

ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF KAINAN, SON OF ARPACHSHAD

by

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Kainan, the son of Arpachshad in Luke 3:36, is considered original to Luke's messianic genealogy by the editors of *Novum Testamentum Graece* 28 (NA²⁸) and *UBS* 5.² A few scholars have argued instead that his name originated as a scribal error in an early manuscript of Luke's Gospel. Then, Christian scribes across the Mediterranean world almost universally accepted his name as original to Luke, interpolating Kainan/n³ into the forty plus manuscripts of Luke presently extant. According to this theory, Christian scribes also added Kainan to all known Septuagint (LXX) manuscripts of Genesis 11:13b–14b⁴ dated prior to the 12th century AD. While doing so, they allegedly borrowed the begetting age (130) and remaining years of life (330) from Shelah in the next verse (LXX Gen 11:15–16) and falsely assigned them to Kainan. They also added Kainan to some manuscripts of LXX Genesis 10:24 and 1 Chronicles 1:18, 24. Additionally, Christian scribes also amended extant copies of the pseudepigraphical *Book of Jubilees* by fabricating a biography for Kainan in chapter eight and inserting it between the lives of Arpachshad and Shelah.

This article will examine several lines of textual and historical evidence and demonstrate that this explanation for Kainan's origin cannot be sustained. Other untenable theories of Kainan's origin will also be explored. Instead of being spurious, Kainan's originality in LXX Genesis 10:24 and 11:13b–14b, the *Book of Jubilees*, and Luke 3:36 is virtually certain. Moreover, we will also propose that the most viable explanation for the known matrix of evidence is that Kainan appeared in the

¹Dr. Udd and Mr. Smith have co-authored § 1.1–3. The remainder of the article reflects the research and conclusions of Mr. Smith.

²Barbara Aland and Kurt Aland, eds., *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 28th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012), 191; Barbara Aland et al., eds., *The Greek New Testament*, 5th rev. ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2014), 410.

³Καίναμ is indicated as the original reading in NA²⁸ instead of the close variant, Καίαν. The variant endings (μ/ν) are found in both LXX and NT manuscripts. We will use "Kainan" throughout this article unless a distinction is required. The importance of the spelling variation is briefly discussed in § 1.3 and 2.3.

⁴The Masoretic Text (MT) in Gen 11:12–13 reads, "When Arpachshad had lived 35 years, he fathered Shelah. And Arpachshad lived after he fathered Shelah 403 years and had other sons and daughters." We will designate the verses in the LXX with Kainan's inclusion between Arpachshad and Shelah as 11:13b–14b.

original Hebrew text of Genesis, but first disappeared from Genesis 11 by a combination of scribal and mental error in a very ancient archetypal Hebrew manuscript. This was followed by a complex sequence of events that occurred over the span of several centuries.

1. NEW TESTAMENT AND SEPTUAGINT PAPYRI

1.1. $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$, *Papyrus Bodmer XIV–XV*

$\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ contains large portions of the Gospels of Luke and John. It has been paleographically dated between AD 175 and 250 by several New Testament text critical scholars.⁵ Overall, it is considered a well-preserved manuscript and its textual affinities are close to those of Codex Vaticanus (B). Its age and proximity to B make $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ an important witness to the early history and textual transmission of the New Testament.⁶

NA²⁸ lists $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ as one of two manuscripts which omit Kainan from Luke 3:36.⁷ Since $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ is generally considered the earliest known manuscript of Luke, some scholars who reject Kainan as original appeal to his alleged absence in $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ and its conventional date of origin as evidence for their position.⁸

NA²⁸ qualifies its listing of $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ with the superscripted designation *vid* (= *videtur*). As it turns out, this term, “apparent reading, but not certain,” is there for very good reasons.⁹ Martin and Kasser published a

⁵See a list in Pasquale Orsini and Willy Clarysse, “Early New Testament Manuscripts and Their Dates: A Critique of Theological Paleography,” *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 88 (2012): 471. This generally accepted date range has recently been challenged by Brent Nongbri, “Reconsidering the Place of Papyrus Bodmer XIV–XV ($\mathfrak{P}^{75}$) in the Textual Criticism of the New Testament,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 135 (2016): 405–37. Nongbri proposes that a 4th century AD date is also possible. In this article, we will follow the conventional dating, but also acknowledge that Nongbri’s challenges to the *status quo* require consideration.

⁶Juan Hernandez Jr., “The Early Text of Luke,” in *The Early Text of the New Testament*, ed. Charles E. Hill and Michael J. Kruger (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 130–38.

⁷NA²⁸, 191.

⁸Andrew E. Steinmann, “Challenging the Authenticity of Cainan, Son of Arpachshad,” *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 60 (2017): 702–3; Jonathan Sarfati, “Biblical Chronogenealogies,” *Creation ex Nihilo Technical Journal* 17 (2003): 17; idem, “What about Cainan?” *Creation ex Nihilo Technical Journal* 18 (2004): 43; Larry Pierce, “So-Called Error in Luke 3:36,” *Creation ex Nihilo Technical Journal* 14 (2000): 49–51. J. Paul Tanner suggests that Kainan was a later insertion into the LXX. He relies on $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ to argue against Kainan’s inclusion in Luke, but provides no explanation for how it originated (“Old Testament Chronology and Its Implications for the Creation and Flood Accounts,” *Bibliotheca Sacra* 172 [January–March 2015]: 33–34).

⁹The fragment can be also seen online: “Papyrus Hanna 1 (Mater Verbi),” Digital Vatican Library, accessed January 16, 2019 [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MANUSCRIPTS_Pap.Hanna.1\(Mater.Verbi\)/0002](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MANUSCRIPTS_Pap.Hanna.1(Mater.Verbi)/0002). $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ has been renamed Papyrus

reconstruction of the text of Luke 3:34–36 in 1961, reproduced here.¹⁰ The bracketed text is conjectured and letters recorded as extant appear in bold. We have added the number of letters per line.

Column 1

Line 1	 ΤΟΥ	
Line 2	ΙΟΥΔΑ ³⁴ [ΤΟΥ ΙΑΚΩΒ ΤΟΥ ΙΣΑΑΚ ΤΟΥ Α]	(25 letters)
Line 3	ΒΡΑ [ΑΜ] ΤΟΥ ΘΑΡ[Α ΤΟΥ ΝΑΧΩΡ ³⁵ ΤΟΥ CΕΡΟΥΧ	(29 letters)
Line 4	ΤΟΥ [ΡΑΓΑ]Υ ΤΟΥ Φ[ΑΛΕΚ] ΤΟΥ [ΕΒΕΡ	(23 letters)
Line 5	Τ]ΟΥ [CΑΛΑ ³⁶ ΤΟΥ Α]ΡΦΑ[ΞΑΔ ΤΟΥ]Υ [CΗΜ	(23 letters) ¹¹

The Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung (INTF) Virtual Manuscript Room presents a reconstruction of Luke 3:33–36 with more letters as extant. INTF combines Martin and Kasser's reconstruction with a study done in 2007 by Lakmann,¹² as follows:

Column 1 Folio 7^r

Line 1	³³ [ΤΟΥ ΑΡΝΙ ΤΟΥ ΕCΡΩΜ ΤΟΥ ΦΑΡΕC] ΤΟΥ	(26 letters)
Line 2	ΙΟΥΔΑ ³⁴ [ΤΟΥ ΙΑΚΩΒ ΤΟΥ ΙCΑΑΚ ΤΟΥ Α]	(25 letters)
Line 3	ΒΡΑ [ΑΜ] ΤΟΥ ΘΑΡ[Α] ΤΟΥ ΝΑΧΩ[Ρ ³⁵ ΤΟΥ CΕΡΟΥΧ]	(29 letters)
Line 4	ΤΟΥ [ΡΑΓΑ]Υ ΤΟΥ ΦΑΛΕ[Κ] ΤΟΥ [ΕΒΕΡ]	(23 letters)
Line 5	[Τ]ΟΥ[CΑΛΑ ³⁶ ΤΟΥ Α]ΡΦΑ[Ξ]ΑΔ Τ[ΟΥ]C[ΗΜ] ¹³	(23 letters)

Hanna 1.

¹⁰Victor Martin and Rodolphe Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer XIV. Évangile de Luc, Chap. 3–24* (Cologny-Genève: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1961), 33. Martin and Kasser have placed spaces between the names and the definite articles, presumably for ease of reading.

¹¹This font was created by Kris J. Udd. It replicates the letter shapes and relative letter spacing of $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ as much as possible.

¹²Marie-Luise Lakmann, "Papyrus Bodmer XI–XV ($\mathfrak{P}^{75}$): Neue Fragmente," *Museum Helveticum* 64 (2007): 26. Lakmann calls the fragment "folio 7^r," while it is listed as "7^v" on the INTF website. We follow Lakmann's designation here.

¹³Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung, accessed January 18, 2019, <http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-workspace/docID=10075&pageID=30>. Lakmann's reconstruction is the same as INTF's version for Luke 3:35–36. She does not include verses 33 and 34. We have added verses and letters per line. According to Robinson, ultraviolet photographs of $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ produced by the British Museum in the 1980s were examined by Lakmann (James M. Robinson, "Fragments from the Cartonnage of $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$," *Harvard Theological Review* 101 [April 2008]: 231–35). For folio 7^r, Lakmann states that there was "kein photo," referring to the infrared versions. Lakmann's black and white photo on page 35 is the same image as the one on the Vatican website (see below). The folios had been glued together (3:34–36 and 4:1–2), so Lakmann used Martin and Kasser's reconstruction as a guide ("Papyrus Bodmer," 26). This is explained by Robinson (239): "The transcriptions of the *editio princeps* [by Martin and Kasser] have the following captions:...('Luke 3:33–4:2 [binding*]'), with the following footnote at the bottom of page 32 to explain the asterisks:...('Leaves used in making the binding, see the introduction, pages 11–13'). At the bottom of

Looking closely at line 5, there seem to be enough letters to establish the reading for Arpachshad (Α)ΡΦΑ[Ξ]ΑΔ. To his right, Shem is preserved as Τ[ΟΥ]C[ΗΜ]. Moving up to line 4, there is space for Reu, as the upsilon seems to confirm his placement there ([ΡΑΓΑ]Υ). Peleg seems beyond question, even in Martin and Kasser's reconstruction. Eber is conjectured, but his placement after Peleg is based on many other NT manuscripts. Both reconstructions omit Kainan.

We propose there is an equally viable reconstruction that would include Kainan. Note how the INTF/Lakmann reconstruction on line 4 ends with Eber after 23 letters, then moves down to line five. There, ΟΥ from a definite article is recorded as extant, and CΑΛΑ is conjectured as the next patriarch. However—and this is most significant—there is no visual or previously documented evidence for any letters from Shelah's name.

Observe at the end of line 3 that Serug (ΤΟΥCΕΡΟΥΧ) is conjectured, jutting out the furthest to the right, 29 letters in all. Serug cannot appear at the beginning of line 4, as Peleg (ΤΟΥΦΑΛΕ[Κ]) allows only enough room for Reu (ΤΟΥ[ΡΑΓΑ]Υ) to be placed before him. Since Serug extended the line length to 29 letters, there was originally room on the papyrus for several letters right beneath his name. If the conjecture for Serug is correct, then ΤΟΥCΑΛΑ could easily have fit beneath Serug's name after Eber at the end of line four instead of at the beginning of line five. Since line 3 is 29 letters long when CΑΛΑ is added, we propose that the last alpha may have been written at the beginning of line five. There is plenty of room for ΤΟΥCΑΛ(Α) to appear at the end of line 4 after Eber, *and*, there is no previously documented or present visible evidence from $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ itself that CΑΛΑ appeared at the beginning of line five.

The inclusion of ΑΤΟΥΚΑΙΝΑΝ at the beginning of line 5 would only increase its line length to 26 letters, fitting the context well. Therefore, we propose that the following textual reconstruction, with Kainan included in $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ on line 5, is equally plausible:

Line 3	ΒΡΑ[ΑΜ]ΤΟΥΘΑΡ[Α]ΤΟΥΝΑΧΩ[Ρ ΤΟΥCΕΡΟΥΧ]	(29 letters)
Line 4	ΤΟΥ[ΡΑΓΑ]Υ ΤΟΥΦΑΛΕ[Κ]ΤΟΥ[ΕΒΕΡ ΤΟΥCΑΛ]	(29 letters)
Line 5	ΑΤ[ΟΥ]ΚΑΙΝΑΝ ΤΟΥΑ[ΡΦΑ]Ξ[ΑΔ Τ[ΟΥ]C[ΗΜ]	(26 letters)

ΑΤΟΥΚΑΙΝΑΝ (or ΚΑΙΝΑΜ) is only 3 letters longer than ΤΟΥCΑΛΑ, so his name could have fit at the start of line five. In particular, the iota (ι) is thin, taking up little additional space. Moreover, letters were not uniformly spaced nor written in the exact same size by the scribe who copied $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$. There is considerable variation in both

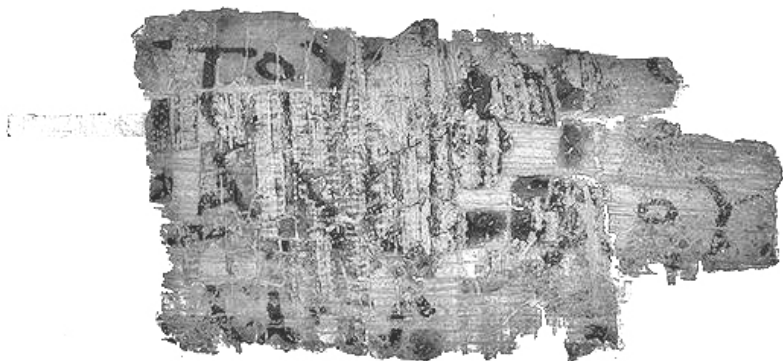
page 33, we read the following footnote:...(* This page of a leaf used in making the binding [see the introduction, pages 5, 9, and 11–13] could not be photographed⁵.)”

features throughout the manuscript.¹⁴

We used the above reconstruction by INTF/Lakmann to present the “most generous” number of extant letters recorded by scholars. Martin/Kasser, Comfort/Barrett,¹⁵ and Swanson¹⁶ record even fewer letters as extant. Amongst all these sources, there has been no documented evidence that *caaa* must have appeared at the beginning of line five.

