RETELLEING THE STORY OF JUDAH AND TAMAR IN THE TESTAMENT OF JUDAH

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Abstract
Many Christians assume that Old Testament documents were ‘Christianised’ during the New Testament era, although the process predates the New Testament. This assumption may be premised on the lack of much information about how early Christians re-interpreted Old Testament stories to meet new trends of thinking during the Inter-Testament period. This paper, therefore, focuses on the story of Judah and Tamar in Genesis 38, which is retold in the Testament of Judah to discover the intentions and the worldviews of the author of the Testament of Judah. For the presupposition of this paper, the Testament of Judah will be studied as a Christian document. The other side of the debate that the Testaments are the works of a Jewish author is thus put aside at least for a while in this paper. This is because the Testaments look more like a Christian document than Jewish. As a result, the texts for comparison would be the LXX and the Greek version of the Testaments. The paper utilizes literary analyses of the two passages while it progresses through three main headings: the overall structure of the Testament of Judah, exegesis of the story of Judah and Tamar in both Genesis 38 and The Testament of Judah, an analysis of key characters and a summary of the significant differences between the two stories. The paper concludes that the world view of the author of the Testament thought of women as channels through which the devil overcomes man in battles of the mind, thereby, leading men into impurity. Hence, Bathshua and Tamar are thus presented as the ‘victimizers’ while Judah is portrayed in the Testament as an old man who had gained experience with time whose strengths and weakness serve as example for his sons.

Keywords: Testament of Judah, Second Temple Judaism, Pseudepigrapha, Judah and Tamar, Retelling.

Introduction
Biblical stories have been preserved and transmitted to posterity in diverse occasions and circumstances for ages. The period between 200BCE-69CE is referred to in history as the late Second Temple Judaism/ Inter-Testament era. Besides the series of political upheavals in this period, it also witnessed transmission of Biblical passages. In certain instances, scriptural passages were re-written and interpreted to suit the worldviews of the time. An example is the story of Judah and Tamar recorded in Genesis 38, retold in the Testament of Judah, the Jubilees¹, etc. Each of these retellings emphasizes an aspect of the story either from the perspective of Judah or that of Tamar. Thereby
portraying diversity in presuppositions and authorial intentions. These provide valuable insight into our understanding of how Scripture was interpreted to suit a present intent. It is at this backdrop that this paper focuses on the story of Judah and Tamar in Genesis 38, as retold in the Testament of Judah. Here, it is presented from the perspective of Judah in the first person singular. He exhorts his sons on his deathbed. The way he narrates the story, reveals different points of emphasis with additional details to the biblical account. These readily lend themselves to several questions as follows: what are the author’s intentions for retelling the story? What is the worldview of the author? How does the difference between the account in Genesis 38 and the Testament of Judah help in explaining the worldviews of the two authors? How does the purpose of the story of Judah and Tamar fit into the overall structure of the Testament? The purpose of this paper therefore, is to discover the intentions and the worldview of the author of the Testament of Judah that influenced the retelling of the story of Judah and Tamar.

It is important to understand the worldview of the author in order to properly interpret such a passage. Hence the significance of this paper will go a long way to help understand how the story of Judah and Tamar was understood within the earliest Christian communities. For the presupposition of this research, the Testament of Judah will be studied as a Christian document. The other side of the debate that the Testaments are the works of a Jewish author is thus put aside at least for a while in this paper. This is because the Testaments look more like a Christian document than Jewish.² The very faint line that existed among the early Christians and Judaism leads to the conclusion that the Christian author of the Testaments might have used Jewish style and imageries that were ‘known’ things to convey Christian thoughts in its teething years.³ Again, the authors could have been native Jews who had embraced Christianity and are now writing to first converts other than Jews to strengthen them regarding how God had revealed himself to humankind. Lastly if the title “Pseudepigrapha” (false attribute) and the various titles of the Testaments are accepted as not representing the real patriarchs involved, then the assumption that Christians wrote the Testaments under pretence of Jewish characters is more probable than otherwise.⁴

For the purposes stated above, this paper proceeds in three main headings. The first is introduction, followed by a survey of the overall structure and theme of the Testament of Judah, and an exegesis of chapters 8, 10-14 where the story actually occurs. The last section discusses the significance of the differences between the two accounts and a conclusion to the paper.

