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## The Book of Jubilees Among the Apocalypses

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THE BOOK OF JUBILEES AMONG THE APOCALYPSES

VOLUME II

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate School  
of the University of Notre Dame  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of

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by

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## CHAPTER 5

### THE SPATIAL AXIS

The use of the genre “apocalypse,” by definition, entails use of literary contents from the spatial axis, particularly cosmic beings such as angels and demons. The use of these literary features implies some treatment of the significance of cosmic beings for humanity. Thus far, Jubilees is like contemporary apocalypses. Despite variation in the details, contemporary apocalypses typically attribute great significance to cosmic forces for the origin of evil, the progression of human history, and the resolution of evil. Jubilees breaks this convention. Jubilees uses the genre to deal with the significance of cosmic forces, but inverts the view typical of the apocalypses. Jubilees blames humanity for the origin of evil and the flood, postulates that Israel is exempt from angelic rule and demonic affliction, and simply writes angels and demons out of the plan for the resolution of evil. This is not to say that angelic beings play no role in Jubilees except to be unimportant. The apocalyptic worldview is only one of many concerns in the Book of Jubilees, and, like many non-apocalypses, Jubilees does use angels to solve exegetical problems. The core issue is the view of non-human sources of evil and suffering. Jubilees uses the genre but inverts the typical view.

The view of angels and demons constitutes the core of this chapter, but along the same lines as the agency of non-human forces we will consider the classification and

agency of groups within humanity. Even if a classification of humanity does not necessarily follow from the illocution of the genre, it at least holds that contemporary apocalypses typically limit the eschatological reward to a defined group within Israel. Jubilees does not deny that some are more righteous than others, or that the return to righteousness begins with a few and progresses slowly. Yet in chapter 23 and throughout the book, Jubilees treats all Israel without internal division (other than the traditional distinction of the sons of Levi). Furthermore, while significant differences exist between Daniel and the Animal Apocalypse on the view of violence, Jubilees differs even where these agree by rejecting any form of human participation in eschatological violence. Although the issues of human classification and violence are less central to the spatial axis than the agency of angels and demons, it is important to consider the departure of Jubilees from the typical worldview on these issues. The inversion of the apocalyptic worldview in Jubilees is not limited to theological abstractions, but entails tangible social implications. One should not overstate the explicitness of the argument or overemphasize this among the many concerns of the Book of Jubilees. However, it does seem to follow from this pattern that Jubilees rejects in principle the dissolution of Jewish unity, and particularly sectarian violence in the present and in eschatological hopes.

In this chapter in particular we must keep in mind that the apocalyptic worldview is not a system of doctrines but a cluster of compatible views. In both superficial imagery and substantial implications, the emphasis in Daniel differs from the Enochic works, which themselves speak in multiple voices. If one is only comparing Daniel and Enochic apocalypses, there is no doubt that one finds significant differences in the way that humans and non-human forces are imagined to function in the cosmic drama. I am neither developing nor denying these differences, but attempting to show that in the

broader frame of contemporary Jewish thought, Daniel and Enochic works stand together in ways that Jubilees stands apart. Jubilees is similar to these works in the use of the genre “apocalypse,” the basic tenets common to Judaism at the time, and even some further notions. Indeed, there is no single “non-apocalyptic” worldview or social group. Yet, as we consider the coherence and the diversity of Jewish thought in antiquity, it is important not to miss the exceptional use of the genre “apocalypse” in Jubilees.

This chapter will not exhaust the issues related to the spatial axis. The “heavenly tablets,” already discussed in the chapter on revelation, also pertain to the spatial axis. Also related to the temporal axis, the earthly restoration contrasts with distant places of judgment. The “angelic liturgy” is yet another way in which Jubilees develops the spatial axis, and again contrasts with other angelic liturgies.<sup>1</sup> A number of other issues could be developed if one were inclined to argue from trajectory and later developments. For example, in light of Josephus’ description of the Essenes as naming angels,<sup>2</sup> it stands out that Jubilees does not name the revealing angel or any other angel,<sup>3</sup> apart from the disputed case of Mastema.<sup>4</sup> Rather, we will focus on the issue of angels and demons in five parts: evil before the flood, after the flood, angelic mediation, a leader of evil, and

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<sup>1</sup> The angels serve as precedent or analogy for the special rank of Israel and its priesthood in Sabbath observance (Jubilees 2:17-21, 28), circumcision (Jubilees 15:27), and the liturgy (Jubilees 30:18; 31:14).

<sup>2</sup> *Bellum* 2.142

<sup>3</sup> One might even consider the possibility that Jubilees not only abstains from the naming of angels, but subtly jabs at the naming of angels in BW 6:7 (and parables 69:2) by identifying Danel not as an angel but a human patriarch. In Jubilees 4:20, Danel is Enoch’s father-in-law. The safest assumption is that this is a coincidence stemming from two independent attempts to imagine appropriate names. It would create a dissonance, however, if the audience made a connection. Would a fan of the Enochic literature rather imagine that Enoch married a female giant, or that BW errs in naming a patriarch as an angel?

<sup>4</sup> See the sub-section in this chapter on the leader of evil.



cosmic agents in the eschatological crisis and restoration. We will then consider the classification of humanity and the views of violence.

### 5.1. Angels and demons

The apocalypses typically explain the human situation in terms of independent cosmic agents. Bad angels and demons explain the presence of evil and suffering, and even good angels can be temporarily impeded or otherwise inefficient. Jubilees uses angels to fill certain exegetical needs, and addresses their significance in human affairs. Unlike the apocalypses, however, Jubilees denies that the angels are in any way independent, capricious or incompetent forces interfering in the relationship between God and Israel. Even when Jubilees deals with ideas that are associated with evil in other apocalypses, Jubilees always holds to a simple principle, “The Lord’s forces did everything that the Lord ordered them” (ወገብሩ ፡ ጎይላቲሁ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ዘመጠነ ፡ አዘዞሙ ፡ እግዚአብሔር, Jubilees 49:4). There are no cosmic forces outside God’s control.

This section focuses on the significance of angels and demons with respect to the presence of evil. The five sub-sections will span three time periods, over which angels and demons decrease in significance, approaching zero. The three chronological categories important for this issue in Jubilees are: before the flood, after the division of the nations, and the eschatological sequence.

#### 5.1.1. Before the flood: the origin of evil

Jubilees draws from the Book of the Watchers in interpreting Genesis, and manipulates the details to convey its own view of the origin of evil. Consequently, the Book of the Watchers will be particularly important in this section, but we are ultimately concerned with the view of the origin of evil in the apocalyptic worldview generally. The genre “apocalypse” and the apocalyptic worldview are not tied to a particular narrative on the origin of sin, and a variety of emphases can be found even within the Enochic literature. Without referring to the descent of the watchers, Daniel just as strongly uses the genre “apocalypse” to convey a non-human origin of evil. The apocalyptic worldview, through a variety of narratives, understands the origin of evil in terms other than the divine or human will. Jubilees differs not only in the narrative details of the Book of the Watchers, but in the general view of evil typically shared by the early apocalypses.

##### 5.1.1.1. The Enochic apocalypses

In the Book of the Watchers (BW) evil begins as a rebellion in heaven that is subsequently imposed onto earthly affairs. At most, the angels differ from other forms of pre-existent forces of chaos at enmity with God in that they presumably had good standing in heaven previously.<sup>5</sup> One might even read BW 15:7, “therefore I did not make women among you,” to indicate that God had created the watchers. Even so, the watchers are introduced in the story as willful rebels with no particular emphasis on a good origin

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<sup>5</sup> According to BW 9:7 God had previously given authority to Shemihazah.

or nature. More importantly, the rebellion occurred in heaven, not on earth. The sin is not an error but a willful revolt. Shemihazah knows he “shall be guilty of a great sin” and pursues it anyway (BW 6:3). Asael, likewise, never had a benevolent mission, but learned a “stolen mystery” that is responsible for all the evils on the earth (BW 16:3; 10:8).

Like Jubilees, the Book of the Watchers mentions Adam and Eve, but not as an etiology of evil (BW 32:6; Jubilees 3:17-31). Readers influenced by Paul and Augustine may have trouble understanding Genesis 3 as other than an explanation of “original sin,” but that seems not to have been the case before our era.<sup>6</sup> The moderating factor of human responsibility in the Book of the Watchers comes rather in the extent to which angelic sin and punishment is typological for human (particularly priestly) sin and punishment.<sup>7</sup> Evil comes from without, but we should avoid the exaggeration that the Book of the Watchers or the early apocalyptic worldview leaves no room for human responsibility for participation in evil.

Scholars differ as to the extent to which the understanding of the origin of evil in the Book of the Watchers is implicit in other Enochic apocalypses. Although Paolo Sacchi understood this as the foundational idea of Enochic and apocalyptic literature,<sup>8</sup> it does seem that the position in the Book of the Watchers was moderated in other apocalypses.<sup>9</sup> In 1 Enoch 80:6, found in the Astronomical Book, the stars go astray first,

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<sup>6</sup> Gary A. Anderson, *The Genesis of Perfection: Adam and Eve in Jewish and Christian Imagination* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 209-210.

<sup>7</sup> See especially, Nickelsburg, “Enoch, Levi, and Peter,” 575-600. Suter, “Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest,” 115-135.

<sup>8</sup> Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History*, 107.

<sup>9</sup> Annette Yoshiko Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 73-74.

“Many heads of the stars will stray from the command and will change their ways and actions and will not appear at the times prescribed for them.”<sup>10</sup> The Animal Apocalypse alludes to the tradition of the fall of the watchers in 86:1, but develops the apocalyptic view of evil less in terms of primordial origins and more in terms of the subsequent amplification of evil. Human responsibility appears in the background, as in 89:54, but the climax in the author’s present is explained by cosmic agents.

If we were to expand our chronological scope to the Epistle of Enoch (other than the Apocalypse of Weeks)<sup>11</sup> we would find a significant development from the worldview of the early apocalypses, although not as significant as might first appear.<sup>12</sup> The main difference is that cosmic good and evil are translated into human society, but an ontological division between the righteous and the wicked remains. This view of evil is as much a contiguous development of the early apocalyptic worldview as it is a reform. It is still the case that suffering is imposed on the righteous from without, apart from the will of God or any just punishment. It is still the case that divine sovereignty is impeded in the present, and vindication and justice exist beyond this life. In particular, 98:4 has drawn attention as a qualification or reform of the Book of the Watchers. Although the verse is textually difficult, the sense is clear enough that human sin is not excused by supernatural imposition. The Book of the Watchers did not say humans have no

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<sup>10</sup> James C. VanderKam and George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch: A New Translation, Based on the Hermeneia Commentary* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004).

<sup>11</sup> Nickelsburg sets a relative date for the Epistle after Jubilees. Nickelsburg, *Commentary on 1 Enoch*, 427.

<sup>12</sup> Consider alternatively Paolo Sacchi’s account of the relationship between the Epistle of Enoch and the Book of the Watchers. Sacchi views the Epistle as direct and “conscious opposition.” Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History*, 146.

responsibility for their actions, and the Epistle does not diverge from a view of evil as imposed from without. Even if the trajectory culminating in the Epistle of Enoch existed at the time of Jubilees, it still fits as a reform within the cluster of the apocalyptic worldview.

#### 5.1.1.2. The Danielic apocalypses

Daniel provides the clearest example of a view of the origin of evil that is independent of the Book of the Watchers and yet aligns on the more abstract level of worldview. Daniel does not narrate an explanation of the origin of evil *per se*, but uses imagery that reflects a worldview of evil arising and acting, independent of human sin and divine will. The beasts in Daniel 7 come neither from heaven nor humanity, but arise from the sea, evoking the ancient images of the rivals of God, Yamm and Leviathan. Although the second beast is told, “Arise, devour much flesh,” (7:5, קוּמִי אֲכָלִי בֶּשֶׂר שָׂגִיא), this does not suggest that the beasts arise at the command of God to chastise sin. The beasts are not fallen angels, but certainly not human. Daniel’s prayer in Daniel 9 assumes Israel’s responsibility for its own suffering, but the revealed explanation differs in asserting an external source of evil and a resolution independent of human repentance or other action. The prince of the kingdom of Persia in Daniel 10:13 acts in independent opposition to God and Israel. The “little horn” is more complex in that a human figure is partly signified, but the apocalyptic view focuses on the cosmic forces of evil behind the human façade. The actions attributed to the horn in 8:10-25 and 11:36 are not merely human. Jewish thinkers could agree that God’s victory and sovereignty are *ultimately* assured, and that humans are ultimately responsible for their role in sin. The apocalyptic

worldview is distinctive in the view that evil exists outside the will of God for the chastisement of human sin, and can temporarily impede divine justice.

#### 5.1.1.3. Jubilees

Jubilees bears a resemblance to the Book of the Watchers in the interpretation of Genesis 6, but modifies details and undermines the broader implications of the apocalyptic view of the origin of evil.<sup>13</sup> Jubilees emphasizes that the watchers were created by God. In 2:2, Jubilees interprets the first day of creation to include creation of all the spirits who serve before God. Jubilees introduces the watchers as creatures of God, while the Book of the Watchers introduces them as willful rebels, if not necessarily pre-existent forces of cosmic opposition. Jubilees emphasizes that the watchers were sent by God with a good mission (4:15; 5:6), and essentially err by getting into bad marriages. Although intermarriage was not a light matter to the author of Jubilees, and inappropriate priestly marriages have been found to resonate behind the Book of the Watchers,<sup>14</sup> we should recognize the difference between earthly lust and a cosmic rebellion imposed onto human affairs.<sup>15</sup>

One can also see the contrasting emphasis on culpability in the function of Enoch's testimony in the Book of the Watchers and Jubilees. In the Book of the

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<sup>13</sup> Some of these ideas appeared already in Hanneken, "Angels and Demons," 11-25.

<sup>14</sup> See note 7.

<sup>15</sup> Recently, Segal has argued convincingly that the separation of the descent of the watchers from the sin of the watchers meets a chronological need to place the descent in the days of Jared but the sin at 120 years before the flood. Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*, 132. This probably is the best explanation of the primary motivation. Nevertheless, in light of the larger pattern, it is still worth considering the motivation of moving sin from the cosmic realm to the human realm, if only as a secondary benefit of the solution.

Watchers, Enoch's main function is to testify against the watchers (12:4—13:3; 16:2-4).

Nothing is said of human sin or the “wives” of the watchers.<sup>16</sup> Jubilees does mention once that Enoch had testified to the watchers (4:22), but emphasizes that Enoch's primary role is to testify to humankind.

ወናሁ : ውእቱ : በህየ : ይጽሕፍ : ደይነ : ወኩነኔ : ዓለም : ወኩሎ :  
እከዮሙ : ለደቂቀ : እንሰ : እመሕያው ::

[JCVK] Now he [Enoch] is there [Eden, not heaven] writing down the judgment and condemnation of the world and all the wickedness of *mankind*. (Jubilees 4:23, emphasis added; likewise 4:19)

The case of the exogamous watchers is useful as a paradigm for human exogamy, but it is a closed case with, as we shall see, no lasting effects on Israel.<sup>17</sup> The sin of the watchers is deemphasized but not eliminated; it is recycled as an example of sin, not an etiology of sin.<sup>18</sup>

The good mission of the watchers in Jubilees brings us to the issue of angelic instruction, a point on which Jubilees inverts a basic theme in the Book of the Watchers and paints a picture of the cosmos that differs from the contemporary apocalypses.

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<sup>16</sup> For textual difficulties in the Book of the Watchers 19:2, and the implications of the fate of the women for their culpability, see Kelley Coblenz Bautch, “What Becomes of the Angels’ ‘Wives’? A Text-Critical Study of 1 Enoch 19:2,” *JBL* 125, no. 4 (2006): 766-780. See also the Testament of Reuben 5:6, which blames the women for seducing the watchers.

<sup>17</sup> A similar conclusion was arrived at independently by Segal, “The Watchers story has been transformed into a paradigm of reward and punishment, and the presentation of God as a just, righteous judge.” Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*, 140. See further page 396 below.

<sup>18</sup> James C. VanderKam, “The Angel Story in the Book of Jubilees,” in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Esther G. Chazon, Avital Pinnick, and Michael E. Stone, STDJ 31 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1999), 170. For a different but compatible analysis see Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “The Origins of Evil in Jewish Apocalyptic Tradition: The Interpretation of Genesis 6:1-4 in the Second and Third Centuries B.C.E.,” in *The Fall of the Angels*, ed. Christoph Auffarth and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, Themes in Biblical Narrative 6 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004), 111-115. Likewise, Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “The Book of Jubilees and the Origin of Evil,” in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees (the as yet unpublished proceedings of the 2007 Enoch Seminar)* (2007), forthcoming.

Jubilees introduces angelic instruction as licit and righteous, in contrast to the illicit instruction of a stolen mystery.

**ወረዱ ፡ መላእክተ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ውስተ ፡ ምድር ፡ እለ ፡ ተሰምዩ ፡ ትጉሃኑ ፡  
ከመ ፡ ይምህርዎሙ ፡ ለደቂቀ ፡ እንለ ፡ እመሕያው ፡ ወይግበሩ ፡ ፍትሐ ፡  
ወርትዐ ፡ በዲበ ፡ ምድር ፡፡**

[JCVK] The angels of the Lord who were called Watchers descended to earth to teach mankind and to do what is just and upright upon the earth.  
(Jubilees 4:15)

Jubilees does not abandon the motif of illicit instruction, however, but transfers it to after the division of the nations. As we shall see in the next sub-section, Jubilees’ twist on the apocalyptic view of evil is not so much to deny the existence of evil, but to limit its domain to the gentiles. Thus, Jubilees never mentions illicit teaching of the watchers as a source of sin or suffering until Noah’s great-grandson Kainan finds an inscription teaching bad astronomy (Jubilees 8:3). Jubilees transfers the idea of illicit teaching from a cosmic rebellion that corrupts the earth from without, to an explanation of foreign astronomy. The adaptation of the illicit teaching motif in Jubilees is striking not only in how the details diverge from the Book of the Watchers, but especially in light of the fact that Jubilees otherwise presents angels as mindless transmitters of licit teaching.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> The twist on the motif of angelic instruction in the Book of the Watchers is symptomatic of a general fundamental difference between the Book of Jubilees and the apocalypses. As we shall continue to see, the apocalypses often portray even good angels as relatively fallible independent entities, both in instruction and otherwise. With the possible but otherwise explicable exception of Kainan’s inscription, angels in Jubilees always obey orders. This is also true of Mastema, as we shall see below, but a few passages pertain to teaching in particular. Jubilees 6:35 emphasizes that the revealing angel adds nothing independently, “For I know and from now on will inform you—not from my own mind because this is the way the book is written in front of me, and the divisions of times are ordained on the heavenly tablets...” (Jubilees 6:35; እስመ ፡ አአምር ፡ አነ ፡ ወእምይእዜ ፡ አነ ፡ አየድዐክ ፡ ወአኮ ፡ እምልብየ ፡ እስመ ፡ ከመዝ ፡ ወጽሐፍ ፡ ጽሐፍ ፡ ቅድሜየ ፡ ወተሠርዐ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ጽላተ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ ከፋሌሁ ፡ ለመዋዕል ፡፡). Again, 12:22 emphasizes that the revealing angel is merely a conduit, “the word of the Lord was sent to him through me” (ወናሁ ፡ ቃለ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ተፈነወ ፡ ንቤሁ ፡ በእዴየ). It may at first appear that Jubilees participates in a pattern of understanding theophanies as angelic visitations in order to maintain divine transcendence, but the situation is not quite so simple. In some cases, Jubilees adds the presence of angels where it is not explicit in Genesis (Jubilees 16:1 introduces angels, perhaps to add consistency to Genesis 18:1-2, “The



The apocalypses typically paint human sin and suffering in the shadow of cosmic evil. Even before the flood, Jubilees paints a different picture of the origin and nature of evil. The dramatic contrast, however, comes after the division of the nations. Jubilees does not deny the existence of evil or super-human agency, but it does claim that demons and their afflictions are assigned exclusively to gentiles. The apocalyptic view of evil is accurate for gentiles, but for Israel under the covenant it could not be more wrong.

#### 5.1.2. After the flood: the persistence of demons

Jubilees departs from the apocalyptic worldview most subtly in the period before the flood. Jubilees departs most radically in denying angels and demons any role in the eschatological climax and restoration, such as it is in Jubilees. In the period between the flood and the eschaton Jubilees makes use of three features of the apocalypses in atypical ways. In this sub-section we consider the role of demons in the apocalypses, and Jubilees' innovations in asserting immunity for Israel and incorporating demons under the will of God. The next two sub-sections will consider the related issues of angelic mediation and the leader of evil. It continues to be the case that "the Lord's forces do all that the Lord

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Lord appeared... he saw three men."'). In other cases where Genesis indicates that an angel spoke, Jubilees adds that the angel spoke the words of God (Genesis 22:11 || Jubilees 18:9, 14). Often enough, a theophany in Genesis appears in Jubilees with no addition or removal of angels (Jubilees 14:1; 15:3; 24:9; 24:22; 44:5 || Genesis 15:1; 17:1; 26:2; 26:24; 46:24). At Jubilees 32:20 an angel follows up on a vision of God to fill in detail and answer any questions (based on the theophany in Genesis 35:9 but presumably influenced by the wrestler in Genesis 32). On two occasions something like a revelation is described without reference to angels ("spirit of righteousness" 25:15; "spirit of prophecy" 31:12). In the Babel account the angels are present as in Genesis, but any hint of an independent voice or action is excised. Angels tutor Abram in Hebrew (Jubilees 12:25-27) and supervise Noah's division of the earth (in Jubilees 8:10, 20 the angel frames and authorizes the allotment to Shem by placing "the word of the Lord in [Noah's] mouth.'). For more analysis of angelic instruction in Jubilees, see Reed, "Angels, Demons, and the Dangerous Ones in Between," forthcoming.

commanded them,” and evil has no sovereignty, even temporarily, outside the divine will. Jubilees twists the apocalyptic view of evil forces by saying that it is only true for the other nations and those of Israel who join them.

#### 5.1.2.1. The early apocalypses

Demons, *per se*, do not appear in all the apocalypses, nor are they limited to the apocalypses (e.g. Tobit). They are, however, a convenient way of expressing the apocalyptic worldview that humanity is afflicted by supernatural evil that cannot be explained as just chastisement from God in proportion to sinfulness. Again, the details of the treatment in Jubilees most resemble the Book of the Watchers, but the implications extend to the worldview shared by the Book of the Watchers, Daniel, the Animal Apocalypse, and so forth. In the typical apocalypses, whether by way of demons, beasts, or ineffective angels, Israel experiences unjust suffering as a result of external evil. All Jewish sources at the time could agree that God’s superiority and ultimate victory were assured, and that human action could have some significance. Jubilees is distinctive among the apocalypses, however, in denying that God’s just sovereignty is suspended or seriously challenged. Demons and affliction are the divine plan for the gentiles, but Israel is immune simply by staying away from the gentiles. In order to match the worldview of Jubilees, Daniel would have to say that the beasts afflict all nations except Israel, or that God sent the little horn to mislead the gentiles from converting to Judaism.

#### 5.1.2.2. Jubilees

Jubilees follows the Book of the Watchers on the basic idea of the existence and origin of demons.<sup>20</sup> In the Book of the Watchers the demons continue to afflict the righteous unchecked until the final judgment (BW 15:8—16:1). Jubilees, on the other hand, is unique among the apocalypses in asserting a ninety percent reduction in the number of demons (Jubilees 10:9).<sup>21</sup> In numbers alone Jubilees deemphasizes demons. We shall return below to the role of Mastema in this account, but we can say here that the ten percent who remain do so at the will of God. Furthermore, Jubilees shifts the role of demons from capricious affliction of the innocent to a form of divine justice, “because great is the evil of humanity” (እስመ : ዐቢይ : እኩዮሙ : ለውሉድ : ሰብእ; Jubilees 10:8). More strikingly, the affliction of the nations is not punishment in the Deuteronomic sense of prompting repentance, but part of the divine plan to lead astray all nations except Israel (Jubilees 15:31). Jubilees develops an idea that is already found in the ancient versions of Psalms 96:5 and 106:35 that other gods and whatever power may be perceived in other religions are simply demons (Jubilees 1:11; 11:4).<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Michel Testuz has pointed out that Jubilees does not make it perfectly clear that the demons are the spirits of the giants, rather than the half-brothers of the giants, but it does seem likely enough that Jubilees assumes the explanation of the Book of the Watchers that the children of the watchers are giants while they live and persist as demons after their bodies are slaughtered. Testuz, *Les idées religieuses*, 83.

<sup>21</sup> On a related matter, apocalypses sometimes suggest that corruption and sin perseveres not only in demons but within humanity as some kind of genetic defect. These texts look forward to the establishment of a “new and righteous nature” for humanity (perhaps drawing from Ezekiel 36:26, etc.). In Jubilees 5:12, it has already happened. Segal also notes that the day of judgment and new creation in the Book of the Watchers is eschatological, whereas in Jubilees 5:10-12 it refers to the flood. Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*, 137, 139.

<sup>22</sup> VanderKam, “The Demons in the *Book of Jubilees*,” 354.

Jubilees establishes that observance of the covenant grants Israel immunity from the demons with two details. First, Noah receives revelation and writes books that provide immunity from demons. This notion seems to have inspired the later idea of a medical book, likely in the pattern of competitive historiography, ultimately influencing the Book of Asaph the Physician.<sup>23</sup> Although it may be the case, as a number of scholars believe, that the author of Jubilees had in mind an actual collection of writings attributed to Noah,<sup>24</sup> the mention in Jubilees can be explained within the literary motif of ancestral books. Jubilees ultimately aims to assert that the Levites came into sole possession of all the legitimate writings of the ancestors (Jubilees 45:16). More importantly, as discussed in the chapter on revelation, the heavenly tablets existed from creation and were gradually revealed, but they contain nothing that is not revealed to Moses at Sinai. Thus, the Books of Noah anticipate typologically the Torah of Moses.<sup>25</sup> The important point is that the study of revealed books grants immunity from demons (Jubilees 10:13). In the days before photocopiers, Jubilees emphasizes that these books were transmitted only to Shem and ultimately only to Levi. In the context of the continuation, it is impossible that

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<sup>23</sup> See Himmelfarb, "Some Echoes of *Jubilees*," 115-141. Elinor Lieber, "Asaf's 'Book of Medicines': A Hebrew Encyclopedia of Greek and Jewish Medicine, Possibly Compiled in Byzantium on an Indian Model," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 38 (1984): 233-249. Jellinek, "ספר נח," 155-160.

<sup>24</sup> The idea of a "Book of Noah" appears a number of times in antiquity. Although scholars disagree as to whether the burden of proof is to prove or disprove the existence of an actual book behind these references, it can at least be agreed that no one coherent composition is likely to account for all the contents attributed to such a book. The ancients may not have shared our concern for the lines between imagining Noah as a scribal figure, actually composing works from Noah's point of view, and compiling and standardizing a collection that can be called *The Book of Noah*. It does not seem likely to me that a single standard Book of Noah existed, but it is clear that Noah was imagined as a scribe, and composition from Noah's point of view is hardly unlikely. For bibliography and a sound discussion leading to a slightly different conclusion, see Michael E. Stone, "The Book(s) Attributed to Noah," *DSD* 13, no. 1 (2006): 4-23.

<sup>25</sup> Jubilees maintains that Moses renews and completes the covenant that had existed previously (Jubilees 6:18-19; 14:20). See also 7.7 below.

any nations besides Israel (and further, any authority besides the Levites), has books of revealed knowledge that grant immunity from demons. The “medicine” foreshadows study and observance of the law, which appears again as the means to guarantee quality and length of life (Jubilees 23:26).

Second, although demons have the potential function of punishing sin, Israel alone has the means of forgiveness of sin. As long as Israel obeys the covenant and separates from the nations they are immune in the first place, but even if they do sin they have the unique opportunity to be forgiven through the Day of Atonement (Jubilees 5:17-18). Similarly, proper observance of the Passover does not merely remove any accumulated guilt, but functions preemptively to keep away any plagues for the coming year (Jubilees 49:15). Thus, for Jubilees, the apocalyptic view of affliction by evil forces, and demons in particular, is not false, but it is only true of other nations.<sup>26</sup> Demons do exist as an explanation for whatever power may be perceived in foreign religion, and they do serve to warn those of Israel who may be tempted to stray from endogamy, separation, and piety under the traditional authorities in Jerusalem. They also function to explain affliction in biblical Israel that might otherwise be attributed to God. This aspect will be addressed below in connection with Mastema. Even when governed by Mastema, the demons only afflict sinners and only with divine permission. The fact that demons are apportioned to some but not all of Noah’s children explains why Jubilees does not address the origin of the demons from the slain giants in the narrative sequence before the flood, but only after the flood and the apportionment of lots to Noah’s descendents

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<sup>26</sup> One might wonder if this implies a perspective that the apocalyptic worldview is non-native or overly influenced by foreign ideas.

(Jubilees 10:1).<sup>27</sup> Israel's immunity from cosmic evil, or cosmic fallibility of any kind, even temporarily, is guaranteed not only by the books of the covenant and the festivals, but by the next point, the uninterrupted and unmediated governance of Israel by God.

### 5.1.3. Angelic mediation

We have ample evidence that around and before the time of Jubilees a diversity of thought existed in Judaism on the issue of angelic governance. It may not be the case that *only* apocalypses understand God's sovereignty as temporarily mediated by imperfect angels, but it is the case that several apocalypses emphasize this view, and that Jubilees is the only apocalypse that emphatically rejects it. Again, none of the perspectives denies that God will *ultimately* be victorious or that good and powerful angels exist to bring about justice at the proper time. The apocalyptic worldview is that unjust suffering exists in Israel temporarily while angelic sovereigns over Israel are either wicked themselves or matched by their wicked opponents.

#### 5.1.3.1. Evidence outside the apocalypses

Before coming to the apocalypses, we should note some external traces of this issue in antiquity. We will not resolve indirectly related questions such as the date, priority, or mechanism of exegetical variation. The best known case of the issue of

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<sup>27</sup> Hanneken, "Angels and Demons," 18.

angelic mediation appearing in variant texts is at Deuteronomy 32:8. Here the Masoretic text, in agreement with the Samaritan Pentateuch, gives,

בְּהַנְחִיל עֲלֵיוֹן גּוֹיִם בְּהַפְרִידוֹ בְּנֵי אָדָם יֵצֵב גְּבֻלַּת עַמִּים לְמִסְפָּר בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל:

The Septuagint, however, suggests a *Vorlage* of בני אלהים, which is supported by 4QDeut<sup>j</sup> (בני אלוהים, column 12 line 14),<sup>28</sup>

ὅτε διεμέριζεν ὁ ὑψίστος ἔθνη, ὡς διέσπειρεν υἱοὺς Ἀδάμ  
ἔστησεν ὅρια ἔθνων κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ

Targum Pseudo-Jonathan reflects knowledge of both readings,

באחסנות עילאה עלמא לעממיא די נפקו מבנוי דנח באפרשותיה מכתבין ולישנין  
לבני־נשא בדרא דפלגותא בי היא זימנא רמא פיצתא עם שובעין מלאכיא רברבי  
עממין דאתגלי עימהון למחמי קרתא ובי היא זימנא אקים תחומי אומיא כסכום מניין  
שובעין נפשתא דישראל דנחתו למצרים

The significance of these variants has already been established.<sup>29</sup> In Deuteronomy 32:8 the issue is not explicitly whether Israel is apportioned to a minor divinity, but whether nations in general are so proportioned. Deuteronomy 29:25 (both MT and LXX) supports the idea that other nations are apportioned to other divine beings, but Israel is apportioned (directly) to God.

וַיִּלְכּוּ וַיַּעֲבֹדוּ אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לָהֶם אֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יִדְעוּם וְלֹא חָלַק לָהֶם:

καὶ πορευθέντες ἐλάτρευσαν θεοῖς ἑτέροις καὶ προσεκύνησαν αὐτοῖς  
οἷς οὐκ ἠπίσταντο οὐδὲ διένειμεν αὐτοῖς· (Deuteronomy 29:25; see  
also 4:19)

Our principal concern is not which is original or whether the variant is more the cause or more the consequence of the disputed issue, but that a diversity of views existed.

<sup>28</sup> Eugene Ulrich and Frank Moore Cross, *Qumran Cave 4*, ed. Harold W. Attridge, et al., vol. 9 Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings, DJD 14 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 90.

<sup>29</sup> See especially, VanderKam, "The Demons in the *Book of Jubilees*," 352-354. See also, Russell, *Method & Message*, 248.

The interpretation of Third Isaiah often stands behind differences between Jubilees and contemporary apocalypses. Thus, it is entirely fitting to consider also a similar case in the text of Isaiah 63:9, although we are claiming a connection only as analogy, not cause. Here the difference is found in the *qere* and *ketiv* of the Masoretic text. The Masoretic *qere* and verse division disagree with the *ketiv* and the LXX. Line breaks are added below according to the simple sense of the consonantal text,<sup>30</sup> the LXX, and the Masoretic text.<sup>31</sup>

ויאמר אך עמי המה  
בנים לא ישקרו  
ויהי להם למושיע  
בכל צרתם  
לא צר ומלאך  
פניו הושיעם  
באהבתו ובחמלתו  
הוא גאלם  
וינטלם וינשאם  
כל ימי עולם

καὶ εἶπεν Οὐχ ὁ λαός μου  
τέκνα οὐ μὴ ἀθετήσωσιν;  
καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς εἰς σωτηρίαν  
ἐκ πάσης θλίψεως.  
οὐ πρέσβυς οὐδὲ ἄγγελος, (לא ציר ומלאך)<sup>32</sup>  
ἀλλ' αὐτὸς κύριος ἔσωσεν αὐτοὺς  
διὰ τὸ ἀγαπᾶν αὐτοὺς καὶ φείδεσθαι αὐτῶν·  
αὐτὸς ἐλυτρώσατο αὐτοὺς  
καὶ ἀνέλαβεν αὐτοὺς  
καὶ ὕψωσεν αὐτοὺς  
πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ αἰῶνος.

<sup>30</sup> Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 81.

<sup>31</sup> 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> presents expected and minor variations (plene orthography, באהבתו, ובחומלתו, last two verbs transposed).

<sup>32</sup> Isac Leo Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of Its Problems* (Leiden: Brill, 1948), 62.



[margin: לו]

וַיֹּאמֶר אֶדְ-עַמִּי הִמָּה  
בְּנִים לֹא יִשְׁקָרוּ  
וַיְהִי לָהֶם לְמוֹשִׁיעַ:  
בְּכָל-צָרָתָם | לֹא צָר  
וּמִלֶּאךָ פָּנָיו הוֹשִׁיעֵם  
בְּאַהֲבָתוֹ וּבְחַמְלָתוֹ  
הוּא גֹאֲלָם  
וַיִּנְטֹלֵם וַיַּנְשֵׂאֵם  
כָּל-יְמֵי עוֹלָם:

The issue seems to go back to Exodus, which includes different images of who led Israel: an angel (מַלְאָךְ הַהֲלִיץ לִפְנֵי מַחֲנֵה יִשְׂרָאֵל) in 14:19,<sup>33</sup> or God directly (פָּנֵי יְלֹכֹוֹ) in 33:14-15. The issue in the variants of Isaiah 63:9 is whether salvation can be attributed to an angel of the presence. Whereas the LXX reflects a negative valuation of an angelic mediator of divine salvation (“Neither an envoy nor an angel, but the Lord himself”), the Masoretes either accept or prefer the idea of a faithful angelic agent of a transcendent God (“His angel of the presence”).

One more external witness reflects the same concern, in a more certain historical and social context. The Hebrew base of Sirach can be easily dated to the first quarter of the second century BCE, and even if one suspected liberties in translation on behalf of the grandson, one can still be sure of a chronological proximity to Jubilees. I do not claim a close alignment of Jubilees and Sirach, but it does help that the relationship between Sirach and the apocalypses has been studied thoroughly.<sup>34</sup> By all accounts the worldview

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<sup>33</sup> Likewise Numbers 20:16. Jubilees 48:13 assigns a role to the angel of the presence while maintaining, “The Lord brought them out....” See Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*, 217 n. 41.

<sup>34</sup> I favor Argall’s characterization as rivalry, but others have described the situation as indirect polemic (Wright) or direct polemic (Boccaccini and Olyan). Argall, *I Enoch and Sirach*, 250. Benjamin G. Wright, “‘Fear the Lord and Honor the Priest’: Ben Sira as Defender of the Jerusalem Priesthood,” in *The Book of Ben Sira in Modern Research: Proceedings of the First International Ben Sira Conference, 28-31 July 1996, Soesterberg, Netherlands*, ed. Pancratius C. Beentjes (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997), 220. Gabriele Boccaccini, *Middle Judaism: Jewish Thought, 300 B.C.E. to 200 C.E* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 80. Saul M. Olyan, “Ben Sira’s Relationship to the Priesthood,” *HTR* 80 (1987): 279-280.

of Sirach in general differs from that of the apocalypses. The difference holds for the issue at hand, as Sirach makes clear in 17:17,<sup>35</sup>

ἐκάστω ἔθνει κατέστησεν ἡγούμενον, καὶ μερὶς κυρίου Ἰσραηλ ἐστίν

To every nation he appointed a ruler, but Israel is the portion of the Lord.  
(Sirach 17:17)

Although the parallel with Deuteronomy 32:8 is unmistakable, the context does not suggest that the author is simply following a version of Deuteronomy. Rather, the context confirms that Sirach is concerned with the issue at hand in its own right. God's governance over Israel, awareness of sin, and justice in punishment is never delayed, mediated, or obfuscated by angelic bureaucracy.<sup>36</sup>

#### 5.1.3.2. The early apocalypses

We find the same issue, but a different perspective, in several early apocalypses. The Animal Apocalypse provides the most detailed account, but the Book of the Watchers and Daniel convey the same basic worldview. Here the issue is not the wickedness of the wicked angels, although we do find more of these in the Animal Apocalypse, but the inefficiency of the relatively good angels. The implication seems to be that God would never tolerate the present state of injustice, so some kink in the system

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<sup>35</sup> The Hebrew manuscripts do not preserve this verse. Pancratius C. Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew: A Text Edition of All Extant Hebrew Manuscripts and a Synopsis of All Parallel Hebrew Ben Sira Texts*, VTSup 68 (Leiden; New York: Brill, 1997).

<sup>36</sup> This sample hardly exhausts the relevant sources. One could continue by considering the role of angels as executioners (Ex 12:23; Gen 18), or intercessors (Zech 1:12; Job 33:23). The idea of wicked angels as patrons of wicked kings and kingdoms appears in Isaiah 24:21ff. The Epistle of Enoch 100:5 refers to the angelic guardian of the righteous. Michael serves as a mediator in the Testament of Dan 6:2 (cf. 1 Timothy 2:5). Angels fill a priestly function in the Testament of Levi 3:5.

must explain the present while maintaining the ultimate justice and supremacy of God. The Animal Apocalypse develops an idea like the one in Deuteronomy 32:8 to the conclusion that rule over Israel has been outsourced to seventy angels, which are homologous with seventy nations (Animal Apocalypse 89:59). These angels degrade from mean to evil. The idea that God would outsource sovereignty over Israel is at odds with the perspective already seen in Sirach and soon to be seen in Jubilees. This by itself, however, is only part of the problem. According to the Animal Apocalypse, Israel does have its own guardian apart from the blind and wicked angels. Israel's angel is good, but nevertheless limited as an intermediary and presently powerless, except to take detailed notes for the sake of justice in the future (Animal Apocalypse 89:71).

Likewise in the Book of the Watchers, one does find wicked angels, as already discussed with respect to the origin of evil, but the further issue is that even the good angels are basically bureaucrats, receiving complaints and compiling reports with considerable delay (Book of the Watchers 9:1-4). The issue is not whether Michael is good or bad, but whether any angel, rather than God directly, is in charge of the chosen people (BW 20:15). Again in Daniel, the first part of the issue is the fact that the holy ones are left at the mercy of a beast for a certain period (Daniel 7:25). The second part is that even the good angels are at the limit of their means to keep evil in check. Again, God's ultimate victory is certain, but the myriad myriads of God's power are reserved for the future (Daniel 7:10). As of 10:21 the forces of good number two, וְאֵין אֶחָד מִתְחַזֵּק עִמִּי (see also Daniel 12:1). Regardless of variations in the narrative details, the apocalyptic worldview clusters tightly around the view that God's sovereignty is temporarily impeded both by the wickedness of some cosmic forces, and the inefficiency or inefficacy of the good cosmic forces.

### 5.1.3.3. Jubilees

Jubilees conveys a different view. We should avoid two exaggerations. First, it is not the case that Jubilees is obsessed with this issue; it is a long book and several comments to this effect do not mean it is a primary concern. Also, it is not necessarily the case that Jubilees is engaging in direct polemic; the relevant comments are spread out in the book and there is no particular section where Jubilees sustains an assault on the apocalyptic worldview on this or related issues. Far from these two exaggerations, we can still say confidently that Jubilees conveys a worldview that differs significantly from the worldview typically conveyed by the genre “apocalypse.” Furthermore, it is precisely in using the typical features of apocalypses that it expresses this different view, either inserting a “not” or saying it is true of other nations but not Israel.

The clearest example appears in Jubilees 15:31-32. Here, Jubilees follows apocalypses in addressing the issue of angelic princes over nations, but denies their view of the relevance of these spirits for Israel. They never rule over Israel, God’s sovereignty is direct and absolute, and the misleading that the angels do against other nations they do at the command of God.

ወቀደሶ፡ ወአስተጋብአ፡ እምኩሉ፡ ውሉደ፡ ሰብእ ። እስመ፡ ብዙኅ፡  
አሕዛብ፡ ወብዙኅ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ወኩሉ፡ ሎቱ፡ ወዲበ፡ ኩሉ፡ አስለጠ፡  
መናፍስተ፡ ከመ፡ ያስሕቶሙ፡ እምድኅሬሁ፡ ወዲበ፡ እስራኤል፡  
ኢያስለጠ፡ ወኢመነሂ፡ መልአከ፡ ወመንፈሰ ። እስመ፡ ውእቱ፡ ባሕቲቱ፡  
መከንኖሙ፡ ወውእቱ፡ የዐቅቦሙ፡ ወይትኅሠሦሙ፡ እምእደ፡  
መላእክቲሁ፡ ወእምነ፡ መናፍስቲሁ፡ ወእምእደ፡ ኩሉ፡ ወኩሉ፡  
ትእዛዛቲሁ፡ ከመ፡ ይዕቀቦሙ፡ ወይባርኮሙ፡ ወይኩንዎ፡ ሎቱ፡  
ወውእቱ፡ ይከኖሙ፡ ሎሙ፡ እምይእዜ፡ ወእስከ፡ ለዓለም ።

[JCVK] He sanctified them and gathered (them) from all mankind. For there are many nations and many peoples and all belong to him. He made spirits rule over all in order to lead them astray from following him. But over Israel he made no angel or spirit rule because he alone is their ruler.

He will guard them and require them for himself from his angels, his spirits, and everyone, and all his powers so that he may guard them and bless them and so that they may be his and he theirs from now and forever.  
(Jubilees 15:31-32)

As we shall continue to see, Mastema and the demons are indistinct from other angels in the divine commission to lead astray the gentiles (Jubilees 10:3, 8; 12:20; 19:28). The lack of outsourcing of sovereignty over Israel is reinforced in Jubilees 16:17-18 and 19:28-29 (see also 21:20).<sup>37</sup>

**ወእምነ : ውሉደ : ይስሐቅሂ : አሐዱ : ይከውን : ለዘርእ : ቅዱስ : ወውስተ :  
አሕዛብኒ : አይትኃለቁ :: እስመ : ለመክፈልተ : ልዑል : ይከውን :  
ወውስተ : ዘይመልክ : አምላክ : ወረደ : ኩሉ : ዘርኡ : ከመ : ይኩን :  
ለእግዚአብሔር : ሕዝበ : ትርሲት : እምኩሉ : ሕዝብ**

[JCVK] 16:17 ... But one of Isaac’s sons would become a holy progeny and would not be numbered among the nations, 16:18 for he would become the share of the Most High. All his descendants had fallen into that (share) which God owns so that they would become a people whom the Lord *possesses* out of all the nations... (Jubilees 16:17-18)

**ወይኩንክ : እግዚአብሔር : አምላክ : አበ : ወአንተሂ : ወልደ : በኩረ :  
ወለሕዝብ : ኩሉ : መዋእሶል ::**

[JCVK] May the Lord God become your father and you his first-born son and people for all time... (Jubilees 19:29)

In light of this pattern, there can be no doubt that “Jacob’s guardian” in Jubilees 35:17 is none other than God directly,

**ዐቃቢሁ : ለያዕቆብ : ዐቢይ : ወኅያል : ወክቡር : ወእኩት : እምዐቃቢሁ :  
ለዔሳው**

[JCVK] Jacob’s guardian is greater and more powerful, glorious, and praiseworthy than Esau’s guardian. (Jubilees 35:17)

כי שומר יְעֹקֵב גדול וגבור [ונכבד מהולל משומר עיש] וא  
(4QpapJub<sup>h</sup> 2 II:11-12)

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<sup>37</sup> The same basic perspective that God never abandons or outsources sovereignty over Israel appears in other passages, such as Jubilees 1:5-6, 18, which diverges from the parallel source in Deuteronomy 31:17 to make clear that God never abandons Israel, even as temporary punishment.

This is not to say that angels have no role in God's governance of the cosmos. In Jubilees 4:6 angels do report sin, but in context they are a foil for God's omniscience, not an explanation for how evil prospers under an inefficient cosmic judicial system. According to Jubilees there is no inefficiency or delay in God's just governance. The gentiles are misled at the command of God, but Israel is protected by keeping the covenant and simply by keeping their distance from the nations. Without explicitly referring to Deuteronomy 32:8, Isaiah 63:9, or Sirach 17:17, Jubilees clearly takes the position that angelic princes are assigned to other nations. They mislead, but not out of incompetence or infidelity; they only mislead the gentiles and they only do so at God's command. God deals with Israel directly, and whatever suffering they endure comes directly from God.

Thus far we have seen several ways in which Jubilees, unlike contemporary apocalypses, denies the relevance of evil or fallible cosmic forces for Israel. Now we come to the idea of a leader of evil forces against God, and how the figure of Mastema in Jubilees diverges on the level of worldview.

#### 5.1.4. The leader of evil

The history of religions approach to the figure of Satan has left a few impediments to understanding Mastema in the Book of Jubilees. First, there has been a tendency to approach the Satan myth as a single tradition articulated with many synonymous names and titles. It is worth paying attention to the significance of the choice of the term "Mastema" in Jubilees. Second, there has been a tendency to view this single tradition as a linear development from "primitive" to "advanced" ideas about Satan. Although it is certainly true that our discussion would look different if we

compared Mastema to the Satan of the Middle Ages, Jubilees cannot be explained as a different developmental stage of the same idea. Third, there has been a tendency to read early texts in light of later interpretations—indeed, it is difficult not to. Although the Book of the Watchers certainly influenced later accounts such as 2 Enoch 29-31, it is not the case in the Book of the Watchers that Shemihazah and Asael continue to rule over armies of evil. Similarly, the distinction between Satan and the antichrist nascent in the Apocalypse of John and soon expanded by interpreters cannot determine our categories when reading Daniel. Indeed, one cannot really say that the apocalyptic worldview at the time of Jubilees has a defined “Satan” figure, at least not without arguing from trajectory or apocalypses of ambiguous date. It is at least clear that contemporary apocalypses maintain a view of evil as a cosmic force apart from and in opposition to God. The figure of Mastema in Jubilees is one way in which Jubilees contradicts this view. In a broader chronological scope, the figure of Mastema in Jubilees is comparable to other traditions about a prince of demons, but when one compares on the level of worldview, one finds that Mastema in Jubilees contrasts significantly with the superficially similar figures.

#### 5.1.4.1. Terms, names and titles

Before describing what can be found in contemporary apocalypses, we should say a few words about the terms used in Jubilees and their relationship to the terms in received scripture. It has been questioned whether Mastema is even a name in Jubilees.<sup>38</sup> There is no doubt that Jubilees is referring to an individual figure with this term, but to

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<sup>38</sup> VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 266.

the extent to which we can distinguish between a name, a title, and a description of a role, it seems unlikely that Mastema is a name or perhaps even a title. This is a subtle distinction, but worth noting. Josephus and the Essenes as such come later, but it is at least curious that Josephus tells us that the Essenes hold the names of the angels among their prized secret wisdom.<sup>39</sup> Contemporary apocalypses fit this trajectory,<sup>40</sup> whereas Jubilees, with the questionable exception of Mastema, names no angels.

Jubilees is not, in using the term “Mastema,” drawing directly on an earlier tradition that is known to us. The Qumran Jubilees fragments do not preserve the term *משטמה*, but the “Pseudo” Jubilees fragments and the Book of Asaph<sup>41</sup> do, making it likely that the term was used in the original composition of Jubilees. The fact that the translators transliterated this term is fortunate for us, but does not affect the discussion of whether it was originally a name or title. Prior to Jubilees, the term “Mastema” itself is known to us only from Hosea 9. I am able to find no connection between Hosea 9 and Jubilees. There is no evidence that the term in Hosea refers to a personal figure. The LXX, BDB, and several modern translations render respectively, *μᾶνία*, animosity, harassment, hostility, and hatred. The context in Hosea is days of punishment and requital, but if that is the connection, it is ironic, since Mastema plays no role in Jubilees 23 or related eschatological passages. If one looks more broadly for the root *שטם* one finds little help. It seems most likely that the choice of the term Mastema in Jubilees is governed by two factors. First, the word exists as a term for hostility, which does point

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<sup>39</sup> *Bellum* 2.142.

<sup>40</sup> Daniel 8:16; 9:21; 10:13, 21; 12:1. Book of the Watchers 6:7; 9:1; 20:1-8; etc.

<sup>41</sup> See note 47 below.



the reader in the right direction. Second, the word resembles, but is not, *השטן*, which conjures the reader's knowledge of S/satan(s) without actually identifying Mastema as such.<sup>42</sup> The idea of this particular figure is conjured but the divergence is posted in the term itself. As we shall see, Jubilees has an agenda for the term "satans" apart from what is said about Mastema.

Before turning to the terms "Mastema," "satans," "beliar," and "Molech" in Jubilees, it will also be helpful to mention the attested usage of the term *משטמה* in and after Jubilees. Even though Jubilees was an influential document at Qumran and the term *משטמה* is attested in sectarian and probably non-sectarian works, it is never used unambiguously as a proper noun, and is often used unambiguously as a common noun.<sup>43</sup> To be sure, it could be part of a title or way of referring to a particular figure, and any use of the term would be suggestive at some level, but neither before nor after Jubilees was the term accepted as primarily a proper noun. At risk of belaboring a minor point and making too much of the distinction between a proper noun and a title or role, the same is true of Jubilees. The term almost always appears in construct with "prince." The term could easily be translated as "Harsh Prince," if one were more concerned with translating original meaning than conveying allusions and connections with the history of

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<sup>42</sup> See below on Jubilees 10:11, which has been taken as identifying Mastema as Satan. Charles, *Jubilees*, 81.

<sup>43</sup> If one accepts that plural or possessive forms (*משטמתו*) are not proper nouns (regardless of allusiveness) then one eliminates 1QS 3.23; 4QCatena<sup>a</sup> 9.5; 4QBer<sup>a</sup>; and 4Q390. In other cases it is perfectly clear that Mastema/hostility is an attribute of Belial, not a separate figure (1QMilhamah 13.4, 11). In cases influenced by Jubilees, it remains as ambiguous as it is in Jubilees whether it is a name *per se*. As with Jubilees, it is used in construct with *שר* or *מלאך* in CD 16.5 and Pseudo-Jubilees. It might be somewhat surprising if a morphologically feminine form were used as a name for an angel (the last consonant of *שמחזה* is not a gender marker).

interpretation (I still prefer the latter).<sup>44</sup> None of this is to deny that this prince is a particular figure in Jubilees, or that this figure can be compared to the particular figures elsewhere referred to as Satan, the satan, or satans.

Although the two references to “Beliar” in Jubilees were once counted as evidence of a different source from that which used the term “Mastema,” it is not likely that these nouns refer to Mastema or any individual figure at all.<sup>45</sup> Just as בליעל is often used in received scripture, Jubilees uses the equivalent noun in two construct phrases in the senses, rendered by JPS (1985), “scoundrels” and “base thoughts” (Jubilees 1:20; 15:33; Deuteronomy 13:14; 15:9). In Jubilees 1:20 the phrase መንፈስ : ቤልሐር (unjust spirit, literally: spirit of Belial) is parallel to መንፈስ : ርቱዐ (just spirit, literally: spirit of righteousness). We should overcome associations from later developments, particularly in the War Scroll and Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, which put Belial in direct contrast with God as an independent rival figure. Jubilees also uses the term “Molech” in the common sense, but no one has suggested that this refers to an active agent in the cosmic drama (Jubilees 30:10).<sup>46</sup>

The word “satan” appears five times in the Ethiopic Book of Jubilees. Four of those are in nearly identical phrases, “there will be no satan or any evil one” አልቦ :

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<sup>44</sup> Compare the decisions of Vermès and García-Martínez in translating “Angel of Persecution” and “angel Mastema” respectively in the context of the Jubilees citation in CD 16.5. Géza Vermès, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (New York: Allen Lane/Penguin, 1997), 137. Florentino García Martínez and Eibert Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden Brill, 1999), 565. Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: the Qumran Texts in English*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Leiden; New York; Grand Rapids: E.J. Brill; W.B. Eerdmans, 1996), 39.

<sup>45</sup> See above, page 130.

<sup>46</sup> Segal offers an excellent review of the meanings of “Belial.” Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*, 251-256. Segal concludes differently, however, that Belial is synonymous with Mastema in Jubilees. Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*, p. 182 n. 5, p. 253 n. 24, 28.

(መነሂ ፡) ሰይጣን ፡ ወአልቦ ፡ (መነሂ ፡) እኩዮ (Jubilees 23:29; 40:9; 46:2; 50:5). Two of these refer to an imagined future, but the other two refer to the peace and prosperity in Egypt under Joseph's governance. Notably, in all four of these instances, the term is indefinite, parallel with "any evil one," and negated (they are mentioned as *not* existing). It is expected for Ethiopic to use a singular noun with the negative ("not any satan," rather than, "not any satans"). In none of these cases is a supernatural sense required. The designation "satans" seems to be a general term for adversaries, likely including human as well as demonic troublemakers. Jubilees 10:11 refers to a figure "the satan" or "Satan," but this is easily corrected to "Mastema" on the basis of the Book of Asaph the Physician.<sup>47</sup> This work, though late, is clearly related to the Book of Jubilees (arguably from a common source, a dependant work, or Jubilees itself).<sup>48</sup> While a broader comparison would show even more strongly the close relationship, the relevant portion, aligned with the Ethiopic, is as follows,

אך אחד מעשרה הניח להתהלך בארץ לפני שר המשטמה

But he left a tenth to go about on the earth before the prince of Mastema.<sup>49</sup>

ወዐሥራቶሙ ፡ አትረፍህ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይኩንኑ ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ሰይጣን ፡ ዲበ ፡ ምድር ፡፡

[JCVK] while we left a tenth of them to exercise power on the earth before the satan. (Jubilees 10:11)

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<sup>47</sup> This work appears in Jellinek and is partially included by Charles in an appendix. Jellinek, "ספר נח," 155-160. Charles, *Jubilees*, 179.

<sup>48</sup> Himmelfarb doubts that the author knew the entire Book of Jubilees, but she perhaps underestimates other parallels. For example, she asserts, "None of the ills of *Jubilees* is unambiguously a physical ailment," but one could easily link illness and mortality to wickedness on the basis of Jubilees 23. Himmelfarb, "Some Echoes of *Jubilees*," 130.