The present condition of this folio is extremely poor and the fragment presently reveals far less than what scholars have recorded as extant. Since the photo from the Vatican website is exactly the same one that appears in Lakmann’s article, this confirms it is the same folio that she examined for her reconstruction. In other words, it has not changed since Lakmann examined it in 2007 (figure 1).

Figure 1: The fragment of $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ identified by Lakmann and the Vatican website as containing Luke 3:34–35/36 (folio 7^r). Image enhancement in black and white by Susan Gliatta. Credit: Courtesy of the Hanna Family and Solidarity Association and the Vatican Digital Library.

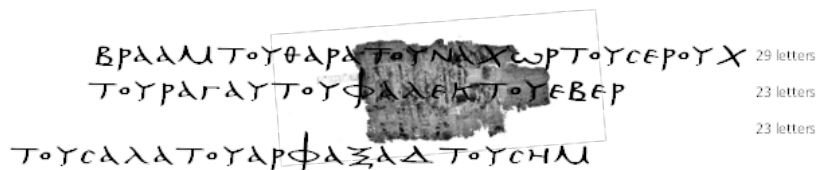


¹⁴The reader can observe first-hand the variations in letter and word size in a well preserved section of Luke 8:5–16, available on the Vatican website: [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MANUSCRIPTS_Pap.Hanna.1\(Mater.Verbi\)/0015](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MANUSCRIPTS_Pap.Hanna.1(Mater.Verbi)/0015).

¹⁵Philip W. Comfort and David P. Barrett, eds., *The Complete Text of the Earliest New Testament Manuscripts* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1999), 497. According to them, the following are also missing: (1) All of Nahor’s name, (2) all but the Φ in Peleg, (3) the A and Δ at the end of Arpachshad, and (4) the Σ in Shem.

¹⁶Reuben Swanson, ed., *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Luke* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 59. According to him, the following are also missing: (1) All of Nahor’s name, (2) all but the Φ in Peleg, (3) the A and Δ at the end of Arpachshad, (4) the T in Shem’s definite article, and (5) the Σ in Shem. Swanson documents the Y in Shem’s definite article as extant, while INTF/Lakmann and Comfort/Barrett do not.

Figure 2: The text of Luke 3:34–36 without Kainan, laid over folio 7^r. Credit: Kris Udd.



In figure 2, we have attempted to match up the Λ and Δ from $\Lambda\rho\phi\alpha\varsigma\alpha\Delta$ with the extant letter(s) on the bottom left of the fragment since it seems to most closely resemble what is visible there. However, this requires us to shift the verse too far to the left. If we shifted line 3 back to the right to align it properly, there is no other combination of letters from $\tau\omicron\upsilon\alpha\rho\phi\alpha\varsigma\alpha\Delta$ that can match up with the extant text.

Magnification of the fragment on the bottom left in figure 3 allows us to make a more plausible identification. We propose that the extant letter is a Λ , not a combination of Λ and Δ or any other letters from Arpachshad. To confirm this, we have included a well-preserved section of Luke 8 on the right, written by the same hand. There, we can see multiple instances of Λ , which look very much like the extant text in folio 7^r. A survey of $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ on the Vatican website confirms that the scribe consistently wrote Λ with a deep dip in the middle, and each peak in the Λ regularly appears straight up and down. There is a Λ only in Abraham, Shem or Kainan(!) throughout verses 34–36, but none of the names match up with the extant Λ on the fragment. Moreover, the letter next to the Λ appears to be a π (figure 4), which is not found in any of the names from Luke 3:33–36.

Figure 3: Magnified bottom left portion of folio 7^r compared to a well-preserved section of Luke 8:15–16, lines 6–8 (right). Credit: Courtesy of the Hanna Family and Solidarity Association and the Vatican Digital Library.

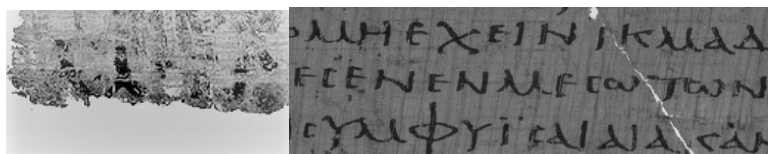
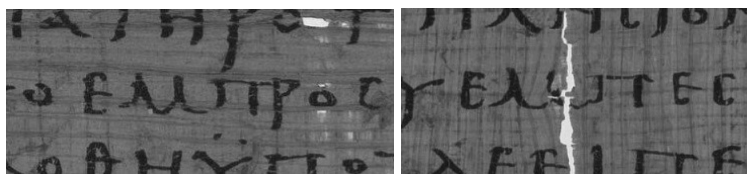
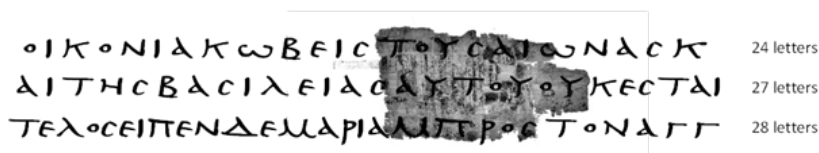


Figure 4: Magnified bottom left portion of folio 7^r (fig. 3) compared to well-preserved sections of Luke 10:21 (left) and 36 (right), each with a μ and π next to one another. Credit: Courtesy of the Hanna Family and Solidarity Association and the Vatican Digital Library.



This fragment (folio 7^r) seems to be a better fit for the text of Luke 1:33–34, illustrated below in figure five.¹⁷ The extant letters of the third line in particular appear to align with this passage much better than Luke 3:36. Since the fragment was found in the binding and contains glued layer(s), it becomes even more likely that it has either been misidentified or cannot be identified at all.

Figure 5: The text of Luke 1:33–34 laid over folio 7^r of $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$. Credit: Kris Udd.



In any case, it is not possible to draw any definitive conclusions about Kainan from $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ based on what remains of the fragment, nor from previous text critical reconstructions. When we consider the real possibility of misidentification or our equally plausible textual reconstruction with Kainan included, it can no longer be claimed that Kainan is definitively (or even likely) absent from $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$. If folio 7^r does contain Luke 3:34–36, it remains equally likely that it originally included Kainan. Based on this reassessment, we recommend that updated versions of NA and UBS eliminate references to Kainan’s inclusion or exclusion in Luke 3:36 of $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$.

In his doctoral thesis, Gordon Fee agreed that Kainan’s alleged absence from $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ is “not demonstrable from the extant text.”¹⁸ Our

¹⁷Kris Udd searched for a match for this fragment in the surrounding chapters of Luke. He attempted to find a μ followed by π , along with an $\omicron\upsilon$ combination about 25–30 letters earlier, and the combination $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ 25–30 letters before that. Candidates which emerged were Luke 1:6, 33–34; 2:18–19; 4:23, 30–31; 5:19; 6:24–25, 39. The only verse that fit is Luke 1:33–34, and in our view, it is the best candidate.

¹⁸Gordon Fee, “The Significance of Papyrus Bodmer II and Papyrus Bodmer XIV–XV for Methodology in New Testament Textual Criticism” (PhD Dissertation, University of Southern California, 1966), 295. Fee’s proposed solution to the problem,

investigation of the fragment itself and previous academic studies confirm Fee's observation.¹⁹ Since opponents of Kainan's inclusion depend heavily on $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ being "the oldest extant manuscript of Luke,"²⁰ one of the primary arguments against Kainan's appearance in the original text of Luke 3:36 is negated.

1.2. $\mathfrak{P}^4$ (Suppl. Gr. 1120)

$\mathfrak{P}^4$ is housed at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. $\mathfrak{P}^4$ is one of the earliest manuscripts containing Luke's Gospel. The text of $\mathfrak{P}^4$ is in 90% agreement with $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ and Codex Vaticanus (B).²¹ Comfort and Barrett date $\mathfrak{P}^4$ to AD 150–175.²² Despite their strong criticisms of Comfort's dating of other papyri, Orsini and Clarysse similarly date $\mathfrak{P}^4$ to c. AD 175–200.²³ This late second century date is based in part on $\mathfrak{P}^4$'s close affinities with $\mathfrak{P}^{64}$ and $\mathfrak{P}^{67}$,²⁴ generally dated to AD 200 or earlier.²⁵ All three were likely written by the same scribe.²⁶ Other scholars have proposed an early third century date for $\mathfrak{P}^4$.²⁷

however, is inadequate.

¹⁹Even if Kainan were absent originally from $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$, there is the real possibility of omission by simple scribal error. Unlike Codices Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, and Bezae, the scribe did not create space between the definite article TOY and each name. The text in $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ is tight and repetitive, and if the scribe was copying from a manuscript with a similar lack of spacing, haplography is possible. TOY appears over 75 times in the span of just 14 verses, magnifying this possibility. To illustrate this just briefly, in verse 33 alone, Αἰνυδαὺς is omitted by B (4th century); Αἰνι is omitted by A (5th century), D, and several manuscripts; and Φαρεῖς is omitted by A (NA²⁸, 191). Haplography is the most obvious mechanism that can account for these omissions. Despite this evidence, Steinmann claims, "there is no obvious trigger for parablepsis that would account for an accidental omission of Cainan" ("Challenging the Authenticity," 702).

²⁰Ibid.; Pierce, "So-Called Error," 51. If Nongbri's date range expansion for $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ to the 4th century AD were to be upheld, it would further negate the use of $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ against Kainan's original inclusion in Luke.

²¹Hernandez, "Early Text of Luke," 126; also Tommy Wasserman, "A Comparative Textual Analysis of $\mathfrak{P}^4$ and $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$," *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* (2010): 1–26.

²²Philip W. Comfort and David P. Barrett, *The Text of the Earliest New Testament Greek Manuscripts* (Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House, 2001), 43, 52–53.

²³Orsini and Clarysse, "Early New Testament Manuscripts," 461, 470.

²⁴Wasserman, "Comparative Textual Analysis," 1–26.

²⁵Orsini and Clarysse, "Early New Testament Manuscripts," 461, 470; Comfort and Barrett, *Text of the Earliest New Testament Greek Manuscripts*, 52–53.

²⁶Wasserman, "Comparative Textual Analysis," 2, n. 4.

²⁷Hernandez Jr., "Early Text of Luke," 124.

To our knowledge, except for a brief article by Williams,²⁸ studies about Kainan's veracity have not included analyses of $\P^4$.²⁹ NA²⁸ signifies *vid* for $\P^4$ for Luke 3:37, but no mention of $\P^4$ is made for 3:36.³⁰ Comfort examined $\P^4$ in July 1998 and documented the following reconstruction of Luke 3:34–36,³¹ echoed on the INTF website.³² The bold letters were documented as extant, with bracketed reconstructions due to erasures or lacunae:³³

Column 2

Line 13	³⁴ ΙΑΚΩΒ ΤΟΥ [ΙΣΑΑΚ]
Line 14	ΤΟΥ ΑΒΡΑΑΜ Τ [ΟΥ ΘΑ]
Line 15	ΡΑ [Τ] ΟΥ Ν [ΑΧΩΡ ³⁵ ΤΟΥ]
Line 16	ΣΕΡΟΥ [Χ ΤΟΥ ΡΑΓΑΥ]
Line 17	ΤΟΥ ΦΑΛ [ΕΚ ΤΟ] Υ ΕΒΕΡ
Line 18	ΤΟΥ ΣΑΛ [Α ³⁶ ΤΟ] Υ ΚΑ [Ι] Ν [ΑΜ]
Line 19	ΤΟΥ ΑΡΦΑΞΑΔ ΤΟΥ [Σ] Η [Μ]

Comfort observed three letters which are extant for Kainan at the end of line 18. His reconstruction is confirmed by the image of $\P^4$ below, where the **K** and **A** (and part of the **N**) for Kainan are indisputably visible.³⁴

To the left of Kainan, there is a remnant of his definite article. Above Kainan is evidence for Eber. To the left of Kainan is a lacuna, preceded by the definite article and 3 letters for Shelah (**ΤΟΥΣΑΛ**). Beneath Shelah is Arpachshad, where **ΦΑΞΑ** can be clearly seen. To the right of Arpachshad is the definite article for Shem, and below Shem one can easily see letters for Noah's father, Lamech (**ΥΛΑΜ**).

