

Topias K. E. Tanskanen

Jacob, the Torah, and the Abrahamic Promise

Studies on the Use and Interpretation of the
Jacob Story in the Book of Jubilees



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On Easter Monday

10.04.2023

Lempäälä, Finland

Topias K. E. Tanskanen

Sammanfattning

I denna avhandling forskar jag i den tidiga judiska receptionshistorien av Genesis (Första Moseboken). Fokus ligger på Jubileerboken (c. 170–150 f.Kr.), ett verk som har ofta kallats ett parallelexempel på fenomenet "omskrivna bibel" ("Rewritten Bible"). Det handlar mest om ett antikt (och modernt) fenomen där man berättar och skriver om bibliska berättelser med hjälp av olika tolkningstraditioner som är anknutna till den bibliska texten. Genom att undersöka Jubileerboken och jämföra den med Genesis kan man avslöja hur berättelserna i Genesis har använts och tolkats under det andra århundradet f.Kr. Eftersom patriark Jakob står i fokus i Jubileerboken, har jag fokuserat på honom som huvudgestalt och undersökt hur Jakobberättelsen har tolkats och använts.

Avhandlingen består av fyra delar. I det första kapitlet inleder jag studiet genom att diskutera Jubileerbokens mångfacetterade texthistoria. Den etiopiska texttraditionen har bevarat hela texten, så därför står den i fokus. Den är också tillräckligt tillförlitlig för att säga något om den tidiga judendomen i andra årh. f.Kr. trots att manuskriptevindens härstammar från medeltiden. Därutöver diskuterar jag olika möjliga redaktioner som boken kan ha haft och kommer till den slutsatsen att den ursprungligen varit en helhet som dock kan ha redigerats mer i Qumrankretsen, åtminstone för delen Jub 1:15b–25.

Själva avhandlingen innehåller tre studier, av vilka två (kap. 2 och 3) handlar om förhållandet mellan Jakob och Toran, och ett (kap. 4) handlar om förhållandet mellan Jakob och Abrahamslöftet. Med Abrahamslöftet menas i detta studium de löften som Gud gav åt Abraham i Genesis 12:1–3 och parallelltexter, nämligen (1) land, (2) säd/avkomlingar, (3) stort namn samt (4) välsignelsen.

I det andra kapitlet behandlar jag hur psalm 78 har tolkats i Jubileerboken. Som utgångspunkt har jag Ps 78:5 där det står att Gud har "placerat sitt testimonium i Jakob, och satt sin Tora i Israel." Jubileerbokens författare har tolkat versen att tyda på att patriark Jakob har fått lagen. Själva termerna "testimonium" (עדות/תעודה) och "Tora" (תורה) är viktiga för författaren, som hela tiden hänvisar till "testimoniet" som har skrivits på himmelska tavlor. Av allt att döma har författaren använt det tidiga *gezera shava* -tolkningssättet, där ovanliga ord och uttryck i olika texter tolkas i ljuset av varandra. Nu har författaren använt Ps 78:5 och kombinerat den med Jes 8:16, 20 och Rut 4:7 och kommit till den slutsatsen att Jakob har fått Toran som helhet, och att uppenbarelsen angående lagen eller *halakha* har fullbordats i Jakobs tid. Jakob ger budskapet vidare till sin son Levi, som ska förkunna det för Israels folk (Jub 45:16). Denna transmittering av materialet som Jakob gör med Levi är annorlunda än det som sker med patriarkerna före Jakob, men själva traditionsförmedlingen är något som också Ps 78:5–8 betonar och som är viktigt för författaren till Jubileerboken.

Tredje kapitlet handlar om hur författaren har kombinerat patriark Jakob med Deuteronomium (Femte Moseboken). Deuteronomium har skrivits som tilltal till Israel. I tilltalet förekommer andra person singularis och pluralis växelvis. I studien lyfter jag fram Jub 30–32 (jfr. Gen 34–35) som utgångspunkt och visar

hur författaren har kombinerat deuteronomiska bud med Jakobs liv. Jakob heter också Israel. I den omskrivna versionen av Jubileerboken är Jakob en perfekt israelit, som uppfyller de deuteronomiska lagarna in i minsta detalj och som redan fått alla lagar. När det under författarens tid förekom risken att man trodde att patriarkerna inte kände Toran, så anser författaren tvärtom. De kände dem, och uppfyllde dem så bra som möjligt. Under Jakobs=Israels tid blev allt klart, och därför ska alla följa författarens lagtolkning.

Fjärde kapitlet är ett studium om Abrahamslöftet och dess reception i Jubileerboken. Det visade sig att löftet spelar en väldig stor roll i Jubileerboken. Löftet tolkas på konditionellt sätt: Redan från början (Jub 12) är Abraham den aktiva parten som tar första initiativet, och patriarkernas aktiva roll betonas i hela boken. Författaren har också lagt in flera betydelsefulla tillägg som inte har någon parallel i Gen. Dessa inkluderar Abrahams tal till Rebecka (Jub 19), hans testament till sina söner (Jub 20), till Isak (Jub 21), Jakob (Jub 22), Rebeckas tilltal till Jakob (Jub 25) samt Rebecka och Isaks testamente till Jakob och Esau (Jub 35–36). Gen 18:18–19 fungerar som hermeneutisk nyckel till löftet.

Både de omskrivna delarna och de tillägg, av vilka några väl kan härstamma från tidigare tolkningstraditioner, visar att löftet om Abrahams säd har tolkats att hänvisa till Jakob. Jakob representerar således en *typos*, förebild av en ideal israelit, som följer Toran enligt författarens *halakha*. Samtidigt har denna tolkning kombinerats med tanken på Jakob som "helig säd" och representant av "resten" som är också viktiga termer i Jes och Esra-Neh. Inte alla etniska judar hör till Jakob/Israel, utan Esau fungerar också som *typos* av en apostat som inte ärver löftet. Löftet om landet har tolkats på två olika sätt: å ena sidan handlar det ännu om det utlovade landet, men å andra sidan har det också tolkats som att gälla hela världen. Detta kan systematiseras på sådant sätt att det lovade landet står som högkvarteret till Israels hegemoni, som sedan sprids åt hela världen. Levi som *typos* till leviter/präster samt Juda som *typos* till (messiansk) kung är huvudaktörer i det hur hegemonin blir realitet. Genom dessa två söner och de institutioner och individer som de representerar blir också Abrahams namn stort, såsom löftet om stort namn lovade. När Jakob/Israel följer lagen enligt författarens *halakha*, så blir de också välsignade. Denna välsignelse har både partikularistiska och universalistiska drag. Å ena sidan kan andra folk endast begära samma slags välsingelse (Jub 20:9, en tolkning av nif'al/hitpa'el-formen av בָּרַךְ "välsigna" i Gen 12:3 par.), å andra sidan reparerar dessa välsignelser världen (Jub 19:25).

Patriark Jakob står således som ett exempel på hur alla sanna israeliter ska bete sig. De ska uppfylla lagen. När lagen är uppfylld, kan de också ärva de löften som gavs åt Abraham. I slutet av avhandlingen visar jag att Jubileerboken kan fungera som viktigt parallellmaterial bl.a. för forskare av Nya testamentet och särskilt i Paulusforskning, eftersom Pauli syn på både Abrahamslöftet och Toran står i motsats till den som finns i Jubileerboken. Patriark Jakob har också kopplats intimt ihop med Deuteronomium i senare rabbinska tolkningstraditioner (t.ex. Sifre Deuteronomium), men själva tolkningstraditionen är mycket äldre än vad forskarna har tidigare trott.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Aim of the Research

This study considers the use and interpretation of the Jacob Story in the Book of Jubilees, an early Jewish writing from the second temple period, which is often labelled as “Rewritten Bible.” In my opinion, Jubilees is first and foremost an exegetical elaboration on the books of Genesis and Exodus. It aims to give an authoritative interpretation to those already authoritative texts with a clear exclusive theology.

Jacob, furthermore, is the most central figure in Jubilees. Roughly half of the book deals with the Jacob traditions, starting from the beginning in Jubilees 2, where Jacob and the Sabbath are related to one another.¹ My theory is that the analysis of how the Jacob Story has been used and interpreted in Jubilees presents the key to unlocking the work itself and understanding it correctly.

This study answers the following general questions regarding the use and interpretation of the Jacob Story in Jubilees:

(a) How is the Jacob Story of Genesis changed in Jubilees?

(b) Which interpretive techniques did the author(s) of Jubilees use when they² rewrote Genesis?

(c) What did the author(s) want to achieve by this interpretation on Jacob? What did he/they highlight? What is the overall purpose of the work which emphasizes the role of Jacob?

In later Jewish reception history during the rabbinical period, the Jacob traditions and Jacob’s role were highlighted in comparison with Abraham. This can be seen for example in *Sifre Deuteronomy*, where Jacob is highlighted in comparison with Abraham, or Isaac. There, an interpretive strategy is implemented where the addressed Israel in Deuteronomy (often in the second person singular) is connected with the patriarch Jacob, whose other name is Israel. Thus, passages which are addressed to the people of Israel are actually interpreted as being passages which are related to the patriarch Jacob.³ Taking this interpretive strategy from later Jewish reception history as a heuristic background, this study is interested in seeing which kind of interpretive strategy

¹ John C. Endres, *Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Jubilees*, CBQMS 18 (Washington: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1987), 18. Abraham still has an important role in Jubilees, though, but in comparison with Jacob and Jacob traditions, his role is more limited. Isaac, by contrast, seems to be squeezed between these two important characters, and his role has diminished. Abraham and Jacob are important figures also in many passages in the Hebrew Bible. See, e.g., Isa 29:22 (I thank Stefan Green for his tip concerning this verse).

² I refer to the author(s) of Jubilees in singular as “the author” and “he” throughout the study due to practical reasons. This is not to state that there must have been only one author, or that the author or authors must have been male, although the latter is probable for historical reasons. Thus, when I refer to “the author” without any further remarks, I refer to the originator(s) of the Book of Jubilees.

³ See, e.g., Eugene Mihaly, “Rabbinic Defense of the Election of Israel: An Analysis of Sifre Deuteronomy 32:9, Pisqa 312,” *HUCA* (1964): 103–143.

was implemented in Jubilees some centuries before the rabbinical text. Furthermore, certain scholars have argued that Deuteronomy was one of the main bulwarks for constructing the early Jewish identity.⁴ Therefore, the relationship between Deuteronomy and Jacob in Jubilees is of interest in this study. This study, thus, also seeks an answer to the following specific question:

(d) How is the Book of Deuteronomy used and related to the rewritten Jacob Story in Jubilees?

Moreover, the Abrahamic Promise (Gen 12:1–3 par.) plays an important role as the overarching theme of Genesis and the Pentateuch.⁵ The same is true for Jubilees, where the Abrahamic Promise is even more inherently connected to the patriarch Jacob than in the present form of Genesis.⁶ The Abrahamic Promise and its early reception include both particularistic and universalistic tendencies.⁷ This leads to the following important question in this study:

(e) How is the Abrahamic Promise received and interpreted in Jubilees? How is it connected to Jacob? How is Genesis 12:3b (“all the families of the land/earth will be blessed/will receive blessing/will bless themselves/wish a similar blessing in/through you and your seed”)⁸ understood in Jubilees?

Although this study is first and foremost devoted to the analysis of the *text* of Jubilees, I also relate the findings to the historical context.⁹ My analyses in this study are related to the following question:

(f) How is the historical situation reflected in this use and interpretation of the Jacob Story in Jubilees?

In short, this study is concerned with the rewriting of Genesis and Exodus in Jubilees, with a clear focus on Jacob, the Torah, and the Abrahamic Promise and how they are related to one another. In order to accomplish the task, I have conducted three case studies (chapters 2–4) which explain these connections.

1.2 Course of the Study

This study consists of three case studies, roughly related to two distinct themes: Jacob’s relation to the Torah (esp. Deuteronomy), and Jacob’s relation to the Abrahamic Promise. These two themes form two focal points in Jubilees, and both are firmly tied to the patriarch Jacob.

⁴ Timo Veijola, *Moses Erben: Studien zum Dekalog, zum Deuteronomismus und zum Schriftgelehrtentum*, BWANT 149 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2000). See further ch. 3.1.

