS* 7:2, is in fact a clumsy shortening of a text which talked of raising up of someone from Levi as high-priest and from Judah as king, God and man. One suspects that the last three words are parenthetical. Anyway, the *Epitome* has omitted both Levi; the priestly tribe, and "king", the Judahite quality par excellence. It has thus produced a very bizarre text. In this instance, *YA* and 1925 read together while *YB* and 1500 each differ in a different way. The text given above is that of 1925 and *YA*; *YB* has at the end: *և է նա Աստուած* "and he is God" while 1500 has *և Աստուած ճարդիան* "and God of mankind".

4. The lifespan in 1925, 1500, and *YA* does not agree with Greek. There, like *YB*, *TS* 1:1 gives 120 years, as do *Mss d m f* at the end. 1925, 1500 and *YA* give 125.

## EPITOME

## TESTAMENTS, Ms 1925

Ղևի: Ես և Շմաւոն վասն Դինա խնդրեաք  
 վրէժս.  
 Ի ձեռն քո և Յուդայի.  
 Երևեցի Աստուած ի մէջ ճարդիան.  
 բայց որդիք քո արկցեն ի նա ձեռս  
 և խաչեցեն:  
 Ղևի կոտորէ զՍիկիմ:  
 Ղևի զԱմուրՀացիան.

2:2 ... արարաք զվրէժխնդրութիւն ես և  
 Շմաւոն Եբրաեցի ... վասն քերն մերո Դինայի  
 2:11 ի ձեռն քո և Յուդայի  
 Երևեցի Տէր ի մէջ ճարդիան  
 4:4 բայց որդիքն քո արկցեն զձեռս իւրեանց  
 ի նա և խաչեցեն զնա:  
 6:4 և ես կոտորեցի զՍիկիմացիան ...  
 և Շմաւոն զԱմուրՀացիան:

Levi: I and Simeon because of Dina sought vengeance.  
 Through you and Judah God will appear in the midst of men.  
 But your sons will set hands against him and crucify.  
 Levi cut down Shechem, Levi the Amorites.

## COMMENTARY

1. The first phrase is from *TL* 2:2. The *Epitome* does not have the corruption of 1925 which reads *եբրաեցի* "Hebrew" for *Լղբայր իմ* "my brother". 1500 reads *ստար* "we took". This is graphically close to *արարաք* "we did" of 1925, *YB*, and *YA*. Greek has ἐποίησα. The difference in number indicates that all the Armenian witnesses have a common ancestor.

2. The second phrase is from *TL* 2:11. 1925, *YB*, and *YA* all have *Տէր* "Lord". *κύριος* is the unanimous reading of the Greek text.

3. The third phrase is from *TL* 4:4. Like the *Epitome*, *YA* omits the word *իւրեանց* "their" before "hands", but nothing can be inferred from such an omission. The word *նա* is supralinear, *prima manu*.

4. The fourth phrase is from *TL* 6:4. Its reading "Amorites" is important, since this reading is due to a corruption to be found in all the Armenian witnesses to *TL* 6:6, i.e. in the *Epitome*, 1925, *YA*, and *YB* (1500 has a lacuna from 2:9-9:5.) This corruption does not occur in Greek. In 2:2, in a phrase not extant in the *Epitome*, the same Greek reading (i.e. "Hamor") is to be found. There, in 1925, *YB*, and *YA* the same corruption may be observed as in 6:4. In 1500, however, which is extant in 2:2, the reading which must have given rise to this corruption survives, *ՀմուրՀացիան* "the Hamorites", easily corrupted to *ԱմուրՀացիան* "the Amorites". Thus the *Vorlage* of the *Epitome* read *ԱմուրՀացիան* "the Amorites", which indicates that the *Vorlage* of the *Epitome* already shared a corruption with the ancestor(s) of 1925, *YB*, and *YA*, while in this instance, the

ancestor of 1500 had the correct reading. The phrase is even more corrupt in the *Epitome*, for in *TL* while Levi was responsible for the cutting down of the Shechemites, it was Simeon who killed the Amorites. That fits with the context, while in the *Epitome*, repetitively, Levi is said to do both bloody deeds. The manuscript has been corrected here, however, and text equivalent to 16 letterspaces has been erased. The second occurrence of "Levi" has been written over the first part of the erasure, while the remainder has been left blank. The erased writing is quite illegible.

EPITOME	TESTAMENTS, Ms 1925
(Ա) Հրշտակն աւծ զիս իւրով սրբով.	8:4 և առաջինն դարձեալ էաւծ զիս իւրով սրբով ...
Բ. լուաց. ջրաւ յիստակաւ ջամբեցոց չաց և զինի սուրբ. զգեցոց ինձ պատմունան գեղեցիկ.	8:5 իսկ երկրորդն լուաց զիս ջրով յստակաւ և ջամբեցոց ինձ չաց և զինի սուրբ. և զգեցոց ինձ պատմունան գեղեցիկ ...
Գ. բեւեղ արկ զինն.	8:6 և երրորդն բեւեղ արկոյց զինն ...
Դ. գաւտի ած ընդ մէջ իմ. ի նմանութիւն ծիրանոյ.	8:7 և չորրորդն գաւտի ած ընդ մէջ իմ ի նմանութիւն ծիրանոյ:
Ե. սա պարարտութեան ձիթենոյ ի ձևս եդ.	8:8 իսկ Հինգերորդն ի նմանութիւն ձիթենոյ պարարտութեան ետ ինձ. և լցին ձեռս իմ...
Զ. պսակ եդ ի գլուխ իմ.	8:9 (omitted)
Է. թագ քաշանայական եդ ինձ. և կից զձեռս իմ իսնկով՝ զի քաշանայացա առաջի Տևան.	8:10 և թներրորդն թագ քաշանայութեան ետ ինձ. և լցին զձեռս իմ իսնկով. զի քաշանայացա ետ առաջի Տևան:

(The first) angel anointed me with holy oil.

The second washed (i.e. me) with pure water, he fed (me) bread and holy wine, he clothed me with a beautiful robe.

The third placed bysses around me.

The fourth put a belt around my waist in the likeness of purple.

The fifth set a branch of oil of an olive tree in (my) hands.

The sixth set a garland on my head.

The seventh gave me the priestly crown and filled my hands with incense so that I became a priest before the Lord.

## COMMENTARY

1. The first line is from *TL* 8:4. The word "angel" has been introduced by the *Epitome*, since the context lacks something. Here and in *TJ* 10:1, 25:2 the word is written Հրշտակ, as often in mediaeval manuscripts, instead of Հրեշտակ. The numeral is omitted by the manuscript and we have supplied it. In all subsequent verses the *Epitome* simply gives an Armenian letter (= numeral) which we have translated as an ordinal numeral.

2. The second line is from *TL* 8:5. The form ջրաւ, apparently an instrumental of ջուր, "water" is bizarre. In the words ջամբեցոց and զգեցոց note -ոց for -ոյց of the third person singular factitive.

3. The third line is from *TL* 8:6. The *Epitome* has the form արկ instead of արկոյց, which is found in 1925, YB, and YA. Both are possible grammatically.

4. The fourth line is from *TL* 8:7.

5. The fifth line is from *TL* 8:8. The *Epitome* differs from 1925 *secunda manu*, YA which have the text given above; 1925 *prima manu* has ... պարարտութեան. It is closer to YA which reads սա ձիթենոյ պարարտութեան "branch of an olive tree of oil"; cf. Greek κλάδον μοι ἐλαιίας ἔδωκε πίοτητος, translated by Hollander and de Jonge as "a branch of rich oil". պարարտութիւն is nominative/accusative in 1925 *prima manu*, where YA and the *Epitome* have a genitive, in this respect resembling 1925 *secunda manu*. The main point, however, is that 1925 and YB both omit սա "branch". Note the final words which are not found in the Greek or in 1925, YB or YA.