²⁸Pete Williams, "Cainan: in or out?" *Creation Ex Nihilo Technical Journal* 14, no. 2 (2000): 54–56. Though brief and too conciliatory towards Kainan's alleged absence in $\P^5$, Williams's letter to the editor is cautiously reasoned.

²⁹"Studies" refer to articles or other publications that go beyond merely recording the raw data and discuss the viability of the name in Luke, the LXX, etc.

³⁰NA²⁸, 191. No scholar we are aware of who opposes the inclusion of Kainan in Luke demonstrates awareness of $\P^4$.

³¹Comfort and Barrett, *Text of the Earliest New Testament Greek Manuscripts*, 50, n. 13.

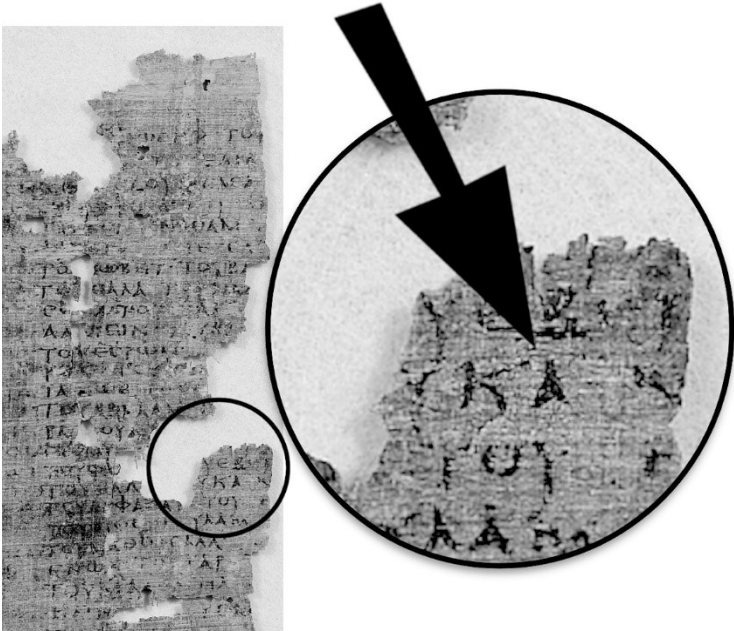
³²The Instituts für Neutestamentliche Textforschung, accessed January 15, 2019 <http://ntvmr.unimuenster.de/community/vmr/api/transcript/get/?docID=10004&pageID=40&format=html>.

³³Comfort and Barrett, *Text of the Earliest New Testament Greek Manuscripts*, 61.

³⁴A full color photograph of $\P^4$ appears in Henry B. Smith Jr., "New Evidence for Kainan in New Testament and LXX Papyri," *Bible and Spade* 31 (Summer 2018): 70–77.

The direct visual evidence combined with the restrictions of the textual matrix and the column widths make Kainan's inclusion in the late second or early third century AD manuscript $\mathfrak{P}^4$ beyond dispute.

Figure 6: An image of $\mathfrak{P}^4$. The enlarged section reveals Kainam/n as extant. Enhancement by Susan Gliatta. Credit: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.



1.3. $\mathfrak{P}^4$, $\mathfrak{P}^5$ and Text-Critical Praxis

Since the evidence in $\mathfrak{P}^4$ is certain, we can now assert that Kainan appears in the earliest known extant NT manuscript adequately preserving Luke 3:36. $\mathfrak{P}^4$ was discovered in Egypt,³⁵ far from Asia Minor where Luke's Gospel likely originated. It appears that Kainan was already deeply rooted in the textual tradition of Luke 3:36 by the late second or early third century AD.

In addition to $\mathfrak{P}^4$, Kainam/n also appears in more than 45 additional extant NT manuscripts preserving Luke 3:36.³⁶ There is only

³⁵Numerous academic sources state that $\mathfrak{P}^4$ was found in the wall of a house in Coptos, Egypt. Brent Nongbri has traced out the story in detail and concludes, at best, we can only say $\mathfrak{P}^4$ was found on the antiquities market in Luxor in the late 19th century. Nongbri also argues for a broader date range for $\mathfrak{P}^4$, AD 150 to 350 (*God's Library: The Archaeology of the Earliest Christian Manuscripts* [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2018], 247–68).

³⁶Του Καναν is found in manuscripts $\aleph$ B E07 L019 1 33 209 1346 1582 2358.

one exception: the 5th century AD Codex Bezae (D). While D certainly contributes to our understanding of NT textual transmission, “no known manuscript has so many and such remarkable variations from what is usually taken to be the normal New Testament text.”³⁷ In particular, it displays marked inferiority in the immediate context: it completely omits Luke 3:24–31 and inserts a reversed Matthew 1:6–16 in its place.³⁸ Bezae also inserts other names from the OT not attested in other manuscripts of Luke 3.³⁹ “This manuscript therefore provides a very precarious basis for omitting Cainan’s name”⁴⁰ and it cannot stand alone against the force of $\mathfrak{P}^4$ and the deluge of manuscript evidence favoring Kainan’s original inclusion.⁴¹ Snoeberger concludes, “The parade of textual support offered in NA²⁸ for the inclusion of Καϊναμ/ν in Luke 3:36 is decisive—the text-critical equivalent of a slam-dunk.”⁴²

A number of scholars have theorized Kainan originated as a scribal error in Luke 3:36 when it was accidentally picked up from the Kainan in Luke 3:37 in the mid-late third or early fourth century AD.⁴³ Shortly

Του Καϊναν is found in A G011 H013 K017 M021 N S U Y Δ Θ Λ Π Ψ Ω 2 13 28 35 69 118 124 157 346 700 788 1005 1424 2372, all known Greek minuscules, and Latin manuscripts, a b c e f ff² and q (H. Milton Haggard Center for New Testament Textual Studies, *The Center for New Testament Textual Studies’ New Testament Critical Apparatus*, Bible Works 9 [New Orleans, LA: New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 2004]).

³⁷Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, 4th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 71; Mark Snoeberger, “Why Commitment to Inerrancy Does Not Demand a Strictly 6000–Year-Old Earth: One Young Earther’s Plea for Realism,” *Detroit Baptist Seminary Journal* 18 (2013): 8, n. 18.

³⁸Swanson, *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Luke*, 60; NA²⁸, 190–91.

³⁹For the portion of the genealogy that runs from Joseph to David, the scribe substituted the material from the genealogy in Matthew, except in reverse order (to fit the direction Luke was listing names). But he did not use Matthew’s genealogy exactly. Between Jehoram and Uzziah he supplied Ahaziah, Joash, and Amaziah; between Josiah and Jehoiachin he supplied Jehoiakim. Those four names do not appear in Matthew’s genealogy, so the scribe had to refer to the OT narrative itself in order to supply them. If the scribe of Bezae (or perhaps its predecessor) was willing to add four names to the genealogy based on their appearance in the text of the Old Testament, perhaps he was willing to remove Kainan based on his absence in the Hebrew manuscripts.

⁴⁰Williams, “Cainan: in or out?” 54.

⁴¹Steinmann states, “When D agrees with other early important witnesses, it lends strong support to the authenticity of that reading” (“Challenging the Authenticity,” 703). Since the witness of $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ is completely uncertain, D’s witness subsequently falls apart.

⁴²Snoeberger, “Why Inerrancy Does Not Demand a 6000–Year-Old Earth,” 8.

⁴³While Clark does not refer specifically to $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$, he concludes a scribal error is “the most plausible reason” for Kainan’s appearance in Luke 3:36 (H. David Clark, “The Genealogies of Genesis Five and Eleven” [ThD Dissertation, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1967], 91). Also, Henry M. Morris, *The Genesis Record* (Grand Rapids:

thereafter, he was widely accepted as authentic. For this theory to be true, it would have required Christian scribes across the Mediterranean world to universally accept his name as original, even though Kainan had not yet appeared in any other manuscripts of Luke, nor in the Church's widely used OT text, the Septuagint.

Scribes at large would also have had to agree to interpolate Kainan back into known manuscripts of Luke (sans Bezae) and into LXX manuscripts containing Genesis 11. The theory also requires the deliberate suppression and emendation of other extant manuscripts which did not contain Kainan previously, covering the entire spectrum of Byzantine, Western, and Alexandrian text types, and including the 4th century AD Old Latin manuscript, Codex Vercellensis.⁴⁴

The variation on the final letter of Καὶναμ/ν also militates against this theory. If the Church were actually able to institute this universal change, then the spelling would have been universally consistent. Instead, the variation points to disagreement or uncertainty amongst scribes about the correct spelling, pointing to originality and not universal interpolation. The Church lacked the infrastructure and centralized control required to carry out this task.

Additionally, it is highly doubtful that Kainan's appearance in Luke 3:37 serves as a reasonable explanation for Kainan's addition to 3:36. Some have suggested dittography (the erroneous repetition in a text) as the mechanism by which Kainan was first introduced.⁴⁵ However, dittography repeats a letter, word, or phrase in the same place, not elsewhere. These are places where the eye of the scribe skips over a section of text (known as haplography), but this produces lacunae in the text rather than insertions of new material. It might be easier to blame a scribal error for a new insertion of Kainan if there were similar words preceding or following the other occurrence. However, there are no such similarities in the names (bold) leading up to Arpachshad when compared to those leading up to the original Kainan:

Baker, 1976), 282; William Brown Galloway, *The Chain of Ages, Traced in Its Prominent Links by Holy Scripture* (London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1881), 131. Bock implies Kainan is the result of a scribal error: "There is a good possibility that the name should be omitted in Luke, since $\mathfrak{B}^{75}$ and D omit the name here and it reappears in 3:37" (Darrell L. Bock, *Luke*, vol. 1: 1:1–9:50, Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1994], 359). While Steinmann proposes a date range for the alleged error, others do not. Pushing the date back in time does not solve the theory's problems.

⁴⁴Francis Aidan Gasquet, *Codex Vercellensis*, vol. 3, *Collectanea Biblica Latina* (Rome: Fridericus Pustet, 1914), 22.

⁴⁵Sarfati ("What about Cainan?" 41) proposes that Kainan in verse 37 may have appeared at the end of a line of text, then was duplicated by a scribe as a result. His reconstruction is untenable: the visual similarities are lacking for dittography to have occurred, and his line widths are radically uneven and follow no particular manuscript. Steinmann appears to follow Sarfati, but presents no reconstruction or citation ("Challenging the Authenticity," 702).

...ΒΡΑΑΜ ΤΟΥΘΑΡΑ ΤΟΥΝΑΧΩΡ ΤΟΥΣΕΡΟΥΧ
 ΤΟΥΡΑΓΑΥ ΤΟΥΘΑΛΕΚ **ΤΟΥΕΒΕΡ ΤΟΥΣΑΛΑ**
ΤΟΥΑΡΦΑΞΑΔ ΤΟΥΣΗΜ ΤΟΥΝΩΕ ΤΟΥΛΑ
 ΜΕΧ ΤΟΥΜΑΘΟΥΣΑΛΑ ΤΟΥΕΝΩΧ **ΤΟΥΙΑ**
ΡΕΔ ΤΟΥΜΑΛΕΛΕΗΛ ΤΟΥΚΑΙΝΑΝ ΤΟΥ ΕΝ
 ΩΣ ΤΟΥΣΗΘ ΤΟΥΑΔΑΜ ΤΟΥΘΕΟΥ...⁴⁶

Indeed, how could the scribe have skipped over 8 names after writing Shelah, picked up Kainan, then returned to Arpachshad and continued on, without catching his mistake when he came to Kainan once again? Moreover, if his eye had jumped down to Kainan in verse 37, he would have continued on with the next name, Enosh. There is no reason to suppose his eye would have gone back up to write Arpachshad, since his name does not remotely resemble either Kainan or Enosh. There is one place where names are similar enough to possibly cause a scribal error. The last half of Methuselah's name (ΟΥΣΑΛΑ) is visually similar to Shelah's (ΤΟΥΣΑΛΑ). But again, the expected error would be haplography (skipping over six names from Shelah to Enoch), not dittography. The claim that Kainan was accidentally inserted requires some extraordinary explanation. The theory does not fit the common categories of scribal errors. Conversely, omitting a name would have been fairly easy (skipping from ΤΟΥ to ΤΟΥ), and there are numerous instances of haplography in manuscripts of Luke.

Modern works on NT textual criticism correctly reject the use of a single reading from one dubious manuscript to bypass the weight of the textual and historical evidence allied against it:⁴⁷

Textual difficulties should not be solved by conjecture, or by positing glosses or interpolations, etc., where the textual tradition itself shows no break; such attempts amount to capitulation before the difficulties and are themselves *violations of the text*.⁴⁸

1.4. The Berlin Genesis Fragment: Papyrus 911

Kainan appears in the earliest extant Genesis LXX manuscript. Dated to the late third century AD,⁴⁹ papyrus 911 is written in a

⁴⁶The line width here approximates 𐤃⁷⁵.