⁵ David J. A. Clines, *The Theme of the Pentateuch*, 2nd ed., JSOTSup 10 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997).

⁶ Hans A. Rapp, *Jakob in Bet-El: Gen 35,1–15 und die jüdische Literatur des 3. und 2. Jahrhunderts*, HBS 29 (Freiburg: Herder, 2001), 175–182 (175): “Das auffälligste Merkmal der Verarbeitung der Jakobsgeschichte durch das Jubiläenbuch ist die Tradition der Verheißung und des Segens, die auf Jakob hinzielt und in seinen Nachkommen in neuer Qualität weitergeht.”

⁷ See further ch. 4.1 below. On the terminology of universalism and particularism, see Anders Runesson, “Particularistic Judaism and Universalistic Christianity? Some Critical Remarks on Terminology and Theology,” *Studia Theologica* 54.1 (2000): 55–75.

⁸ See further ch. 4.1.2 below for the linguistic problem of Gen 12:3b.

⁹ Cf. the approach taken by Lotta Valve, *Early Modes of Exegesis: Ideal Figures in Malachi as a Test Case* (Åbo: Åbo Akademi University Press, 2014), 23–27.

In case study 1 (chapter 2), I focus on the exegetical basis for the idea that Jacob (and precisely Jacob) has received the Torah. My starting point will be Psalm 78:5, where it is stated that God established his “Testimony” in Jacob and set his “Torah” in Israel. The discussion combines the analysis of this verse and its nearby context as well as its interpretation with the psalm’s overall use in Jubilees. A previous version of chapter 2 has been published before as a separate article in SRB 10.¹⁰ I have, however, updated it somewhat and modified it to suit this monograph. I have noted those sections which are not found in the previous article.

Case study 2 (chapter 3) is a twin study of the first. In chapter 3, I focus on how the idea that Jacob received Torah and how the interpretive possibility linking the patriarch Jacob with Deuteronomy are utilized in Jubilees. As a test case, I bring Jubilees 30–32, which rewrites Genesis 34–35, into focus. This discussion is preceded by a brief survey of the overall influence of Deuteronomy on early Judaism in general. The actual analysis is then also followed by a brief discussion on the influence of Deuteronomy in Jubilees and its eschatology in particular. Thus, both chapters 2 and 3 deal with Jacob’s relationship with the Torah in Jubilees, but from two different angles: The first case study (chapter 2) focuses on the exegetical basis for such interpretation of the Jacob story, and the second case study (chapter 3) illustrates where such an interpretation can be found in Jubilees. Thus, in addition to the general research questions, the fourth research question regarding the use of Deuteronomy is also the focus of these chapters.

Case study 3 (chapter 4) which concerns Jacob’s relation to the Abrahamic Promise in Jubilees, is the longest case study. In chapter 4, I investigate all the parallel passages of Jubilees where the Abrahamic Promise is presented or alluded. Furthermore, all passages which have no direct parallels in Genesis, but which allude to the Abrahamic Promise are analysed. The focus in the analysis is to see how the author utilized and understood the Abrahamic Promise, its unconditionality or conditionality, and how this is related to the patriarch Jacob. Therefore, the fifth research question regarding the Abrahamic Promise is the focus of chapter 4.¹¹

Before these chapters, however, in this introduction, I first deal with the textual history of Jubilees and how different versions of Jubilees are used (ch. 1.3) followed by a brief discussion on different theories regarding the composition of Jubilees and how they are dealt with in this study (ch. 1.4). The dating of Jubilees is also touched upon (ch. 1.5) before venturing towards the theoretical framework of this study as well as outlining the methodology used (ch. 1.6). A

¹⁰ Topias K. E. Tanskanen, “‘He Established a Testimony in Jacob, He Set a Torah in Israel’: Psalm 78 and the *Book of Jubilees*,” in *David, Messianism, and Eschatology: Ambiguity in the Reception History of the Book of Psalms in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. Erkki Koskenniemi and David Willgren Davage, SRB 10 (Åbo: Network for the Study of the Reception History of the Bible, 2020), 71–119.

¹¹ Although the case studies vary in length, they are balanced. Case studies 1 and 2 (chs. 2 and 3) are intertwined, and case study 3 (ch. 4) could be also divided into two parts if one wished so. I have deemed it better to retain case study 3 as a unity, since it functions better as such.

brief survey of research on Jubilees with Jacob as its focus follows (ch. 1.7). At the end of the introductory chapter (ch. 1.8), I offer a concluding summary of the discussion in this chapter as well as succinctly present the practical steps that are taken in conducting the individual but interrelated case studies on the use and interpretation of the Jacob Story in Jubilees (chs. 2–4). The results of the case studies are presented in chapter 5 along with a brief opening discussion of their implications for further study of Jubilees, as well as for the study of early and rabbinical Judaism and even early Christianity in general.

1.3 Textual History of Jubilees

In order to investigate Jubilees in detail, one should be aware of the complicated textual history of Jubilees.¹² The work has survived in Hebrew, Ethiopic, Latin, and possibly other versions. In the following, I present the textual history of Jubilees in some detail together with the issues related to it. Additionally, I present how this study deals with the textual material of Jubilees.

1.3.1 Hebrew

The Book of Jubilees was originally written in Hebrew. Before the discoveries of texts near the Dead Sea in the 1940s and after, scholars had argued that the book was originally written in either Aramaic or Hebrew.¹³ Over a dozen textual artefacts in Hebrew containing parts of the text of Jubilees were, however, found at Qumran; the precise number is debated. The following table shows the manuscripts that have been identified as containing the text of Jubilees.¹⁴

Number	Name	Includes sections (of the Ethiopic Jubilees)	Dating	DJD and plate
1Q17	1QJubilees ^a	27:19–20	Early Herodian ¹⁵	DJD 1, 82–83 (Pl XVI)

¹² Matthew P. Monger, *4Q216: Rethinking Jubilees in the First Century BCE* (PhD diss., Oslo: MF Norwegian School of theology, 2018), 82–83, has criticized the studies focused on the content of Jubilees for not taking into account or even discussing the problems of textual history.

¹³ Bent Noack, “Jubilærbogen,” in *De gammeltestamentlige pseudepigrafer: I oversættelse med indledning og noter*, ed. Erling Hammershaimb (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gads Forlag, 1953–1963), 1:175–301 (182).

¹⁴ Cf. Monger, *4Q216*, 53–54. See also James C. VanderKam, “Hebrew, Jubilees,” in *Textual History of the Bible, vol 2: The Deuterocanonical Scriptures*, ed. Frank Feder and Matthias Henze (Leiden: Brill, 2020, online). As the discussion below shows, scholars debate whether certain manuscripts should be included or excluded. I have included in the table those manuscripts that in my opinion are certainly Jubilees-manuscripts.

¹⁵ The Herodian period refers to the handwriting used between c. 30 BCE and 70 CE. On the palaeographical dating of the Qumran scripts, see Frank Moore Cross, “The Development of the Jewish Scripts,” in Frank Moore Cross, *Leaves from An Epigrapher’s Notebook: Collected Papers in Hebrew and West Semitic Palaeography and Epigraphy*, HSS 51 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002), 3–43 (originally published 1961); *idem*, “Palaeography and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 379–402.

1Q18	1QJubilees ^b	35:8–10, (36:22)	Late Hasmonean ¹⁶	DJD 1, 83–84 (Pl XVI)
2Q19	2QJubilees ^a	23:7–8	Herodian	DJD 3, 77–78 (Pl XV)
2Q20	2QJubilees ^b	46:1–3	1 st Century CE	DJD 3, 78–79 (Pl XV)
3Q5	3QJubilees	23:6–7, 10 ¹⁷ , 12–13, 23? ¹⁸	1 st Century CE	DJD 3, 96–98 ¹⁹ (Pl XVIII)
4Q176 ²⁰	4QTanḥûmim frgs 19–21	23:21–23, 30–31	Herodian	DJD 5, 60–67 (65) (Pl XXIII)
4Q216	4QJubilees ^a	Sheet 1: Prologue, 1:1–2, 4–7, 7–15, 26–28. Sheet 2: 2:1–4, 7–12, 13–24.	Sheet 2: 125–100 BCE (VanderKam & Milik) or 100–50 BCE (Monger) ²¹ Sheet 1: c. 50 BCE (VanderKam & Milik) or 50–1 BCE (Monger) ²²	DJD 13, 1–22 (Pl I–II)
4Q217 ²³	4QpapJubilees ^b	1:29	50 BCE or earlier	DJD 13, 23–34 (Pl III)

¹⁶ The Hasmonean period refers to the handwriting used between c. 150 BCE and 30 CE.

¹⁷ Maurice Baillet, “Remarques sur le manuscrit du Livre des Jubilés de la grotte 3 de Qumran,” *RevQ* 5 (1964–1966): 423–433, saw 3Q5 frg 4 contain some words from Jub 23:10. His reconstruction is refuted by James C. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, HSS 14 (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1977), 100–101. See also *idem*, *The Book of Jubilees Translated*, CSCO 511; SA 88 (Leuven: Peeters, 1989), 139. Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, “The Qumran Jubilees Manuscripts as Evidence for the Literary Growth of the Book,” *RevQ* 26 (2014): 579–594 (590 n. 41), agrees somewhat with the problems of Baillet’s reconstruction raised by VanderKam, but still defends the identification. As proposed by Tigchelaar, the last word in 3Q5 frg 4 could very well be רעות in plural, which is also found in 4Q221 5, 3 (Jub 37:13), where Ge’ez has the singular (ʾakaya) as in Jub 23:10. Moreover Lat Jub 23:10 has *malignorum* in pl. which may reflect the original plural. This solves the biggest problem in Baillet’s original reconstruction and VanderKam’s critique of it.

¹⁸ Tigchelaar, “The Qumran Jubilees,” 590, refers to Elisha Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings Volume 2* (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi, 2013), 233, for identification of 3Q5 frg 2 with Jub 23:23. I have not had access to Qimron’s edition.

¹⁹ Baillet labelled the fragments originally as “Une prophétique apocryphe.” in DJD 3.

²⁰ Menahem Kister, “Newly-Identified Fragments of the Book of Jubilees: Jub. 23: 21–23, 30–31,” *RevQ* 12 (1985–1987): 529–536, identified frgs 19–21 as a part of the textual tradition of Jubilees. Tigchelaar, “The Qumran Jubilees,” 590–592, has lately suggested that frg 21 (Jub 23:30) actually belongs to the same manuscript with 4Q221, which is possible.

²¹ Monger, *4Q216*, 102–103.

²² Monger, *4Q216*, 101–102.

²³ VanderKam, *Jubilees: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2018), 5–6, is against the identification of 4Q217 as a manuscript of Jubilees, because it deviates too much from the Ethiopic version. See also *idem*, “Hebrew, Jubilees.” See, however, Monger, *4Q216*, 56–

4Q218	4QJubilees ^c	2:26-27	c. 30 BCE-20 CE	DJD 13, 35-38 (PI IV)
4Q219	4QJubilees ^d	21:1-2, 7-10, 12-16, 18-22:1	Late Hasmonean	DJD 13, 39-54 (PI IV)
4Q220	4QJubilees ^e	21:5-10	Early Herodian	DJD 13, 55-62 (PI V)
4Q221	4QJubilees ^f	21:22-24; 22:22, 30?; 23:10-13; 33:12-15; 37:11-15; 38:6-8; 39:4-9	1 st Century BCE	DJD 13, 63-86 (PI VI)
4Q222	4QJubilees ^g	25:9-12; 27:6-7, 48:5(?)	Late Hasmonean	DJD 13, 87-94 (PI V)
4Q223- 224	4QpapJubilees ^h	32:18-21; 34:4-5; 35:7-12, 12-22; 36:7-10, 10-23; 37:17-38:13; 39:9- 40:7; 41:7-10, 28(?)	c. 75-50 BCE	DJD 13, 95-140 (PI VII-IX)
11Q12	11QJub	4:6-11, 13-14, 16- 17, 17-18? ²⁴ , 29-30, 31; 5:1-2; (7:4-5) ²⁵ ; 12:15-17, 28-29.	c. 50 CE	DJD 23, 207-220 (PI XXVI)

Other texts which resemble the Ethiopic version of Jubilees quite closely have been found at Qumran, including 4Q225-227 labelled by Milik and VanderKam as “Pseudo-Jubilees,” because they do not resemble the Ethiopic version close enough.²⁶ Certain other scholars, such as Michael Segal and Matthew Monger, regard these as part of the textual evolution and history of Jubilees-traditions in different forms.²⁷ Because their relationship with Jubilees is not totally clear, however, it is safer to regard them as a different work from Jubilees.