6. The sixth line corresponds to *TL* 8:9. This verse is missing from 1925, YB and YA. In our book *The Testament of Levi*, we made some suggestions about the possible original form of this line. On the basis of the readings of Ms B\* (Bb) in 8:10, we proposed that the Armenian here originally had պսակ եդ ի գլուխ իմ "set a garland on my head". Our hypothesis is nicely borne out by the *Epitome*, which has exactly this reading. Here is a case of the *Epitome* preserving an original reading lost in all the other texts.

7. This line is from *TL* 8:10. եդ, properly "he set" is taken as an orthographic variant of ետ "he gave", because of the following dative ինձ. Contrast *Epitome* and 1925 in *TL* 8:8. The verb "he filled" is plural in most witnesses of YB and 1925. It is singular in the *Epitome* as well as in Mss B\*(Bb) N of YB and in YA. Greek Mss *d m a f c h i j* have ἐπλήρωσε, while the better Greek reading is ἐπλήρωσαν. However, in this case, it might be wisest not to draw conclusions from the coincidences of the variant, which in all cases is an obvious instance of harmonization.



## EPITOME

յորժամ առի կին ի ԻԼ ամի զՄեղքա

ճնա զԳերսամ ի պանդխտութեան.

ԼԵ ամաւ զԿտիաթ ճնա՝

զի ի տեսլան ի մէջ ժողովորդեան կայր բարձր.

Գ որդի զՄարերի ի Խ ամին՝ զի զժուարածին եղև

որ թարգմանին դառնութիւն  
ԿԴ ամին զՈքոբէզ ճնա յԵգիպտոս.

զՂոմնի. և զՍեմէ:

Աճրամ առ իւր կին զՈքոբէզ զգուտար իմ  
զի ի միում ամի ճնեալ եին նա  
և գուտար իմ.

Ը ամաւ եի յորժամ մտա ի Քանան  
ԺԸ ամաւ կոտորեցի զՍիկիմ.

ԺԹ ամի քաշանայացայ.

ԻԸ ամի առի կին

Խ ամի մտի յԵգիպտոս.

## TESTAMENTS, Ms 1925

11:1 Արդ յորժամ առի ես կին էի ամաց քսան  
և ութից. և էր անուն կնոջն Մեղքա:

11:2 և յոչեալ ճնաւ և կոչեաց զանուն  
նորա Գերսամ. վասն զի յերկրին յորում էաք ի  
պանդխտութեան էաք: ...

11:4 և Կաշաթ ճնեալ եղև զերեսնորդի և  
Հինգերորդի ամին ...

11:5 և տեսի ի տեսլանն. զի ի մէջ  
բարձրութեանն կայր քան զամենայն  
ժողովորդն ...

11:7 և երրորդն ճնաւ ինձ զՄերարի ի  
քառասներորդ ամի. և վասն զի զժուարածին  
եղև մայրն նորա. կոչեաց զանուն նորայ Մերարի ...  
որ թարգմանի դառնութիւն ինձ.

11:8 իսկ զՆոքաբէթ մինչ եի վաթսուն և  
չորից ամաց ճնեալ եղև ինձ յԵգիպտոս ...

12:1 և առ Գերսամ կին. և յղացաւ և ճնաւ  
նմա զՂոմնի և զՍեմէի ...

12:4 և առ իւր կնուծիւն Աճրամ զՅոքաբէթ  
գուտար իմ զի ի միում ամի ճնեալ լինեին նա  
և գուտարն իմ:

12:5 ութ ամեան եի ես յորժամ մտի ես ի  
յերկրն Քանանացոց: Եւ ութ և տասն ամեան  
եի ես յորժամ կոտորեցի ես զՍիկեմացիս և  
իննուտասն ամեան եի ես յորժամ քաշանայացայ.  
և քսան և ութ ամեան եի ես յորժամ առի  
կին, և քառասուն ամեան յորժամ մտի ես  
յԵգիպտոս.

... when I took a wife in the twenty-eighth year, Meik'a.

I begat Gersam in sojourning.

In the thirty-fifth year I begat Kohath.

For in a vision in the midst of the people he stood high.

... third son, Mareri in the fortieth year, for she had a difficult birth.  
... which is translated "bitterness".

In the sixty-fourth year I begat Jochabed in Egy(p)t.

... Łomni and Semew ...

Amram took a wife for himself, Jochabed my daughter, for in one and  
the same year he and my daughter were born.

(I was) eight years old when I entered Canaan; at eighteen years I cut  
down Shechem; at nineteen years I became a priest; at twenty-eight  
years I took a wife; at forty years I entered Egypt.

## COMMENTARY

The passage is even more disjointed than the preceding.

1. The first phrase is from *TL* 11:1. It is not a complete sentence.

2. The second phrase is from *TL* 11:2. The verbs "to beget" are first person  
singular throughout, while in *TL* they are third person, i.e. "she bore". The  
extensive corruption of the verse in *YA* does not occur in the Epitome.

3. The third phrase is excerpted from *TL* 11:4. Note the use of the instrumen-  
tal of *ամաւ* "n. years of age" alternating with the locative "in the nth. year"  
throughout. In *YA* the numeral is "30", while the *Epitome*, 1925, 1500, and *YB* all  
agree with Greek in having "35".

4. The fourth phrase is from *TL* 11:5. All the Armenian witnesses, including  
the *Epitome*, have բարձր where Greek has ἐν ὕψηλοῖς, not a self-evident  
rendering by any means.

5. The fifth part is drawn from *TL* 11:7. Its first clause lacks a verb, yet  
*զՄարերի* "Mareri" is in the accusative. Note that the *Epitome* has "Mareri" for  
"Merari", a reading comparable with Greek *Mss l d m* Μαριραμ. "Mareri" is  
also the name of an Armenian month. 1500 and *YA* have, like Greek, the  
additional phrase "of my life", which is omitted by the *Epitome*, 1925, and *YB*.  
Nothing should be inferred, however, from the omission by the *Epitome*. The  
last phrase is excerpted from later in the verse and seems to imply something like  
"and therefore I called his name Merari which is translated 'bitterness'". As it  
stands in the *Epitome* it is far from clear. In the *Mss* of the *Epitome*, the first four  
letters of *զժուարածին* "difficult birth" are a correction *prima manu*.

6. The seventh phrase is taken from *TL* 11:8. The name is corrupted in *YA*.  
The isolated two names making up the eighth phrase are taken from the end of  
*TL* 12:1. They are in fact the sons of Gersam. The form "Semew" has no  
parallels and it is due to an uncial Armenian corruption of *h* / *h*. The other  
Armenian witnesses have "Scmēi".

7. The ninth sentence is from *TL* 12:4. All the Armenian witnesses, including  
the *Epitome*, have "year" while Greek has ἡμέρα.

8. The final part is abbreviated from the long verse *TL* 12:5. Note that the form of the next verb "entered" is a Middle Armenian aorist (cf. J. KARST 1901, p. 327). Observe the classical form *ժաի* in the last phrase. 1925, 1500, and YB all read "Canaanites", while all four witnesses read "Shechemites". The *Epitome* has "Canaan" and "Shechem"; this may be part of its technique of abbreviation. The *Epitome* has corruptly *Եգիպտոս* for *Եգիպտոս*.

EPITOME	TESTAMENTS, Ms 1925
ի վախճան ժամանակի	14:1 ... Ի վախճանի ժամանակի
անարիմիցիք. և ձեռս արկցլք ի	անարիմեցիք և զձեռս ձեր արկանիցլք ի
Տէր	Տէր ...
զ՛ Խորգս. մուրեւոց էք.	16:1 ... զեթանասուն եթներեակս մուրեւոցիք ...
զարին անպարտ սոնուք ի գլուխ ձեր.	16:3 ... զանպարտ արին նորա շարութեամբ ձերով ի գլուխ ձեր ունիցիք:
ոչ կարէք ճանաչել զարդարութիւն նորա:	

At the end of time you will act lawlessly, and you will set (your) hands against the Lord ...  
For seventy sevenths you are going to err ...  
You take innocent blood on your heads ...  
You cannot know his righteousness.