⁴⁷Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*, trans. Erroll F. Rhodes, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995); M. M. Mitchell and D. P. Moessner, eds., *New Testament Textual Criticism: The Application of Thoroughgoing Principles*, Supplements to Novum Testamentum 137 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 13–52, 177–325; Eldon Jay Epp, “Issues in New Testament Textual Criticism,” in *Rethinking New Testament Textual Criticism*, ed. David Alan Black (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2002), 1–76; Eldon Jay Epp and Gordon D. Fee, *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993); Metzger and Ehrman, *Text of the New Testament*, 300–343.

⁴⁸Aland and Aland, *Text of the New Testament*, 280, emphasis added.

⁴⁹John W. Wevers, ed., *Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum: Genesis*, vol. 1

cursive Greek script containing Genesis 1:16–22 and 2:5–35:8.⁵⁰ It is mutilated with extensive lacunae. Folio 66 I can be seen online.⁵¹ Folio 66 II, which includes Genesis 10/11, can be seen in a facsimile published by Sanders in 1927.⁵² The original was destroyed during the second World War.

Schmidt and Sanders reconstructed 911, presented here with visible readings in bold and reconstructions in brackets:

Page 16, Column b

Verse		Line
11:12	[και εξησεν αρφαξ] αδ εκατ [ον τρι]	15
	[ακοντα πεντε ετη κ] αι εγενν [ησεν]	16
11:13	[τον καιναν και εξης] εν αρφαξ [αδ]	17
	[μετα το γεννησα] ι [αυτο] ν τον καινα [ν]	18
	[τετρακοσια τρια] κοντα ετη και εγε [ν]	19
	[νησεν υθιος κ] αι θυγατερες και απ [ε]	20
	[θανεν και εξ] ησεν καιναν εκα	21
	[τον τριακοντ] α ετη και εγεννησεν	22
	[τον σαλα και] εξησεν καιναν με	23
	[τα το γενν] ησαι αυτον τον σαλα τρι	24 ⁵³

Line 17 contains a conjecture, but based on the spacing, Kainan was most likely there. There are 3 visible instances of Kainan in lines 18, 21 and 23 of Genesis 11:13. The evidence is certain.

Kainan's original inclusion in LXX Genesis 11:13b–14b is further supported by the extensive manuscript evidence documented in the Göttingen Septuagint critical edition of Genesis. Kainan appears in all known LXX MSS of Genesis 11 before AD 1100, including Codices Alexandrinus (A), Cottonianus (D), Coislinianus (M), and papyrus

(Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974), 24. Steinmann cites Codex Vaticanus (B) as the earliest LXX text containing Kainan ("Challenging the Authenticity," 711). This attribution entails two significant errors: First, it overlooks papyrus 911, which predates B entirely; second, the uncial text of Genesis 1:1–46:27 is missing from the original text of B. Minuscule script was added in the 15th century AD (John W. Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Genesis* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974], 33).

⁵⁰Carl Schmidt and Henry A. Sanders, *The Minor Prophets in the Freer Collection and the Berlin Fragment of Genesis* (NY: Macmillan, 1927), 238.

⁵¹"Berlin, Cod. Gr. Fol. 66 I" Papyri in the Department of Papyrology, University of Warsaw, accessed January 28, 2019, <http://www.papyrology.uw.edu.pl/papyri/berlincodgr.htm>.

⁵²Henry A. Sanders, *Facsimile of the Washington Manuscript of the Minor Prophets in the Freer Collection and the Berlin Fragment of Genesis* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 1927), 16.

⁵³Schmidt and Sanders, *Berlin Fragment*, 294.

833.⁵⁴ Kainan was considered original by Wevers in 1974, and he reaffirmed this position nearly twenty years later.⁵⁵ Weighty and persuasive text critical arguments would be required to overturn his conclusions. Indeed, “no Septuagint scholar would argue that this Cainan was not present in the original manuscript of the Genesis G [LXX].”⁵⁶

2. EXTERNAL WITNESSES TO KAINAN

2.1. *Hippolytus of Rome* (c. AD 170–236)

Hippolytus produced a chronology from Adam to his own day, the *Chronicon*.⁵⁷ Most of this work was completed in Rome by AD 222.⁵⁸ His relevant citations closely resemble LXX Genesis 11:10–14:⁵⁹

These are the descendants of Shem. When Shem was 100 years [old], he fathered Arpachshad, the second year after the Flood. And Arpachshad lived 135 years, and he fathered Kainan. And Kainan lived 130 years and he fathered Shelah. And Shelah lived 130 years and he fathered Eber.⁶⁰

Hippolytus also documents the names from Genesis 10 descending from Noah’s sons after the Flood, then connects them to an extensive list of people groups as they were understood in his day (verses 56–186).⁶¹ Using a LXX text of Genesis 10:24, Hippolytus writes, “And Arpachshad fathered Kainan.... And Kainan fathered Shelah.... And Shelah fathered Eber.”⁶² Hippolytus later lists “the names of the created,” a genealogy beginning with Adam and ending with Jesus. Luke 3:31e–38c is mimicked (in reverse order) and explicitly includes Kainan (verse 718.13).⁶³

⁵⁴Kainan may have appeared originally in Papyrus 961 as well (Smith Jr., “New Evidence for Kainan,” 71–72.) Kainan is absent from minuscules 82 (12th century AD), 376 (15th century AD), and 53 (1439 AD) (Wevers, *Genesis*, 15, 14, 17, 144).

⁵⁵John W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 140–42, 153–55.

⁵⁶Benjamin Shaw, “The Genealogies of Genesis 5 and 11 and Their Significance for Chronology” (PhD dissertation, Bob Jones University, 2004), 89.

⁵⁷T. C. Schmidt and Nick Nicholas, *Hippolytus of Rome: Commentary on Daniel and ‘Chronicon’* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2017).

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, *Hippolytus*, 27. The *Chronicon* was fully completed around AD 235 (Jack Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology*, rev. ed. [Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1998], 158).

⁵⁹Wevers, *Genesis*, 143.

⁶⁰Adolf Bauer and Otto Cuntz, eds., *Die Chronik des Hippolytos im Matritensis Graecus 121* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1906), 42 (our translation).

⁶¹Schmidt and Nicholas, *Hippolytus*, 200–19.

⁶²Bauer and Cuntz, *Die Chronik*, 88 (our translation).

⁶³Schmidt and Nicholas, *Hippolytus*, 278–79.

The dates for Hippolytus's LXX and Lukan manuscripts would likely have predated his chronology by at least several decades, placing manuscripts of Genesis 10:24, 11:13b–14b and Luke 3:36 containing Kainan in Rome in the late second century AD. Almost 1500 miles from their counterparts P⁴ and papyrus 911 in Egypt,⁶⁴ Hippolytus's texts confirm that Kainan had already been firmly established in the textual tradition of LXX Genesis and in Luke at an early time.

2.2. *The Gospel of Luke (c. AD 60–70)*

For the section of his genealogy from Abraham back to Adam, it is logical to surmise that Luke drew directly from LXX 1 Chronicles 1:1–4, 24–27, since it provides a concise list of names which Luke could efficiently copy for his particular purposes. Transliteration from a Hebrew text probably would have produced spelling differences, suggesting Luke copied directly from the LXX instead. A comparison between the names in Luke 3:34–38 in NA²⁸ and LXX 1 Chronicles⁶⁵ reveals close spelling agreements. Luke 3:34d–38 resembles LXX Genesis 5/11 as well, leading Steyn to conclude that Kainam was in Luke's LXX Genesis text.⁶⁶ Since Kainan's original inclusion in Luke's Gospel is certain, it serves as an inspired and divinely authorized external witness to the presence and authenticity of Kainan in Luke's LXX text in the mid-first century AD.

2.3. *The Book of Jubilees (c. 160 BC)*⁶⁷

Kainan's biography is found in verses 8:1–5 of *Jubilees*:

In the twenty-ninth jubilee, in the first week—at its beginning—Arpachshad married a woman named Rasueya.... She gave birth to a son for him in the third year of this week, and he named him Kainan. When the boy⁶⁸ grew up, his father taught him (the art of) writing. He went to look for a place of his own where he could possess his own city. He found an inscription which the ancients had incised in a rock. He read what was in it, copied it, and sinned on the basis of what was

⁶⁴Schmidt and Sanders, *Berlin Fragment*, 233.

⁶⁵Alan E. Brooke, Norman McLean, and Henry St. John Thackeray, eds., *The Old Testament in Greek*, vol. 2: *The Later Historical Books*, Part 3: I and II Chronicles (London: Cambridge University Press, 1932), 391–92.

⁶⁶Gert J. Steyn, "The Occurrence of 'Kainan' in Luke's Genealogy: Evidence of Septuagint Influence?" *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 65 (1989): 409–11. Steyn does not discuss Luke's possible use of 1 Chronicles.

⁶⁷On its date of origin, see James C. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, ed. Frank Moore Cross, Harvard Semitic Museum 14 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977), 207–85.

⁶⁸The Syriac reads "Kainan" (James C. VanderKam, *Jubilees 1: A Commentary on the Book of Jubilees Chapters 1–21*, ed. Sidnie White Crawford, vol. 1, Hermeneia [Minneapolis: Fortress, 2018], 359).

in it, since in it was the Watcher's teaching by which they used to observe the omens of the sun, moon, and stars and every heavenly sign. He wrote (it) down but told no one about it because he was afraid to tell Noah about it lest he become angry at him about it. In the thirtieth jubilee, in the second week—in its first year—he married a woman whose name was Melka, the daughter of Madai, Japheth's son. In its fourth year he became the father of a son whom he named Shelah.⁶⁹

Citing Charles and Artom for support, Steinmann claims that Kainan was inserted into *Jubilees* by Christian scribes. The insertion would have occurred after Kainan's initial appearance as a scribal error in a manuscript of Luke 3:36 in the mid-late 3rd or early 4th century AD. According to Steinmann, it took until the 5th century AD for Kainan to become a "standard feature in manuscripts of Luke."⁷⁰ After widespread acceptance, then Kainan would have been interpolated into LXX and Ethiopic Genesis. Sometime afterwards, his name and biography were inserted into *Jubilees* "to harmonize it with LXX and Ethiopic Genesis."⁷¹ Since it took at least until the 5th century AD for Kainan to become widely accepted in Luke, the insertion into *Jubilees* would need to be dated later (late 5th or 6th century AD) to provide time for reception and interpolation. This theory cannot overcome several insurmountable obstacles.

First, the alleged Christian interpolation would have taken place 600–700 years after *Jubilees* originated. For its first 250 to 300 years, *Jubilees* was only in Jewish hands. It was an authoritative text at Qumran.⁷² While its popularity in broader Judaism is more difficult to assess,⁷³ its use by the early Church demonstrates it was preserved by Jewish scribes and used outside of Qumran before copies eventually found their way into the hands of Christian theologians.

Jerome (AD 347–420) reveals knowledge of Hebrew and Greek versions in a letter to Fabiola.⁷⁴ Epiphanius of Salamis (AD 315–403) knew of a Greek version and used it extensively.⁷⁵ *Jubilees* citations in the Byzantine chronologists have been traced back to a Greek version

⁶⁹James C. VanderKam, trans., *The Book of Jubilees*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium. Scriptorum Aethiopicum 88 (Louvain: Peeters, 1989), 50–51.

⁷⁰"Challenging the Authenticity," 711.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, 709–11.

⁷²Aharon Shemesh, "4Q265 and the Authoritative Status of Jubilees at Qumran," in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 247–60.

⁷³Charlotte Hempel, "The Place of the Book of Jubilees at Qumran and Beyond," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context*, ed. Timothy Lim et al. (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 187–98.

⁷⁴Anne Kreps, "From Jewish Apocrypha to Christian Tradition: Citations of Jubilees in Epiphanius's Panarion," *Church History* 87 (2018): 345–46.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, 345–70.

known to Julius Africanus, *c.* AD 221.⁷⁶ The Greek (before AD 221), Syriac (2nd to 5th century AD), Latin (5th century AD), and Ethiopic (6th century AD) versions⁷⁷ were already in existence by the time Christian scribes allegedly added Kainan and his biography. *Jubilees* had already been copied, translated, and dispersed for at least six centuries, far too long and late for Christian scribes to contaminate the entire textual stream by adding Kainan to a Hebrew or Greek hyper-archetype.

Second, from the perspective of a lone scribe, the insertion of Kainan into a bald list of names might have been a relatively simple task. But Steinmann's theory requires far more than that. A complete biography consisting of about four verses had to be invented. Then, multiple scribes in disparate locales would not only have to agree to insert the verses into their respective texts, they would also have to reach a consensus on the contents of Kainan's biography. Manuscripts circulating in the Greek, Syriac, Latin, and Ethiopic (Ge'ez) languages would then have to be changed, a scenario requiring consent amongst diverse Christian sects in different regions around the Mediterranean. Moreover, the Ethiopian Church viewed *Jubilees* as part of the OT canon.⁷⁸ Any organized effort to insert Kainan's biography into it and their Ethiopic text of Genesis 11 would have entailed convincing the Church leaders there to alter what they considered to be sacred and canonical texts.

Third, his name ends with "m" in the Ethiopic texts of *Jubilees*, but with an "n" in Syriac.⁷⁹ Codex A spells his name with an M in Genesis 10:24.⁸⁰ Manuscripts of Luke spell it with both. Bauckham proposes his name may originally have been קַיִן.⁸¹ This variation is best explained as originating from a Hebrew exemplar, not a universally agreed upon interpolation.