Moreover, few other texts also have a close relationship to Jubilees, and depending on the scholar, are taken in or out of the number of manuscripts of

57, 159, and the discussion below. Apparently, the text of Jubilees 1 was still fluid in the 1st Century BCE.

²⁴ See the reconstruction of the tiny fragment 4 in Florentino García Martínez, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and Adam S. van der Woude, eds., *Qumran Cave 11 II: 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31*, DJD 23 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 213.

²⁵ It has been suggested that 11Q12 frg. 7a would include Jub 7:4-5, but see VanderKam, “Hebrew, Jubilees.”

²⁶ James C. VanderKam & Józef T. Milik, “Jubilees,” in *Qumran Cave 4, VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (DJD 13. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 1-185 (141-176).

²⁷ Monger, *4Q216*, 54-55; Michael Segal, “The Composition of Jubilees,” in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 22-35 (26 n. 11), suggests that 4Q227 frg 2 was actually a possible source of Jubilees. Also Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (50th anniversary edition; London: Penguin Books, 2011), 539-540, regards “Pseudo-Jubilees” as a misnomer and understands 4Q225-227 as an alternative version of the traditions.

Jubilees found at Qumran. Shemaryahu Talmon published a fragment found in Masada by Yigael Yadin (Mas 1 j: 1276–1786), dated to the early Herodian period, which both Yadin and Talmon believed to belong to the Jubilees or Jubilees-like (Pseudo-Jubilees) textual family.²⁸ The text does not, however, resemble any known passage in Jubilees. The mention of prince Mastema, the leader of the evil spirits in Jubilees, is insufficient to identify it as a manuscript or fragment of Jubilees.²⁹ Also 4Q228 seems to cite Jubilees.³⁰ The manuscript is related to Jubilees, but it is not a manuscript of the work itself.³¹

The precise number of manuscripts containing the text of Jubilees is, therefore, dependent on the scholars in question and their interpretation of the very fragmentary artefacts. One main line of argumentation in recent scholarship is that the textual history of Jubilees was still fluid as is shown by Qumran manuscripts. Matthew Monger and Eibert Tigchelaar are the main proponents of this view.³² They criticize that the Hebrew manuscripts have been categorized too strictly, the later Ethiopic witnesses of the book being the basis of categorization. From a broader perspective, one can understand that the text of what subsequently became Jubilees (as in its Ethiopic and Latin versions, of which more below) was still evolving at Qumran. According to them, 4Q216–4Q218, and perhaps even the “Pseudo-Jubilees” manuscripts 4Q225–227, exemplify this formation process.³³ They connect their discussion of the manuscript evidence to the discussion of possible redactional layers in Jubilees, which certain scholars have postulated using traditional literary and redaction critical methods.³⁴

²⁸ Shemaryahu Talmon, “Hebrew Written Fragments from Masada,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 3.2 (1996): 168–177 (169–172).

²⁹ VanderKam, “Hebrew, Jubilees.” See also Esther Eshel, “Mastema’s Attempt on Moses’ Life in the ‘Pseudo-Jubilees’ Text from Masada,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 10.3 (2003): 359–364. Eshel’s suggestion that the fragment could be related to the event told also in Jub 48:2–3, namely that God sought to kill Moses (Exod 4:24–6), seems convincing to me. That the work mentions Prince Mastema, however, is insufficient to identify it with Jubilees, but it shows knowledge of the text of Jubilees or similar tradition to Jub 48:2–3.

³⁰ VanderKam & Milik, “Jubilees,” 177–186.

³¹ In addition, Maurice Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4 III: 4Q482–4Q520*, DJD 7 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 1–2, suggested that 4Q482 frg. 1 could be identified either as the text of Jub 13:29 or Gen 14:22–24, and frg 2 as a part of Jub 36:9. Moreover, Baillet too argued that 4Q483 would contain the text of either Gen 1:28 or Jub 2:14. See, however, VanderKam, “Hebrew, Jubilees,” who refutes these identifications.

³² Tigchelaar, “The Qumran Jubilees”; Monger, *4Q216*.

³³ Monger, *4Q216*.

³⁴ The classical studies in this area are Michael Testuz, *Les idées religieuses du livre des Jubilés* (Minard: Paris, 1960) and Gene Davenport, *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees*, StPB 20 (Leiden: Brill, 1971), accompanied recently by, e.g., Michael Segal, *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology*, JSJSup 117 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007); James L. Kugel, *A Walk through Jubilees: Studies in the Book of Jubilees and the World of its Creation*, JSJSup 156 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), *passim*; and Cristoph Berner, “Jahre, Jahrgänge und Jubiläen: Heptadische Geschichtskonzeptionen in Antiken Judentum,” *BZAW* 363 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), 234–328. I have not had access to the work of Testuz See further ch. 1.4 below.

When discussing the Qumran manuscripts, one should also bear in mind that only fragments of those manuscripts listed above have been preserved.³⁵ Moreover, it seems quite clear that not all of the manuscripts containing the text of Jubilees originally contained the whole work, but rather that many different forms of manuscripts were produced.³⁶ Certain manuscripts included only half of the work, whereas others included only excerpts from different sections of Jubilees. Two examples can clarify this.

First, 4Q216 consists of two sheets. Sheet 2 consists of Jubilees 2:1–4, 7–12, 13–24, and sheet 1 consists of the Prologue, 1:1–2, 4–7, 7–15, 26–28. As can be discerned from the table above, the sheets are dated differently, since the handwriting between the sheets differs. Sheet 1 was also stitched to sheet 2 at some point. One of the fragments retains the thread used in the stitching. VanderKam and Milik proposed that the scroll had apparently been damaged. According to them, a later scribe then recopied the contents of the damaged part, now found in sheet 1, and this sheet was stitched to the other part of the scroll which remained in sufficient shape.³⁷ Monger, in his doctoral dissertation, however, has argued that the evolution of the manuscript is different. According to his material philological analysis, based on the damage patterns of the scroll, the original scroll actually consisted only of sheet 2. There was no *Ursheet* 1, which was later damaged and needed to be reinserted. The original scroll included only the Jubilees Creation Narrative, most probably without Jubilees 2:25–31.³⁸ Subsequently, sheet 1, consisting of Prologue and Jubilees 1, was added.³⁹ Strictly speaking, 4Q216 can then only be understood as the earliest witness of the section starting from the Prologue and ending with the Jubilees Creation Narrative. The manuscript is not a witness of the whole work since the scroll never contained anything more than these chapters. Originally it contained only the Jubilees Creation Narrative.

Second, given the length of the Ethiopic Jubilees, it seems reasonable to assume that the Book of Jubilees was also divided into two parts at the manuscript level. That is, there were manuscripts which included only part of Jubilees, not the whole text. A good and reasonable guess would be that such manuscripts which contained half of Jubilees would have contained either Jubilees 1–23 or 24–50. Tigchelaar has noticed that only 4Q221 preserves text from both halves of Jubilees. Therefore, it seems that 4Q221 originally contained the whole work. The lack of similar manuscripts including parts from both halves of Jubilees suggest that most, if not all, of the other survived manuscripts never

³⁵ Tigchelaar, “The Qumran Jubilees,” 582.

³⁶ See, again, Tigchelaar, “The Qumran Jubilees”; Monger, *4Q216*; and esp. *idem*, “The Many Forms of Jubilees: A Reassessment of the Manuscript Evidence from Qumran and the Lines of Transmission of the Parts and Whole of Jubilees,” *RevQ* 112 (2018): 191–211.

³⁷ VanderKam & Milik, “Jubilees,” 1–3: “Apparently the outer sheet of the scroll became too worn or damaged and had to be replaced.” (quotation from p. 1).

³⁸ Monger argues, again, on the basis of the worn and damage patterns of the scroll, that there could not have been a seventh column (eighth in VanderKam & Milik, “Jubilees.”) which would have included Jub 2:25–31. The manuscript ended after frg 18. See Monger, *4Q216*, 95–115.

³⁹ Monger, *4Q216*; *idem*, “The Many Forms of Jubilees.”

included the complete Jubilees, but only half or parts of it. The division into two parts would also explain why many fragments preserve the text between Jubilees 21 and 27, as the material wears off.⁴⁰ Moreover, that the text of Jubilees or even Jubilees-related traditions were transmitted in different forms of manuscripts, as Monger argues, explains the existence of many traditions related to Jubilees in Syriac literature, even though a Syriac version of Jubilees has not been found.⁴¹ Monger argues that one stream transmitted Jubilees as a complete work ultimately to Ethiopia, whereas other streams carried different parts and passages of Jubilees independently but also parallel with Jubilees.⁴²

Monger draws the conclusion that the material analysis of the manuscripts at Qumran shows that Jubilees was not a singular composition. Thus, the pluriformity of transmission leads him to argue that the book itself was not a unified document.⁴³ Monger uses literary critical and redaction critical arguments in addition to his material philological analysis of 4Q216 in arguing for his view. I return to the other arguments raised by Monger below. First, however, I will consider his material philological analysis conducted on 4Q216, which is his main argument for this view.

That excerpts of Jubilees have been transmitted separately from Jubilees tells us nothing about the origins of Jubilees itself. The length of the book makes it slightly impractical always to have the whole work at hand. Furthermore, the content is suitable for transmission of merely a part of the text. One could easily imagine a narrative such as the Creation Narrative or Shechem episode, perhaps with or without the *halakic* discussion pertaining to the narrative section included, being transmitted separately. Those excerpts could also then contain both additions as well as omissions to the copied text.

In my opinion, the textual evolution of 4Q216 could also be understood in a similar manner. First, a Jubilees Creation Narrative was excerpted, perhaps from a manuscript containing the whole of or one half of Jubilees.⁴⁴ Subsequently, another sheet, containing most of Jubilees 1, was stitched onto the same manuscript for some unknown reason. It seems reasonable to assume in this case that Jubilees 1:15b–25 was absent in sheet 1, as Monger has argued,⁴⁵ and

⁴⁰ Tigchelaar, "The Qumran Writings." See also Monger, *4Q216*, 220–221.

⁴¹ Monger, "Many Forms of Jubilees." On the possible Syriac version, see ch. 1.3.4 below.

⁴² Monger, *4Q216*, 229.

⁴³ Monger, *4Q216*, 222–223: "First, if we look at the Qumran *Jubilees* manuscripts from a material philological perspective, it seems evident that *Jubilees* should not be seen as a singular composition that reached its completion by the middle of the 2nd Century BCE. The manuscript evidence points toward a variety of textual and literary forms in circulation during the late Second Temple period. The specific literary form that was later transmitted into Ethiopic should be seen as one of the expressions of *Jubilees*, but should not define our understanding of earlier or different expressions." See also p. 230: "*Jubilees* is perhaps better described as a constellation of writings all relating to each other, but with distinctive expressions and histories of transmission."

⁴⁴ Cf. Tigchelaar, "The Qumran Writings," 585–586, who gives many possible, but hypothetical, reasons for the evolution of 4Q216.

⁴⁵ Monger, *4Q216*, 95–115, on the basis of damage patterns, worn, and literary critical arguments. I will return to this in ch. 1.4.1 below.

therefore this could show that certain redactional activity had taken place at Qumran after 4Q216. This does not, however, refute the arguments for Jubilees as a distinct, unified work. Thus, although Monger is correct in his material philological analysis of 4Q216 (i.e., sheet 1 was absent from the original manuscript and should be taken as a later addition to that manuscript), his conclusions regarding the origins of Jubilees (which are also partly argued for with the help of literary criticism) does not necessarily follow from the data he presents.

Hebrew manuscripts show that Jubilees was transmitted in different forms of manuscripts. A possibility arises, that they indicate that certain redactional activity took place at Qumran, to which I return below. Moreover, the Hebrew Jubilees is not exactly the same work as the later Ethiopic version, which is discussed next.