COMMENTARY

1. The first phrase is drawn from *TL* 14:1. Note that the *Epitome*, like 1925, 1500, YB, and YA divides the sentence in a different way; the Greek text is translated by Hollander and de Jonge: "You will act impiously against the Lord, laying hands (upon him) ..." This is another instance showing the derivation of *Epitome* from a text-type basically like the Armenian *Testaments*.  
2. The second phrase is drawn from *TL* 16:1. Both *TL* 14:1 and 16:1 are instances where *TL* cites a putative *Book* or *Writing of Enoch*. The verb form

*մուրեւոց էք* occurs in the *Epitome* and 1500. The form *է որգս* "seventh" is clearly corrupt for some form of *է երեակ* "hebdomad, week". This is a unique corruption of the *Epitome*. 1500 and YB read *զի* "since" instead of the inseparable preposition *զ-*; YA omits.

3. The third phrase is drawn from *TL* 16:3. 1925 has the verb *ունիցիք*; 1500 has the verb *ընդունիցիք*; many manuscripts of YB and YA have *սոնուցուք* which is from the same root as the verb in the *Epitome*.

4. The final phrase is drawn from earlier in *TL* 16:3. It contains an unique corruption of the *Epitome*, reading *զարդարութիւն* "righteousness" against all the witnesses of the Armenian *Testaments* which have *զարութիւն* "resurrection", which reading agrees with the Greek. This is an inner-Armenian variant, engendered by the similarity between the two words.

EPITOME	TESTAMENTS, Ms 1925
Ա. Է. կին քաճանայութիւն	17:1 ... եթանասուն եթներեկին ...
	17:2 յամենայն յորեղեանս եղիցի քաճանայութիւն
	17:2 ... որ աւծեալ լինի յառաջագոյն ...
ժեծ եղիցի. խաւսեցի ընդ Աստուծոյ իբրև ընդ Հար.	ժեծ եղիցի և խաւսեցի ընդ Աստուծոյ իբրև ընդ Հար ...
Բ. ին աւծեալ լինի սուգ սիրելեաց	17:3 Եւ յերկրորդ յորեղինին որ աւծեալ լինի. ի սուգ սիրելեացն յղացեալ լինի.
և եղիցի քաճանայութիւն պատուաւ:	և եղիցի քաճանայութիւն նորա պատուական ...
Դ. ին քաճանայութիւն տրտմութեամբ պարչարեալ եղիցի.	17:4 և երրորդ քաճանայն տրտմութեամբ պաշարել եղիցի:
Ե. ին ցաւս եղիցի ի վերայ նորայ անիրաւութիւն բազմութեան:	17:5 և չորրորդն ի ցաւս և դիցի ի վերայ անարեւութիւն բազմութեան, ...
Զ. ին խաւար պարչարեալ եղիցի.	17:6 և Հինգերորդն խաւարաւ պաշարել եղիցի:
Ը. ինն եղիցի պղծութիւն զոր ոչ կարեմ պատմել	17:8 և ի յեթներորդին եղիցի պղծութիւն, զոր ոչ կարեմ առաջի մարդկան ասել, ....
և յԷ. որդ Է. Եկին	17:10 և ի Հինգերորդ եթներեկին,

գարձցին յերկիր աւերածի իւրեանց և  
նորոգեցեն զտուն Տեան  
և սպա  
յարիցեն քաւանայք կոպարիշտք.  
զեղիւք. արուզէտք. անասնամուլք

գարձին ի յերկիր աւերածին իւրեանց, և  
նորոգեցեն զտունն Տեանն:  
17:11 և յեթներորդ կթնէրրեկին  
յարիցեն քաւանայք կոպարիշտք ...  
զեղիւք. արուզէտք. և անասնազէտք:

the first week's priesthood ...

will be great. He will speak with God as if with a father.

(In) the second ... he is anointed ... mourning of beloved ones ... and (his) priesthood will be glorious.

(In) the fourth, the priesthood will be surrounded by sorrow.

(In) the fifth, this pain will be upon him ... lawlessness of a multitude.

(In) the sixth, he will be surrounded (by) darkness.

(In) the seventh there will be an abomination which I cannot relate.

And in the seventh week they shall return to the land of their destruction and shall renew the house of the Lord.

And then there shall arise priests, idol-worshippers, erring, abusers of men, bestial.

#### COMMENTARY

1. The first sign seems to be the letter *w*, which indicates the number "1". The phrase is clumsily adapted from *TL* 17:1-2. If this material reading is not accepted, the sense might be something like "The Weeks of the Priesthoods" intended as a title of what follows. The reading we have suggested, however, fits well and is acceptable materially.

2. The second phrase is drawn from *TL* 17:2. In *TL* each of the ordinal numbers is presented as counting a jubilee. In the *Epitome*, as above, the numbers here translated as ordinals, are in fact numerals followed by a genitive case ending. It should be observed that YA does not have chaps. 17-18.

3. The third phrase is drawn from *TL* 17:3.

4. The fourth phrase is drawn from *TL* 17:4. The unanimous reading of Greek, 1925, 1500, and YB is "the third priest". It seems that the *Epitome* here is extending the reading from *TL* 17:1 and 17:3. Գ "fourth" should probably be Գ "third". One number is missing, see next note. Note the *Epitome's* spelling *պարշարեալ* here and in the text for the sixth priesthood.

5. The fifth phrase is drawn from *TL* 17:5. The numbering of the priesthoods or jubilees is out of joint in the *Epitome*. This is the fourth in number according to all the other witnesses. The word *նորայ* is corruptly omitted by 1925. The

*Epitome* and 1500 read *անիրաւութիւն* "lawlessness" where 1925 and YB have *անօրէնութիւն* which means much the same. YA omits the whole chapter. 1925 and 1500, like the *Epitome*, have *բազմութեան* which corresponds to Greek *ὡς πλῆθος*. The reading of YB is *բազում* "many", a secondary correction of the partially corrupt text shared by 1925, 1500, and YB.

6. The sixth phrase is drawn from *TL* 17:6. The word *խաւար* "darkness" must be corrupt in the *Epitome*, being in the nominative / accusative form instead of the instrumental. The next verse, accounting for the sixth and mentioning the seventh, found fully in 1925 and 1500, as well as in Greek, and partially in YB, is omitted by the *Epitome*. The omission, however, cannot be regarded as significant for stemmatic purposes. The *Epitome* continues its renumbering.

7. The seventh phrase is drawn from *TL* 17:8. The word *պատմել* "relate" is found only in the *Epitome*; 1925, 1500 and YB have *սսել* like Greek *εἰπεῖν*.

8. The eighth phrase is drawn from *TL* 17:10. Note the corruption of 5 and 7 that has been observed elsewhere.

9. The ninth phrase is drawn from *TL* 17:11.

#### EPITOME

#### TESTAMENTS, Ms 1925

և զկնի լինելոց ի վրէժխնգրութիւն  
ի Տեանէ և պակասեցի  
քաւանայութիւն.  
յայնժամ յարիցէ Տէր քաւանայ որում  
ամենայն բանք  
յայտնեսցին և նա արասցէ զատաստան  
251Ե ճշմարիտ ի վերայ երկրի:

ծաղեսցէ արեգակն նոր յերկնից  
և մեծացի ի վերայ երկրի մինչև յար  
վերանալոյ իւրոյ.