<sup>49</sup> Note that the redactor did not render מִשְׁטָמָה הַשֵּׁר, as might have been expected if it was understood as a proper noun (cf. at the beginning, Mt. Lubar, לִוְבֵּר הַהָר).

While the Greek and Ethiopic transmitters of Jubilees could easily, based on later associations, have confused “Satan” for “Mastema,” it is less likely that a medieval Jewish physician would have substituted “Mastema” for “Satan.” Even without recourse to the Hebrew Book of Asaph the Physician, an emendation would be easily justified. The context clearly refers to Mastema (thus, if 10:11 did read “Satan,” there would be no doubt that Jubilees identifies the two names as one figure). The fact that Jubilees uses “satans” differently in four other places makes clear that a transmitter, and not the author, made the identification. Thus we can say confidently that the original composition of Jubilees only used “satans” to refer to adversaries in the most general sense.<sup>50</sup>

#### 5.1.4.2. Satan in non-apocalypse received scriptures

Much has been written on the origins and development of the “Satan” tradition, of which only a narrow slice is relevant here.<sup>51</sup> Before reviewing contemporary apocalypses, we will consider the use of the term in received scripture. Even in a few references one finds a diversity of views. For a supernatural figure identified with the term one must examine Numbers 22, Job 1-2, Zechariah 3, 1 Chronicles 21:1, and perhaps Psalm 109:6.<sup>52</sup> In the last case, the indefinite noun could be taken as a human,

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<sup>50</sup> Segal, however, reads Jubilees 10:11 with the Ethiopic and identifies Mastema with Satan. Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*, 176 n. 19.

<sup>51</sup> Jeffrey Burton Russell, *The Devil: Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977). Forsyth, *The Old Enemy*. Elaine Pagels, *The Origin of Satan* (New York: Random House, 1995). T. J. Wray and Gregory Mobley, *The Birth of Satan: Tracing the Devil's Biblical Roots* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005). Henry Ansgar Kelly, *Satan: A Biography* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

<sup>52</sup> The verbal root appears in several psalms in reference to human opponents. The indefinite noun refers to some human opponents in Samuel and Kings.

but in the context of the verb פקד and with Deuteronomy 32:8, it could also be interpreted in line with the position in Jubilees that angels were appointed over nations to mislead them (Jubilees 15:31; see also 12:20). Without suggesting a linear historical development, one might observe a spectrum of insidiousness in the other four sources. In Numbers 22 the indefinite noun refers to a role that is filled by an angel, but the opposition is to Balaam and certainly not to God or any positive figure. In Job 1-2 the noun with the definite article refers to an individual figure among the בני האלהים. Here a greater degree of insidiousness appears in that the figure acts against a righteous person and wields destructive power. It is still very much the case, however, that the figure is entirely subject to God for permission even before doing anything more than making accusations.

Again with the definite article, such a figure acts in Zechariah 3 against a righteous person. This time the accusation is more insidious in as much as it appears to be a groundless accusation. Even here, the accuser is just doing the job of accusing, and hardly wields any power against God. 1 Chronicles 21:1 presents the most interesting case for our purposes. Here שטן appears without the definite article as a particular cosmic figure, and quite likely should be taken as a proper noun.<sup>53</sup> The figure in this verse is quite insidious indeed, arising against Israel and inciting David to do something against the will of God that will bring death and destruction. The interesting issue from the perspective of the study of Jubilees is that 2 Samuel 24:1 relates the same story, except

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<sup>53</sup> JPS, NRSV and RSV translate as a proper noun, whereas the New American Bible translates “A satan...”

God is the one who incites David.<sup>54</sup> Jubilees also displays the tendency to assign to a distinct figure the unbecoming deeds previously attributed directly to God. Received scripture conveys a variety of ideas about a heavenly accuser, the most insidious of which is more insidious than Mastema in Jubilees.<sup>55</sup>

#### 5.1.4.3. The early apocalypses

When we turn to the apocalypses known to have existed by the time of Jubilees we find neither the terminology nor the idea in the narrow sense of an eternal cosmic figure dedicated to opposition to God or righteous humans. Consequently, at least in the earlier period, it is a fallacy to identify the idea of satan as an apocalyptic idea. The discussion still belongs in this dissertation, however, not because the figure of satan is typically apocalyptic, but because at the level of worldview, the idea is related to what has already been considered about the nature of evil. The beasts in Daniel, the fallen watchers, and the national princes in Daniel and the Animal Apocalypse differ from the idea of Satan not only in terminology but in permanence.<sup>56</sup> No one figure rules over evil throughout all time. There is, however, a pattern of supernatural opposition. The narrative detail of a specific eternal ruler of evil is not particularly tied to the apocalypses, but the

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<sup>54</sup> 1 Chronicles 21 interprets “the anger of the Lord” in 1 Samuel 24 as an independent figure. See Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*, 209 n. 19.

<sup>55</sup> In 1 Chronicles the figure arises and acts independently and succeeds in causing great destruction. Although the story indirectly leads to the temple in Jerusalem, there is no explicit mention either that God had willed the whole sequence or that the “Satan” was put to shame.

<sup>56</sup> See the next chapter on the temporal axis. Apocalypses typically view evil not so much as a persistent state or as a gradual progression, but an infestation that surges twice in world history: once before the flood and again before the final judgment. Thus, at this stage, a permanent figure of evil would not fit well.

worldview of independent cosmic evil is. It is true that Jubilees manipulates certain details in other notions of “satan,” but the main interest for this dissertation is how Jubilees uses the figure of Mastema to undermine the idea of cosmic opposition to God.

#### 5.1.4.4. Mastema in Jubilees

In Jubilees, Mastema is no enemy of God. Mastema is the heavenly sanitation worker—doing the dirty work of leading other nations from God and carrying out violent missions when commanded by God. Mastema fills certain exegetical needs and explains whatever dark power might be perceived in foreign religion, but emphatically lacks power over Israel under the law and plays no role whatsoever in the eschatological crisis where one might expect a showdown between the forces of good and evil. Mastema never claims victory or rule over Israel, only shame. Arguably, Mastema never sins and is never judged.<sup>57</sup> We will consider the functions of Mastema in two categories. First, we will consider the role of Mastema in carrying out God’s plan for the nations. Second, we will consider the use of Mastema to interpret the biblical history of Israel.

As we have already seen, God commands angels and demons to rule over *other* nations, not only because of their wickedness, but also to lead them astray because God

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<sup>57</sup> Jubilees 10:8 may refer to a future time when Mastema is to be judged, but if so it is peculiar that the only mention of this possibility comes from the mouth of Mastema. In the context of the verse, “before me... the authority of my will,” it seems more likely that ቅድመ : ኩነት should be read in the sense of “before my authority,” rather than, “during the time prior to when I am to be punished.” Manuscript 58 supports reading “before me,” which, even if an error, is an error from the context. Manuscripts 35 (prior to correction) and 38 read, “before the judgment.”

Segal suggests reading “before my punishment” as chronological sequence; first the demons do the job of destroying and misleading, and then Mastema does the job of punishing. Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*, 177.

intends to be God for only one nation (Jubilees 15:31). Mastema appears in three passages as administrator of the demons assigned by God to other nations. As we have already seen, Jubilees allows for some diminished role for demons to explain whatever power may be perceived in foreign religion. On the narrative level, Mastema fills the function of advocacy for the demons. Most importantly, Mastema does not act against the will of God. Mastema simply points out that the demons serve a valuable function for afflicting sinners. Mastema persuades God, but does not exercise any power against God.

Mastema's next appearance develops the identification of idolatry and demon-worship. Abram's experience as a youth illustrates the difference between being misled into idolatry and following reason to God. The idolaters are placed under Mastema's control (Jubilees 11:5), which takes the form of diminished harvest (11:11). Abram demonstrates his ability to outwit Mastema first with agricultural invention, and then by uncovering the deception of idolatry and divination. The logical conclusion to the contrast is that Abraham's religion has the power to defeat whatever power may exist behind foreign religion. Although Mastema is not mentioned by name (or office, as it were), the connection is easily made in chapter 15 when God commissions other powers to rule over other nations but to stay away from Israel. In Jubilees 19:28 the function of Mastema is to remove other nations from following God, with the intent that no children of Israel would follow the other nations in their wrong direction. Most importantly, the function of Mastema and the demons is the function given to them at the command of God. Jubilees does not deny that any of Israel have ever abandoned their protection from demons by associating with the other nations, subjecting themselves to their punishment. Two emphases, however, remain distinctive. First, the defeat of the demons is easily accomplished, for Israel, with repentance. Second, the demons do not afflict the



righteous—they may try, but they succeed only in shaming themselves. They are vehicles for just punishment, not an explanation for unjust suffering.

Mastema also has a second function that does pertain directly to Israel. Mastema becomes the agent of actions that Genesis and Exodus had attributed to God, but which Jubilees (among other ancient interpretations) viewed to be unfitting of a supremely benevolent God. In each case Jubilees continues to emphasize that Mastema operates within the limits of the command of God. Mastema never claims any victory over Israel. Mastema does the dirty work of God, but never acts against God. In the first instance, Jubilees uses Mastema to solve two theological problems stemming from Genesis 22. First, Jubilees reconciles Genesis 22:12 with the principle of divine omniscience by reading “now I know” as “now I have made known.”<sup>58</sup> Borrowing a page from Job, Jubilees uses Mastema to explain to whom Abraham’s righteousness needed to be made known. The fact that God did know how it would turn out leads to the second point. While the inexplicable and cruel demand in Genesis 22 might seem unfitting for a benevolent and loving God, Jubilees gives God a good reason for the trial. The trial becomes an opportunity to put Mastema to shame. Arguably, by the time of the revelation of the Law Mastema learns that Israel is off-limits, since Mastema does not appear in the eschatological sequence or any of the “predictions” relative to the time of Moses. (Mastema’s final status in the narrative is having been bound—perhaps Mastema remains bound permanently.) On one hand, Mastema does fill the role attributed to the accuser in Job 1-2 (which itself is one of the less insidious roles attached to the term).<sup>59</sup> On the other

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<sup>58</sup> Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible*, 302.

<sup>59</sup> Mastema is associated with the verb “accuse” in Jubilees 48:15. When one reads the book as a whole, one discovers a more general divergence from the idea of a heavenly accuser (satan) as a bad thing.

hand, Mastema fills the role attributed to God in Genesis 22. Jubilees is constrained by received scripture and the theological principles of God's benevolence and omniscience. Jubilees uses the figure of Mastema to the extent of deflecting any appearances of cruelty or witlessness from God, but far short of creating an opponent to God's just sovereignty.

In the same way, on several occasions in the life of Moses, Mastema takes on functions that had been attributed to God directly. The theological problems are familiar: Why does God try to kill Moses?<sup>60</sup> Why do the Egyptian magicians have any supernatural power?<sup>61</sup> Even when the slaughter of the Egyptians is justified, how is God's role in bloodshed to be understood?<sup>62</sup> Mastema is a harsh figure to the extent of taking on the harshness otherwise attributed to God, but not evil in a dualistic sense that necessitates an opposition to God.<sup>63</sup> Jubilees 48:3-4 is the borderline case which demonstrates the limit on how hard Jubilees pushes the point that cosmic agents do not successfully interfere in the direct rule of Israel by God. There Mastema does what God

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In the view of Jubilees, justice reigns persistently. Thus, the accusing that goes on in Jubilees generally is positive accusation of the wicked (Jubilees 4:6, 23-24). When one has perfect trust in the judicial system, the office of accuser is hardly sinister.

<sup>60</sup> In Exodus, Moses might appear lax with the commandments while his Egyptian wife becomes his savior. In Jubilees neither circumcision nor Zipporah are mentioned, but Mastema does start to take on the role of advocate for the Egyptians, and the revealing angel becomes the savior.

<sup>61</sup> Jubilees does not oppose the idea that some power can be perceived in other religions, but emphasizes that is it only destructive, never constructive (Jubilees 48:10). Even at that, the higher angels can deprive such magicians of their feeble power (48:11).

<sup>62</sup> Whereas God kills the Egyptian firstborns in Exodus 11:4; 12:12-13, 27, 29, in Jubilees 49:2 God only gives the command and Mastema's forces do the dirty work. Jubilees perhaps finds Mastema suggested in Exodus 12:23, *הַמַּשְׁחִית* "the Destroyer." See further, Betsy Halpern-Amaru, "The Festivals of Pesah and Massot in The Book of Jubilees," in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees (the as yet unpublished proceedings of the 2007 Enoch Seminar)* (2007), forthcoming.

<sup>63</sup> Michael Mach discusses the fact that "demons" are not necessarily opposed to God, "... it is not self-evident that heavenly beings with negative effects on humans are necessarily opposed to God. They may just fulfill his will, and their deeds will then appear as punishing acts (e.g., ... 1QS, iv.12-13...)." Michael Mach, "Demons," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 190.

does in Exodus 4:24 (trying to kill Moses) and is thwarted by the angel of the presence. One might count this as an exception to the overall pattern of inverting the apocalyptic worldview of angelic agency, but the constraining factor is the interpretation of scripture with a particular set of theological presuppositions. The need to explain Exodus 4:24 (God tried to kill Moses) trumps the inversion of the apocalyptic worldview. Even though Mastema appears here as an enemy, Mastema is still not successful or out of control for any length of time.<sup>64</sup>

Although Jubilees *tends* to separate harsh action from God directly, the tendency slips, for example, when the same forces are described as “Mastema’s forces” in 49:2 and then “the Lord’s forces” in 49:4. At every turn Mastema either acts under direct command of God or is allowed to act for a specific purpose before being quickly restrained. It is in this context that we find the maxim used to introduce this section, “The Lord’s forces did everything that the Lord ordered them” (ወገብሩ : ጎይላቲሁ : ለእግዚአብሔር : ኩሉ : ዘመጠነ : አዘዘሙ : እግዚአብሔር; Jubilees 49:4). One might even find humor in the back-and-forth pattern of Mastema’s unbinding and binding in Jubilees 48:15-18. The dominion of the beasts in Daniel and the shepherds in the Animal Apocalypse, though temporary, is sustained enough to achieve substantial unjust

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<sup>64</sup> Michael Segal perceives a theological seam between Jubilees 48 and 49, with the former portraying Mastema as an independent entity and patron of Egypt, and the latter portraying Mastema as strictly subordinate to God. Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*, 226-227. I would not call the seam a contradiction, however. Jubilees 2 and 15 show that lower angels can be assigned to rule over nations and still be divine envoys. Both 48 and 49 convey a worldview of God in complete control, it is just that Jubilees 48 must work harder to interpret the dramatic opposition in the Exodus narrative. Even in 48, Mastema is hardly a menacing figure. It is true that Mastema is *permitted* to do things in 48:10 and Mastema’s forces are *sent* to do things in 49:2, and perhaps that difference in tone may suggest a compositional process in which Jubilees 48 is more derivative than 49 (though each is derivative in its own way). The seam is not a sloppy contradiction, but has been largely (if not perfectly) smoothed over with other changes. If Jubilees 48 differs in tone with Jubilees 49 over whether Mastema is permitted or sent to do bad things, it concurs in other verbs such as “not allowed,” “deprived,” and “put to shame.”

suffering. In contrast, God uses Mastema in short, controlled bursts to the end of destroying the Egyptians and profiting Israel (Jubilees 48:18). Mastema never succeeds in causing any suffering in Israel.<sup>65</sup> To the extent to which Mastema is comparable to an angelic prince of the Egyptians (Jubilees 48:3), the advocacy is that of a clumsy stooge. Nyuk-nyuk-nyuk.



Figure 5.1: Mastema bound

We can conclude that Jubilees does not at all convey the idea of Satan that *modern* readers seem to persistently expect.<sup>66</sup> The expectations of the original audience may well have been different, however. To the extent to which Jubilees creates reader expectations about a “satan” figure, it does so by using the plural indefinite noun “satans” and a similar (but different) term, “Mastema.” The genre “apocalypse,” at the time of

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<sup>65</sup> Conspicuously, Mastema is never associated with any actual harm done by the Egyptians, such as the idea to throw infant boys into the river. Daniel and the Animal Apocalypse, on the other hand, are trying to explain forces that are succeeding quite well in harming the righteous (Daniel 7:21, 25; 8:10-12; 11:36; Animal Apocalypse 89:65ff.).

<sup>66</sup> Russell, *Method & Message*, 257. It is less surprising that treatments that focus on the Christian idea of Satan, spending no more than a chapter on the pre-Christian background of the idea, flatten Mastema into later developments. For example, three works of this nature make the same mistake in asserting that Mastema, not God, orders Abraham to sacrifice Isaac. Russell, *The Devil*, 204. Pagels, *The Origin of Satan*, 54. Wray and Mobley, *The Birth of Satan*, 103. The same specific error is made in Russell, *The Devil*, 51. None of these sources cite another for this misinformation.

Jubilees, has nothing to do with creating an expectation of a particular eternal cosmic accuser of the righteous or enemy of God. To the extent to which there may have been a reader expectation that a figure named “Mastema” would be insidious, Jubilees might be said to invert that expectation. More likely, Jubilees draws from scriptural and other traditions about a heavenly accuser, and develops that figure within its own worldview, keeping toward the less insidious end of the spectrum. Mastema is a case of distinctive thought, not polemic.

The satan motif is not a worldview. Even though the particular idea of a single eternal accuser or harsh prince is not typical of the apocalypses, the idea of cosmic agents of unjust oppression is part of the apocalyptic worldview. Jubilees develops the idea of Mastema as a foil for God’s hostility toward other nations and specific cases of biblical interpretation. Most importantly, Jubilees does so within a worldview that holds God’s sovereignty and benevolence toward Israel to be absolute, unmediated, and uninterrupted.

The main difference, besides use of the term, between the idea of Satan as an eternal ruler of all enmity against God, and the beasts and corrupt angels that do appear in contemporary apocalypses, is that the enemies of God in the apocalypses are temporally limited. Their rise is associated with the climax of history, a final showdown between good and evil. In the next section we will see how Mastema, demons, and satans, such as they do function in Jubilees, are the temporal inverse of the eschatological enemies of God in the apocalypses. Mastema never appears in any of the “predictive” passages, referring to the future relative to Moses. When Jubilees turns to the eschatological conflict and restoration in chapter 23, no angels or demons play any role whatsoever on either side. Rather than becoming more prominent toward the end, in Jubilees, such forces lose significance.

#### 5.1.5. Angels and demons in the eschatological crisis and restoration

This sub-section brings us to the most central and the clearest case of difference between Jubilees and contemporary apocalypses. For the sake of organization we are considering the spatial axis and the temporal axis in separate chapters, but the heart of the apocalyptic worldview is the nexus of the two axes. In this sub-section we consider the agents of the spatial axis at the eschatological moment on the temporal axis. The differences between Jubilees and contemporary apocalypses are sometimes subtle, as in the accounts of the origin of evil. When we look for the roles of supernatural agents in the eschatological climax, the difference is unmistakable. Especially in the historical apocalypses, but also in the cosmic tours, supernatural agents, good and bad, are most active in the climax of evil, the final conflict, the judgment and the restoration. In Jubilees the situation is reversed. Angels and demons serve certain functions in the normal progress of history, but in all the versions of eschatological crises in Jubilees the only agents are humans and God directly. This is especially clear in Jubilees 23 which emphasizes the roles of humans and God and then only mentions satans and evil ones as being absent. As we will see more in the next chapter, the idea of future eschatology takes some twists in Jubilees, so we will also consider the absence of angelic agents in *all* the judgment scenarios in Jubilees. First we will consider the role of supernatural agents (besides God) in eschatological scenarios in contemporary apocalypses.

#### 5.1.5.1. The early apocalypses

The ideas of reversal in history and supernatural agency are hardly exclusive to the apocalyptic genre or worldview. Even the idea that forces other than God and humans might be responsible for dark moments in history should be read as a broader tendency. It is distinctive that the apocalypses typically emphasize the agency of cosmic forces of evil in eschatological climaxes. What is most distinctive, in my opinion, is the need to assign to cosmic figures other than God directly the battle for righteousness, the judgment and the restoration.<sup>67</sup> It would take us too far afield to venture an explanation of *why* this is the case, but a few examples will demonstrate empirically that it is the case.

As we have already seen, the beasts in Daniel 7 convey a worldview of supernatural forces of evil rising and climaxing in an eschatological conflict. This view is typical of the apocalypses, but has precedent in “cosmic” struggles between *God* and Rahab or Yamm, for example.<sup>68</sup> The greater innovation comes in the agency of God in Daniel 7. God retains *ultimate* sovereignty, but appoints another cosmic figure, the human-like figure of Daniel 7:13, to exercise dominion. Other texts may mention hosts who fight with or for God (e.g. 2 Kings 6:16-17), but only in apocalypses do angelic figures gain such importance.<sup>69</sup> In other parts of the same chapter God assigns dominion to “the Holy Ones of the Most High.” Although angelic beings are homologous with their

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<sup>67</sup> I count messianism in the sense of the assignment of cosmic functions to a *human* individual as a later phenomenon.

<sup>68</sup> See, for example, Job 26:7, 12-13; Isaiah 51:9-10.

<sup>69</sup> Even Third Isaiah, often discussed as a forerunner of the apocalyptic worldview, emphasizes God’s direct and solitary action (Isaiah 63:5; 66:16). The LXX reading of 63:9 also fits this pattern. The MT *qere* would be an exception, but in the context of past salvation, not future eschatology.

earthly counterparts, the primary and distinctively apocalyptic emphasis here is on the angelic agents (Daniel 7:18, 22, 27).<sup>70</sup> In a number of other apocalypses it is conspicuous that God does not destroy, judge or restore directly, but appoints angels to do these things. God does not even appear in Daniel 12. In the Book of the Watchers God issues commands but angels carry out all the actions, good and bad. The Animal Apocalypse makes more room for human agency, but still views the human struggle as a façade for the cosmic struggle (Animal Apocalypse 90:13-14). In the judgment and restoration of 90:20-27 the verbs are plural, indicating the seven archangels as subjects. The same emphasis on angelic agents on both sides of the eschatological struggle is true in the Epistle of Enoch 100:4 and other passages.<sup>71</sup>

In many cases passive verbs prevent us from asserting that the active agent is a cosmic being other than God, but in light of the preceding pattern one might imagine as much. The tendency to avoid mention of direct action by God is at least noteworthy. Thus for example, “without human hand” (Daniel 8:25; likewise 9:27) contrasts in tone and probably meaning from assertions about the exercise of God’s right hand (e.g. Exodus 15:6). The Apocalypse of Weeks in particular uses passive verbs that do not explicitly support but certainly fit with this pattern.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination* (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition), 104-105.

<sup>71</sup> The Testament of Moses is not discussed in depth because it is not an apocalypse and it is difficult to be sure what parts are contemporary with Jubilees. A broader discussion would include the work, however, because it does deal with much of the apocalyptic worldview, and often aligns more with Jubilees than the typical apocalypses. On this issue in particular we find a mixture of both emphases. God both consecrates an angel to take vengeance and then rises from the throne to punish the gentiles (Testament of Moses 10:2-3).

<sup>72</sup> Even in passages that do emphasize angelic agency, passive verbs sometimes suggest a more complex view of agency. Thus for example, the human like figure in Daniel 7 receives dominion only after someone or something else destroys the beast, and again in Daniel 11:45 the avatar of evil is destroyed (by whom?) before Michael arises and the woes truly begin.



We will consider the details of human participation in eschatological violence in the last section of this chapter. In the meantime we can at least say that the apocalypses do not typically emphasize the impact of human agency on the progress of history.<sup>73</sup> Thus, in conclusion, the apocalyptic worldview emphasizes the agency of good and bad forces other than God and humans. This is true in general, and especially in the eschatological conflict, judgment and restoration.

#### 5.1.5.2. Jubilees

We have already seen some significant differences between the worldview in Jubilees and the apocalyptic worldview. When we turn to the eschatological scenarios in Jubilees the difference is more pronounced. All other things being equal, Jubilees avoids angelic agency in any function of judgment and salvation. This is not to say, however, that Jubilees always avoids any semblance of angelic function other than teaching. In particular, as we have seen, Jubilees accounts for some of the drama and unbecoming deeds of the Exodus story with recourse to angelic agency.<sup>74</sup> The lesser issue is that Jubilees is constrained by the base text. The greater issue is that Jubilees does not present the Exodus as an eschatological judgment of the Egyptians. Jubilees also follows the

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<sup>73</sup> Thus, for example, the martyrs of Daniel 11:32-35 do not impede the march of evil in verses 36-45. Although a number of explanations have been given for the prayer in Daniel 9, all can agree that the emphasis on human sin and repentance is out of place in the work. One certainly gets the impression that Daniel's prayer was not worth a hearing and certainly did not impact the revelation (9:23). See section 4.1.2.2.

<sup>74</sup> Even here, it would be a mistake to miss the emphasis on the agency of God and Moses. In 48:13 the revealing angel does take some credit, and Mastema has a role, but God and Moses continue to govern most action. Often enough this is just a matter of following scripture, but Jubilees 48:5 has God perform the type of action that one typically expects angels to do in apocalypses, "The Lord took revenge on all their gods and burned them up."

Book of the Watchers in specifying that angels bound the fallen watchers. There are limits to the lengths to which Jubilees goes to downplay angelic agency in judgment when constrained by other factors, such as the interest in asserting that sin never goes unpunished. We should not imagine that the author of Jubilees had the issue of angelic agency front and center. It is the case, however, that Jubilees conveys a worldview that differs from the apocalyptic worldview on agents other than God and humans, especially in an eschatological context.

**Jubilees 23.** The primary eschatological scenario in Jubilees is chapter 23. The emphasis on human culpability for the “final woes” is itself distinctive. More distinctive still is the fact that the woes, particularly foreign invasion, are sent directly by God—there are no beasts arising or angelic princes conspiring or becoming blind. God acts directly for the clear purpose of punishing human sin.

ወይከውን ፡ መቅሠፍት ፡ ዐቢይ ፡ ዲበ ፡ ግብረ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ትውልድ ፡ እምክበ ፡  
እግዚአብሔር...

[JCVK] There will be a great punishment from the Lord for the actions of that generation... (Jubilees 23:22)

Those who study the law (23:26) are not merely guaranteeing their own resurrection (Daniel 11), or allying themselves with a cosmic super-power (Animal Apocalypse 90:12-16), but actually initiate the restoration themselves. God takes over for all functions other than Torah study, and never commissions any other being to carry out any aspect of the restoration. No angels or humans are given swords to carry out vengeance or any other particular action. God does the healing and expelling of enemies, while the righteous need only witness God’s direct and singular action,

አሜሃ ፡ ይፌውስ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ አግብርቲሁ ፡ ወይትነሥኡ ፡ ወይፊእዩ ፡  
ሰላመ ፡ ዐቢየ ፡ ወይሰድድ ፡ ጸላእቶ ፡ ወይፊእዩ ፡ ሳድቃን ፡ ወያእኩቱ ፡

ወይትፌሥሐ : እስከ : ለዓለመ : ዓለም : በፍሥሐ :: ወይሬእዩ : በፀሮሙ :  
ኩሎ : ኩነኔሆሙ : ወኩሎ : መርገሞሙ

[JCVK] Then the Lord will heal his servants. They will rise and see great peace. He will expel his enemies. The righteous will see (this), offer praise, and be very happy forever and ever. They will see all their punishments and curses on their enemies. (Jubilees 23:30)

As if to guarantee that the reader noticed the conspicuous silence, the sequence makes clear that ወአልቦ : መነሂ : ሰይጣን : ወአልቦ : መነሂ : እኩዮ “there will be no satan or evil one” (Jubilees 23:29).

Some scholars have read this phrase as proof of the importance of Satan in the worldview of Jubilees,<sup>75</sup> but here and in three other comments like it, the word “no” must be taken into account. Except for one instance where emendation is well supported, (Jubilees 10:11), satans are mentioned only when they are absent. Their presence otherwise may follow logically, but noting the lack of satans does not emphasize that satans are otherwise prominent. We have already considered the extremely qualified role of demons in Jubilees, and the likelihood that “satans” is a more general category than demons that includes human trouble makers. Furthermore, the absence of satans does not exclusively refer to eschatological utopia, but in two other instances refers to the time of peace and prosperity in Egypt under Joseph (40:9; 46:2). The next chapter will return to the fact that the eschatological restoration is a restoration of natural good things that are perceived to have already existed in the past. Jubilees 23 both *says* that agents other than God and humans are absent, and follows through on this assertion in the account of events.

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<sup>75</sup> See, for example, Wray and Mobley, *The Birth of Satan*, 104.

**The rest of the book.** Jubilees 23 is the most detailed eschatological account in Jubilees, but the same point holds for similar mentions throughout the book. At the end of the book, Jubilees 50:5 makes a brief reference to a future time of purity and security in similar terms,

ወኢዮቤሌዎታት ፡ የጎልፉ ፡ እስከ ፡ አመ ፡ ይነጽሕ ፡ እሰራኤል ፡ እምኩሉ ፡  
 አበሳ ፡ ዝሙት ፡ ወርኩስ ፡ ወግማኔ ፡ ወጎጢአት ፡ ወጌጋይ ፡ ወየጎድር ፡  
 ውስተ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ምድር ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይትአመን ፡ ወአልቦ ፡ እንከ ፡ ሎቱ ፡  
 መነሂ ፡ ሰይጣን ፡ ወአልቦ ፡ መነሂ ፡ እኩዮ ፡ ወትነጽሕ ፡ ምድር ፡  
 እምውእቱ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ እስከ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ መዋዕል ፡፡

[JCVK] The jubilees will pass by until Israel is pure of every sexual evil, impurity, contamination, sin, and error. Then they will live confidently in the entire land. They will no longer have any satan or any evil person. The land will be pure from that time until eternity. (Jubilees 50:5)

The context makes clear that it is the responsibility of Israel to observe purity laws, and God in turn will establish prosperity and security. No non-human force prevents Israel from being pure, and no being other than God establishes prosperity and security. Another passage establishes a high view of the agency of Israel in the cosmos, although an eschatological chronology is not explicit. Abraham says of the descendents of Jacob,

ወእሙንቱ ፡ ይኩኑ ፡ ለሃርሮ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ ወለአጽንዖ ፡ ምድር ፡ ወለሐድሶ ፡  
 ኩሉ ፡ ብርሃናት ፡ ዘዲበ ፡ ምጽናዓት ፡፡

[JCVK] May they serve (the purpose of) laying heaven's foundations, making the earth firm, and renewing all the luminaries which are above the firmament. (Jubilees 19:25)

Even if it is not necessarily eschatological here, it draws on images that are typically eschatological in the apocalypses. Most importantly, the roles are reversed. Here, Israel contributes to restoring the heavens and the earth. In the apocalypses, angelic agency dominates human affairs.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> It may be, in my view, the intercessory role of Enoch supports this more than it qualifies it, not only because Enoch is elevated to angelic status, but because BW emphasizes that the roles *should* be reversed

Jubilees 1 also resembles the historical apocalypses in giving an after-the-fact account of the history of Israel after the time of Moses. This chapter continues the pattern of never mentioning demonic agency against Israel in the covenantal period, except with a negation. The “curses” of Israel are not demonic but covenantal. God and God alone afflicts Israel, and only in proportion to their sin for the purpose of prompting repentance (Jubilees 1:10). Jubilees 1:11 mentions the demons as objects to whom the sinners of Israel will sacrifice their children. Even here, where the logic applied to other nations would imply that the demons afflict them in turn, Jubilees denies that any besides God will afflict Israel (see again Jubilees 15:31). Likewise, the prayer of Moses mentions the “spirit of Belial” (perhaps better translated, as JPS does Deuteronomy 15:9, “base thought”),<sup>77</sup> but again with the negative modifier, “may it *not* rule over them.” Arguably, this might not refer to an eschatological sequence *per se*, and thus may not fit well in this sub-section. It only strengthens the case if even in quasi-eschatological scenarios (besides Jubilees 23 and 50) angelic and demonic forces have no influence over Israel. Of course the narrative focus of the book predates the covenantal period, but it remains striking that Jubilees says much about angels and demons, but nothing but denial when it comes to Israel under the covenant and in the future restoration.

In the next chapter I will suggest that Jubilees does not follow the Book of the Watchers in the view that the judgment of all will occur at once (BW 16:1). In anticipation of this, it is worth adding to this sub-section that the various national days of judgment throughout Jubilees (that is, judgment of other nations) do not involve angelic

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(BW 15:2). Enoch’s (failed) intercessory mission and his testimony do not negate the overwhelming emphasis on good and bad angels in the origin and judgment of evil.

<sup>77</sup> See page 289 above.

agents of judgment. For example the judgment of Lot's descendents in 16:9 takes a singular verb with God as a subject. Similarly, with more of an exegetical background, Jubilees removes angelic judgment where it existed in Genesis in the Babel story. Genesis 11:17 might suggest to some (without recourse to the "royal we") that God acted with angelic allies against Babel, **הָבָה גִּרְדָּה וְנִבְלָה שָׁם שְׂפָתָם**. Jubilees 10:23, however, allows no angelic agency. One would hardly say that Jubilees eliminates angels in general. On the contrary, Jubilees develops the issue of their role in God's cosmos. What Jubilees says about them, however, is striking. They teach, reveal, and do other things on direct orders (Jubilees 49:4), but they do not do what they typically do in apocalypses, particularly afflict, fight, judge, and restore in an eschatological context.

We do not know, nor do we need to know, the extent to which the ancient author was conscious of this. Perhaps in some cases we can more easily imagine the author maintaining a negative evaluation of the ideas typically conveyed by apocalypses and deliberately setting out to debunk the apocalypses in their own terms. In other cases, however, we might be observing a subconscious pattern: when the author of Jubilees thinks of cosmic justice, the author thinks of God taking charge of justice directly and singularly. For example, the example from Babel need not have come from a conscious effort to solve a problem in Genesis 11:17, but simply a certain way of looking at things and retelling them. Comparison with other sources does not necessarily prove that the author of Jubilees wrote polemically to refute a text or a worldview, but it does prove that the worldview of Jubilees is distinctive within the framework of contemporary Jewish thought, and unique among the apocalypses.

## 5.2. Humans

### 5.2.1. Groups

The previous section studied several ways in which Jubilees uses angels and demons but places them in a worldview that differs from that of the typical apocalypses. These kinds of agents are the core of the spatial axis which partly defines the genre “apocalypse.”<sup>78</sup> The spatial axis can also address the order of humanity from a transcendent perspective. The classification of humanity, particularly for purposes of eschatological salvation, is a frequent, though not definitive, element of the apocalypses. Not all apocalypses deal with issues of election or convey a worldview that can be called sectarian, proto-sectarian, or, in the other direction, universalistic. The illocution of the genre may not necessarily convey a worldview of human classification to the same extent as the angelic and related agents of the spatial axis. There may be an empirical basis at the time of Jubilees, however, for associating the apocalyptic worldview with exclusivist or universalistic tendencies. Contemporary apocalypses often define an elect group within Israel for special (or sole) status in the restoration, while abandoning or condemning other parts of Israel. The category “descendent of Jacob,” can be abandoned in the other direction if outsiders are included as equals or above parts of Israel. On this issue as well, Jubilees expresses a very different worldview. Other than the traditional distinction of Levites and the high priest, the category “Israel” is of absolute significance

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<sup>78</sup> Jubilees does not dwell on their domains. An exhaustive study might consider the angelic liturgy, the heavenly geography, the ranks of angels (and how they mirror the ranks of humans), the non-corruption of heaven in the version of the sinful watchers, the holy places, and the (lack of) non-earthly places of judgment and reward.

for Jubilees. No gentiles are welcome, and no groups within Israel are singled out for special punishment or reward.

Again a few simplifications and overstatements must be avoided. The issue of universalism is more difficult than the election of a remnant within Israel in as much as it is not always clear whether the other nations are “converting” and joining Israel, or if the category “Israel” is being abandoned. Consequently, we will focus our efforts on the idea of an elect group within Israel that is saved while the rest of Israel is condemned. We must also avoid the exaggeration that Jubilees is particularly conciliatory. The unity of Israel does *not* take the form of tolerance of different attitudes towards calendar, exogamy, and other legal issues. Although the Animal Apocalypse is usually one of the clearest points of contrast with Jubilees, they overlap here in imagining Israel unified behind the one true way (their own). Even here, however, contrast can be seen in whether the anticipated unification of Israel is viewed as the vindictive destruction of enemies within Israel, or as a snowballing movement of peaceful enlightenment and prosperity. Finally, I do not identify the literary treatment of exclusivity of election with the issue of sectarianism (nor do I deny the possibility of certain relationships). I am dealing with literary features and worldview, not social realities. We do not know how large or isolated the group of the author of Jubilees may have been. We cannot be sure how reasonable it may have been at the time to hope that a certain calendar would be restored or established. We know that Israel was never, in fact, united behind the study of the law as taught by Jubilees. The point is that Jubilees imagined that it would be.



#### 5.2.1.1. Third Isaiah

A number of passages from received scripture could be brought as background to the second century ideas about election and group definition. Perhaps the most demonstrably relevant passages come from Third Isaiah. It seems likely that the influence of Isaiah, including these chapters, was widespread. The interpretation, not the status, of Isaiah was disputed. In Third Isaiah we find the category “Israel” challenged in both directions: election of an internal remnant, and inclusion of non-Israel. Without getting into the social groups at the time(s) of composition, on a literary level alone the text lends itself to the idea that not all of Israel has a share in the future hope. For example, Isaiah 65:9 can suggest salvation of an elect group within Israel by reading a partitive use of מִן.

וְהוֹצֵאתִי מִיַּעֲקֹב זֶרַע וּמִיִּהוּדָה יוֹרֵשׁ הָרִי וִירְשׁוּהָ בְּחִירֵי יַעֲבֹדִי יִשְׁכְּנוּ-שָׁמָּה:  
(Isaiah 65:9)

The idea that God’s sovereignty and worship will extend beyond Israel to all humanity is not particularly rare, as for example in Isaiah 66:16. The more controversial assertion appears in Isaiah 66:21.

וְגַם-מֵהֶם אֶקַּח לְכֹהֲנִים לְלוֹאִים (Isaiah 65:21)

Thus we can see that the dissolution of the category “Israel,” both in designating a sub-group and elevating outsiders, is not the exclusive domain of the apocalypses.

Nevertheless, I am hardly the first to notice that a number of apocalypses convey a worldview that designates an elect group within Israel (other than the traditional categories of priests and levites), and includes some outside Israel. The debate centers on the social mechanism of continuity, not the existence of similar patterns.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> The classic work on the sociological relationship between Third Isaiah and later Apocalypticism is Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*.

#### 5.2.1.2. The Enochic apocalypses

Before proceeding with the earliest known apocalypses, the Book of the Watchers and the Astronomical Book, it will be helpful to clarify what is implied by dealing with these works as “contemporary” to Jubilees. I am neither defending nor contesting any of the theories of the social setting of the original composition of these works; I am dealing with them as literature, as read at the time of Jubilees. Thus it does not matter what these works *originally* meant with the use of terms such as “chosen,” “righteous,” “elect,” and “plant.” It is clear enough from dependent texts, both before and shortly after Jubilees, that they were interpreted within a worldview of a new elect group within Judaism, which often potentially includes non-Jews. One finds in the introduction to the Book of the Watchers a polarity (not to suggest dualism, *per se*) between “wicked,” “sinners” and the “elect,” “chosen,” “righteous.” At the same time, there is a complete lack of any clear reference to Israel as a nation. The observation cannot be dismissed as an antediluvian setting, since so much of the orientation of the introduction applies to later days. While this cannot be called indisputable evidence, it does fit a pattern. One finds more distinctive language in the Book of the Watchers 10:16 with the “plant of righteousness and truth.”

Any discussion of the Astronomical Book must be qualified by the fact that we are not sure how much of the wording of the Ethiopic version reflects the most ancient version, or what versions should be classified as examples of the genre “apocalypse.”<sup>80</sup> It is not the case that the main body of the Astronomical Book focuses on human groups.

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<sup>80</sup> Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination* (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition), 60-61, especially note 49.

Nevertheless, we do find language within the same pattern, “the good will inform the good about righteousness, the righteous will rejoice with the righteous, and they will greet each other” (Astronomical Book 81:8). The specificity comes not in the terminology but the associated actions. “The righteous” are defined as those who study certain texts and use a certain calendar (AB 82:4). Similarly, a concrete criterion can be understood in “Those who understand will not sleep and will listen with their ear to learn this wisdom. It will be more pleasing to them than fine food to those who eat” (AB 82:3). Thus “righteous” and similar terms are no longer simply adjectives but designations for a definable group. We have to be careful about arguing from silence with respect to any acknowledgment of Israel as a meaningful group, yet one does get the sense that wisdom is not limited to one of the nations descended from Enoch (AB 82:2). Indeed, it seems likely that the choice of Enoch as the voice of “pseudepigraphy” reflects a worldview of a “natural law” that applies to all humanity. The wise and righteous are neither all of Israel nor only Israel.

The Apocalypse of Weeks uses a fundamental literary pattern of periods of history culminating in election of an individual or group for salvation.<sup>81</sup> The text emphasizes a worldview of election which may have once included Israel but goes on to elect only a group within Israel. The idea of the pattern is not radical. The Pentateuch certainly fits concentric circles of election in Noah (over everyone), Abraham (over everyone), Isaac (over Ishmael), Jacob (over Esau), Levi, Aaron, and Phinehas. Three points are, however, distinctive. First, the history varies in a tendentious way at the end. The election of Enoch (week 1), Noah (week 2), and Abraham (week 3) are the least

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<sup>81</sup> See especially *Ibid.*, 65.

disputed.<sup>82</sup> The election of the covenant, tabernacle and temple (weeks 4 and 5) are not particularly tendentious, except in the avoidance of figures such as Aaron, Phinehas, and Zadok. In the sixth week, the relevant point is not so much the heavenly ascent of Elijah but the un-choosing of Israel. The chosen plant is cut down, as it were, to a chosen root. Nothing good is said of the post-exilic period either, except that at its end a new group would be chosen. We need not consider every plausible speculation about this group and how it correlates with external evidence. The internal evidence is perfectly clear that this apocalypse thoroughly emphasizes a worldview that hopes for salvation of only a group, not all of Israel. A second distinctive point should be observed in the violent vindictiveness of this group against the rest of Israel (Apocalypse of Weeks 91:11-13; end of Week 7, Week 8). Third, after the wicked of Israel descend to punishment, the other nations ascend to equality in an (apparently new) covenant of righteousness (AW 91:14; Week 9).

The rest of the Epistle of Enoch fits the same pattern, perhaps less emphatically so than the Apocalypse of Weeks. “Righteous” is more than an adjective; “the righteous” are defined by possession of certain books (Epistle of Enoch 104:13). Scholars have emphasized different aspects of “testifying against the sons of the earth” (Epistle of Enoch 105:1). This may indeed mean that the group is not cloistered or detached to such an extent that they have no contact with others.<sup>83</sup> I would emphasize that the role of testifying *against* is hardly a mark of solidarity. The Epistle of Enoch certainly fits the

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<sup>82</sup> Positive inclusion of Enoch in salvation history may have become disputed in some much later texts, but it is not the case that the figure of Enoch defined a sect of Judaism in the second century BCE, or that Jews could not agree to say something nice about Enoch as part of the history of righteous figures (e.g., Genesis, Sirach, Jubilees).

<sup>83</sup> Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination* (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition), 71.

pattern presently under discussion, although there are still legitimate reservations on whether it should be counted as a contemporary apocalypse.

With a tinge of military propaganda, the Animal Apocalypse attempts to portray the nation united in suffering under the oppression of foreign rulers and a few bad sheep, as it were. The promised resolution also emphasizes unity and equality. We have the means to read through the propaganda and know that quite a bit of Israel fell outside the view of who has a place in the restoration. The unity envisaged comes only with the deaths of all opposed to the rule of Judah Maccabee. Historically, it is easy to identify the Animal Apocalypse as an exclusive partisan perspective. Literarily, the images of unity must be balanced with the images of vindication and vengeance.

The Animal Apocalypse portrays not so much a single group as an alliance, and not so much orthodoxy as loyalty to the right side of a (civil) war. Although the Animal Apocalypse may emphasize foreign oppression more than civil war, even without recourse to other sources we can find evidence of a divided view of Israel. On the good side one finds an alliance of a pietistic movement that had previously taken to violence without success, together with the military forces of Judah Maccabee. The former are allegorized by young lambs that open their eyes, the latter by rams (Animal Apocalypse 90:6-10). On the bad side one needs to read past the other nations to find the references to the enemies within Israel. First, a group of Jews is portrayed as blind and deaf, apparently in as much as they reject the reforms of the pietistic movement (90:7). After the revolt begins, some or much of Israel is blamed for not supporting it. The tone is not bitterness, as if enemy collaborators, but exhortation to aid those who are being persecuted unjustly (for starting a revolt). Unfortunately for the casual reader, Tiller and Nickelsburg present

in their main texts an emendation that is not required or supported by any manuscript.<sup>84</sup>

They emend “wild sheep” to “wild beasts,” removing a clear reference to a group of Jews who are viewed as the enemy and allied with the foreign oppressor. We may not know how the numbers were divided between those of Israel who supported Judah Maccabee, those who sought neutrality, and those who sought to put down his revolt. It is at least clear, however, that the Animal Apocalypse identifies a group of Jews as the enemy.

The case becomes unmistakable in the restoration. The judgment culminates in the fiery torment of the “blinded sheep,” the Jews who refused to join the pietists and the Maccabean side of the civil war. The enmity is magnified by placing these opponents in the same judgment as the cosmic forces of evil from the beginning of time and the history of oppression in Israel. Although the Animal Apocalypse attempts to portray the enemy as foreign oppressors and a handful of traitors, the eschatological judgment shows the true interest. There may be foreign armies to defeat, but the burning of bones in the fiery abyss is reserved for enemies within Israel, along with the cosmic forces of evil.

After the military victory is decided, as the envisaged restoration unfolds, the other nations actually fare quite well. Again, we should not conflate the variations on universalism. The foreign nations are “included” in the restoration not as equals but as a second class below “the sheep that remained” (Animal Apocalypse 90:30). The vindication of Israel is an important step in the restoration. As the restoration continues, however, the Animal Apocalypse undoes the election Israel and the division of the nations.

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<sup>84</sup> Tiller, *Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 358 n. 8, 363-364. VanderKam and Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch: A New Translation*, 133 note g. Nickelsburg, *Commentary on 1 Enoch*, 389 note 16b.

ወርኢኩ ፡ እስከ ፡ ተወለጠ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ አዝማዲሆሙ ፡ ወኩን ፡ ኩሉሙ ፡  
 አልህምተ ፡ ጸዓዳ

[PAT] And I saw until all their species were transformed, and they all became white cattle. (Animal Apocalypse 90:38)

This may not be universalistic inclusiveness in the sense of tolerance of diversity, but it is the case that the Animal Apocalypse, in the more abstract moments, holds an ideal vision that does not separate Israel from the rest of humanity. To be sure, liberation from foreign oppression is the short-term rallying cry, but the true enemies of the Animal Apocalypse, as seen by long-term hopes, are those of Israel who do not support the pietistic movement and the Maccabean fighters. Thus we find that the “big tent” images of a unified Israel and humanity (Animal Apocalypse 90:36) operate within a worldview that is deeply vindictive and thoroughly at odds with the principles and practice of Jewish unity.

### 5.2.1.3. The Danielic apocalypses

Multiple categories or groups within Israel appear in the final apocalypse of Daniel. The first and “lowest” category is actually the least relevant to the pattern under consideration. It was not disputed that some Jews could be described as עֲזָבֵי בְרִית קֹדֶשׁ (Daniel 11:30; see also 11:32, מְרַשְׁעֵי בְרִית). Daniel does not claim that most Jews fit this category, or dwell on a particular vindictiveness toward them (12:2 notwithstanding). At the other end, the category of הַמְּשֻׁבָּלִים suggests a group.<sup>85</sup> They seem to be a sub-category of יְדֻעֵי אֱלֹהֵיוּ, those specifically in the role of teaching (Daniel 11:32-33). Membership among the מְשֻׁבָּלִים, together with martyrdom, establishes a special future

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<sup>85</sup> Daniel 1:4 should be read in the same vein. Daniel and his comrades may not be the historical founders of the group that produced the final apocalypse of Daniel, but they are implicitly identified as analogous forerunners, מְשֻׁבָּלִים בְּכָל־חֻמָּה.

status in the restoration, or rather, transformation (Daniel 12:1-3). The condemnation of the wicked of Israel and the elevation of the most righteous is only the periphery of the issue, however.

The heart of the issue is the attitude toward the majority of Israel, referred to in Daniel as רבים or עם. On one hand, Daniel does not treat the nation with contempt—they are teachable and worthy of teaching (Daniel 11:33; 12:3). On the other hand, there is no expectation that the teaching will be received by all or efficacious in historical time (Daniel 11:33-35). The bottom line is the eschatological hope, articulated in Daniel 12:1,

(Daniel 12:1) בַּעַת הַהִיא יִמְלִיט עַמּוֹד כָּל־הַנִּמְצָא כְּתוּב בִּסְפָר

All of Israel will be tested and given the opportunity to learn wisdom, but only some of them are expected to endure or be restored after death. To be sure, Daniel is not narrowly dualistic, notwithstanding a contrast of wicked and wise in 12:10. There are several degrees of eschatological hopes for parts of Israel, including the extremes of everlasting disgrace and shining like the splendor of the firmament. Intermediate degrees seem to include death without resurrection, endurance without death, and everlasting life (12:2-3). The main point is that Daniel singles out a group within Israel for special eschatological reward, and abandons hope that all Israel will be united in the restoration.

It would take an elaborate discussion to account for the view of foreign nations in Daniel 10-12 and in the framework of the redacted work. One can at least say that the category עַם retains significance, and seems to refer to all and only Israel, rightly guided or misguided (Daniel 11:14; 11:32-33; see also 12:4). Interestingly, Daniel 12 makes no mention of other nations. Removal may be implicit, but Daniel 12 does not emphasize punishment, conversion, or submission.



In conclusion, Daniel describes multiple categories within Israel, apparently based on orthodoxy, rather than tribal or familial descent (such as Levite, Zadokite, etc.).<sup>86</sup> Daniel 10-12 is not radically vindictive or dualistic, but does imagine a restoration in which group or class membership determines eschatological status, with the extremes of everlasting reward, everlasting punishment, and some middle ground. Daniel is not as extreme as the Apocalypse of Weeks, but certainly within a cluster of views that assigns eschatological status to groups within Israel.

#### 5.2.1.4. Jubilees

When we turn to Jubilees we find the category “Israel” is of absolute and eternal significance, from creation to restoration. The vision of unity does not take the form of tolerance of diversity, but it is striking relative to its day and relative to the other apocalypses. Jubilees insists on the unity and exclusivity of Israel. No foreigners are included. The traditional distinction of the descendants of Levi is maintained, but no new groups are designated for eschatological reward or punishment.<sup>87</sup>

When Michel Testuz combed Jubilees for an indicator of the group that produced the book he found the phrase “all the elect ones of Israel” (ለኩሉሙ : ገሩያነ : እስራኤል) in Jubilees 1:29, which he took as an early term for the group that become known as the

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<sup>86</sup> Interestingly, different Daniel traditions identify his tribal affiliation differently. Daniel 1:6 claims descent from Judah, while the Old Greek opening of Bel and the Serpent identifies him as a priest.

<sup>87</sup> This basic observation was already made by Nickelsburg, “Strikingly different from 1 Enoch, the author [of Jubilees] emphasizes Israel’s status as the covenantal people and proscribes interaction with the gentiles and certainly the preaching of an eschatological *kerygma* that might lead to the salvation of the gentiles.” Nickelsburg, “The Nature and Function of Revelation,” 106.

Essenes.<sup>88</sup> By itself, or only in the context of an apocalypse, this ambiguous phrase suggests an elite group within Israel. Indeed, this kind of language is somewhat typical for the apocalypses, and typically conveys a more or less elitist worldview. But when we look at what the Book of Jubilees says about election and the unity of Israel, we find overwhelming data that Jubilees emphatically views *all* of Israel as elect. This may partly be explained by the primary narrative setting in the period from creation to the arrival at Sinai, and it will be important to pay close attention to chapter 23. After surveying the overwhelming emphasis of the book as a whole, the isolated instance of the phrase “all the elect of Israel” in Jubilees 1:29 appears in a new light. To the extent to which Jubilees 1:29 evokes the idea that only a portion of Israel is ultimately elected for salvation, it is ironic.<sup>89</sup>

Apart from some irrelevant uses of the term (e.g., “select warriors,” Jubilees 37:6-14), the election of Levi (Jubilees 30:18), and 1:29, Jubilees uses the language of election only for all of Israel.<sup>90</sup> We shall return to the election of Levi. First we will survey the language of election, then related phrases such as “righteous plant,” and finally the frequent use of the word “all” in phrases like “all of Jacob’s descendants.” Besides the ambiguous case in 1:29, five chapters discuss or at least refer to the election of Israel as a people (2:20; 15:30; 19:18; 22:9-10; 33:11). Even Abram is not described as chosen, and

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<sup>88</sup> Testuz, *Les idées religieuses*, 33.

<sup>89</sup> One should also consider the possibility that the text is corrupt, but no manuscripts attest a non-construct form that would support a reading such as, “all of the chosen [people], Israel.”

<sup>90</sup> Although neither a concordance or electronic copy of Ethiopic Jubilees is available to me, I am confident in this assertion on the basis of searching an electronic copy of VanderKam’s translation for forms including (s)elect, choice, choose, or chose(n). I count as irrelevant the selection of choice warriors for battle in 37:6-14, the choice offering in 16:23, the watchers marrying whomever they choose in 5:1 and 7:21, Abram choosing God in 12:19, and the place God has chosen for the temple in 32:10.

Ishmael and Esau are emphatically not chosen, since descent from Abraham does not constitute election,

እስመ : ይስማዔልሃ : ወውሉዶ : ወአጋዊሁ : ወዔሳውሃ : ኢያቅረቦ :  
 ጎቤሁ : እግዚአብሔር : ወኢጎረዮ : ቦሙ : እስመ : እምውሉደ :  
 አብርሃም : እሙንቱ : እስመ : አእመሮሙ : ወእስራኤልሃ : ጎረዮ :  
 ይኩንዎ : ሕዝብ : ወቀደሶ : ወአስተጋብአ : እምኩሉ : ውሉደ : ሰብእ ::

[JCVK] For the Lord did not draw near to himself either Ishmael, his sons, his brothers, or Esau. He did not choose them (simply) because they were among Abraham's children, for he knew them. But he chose Israel to be his people. 15:31 He sanctified them and gathered (them) from all mankind. (Jubilees 15:30-31)

Although chapter 23 does not use the language of election, one certainly finds in 2:20 that the election will not expire (see also 22:9-10).

ወጎረዳኩ : በዘርአ : ያዕቆብ : በኩሉ : እምዘርኢኩ : ወጸሐፍክዎ : ሊተ :  
 ወልደ : በኩረ : ወቀደስክዎ : ሊተ : ለዓለመ : ዓለም ::

[JCVK] I have chosen the descendants of Jacob among all of those whom I have seen. I have recorded them as my first-born son and have sanctified them for myself throughout the ages of eternity. (Jubilees 2:20)

ובחר בזרע יעקוב ב[כל מאשר ראיתי וכתבתי אתו לי לבן בכור וקדשתי אתו לי]  
 (4QJub<sup>a</sup> VII:11-12) לעולם ועד

The same is true when we turn to related language. The phrase “righteous plant” refers to *all* of Israel in Jubilees 1:16; 16:26; 21:24; and 36:6. Jubilees 21:24 is particularly interesting because the language resonates with the typical language of the apocalypses, but the context establishes a meaning which is contrary to the meaning in the apocalypses.