1.3.2 Ethiopic

Although the Book of Jubilees is often dated to somewhere in the second Century BCE, the work has survived to us (almost) fully only in its Ethiopic version in Gə'əz (henceforth Ge'ez) or Classical Ethiopic.⁴⁶ The first modern discussion concerning the Ethiopic version of Jubilees was initiated by Heinrich Ewald in 1844 with the article "Ueber die Aethiopischen Handschriften zu Tübingen," which presented certain manuscripts in Ge'ez brought to Germany by Western missionary workers in Ethiopia in the 19th Century.⁴⁷ The newest critical edition based on 27 Ethiopic manuscripts is edited by James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text* (1989). Since this edition, the number of identified Ethiopic manuscripts containing Jubilees has risen to over 50.⁴⁸ According to VanderKam, however, these new manuscripts wield no significance concerning the Ethiopic version.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ A part of Jub 13:25 seems to have been lost due *parablepsis*. See James C. VanderKam, ed., *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text*, CSCO 510; SA 87 (Leuven: Peeters, 1989), 81–82; *idem*, *Jubilees*, 467, 481–484.

⁴⁷ Heinrich Ewald, "Ueber die aethiopischen Handschriften zu Tübingen," *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 5 (1844): 164–201. Ewald co-operated with missionary worker Johann Ludwig Krapf, who brought many Ethiopic manuscripts to Europe. See Stanislaw Paulau, "Wissensnetzwerke zwischen Orientalistik und evangelischer Mission: Heinrich Ewald, Johann Ludwig Krapf und die Suche nach äthiopischen Handschriften," in *Den Orient erforschen, mit Orthodoxen leben: Festschrift für Martin Tamcke zum Ende seiner aktiven Dienstzeit*, ed. Egbert Schlarb, Göttinger Orientforschungen 1. Reihe: Syriaca 61 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2021), 197–204. Ewald's pupil August Dillman made a German translation based on one manuscript in 1850/1 and edited the first edition of the Ethiopic text based on two manuscripts in 1859. Jacques van Ruiten, *Primaeval History Interpreted: The Rewriting of Genesis 1–11 in the Book of Jubilees*, JSJSup 66 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 1–3; VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 14.

⁴⁸ On these new manuscripts, see Ted Erho, "New Ethiopic witnesses to some Old Testament pseudepigrapha," *Bulletin of School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, 76.1 (2013): 75–97; Monger, 4Q216, 64–75. See also Ted Erho and James R. Hamrick, "Ethiopic, Jubilees," in *Textual History of the Bible, vol 2: Deuterocanonical Scriptures*, ed. Frank Feder and Matthias Henze (Leiden: Brill, 2020 online).

⁴⁹ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 14–16.

Similarly to the Latin version, presented below, the Ethiopic version was translated from a lost Greek translation of the Hebrew original. The Greek *Vorlage* of both the Ethiopic and Latin versions is reason for many translation choices in both these later versions, and sometimes even the reason for a deviation between the Latin and Ethiopic versions.⁵⁰

The Ethiopic manuscripts are all from the mediaeval era, the oldest dated to the 15th Century CE.⁵¹ Although the manuscripts are from the Middle Ages onwards, it seems reasonable to assume that Jubilees was translated into Ge'ez during the Aksumite Period before the Aksumite kingdom started to lose its strength and the knowledge of Greek diminished in the 7th Century CE.⁵² Something of the canonical status of Jubilees in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church is revealed by the rhetoric of the emperor Zar'a Yā'əqob (1399–1468).⁵³ When arguing for reformations in the Church life, the emperor did not need to convince the people of the authority of Jubilees which was one of the most important books he referred to when arguing for his reformations. This strategy differs from some other works he referred to.⁵⁴ Thus, the book was most probably translated from Greek to Ge'ez sometime between 350–600 CE.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ See Noack, "Jubilærbogen," 181–182; Monger, 4Q216, 57–59; VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 10–14; William Adler, "Greek, Jubilees," in *Textual History of the Bible, vol 2: Deuterocanonical Scriptures*, ed. Frank Feder and Mathias Henze (Leiden: Brill, 2020 online). Also Erho & Hamrick, "Ethiopic, Jubilees," give illustrative examples on how the Greek *Vorlage* can be seen behind the Ethiopic version.

⁵¹ This is the case also for the Ethiopic Bible in general, namely that the extant manuscripts come from the period after the so-called Solomonic reformation. See Steve Delamarter, Curt Niccum, and Ralph Lee, "Ethiopic Translation(s)," in *Textual History of the Bible, vol 1: The Hebrew Bible*, ed. Armin Lange and Emanuel Tov (Leiden: Brill, 2016, online). See also Michael A. Knibb, *Translating the Bible: The Ethiopic Version of the Old Testament*, The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1995 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). On the Solomonic reformation and the Solomonic dynasty starting from 1270, see Steven Kaplan, "Solomonic dynasty," *EAE* 4:688–690.

⁵² Siegbert Uhlig, "Bible, Time and Context," *EAE* 1:563–564; cf. Getatchew Haile, "Gə'əz literature," *EAE* 2:736–741 (736–737); Alessandro Bausi, "Ethiopic Literary Production Related to the Christian Egyptian Culture," in *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times: Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Rome, September 17th–22th, 2012 and Plenary Reports on the Ninth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Cairo, September 15th–19th, 2008, vol 1*, ed. Paola Buzi, Alberto Camplani, and Federico Contardi, OLA 247 (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 503–572 (504–507). Evidence for knowledge of Greek during the Aksumite period is shown by Greek inscriptions which are dated from the 3rd Century BCE to mid-6th Century CE in Ethiopia and Eritrea. Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Greek inscriptions in Ethiopia/Eritrea," *EAE* 2:158–159. The Aksumite kingdom became poorer and isolated after the emergence of Islam during the 7th Century CE. On Aksum, see Stuart Munro-Hay, "Aksum, History of the town and Empire," *EAE* 1:173–179. On connections between Aksum and the Byzantine Empire, see Theodore Natsoulas, "Byzantine Empire," *EAE* 1:657–659.

⁵³ On Zar'a Yā'əqob and the Ethiopic Church during his time, see, Steven Kaplan and Marie-Laure Derat, "Zār'a Yā'əqob," *EAE* 5:146–150. Cf. Adrian Hastings, *The Church in Africa 1450–1950*, Oxford History of the Christian Church (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 3–45. I thank Veikko Tanskanen for drawing my attention to this work.

⁵⁴ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 120–121.

⁵⁵ This is the *opinio communis* stated by Erho & Hamrick, "Ethiopic, Jubilees."

The relationship between the Ethiopic translation (of a Greek translation) and the Hebrew original is not fully clear. James VanderKam compared four Ethiopic manuscripts (the ones used by Robert Charles in his critical edition of the Ethiopic Jubilees in 1895)⁵⁶ with 11Q12, 4Q221, 3Q5, 2Q19, 1Q17, 1Q18 and 2Q20, the published fragments in 1977 that VanderKam listed as “properly identified” manuscripts of Jubilees, and stated at the end that

“[I]t is clear that the best critical text which can be obtained from the Ethiopic manuscripts reproduces the Hebrew original with remarkable, though not complete precision. In conclusion, it appears justified to use the critical Ethiopic text, with some caution, for detailed textual studies ... and for a historical study of Jub.’s date.”⁵⁷

VanderKam’s study led to the conclusion among scholars that the Ethiopic version of Jubilees could be used for detailed study of a second Century BCE Jewish Hebrew original.⁵⁸ This view has been criticized by certain recent scholars including Monger, Ted Erho, and James Hamrick. Although Monger does not directly attack the view that the Ethiopic Jubilees is to be relied on, he is of the opinion that VanderKam’s studies both on the Hebrew and Ethiopic texts and his conclusion that the Ethiopic text is a reliable rendering of the Hebrew original (via a Greek intermediate) are not as strong as at least the *reception* of VanderKam’s studies among scholarly circles has been.⁵⁹ Regarding VanderKam’s *Textual and Historical Studies*, Monger also argued against VanderKam’s unwillingness to identify certain Qumran fragments as containing the text of Jubilees because they were too deviant from the Ethiopic version.⁶⁰ Rejection of certain manuscripts can be questioned, as has been done with 4Q217 and 3Q5 frg 4.⁶¹ When a manuscript contains a (too) different of a text in comparison with the Ethiopic version, the question arises as to whether this is evidence of a different text altogether (and thus does not affect the comparison of the real Jubilees manuscripts and the Ethiopic version [VanderKam]), or whether it is evidence for a pluriformity and also instability of the text of Jubilees already in its Hebrew form (Monger). If such manuscripts are included into the comparison, the results show more discrepancy between the Hebrew manuscripts and the Ge’ez text than VanderKam admitted.

Erho and Hamrick, too, conclude their discussion on the Ethiopic manuscript tradition by saying that

“By any measure, the Ethiopic version of *Jubilees* must inherently differ to some extent from that of its Hebrew and Greek *Vorlagen*, both for reasons of translational modifications and the corruption of the Gəʿəz text over a millennium of transmission. Even in the best-case scenario, our earliest extant

⁵⁶ Robert H. Charles, ed., *Maṣḥafa kufālē or the Hebrew Book of Jubilees otherwise known among the Greeks as Η ΛΕΙΠΤΗ ΓΕΝΕΣΙΣ*, Anecdota oxoniensia (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895).

⁵⁷ VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 1–101 (quotation from p. 95).

⁵⁸ See, e.g., van Ruiten, *Primaeval History*, 2: “[A]s far as can be ascertained, the published Hebrew fragments show that the Ethiopic translation is a rather faithful one.”

⁵⁹ Monger, 4Q216, 62–63, 80–83.

⁶⁰ For examples, see VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 97–101.

⁶¹ See the discussion on the footnotes given to the table of the Hebrew mss. above.

complete form of the book likely varies at least a few percent from that translated in the first instance, if more significant corruptions have affected the Gə‘əz text, this figure might be substantially higher.”⁶²

Thus, there has been a shift in scholarship regarding the “reliability” and the feasibility of the Ethiopic version of Jubilees in studying the work that was originally written in Hebrew and often dated to the second Century BCE. Whereas the *reception* of VanderKam’s study paved the way for using the Ethiopic version almost uncritically, the weight now seems to have shifted towards questioning whether such inquiry is possible at all.⁶³

This question is crucial also for this study which relies heavily on the Ge‘ez text (since it is the only version containing the full text) and so the concerns raised by Monger and others need to be taken into account. Moreover, since the Hebrew and Ge‘ez languages are both Semitic languages, the scholar can often forget that a Greek translation is found between the Hebrew and Ge‘ez versions. Thus, one cannot retrovert so easily from Ge‘ez back to Hebrew, as has been done in certain studies.⁶⁴

The scale has perhaps shifted from one extreme to another, but, nonetheless, a balanced view should be maintained. Even though one cannot assume that the Ge‘ez text always renders *verbatim* what a possible Hebrew Jubilees in the second Century BCE had been, and it is beyond possibility that such a version could be retroverted, it does still contain the basic ideas and even more minutious details which surely the Hebrew original also included. These include, for example, numbers, chronology and even sentence constructions, albeit in a corrupted form here and there.⁶⁵ Thus, it is still possible, and even desirable, to study the Book of

⁶² Erho & Hamrick, “Ethiopic, Jubilees.”

⁶³ One should note that VanderKam has shown caution towards uncritical usage of the Ethiopic Jubilees. See, e.g., VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 91: “Perhaps the most crucial fact to remember in assessing the results of this lengthy comparison is that the Qumran fragments cover an exceedingly small percentage of Jub.’s text.” This is especially true when one takes the quite maximalist reconstructions of the Hebrew text based on the Ge‘ez proposed by VanderKam & Milik, “Jubilees,” in DJD 13 out of calculation.