և ի քաւանայութեան նորա Հեթանոսք  
բազմացին.  
ՃԻԷ ամս. ի Քերրոն:

18:1 և զկնի լինելոյ վրէժխնգրութիւնն  
նոցա ի Տեանէ. պակասեցէ  
քաւանայութիւն:  
18:2 յայնժամ յարուցանէ Տէր քաւանայ  
նոր, որում ամենայն բանք Տեանն  
յայտնեսցին. և նա արասցէ զատաստան  
ճշմարիտ ի վերայ երկրի ...  
18:3 և ծաղէ աստղն նորա յերկնից իբրև  
թագաւորի. լուսաւորելով զլոյս  
գիտութեան, իբրև զմիջարէի առաջի  
արեգականն, և մեծացի ի վերայ աշխարհի  
մինչև ցար վերացման իւրոյ: 18:4 և  
այնպէս վերացի իբրև զարեգակն ...  
18:9 և ի քաւանայութեան նորա Հեթանոսք  
բազմացին գիտութեամբ...

And after the coming of vengeance from the Lord, priesthood too will cease.

At that time the Lord will rise up, a priest to whom all words will be revealed and he will carry out true judgment upon the earth.

The new sun shall shine in the heavens, and he will be magnified upon the earth until the day of his assumption.

And in his priesthood, the nations shall increase.

125 years. In Hebron.

COMMENTARY

1. The first phrase is drawn from *TL* 18:1. The form *իմեկրոյ*, which seems to be best, is found only in *YA*. The corrupt reading of the *Epitome* is also shared by *YB*. It is followed in the *Epitome*, inexplicably, by *ի* and *յ*, the latter having been erased. *ի* is not translated here.

2. The second phrase is drawn from *TL* 18:2. The *Epitome* has the form *յարիցի* "rise up" where 1925, 1500, and *YB* all have a transitive form. Again the *Epitome* shares a secondary reading with *YB*, both omitting the word *նոր* "new" following "priest", which word is also found in Greek. The *Epitome*, 1925 and *YB* have *ճճարիա* "true"; 1500 *ճճարտութեամբ* "by truth, truly"; most Greek manuscripts have *ἀληθείας*; Greek *Ms g* has *ἀληθινῶν*, and *Ms d* has both readings conflated.

3. The third phrase is drawn from *TL* 18:3. 1925 and *YB* have *ծագի*, 1500 and the *Epitome* have *ծագեցի*, while Greek has *ἀνατελεῖ*. The word translated as "sun" occurs in the manuscript as an ideogram. All the other witnesses, however, including the Greek, have "star". This may be influenced by *TJ* 24:1, see below, but the word "sun" does appear in the latter part of the present verse. 1925 has the odd form *լուրս* for *լուս* "light". The *Epitome* has *երկրի* "earth" while *աշխարհի* "world" is the reading of 1925, 1500, and *YB*, and Greek has *οἰκουμένη*. However it is difficult to make stemmatic determinations on this basis.

4. The fourth phrase is drawn from *TL* 18:9.

5. The date agrees neither with 1925, *YB* which have 138, nor with 1500, *YA* which have 135. The dominant Greek reading is 137. Hebron is Levi's burial place according to all witnesses, see *TL* 19:4-5.

EPITOME

Յուդայ: Հայր մեր սպան զԲեթեղիսա թագաւոր

TESTAMENTS, Ms 1925

3:7 և Յակոբը Հայրն մեր սպան զԲաղիսաթ թագաւոր ամենայն թագաւորաց.

սկայ ԲԺ կանգնեայ.

և սկա զաւրութեամբ. և բարձրութիւն իւր կանգունք երկոտասանք:

Judah: Our father killed king Beelisa, a giant, twelve cubits.

COMMENTARY

1. The section is composed of two phrases from *TJ* 3:7. 1500 has a lacuna from 3:3 to 9:3 and so does not include this verse. The forms of the name vary. Greek is *Βεελισά*. *Yov* offers various forms; of them, closest to the *Epitome*, which is exactly equivalent to Greek, is *Ms A Բելիսա* "Belisa". 1925 and *Yov* have *և բարձրութիւն* (*Yov Ms B երկայնութիւն*) which shows their relationship. These words occur neither in Greek nor in the *Epitome*, but it is not appropriate to infer from such omissions of the *Epitome* that these words, unique to Armenian, did not occur in its *Vorlage*.

EPITOME

Բերսովա կին իմ դուստր թագաւորին  
Եզրոմացույ.  
ծնաւ զէք և զԱւնան. և  
զԻղոմ:

Իսկ զԲ՝ առանց որդոց սպան Տէր. բայց  
Սիղոմ եկաց և որդիք նորա դուք էք:

TESTAMENTS, Ms 1925

8:2 ... զԲարսա թագաւոր Ոգրոմացուց ...  
այր ինձ զդուստր իւր Բէրսոէ ի կնութեան.  
8:3 և սա ծնաւ ինձ զէք, և զԱւնան, և  
զՍիղամոն.

Իսկ զերկուսն առանց որդոց սպան Տէր, բայց  
Սեղովմ եկաց. և որդիքն նորա դուք էք.

Bersova my wife, daughter of the king of the Eglomites ... bore Eb and Awnan and (S)iom.

But the Lord killed the two without children, but Siom lived, and you are his children.

COMMENTARY

1. The first phrase is drawn from *TJ* 8:2. The forms of the name *Բերսով(ւ)ա* "Bersov(w)a" of the *Epitome*, 1925 and *Yov* differ slightly. In contrast to Greek *Βερσοῦ*, however, all Armenian traditions show the first syllable as *Բեր* "Ber". This is a significant conjunction. The form "Eglomites" is complex to assess.

Greek has Ὀδολάμ. This is the reading reflected by γοῦ *Ἀρρηθῶσι* "Odołomites". The reading of 1925 *prima manu* is *Ἀρρηθῶσι* "Ołomites". This has been corrected *secunda manu* to *Ἀρρηθῶσι* "Ogołomites". The variation of *d / g* is a simple graphic one. Since the *Epitome* is a correction of the corrupt reading "Ogołomites", its *Vorlage* had already corrupted "Odołomites" to "Ogołomites"; that might also be the *Vorlage* of 1925 *secunda manu*; it was not the *Vorlage* of γοῦ; 1925 is independently corrupt. This would seem, therefore, to be a rather old corruption. The *Epitome* has the word in the singular, taken as a collective in our translation.

2. The rest of this section is drawn from *TJ* 8:3. There are various corruptions with respect to the proper names. For the first son, the *Epitome* reads *զէբ* "Ēb", where 1925 and γοῦ reflect the reading of Greek, "Ēr"; the origin of the *Epitome*'s reading is a common graphic error. For the third name the *Epitome* reads *zilot* for *zSilom*, where 1925 is also corrupt and reads *զՍիլամոն* "Sitalmon". The loss of *s* following *z* is obviously a phonetic phenomenon, cf. also note on *TJ* 25:3 below. Later in the verse both texts have the correct reading. Since 1500 is corrupt by lacuna, this reading shows the independence of all these witnesses from one another.

## EPITOME

ԺԸ ամ ար(ար) խաղաղութիւն Հայր մեր ընդ  
 Էսաւայ՝  
 և որդիք նորա ընդ մեզ զկնի  
 զալոյ ի միջագետաց Ասորոց.

## TESTAMENTS, Ms 1925

9:1 ութուտասն ամ արար Հայր մեր  
 խաղաղութիւն ընդ Յեսովա Լղբարն  
 մերում.  
 և որդիքն նորա ընդ մեզ զկնի զալոյն մեր  
 ի Ղաբանու ի միջագետաց Ասորոց.

For 18 years our father wa(s) at peace with Esau, and his sons with us, after (our) coming from Mesopotamia of the Assyrians.