ወያነሥእ : እምኔክ : ተክለ : ጽድቅ : በኩሉ : ምድር : በኩሉ : ጎውልደ :  
 ምድር

[JCVK] [God] will raise from you [Isaac] a righteous plant [Jacob] in all the earth throughout all the history of the earth. (Jubilees 21:24)

(4QJub<sup>f</sup> 1:7-8) וְהָקִים מִמֶּךָּ מִטַּעַת הָאָמֶת בְּאֶרֶץ לְכוֹל דּוֹר[וֹת הָאָרֶץ]

If such a sentence were uncovered as a fragment one might not guess that the righteous plant is the entire people of Israel, but in the context of an address to Isaac and the clear tendency throughout Jubilees, the language takes on an unexpected meaning. Finally, Jubilees often uses words like “all” in phrases such as “all of them will be called children of the living God” (Jubilees 1:25), “all Jacob’s children” (1:28), “may all your [Jacob’s] descendents become blessed and holy descendents” (25:18). Jubilees uses strong language for the unity of Israel, but before making a strong conclusion we should consider one moderating point and one exception.

Jubilees emphasizes that the category “Israel” has singular and eternal significance in the classification of humanity. The emphasis on “all” suggests that the entire nation will eternally enjoy that status. Jubilees does not single out a group within Israel for eschatological reward or condemnation. This position is moderated by the fact that some individuals may sin and be punished with death. For example, in 30:22, individual Israelites who violate the covenant are subject to being erased from the book of the living and recorded as enemies, subject to *כרת*. Yet, it is precisely because they remain under the covenant that they are punished under the covenant. As we shall see when we read Jubilees 23 for the temporal axis, Jubilees does not view the covenantal curses as an unexercised threat. The covenantal relationship between God and all of Israel is not reconsidered. The potential for individual Israelites to sin and be cut off moderates but does not negate the overwhelming emphasis on the election of all Israel.

Also, the elevation of Levi might be considered an exception to the rejection of division within Israel, but the major differences are that this group designation is

traditional and in received scripture, and the role of the group is not eschatological.<sup>91</sup> The scope of the dissertation does not justify a lengthy discussion as to whether Jubilees participates in polemic between priestly groups. Although it is true that Jubilees does not make clear reference to Zadok and says less than one might expect of Aaron and Phinehas,<sup>92</sup> the simplest explanation is that the status of the Aaronides over the Levites was not hotly contested, and Jubilees focuses on the narrative setting before the establishment of the cult.<sup>93</sup> Furthermore, the acknowledgement of the traditional role of the sons of Levi but the lack of additional privilege supports the present point that Jubilees emphasizes the unity of Israel.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> For more on Levi in Jubilees see Section 7.10 below.

<sup>92</sup> Phinehas is not mentioned by name, but the expansion of the zeal of Levi for purity and endogamy is clearly modeled on Phinehas. See Numbers 25 and Jubilees 30.

<sup>93</sup> Scholars since Wellhausen have traced the tumultuous history of priestly groups from the rise of professional priests to the late and disputed familial distinctions of Levites, Aaronide Priests, and High Priests. Although disputes about priestly status frequently occurred, some scholars have overestimated the extent to which the pre-exilic disputes extended into the second century BCE. As early as the Chronicler, and certainly by the mid second century BCE in Jerusalem's priestly circles, the ascending status of all Israel, Levites, and priests (if not the high priesthood) had ceased to be hotly disputed. Thus, the fact that Jubilees elevates Levi is primarily a function of the ancestral time period in which the book is set. Although Aaron might have appeared more at the end of the book, the decision not to develop further the establishment of the priestly cult is not a snub on Aaron or propaganda for a pan-Levitical priesthood. Even more so, the lack of a "prediction" of the distinction of Phinehas or Zadok can be explained by the overwhelming tendency to stay in the narrative setting, with only general predictive passages. Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (Edinburgh A. & C. Black, 1885; reprint, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994), 121-151. Saul M. Olyan, "Zadok's Origins and the Tribal Politics of David," *JBL* 101, no. 2 (1982): 177-193. Olyan, "Ben Sira's Relationship to the Priesthood," 261-286. Joseph Blenkinsopp, "The Judaeon Priesthood During the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Periods: A Hypothetical Reconstruction," *CBQ* 60, no. 1 (1998): 25-43. Aelred Cody, *A History of Old Testament Priesthood* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1969), 146-192. Frank Moore Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1973), 195-215. Gary N. Knoppers, "Hierodules, Priests, or Janitors? The Levites in Chronicles and the History of the Israelite Priesthood," *JBL* 118, no. 1 (1999): 49-72. Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), 456-459.

<sup>94</sup> The special status of Levi may keep us from talking about *equality* of all Israel in Jubilees, but we can still talk about *unity*. In the second century BCE the voices for abolishing any hierarchical distinctions were the voices against unity, and the voices for the traditional categories were the voices for unity.

Again, the narrative setting may partly explain some of the emphasis on the unity of Israel, but again the true views come out in the eschatological hopes. Thus we turn to Jubilees 23. The first key to understanding groups in chapter 23 is that בנים is not necessarily a technical term for a particular and defined group of Jews in the second century BCE. If this is part of a pattern of allusion or similarity to the Animal Apocalypse, or a particular group behind the Animal Apocalypse and Damascus Document, one must look past the term and consider whether similar things are said about the בנים in each case. Even within chapter 23, scholars have mistakenly identified the two uses of the term as references to the same group, despite the different actions and evaluations associated with them.<sup>95</sup> Jubilees 23 first uses the term in verse 16 for the youths who revolt against their elders. There are no good reasons to assume that Jubilees has anything nice to say about these militants, although there are bad reasons, and good reasons to think the opposite.<sup>96</sup> Jubilees 23:16-21 refers to a Jewish civil war, punished by God in 23:22-25. Even if one accusation or another applies to one side and not the other, neither side is right. Nothing good is said about either side, and nothing good comes of the fighting. The repeated use of “all” and the inclusive plural pronouns (“they”) include all participants in the civil war. When God intervenes, God punishes both sides. Contrary to the Animal Apocalypse, the “Day of the Lord” is no vindication for militants. The בנים who appear in

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<sup>95</sup> Werman, “ספר היובלים ועדת קומרן,” 49-50. Testuz, *Les idées religieuses*, 166.

<sup>96</sup> Collins suggested that the reference to the children who take up arms in Jubilees 23:16 “is ambivalent at best, and may be read as disapproving.” John J. Collins, “Pseudepigraphy and Group Formation in Second Temple Judaism,” in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Esther G. Chazon, Avital Pinnick, and Michael E. Stone, STDJ 31 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1999), 53.

Jubilees 23:26 are the exact opposite in action and in consequence.<sup>97</sup> Rather than fighting, they study the laws. Rather than bringing on the wrath of God, they bring on the blessings of God. Even if we entertain the possibility that they are the same people reformed, the transformation of group identity is so radical as to prohibit a simple identification.<sup>98</sup> The relationship between the function of the children in 23:26 and the children in 23:16 is a relationship of strong contrast.<sup>99</sup> If anything is to be made of the repeated terminology, it is an accentuated contrast.

Remarkably, Jubilees does not single out any groups within Israel for special punishment or reward. In as much as there is a tension between collective guilt and punishment versus individual guilt and punishment, Jubilees 23 favors the side of collective. Although one might get the sense that the Jews who die fighting each other deserve what they get (23:20), vindictiveness is lacking in the war account, and especially the punishment and restoration accounts. The initial phase of punishment or covenantal curse comes as a famine, with the emphasis that all, not only the militants on both sides, suffer (23:18). The “great punishment from the Lord” applies to everyone

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<sup>97</sup> Collins also notes that 23:26 need not refer to a specific group within Israel, nor be identified with the militant group in 23:16. Ibid. This should be taken as a correction to a conflation in an earlier work, “the ‘children’ who begin to study the laws and rise up and drive out their adversaries can be plausibly identified with the Hasidim or a wing of that party.” Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination* (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition), 83. To be precise, God drives out the enemies, after God drove them in as a result of the “children” rising up. The children who study in 23:26 do not drive out enemies.

<sup>98</sup> One might argue that verse 26 describes a reform of the same basic party, but even if that is the case, it is more a reconstitution than a reform. Presumably the pietistic militants considered themselves faithful to the law. If Jubilees were referring to the same group, it would be denying any legitimacy, not only to their militancy, but to their former adherence to scripture by saying, “They will *begin* to study the laws, seek out the commands and return to the right way.”

<sup>99</sup> If one wished to speak exhaustively about “children” in the sequence, one would also consider 23:18, which explicitly blames the children of men (ወ-ሉድ : ሰብእ, presumably בני אדם) for the plague, and 23:25, which describes the curse of the children (ጸብቅ). These points illustrate further that “children” is not a technical term for a particular group.

(23:22). Even more explicitly, the armies God sends to punish Israel will “show partiality to no one.” What is truly remarkable, however, is the lack of judgment or vindictiveness in the eschatological restoration. The “enemies” who are expelled in 23:30 are best understood as the foreign armies who had been sent in as punishment. The eschatological hope for foreigners is not vindictive punishment, submission, or incorporation, but simply, “go home.”<sup>100</sup> The restoration restores the national boundaries laid out with care in Jubilees 9. While Israel enjoys its covenantal blessings, the other nations continue to experience the “curses” of normal life specified earlier in the chapter. Jubilees does not dwell on vengeance against foreigners, much less a group within Israel.

Likewise, on the other side, those who began the trend of studying the laws are not mentioned again for special reward. The reversal of the pattern in lifespan applies to everyone (23:27), as did the decrease. There is a mild discussion of things being made right for righteous individuals, but two observations are essential. First, neither God’s “servants” nor “the righteous” are a group; they do not refer back to any group or actions previously discussed. They are a class of individuals described by an attribute. The idea that God rewards righteous individuals is hardly sectarian polemic. Second, even if one takes 23:30 as a form of resurrection, which is hardly necessary,<sup>101</sup> the resurrected are only awakened long enough to see that everything turned out alright. Then they return to resting in peace (23:31). We should not insist on binary positions on the afterlife in

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<sup>100</sup> This is true of the eschatological framework in Jubilees 23. In other contexts one does find the idea of other nations serving Israel (Jubilees 22:11; 38:14).

<sup>101</sup> It is not explicit that those who rise had been dead. The verb “to rise” could refer to any improvement in situation. The preceding verb, “to heal,” may suggest reversal of death, but could be any suffering. Perhaps the best solution is to leave the ambiguity intact. The general emphasis of the context is not the replacement of death with eternal life, but the replacement of violent and unnatural death with peaceful death in very old age.



second century BCE Jewish thought. Sirach attests the idea of a good or bad death, but not an afterlife *per se*.<sup>102</sup> Jubilees does not say much more than that those who suffered a bad death unjustly will be set right so they can rest in peace. Certainly no one is becoming a luminary or enjoying eternal, unimaginable bliss. Finally, the “kindness” in 23:31 is not limited to an elite organization but shown to “hundreds and thousands and to all who love God.” The eschatological punishments and rewards, such as they may be, are not the vindication of a separatist group, but the restoration of an idealized past. The category “Israel” continues to be the only meaningful category for the classification of humanity, and its separation, intended from creation, finally becomes realized in the expulsion of foreigners and restoration of boundaries. *Contra* Testuz, Collins has noted that Jubilees lacks a group designation such as “chosen righteous.”<sup>103</sup> In my estimation, the evidence permits a conclusion that Jubilees not only lacks but rejects a group designation within Israel, other than the traditional priestly categories.

This sub-section has shown some significant differences between Jubilees and contemporary apocalypses. Even if the issue of human classification is not necessarily implied by the use of the genre “apocalypse,” and even if the apocalypses do not form a coherent cluster of views on the status of other nations in the future restoration, some major contrasts are evident. Contemporary apocalypses consistently qualify or reject the significance of the category “Israel.” Often enough, the category dissolves and foreign nations are incorporated in some way. Jubilees rejects this possibility. The apocalypses

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<sup>102</sup> Sirach 1:12-13 (10-11); 11:26-28; 30:4-6; 41:1-13.

<sup>103</sup> Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination* (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition), 74.

are more consistent on the elevation of a new group within Israel, particularly in eschatological contexts. The eschatological hope for the author of Jubilees is not that the author or author's group would rule over Israel or be singled out for salvation, but that they would provide the model by which the entire nation would be restored and united. Even though there is not consistency in the apocalypses on the issue of human classification, they do cluster together in a basic perspective. Jubilees addresses the issues but does not share the perspective.<sup>104</sup>

### 5.2.2. Violence

In the previous section we saw samples of how views of group definition can extend to violence, and how Jubilees 23 opposes the Jewish civil war. When we focus on the issue of violence in this section we find a number of moderating factors on both sides. Yet it remains the case that the apocalypses, with all their diversity, stand together on some form of an endorsement of violence. Jubilees, in contrast, frequently reflects a principled aversion to violence, especially violence between Jews. Three major moderating factors and two methodological caveats should be considered from the outset.

First, we can say empirically that violence is typically addressed in contemporary apocalypses, but it is not part of the definition of the literary genre, nor does a worldview necessarily follow from the illocution. Many sources that do not use the genre "apocalypse" also develop divine violence, human violence, or divine violence through

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<sup>104</sup> A more thorough study would also consider the Testament of Moses, although it is not an apocalypse and not uniformly contemporary. There may be interesting affinities with Jubilees in the idea that membership among the Jewish people and observance of the law are decisive, and that righteousness and disobedience are personal attributes, not groups.

human agency.<sup>105</sup> Nevertheless, it is not a coincidence that the apocalypses bring a twist to the relationship between human and cosmic violence. One might argue this from social psychology if one develops the idea that apocalypse is the genre of choice for the marginalized and alienated. One could also argue that the spatial axis imposes a cosmic significance to human action, even when all obvious factors suggest insignificance and the chain of cause and effect cannot be seen from human perspective. Thus, the illocution of the genre amplifies the significance of individual human action beyond the scope of mundane reality. Typically, the apocalypses amplify human violence and facilitation of violence to cosmic proportions. Jubilees, in contrast, amplifies the significance of non-militant religious observance.<sup>106</sup>

Second, we should be clear that the apocalypses offer vastly different interpretations of *how* the call to violence plays out. The Animal Apocalypse expresses a relatively practical hope of human armies inspiring an angel and God to join the battle. The hope Daniel articulates is less practical (or more realistic, depending on how one looks at it) in that the decision to stand up to evil will not be efficacious in the short term. Daniel emphasizes the efficaciousness of non-human intervention. One should not, however, miss the endorsement of violence in Daniel, or the eschatological hope of those who die in battle. Even Daniel, and certainly other apocalypses, include violence in their earthly call to action and supernatural hopes.

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<sup>105</sup> See, for example, 2 Kings 6:16-17.

<sup>106</sup> Although one can rightly speak of “determinism” in the apocalyptic worldview, it should not be overstated as to diminish the function of legitimizing a call to action. That which is determined highlights by elimination that which remains to be determined.

Third, we should not portray Jubilees as a predecessor to Gandhi in principled opposition to all forms of violence. Jubilees assesses positively the biblical wars of the patriarchs, even where the Pentateuch left ambiguity. Also, in the judgments of individual nations, which differ from the eschatological scenario of Jubilees 23, Jubilees extends the idea of violent destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah to the destruction of other nations (past or future). However, one should not be quick to assume that Jubilees presents the wars of the patriarchs as models to be replicated, or God as judging nations through the armies of Israel.

Finally, two lesser issues should be noted. First, the critical reader needs to look past the double standard of “violence is always righteous when I do it and always wicked when others do it.” We are not comparing the views of the violence of other nations (although it is interesting that Jubilees portrays foreign armies as divine punishment). Nor should we only focus on interpretation of particular historical events. As much as is possible, we should investigate the views of violence in principle. Second, it is certainly true that Jubilees writes from a different historical perspective on the Jewish civil war. I am not denying that historical retrospect partly explains the more critical view of Jubilees and the more optimistic view of the Animal Apocalypse, nor am I comparing Jubilees to less critical retrospectives (1-2 Maccabees). The point here is *that* Jubilees differs in its evaluation of violence, not *why* Jubilees differs.

We will introduce the discussion again with a sample of Third Isaiah. We will then consider the contemporary readings of earlier apocalypses, then the contemporary apocalypses. We will consider Daniel carefully, noting how it differs from Enochic apocalypses, but emphasizing the remaining positive value of violence. Finally, we will

consider how violence can continue to be justified in Jubilees, but becomes qualified within the framework of a worldview that is critical of violence.

#### 5.2.2.1. Third Isaiah

Again, we mention Third Isaiah not because it is exclusively relevant among the older non-apocalypses, but because it is especially relevant. A sample of the vindictive violence can be seen in Isaiah 63:3 and 66:16.

פִּוּרָהּ | דִּרְכֹתַי לְבִדִי וּמַעֲמִים אֵין-אִישׁ אֲתִי וְאֶדְרֹכֶם בְּאִפִּי וְאֶרְמָסֶם בַּחֲמָתִי  
(Isaiah 63:3) וַיֵּז נִצָּחֶם עַל-בִּגְדֵי וְכָל-מַלְבוּשֵׁי אֶגְאוֹלֹתָי:

(Isaiah 66:16) כִּי בָאֵשׁ יְהוָה נִשְׁפָּט וּבְחַרְבּוֹ אֶת-כָּל-בָּשָׂר וְרַבּוֹ תִלְלִי יְהוָה:

The agency is exclusively divine, but the agency is especially violent. Other passages are more clearly understood as violent hopes against other Jews (e.g., 57:12-13). Violence is not the exclusive domain of the apocalypses, but again, scholars have studied with good cause the relationship between Third Isaiah and the apocalypses.

#### 5.2.2.2. The Enochic apocalypses

The earliest apocalypses differ in that they were apparently written at a time when the perceived conflicts were relatively bloodless, or at least less immediate. We do not find specific evaluation of the Jewish civil war, but we do find a positive assessment of violence. The most obvious assessment of violence in these works set before the flood comes out in the explanation of the flood. Any account of a universal flood, including the Genesis account, is necessarily violent, but the Genesis account is notoriously vague on causality. The early Enochic works “justify” the flood as vengeance against sinners.

Thus, although the Astronomical Book does not dwell on the matter, we read, “the apostate will drown with the apostate” (81:8). The interest in the flood came to be the idea that the past obliteration of sinners was a model for a forthcoming obliteration. Thus, the violent judgment is typologically past but eschatologically future. It is true that Enoch and Noah do not appear as warriors,<sup>107</sup> but the early Enoch apocalypses do lend themselves to a homologous interpretation of angelic and human violence. If the past angelic vengeance did not *require* human participation in the imminent fulfillment of the type (*imitatio angelorum*), it certainly did not prohibit it, as evident in apocalypses that build on the early traditions with specific calls to human violence.

The apocalypses closer to the time of Jubilees dispel any doubt as to whether God commissions humans to take vengeance on humans, just as God commissions angels to take vengeance on angels. The heroes of the Animal Apocalypse can be identified as a historical army, and in 90:19 that army will be given a big sword to go out and kill “all the wild beasts” (including other Jews, the wild sheep of 90:16).<sup>108</sup> Similarly, in the Apocalypse of Weeks a sword is given to the righteous to execute judgment on the wicked and pillage (91:12-13). If the rest of the Epistle is later, it is all the more striking that its graphic images of violence may have developed outside the context of reaction to wartime events. For example, the Epistle of Enoch 98:12 reads,

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<sup>107</sup> Enoch reprimands regarding vengeance that will come, but does not execute judgment himself (Book of the Watchers 13:8). A positive assessment of vengeance is clear even when the role of humans in the typology is unclear.

<sup>108</sup> This applies to the Animal Apocalypse as we have it, not the version that may have existed prior to a pro-Maccabean revision. The latest study to isolate references to the Maccabean crisis from the rest of the work is Daniel Assefa, *L'Apocalypse des animaux (1 Hen 85-90): une propagande militaire?: Approches narrative, historico-critique, perspectives théologiques*, JSJSup 120 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007).

[GWEN] Now be it known to you that you will be delivered into the hands of the righteous, and they will cut off your necks, and they will kill you and not spare you. (Epistle of Enoch 98:12)

Human agency has come a long way. One might find a sadistic tinge in the punishment in 95:3 and 96:1, “as you desire.” We have at least two contemporary apocalypses and a roughly contemporary apocalypse that establish the extreme of historical and anticipated human violence against other humans, including Jews.

#### 5.2.2.3. The Danielic apocalypses

If one were only comparing Daniel and the Enochic apocalypses one would rightly find significant differences to emphasize. When one adds Jubilees to the consideration, however, one finds at the level of worldview that Daniel and the Enochic apocalypses stand together in ways that Jubilees stands apart. The crux of the prescribed human action is Daniel 11:32-35, but first some other tendencies in the compilation should be considered. A form of the phrase “not by human hand” appears in Daniel 2:34, 45; and 8:25 (cf. 11:45). Similarly, Daniel 7:11 implies no human action in the slaying of the beast (even the human-like figure appears only after the beast is slain). In the final apocalypse the human action prescribed in 11:32-35 does not bring about immediate victory in earthly terms. Consistently in Daniel, the cosmic feats are left to cosmic forces. Daniel has no illusions that the Maccabean soldiers, even with their angelophanies, will bring about the desired victory.

In terms of practical expectations, Daniel departs from the pro-Maccabean texts. In terms of worldview, however, we do not find a critique of empire, violence, or armed human action. In Daniel 2 the means to restoring the kingdom of Israel is supernatural,

but it is still a violent kingdom that will shatter all other kingdoms (Daniel 2:44).

Similarly, Daniel 7 looks to transfer, not abolish, dominion and empire. Indestructible is not the same as peaceful. Even with the emphasis on supernatural agency and angelic representation of the nation of Israel, Daniel 7 does not anticipate a day when humans cease to lord over others. The *means* shift to supernatural intervention, but the anticipated end is basically victory in terms of earthly empire, not a utopian vision of peace and universal direct governance by God.

Before coming to the crux of normative human response in Daniel 11:32-35, we should mention Daniel 11:14.

וּבְעֵתֵי הָהֵם רַבִּים יַעֲמְדוּ עַל-מֶלֶךְ הַנִּגָּב וּבְנֵי פְרִיצֵי עֵמָךְ יִשְׁאָזוּ לְהַעֲמִיד חָזֹן  
וְנִכְשָׁלוּ:

[JJC] In those times many will rise against the king of the south, and the violent ones of your people will raise themselves to fulfill the vision, but they will stumble. (Daniel 11:14)

Whether the anti-Ptolemaic group was pro-Seleucid or pro-independence, we find a negative evaluation both in the language used to describe them (בני פריצי עמד), and in their efficaciousness (נכשלו). Although visions were given military significance at other times (e.g. Animal Apocalypse 90:14; 2 Macc 3:25; 11:8), we cannot specifically identify this group.<sup>109</sup> This is a negative assessment of a militant uprising, but it is not the last word on human resistance.

Between the review of past history and the anticipation of future events, Daniel 11 offers only a few verses of explicit guidance on what humans should do in the present. We should distinguish “those who know their God” אֱלֹהֵי יָדְעֵי, and “the wise ones”

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<sup>109</sup> See Collins, *Daniel Commentary*, 380.



משכילי עַם.<sup>110</sup> They are obviously on the same side, but they have different descriptions, functions, and fates. The latter are a sub-category of the former. All the knowledgeable resist, but only one role in the resistance is teaching (we shall return to whether fighting is also a legitimate role in the resistance). First, the term המשכילים is stronger than היודעים, suggesting a more elite sub-group. Second, the actions are different. We should not imagine that only wisdom teachers knew their God and “stood up.” It makes more sense if a broader class stood up to resist in a variety of ways, and only a sub-class was devoted to teaching. Third, the fate of the general class and sub-class are treated differently, both here and in 12:2-3. It is true that the verb “fall” is used for both, but 11:35 is redundant if we flatten any distinction of sub-class. The other verbs are distinct. In 12:2-3 the רבים are simply resurrected, but the משכילים are elevated to become luminaries.

To summarize, the general category of those on the correct side is called “those who know their God” and “the multitude.” They stand firm and take action (יַחֲזִקוּ וְעָשׂוּ), and receive proper instruction. They suffer sword, flame, captivity and plunder, and receive little help from some insincere ones. Afterwards, they will rise to everlasting life. The more specific sub-category among those on the right side refers to those who are devoted to teaching wisdom (theologians for the cause, if you will). They are mostly called משכילים, and described as מְצַדִּיקֵי הָרַבִּים in 12:3. They will teach the multitude, and like the multitude some of them fall, but for them it serves a different function, to refine, purify and whiten them. Afterwards they become like stars forever.

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<sup>110</sup> For a different view see Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination* (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition), 111.

Now we consider the likelihood that fighting was part of the prescribed resistance. The verbs חזק and עשה may not specify military action, but they do not preclude it, and the fate of this resistance movement suggests that they had been doing more than praying in their attics. Daniel 6:10 and 2 Maccabees may portray the least confrontational forms of piety as magnets for wicked persecutors, but other sources and historical probability suggest that martyrdom came first to the soldiers. Thus, while the martyrs of 1 Maccabees 2 were killed while they refused to fight on the sabbath, it is most likely that they were being chased in the desert because of their eagerness to fight on the other six days. Only if a group is organized for a purpose can it be defeated, helped or joined (11:34). Military struggle is the most likely of the possibilities. Although there is not as much clarity as we might like on the action taken by the masses, the more important point is the basic worldview that violence is salvific. Violence is not efficacious in military terms, but it is not a vain or sinful effort either (as it is in Jubilees). Enduring violence is salvific, and it at least seems likely that violent resistance was advocated, even if the only expectation was to prove fidelity and draw martyrdom.

We should not assume that the group which produced Daniel 10-12 is described in 1-2 Maccabees or any other text. Daniel does not take a high view of Judah Maccabee, and certainly not of Antiochus Epiphanes, but this does not reduce the possibilities to quietism. The apocalypse was not composed with a sword in the hand, but the balance of evidence suggests that the group of wisdom teachers with which the author identified taught and supported armed resistance. Although they did not expect military resistance to be efficacious in a practical and immediate sense prior to divine intervention at the appointed time, and they reserved the highest reward for themselves, they did promise the fallen fighters everlasting life (Daniel 12:2). Even in a cosmic crisis the decision of the

individual still matters, not because one can determine history but because one can determine one's own eternal life. Despite the many differences from the Animal Apocalypse, at the level of worldview, Daniel shares a favorable view of cosmic violence and promotes human participation therein.

#### 5.2.2.4. Jubilees

In subtle ways, Jubilees reflects a worldview that is critical of violence. Jubilees is not written as a principled critique of violence, and other factors, such as justification of the patriarchs, easily trump this interest. Yet, one finds various comments throughout Jubilees that suggest a worldview opposed to violence. Again, one finds the worldview reflected most truly in the eschatological hopes. Jubilees 23 includes violence in the sin and punishment phase, but the repentance and restoration phases are marked by the absence of violent resistance, conquest or vindication by any agents. First we will look at some of the positive portrayals of violence that must moderate any conclusions, and then we will look at the critical passages and evaluate the relationship between the competing interests. The data can be understood as a non-violent worldview in which isolated instances of violence may be necessary as a last resort.

Jubilees is not a statement of the author's personal philosophy. The author is constrained by received scripture, theological and exegetical principles, and historical context. The worldview comes out in how the author navigates these constraints. To be sure, normative violence appears in Genesis, and even ambiguous violence at the hands of patriarchs becomes normative in Jubilees. Thus, not only do we see Abraham fighting against Chedorlaomer (Jubilees 13:25), we find Jacob's reservations in the Pentateuch

about the slaughter of Shechem resolved as emphatically justified in heaven (30:23).

There is no downplaying the fact that the interests in Jubilees in justifying biblical heroes, elevating Levi in particular, and condemning exogamy take precedence over any skepticism about the efficaciousness of armed aggression. In this context we read the most favorable portrayal of violence in Jubilees,

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ለክህነት ፡ ወለሌዋዊያን ፡ ከመ ፡ ይትለእኩ ፡ ቅድመ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡  
ከመ ፡ ንሕነ ፡ በኩሉ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ ፡ ወይትባረክ ፡ ሌዊ ፡ ወውሉዱ ፡ ለዓለም ፡  
እስመ ፡ ቀንእ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይግበር ፡ ጽድቀ ፡ ወኩነኔ ፡ ወበቀለ ፡ እምኩሎሙ ፡  
እለ ፡ ይትነሥኡ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ እስራኤል

[JCVK] It [the slaughter of Shechem] was a just act for them [Levi and Simeon] and was recorded as a just act for them. Levi's descendants were chosen for the priesthood and as levites to serve before the Lord as we (do) for all time. Levi and his sons will be blessed forever because he was eager to carry out justice, punishment, and revenge on all who rise against Israel. (Jubilees 30:17-18)

Jubilees identifies the issue and the outcome with Numbers 25, where Phinehas acts violently against exogamy<sup>111</sup> and receives a blessing for it. Even for a Jewish author not aligned with priestly interests, the justification of Phinehas was not in question. Jubilees' endorsement of Phinehas is hardly, however, an endorsement of any historical figure who invoked Phinehas to justify killing other Jews (1 Macc 2:26, 54).<sup>112</sup> The author neither denied nor avoided the positive evaluation of biblical violence. Jubilees is not a radical and principled rejection of all violence, yet we will see how Jubilees works the non-

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<sup>111</sup> Jubilees 30:7-16 emphasizes that the problem which Levi addressed was exogamy, not the rape of twelve-year-old girls.

<sup>112</sup> The violence of Levi and Phinehas is normative but not prescriptive. Any individual Jew who carries out revenge could not expect to be blessed with an eternal priesthood, at least as far as Jubilees is concerned. I do not mean to suggest that Jubilees directly engages arguments for the Hasmonean priesthood, only that it gives no indications of supporting that kind of argument. Modern readers should be careful not to mistake, based on later developments, an interpretation of Genesis and Numbers for political propaganda.

negotiable instances of just violence into a worldview that is critical of violent approaches.

The other set of moderating data is the judgment of nations. The next chapter will show that Jubilees does not follow other apocalypses in the view that all the nations and the cosmos are to be judged at once. Every nation faces judgment, but judgment happens in historical, not eschatological, time. It is important to distinguish eschatological violence from historical violence when studying the core hope and worldview, but historical violence is violence nonetheless. In some cases it is questionable whether Jubilees is venting violent hatred against a nation, or explaining how it happened that a biblical enemy of Israel has ceased to exist by the second century BCE (e.g., the Amorites in Jubilees 29:11, see 6.6.2). Jubilees 24 involves complicated issues of the texts and interpretation of Genesis, other received writings on the Philistines, and contemporary attitudes and events, but the bottom line is clear. The Philistines were to be eradicated. Whether past (Babel, Sodom and Gomorrah, Amorites), contemporary (apparently the Philistines), or future, Jubilees is not reluctant to imagine that whole nations would be eradicated for their ancestral and collective sins. This is not a vision of universal peace and tolerance,<sup>113</sup> but neither is it military propaganda. Jubilees does not challenge traditional national enmity, but the agents for the judgment of nations are God and other nations.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> Even making peace takes the form of imposing tribute in 34:9 and 38:12.

<sup>114</sup> Only in Jubilees 24:29 would one have to consider seriously the possibility that Jubilees endorses a Jewish army eradicating a population. This likely reflects a historical reality that some Jewish forces made war on some traditionally Philistine cities, and Jubilees is certainly not sorry about that. (See Charles, *Jubilees*, 154-155.) Yet it remains striking that this brief allusion appears in the context of a lengthy emphasis on a much larger program for the judgment of the Philistines. The passage emphasizes the ancestral curse recorded on the heavenly tablets, the majority action of the Greeks and Antiochus in

The justification of biblical wars and the expectation that the enemies of Israel did or would share the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah moderate the extent to which we can speak of a non-violent worldview in Jubilees. Relative to its day and relative to other apocalypses, however, a number of contrasts on the level of worldview are striking. Jubilees accepts the occasional necessity of war and violent justice, but leans in the direction of skepticism toward the efficacy of violence. First, but not least, we will consider two negative comments on the etiology of warfare. Second, we will consider the prohibition of fighting on the sabbath, which amounts to a prohibition of joining an army in the first place. Third, we will consider the frequent discussions that reflect a concern with and opposition to fraternal strife. Finally, we shall return to Jubilees 23, which condemns the Jewish civil war and imagines a restoration without violent retribution by anyone against anyone.

The first point can bear little weight in light of the frequent tendency to condemn the warfare of others while celebrating one's own. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that in two places Jubilees identifies the origin and nature of warfare as demonic. In Jubilees 11:2-5 demons inspire idolaters to shed blood, and in 5:9 the first civil war occurs between the giants. Obviously the defensive actions of the patriarchs are not demonic. Even if demons drive idolaters to initiate wars, the patriarchs are justified in fighting back. Even for its day it is not a strong position to say that wicked ones start wars and righteous people defend themselves. It does, however, fit a tendency to view war as no more than a necessary evil.

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particular (to explain the singular nouns in Jubilees 24:28), and the more supernatural eternal curse described in the poetic section.

Second, and more significantly, the legal ruling in Jubilees prohibiting fighting on the sabbath amounts to a prohibition of joining an army in the first place, at least when the enemy does not share the principle. Very early in the revolt religious militants realized that fighting on six days and resting on the sabbath was not a viable option. After the events described in 1 Maccabees 2, it became clear that soldiers had to be prepared either to fight on the sabbath or face martyrdom. Jubilees does not develop the idea of martyrdom (or related ideas of vicarious suffering or innocent blood forcing God to act), resurrection, or an afterlife other than resting in peace. We may therefore conclude that Jubilees was promoting a third option: do not be a soldier. Common sense and 1 Maccabees 2 establish that a soldier who refuses to fight on the sabbath will die, and Jubilees 50:13 establishes that a soldier who does fight on the sabbath will die. The ruling amounts to a prohibition against being a militant.<sup>115</sup>

The third point is striking not so much in content as in the number of occasions on which it is emphasized. Jubilees, writing in the wake of a civil war, repeatedly condemns fraternal strife and praises fraternal harmony, both within Israel and with Ishmael and Esau. Skipping past the more general cases (Cain and Abel, the self-destructive war of the giants), in Jubilees 20:2 Abraham proposes alliance and unity not only between the descendents of Isaac and Ishmael, but also all the sons of Keturah. In 42:25 Joseph tests for “peaceful thoughts” between his brothers, and in 46:1-2 Israelite unity is equated with prosperity and lack of satans or evil ones. The relationship between Jacob and Esau is

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<sup>115</sup> One might also consider the ruling against bloodshed in Jubilees 6:8. One might argue that here Jubilees is simply following Genesis 9:6, but just because Genesis said it does not mean the author of Jubilees did not believe it. One might also argue that shedding blood refers to murder but not war, but shedding blood on the earth does refer to war in Jubilees 23:20.

naturally much more complicated, but Jubilees continually emphasizes the ideal of fraternal harmony.<sup>116</sup> The ideal of brotherly love between Jacob and Esau is emphasized in 35:20; 36:4, 11 and so forth. The subsequent chapters develop, as literature does, the tensions and drama in such a tenuous relationship across a number of conflicting characters. The resolution reveals the perspective of the author of Jubilees. Despite his ups and downs, Esau himself comes off relatively well. The blame for the history of tension shifts to his sons, which creates an opening for the later descendents to return to their original roots of reconciling with Israel. Jacob finally recognizes the necessity of self-defense, even against his brother, but regrets the situation and commands mercy,

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 ወለእመ : ይቀትልዎሙ :: ወለአኩ : ያዕቆብ : ኀበ : ውሉዱ : ከመ :  
 ይግበሩ : ሰላመ

[JCVK] They sent to their father (to ask) whether they should make peace with them or kill them. Jacob sent word to his sons to make peace.  
 (Jubilees 38:11-12)

Peace takes the form of tribute. Perhaps the constraint of contemporary circumstance appears again. On the literary level, Jubilees promotes the ideal of fraternal harmony between the descendents of Jacob and Esau. In light of the tensions and conflicts known to have existed in the second century, the moderate (but not absolute) conciliatory tone of Jubilees is all the more striking.

Finally, we return to Jubilees 23 from the perspective of attitudes towards violence. We have already seen that Jubilees 23 condones none of the factions fighting in

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<sup>116</sup> Doron Mendels attempted to explain these chapters in terms of the political situation at the time of composition. I agree with his basic observation that Jubilees promotes the idea of alliance, although I would emphasize the extent to which Jubilees is concerned with the issues in Genesis rather than particular current events. Mendels, *Land of Israel as a Political Concept*, 57-88.



the civil war. Closely related is the fact that Jubilees views the “shedding of much blood” not as a glorious thing but as an inherently wicked thing that arouses punishment from God. Fighting, regardless of intentions, is neither righteous nor efficacious,

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ፍኖት : ወኢይትመየጡ : እስከ : ይትከፀው : ደም : ብዙኅ : ዲበ : ምድር :  
እሉ : በእሉ

[JCVK] They will stand up with swords and warfare in order to bring them back to the way; but they will not be brought back until<sup>117</sup> much blood is shed on the earth by each group. (Jubilees 23:20)

The closest Jubilees 23 comes to a positive view of violence (but still not very positive) is the foreign nations who invade Israel, since they are at least doing the will of God (23:22). The point is not that those who are fighting are sinful; the point is that fighting is sinful. Nothing good comes from any of the fighting. The only human agents of salvation are those who repent and study the laws. This virtue does not lead them to military victory. Even God, who takes on the entire remaining agency in the restoration, does not judge or punish anyone. Presumably the surviving warriors will repent and join those who have already repented and begun to study the laws properly. The closest thing to retribution is that God expels the enemies, but without violence. God had sent the nations in as punishment, now God is simply sending them home after the repentance. Separation from the nations is absolutely essential to the eschatological hope of Jubilees, but vengeance is not. Other passages discuss the judgment of individual nations, and some of them may have eschatological twists, but the core description of the eschatological

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<sup>117</sup> In context it is clear that “until” does *not* mean that they will eventually succeed in bringing anyone back to the right way even after much blood is shed.

restoration is completely non-violent. The same is true of the other unambiguously eschatological notes, Jubilees 1:22-25; 50:5; and 19:25.

Jubilees is not radically non-violent when faced with other constraints. The eschatological hopes reveal the priorities of the author when least constrained. We need not argue that the author made a deliberate attempt to promote a systematic theology of just war; we simply observe that when left to imagine an ideal future, vengeance did not make the author's list of priorities. The author promotes peace within Israel and as much as possible with the descendants of Esau and Ishmael. In principle, self-defense can be necessary, but violent activism is neither salvific nor permissible if it conflicts with the sabbath. Judgment is a function of God, not Israel, and even then it is not always as violent as one would expect from an apocalypse. Apocalypses say different things about violence, but they typically portray violent vindication favorably, especially in the eschatological hopes. It is precisely in chapter 23 that Jubilees especially uses the genre "apocalypse," especially critiques violence as the means for humans to bring about blessing, and especially describes a non-violent vision of the future.

An apocalypse, by definition, offers a broad view of the cosmos, a perspective that can only be seen with recourse to special revelation. Apocalypses always include cosmic agents, such as angels and demons, or their domains. The broad perspective often includes a broad view of humanity with an implicit interpretation of its divisions. Sometimes the orders of humanity and the orders of cosmic forces blur together.

Typically in apocalypses, the cosmic and global forces impose on an expectation of the way things should be between an all good god and a good group of people. Cosmic

and global forces can be of mixed quality, but the significance is seen as major, and the net significance in the present is seen as negative. The agents of the cosmos are in conflict, and the orders of humanity are subject to revision and reversal. Those to whom the nature of the conflict is revealed become involved in the conflict.

In Jubilees, nothing can impose itself between Israel and God. Israel can sin by dividing against itself or intermarrying with other nations, and God can use nations to punish Israel. Yet the covenantal relationship, like the cosmos itself, remains under tight control. Angels and demons exist but have no direct significance for Israel. Other nations exist but have no wisdom that the descendants of Levi do not have, and have no power over Israel except as tools of divine punishment. The only significant agents are God and Israel. The role of Israel is to study and obey the covenant. Even before Jacob was born, even before the world was created, the order of the cosmos was established the way it will always be. Jubilees offers its own broad perspective of a cosmos tightly ordered around the eternal covenant between God and Israel. Jubilees uses the literary genre of the apocalypses to subvert the apocalyptic worldview.

## CHAPTER 6

### THE TEMPORAL AXIS

Just as apocalypses describe the agents of the cosmic drama from a broad perspective, apocalypses also describe the content or meaning of history from a broad perspective. Apocalypses situate the reader in a view of history that is not empirically obvious, and offer some expectation of the future, either directly or by extrapolation from precedent and pattern. Jubilees too provides a view of history that encompasses its beginning, its structure, its turning point, and its goal. There can be no doubt that Jubilees fits the definition of the literary genre “apocalypse,” and conveys ideas about eschatology (except in the narrowest sense of absolutely final cosmic catastrophe). When one examines what Jubilees says about the meaning of history and eschatology in particular, one finds that Jubilees does not match the worldview typically conveyed by contemporary apocalypses. Jubilees does not polemicize against apocalyptic eschatology point for point, but Jubilees consistently adapts and frequently inverts the typical ideas, with the cumulative effect of conveying a vastly different worldview.

Contemporary apocalypses typically view history in exponential deterioration and expect a radical reversal with radical reward and punishment. Jubilees 23, which most directly follows the format of the historical apocalypse, evokes the images of radical eschatology but in a framework of a gradual decline and restoration. Jubilees applies a

pattern of sin, punishment, repentance and restoration to the broadest possible view of history. Although the situation should not be reduced to apocalyptic vs. Deuteronomistic theology, the pattern of apocalyptic eschatology might be better described as sin (of others), suffering (of selves), punishment (of others), and glorification (of selves). Both Jubilees and contemporary apocalypses deal with issues of sin and punishment of Israel and the nations, but place punishment differently in the scheme of history. In Jubilees 23 Israel is punished by God according to the covenantal curses, leading to repentance and permanent restoration. Other chapters discuss the judgment of other nations, but those passages should not be simply inserted into the eschatological sequence of chapter 23 as if misplaced folios. As we shall see, the judgment of other nations is not particularly eschatological. Jubilees is an apocalypse because it deals with the larger pattern of sin and restoration in history, but not every instance of sin and punishment is eschatological.

The central issue of the temporal axis is the turning point of history. In Jubilees, the turning point is already in the past and the restoration has begun. Jubilees also differs from other apocalypses in the view of history as ordered and good from the beginning, such that it needs to be restored and fulfilled but not replaced with a new creation (or covenant, or nation, or geography, or temple, or calendar). The four sections of this chapter will consider the decline of history, the final woes, the judgment, and the restoration. On each of these issues Jubilees is comparable in that we can easily identify passages for comparison. When we carry out the comparison, however, we find that the worldview of Jubilees contrasts significantly with the worldview of its fellow apocalypses.

## 6.1. The decline of history

Apocalypses vary in the range and specific content of the transcendent view of history, but apocalypses at the time of Jubilees typically claim a perspective of the present moment as a radical break-down of the course of history. The present is neither normal nor sustainable, but a recent crisis of justice that demands immediate divine intervention. A broad perspective reveals that current wickedness is either unprecedented, or has precedent just before the flood. Either way, a moment of catastrophic judgment and salvation is imminent. Jubilees adopts not only the broad scope of history, but also the idea of a pattern of decline. What Jubilees says about the decline of history, however, differs significantly from what apocalypses typically say. In Jubilees the decline is not exponential, but gradual with most of the change in the distant past. Jubilees normalizes the course of history and takes the urgency out of the view of the present.

### 6.1.1. The Enochic apocalypses

The Book of the Watchers is a cosmic tour apocalypse, not a historical apocalypse. This limits the extent to which one can specifically stratify the decline of history from the final woes, or the restoration from the judgment. Even a cosmic tour apocalypse considers implicitly the temporal axis. The next section on the final woes will better handle the relationship between suffering and eschatological intervention. The more salient point for this section follows from the *Urzeit* typology. The Book of the Watchers does not survey all of history, but the implication is that only twice in the history of the cosmos has the situation degraded so badly that God's forces must

intervene to “reboot,” as it were. Without commenting on the period in between, the Book of the Watchers indicates to the reader that the need for judgment exists in the present in a way unprecedented since the days of Noah. As if it were not clear enough in the main text, the introduction makes explicit that the revelation of Enoch’s heavenly tour is not for the generation of the flood, but a distant generation (Book of the Watchers 1:2). The same implication applies to 1 Enoch 80, found within the Astronomical Book.

What we have found implicit in the Book of the Watchers becomes explicit in the historical apocalypses of the Apocalypse of Weeks and the Animal Apocalypse. The Apocalypse of Weeks says nothing bad about the first, third, fourth or fifth weeks. A prototype of the final intervention is found in the second week, “in it will be the first end” (Apocalypse of Weeks 93:4). In brief but certain terms, deceit and violence “spring up,” as opposed to a culmination of sin beginning with Adam and Cain in the first week. The sixth and seventh weeks represent the fuller and later downward spiral. The decline begins in the sixth week with blindness and straying from wisdom, but deteriorates considerably in the seventh week with pervasive perversity. The general message, for our present purposes, is that the *status quo* is not normal. Most weeks have been righteous enough, but the present state of the world is utterly corrupt. Only once before has there been even a partial precedent for the present state of wickedness, and that ended with universal judgment and limited salvation. Those identified as the “perverse generation” are not the kinds of sinners the world has always endured, or even the culmination of a gradual process, but a unique and radical rise of evil. “Gradual” may be a relative term, since two “weeks” of history is still a long time, but the decline is not gradual over the whole span of history, and there is an exponential decline from blind to perverse.

The Animal Apocalypse describes the exponential decline of the post-exilic period at greater length. To be sure, the post-exilic period is not the only instance of injustice, but it is unique in the rate and extent of decline. Both the good and the bad of biblical history fit into the summary. The description of the period of the judges fits fairly well with the pre-exilic period in general, “sometimes their eyes were opened, and sometimes they were blinded, until another sheep arose and led them and brought them all back, and their eyes were opened” (Animal Apocalypse 89:41). The balance of justice is stable and relatively good. Only with the exile does the situation change drastically. The decline starts slowly before exponentially deteriorating. At first, the Babylonians receive the relatively mild accusation, “they began to kill and destroy many more than they had been commanded” (AA 89:65). In the Persian Period we find the problem grows to include not only the shepherds and beasts, but the sheep as well, “the eyes of the sheep were blind, and they did not see, and their shepherds likewise” (AA 89:74). In the Hellenistic period, particularly in the second century, both the shepherds and sheep reach a profound low-point. The last twelve shepherds destroy more than their predecessors (AA 90:17), evoke the lament of Enoch (AA 90:3), and one shepherd joins directly in attacking the righteous (AA 90:13). Even stronger language describes the sheep at this low-point of history, “they were extremely deaf, and their eyes were extremely and excessively blinded” (AA 90:7). That’s pretty darn blind.

The Animal Apocalypse differs from the other apocalypses in a number of particulars, and being longer, incorporates other instances of sin and punishment in the sweep of history. At the level of worldview, the view of history is the same. The apocalyptic scope of history puts the present moment in a superlative perspective. The message is that never has history seen more heinous injustice. History has shown,



however, the inevitability of divine intervention to punish sinners and reward the righteous. The logical conclusion is that a proportionately radical reversal of history will occur any moment now.

Furthermore, we should consider the “narrative bridge” of 1 Enoch 91, not because it is necessarily contemporary with Jubilees, but because it is in fact an excellent bridge between the Animal Apocalypse and the Apocalypse of Weeks. That is, it describes succinctly the basic worldview that holds together these two rather different apocalypses, and by extension the *Urzeit* typology of the Book of the Watchers, as they eventually came to be viewed as a coherent collection.

[GWEN] For I know that the state of violence will grow strong on the earth,  
and a great scourge will be consummated on the earth.

Indeed, all iniquity will be consummated,  
but it will be cut off from its roots,  
and its whole structure will vanish. [the flood]

And again [in the post-exilic period], iniquity will be consummated on the earth,  
and all the deeds of iniquity and violence and sin will prevail again.

And when sin and iniquity and blasphemy and violence increase in every deed,  
and perversity and sin and uncleanness increase... (1 Enoch 91:5-7)

We have yet to consider Daniel and Jubilees in this section, but continuing with the rest of the passage will preview nicely the following sections: the final woes, the judgment and the restoration.

[GWEN] ... a great scourge will come from heaven upon all these,  
and the holy Lord will come forth in wrath and with a scourge,  
to execute judgment upon the earth.

And in those days, violence will be cut off from its roots,  
as well as the roots of iniquity, together with deceit,  
and they will be destroyed from under heaven.

And all the idols of the nations will be given up,  
and the tower(s) will be burned with fire.

They will be removed from all the earth,  
and they will be thrown into the fiery judgment,  
and they will be destroyed in fierce, everlasting judgment.

And the righteous will arise from his sleep,  
and wisdom will arise and be given to them. (1 Enoch 91:7-10)

Thus we have an outline of a view of history that runs through a series of apocalypses as they came to be read together. In order to speak of an apocalyptic view of history we must also consider the apocalypses and collection of Daniel.

#### 6.1.2. The Danielic apocalypses and the book of Daniel

The Danielic apocalypses, like the Enochic apocalypses, vary in framework and details but revolve around a consistent view of the exponential decline of history in the post-exilic period. Perhaps the most basic difference is that the scope of history considered in the Danielic apocalypses begins with the Babylonian exile, and consequently excludes diluvian protology. The view of history is nevertheless sufficiently broad to be indisputably transcendent on the temporal axis. The decline of history pervades all the apocalypses in Daniel, even Daniel 8, which by itself does not follow through on the temporal axis to judgment and restoration. Furthermore, the collection of the twelve chapter book of Daniel casts an apocalyptic light on Daniel 2, a court tale that would not be considered an apocalypse by itself.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> On the relationship of Daniel 2 to the apocalypses proper see Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination* (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition), 90-91.

The basic structure of the vision of Daniel 2 relates the decline of history.<sup>2</sup> One could also call the decline “exponential” in that clay is significantly less valuable than the first three materials, and all the more so in the unstable compound with iron (Daniel 2:43). In the apocalypses the decline of history is less a matter of decreasing glory and more a matter of increasing wickedness, but the core worldview is the same. In Daniel 7 the fourth beast is considerably worse than the first three, ... דְּחִילָהּ וְאֵימָתָהּ וְתַקִּיפָא יִתִּירָא ... (Daniel 7:7). The exponential decline continues as even for this beast, the tenth horn is worst of all (Daniel 7:20). Likewise in Daniel 8, Media and Persia are dangerous, but Alexander more so and Antiochus Epiphanes most of all. Daniel 9 offers yet another variation on the same theme. The entire post-exilic period is designated for suffering, and within that period the situation degrades exponentially. Contrary to Daniel’s presumption, the exilic period is the least of the problem. The return lingers seven “weeks” without construction. When construction does come it does not resolve the problem. Distressful times only magnify in the final “weeks” as cataclysm and desolations envelop all (Daniel 9:26). In Daniel 10-11 the decline of history is spread over a number of details, but the nadir of history is clear in Antiochus Epiphanes, both generally and in particular statements such as, וְעָשָׂה אֲשֶׁר לֹא-עָשׂוּ אֲבוֹתָיו וְאֲבוֹת אֲבוֹתָיו (Daniel 11:24).

The decline of history is used in different ways, and one should not imagine that we have explained the central theme of Daniel by identifying a pervasive perspective of the temporal axis. It is the case, however, that all the Danielic apocalypses attest the view

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<sup>2</sup> Even if a historical-critical case can be made for an original reading of the four materials as four kings, rather than four kingdoms, the “kingdom” version was established by the time of Jubilees. See Collins, *Daniel Commentary*, 169.

of exponential decline on the temporal axis, and the twelve chapter collection connects this theme with the court tale in chapter 2. From the Danielic and Enochic apocalypses we can be sure what the transcendent view of the temporal axis typically conveyed at the time of Jubilees: the “present” of the audience is a unique crisis—close to the bottom of a catastrophic deterioration of history. Implicitly or explicitly, a broad view of history shows that the present state of injustice is not normal or tolerable from a divine perspective.

### 6.1.3. Jubilees

Jubilees manipulates the transcendent view of history in decline in a subtle but profound way. At first, Jubilees appears to be “apocalyptic” not only in literary genre, but in a part of the worldview. Indeed, Jubilees uses more of what is generic about the apocalypses than purely literary elements in that it adopts not only the transcendent view of history, but also the idea of decline. The key is to ask what Jubilees says about the decline of history. Again we find that Jubilees uses enough of what is generic about the apocalypses to evoke clearly a reader expectation, but inverts the heart of the worldview. The difference might be stated as briefly as radical versus gradual, but such a summary would not do justice to the significance of the implications. Apocalypses typically invoke the broad view of history to claim that the present period and present moment are radical departures from what is normal in the scope of history and tolerable in a view from heaven. The present moment becomes imperative precisely because the nadir of history, or the climax of evil, is recent and radical. Jubilees takes the edge off the apocalyptic view of history.

The barometer of the decline of history in Jubilees 23 is lifespan. The point of departure for the Jubilees “apocalypse” is the problem of the correlation between longevity and righteousness. As discussed in Chapter 4, Jubilees weaves together several sources even on this departure from the “rewritten” narrative of Genesis-Exodus. The point here is that Jubilees weaves together these sources specifically to establish the *gradual* nature of the decline of history. Jubilees connects the former nineteen jubilees, Abraham’s four jubilees, Moses’ two and a half jubilees, two jubilees from Isaiah 65:20, and one and a half jubilees from Psalm 90:10. Whereas the decline of history in apocalypses is typically dramatic and recent, the decline of lifespan in Jubilees is gradual and mostly long past. The descent stretches over the entire span of history from creation to the present.<sup>3</sup> The first generations saw most of the decline, whereas the decline is empirically undetectable in recent generations.<sup>4</sup> The “apocalyptic” scope of history is as broad as possible, but the present period is an organic continuation of the process of history, not a sudden deterioration demanding radical intervention. The shape of the

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<sup>3</sup> James Scott obfuscated this point in order to make the data fit his hypothesis of three periods of history in Jubilees 23. Scott, *On Earth As In Heaven*, 106-107. In fact, the gradual decline continues after Moses both in Jubilees and in received scripture. In no source does the death of Moses mark a sudden transition in lifespan. Joshua, for example, lives to 110 years. In Jubilees the transition from Moses’ 2.5 jubilee lifespan to the “normal” 1.5 jubilees lifespan is mediated by a 2.0 jubilee lifespan (Jubilees 23:11). Scott is correct that Jubilees 23:25 should not be taken literally to mean that restoration will not happen until after a generation in which no one lives longer than a few weeks (Scott, *On Earth As In Heaven*, 118-119.), but even a literary image cannot be ignored. Rather, it serves to establish the point that the gradual decrease in longevity continues from Adam to the great repentance. Moses is not a turning point in longevity but just another point on the gradual decline.

Furthermore, Paul notwithstanding (Romans 8:2), it does not make sense to present the giving of the law as marking a new era of even more premature death. Scott is at pains to suggest that the diminished lifespan after the giving of the law results from the Golden Calf or covenantal disobedience. The Calf is not mentioned in Jubilees, and the punishment of mortality applies to all humanity, and consequently could not result from Israel’s disobedience of its covenant. Scott, *On Earth As In Heaven*, 107 n. 72, 116.

<sup>4</sup> The following section on the final woes will deal with the issue of infant mortality in Jubilees 23:25.

curve is the opposite of the exponential decline typical of apocalypses. The present generation stands not in the freefall of a catastrophic plummet, but at a relatively flat point along a decline spread across history. In this way, Jubilees diffuses the urgency which is so essential to the apocalyptic worldview.

The effect of this is consistent with what we found in the previous chapter. There we found that the turn of history does not depend on agents besides Israel. Here it seems that the recent events of sin and chastisement were not determined by a pattern of history outside of human control. Contrary to what one might expect from an apocalypse, there is no indication of a determined time or auspicious dates for the events in Jubilees 23. The responsibility is purely human. God had predicted that Israel would sin and require chastisement before repenting, but it could have been another generation. The events were foreseen by God, but the exact timing was not predetermined.