⁶⁴ In Topias K. E. Tanskanen, “The Deep Sleep of Adam and Abram in the Book of Jubilees,” in *Understanding Abnormalities in Biblical Figures*, ed. Guido Baltes, Lukas Bormann, and Martin Meiser, SRB 11 (Åbo: Network for the Study of the Reception History of the Bible, 2022), 59–79, I have tried to build a suitable model for such a “back-reading” regarding the deep sleep of Adam and Abram in Jubilees from Ge‘ez via Greek to Hebrew, but which, however, always remains hypothetical. My article shows the many problems of too simple retroversion, which can be done for example if one retroverts Ge‘ez words into their Hebrew cognates. To give but one example, VanderKam & Milik have retroverted Ge‘ez *məḥrat* “compassion, mercy, pity” in Jub 36:8 with its Hebrew cognate רחמים in 4Q223–224 2 ii 49 (*məḥrat* has suffered a metathesis). However, it may be the case that behind *məḥrat* lurks Greek ἐλεημοσύνη “pity, alms,” which is a rendering of חסד (Gen 47:29) or צדקה (Deut 6:25; 24:13; Ps 24:5; 33:5; Isa 59:16). *Məḥrat* is namely found, e.g., in Eth Gen 47:29; Deut 6:25; and Isa 59:16, to give but few examples.

⁶⁵ Regarding chronology, see, e.g., James C. VanderKam, “Studies in the Chronology of the Book of Jubilees,” in *idem, From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature*, JSJSup 62 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 522–544. To give an example of details in sentence constructions, I would suggest that for example the difference in how Judah is presented in the

Jubilees also in its Ethiopic version and from it draw some conclusions also regarding early Judaism in the second Century BCE. That the Ge'ez text is not *always verbatim* to the original Hebrew version gives the scholar no laxitude to avoid studying the Ge'ez text itself with philological rigour.

Moreover, one should use the maximalistic retroversions from Ge'ez to Hebrew in passages which have not survived in Qumran-manuscripts, done to fill in the lines, with caution. 4Q223–224 could be taken as a prime example of such a text. The *editio princeps* of 4Q223–224 in DJD 13 shows that sometimes only a few words have been preserved here and there, and the rest is reconstructed primarily with the help of the Ge'ez version. If one used these reconstructions as *primary text*, as sometimes has been suggested, one would then be mainly dependent upon a retroversion from a translation of a translation of a Hebrew original, that being one step further from the original (!) even though the language is then the same again. Surely the Ge'ez version should be consulted before such retroversions, however cautious the retroversions are.⁶⁶

At the same time, the limits of such a study must be acknowledged; that is, the study first and foremost is directed at the Ethiopic version of Jubilees (when nothing else is extant), and that some results must be deemed tentative regarding their relevance for the study of early Judaism *per se*. This consideration, however, must not precede the detailed analysis; instead, it must follow it, and as many scholars who have analysed the contents of Jubilees have shown, the results can indeed be used for the study of early Judaism, too.⁶⁷

In this study, I transcribe the Ge'ez script according to the standards of SBL Handbook of Style (2nd ed.), which mainly follows the Ge'ez grammar by Thomas

war against the sons of Esau in Jub 38 in comparison with other brothers already mirrors the Hebrew text. On this, see Topias K. E. Tanskanen, "Expectations of a Royal Messiah in the Book of Jubilees? The Case of Judah," in *Herald of Good Tidings: Essays on the Bible, Prophecy and the Hope of Israel in Honour of Antti Laato*, ed. Pekka Lindqvist & Lotta Valve, HBM 97 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2021), 133–159 (140–141).

⁶⁶ This is not to say that the extant Hebrew of Qumran-manuscripts, which however remain quite fragmentary in nature, should not be the primary object of analysis.

⁶⁷ Here I refer to the studies of John Endres, Jacques van Ruiten, James VanderKam and especially James Kugel. See, further, ch. 1.7 below. One should also note that the main text of study in exegetical studies on the Hebrew Bible in general, the Masoretic consonantal text (often in *BHS*) is mainly based on *Codex Leningradensis*, which is a manuscript from the 11th Century CE! Also most of the mss. of the biblical texts (i.e., the Greek mss.) outside of the DSS are mainly from the period after the destruction of the second temple in 70 CE. These texts are still used in order to say something about, say, pre-exilic, exilic, or post-exilic times, with many redactional layers (that are often hypothetical and lack purely text-critical basis) postulated to these texts. Compared with this scholarly endeavour, the use of mediaeval Ethiopic mss., which have nevertheless been compared with the fragmentary Qumran mss. of the work and found generally reliable, should not pose as stark a problem as is sometimes maintained. In general, I regard the consonantal text of the MT as a good starting (but not end) point for a historical exegesis on the Hebrew Bible. See Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 3rd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 26–39.

O. Lambdin.⁶⁸ However, several different ways to transcribe or transliterate Ge'ez text exist.⁶⁹

1.3.3 Latin

One Latin palimpsest, dated to the fifth Century CE, preserves one third of the work (in comparison with Ethiopic Jubilees), starting from Jubilees 13:10. If the first twelve chapters are removed from the calculation, the palimpsest preserves circa one half of the work.⁷⁰ The original manuscript was a codex with 256 pages, in which the *Testament or Assumption of Moses* was also included. In the 8th Century CE, the manuscript was dismantled, and the folios were mixed with an Arian commentary on Luke. After this, Eugippius' anthology on Augustine's *De Trinitate* was copied onto the new manuscript. The readings on Jubilees were published 1861 by Antonius Maria Ceriani.⁷¹ Since the 19th Century, the text of the palimpsest has been damaged and thus has become more difficult to read. The *Jubilees Palimpsest Project*, led by Todd R. Hanneken, however, uses new technology in order to get fresh readings from the palimpsest.⁷²

Since the Latin text predates the Ethiopic by over a millennium, its relevance for studying Jubilees is high. Nevertheless, the manuscript suffers of certain problems, such as scribal errors and tampering with the chronology (the Jubilee according to the manuscript is 50 and not 49 years, which causes problems with the chronological framework). When extant, I discuss the Latin readings preserved.

⁶⁸ Thomas O. Lambdin, *Introduction to Classical Ethiopic (Ge'ez)*, HSS 24 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978; repr. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006). I use *h* and *a* when Lambdin uses *x* and *e*.

⁶⁹ For a good overview on different systems that have been used, see Maria Bulakh, "Some problems of transcribing Geez," in *150 Years after Dillmann's Lexicon: Perspectives and Challenges of Gə'əz Studies*, ed. Alessandro Bausi, Supplement to Aethiopica 5 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2016), 103–137.

⁷⁰ See esp. Todd R. Hanneken, "Latin, Jubilees," in *Textual History of the Bible, vol 2: Deuterocanonical Scriptures*, ed. Frank Feder and Mathias Henze (Leiden: Brill, 2020 online). See also VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 14; Monger, *4Q216*, 60–62.

⁷¹ Antonius Maria Ceriani, *Fragmenta latina evangelii S. Lucae, parvae genesis et assumptionis Mosis, Baruch, threni et epistola Jeremiae versionis syriacae Pauli telensis cum notis et initio prolegomenon in integram ejusdem versionis editionem* (Monumenta Sacra et Profana ex Codicibus praesertim Bibliotheca Ambrosiana 1.1; Milan: Typis et impensis Bibliothecae Ambrosinae, 1861). Ceriani's text is also found in the end of VanderKam's critical edition on the Ethiopic Jubilees. See also Hermann Rösner, *Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die kleine Genesis: Unter Beifügung des revidierten Textes der in der Ambrosiana aufgefundenen lateinischen Fragmente sowie einer von Dr. August Dillmann aus zwei äthiopischen Handschriften gefertigten lateinischen Übertragung* (Leipzig: Fues's Verlag [R. Reisland], 1874).

⁷² <https://jubilees.stmarytx.edu/> (accessed 25/10/2021).

1.3.4 Possible Other Versions

In the early days of the research, it was suggested that a Syriac translation of Jubilees, possibly a translation from the Hebrew original, also existed.⁷³ The strongest proponent of this view was Eugène Tisserant, who published and analysed citations from the so-called *Anonymous Syriac Chronicle* or *Chronicle of 1234* and argued that a Syriac translation from the Hebrew original must have existed.⁷⁴ Before this, Antonio Maria Ceriani had published a Syriac list of names of the matriarchs “according to the Book which Among the Hebrews is Called Jubilees,” preserved in ms. British Library Add 12.154.⁷⁵ Tisserant’s conclusion was generally accepted, so that, for example, George Schelbert labelled a lost Syriac translation as certain in his entry of Jubilees in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*.⁷⁶

Although it seems clear that many Syriac theologians knew traditions related to the Book of Jubilees, it is beyond certainty that a complete copy of Jubilees ever existed in Syriac.⁷⁷ It is reasonable to assume that many of the traditions related to Jubilees stem from different forms of manuscripts where the Jubilees-material was transmitted and excerpted independently from the whole work and found their way to different chroniclers and commentators to the Bible, also in Syriac.⁷⁸ I discuss the Syriac material, especially the *Anonymous Syriac Chronicle* which preserves the most material similar to Jubilees, when needed. However, I do not take the Syriac material as a direct witness of the text of Jubilees, since they either quote or allude to traditions pertaining to Jubilees and are not from a copy of a Syriac translation of Jubilees.⁷⁹

In 2003, Andrew T. Crislip published the *editio princeps* of a single papyrus sheet which contains a collection of textual passages in Sahidic Coptic (P.CtYBR

⁷³ See, e.g., Noack, “Jubilærbogen,” 181; VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 8–10.

⁷⁴ Eugène Tisserant, “Fragments syriaques du Livre des Jubilés,” *RB* 30 (1921): 55–86; 206–232. See the chronicle in Jean-Baptiste Chabot, ed., *Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens* (Paris: E Typographeo Reipublicae, 1920). The relevant passages are also given in the back of the critical edition of the Ge’ez text by VanderKam.

According to Sebastian Brock, *A Brief Outline of Syriac Literature* (Mōrān ‘Eth’ō 9; Baker Hill, Kottayam: St. Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute, 1997), 97, the writer of the chronicle probably stemmed from Edessa, and the work itself consists of two parts, where the first one deals with the church, and the second with the world. Other Syriac authors also knew of traditions pertaining to Jubilees. See generally Andy Hilkins, “Syriac, Jubilees,” in *Textual History of the Bible, vol 2: Deuterocanonical Scriptures*, ed. Frank Feder and Mathias Henze (Leiden: Brill, 2020 online).

⁷⁵ Antonius Maria Ceriani, *Monumenta Sacra et Profana* (Milan: Bibliothecae Ambrosianae, 1863), 2:ix–x. Other references are discussed by Hilkins, “Syriac, Jubilees.”

⁷⁶ Georg Schelbert, “Jubiläenbuch,” *TRE* 17:285–289 (285).

⁷⁷ Hilkins, “Syriac, Jubilees.”; See, now, also VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 9: “It remains a fact, however, that no Syriac translation of Jubilees has been found, and Tisserant’s arguments, while helpful, fall short of demonstrating the existence of one.”

⁷⁸ On this, see Monger, “The Many Forms of Jubilees.”

⁷⁹ Cf. Monger, *4Q216*, 62: “[I]t is difficult to distinguish between citations and allusions within the Syriac texts, and difficult to discern whether *Jubilees* serves as a source or if the traditions are known to the authors in various ways.”

inv. 4995).⁸⁰ He dates the papyrus palaeographically to the 4th or early 5th Century CE. It includes the following excerpts: Jub 8:28b–30; 7:14–16; an unidentified section in which Abraham is referred to; a partial quotation from Gen 9:27a; a partial quotation from Jub 15:3; a reference where an allusion to Jub 4:33 is found.

Generally, the excerpts are related to Noahide traditions and to the division of the land after the deluge. Either the Book of Jubilees or parts of it were at some point translated into Coptic, most probably from Greek, and subsequently lost, or parts of traditions pertaining to Jubilees were transmitted in different *testimonia* collections which were later translated into Coptic.⁸¹ Given that the organisation of the Ethiopic Orthodox Church was tied to the Egyptian Coptic Church (e.g., the patriarch of the Ethiopic Orthodox Church came from a Coptic monastery until the second part of the 20th Century)⁸² there may be connections between the Ethiopic and a (lost) Coptic Jubilees, if such a version ever existed. It seems at least reasonable to assume that the Greek text wherefrom the Ethiopic Jubilees was translated came to Ethiopia via Egypt, and that Greek *Vorlage* may be related to a hypothetical Coptic Jubilees. However, it is implausible that such a Coptic version could directly have influenced the Ethiopic Jubilees, since there seems to be no evidence of Coptic literature in Coptic being translated to Ge'ez.⁸³ For the investigation in this study the Coptic material is, thus, of no relevance.