Fourth, the chronology of *Jubilees* is extremely precise, entailing 2450 years (50 jubilees of 49 years each) from Adam to Joshua's Conquest.⁸² Almost every patriarchal birth from Adam to Abraham is dated

⁷⁶VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, XI–XIV.

⁷⁷Idem, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 8–15.

⁷⁸Ibid., 15.

⁷⁹Wintermute, "Jubilees," 71, n. *b*.

⁸⁰Wevers, *Genesis*, 138.

⁸¹Richard Bauckham, "More on Kainan the Son of Arpachshad in Luke's Genealogy," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 67 (1991): 96–97, n. 5. Bauckham analyzes the generational scheme of weeks found in 1 Enoch 93:3–10; 91:11–17, the Apocalypse of Weeks (98–101). Without Kainan, "the otherwise precise placings of Abraham and the building of the Temple at the ends of the third and fifth weeks would not be possible" (101). While we reject Bauckham's suggestion that Luke's genealogy was "inspired by the Enoch literature" (102), his argument that Kainan was known in the Enoch traditions prior to *Jubilees* merits consideration.

⁸²James M. Scott, *On Earth As in Heaven: The Restoration of Sacred Time and Sacred Space in the Book of Jubilees* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 73–158, 235–249; VanderKam,

from creation, expressed in weeks, years, and jubilees.⁸³ By inserting Kainan, the Christian scribe(s) would have disrupted the timeline and would have had to change the data for Shelah (8:5) in order to keep the chronology intact. No manuscript evidence supports this. Moreover, Kainan's begetting age in *Jubilees* is 57, diverging significantly from the 130 allegedly added to the LXX.⁸⁴ This figure should be consistent if Kainan was a product of universal and deliberate Christian interpolation.

Fifth, no manuscript of *Jubilees* preserving 8:1–5 excludes Kainan and his biography. They only exhibit minor variations.⁸⁵ To these we can add the Syriac Chronicle,⁸⁶ a Greek version of *Jubilees* cited by Cedrenus,⁸⁷ and catenae referring to Kainan in *Jubilees*.⁸⁸ While complete manuscripts of *Jubilees* are only extant in Ge'ez and appear in the 14th century and later, a conjectured, large-scale insertion must have manuscript support or other attestation. Instead, it has none:

There are several reasons why one should not think that the text of Jub, though it is available *in toto* only in Ethiopic (a translation of a translation), has been altered to any appreciable extent by translators or copyists: in the relatively small amount of text where the Ethiopic can be compared with the published Hebrew fragments...the two texts agree very closely...a high percentage of the 80 readings in Ethiopic Jub which agree with the Ethiopic Pentateuch alone among ancient versions is also supported by the Latin manuscript of Jub and the Latin translation of Jub was hardly influenced by the Ethiopic Bible.⁸⁹

Sixth, retroversions should be performed on the Ge'ez text of 8:1–5 to demonstrate that there was an interpolation. A close analysis would betray grammatical or linguistic evidence that the verses did not ultimately originate from a Hebrew exemplar. To our knowledge, this has never been done, making it incumbent upon proponents of the Kainan interpolation theory to do so.

Seventh, a textual variant in *Jubilees* 8:2b demonstrates Kainan's biography originates from a Hebrew original. It reads, "He [Kainan] went to look for a place of his own where he could *possess* his own city."

From Revelation to Canon, 523–44.

⁸³Ibid., 528–30.

⁸⁴For the numbers *Jubilees* applied to the patriarchs in Gen 5/11, see Henry B. Smith Jr., "MT, SP, or LXX? Deciphering a Chronological and Textual Conundrum in Genesis 5," *Bible and Spade* 31 (Winter 2018): 23, 25.

⁸⁵VanderKam, *Jubilees* 1, 359.

⁸⁶Ibid., 8–9; idem, *The Book of Jubilees*, XVI, 334.

⁸⁷VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, XIII, 334.

⁸⁸Idem, *Jubilees* 1, 12. Catenae are compilations of exegetical comments from ancient Christian writers.

⁸⁹James C. VanderKam, *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 456–57. See also n. 37.

VanderKam translates the word “possess” from the Ethiopic and considers it original.⁹⁰ Wintermute follows the Syriac reading instead, and translates the word as “build,” explaining:

The reading “build” is supplied by the [Syriac]. The [Ethiopic] reads “acquire” or “possess.” As Tisserant pointed out in his discussion of the Syr., the confusion is probably due to a misreading of the [Hebrew] *bn’* [בנה] as *qn’* [קנה].⁹¹

The variant for “build” comes from an anonymous Syriac chronicle. According to Wintermute, Tisserant’s in-depth study concludes the Syriac text of *Jubilees* used by the chronicler was translated directly from a Hebrew text, not a Greek one.⁹² No matter which reading is chosen as original, only a Hebrew *Vorlage* of *Jubilees* explains these variants. A later Christian interpolation could not have caused them, nor can it explain them.

Eighth, there are other indications 8:1–5 came from a Hebrew exemplar:

- a. Arpachshad marries Rasueya, who gave birth to Kainan (8:1). Her name probably comes from רצה, meaning “desirable.”⁹³ The name also appears in Syriac.⁹⁴
- b. Kainan marries Melcha (8:3), a name likely derived from מלכה, “queen.”⁹⁵
- c. *Jubilees* draws upon elements of 1 Enoch, which predate it. The reference to the Watchers in 8:3 and its parallels with 1 Enoch 8⁹⁶ point to originality.
- d. Josephus likely alluded to *Jubilees* 8:3,⁹⁷ long predating any ostensible Christian interpolation.

⁹⁰*Jubilees* 1, 358. Charles translates the Ethiopic phrase “seize for himself a city” (Robert H. Charles, ed., *The Book of Jubilees, or, The Little Genesis*, trans. Robert H. Charles [London: Adam and Charles Black, 1902], 66).

⁹¹O. S. Wintermute, “Jubilees: A New Translation and Introduction,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1983), 71, n. b. The word בנה means “build”; קנה means “acquire, buy” (William L. Holladay, *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988], 42, 320). The variant could not have originated at the Greek level, since the terms for “build” (οικοδομειν) and “acquire” (κτησθαι) are visibly dissimilar (Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament, Including the Apocryphal Books*, vol. 2 [Graz, Austria: Akademishche Druck-U. Verlagsanstalt, 1954], 970–72, 793).

⁹²“Jubilees,” 42; VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 9.

⁹³Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 66, n. 1.

⁹⁴Ibid.

⁹⁵Ibid., 67, n. 5.

⁹⁶VanderKam, *Jubilees* 1, 364, n. 13.

⁹⁷Ibid., 364. Josephus’s knowledge of *Jubilees* seems fairly certain (Betsy Halpern-Amaru, “Flavius Josephus and the Book of Jubilees: A Question of Source,” *Hebrew Union College Annual* 72 [2001]: 15–44).

- e. After closely examining the Ethiopic text of 8:1–5, James C. VanderKam, widely considered the world's foremost expert on *Jubilees*, concludes, "The entire Kainan section has a Hebraic ring to it. One telling feature is the paratactic syntax so characteristic of Biblical Hebrew. In addition, the word order entails the same, especially placement of verbs before their subjects."⁹⁸

Despite these obstacles, Steinmann appeals to internal evidence for Kainan's insertion:

There is good reason to suspect that this text has been inserted into *Jubilees* at a later date. According to *Jub.* 2:23, there were twenty-two leaders of humanity from Adam to Jacob. This is the number of persons in the genealogy *without Cainan* that traces from Adam through Noah to Jacob, and *Jubilees* compares it to twenty-two works of God during creation (cf. *Jub.* 2:15).⁹⁹

To sustain this argument, one must assume Jacob is counted amongst the twenty-two. Is the numerical reckoning inclusive or exclusive? In other words, does the verse mean "up to and including Jacob?" If so, Kainan's inclusion in 8:1–5 would ruin the series of 22, incorrectly placing Jacob in the 23rd position. If it means, "up to but not including," then Kainan is integral and original to *Jubilees*. Once the literary structure and larger context are examined, it is certain the 22 leaders of humanity beginning with Adam *cannot include Jacob*.

Here is why: *Jubilees* 2:2–16 indicates God performed 22 kinds of works only within the six days of creation, proper. None is performed on the seventh day, which is set apart/sanctified. In verse 17, the author continues to emphasize that the seventh day is the Sabbath, and God's people should refrain from working, just as God did.¹⁰⁰ Verses 19–22 turn to God separating a people for himself who will keep the Sabbath, Jacob and his descendants. Then he writes:

There were 22 leaders of humanity from Adam *until* him [Jacob]; and 22 kinds of works were made *until* the seventh day. The latter is blessed and holy and the former, too, is blessed and holy. Both were made together for holiness and blessing (*Jub.* 2:23).¹⁰¹

The parallelism between Jacob and the seventh day (the Sabbath) is

⁹⁸Personal correspondence between Henry B. Smith Jr. and James C. VanderKam, February 5, 2019. Used with permission.

⁹⁹"Challenging the Authenticity," 709. Steinmann provides no analysis of the context or the syntax.

¹⁰⁰"He gave us the sabbath day as a great sign so that we should perform work for six days and that we should keep sabbath from all work on the seventh day" (VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*, 12).

¹⁰¹Idem., *Jubilees 1*, 168 (emphasis added). Wintermute ("Jubilees," 57) translates "until him [Jacob]" as "before him" which more precisely separates Jacob from the previous 22 patriarchs. The phrase "(up) until him" עד אליו, is extant in 4Q216 (VanderKam, *Jubilees 1*, 197).

the key to understanding that author is using exclusive numerical reckoning:

22 leaders until → Jacob = the former, blessed and holy = made for holiness and blessing

22 works until → the 7th day = the latter, blessed and holy = made for holiness and blessing

The three expressions “latter/former,” “blessed and holy,” and “made for holiness and blessing” poetically equate the Sabbath with Jacob. Just as the Sabbath/seventh day is separated/sanctified from the 22 works that precede it, so is Jacob separated/sanctified from the 22 leaders of humanity that precede him. This separation between and Jacob and all of his 22 predecessors is verified by 2:31, which states that Israel alone, namely Jacob and his seed, are the only people on earth set apart by God to keep the Sabbath. Ironically, Charles observes the structure in 2:23, but misses its relevance to Kainan’s inclusion in *Jubilees*.¹⁰² The Sabbath and Jacob are “intimately related.” He observes, “As the Sabbath comes at the close of the twenty-two works, so Jacob comes at the close of the twenty-second generation. Not until Jacob’s time, therefore, could the Sabbath be rightly observed on earth.”¹⁰³

To include Jacob in the list of 22 patriarchs is to destroy the entire point that the author of *Jubilees* is making.¹⁰⁴ As such, Jacob stands as the 23rd patriarch from Adam, not the 22nd. VanderKam concludes, “The generation of Kainan is thus integral to the message of the author.”¹⁰⁵ Therefore, Kainan and his biography were in the original Hebrew text of *Jubilees*. While the chronology of *Jubilees* is radically different than the original Genesis text, in no other place does the author invent new patriarchs. There is no evidence the author of *Jubilees* invented the name, nor is there any discernable motive for doing so. Kainan’s independent appearance in the LXX and Luke 3:36 confirm his name was not invented by the author. Since *Jubilees* definitively used a Hebrew base text of Genesis,¹⁰⁶ it is logical to conclude that

¹⁰²Charles writes, “Without this name [Kainan] there would only have been twenty-one heads from Adam to Jacob. The same motive may have led to its insertion in the LXX” (*Book of Jubilees*, 66, n. 1). Using exclusive reckoning, the figure from Adam to Jacob is 22 without Kainan, not 21. Nonetheless, Charles undermines his assertion with his own exegesis of *Jubilees* 2.

¹⁰³*Ibid.*, 18, n. 23.

¹⁰⁴“As this additional Kainan forms an integral part of the author’s system of counting in 2,23 the twenty-two generations from Adam to Jacob, not including the latter, not the assumed Greek translator but the author of the book was responsible for the inclusion of Kainan” (Adolph Büchler, “Studies in the Book of Jubilees,” *Revue des études juives* 82 [1926]: 258).

¹⁰⁵*Jubilees* 1, 362. VanderKam repeatedly argues that Kainan is original to *Jubilees* (see 85; 175; 197–98, n. 121; 363, n. 7).

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, 197–98; *idem*, *From Revelation to Canon*, 448–61.

Kainan was extant in a Hebrew text of Genesis 11 in Israel around 160 BC.