## 6.2. The final woes

This section focuses on what is said about the turning point of history, which can typically be described well as “final woes”.<sup>5</sup> It is not the case that apocalypses always distinguish a stage of final woes apart from the decline of history and the judgment.

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<sup>5</sup> To be clear, other scholars have used “final woes” and related terminology to refer more generally to bad things in an eschatological context. I am using the term more narrowly to identify a stage that mediates or bridges the decline of history (or the rise of sinfulness) and the judgment. For a discussion from the perspective of New Testament scholarship on various terms see Brant Pitre, *Jesus, the Tribulation, and the End of the Exile: Restoration Eschatology and the Origin of the Atonement*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe 204 (Tübingen; Grand Rapids: Mohr Siebeck; Baker Academic, 2005), 29. Pitre sometimes distinguishes “the Great Tribulation” in a sense narrower than “the tribulation” (page 61), but defines them together as “the common Jewish expectation of a final time of suffering and trial that will take place at the end of the age” (page 29), which often includes the exilic and post-exilic periods (page 70).

Sometimes the “final woes” are most striking not in how they are distinct from the decline of history and the judgment, but how they bridge the two. Apocalypses do focus on an eschatological turning point, and that turning point is typically catastrophic (i.e., woeful). The woes are final at least in as much as they mark the last of the woes, but they also typically bring about significant permanent destruction, though not necessarily a complete end of the world. The apocalypses often place the beginning of the final woes in the reader’s present, with the consummation of the woes in the future. Variation can be found in many details, most notably in whether a period of final woes can be separated in the narrative between the decline and the judgment. It is significant, however, that the apocalypses develop a stage that mediates or bridges the nadir of history and the restoration. The duration of time between the onset of the nadir of history and the final resolution can be long or short, but some intervening stage appears. Although restoration, vindication and reward for the righteous are inevitable, the apocalypses often convey some sense that things are going to get worse before they get better.

In some cases final woes can be clearly distinguished from the decline of history and the judgment. The final woes can differ from the previous decline of history if evil escalates from a natural to a supernatural plane, or from earthly to cosmic. Sometimes the pattern of evil culminates such that it overwhelms the persecutors as well as the persecuted. The final woes can blend with the judgment, but can often be distinguished if the righteous must suffer or endure the final woes prior to their reward (perhaps as a period of testing), or if a formal and permanent judgment comes at a distinct later stage.

The “final woes” are typically future or not yet fully realized.<sup>6</sup> There is no single coherent “final woes” motif standard to all the apocalypses. There is, however, a cluster of views of the temporal axis that imagines a catastrophic nadir of history to be followed by supernatural destruction before finally leading to restoration.

#### 6.2.1. The Enochic apocalypses

The Book of the Watchers does not explicitly distinguish an intermediate period, but one does get a clear sense that the righteous remnant is rewarded only after enduring a harsh period of violent judgment. First, a preliminary observation should be made about the “trigger” for divine intervention. The climax of evil, not repentance, triggers the divine intervention. There is no cycle of sin, punishment, repentance and restoration; rather, the righteous and the wicked are ontologically distinct all along. Similarly, the punishment has no pedagogic function to prompt repentance. Punishment is retribution, not chastisement.

Even if the desolation of the earth by the teaching of Asael (Book of the Watchers 10:8) is classified as typological of the decline of history / rise of evil, the woes that fall between the intervention of God and the vindication of the righteous can be studied as final woes. Although the first divine command at the intervention is to instruct Noah on his self-preservation, the Book of the Watchers lends itself to the idea that things get worse before they get better when God’s angels intervene. The most obvious example

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<sup>6</sup> Of course one must be careful not to equate supernatural with unrealized. Certainly angelophanies were perceived to have occurred, and natural disasters could have been interpreted as supernatural cosmic upheaval.



would be the flood itself. Even though it is primarily a judgment of the wicked, even for the righteous it is a difficulty to endure prior to the realization of the restoration. The war of the giants can also be considered in this category in as much as violence increases before vindication comes.<sup>7</sup> Depending on whether one imagines Noah just barely escaping all this violence or comfortably secured all along (BW 10:3), the image of intermediate escalation of violence may not be so central to understanding the Book of the Watchers by itself. When grouped with other apocalypses, however, it fits a pattern of a worldview that expects violence and destruction to increase following divine intervention but prior to the vindication of the righteous.<sup>8</sup>

1 Enoch 80, found within the Astronomical Book, brings very different details but fits a pattern of a consummation of evil of cosmic proportions prior to the separation of the righteous and wicked for reward and punishment. Chapter 80 covers three degrees of cosmic degeneration. At the most mundane level, mis-harvest could be a direct consequence of improper calculation of seasons. Drought would not be a natural consequence of calendrical error, but is a natural event in itself that could easily be interpreted as the result of sin. The chapter introduces final woes in a more narrow sense by predicting the impact of sin on a third level: the sky will stand still and the moon will change course and become brighter (1 Enoch 80:2, 4). Two observations follow. First, the

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<sup>7</sup> Interestingly, the war of the giants becomes something of a middle-judgment. Although it is divine judgment in as much as God initiates the war, it is not sudden and overt divine judgment. Rather, the Book of the Watchers suggests a more natural principle that the wicked will succumb to their own violence prior to overt divine judgment. This point, by itself, can also be found in Jubilees, but the meaning changes in the re-contextualization. In the Book of the Watchers the giants are prototypes for latter-day tyrants, while in the Book of Jubilees they are simply examples of sinners punished. Jubilees 5 is historical, not eschatological. See also the Animal Apocalypse 88:2.

<sup>8</sup> See also, in the introduction, Book of the Watchers 1:7-8. Massive destruction often precedes the vindication of the righteous in the apocalypses.

particularly unnatural predictions are necessarily for the future, as such events could not have been claimed to have already occurred. Second, the deterioration of nature necessarily applies to all humans, with no escape for the righteous. This becomes explicit, “Evil will multiply against them and punishment will come upon them to destroy all” (1 Enoch 80:8). Presumably the wise will benefit from a proper understanding of this cosmic catastrophe, but they are affected nonetheless. The date and development of the chapter poses problems, but in general terms the chapter supports the pattern of the worldview. By the time of Jubilees, a worldview that expected final cosmic catastrophe in the near future came to be associated with the genre “apocalypse.”

The Apocalypse of Weeks provides only a brief glimpse of a period of hardship apart from the decline of history and the judgment. The rise of the perverse generation in the seventh week is the culmination of the decline of history. Even though it is violent and implies a struggle of sorts, the slaughter of the wicked in the eighth week gives no indication of hardship for the righteous, and so would be better characterized as a stage of judgment than a final woe. Although the Apocalypse of Weeks does not emphasize the woes at the end of the seventh week, a reader can easily get the sense that the conflict between the perverse generation and the chosen will get worse before it gets better. In the seventh week the chosen receive wisdom, which certainly provides the benefit of understanding and hope for imminent vindication, but they do not receive the sword and victory until the eighth week (which is certainly future relative to the reader’s present). Different texts provide different details of the conflict at the end of the seventh week, but in any case it is clear that the chosen must endure a period of conflict equipped with nothing but wisdom and knowledge before they will receive military victory in the eighth

week.<sup>9</sup> The eighth week may be near, but will not come until the forces of evil finish unraveling in the “present” conflict.

The Animal Apocalypse expands the historical detail of a conflict comparable to that implied, especially in the Ethiopic, at the end of the seventh week of the Apocalypse of Weeks. Before addressing the final woes, we should note a possible expansion of the proto-woes of the Book of the Watchers. In addition to the war of the giants and the flood, the Animal Apocalypse may add a meteor-like image of stones cast from heaven, if one can have any confidence in the text after reading the copious attempts at explanation and reconstruction (Animal Apocalypse 88:3).<sup>10</sup> Even if the Animal Apocalypse does not expand the images of cosmic catastrophe of the Book of the Watchers, it at least “seconds” and builds on its account of the former judgment.

The perspective on the Maccabean revolt in the Animal Apocalypse is somewhat constrained by reality and the function as a sort of military propaganda.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, we can still identify a worldview that shapes the perspective. The reality is that neither the pietists (חסידים) nor Judah Maccabee enjoyed immediate decisive victory. The

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<sup>9</sup> 4Q212 (Enoch<sup>6</sup>) fragment 1, column 4 line 14 is read by Nickelsburg, **וליהן עקרין אשי חמסא ועבד**, שְׁקֵרָא בִּהּ לְמַעְבַּד [דִּין] “and they will uproot the foundations of violence, and the structure of deceit in it, to execute [judgment].” The Ethiopic text is longer. Although one must be particularly suspect of the Ethiopic in light of the displacement of 91:11-17, the Ethiopic text does make at least as much sense. Here one finds a time of mutual destruction of bullies and blasphemers, **ወእምኔሁ : ይትገዛሙ : አሥራው : ዐመፃ : ወሓትኣን : ይጥህጉሉ : በሰይፍ : እምነ : ጽሩፋን : ይትገዛሙ : በኩሉ : መካን : ወእለ : ይሒልይዎ : ለግፍፅ : ወእለ : ይገብርዎ : ለጽርፈት : ይጥህጉሉ : በመጥበሕት** “And then the roots of iniquity will be cut off, and sinners will perish by the sword; some of the blasphemers they will be cut off in every place; and those who plan violence and those who commit blasphemy will perish by the sword.” Nickelsburg, *Commentary on 1 Enoch*, 436.

<sup>10</sup> See especially Tiller, *Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 254-255. Also, Nickelsburg, *Commentary on 1 Enoch*, 374-375. For lack of clear reason why the Animal Apocalypse would go beyond the Book of the Watchers where it otherwise follows so closely, it seems the image is dependent on the image of the watchers bound and cast into pits of sharp rocks and covered over (BW 10:5).

<sup>11</sup> See, however, Assefa, *Une propagande militaire?*

distinctive interpretation of the reality is that it is precisely in losing that the rebels guarantee their victory. By struggling for what is right but not themselves succeeding, the Maccabees provoke their angel and God to intercede on their behalf. Depending on how one interprets the doublet of the Animal Apocalypse 90:13-18,<sup>12</sup> the author may imagine that the woes are past and the pattern of military victory has begun, or that the righteous but losing resistance must continue before decisive divine intervention establishes victory. Either way, it is not the victory of Judah Maccabee that brings about divine salvation, but the unjust suffering. If anything the revolt brings a heightening of woes in 90:11. In verses 12 and 13 Judah Maccabee is not victorious, but only struggles, endures, and cries out. When the angel does intervene it does not mark the end of the conflict, but the turning point of the conflict. The struggle carries on, but the “woe” of the battles shifts from Judah Maccabee to his opponents.

We may or may not have an idea that it will get worse before it gets better. Although foreign angels do participate in the attack on Judah Maccabee (90:13), and God does strike the earth with a staff of wrath (90:18), we do not quite have an image of the righteous enduring a cosmic catastrophe. We do, however, have a theology of final woes. The outrageous suffering that the righteous endure in their struggle is not merely a feature of the decline of history before restoration takes place. Rather, endurance of the woes brings about divine vindication and restoration. The Animal Apocalypse supports Judah

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<sup>12</sup> Scholars differ on whether the doublet in the Animal Apocalypse 90 should be read as a literary feature produced by a single author, or as evidence of stages of composition. Personally, I prefer to read the doublet as a coherent literary device. According to my read, the point of the passage is to extrapolate from precedent to authorize bold claims for imminent victory. The doublet can be represented schematically as A B C A' B' C'. In a past battle (A) an angel helped us (B) resulting in a great victory (C). Now, in the next even bigger battle (A') an even greater theophany will occur (B') resulting in a final victory (C'). Tiller considers a “stylistic device” option but concludes otherwise. Tiller, *Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 71.

Maccabee by giving meaning to suffering, not by denying the fact that he was unable to protect the people from slaughter or claim substantial immediate victory.

Even if the Epistle of Enoch is not clearly contemporary with Jubilees, it is worth considering because it clarifies some distinctions that seem to be operative in other apocalypses. One should not impose on the various images in the Epistle of Enoch a rational sequence of events. One can, however, identify a spectrum of aspects of judgment ranging from relatively mundane consequences of wickedness, to a “collapse of iniquity”, to havoc of nature, to a “definitive theophany”<sup>13</sup> and final judgment. Along this spectrum the status of the righteous ranges from victims, to caught in the fray, to protected from punishment all around, to enjoying vindication and vengeance.<sup>14</sup>

Although there is no consistent chronology, one might find something of a sequence of aspects (rather than a mere list of synonyms) listed in the Epistle of Enoch 94:9, “you have been prepared for the day of bloodshed, and the day of darkness, and the day of great judgment.” To some extent the third aspect or “day” can be conceptually separated from the previous two. While the third belongs clearly to the following sections on judgment and restoration, the first two are better treated as “final woes,” even if the righteous are protected from the worst of them. The definitive theophany and the vindication of the righteous are inevitable, but not immediate. Each of these three days or

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<sup>13</sup> This phrase is used by Nickelsburg, *Commentary on 1 Enoch*, 425.

<sup>14</sup> Even if some of the suffering of the righteous described in the Epistle 103:9-15 belongs to the decline of history, the woes extend at least through the nadir of history. The righteous will not have to hide on the great day of judgment (EE 104:5), but they appear very much in need of protection as chaos and violence overtakes the earth (EE 96:2; 100:5). The righteous are either protected like Noah or resurrected (EE 103:4), but either way the righteous must endure until the reversal is complete. See also EE 94:11-95:1.

aspects is imminent but unfulfilled, unlike the persecution of the righteous as part of the decline of history (see especially EE 103:9-15).<sup>15</sup>

The first aspect, the day of bloodshed, seems to include a “collapse of iniquity” such that the wicked destroy not only the righteous but themselves as well. Two passages describe such a phase of chaos and war prior to the theophany. The longer of these extends from the Epistle of Enoch 99:16 to 100:6. God initiates the destruction and the angels assist (EE 99:16, 100:4), although their involvement is known only to the wise. This aspect is comparable to the war of the giants in the Book of the Watchers. “Iniquity collapses” (EE 100:6) not merely under its own weight, but with some help. The war is natural in means (sword) but exceptional in cause (divine), object (against one’s own beloved), and result (blood flowing to a horse’s breast). The final collapse of iniquity seems to be further described from a perspective related to women in the infant-abandoning chaos and bloodshed of the Epistle of Enoch 99:4-6.

The second aspect, the day of darkness, resonates with the judgment through the forces of nature described in the Epistle of Enoch 100:11-13.<sup>16</sup> The cosmic nature of the final woes was already found in 1 Enoch 80 (in the Astronomical Book) and implicit in the Book of the Watchers in that, like the flood waters already used, the cosmos contains places and storehouses of elements that can be used for judgment. In the Epistle of Enoch the elements take an active role in judgment, not only in being withheld (dew and rain) or inundating (cold, snow and frost), but in testifying. Before God has the last word, the chaos and punishment extend to the natural order. The Epistle does not develop how the

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<sup>15</sup> Nickelsburg, *Commentary on 1 Enoch*, 425.

<sup>16</sup> See also The Epistle of Enoch 101:2.

righteous get through this, but it is at least clear that unlike the wicked, they endure (EE 100:13). As the final judgment of the “definitive theophany” dawns, the earth is in confusion, the luminaries shake, and a “flood of fire” comes down (EE 102:1-3).

The bottom line in the Epistle of Enoch is that justice is absent in the present and chaos will increase before order is restored. The fundamental instruction for the righteous is, “endure.” As mentioned above, the “narrative bridge” situates the final woes in a succinct summary of the basic eschatological expectation of several Enochic apocalypses (91:7; page 352 above). The notion of final woes varies in the Enochic apocalypses, but revolves around the idea that a catastrophe like the flood is about to happen again. The basic common view of the final woes is that the righteous must endure as wickedness consummates to overtake the wicked themselves, and chaos and destruction extend throughout the cosmos before justice will be restored. Without making reference to the flood, the apocalypses in Daniel suggest a similar worldview.

#### 6.2.2. The Danielic apocalypses

The descriptions of Antiochus Epiphanes in Daniel 8 and 9 extend the idea of the decline of history to an extreme that could be classified as final woes. Antiochus Epiphanes is more than just the culmination of the decline of history in that his evil wreaks havoc on everyone, not only the righteous and holy in Israel. Daniel 9:26 might suggest that even the death of Antiochus Epiphanes would not be the end of the war and desolations, וְקִצּוֹ בְּשִׁטָּף וְעַד קֵץ מִלְחָמָה נִחְרָצֶת שְׁמָמוֹת, “his end will be torrential, yet desolations will be until the end of the determined war.” Daniel 12 pushes further,

however, to imagine an even worse period for the righteous to endure, after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes and *after* the beginning of the divine intervention.

וּבַעֲתָהּ הִיא יַעֲמֹד מִיְכָאֵל הַגָּדוֹל הָעֹמֵד עַל־בְּנֵי עַמּוֹךְ וְהִיתָה עֵת צָרָה אֲשֶׁר  
לֹא־נִהְיָתָה מִקִּיּוֹת גְּזִי עַד הָעֵת הַהִיא וּבַעֲתָהּ הִיא יִמְלֹט עַמּוֹךְ כָּל־הַנִּמְצָא כְּתוּב בְּסֵפֶר:

At that time Michael, the great prince who stands over your people, will stand up, and it will be a time of distress such that has not been from when nations came to be until that time. At that time your people will be delivered—all those found written in the book. (Daniel 12:1)

Strikingly, the rise of Michael does not bring deliverance immediately, but only after even more woes. Indeed, one might well think that the woes, and particularly death, are useful or even necessary for salvation. In 11:35 death serves the function of refining, purifying, and whitening (also 12:10). Even if the undead qualify for reward in 12:3, the dead are singled out for everlasting life in 12:2. It is not the case that death is strictly required. Yet, by the time we read Daniel 12:12, אֲשֶׁר־יִמְחָקָה וַיָּגִיעַ לַיָּמִים אָלָף שָׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת, שְׁלֹשִׁים וַחֲמֵשֶׁה, “happy is the one who endures and comes to 1335 days,” it is clear that enduring against death is less important than enduring against apostasy. Despite significant differences, the woes in the last apocalypse of Daniel resemble the Animal Apocalypse in the assignment of a salvific function to the final woes. Daniel also joins the other apocalypses in the general view that evil will increase to the extremity of the imagination before the final reversal of woe.

### 6.2.3. Jubilees

Jubilees 23 adopts the generic features of the final woes in the other apocalypses, but subverts their typical meaning. Jubilees 23 evokes images of natural catastrophe, civil war and invasion that precede an eschatological restoration. It places these predictions in



an ancient setting, and uses language features typical of historical apocalypses such as, “in those days,” “then it will be said,” and so forth.<sup>17</sup> Arguably, Jubilees 23 develops more aspects of the final woes than any single previous apocalypse. Inarguably, Jubilees 23 evokes a reader expectation of a worldview comparable to that of other apocalypses on the issue of final woes. The message about those final woes is dissonant with such an expectation. In Jubilees 23 the final woes are not that final and not that woeful. Jubilees 23 undermines the typical meaning of the final woes through two basic means. First, the “woes” are punishments directly ordained by God and justly imposed on sinners according to the terms of the covenant in order to prompt repentance. Consistent with what was said in Chapter 4 on the view of revelation, Jubilees draws its “prediction” of the final woes not from new revelation but by reading the covenant curses as predictions rather than conditional threats. Second, the “woes” have already been fulfilled by the reader’s present. Even compared to the covenant curses, but especially compared to the apocalypses, the woes of Jubilees 23 are toned down. Rather than stretching the imagination with extreme catastrophe, Jubilees 23 reduces the curses to events that have already happened in the course of history. As we shall see, the fulfillment of the covenant curses, which can be taken as prerequisites for the restoration, allows Jubilees to argue that the restoration period has already begun. Both of these points require further elaboration.

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<sup>17</sup> It also gives the “final woes” in a rather long list in Jubilees 23:13, which may resonate with a tendency among the apocalypses. See Stone, “Lists of Revealed Things,” 414-452.

6.2.3.1. The “final woes” are just chastisement from God as prescribed by the covenant.

Jubilees 23 follows a familiar pattern of human sin and divine punishment following the terms and punishments of the covenant, particularly in Leviticus 26 and Deuteronomy 28. The sin is human sin within Israel, not a cosmic or even international evil force. The sin which “that evil generation” commits, including injustice and impurity, all comes down to covenantal infidelity.

**ወበእንተ ፡ ኀዲሳቶሙ ፡ ሥርዓተ ፡ ዘተካየደ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ማእከሎ ፡  
ወማእከሎ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይፅቀቡ ፡ ወይግበሩ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ትእዛዙ ፡ ወሥርዓቶ ፡ ወኩሎ ፡  
ሕጎ ፡ ወአልቦ ፡ ተግኅሦ ፡ ፀጋመ ፡ ወየማነ**

[JCVK] ... because of their abandoning the covenant which the Lord made between them and himself so that they should observe and perform all his commands, ordinances, and all his laws without deviating to the left or right. (Jubilees 23:16)

The reduction of lifespan to one and a half jubilees can be attributed to the general wickedness of all humankind, but all the other woes appear in this covenantal framework of Jewish sin and just divine punishment. In other apocalypses Jewish covenantal infidelity might appear as at most a subordinate factor (e.g., Animal Apocalypse 89:60). In other apocalypses, the wicked afflict the chosen and God destroys the wicked, and the chosen may have to endure while God destroys the wicked. The other apocalypses do not, however, explain the final woes as God chastising God’s people.

The pattern of inversion applies to divine punishment as well. In Enochic apocalypses the war of the giants is a form of divine punishment, but the civil war in Jubilees 23 is part of the sin against God. God does not “send a sword” or in any way commission the civil war in Jubilees 23:16-21. Some may claim to kill on God’s behalf, “but neither truly nor rightly” (Jubilees 23:21). God’s negative evaluation of the Jewish civil war is made clear by God’s punishment of it, first in famine (Jubilees 23:18) and

then in foreign invasion (Jubilees 23:22-24). Although Jubilees 23 does not say that God sent the famine, it is implicit not only in that God controls nature but also from the pattern in received scripture that God punishes sin with famine and diminishment of natural bounty. Nothing is left implicit with respect to the second phase of divine punishment, “there will be a great punishment from the Lord for the actions of that generation” **ወይከውን ፡ መቅሠፍት ፡ ዐቢይ ፡ ዲበ ፡ ግብረ ፡ ይኣቲ ፡ ትውልድ ፡ እምነበ ፡ እግዚአብሔር** (Jubilees 23:22). In Chapter 5 we saw how Jubilees 23 centers on the agency of Israel and God, eliminating or reducing to pawns cosmic evil and the nations. Here we examine the same material from a perspective of the placement of suffering in an eschatological framework. The turning point of history comes about not as a divine intervention to reverse the climax of evil. The turning point comes about as a result of repentance. The preceding woes are explicable as sin and just punishment. In several apocalypses enduring unjust suffering has the positive result of calling God to action. In Jubilees the suffering is just and has the positive result of calling Israel to repentance. Furthermore, the woes of famine and invasion are not a crisis of justice to be rectified, but the enforcement of covenantal justice.

The connection to the covenantal curses is apparent not only in the explicit framework of “they will abandon the covenant... God will punish...,” but also in the details of the punishment. Jubilees is not a line-for-line retelling of Deuteronomy 28 or Leviticus 26, but almost every detail in Jubilees 23 has a parallel in these chapters. An examination of these parallels establishes the present point that Jubilees 23 re-contextualizes the final woes as covenantal chastisement. The parallels also bring us to the next point, that the final woes are toned down to fit the claim that the covenantal prediction has already been fulfilled and the restoration begun.

6.2.3.2. The “final woes” have already been fulfilled.

For convenience sake one can organize the woes in Jubilees 23 under the categories of sickness, famine, and invasion. The first category is anticipated in Jubilees 23:12 but detailed in Jubilees 23:13,

**መቅሠፍት ፡ ዲበ ፡ መቅሠፍት ፡ ወጽልዓን ፡ ዲበ ፡ ጽልዓን ፡ ወምንዳቤ ፡ ዲበ ፡  
ምንዳቤ ፡ ወስምዓተ ፡ እኩይ ፡ ዲበ ፡ ስምዓተ ፡ እኩይ ፡ ወደዊ ፡ ዲበ ፡ ደዊ ፡  
ወኩሉ ፡ ኩነኔ ፡ እኩይ ፡ ዘከማሁ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ደዊ ፡ ወገበጥባጥ**

[JCVK] blow upon blow, wound upon wound, distress upon distress, bad news upon bad news, disease upon disease, and every (kind of) bad punishment like this, one with the other: disease and stomach pains;  
(Jubilees 23:13)

The continuation of the list will be considered in the second category. For the sake of brevity we will focus on Deuteronomy 28, although the same points can generally be made from Leviticus 26. Deuteronomy 28:21-22, 27-28, 35, 59-61 list comparable illness. Since we are not concerned with the finer points of language, the NRSV translation will suffice.

The LORD will make the pestilence cling to you until it has consumed you off the land that you are entering to possess. The LORD will afflict you with consumption, fever, inflammation, with fiery heat and drought, and with blight and mildew; they shall pursue you until you perish.  
(Deuteronomy 28:21-22)

The LORD will afflict you with the boils of Egypt, with ulcers, scurvy, and itch, of which you cannot be healed. The LORD will afflict you with madness, blindness, and confusion of mind. (Deuteronomy 28:27-28)

The LORD will strike you on the knees and on the legs with grievous boils of which you cannot be healed, from the sole of your foot to the crown of your head. (Deuteronomy 28:35)

Then the LORD will overwhelm both you and your offspring with severe and lasting afflictions and grievous and lasting maladies. He will bring back upon you all the diseases of Egypt, of which you were in dread, and they shall cling to you. Every other malady and affliction, even though not

recorded in the book of this law, the LORD will inflict on you until you are destroyed. (Deuteronomy 28:59-61)

The apocalypses do not include ordinary sickness among the final woes; indeed “ordinary” is a key difference between the woes in Jubilees and those in the apocalypses. Knowing how closely Jubilees depends on received scripture, it is not surprising that Jubilees draws from the contents of the covenant curses to provide the final woes of the genre “apocalypse.” It is striking, however, that Jubilees recasts the covenant curses in such a way that they could easily be said to have been fulfilled already. An interpreter might imagine that the threats of Deuteronomy 28 are not conditional but predictions to be fulfilled before an end to all suffering can come about. While one might wonder if the extremes of Deuteronomy 28 had yet been fulfilled, the disease curses as retold in Jubilees have clearly already been fulfilled.

The second category follows the same pattern of framing the covenant curses in such a way that they have already been fulfilled. Jubilees 23 lists woes related to famine and forces of nature first in the continuation of 23:13, and then in 23:18 following the Jewish civil war.

... ወአስሐትያ : ወበረድ : ወሐመዳ : ወነበርጸው : ወሰከሕካሕ : ወሰዖዛዝ : ወዐባር ...

[JCVK] ... snow, hail, frost, fever [or: heat], cold [Ethiopic ambiguous, Latin has *frigora*, Leslau offers “chaff”<sup>18</sup>], numbness, famine... (Jubilees 23:13)

ናሁ : ምድር : ትትሐጉል : በእንተ : ኩሉ : ምግባሮሙ : ወአልቦ : ዘርክ : ወይን : ወአልቦ : ቅብክ : እስመ : ኩሉ : ካሕድ : ምግባሪሆሙ : ወኩሎሙ :

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<sup>18</sup> One might wonder if ቦጋጽ “dust, soot” in Deuteronomy 28:24 could lie behind the rare Ethiopic word ነበርጸው for which Leslau gives “chaff.” Wolf Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic): Ge'ez-English, English-Ge'ez, with an Index of the Semitic Roots* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1987).

ይቲሐጐሉ : ጎቡረ : አራዊት : ወእንስሳ : ወአዕዋፍ :: ወኩሉ : ዓግተ :  
 ባሕር : እምቅድመ : ውሉድ : ሰብእ

[JCVK] The earth will indeed be destroyed [or: diminished] because of all that they do. There will be no produce [or: seed] from the vine and no oil because what they do (constitutes) complete disobedience [literally: every disobedience is their practice]. All will be destroyed [or: diminished] together—animals, cattle, birds, and all fish of the sea—because of mankind. (Jubilees 23:18)

For this category we should examine the parallels not only with Deuteronomy 28, but also other texts in order to examine how borrowed language changes meaning in the new context. Deuteronomy 28 describes famine and afflictions of nature in 22-24, and 38-40.

[NRSV] The LORD will afflict you with consumption, fever, inflammation, with fiery heat and drought, and with blight and mildew; they shall pursue you until you perish. The sky over your head shall be bronze, and the earth under you iron. The LORD will change the rain of your land into powder (קֶבֶץ), and only dust shall come down upon you from the sky until you are destroyed. (Deuteronomy 28:22-24)

[NRSV] You shall carry much seed into the field but shall gather little in, for the locust shall consume it. You shall plant vineyards and dress them, but you shall neither drink the wine nor gather the grapes, for the worm shall eat them. You shall have olive trees throughout all your territory, but you shall not anoint yourself with the oil, for your olives shall drop off. (Deuteronomy 28:38-40)

Again, the sky of copper and earth of iron is a harsher image than that given in Jubilees, and everything in Jubilees could be easily considered fulfilled. The correspondence is even closer in the next part, abbreviated in Jubilees. This is especially true in light of VanderKam's demonstration that by a simple loss of a conjunction the present Ethiopic text could have come from an original "seed, wine and oil".<sup>19</sup> The situation gets more interesting with the destruction of land, water and sky animals in Jubilees.

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<sup>19</sup> VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text*, 144. This phrase also occurs in Deuteronomy 28:51, although in the context of foreign invasion rather than diminishment of natural bounty, דָּגָן וְיֵצֶהָר, "grain, wine and oil."

Although Deuteronomy 28 lists slaughter and theft of livestock by foreigners in the next category (invasion), the image in Jubilees is not theft and not limited to domesticated or even land animals. One should not think that Jubilees is simply extending the famine to fishing and hunting. On the contrary, Jubilees tends to shorten and tone down Deuteronomy 28 and Leviticus 26. Indeed, we must look elsewhere for the source of such an image. The flood is a natural place to look for an idea of destruction of all life on earth, but the immediate problem is that the flood in Genesis (and common sense) would not have killed fish. If anything, it would take an amplified sequel to the flood to destroy fish. An amplified sequel to the flood is implicit or explicit in the Enochic apocalypses, but one does not find the detail of the destruction of fish. In as much as the image fits the category of cosmic destruction it certainly evokes the parallel tendency in the apocalypses. Yet, the specific image leads us away from the apocalypses and the idea of “final woes.” What is said about this diminishment of nature as a result of human sin differs from what is sometimes said about cosmic destruction in the apocalypses. Although Zephaniah 1:3 is also comparable, the closest parallel to Jubilees 23:18 is Hosea 4:3. Even if one does not accept that the author or the audience would have made such a connection, the passage is at least illustrative of how such language could be used in a non-apocalyptic, non-final framework.

עֲלֵכֶן | תֵּאָבֵל הָאָרֶץ  
וְאִמְלֵל כָּל־יֹשֵׁב בָּהּ  
בְּחַיֵּית הַשָּׂדֶה וּבְעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם  
וּגְמֻלֵי הַיָּם יִאָּסְפוּ:

Thus the land dries up  
Everything that dwells on it languishes  
Everything among the beasts of the field and the birds of the sky  
Even the fish of the sea are withheld (Hosea 4:3)

This passage might have been understood as a condemnation of a fertility cult, such that diminishment of fertility was a fitting punishment for idolatry intended to increase fertility. At any rate, the point is that the passage describes diminished fertility, not a cataclysmic end of all life. One should be careful not to over-translate the verbs אבֵל, אִמָּל, and אִסָּף. The idea is of drying up, languishing, and being withheld, not destruction. It is also clearly a punishment from God for the covenantal infidelity of Israel.

Both points are also true of Jubilees. The continuation of Jubilees 23 makes clear that Jubilees 23:18 does not describe the catastrophic destruction of all life, but rather a diminishment of bounty comparable to the diminishment of lifespan. The Ethiopic verbs in this verse (from the root ማለ “to lose”) need not indicate catastrophic destruction. VanderKam’s rendering “destroyed” is possible, but so is, “deprived” or “diminished.” It stands to reason that such a polyvalence operated in the Hebrew original. Also, the lack of fertility is clearly punishment of covenantal infidelity, not an extermination of universal wickedness and contamination. After all, the world proceeds unimpeded in the next verse. On one hand, the language helps evoke comparison with the second flood or other forms of universal catastrophe in the apocalypses. On the other hand, in context and in light of the connection with received scripture (Hosea), the diminishment of fertility as a result of covenantal disobedience takes on a very different meaning. In this light, it makes sense that the diminishment of fertility does not appear in Deuteronomy 28 because it is not woeful enough.

The climactic third category of punishment is foreign invasion. In this case the woes are indeed woeful, but still no more so than the covenant curses, and they do not go beyond events already fulfilled in the 160s BCE. More importantly, the foreign invasion is not the climax of injustice and evil against God, but just punishment from God according



to the terms of the covenant. This category too is previewed in the list in Jubilees 23:13, but expanded at length in 23:22-23.

... ወሞት : ወመጥባሕት : ወዚዋዌ :: ወኩሉ : መቅሠፍት : ወሕማም ::

[JCVK] ... death, sword, captivity, and every (sort of) blow and difficulty.  
(Jubilees 23:13)

ወይከውን : መቅሠፍት : ዐቢይ : ዲበ : ግብረ : ይእቲ : ትውልድ : እምነበ :  
እግዚአብሔር : ወይሁረመ : ለመጥባሕት : ወለኩነኔ : ወለዚዋዌ :  
ወለሀይድ : ወለብልዐት :: ወያነቅህ : ላዕሌሆመ : ኃጥኣኒሆመ : ለአሕዛብ :  
እለ : አልቦመ : ላዕሌሆመ : ምሕረተ : ወሃህለ : ወለገጸ : መኑሂ :  
ኢያደልው : ኢለልሂቅ : ወኢለወሬዛ : ወኢለመኑሂ : እስመ : እኩያን :  
ውንያላን : ከመ : ይእከዩ : እምኩሉ : ውሉደ : ሰብእ : ወይገብሩ : ውስተ :  
እስራኤል : ሀከከ : ወዲበ : ያዕቆብ : አበሳ : ወይትከዐው : ደም : ብዙኅ : ዲበ :  
ምድር : ወአልቦ : ዘያስተጋብእ : ወአልቦ : ዘይቀብር ::

[JCVK] There will be a great punishment from the Lord for the actions of that generation. He will deliver them to the sword, judgment, captivity, plundering, and devouring. He will arouse against them the sinful nations who will have no mercy or kindness for them and who will show partiality to no one, whether old or young, or anyone at all, because they are evil and strong so that they are more evil than all mankind. They will cause chaos in Israel and sin against Jacob. Much blood will be shed on the earth, and there will be no one who gathers up (corpses) or who buries (them).  
(Jubilees 23:22-32)

Twenty-nine verses in Deuteronomy 28 describe invasion and exile of some kind. The point is not that foreign invasion links Jubilees 23 to the covenant curses more than the apocalypses, although two details are worth noting. The main point is that the explanation of foreign invasion in Jubilees is the same as in Deuteronomy, contrary to the apocalypses. Furthermore, the curses of Deuteronomy 28 are toned down to exclude woes not already fulfilled in the 160s BCE.

Two details connect Jubilees 23 to Deuteronomy 28. We have already discussed how the slaughter in 1 Maccabees 7:17 became related to Psalm 79 for the image that

none were left to bury. Although Jubilees uses language from Psalm 79, the idea was also “predicted” in Deuteronomy,

וְהָיְתָה נְבִלָתָךְ לְמֵאֲכָל לְכָל־עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם וּלְבִהֶמַּת הָאָרֶץ וְאִין מִחֲרִיד:

Your corpses shall be food for every bird of the air and animal of the earth, and there shall be no one to frighten them away.  
(Deuteronomy 28:26)

Additionally, the specific mention that ruthless foreign invaders would show partiality neither to the aged nor the young comes straight from Deuteronomy,

גּוֹי עֶז פָּנִים אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יִשָּׂא פָנִים לְזָקֵן וְנָעַר לֹא יֶחֱזֵן:

... a grim-faced nation showing no respect to the old or favor to the young.  
(Deuteronomy 28:50)

Despite the similarities in general idea and specific details, there is also a striking difference in that Jubilees 23 excises any curses that cannot be counted as already fulfilled, such that the restoration could have already begun. The more striking general absence is the idea of exile. The Assyrian and/or Babylonian exile is mentioned in Jubilees 1, but no such mention is made in the “recent” historical apocalypse. Since the historical persecutions of the 160s BCE did not include exile, and the author did not anticipate exile happening again prior to restoration, this curse was simply omitted. Furthermore, as bad as the worst of the woes in Jubilees 23 may be (although some of them are strikingly quotidian, such as stomach aches and death at the age of seventy or eighty), the woes in Jubilees are still toned down relative to the covenant curses. For example, Deuteronomy 28:53-57 describes the most outstanding citizens reduced to eating their children and afterbirth, and greedily refusing to share with the rest of the family. Among the threats read as predictions, this one apparently was not fulfilled in recent memory. The other apocalypses, which typically imagine the situation getting

worse before it gets better, might simply have kept this prediction (if they were to base their final woes on the covenant curses). As we shall see, for Jubilees, things have already started to get better and the beginning of the gradual restoration is already realized.

Finally we come to the main issue that sets the explanation of foreign invasion in Jubilees 23 apart from the apocalypses. Jubilees 23:22-23 emphasizes three times that the punishment is from the Lord, the Lord delivers Israel to punishment, and the Lord arouses against them the sinners of the nations. Deuteronomy 28 also inserts frequent reminders that the curses are actively imposed by God as just punishment. For example, *וְעַבַּדְתָּ אֶת־אֱלֹהֵי אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁלַחְנוּ יְהוָה בְּךָ* (Deuteronomy 28:48), and *יֵשָׂא יְהוָה עָלֶיךָ גּוֹי* (28:49). The typical apocalypses, however, do not really entertain the idea that persecution of the chosen by outsiders occurs at the will of God.<sup>20</sup> Foreign armies represent external forces of evil acting unjustly. At most God waits to restore justice while the wicked pile up enough sin to warrant their absolute destruction. In the typical apocalypses the climax of evil is anything but a just act of God in a covenantal framework intended to prompt repentance.

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<sup>20</sup> The Animal Apocalypse attributes such action by God to the destruction of the northern kingdom, which only enhances the contrast with the very different description of the “present” destruction (Animal Apocalypse 89:55). The Animal Apocalypse also includes some possibility that part of the beginning of the decline of history started according to God’s command, but the situation quickly degrades beyond any punishment conceivably willed by God (Animal Apocalypse 89:65).

As discussed in Chapter 5, Daniel 9:11 represents a view external to the apocalypse. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination* (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition), 108-109. Collins, *Daniel Commentary*, 360. Bedenbender, *Der Gott der Welt* 238-240.

### 6.2.3.3. The white children

Thus far Jubilees has frequently evoked formal elements of the genre “apocalypse,” but consistently adapted them to convey a very different view of the temporal axis. Any such manipulation of reader expectations can be called irony in a general sense, but irony is not necessarily mischievous or intended to ridicule. In some examples, one might think the irony is simply the by-product of reframing a Deuteronomic view of suffering in the framework of the apocalypses. (Although even at that one would have to evaluate the significance of such a decision.) The borrowing and adapting of literary features to tell a different point of view could be explained in a number of ways. As we come to Jubilees 23:24-25 we find some of the stronger evidence in favor of a mischievous use of irony.<sup>21</sup>

Already in Chapter 3, as we considered the historical context of Jubilees, we noted some parallels between Jubilees 23:24 and other apocalypses.

**በውሕቱ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ ይጸርኑ ፡ ወይደውዑ ፡ ወይደልዩ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይድኅኑ ፡  
እምእደ ፡ ኃጥኣን ፡ አሕዛብ ፡ ወአልቦ ፡ ዘይድኅን**

[JCVK] At that time they will cry out and call and pray to be rescued from the power of the sinful nations, but there will be no one who rescues (them). (Jubilees 23:24)

First, one might compare this passage to the Animal Apocalypse. In both apocalypses we find “crying out” at an eschatological climax. In the Animal Apocalypse the lambs and the rams cry out first to the sheep but ultimately for divine assistance, such that the angel and God intervene to support the rams in battle (Animal Apocalypse 89:6, 10, 11, 13).

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<sup>21</sup> Literary critics distinguish Horatian and Juvenalian satire on the basis of whether it is poking fun in a friendly way, or it is a bitter attack. An openness to comparable possibilities should be brought to the consideration of Jubilees 23:24-25.

Although the initial cry of the lambs to the deaf sheep is ineffective, the subsequent cries are successful first in rousing an army, and second in enlisting the angel and God directly to provide military support. The image of crying out suggests that the Maccabees raise a just complaint that is heeded by the non-wild sheep and by God. Jubilees 23:24 could be understood to reject the possibility that the prayer of the Maccabees was or would be heeded by God. As discussed in Chapter 3, Jubilees counts the Maccabees among the self-righteous sinful Jews who kill other Jews. Since the punishment comes from God as a result of Jews killing other Jews, praying to God with a sword in hand will not cause God to rescue anyone.

Jubilees 23:24 possibly echoes another apocalypse, Daniel 11:34.

(Daniel 11:34) וְבִהְיוֹתָם יְעֲזָרוּ עִזָּר מְעַט וְנִלְוּ עֲלֵיהֶם רַבִּים בְּחִלְקֵלְקוֹת:

Here we find a more skeptical assessment of human forces creating an efficacious alliance. Skeptical as the *maskilim* may be of the masses, however, we have already seen Jubilees' skepticism that *any* militants are on the right track. Militants are not a little help, but *no* help. Indeed, they are the problem addressed in Jubilees 23:16-21. Interestingly enough, the next verse in Daniel brings us to the next verse in Jubilees 23.

Much has been said in attempts to explain the white children in Jubilees 23:25.<sup>22</sup> Certainly Isaiah 65:20 is relevant to the pattern of longevity already discussed as part of the decline of history, but does not account for the image of white headed children. We already have copious reason to be critical of any assumptions that an image in Jubilees means what it means in other apocalypses. The path to understanding this verse is to ask

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<sup>22</sup> A very different attempt at explanation was offered by André Caquot, "Les enfants aux cheveux blancs: réflexions sur un motif," in *Mélanges d'histoire des religions offerts à Henri-Charles Puech* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974), 161-172.

three questions: (1) What is typically said of white children in apocalypses? (2) What is typically said of white children in received scripture? (3) What is said of white children in Jubilees?

The apocalypses and related traditions consistently present the images of whiteness and/or children positively. Regardless of one's best guess as to the existence of a Book of Noah, or the date of 1 Enoch 106:2 and the Genesis Apocryphon, one can be confident that a positive image of a snow-white birth of Noah existed by the time of Jubilees. Even if such a traditional image was not expressed exclusively in the genre "apocalypse," it is easy to link the image to the apocalyptic worldview. The components "white" and "child" also appear somewhat distinctively in the apocalypses. Thus, in Daniel 11:35 the wise are "whitened" by the final woes and death. In the Animal Apocalypse white represents goodness and holiness, and the rams become white in the restoration (Animal Apocalypse 90:32). Although I remain unconvinced that הבנים was a technical term for a particular group, there certainly are examples that allude to a group or class in such a way.<sup>23</sup> The white children in Jubilees may not be a direct reference to any one apocalypse in particular, but that is not the issue. The issue is that based on what one typically finds in apocalypses by the time of Jubilees, one would expect white children to be a good thing, and probably associated with the circles responsible for composition.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> See Kister, "לתולדות כת האיסיים," 8-9.

<sup>24</sup> One might also consider a later text, the Parables of Enoch. A white head is certainly a good thing in reference to the "head of days" (God, cf. ancient of days in Daniel 7:9, 13), whose "head was like white wool" (Parables of Enoch 46:1).

There may be a tendency for the modern reader to assume that the positive valuation of “white children” is universal, rather than particular to the apocalypses. In fact, whiteness is not typically equated with holiness in non-apocalypses, even if there are some examples (Psalm 51:9). In Leviticus a child with a white head is something that should be brought to the priest to be declared unclean and cast out of the camp (Leviticus 13:3). Miriam turning white is practically viewed as a “final woe” by Moses and Aaron in Numbers 12:12 (see also Exodus 4:6). Thus a white child is not a necessarily a good thing in received scripture.

Finally we come to the big question: What is said about these white children in Jubilees? Simply put, they *are* the final woe. They are the bottom of the decline of history (measured according to lifespan) and the last item mentioned before the restoration. The curses of old age and sickness climax in a hyperbolic, one might say ridiculous, image of an infant like an old man (something like a gnome, perhaps).



Figure 6.1: A gnome

ወይጸዐዱ ፡ አርእስተ ፡ ደቂቅ ፡ በሲበት ፡ ወያህተርኢ ፡ ሕፃን ፡ ወልደ ፡  
ሠለስቱ ፡ ሱባዔ ፡ ልሂቀ ፡ ከመ ፡ ዘምእት ፡ ዓመቱ ፡ ወይትሐጐል ፡ ቁመቶመ ፡  
በምንዳቤ ፡ ወበጸዕር ፡፡

[JCVK] The children's heads will turn white with gray hair. A child who is three weeks of age will look old like one whose years are 100, and their condition will be destroyed through distress and pain. (Jubilees 23:25)

To be sure, Jubilees maintains subtlety, but once one entertains the possibility of ironic treatment of apocalyptic generic elements, and once one asks the right questions, the Jubilees apocalypse sounds considerably less apocalyptic. One need not conclude that the main concern in this verse is to ridicule an opposing group or class. The main concern is to fill out a broad view of history measured according to lifespan. As was already discussed in the section on the decline of history (and appendix 6.6.1), Genesis, along with Psalm 90 and Isaiah 65, fuel the idea that history, as measured by lifespan, has decreased gradually to a nadir of infant mortality, and then began to increase again. Jubilees draws from Isaiah 65:20 for the idea an infant of a few days but already old and not fulfilling its days, עֹלַ יָמִים וְזָקֵן אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יָמְלָא אֶת־יָמָיו.

The main point is that Jubilees adopts the temporal scope and the eschatological nexus of the genre “apocalypse,” and uses the genre to convey scriptural ideas about lifespan within its own worldview that the worst is over and the restoration has already begun. This main point does not rule out, however, the possibility that the primary audience could have perceived a serendipitous disparaging reference to some distinctive imagery associated with the self-identification of some who hold the apocalyptic worldview. In light of the general pattern that Jubilees evokes but inverts reader expectations of the genre “apocalypse,” we might also understand Jubilees 23:25 as an ironic evocation of apocalyptic imagery. Jubilees uses an image that evokes the tendency of apocalypses to generate hyperbolic images, and the positive valuation on “whiteness” and “children.” Significantly, however, Jubilees inverts the valuation of the image.



As we are about to see, it is no accident that the final woes in Jubilees are all either quotidian (stomach aches, mortality at seventy or eighty years) or realized in the reader's recent history (famine, invasion). The climax of the final woes (or the fulfillment of the "predictions" of covenantal curses) is a prerequisite for the restoration. We now turn to the significance of a fact that has long been at least partially recognized—the eschatology of Jubilees is realized. The next verse describes the only condition for the turning point, a condition that is surely met in the mind of the author of Jubilees,

**ወበወ-አቶን ፡ መዋዕል ፡ ይእኅዙ ፡ ደቂቅ ፡ ይተ-ኀሠሡ ፡ ሕገገ ፡ ወለጋሂሠ ፡  
ትእዛዝ ፡ ወለተመይጦ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ፍኖተ ፡ ጽድቅ ።**

[JCVK] In those days the children will begin to study the laws, to seek out the commands, and to return to the right way. (Jubilees 23:26)

From the perspective of the author, the final woes are already fulfilled, the proper "seeking out" of the law has begun, and the gradual restoration is underway. Charles and others recognized this much, but imagined a "temporary kingdom" prior to a still future cosmic judgment in order to reconcile the realized eschatology of Jubilees 23 with their own expectation of a unique final judgment in an apocalypse.<sup>25</sup> As we shall see, the end of the woes and the beginning of the gradual restoration in Jubilees is not temporary. Jubilees does not eliminate the idea of judgment, but diverges from the typical apocalypses by divorcing judgment from eschatology.

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<sup>25</sup> Charles, *Jubilees*, lxxxvii, 9-10, 150. Charles' comment on Jubilees 23:30 in particular will be of interest in the following section. See also Testuz, *Les idées religieuses*, 168-169. Davenport, *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees*, 41. Rowley, *The Relevance of Apocalyptic*, 61. Russell, *Method & Message*, 269, 292.

### 6.3. The judgment

The previous chapter considered some distinctive issues of the agents and objects of judgment. This chapter turns to the issue of when judgment occurs on the temporal axis. The issue of judgment in some form is common in Judaism. Jubilees evokes the apocalypses in particular not only with the generic framework of revelation and a transcendent scope of the spatial and temporal axes, but also in generic language including “great day of judgment.” A subject of disagreement was whether judgment was deferred to a future consummation in which the entire cosmos would be judged at once, or if judgment occurred incrementally on a rolling basis for individual persons and nations. This issue has already been observed with respect to Sirach and parts of 1 Enoch.<sup>26</sup> The Enochic and Danielic apocalypses defer judgment to a unique (or second since the flood) future consummation and universal judgment. Jubilees uses generic features to evoke a similar reader expectation, but in fact divorces the idea of judgment from the eschatological nexus. Jubilees presents a pattern of rolling judgment spread out along the temporal axis, past and future. When we ask what is said about the “great day of judgment” we find that each nation faces its own great day of judgment (or more than one), but there is no one day of universal judgment. Some nations, such as Sodom and Gomorrah, have already been judged, while others will yet be judged, unrelated to the restoration of Israel. Jubilees 23 teases a suggestion of a “great day of judgment,” but goes on to describe an eschatological sequence devoid of judgment scenes.

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<sup>26</sup> Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*, 247.

In the following sub-sections we will discuss the other apocalypses only briefly for the simple point that they view a single cosmic judgment as integral to the turning point on the temporal axis. When we turn to Jubilees we will address first what is said (and not said) in chapter 23, and then the rest of the book. If one examined only chapter 23 one might think that Jubilees rejects judgment apart from chastisement for sin to prompt repentance. In fact, various nations do suffer a “final” judgment, but the distinctive issue remains that judgment of individual nations is ongoing throughout history. Only with great effort have scholars forced the individual descriptions of judgment into the eschatological scheme of Jubilees 23.

#### 6.3.1. The Enochic apocalypses

Scholars may not agree *why* the idea developed in Judaism that empires will yet be judged by God well after their decline from power.<sup>27</sup> Regardless of the explanation, the present concern is simply that the apocalypses at the time of Jubilees typically convey the idea that a cosmic judgment remains in the future apart from political decline or even death. We can sample a few statements to this effect without exhausting the interesting data relevant to a study focused on the intricacies of ideas of judgment.

The Book of the Watchers states particularly explicitly the idea of deferred universal judgment,

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<sup>27</sup> Perhaps a sense persisted that Babylon, for example, deserved worse punishment than simply being replaced by a new super-power. Perhaps there was a sense that the evil behind Babylon persisted and simply put on new clothes in other empires. On a different level, perhaps there was an interpretive problem when curses in authoritative texts appeared not to have been fulfilled in history. Perhaps sometimes history had nothing to do with it, but the idea of deferred stages resolved textual contradictions. The canonical apocalypses in Daniel have been studied more, but the same issue applies to other apocalypses.

[GWEN] Thus they will make desolate until the day of the consummation of the great judgment, when the great age will be consummated. It will be consummated all at once. (Book of the Watchers 16:1)

Other passages support the singularity of *the* day of judgment.<sup>28</sup> To be precise, one might speak of two universal judgments, the flood and the final judgment typified by the flood. Even such a typology does not prevent us from speaking of an exceptional cosmic judgment deferred until the (near) future and linked to an eschatological turning point. Although we are focusing on the temporal locus of judgment, it is also relevant that punishment is basically supernatural in the Book of the Watchers, and basically natural in Jubilees (and Sirach).<sup>29</sup> An exceptional, deferred, eschatological judgment is not a superficial feature of the Book of the Watchers, but the core of the worldview expressed.

Skipping over some distinct nuances, such as the stages and agents of judgment, the Apocalypse of Weeks and Animal Apocalypse revolve around the same basic premise that judgment is deferred until a final batch process that will judge the sinners of all ages at once. In the Apocalypse of Weeks one finds more an era than a day of judgment. Judgment occurs first in earthly military terms, and culminates with the final judgment of all cosmic beings. Even where textual problems plague more detailed considerations, the eschatological focus on judgment pervades all variants.<sup>30</sup> The Animal Apocalypse

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<sup>28</sup> The “hollow places” described in 22:1-14 are separated according to something of a preliminary judgment, but are primarily holding chambers until the deferred day of judgment, “until the day (on) which they will be judged, and until the time of the day of the end of the great judgment that will be exacted from them” (Book of the Watchers 22:4).

Even if one questions the date of the superscription itself, it succinctly summarizes the concern for the singular eschatological axis, “the day of tribulation” (BW 1:1). It is striking, however, that the enemies are simply “removed” as they are in Jubilees. In the rest of the Book of the Watchers worse things than removal occur.

<sup>29</sup> Argall, *I Enoch and Sirach*, 230, 242.

<sup>30</sup> For example all readings of the Apocalypse of Weeks 91:15 build around the basic idea found in 4QEn<sup>g</sup>, דין עלמא וקין דינא רבא. See Nickelsburg, *Commentary on I Enoch*, 437.

provides a clear example of a period in which judgment is deferred (Animal Apocalypse 89:77), followed by a single formal batch judgment of all the cosmic and human (sheep) sinners (AA 90:20-27). Incidents of judgment are not excluded from previous history (e.g. AA 89:54-58, the northern kingdom), but the scale of the final judgment is unique. The idea of an exceptional deferred judgment pervades the narrative bridge and the Epistle of Enoch as well.<sup>31</sup> Without denying the significance of internal variations, the Enochic apocalypses cluster tightly around the basic worldview of judgment deferred until an exceptional or unique near future consummation in which all will be judged. This judgment is fundamentally linked on the temporal axis to the eschatological turning point.

### 6.3.2. The Danielic apocalypses and the book of Daniel

The apocalypses of Daniel, plus Daniel 2, share variations on the basic idea that reward and punishment does not occur in this life or throughout history, but is deferred until a future time. Again, we include the court-tale in Daniel 2 because the redaction of the book of Daniel reframes the chapter in the context of the apocalypses. One striking feature of Daniel 2 is that the image of a single statue is an awkward expression for a succession of kingdoms, especially since the sequence works down, rather than up.<sup>32</sup> The important issue for us is that the first kingdoms, even if they are supplanted in a political

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<sup>31</sup> 1 Enoch 91:7-9; Epistle of Enoch 92:4-5; 94:9; 96:8; 98:8; 100:4; 102:1-3. Even if some degree of individual retribution is immediate after death (Epistle 103:8), individual judgment is deferred until death and earthly judgment is deferred until a future date.

<sup>32</sup> The image would seem to require that the foundation existed in some sense even before the head (unless statues are constructed from the top down).

sense, are not judged until the end when all kingdoms are destroyed together. The awkwardness can only be partially explained by the pre-existence of such a tradition.<sup>33</sup> No author was constrained to express this idea in this image, and we have independent confirmation of the belief that the consummation of judgment occurs all at once. The other Danielic apocalypses confirm the idea that political decline (or even death) does not fill the need for judgment. Daniel 2 offers a particularly striking image of deferred batch judgment, but the basic idea is hardly limited to this chapter.