Certain traditions pertaining to Jubilees, such as the names for the wives of the patriarchs, are also attested in Armenian literature.⁸⁴ One does not need to presuppose an Armenian version in order to explain the existence of such traditions, as those traditions were known by Christian chronographs.⁸⁵

1.3.5 Summary

The textual history of Jubilees shows certain instability and fluidity, which the Qumran manuscripts also betray. The relationship between the Hebrew manuscripts found at Qumran and the Ethiopic (or Latin) versions are not as clear-cut and simple as has sometimes been stated. Nevertheless, it is possible to use the Ge'ez and Latin versions when discussing the early Judaism in the second Century BCE. In this study, all relevant material from the Hebrew manuscripts, as

⁸⁰ Andrew T. Crislip, "The *Book of Jubilees* in Coptic: An Early Christian *Florilegium* on the Family of Noah," *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 40 (2003): 27–44.

⁸¹ Cf. Monger, *4Q216*, 59–60; Andrew T. Crislip, "Coptic, Jubilees," in *Textual History of the Bible, vol 2: Deuterocanonical Scriptures*, ed. Frank Feder and Mathias Henze (Leiden: Brill, 2020 online).

⁸² On this, see, e.g., C. Detlef G. Müller and Lothar Störk, "Coptic Church," *EAE* 1:797–801. The foreign patriarch did not always have great influence on the Ethiopic church, and his status was limited, but it still witnesses to a connection between the Coptic and Ethiopic churches, even though the Ethiopic Church was *de facto* independent.

⁸³ Müller and Störk, *EAE* 1:800, note that Copts did write (esp. later) in Arabic, and these were then adapted and translated into Ge'ez, but no evidence of Coptic literature in Coptic being translated into Ge'ez has emerged. See also Bausi, "Ethiopic Literary Production," 503–522.

⁸⁴ W. Lowndes Lipscomb, "A Tradition from the Book of Jubilees in Armenian," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 29 (1978): 149–163.

⁸⁵ Lipscomb, "A Tradition from the Book of Jubilees in Armenian."

well as from the Latin palimpsest are taken into account. For practical reasons, the Ge'ez version remains the starting point, since it is the only version preserved in full. Syriac material is also taken into account, if deemed important. Its relevance for studying the early Jewish text called "Jubilees" is, however, significantly inferior, since it is not a direct witness of the work.

1.4 Composition of Jubilees

Early on, scholars saw the Book of Jubilees as a work of one author or one author group. In later years, however, more scholars have advocated for various redactional layers in Jubilees.⁸⁶ These observations were made using traditional literary and redaction criticism. In recent years, certain scholars, most notably Matthew Monger and Eibert Tigchelaar, have reinvestigated the Qumran manuscripts and argued that their results at the manuscript level can confirm certain results of the older literary and redaction criticism. In this section, I deal with compositional issues and what this means for the study at hand.

1.4.1 Redactions at Qumran

As the Hebrew textual history has already been discussed above, only a short discussion concerning the main results of Monger and Tigchelaar, referred to above, is presented here.

According to the material philological analysis of Monger, sheet 2 of 4Q216 originally ended directly after fragment 18, i.e., after Jubilees 2:24. Thus, it never included Jubilees 2:25–33.⁸⁷ Moreover, since 4Q218 does include a different version of Jubilees 2:27–28 and is dated near to the turn of the era, it can be taken either as evidence for the view that the text was still evolving at Qumran, or that 4Q216 is an earlier or different recension of Jubilees 2 from 4Q218.⁸⁸ Monger's results of the material philological analysis concur with, for example, James Kugel's theory of interpolations in the text of Jubilees, which also sees Jubilees 2:26–33 as a later interpolation.⁸⁹

Monger's material philological analysis also revealed that most probably sheet 1 of 4Q216 never included the third column, i.e., Jubilees 1:15b–25, of which nothing is preserved. The proposed column, according to Monger, would not have had sufficient space for the whole text of Jubilees 1:15b–25 (if retroverted from Ge'ez), and moreover, the damage patterns in the material would not have aligned as well as without the hypothetical third column proposed by VanderKam and Milik.⁹⁰ Monger also notes that 4Q217, coming from

⁸⁶ A good overview up to 2007 is made by Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 11–21. See also James C. VanderKam, "Recent Scholarship on the Book of Jubilees," *CurBR* 6.3 (2008): 405–431 (410–416).

⁸⁷ Monger, *4Q216*, 106–115, 187–190.

⁸⁸ Monger, *4Q216*, 194–195.

⁸⁹ Kugel, *Walk through*, 35–37, 271–273. Kugel's theory will be presented below.

⁹⁰ Monger, *4Q216*, 106–115, 141–148. The third column in 4Q216 was postulated by VanderKam & Milik, "Jubilees," but there are no fragments that witness to it. Its existence is purely based on a retroversion of the Ethiopic Jubilees.

the same period as sheet 1 of 4Q216 in his palaeographic dating, reflects a text-type for Jubilees 1 different to that of the Ethiopic Jubilees or 4Q216.⁹¹ He connects these findings to the traditional literary critical and redactional critical analyses by Michael Testuz and Gene Davenport, who have argued for redactions in the first chapter of Jubilees.⁹² In Monger's view, the redaction has gone the following way, the literary growth most probably taking place within early Judaism prior to its translation to Greek, and most probably at Qumran:⁹³

(1) Jub 1:1–4, (a possible different version of) 29 (4Q217?).

(2) Addition of Jub 1:4b–15a, 26–29 (4Q216).

(3) Addition of Jub 1:15b–25.

Also Tigchelaar, while discussing 4Q216, relates the problem of 4Q217 and Jubilees 1:29. He argues that the Ethiopic Jubilees 1:29 betrays a later stage of the development of the verse, whereas 4Q217 possibly presents a shorter and earlier version of it. Tigchelaar argues that 4Q217 is written in a way which is closer to documents, personal copies, or notes and that the manuscript is fragmentary in nature. Thus, he hypothesizes on whether it was one of the drafts made by scribes (in the 4th cave) considering Jubilees 1. In his opinion, 4Q216 and 4Q217, when taken together, show that *Fortschreibung* took place at Qumran.⁹⁴ Moreover, in his lengthy discussion on the manuscripts containing parts of Jubilees 23, he concludes that Jubilees 23:32 is perhaps a later addition to a late redaction to Jubilees 23.⁹⁵

At least concerning the *Fortschreibung* of chapter 1 of Jubilees, I am positively inclined to the results of Monger. However, the manuscript evidence shows *only* that Jubilees 1:15b–25 is and lacking from sheet 1 of 4Q216 (and was most probably also originally lacking from chapter 1 of Jubilees), and that Jubilees 1:29 was, most probably, different at least in 4Q217. Regarding the discussion on the evolution of Jubilees 1, Monger connects it to the results of Testuz and Davenport, which are partly commented upon in the next subchapter. What is important in this regard is that Monger's reconstruction that the original Jubilees 1 included only Jubilees 1:1–4, 29 is hypothetical at best, and lacks purely text critical or material philological evidence.

Concerning sheet 2 of 4Q216 (Jubilees 2), I agree with Monger's thesis that it ended with Jubilees 2:24. He, again, connects his material philological analysis with Kugel's analysis of the (Ethiopic) text and his theory of Interpolator, although Monger sees the new section starting at Jubilees 2:25, whereas Kugel argues that the interpolation started from 2:26 onwards.

The material philological analysis itself makes it extremely plausible that manuscript 4Q216, which I have understood as an excerpt from Jubilees, ends in Jubilees 2:24. It is far from certainty, however, that the section from Jubilees 2:25 (or 2:26) to 2:32 was lacking from Jubilees when the Jubilees Creation Narrative

⁹¹ Monger, *4Q216*, 159. Cf. Tigchelaar, "The Qumran Writings," 583–584.

⁹² See ch. 1.4.2 below.

⁹³ Monger, *4Q216*, 156–179, 222–228.

⁹⁴ Tigchelaar, "The Qumran Writings," 586–589.

⁹⁵ Tigchelaar, "The Qumran Writings," 589–593.

was excerpted from some other Jubilees-manuscript, or that Jubilees 2:25ff would have been totally unknown to the scribe of 4Q216. One can namely suggest also other possible reasons why Jubilees 2:25–32 is missing from 4Q216. For example, if the original idea was to include only the Jubilees Creation Narrative, the section starting from Jubilees 2:26 (or 2:25, as Monger argues) need not be copied for the aim of the excerpt, since the discourse is changed fully into legal matters. Additionally, if the manuscript did end quite abruptly after the (reconstructed) text of frg. 18,⁹⁶ there was, perhaps, insufficient space to include the text of Jubilees 2:25ff.

Thus, in my opinion, the material philological analysis on 4Q216 cannot be extended over and above the fact that Jubilees 1:15b–25 is, plausibly, a later addition to Jubilees 1. Possibly other redactions took place at Qumran, but there is too little evidence to show that for certain.

1.4.2 Literary Critical and Redaction Critical Approaches

Since Monger connects the results of his studies to the redaction-critical studies of Gene Davenport and James Kugel, it is reasonable to deal with their theses here in brief. Since Kugel's theory is also related to Michael Segal's redaction critical analysis, his study is also succinctly presented. Davenport, Kugel, and Segal are not the only ones who have challenged the original unity of the work from a literary critical or redaction critical standpoint, but they have been the most influential in this regard.⁹⁷

I want to underline here that it is impossible to do full justice to the often complicated literary or redaction critical theories of the composition of the Book of Jubilees in such a short introduction as this. The discussion must be limited to few basic lines of argumentation. Thus, my aim here is not to present the above theories in full, nor to argue in detail for or against them. Instead, I merely and succinctly present the theories proposed by Davenport, Segal, and Kugel together with short critical remarks as to why I basically disagree with their approaches. A more detailed analysis must be left to other venues. In addition to my own reflections, which are based on inductive data gathered for the study at hand as well as a forthcoming translation of Jubilees in Finnish, I also refer to critical responses offered especially by James VanderKam and Jacques van Ruiten in their many studies.⁹⁸ In the background of this doctoral dissertation, as well as

⁹⁶ See the helpful reconstruction by Monger, *4Q216*, 108 (fig. 14). According to Monger, *4Q216*, 190, "it is highly likely that 4Q216 ended directly after fragment 18."

⁹⁷ I have not had access to Michael Testuz' study to which Monger and also Davenport refer. Additionally, see Christoph Berner, *Jahre, Jahrwochen und Jubiläen: Heptadische Geschichtskonzeptionen in Antiken Judentum*, BZAW 363 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), 234–328, who postulates three possible redactions at Qumran, which concern especially Jubilees 1 and 23, but also 50:5. See also the criticism against Berner in James C. VanderKam, "Jubilees as the Composition of One Author?" *RevQ* 26.4 (2014): 501–516 (502–505). On Berner's redaction critical approach to Jubilees 30–32, see the Appendix in ch. 3.9 below.

⁹⁸ James C. VanderKam, "The End of the Matter? Jubilees 50:6–13 and the Unity of the Book," in *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism*, ed. Lynn LiDonnici and Andrea Lieber, JSJSup 119 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 267–284; *idem*, "Recent Scholarship on

the forthcoming Finnish translation of Jubilees, is my labour with the Ethiopic Jubilees, the Latin palimpsest, the preserved Hebrew Qumran-fragments as well as the parallel material in the Anonymous Syriac Chronicle. I have gone through the texts with Professor Tapani Harviainen as my tutor, for whom I am especially grateful. He is a specialist in Semitic studies and in translating ancient as well as modern Semitic texts into Finnish. This preparatory work has opened a way to deal with also the composition of Jubilees, where I have found myself in agreement with both VanderKam and van Ruiten in many regards.

The discussion on the composition of Jubilees is moving forward all the time, and it is possible that further analyses and possible new manuscript findings will shed new light on the problem of both textual history as well as compositional issues.

1.4.2.1 Gene Davenport

Gene Davenport argued in his book *Eschatology of Jubilees* in 1971 that there were two later redactors to the base text or “angelic discourse” of Jubilees.⁹⁹ He bases his redaction critical analysis on his view that there are three different strata with different views on eschatology.