2.4. *Demetrius the Chronographer (c. 220 BC)*

Demetrius was a Jewish historian who wrote during the reign of Ptolemy IV (221–205 BC),¹⁰⁷ and is “the earliest datable Alexandrian-Jewish author we know.”¹⁰⁸ Demetrius’s writings are preserved in Eusebius’s *Praeparatio Evangelica* and Clement of Alexandria’s *Stromata*.¹⁰⁹ He wrote in Greek, used the LXX,¹¹⁰ and “his knowledge of its contents is detailed and exact.”¹¹¹

In fragment 2:18, Demetrius chronologically tethers three events to the time Jacob enters Egypt:

[1] from Adam until the time when the brothers of Joseph came into Egypt, there were 3624 years; [2] and from the Deluge until Jacob’s arrival in Egypt there were 1360 years; [3] and from the time Abraham was chosen from among the nations and came from Haran into Canaan until the time when those with him [Jacob] came into Egypt, there were 215 years.¹¹²

These figures yield the following chronological results:

1. 2264 years from Adam to the Flood (3624–1360). The LXX yields 2262 years for this period.¹¹³ 1360 is abbreviated (ατξ)¹¹⁴ and should be corrected to 1362 (ατξβ). The β (2) could easily have disappeared due to scribal error.¹¹⁵
2. “The time Abraham was chosen among the nations, and came from Haran into Canaan” is at age 75 (Gen 12:4).¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁷J. Hanson, “Demetrius the Chronographer: A New Translation and Introduction,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1983), 844; Carl R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors*: vol. 1: *Historians*, ed. Harold W. Attridge, Texts and Translations 20 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983), 51.

¹⁰⁸Finegan, *Handbook*, 141.

¹⁰⁹Holladay, *Fragments*, 51, 55.

¹¹⁰Hanson, “Demetrius,” 843–44, n. 6.

¹¹¹Holladay, *Fragments*, 52.

¹¹²*Ibid.*, 73.

¹¹³Wevers, *Genesis*, 102–108; *Notes on the Text of Genesis*, 72–73. We follow Wevers’s numbers, except his choice of 167 for Methuselah. It should be 187 instead (Henry B. Smith Jr., “Methuselah’s Begetting Age in Genesis 5:25 and the Primeval Chronology of the Septuagint: A Closer Look at the Textual and Historical Evidence,” *Answers Research Journal* 10 [2017]: 169–79).

¹¹⁴Holladay, *Fragments*, 73.

¹¹⁵Charles Hayes, *A Dissertation on the Chronology of the Septuagint* (London: T. Woodward, 1741), 71.

¹¹⁶Wevers, *Genesis*, 150.

3. The time from Abraham's departure at age 75 to Jacob's entry is 215 years, reiterated in fragment 2:16–17:

From the time when Abraham was chosen among the nations and migrated to Canaan, they dwelt in the land of Canaan as follows: Abraham—25 years; Isaac—60 years; Jacob—130 years; in all, 215 years were spent in the land of Canaan. In the third year of famine in Egypt Jacob came into Egypt.¹¹⁷

Thus, there were 290 years from Abraham's birth to Jacob's descent (215+75).

4. The time from the Flood to Jacob's descent is 1362 years. Since Abraham was born 290 years before Jacob's descent, we can determine the time period from the Flood to Abraham's birth: 1362–290=1072 years.
5. This period in the LXX with Kainan included also equals 1072 years. 1072 is further confirmed by the SP. It excludes Kainan, but otherwise matches the LXX, yielding a total of 942 years from the Flood to Abraham. Eusebius's total from his LXX, sans Kainan, also equals 942 (*Chronicle* 27).¹¹⁸ When Kainan's 130 is added to 942, we reach the exact same total as the LXX and Demetrius: 1072 years. Augustine explicitly includes Kainan, and reaches the same total (*City of God* 16.10).¹¹⁹

Because of Demetrius's chronological precision, and the evidence from four other independent sources, we can decisively conclude that Kainan and his 130-year begetting age appeared in his LXX Genesis text in Alexandria, c. 220 BC.¹²⁰

2.5 The Septuagint as a Witness to Kainan in a Hebrew Vorlage of Genesis (c. 281 BC)¹²¹

A number of untenable theories have been proposed to reject the

¹¹⁷Holladay, *Fragments*, 71.

¹¹⁸Josef Karst, *Eusebius Werke: Die Chronik*, vol. 5 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1911), 45.

¹¹⁹Boniface Ramsey, ed., *The City of God (De Civitate Dei)*, trans. William Babcock, vol. 7: Books XI–XXII, in *The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century* (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 2013), 199.

¹²⁰According to Finegan (*Handbook*, 145), the creation date derived from Demetrius is 5307 BC, the same date derived from the chronology of the Jewish historian Eupolemus (c. 160 BC). This points to the possibility Kainan was included in Eupolemus's biblical text(s) of Gen 11 as well. For more, see Michael Russell, *A Connection of Sacred and Profane History, from the Death of Joshua to the Decline of the Kingdoms*, ed. J. Talboys Wheeler, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (London: William Tegg, 1865), 1:89–90.

¹²¹Nina Collins, "281 BCE: The Year of the Translation of the Pentateuch into Greek under Ptolemy II," in *Septuagint, Scrolls, and Cognate Writings*, ed. George J. Brooke and Barnabas Lindars (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1992), 403–503.

validity of Kainan in the original Septuagint translation of Genesis. These include LXX inflation hypotheses,¹²² the “red flag,”¹²³ the millennial scheme,¹²⁴ and the symmetry theories.¹²⁵ These theories are drawn upon to argue that the erroneous Kainan was subsequently interpolated into Luke by Christians due his initial but dubious presence in the LXX.¹²⁶ None holds up to scrutiny.¹²⁷

¹²²The primary hypothesis asserts the Septuagint’s primeval chronology was deliberately inflated by the Alexandrian Jews to conform it with Egyptian chronology. For reasons why LXX inflation hypotheses fail, see Henry B. Smith Jr., “The Case for the Septuagint’s Chronology in Genesis 5 and 11,” in *Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference on Creationism*, ed. John H. Whitmore (International Conference on Creationism, Pittsburgh, PA: Creation Science Fellowship, 2018), 120–21. Hasel suggests Kainan was added to inflate the chronology even further (Gerhard F. Hasel, “Genesis 5 and 11: Chronogenealogies in the Biblical History of Beginnings,” *Origins* 7 [1980]: 36).

¹²³According to this theory, the Jews did not inflate the chronology voluntarily. Rather, the Ptolemies forced them to inflate the chronology to conform it with Egyptian chronology. Kainan (resembling the evil Cain) was a “red flag” the translators secretly inserted into the text to “warn” those reading it. To further alert the reader, they “borrowed” Shelah’s numbers and assigned them to Kainan (Richard Niessen, “A Biblical Approach to Dating the Earth: A Case for the Use of Genesis 5 and 11 as an Exact Chronology,” *Creation Research Society Quarterly* 19 [1982]: 64).

¹²⁴“This view argues that many of the early church fathers were enamored of a schematic view of the ages of the world...[which] was to consist of six thousand years, divided evenly into two three-thousand-year periods, the first concluding and the second beginning at the one hundred thirtieth year of Peleg, which is the age at which he fathered Reu. In order to achieve [this], some of the numbers had to be juggled. Included in this number juggling was the addition of the second Cainan. According to Anstey, this millenary scheme accounts not only for the addition of the second Cainan but also for the textual variants in the ages of other patriarchs, especially Methuselah” (Shaw, “Genealogies of Genesis 5 and 11,” 86).

¹²⁵Jeremy Hughes argues Kainan was borrowed from Gen 5 to create genealogical symmetry with Gen 11: *Secrets of the Times: Myth and History in Biblical Chronology*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement 66 (Sheffield, England: JSOT, 1990), 9. Conversely, Steinmann (“Challenging the Authenticity,” 699–700) claims a lack of symmetry is caused by Kainan’s inclusion. This points to Kainan being spurious, partly because it places Abraham in the 21st position (which Steinmann deems unimportant). While the observation is interesting, it proves nothing. One might interpret the symmetry, instead, that Gen 5 ends with a significant father (Noah), who had three sons (Shem, Ham, Japheth), in the tenth position. With Kainan included in Gen 11, Terah would parallel Noah as a significant father, who also had three sons (Abram, Haran, Nahor), in the tenth position. Terah’s significance is demonstrated by his own *toledoth* (Gen 11:27), paralleling Noah’s (Gen 6:9). Therefore, Kainan is essential to the symmetry.

¹²⁶Niessen, “A Biblical Approach,” 64; C. Robert Fetter, “A Critical Investigation of ‘the Second Cainan’ in Luke 3:36” (BD thesis, Grace Theological Seminary, 1956), 85.

¹²⁷Travis Freeman collates these theories to argue against Kainan’s authenticity (“Do the Genesis 5 and 11 Genealogies Contain Gaps?” in *Coming to Grips with Genesis: Biblical Authority and the Age of the Earth*, ed. Terry Mortenson and Thane H. Ury [Green Forest, AR: New Leaf, 2008], 308–13). Drawing on Fetter, he adds the “legendary theory” (313), which posits that Kainan was inserted into the LXX by Christian scribes because he was in *Jubilees*. Kainan appeared in other, unnamed

The begetting age (130) and remaining years (330) for Kainan and Shelah match one another in most LXX manuscripts. Some scholars claim this demonstrates Kainan was added to LXX Genesis 11 because his numbers were “borrowed” from Shelah’s.¹²⁸ This argument must assume it was impossible for both Kainan and Shelah to father their named sons and to die at the same age. While the coincidence may appear superficially odd, the argument rests entirely on intuition. From a probability standpoint, a father and son undoubtedly could have the same begetting age and lifespan.¹²⁹

Second, and more significantly, this argument ignores the textual evidence, and presumes Shelah’s remaining years in the LXX were 330 originally. The MT preserves Shelah’s original figure of 403.¹³⁰ Eusebius’s *Chronicle* (27) reads 406.¹³¹ This was most likely 403 in Eusebius’s LXX text, matching the MT, and reflecting the original. The original number in the LXX’s Hebrew *Vorlage* was probably not 330, but 403 instead.¹³²

The error is easily explained. An early scribe could have made 403 (ἔτη τετρακόσια τρία) into 330 (ἔτη τριακοσια τριακοντα) by accident. Seven appearances of τριακόντα (30) within a tight textual matrix, numerous instances of κόντα, κόσια, and ἔτη, visual similarities between τετρα and τρια, and Kainan’s 330 are all possible triggers for scribal error.¹³³ Ironically, the 330-year figure for Shelah’s remaining years in the LXX may have been accidentally “borrowed” from Kainan!

Additionally, Septuagint scholars such as Marcos,¹³⁴ Hiebert,¹³⁵

literature as well, hence the designation “legendary.” Hasel suggests Kainan was added to the LXX by *homoioteleuton* (“Genesis 5 and 11,” 32). Kainan in Gen 5:12–13 would have been too far removed from Gen 11 in a scroll or codex for this to have happened.

¹²⁸Fetter, “Critical Investigation,” 73; Clark, “Genealogies of Genesis Five and Eleven,” 93; Hughes, *Secrets of the Times*, 9; Ronald S. Hendel, *The Text of Genesis 1–11: Textual Studies and Critical Edition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 146. Montague S. Mills says the numbers “appear suspicious” (“A Comparison of the Genesis and Lukan Genealogies: The Case for Cainan” [ThM Thesis, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1978], 48, n. 56). Steinmann (“Challenging the Authenticity,” 704) appeals to the fact that a similar repetition does not occur elsewhere in Gen 5/11. But we must ask: what bearing would a second instance have on the veracity of Kainan/Shelah? And why must there be second instance for Kainan/Shelah to be authentic?

¹²⁹Shaw, “Genealogies of Genesis 5 and 11,” 94.

¹³⁰Smith Jr., “Case for the Septuagint’s Chronology,” 131.

¹³¹Karst, *Eusebius*, 42.

¹³²The 403-year figure appears in manuscripts 82, 376, and 53 (Wevers, *Genesis*, 144).

¹³³Wevers documents numerous variants in manuscripts of LXX Gen 11:12–19. Most were probably caused by these visual similarities (*Genesis*, 144–45).

¹³⁴Natalio Fernandez Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible*, trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 260.

¹³⁵Hiebert analyzes verses from LXX Genesis where various translation techniques

Scarlata,¹³⁶ and Wevers¹³⁷ all have found that the Hebrew Genesis text was treated conservatively by the translators. Tov has concluded that the most salient feature of the variants between the MT and LXX of Genesis 1–11 (sans the numbers) is small-scale internal harmonization in the LXX, not deliberate large scale additions.¹³⁸ There is simply no evidence that the translators deliberately added Kainan to the LXX.

In summary, none of the known theories positing the spurious addition of Kainan to LXX Genesis can withstand close examination. Instead, the evidence and Septuagint studies suggest that the LXX serves as a witness to a 3rd century BC Hebrew *Vorlage* of Genesis with Kainan included in it.

3. A PROPOSAL FOR KAINAN'S ORIGINAL INCLUSION IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

The evidence for Kainan's inclusion in Hippolytus, Luke, the Hebrew text of Genesis 11 underlying *Jubilees*, Demetrius, LXX Genesis 11 and its corresponding Hebrew *Vorlage*, is virtually certain. While we do not presently possess a Hebrew manuscript including Kainan, *Jubilees* and the original LXX Genesis necessitate independent Hebrew *Vorlagen* containing his name. These sources provide us with eyewitness evidence—two geographically separated “snapshots” if you will—of two biblical Hebrew texts of Genesis containing Kainan.