Daniel 7 offers an interesting variation on the same basic idea. It is at least clear that the rise of a beast does not amount to judgment of the previous beast.<sup>34</sup> The interesting variation is that not only do the first three beasts survive until the great judgment scene, they seem to receive a deferment of punishment,

וּשְׂאֵר חַיּוֹתָא הָעֵדִיּוֹ שְׁלֹטְנֵהוֹן וְאַרְכָּהּ בְּחַיֵּין יְהִיבֵת לְהוֹן עַד־זְמַן וְעַד־:  
(Daniel 7:12)<sup>35</sup>

Rather than attempting to explain this as reflecting historical reality or a practical hope that a new Jewish kingdom would conquer one kingdom at a time, the verse should be understood as a way of emphasizing the wickedness and punishment of the last beast.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, the deferred or lessened punishment does not negate the basic principle that the court judged all the beasts in one sitting (Daniel 7:10).<sup>37</sup> The variation does not

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<sup>33</sup> See Collins on this issue, particularly for the contributions of Swain and Grayson. Collins, *Daniel Commentary*, 166-170.

<sup>34</sup> Collins has suggested that the devouring of much flesh refers to the Median conquest of the Babylonians, but even if this is the case the first beast continues to exist. Ibid., 298, 304.

<sup>35</sup> The Old Greek is more vague on who receives the deferment, τοὺς κύκλω αὐτοῦ.

<sup>36</sup> Collins, *Daniel Commentary*, 304.

<sup>37</sup> Daniel 7:12 seems to suggest that the destruction of these beasts is imminent, while Daniel 7:27 may suggest that they are destroyed as kingdoms only in that they become subject to the everlasting kingdom.

challenge the basic pattern of decline of history, final woes, judgment and restoration, nor the idea that the judgment is a single universal judgment tied to the eschatological axis.

The remaining apocalypses lack detailed judgment scenes, but follow the basic idea that justice is deferred until an appointed time. Unlike Daniel 7, Daniel 8:7 gives the impression that one kingdom is indeed destroyed by the next, but this fits perfectly well with the idea expanded in Daniel 10-12 that the rise and fall of earthly power is separate from final justice. If it were possible to separate Daniel 8 and 9 as isolated apocalypses one might speak of a worldview that emphasizes woes and end of woes without an elaborate judgment or restoration. As it is, Daniel 8 and 9 should be understood as presuming a judgment and restoration expanded elsewhere. Daniel 9 ends with a brief promise that the desolator will be destroyed at the appointed time, **עַד-כָּלָה וְנִחַרְצָה תִּתֵּן**, **עַל-שָׁמַיִם**, “until the determined destruction is poured upon the desolator.” Daniel 10-12 spends more time on the decline of history than on the judgment, but one still finds the basic theme that God’s justice is not realized in the rise and fall of political forces, but is deferred until an appointed time. In the present time justice for kingdoms and individuals is absent or inverted. Only at a future date will a single great eschatological judgment bring justice to the living and the dead (Daniel 12:2). This brief survey is not intended to downplay the variations between the Danielic apocalypses on the issue of judgment, but to show the common core of the basic worldview that justice is deferred until a future consummation in which all will be judged. The variations between the Danielic and Enochic apocalypses are even greater, but the basic apocalyptic worldview of a deferred, universal, and eschatological judgment is consistently expressed in these apocalypses.

### 6.3.3. Jubilees

Judgment is a major issue in Jubilees as well, but Jubilees varies significantly from the apocalypses by divorcing judgment from eschatology. Each nation has its own day of judgment, and individuals receive justice within their lifetimes (or in their deaths). The turning point of history does not lead directly to any judgment of anyone, but only the removal of divine punishment. There is no one day or period in which all are judged. Some nations have already been judged (the most obvious example being Sodom and Gomorrah). Other nations will be judged by God in the future, but not in a way directly tied to the restoration of Israel. Judgment may be deferred in the traditional sense that God's mercy allows time for repentance, or the fulfillment of warrant for a certain punishment (cf. Genesis 15:16).<sup>38</sup> The grace period, however, applies to individual nations and not the cosmos. Judgment occurs as necessary throughout history. There is no time in which divine justice is suspended, nor any particular time in which it will be enacted.

We will begin by considering Jubilees 23. As was the case with demonic agency, Jubilees 23 is not merely silent on the idea of judgment, but includes an ironic inversion. Then we will consider what is said about days of judgment in other parts of Jubilees. We must reject the assumption that Jubilees has a systematic scheme of a single judgment which the reader must assemble by scavenging various comments throughout the book.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> There does not seem to be an "instant karma" position in contemporary texts. Ben Sira holds that judgment can be deferred out of divine mercy within a person's lifetime, but justice catches up no later than the moment of death.

<sup>39</sup> Testuz and Scott patch together disparate passages in Jubilees and present it as a single consistent scenario. Both scholars claim that a set of esoteric oral explanations would have accompanied the written text to decode its enigmas. Although it is plausible that a written text would have been accompanied by oral teaching, this dissertation is content to explicate the written text, and not reconstruct



I hesitate to argue that the various judgment scenes are contradictory and therefore not to be identified, since perceived contradictions are so easily abused by scholarship. A more objective clarity can be gained by focusing on the temporal dimension, asking *when* judgment takes place in each passage. In some instances it is clear that, despite language evocative of the apocalypses, the judgment has already taken place in the distant past.

#### 6.3.3.1. Jubilees 23

Jubilees 23 does not downplay the idea of judgment. Rather, it incorporates judgment (among other generic features of the apocalypses), but changes the context and sequence so as to change the meaning. Thus, Jubilees 23 evokes the reader expectation based on the apocalypses, among other means, by using the phrase, “great day of judgment.”

ወኩሉ ፡ ትውልድ ፡ ዘይትነሃእ ፡ እምይእዜ ፡ ወእስከ ፡ ዕለተ ፡ ደይን ፡ ዐባይ ፡  
ይረስኡ ፡ ፍጡነ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ይፈጽሙ ፡ ክልኤ ፡ ኢዮቤልዉ ።

[JCVK] All the generations that will come into being from now until the great day of judgment will grow old quickly—before they complete two jubilees. (Jubilees 23:11)

This great day of judgment does indeed refer to the eschatological turning point in lifespan, but the subversion comes in what is said about this great day of judgment. Based on other apocalypses, one would expect this judgment to refer to the punishment of the nations, followed by the vindication of the chosen. This is not the case in Jubilees.

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what is at best plausible. I also doubt Scott’s assertion that “Jubilees’ milieu values secret knowledge” or that Jubilees “like a cryptogram, requires specialized, insider knowledge and decoding.” Testuz, *Les idées religieuses*, 175. Scott, *On Earth As In Heaven*, 69 n. 119.

In a sense the original problem in Jubilees 23 is that Abraham and the elect are indistinct from other nations according to the criterion of lifespan, which is often associated with righteousness.<sup>40</sup> Theoretically (as Jubilees sees it), righteousness and covenantal fidelity should grant not only security in the land, but length of life to the degree exemplified by the first generations. Jubilees asserts that this will become the case once Israel seeks out the Law in the right way. The other side of this coin is that the other nations will not have security in the land of Israel, and will not have the blessings of health and longevity. They are “punished” only in the sense that they leave the land of Israel and continue to suffer the same 1.5 Jubilee mortality, stomach aches, pains, and violence that they had always suffered.

አሜሃ ፡ ይፌውስ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ አግብርቲሁ ፡ ወይትነሥኡ ፡ ወይሬእዩ ፡  
 ሰላም ፡ ዐቢየ ፡ ወይሰድድ ፡ ጸላእቶ ፡ ወይሬእዩ ፡ ሳድቃን ፡ ወያከኩቱ ፡  
 ወይትፌሥሐ ፡ እስከ ፡ ለዓለም ፡ ዓለም ፡ በፍሥሐ ፡ ወይሬእዩ ፡ በፀሮሙ ፡  
 ኩሎ ፡ ኩነኔሆሙ ፡ ወኩሎ ፡ መርገሞሙ

Then the Lord will heal God’s servants. They will rise and see great peace. God will expel God’s enemies. The righteous will see (this), offer praise, and be very happy forever and ever. They will see all their punishments and curses on their enemies. (Jubilees 23:30)

The difference is the elevation of Israel, not any new or supernatural punishment of the nations. There is no explicit court or judgment scene. This is not the “great day of judgment.” We must look elsewhere for the great day of judgment in Jubilees 23.

In Jubilees 23, the divine punishment is not against nations and forces of evil, but rather is chastisement of Israel for its sins, by means of the nations (Jubilees 23:22-23). At the level of worldview, the pattern is not decline of history, final woes, judgment, restoration, but a pattern of sin, punishment, repentance, restoration. It is not just that

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<sup>40</sup> See again appendix 6.6.1.

Jubilees 23 follows a Deuteronomistic pattern, but that it uses apocalyptic literary elements to describe it. Neither Deuteronomy nor any text prior to Jubilees uses the genre “apocalypse” or the phrase “great day of judgment” to refer to covenantal curses. Some references to the “day of the Lord” may be more proximate than others, but the term never refers to a Deuteronomistic chastisement to promote repentance. Conversely, no apocalypse prior to Jubilees portrays the final woes as just judgment from God to prompt the elect to repentance. Jubilees uses the language of “great day of judgment” in an eschatological framework, but inverts the meaning to refer to covenantal chastisement rather than final destruction of evil. In Jubilees 23 the great day of judgment is not the reversal of the “final” woes that Israel suffers, but the woes themselves. Judgment does not follow but precede the turning point of history, and thus is eschatological only in a very atypical sense.

Unlike the theophany judgment scenes and non-natural punishments in other apocalypses, the judgments in chapter 23 could certainly have already happened in history. As we saw in the last section, the final woes, which are really the main acts of justice in Jubilees 23, are realized. The sending home of invaders is hardly a judgment, but that too was realized. As we saw in Chapter 3, the “eschatological” sequence well through the judgment matches what we can tell of recent history from 1 Maccabees. We can certainly find the “sin” phase of the Jewish civil war, the initial woes of famine, and the second woes of invasion (Bacchides in 1 Maccabees 9). The repentance phase requires only studying and seeking the laws, which would have been understood as realized in the audience of the Book of Jubilees. The non-military expulsion of enemies occurred in the withdrawal of Bacchides in 1 Maccabees 9. The author may have merely asserted that the gentiles continue to suffer illness, violence and mortality (while the

righteous are gradually escaping such suffering, as we shall see). Thus, the eschatological judgments in Jubilees 23 differ from the typical judgments in apocalypses in that they could have been perceived as already realized.

Although Jubilees 23 has no judgment or punishment of the nations other than going home and continuing in the same “curses” of mortality, illness and violence, this is not to say that individual nations do not face non-eschatological judgment elsewhere in Jubilees. The rolling, non-eschatological nature of these judgments can be seen in those that have already occurred. The use of apocalyptic language to describe judgment that is already fulfilled, and not typological in the sense of the flood, contributes to the dissonance in reader expectations based on other apocalypses.

#### 6.3.3.2. The rest of Jubilees

Jubilees places judgment in realized natural history, as opposed to supernatural hyperbolic judgment, and views justice and judgment as an ongoing, rolling process, as opposed to one deferred batch judgment. Jubilees is not, however, soft on judgment. Every individual and nation will be judged (although Israel has special opportunities for forgiveness). Judgment can be harsh in Jubilees, but harshness alone is not distinctive of the apocalyptic worldview. The place of judgment on the temporal axis is what distinguishes the apocalyptic view of judgment. As we consider judgment in the rest of the book, two themes are consistently clear: judgment is a rolling process, and judgment is realized. We will consider judgment in the rest of Jubilees in three categories: the main judgment discourse with respect to the flood in Jubilees 5, the role of Enoch, and passages about individual nations.

**The judgment discourse in Jubilees 5.** Jubilees uses the phrase “great day of judgment” in one place outside of chapter 23. Jubilees 5:10 refers to the flood, not a date future relative to Moses or the readers of the book.<sup>41</sup> The flood is a realized example of judgment that demonstrates the ongoing principles of judgment; it is not a type for a particular future judgment.<sup>42</sup> The passage depends upon and evokes the Book of the Watchers, but diverges significantly,

ወአበዊሆሙ ሰ፡ ይኔጽሩ ፡ ወእምድኅረዝ ፡ ተአስሩ ፡ ውስተ ፡ መዓምቅቲሃ ፡  
 ለምድር ፡ እስከ ፡ ዕለተ ፡ ደይን ፡ ዐባይ ፡ ለከዊነ ፡ ኩነኔ ፡ ዲበ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡ እለ ፡  
 አማሰኑ ፡ ፍናዊሆሙ ፡ ወምግባሪሆሙ ፡ ቅድመ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡፡  
 ወደምሰሰ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ እመካኖሙ ፡ ወኢተርፈ ፡ አሐዱ ፡ እምኔሆሙ ፡ ዘኢኩነነ ፡  
 በኩሎ ፡ እከዮሙ

As for their fathers [the watchers who fathered the giants], they were watching [the obliteration of the giants], and afterwards they were bound in the depths of the earth until the great day of judgment so there would be punishment on all those who had corrupted their ways and deeds before the Lord. God obliterated all from their place so that not one of them survived that God did not judge all his wickedness. (Jubilees 5:10-11)

One immediately notices that there are no future verbs (the only imperfect is “they were watching”).<sup>43</sup> In contrast to the Book of the Watchers, which portrays the flood as a prototype of a single final great day of judgment, the flood itself was a great judgment.

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<sup>41</sup> Segal makes a similar observation. See above, page 270, note 17.

<sup>42</sup> Segal came to a similar conclusion, “The Watchers story has been transformed into a paradigm of reward and punishment, and the presentation of God as a just, righteous judge.” Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*, 140. See also page 270 above.

<sup>43</sup> Since I am the first to argue that Jubilees thoroughly departs from the apocalyptic view of judgment, it is not surprising that previous translators have attempted to accommodate the text to the expectation of a future judgment. They have varied in their willingness to emend the text for this purpose. Charles simply emended the verbs, suggesting that the Greek translator mistook Hebrew converted perfects for ordinary perfects. Charles, *Jubilees*, 44-45. It is not the case that this error appears with any frequency in the translation of Jubilees. VanderKam noted the lack of warrant for emendation. The same tendency can be seen, however, in his decision to translate the infinitive as a future. Hence he translates, “when there will be condemnation on all” where I translate, “so there would be punishment on all.” VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text*, 33.

The binding of the watchers was not a way of deferring their judgment to a later, final time, but it was their punishment as part of the judgment of the flood. The “great day of judgment” consists of the death of the giants, the binding of the watchers, and the drowning of all sinners. Everyone has already been judged. The continuation makes clear that the flood is viewed as an example of God’s unwavering justice, not a type for deferred cosmic upheaval, **ወክልቦ ፡ ዐመፃ ... በእንተ ፡ ኩሉ ... ይካንኖ** “there is no injustice... God will exercise judgment regarding each person” (Jubilees 5:13, 15). Although the genre and certain images cue the reader to the Book of the Watchers, the ideas of judgment are more aligned with those of Ben Sira.<sup>44</sup> God’s mercy can create a short grace period, but it is never the case that God’s justice is suspended until an appointed time.

**The role of Enoch in judgment.** Jubilees also addresses the role of Enoch within its worldview of judgment as perfectly realized without delay. Enoch serves as a witness to divine justice in the past and leaves writings to warn future generations, but Enoch does not have an eschatological function or return for any judgment scene after the flood. Enoch’s first function, to witness judgment executed through the war of the giants and the flood, is not so subversive except for the fact that the flood is a fully realized example of judgment, not a prototype for an eschatological judgment. The Animal Apocalypse also portrays Enoch as a witness to judgment,

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<sup>44</sup> I do not mean to suggest that ben Sira and Jubilees are genetically related or that there was a faction of Judaism that included both. I do find it helpful that Randall Argall has shown that Sirach and 1 Enoch share a significant common ground and develop certain distinctive ideas. The relationship between Jubilees and the Book of the Watchers in this case strikes me as analogous. See Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*.

[GWEN] And they said to me, ‘Stay here until you see all that happens to those elephants and camels and asses and to the stars and to the cattle and all of them.’ (Animal Apocalypse 87:4)

Enoch also “witnesses” through a vision the final judgment in 90:20-27, and in the Book of the Watchers witnesses the places of judgment reserved for the future. Based on analogy from other apocalypses, it is tempting to find Enoch in Jubilees as an immortal scribe recording all sin and returning in the final judgment to testify against the wicked.

In fact, Enoch has no ongoing function, even if one does not read Jubilees 7:39 to say that Enoch died.<sup>45</sup> Rather, Enoch’s lasting legacy is through his writings, which serve to warn subsequent generations of the generic punishments for sin on any given day of judgment.

Enoch’s witness of the judgment of the generation before the flood is discussed in Jubilees 4:24, and the testimony of his writings is described 10:17 and 4:19. Jubilees 4:24 and 10:17 are so closely parallel that they should be read together, despite the basic difference that one refers to Enoch himself and the other to his writings.

እስመ : ህየ : ተውህበ : ውእቱ :  
ለትእምርት : ወከመ : ያስምዕ :  
ላዕለ : ኩሉ : ደቂቀ : ሰብእ :  
ከመ : ይንግር :  
ኩሉ : ግብረ : ትውልድ :  
እስከ : አመ : ዕለተ : ደይን

because he [Enoch] was assigned to that place [Eden]  
as a sign and to testify  
to all humanity  
so that he could tell  
every deed of (that) generation  
up to (its) day of judgment. (Jubilees 4:24)

እስመ : ግብሩ : ለሄኖክ : ፍጥረት : ውእቱ :  
ለስምዕ :  
ለትዝምደ : ዓለም :

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<sup>45</sup> In Jubilees 4:23 the emphatic particle **ኖሁ** (הנה) need not specify the time of activity with respect to Moses.

ከመ : ይንግር :  
 ኩነኔ<sup>46</sup> : ኩሎ : ግብረ : ለትውልድ : ትውልድ :  
 በዕለተ : ደይን ::

because Enoch's work was something created  
 as a testimony  
 for the whole time of the (human) race,  
 so that it should tell  
 to every generation the punishment for every deed<sup>47</sup>  
 on the day of judgment.<sup>48</sup> (Jubilees 10:17)

In the first instance, Enoch witnesses the deeds and judgment of the generation judged in the flood, but his testimony of these facts for subsequent generations appear only through his writings, not some eschatological return. Thus, in Jubilees 10:17, the subject has changed from Enoch to Enoch's writings. Although I translated literally, "the day of judgment," neither this nor any other passage in Jubilees requires that there be only one day of judgment. Rather, every generation is judged and punished in its own time. The only alternative would be to assume a future date at which every generation would be resurrected to face judgment, but such an idea is not to be found in Jubilees.<sup>49</sup> As we now turn to individual nations we shall see that God's justice against individuals and nations is

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<sup>46</sup> One of the better manuscripts, manuscript 35, gives "the punishment for..." Even manuscript 25 could be understood in this sense.

<sup>47</sup> The word order has been changed since English prefers the indirect object to precede the direct object. "Every generation" are the ones told, "the punishment for every deed" is what they are told.

<sup>48</sup> I understand "on the day of judgment" as referring to when the punishment will be, not when the testimony will tell the punishment.

<sup>49</sup> It is clearly the case that the wicked do not rise for judgment. Jubilees 23:31, "the bones [of the righteous] will rest in the earth and their spirits will be very happy," is not much of an afterlife, and should be understood more in the sense of "rest in peace." Jubilees 23:30, "[God's servants] will rise (ይትነሥኩ) and see great peace" refers to the prosperity of the living, not the resurrection of the dead. Charles finds immortality of the soul but notes the absence of resurrection of the body. Charles, *Jubilees*, lxxxix. Volz notes that the only trace of the dead in the restoration is in Jubilees 23:31, where they become aware of the restoration without participating in it. Paul Volz, *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter, nach den Quellen der rabbinischen, apokalyptischen und apokryphen Literatur dargestellt* (Tübingen,: Mohr, 1934), 29. Rowley finds "no hint of resurrection." Rowley, *The Relevance of Apocalyptic*, 61.



ongoing throughout history, and not limited to one or two instances of protological and eschatological judgment.

**The judgment of individual nations.** Any number of individuals in Jubilees receive their just punishment at or before the moment of death.<sup>50</sup> The more difficult case is the judgment of the nations. Jubilees treats the judgment of each nation separately. Some nations are yet to be judged, some have already been judged, and some continue to exist but have been justly subjugated.

The clearest case of judgment fulfilled in the past, according to Jubilees, is the judgment of Sodom. This judgment is not typological for a single future judgment, but an example of God's open policy of judgment. Sodom had its day of judgment in Genesis 19:24-25, and Jubilees 16:5. More importantly, the same policy of non-deferred judgment extends to other nations,

ወከማሁ : ይገብር : እግዚአብሔር : ኩነኔ : በመካናት : በውእደ : ይገብሩ :  
በከመ : ርኩሶመ : ለሰዶም : ከመ : ኩነኔሃ : ለሰዶም ::

[JCVK] The Lord will execute judgment in the same way in the places where people commit the same sort of impure actions as Sodom—just like the judgment on Sodom. (Jubilees 16:6)

Whereas Jubilees mentions the flood only once after Noah, as a chronological reference point (Jubilees 23:9), Jubilees mentions Sodom in five different passages, three of which refer to Sodom as an example of judgment beyond the Genesis narrative (Jubilees 13; 16; 20:5-6; 22:22; 36:10).<sup>51</sup> Jubilees includes the flood as an example of judgment, but

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<sup>50</sup> Cain, example, not only avoids capital punishment but receives something of a special protection in Genesis 4:15. In Jubilees 4:31 Cain was eventually killed “by a just punishment.” Jubilees 7:33 maintains that the earth will be purified (indicative) by the blood of the one who shed the blood (cf. Genesis 9:6; Numbers 35:33). Apparently judgment for individuals can be deferred within a lifetime, but no later than the moment of death.

<sup>51</sup> Jubilees 9:15 does not mention a particular nation, but may vaguely reference the punishment of Sodom (sword and fire) as applicable to nations that violate the ordained borders. Another resonance would

prefers the example of Sodom. The emphasis on the judgment of an individual city contrasts sharply with the deferred cosmic judgment in Daniel, and especially the flood typology of the Enochic apocalypses. Of course the idea of using Sodom as evidence of the real threat of God's punishment is not novel to Jubilees, but it is unprecedented in apocalypses.<sup>52</sup> Sodom is a clear case of judgment that has already happened in a non-eschatological framework that could happen again at any time. The judgment of Sodom and analogous days of judgment illustrate how strong language of judgment ("day of turmoil and curse, of anger and wrath..." Jubilees 36:10) can be used to describe a harsh judgment that is not universal. It is universality and eschatology, not harshness, that distinguishes the apocalyptic view of judgment.

Even though limited to a single place, Sodom is a case of punishment by absolute destruction. Judgment is not always synonymous with complete destruction in Jubilees. For example, Egypt was judged for its sins with the plagues, but continues to exist (Jubilees 14:14). In the cases of the Moabites and the Philistines, the angel "predicts" to Moses that they will be judged, but it is difficult to say if the judgment was perceived as fulfilled prior to the second century BCE. Appendix 6.6.2 considers some of the evidence for what a second century Jew might have thought happened to the descendents of Lot and Caphtor. There is reason to believe that these ancient peoples (not place names) were

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be Isaiah 66:16, כִּי בָאֵשׁ יִהְיֶה נִשְׁפָּט וּבְחֶרֶב אֶת־כָּל־בָּשָׂר וְרַבּוּ חֲלָלִי יְהוָה. While the Isaiah passage imagines sudden mass judgment of all flesh, no such suggestion is found in Jubilees. It is also relevant that the punishment for stealing territory (sword and fire) is the means by which Judah conquered Jerusalem in Judges 1:8. Jubilees 9 in general deals with the accusation that the Jews "stole" the land of Canaan, to which Jubilees responds that they stole it *back* from Canaan.

<sup>52</sup> In received scripture the example of Sodom is used in Deuteronomy, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Amos, and Zephaniah. I do not count the Testaments of Naphtali and Benjamin, or 2 Enoch as contemporary.

considered extinct, in which case Jubilees can be partly understood as explaining the past judgment of these nations. Even if they exist in some sense, but lack the power they once had, they could still be considered already judged. Whereas we have every reason to believe that the typical apocalypses had contemporary enemies in mind when they promised imminent judgment, we should not assume that Jubilees is relating contemporary politics in cursing the descendants of Lot and Caphtor. Even if they were not considered judged to extinction by the time of Jubilees, we still should look to theological and interpretive problems to explain the harsh judgment of these nations. First, we shall consider how the curse of the Philistines arises from Genesis, not second century oppression by that particular people. Then we will consider the problem that may lie at the root of the condemnation of both Lot and Esau.

In Genesis 26:28 Isaac seems to make an oath (אָלֶה) and a covenant (בְּרִית) with a Philistine king. Although this could be a problem for many interpreters, we have reason to believe that making covenants with surrounding peoples was an especially hot issue in the mid-second-century BCE.

ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκεῖναις ἐξῆλθον ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ υἱοὶ παράνομοι καὶ  
ἀνέπεισαν πολλοὺς λέγοντες πορευθῶμεν καὶ διαθώμεθα διαθήκην  
μετὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν κύκλῳ ἡμῶν

In those days certain renegades came out from Israel and misled many,  
saying, “Let us go and make a covenant with the nations around us.”  
(1 Maccabees 1:11)

VanderKam has convincingly shown the importance of this issue not just in one or two passage in Jubilees, but in the broadest explanation of the “origins and purposes” of Jubilees.<sup>53</sup> This oath and covenant of Isaac is precisely the problem that leads to the

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<sup>53</sup> VanderKam, “Origins and Purposes of Jubilees,” 3-24. Elsewhere, VanderKam demonstrates the significance of Exodus 23:32, “You shall make no covenant with them,” for the selection of the

account in Jubilees of the effects of the oath, and ultimately the curse of the Philistines (Jubilees 24:28-30). It is not impossible that Jubilees could have used the term “Philistines” to refer to enemies in the second century BCE. The main concern, however, behind the harshness in Jubilees 24 has less to do with the Philistines *per se*, and more to do with making covenants with surrounding nations. In other apocalypses we might assume that a curse on a nation is hoped to be fulfilled in the imminent future, but in Jubilees it seems not to matter when it did or will happen. There is nothing eschatological about the judgment of the Philistines predicted in Jubilees 24:28-30, and it has nothing to do with Jubilees 23.

Although appendix 6.6.2 questions whether Moab was considered judged in the past, the descendents of Esau were certainly understood as alive at the time of the author. On one hand, one should not deny that the author of Jubilees has a contemporary people in mind in Jubilees 38:14, “The Edomites have not extricated themselves from the yoke of servitude which Jacob’s sons imposed on them until today.”<sup>54</sup> On the other hand, one should not think that Jubilees is primarily concerned with contemporary politics in its treatment of Esau and his descendents.<sup>55</sup> Genesis suffices to explain the complex treatment of the relationship between Jacob/Israel and Esau/Edom. Likewise, the status of Lot is a famous ambiguity in Jewish biblical interpretation.<sup>56</sup> Although the particular

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scriptural setting of Jubilees. VanderKam, “Scriptural Setting,” 69. See also Daniel 9:27 for the issue of a ברית between Antiochus and the Jewish masses. Josephus also gives his own special condemnation of Jews not resolving their problems internally, but running off to foreign leaders to support their selfish plots (e.g., *Bellum* 1:31-32).

<sup>54</sup> The ensuing king list would seem to require that the Edomites have long since lost sovereignty, or at least noteworthy kings. Loss of sovereignty can be a form of judgment.

<sup>55</sup> For an approach very much centered on contemporary politics see, Mendels, *Land of Israel as a Political Concept*, 57-88.

interpretive problems with Lot and Esau are very different, there may be a broad issue that begins to account for the harsh judgment of both nations in Jubilees.

The basic issue, it seems, goes back to the categorization of humanity discussed in the chapter on the spatial axis. Israel is an absolute category for the division of humanity. There is no partial-credit for brothers or cousins of Jacob. For purposes of marriage, purity, covenant, temple, and eschatological restoration, all of non-Israel is completely excluded, regardless of what may have been temporarily acceptable in the time of the patriarchs. Jubilees is bound by the complexities of received scripture, but uses judgment to resolve all ambiguities about related peoples. The treatment of Esau is complex, but the bottom line is simple—Esau's and all his descendents will be destroyed (Jubilees 35:14; 36:10). Likewise, the family tie between Abraham and his nephew does not extend to their descendents (Jubilees 16:9). God's promises, particularly for mercy from total judgment, apply to Israel alone. Israel's historical extended family and allies have been or will be judged like every other nation, but there is nothing eschatological about their judgments.

The harsh judgment in Jubilees of Caphtor, Lot, and even Esau is not the product of contemporary oppression or political tension. Rather, their rejection resolves theological problems in authoritative texts. This alone would be a significant point of contrast with what one typically finds in the apocalypses. It also brings us back to our general point for this section. The idea of judgment is important for Jubilees, but judgment is not anchored on the temporal axis. Each nation is judged individually, but none of these judgments are tied to the reader's present or the restoration in Jubilees 23.

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<sup>56</sup> Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible*, 329-331.

The turning point in Jubilees 23 brings separation between Israel and the nations, but not final judgment of any or all nations. The only punishment in Jubilees 23 is the covenantal punishment of Israel leading to repentance, and the worst that happens to the other nations is that they are sent home and left out of the restoration of Israel.<sup>57</sup> There is harsh judgment in Jubilees, but harshness does not distinguish the apocalyptic worldview. Judgment is a rolling process for individual nations, rather than a single batch judgment deferred to a future time. Jubilees has the literary components of the genre, including language such as, “great day of judgment,” a turning point of history, and the theme of judgment. Jubilees sounds like other apocalypses, but assembles the pieces in such a way as to undermine the view of judgment on the temporal axis typically found in the apocalypses.

#### 6.4. The restoration

The restoration in Jubilees is distinctive on two temporal issues. First, the restoration is gradual and has already begun. Second, the restoration restores and fulfills the original plan of creation. The first issue is relatively simple and clear. From a temporal perspective, the restoration typically happens quickly and radically, such that one could not claim that it has already happened in history. In Jubilees, the restoration is gradual and has already begun, casting a very different light on the present moment. The issue is not the degree of the change, but the temporal nature of the change and time relative to the present.

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<sup>57</sup> As discussed in the previous chapter on the spatial axis, the apocalypses often make room for other nations in the restoration.

The second issue is subtle and complex. The other apocalypses do not emphasize a clear and consistent view of the “old” creation, at least not in the narrow sense of ecological continuity (but more so in social structures). Yet, it is important to consider the issue here. The second issue allows us to step back from the particulars of Jubilees 23 and grasp the more fundamental perspective conveyed throughout the book. Jubilees maintains a fundamentally positive, even Panglossian, view of creation, received scripture, the temple, the priesthood, national identity, and social structure in general. The “new creation” in Jubilees is a restoration and making permanent of things that have already existed in biblical history. It is not a rejection of the world or the history of Israel. There is no new covenant, new temple, new social order, or new creation other than the fulfillment and making permanent of the original plan of creation. The second issue will also allow us to grapple with some of the most difficult passages in Jubilees in some related appendices. These passages will allow me to demonstrate how some previously perplexing passages come into clearer view when approached without the assumption that Jubilees is like the other apocalypses. We will consider the other apocalypses for both issues, and then consider Jubilees in two sections, first the gradual and realized restoration in Jubilees 23, and then the view of old creation in Jubilees as a whole.

#### 6.4.1. Third Isaiah

Once again, it is not the case that the worldview of Third Isaiah aligns uniformly with either the apocalyptic worldview or the worldview of Jubilees, but it is the case that Third Isaiah forms the background to the disputed issues at hand. On the first issue, Third

Isaiah clearly conveys the idea of a rapid and radical reversal in the near future, as, for example, in,

לוא־קִרְעַת שָׁמַיִם יִרְדֹּת מִפְּנֵי הָרִים נָזְלוּ  
(Isaiah 63:19—64:1<sup>58</sup>) בְּקֶדֶחַ אֵשׁ הַמָּסִים מִים תִּבְעָה־אֶשׁ

Radical reversal is not unique to Third Isaiah, but the language of new creation is distinctively clear in Third Isaiah, especially 65:17,<sup>59</sup>

כִּי־הִנְנִי בֹרֵא שָׁמַיִם חֲדָשִׁים וָאָרֶץ חֲדָשָׁה וְלֹא תִזְכְּרָנָה הָרָאשִׁנוֹת וְלֹא תִעֲלֶינָה עַל־לֵב:  
(Isaiah 65:17)

It is also evident that Jubilees has this passage (65:20) in mind when treating the issue of lifespan, as discussed above. If read literally, Isaiah 65:17-25 contributes the image of ecological discontinuity, i.e. a rewriting of the basic laws of nature and a complete replacement of earth and sky. The more persistent point in Third Isaiah is the revision of the social order, not only class but priesthood (Isaiah 61:6; 66:21) and national identity (56:8).<sup>60</sup> On the issue of the status of the old creation, it is not the case that the early apocalypses consistently dwell on the replacement of the old creation with a new creation, such that the treatment in Jubilees should be understood as a direct response to the apocalypses. Rather, Third Isaiah raises the idea of a new creation, and the apocalypses and Jubilees develop the idea in different directions. For Jubilees, the restoration is new in the sense of renewal or restoring the past. In the apocalypses, there is less about the world that is worth saving (even if the starkest imagery of total ecological replacement develops later).

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<sup>58</sup> See also 58:8; 59:19; 61:11; 62:11; 63:4; 66:12.

<sup>59</sup> Reprised, with emphasis on everlasting, in Isaiah 66:22.

<sup>60</sup> Consider also the אָחֵר in Isaiah 65:15.



#### 6.4.2. The Enochic apocalypses

The Enochic apocalypses clearly and consistently imagine a rapid and radical restoration, a restoration that could not have been called realized.<sup>61</sup> The Enochic apocalypses are not uniform in how they imagine the continuity between the old creation and the new creation. The Book of the Watchers resembles Jubilees in imagining a restoration to Eden. Other Enochic apocalypses either suggest or state that the whole world will pass away. The issue is not merely the view of flora and fauna, but the valuation of salvation history after Eden. Jubilees and the Book of the Watchers end up back in Eden, in a sense, but Jubilees takes more with it, including the Torah, temple, priesthood, and national boundaries.

Even though the *Urzeit* typology in the Book of the Watchers is realized, the *Endzeit* fulfillment remains for the future. The Book of the Watchers speaks of both judgments at once, but makes clear that the fulfillment remains for the future in that the restoration is too radically glorious to fit the period following the flood.<sup>62</sup> As for the second issue, the Book of the Watchers is actually very similar to Jubilees in that it imagines a restoration that is like the beginning of the old creation. This is particularly so in that longevity is restored to a thousand years (but not eternity),<sup>63</sup> and in the use of

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<sup>61</sup> Grant Macaskill emphasizes an aspect in which the eschatology of *1 Enoch* is not entirely future. He calls the eschatology inaugurated in as much as that the revelation of wisdom to a remnant group (including opening their eyes) has already occurred. One could add that the decline of history and beginning of the final woes are also typically realized. Nevertheless, the judgment and restoration are thoroughly unrealized. The reversal of history is in the imminent future, but in the future nonetheless. Macaskill, *Revealed Wisdom and Inaugurated Eschatology*, 45.

<sup>62</sup> See especially 1:4-7 and 25:3. For a recent discussion of the future judgment in the Book of the Watchers, set in the context of the past judgment, see *Ibid.*, 33-34. See above, page 396, note 42.

<sup>63</sup> Book of the Watchers 5:9 (“the number of their days they will complete”); 25:4-6 (“such as your fathers lived also in their days”)

references to Eden in the description of the restoration. The restoration is not so radical that it could not be called a restoration of precedent and the original plan of creation, other than the removal of that dangerous tree.<sup>64</sup> The question of what is *not* found in the restoration is a bit more tricky. I am skeptical of arguments from silence or later developments, and am generally inclined to think that the lack of reference to the Sinai covenant should be primarily understood in terms of the ancient setting and “audience” (i.e., the fact that the testimony of Enoch, unlike Torah of Moses, applies to all of humanity). Nevertheless, it is the case that the Book of the Watchers does nothing to rule out the possibility, for later interpreters, that the final restoration would be a world without Torah, national boundaries, hierocracy or perhaps even a temple.

The Astronomical Book develops a less detailed vision of the restoration, and one should be suspect of the antiquity (relative to Jubilees) of some parts. We should just briefly note two items that contribute to the idea of the entire earth and sky being replaced with a new earth and sky. First, the Astronomical Book 72:1, “... how every year of the world will be forever, until a new creation lasting forever is made,” could suggest that the new creation will discontinue the world and history as we know it. Second, the phrase, “for the generations of the world” (Astronomical Book 81:2; 82:1) could mean that there will be no more generations in this world after the predictions are fulfilled. To be sure, the relationship between the old and new creation is not emphasized in the Astronomical Book.

Again, the Apocalypse of Weeks is striking in that three “weeks” of history pass between the turning point and the final end of history. Be that as it may, one would not

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<sup>64</sup> Book of the Watchers 10:16—11:2; 25:4-6

call the restoration in the Apocalypse of Weeks gradual in the sense of imperceptible or potentially realized, as we shall see in Jubilees. Even the initial reversal at the beginning of the eighth week is more radical than could have been understood to have already happened. The present of the reader is the end of the seventh week.<sup>65</sup> One effect of “spreading out” the destruction of the old is that contempt for multiple aspects of creation can be conveyed. One of the first “changes” to be made is that a temple will be built to replace the first temple (the second is not even acknowledged). The next change is that, as Nickelsburg translates, “righteous law will be revealed to all the sons of the whole earth... and all humankind will look to the path of everlasting righteousness” (Apocalypse of Weeks 91:14). One problem with concluding from this that the Law of Moses is viewed as unrighteous is that דין קשויט is probably better rendered as Nickelsburg himself twice renders it in the Apocalypse of Weeks, “righteous judgment.”<sup>66</sup> Another problem is that the Law of Moses was called “a covenant for all generations” in the Apocalypse of Weeks 93:6.

I do not mean to suggest that the Apocalypse of Weeks embraces the law of Moses without reservation. Rather, I mean to place the emphasis where the Apocalypse of Weeks does, on the extension to all humanity. The problem with the law of Moses is *not* that it is not righteous, or even that it is not eternal, but that it was revealed only to Israel, and not all humanity. Whether the righteous judgment revealed to all nations is

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<sup>65</sup> James C. VanderKam, “Studies in the Apocalypse of Weeks (1 Enoch 93:1-10; 91:11-17),” in *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature*, JSJSup 62 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2000), 377-379 (521-523 in the 1984 publication). Nickelsburg, *Commentary on 1 Enoch*, 441.

<sup>66</sup> See the discussion in Nickelsburg, *Commentary on 1 Enoch*, 449. The phrase also appears without requiring a sense of “law” in 4Q197 (Tob<sup>b</sup>), 4Q205 (En<sup>d</sup>), 4Q213a (Levi<sup>b</sup>) (cf. 4Q246).

identical to the Mosaic Torah, similar but adapted to a new audience, or completely different, the major shift in the ninth week is that national boundaries are dissolved. To the extent to which the Apocalypse of Weeks downplays the eternal validity of the Torah of Moses, the author of Jubilees must be seething mad, but the extension of law (or revealed righteous judgment) to the other nations is no more tolerable. Last, and probably least among the issues at hand, the heaven is thrown out and replaced with a new improved heaven, seven times brighter. The need for a new cosmos says nothing good about the original cosmos; even if it was not made corrupt it has become irreparably corrupt. Although ecological discontinuity may be more radical to the modern reader, the issues of the legitimacy of the second temple and national boundaries were seven times hotter than the luminaries of the firmament.

The same basic worldview is expressed in the Animal Apocalypse. On the first issue, it is again clear that the radical restoration is unrealized. Even if angelophanies were perceived in history, the earth opening up to swallow foreign armies, and everything thereafter, was not fulfilled in the second century. As for the second issue, creation may be restored more than replaced, but it is restored to a time without nations, Torah, or arguably hierarchy. The temple is emphatically rejected and replaced. History essentially reverses and goes back to the original creation of Adam. The Animal Apocalypse states what was not stated in the Book of the Watchers. The division of humanity into nations is reversed, as all again become one “species” (Animal Apocalypse 90:38). Even more explicitly than the Apocalypse of Weeks, the Animal Apocalypse rejects the legitimacy or recoverability of the second temple, explicitly tearing down the “old house” and building a new one (Animal Apocalypse 90:28-29). The birth of the new leader may be more ambiguous, but this certainly doesn’t sound like a restoration of the

Zadokite priesthood or Davidic monarchy (AA 89:12).<sup>67</sup> Of course, other elements, such as the reversal of the diaspora, were not controversial (AA 90:33). The Animal Apocalypse does not extend its critique to the heavens or the earth by adding a replacement heaven or earth, nor does it deal with longevity or immortality. One could even say that the end goal of the restoration is simply the return to the original plan. Contrary to Jubilees, the original plan did not include the separation of Israel, the received structures of authority, or explicit importance of the revelation at Sinai.

#### 6.4.3. The Danielic apocalypses and the book of Daniel

The apocalypses in Daniel and Daniel 2 convey an expectation of a sudden radical reversal that has not yet taken place. There is nothing gradual about the sudden supernatural destruction of the world's empires and the establishment of a Jewish empire far superior to any previous empire (Daniel 2:35, 44). Scholars may continue to disagree about certain details in Daniel 7, but second century Judea saw no dominion served by all peoples. The resurrection in Daniel 12 likewise stands outside of realized history. Like the Enochic apocalypses, there is nothing subtle or gradual about the restorations conceived in Daniel. Daniel has optimism for the future, but a very negative view of the present.

The view of the former order reflected in the new order is more ambiguous and should not be inflated to a major concern. On one hand, the establishment of a global Jewish empire surpassing all previous empires is not a restoration of even the most

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<sup>67</sup> In order to parallel the last white bull it would have to go back at least to Isaac.

glorified past. On the other hand, it is very much earthly. In Daniel 12 the highest level of reward is outside the earthly realm (at least figuratively), but this is not exactly a rejection of the value of creation. There may not be emphasis on the restoration as a Torah-centered society, but a rejection or replacement is not suggested either.<sup>68</sup> Once the abomination which desolates the temple is removed, the temple can apparently recover fully. The restoration surpasses the world as we know it, but does not particularly replace it. Daniel has a negative view of the present moment, but not salvation history as a whole. Daniel is basically neutral on this issue, and certainly does not contrast with Jubilees as sharply as the Apocalypse of Weeks and the Animal Apocalypse.

#### 6.4.4. Jubilees

Jubilees takes a very different view of the temporal nature of the restoration than the contemporary apocalypses. The restoration in Jubilees 23 is gradual, which is a difference by itself, but more importantly, this leads to the conclusion that the restoration has already begun. The genre “apocalypse” still functions to create an imperative view of the present moment, but it is a positive view of the present.

The second issue is more subtle, but no less significant. Although we have not found uniformity in the view of apocalypses on the recoverability of creation and salvation history since Eden, relative to Jubilees, the apocalypses are either silent or overtly negative on the continuity of the Jewish tradition in the restoration. The Apocalypse of Weeks and the Animal Apocalypse do not speak for all the apocalypses,

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<sup>68</sup> See chapter four of this dissertation on the view of Jeremiah and the Torah of Moses implied in Daniel 9.

but they do speak loudly on the rejection of exclusive revelation and temple for Israel, as well as the traditional structure of priestly authority. No apocalypse besides Jubilees overtly counters this view. Thus, we can say this negative view is associated with the apocalypses even if it is not a standard part of the apocalyptic worldview.

Although it has been noted that Jubilees takes a favorable view of the temple, priesthood, Jewish particularism, and the law and covenant associated with Sinai, I will present these issues from the perspective of the eschatological restoration. In some related appendices, I will also demonstrate how my reading of Jubilees in general can make sense of some previously perplexing passages. Finally, I will suggest that we should not extrapolate periods of history (larger than a jubilee period) beyond what is said in Jubilees. Rather, I suggest, the first 2450 years of creation can be seen as preparation for eternity, and everything thereafter as eternity. Although the plan of creation is not fulfilled and stabilized as of the beginning of eternity, there is an emphasis that nothing new is needed, except to fulfill the old. The restoration stabilizes but does not change or add to the best of the period of creation through the dwelling of God in Aaron's sanctuary and entry into the land.

#### 6.4.4.1. The restoration in Jubilees 23 is gradual and has already begun.

Scholars since Charles have noted that the restoration in Jubilees is gradual,<sup>69</sup> and Russell seems to have grasped some of the significance of the fact that Jubilees stands out among apocalypses for an “evolutionary rather than cataclysmic” restoration.<sup>70</sup> Further

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<sup>69</sup> Charles, *Jubilees*, 149. Rowley, *The Relevance of Apocalyptic*, 61.

<sup>70</sup> Russell, *Method & Message*, 268 n. 4.

significance comes from the context of the present work. This is not one way that Jubilees is different, but the climax of a pattern of differences. Not only is the restoration gradual, it has already begun. The repentance phase (itself distinctive among early apocalypses),<sup>71</sup> which has already begun in as much as that the book has any audience, leads directly to a gradual restoration. Although the end result is dramatic, there are no ahistorical conditions or predictions to be fulfilled before the blessings begin.

ወበወ-አቶን : መዋዕል : ይእኅዙ : ደቂቅ : ይትጎሠሡ : ሕገገ : ወለጋሢሠ :  
ትእዛዝ : ወለተመይጦ : ውስተ : ፍኖተ : ጽድቅ ::  
ወይእኅዛ : መዋዕል : ይብዝኑ : ወይልሀቃ : ወውሉደ : ሰብእ : ትውልድ :  
እምትውልድ : ወዕለት : እመዋዕል : እስከ : ሶበ : ይቀርብ : መዋዕሊሆሙ :  
ለዐሠርቱ : ምእት : ዓመት : ወለብዙኅ : ዓመታት : እምነ : ብዙኅ : መዋዕል

In those days the children will begin to study the laws, to seek out the commands, and to return to the right way.

The days will begin to become numerous and increase, and people as well—generation by generation and day by day until their lifetimes approach 1000 years and to more years than the number of days (had been). (Jubilees 23:26-27)<sup>72</sup>

Since the restoration in lifespan is gradual, it would have been impossible to falsify the claim. Indeed, since the time of composition was a time of peace following a period of civil war, famine and occupation (see Chapter 3), an increase in life expectancy would

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<sup>71</sup> Even if one counts the lambs opening their eyes in the Animal Apocalypse as a form of repentance, it does not lead directly to restoration, but rather to final woes. In general, and perhaps also in the Animal Apocalypse, the Apocalypse of Weeks is more typical in the view that the chosen are chosen because they are already righteous (if for any reason at all), not because they repented prior to receiving esoteric revelation. Again, I do not count the prayer in Daniel 9 as an endorsed explanation of the situation in the last days.

<sup>72</sup> James Kugel demonstrates how this obscure phrase relates to Psalm 90:14-15, **שְׂבַעֲנוּ בְּבֹקֶר חֲסִידֶיךָ** **וְנִשְׂמְחֶנּוּ בְּכָל־יְמֵינוּ**: **שָׂמְחֶנּוּ כִּימֹת עֲנִיּוֹתָם שְׁנוֹת רָצִינוּ רָעָה**. While it would make no sense to ask to be gladdened like the days one was afflicted, Jubilees makes sense of it by asserting that in the restoration Israel would get back the days humanity had lost to punishment for wickedness, and be happy all the days they were miserable. Kugel, “The Jubilees Apocalypse,” 333-334. It is difficult to translate in such a way that stays close to the Ethiopic while making clear the allusion and the meaning. The basic idea, drawing from Jubilees 4:30 (“[Adam] lacked 70 years from 1000 years because 1000 years are one day in the testimony of heaven”), is that if humanity now lives 70 years and is given back the number of years of Adam, they will reach the 1000 years that was originally intended.



have been apparent. The restoration of longevity is not immortality, but returning to the original plan for humanity in Eden. This, by itself, is not so different from the Book of the Watchers, but other differences will become apparent in the next sub-sub-section. Compared to other apocalypses, it is striking that the restoration does not go beyond what had once been the case in the ideal past. Even the climax of restoration in Jubilees 23 does not go beyond what is imagined to have already been the case in the “old” creation. The old creation may need to be restored to its former glory, but it does not need to be replaced. We see this in Jubilees 23 with respect to longevity, but more points like this will come out when we consider the rest of the book.

It would be an over-reaction to lump Jubilees with later examples of realized or inaugurated eschatology, but we should not miss the significance of the difference between Jubilees and contemporary apocalypses. We should consider how the view of the present moment in Jubilees differs from what a reader would expect. Jubilees still amplifies the significance of the present moment, but it shifts from a moment of crisis to a moment of opportunity. The hope and promises are no longer mediated by threats and pessimism. Pulling in some issues from other chapters, the plan of restoration does not require new revelation, but a return to traditional social and textual authorities. The promises are not complicated by external agents or arbitrarily appointed dates; rather, the continuing restoration of history depends only on the decision of the people of Israel. The audience is called to Torah study, not warfare or martyrdom. Jubilees asserts the worst is over. The difference between Jubilees and contemporary apocalypses on the temporal relationship between the present and the restoration (i.e., whether the restoration has begun) should be more than a footnote in the study of Jewish thought and literature in antiquity.

6.4.4.2. The restoration in Jubilees as a whole restores and fulfills the original plan of creation.

Everything that is needed for the restoration in Jubilees was established at some point in the history of the world from creation through the sanctuary in the wilderness. There is nothing new except the making permanent of what once existed. Furthermore, the particulars of Jewish history (the division of nations, the exclusive covenant, the priesthood) are not part of the decline of history, but were the original plan of creation written on the heavenly tablets. God did not make the best of a bad situation with a sinful cosmos, a sinful humanity, and a sinful Israel. Rather, God's intention to form a covenant with Israel is written on the heavenly tablets and is manifested in the first week of creation. It is true that a pedagogic period of Deuteronomic sin and punishment took place before Israel became ready to sustain its purity. Yet, as Israel turns to study the heavenly tablets, according to Jubilees, the final implementation of the plan of creation is becoming manifest.

Besides the restoration of the original lifespan, which we already considered, we will consider Jubilees' view of the fulfillment, not replacement, of four aspects of the plan of creation: (1) the people of Israel (the priests to a higher degree, but not all humanity) will be holy (pure, set apart); (2) the land of Israel (Zion to a higher degree, but not the whole world) will be holy (pure, set apart); (3) God will dwell in a sanctuary among the people of Israel; (4) the calendar of Israel will synchronize with the heavenly calendar. I do not count among these four the revelation of the heavenly tablets to Moses at Sinai. Certainly the restoration is characterized by the continuation of the Torah, but the Torah is not *part of* the plan of creation/restoration, it *is* the plan of creation/

restoration. I will begin with this overarching point, and then consider the four aspects of the plan of creation, and then propose what, if anything, one might speculate about large periods of history in Jubilees after the jubilee of jubilees.

**The revelation at Sinai is fulfilled in the restoration, not surpassed.** Scholars may differ on how the Enochic apocalypses view the status of revelation to Moses at the time of the eschatological restoration. It is not impossible to read some of these works as viewing the Sinai covenant and revelation as insufficient or temporary (something of a stopgap measure). The obvious problem is that a law for Israel at the time of Moses would not suffice to explain the judgment of other nations at any time. Scholars will continue to debate the extent to which the negative evaluation of the Torah of Moses goes beyond this.<sup>73</sup>

What is clear is that in Jubilees there is only one set of heavenly tablets, revealed throughout the jubilee of jubilees and completely to Moses, and there is only one basic covenant, renewed on occasion throughout history and made permanent (and exclusive) with Israel at Sinai. There is only one true way, and that is the way revealed to Moses. The eternality of the heavenly tablets and their complete revelation to Moses is evident throughout Jubilees, and also emphasized in eschatological contexts. Jubilees 23:26 emphasizes that the restoration comes by studying the laws. The eternal unity of revelation is borne out in that the description of the restoration echoes not only the Pentateuch (Deuteronomy 7:9, etc.), but also Isaiah (65), and Psalms (90).<sup>74</sup> Jubilees 23

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<sup>73</sup> This issue is not entirely separable from the interpretation of בְּרִית הַדָּשָׁה in Jeremiah 31:31, most notably in the Damascus Document (CD 6.19; 8.21; 20.12). See also Peshier Habakkuk 2.3; 1QS<sup>b</sup> 3.26; 5.5, 21.

<sup>74</sup> I am not trying to make any suggestions of a canonical nature, only that the authoritative status of Isaiah and Psalms was not clearly distinguished from the law of Moses.

concludes with a reminder that this, like everything written by Moses, is “written and entered in the testimony of the heavenly tablets for the generations of eternity,” **ጽሑፍ : ወእቱ : ወየዐርጉ : ውስተ : ስምዐ : ጽላተ : ሰማይ : ለትውልድ : ዘለዓለም**.

Throughout the rest of the book, Jubilees emphasizes that the laws received by Moses will never expire. Some may doubt whether the copious language of “forever” and “eternal” used to describe the laws revealed to Moses necessarily applies to the eschatological restoration.<sup>75</sup> Often enough, even stronger language dispels any such doubt. For example, the phrase, **ወአልቦ : ለዝ : ሕግ : ዐቅመ : መዋዕል** “this law has no temporal limit” appears six times to describe the laws of blood (Jubilees 6:14), tithe (13:26),<sup>76</sup> second tithe (32:10), the festivals of Tabernacles (16:30) and Passover (49:8), and the prohibition of exogamy (30:10). One should understand this assertion to indicate that the law as a whole has no temporal limit, not only these six. Similarly strong language is used of circumcision,

**ወዝሕግ : ከኩሉ : ትውልድ : ዘለዓለም : ወአልቦ : ክስብተ : መዋዕል ::  
ወአልቦ : ተዐድዎ : አሐተ : ዕለተ : እምሰማኒ : መዋዕል : እስመ : ሥርዓት :  
ዘለዓለም : ወእቱ : ሥሩዕ : ወጽሑፍ : ውስተ : ጽላተ : ሰማይ ::**

This law is for every generation forever. There is no circumcising of days.<sup>77</sup> There is no omitting any of the eight days, for it is an eternal ordinance, ordained and written on the heavenly tablets. (Jubilees 15:25)

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<sup>75</sup> Jubilees Prologue; 2:33; 3:14; 6:14; 13:25; 32:10; 33:16; 49:17.

<sup>76</sup> This verse also suggests that the priesthood will be eternal.

<sup>77</sup> The point is clear enough from “eternal ordinance,” but the point is even stronger if one reads with Segal, “there is no completion (מולות or מולאת) of days” rather than “there is no circumcising (מולת) of days.” Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*, 235. Segal’s argument is compelling, but it should probably be understood as a pun suggesting both meanings, rather than one or the other.

In one case, at least partly to deal with unpunished behavior of a patriarch, Jubilees develops the notion that the laws are eternal, but are only applicable once they are revealed (and are then applicable ever after).

እስመ : ኢተክሥተ : ሥርዓት : ወኩነኔ : ወሕግ : እስከ : አሜሃ : ፍጹመ :  
ለኩሉ :: እስመ : በመዋዕሊክ : ከመ : ሕገ : ጊዜ : በመዋዕሉ : ወሕግ :  
ዘለዓለም : ለትውልድ : ዘለዓለም : ወአልቦ : ለዝ : ሕግ : ተውዳክ : መዋዕል

For the statute, the punishment, and the law had not been completely revealed to all but (only) in your time as a law of its particular time and as an eternal law for the generations of eternity. There is no time when this law will be at an end... (Jubilees 33:16-17)

Besides supporting the present point that the laws revealed at Sinai do not expire in the restoration, this passage demonstrates that the heavenly tablets were not *completely* revealed before Sinai, even though many laws were revealed and followed (or punished) previously.<sup>78</sup> No previous revelation is as complete as that given to Moses.