The Angelic Discourse (A) consists of Jubilees 1:1–4a; 1:29*; 2:1–50:4, created by an author drawing upon various traditions from different sources and adding the chronology. In his opinion, the purpose of A was “to teach and legitimate Torah as it is found therein.” Davenport dates this layer to the latter half of the third Century or early second Century BCE.¹⁰⁰

The first redactor (R₁) includes Jubilees 1:4b–26 as a new introduction along with addition to Jubilees 1:29; 23:14–20, 22–31, and 50:5. Whereas the original version, A, was more about teaching the Torah, R₁ added the idea that Israel has violated the Torah, yet God remains faithful despite the hardships. The terminology of the tablets of Torah and of Testimony is included in this redaction. Davenport dates this redaction to the Maccabean times, somewhere between 166–160 BCE.¹⁰¹

During the Hasmonean period, a second redaction (R₂) was initiated, which Davenport labels “sanctuary-oriented.” He includes Jubilees 1:10b, 17a, 27–28, 29c; 4:26; 23:21; and 31:14 in this redaction, possibly also 50:6–13. The redaction did not alter the work as much as R₁ did but included a cosmic orientation along with Zion-centred views to a more legalistic, nationalistic, and

the Book of Jubilees,” *CurBR* 6.3 (2008): 405–431; *idem*, “Jubilees as the Composition of One Author?” *RevQ* 26.4 (2014): 501–516; *idem*, *Jubilees*, 25–28, as well as the many excursions and inductive data gathered in the commentary; Jacques T. A. G. M. van Ruiten, *Abraham in the Book of Jubilees: The Rewriting of Genesis 11:26–25:10 in the Book of Jubilees 11:14–23:8*, JSJSup 161 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), *passim*; *idem*, “Some Questions with Regard to a Supposed Interpolator in the Book of Jubilees Focused on the Festival of Weeks (*Jub.* 6:1–22).” *RevQ* 26.4 (2014): 539–559; *idem*, “Adam in the Book of Jubilees,” in *Adam and Eve Story in the Hebrew Bible and in Ancient Jewish Writings Including the New Testament*, ed. Antti Laato and Lotta Valve, SRB 7 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2016), 143–175 (153–156, 161).

⁹⁹ Davenport, *Eschatology of Jubilees*.

¹⁰⁰ Davenport, *Eschatology of Jubilees*, 11–14 (quotation from p. 11).

¹⁰¹ Davenport, *Eschatology of Jubilees*, 14–15, 19–29, 46, 70–71, 73–74.

individualistic eschatology as found in the previous version. Not only the Torah, but also the Temple becomes important. He argues that this redaction possibly took place at Qumran under the period of either Simon or John Hyrcanus, somewhere between 140–104 BCE.¹⁰²

Davenport's redaction analysis does have certain flaws, however. To start with his R₂: it quickly becomes apparent that everything directly connected to the sanctuary has been included. Although he himself cautions against this by stating that "[i]t is questionable that we should view every reference to the sanctuary as the work of R₂,"¹⁰³ it seems to me that this is precisely the case. That is, the clear-cut redactions and ideas that one author can have only one idea dictates the results. Put in another way: if there are different shades in eschatology, be they Torah-oriented and legalistic (his R₁) and then also sanctuary-oriented (R₂), they must stem from different redactions. If the final work itself, however, presents these shades in eschatology quite harmoniously, as Davenport himself seems to present it,¹⁰⁴ why then is there any need to postulate one redaction more, when R₂ seems to be quite harmonious with R₁?

Moreover, the importance of calendar is related to the cult (e.g., Jub 5), and cultic matters are important elsewhere in the work too (e.g., Eden as a Temple in Jubilees;¹⁰⁵ Levi's role in the whole work, esp. Jub 31). Thus, it is not difficult to imagine that the original author wished to say something about the sanctuary. This also becomes evident in the course of this study.

The same argument, *mutatis mutandis*, can be directed against the alleged R₁: although A did not teach eschatology *per se*, but had some eschatological pre-understandings, R₁ did not alter much, as its eschatology was "legalistic, nationalistic, and individualistic, as was that of the discourse author."¹⁰⁶ The only difference, which Davenport seems to detect, is that R₁ is more apocalyptic than A.¹⁰⁷ Indeed, this is what he says about R₂ in relation to R₁: it is "more apocalyptic than was the content of that of his predecessors."¹⁰⁸

¹⁰² Davenport, *Eschatology of Jubilees*, 15–16, 29–31, 75.

¹⁰³ Davenport, *Eschatology of Jubilees*, 25 n. 3. Actually, he does not include Jub 8:19 to R₂, which is peculiar.

¹⁰⁴ See, e.g., Davenport, *Eschatology of Jubilees*, 75: "Since we find no comments by R₂ that would lead us to think otherwise, we must assume that he accepted the general thrust of the legalism, nationalism, and individualism of the work as he found it," only that "now" (i.e. when all references to the sanctuary are omitted from previous redactions!) faithfulness "has to be defined in terms of faithfulness to the Temple, as well as faithfulness to Torah and to the calendar." See also pp. 77–78.

¹⁰⁵ See, e.g., van Ruiten, "Adam in the Book of Jubilees," 161–166. That the idea that Eden functioned as a sanctuary and Adam as a priest and that it also had its influence on the rewriting of the Adam and Eve story in Jubilees is also noticed by Jessi Orpana, "Awareness of Nudity in Jubilees 3: Adam Portrayed as a Priest in the Garden," in *Crossing Imaginary Boundaries: The Dead Sea Scrolls in the Context of Second Temple Judaism*, ed. Mika S. Pajunen & Hanna Tervanotko, PFES 108 (Helsinki: The Finnish Exegetical Society, 2015), 241–258. See, further, Tanskanen, "Deep Sleep."

¹⁰⁶ Davenport, *Eschatology of Jubilees*, 74.

¹⁰⁷ Davenport, *Eschatology of Jubilees*, 74.

¹⁰⁸ Davenport, *Eschatology of Jubilees*, 75.

The critique which VanderKam offers against Davenport's study is, thus, on point:

It is surely not implausible to think that an author, whose primary aim may have been to teach legal lessons from older stories, saw fit to attach to them warnings and exhortations about what was to happen and included among his few statements about eschatology references to Jerusalem and a new sanctuary.¹⁰⁹

1.4.2.2. Michael Segal and James Kugel

In his monograph based on his doctoral dissertation in Hebrew, Michael Segal presents his theory of the editing process of Jubilees.¹¹⁰ Segal's thesis is that the author or editor of Jubilees is responsible for the legal or *halakic* sections as well as the chronological framework used in Jubilees. The narrative sections, however, are incorporated by the author in its present literary context, that is, Jubilees. Segal's main argument is that one can discern contradictions between the rewritten (haggadic) narratives and the chronological framework and/or the *halakic* section added to these rewritten narratives. A second argument Segal presents is that apart from these contradictions also other tensions found in the work in its present form can be found. To give one main example, the heavenly tablets seem to have many different functions, and different answers are given to the origin of evil. These tensions can then be explained in different ways. In Segal's opinion, the traditional literary critical study shows that one larger redaction or several redactions have been made to the work.

As certain scholars have noted, it is not a new idea to think that the author or author group of Jubilees (if the work is understood as a unified document from the beginning) used many older traditions. That the author compiled almost everything from earlier traditions, is something more, however, as Segal has pointed out.

Segal's approach is grounded and deserves attention. The theory can best be tested with inductive data to see whether the contradictions he presents are real and most plausibly caused by later redactions. In the course of my research in Jubilees, however, I have found that at least some of them are not such contradictions. For example, the contradiction proposed by Segal in the case of Judah and Tamar in Jubilees 41 (cf. Gen 38) is that the rewritten narrative and the legal passage following it contradict one another in terms of "(1) the nature of Judah's actions; (2) the source for the penalty of death by burning; and (3) the interpretation of Gen 38:26."¹¹¹ I have argued elsewhere that the narrative and the legal sections need not be considered as contradicting one another. Instead, the author had two axes to grind: (1) to defend Judah and exclude any possibility of using Judah as a bad example (esp. the *halakic* section, but also the rewritten

¹⁰⁹ VanderKam, "The End of the Matter?" 272. Cf. E.P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (London: SCM Press, 1977), 386–387; Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 15–16.

¹¹⁰ Segal, *Book of Jubilees*. See also Segal, "Composition of Jubilees," 22–35.

¹¹¹ Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 59–72 (quotation from p. 71).

story), and to (2) defend Judah's genealogy (rewritten story).¹¹² Especially the case that Tamar remains as a virgin in the rewritten story is needed so that Judah's genealogy can remain according to another lineage. Besides, it was important for the *halakic* section that Judah's actions are deemed not to be good (even though he technically did not sleep with his "daughter-in-law" since the marriages with Judah's sons are never put into action in Jub 41).

Even when real contradictions or tensions exist, they can be explained in different ways, too. A contradiction might stem from one and the same author. If even modern authors or scholars might contradict themselves in one and the same work, I see the same possibility for an ancient one, too. Furthermore, the author clearly used and utilized older oral and written traditions pertaining to Genesis and even the Hebrew Bible in general, on which all scholars basically agree.¹¹³ Possibly such traditions and even exegeses can differ and sometimes contradict one another. More critique towards Segal's thesis has put forward by especially VanderKam, and I basically agree with him in this regard.¹¹⁴

Somewhat dependent on Segal's previous study as well as Liora Ravid's studies on the terminology of the heavenly tablets in Hebrew and the calendar,¹¹⁵ James Kugel has continued to hunt for possible contradictions and tensions in Jubilees.¹¹⁶ He has developed a theory of an Interpolator, who inserts something new and different into the text of the original author when trying to fix the problems he locates in the ideas of the original author or compiler of different interpretive traditions. The main difference between the original author and the Interpolator is as follows: The original author made things look like as if the different stipulations of the Torah were stipulated *because of the patriarchs and what they did*. In other words, the patriarchs simply happened to do things in a particular way without any knowledge of the Law *per se*. Because the patriarchs behaved in a certain way, it became binding for their descendants. The Interpolator disliked such an idea. He added *halakic* sections which explained that the patriarchs actually behaved the way they did, because those laws *were already stipulated in the heavenly tablets*, long before the patriarchs acted.

In addition, according to Kugel, here and there these *halakic* sections are in contradiction with the stories that they comment on. Some of these *halakic* sections seem to indicate that the Interpolator understood the exegesis of the

¹¹² Tanskanen, "Expectations," 142–148. Cf. VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 1033–1055.

¹¹³ I take the Hebrew Bible here in a fluid and non-strict sense. See the discussion on the term "Rewritten Bible" below.

¹¹⁴ VanderKam, "Recent Scholarship," 412–416; *idem*, *Jubilees*, 28, *passim*; *idem*, "Jubilees as the Composition of One Author?" 510–516. See also van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 13–14.

¹¹⁵ Liora Ravid, "The Special Terminology of the Heavenly Tablets in the Book of Jubilees," *Tarbiz* 68 (1999): 463–471 (Hebrew); *idem*, "The Book of Jubilees and Its Calendar—A Reexamination," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 10.3 (2003): 371–394. I have not had access to the first publication. Regarding Ravid's analysis of the calendar, see VanderKam, "Recent Scholarship," 421–423.

¹¹⁶ For the following, see Kugel, *Walk through*, 1–303; *idem*, "Is the Book of Jubilees a Commentary on Genesis or an Intended Replacement?" in *Congress Volume Munich 2013*, ed. Christl M. Maier, VST 163 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 67–91; *idem*, "The Compositional History of the Book of Jubilees," *RevQ* 26.4 (2014): 517–537.

original author incorrectly, too. Furthermore, the terminology in these interpolated sections is different from the terminology used by the original author. Moreover, the interpolated sections which Kugel has identified include a clear ideology, which makes it reasonable to assume that one and the same Interpolator added these sections. In addition to the Interpolator, in certain parts Kugel also assumes further redactions by other hands.¹¹⁷

It is not possible here to go into detailed analysis of Kugel's theory. Generally, I agree with the critique that James VanderKam and Jacques van Ruiten have given against the theory.¹¹⁸ I do raise certain critical remarks concerning Kugel's view in the analyses of chapters 2–4 below. Put briefly, however, the same general arguments that have been raised against Segal can be also directed against Kugel's theory. First, the terminology of the *halakic* sections must differ since the discourse changes too. Second, various contradictions or tensions found in the book might very well be the result of the author using (and somewhat modifying) already extant interpretive oral or written traditions, as everyone agrees. Third, as will be argued especially in case studies 2 and 3 below, I do not find Kugel's thesis of the main difference between his original author and Interpolator, that is, that the original author understood the patriarchs' as having caused the Mosaic stipulations, against the alleged Interpolator's view that the patriarchs followed stipulations that were already stipulated before them, convincing.