To complicate matters however, Kainan is missing from the Masoretic Text, the Samaritan Pentateuch, Josephus, *Seder Olam Rabbah*, Theophilus of Antioch, Julius Africanus, the Aramaic Targums, and Eusebius.¹³⁹ How can Kainan's absence in these witnesses be explained if he is original to the witnesses discussed above?¹⁴⁰

were employed, finding no evidence of deliberate divergences from the Hebrew *Vorlage* (Robert J. V. Hiebert, “Translation Technique in the Septuagint of Genesis and Its Implications for the NETS Version,” *Bulletin of the International Organization of Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 33 [2000]: 76–93).

¹³⁶Mark W. Scarlata, “Genesis,” in *T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*, ed. James K. Aitken (New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015), 13–28.

¹³⁷*Notes on the Text of Genesis*, 1–161.

¹³⁸Emanuel Tov, “The Harmonizing Character of the Septuagint of Genesis 1–11,” in *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, Septuagint*, vol. 3, Supplements to *Vetus Testamentum* 167 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 470–89.

¹³⁹Steinmann, “Challenging the Authenticity,” 698–702, 706–707; Tanner, “Old Testament Chronology,” 34.

¹⁴⁰Only one LXX manuscript of Gen 10:22 contains Kainan. Codex A places Kainan after Aram, but “*sup ras*” (above the erasure; Wevers, *Genesis*, 138). Gen 10:22 lists the direct offspring of Shem (Elam, Asshur, Arpachshad, Lud, and Aram). But Kainan is Arpachshad's son, not Shem's, so his name is out of place. Hippolytus omitted Kainan from his recitation of 10:22 (verses 159–165; Schmidt and Nicholas, *Hippolytus*, 217). Although Wevers considers Kainan original to LXX Gen 10:22 (*ibid.*), the textual evidence and the context are against it. The addition to A is surely a deliberate interpolation.

We propose that a scribal error caused by a combination of haplography and mental error in a very ancient Hebrew archetypal manuscript of Genesis set off a chain of events that led to the complex matrix of evidence we have presently. Consider the following:

1. The Babylonian Exile in the early 6th century BC created geographically separated archetypal Hebrew texts.¹⁴¹ The texts taken to Babylon were subsequently transmitted independently of those in Egypt or Israel, and were only reintroduced back into Israel during the Maccabean era, or perhaps even later.¹⁴² A temple and Aramaic papyrus¹⁴³ discovered at Elephantine, Egypt verify that Jews lived there in the 6th century BC, possibly even before the Exile.¹⁴⁴ The literature on the textual history of the OT is replete with theories on the development of the Hebrew text during this early period. For our purposes here, we need not adopt any particular theory.¹⁴⁵ OT text critical scholars agree there were, at minimum, biblical texts in three important Jewish population centers: Palestine, Babylon, and Egypt.

During this time, we propose that Kainan accidentally fell out of Genesis 11:13b–14b¹⁴⁶ in a major Hebrew archetypal manuscript (see § 5 for a proposed reconstruction). Since the Exile created geographically dispersed archetypes, it would have been possible for one major archetype to preserve Kainan (in Egypt), while another accidentally lost his name (in Babylon): “Once that paragraph was omitted, its omission would be impossible to detect, unless a later copyist had access to

¹⁴¹Ellis R. Brotzman and Eric J. Tully, *Old Testament Textual Criticism: A Practical Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2016), 29.

¹⁴²*Ibid.*, 31.

¹⁴³A recent study proposes that Papyrus Amherst 63 (4th century BC) contains Psalm 20 (Karel van der Toorn, “Egyptian Papyrus Sheds New Light on Jewish History,” *Biblical Archaeology Review* 44 [August 2018]: 33–39, 66, 68).

¹⁴⁴Lester L. Grabbe, *The History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period*, vol. 1: *Yehud: A History of the Persian Province of Judah* (New York: T&T Clark, 2004), 54–55, 210–14, 316–19. According to one letter, “The [Jewish] colony [at Elephantine] was flourishing with its own temple when Cambyes conquered Egypt about 525 BCE” (318).

¹⁴⁵For a survey, see Paul D. Wegner, *A Student’s Guide to Textual Criticism of the Bible: Its History, Methods and Results* (Downers Grove, IL: Inter-Varsity Press, 2006), 58–70.

¹⁴⁶This suggestion has been made in general terms, but to our knowledge, it has not been explored in detail previously. Snoberger leaves the possibility open (“Inerrancy Does Not Demand,” 9), along with Shaw (“Genealogies of Genesis 5 and 11,” 92) and David Noel Freedman and David Miano, “Is the Shorter Reading Better? Haplography in the First Book of Chronicles,” in *Emanuel: Studies in the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint, and the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*, ed. Shalom M. Paul et al., Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 94 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 689. Jacobus argues that Kainan was original to the PROTO-MT and SP, but was expunged due to his involvement in astrology (Helen R. Jacobus, “The Curse of Cainan [Jub. 8.1–5]: Genealogies in Genesis 5 and Genesis 11 and a Mathematical Pattern,” *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 18 [March 2009]: 207–32).

another manuscript that included the paragraph.”¹⁴⁷

2. When scribes discovered Kainan was absent from Genesis 11, they could have viewed the name as spurious in Genesis 10:24, and removed it. Internal harmonization was a common phenomenon in scribal activity, and was not generally intended to be nefarious.¹⁴⁸ Since Genesis 11 would already have dropped Kainan completely, harmonization would have required the easy removal of only four words from 10:24, אֶת־קַיִן וְקַיִן יִלֵּד.¹⁴⁹

Kainan could have dropped out of Genesis 10:24 by scribal error as well. It is somewhat difficult to argue (though not impossible) that he disappeared from *both* Genesis 10 and 11 by accident. Moreover, it would strain credulity to argue that a third and fourth error omitted Kainan in 1 Chronicles. Internal harmonization remains the most plausible explanation overall, although the possibility exists that Kainan fell out of both 10/11 by accident, and then was harmonized out of only 1 Chronicles.

3. The omission of Kainan from Genesis 11 would require the accidental loss of about 25 words. While they are infrequent, larger omissions do have precedent in the MT tradition: thirteen words absent in 1 Kings 8:16,¹⁵⁰ sixteen in Judges 16:13–14,¹⁵¹ twenty in Joshua 21:36–37,¹⁵² twenty-four in 1 Samuel 14:41, and forty-five in 1 Samuel 11. Similar errors have also occurred in the transmission of the LXX, illustrating further how scribes occasionally made significant mistakes. Sixty-three words have been skipped in 1 Chronicles 1:10–17 (LXX A) and a staggering 97 words (1:17–24) have been skipped in LXX B.¹⁵³

First Samuel 11 is analogous to our Kainan proposal. An expanded description of Nahash’s violent relationship with Israel was only known for centuries from Josephus (*Ant.* 6.68–71). When 4QSam^a was studied, 45 words not found in the MT were discovered. The narrative was consistent with Josephus, and the total evidence favors its originality.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁷Shaw, “Genealogies of Genesis 5 and 11,” 92.

¹⁴⁸Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible: Revised and Expanded*, 3rd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2011), 258–59. The omission of Kainan would have begun with the primary, controlling verse in Gen 11, not vice versa. If Kainan had disappeared from Gen 10:24 first, scribes would then have had to deliberately remove a substantial section of text from Gen 11 to harmonize the verses. In this scenario, Kainan most likely would have been restored to 10:24 because of the influence of Gen 11, rather than being expunged from Gen 11 because he first dropped out of 10:24.

¹⁴⁹“Arpachshad fathered [Kainan and Kainan fathered] Shelah.”

¹⁵⁰Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 223.

¹⁵¹Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, 3rd ed. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2015), 70–71.

¹⁵²Idem., *Textual Criticism*, 223.

¹⁵³Freedman and Miano, “Is the Shorter Reading Better?” 693, 695.

¹⁵⁴Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 311–13. Some scholars consider this longer text to be a

Since the narrative is also absent from the LXX, the omission probably occurred prior to 200 BC, the general period we propose that Kainan dropped out of a Hebrew archetype of Genesis 11.

The omission in MT 1 Samuel 14:41 due to haplography is also analogous. The original is found only in the LXX and the Vulgate. No Hebrew manuscript of 14:41 exists, and it is clear that the LXX and V preserve the original, and the MT has been corrupted.¹⁵⁵ While it is certainly preferable to have an extant Hebrew manuscript, LXX texts such as 1 Samuel 14:41 and Judges 16:13–14¹⁵⁶ serve as important exceptions to this rule. Retroversions from Greek back into Hebrew are warranted if the evidence allows for it. In our view, the evidence from the LXX, *Jubilees* and other witnesses supports such a retroversion for Kainan in Genesis 11.

While MT Genesis contains no other large-scale omissions, this fact alone cannot logically eliminate the possibility that Kainan accidentally dropped out of Genesis 11. The repetitive textual matrix found in Genesis 11:10–32 enhances the plausibility of Kainan's omission by haplography (§ 5). All of the evidence should be carefully weighed before this explanation for Kainan's origin is rejected. A viable alternative theory should be offered to explain Kainan's spurious addition to the two independent Hebrew *Vorlagen* that the LXX and *Jubilees* attest to.

4. There are two scenarios that could explain Kainan's absence from the SP. The general academic consensus is that the SP underwent significant changes in the 2nd century BC, including harmonization.¹⁵⁷ A Hebrew text lacking Kainan could have influenced the SP during this time. It is also possible that the present-day SP descends from the Hebrew archetype that lost Kainan around the time of the Exile or shortly thereafter.

5. Kainan is absent from the MT of 1 Chronicles 1:18 and 24. Later scribes copying manuscripts of 1 Chronicles could have easily "corrected" or harmonized the text because the governing Hebrew texts of Genesis 10/11 no longer contained Kainan.¹⁵⁸ According to Tov, there is a "high level of agreement" between Genesis 10:1–29 and 1 Chronicles 1:4–23 in the MT.¹⁵⁹

midrashic addition (313). While this possibility should be considered, Tov's case for originality is quite persuasive.

¹⁵⁵Idem, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint*, 139–40.

¹⁵⁶Tov cites additional examples (*ibid.*, 70–72).

¹⁵⁷Peter J. Gentry, "The Text of the Old Testament," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 52 (2009): 24.

¹⁵⁸We should emphasize that the original author of Chronicles, under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, would not have made an error. In our reconstruction, the removal of Kainan by harmonization would have been undertaken by later scribes.

¹⁵⁹*Textual Criticism*, 13, n. 18; 12–13. First Chronicles 1:24 reads שם ארפכשד שלח. First Chronicles 1:18 reads וארפכשד ילד את-שלח ושלח ילד את-עבר, mimicking Gen 10:24. Harmonization in both would have been simple.

6. A Hebrew archetype of Genesis which had not lost Kainan was used by the Alexandrian translators (c. 281 BC). Kainan appeared in their Hebrew *Vorlage* and was included in the original LXX of Genesis 11:13b–14b and 10:24.¹⁶⁰

7. Demetrius the Chronographer (c. 220 BC) is the earliest known witness to the LXX and to Genesis 5/11. He used a LXX text in Alexandria which necessarily included Kainan.

8. The Hebrew text of Genesis 11 containing Kainan used by the author of *Jubilees* in Israel around 160 BC may have been an offshoot of an archetype that had gone to Egypt, or had descended from a text that had remained in Israel after the Exile. VanderKam's description meshes with our proposal:

The Jub material suggests that there was in Palestine a biblical text that fell somewhere between (and slightly outside) the fixed points embodied in the MT, Sam and LXX. Its readings show that at some time after 200 B.C.E, there was in Judea at least one copy of Genesis–Exodus that agreed more often with the LXX and Sam than with the MT but was an independent witness.¹⁶¹

9. The post-Pentateuchal Greek translations were completed around 130 BC,¹⁶² perhaps in Israel. The translators used Hebrew texts that differed from those used 100–150 years earlier for the Pentateuch.¹⁶³ Variations in translation techniques, literary styles and the dissemination of biblical books in individual scrolls contributed to their heterogeneous character.¹⁶⁴

10. During the 2nd century BC, Jewish scribes modified circulating LXX/OG translations with the goal of updating and improving them.¹⁶⁵ It appears they mainly used PROTO-MT texts for this task. The 1st century BC Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nahal Hever in the Judean Desert and Papyrus Fouad 266 are evidence for this

¹⁶⁰LXX manuscripts of Gen 10:24 with Kainan/n include Codices A (above the erasure) and M, 72', 108, 55, 730, the Catena Group, and the *ς* group (minus 343), (Wevers, *Genesis*, 138).

¹⁶¹VanderKam, *From Revelation to Canon*, 460.

¹⁶²Gentry, "Text of the Old Testament," 24.

¹⁶³Emanuel Tov, "Reflections on the Septuagint with Special Attention Paid to the Post-Pentateuchal Translations," in *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, Septuagint*, vol. 3, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 167 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 434–43.

¹⁶⁴Emanuel Tov, "The Coincidental Nature of Ancient Scriptures," in *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, Septuagint*, vol. 3, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 167 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 20–35.