**The separation of Israel for purity and holiness was planned from creation and will be fulfilled in the restoration.** The previous chapter considered the categorization of humanity from the perspective of the spatial axis; here we consider the election of Israel on the temporal axis, as both original to the plan of creation and maintained in the restoration. The idea of election was not disputed. The dispute concerned whether humanity would return in the restoration to a unified state with a single religion. The apocalypses and Third Isaiah do not necessarily convey *equality* of all peoples, but some degree of inclusion of all nations in a single place of worship. Especially when one views the eschatological restoration as a return to the original plan of creation, it would seem to follow that all the children of Adam would walk with God

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<sup>78</sup> See also Jubilees 36:20, “[Jacob] worshiped the Lord wholeheartedly and in line with the visible commands according to the division of the times of his generation.”

in paradise.<sup>79</sup> Jubilees cuts off this notion at the source. The election of Israel was not God cutting God's losses and focusing on a remnant as the rest of humanity sinned. Rather, the election of Israel was planned from the beginning of creation, and became manifest already in the first week of creation. The restoration, it follows, will fulfill the plan of complete separation of Israel. Furthermore, the degrees of holiness within Israel are typified in the creation of the ranks of angels.

The creation account in Jubilees 2 climaxes not only with the creation of the sabbath, but the designation of the people to observe the sabbath.<sup>80</sup>

[<sup>19</sup>ויאמר לנו הנה אני מבדיל לי] / עם בתווד עממי ו[שבתו הם וקדשתי אתם לי לעם וברכתים והיו עמי והייתי לאלהיהם] / <sup>20</sup>ובחר בזרע יעקוב ב[כל מאשר ראיתי וכתבתי אתו לי לבן בכור וקדשתי אתו לי] / לעולם ועד ואת היום ה[שביעי] אגיד להם לשובתם בו מכל] (4QJub<sup>a</sup> VII:9-12)

[VanderKam and Milik 1994] <sup>19</sup>He said to us: 'I will now separate for myself] a people among my nations. And [they will keep sabbath. I will sanctify them as my people, and I will bless them. They will be my people and I will be their God.] <sup>20</sup>And he<sup>81</sup> chose the descendants of Jacob among [all of those whom I have seen. I have recorded them as my firstborn son and have sanctified them for myself] for all the age(s) of eternity. The [seventh] day [I will tell them so that they may keep sabbath on it from everything'] (Jubilees 2:19-20)

In fact, the sabbath and Israel are practically identified.

[<sup>23</sup>שנים ועשרים ראשי אנשים] / מאדם עד אליו וש<נ>ים ועשרים מ[יני מעשה נעשו עד היום השביעי זה ברוך וקדש וזה ברוך] / וקדש וזה עם זה נעשו יחד לקדש]

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<sup>79</sup> One should not think that there were only two sets of ideas about universalism: total rejection or total acceptance. One should not conflate the inclusiveness that takes the form of Jews abandoning circumcision, for example, and the inclusiveness that takes the form of asserting that all nations will essentially become Jewish. Jubilees rejects both forms. James C. VanderKam, "Genesis 1 in Jubilees 2," *DSD* 1, no. 3 (1994): 319-321. VanderKam, "Origins and Purposes of Jubilees," 20-22.

<sup>80</sup> This issue has already been elucidated, with extra attention to textual issues by VanderKam, "Genesis 1 in Jubilees 2," 315-321.

<sup>81</sup> The Ethiopic text uses first person forms throughout.

ולברכה <sup>24</sup> וינתן לזה להיות כל הימים ברוכים וקדשים / וזאת התעודה והתורה  
הראשונה] (4QJub<sup>a</sup> VII:14-17)

[VanderKam and Milik 1994] <sup>23</sup>There were twenty-two heads of humanity] from Adam until him; and twenty-two k[inds of work were made until the seventh day. The one is blessed and holy and the other is blessed] and holy. Both (lit., this one with this one) were made together for holiness [and for blessing. <sup>24</sup>It was given to this one to be for all times the blessed and holy ones.] This is the testimony and the fir[st] law [...]  
(Jubilees 2:23-24)

The Ethiopic continues, “as it was sanctified and blessed on the seventh day” **በከሙ** :

**ተቀደሰ : ወተባረከ : በዕለተ : ሳብዕት** (Jubilees 2:24). The election of Israel is not an accident of the deterioration of history, but a central part of the original plan of creation. Furthermore, Israel has exclusive rights to sabbath holiness (Jubilees 2:31).<sup>82</sup> There never was a time when the sabbath was not observed, or was intended to be observed by all nations. Consequently, the eschatological restoration and the fulfillment of the plan of creation is not the universalizing of sabbath observance, but the sanctification of Israel alone in sabbath observance.

The images of eschatological restoration in the rest of the book follow through on the original plan for the eternal separation of Israel (Jubilees 2:33). Numerous passages use language of “eternal” or “forever” to describe the election of the descendants of Jacob (e.g. Jubilees 15:9, 19; 16:26; 22:23; 25:11; 25:20). The central passage on the exclusivity of the relationship between God and Israel (Jubilees 15:30-32) emphasizes the eternality of the distinction. Jubilees 23 describes the restoration with the driving out of

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<sup>82</sup> VanderKam translates the previous verse about the angels keeping sabbath, “... before it was made known to *all* humanity.” I suggest that the italicized word (**ከሁሉ**) would be better translated as “any of.” The exclusivity of Israel’s sanctification in the sabbath is clear in Jubilees 2:20, 31. Jubilees may partly be reacting to an interpretive problem between the two versions of the Decalogue as to whether the reason for sabbath observance theoretically applies to all creation or only Israel.

the foreign “enemies.” Jubilees 1:22-25 also casts the exclusive relationship between God and Israel in eschatological terms.

The issue is most clear when Jubilees focuses not just on the chosenness of Israel continuing in the restoration, but on the separation of Israel being fulfilled in the restoration. Thus, should one suggest that the other nations could become pure and join an inclusive vision of Israel in the restoration, Jubilees makes clear that integration and purity are fundamentally incompatible. Indeed, impurity and exogamy are identified (Jubilees 30:8). The mixing of types (Israel and the nations) is fundamentally defiling.<sup>83</sup> Jubilees 30:14-15 elevates exogamy to an eschatological issue, identifying exogamy as the root cause of the “final woes” in Jubilees 23,

ወኢይነጽሕ : እስራኤል : እምዝ : ርኩስ : ዘቦ : ብእሲተ : እምነ : አዋልደ :  
አሕዛብ :: ወእመቦ : እምአዋልዲሁ : ዘወሀቦ : ለብእሲ : እምኩሉ : አሕዛብ :  
እስመ : መቅሠፍት : ላዕለ : መቅሠፍት : ውእቱ : ወመርገም : ላዕለ :  
መርገም : ወኩሉ : ኩነኔ : ወመቅሠፍት : ወመርገም : ይመጽእ :: ወለእመ :  
ገብረ : ዘቃለ : ወለእመ : ተዐወረ : አዕይንቲሁ : እምአሉ : እለ : ይገብሩ :  
ርኩሰተ : ወእለ : ያረኩሉ : መቅደሶ : ለእግዚአብሔር : ወእምእለ : ይጌምኑ :  
ስሞ : ቅዳስ : ይትኳነን : ኩሉ : ሕዝብ : ኅቡረ : በእንተ : ኩሉ : ዝርኩስ :  
ወግማኔ : ዛቲ ::

[JCVK] Israel will not become clean from this impurity while it has one of the foreign women or if anyone has given one of his daughters to any foreign man. For it is blow upon blow and curse upon curse. Every punishment, blow, and curse will come. If one does this or shuts his eyes to those who do impure things and who defile the Lord's sanctuary and to those who profane his holy name, then the entire nation will be condemned together because of all this impurity and this contamination. (Jubilees 30:14-15)

Jubilees is “double-dipping” for explanations of the recent suffering. In Jubilees 23 the direct cause was the Jewish civil war, but here the indirect cause is exogamy. Jubilees

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<sup>83</sup> This observation about Jubilees has already been made by Jonathan Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 48.



50:5 resumes the eschatological significance of exogamy by singling out purity among the laws to which Israel returns, bringing about the restoration. The restoration will not transcend the separation of Israel from the nations, it will make the separation absolute.

Although Jubilees emphasizes the holiness barrier between Israel and the nations, it does not challenge the traditional hierarchy in Israel. The issue at hand is not whether one can distill sentiments about priestly groups from the Book of Jubilees,<sup>84</sup> but Jubilees' eschatological endorsement of the traditional hierarchy in general. Jubilees 2 establishes both the hierarchy of angels, and the analogy between angels and humanity. The angels created on the first day follow three degrees of holiness: the angels of the presence have their counterpart in the descendants of Levi; the angels of holiness have their counterpart in the people of Israel; the angels of natural elements have their counterparts in the nations of the world. The first correspondence is made clear in Jubilees 30:18,

**ወተጎርዮ : ዘርእ : ሌዊ : ለክህነት : ወለሌዋዊያን : ከመ : ይትለእኩ : ቅድመ :  
እግዚአብሔር : ከመ : ንሕነ : በኩሉ : መዋዕል ::**

[JCVK] Levi's descendants were chosen for the priesthood and as levites to serve before the Lord as we (do) for all time. (Jubilees 30:18)

The “we” is spoken by the angel of the presence who dictates to Moses (Jubilees 1:27). The same point is clear in Jubilees 31:14. Again, language of “forever” is used of Levi's elevation in Jubilees 32:1. The second correspondence, between the angels of holiness and the people of Israel, is clear in two passages. The angels of holiness do not serve in the heavenly sanctuary, but they do share with the angels of the presence sabbath

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<sup>84</sup> In an earlier century one might identify the elevation of Levi as a pan-Levite polemic against priestly supremacy. By the time of Chronicles, however, one could say nice things about the Levites without challenging the structure that distinguished the priests above the Levites. See Chapter 5, note 93.

observance (Jubilees 2:18) and circumcision (Jubilees 15:27).<sup>85</sup> The correspondence between the third tier of angels and the rest of the nations is evident both in the fact that they do not share sabbath observance and circumcision, and in Jubilees 15:31, where God appoints these angels of the spirits to other nations.<sup>86</sup>

The point is that the first day of creation created a hierarchy of heavenly beings that correlates directly to a hierarchy of earthly beings. Hierocracy is not part of the decline of history, but the original plan of creation and a reflection of the heavenly ideal. The eschatological restoration and fulfillment of the original plan of creation will not overthrow the hierocratic structures of authority within Israel, but fulfill them. Although it is important to this chapter to describe the situation with respect to the temporal axis, it has long been observed that Jubilees takes a favorable view of the Jerusalem priesthood (other than recent events).<sup>87</sup> Jubilees 23 in particular does not discuss the eschatological priesthood; yet it is clear from the ranks of angels, the language of “forever,” and the discussion below of God dwelling in the temple, that the Levitical priesthood is fundamental to the plan for the fulfillment of creation.

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<sup>85</sup> Jubilees 31:14 may call for a moderation of this point. There the Levites are blessed “to serve in his temple like the angels of the presence and like the holy ones.” There is at least a difference in language between holy ones (31:14, **ቅዱሳን**) and angels of holiness (2:18, **መላእክተ : ቅድሳት**) or angels of sanctification (15:27, **መላእክተ : ቅዱሴ**). I am not suggesting that there was a clearly articulated and understood distinction between angels of holiness and holy ones (such as the later being a more general category). I am suggesting that the different language in 31:14 reflects a different concern. Jubilees 31:14 is not concerned with ranks of angels and their distinct roles as Jubilees 2 is. This may mean that the author was not obsessed with absolute precision in specifying the ranks of angels in all possible contexts, but it is not a contradiction that requires different authors. At any rate, there is an analogy between the ranks of angels and the ranks of humanity in several passages.

<sup>86</sup> Himmelfarb discusses the correlation between angels and Israel in Jubilees and in a broader context. Martha Himmelfarb, *A Kingdom of Priests: Ancestry and Merit in Ancient Judaism*, Jewish Culture and Contexts (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 53-84. Martha Himmelfarb, “The Book of Jubilees and Early Jewish Mysticism,” in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees (the as yet unpublished proceedings of the 2007 Enoch Seminar)* (2007), forthcoming.

<sup>87</sup> Charles, *Jubilees*, lxxiii. For more on the favorable view of Levi, see 5.2.1.4.

**The eschatological restoration in Jubilees will make secure, not dissolve, the geographic borders of Israel.** On one hand, one might expect an apocalypse to imagine an eschatological restoration in which Babel and the division of the nations is undone, either in that all humanity becomes united in religion, or in that Israel conquers the world far beyond its traditional borders. On the other hand, the theology of land in the Pentateuch is specific to one land, and the Deuteronomistic vision of conquest pertains to a particular territory. Although the Ethiopic word ግጥም can mean “earth” in the sense of the whole earth, for some instances I will defend reading the word as “the land” in the sense of the territory of Israel. The eschatological restoration in Jubilees secures the borders and purifies the land of Israel, it does not expand into an empire or open the borders for an international place of worship. I will demonstrate this first from the “original” plan of the division under Noah and the promises to Abraham. Some of the eschatological passages are more textually complicated, but they are best understood as fulfilling, not going beyond, the particular promises for the land of Israel. As in the previous discussion of the holiness of the people, there is also an extent to which degrees of holiness are to be found internally, with Zion holier than the rest of the land. This point will be deferred and treated with the next point, the dwelling of God in the sanctuary.

The division of the land in the days of Noah is eternal, and the promise of land to Abraham applies only to the land of Israel. Jubilees 8 goes to great effort to authorize the right of the descendants of Shem to the land of Israel, and the magnitude of the offense of its theft by Canaan. Again we find language of “eternity” and “forever” used to describe the allotment of territory (Jubilees 8:12; 17, 21). Jubilees also makes clear that “lots” were not random or human arbitrariness, but made certain from prophecy and overseen by an angel of the presence (Jubilees 8:10, 18, 20; 9:15). Of course the main point is that

Israel did not steal, but recovered, the “land of Canaan.” Jubilees makes no effort to qualify the converse, however. For a descendent of Shem to expand into the territory of another would no less bring a curse. The division of territory under Noah and the curse against territorial expansion is valid for all times and peoples, including Israel in the future.

Jubilees also follows Genesis closely in describing the land promised to Abraham and his descendants as the land of Israel, not the whole planet. In no case does Jubilees go out of its way to remove qualifiers such as, “the land which you see,” “where you reside,” “this land,” as one would expect if the author of Jubilees anticipated that the descendants of Abraham would eventually own the whole planet.<sup>88</sup> Following the protological notions of territory, it would be very surprising indeed if Jubilees proposed an eschatological territory of Israel expanded to conquer all lands everywhere.

Two passages in Jubilees suggest that the eschatological restoration restores security of the land of Israel, while another passages, by itself, could be understood as either the land of Israel or the whole earth. A broader reading of Jubilees suggests understanding the ambiguous reading as particular to the land of Israel, not an instance of dissolution or expansion of borders. The first reference comes at the end of the book,

**ወኢየሴልዎታት ፡ የኅልፉ ፡ እስከ ፡ አመ ፡ ይነጽሕ ፡ እሰራኤል ፡ እምኩሉ ፡  
አበሳ ፡ ዝመት ፡ ወርኩስ ፡ ወግማኔ ፡ ወነጢአት ፡ ወጌጋይ ፡ ወየነድር ፡  
ወስተ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ምድር ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይትአመን ፡ ወአልቦ ፡ እንከ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ መነሂ ፡  
ሰይጣን ፡ ወአልቦ ፡ መነሂ ፡ እኩየ ፡ ወትነጽሕ ፡ ምድር ፡ እምወእቱ ፡ ጊዜ ፡  
እስከ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ መዋዕል ፡፡**

[JCVK] The jubilees will pass by until Israel is pure of every sexual evil, impurity, contamination, sin, and error. Then they will live confidently in

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<sup>88</sup> Jubilees 13:20; 14:7; 15:10; 22:27; 25:17.

the entire land. They will no longer have any satan or any evil person. The land will be pure from that time until eternity. (Jubilees 50:5)

We have already mentioned this passage for the absence of non-human agents on the spatial axis, and appendix 6.6.6 considers what is meant by, “the jubilees will pass by” in light of Leviticus 25. The point now is that the purity and security of the land in the restoration is best understood as referring to the entire land of Israel, not the entire planet earth. There is no suggestion of purity bringing conquest, only the fulfillment of the land promises in the Pentateuch. Another brief, but clear, reference is Jubilees 23:30, where God expels the sinners of the nations. The fact that they are expelled, and not eradicated or reformed, requires that other territories remain home to sinners.

Appendices 6.6.3 and 6.6.4 consider two more complicated cases in greater depth. The first, Jubilees 32:18-19, is a matter of text criticism. While the Ethiopic text of Jubilees 32:18-19 makes Israel sound like an expanding empire, the Latin text does not. Appendix 6.6.3 discusses two reasons to favor a non-imperial reading. Relative to the audience, there is a future reference in Jubilees 32:18-19, but there is also a past reference, to the days of David and Solomon (both are future relative to Jacob). Again, the restoration is a making permanent of the past security and sovereignty of Israel. Appendix 6.6.4 considers Jubilees 4:26, where we have no variant texts to support an emendation. The Ethiopic text claims that the land will be sanctified from Zion. Here the problem is not whether the land of Israel or the whole planet is sanctified, but the fact that sanctification of the land goes beyond biblical precedent. The sanctification of the land will not restore Jewish history as it has already taken place, but it could be understood to fulfill the original plan of creation, as found in the heavenly tablets. The explanation is

difficult, but the basic point is clear: Jubilees imagines a restoration of the traditional borders of the land of Israel, not an expansion or an opening of the borders to foreigners.

**The eschatological restoration in Jubilees will restore, not obviate, the dwelling of God in the traditional sanctuary.** Just as the purity and holiness of the people is true to a higher degree in the priests, the purity and holiness of the land of Israel is true to a higher degree on Mount Zion. The basic idea that Mount Zion would be the particular dwelling of God in the restoration is not controversial by itself. Jubilees 25:21, for example, makes a rather innocuous prophecy that a sanctuary will be built in which God will live with Israel for all ages. The remarkable feature of Jubilees, however is that the “sanctuary that will be built” has two temporal meanings. The revelation of the Book of Jubilees takes place at the time of Exodus 24. Immediately thereafter, Exodus treats the construction of the sanctuary that becomes inhabited in Leviticus 9. The other temporal framework is the mid-second century BCE, at which time the dwelling of God in the temple was hoped for the future.<sup>89</sup> Jubilees describes the dwelling of God in the sanctuary in terms that are both future relative to the second century audience, and immediately future relative to Moses in Exodus 24. The eschatological restoration is in that sense a restoration of past biblical history. This is significant because it implies a very high view of the sanctuary and priesthood of Aaron—they only need to be restored, not surpassed. With this in mind, we can gain a better understanding of one of the passages in Jubilees that has created most difficulty for scholars.

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<sup>89</sup> A perception that the sanctuary was not properly functioning in the 150s BCE does not imply a negative valuation of the second temple in general. The sources available to us suggest that there was no high priest worth remembering between 159 and 152 BCE. See VanderKam, *Joshua to Caiaphas*, 244-250.

Jubilees 1:29 has an undeniable point of future reference relative to the second century audience, and thus is eschatological in temporal scope. There is a basic sense, however, in which the latter-day eschatological scope is the fulfillment of the former temporal scope. The only amplification of the past in the future, as I read it, is that the dwelling of God in the sanctuary will become permanent. VanderKam emended Jubilees 1:29 to fit expectations for a radical future eschatology. Without the emendation, however, we can see that the anticipated future relative to the second century audience is a mirror of the original progression of history from creation to the dwelling of God in the sanctuary in Leviticus 9. Jubilees 1:29 plays with two temporal meanings, but the simple sense is the immediate future relative to Moses. The allusion to the future relative to the second century audience is unmistakable, but the object is the same in both temporal references. The “eschatological” sanctuary is the same as the sanctuary of Aaron, not a “new” sanctuary, temple or priesthood. Appendix 6.6.5 explains this reading, and hopefully shows how approaching Jubilees without the assumption that it is like other apocalypses gives new understanding to difficult passages.

**The eschatological restoration in Jubilees will restore, not replace, the calendar observed in the past and in heaven.** It is not the case that apocalypses are typically as concerned with calendrical replacement as Jubilees is with calendrical restoration. Even the Astronomical Book (as we have it) suggests only in passing that a new law for heavenly bodies and time keeping will be applicable in the new creation (Astronomical Book 72:1). Yet, it is important to consider this point because, for Jubilees, calendar fits the larger package: the calendar and festivals that are particular to Judaism are not, in fact, particular to Judaism but mirrored in the heavenly tablets and heavenly liturgy. The general issue is whether the eschatological future will replace

Jewish particularism with some form of universalism, i.e., whether Jewish history would end and be replaced with a new universal history. For Jubilees, Jewish particularism, including calendar and festivals, is planned from creation and will be made absolute in the restoration. The basic point is clear in many places in Jubilees.

One should be careful to qualify the calendrical concern of Jubilees. Jubilees is very much concerned with celebrating the festivals at the proper time. Jubilees is also concerned with counting periods of 7 years and 49 years. The major payoff is in the point that the release of Israel from Egypt and return to its land happens in the 50<sup>th</sup> period of 49 years (a jubilee of jubilees comparable to the jubilee year in Leviticus 25).<sup>90</sup> It is not the case, however, that Jubilees serves as a calendrical handbook. Days of the week are among the issues not addressed in Jubilees, unlike 4Q252.<sup>91</sup> Although Jubilees counts 49-year periods from creation through the entry into the land, it does not apparently extend this count to a second jubilee of jubilees, or use larger structures.<sup>92</sup> Thus, although we

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<sup>90</sup> VanderKam, "Studies in the Chronology of the Book of Jubilees," 542.

<sup>91</sup> Ben-Dov, "Tradition and Innovation in the Calendar of *Jubilees*," forthcoming.

<sup>92</sup> As tempting as it may be for modern scholars to imagine that Jubilees would have had a chronological scheme for history after Moses, attempts to uncover such a scheme in Jubilees, as thorough as they have been, have essentially proved the hypothesis false. It is one thing when one makes great assumptions that succeed in making sense of otherwise nonsensical data. When great assumptions provide no more clarity than what is assumed, the hypothesis should be rejected.

On a small scale, Michel Testuz tried to piece together various passages in Jubilees into an eschatological scheme and a future periodization of history. He concluded, however, that no such periodization was evident in Jubilees, and if it existed, it existed only as separate secret information in the inner-circles of the sect. Testuz, *Les idées religieuses*, 165-177. As discussed in chapter 5, I disagree with Testuz' conclusion that Jubilees was written by a sect.

James Scott studied the hypothesis on a much larger scale. The thoroughness and skill of his efforts make it clear, to me at least, that if such a structure were to be found, he would have found it. It is not the case that Jubilees synchronizes events with 294-year or 490-year cycles, beyond coincidence and the sources used (pp. 237-249). It is not the case that the periods can be made to fit without overlap (p. 52). It is not the case that the proposed system is manifested in Jubilees itself (p. 149), or makes sense of previously nonsensical passages. It is not the case that Scott can find any evidence in Jubilees for dates of major events such as the restoration of the temple (pp. 148-149). These modest results build on huge



will non-overstate the *type* of calendrical concern in Jubilees, it would be difficult to overstate the *degree* of its concern for the dating of festivals. All the usual modes of emphasis are found: the festivals were practiced by the patriarchs (6:24; 7:3; 14:20; 15:1; 16:20; 18:18; 22:1; etc.), they are ordained on the heavenly tablets (6:35; 16:28; 32:28; 49:8), they are observed by angels (6:18)—all at particular times. From the prologue until the last verse of the last chapter, the heavenly tablets are described as calendrical law for “the divisions of the times.” One repeatedly finds strong language for the permanence of the festival schedule, including “throughout all the years of eternity” (prologue, 6:24), “all the history of the earth” (16:28), and “no temporal limit because it is ordained forever” (16:30; 49:8). Reform or recreation of the festival calendar is not even an eschatological possibility. Israel will synchronize its calendar with heaven, not the earthly standards of other nations.

Another type of calendrical concern in Jubilees is the jubilee *year*. It is clear that Jubilees counts a jubilee of jubilees which fulfills, on the national scale, the release and return of Leviticus 25. Appendix 6.6.6 argues that Jubilees 50 also addresses the 50<sup>th</sup> year, in addition to the 50<sup>th</sup> jubilee. The jubilee year is a clear case of a plan outlined on the heavenly tablets but not (yet) successfully fulfilled in history. Jubilees 50:5 claims that in the restoration Israel will become pure, which will allow the jubilee year to take place as prescribed in Leviticus 25. The counting of a fiftieth epagomenal year is new in

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assumptions. Although I do like the idea that symmetry and extrapolation are *a priori* likely, Scott pushes the extent to which one can reconstruct an *Endzeit* from an *Urzeit* (p. 156), and the extent to which “rigorous symmetry” is a principle of Jubilees (p. 148). I simply reject the assumptions that Jubilees is an esoteric work of an esoteric milieu (p. 69 n. 119), that Jubilees has the same ideas as those found in Daniel and the Apocalypse of Weeks (74, 102, 128, 156), or later documents found at Qumran (pp. 23-24). Scott also builds mountains on VanderKam’s emendation of Jubilees 1:29 without as much as acknowledging that it is an emendation (p. 73).

the sense that it had not been counted in the past, before Israel became pure.

Nevertheless, it still fits the overarching pattern that the eschatological restoration in Jubilees restores, but does not reform or replace, the original plan of creation found in the heavenly tablets revealed to Moses at Sinai.

#### 6.4.4.3. The periods of history in Jubilees

I have expressed reservations about reconstructing esoteric periods of history that might at best be consistent with an extrapolation from what is actually said in Jubilees.<sup>93</sup> This is not merely the result of epistemological minimalism. I do not think it is an accident that Jubilees is silent on periods of history after Moses. As I have already argued, Jubilees rejects the ideas that judgment or restoration can only happen at predetermined times. The festival calendar is fixed, and the 2450 years of creation reveal some auspicious numbers and chronologies (e.g. 22 items created in the first week, 22 generations until the “creation” of Israel). It does not follow, however, that another cycle of 2450 years, or a more complex alternative, follows the first 2450 years. It is certainly not the case that the creation will ever expire. Thus, there are only two “eras,” the era of creation, and eternity. Everything that was needed for eternity was created in the era of creation, starting with the heavens and the earth, and ending with the creation of God’s dwelling among Israel. It is true that, because of sin, the plan of creation was not immediately fulfilled in the year 2451. The 40 years of study in Jubilees 50:4 took quite a bit longer. Jubilees 1 predicts as much, but is not chronologically determined. Jubilees 1

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<sup>93</sup> See note 92.

outlines the policy of sin-punishment-repentance-restoration, but it does not fix a time at which restoration will take place independent of human action.<sup>94</sup> The proper study of the laws in Jubilees 23:26, the resumption of study in 50:4, is eschatological in that it resumes the fulfillment of creation and the stabilization of what will be the case for the remainder of eternity. It is significant, however, that this eschatology comes from a very conservative perspective. There is nothing new for the future relative to the audience of Jubilees. The fifty jubilees of creation will not be repeated because creation does not need to be redone.

#### 6.5. Conclusion to the chapter on the temporal axis

Jubilees uses the genre “apocalypse” to convey its view of the temporal axis. Jubilees expresses a transcendent view of the content and meaning of history. Jubilees gives an overarching pattern that includes creation, the present moment of the reader, and the final stabilization of history. Furthermore, Jubilees is comparable to the typical apocalypses in the four major categories of the temporal axis. Jubilees has something to say about the decline of history, the final woes, the judgment and the restoration.

What Jubilees says is significantly different from the typical apocalypses. There is a decline of history that will reverse, but the decline is not recent or exponential. Received scripture indicates that a lifespan of 70-80 years is not the original or final plan, but a punishment for sin. The decline of history, measured in lifespan, is less immediate to the reader’s present. The change mostly took place long ago, and is so gradual that

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<sup>94</sup> Himmelfarb, “Torah, Testimony, and Heavenly Tablets,” 24. “Indeed, none of the [eschatological] passages in *Jubilees* offers anything resembling a timetable in any unit of measurements.”

neither the decline nor restoration can be perceived in a single lifetime. Thus, when Jubilees does address recent events, the events are deprived of the context of a climax of history.

The suffering of “recent” history in Jubilees 23 evokes the final woes of the apocalypses, but differs. Building on the previous chapter, the woes are imposed by God as chastisement for the sin of Israel according to the terms of the covenant. Neither cosmic nor international forces are responsible. Furthermore, the woes are past. Jubilees says the worst is over, whereas apocalypses often say the worst is yet to come.

The change of history does not depend on enduring until God decides to intervene, but the repentance of Israel. When Israel repents God will gradually fulfill the covenantal blessings of life and security in the land. The gentile invaders will be sent home and excluded from the restoration of Israel, but a vengeful judgment is lacking in Jubilees 23. Judgment is an important theme elsewhere in Jubilees, but it is not eschatological. God’s mercy produces only minor delays in punishment, which can occur for any individual or nation at any time. The beginning of the restoration is also realized in the reader’s present. Furthermore, the restoration is, in fact, a restoration, and not a replacement with a new creation. God’s creation is stretched out over 2450 years, not seven days, to include the creation of Israel and the earthly counterpart of the heavenly sanctuary. God’s original plan for creation is good and does not need to be replaced. The particularism of Jewish history was intended all along; it is not a symptom of the decline of righteousness to a remnant. The exclusive covenant does not need to be replaced, the covenantal relationship does not need to extend to the rest of humanity, the borders of the land of Israel will neither be opened nor extended beyond the original plan. The

priesthood and the sanctuary will be restored, not reformed. The calendar that functioned all along in heaven and among the patriarchs will be restored.

For Jubilees, history, and Jewish history in particular, is basically good. History has its ups and downs, but even the recent disaster of the Jewish civil war has meaning according to the idea that suffering comes from God to prompt repentance. Scripture reveals the blessings God has planned for Israel, and the relatively simple plan for bringing it about: study of the laws in general and purity in particular. The broad view of history has its larger “down”, followed by a permanent “up”, but the worldview is basically Deuteronomistic, stretched over the whole of history.

## 6.6. Appendices: Background issues and difficult readings related to the temporal axis

### 6.6.1. The problem of the correlation between longevity and righteousness

Jubilees 23:8-12a deals with the theological problem implicit in the correlation between lifespan and righteousness. At least until the idea of a resurrection allowed some thinkers to dismiss any expectation of justice in this life,<sup>95</sup> a correlation between lifespan and righteousness appears across Jewish thought.<sup>96</sup> The idea that the righteous should (or

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<sup>95</sup> Daniel 11:33, for example, suggests that the righteous are more likely to die young in this life.

<sup>96</sup> Jubilees 10:16-17 makes the same claim with respect to Noah. In the introduction of the Book of the Watchers joy and length of life are to be expected for the wise, although the expected ideal is corrupted in the present (5:9). Ben Sira takes a more optimistic view of the present, but reflects the same correlation. Suffering and death affect sinners far more than the wise (Sirach 48:8-10). The idea that length of days is a reward for covenantal fidelity is frequently found in Deuteronomy, where variations on *להאריך ימים* appear twelve times, though often qualified, *על האדמה*, so as to contrast with exile, not death. The contrast with death appears in Deuteronomy 6:2 and 22:7. See also 1 Kings 3:14; Psalm 91:16; Proverbs 3:2; 3:16; 28:16; and Ecclesiastes 8:13.

do) live longer than the wicked is a common presupposition. Although the progression is smoother in the Samaritan Genesis than the Masoretic text, by all accounts lifespan decreases in general in Genesis.<sup>97</sup> Given the correlation between righteousness and lifespan, a decrease in righteousness would easily follow.

እስመ : መዋዕለ : ቀደምት : እማንቱ : ለሕይወቶሙ : ዐሠርቱ :  
 ወተስዐቱ : ኢየቤልውሳት :: ወእምድኅረ : አይኅ : አጎዘ : ይንትጉ :  
 እምዐሠርቱ : ወተስዐቱ : ኢየቤልውሳት : ወለአኅጽጽ : እምኢየቤልውሳት :  
 ወለረሲእ : ፍጡነ : ወለተጸግዖ : መዋዕሊሆሙ : እምገጸ : ሕማም :  
 ብዙኅ : ወበእከየ : ፍናዊሆሙ : ዘእንበለ : አብርሃም ::

[JCVK] For the times of the ancients were 19 jubilees for their lifetimes. After the flood they started to decrease from 19 jubilees, to be fewer with respect to jubilees, to age quickly, and to have their times be completed in view of the numerous difficulties and through the wickedness of their ways—with the exception of Abraham. (Jubilees 23:9)<sup>98</sup>

The exception becomes a problem for any who view Abraham (175 years) as more perfect than Cain (861-867 years; Jubilees 4:1, 31). In more practical terms, one might expect God’s chosen people to live demonstrably longer than other peoples, or righteous individuals to outlive wicked individuals (even ben Sira avoids saying that the righteous always outlive the wicked).

Cana Werman observed two types of sin and punishment in Jubilees 23.<sup>99</sup> One type is covenantal sin and punishment, which applies only to Israel. The other type is universal sin and punishment, which applies to all people. It seems to follow that in the

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<sup>97</sup> For the present purposes we need be too concerned with the fact that the lifespans used in Jubilees correspond to those in the Samaritan Pentateuch, or what that may imply about the text or texts of Genesis from which the author worked. See Scott, *On Earth As In Heaven*, 107. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 116-137.

<sup>98</sup> See also Jubilees 4:30, which identifies the death of Adam in less than a full divine “day” (Psalm 90:4) as punishment for sin.

<sup>99</sup> Werman, “ספר היובלים ועדת קומרן,” 43.

latter case a collective punishment of collective sin extends to humanity at large, just as it often does for nations or cities.<sup>100</sup> It is clear that Jubilees is concerned with the problem, but less clear how Jubilees solves it. It does seem that Abraham was exceptional among humanity in righteousness, but nevertheless swept into the collective consequences of collective human wickedness.

እስመ : አብርሃምስ : ፍጹም : በኩሉ : ምግባሪሁ : ምስለ : እግዚአብሔር ::  
 ወእንዘ : ያሠምር : ዘበጽድቅ : ኩሎ : መዋዕለ : ሕይወቱ : ወናሁ : ኢፈጸመ :  
 አርባዕተ : ኢዮቤሉሳተ : በሕይወቱ : እስከ : አመ : ረስኦ : ቅድመ : ገጸ :  
 እከይ : ወጸግበ : መዋዕላቲሁ

[JCVK] For Abraham was perfect with the Lord in everything that he did—being properly pleasing throughout all his lifetime. And yet (even) he had not completed four jubilees during his lifetime when he became old—in view of wickedness—and reached the end of his time.  
 (Jubilees 23:10)

(4Q221 3:1) [א]ה' שש [עד] יום[ב]

The notion that the consequence of general human wickedness is general human mortality fits the data, but the only explicit assertion is that mortality is indeed linked to wickedness, and Abraham was indeed perfect. Whatever the explanation assumed, the resolution of the tension unfolds for the remainder of the chapter, as lifespan and

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<sup>100</sup> It seems further plausible that the particular sin that would have explained decrease in longevity is calendrical error. Thus, shortening the days of the year (from 364 to 354) by adopting a lunar calendar would have the result of shortening the days of one's life (from 19 jubilees to 1.5). Although the idea that the punishment fits the crime could go without saying, one must keep in mind that it is not said in Jubilees 23. It might also fit the idea of collective punishment, in as much as calendrical convention is fundamentally a communal observance. Since Enoch testified to all the nations about proper calendar, any nation that violated the proper calendar would be subject to punishment (Jubilees 4:18). See also Kugel, "The Jubilees Apocalypse," 331.

Although I am skeptical of interpretations of Jubilees that require a calculator, one might find it interesting that at a rate of deviation of 10 days per year (354 vs. 364 days), by the end of the first jubilee of jubilees (2450 years) the sinners would be off by 67 solar years (69 lunar years). This is not exactly 1.5 jubilees (73.5 years), but one might argue that the punishment fits the crime.

righteousness continue to decline after Abraham before making their eschatological reversal.

#### 6.6.2. Who were the descendents of Lot and Caphtor in the second century BCE?

It lies outside the scope of this study to examine thoroughly the evidence that may indicate what the author of Jubilees or other second century Jews thought happened to the rival nations from patriarchal times. We will review the historical evidence only briefly, which will be enough to suggest that the Moabites and Philistines, like Sodom, could have been understood to have been judged (destroyed or subjugated) in the past, relative to the author of Jubilees. Thus, predictions of their judgment relative to Moses would count as assertions of a rolling policy of judgment, not a deferred future judgment. It is not suggested that Jubilees is *only* explaining past history. The interpretation of Genesis is a far greater factor, which explains why Jubilees is less concerned with other extinct nations.

A brief overview of the historical evidence can put little or no weight on literary or interpretive mentions of ancient peoples. Thus, the mentions of Moab in the War Scroll, 4QTestimonia, and 4QMMT provide little evidence for political realities.<sup>101</sup> Similarly, the perseverance of place names need not tell us much about the continuity of tribal identity, sovereignty, or social relevance.<sup>102</sup> Thus, the regions of Palestine or Moab

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<sup>101</sup> Yet, the fact that interpreters could shift the designation “Edom” to the Romans, for example, raises questions about how Edom had been previously understood.

<sup>102</sup> For example, the name of the American state “Indiana” may etymologically suggest “land of the Indians,” but one would be wrong to think that Indiana is primarily or at all a place of Indian reservations.



could have been referred to as such long after the Philistines and Moabites ceased to be distinct social or political entities.<sup>103</sup> Josephus provides potential support for the suggestion that at least one of the curses in Jubilees should be understood as fulfilled in the past.

ወአልቦ : ተጎድጎ : ሎሙ : ተረፈ : ወዘይድጎን : አመ : ዕለተ : መፃተ :  
 ኩነኔ :: እስመ : ለሐጉል : ወለሥራዌ : ወለሰሰሎ : እምድር : ኩሉ : ዘርአ :  
 ፍልስጥኤም : ወአልቦ : እንከ : ለኩሉ : ክፍቱር : ምንተኒ : ስመ : ዘተረፈ :  
 ወዘርአ : በላዕለ : ምድር

They will have no one left or anyone who is rescued on the day of judgmental anger, for all the descendants of the Philistines (are meant) for destruction, eradication, and removal from the earth. All of Caphtor will no longer have either name or descendants left upon the earth.  
 (Jubilees 24:30)

τῶν δὲ ἄλλων... καὶ Χερθώμου πέρα τῶν ὀνομάτων οὐδὲν ἴσμεν ὁ γὰρ Αἰθιοπικὸς πόλεμος περὶ οὗ δηλώσομεν ὕστερον ἀναστάτους αὐτῶν τὰς πόλεις ἐποίησεν

But the others... and the Caphtorim, we know nothing but their names, for the Ethiopic War,<sup>104</sup> which we will discuss below, made ruin of their cities.  
 (Josephus, *Antiquities* 1.137)

Josephus is not decisive evidence, partly because the destruction of the cities of Caphtor can be distinguished from the annihilation of all the descendents of Caphtor, which includes the Philistines according to Genesis 10:14.<sup>105</sup> In the same passage, Josephus also

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<sup>103</sup> Thus, for example, Moab in *Bellum* 1:89 and *Antiquities* 13.374 may not be decisive evidence of contemporary politics.

<sup>104</sup> The point is not that Josephus has a satisfactory explanation for when and how they ceased to exist. If the Ethiopic War is to be identified with the account in *Antiquities* 2.238-253, in which Moses leads an Egyptian army against Ethiopia and conquers without a fight by being irresistibly handsome to the Ethiopian princess, we must assume Josephus does not have reliable historical data on the specific events. However unreliable Josephus' explanation may be, the basic fact that the descendents of Caphtor were long forgotten by his time remains certain.

<sup>105</sup> See also 1 Chronicles 1:12. Deuteronomy 2:23 places the Caphtorim in Gaza (cf. Amos 9:7). The Septuagint has "Cappadocians" at Deuteronomy 2:23. Jeremiah 47:4 would place the Caphtorim as alive as of the time of Jeremiah, but not for long thereafter (reading the prophecy as fulfilled).



The books of Maccabees mention neither the Moabites nor the Philistines as contemporary peoples.<sup>109</sup> Nehemiah 13:23 mentions Moabite women, which can probably be explained in reference to Numbers 25:1, rather than contemporary history. One might also consider Daniel 11:41, where the Moabites escape the wrath of Antiochus Epiphanes. It would be impossible to prove that the author of Jubilees could not have identified the descendents of Lot or Caphtor as contemporary enemies. Nevertheless, we certainly have reason to doubt that Jubilees is describing imminent judgment of contemporary enemies, as one might expect from a day of judgment in an apocalypse. We have warrant to suggest rather that Jubilees is primarily dealing with problems in Genesis and perhaps also explaining past history.

#### 6.6.3. Jubilees 32 promises conquest in the land of Israel, not a global empire.

The first of the two complicated cases related to the eschatological status of the land of Israel comes down to a problem of text criticism. While the Ethiopic text of Jubilees 32:18-19 makes Israel sound like an expanding empire, the Latin text does not. There are two reasons to favor a non-imperial reading. First, everything else we have seen in Jubilees suggests a land theology within the traditional borders (the remaining case is difficult for other reasons). Second, the verses in question allude to phrases in

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One would also need to consider 50:25-26 for how the Philistines function. Di Lella takes “those who live in Philistia” in 50:26 not as a reference to the people subdued by David (2 Sam 5:18-25; 8:1), but “those who have accepted paganism and Hellenization in Palestine.” Di Lella and Skehan, *Ben Sira Commentary*, 558. This would be consistent with *Antiquities* 1.136 mentioned above. Jubilees, however, uses the term to refer to an ethnic group in ancient times.

<sup>109</sup> 1 Maccabees refers to the land of the Philistines as a place name (3:24, 41; 4:22; 5:66, 68).

Deuteronomy that clearly refer to the land of Israel. Although it would not be impossible for Jubilees to reformulate Deuteronomistic land theology into an imperial interpretation, the burden of proof would be on the new interpretation. The Ethiopic text suggests conquering the whole planet, but hardly defends or dwells on the issue. The Ethiopic variant can be explained as an amplification of the promises. A reader who caught the allusions to the promises in Deuteronomy of security in the land of Israel would have been inclined to read the passage as the eschatological fulfillment, not the extension, of covenantal promises.

Jubilees 32:18-19 can be found partly in the one known Latin manuscript, and partly on 4QpapJub<sup>h</sup>. There are of course variants within the Ethiopic texts, but none are particularly helpful here. The evidence is presented here with the two central issues underlined. The translation reflects my proposed changes to VanderKam's translation.

ወይቤሎ : ካዕበ : አነ : ውእቱ : እግዚአብሔር : ዘፈጠርኩ : ሰማየ : ወምድረ :  
 ወአልሀቀክ : ወአበዝነክ : ፈድፋድ : ጥቀ : ወነገሥት : እምኔክ : ይከውኑ :  
 ወይኔንኑ : በኩላሄ : ወእደ : ኬደ : አሰረ : ውሉደ : ሰብእ :: ወእሁብ :  
 ለዘርእክ : ኩላ : ምድረ : ዘመትሕተ : ሰማይ : ወይኔንኑ : ውስተ : ኩሉ :  
 አሕዛብ : በከመ : ፈቀዱ : ወእምድኅረዝ : ያስተጋብኡ : ኩላ : ምድረ :  
 ወይወርስዋ : ለዓለም

32:18 He said to him a second time: ‘I am the Lord who created heaven and earth. I will increase your numbers and multiply you very much. Kings will come from you, and they will rule wherever they set foot against anyone. 32:19 I will give your descendants all of the blessings under heaven. They will rule over all the nations just as they wish. Afterwards, they will gain the entire land, and they will possess it forever’.

[ואת הארץ והפרייתכ]ה והרבייתכה במאוד מאוד ומלכים ממכה יהיו  
 [וימש]ל[ו] בכול מדרוך כף[ו] רגל בני אדם<sup>19</sup> ואתן לזרעכה את כול הארץ אשר תחת  
 [השמים וי]משלו[ו] בכול[ה] [גוים כרצונם ואחר יקחו את כול הארץ וירשוה לעולם]  
 (4QpapJub<sup>h</sup> 1 I:1-3)

32:18 ubicumque fecerint uestigium pedum suorum aduersus filios hominum 32:19 et dabo semini tuo uniuersas benedictiones quaecumque sunt sub caelo et dominabuntur et potestatem exercent in omnibus

gentibus secundum uoluntatem suam et post haec potinebunt uniuersam  
terram et hereditabunt eam in saecula

The first instance is translated by VanderKam, “wherever mankind has set foot.” None of the texts are without difficulty,<sup>110</sup> but it is at least clear that the verse should be understood in light of Deuteronomy 11:24 (also Joshua 1:3),

כָּל־הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר תִּדְרֹךְ כַּף־רַגְלְכֶם בּוֹ לָכֶם יִהְיֶה  
מִן־הַמִּדְבָּר וְהַלְבָּנוֹן מִן־הַנָּהָר נְהַר־פָּרָת וְעַד הַיָּם הָאֲחֵרִיוֹן יִהְיֶה גְבֻלְכֶם:

[JPS] Every spot on which your foot treads shall be yours; your territory shall extend from the wilderness to the Lebanon and from the River—the Euphrates—to the Western Sea. (Deuteronomy 11:24)

The context makes clear that the promise of conquest pertains to the land of Israel, not the whole earth inhabited by anyone.<sup>111</sup> The Ethiopic text is difficult, and the Latin fits perfectly well with the simple sense of Deuteronomy 11:24. 4QpapJub<sup>h</sup> shows a short reading, making it less likely that Jubilees is placing a new interpretation on the simple sense.<sup>112</sup> Furthermore, the reference to “kings” in this promise to Jacob suggests a promise of the conquest under the Davidic monarchy. Jubilees does not maintain a restored monarchy in its restoration images, so it becomes likely that this promise was understood as fulfilled already in the time of David and Solomon. It is possible that the author of Jubilees imagined (without emphasizing) a restoration of a Davidic monarchy, but even such a restoration would not imply world domination. There is not sufficient

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<sup>110</sup> VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text*, 2.213. VanderKam and Milik, “Jubilees (DJD 13),” 101.

<sup>111</sup> The phrase *לְכֶם מֵאֶרֶץ עַד* also resonates with an even clearer passage, *מִדְּרֹךְ כַּף־רַגְלְךָ* (Deuteronomy 2:5). For the peculiar form *מִדְּרֹךְ*, see VanderKam and Milik, “Jubilees (DJD 13),” 101.

<sup>112</sup> Also, if Jubilees wanted to present an imperial interpretation, other passages, such as Genesis 28:14, would have been better fuel (“Your descendants shall be as the dust of the earth; you shall spread out to the west and to the east, to the north and to the south. All the families of the earth shall bless themselves by you and your descendants”).

evidence to suggest that Jubilees imagined a future series of Jewish kings who would conquer the whole earth.

On the second phrase the texts are clearer, but different. Charles favored the Latin text, “all the blessings under heaven,” whereas VanderKam favored the Ethiopic, “all of the land that is beneath the sky.” VanderKam noted that the passage concerns territory, both in Jubilees 32 and Genesis 35. Yet, there is a logical problem with this reading. If God gives Israel the whole planet earth, what would it mean two sentences later when they gain the entire earth/land? It is not just a matter of redundancy, since sequence is suggested by **ወእምድኒረዝ** “afterwards, after this.” One might reconstruct a long text (all the blessings of the earth under the heaven) from which both could be derived by dropping a word. Yet, VanderKam’s reasoning for favoring the Ethiopic serves as a reasonable explanation for how the Ethiopic tradition could have accidentally replaced “blessings” with “land.” There is nothing unusual about a passage dependent on Deuteronomy treating land and blessings together. One finds language of “under heaven” in Deuteronomy with reference to conquest of the land of Israel, not other lands. So especially,

הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה אֶחֱלֶה לְתֶת פֶּחַדְדָּךָ וַיִּרְאַתְךָ עַל-פְּנֵי הָעַמִּים תַּחַת כָּל-הַשָּׁמַיִם אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁמְעוּן  
שְׁמֶעְךָ וְרָגְזוּ וְחָלְוּ מִפְּנֶיךָ:

[JPS] This day I begin to put the dread and fear of you upon the peoples everywhere under heaven, so that they shall tremble and quake because of you whenever they hear you mentioned. (Deuteronomy 2:25)

וְנָתַן מַלְכֵיהֶם בְּיָדְךָ וְהָאֲבֹדֶת אֶת-שֵׁמָם מִתַּחַת הַשָּׁמַיִם לֹא-יִתְיַצֵּב אִישׁ בְּפָנֶיךָ עַד  
הַשְׁמָדְךָ אֹתָם:

[JPS] He will deliver their kings into your hand, and you shall obliterate their name from under the heavens; no man shall stand up to you, until you have wiped them out. (Deuteronomy 7:24)

The language of “blessings under heaven” (associated with Jacob<sup>113</sup>) could also come from,

מֵאֵל אֲבִיךָ וְיַעֲזֹרְךָ  
וְאֵת שְׁדֵי וְיִבְרַכְךָ  
בְּרִכַּת שָׁמַיִם מֵעַל  
בְּרִכַּת תְּהוֹם רַבָּצֶת תַּחַת  
בְּרִכַּת שְׁדִים וְרַחֵם:

[JPS] The God of your father who helps you,  
And Shaddai who blesses you  
With blessings of heaven above,  
Blessings of the deep that couches below,  
Blessings of the breast and womb. (Genesis 49:25)

The addition of תחת השמים would not suffice if Jubilees intended to convert the promises of security in the land of Israel into promises of global conquest. The Latin text makes perfect sense, and fits the pattern we have been considering. The Ethiopic text, as we have it, suggests territorial conquest beyond the traditional boundaries of Israel, which would certainly be a hope that was never realized in the past. This would be a departure from what we have found in the rest of Jubilees. By following the Latin text, we find yet another instance of a promise that may be expected to be permanently realized in the future, but was also realized in the past. God promised Jacob that his descendents would gain sovereignty and security in the Land of Israel. This promise was at least temporarily fulfilled in the past, under Solomon. There is still a future, eschatological dimension but it is a restoration of past biblical history, not a rejection and replacement with a new and different history.

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<sup>113</sup> Following Kugel’s case that Jubilees 23 explains how Moses received as revelation Psalm 90, Jubilees 32 could explain how Jacob received as revelation Genesis 49. One might also find some consonance with Genesis 49:10 in Jubilees 32:18, although Genesis 35:11 suffices for the basic idea. More evidence would be necessary to establish the likelihood of such a possibility. Kugel, “The Jubilees Apocalypse,” 322-337.

#### 6.6.4. The sanctification of the land

The second half of Jubilees 4:26 is attested only in Ethiopic (the first half appears in the Syriac chronicle). The unsurprising part is that Mount Zion will be sanctified in the “new creation.” It was sanctified before and one would expect it to re-sanctified as part of any restoration. The difficulty is that Mount Zion (presumably the cult of the temple) in turn sanctifies the rest of the land.

ወደብረ : ጽዮን : ይትቂደስ : በፍትረት : ሐዳስ : ለቅዳሴ : ምድር : በእንተዝ :  
ትትቂደስ : ምድር : እምኩሉ : አበሳ : ወእምርኩሳ : በትውልደ : ዓለም ::

and Mt. Zion (which) will be sanctified in the new creation for the sanctification of the land. For this reason the land will be sanctified from all its sins and from its uncleanness during the generations of eternity.  
(Jubilees 4:26)

I have adapted VanderKam’s translation from “earth” to “land,” but this hardly begins to resolve the problem. The priestly source has a high view of the importance of the central cult, but nowhere, and certainly not in the holiness code, does one find the idea that sacrifice can purify, let alone sanctify, the land.<sup>114</sup> Although people can be purified, atoned for, and sanctified by cultic ritual, this would be new for the land. It may be tempting to emend to “purify”, since one would not *sanctify* from sins and uncleanness, not matter what the object, but one would have to emend twice without manuscript support. Even with such an emendation, it would be more than a restoration of precedent

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<sup>114</sup> In Numbers 35:33 only the blood of the perpetrator atones for the defilement of the land through moral impurity. In Leviticus 18:29 the only resolution of defiled land is *karet*. Deuteronomy 21 addresses moral impurity without mention of the land, but refers to a specific case of an unknown slayer. In Deuteronomy 32:43 God “atones” for the land by killing enemies (כִּפֹּר אֲדִמָּתוֹ עִמּוֹ), but the subject is still not Mount Zion and the verb is still not sanctify. Ezekiel 39:11-16 plays upon, but does not contradict, the distinction between moral and ritual purity. The death of Gog corrects moral impurity, whereas the burial of corpses pertains to ritual impurity. See Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism*, 31.



if the Jerusalem cult purifies the land. Emending “land” to “people” might make more sense, but again would have to happen twice without manuscript support.

The safe conclusion is the general qualification that the restoration in Jubilees goes beyond biblical history in asserting the ability of Mount Zion to purify or sanctify the land. This would moderate the extent to which we can claim that the restoration does not go beyond restoring what already existed in the past. The author of Jubilees could have held, however, that the sanctification of the land fulfilled the original plan of creation. An explanation of how the author might have defended this claim in received scripture, however, would require some speculation.

As discussed in appendix 6.6.6, one major plan of creation that is explicit in the “heavenly tablets” but apparently never fulfilled in history is the release of the fiftieth year, as outlined in Leviticus 25. It may have been analogously fulfilled in the release and return of Israel in the jubilee of jubilees, but the fiftieth *year* was not recorded to have successfully taken place. The fiftieth year release, appendix 6.6.6 suggests, was a plan to be fulfilled in the future days of purity. It is tempting to find a connection between the hope for purity, release and return, and the hope for sanctification of the land.

וְקִדְשְׁתֶּם אֶת שְׁנַת הַחֲמִשִּׁים שָׁנָה וְקִרְאתֶם דְּרוֹר בְּאֶרֶץ לְכָל-יֹשְׁבֶיהָ  
(Leviticus 25:10)

In the simple sense, the year, not the land, is sanctified. Yet, according to Jubilees 50:5 (see appendix 6.6.6), the fiftieth year is dependent upon the purity of the land. It would only be one extra step if the release proclaimed from Zion were to sanctify not only the year, but the land and inhabitants as well. Purity does not create sanctity, but it is a prerequisite for it. Numbers 35:34 would help make the “leap” from purity to sanctity, since any place God dwells would become holy,

וְלֹא תִטְמָא אֶת־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אַתֶּם יֹשְׁבִים בָּהּ אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי שֹׁכֵן בְּתוֹכָהּ  
(Numbers 35:34)

If Israel keeps the land pure, and God dwells in the land of Israel, one might imagine that the whole land would become holy.

At any rate, the eschatological restoration in Jubilees is the restoration and making permanent of the original plan of creation. For the most part, this plan has some precedent for actually occurring. Two items, however, had not occurred in the past: the successful observance of the jubilee year (proclaimed from Zion), and the sanctification of the land from Zion. It would be tempting but speculative to connect these two items on the basis of Leviticus 25:10.

6.6.5. Jubilees 1:26-29 identifies the indwelling of the sanctuary in the restoration with the indwelling of the sanctuary of Aaron.