## COMMENTARY

1. This verse is drawn from *TJ* 9:1. The incomprehensible *ար* of the *Epitome* is emended to *արար* "did, made" (translated "was at") as in 1925, γοῦ, etc. This agrees with the Greek ἐποίησεν which is found in Greek Mss *a f* and *j*. All Armenian witnesses also have the related omission of *καὶ ἡμεῖς* which is to be observed in Greek Mss *g e a f c h i j*. The word *Ասորոց* "of the Assyrians" (or

Syrians) is not found in the Greek witnesses but occurs in all the Armenian witnesses.

## EPITOME

Թամար ի մեջագետաց էր.  
 գրուտր Արամա, կին էրա՝  
 և Հրեշտակն սատակեաց զնա  
 յետ Գ ատուր Հարսանեացն.  
 և Աւեան առեալ  
 մերձեցաւ. և ամ մի  
 ապականէր զսերմն  
 յերկիր ըստ խրատու մար իւրոյ.  
 սակայն և նա սատակեցաւ.

## TESTAMENTS, Ms 1925

10:1 ... ամ էր որդին ին զԹամար ի  
 միջագետաց, գրուտր Արամա:  
 10:3 և Հրեշտակ Տեան սատակեաց զնա  
 յերկրորդում աւուր Հարսանեաց նորա.  
 10:4 կամեցաւ փեսացուցանել նմա զՅովնան  
 ... տարի մին: 10:5 ... մերձեցաւ նա.  
 բայց սակայն ապականեաց զսերմն իւր ի  
 յերկիր ըստ պատուիրանի մար իւրոյ.  
 սակայն և սա վախճանեցաւ չարութեամբ.

Tamar was from Mesopotamia, daughter of Aram, wife of Ēr ...

... and the angel killed him after three days of marriage ...

And Onan having taken ...

... he drew near ... and for one year ... he defiled (his) seed upon the earth in accordance with the counsel of his mother.

However, he too was killed.

## COMMENTARY

In this section, the excerpts are more disjointed than usual.

1. The first phrase is adapted from *TJ* 10:1.

2. The second phrase is excerpted from *TJ* 10:3. Note that the *Epitome* and 1500 have three days, like Greek τρίτη, while 1925 and γοῦ refer to two days. The same corruption is found elsewhere, see M.E. Stone 1969, note on ii:7.

3. The third phrase is excerpted from *TJ* 10:4. The name has been corrupted in 1925 to the Armenian form of "Jonah".

4. The latter part of this section is drawn from *TJ* 10:5. Note that for *խրատու* "counsel", 1925, 1500, and γοῦ have *պատուիրան* "commandment" which seems closer to Greek ἐντολήν. Note that above in the similar phrase in 10:3, omitted by the Armenian witnesses, Greek has πανουργίαν. Ms B\* of γοῦ alone has *մեռաւ* "he died", equivalent in sense to *վախճանեցաւ* of 1500, 1925, and γοῦ. The

Greek is ἀπέθανεν agreeing with those witnesses against the *Epitome* "he was killed".

EPITOME	TESTAMENTS, Ms 1925
ԽԶ ամաւ Լկի յԵգիպտոս.	12:11 ... Եկաք մեք Եգիպտոս ...
ՇԳ ամ կացի ի նմա.	12:12 քառասուն և վեց ամաց լի. և և թանասուն և երիս ամս կեցի յԵգիպտոս:
մի արբենայք.	14:1 ... մի արբենայք գինով ...
ծաղեսցի աստղ իսրայելի և արեգակն արդարութեան.	24:1 ծաղեսցէ աստղն իստղաղութեան. (1500 + և արեգակն արդարութեան).

At forty-six years I came to Egypt.  
Seventy-three years I remained in it.  
Do not become drunk.  
The star of Israel shall shine, and the sun of justice.

## COMMENTARY

1. The first phrase is drawn from *TJ* 12:11.
2. The second phrase is excerpted from *TJ* 12:12. Note that 1925 alone has the form *կեցի* "lived", which corresponds to Greek ἐζήσα. This is by a common corruption in Armenian texts, on which see M.E. Stone 1969, note on xix:4. Observe that 1500 reads "seventy-six", an independent corruption.
3. The third phrase is drawn from *TJ* 14:1.
4. The fourth phrase is drawn from *TJ* 24:1. Observe that the *Epitome* alone reads *իսրայել* "of Israel". 1925, 1500 and yov have "of peace". This appears to be an independent corruption of the *Epitome* and probably should not be related to Greek ἐξ Ἰακώβ. It is of great interest that the *Epitome* and 1500 share the reading *և արեգակն արդարութեան* "and the sun of justice". This is missing from 1925 and yov by a simple homoeoteleuton. In Greek we have a long phrase καὶ ἀναστήσεται ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματός μου ὡς ὁ ἥλιος τῆς δικαιοσύνης. Although we have been reserved about inferring things from simple omissions by the *Epitome*, here the loss of the whole of the Greek phrase but for the last four words seems to have occurred already in the *Vorlage* of all extant Armenian texts, as it is also reflected in 1500, while the loss of these words in 1925 and yov is the result of the further process of corruption described above. The word "sun" is represented by an ideograph.

EPITOME	TESTAMENTS, Ms 1925
Տէր արՀնեաց գՂԼի. և Հրշտակն զիս. զՇծա(ւոն) Հրշտակք. երկինք. ծով. զԱբուզոն. Երկիր. գիսաքար. լերինք զՅովսէփ. տաղաւարք. զԲենի(ամին). լուսաւորք զԴան. փափկութիւն. զՆեփ(թաղիմ). զարութիւնք. զԳադ. ձիթենիք. զԱսէր և եղիցի ժողովուրդ Տեան և մի լեզու: ՃԺԹ ամաւ եգաւ ի Քերրոն:	25:2 և Տէր արՀնեացէ գՂԼի, և Հրեշտակ երեսաց զիս, և զՇծաւոն Հրեշտակք փառաց, երկինք զԲոքէն, զիսաքար երկիր, ծով զԱբուզոն, լերինք զՅովսէփ, տաղաւարք զԲենիամին, լուսաւորք զԴան, փափկութիւն զՆեփթաղիմ, զարութիւնք Հաստատութիւնք զԳադ, ձիթենի զԱսէր, 25:3 և եղիցին ի ժողովուրդս Տեան. և մի լեզու ...

The Lord blessed Levi,  
and the angel, me,  
angels, Sim(eon),  
the heavens ...  
the sea, (Z)aboufon,  
the earth, Issachar,  
the mountains, Joseph,  
the tabernacles, Benj(amin),  
the luminaries, Dan,  
delight, Naph(thali),  
the pow(ers), Gad,  
the olive trees, Asher.  
And the people of the Lord will be also one tongue.  
At 119 years. He was placed in Hebron.

## COMMENTARY

The first twelve phrases are drawn from *TJ* 25:2, while the last line is from *TJ* 25:3.

Judah: In this phrase Greek has ἄγγελος τοῦ προσώπου. In 1500 we find Հրեշտակք Երևաց Տեան “angels of the presence of the Lord”. The plural has no support in Greek, nor does the additional “of the Lord” of this Ms. γον adds “his” which, likewise, has no support. Variation between Տէր “Lord” and նա “he” is not uncommon, see M.E. Stone 1969, p. 65 for further instances. It is difficult to assign great importance to the absence of this word from the *Epitome* and 1925. From here on, none of the elements that are subjects of the clauses have definite articles, although such have been added in the translation for stylistic reasons.

Simeon: The name is abbreviated in the *Epitome*. This is also true of Benjamin and Naphthali. All Armenian witnesses read “angels”; 1500 adds “of glory”; Greek has αἱ δυνάμεις τῆς δόξης, so the common origin of all Armenian witnesses seems clear. Although the text of 1500 is clearly superior, the conjoint reading of all the other Mss should not be regarded as crucial for stemmatic purposes, being an instance of omission.

Reuben: The name has been lost in the *Epitome*.