The Overall Structure of the Testament of Judah

It is necessary to explore the general structure of the Testament because it helps us to understand how and why the author retold the story of Judah and Tamar. The Testament of Judah is the fourth among the Testaments of the twelve
patriarchs corresponding with Judah as the fourth son of Jacob. It is an ethical treatise concerning ἀνδρεία (courage), ψελαργυρία (love of money) and πορνεία (immorality). These themes are well captured in the Testament except the ψελαργυρία (love of money) which seems not to be properly captured. It is mostly mentioned in the exhortatory sections of the document. It is the lengthiest among the Testaments of the twelve patriarchs, consisting of twenty-six chapters. It is loaded with many biographical expeditions of Judah.

The Testament of Judah begins with the usual introductory formula (1:1-6), with the slight difference of Judah’s children gathering themselves and coming to him instead of he calling them. The lack of this summons is made vivid with the absence of ἀκούω, which is frequently used in other Testaments. Judah begins his autobiography with virtues he exhibited at the youthful age, which earned him the admiration of his father and the subsequent promise that he will be a king, prospering “in all things”, (ἐλ πᾶζη T.Jud. 1:6b).

The last verse of the introductory section (1.6) is well linked to chapter 2.1 by the phrase ἐνπᾶς. With this, Judah sets out to narrate how the promise has resulted in his success in the wars and on the field. His adventures ranged from slaying lions to conquering and killing kings and giants. Judah in chapter 3 resembles David more specifically, when he used his garment to sfendona,w (throw) stones to kill the fully armoured men of Achor. It is worthy to note that Judah in most instances fought with his brothers in the Testament, he singles out himself perhaps to emphasise his boldness and courage.

In contrast to Judah’s brevity recounted in the first section, Judah and Tamar periscope is narrated in chapters 8, 10-12. On the structure and composition of the Testament, some scholars believe the Testament has two parts. The first part (3-7, 9) consists of collections of different traditions (Midrash, Amorite law etc.) which are disjointed. However, Menn and Rosen-Zvi though support the two-part theory, they see both sections forming a unit that presents two basic battlefields: the physical field in which Judah engaged with threats of war and the second is the battlefield of the human mind where ‘female threat of sexual temptation provides the ultimate test of man’s power.’ In agreement with Esther and Rosen-Zvi, the second part of the Testament presents an anti-climax to the success story of Judah in the physical battlefields as he shows gross weakness in battles of the mind (temptations of wine, women, and love of money). Thus, the Judah and Tamar story is a very important part of the Testament. The author develops the other two themes of the Testament through the means: ψελαργυρία and πορνεία.

In chapters 14-17.1, Judah exhorts his sons against wine, citing it as the main cause of his predicament and disobedience to his father and to God’s commands. This is followed by future passages (17.2-18.1) in which Judah predicts the sins that his sons will commit. Such passages that follow the themes Sin, without Exile and Restoration are termed SER passages in Inter-Testament
studies. Chapters 18.2-20 give more exhortation that ends in 21.1-6. The author returns to more future passages that form proper SER (21.7-8-22.1-2), SER 23.1-5. Chapters 24-26 consist of prophecies about the resurrection of the patriarchs and leads to even more exhortation 26.1-2. The Testament concludes on the usual note when Judah tells his children his preference regarding his burial 26.3, 4. With the SER and the prophetic passages, Judah seems to convince the audience that it was his ignorance that led him to fall prey to wine, women and love of money. In addition, since he was innocent, God has forgiven him to the extent that he still reveals himself to him. Thus, Judah at the time of his exhortation was morally upright.