¹⁶⁵Strictly speaking, "LXX" refers to the original Greek translation of the Pentateuch completed in Alexandria. "OG" (Old Greek) refers to the original post-Pentateuchal translations. "Recensions" refer to emendations/retranslations of the LXX/OG to conform more closely with the PROTO-MT (Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint*, 2nd ed. [Grand Rapids: Baker, 2015], 14–17).

phenomenon.¹⁶⁶

During this period, Jewish scribes would have encountered Kainan in their old LXX of Genesis 10/11, but found him absent from their PROTO-MT text. Some scribes would have removed Kainan from their new translations, thinking the name was erroneous because it was not in their Hebrew *Vorlage*.¹⁶⁷ They would have viewed this as an improvement to the text. Conversely, Jewish scribes who were more conservative in their text-critical decisions and/or held the LXX in high(er) regard would have allowed Kainan to remain in their Greek translations, leaving the tension between the Greek and Hebrew texts intact.

11. The original 2nd century BC translator of LXX 1 Chronicles probably used a Hebrew text that had already removed Kainan. Copies of LXX 1 Chronicles were probably then harmonized with LXX Genesis 10/11 by the removal or addition of Kainan. Codex B excludes Kainan, while Codex A includes him.¹⁶⁸

12. Accidental scribal errors during the transmission of the LXX over several centuries would have amplified the problems even further. Instances of large-scale haplography have occurred in LXX A and B of 1 Chronicles.¹⁶⁹ Schmidt and Sanders omit Kainan in their reconstruction of Genesis 10:24 in papyrus 911 since there is not enough space in the manuscript. However, they conclude *τον καιναν και καιναν εγεννησεν* was accidentally omitted by *homoioteleuton* previously.¹⁷⁰

13. Josephus (c. AD 90) used a Genesis text in Rome that excluded Kainan (*Ant.* 1.150).¹⁷¹

14. The Aramaic Targums (Onkelos,¹⁷² Pseudo-Jonathan,¹⁷³ and Nefotiti¹⁷⁴) were based almost exclusively on the PROTO-MT.¹⁷⁵ They

¹⁶⁶Marcos, *Septuagint in Context*, 191–92.

¹⁶⁷For example, Kainan is absent from Gen 10:24 in Papyrus 961. Albert Pietersma argues that a correction towards the MT “presents itself as the least objectionable solution.” He appeals to readings from Origen’s Hexapla omitting Kainan to support his argument (*Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri IV and V: A New Critical Edition with Text-Critical Analysis*, vol. 16, American Studies in Papyrology [Toronto: Samuel Stevens Hakkert and Company, 1977], 161). Parablepsis is also possible (Wevers, *Notes on the Text of Genesis*, 141).

¹⁶⁸Brooke and McLean, *Old Testament in Greek*, 392.

¹⁶⁹Freedman and Miano, “Is the Shorter Reading Better?” 693, 695.

¹⁷⁰*Berlin Fragment*, 375.

¹⁷¹For a discussion of Josephus’s Gen 5/11 chronology and the type of text he most likely used, see Smith Jr., “Case for the Septuagint’s Chronology,” 125–27.

¹⁷²Bernard Grossfeld, trans., *The Targum Onkelos to Genesis*, The Aramaic Bible, vol. 6 (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1988). Some scholars argue that Onkelos was the mid–2nd century Jewish translator, Aquila.

¹⁷³According to Michael Maher, Pseudo-Jonathan did not reach its final form until the 7th or 8th century AD (*Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis*, The Aramaic Bible, vol. 1B [Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992], 12).

¹⁷⁴According to Martin McNamara, Neofiti may have originated in the 4th

exclude Kainan.

15. Origen's Hexapla (c. AD 235)¹⁷⁶ placed old LXX/OG readings alongside those from Hebrew texts extant in Palestine (along with LXX readings from Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion). Origen introduced significant confusion and complexity into our understanding of the LXX's history. Jobes and Silva summarize the situation in Jerome's time:

In his preface to Chronicles, Jerome complained that the Christian world was in conflict over three forms (*trifaria varietas*) of the Septuagint text: (1) one in Egypt, attributed to Hesychius; (2) a second form dominant from Constantinople to Antioch and attributed to Lucian; and between them (3) Origen's (Hexaplaric) recension, used in Palestine.¹⁷⁷

16. Given the circumstances described by Jerome, it should be no surprise that the evidence from the Church fathers is mixed. Theophilus of Antioch (d. AD 183),¹⁷⁸ Julius Africanus (AD 221),¹⁷⁹ and Eusebius of Caesarea (AD 310)¹⁸⁰ possessed LXX manuscripts that excluded Kainan. Conversely, Hippolytus of Rome (AD 225) explicitly includes Kainan from texts of LXX Genesis 10/11 and from Luke 3:36 and Augustine's LXX texts of Genesis 10/11 (AD 354–430) also included Kainan.¹⁸¹

17. Lastly, we turn to the most significant and reliable witness of all: Luke. Luke used a LXX text of 1 Chronicles and/or Genesis 11 that included Kainan (§ 1.1–3). Luke's Gospel is not only an authoritative and inspired witness to a LXX text containing Kainan in c. AD 60–70, Luke 3:36 sanctions the legitimacy of Kainan's presence in the LXX translation itself. Logically, this would then validate both the presence and authenticity of Kainan in the Hebrew *Vorlage* from which Luke's

century AD (*Targum Neofiti 1: Genesis*, The Aramaic Bible, vol. 1A, [Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992], 42–45).

¹⁷⁵“Deviations [from the PROTO–MT] are based mainly on exegetical traditions, not on deviating texts” (Gentry, *Text of the Old Testament*, 26).

¹⁷⁶Jobes and Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint*, 39–46.

¹⁷⁷*Ibid.*, 29.

¹⁷⁸Grant notes that Theophilus's *Ad Autolycum* might exhibit some features of the Lucianic text of the LXX (Robert M. Grant, “The Bible of Theophilus of Antioch,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 66 [1947]: 173–75). The Lucianic text is not considered a recension towards the Hebrew, but it does exhibit variations from LXX/OG (Jobes and Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint*, 46). This might explain Kainan's absence from Theophilus.

¹⁷⁹Martin Wallraff, Umberto Roberto, and Karl Pinggera, eds., *Iulius Africanus Chronographiae: The Extant Fragments*, trans. William Adler (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 29–41.

¹⁸⁰*Ibid.*

¹⁸¹Ramsey, *City of God*, 189, 199.

particular LXX text was ultimately derived. There can be no greater endorsement of Kainan's authenticity than this.

4. CONCLUSION

Instead of being an indictment against Kainan, the totality of evidence, along with the textual and historical complexities outlined above, support a larger argument favoring his original inclusion in both the Old and New Testaments. Conversely, the theory that Kainan originated as a scribal error in Luke and then was interpolated back into both the OT and NT is an overly simplistic attempt to resolve a highly complex problem, and is not possible based on all the known evidence. Kainan's inclusion in *Jubilees*, Demetrius's chronology and LXX Genesis are particularly devastating to this theory.

Other theories which postulate that Kainan was a spurious addition to Luke, *Jubilees*, and the LXX are not viable and cannot even remotely account for the textual and historical data. The most reasonable explanation for the known evidence is that Kainan was originally in Genesis 10:24, 11:13b–14b, and 1 Chronicles 1:18, 24, but initially disappeared from Genesis 11 by haplography and mental error. The multifaceted evidence can best be explained by this initial, triggering mistake.

5. APPENDIX: A PROPOSED RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ACCIDENTAL REMOVAL OF קִינָן FROM GENESIS 11:13B–14B BY HAPLOGRAPHY AND MENTAL ERROR¹⁸²

- Line 1 וארפכשד חי חמש ושלשים שנה ומאת שנה ויולד את־קִינָן ויחי ארפכשד
 Line 2 אחרי הולידו את־קִינָן שלשים שנה וְאַרְבַּע מאות שנה ויולד בנים ובנות
 Line 3 ויחי קִינָן שלשים שנה ומאת שנה ויולד את־שֵׁלַח ויחי קִינָן אחרי הולידו את־שֵׁלַח
 Line 4 שְׁלֹשִׁים שנה וְשֵׁלַש מאות שנה ויולד בנים ובנות ושלח חי שלשים שנה מאות שנה
 Line 5 ויולד את־עֶבֶר ויחי שלח אחרי הולידו את־עֶבֶר שלש שנים וְאַרְבַּע מאות שנה
 Line 6 ... ויולד בנים ובנות...

Rigid Translation (the omitted text appears in italics):

- (Line 1) ¹²When Arpachshad had lived 5 and 30 years, and 100 years, he fathered *Kenan*. ^{13b}*And Arpachshad*
 (Line 2) *lived after he fathered Kenan 30 years and 400 years, and he fathered [other] sons and daughters.*
 (Line 3) ^{14b}*When Kenan had lived 30 years and 100 years, he fathered Shelah. And Kenan* ¹³*lived after he fathered Shelah*
 (Line 4) 30 years and 300 years and he fathered [other] sons and daughters. ¹⁴*When Shelah had lived 30 years and 100 years*
 (Line 5) he fathered Eber. ¹⁵*And Shelah lived after he fathered Eber 3 years and 400 years*
 (Line 6) and he fathered [other] sons and daughters...

Step One: The scribe begins by accurately recording Arpachshad's begetting age (135). Then, he accidentally skips over Kenan (את־קִינָן) as the direct object, dropping his eye to Shelah instead (את־שֵׁלַח), who first appears in line 3 (double underline). The two sections of text highlighted in **gray** leading up to the first appearances of both Kenan and Shelah are exactly the same. The eye of the scribe easily jumped from line 1 (gray) to line 3 (gray), picking up Shelah as the direct object (את־שֵׁלַח) of Arpachshad's begetting instead of Kenan (את־קִינָן). This one simple eye slip would have caused the scribe to skip over 3 of the 4 instances of Kenan (single, bold underline), a total of 23 words.

Step Two: Now Shelah has become the direct object instead of Kenan, and the scribe pauses since there is a natural break in the syntax. However, instead of his eyes going back up to the end of line 1 to pick up Arpachshad again, he merely repeats the name from immediate memory and writes "and Arpachshad lived after..." (ויחי ארפכשד אחרי).

¹⁸²The text represents a Hebrew *Vorlage* with the numbers found in the LXX translation. They follow Wevers (*Septuaginta: Genesis*, 144), with the exception of Shelah's remaining years, which are presented here as 403 instead of 330 (Smith Jr., "Case for the Septuagint's Chronology," 131; Hendel, *Text of Genesis 1–11*, 73). Hendel's Hebrew reconstruction with Kenan is similar (*ibid.*, 146–47).

Step Three: Once the scribe writes “and Arpachshad lived after,” his eye goes to the end of line 3, and he picks back up with Shelah. The Arpachshad/Shelah pairing would have been immediately in his mind, and on his scroll. Since he had made Shelah the direct object the first time, he now sees Shelah as the direct object of the infinitive construct (אֲחֵרֵי הוֹלִידוֹ) at the end of line 3 (אֶת־שֶׁלָּה), and continues on with the verse. This simple mental error only requires skipping 2 additional words (וַיְהִי קִינָן). The scribe has now fully omitted Kenan from the text of Genesis 11, and Shelah has been double-substituted as the direct object of Arpachshad’s begetting.

Step Four: The scribe’s eye is now down to the beginning of line four. There, the remaining years (רַג) are 330 (tiny dotted underline). These belong to Kenan, but due to his error, the scribe is instead assigning רַג to Arpachshad after he fathers Shelah. The רַג for Arpachshad was most likely 430 originally.¹⁸³ Thus, the 330 assigned to Kenan must be now replaced by 430 for Arpachshad. This only requires accidentally placing 4 (אַרְבַּע) instead of 3 (שָׁלֹשׁ, line 4) in the hundred’s position before מאֹת. Four appears in line 2 in Arpachshad’s רַג, and in line 5 in Shelah’s רַג (larger dotted underline). The text surrounding both instances of אַרְבַּע in lines 2 and 5 is almost exactly the same (single underline). Four also appears as part of Eber’s begetting age in Gen 11:16 (אַרְבַּע וְשָׁלֹשׁ). The scribe could have accidentally picked up אַרְבַּע from one of these three places.

Summary: The highly repetitive nature of the textual matrix from Genesis 11:11–26 increased the possibility of the accidental omission of Kenan. In lines 1–6 alone, the following words appear on multiple occasions:

שָׁלֹשׁ[ים]	“three/thirty”	7 times
הוֹלִידוֹ/וּיֹלֵד	“fathered”	9 times
וּמֵאָת	“100”	6 times
אֶת	direct object marker	6 times
שָׁנָה/שָׁנִים	“year/s”	14 times

The total number of skipped words is 25, well within the range of other similar omissions in the MT tradition (§ 3.3), adding to the viability of this reconstruction.

¹⁸³Almost all LXX MSS read 430 or 330 for Arpachshad’s remaining years (Wevers, *Septuaginta: Genesis*, 144). The LXX translators most likely had a Hebrew *Vorlage* with 430. The MT reads 403. The PROTO-MT could easily have lost the suffix ים at the end of 30 (שָׁלֹשִׁים) making the number 403 instead. Or, 403 could have accidentally come from Shelah’s רַג. The 430 רַג is found in the Aramaic Targums (Steinmann, “Challenging the Authenticity,” 701). LXX manuscripts with 330 are the result of a scribal error from 430 in the Greek (Shaw, “Genealogies of Genesis 5 and 11,” 68).