The first key to understanding Jubilees 1:29 is to observe that it is the last of three formulations of the scope of the book. The double-meanings of Jubilees 1:29 could have been confusing to the ancient audience, as they have been to modern scholars, but Jubilees 1:26-28 should help the reader. In the first formulation, God commands Moses to write down the Book of Jubilees. In the second, God commands the angel of the presence to dictate to Moses the Book of Jubilees. Finally, Jubilees 1:29 describes the scope of the tablets which the angel dictated to Moses. While the third may add an eschatological twist on the first two formulations, it does not contradict them. In all three cases the scope of the book is from Genesis 1, up to (but excluding) Exodus 25—Leviticus 9, i.e., through Exodus 24. In other words, the book covers from the creation up to (not through) the building and indwelling of the sanctuary of God in the midst of

Israel. Besides the consistency of the three iterations, the actual book supports this observation;<sup>115</sup> Jubilees narrates the time from creation through Exodus 24.<sup>116</sup> The addition of an eschatological, permanent dimension adds to but does not negate the basic sense. The dwelling of God among Israel will happen again and will happen permanently, but it has already happened and will basically be the fulfillment, not replacement, of the plan in the heavenly tablets (a.k.a. the priestly source) for the priesthood and sanctuary of Aaron.

The first of three iterations clearly states the scope, up to the indwelling of the sanctuary, **እስከ : ሶባ : እወርድ : ወእነድር : ምስሌሆሙ : በኩሉ : ዓለሙ : ዓለም** “until the time when I descend and live with them throughout all the ages of eternity” (Jubilees 1:26).<sup>117</sup> As it happens, the indwelling that began in Leviticus 9 was interrupted by sin, but it was intended then for all eternity and will happen again successfully. Jubilees 1:26 cannot be understood to mean that the Book of Jubilees will chronicle all the events of all time, but only the divisions of time which are to be for all time, and the events from creation until the *original* sanctuary. The implication that the same laws about the division of time will continue for all time is certainly sincere, but if there is a resonance with language typical of the apocalypses in **ዘቀዳሚ : ወዘደኃሪ** “what is first and what is

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<sup>115</sup> VanderKam deals with the problem that the actual scope of Jubilees does not support the reading that Jubilees 1:26, 29 refer exclusively to an “end.” However, even with chapter 23, Jubilees does not include the contents of all of history. Many passages in Jubilees claim to give the laws and chronological structure that will apply to all of history, but not the specific events. Jubilees 1, like Deuteronomy, predicts a pattern of sin, punishment, repentance and restoration, but is hardly a predetermined chronology. Deuteronomy and Jubilees 1 support the idea that Moses received some sense of what would happen to Israel in the future, but not specific chronology of events. VanderKam, “Studies on the Prologue and Jubilees 1,” 272-273.

<sup>116</sup> VanderKam, “Scriptural Setting,” 61-72.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. Exodus 25:8, **וַעֲשׂוּ לִי מִקְדָּשׁ וְשָׁכְנָתִי בְּתוֹכָם**; Also, Ex. 29:45; Num. 5:3; 35:34.

last,” it might be ironic, since Jubilees does not really develop an end of time *per se*, even in chapter 23.<sup>118</sup> Chronicles shows that “first and last” can simply mean, “complete contents (of a book),” without the later connotation of an end of the cosmos.<sup>119</sup>

The second iteration states even more clearly and succinctly the scope of the Book of Jubilees as it is carried out in the rest of the book,

ወይቤሎ : ለመልአክ : ገጽ : ጸሐፍ : ለሙሴ : እምቀዳሚ : ፍትረት : እስከ :  
 አመ : ይትሐነጽ : መቅደስየ : በማእከሎሙ : ለዓለመ : ዓለማት ::

Then he said to an angel of the presence: “Dictate to Moses (starting) from the beginning of the creation until the time when my sanctuary is built among them throughout the ages of eternity.” (Jubilees 1:27)

I have adapted VanderKam’s translation only to use the more inclusive term “sanctuary” instead of “temple.” Again, it is true that the sanctuary built among Israel in Exodus 25—Leviticus 9 did not persist uninterrupted for eternity, but it was planned for eternity and the same basic plan will become stable for eternity. The next verse goes on to connect the theophany in Leviticus 9 with the theophany in 2 Chronicles 7:3, on Mount Zion. The long-term plan for the dwelling of God in the holy place indeed refers to Zion and

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<sup>118</sup> In the Latin text of Jubilees 45:14 Jacob informs his children what would happen to them in their last days in the land of Egypt, which is to say, the Exodus. The Ethiopic duplicates “what would happen to them” so that Jacob tells them *both* what would happen to them in Egypt *and* what would happen to them in the last days (although Ethiopic manuscripts 21, 35 and 63 omit the conjunction). Scribal error could go in either direction (duplicating or dropping), but two factors are decisive in favor of the Latin. First, Jubilees does not use the language or the idea of “last days” or “end of time” in chapter 23. Indeed, history changes course when Israel repents, but history never ends. Second, the passage in Jubilees is based on Genesis 49, but *removes* all the predictive content. At best, Jubilees would be acknowledging an eschatological prediction, not retelling or expanding it. It is much more likely, however, that Jubilees used the phrase בְּאַחֶרֶת הַיָּמִים from Genesis 49:1 in the basic sense of “in days to come,” i.e. the time to come in Egypt. The eschatological use of the phrase explains why later transmitters would give it an “end of time” meaning that was not operative in the original composition. Another possible sense would be “in the last days of the era,” which would mean the same thing since the first era of 2450 years ends with the Exodus and journey in the desert.

<sup>119</sup> Deutero-Isaiah notwithstanding (41:4; 44:6; 48:12), the phrase could simply refer to completeness in treating the subject matter, as it does frequently in Chronicles (1 Chron 29:29; 2 Chron 9:29; 12:15; 16:11; 20:34; 25:26; 26:22; 28:26; 35:27).

Jerusalem, but that addition does not negate the connection to the immediate fulfillment in the time following the revelation of the book of Jubilees to Moses. The building of the sanctuary has two temporal meanings: the simple sense of the time of Exodus 25, and the permanent sense future relative to the audience. There is only one object, however.

Jubilees identifies the eternal sanctuary as the sanctuary of Aaron.

Jubilees 1:29 pushes further the polyvalence, but we should not emend away the basic meaning that the scope of Jubilees is from the creation in Genesis 1 up to the indwelling of God in Exodus 25—Leviticus 9. The future relative to the second century audience is a restoration of the immediate future relative to Moses. It is important to recognize the multiple connotations of “making new”. In one sense, the creation in Genesis 1 was making new. In another sense the priestly cult of Aaron has cosmic significance for atonement and renewal. In yet another sense the eschatological future relative to the audience will be a renewal. All three senses are active in Jubilees 1:29. The basic “from... until” structure can be aligned with the previous two iterations and the actual contents of the rest of the book. There are two “from” clauses, which iterates that the heavenly tablets existed from the beginning of creation. Both refer to the creation as described in Genesis 1. First comes the claim that the law, testimony and calendar of the heavenly tablets existed from creation:

... እምአመ : ፍጥረተ : ሕግ : ወለስምዕ : ለሱባዔሁ : ለኢዮቤልዎን : በበ :  
ዓመት : በኩሉ : ፕልቆሙ : ወኢዮቤልዎን ...

...from the time the law and the testimony were created—for the weeks of their jubilees, year by year in their full number, and their jubilees...  
(Jubilees 1:29)

Although Genesis does not make clear that the law was created at or before the creation of the world, Jubilees is not alone in this perspective.<sup>120</sup>

The second “from” clause is, in a sense, a more conventional way of referring to creation of the heavens and earth as it is known in Genesis 1. In another sense, the text as we have it seems to go beyond the creation in Genesis 1. Although previous scholars have felt compelled to emend, another way to make sense of the text is to understand “creating new” at multiple levels. Thus, the *terminus a quo* of Jubilees is still the original creation.

... እምዕለተ : ፍጥረት : ሐዳስ : አመ : ይትሐደስ : ሰማያት : ወምድር :  
ወኩሉ : ፍጥረቶሙ...

... from the time of new creation, when the heavens become new, along with the earth, and all their creatures... (Jubilees 1:29)

Without context or emendation, the most straightforward translation of this phrase would be eschatological, as if Jubilees were to narrate starting with a time future relative to Moses and the second century audience.<sup>121</sup> The immediate context and the actual contents of the book discords with such an understanding, and thus demands an alternative understanding of ambiguous terms and non-perfective conjugation.<sup>122</sup> I am not

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<sup>120</sup> With the help of Proverbs 8:22, Wisdom and vicariously Torah were considered the prerequisites of creation. Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible*, 54.

<sup>121</sup> Thus it is on the basis of context, rather than grammar, that I seek a more ambiguous or neutral translation than that of VanderKam, “from... the time of the new creation when the heavens, the earth, and all their creatures will be renewed [subjunctive].” The bigger difference is that VanderKam inserts an emendation, “[the time of the creation until].” Although not supported by manuscripts, the emendation is a reasonable attempt to make simple sense of the passage. I suggest that the passage has a complex but meaningful sense without emendation.

<sup>122</sup> Lambdin suggests using the English past tense to translate an Ethiopic subjunctive subordinate to a past frame of reference. Thomas Oden Lambdin, *Introduction to Classical Ethiopic (Ge’ez)*, Harvard Semitic Studies 24 (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1978), 437. In the present circumstance, the joy is in the multi-valence, since to “become new” is not clearly marked as past or future.

suggesting that this is a *simple* way of referring to the creation in Genesis 1. I am suggesting that Jubilees is intentionally playing against an understanding of “new creation” which suggests that the first creation was flawed. The heavens and earth were already made new in the original creation. Any other new creation will be a restoration, not a rejection of the original new creation in Genesis 1.<sup>123</sup>

A further assertion about the original creation has perplexed scholars. VanderKam is justified in departing from the base manuscript (25) to include **ለሰማይ** “with respect to heaven, heavenly” (manuscript 35). The meaning, however, does not make sense with VanderKam’s emendation, as he has the verse reading “the creatures of the earth will be renewed... like the creatures of the earth.” I suggest that Jubilees is saying here what it says elsewhere, that there is a correlation between heavenly beings and earthly beings.<sup>124</sup> The lower angels maintain the forces of nature and govern the other nations, the angels of holiness mirror the people of Israel (without mediating sovereignty), and the angels of the presence mirror the Levites.

... በከመ : ኀይላቲሆሙ : ለሰማይ : ወበከመ : ኩሉ : ፍጥረተ : ምድር...

... in accordance with the heavenly powers, to each an earthly creature...  
(Jubilees 1:29)

This correspondence refers to an aspect of the original creation in Jubilees 2.

Finally, we come to the easy part, the “until” clause. Although the sanctuary was restored several times in Jewish history, its “creation” refers primarily to the time of

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<sup>123</sup> The same term **ፍጥረት : ሐዳስ** “new creation” appears in the sense of restoration, not replacement, of the past creation in Jubilees 5:12, where it is translated by VanderKam as “new... nature.” There the context is the “day of judgment” which was the flood, **ወገብረ : ለኩሉ : ግብሩ : ፍጥረተ : ሐዳስ : ወጻድቅተ**, literally, “And God made for all God’s works a new and righteous creation.” Again, the “day of judgment” and “new creation” here are past relative to Moses.

<sup>124</sup> See the discussion of Deuteronomy 32:8; 4:19; 29:25 in 5.1.3, “Angelic Mediation.”

Moses and Aaron.<sup>125</sup> Thus, in the simple sense, the temporal extent of the book is up to the creation of the sanctuary.

... እስከ : አመ : ይጉፈጠር : መቅደስ : እግዚአብሔር

... until the time when the sanctuary of the Lord will be created.  
(Jubilees 1:29)

This basic “until” clause matches perfectly with the previous two iterations, and the actual scope of the book. None of this is to deny that Jubilees is playing on multiple temporal levels. Moses’ reception of the heavenly tablets in Exodus 24 is followed by the creation and indwelling of God in the sanctuary, and the obvious analogy is that the study of the heavenly tablets in the time of the audience will lead directly to the renewal of the sanctuary and indwelling of God. The plan for restoration is a return to the plan of creation laid out from the beginning of creation through the time the heavenly tablets were fully revealed to Israel at Sinai. This first era, the jubilee of jubilees, provides the plan for eternity. The future will stabilize and fulfill, not supersede the original plan.

Jubilees 1:29 goes on to include the subsequent plan for the sanctuary. Here we see as strongly as ever the very high opinion that Jubilees has for the priestly cult. Purity is a prerequisite for the sanctuary, but once the sanctuary is in operation it has power to benefit not only Israel, but the luminaries (the opposite direction of influence as one typically finds in apocalypses).

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<sup>125</sup> Exodus and Leviticus do not use the root בָּרָא to refer to the construction of the sanctuary, but for Jubilees the original and final constructions of the sanctuary are identified as part of the fulfillment of creation. The Temple Scroll also speaks of the sanctuary as something created by God (29.8-10). Eyal Regev argues that this passage in the Temple Scroll is dependent on Jubilees. Eyal Regev, “Jubilees, Qumran and the Essenes,” in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees (the as yet unpublished proceedings of the 2007 Enoch Seminar)* (2007), forthcoming. Isaiah 4:5 would also be relevant to a consideration of “creation” in relationship to the sanctuary.



በኢየሩሳሌም ፡ በደብረ ፡ ጽዮን ፡ ኩሉ <sup>126</sup> ፡ ብርሃናት ፡ ይትገልጽሉ ፡ ለፈውስ ፡  
 ወለሰላም ፡ ወለበረከት ፡ ለኩሉሙ ፡ ጎሩያነ ፡ እስራኤል ፡ ወከመ ፡ ይኩን ፡  
 ከማሁ ፡ እምይኡቲ ፡ ዕለት ፡ ወእስከ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ መዋዕለ ፡ ምድር ፡፡

In Jerusalem, on Mount Zion, all the luminaries will be made new for healing, health, and blessing for all the elect ones of Israel, so that it may remain this way from that time throughout all the days of the earth.  
 (Jubilees 1:29)

Jubilees 19:25 also conveys the idea that Israel renews the luminaries and makes firm the earth. The priestly cult never realized its full potential in the past, but once rolling properly will create a self-sustaining cycle. Mount Zion benefits the luminaries, which benefit Israel,<sup>127</sup> which maintains the cult.<sup>128</sup> After a few false starts, the same basic cult will get running and continue for all time.

#### 6.6.6. The fiftieth year in Leviticus 25 and Jubilees 50

The Book of Jubilees uses the term “jubilee” to describe a 49-year period. In Leviticus 25 the jubilee is the release and return in the fiftieth year. The number “fifty” appears in Jubilees in the counting of the fifty jubilees that form the scope of the book, culminating in a jubilee of jubilees of release and return (from Egypt to the ancestral land).<sup>129</sup> Although can one list multiple instances when Jubilees departs from narrative

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<sup>126</sup> I read with manuscripts 39, 42 and 48 against VanderKam’s base text (25) in omitting a conjunction before “all.” I am also disregarding the punctuation, which is not included in the critical apparatus. It would not be impossible to read this clause with the preceding sentence, but I do find it helpful to distinguish the creation of the sanctuary from its later development. One must also be suspect of short, unnecessary phrases that could be explained as anti-Samaritan polemic which could have been inserted during the early transmission of Jubilees.

<sup>127</sup> See 5.2.1.4 for how the phrase “elect ones of Israel” cannot refer to a sect. If it is original it could mean that all Israel is elect, or it could refer to the Levites.

<sup>128</sup> Fletcher-Louis includes Jubilees 19:25 as an example of the relationship between temple and cosmos, or “temple cosmology.” Fletcher-Louis, “Jewish Apocalypticism,” (near the end).

<sup>129</sup> VanderKam, “Studies in the Chronology of the Book of Jubilees,” 543.

and legal material in the known versions of received scripture, I suggest we should think twice before concluding that Jubilees simply dismisses the idea of the fiftieth *year*. The jubilee law of Leviticus 25 was never known to have actually been observed in biblical history, since Jeremiah 34 reflects a failed attempt. Furthermore, Numbers 36:4 suggests a conditional observance (וְאִם־יְהִיָּה הַיָּבֵל לְבָנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל). It seems likely that Jubilees did not simply dismiss the fiftieth year of Leviticus 25, but read it as a conditional blessing. Unlike the sabbath, which is counted even if it is not observed, the jubilee year does not even occur unless Israel is pure. The first 2450 years were creation in a broad sense, culminating with the completion of the covenant, law and sanctuary in Israel. Thereafter, the jubilee year, like the other covenantal blessings, will be fulfilled whenever Israel is worthy. In all Israel's ups and downs, from Joshua into the second century, the conditions for the blessing were never met, but would be met as part of the restoration.

Besides Numbers 36:4, the conditional nature of the fiftieth year release can be found in Leviticus 25 and Jubilees 50. First, Leviticus 25 begins with the condition, כִּי תָבֹאוּ אֶל־הָאָרֶץ “when you enter the land,” so it is expected that there would be no fiftieth year in the first 2450 years of creation. Leviticus 25:18-22 suggests a chain of conditions and effects: observing the laws faithfully causes living in security in the land and a three-fold crop, which allows observance of sabbatical and jubilee years. Thus, one cannot observe the jubilee until one has a three-fold crop, and one does not get a three-fold crop until one observes the laws faithfully. Furthermore, at least logically, the fiftieth year

return requires the cooperation of all landowners in the land of Israel—a condition not met at the time of composition.<sup>130</sup>

In Jubilees, as in Leviticus 25, the fiftieth year jubilee is promised for the future relative to Moses. There was no fiftieth year in the 2450 years of creation, but it will exist in the future, having been revealed for the first time to Moses.<sup>131</sup>

ወሰንበታተ : ምድርኒ : ነገርኩክ : በደብረ : ሲና : ወዓመታተ : ኢየሴሌዎኒ :  
ወስተ : ሰንበታተ : ዓመታት : ወዓመቶሰ : ኢነገርናክ : እስከ : አመ :  
ትበውሉ : ወስተ : ምድር : እንተ : ትእዝተ : ወታሰነብት : ምድርኒ :  
ሰንበታተሃ : በነቢዮቶሙ : ዲቤሃ : ወዓመቶ : ለኢየሴል : ያእምሩ ::

Both the sabbaths of the land, and the years of the jubilee in which are weeks of years [i.e. the 49 year period] I told you about on Mount Sinai. But the *year* of the jubilee [i.e., the fiftieth year release], however, we did not tell you about, until the time when you enter into the land of which you will take possession. The land will keep its sabbaths in their dwelling on it, but they are to know [i.e., they are responsible for] God's year for the jubilee. (Jubilees 50:2-3)

As Jeremiah 34 and common sense make clear, they did not know God's year for the jubilee. Leviticus 25:18 stated the conditions for realizing the jubilee more generally as keeping the laws. Jubilees 50:5 adds some specificity: purity is the main concern that has not yet happened and needs to happen before there can be a year of release.

ወኢየሴሌዎታት : የጎልፉ : እስከ : አመ : ይነጽሕ : እሰራኤል : እምኩሉ :  
አበሳ : ዝሙት : ወርኩስ : ወግማኔ : ወነጢአት : ወጌጋይ : ወየጎድር :  
ወስተ : ኩሉ : ምድር : እንዘ : ይትአመን : ወአልቦ : እንከ : ሎቱ : መነሂ :  
ሰይጣን : ወአልቦ : መነሂ : እኩየ : ወትነጽሕ : ምድር : እምውእቱ : ጊዜ :  
እስከ : ኩሉ : መዋዕል ::

[JCVK] The jubilees will pass by until Israel is pure of every sexual evil, impurity, contamination, sin, and error. Then they will live confidently in

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<sup>130</sup> Leviticus 25:23 suggests that even Jews do not really *own* land in Israel, but merely lease it from God. Thus the conditions of Jubilees 23:26-30 must go together. Not only must non-Jews leave the land of Israel, Jews must recognize that even they have only provisional ownership of the land.

<sup>131</sup> Jubilees 36:20 may support the possibility that the division of the times in Jacob's generation is not the same as the division after all the commandments become visible at Sinai.

the entire land. They will no longer have any satan or any evil person. The land will be pure from that time until eternity. (Jubilees 50:5)

One should not read “the jubilees will pass by” to mean simply that “time will pass by,” but rather that the fiftieth year release will be denied Israel until they enter the land and meet the condition of purity.<sup>132</sup>

The fiftieth year would not be an eschatological change in calendar, but the fulfillment of a promise made at Sinai. The conditions for דרור “release” according to Jubilees on the basis of Leviticus 25 differ from the conditions in Isaiah 61. In Isaiah the release is a proclamation initiated by God with no conditional requirements. According to Jubilees, the release was proclaimed long ago at Sinai, and the ball is in Israel’s court. As soon as they meet the condition of observing the laws faithfully the release will come about. Isaiah 61 and Jubilees 50 approach Leviticus 25 with very different worldviews.

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<sup>132</sup> In light of Jubilees 30:14-15, purity is to be understood here as purity from exogamy (see above, page 423). Jubilees 50:5, combined with Jubilees 30:14-15, forms something of a parallel to Jubilees 23. Jubilees 30 gives an additional explanation of the “curses” of recent history. The Jewish civil war was a direct cause, but exogamy was the indirect cause. Jubilees 30:14-15 uses ideas and language almost identical to Jubilees 23, “blow upon blow, curse upon curse, every punishment, blow and curse will come,” “defile the Lord’s sanctuary and profane God’s holy name,” “the entire nation will be condemned together.” Jubilees 50:5, in turn, provides a parallel to the restoration in Jubilees 23, emphasizing that purity from exogamy must be addressed in particular. Here the rewards of security and lack of “any satan or evil person” reference the restoration in Jubilees 23. In that sense Leviticus 25 is read as an “eschatological” law for the time when Israel will obey the laws in general and avoid exogamy in particular.

## CHAPTER 7

### REVIEW OF IRONIC USE OF THE GENRE “APOCALYPSE” IN JUBILEES

The previous chapters examined in depth the worldview of Jubilees in three abstract categories derived from the definition of the literary genre. In the interest of synthesis, we will now review some key passages in the sequence experienced by the reader—the order of the book. The previous chapters also avoided speculation into authorial intent. By adding a few additional suggestions, we will venture into some more speculative questions. Can the pattern observed be explained as coincidence and the by-product of other concerns, or does the quantity and strength of examples suggest a deliberate use of genre? Does the author present the different options as reconcilable or as opposites?

For some scholars these questions need hardly be asked. If Jewish intellectuals were clearly divided into camps for and against the apocalyptic worldview, then any indication of allegiance or greater sympathy would seal the case that the author promoted one and polemicized against the other. Thus, even a subtle hint would have been unmistakable enough to an audience attuned to the fundamental differences in worldview. Furthermore, if the intellectual differences were sealed in social reality—sects, factions, and militias—derisive polemic would be far more likely than harmonization. For our purposes, it is not necessary to defend any overarching models of social and intellectual

history in second century BCE Judaism. It is not necessarily the case that lines were clearly drawn and rifts divided ideas and people. It is not necessarily the case that the apocalyptic worldview was tied to a particular group, or that a single text defined orthodoxy for the worldview. It is the case that a cluster of compatible ideas are conveyed by the early apocalypses, and Jubilees departs from that cluster.

Jubilees imitates the apocalypses on the surface level of literary genre, but argues against the ideas typically conveyed thereby. We can never be certain of the intent of the author, but we can establish probability. The author brought together different literary genres, but if the author intended to harmonize ideas or groups, then the compromise was very one-sided. Whatever compromises might be found in Jubilees are dwarfed by the subversion of the apocalyptic worldview. The basic tenets of the worldview are caricatured, inverted, and refuted. It is unlikely that one invested in the ideas of the Animal Apocalypse would have accepted Jubilees merely because of the use of literary genre. It seems unlikely, therefore, that the author intended a harmonization.

It is much more difficult to define, classify, and establish humor and ridicule. The evidence and argumentation of the present work do not justify a firm conclusion that the literary irony was intended to ridicule the apocalyptic worldview and parody the apocalypses. As we review the ironic use of the literary genre we will consider some moments that might be consistent with some form of satire.<sup>1</sup> It is left for the individual reader, or perhaps a future work, to conclude what type of satire, if any, might have been intended by the ancient author.

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<sup>1</sup> See Chapter 1, note 10 for the classification of Horatian and Juvenalian satire.

### 7.1. Jubilees 1, the framework

The ironic use of the genre “apocalypse” is not limited to any small number of passages. Jubilees 23 may be the central case in multiple senses, but the framework is clearly established at the beginning and end of the book and multiple instances throughout. The first chapter of Jubilees establishes clearly the framework of the genre “apocalypse.” It may be less obvious from the opening chapter that the worldview is inverted. It is certainly possible that a reader would not have realized until later that the genre was being used ironically, although I favor the probability that a savvy reader would have picked up even the more subtle clues in the first chapter. We will consider two ways in which the first chapter establishes use of the genre “apocalypse,” and how each suggests a divergence from the typical worldview. The climactic conclusion of the chapter makes the case in a more obvious way, but first we will consider a more basic implication of the shape of the chapter as a whole.

The first chapter of Jubilees is a complex compound of Exodus 24 and Deuteronomy 31. The narrative setting comes from Exodus 24, particularly Jubilees 1:1-4 from Exodus 24:12-18.<sup>2</sup>

[JCVK] 1:1 During the first year of the Israelites’ exodus from Egypt, in the third month—on the sixteenth of the month—the Lord said to Moses: “Come up to me on the mountain. I will give you the two stone tablets of the law and the commandments which I have written so that you may teach them.” 1:2 So Moses went up the mountain of the Lord. The glory of the Lord took up residence on Mt. Sinai, and a cloud covered it for six days. 1:3 When he summoned Moses into the cloud on the seventh day, he saw the glory of the Lord like a fire blazing on the summit of the mountain. 1:4 Moses remained on the mountain for 40 days and 40 nights ... (Jubilees 1:1-4)

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<sup>2</sup> VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 24-25. See further VanderKam, “Scriptural Setting,” 61-64.

[NJPS] The LORD said to Moses, “Come up to Me on the mountain and wait there, and I will give you the stone tablets with the teachings and commandments which I have inscribed to instruct them.” ... 24:15 When Moses had ascended the mountain, the cloud covered the mountain. 24:16 The Presence of the LORD abode on Mount Sinai, and the cloud hid it for six days. On the seventh day He called to Moses from the midst of the cloud. 24:17 Now the Presence of the LORD appeared in the sight of the Israelites as a consuming fire on the top of the mountain. 24:18 Moses went inside the cloud and ascended the mountain; and Moses remained on the mountain forty days and forty nights. (Exodus 24:12-18)

The chapter as a whole, however, owes more to Deuteronomy 31, particularly for the idea of prediction of apostasy. Parentheses indicate parallel phrases in Jubilees 1.

[NJPS] 31:16 The LORD said to Moses: You are soon to lie with your fathers. This people will thereupon go astray after the alien gods in their midst (1:8), in the land that they are about to enter; they will forsake Me and break My covenant that I made with them (1:5, 12). 31:17 Then My anger will flare up against them, and I will abandon them and hide My countenance from them (1:13). They shall be ready prey; and many evils and troubles shall befall them (1:6). And they shall say on that day, “Surely it is because our God is not in our midst that these evils have befallen us.” 31:18 Yet I will keep My countenance hidden on that day, because of all the evil they have done in turning to other gods (1:13). 31:19 Therefore, write down this poem and teach it to the people of Israel (1:5, 7, 26); put it in their mouths, in order that this poem may be My witness against the people of Israel (1:8). 31:20 When I bring them into the land flowing with milk and honey that I promised on oath to their fathers, and they eat their fill and grow fat and turn to other gods and serve them, spurning Me and breaking My covenant, (1:7-8) 31:21 and the many evils and troubles befall them—then this poem shall confront them as a witness (1:8), since it will never be lost from the mouth of their offspring. For I know what plans they are devising even now, before I bring them into the land that I promised on oath (1:7). (Deuteronomy 31:16-21)

[JCVK] 1:5 He said to him: “Pay attention to all the words which I tell you on this mountain. Write (them) in a book so that their offspring may see that I have not abandoned them because of all the evil they have done in straying from the covenant between me and you which I am making today on Mt. Sinai for their offspring. 1:6 So it will be that when all of these things befall them they will recognize that I have been more faithful than they in all their judgments and in all their actions. They will recognize that I have indeed been with them. 1:7 “Now you write this entire message which I am telling you today, because I know their defiance and their stubbornness (even) before I bring them into the land



which I promised by oath to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: ‘To your posterity I will give the land which flows with milk and honey’. When they eat and are full, 1:8 they will turn to foreign gods—to ones which will not save them from any of their afflictions. Then this testimony will serve as evidence. 1:9 For they will forget all my commandments—everything that I command them—and will follow the nations, their impurities, and their shame. They will serve their gods, and (this) will prove an obstacle for them—an affliction, a pain, and a trap.... 1:13 Then I will hide my face from them. I will deliver them into the control of the nations for captivity, for booty, and for being devoured. (Jubilees 1:5-9, 13)

The parallels continue in the prediction of repentance and restoration.

Thus far, there is nothing surprising in that Jubilees combines a passage from Exodus and a passage from Deuteronomy into a synthetic narrative. What is striking, for the present purposes, is that the mere combination, before we come to the interpretive additions and the particularly apocalypse-like conclusion of the chapter, already begins to take a form that could be recognized as an apocalypse in the 150s BCE. Neither Exodus 24 nor Deuteronomy 31 could be called an apocalypse by itself. Exodus 24 narrates a revelatory framework. One might find traces of a spatial axis in the stages of ascent on the mountain, but not the contents of the revelation. Likewise, the content of the revelation does not concern the temporal axis. Deuteronomy 31, on the other hand, has no more of a revelatory framework than “The Lord said to Moses” (31:16). Deuteronomy 31 does bring, however, a “prediction” of history with an interpretation of its meaning, in the direction of the more specific predictions typical of the apocalypses. One could also look to the content of the revelation for a hint of the spatial axis.

יִזְבְּחוּ לְשִׂדִּים לֹא אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהִים לֹא יָדְעוּם

[NJPS] They sacrificed to demons which were no gods, to gods they had never known... (Deuteronomy 32:17)

[JCVK] They will sacrifice their children to demons and to every product (conceived by) their erring minds. (Jubilees 1:11)

I do not mean to suggest that any combination of Exodus 24 and Deuteronomy 31 necessarily constitutes an apocalypse. Even if it did it would be better explained as a coincidence or by-product than intentional use of genre. Since it is the case, however, that Jubilees adds elements that more clearly exercise the genre “apocalypse,” it is worth noting that even the basic selection of source material serves the construction of an apocalypse. Before turning to those additional elements, it is also worth pointing out again the fact discussed in Chapter 4. The construction of an apocalypse to such an extent from recycled authoritative materials is unusual and suggests that the view of revealed authority in Jubilees is not the view typical of apocalypses.

A number of interpretations and variations in Jubilees 1:1-25 mold the received materials into the form of an apocalypse. The prescience of Deuteronomy becomes more specific prediction. A number of elements, such as “righteous plant” (1:16), the “worthless spirit / spirit of Belial” (1:20), and “angels and spirits” (1:25) might contribute to conveying use of the genre apocalypse, even if they are not the exclusive domain of the apocalypses. Jubilees uses the genre clearly in 1:26-29 and establishes the apocalyptic literary framework for the contents of the entire book. These verses suffice to cause the reader to expect Jubilees to be like other apocalypses, and begin to suggest the ironic subversion of those expectations.

**ወአንተ ፡ ጸሐፍ ፡ ለከ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ነገረ ፡ ዘአነ ፡ አየድዐከ ፡ በዝንቱ ፡ ደብር ፡  
ዘቀዳሚ ፡ ወዘደኃሪ ፡ ወዘይመጽኡ ፡ ሀሎ ፡ በኩሉ ፡ ኩፋሌ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ ዘበሕግ ፡  
ወዘበስምዕ ፡ ወበሰባዔሆሙ ፡ ለኢየሴልዎን ፡ እስከ ፡ ለዓለም ፡፡ እስከ ፡ ሶበ ፡  
እወርድ ፡ ወአንድር ፡ ምስሌሆሙ ፡ በኩሉ ፡ ዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡፡ (cf. 4Q216 IV)**

“Now write down the entire account which I am making known to you on this mountain from beginning to end, how it is to be in every division of time—as it is in the law and the testimony—into its weeks for jubilees forever, until the time when I descend and dwell with them forever and ever.” (Jubilees 1:26)

ወይቤሎ ፡ ለመልአክ ፡ ገጽ ፡ ጸሐፍ (ጌጥጋጥ) ፡ ለሙሴ ፡ እምቀዳሚ ፡ ፍትረት ፡  
እስከ ፡ አመ ፡ ይትሐነጽ ፡ መቅደስየ ፡ በማእከሎሙ ፡ ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለማት  
(cf. 4Q216 IV)

Then he said to an angel of the presence, “Dictate to Moses from the beginning of creation until the time my sanctuary is built among them forever and ever.” (Jubilees 1:27)

ወያስተርኢ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ለዐይነ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ወያኦምር ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ከመ ፡ አነ ፡  
እምላክ ፡ እስራኤል ፡ ወአብ ፡ ለኩሎሙ ፡ ደቂቀ ፡ ያዕቆብ ፡ ወንጉሥ ፡ በደብረ ፡  
ጽዮን ፡ ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ወትከውን ፡ ጽዮን ፡ ወኢየሩሳሌም ፡ ቅድስት ፡ ::  
(cf. 4Q216 IV)

The Lord will be revealed in the sight of all, and all will know that I am the ruler of Israel, father to all the descendents of Jacob, and king on Mount Zion for ever and ever. Then Zion and Jerusalem will be holy. (Jubilees 1:28)

ወነሥኦ ፡ መልአክ ፡ ገጽ ፡ ዘየሐውር ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ተዓይኒሆሙ ፡ ለእስራኤል ፡  
ጽላተ ፡ ዘኩፋሌ ፡ ዓመታት ፡ እምአመ ፡ ፍጥረተ ፡ ሕግ ፡ ወለስምዕ ፡ ለሰባዔሁ ፡  
፡ ለኢየቤልዎን ፡ በበ ፡ ዓመት ፡ በኩሉ ፡ ፕልቆሙ ፡ ወኢየቤልዎን ፡ እምዕለተ ፡  
፡ ፍጥረት ፡ ሐዳስ ፡ አመ ፡ ይትሐደስ ፡ ሰማያት ፡ ወምድር ፡ ወኩሉ ፡  
ፍጥረቶሙ ፡ በከመ ፡ ንይላቲሆሙ ፡ ለሰማይ ፡ ወበከመ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ፍጥረተ ፡  
ምድር ፡ እስከ ፡ አመ ፡ ይትፈጠር ፡ መቅደስ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ በኢየሩሳሌም ፡  
በደብረ ፡ ጽዮን ፡ ኩሉ<sup>3</sup> ፡ ብርሃናት ፡ ይትሐደሱ ፡ ለፈውስ ፡ ወለሰላም ፡  
ወለበረከት ፡ ለኩሎሙ ፡ ኅሩያነ ፡ እስራኤል ፡ ወከመ ፡ ይኩን ፡ ከማሁ ፡  
እምይእቲ ፡ ዕለት ፡ ወእስከ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ መዋዕለ ፡ ምድር ፡ ::

The angel of the presence—who was going in front of the Israelite camp—took the tablets of the divisions of the years from the time of the creation of the law and testimony—according to its weeks for jubilees, each year in its full number, and its jubilees—which was the time of new creation, when the heavens become new, along with the earth, and all their creatures—each earthly creature in accordance with its heavenly host—until the time when the sanctuary of the Lord will be made. In Jerusalem, on Mount Zion, all the luminaries will be renewed for healing, health, and blessing of all the chosen, Israel, so that it will remain so from then on, for all the days of the earth. (Jubilees 1:29)

The last verse is textually difficult, as discussed in 6.6.5, but major emendation is not necessary. Rather, the verse and the passage as a whole should be understood as

<sup>3</sup> Manuscripts 39, 42, 48 read ኩሉ, unlike VanderKam’s base manuscript, 25, which reads ወኩሉ.

operating at multiple levels, exploiting language typical of apocalypses with an atypical meaning. Thus, for example, the phrase translated above as “from beginning to end” probably originally read הראשנים והאחרנים (in the sense of “the complete contents of a book” nine times in Chronicles), which could also evoke a more apocalyptic sense of “first things and last things (of the cosmos).” Similarly, the phrase translated “how it is to be” could bear a sense of “what will come to pass.” To the extent that such language creates a reader expectation of a detailed chronology of events after Moses and the end of history, the expectation is soon subverted. They are not the topic of the book as a whole and even chapter 23 does not provide these things precisely. The last verse plays on the apocalyptic sense of a “new creation” in the future, but uses the language to describe the original creation, the first time things were made new in Genesis 1. Similarly, the description of the construction of the sanctuary and the indwelling of God sounds like an apocalyptic description of a future restoration, especially in the last verse, but refers primarily to the sanctuary that was created in the very near future, relative to Moses, and the distant past, relative to the second century author (see further appendix 6.6.6). This passage sounds like an apocalypse particularly with respect to the temporal axis, but subverts the basic apocalyptic tendency to imagine an idealized future unlike the past. The idealized time is in the actual author’s past and needs only be brought back from hiatus.

The textual problems suggest that pre-modern transmitters had difficulty understanding the irony of the passage, and the emendations and translations of Charles and VanderKam guide the modern reader to see the passage as apocalyptic in both literary genre and worldview. Once the atypical meaning is sifted out from the typically apocalyptic language, the discord between literary genre and worldview can hardly be

explained as an accident. Already it is possible to imagine the author subverting the expectation of a radically new creation with a new theophany, revelation, temple, priesthood, and so forth. Jubilees seems to be arguing that Israel should look for these things in the past and examine its own covenantal fidelity to explain the present degradation.

This passage also meets the other criteria of the genre “apocalypse,” although the subversion begins subtly here and develops in what follows. The angel of the presence introduces the spatial axis, which will be developed more later. The tablets, soon identified as the “heavenly tablets” may also draw from the genre. A subtle hint of the subversion of angelic agency does appear here already in that the angel only dictates at the direct command of God what is already written. The angel does not guide or interpret for the human recipient of revelation—the angel does not take initiative or act independently in any way. The passage also establishes the apocalyptic revelatory framework of the book as a whole. The savvy reader will already find the irony in the use of the apocalyptic revelatory framework, since the contents of the revelation are identified as the publicly received scriptures from Genesis 1 through Exodus 24, namely, the creation up until the construction of the sanctuary. The passage introduces familiar common knowledge in a way that makes it sound like new esoteric revelation, i.e., an apocalypse.

## 7.2. Jubilees 2, creation

As the content of the revelation begins to unfold in Jubilees 2 the essential elements of the genre apocalypse continue to appear and continue to develop in atypical

ways. The revelation proceeds as a retelling of familiar revelation. The ranks of angels appear as part of God's good creation (2:2). More strikingly, the election of Israel appears as part of the original plan of creation (2:19).

[JCVK] 2:19 He said to us: 'I will now separate a people for myself from among my nations. They, too, will keep sabbath. I will sanctify the people for myself and will bless them as I sanctified the sabbath day. I will sanctify them for myself; in this way I will bless them. They will become my people and I will become their God. 2:20 I have chosen the descendants of Jacob among all of those whom I have seen. I have recorded them as my first-born son and have sanctified them for myself throughout the ages of eternity. I will tell them about the sabbath days so that they may keep sabbath from all work on them'. (Jubilees 2:19-20)

As discussed in Chapter 5, apocalypses often classify not only non-human beings, but groups within humanity. Jubilees stands out from the apocalypses in drawing a clear boundary between Israel and the rest of humanity, rejecting both the possibility of finding anything good among other nations, and the possibility of extending the process of election to a sub-group within Israel. As discussed in Chapter 6, Jubilees 2 presents the division of the nations as the original plan of creation, not the degradation of history in a corrupted world.

### 7.3. Jubilees 3-6, evil, injustice, and the lack thereof

Even outside the apocalypses, interpretation of the primordial history is a prime opportunity to reflect on the nature of evil and unjust suffering. Especially in the apocalypses, evil becomes an independent entity, sometimes a force in the cosmos at enmity with God, and constantly seeking to destroy goodness and pervert justice.

Jubilees, however, almost sounds like Pangloss in denying any robust force of evil in the

early history. Jubilees is certainly concerned with uncleanness and wickedness, but we must distinguish between human sin and Evil with a capital “E.” Furthermore, even before the Noah story, Jubilees suggests that sin is primarily associated with other nations, whereas Israel has an easy escape. Last, but not least, Jubilees essentially denies injustice, asserting that sin (let alone Evil) never escapes quick and precise justice.<sup>4</sup>

First, Jubilees retells Genesis 3 without any expansions on an etiology of evil. One shift is to assert that they had lived in the garden for seven years without sinning (3:15), which differs at least subtly from the view that sin was inevitable and immediate. The issue of longevity is developed in Jubilees 23, but the subtraction of seventy years from Adam’s thousand-year lifespan fits within a worldview of sin and punishment, not evil and corruption. The story of Cain is retold without the personification of sin, לַפְתָּח חֲטָאת רֹבֵץ וְאֵלֶיךָ תִּשְׁוָקֶתוּ וְאַתָּה תִּמְשָׁל-בּוֹ “sin crouches at the door craving to get you, but you can control it” (Genesis 4:7). The bigger shift in the Cain story, for our purposes, is the assertion that Cain received direct and fitting punishment from God.

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<sup>4</sup> Michael Segal correctly shows that Jubilees rejects the explanation of suffering in the Book of the Watchers (Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*, 138-140.), but comes to different conclusions about the explanation of suffering Jubilees proposes. Segal asserts that there are three possible explanations of suffering: the explanation associated with the watchers, the explanation associated with Eden, and the created dualism associated with the Instruction on Two Spirits (6, 263). It is safe to say Jubilees does not endorse the first two (although I question whether Eden is necessarily an etiology of Evil in the philosophical sense of unjust suffering). The position in Jubilees may share certain advantages of the solution proposed later in the Instruction on Two Spirits, such as placing God in complete control for all time. However, only with later categories and dichotomies could one claim that in Jubilees, “evil was created from the beginning of the world as part of a dualistic system of good and evil, in heaven and on earth” (323, similarly 185-187, 241, 259). Incidentally, the overt claim that God created evil is hardly ubiquitous at Qumran—the Instruction on Two Spirits is preserved fully in only one manuscript and partially in a fragment (1 QS III.13—IV.26; 4QS<sup>c</sup> fragment 2). It is dubious whether Segal’s three categories apply to the time of Jubilees, but it is certain that the list is not exhaustive. At least a fourth possible explanation must be admitted. If we are to speak of Evil in the philosophical sense of unjust suffering (theodicy) rather than bad things happening as just consequences of sin, then Jubilees denies the existence of Evil, “there is no injustice” (Jubilees 5:13; *contra* Segal 97). Similarly, Segal creates anachronistic and inaccurate categories in asserting that all monotheists believe that either God is limited or God is the source of evil (189, 263).

[JCVK] 4:31 At the conclusion of this jubilee Cain was killed one year after him. His house fell on him, and he died inside his house. He was killed by its stones for with a stone he had killed Abel and, by a just punishment, he was killed with a stone. 4:32 For this reason it has been ordained on the heavenly tablets: ‘By the instrument with which a man kills his fellow he is to be killed. As he wounded him so are they to do to him’. (Jubilees 4:31-32)

Evil does not thrive in opposition to God, even temporarily, and the law of the cosmos is unerringly enforced. As discussed in Chapter 6, the apocalypses tend to look to the future for justice to win out eventually after a period in which evil thrives unchecked. The strict justice applied to Cain is the first of many examples of justice applied without waiting for a designated day of judgment for the cosmos. This point is not necessarily *ridiculing* a particular text or motif of justice deferred until a day of cosmic judgment, but does illustrate a fundamental difference in worldview on the nature of evil and how justice is placed on the temporal axis.

In the case of the watchers who sinned, the contrast with the particular traditions of the Book of the Watchers is a bit more pointed, although not a simple matter of denying the basic interpretation of Genesis 6 from the tradition. As discussed in Chapter 5, a number of changes to the watchers tradition transforms the story from an etiology of evil to an example of sin and punishment. Among these: the watchers have a good mission from God and commit the sin of intermarriage, not conspiracy against God; although demons find a function in the divine plan for other nations, this sin does not have lasting effects or explain the origin of evil (indeed, the new and righteous nature has already been given). Relatively speaking, Jubilees is unconcerned with the sin of the



watchers, other than to use it as an opportunity to assert complete, fulfilled, uncompromised justice,<sup>5</sup>

[JCVK] 5:11 He obliterated all from their places; there remained no one of them whom he did not judge for all their wickedness. 5:12 He made a new and righteous nature (literally: creation) for all his creatures so that they would not sin with their whole nature until eternity. Everyone will be righteous—each according to his kind—for all time. 5:13 The judgment of them all has been ordained and written on the heavenly tablets; there is no injustice. (As for) all who transgress from their way in which it was ordained for them to go—if they do not go in it, judgment has been written down for each creature and for each kind. 5:14 There is nothing which is in heaven or on the earth, in the light, the darkness, Sheol, the deep, or in the dark place—all their judgments have been ordained, written, and inscribed. (Jubilees 5:11-14)

The assertion of justice goes on for two more verses before again anticipating the special status of Israel for purposes of mercy and forgiveness. When we come to Noah and his sons we will find that Jubilees does find a place for apocalyptic ideas of inherent wickedness, demons, and merciless judgment, but only with respect to other nations. For Israel, the apocalyptic worldview is the opposite of the truth.

The subversion of the function of the watchers tradition would not likely have been lost on the ancient reader. Jubilees uses the particular motifs and language typical of the Enochic apocalypses, forcing a comparison. A reasonably savvy ancient reader would easily notice the difference between using the watchers as an etiology of evil that explains present suffering, and confining them to a story about the past that illustrates God's perfect justice. Jubilees uses them as examples of sinners punished, but not even as

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<sup>5</sup> See chapter 6, "The judgment discourse in Jubilees 5," for a discussion of whether Jubilees 5:10 should be understood as following the Book of the Watchers in the idea that the final judgment of the watchers is deferred for a future time (as suggested by VanderKam's translation), or implies that the judgment was fulfilled in the past, relative to Moses. It seems the flood was a great day of judgment itself and the matter is now resolved. The emphasis of the passage is the perfection of judgment.

the prime example (Sodom claims this distinction). I do not suggest that Jubilees ridiculed the Book of the Watchers as a text, or anticipated a concept of canon from which it should be excluded. It just so happens that the simple sense implication of the Book of the Watchers is a certain worldview, and Jubilees rejects the worldview. At this level, the Danielic apocalypses are no less relevant. Jubilees scoffs at the ideas that evil exists outside the choices that humans make for themselves, and that justice is ever seriously challenged or suspended. It is difficult to judge whether an ancient reader might have found humor in the subversion of the watcher story. It is easy to surmise, however, that the author intentionally incorporated the themes of judgment and the nature of evil from the apocalypses, and the particular motifs of the Enochic apocalypses, in order to create a direct comparison between worldviews. Since Jubilees rejects the foundational worldview, the adoption of superficial literary features is not likely to have been a serious attempt at harmonization. There is an ironic discord between the expectations raised by the use of genre and the ideas conveyed.

#### 7.4. Jubilees 10, the other nations

Jubilees has more to say about wickedness after the flood than before. As argued in Chapter 5, Jubilees ties the idea of irrecoverable wickedness not to angels or primordial origins, but to foreign nations. Consequently, Jubilees addresses the watchers, the giants, and the demons not in the natural place in the narrative sequence before the flood, but as part of the division of nations among Noah's sons. Jubilees includes demons and divine abandonment in its view of the world, but not as an explanation of suffering

and injustice against the chosen. These features of the apocalypses are transformed into afflictions of gentiles, and a warning to Israel to stay away from their cursed existence.

Jubilees consistently maintains emphasis on human choice as the origin of wickedness and asserts that all non-human beings obey God's will perfectly. However, God's will does have room for demons to afflict the nations whom God hates. In chapter 10, Jubilees draws from the genre "apocalypse" again to deal with demons and their angelic leader, but in comparison with the apocalypses they are atypical to say the least. Although Jubilees does not hesitate to look forward to the election of Jacob, Noah at least represents the chosen line, though not the chosen people. Consequently, Jubilees does not address the demons until it can address the nations, which begins with Noah's grandchildren. Although Jubilees adopts the derivation of the demons from the bastard giants, they do not appear in the narrative until Noah's grandsons become nations, first in 7:27 and fully in chapter 10,

[JCVK] During the third week of this jubilee impure demons began to mislead Noah's grandchildren, to make them act foolishly, and to destroy them. (Jubilees 10:1)

The striking part is how easily these demons are defeated by the righteous. Noah eliminates all of them simply by asking.

[JCVK] Then our God told us to tie up each one. (Jubilees 10:7)

Mastema makes a counter-intercession to restore ten percent of them, but with the clear function of punishing the wicked, not afflicting or testing the righteous.

እስመ : እሙንቱ : ውእቶሙ : ለእማስኖ : ውለእስሕቶ : ቅድመ : ኩነኔየ :  
እስመ : ዐቢይ : እከዩሙ : ለውሉደ : ሰብእ ::

For they are meant for destroying and misleading before my judgment (or: authority<sup>6</sup>) because the wickedness of humankind is great.  
(Jubilees 10:8)

God then allows Mastema to use ten percent of the demons. Jubilees is the only ancient text to describe a diminishment of demons. Jubilees is not a compromise position and the emphasis is not a matter of half-empty or half-full. In other apocalypses demons are 100% active and relevant, but in Jubilees they are 10% active and relevant, and that 10% is limited to the punishment of wicked nations. For those who obey the books of Noah, later identified as the books preserved by the Levites for Israel “until this day,” the demons have no power.

[JCVK] 10:13 Noah wrote down in a book everything (just) as we had taught him regarding all the kinds of medicine, and the evil spirits were precluded from pursuing Noah’s children. 10:14 He gave all the books that he had written to his oldest son Shem because he loved him much more than all his sons. (Jubilees 10:13-14)

The demons and the idolatry they inspire are reduced to impotence against the righteous, which soon equals Israel. Demons are utilized as an explanation of whatever power is perceived in foreign magic, but absolutely not an explanation of why the righteous suffer.

Mastema first appears in this passage. Mastema is a good example of ironic inversion of an element typically associated with the apocalypses. Mastema superficially resembles a figure from an apocalypse, but is denied any similar function. The name sounds like Satan but is not. Mastema evokes the role of a leader of evil forces in rebellion against God, but remains in constant submission to God. Mastema explains some trouble that the righteous face, but never claims any victory, only shame. As discussed in Chapter 5, Mastema is a complex figure. Jubilees likes the idea of a figure

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<sup>6</sup> For this understanding of the verse see chapter 5, note 57.

that can proxy for the unbecoming deeds attributed to God in Exodus. There is also a complication in the extent to which “Satan” is relevant here as a particularly apocalyptic idea by the time of Jubilees. It may not be the case that portraying Mastema as a bungling variation on Satan ridicules any one apocalypse, but it does subvert a worldview in which God’s covenantal relationship with God’s people is successfully impeded by independent forces in the cosmos.

#### 7.5. Jubilees 15, heavenly outsourcing

Jubilees 11-14 includes several smaller features that resemble the apocalypses on the literary level, but depart in worldview. For example, the reader is reminded of the revelatory framework and the angel of the presence continues to take on functions that imply no independent will (12:22-27); the kind of foreign wisdom associated with astronomy is dismissed (12:16-18, cf. 8:3); Mastema continues to be easily defeated by the chosen line (11:11, 19-24); the language of “day of judgment” continues to refer to the non-deferred, non-eschatological judgment of individual persons and nations. The next new issue to evoke the apocalypses and refute the worldview appears in Jubilees 15.

The main issue of Jubilees 15 is circumcision, which is treated like a membership card that identifies those who have special status as God’s chosen. Rejection of circumcision constitutes rejection of the privileges of membership. The upper angels of holiness and presence are mentioned as being circumcised, but the effect is not so much to make Israel closer to the angels, but to place Israel in parallel with the angels as having direct access to God. Unlike other nations, God never outsources sovereignty over Israel to any heavenly intermediary.

[JCVK] 15:27 For this is what the nature of all the angels of the presence and all the angels of holiness was like from the day of their creation. In front of the angels of the presence and the angels of holiness he sanctified Israel to be with him and his holy angels. 15:28 Now you command the Israelites to keep the sign of this covenant throughout their history as an eternal ordinance so that they may not be uprooted from the earth 15:29 because the command has been ordained as a covenant so that they should keep it forever on all the Israelites. 15:30 For the Lord did not draw near to himself either Ishmael, his sons, his brothers, or Esau. He did not choose them (simply) because they were among Abraham's children, for he knew them. But he chose Israel to be his people. 15:31 He sanctified them and gathered (them) from all mankind. For there are many nations and many peoples and all belong to him. He made spirits rule over all in order to lead them astray from following him. 15:32 But over Israel he made no angel or spirit rule because he alone is their ruler. He will guard them and require them for himself from his angels, his spirits, and everyone, and all his powers so that he may guard them and bless them and so that they may be his and he theirs from now and forever.  
(Jubilees 15:27-32)

The issue is not whether other nations have angelic princes; Jubilees agrees with the apocalypses that they do, although there is a twist in that the angels are there to lead them astray, not to help them. The issue is whether Israel has one or more angels who mediate God's sovereignty. The problem is not only when the angels placed over Israel are bad, as in the Animal Apocalypse, but also when good angels introduce some inefficiency or temporary bureaucracy holding up God's benevolent will. The implication in the apocalypses seems to have been that the present time cannot be reconciled with the perfect justice expected from God, so there must be some other agents involved that both explain the inefficacy of justice in the present and ensure that God will soon retake the helm and intervene radically. Jubilees 15:32 makes clear that the unnamed angel of the presence in Jubilees is not comparable even to the good angels in the apocalypses who exercise some independent will. This is borne out by the rest of the book, since the angel of the presence appears often but only following the direct command of God.

Jubilees develops a discussion about circumcision into a discussion about the status and agency of angels. Jubilees sounds like an apocalypse in treating these issues, but departs from the typical view of angelic significance as independent agents and explanations of the suspension of divine blessing. This is a case of direct confrontation that is likely to have been intentional but unlikely to have been conciliatory.

#### 7.6. Jubilees 16-22, miscellanea

Although Jubilees 23 rightly attracts attention as the most central and sustained use of the genre “apocalypse” in Jubilees, it is not the case that use of the genre is limited to a few chapters. Indeed, not a chapter goes by in Jubilees 16-22 without some distinctive element typical of the apocalypses, sufficient to remind the reader of the basic framework already established. Most of these points are brief and reprise points already made earlier in the work, so they need not be reviewed exhaustively. Examples will be briefly listed to illustrate the point that partial use of the genre pervades Jubilees.

Jubilees 16 includes the judgment of Sodom, which replaces the watchers and giants as archetype of judgment.

[JCVK] The Lord will execute judgment in the same way in the places where people commit the same sort of impure actions as Sodom—just like the judgment of Sodom. (Jubilees 16:6)

The most significant implication, as discussed in Chapter 6, is that every nation has its own day of judgment in its own time—justice is not deferred until a single final day of judgment. The giants do appear one more time in parallel with Sodom as examples of judgment executed in 20:5, but in the rest of that chapter and the rest of the book the

giants are forgotten and Sodom fills the role. Jubilees subverts the apocalyptic view of judgment as temporally eschatological rather than individual and (essentially) immediate.

Jubilees 16 also invokes the heavenly tablets and angelic festival liturgy to eternalize the festivals as they came to be publicly practiced in Jerusalem (16:21, 28).

Jubilees 17-18 retells the binding of Isaac with the addition of Mastema. Borrowing a page from Job, Jubilees uses Mastema to explain a cruel test unbecoming a loving God. The obvious parallel with Job 1 is often noted, but a key variation should also be noted. In Job, the accuser is never put to shame; indeed the most shamed figure is Job, the “happy ending” notwithstanding. In Jubilees, “The prince of Mastema was put to shame” (18:12). This is not to deny that Mastema causes (or explains) difficulty for the chosen line, but it is significant that Mastema never claims any victory or poses a threat that is not easily and quickly overcome.