Exegesis of the Story of Judah and Tamar in the Testament of Judah and Genesis 38
The structure of the Testament of Judah in general has been discussed. Hence, this part of the paper seeks to specifically exegete the story of Judah and Tamar in both Genesis and Testament of Judah because it is the bedrock of this paper. The Biblical account of Judah and Tamar narrates how her husband and father-in-law treated a woman by name Tamar unfairly: Er, Onan and Judah respectively. In this, the predominant characters are Judah and Tamar. With Judah's two sons playing subservient roles leading to the major Starrof the principal characters. This same story is retold in the Testament of Judah. In this, the narrator of the story is Judah himself and from his perspective, the story is told. After the long description of his courage and success in both the Battlefield and hunting, (T.Jud. 2-7), Judah introduces the circumstances that led to his marriage with the Canaanite woman in chapter 8. In 7.6-8 a contrasting situation to the unparalleled strength of Judah, which can be classified as the indicator of the anti-climax of his exploits is presented. Judah fights but this time it took the helping hand of his brother Dan to survive at Thamna (v 6), v 7-8 he is no longer singled out in this victory per se, and after the treatise of peace, he builds Thamna. For the victory that he and his brothers wielded over the Canaanites, they feared him and his brothers. These link up rightly with chapter 8. Chapter 8.2 connects seven 11 and explains the φόβος (fear) that the Canaanite had concerning Judah and his brothers as the main reason behind the king's throwing a party in honor of Judah and the subsequent persuasion to marry his daughter Bathsua. Thus, the author connects the first theme andreia to the story of Judah and Tamar that serve as the narrative piece that unfold the other themes. To unravel the genre of the story in the Testament, the prominent characters employed in the retelling of the story are discussed below.

Judah- The Protagonist
In the Biblical account, the author narrates the story of Judah and Tamar from the third person's point of view. Hence, Judah is characterised as the one
who willingly goes down from among his brethren to marry a Canaanite woman. After fathering three sons with her, he performs his fatherly duty of finding Tamar for his eldest son Er, but because he was πονηρός, God killed him. Judah then gave his second son Onan in place to marry Tamar; he was also killed due to his evil deed of spilling his semen on the ground whenever he slept with Tamar.

For fear of losing the last son too, Judah tells his daughter-in-law to return to her father’s house until Shelah is old enough for marriage. Failure of Judah to give Shelah to Tamar is the primary reason given in the biblical account to explain why Tamar lure Judah to sleep with her. Judah finally resorts to kill his daughter-in-law for promiscuity but later realizes he was the culprit himself.

This character of Judah is presented in the Testament on the contrary. Here, Judah exhorts his children at his bedside shortly before he dies. He is the narrator and thus presents the story from his viewpoint in order to exhort his audience. Hence, the story in the Testament seems to focus on the life of Judah as both a young man and a pious old man. Right from the beginning of the story, a reason is given to answer why he went down to Canaan as Ἡν δὲ μοι καϊκτην πολλά, καὶ εἰ γνώρισε ποίμενα Ιράντον Θοδολομήτην (And I had much cattle, and I had for chief herdsman Iram the Adullamite, T.Jud. 8.1). This readily deviates from the Genesis account where the phrase κατέβη Ισραής ἀπο τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ (Judah went down from his brothers Gen 38:1 RSV) is given without any explanation why Judah went to stay with Hirah (his chief herdsman) and later married from there.

On Judah’s encounter with Tamar, the Testament is silent on why and where she stayed as widow. The same reason is given for Judah’s journey to Thamna as κείρας τὲ προβάτα (to shear my sheep) in both the Bible and the Testament. While in the biblical account Judah considers Tamar to be a πονηρή, the Testament uses that same word to describe her. However, it gives it a cultural explanation that Νόμος γάρ Αμορραίων, τὴν γαμούσαν προκαθίσαι ἐν πορνείᾳ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας παρὰ τὴν πύλην (For it was a law of the Amorites, that she who was about to marry should sit in fornication seven days by the gate. T. Jud. 12.2). Another interesting difference to note concerns the pledge that Judah gave to Tamar. Even though Tamar asks the same question: τι, μοι δώσεις (What wilt thou give me? Genesis 38.16b; T. Jud. 12.4), Judah rather chooses to give the pledges as the actual ‘payment’ or reward instead of it being a surety for the ‘young goat’ in the testament contrary to Genesis 38, where Tamar bargains for a reward and surety. The Testament maintains only one of the pledges Judah gave in Genesis, the staff τὴν ράβδον and replaces the other two: the ring τῶν δακτύλιών and the small necklace τῶν ὀρυσκών with the girdle τὴνζωήν and the diadem of the Kingdom τὸ διὰ δηματίς βασιλείας (T.Jud. 12.4). These substitutes fit better into the context of the story in the testament that portrays Judah as a king. Judah himself later explains the significance of these royal paraphernalia
that he gave away: “for I gave my staff, which signifies the stay of my tribe, and my girdle, which signifies the power, and the diadem which signifies the glory of my kingdom.” (T. Jud. 15.3).