Zebulun: The *Epitome* and 1925 have only one *q* at the start of this word, which should be taken as the accusative marker, like on the other names in this list. The initial “z” of “Zebulun” is thus missing in these two witnesses. Note also the name *Silom* above for a similar phenomenon (*TJ* 8:3 and see note below on *TN* 1:11). No weight is to be given this reading from a stemmatic point of view. In the *Epitome* the order of Zebulun and Issachar is the reverse of that found in the other Greek and Armenian witnesses to *TJ*.

Gad: The phrase dealing with Gad varies greatly between the manuscripts. 1925 has “powers, firmaments” (two nominative plurals); 1500 has գաւրութիւն շաստատութեան “power of (a) firmament”, and γον Ms B\* has գորութիւն և շաստատութիւն “power and firmament” while γον Mss A B C read գորութիւնք և շաստատութիւնք “powers and firmaments”. The *Epitome* has apocopated the word to գաւրութ. In it, these suffixes are usually not abbreviated and we cannot know whether a singular or a plural was in the copyist’s mind. However, nowhere in the Greek tradition does anything like the reading of the *Epitome*, or of the other Armenian witnesses, occur. All the Greek texts show the word ἥλιος, so that once again it is clear that the Armenian readings all stem from a common ancestor.

In the last phrase, 1500 alone seems to preserve the best text of Armenian, reading եղիցի մի ժողովուրդ “there will be one people”. None of the other Armenian witnesses examined has a text exactly like the *Epitome*. The traditions dealing with the length of Judah’s life and his burial accord with those found in *TJ* 26:2, 26:4, except that at *TJ* 26:2, Greek Mss *c h i j* have 118.

EPITOME

TESTAMENTS, Ms 1925

Իսաքար: վարձկան ճԻԹ ամաւ.

no parallel text

Issachar; hireling. At 122 years.

COMMENTARY

This is an onomastic explanation of the name, based on an etymology related to Hebrew יִשָּׂכָר. The same etymology is found in the *Onomastica Sacra*, cf. Stone 1981, Ona V, ln. 230: “Isak’ar, is reward or offering”. It also occurs in Greek Ms *f*, in the title, viz. ἐρμηνεύεται μισθός. The life-span of 122 years also occurs in *TI* 7:1. The idea is expressed in the text of *TI* 1:22.

EPITOME

TESTAMENTS, Ms 1925

Չարուզոն ասլ.

և եղև Յովսէփի ի գրին Գ. ւ. Գ. Գ.

և ապա վաճառեցաք

ես արարի նաւ՝

զի եւ ինձ Տէր իմաստութիւն՝

և որսաի ձուկն ամ է. մինչև եկաք

յեզիպտոս.

յետ այսորիկ ծագեցի ձեզ լոյս

արդարութեան

և տեսջիք զՏէր Աստուած յերուսաղէմ.

ամաւ ճԺԴ:

4:4 և Լղև նա ի ջրհորին զերիս տիւս և զերիս գիշերս. և այնպէս վաճառեցաւ ...

6:1 ... Ես արարի նաւ ...

զի Տէր ետ ինձ իմաստութիւն,

6:3 ... մինչև եկաք յեզիպտոս ...

6:7 զՀինգ ամ որսացի, և անէի ձկնորսութիւն ...

9:8 և յետ այսորիկ ծագեցէ ինքն Տէրն

զլոյս արդարութեան ...

և տեսջիք զՏէրն յերուսաղէմ:

Zebulun: he said,

And Joseph was in the pit for three d(ays) and three n(ights), and then we sold him.

I made a boat, for the Lord gave me wisdom.

And I used to hunt fish for seven years until we came to Egypt.

And after this a light of justice shall shine for you ... and you shall see the Lord God in Jerusalem.

In the 114th year.

## COMMENTARY

1. The origin of "he said" is unclear. The present tense is taken historically.
2. The second phrase is drawn from *TZ* 4:4. Note the use of the word *գրի* for the pit. This is not found in 4:4, but it does occur in 4:1. "Day" and "night" are abbreviated to a single letter.
3. The third phrase is from *TZ* 6:1.
4. The fourth phrase is drawn from *TZ* 6:3 and is followed immediately by 6:7, just as in all the other Armenian witnesses. J.P. Mahé suggests emending to *որսացի*, an aorist. This is possible but not absolutely necessary.
5. In the fifth phrase, drawn from *TZ* 6:7, the *Epitome* alone reads "seven" where the other witnesses to the Armenian and also the Greek, read "five". See note 3 on *TD* concerning this variant. It may be explained on inner-Armenian grounds, being a graphic error. *յօւ* shows considerable variation in Mss B\* and B here, which differ from one another and from the other witnesses.
6. The next phrase is drawn from *TZ* 9:8. Note that the *Epitome* and 1500 have the word *ձեզ* "for you" which is found in Greek but omitted by 1925 and *յօւ*. Note also that the *Epitome* alone adds *Աստուած* "God" following "Lord". Greek Ms *g* has *κύριον* instead of "God". Variations with *nomina sacra* are not uncommon.
7. The lifespan is in agreement with *TZ* 1:11. The number has been corrupted to 104 in 1925.

## EPITOME

Դան:

Ծագեսցէ ձեզ ի գեղէն

Ղեւայ և Յուդայի փրկութիւն Տեան և նա

պատերազմեսցի ընդ Բելիարայ

և զՀոգի սրբոցն առ ինքն

կոչեսցէ.

ՃԻ՛՛ ամ:

## TESTAMENTS, Ms 1925

5:10 ... և ծագեսցէ ձեզ ի գեղէն

Յուդայի և ի Ղեւ փրկութիւն Տեան ...

և տայցէ ընդ Բելիարա զպատերազմն ...

5:11 ... և զՀոգիս սրբոցն առ ինքն

կոչեսցէ ...

Dan:

The salvation of the Lord will shine for you from the tribe of Levi and from Judah and he will fight with Beliar.

And the spirit of the saints he will summon to himself.

127 years.

## COMMENTARY

1. The first phrase is drawn from *TD* 5:10. Ms B\* has a variant text, with no support, reading *փրկութիւն ի տանէն Յուդայ և ի գեղէն Ղեւայ* "salvation from the house of Judah and from the tribe of Levi". Greek has *Ἰουδὰ καὶ Λευί*. In the *Epitome* the order of the names is reversed. It is interesting to note that the *Epitome* has *պատերազմեսցի* "will fight" where the other Armenian witnesses have *տա(յ)ցէ պատերազմ* "will make war". This is part of the Epitomator's technique, since not only is the periphrastic form preferred in Armenian on stylistic grounds, but here Greek reads *ποτήσει ... πόλεμον*.
2. The second phrase is drawn from *TD* 5:11 and differs from all Greek which has (with some variants): *καὶ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν λάβη ἀπὸ τοῦ Βελίαρ, ψυχὰς ἁγίων*. At this point, then, the *Epitome* is based on a text like that of the other witnesses to the Armenian of *TD*.
3. The final letter of *ամ* "years" is ligatured to the preceding at the end of a line. The lifespan differs from the other Armenian witnesses which are the same as Greek, which has 125 in 1:1 and also in Mss *m f* at the end. This seems to be due to a common Armenian graphic variant found, e.g. in *TZ* 6:7. However, oddly enough, the same variant occurs between Greek Mss *m d f* and the other Greek witnesses in *TR*. Related is the situation in *TL* where we find 127 in the *Epitome*, 138 in 1925 and *γβ*, 135 in 1500 and *γα*, and 137 in most Greek witnesses. Perhaps in this instance we must go beyond the simple inner-Armenian graphic confusion to explain the variation between 5 and 7 in Greek. Moreover, there seems to be a penchant towards 125 (/7) as the length of the life of the Patriarchs, see *TS* (Armenian), *TL* (*Epitome*) and *TD*. The situation in some instances is even more complex, such as in *TG* and *TA* where both readings occur in Greek and both readings occur in Armenian.