Abraham’s exhortation of Rebecca climaxes with a rather apocalypse-like description of eschatological renewal and heavenly agents,

[JCVK] May they [Jacob’s descendents] serve (the purpose of) laying heaven’s foundations, making the earth [or: land] firm, and renewing all the luminaries which are above the firmament. (Jubilees 19:25)

The more complicated issue discussed in Chapter 6 is whether this “eschatological” renewal is purely future, or on some level refers to the priestly cult as it existed beginning with Aaron. Indeed, it is both, but it is significant that, unlike in the apocalypses, the eschatological sequence restores the Jerusalem cult as it already existed. The more simple issue in Jubilees 19:25 is that the roles are basically reversed: cosmic entities depend on the earthly cult of Israel in Jerusalem, whereas apocalypses typically present earthly things as shadows of their heavenly counterparts.



Jubilees 21-22 deals with the election of Jacob. It seems plausible that the language of “righteous plant” (16:16; 21:24) evokes the apocalypses, even if it is not limited to apocalypses. At any rate, Jubilees certainly differs from the apocalypses in asserting that all the descendants of Jacob are chosen, not a narrower group within Israel. All Israel is the righteous plant.<sup>7</sup> We may at least imagine that certain apocalypses would have come to mind upon reading a prediction such as,

[JCVK] ...for he knew and ascertained that from him there would come a  
righteous plant for the history of eternity... (Jubilees 16:26)

In that case, the fact from context that “him” is Isaac and the “righteous plant” is all of Israel would invert the view of “righteous plants” in apocalypses. Jubilees “transplants” language associated with election of a group within Israel into a context that causes it to refer to the election of all of Israel.

Demons, another feature typical of but not limited to apocalypses, appear again in 22:17. Again, they are characteristic of other nations and a threat to Israel only if it forsakes its protection of separation.

#### 7.7. Jubilees 21, Enoch + Noah = Leviticus

One additional point of possible ironic use of genre in this section concerns the reference to the books of Enoch and Noah in 21:10. This point was not made in Chapter 4 because it is speculative and touches on some complicated issues of scholarly disagreement. The point may not convince one who is not otherwise convinced, but it

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<sup>7</sup> The fact that the Levites are singled out for sanctification does not negate this basic point relative to the apocalypses (22:11).

will be mentioned here because it may, if one accepts the premise, represent a moment of direct subversion. The basic issue which was discussed in Chapter 4 is that Jubilees asserts a unity to all revelation in the heavenly tablets, and identifies that revelation with the publicly received scriptures of Israel. We must not think of Jubilees as opposed to Third Isaiah, the Book of the Watchers, or apocalypses in an absolute sense as if Jubilees had a concept of canon from which it sought to exclude such works. The question is more of which texts Jubilees embraces wholeheartedly, and which it interprets and stretches in such a way as to subvert the more naturally implied worldview. Basically, Jubilees embraces Genesis through Deuteronomy, and distorts the Book of the Watchers, Third Isaiah, and other texts to agree with the former.

The potential subversion in Jubilees 21:10 is the assertion that the words of Enoch and Noah equal the exact contents of Leviticus.

[JCVK] Eat its meat during that day and on the next day; but the sun is not to set on it on the next day until it is eaten. It is not to be left over for the third day because it is not acceptable to him. For it was not pleasing and is not therefore commanded. All who eat it will bring guilt on themselves because this is the way I found (it) written in the book of my ancestors, in the words of Enoch and the words of Noah. (Jubilees 21:10)

וכי תזבחון זבח שלמים ליהוה לרצונכם תזבחהו:  
 ביום זבחכם יאכל וממחרת והנותר עד-יום השלישי באש ישרף:  
 ואם האכל יאכל ביום השלישי פגול הוא לא ירצה:  
 ואכליו עונו ישא כי-את-קדש יהוה חלל ונכרתה הנפש ההוא מעמיה:

[NJPS] When you sacrifice an offering of well-being to the LORD, sacrifice it so that it may be accepted on your behalf. It shall be eaten on the day you sacrifice it, or on the day following; but what is left by the third day must be consumed in fire. If it should be eaten on the third day, it is an offensive thing, it will not be acceptable. And he who eats of it shall bear his guilt, for he has profaned what is sacred to the LORD; that person shall be cut off from his kin. (Leviticus 19:5-8)

Jubilees 21:8 established that the case is a peace offering. We must bracket for a moment the question of whether there existed a single authoritative Book of Noah that accounts for the various assertions of Noachic literature and scribal activity. It is properly accepted that Jubilees was original in the assertion that the exact ordinances of Sinai were known and followed previously. If we assume that the Enochic and Noachic literature known to us is at least roughly representative of that known to the author and audience of Jubilees, then it may be subversive to assert that the content of Enochic and Noachic literature is identical to the cultic regulations of Leviticus. (This would not be the case if the regulations were simply about blood.) It is one thing for Jubilees to claim generally a unity of revelation, such that the covenant laws are eternal not only going forward from Sinai, but also backwards to creation. Here we have a very specific assertion making a direct comparison. It seems likely to me that the assertion would have been discordant to one familiar with that literature, and perhaps offensive to one who thought that Enoch or Noah bore an authority of holiness and righteousness independent of the priestly cult in Jerusalem. This instance cannot be an example of harmonization between Mosaic and Enochic literature, or between groups more persuaded by one authority or the other. Jubilees simply pushes the contents of Leviticus into the mouths of Enoch and Noah and asserts that the only legitimate revelation is perfectly harmonious with itself.

#### 7.8. Jubilees 23

Jubilees 23 is central in the Book of Jubilees in several ways. If modern versification may be used as an approximate measure of length, the middle verse of the book is Jubilees 23:23. It has been recognized that Jacob is a central figure in Jubilees,

and Jubilees 23 makes the narrative transition from Jacob's ancestry to Jacob himself. More importantly for the present purposes, Jubilees 23 is the central pillar of the literary framework and use of the genre "apocalypse." Elements associated with the apocalypses pervade the book, particularly on matters of the spatial axis. The beginning, middle and end of Jubilees, however, concentrate use of the distinctive elements from the temporal axis. There is room to disagree about other chapters and the extent to which the apocalyptic literary framework colors smaller literary elements that might not be identified as apocalyptic by themselves. There is no doubt, however, that Jubilees 23 uses the literary genre of the historical apocalypses and evokes reader associations with other apocalypses and the ideas typically conveyed thereby.

Before commenting on specific verses for the use of the literary genre and subversion of the worldview, two over-arching points should be noted. The first, briefer, point is simply to note some things that are conspicuously missing in the chapter. There is no angelic agency. The cycle of sin, punishment, repentance and restoration is exclusively between God and Israel. Accusers (satans) and wicked ones are mentioned only as being absent. The end of the chapter reminds the reader of the revelatory framework which includes an angel, but the so-called Jubilees "apocalypse" stands out from the rest of the book for avoiding discussion of cosmic agents. In the context of the book, the suspension of a certain literary element conveys meaning just as surely as the use of literary elements discussed next. Another striking absence in Jubilees 23 compared to the rest of the book pertaining to the genre "apocalypse" is the complete lack of chronological framework for the "eschatological" sequence. This is not a simple argument from silence because it stands in immediate contrast to the chronological framework used to describe the time of creation (earth to original sanctuary). The striking

implication is that the sin and repentance described in Jubilees 23 is not appointed or predestined in a specific chronological sense, as in the typical apocalypses. Jubilees 23 expands on Deuteronomy in *predicting* sin, punishment, repentance and restoration, but conspicuously avoids a chronological *predestination* that diminishes the significance of human choice.

The second over-arching point is that Jubilees takes elements from the apocalyptic structure of history, and forces the elements to conform to the Deuteronomistic structure of history. That is, we see forms of decline of history, final woes, reversal, judgment and restoration, but they are made to conform to a structure of sin, punishment, repentance and restoration. George Nickelsburg rightly reiterates this striking observation in his discussions of Jubilees.<sup>8</sup> I propose that this fact can be explained as part of Jubilees' ironic use of the genre "apocalypse." Scholars must be wary of anachronistic constructs and perceived clashes between views of history that only in the modern period are labeled Deuteronomistic and apocalyptic. In this case, however, there is at least one good parallel for the juxtaposition of the Torah of Moses and apocalyptic revelation as mutually exclusive explanations of suffering and proposed responses. Daniel 9 is essentially the opposite of Jubilees 23 in presenting one worldview and showing it not to be the correct explanation and proposal for the present circumstances. It is a slightly different matter how we should characterize the tone of Daniel 9, but any explanation of Daniel 9 other than sloppy and oblivious redaction

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<sup>8</sup> Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition)*, 73 (1981 78. Nickelsburg, "The Nature and Function of Revelation," 104. See further, L. J. Lietaert Peerbolte, *The Antecedents of Antichrist: A Traditio-Historical Study of the Earliest Christian Views on Eschatological Opponents*, JSJSup 49 (Leiden; New York: Brill, 1996), 241 n. 2.

supports the present point that the explanation of suffering typical of the apocalypses is in tension with the explanation associated with the “Torah of Moses,” which we might call the Deuteronomistic model. Daniel 9 is the best case, but Randall Argall’s comparison between Sirach and 1 Enoch supports the case for rivalry between competing explanations of suffering.<sup>9</sup>

Although Jubilees 23 clearly evokes the apocalypses, the worldview is uncompromisingly Deuteronomistic. Israel sins, God punishes, Israel repents, God restores. Suffering is explained as chastisement, and the proposed response is to repent. This is not compatible with the apocalyptic explanation of suffering as a temporary suspension of benevolent divine sovereignty that tests endurance until an appointed time. The fundamental ironic inversion in Jubilees 23 is the use of the literary genre of the apocalypses to present a view of history and suffering incompatible with the view typically conveyed by means of the genre. The nuances and details in the chapter will allow us to identify the probability of intent in some subversive use of imagery. For the sake of completeness the following gives all of Jubilees 23:8-32 with comments on irony. The preceding context is the death, burial, and mourning of Abraham. The translation follows VanderKam with alternate senses in the comments.

**23:8 He had lived for three jubilees and four weeks of years—175 years—when he completed his lifetime. He had grown old and (his) time was completed. 23:9 For the times of the ancients were 19 jubilees for their lifetimes. After the flood they started to decrease from 19 jubilees, to be fewer with respect to jubilees, to age quickly, and to have their times be completed in view of the numerous difficulties and through the wickedness of their ways—with the exception of Abraham. 23:10 For Abraham was perfect with the Lord in everything that he did—being properly pleasing throughout all his**

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<sup>9</sup> Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*.

**lifetime. And yet (even) he had not completed four jubilees during his lifetime when he became old—in view of wickedness—and reached the end of his time.**

Scholars who have attempted to explain the apocalypse-like elements in Jubilees as an insertion or redaction from a separate source have had trouble deciding where the apocalypse begins. Jubilees 23 starts slowly, but in these three verses already picks up some elements from the apocalypses. The issue of longevity takes the form of an apocalyptic decline of history, with the variation that the decline is gradual and in no way implies a crisis in the present moment. More generally, these verses introduce the subject of explanation of suffering, which is hardly exclusive to the apocalypses but fits a pattern of association.

**23:11 All the generations that will come into being from now until the great day of judgment will grow old quickly—before they complete two jubilees. It will be their knowledge that will leave them because of their old age; all of their knowledge will depart.**

This verse introduces the historical “prediction” and the particular temporal point called the “great day of judgment.” The point, however, is shown not to be an end of history, but a turning point. Most significantly, the great day of judgment comes to be portrayed as a *past* event, relative to the time of composition. Another nuance may be at work here. As discussed in Chapter 4, the term “wisdom” is avoided. “Knowledge” may be comparable, but the comparison brings with it some irony. Knowledge, wisdom or enlightenment arises in a certain group in several apocalypses. Jubilees does not single out a group here for lacking knowledge, but it is striking that knowledge/wisdom/enlightenment appears in the chapter only as being absent. The restoration involves repentance to the old laws, not some new gnosis or mystery.

**23:12 At that time, if a man lives a jubilee and one-half of years, it will be said about him: ‘He has lived for a long time’. But the greater part**

**of his time will be (characterized by) difficulties, toil, and distress without peace 23:13 because (there will be) blow upon blow, wound upon wound, distress upon distress, bad news upon bad news, disease upon disease, and every (kind of) bad punishment like this, one with the other: disease and stomach pains; snow, hail, and frost; fever, cold, and numbness; famine, death, sword, captivity, and every (sort of) blow and difficulty. 23:14 All of this will happen to the evil generation which makes the earth commit sin through sexual impurity, contamination, and their detestable actions. 23:15 Then it will be said: ‘The days of the ancients were numerous—as many as 1000 years—and good. But now the days of our lives, if a man has lived for a long time, are 70 years, and, if he is strong, 80 years’. All are evil and there is no peace during the days of that evil generation.**

Chapter 4 addressed the use of received scriptures in Jubilees 23 even as it departs from the base narrative of Genesis-Exodus. The point is subtle, as apocalypses also make use of traditional materials, but the materials are used differently. Jubilees implies a unity and sufficiency to received scriptures (as opposed to new revelation) in the persistence with which it packs scripture with more scripture.

These verses introduce the “final woes” that develop more specifically in 23:16-25. Jubilees includes the generic categories of “famine, death, sword and captivity.” One would not want to say these categories are not woeful, but the twist is in the elaboration of the categories. Typically, an apocalypse is both graphic and absolute, whereas Jubilees 23 elaborates the categories with relatively quotidian woes. In particular, natural and quotidian problems such as stomach-ache, snow, hail, frost, fever, cold, numbness, and mortality at the age of seventy or eighty years invert the implication of final woes. Not only are the woes “normal” and un-woeful relative to the apocalypses, which are evoked by the literary genre, they are un-woeful relative to the covenant curses of Deuteronomy 28, which are evoked by language and theme. A reader expects graphic elaboration of unimaginable woes, but basically learns that life as we know it is punishment relative to God’s plan. The final woes typically imply a crisis of history, an



unraveling of nature from normal to far worse than normal. In Jubilees, normal life is the nadir of history, and is woeful only relative to an imagined ideal of utopian blessing. We will come to some exceptions that have their own subversive twist, but basically Jubilees 23 takes the crisis out of the apocalyptic crisis of history by making the decline, nadir, and restoration imperceptibly gradual and normal. Furthermore, it is easy to find irony in the variation on the genre with radical demotion of significance, replacing unimaginable horrors with stomach-aches and frost.

**23:16 During that generation the children will find fault with their fathers and elders because of sin and injustice, because of what they say and the great evils that they commit, and because of their abandoning the covenant which the Lord had made between them and himself so that they should observe and perform all his commands, ordinances, and all his laws without deviating to the left or right. 23:17 For all have acted wickedly; every mouth speaks what is sinful. Everything that they do is impure and something detestable; all their ways are (characterized by) contamination, and corruption.**

It is easy for a modern reader to project expectations of typical apocalyptic contents after the introduction, “During that generation the children will...” One expects the “children” to be praised and free of sin, as in the comparable passage in the Animal Apocalypse,

[GWEN] And look, lambs were born of those white sheep, and they began to open their eyes and to see and to cry out to the sheep. But they did not listen to them nor attend to their words, but they were extremely deaf, and their eyes were extremely and excessively blinded. (Animal Apocalypse 90:6-7)

Jubilees 23:16 is relatively ambiguous, but verse 17 is the first to suggest that “all” are at fault, confirmed later by the fact that each group commits the sin of bloodshed and God punishes all without vindicating any group. Assuming a savvy reader would have picked up on the irony by now, verse 16 begins to turn on the apocalypses even while remaining

ambiguous. After all, is it really so praiseworthy by itself for children to find fault with elders? An apocalypse such as the Animal Apocalypse praises the new movement of “the children” with a clear claim that youth were right and the elders wrong. Verse 16 evokes such an association, but one is soon caused to question, if one has not questioned already, whether “because of sin and injustice” is the sin and injustice of the elders or the accusers. After all, accusing elders could itself be a form of abandoning the covenant. Deuteronomy 21 calls on the elders to judge and kill the child that defies a parent, not to mention the Decalogue command to honor parents. Even if verse 16 is ambiguous enough to permit an assumption that the children are sinless and the elders are sinful, the subsequent verses overturn such an assumption.

As discussed in Chapter 5, I do not take “the children” as a technical term for a particular group, but it is the case that apocalypses sometimes use such language to describe the origin of a new and separate group outside established structures. I do not suggest that verse 16 is referring to a particular group or text, partially because several distinct groups likely fit under the classification of new movements around the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. I do think Jubilees is confronting attempts to portray the recent civil war as a pious revival revolting against corrupt, oppressive and evil leaders. Jubilees portrays the civil war itself as impious fratricide. The children in verse sixteen are contrasted with the children in verse twenty-six, showing that the proper action is repentance and study of the traditional laws, not accusations and bloodshed. Even if they were a particular group and the same particular group in both verses, the course of action in verse 16 is rejected. Others had used the genre “apocalypse” to claim pretension. The author of Jubilees seems to use it to call the pretension false.

**23:18 The earth will indeed be destroyed because of all that they do. There will be no produce from the vine and no oil because what they do (constitutes) complete disobedience. All will be destroyed together—animals, cattle, birds, and all fish of the sea—because of mankind.**

This verse plays between the apocalyptic language of final catastrophic destruction of the world as we know it, and the Deuteronomistic function of divine chastisement through famine and diminished ecological prosperity. Especially in the context of the other literary elements from apocalypses, the translation “the earth will be destroyed” is appropriately suggestive of the total ecological destruction found especially in the Book of the Watchers or the Epistle of Enoch. The twist, however, is that life goes on in the next verse un-obliterated. Especially if the audience would have understood this as the famine of 162 or 160 BCE, as discussed in Chapter 3, the sense is more that “the bounty of the earth will be diminished.” The difference between cosmic catastrophe in other apocalypses and the famine here is not just a matter of degree and finality, it is a matter of timing. The imagery evokes a final, future destruction, but is applied to a *past* event. It would be like evoking “A Hard Rain’s A-Gonna Fall” to say it rained yesterday. The event *sounds like* a flood of complete destruction, but functions more like famine in Deuteronomy or Hosea, where similar language lacks eschatological finality.

עֲלֵ-כֶן | תֵּאָבֵל הָאָרֶץ  
וְאִמְלֵל כָּל-יוֹשֵׁב בָּהָּ  
בְּחַיֵּית הַשָּׂדֶה וּבְעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם  
וְגַם-דִּגְי הַיָּם יִאָּסְפוּ:

Thus the land dries up  
Everything that dwells on it languishes  
Everything among the beasts of the field and the birds of the sky  
Even the fish of the sea are withheld (Hosea 4:3)

Along similar lines, the agency here is not a cosmic conflict and purgation, but human sin and divine chastisement. Famine has theological significance in the Deuteronomistic

worldview, but the proposed response is to repent, not to panic and imagine that the sky is falling and the whole world is coming apart. Jubilees subverts apocalyptic imagery of cosmic catastrophe.

**23:19 One group will struggle with another—the young with the old, the old with the young; the poor with the rich, the lowly with the great; and the needy with the ruler—regarding the law and the covenant. For they have forgotten commandment, covenant, festival, month, sabbath, jubilee, and every verdict. 23:20 They will stand up with swords and warfare in order to bring them back to the way; but they will not be brought back until much blood is shed on the earth by each group. 23:21 Those who escape will not turn from their wickedness to the right way because all of them will elevate themselves for (the purpose of) cheating and through wealth so that one takes everything that belongs to another. They will *mention* the great name but neither truly nor rightly. They will defile the holy of holies with the impure corruption of their contamination.**

If verse nineteen evokes the suggestion of a great struggle of good against evil, the persecuted breaking the bonds of persecution and establishing lasting justice, the suggestion is quickly subverted. Especially in Jubilees, there is nothing glorious about “shedding much blood on the earth,” and Jubilees’ harsh condemnation of all forms of fratricide should likewise be considered as part of the condemnation of the civil war. The generic associations make it easy to expect that Jubilees is praising one side in the war, but on closer examination there are no militant groups here or later that escape condemnation. Chapter 3 explored possible specific historical references in these verses. The point here is that Jubilees uses literary elements that evoke the portrayals of the civil war in the Animal Apocalypse and Daniel 11, but subverts the pretension of acting on behalf of God in the slaughter of other Jews. The subversion of expectations constitutes irony.

**23:22 There will be a great punishment from the Lord for the actions of that generation. He will deliver them to the sword, judgment,**

**captivity, plundering, and devouring. 23:23 He will arouse against them the sinful nations who will have no mercy or kindness for them and who will show partiality to no one, whether old or young, or anyone at all, because they are evil and strong so that they are more evil than all mankind. They will cause chaos in Israel and sin against Jacob. Much blood will be shed on the earth, and there will be no one who gathers up (corpses) or who buries (them).**

Jubilees here takes a break from subtlety to make clear its evaluation of the civil war and the explanation of suffering typically associated with the apocalypses. The lesser point is that the whole generation (old and young, perhaps referring to the description of the two groups in 23:19) is punished, no side is vindicated. The greater point is that the foreign occupation is viewed as punishment for the civil war *from God*. Suffering is not the result of forces of evil in the cosmos rebelling against God, persecuting the righteous, and perverting justice. Justice is fully intact, and suffering comes from God as punishment for sin. The shared use of literary genre hardly constitutes a gesture toward reconciliation between the views of Antiochus Epiphanes and Bacchides as enemies of God or agents of God.

**23:24 At that time they will cry out and call and pray to be rescued from the power of the sinful nations, but there will be no one who rescues (them). 23:25 The children's heads will turn white with gray hair. A child who is three weeks of age will look old like one whose years are 100, and their condition will be destroyed through distress and pain.**

For the most part the present dissertation has been concerned with a more abstract discussion of literary genre, typical worldview, and literary irony, and less dependent on comparison of specific passages. The main argument does not argue or assume that the author of Jubilees knew specific apocalypses as we know them. Here, however, at the hyperbolic description of the nadir of history typical of the apocalypses, it is possible to identify some specific anti-parallels in imagery. First, we should consider Isaiah 65:20.

Even though Third Isaiah does not use the literary genre apocalypse, a conceptual relationship has long been recognized. The image of an infant who looks like an old man seems to derive from distorting the syntax of Isaiah 65:20.

לֹא־יְהִיָּה מִשָּׁם עוֹד עוֹל יָמִים וְזָקֵן אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יִמְלֹא אֶת־יָמָיו  
(Isaiah 65:20) כִּי הַנֶּעַר בֶּן־מֵאָה שָׁנָה יָמוּת וְהַחוּטָא בֶּן־מֵאָה שָׁנָה יִקְלָל:

Whereas modern translations rightly grasp the disjunction, rendering something to the effect of, “There will be neither an infant nor an old man who dies prematurely,” Jubilees presupposes a conjunction, “one who is both an infant and an old man.” The terminology is recognizable from Third Isaiah, but Jubilees rearranges the climax of restoration into a ridiculous image of a gnome. As discussed in Chapter 6, the hope of restoration in Jubilees is at odds with that imagined in Third Isaiah. It is possible that Jubilees not only asserts a differing viewpoint, but slips in some spoof imagery to illustrate how ridiculous the author thinks such an agenda really is (particularly in expecting a new people with a new name, new temple, new heaven and new earth).

These two verses also intersect in language with Daniel 11:34-35, and contradict in meaning. The Animal Apocalypse also intersects here. The two intersecting issues are white children and crying for help.

וּבְהַכְשֵׁלָם יַעֲזְרוּ עֲזָרָה מְעוֹט וְנָלוּ עֲלֵיהֶם רַבִּים בַּחֲלָלָקוֹת:  
וּמִן־הַמְּשֻׁכָּלִים יִפְשְׁלוּ לְצָרוֹף בָּהֶם וּלְבָרֵר וְלִלְבֵּן עַד־עֵת קֵץ כִּי־עוֹד לְמוֹעֵד:

When they fall they will receive a little help, but many will join them  
insincerely. Some of the enlightened will fall so as to be refined, purified,  
and whitened until the time of the end, for it is not yet the appointed time.  
(Daniel 11:34-35)

The basic issue is whether being white is a good thing or a bad thing. In Leviticus or Numbers a white head is a skin disease and a threat to purity (Leviticus 13; Numbers 12:10). In fact, the European association of whiteness with purity is mostly absent from

the Hebrew scriptures. Daniel 11 is one of the few cases where being made white and being made pure are in parallel (likewise Daniel 7:9). The Animal Apocalypse is another clear case where whiteness is a good thing (consider also the birth of Noah tradition preserved in 1 Enoch 106:2 and the Genesis Apocryphon). Combine this with the previously considered extent to which “the children” connoted reformist groups around the time of the civil war, and it becomes no neutral issue whether “white children” are glorified or despised. In Jubilees, the white children are the lowest of the low, the worst of all punishments. It is not important for the present point whether this image referred to a specific group, but it is clear enough that the image subverts the imagery that the authors of contemporary apocalypses found fit for self-glorification.

If only because it appears in the same context, we should also consider the implication of the different images of calling for help. In the Animal Apocalypse, Judah Maccabee brings about the eschatological victory not by winning the war himself, but crying out for help while engaged in a just struggle. The angel and God hear the cry and intercede (90:11-15). Daniel differs on whether the help received in battle marks the true resolution, but still seems at least vaguely comparable in language. If we are to imagine that the author or audience of Jubilees knew Daniel 11 or the Animal Apocalypse well enough to make an association, it is noteworthy that no help at all comes in Jubilees 23:24. Since Jubilees already identified the civil war as the sin that brought on the punishment from God, the idea that they would receive any help at all is out of the question. Again, Jubilees finds its position supported in Deuteronomy (28:29, 31), but uses literary elements from the apocalypses to illustrate the contradiction in specific application.

**23:26 In those days the children will begin to study the laws, to seek out the commands, and to return to the right way.**

After condemning the militant “children,” we finally come to the normative response of repentance and non-violent study. It is not impossible that the children here represent the same group having changed their ways, but in light of the following and the rest of the book, any suggestion of a separate group or sect is probably ironic. The point seems to be that Israel as a whole repents. As discussed above, the idea that Israel’s suffering can be resolved by repentance conflicts with the apocalyptic worldview, particularly as contrasted in Daniel 9.

**23:27 The days will begin to become numerous and increase, and mankind as well—generation by generation and day by day until their lifetimes approach 1000 years and to more years than the number of days (had been).**

Whereas the apocalyptic view of the temporal axis is characterized by radical reversal, Jubilees proposes a gradual, natural return to the original plan of creation. More importantly, the modest claims of restoration allow the claim that the “crisis” is already past and the restoration underway. Jubilees replaces the urgent anticipation of “the end is near” with “been there, done that.”

**23:28 There will be no old man, nor anyone who has lived out his lifetime, because all of them will be infants and children.**

Although the sentiment appears to be close to that of Isaiah 65:20, discussed above, perhaps only for subversion sake the verse is negated. In Isaiah there will not be one who has *failed* to live out one’s life, but in Jubilees there will not be one who *has* lived out one’s life. In Isaiah there will be *no* infant (implicitly infant mortality), but in Jubilees *all* will be infants.



**23:29 They will complete and live their entire lifetimes peacefully and joyfully. There will be neither a satan nor any evil one who will destroy. For their entire lifetimes will be times of blessing and healing.**

The context does not strictly require that “satans and evil ones” be non-human entities, but comparison with the key eschatological agents of the apocalypses is certainly warranted by the use of the genre. By alluding to such agents now, Jubilees points out the lack of mention in the just told eschatological scenario. Even when they do appear here, they are mentioned only as being absent. Whereas Jubilees plays with the idea of angels and demons elsewhere in the book, in the eschatological moment on the temporal axis, where such agents typically figure most prominently, Jubilees excludes them entirely. It is not the case that Jubilees simply forgot about the spatial axis when composing this little spoof on a historical apocalypse, and the argument is not merely from silence. Jubilees subverts an expectation of cosmic agents consummating a catastrophic conflict by describing a past eschatology devoid of angelic or demonic influence.

**23:30 Then the Lord will heal his servants. They will rise and see great peace. He will expel his enemies. The righteous will see (this), offer praise, and be very happy forever and ever. They will see all their punishments and curses on their enemies. 23:31 Their bones will rest in the earth and their spirits will be very happy. They will know that the Lord is one who executes judgment but shows kindness to hundreds and thousands and to all who love him.**

If not for the rest of the book, one might imagine that God’s servants refer only to a specific group within Israel, comparable to those who receive a new name in Isaiah 65:15. Even if it is implied that some were righteous and some were not, the overall emphasis in the book is on the unity of Israel, and the context here is not concerned with the vindication of a particular group or validation of a new priesthood. If “they will rise” connotes resurrection or exaltation of the dead, then the connotation is quickly subverted. The nation rises in peace and prosperity. The resolution is along the lines of “rest in

peace” or a “good death.” Dualism of body and spirit, even ironically, should not be projected here.

Relatively speaking, vindictiveness against foreign invaders is also pretty mild. The main punishment is being sent home, the restoration of separation between Israel and the nations. Curses are mentioned but not elaborated, requiring the reader to recall from earlier in the chapter that the curses are the curses of life as we know it. It seems that the nations, in their own lands, continue to experience mortality at the age of seventy or eighty, shovel snow, and get stomach aches, while Israel alone comes to its intended blessings. Whereas a historical apocalypse typically imagines a radical reversal and graphic vindication and vengeance, Jubilees imagines a gradual fulfillment of the original plan of creation. Notice also that God does the expelling—it is never the case that a sword is given to the righteous to kill anyone. Jubilees imagines an ideal restoration in its own terms, but the contrast with other imagined ideals is not only slightly different and not plausibly harmonistic. Jubilees expresses very different eschatological ideals, and the contrast is sharpened by literary evocation of the apocalypses.

**23:32 Now you, Moses, write down these words because this is how it is written and entered in the testimony of the heavenly tablets for the history of eternity.**

Last but not least, Jubilees reminds the reader of the narrative framework of revelation that ties all the apocalyptic literary elements into true use of the literary genre “apocalypse.” The definition of the genre is fully present, while the worldview separates this chapter and the rest of the book from the typical apocalypses.

## 7.9. Jubilees 24-46, more miscellanea

Three larger issues from the second half of Jubilees will be considered next. First, it should be noted again that it is not only in a few particular passages, but spread throughout the book, that Jubilees makes use of literary elements of the apocalypses and reminds the reader of the apocalyptic revelatory framework. The language of a “day of judgment” appears in connection with the nations the ancestors encounter, but the ironic twist is that each nation faces its own judgment, and judgment is not deferred until a universal judgment. As discussed in appendix 6.6.3, in some cases Jubilees may be explaining, not predicting, why certain nations have already ceased to exist. In the cases of the watchers, Sodom, and the Rafaim, it is clear that the judgment has already taken place.

[JCVK] They [the Rafaim] no longer have length of life on the earth.  
(Jubilees 29:11)

The heavenly tablets also continue to appear frequently as revelation of already familiar revelation. Angels continue to fill roles devoid of independent agency. Jubilees 35 references back to the idea in Jubilees 16 that other nations are ruled by angels while Israel is ruled by God directly,

[JCVK] ... Jacob’s guardian is greater and more powerful, glorious, and praiseworthy than Esau’s guardian. (Jubilees 35:17)

Mastema continues to be an impotent figure. Mastema explains the perceived power of Egyptian magic and unbecoming actions attributed to God in Exodus, but the fact that Mastema remains fully under God’s control becomes clear:

[JCVK] The Lord’s forces did everything that the Lord ordered them.  
(Jubilees 49:4)

The ironic twist is that “the Lord’s forces” were just identified as Mastema’s forces. Mastema has a function in Jubilees to do God’s dirty work, but does not threaten God’s benevolent justice and does not explain why the righteous suffer. Jubilees frequently evokes comparison with the apocalypses, and consistently inverts the basic worldview typically implied in the apocalypses. The pattern is too widespread to be accidental, and too one-sided to be a successful harmonization of worldviews.

#### 7.10. Jubilees 30-32, six reasons to love Levites

References to the election of Levi appear throughout Jubilees, but Jubilees 30-32 is a *tour de force* in favor of Levi.<sup>10</sup> In these chapters I count no less than six assertions or justifications of the election of Levi, most of which make some use of generic literary elements of apocalypses. The use of the genre to elevate Levi relates to all three of the body chapters of this dissertation. The first part of Chapter 4 considered the use of the genre to re-authorize already authoritative scriptures. Without pushing too far into social reconstruction, we can add that the authority of scriptures is inseparable from the authority of the bearers and teachers of scriptures, so the over-authorization of Levi is certainly relevant.

[JCVK] He gave all his books and the books of his fathers to his son Levi  
so that he could preserve them and renew them for his sons until today.  
(Jubilees 45:16)

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<sup>10</sup> For more on Levi in Jubilees 30-32 see James C. VanderKam, “Jubilees’ Exegetical Creation of Levi the Priest,” in *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature*, JSJSup 62 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2000), 545-561. James L. Kugel, “Levi’s Elevation to the Priesthood in Second Temple Writings,” *HTR* 86 (1993): 1-64. Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest*, 139-169.

וַיִּכְתֹּב מֹשֶׁה אֶת־הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת וַיִּתְּנָהּ אֶל־הַכֹּהֲנִים בְּנֵי לֵוִי הַנִּשְׁאָרִים אֶת־אֶרֶז בֶּרִית יְהוָה  
וְאֶל־כָּל־זִקְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל:

[NJPS] Moses wrote down this Teaching and gave it to the priests, sons of Levi, who carried the Ark of the LORD's Covenant, and to all the elders of Israel. (Deuteronomy 31:9)

יִרְאוּ מִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ לְיַעֲקֹב וְתוֹרָתְךָ לְיִשְׂרָאֵל יְשִׁימוּ קְטוֹרֶה בְּאַפְּךָ וְכִלְיִל עַל־מִזְבִּיחֶךָ:

[NJPS] They shall teach Your laws to Jacob  
And Your instructions to Israel.  
They shall offer You incense to savor  
And whole-offerings on Your altar. (Deuteronomy 33:10)

Jubilees was not revealing something new in asserting the authority of the Levites to teach scriptures, so use of the genre “apocalypse” to reveal the chosenness of the Levites for this authority, especially when taken to the extremes of overkill, represents an ironic subversion. The second part of Chapter 4 discussed the contrast between a view of revelation as straightforward and a view of revelation as complex codes requiring special sages to decipher. It may be reasonable to associate with this point the authorization of Levites as purveyors of revelation, rather than some esoteric elite.

Along similar lines, Chapter 5 contrasted the unity of Israel in Jubilees with any chosen remnant or new branch within Israel, such as might be related to some form of sectarian leanings. The election of Levi is not an exception to this, mainly because the election of the Levites is a traditional distinction of public function, rather than a new or separatist distinction, as might be called sectarian. Jubilees holds on to the traditional division of labor between Levites and the rest of Israel, but the Levites serve the rest of Israel. The reaffirmation of the role of the Levites in Israel contradicts any new division of authority in the chosen line.

Chapter 6 explored the observation that the “eschatology” in Jubilees does not entail a new law, temple, creation, authority structure, etc., but represents a return to and

a fulfillment of the plan of creation that already climaxed in the fiftieth jubilee with the creation of the sanctuary. Other than the defilement of the sanctuary during the recent civil war, Jubilees is uncritical of the Jerusalem cult and priesthood. Although scholars have gone too far in the past in reconstructing a particular social setting and function of all the apocalypses, there is a basic level at which the genre lends itself to a critique of the current order and a proposal of a new order. The fact that Jubilees uses the genre “apocalypse” to reauthorize the traditional authority structures of Judaism represents an ironic subversion. The fact that it does it six times may demand an explanation beyond overkill in support of Levi.

The first argument for Levi’s election is an argument from merit. Levi earned the distinction just like Phinehas, who is present in the portrayal of Levi against Shechem in all but name. The use of the heavenly tablets, angelic liturgy, and angelic testimony to reinforce the argument from merit may be gratuitous.

[JCVK] 30:18 Levi’s descendants were chosen for the priesthood and as levites to serve before the Lord as we (do) for all time. Levi and his sons will be blessed forever because he was eager to carry out justice, punishment, and revenge on all who rise against Israel. 30:19 So blessing and justice before the God of all are entered for him as a testimony on the heavenly tablets. 30:20 We ourselves remember the justice which the man performed during his lifetime at all times of the year. As far as 1000 generations will they enter (it). It will come to him and his family after him. He has been recorded on the heavenly tablets as a friend and a just man. (Jubilees 30:18-20)

I do not mean to suggest that the primary point of this passage is to confront the apocalyptic worldview. Jubilees had a very serious concern to eliminate moral ambiguity in the slaughter of Shechem. The point is that this passage fits a broader pattern of use of the genre in the over-authorization of Levi.

The second authority brought to justify the elevation of Levi is the authority of prophecy. A prophetic spirit comes over Isaac, causing him to bless Levi with specific reference to his fated role in Israel.

[JCVK] 31:14 May the Lord give you and your descendants extremely great honor;  
may he make you and your descendants (alone) out of all humanity approach him  
to serve in his temple like the angels of the presence and like the holy ones.  
The descendants of your sons will be like them in honor, greatness, and holiness.  
May he make them great throughout all the ages.  
31:15 They will be princes, judges, and leaders of all the descendants of Jacob's sons.  
They will declare the word of the Lord justly  
and will justly judge all his verdicts.  
They will tell my ways to Jacob  
and my paths to Israel.  
The blessing of the Lord will be placed in their mouths,  
so that they may bless all the descendants of the beloved. (Jubilees 31:14-15)

The reference to angelic liturgy and the ranks of angels is not the main point, but shows again that the use of typical apocalyptic literary elements pervades Jubilees, even when conveying an atypical worldview. The emphasis on the exclusion of the rest of humanity stands only in contrast to those apocalypses (and related literature) that assert an eschatological universal religion. The phrase “throughout all ages” asserts again that Levitical authority is not to be reformed in any future eschatological scenario. The service to the rest of Israel contrasts with any tendency toward sectarianism. This passage also fits the point discussed below, that the genre “apocalypse” is used to reveal the past, at least relative to the second century author.

A further point might be added, although I do not claim to have worked out the relationship between the genres “apocalypse” and “testament,” or the criteria for being

testament-like without actually being a testament. If one accepts that use of the genre “testament” fits with a discussion of the use of the genre “apocalypse,” and that the following introduction evokes reader associations with testaments, there may be some irony in the fact that Isaac does not actually die until Jubilees 36:18.

[JCVK] 31:8 Jacob went in to his father Isaac, to his bedroom where he was lying down. His two children were with him. He took his father’s hand, bent down, and kissed him. Isaac hung on his son Jacob’s neck and cried on his neck. ... 31:12 A spirit of prophecy descended into his mouth. He took Levi by his right hand and Judah by his left hand. 31:13 He turned to Levi first and began to bless him first. He said to him: ‘May the Lord of everything – he is the Lord of all ages – bless you and your sons throughout all ages...’ (Jubilees 31:8, 12-13)

The primary authorization here is the spirit of prophecy, but any resonance with testaments only amplifies the already six-fold authorization of Levi and the traditional *status quo* of Levitical authority.

The third and fourth authorizations of Levi are brief but noteworthy because they are logically independent. The third is the testimony of Jacob, who simply adds to the enthusiasm, and the fourth is the testimony of the angel of the presence (on behalf of the heavenly tablets) to Moses. (Judah is the other son referred to as having been blessed. It would take us in a different direction to discuss how only one son of Judah is blessed for kingship, not a permanent or eschatological dynasty [31:18].)

[JCVK] He [Jacob] said: ‘Now I know that I and my sons, too, have an eternal hope before the God of all’. This is the way it is ordained regarding the two of them, and it is entered for them as an eternal testimony on the heavenly tablets just as Isaac blessed them. (Jubilees 31:32)

Any one reference to “eternity” may not be decisive, but the persistent emphasis in the context of use of apocalyptic literary elements may be intended to subvert any suggestion



that a new law and priesthood has been appointed for the future. Two more reasons to love Levi remain.

The fifth authorization of Levi, his dream at Bethel, is not exclusively a feature of apocalypses, but fits the pattern of apocalyptic modes of revelation. As will be discussed below with respect to Joseph, the assertion of clear and straightforward revelation in dreams represents a departure from the typical view of dream revelation in apocalypses.

[JCVK] That night he stayed at Bethel. Levi dreamed that he – he and his sons – had been appointed and made into the priesthood of the most high God forever. When he awakened, he blessed the Lord. (Jubilees 32:1)

By now it is at least overkill that God just keeps revealing the same point over and over again. Apocalypses typically unveil something hidden, but nothing is hidden by now.

On one hand, it may be at least partly the case that the author of Jubilees is just enthusiastic in support of Levi and includes every known tradition and justification in support of Levi. On the other hand, if we may presume some authorial awareness of the net result and deliberate redaction, it may be significant that after the five foregoing points, Jacob still needs to find a reason to make Levi a priest. It may be even more significant that this point—alone among the six—has nothing to do with the revelation of hidden things. The final authorization of Levi is not revealed, but the product of legal observance of the law of tithe.

[JCVK] 32:2 Jacob got up early in the morning on the fourteenth day of this month and gave a tithe of everything which had come to him – from people to animals, from money to all utensils and clothing. He gave a tithe of everything. 32:3 At that time that Rachel became pregnant with her son Benjamin. Jacob counted his *sons* from him. He went up (the list), and it came down on Levi in the Lord's share. His father put priestly clothes on him and ordained him. (Jubilees 32:2-3)

Not only is the elevation of Levi overkill, and not only is it overkill with reference to apocalyptic revelation, the final authority is not apocalyptic. At least in a general sense the elevation of Levites as eternal rulers, priests, and bearers of scriptural authority in Israel is in tension with the apocalyptic worldview. The use and abuse of the apocalyptic literary genre in the process suggest a subversive intent.

7.11. Jubilees 39-43, “Do you not know that a man takes pleasure in his cup, as I do in this cup?” (the Joseph cycle)

As discussed in Chapter 4, Jubilees persistently and conspicuously avoids and removes any trace of divination or symbolic dreams as legitimate modes of revelation. There can be no question that the author consciously intended these variations from the base traditions of Genesis-Exodus (presumably motivated by Deuteronomy 18:10-14). It is also clear enough that the more mantic view of revelation is at least incidentally associated with the apocalyptic worldview, even if not limited to the apocalypses. The question that we take up here is whether Jubilees *subverts* the apocalyptic worldview by *avoiding* the typical literary elements of the apocalypses. This is not the usual argument from silence in as much as we can be confident the audience knew the story of Joseph. When a symbolic dream is simply avoided, such as the dreams of sheaves and stars, I would call it part of an intentional pattern, but not necessarily subversive. However, there are cases where Jubilees does not simply avoid a reference to dream interpretation and divination, but replaces it with a ridiculous substitute. It is reasonable to imagine the ancient audience was expected to know what has been altered, identify it as associated

with the apocalypses, and understand the alteration as a subversion of the worldview typical of the apocalypses.

First we should note several cases that may not be as conspicuous individually, depending on how Genesis-savvy a reader we assume, but contribute to a conspicuous pattern. Even Laban is spared the shame of divination when Genesis 30:27 is retold in Jubilees 29:6. In Jubilees 34:10 a reader familiar with Genesis 37 may notice the omission of the dreams of sheaves and stars. Jubilees 39:16 refers to the dreams of the butler and baker without any symbolic contents. Moving toward cases that are not just omissions but conspicuous variations, Jubilees 45:14 refers to the fact of Jacob's blessings in Genesis 49 without including any of the enigmatic contents. Similarly, Jubilees 40:1 retells Genesis 41 without a moment of suspense or profundity between dream and interpretation.

[JCVK] At that time the pharaoh had two dreams in one night about the subject of the famine which would come on the whole land.  
(Jubilees 40:1)

The most conspicuous subversion occurs in the variation on Joseph's divining cup. Many readers would remember why the cup was so important to Joseph in Genesis (he used it for divination), but the variation in Jubilees portrays Joseph as hyperbolically emotional about his silverware.

הָלֹא זֶה אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁתֶּה אֲדֹנִי בּוֹ וְהוּא נִחַשׁ יִנְחֹשׁ בּוֹ הֲרַעַתָּם אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתָם:

[NRSV] Is it not from this that my lord drinks? Does he not indeed use it for divination? You have done wrong in doing this. (Genesis 44:5)

... the cup with which I drink... (Jubilees 42:25)

וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם יוֹסֵף מִהֶמְעָשָׂה הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתָם הָלֹא יִדְעֵתֶם כִּי־נִחַשׁ יִנְחֹשׁ אִישׁ  
אֲשֶׁר כָּמֹנִי:

[NRSV] Joseph said to them, “What deed is this that you have done? Do you not know that one such as I can practice divination?” (Genesis 44:15)

[JCVK] Do you not know that a man takes pleasure in his cup, as I do in this cup? (Jubilees 43:10)

It would be different if Jubilees just avoided the issue, but Jubilees goes out of its way to force comparison by including the same sentences with a conspicuous variation. Precisely where the reader expects a divination cup there appears a drinking cup. The substitution is certainly intentional and certainly conveys a rejection of divination, and by extension the broader issue of access to encrypted revelation through wisdom. The use of irony to subvert a worldview does not necessarily entail humor, although this example may be ripe for analysis along those lines.<sup>11</sup>

#### 7.12. Jubilees 47-50, revealing the past

Jubilees reminds the reader of the revelatory framework throughout the book, but towards the end it becomes increasingly conspicuous that the revelation covers the past, up to the “present” of revelation at Sinai, and not substantially into the future. For example, the angel “reveals” to Moses his own embarrassing memories,

[JCVK] Then you were afraid and ran away because of this matter.  
(Jubilees 47:12)

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<sup>11</sup> There are no certain arguments that something would have been funny 2160 years ago, but we might mention a modern analogy in support of such a possibility. In *Pink Cadillac* (1989), Clint Eastwood says, “You don’t mess with a man’s vehicle.” Taking this as a perhaps glib but basically serious base point of reference, we can use an internet search to identify variations on the phrase in internet popular culture. We find humorous variations such as, “You don’t mess with a man’s jelly donut / enchiladas / rain gauge / cake / TV remote / snowman / pudding / elephant.” It stands to reason that a similarly ironic demotion of importance from divination cup to drinking cup would constitute humor in, “Do you not know that a man takes pleasure in his cup, as I do in this cup?”

It is not unheard of for a historical apocalypse to reveal the past relative to the recipient of revelation (e.g., Animal Apocalypse), and it is very common to reveal the past relative to the actual composition. It is unheard of, however, for an apocalypse to stop there. Of course the major moderating point here is that Jubilees 23 does discuss the recent past of the second century author and venture a brief outline for the future. It remains significant, however, that the basic scope of the book from beginning to end is from creation to Sinai, just before the creation of the sanctuary. It has been argued that this was stated (with some ironic polyvalence) in Jubilees 1:26-29, and it is borne out in the end of the work. As does Deuteronomy, the conclusion of Jubilees indicates laws that will only become relevant in the future relative to Moses, after entry into the land, but these are not specific predictions.

[JCVK] 49:18 When the Israelites enter the land which they will possess—the land of Canaan—and set up the Lord’s tabernacle in the middle of the land in one of their tribal groups (until the time when the Lord’s temple will be built in the land), they are to come and celebrate the passover in the Lord’s tabernacle and sacrifice it before the Lord from year to year. 49:19 At the time when the house is built in the Lord’s name in the land which they will possess, they are to go there and sacrifice the passover in the evening when the sun sets, in the third part of the day.  
(Jubilees 49:18-19)

The basic structure of Jubilees reveals the past with the assertion that the past laws and consequences are eternal for all of the future. Jubilees 23 illustrates with recent examples, but even there basically re-reveals the same consequences revealed at Sinai. Thus, in fundamental worldview, if not in every particular, Jubilees reveals the past, with a secondary implication that the past holds the key to the future.

This is striking only in light of the use of the genre “apocalypse,” which forces comparison with typical apocalypses, which reveal something new for the future. Thus, the conclusion of Jubilees *sounds like* an eschatological promise typical of an apocalypse.

[JCVK] The jubilee [year]s will pass by until Israel is pure of every sexual evil, impurity, contamination, sin, and error. Then they will live confidently in the entire land. They will no longer have any satan or any evil person. The land will be pure from that time until eternity.  
(Jubilees 50:5)

Like the covenantal blessings in Deuteronomy, the fulfillment of the plan has not yet been fully realized, so in that way the conclusion of Jubilees is future relative to the second century author. The difference, compared to the apocalypses, is that Jubilees is not expecting God to do anything in the future to bring about the ideal state. God is waiting for Israel, not vice versa. The laws for eternity began with the entry into the land, and theoretically Israel could have become pure and enjoyed the covenantal blessings anytime thereafter. Not only does Jubilees reveal the past as if an apocalypse, it asserts a worldview that looks to the past for the divine act required for “eschatological” restoration.

Jubilees uses irony to accentuate a deep difference in worldview. Jubilees does not harmonize covenant blessings with apocalyptic eschatology, it takes all of one worldview and uses the literary genre of the other to illustrate the differences. The persistent pattern suggests a mischievous intent to subvert the apocalyptic worldview.

## CONCLUSION

This has been the first study dedicated to the use of the literary genre “apocalypse” in Jubilees. Previous scholarship on the literary genre of Jubilees ignored the multiplicity of genres used. Previous scholarship on the apocalypses tended to include Jubilees as a hazy case. Scholars often noted ways in which Jubilees is like or unlike the apocalypses, but the pattern of similarities and differences was never systematized or explained. The present work has shown that Jubilees is not a hazy case among the apocalypses if precise definitions and distinctions are applied. At the level of literary genre, Jubilees clearly does use the genre. At the level of the worldview, Jubilees clearly disagrees with what is typically conveyed by the genre. Although Jubilees uses genres and addresses concerns not included in the present discussion, Jubilees is not composite or ambivalent on the issues implicitly raised by the use of the genre. It is precisely the passages that use the literary genre that comment negatively on the worldview typically implied. Furthermore, the differences in worldview are major. In some places the variation may be subtle, but it is usually unmistakable. Even without raising the question of authorial intent, the use of the genre can be described as ironic. The use of a literary genre raises reader expectations that the literature will be like other examples of the genre in the worldview conveyed concerning the typical literary elements. The discord between reader expectations and fulfillment is irony, regardless of the intent of the author.

Considered together, the quantity and quality of variations in Jubilees suggest an intentional use of the genre to subvert the worldview.

Chapter 2 reviewed the essential distinctions and definitions. The methodological foundation of the present work existed since the 1970s, even though it was not applied to Jubilees thoroughly. A distinction can be made between literary genre and worldview, and the typical relationship between them is subject to variation. The literary genre “apocalypse” can be defined morphologically, and Jubilees meets that definition. Perhaps the most enduring and legitimate reservation concerning the study of literary genre addresses the tendency to view the identification of literary genre as a scholarly end in itself. The present work should demonstrate that definitions can be used to identify variations and patterns that would have operated in the original context. The question is not whether Jubilees *is* an apocalypse, but *how* Jubilees uses the genre.

Chapter 3 addressed some foundational issues in the study of Jubilees. The argument of this dissertation does not depend on a small number of words, and could stand even if textual corruption was suspected in some cases. However, the reliability of the manuscripts available is striking, and should caution against hasty emendation. Similarly, the present argument could apply to the “final” version of Jubilees if composition occurred in multiple distinct stages. It is not the case that Jubilees can be explained as the sloppy combination of an apocalyptic source and an anti-apocalyptic source. The fact that Jubilees draws heavily from received traditions has its own significance, as discussed in Chapter 4, but does negate the basic coherence of composition. We should be aware of different conceptions of authorship in antiquity and modernity, but it is reasonable to refer to the person responsible for the work as we know it as the “author.” Although the use of the literary genre could be called ironic for any of



the plausible dates, the date of composition, even within a decade, does make a difference on some points. The point is not so much that Jubilees knew the Animal Apocalypse or the Danielic apocalypses in particular, but that Jubilees can be understood in historical context as a very different response to the civil war. Even with an earlier date one could imagine that the apocalyptic worldview and literary genre existed roughly as we know them, and included texts not known to us.

Chapters 4-6 followed the structure of the morphological definition of the literary genre “apocalypse,” and examined the worldview typically implied in the use of the three major parts: the revelatory framework, the spatial axis, and the temporal axis. Chapter 4 considered two essential points from the view of revelation typically conveyed through the revelatory framework of apocalypses. First, the revelatory framework typically authorizes “new” revelation, whereas Jubilees’ innovation works with publicly received authority. Second, Jubilees inverts the typically apocalyptic view of revelation as encrypted and accessible only through specific and limited channels of “wisdom.” Not only is Jubilees different in its view of revelation, it uses irony in framing publicly received, unambiguous authority as an uncovering of hidden things.

Chapter 5 turned to the distinctive elements of the apocalypses on the spatial axis, angels and demons, and the related issue of human agency. Apocalypses typically raise the issue of angels, demons, and similar unseen forces in order to claim that their drama explains the present moment in the human realm. Jubilees raises the issue, but asserts that no external agents ever interfere in the covenantal relationship between God and Israel, even temporarily. Jubilees uses angels and demons to explain the power and wickedness of foreign religion, but denies the applicability of the apocalyptic worldview to Israel under the covenant. In the audience’s present and eschatological future, precisely where

cosmic agents most take the stage in the typical apocalypses, Jubilees writes them out of relevance. As something of a corollary to the view of cosmic agents, Jubilees classifies humanity in atypical ways. Jubilees excludes the possibility of blurring the boundary between Israel and the nations, either to include foreigners or to exclude most of Israel from a new elect. The agency of Israel is decisive in the present moment, but the rejection of violence and proposed solution of repentance differ from the typical cluster of proposals on human agency.

Chapter 6 considered numerous subversions of the view of the temporal axis typically conveyed by the use of the genre “apocalypse.” The decline of history, the final woes, the judgment, and restoration all appear in Jubilees with fundamental variations. Three major points come out of the chapter. First, there was a fundamental difference in antiquity between the views of history and explanations of suffering that we might call Deuteronomistic and apocalyptic. Jubilees takes up the literary elements of the apocalyptic pattern of decline, woes, judgment, and restoration, but contorts the literary elements into a worldview of sin, punishment, repentance, and restoration. In particular, suffering is explained as punishment from God for covenantal infidelity, not a crisis in history imposed by external agents. Second, Jubilees takes up the idea of an “eschatological” turning point, but twists it from an anticipation of the imminent future to something already realized. This is primarily true in that the gradual restoration in Jubilees 23 is already underway, but on a deeper level it is true in that the decisive moment of history, the fulfillment of creation and beginning of eternity, occurred long ago with the creation of the sanctuary of Aaron in the jubilee of jubilees. This raises the third point, that the “restoration” in jubilees does not entail a new heaven, earth, creation, covenant, law, temple, or priesthood. The eternal plan for creation is already found in the

past, and merely needs to be realized and restored through human covenantal fidelity and purity.

The last chapter went through the key passages of ironic use of the genre in the sequence of the book. It should be clear from this that the irony is not limited to a small number of words or passages, although the framework of the beginning, middle and end of the work do have special importance. It should also be clear that the quantity and quality of subversion makes it unlikely that the pattern can be explained as merely an accident or by-product of other concerns. It is easy to imagine that the use of irony was intentional, but hard to imagine that it was intended to harmonize, or at least that such an expectation would have been reasonable. *Jubilees* is uncompromising in worldview, and adopts only superficial literary elements from the texts with which it so strongly disagrees. It is difficult to be more precise in characterizing the subversion of a worldview with ironic use of literary genre. There are dangers in explaining literary tensions with social models that themselves derive from interpretations of literature. It is very difficult to establish and characterize humor and ridicule across cultures. The reader is left to imagine whether *Jubilees* should be labeled as parody, polemic, friendly prodding or bitter satire.

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