Though the Testament categorically points out Judah’s innocence in sleeping with Tamar as, κατεκα λύσατο γὰρ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς καὶ οίκ ἐπέγνω αὐτῆς (therefore being drunk with wine, I did not recognize her;…T. Jud. 12.3), it does not exonerate him from being responsible for her ordeal. Rather this innocence helps heighten Tamar’s quest to seek revenge or justice for Judah’s deception of her and thereby leading the reader to pity and justify Tamar’s act as Judah himself comes to the realisation in the end. Thus the Testament blames Judah’s innocence coupled with wine as the cause of his being led into immorality. Perhaps it is for Judah’s lack of taking responsibility for this act that results in Tamar sending his staff, girdle and the diadem in secret in the Testament. This is in contrast to the public presentation in the biblical account.

The conclusion of the story in the Testament leaves out the names of the twins that Tamar bore for Judah. However, it also emphasises Judah’s complete abstinence from Tamar until his death found in Genesis. Again, the Testament of Judah provides additional information that Tamar could even repeat to Judah, the μυστήριο λόγος (secret/ mysterious words T.Jud. 12.6) he spoke to her while they had the affair. Judah later recounts another incident where he even revealed the μυστήρια (mysteries) of his father Jacob to his Canaanite wife in complete defiance of the express command of God. The author brings out all these details in order to press upon his readers the heinous effect of succumbing to pleasures of wine, women and love of money. In the Testament, the Judahites are the descendant of Shelah in contrast to the designation given to the Perez and Zerah in both the Old and the New Testaments. Judah thus in the Testament is presented as the only protagonist whom the antagonists: Bathshua and Tamar preyed. He is lured into immorality several times due to the intoxication of wine, youthful exuberance, love of money and the beauty of women.

The Wife of Judah

In Genesis 38, the role of Judah’s wife can be described as a flat character. Her name is given as ‘Saua’ but her father’s name is not given. She comes to the scene only to give birth to the three sons of Judah: Er, Onan and Shelah. As a result, the verb ἴκτω is repeated in three of the four verses that are devoted to her. She is only mentioned in passing as having died later.

In contrast to the above, the Testament of Judah assigns her a dominant character that parallels that of Tamar in principle. She is first introduced alongside her father ‘Barsan the King of Adullam’ who throws a party in honor of Judah to persuade him to marry her. Though she does not perform any role in this introduction, the persuasive act of her father indicated by παρὰ καλέδι and δίδωμι seem to suggest that Bathshua played a hind side role of enticing Judah.
while her father was beseeching him. Judah himself later explains how this irresistible role directly influenced him; “And when I saw her pouring out wine, I was deceived...” (T. Jud. 11.2).

Bathsheua, rather than Judah bears responsibility for the woes of Tamar; she commands the two sons Er and Onan not to have children with Tamar. Again, Bathsheua usurps the role of Judah by finding a wife for Shelah the younger son without his knowledge. Judah explains, “While I was away she went and took for Shelah a wife from the land of Canaan” (T. Jud. 11.3). Thus Bathsheua hated Tamar because ‘she was not of the daughters of Canaan, as she also herself was’ (δὴ οὐκ ἦν ἐκ θυγατέρων Χαλαάλ, ὡς αὐτή, T. Jud. 10.6). Her wickedness culminates in the death of her first two sons and finally her death from the curse of Judah. This characterization of Bathsheua, different from Genesis 38, makes it possible for Judah in the Testament to use her as a perfect example of exhortation for his sons in 17: 1-2:

I command you, therefore, my children, not to love money nor gaze upon the beauty of women, because also for the sake of money and beauty I was led astray to Bathsheua the Canaanite.

Within the passages that concern the wife of Judah in the Testament, few observations can be seen. Her name is mentioned only twice as Βησσασώς (8.2) and Βησσασώς (10. 6) and in both instances the spelling of her name is inconsistent. This shows that she is not an important character in herself; rather she is only interesting for the role she plays in the story. She is referred to as a Canaanite and alien, thereby rendering her as a foreigner. Lastly, Bathsheua’s name is replaced with the personal pronoun auth whenever she acts against Tamar this frequent use of the pronoun seems to suggest that Judah is innocent with regards to Tamar. The above observations justify Judah’s characterisation of Bathsheua as seductive and wicked woman in the retold story in the Testament of Judah.