## EPITOME

Նեփթաղիմ:

Ճայր իմ էր դուստր

Հուսթեա՝ եղբար Դերորայի զայեկի

Բարեկայ. Հուսթ էր յազգէ

## TESTAMENTS, Ms 1925

1:9 իսկ ճայր իմ Բաղդա էր դուստր

Հուսթէի. եղբար Դերորա դանկին Հոբեկա.

1:10 իսկ Հուսթէս էր յազգէն ի



Աբրահամու Քաղթեացի աստուածատէր

բարիազգեայ ազատ.

զերի վարեալ լինէր ի Ղաբանա՝

և ետ նմա զԷննաեա կին

ծնաւ Զեղփայ անուն ազարակին.

յորձէ զերի

լինէր վարեալ

և զկնի նորա զԲաղղա.

պատուիրեցէք որդոց ձերոց զի մի

զիմասցին Ղևեայ և Յուզայի.

վասն զի ի գաւազանէ նորա Աստուած երևի

բնակի ընդ մարդկան ժողովել զարդարս ի

Հեթանոսաց.

ամաւք ՃԼԱ.

յԱբրահամու Քաղթեացի. աստուածատէր.

ազատ

և բարի ազգեց:

1:11 և զերի վարել զնէլ լինէր ի Ղաբանէ

և ետ նմա զԷննա զաղաթին իւր ի կնութեան.

որ ծնաւ նմա զուսոր որ կոչեց զանուն

նորա Զեղփա. անուն ազարակին. յորձէ զերի

լինէր վարել:

1:12 և զկնի նորա ծնաւ զԲաղղա ...

8:2 և զուք պատուիրեցէք որդոց ձերոց. զի

միաբանեցին ընդ Ղևէ և ընդ Յուզայի ...

8:3 վասն զի գաւազանով նորա երևեցի

Աստուած. բնակեալ ընդ մարդկան ... և

ժողովել զարդարս ի Հեթանոսաց:

Naphthali: My mother was the daughter of Hrut<sup>c</sup>, brother of Debora, the nurse of Rebecca.

Hrut<sup>c</sup> was of the family of Abraham, a Chaldean, God-loving, of good family, free.

He was taken captive by Laban, and he gave him Ennaea as wife. She bore Zilpah according to the name of the village from which he had been taken captive. And after her, Bilhah.

Command your children that they should not oppose Levi and Judah. Because from his sceptre God (shall) appear, dwell with mankind, to gather the righteous from the nations.

In the 131st year.

COMMENTARY

1. The first phrase is drawn from TN 1:9. Note that the Epitome has corrupted the name Հուրթիս (cf. next verse), Greek Ῥώθεος, to something like an Armenian form of the name "Ruth".

2. The second phrase is drawn from TN 1:10. The words բարի ազգաց ազատ "of good family, free" are in the reverse order in 1925, 1500, and յՕՄ, and these latter witnesses agree with the Greek ἐλεύθερος καὶ εὐγενής. The form բարիազգեայ in Epitome is odd, for it seems to be from the adjective բարիազգի.

The form of the name is Ելփա in 1500, clearly created by a misunderstanding of the initial "z"; see above on TR 25:2 (Zebulun).

3. The third phrase is drawn from TN 1:11. Note the form of the name Էննաեա which may perhaps be compared with Greek Ms c Evav.

4. The fourth phrase is drawn from TN 1:12.

5. The fifth phrase is drawn from TN 8:2. մի զիմասցին "not oppose" of the Epitome does not agree with the other Armenian and Greek witnesses and is probably a corruption of the reading of the other Armenian text forms.

6. The sixth phrase is drawn from TN 8:3. The instrumental "by ... sceptre" of 1925, 1500, and յՕՄ agrees with Greek διὰ γὰρ τοῦ σκήπτρου, while the Epitome has ի գաւազանէ "from ... sceptre". The Greek σῶσαι τὸ γένος Ἰσραήλ is omitted, cf. TA 7:4 and note.

7. The life-span is somewhat problematic. The Epitome and 1500 read 131; 1925 and յՕՄ read 130. The Greek evidence is divided, the best reading being 132, while Greek Mss e a f h i j read 130. The number 131 is not reflected in Greek.

EPITOME

TESTAMENTS, Ms 1925

Գաղ: կամեի սպանանել զՅովսէփ.

զի ասէր թե առանց Յուզայի

ուսէք զխաչինսդ.

Ես և Շմաւոն վաճառեցաք զնա

Լ զինարի.

զԺ թաքուցաք

պատուէր սուք որդոց ձերոց զի

252a պատուեցեն զՂևի և զՅուզայ

զի ի նոցանէ ծագելոց է փրկութիւն

Իսրայէլի.

ի կատարածի յետս կացցեն որդիք ձեր.

անս ճիէ:

2:1 ... կամեցել սպանանել զնա ...

1:9 ... յանդիմանեց զմեզ զի առանց Յուզայի ուսէաք. զխաչինսն ...

2:3 ... ես և Շմաւոն վաճառեցաք զՅովսէփ.

երեսուն զաՀեկանի. Իսմաէլացոցն. և

ցտասն լոկ թաքուցել ...

8:1 ասացէք և զուք զայս որդոց ձերոց. զի

պատուեցէք զՅուզա և զՂևի վասն զի ի

նոցանէն ծագելոց է Տէր փրկութիւն ամենայն

Իսրաէլի.

8:2 և ծանեա զի ի ժամանակի կատարածի

յետս կայցեն որդիքն ձեր ի նմանէն ...

Gad: I wished to kill Joseph.

For he said "Without Judah you (plur.) eat the sheep".

I and Simeon sold him for 30 dinars; we hid ten.

Command your children that they should honour Levi and Judah for

from them the salvation of Israel will shine forth.  
In the consummation your children will stand against ...  
127 years

## COMMENTARY

1. The first phrase is adapted from *TG* 2:1. It is not usual for the *Epitome* to depart from the order of verses in the full *Testament*.

2. The second phrase is drawn from *TG* 1:9. *ուտէք* "you (plur.) eat" could be emended to *ուտէաք* "we were eating", a change of one letter, supported by 1925, 1500, and *YOV* Mss A and B. This is also the reading of Greek. For *խաչինս* "sheep" *YOV* reads *լամն* "lamb"; Greek has *θρέμματα*. The *Epitome* reads *ասէր* "he said" where the other Armenian witnesses have *յանդիմանեաց* "he reproached" which agrees with Greek *ἠλεγξεν*.

3. The third phrase has been drawn from *TG* 2:3. Note that the *Epitome* has *dinar*, where the other Armenian witnesses have the older word *դահեկան* "drachma". "Simeon" is found in all the Armenian witnesses and in Greek Mss *g l d e a f*. The other Greek reading, apparently original, is *Ἰούδας*. For "him", 1925 has *գեովսէփ* "Joseph", but Greek has *αὐτον*. Note also that the *Epitome* and *YOV* have *թարուցաք* (aorist indicative) where 1925 and 1500 have *թարուցել* (participle) and Greek has *ἀποκρύψαντες*.

4. The fourth phrase is drawn from *TG* 8:1. The *Epitome* reads *պատուէր տուք* "command" where the other Armenian witnesses and the Greek have "you shall say". This is not graphically similar to the *Epitome*. The next vcrb, *պատուեսցին* "they should honour" in the *Epitome* and 1500, is *պատուեցէք* "honour!" (2 person plural) in 1925 and *YOV*. The reading of the *Epitome* and 1500 is in accordance with the Greek. It should be noted that all Armenian witnesses support the reading *σωτήριαν* of Greek Mss *k g c h i j*, rather than *σωτήρα* which is accepted as the Greek text. All the Armenian texts examined, except for Ms B\* (*YOV*'s text) read "all Israel", where "all" is not represented in Greek.