Tamar

Tamar is first introduced in the Testament in chapter 10.1 as follows, “After these things my son Er took to wife Thamar from Mesopotamia, a daughter of Aram”. She remains a neutral and passive character at this point of the story. Two of Judah’s three sons: Er and Onan unfairly hinder her from having offspring because of their mother’s treacherous advice. This characterisation of her evokes pity on her by the reader thereby considering her as a good character.

In chapter 12 where we find the parallel account, her nature and role in the Genesis account is diminished. She is reduced to being a weak woman that only fulfils the Amorite law that τὴν γαμοῦσαν προκαβᾶσαι ἐν πορνείᾳ ἐπὶ τὰ ἡμέρας παράτην πύλην (she who was about to marry should sit in fornication seven days by the gate. T. Jud. 12. 2). Her skilful display of wisdom and
bargaining, self-motivation and quest to seek justice for herself are all not captured in the testament. Perhaps these are omitted because in the Testament Tamar is used as one of the ‘illustrations of Judah’s ... into temptation.’ Judah cuts off her speech at the negotiation before taking her to bed as found in Genesis 38.15-18.

However the description of Tamar’s adornment (12.1) in the Testament seems impressive than in the Genesis account. In the Biblical account κατακαλύπτω (Genesis 38.15) was used in describing how Tamar was able to trap Judah. The verb has the meanings ‘to act or to cover the head so much that the face seems like wearing a mask.’ Thus, the author uses it to bring to the fore how Tamar wittingly disguised/veiled her face so that Judah could not recognize her in order to seek redress for the perverted justice meted out to her. Contrary to this, the author of the Testament uses κοσμίω and κοσμέω. These words have the meanings a) ‘being in accordance with accepted standards of propriety, decorous, or modesty’ and b) To have a character or quality that evokes admiration, delight, or high regard for a person. They are linked to the noun νύμφη that in this context means ‘bridal garment.’ With these words, Tamar is portrayed as having decorously adorned herself to evoke the admiration of Judah. With this, she is characterized as a temptress for Judah different from the biblical account. The indirect characterisation of Tamar as playing πορνεία due to her culture, makes her only a victim of circumstance. Tamar’s conception (12:4b) is mentioned but her subsequent delivery is not stated in the Testament. Judah claims he could not kill him as he did to his wife for one reason:ὅτι παρὰ Κυρίου ἦν (Because it was from the Lord. 12.6).

Significance of the Differences between the two accounts

As discussed above, this part of the paper explores the significant differences between the Genesis and the Testament accounts. This pursuit is important because it serves as the means to understand the world and the purposes of the author in retelling the story.

The Genesis account reveals a male dominant culture within which the role of a woman was only to bear children for her husband. As a result, barren women were inversely subjects for public ridicule. This then meant that their recognition in society depended largely on the childbearing activity. Hence, a woman in this context had two main significant roles; either remained a virgin under her father’s care or a child bearing faithful wife under the care of her husband. In event of the death of a married man without a child, his brother or other relatives could inherit him in levirate marriage and bear children with his wife. This explains why Judah’s wife is only mentioned in reference to child bearing, Judah’s son Onan is given to marriage in place of Er and why Tamar is presented as one who seeks justice at all cost to bear children with her husband(s) and eventually the father-in-law. Besides, the background portrays how a
particular tribe was maintained because of the levirage marriage. By this, a woman married into a family rightly became a childbearing person for procreation of the family.\(^{25}\) Thus for Judah to send Tamar to her father’s house was a form of injustice.

The Testament of Judah capitalizes on the insignificance of women in the Genesis context to paint them as dangerous for men either kings or paupers (15:5, 6). For this reason, Bathshua is given an active role in contrast to Genesis 38 and bits that justified Tamar to have fought for legitimate offspring are omitted in the Testament. Based on this perspective, Judah is characterised as the living testimony even with his royal status. Thus, he is well placed to exhort his sons to beware of women.

Besides these, marriage outside one’s own people was deemed as sinful in the perspective of the author. Hence, Bathshua and Tamar result as the punishments for Judah for his disobedience to both his father and God. Again, it is worthy of notice that Judah tells this story not to show his remorse per se but to indicate the forces that lured him into those sins: alcohol, beauty of women and youthful exuberance. Hence, he idealizes himself as a good and innocent patriarch worthy of being heeded to. He crowns this idealization with a restoration (R) passage:

But the God of my fathers, the compassionate and merciful, forgave me, because I did it in ignorance. For the prince of deceit blinded me and I was ignorant as a man and as flesh corrupted through sins and I recognized my own weakness while thinking myself as invincible. (T. Jud. 19. 3-4).

Interestingly, Judah recognized his weakness not his sins. Therefore, the weakness led him to sin, thereby serving as the cause of his failure. This idealisation of Judah in the testament seems to portray a Hellenistic perspective of control over one’s passion.\(^{26}\)

Conclusion

This exegesis of the passage has been done with respect to the methodology outlined at the beginning of this paper. The themes of courage, love of money and immorality are dealt with in the extensive biographical sketch of Judah’s life. Bathshua and Tamar are means to the last two themes. This reveals the worldview of the author regarding the role of women as in leading men into impurity as evident in the ethical exhortation sections.

Judah in the testament is used as an example of ‘men’ in the generic sense. They have all the physical strength in which they are successful. Nevertheless, they are weak in the battle of the mind. Bathshua and Tamar are thus presented as the ‘victimizers’ who do not tempt man for their own desires per se. They are only victims or channels through which the devil overcomes man in the
battle of the mind. This seems to echo the story of Adam and Eve and the origin of sin (Genesis 3).

The image of Judah portrayed in the testament is that of an old man who has gained experience with time. His vicissitudes serve as points of consideration for the sons if they want to be successful. Lack of moderation in drinking wine makes a man susceptible to the yearning of a woman to gain authority over him. The implication of all these is that several Old Testament stories were re-interpreted to suit the worldviews of the time.
Notes and References

1. This has been the traditional view, rekindled and defended by Maximus De Jonge. In recent years, Kugler in agreement to this approach in the study of the Testament sums up the arguments of De Jonge all through history in his book. See Robert A. Kugler, *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs: Guides to Apocrypha And Pseudepigrapha*, Knibb A. Michael, ed., (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 35–38.

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3. However, Kugler builds on the argument of De Jonge by giving attention to how the testament might have appealed to Christians and Jews alike. See Kugler, 38–39.

4. I find Christian provenance of the testaments defended by De Jonge, Kugler and Hollander (See footnotes above) as the favourable approach to the study of the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs.

5. See T. Reu. 1.5, T. Sim. 2.1, T. Iss. 1:1, T. Dan 1.2, and the others.

6. These virtues include being sharp, keen and obedient.

7. In 1 Samuel 17:49 the Septuagint uses the same verb “σφενδόνα, w” when David killed Goliath.


10. Almost all the verbs that refer to Judah are in the first person singular.

11. This is manifested by the frequent usage of the first Person Singular verbs likeεἰδόν, ἐπεγάμβρευσα, ἥπειλησα, etc., in the testament.

12. See the Genesis 38:18 of the LXX.


14. For examples, see Genesis 46.12, Numbers 26. 20, 1 Chronicles 2.4, Nehemiah 11.4, Matthew 1.3, Luke 3.33

15. This observation is based on the LXX. It is interesting to note that even though the Testament of Judah follows the LXX, the name of Judah’s wife in the testament seem to follow that of the Masoretic (MT), which adds the
Bath (Genesis 38.2) to the text than the Septuagint (LXX), which gives only ‘Sua’. This raises several questions. Did the author of the testament have different kind of LXX than what we have today? Can the LXX be solely trusted in terms of names in the Testament? Was the author of the Testament of Judah a Bilingualist?

16. This verb can have several meanings: ‘to ask and be present where the speaker is’ and ‘to make a strong request for another’. The meaning implied it usage here seem to combine these two to show the intensity of the act of making the request and the other side of giving Bathsua to marriage. See Walter Bauer, ed. William Frederick Danker, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2000), 264–265.


18. For extensive discussion on this verb see Bauer, 561.

19. This is used as an adverb mostly see Bauer.

Bauer, *Greek-English Lexicon*.


24. Esther Terry Blackman.