5. The fifth phrase is drawn from *TG* 8:2. 1925, 1500, and *YOV* have forms of *ժամանակ կատարածի* "time of the end". *Epitome* omits "time" and the phrase is not found in Greek, but a relationship between the two omissions should not be inferred.

6. The lifespan is 127 in the *Epitome*, in agreement with Greek Mss *b g m e a f* at 1:1, while all the other Armenian witnesses examined have 125, corresponding to Greek Mss *d c h i j* at 1:1 and *m f* at the end. See note 3 on *TD* above.

## EPITOME

## TESTAMENTS, Ms 1925

Ատեր: որրի իմաստութեան զէտ երթեալ. ի 6:1 արդ Հայեցարուք որբեակք իմ ի

պատուիրանս Տեան՝

այդ արասցէ Բարձրեալն ի վերայ Երկրի

և ընդ ճարդկան շրջեսցի.

փշրեսցէ զգլուխ

վիշապին ի վերայ ջուրց. փրկեսցէ

զամենայն Հեթանոսս

իբրև զճարդ Երեւել:

արդ ասացէք որդոց ձերոց

զուցէ մի ոչ Հաւատայցեն.

ամ ԾԻԶ:

պատուիրանսն Տեան. միամտութեամբ ի Հետ  
երթել ճշմարտութեանն.

7:2 ... մինչև արասցէ, այց Բարձրեալն ի  
վերայ Երկրի.

7:3 ... և ընդ ճարդկան կերիցէ և արբցէ.

և Հանդարտութեամբ փշրեսցէ զգլուխ

վիշապին ի վերայ ջուրց. և փրկեսցէ

զԻսրայէլ և զամենայն զՀեթանոսս. Աստուած

իբրև զճարդ Երեւել:

7:4 արդ ասացէք զայս որդոց ձերոց. մի

զուցէ ոչ Հաւանեսցին նմա ...

Asher: Child, go after wisdom in the commandments of the Lord.

The Most High will visit the earth ...

And with men he will go about. He will smash the head of the dragon  
upon the waters. He will redeem all the nations, having appeared as a  
man.

Now say to your children lest they do not believe.

Year 126.

## COMMENTARY

1. The first phrase is dependent on *TA* 6:1. Unlike most of the *Epitome*, however, this is more a paraphrase than an excerpt. The *Epitome* alone reads *իմաստութեան* "wisdom" while 1925, 1500, and *YOV* read *ճշմարտութեան* = Greek *ἀληθεία*.

2. The second phrase is from *TA* 7:2.

3. The third phrase is from *TA* 7:3. For *ընդ ճարդկան* "with men", 1500 reads *իբրև զճարդ* "like a man". Greek, however, is *μετὰ ἀνθρώπων*. The *Epitome* has *շրջեսցի* which we have translated as "go about". 1925, 1500, and *YOV* have *կերիցէ և արբցէ*, equivalent to Greek *ἐσθίων καὶ πίνων*. *ի վերայ ջուրց* "upon the waters" is omitted by *YOV* Mss B\* A B. The Epitomator has omitted "Israel" found in the Armenian version and the Greek witnesses. Similar omissions also exist in *TN* 8:3.

4. The fourth phrase is from *TA* 7:4.

5. The lifespan is textually most interesting, since the Armenian witnesses present two readings, both represented in Greek: The *Epitome* and 1500 have

126 like the majority reading of Greek at *TA* 1:1 and in Greek Mss *m f* at the end, while 1925 *yov* have 125 like Greek Mss *c h i j* in *TA* 1:1. See *TD* note 3.

EPITOME	TESTAMENTS, Ms 1925
Յովսէփ: պատուեցէք զԼևի և զՅուդայ՝	19:11 և դուք որդեակք իմ. պատուեցէք զԼևի և զՅուդայ ...
Ջեղիփա զծայր ձեր Հանէք մերձ Բաղա առ Ջիպարաւք արշաւանսք զիջիք:	20:3 և զՋեղիփա ծայր ձեր Հանջիք, և մերձ ի Բաղլա առ Ջիարշաւանսն ... անդր զիջիք զնա:
ամ ԾԺ:	

Joseph: Honour Levi and Judah.

Zilpah your mother bring forth; set her close to Bilhah, by the riders (by) the courses.

Year 110.

#### COMMENTARY

In this life the edition of M.E. Stone 1975B has been utilized. The text of the Testament in that edition is based on a selection of eleven manuscripts, including 1925 and 1500. The edition follows the text of 1500 when no reason to depart from it is evident.

1. The first phrase is from *TJos* 19:10. Note that for "Levi and Judah" the Greek has τὸν Ἰούδαν καὶ τὸν Λεβί. Greek Ms *c* has the same word order as Armenian.

2. The second phrase is from *TJos* 20:3. The word *ձիպարաւք* is taken to be an instrumental plural of *ձիաւոր*. Note the shift of *ւ* - *վ*. The next word is also an instrumental plural. The two words make no sense, and are in fact a corruption of *ձիարշաւանսն* "Hippodrome" of 1500. Of greater significance, however, is that the whole phrase *և մերձ ի Բաղլա առ ձիարշաւանսն* "close to Bilhah, by the Hippodrome" occurs only in 1500 of the manuscripts consulted in the edition. Although corrupt, the *Epitome* shares this reading.

3. The lifespan occurs only in a few manuscripts of Greek, in *m f* at the end and in *d m* at the beginning.

EPITOME	TESTAMENTS, Ms 1925
Բենիամին: Հոաքել մեռաւ ի ծնունդս իմ զկաթն Բաղայի կերա	1:3 վասն զի Հոաքել մեռաւ ի ծնունդս իմ. և ևս զկաթն աղախնոյ նորա Բաղլաի ծծեցի.
զի ԲԺ ամ չէր ծնեալ	1:4 և էր նորա ամք երկոտասան և ոչ էր ծնել.
որդի աւուրց կոչեցա որ է Բենիամին:	1:6 ևս կոչեցա որդի այսինքն Բենիամինի.

Benjamin: Rachel died at my birth. I ate the milk of Bilhah. For for twelve years she had not given birth. I was called son of days which is Benjamin.

#### COMMENTARY

1. The first phrase is drawn from *TB* 1:3. There are two interesting textual points in it. The first is that *ի ծնունդս(ս) իմ* is not an obvious translation of γεννώσά με, a fact that seems to indicate again the common translation lying behind the *Epitome* and the other Armenian witnesses. A further instance of the same, also indicating something about the Greek *Vorlage* of Armenian, is the fact that all the Armenian witnesses share with Greek Ms *l* the omission of γάλα οὐκ ἔσχον. Ms 1500 omits *և ևս* "and I" of 1925.

2. The second phrase is drawn from *TB* 1:4. For *և էր նորա* which might be translated "and she had" of 1925, 1500 has *որո էր* "to whom there was".

3. The third phrase is drawn from *TB* 1:6. Interestingly the word *աւուրց* "of days", present in the *Epitome* and 1500, is omitted by 1925 and *yov*. It is original, as is clear from Greek. The explanation of the name given here is discussed by H. Hollander - M. de Jonge 1985, *ad loc*. It is based on Hebrew *בן ימי*. Ms B\* of *yov*, however, noting the lacuna, inserted *աջոյ* "of right hand", based on the Hebrew *בן ימי*. Gen 35:18 offers "son of my suffering" (בן ימי), also found in the title of Greek Ms *f*, and appearing in the Armenian Bible as *որդի վշտաց իմոց*. These two etymologies, "son of suffering" and "son of right hand" are found in the Armenian onomastic tradition, noted above perhaps to have influenced the Epitomator; see *TI*. Thus Ona iv.43 has the explanation drawn from Genesis, while Ona v.116 has "son of right hand". Both occur in Ona i.143.

4. The lifespan for Benjamin is not given.

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