Even though I disagree with both Segal and Kugel in this matter, I have found their analyses on Jubilees very fruitful and important for the study at hand.¹¹⁹ The inductive data gathered throughout this study, however, directs toward the view that Jubilees can very well be seen as a unified whole which is composed (mainly) by one author or author group. A more detailed response to individual arguments raised by both Segal and Kugel is presented in the case studies below, as necessary.

1.4.3 Unified Jubilees

The short survey of certain earlier and more recent attempts using different methodological arsenals (material philology, traditional literary criticism, redaction criticism) to argue that Jubilees is not a unified document shows that the book can still be viewed and analysed as a unity. I agree thus with James VanderKam and Jacques van Ruiten, who have defended the coherence and ultimate unity of the work, notwithstanding that in his rewriting the author used different sources, both oral and written. In VanderKam's words,

¹¹⁷ E.g., "the second vision" given to Jacob in Jub 32:20–22a, 24–26 is interpolated by another writer (not the Interpolator), and the detail that Edomites are still "until today" under the yoke of the descendants of Jacob in Jub 38:14 is according to him a later addition from the hand of a copyist. See, Kugel, *Walk through*, 155–157, 179.

¹¹⁸ VanderKam, "Jubilees as the Composition of One Author?" 505–510; *idem*, *Jubilees*, 27–28, *passim*; van Ruiten, "Some Questions;" *idem*, *Abraham*, 14–17, *passim*.

¹¹⁹ One can note the indebtedness of this study to their investigations in Jubilees in the many notes in the case studies below, where I refer to them. This is especially true concerning Kugel, on which see also chs. 1.6.2 and 1.7 below.

The picture that emerges from these building blocks is that the person responsible for the book of Jubilees, someone who can reasonably be termed an author, compiled and probably also composed rewritten scriptural stories and supplemented them with chronological and legal material. In other words, his largest contributions may have come in the latter two kinds of units, without denying the possibility that he was active—perhaps very active—in formulating rewritten stories, whether composing or altering them or both.¹²⁰

This usage of both oral and written traditions can also explain why few tensions within the book still remain. It should also be borne in mind that the human mind is not capable of strict and clear-cut uniformity and totally consistent behaviour or even thoughts, or if someone is capable of such, it comes with great efforts indeed. Humans, in general, also maintain ideas and building blocks of ideology that can be in contradiction with one another. One such an example is that the author of Jubilees seems to hold a tension between the ideas of determinism and free will, which can be seen in how Jacob and Esau are depicted in Jubilees. This is discussed in detail in case study 3 (chapter 4). This contradiction between determinism or predestination and free will is something that both Jewish and Christian theologians have struggled with from Antiquity to modern times. One could take the apostle Paul, Erasmus of Rotterdam, and Martin Luther as clear examples of this.¹²¹ Davenport's argumentation is a case to the point that scholars sometimes seem to attribute one idea to one author or redactor. If several ideas or attitudes, which need not be in direct contradiction with one another (such as fidelity towards the Torah vs. fidelity towards the Sanctuary), are discerned, then these are too hastily attributed to different authors or redactors or redactional layers.

Two further remarks should also be made. First, as was pointed out in the discussion concerning the textual history of Jubilees, I do find it plausible that *certain* redactions *could* have been made at some point. This is especially true with Monger's analysis of 4Q216 on Jubilees 1, although I am hesitant to accept his reconstruction which goes over the material philological analysis itself. This, however, does not challenge the actual unity of the work.

Second, the case studies below consist of inductive data which can be interpreted on the basis of assuming that the work is a unity and was so from the beginning. The data makes sense if authorial unity is supposed. I believe that such an endeavour is the most illuminating way to argue positively for the unity and coherence of Jubilees in addition to the basic and general remarks offered against other theories above. The reader who disagrees with me on this point should, however, still find my study relevant.

¹²⁰ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 25.

¹²¹ On Paul, see e.g., Timo Eskola, *Theodicy and Predestination in Pauline Soteriology*, WUNT 2.100 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998); on Erasmus and Luther, see now, Miikka Ruokanen, *Trinitarian Grace in Martin Luther's The Bondage of the Will* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021).

1.5 Dating

After the discoveries of the Judean desert, it has become quite clear that the book of Jubilees is dated to the second Century BCE.¹²² This has been maintained especially by VanderKam in his many studies,¹²³ and was the consensus among scholars until recently. The question of unity of the book and its composition is inherently related to the question of dating. However, as was argued in previous subchapter 1.4, the book can be taken as a unity even though certain individual redactions are indeed possible. Thus, the book can be regarded, on good grounds, as a unified composition with mostly one date of origin.

The *terminus ante quem* is given by the Damascus Document (CD), which already refers to Jubilees in an authoritative way in CD XVI, 2–4:

וּפְרוֹשׁ קִצְיָהֶם לְעוֹרוֹן יִשְׂרָאֵל מִכָּל אֱלֹהֵי הַנָּה
הוּא מְדוּקָדֵק עַל סֵפֶר מַחֲלֻקוֹת הָעֵתִים לְיוֹבְלֵיהֶם
וּבִשְׁבוּעוֹתֵיהֶם
As for the exact determination of their times to which Israel turns a blind eye, behold it is strictly defined in the *Book of the Divisions of the Times into their Jubilees and Weeks*.¹²⁴

Thus, the Damascus Document (early first Century BCE),¹²⁵ along with the oldest manuscripts of Jubilees at Qumran (4Q216), makes it quite implausible that Jubilees would be dated to the first Century BCE or later.¹²⁶

¹²² Before the DSS, Jubilees could be dated to the reign of John Hyrcanus (Robert H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis* [London: Adam & Charles Black, 1902], lxii–lxiii; followed by Noack, “Jubilærbogen,” 179–180, who thought that Jubilees was written at Qumran), or even to the 1st Century CE (Dillmann, Rönsch). Charles argued that the rewriting of the Shechem episode of Gen 34 in Jub 30 reflects John Hyrcanus’ sacking of Samaria in 109 BCE. This is, however, far-fetched, as VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 240–241, showed. On Jubilees 30, see ch. 3.2 below. August Dillmann, “Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die kleine Genesis,” 88–94, dated Jubilees to the 1st Century CE since he saw that Jub was dependent on 1 Enoch (which he erroneously dated to 1st Century BCE) and that *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* (which he dated shortly after 70 CE) depended on Jub. Hermann Rönsch, *Buch der Jubiläen*, 529, saw also anti-Christian polemics in Jubilees. Generally, see VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 29.

¹²³ See esp. the influential analysis in VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 214–285.

¹²⁴ Translation by Geza Vermes, *Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 139 (emphasis his).

¹²⁵ Cecilia Wassen, “The Damascus Document (D),” in *T&T Clark Encyclopedia of Second Temple Judaism*, ed. Daniel Gurtner and Loren T. Stuckenbruck (London: T&T Clark, 2019), 1:142–145 (143), states that the document is commonly dated around 100 BCE, but there are signs of older literary layers. The oldest manuscript (4Q266) is dated around 75–50 BCE. On this, see Riitta Granroth, “Damaskon kirja (CD),” in *Kuolleenmeren kirjakääröt: Kriittinen suomennosvalikoima*, ed. Raija Sollamo & Mika S. Pajunen (Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 2017), 53–75 (53).

¹²⁶ Devorah Dimant, “Two ‘Scientific’ Fictions: The So-Called *Book of Noah* and the Alleged Quotation of Jubilees in CD 16:3–4,” in *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, and the Septuagint Presented to Eugene Ulrich*, ed. Emanuel Tov and James C. VanderKam, VTSup 101 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 230–249 (242–248), has argued that CD does not refer to Jubilees, but her arguments are not convincing. See also Devorah Dimant, “What is the ‘Book of the Divisions of the Times?’” in *History, Ideology and Bible Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Collected Studies*, FAT 90 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 369–383. For a critique against Dimant, see VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 99–101. To add two critical remarks further, when (“allegedly”) referring to Jubilees, CD (XVI, 6) mentions that Abraham did circumcise himself immediately after he became aware

The *terminus post quem* is, however, more difficult to determine. In the following, I deal with few of the main proposals scholars have given for the dating of Jubilees.

(1) *Gymnasion in Jerusalem*. Jubilees 3:30–31 states that God permitted Adam to cover his shame, and that for that reason Israelites are not to “uncover themselves as the nations uncover themselves.” Moreover, Jubilees 7:20 also states that the sons of Noah should “cover the shame of their bodies.” Along with other scholars, I take this as a polemic against the high priest Jason, who arguably established a *gymnasion* where the youth could exercise naked (1 Macc 1:14; 2 Macc 4:11). Although nakedness was also otherwise prohibited, the possible existence of a *gymnasion* is the only situation in Jewish history when such a prohibition could be emphasized against the practice of other nations.¹²⁷ Thus, one possible *terminus post quem* is 175 BCE when Jason was installed into the office of high priesthood.

(2) *The Maccabean Revolt* (167–160 BCE). One argument, which has been used in two ways is whether Jubilees shows any knowledge of Antiochos IV Epiphanes, his edicts and/or the Maccabean revolt, or not. Much of the argumentation is dependent on the analysis of the Jubilees Apocalypse in Jubilees 23 which, due its apocalyptic nature, is difficult to analyse. For example, Robert Charles saw in Jubilees 23:20–21¹²⁸ references to Judas Maccabeus’ effort to bring Jewish apostates back during the 160s BCE (he refers to 1 Macc 6:55–62; 7:21–25) or to the treaty made in 162 BCE giving permission for the Jews to follow their laws again.¹²⁹ Many other scholars have followed Charles in seeing echoes of the Maccabean uprising and an even later reflection on their failure to

of such a commandment, something which is also stated in Jub 15:24 (On this, see further ch. 4.2.4 below). Moreover, Jubilees fairly often and quite carefully recounts the times with which Israelites go astray (e.g., Jub 6:32–38). Although Jubilees does not use the “sectarian” term blindness, as CD 16:2, the content found in Jubilees agrees with the intention of CD.

¹²⁷ Louis Finkelstein, “Pre-Maccabean Documents in the Passover Haggadah (II),” *HTR* 36 (1943): 1–38 (19–20), who, however, refers to Jub 7:20 and not to 3:31. See, further, VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 245–246; *idem*, *Jubilees*, 32–33; Klaus Berger, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, JSRZ 2.3 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1981), 300; George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 73; Todd R. Hanneken, *The Subversion of the Apocalypses in the Book of Jubilees*, EJL 34 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), 276–277. *Contra* Solomon Zeitlin, “The Book of ‘Jubilees’ and the Pentateuch,” *JQR* 48.2 (1957): 218–235 (222–223), who argued that also the Pentateuch is against nakedness. Zeitlin (in his previous article from 1939) is followed by William F. Albright, *From Stone Age to Christianity: Monotheism and the Historical Process* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1940), 266–267, who dates the work to the early 3rd Century BCE due its alleged “pre-Hellenistic” geographical and historical ideas.

¹²⁸ “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. 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 things of the holy one with the impure corruption of their contamination.” (Translation VanderKam, *Jubilees*).

¹²⁹ Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, lxiii, 147–148.

deal with the Jewish apostates after they got back in power in Jubilees 23:19–21.¹³⁰

Especially Todd R. Hanneken has discussed the possible historical references found in the Jubilees Apocalypse (Jub 23).¹³¹ For example, Hanneken argues that Jubilees 23:21 echoes Judah the Maccabean elevating himself in order to cheat, which fits 2 Maccabees 8:28. His guerilla tactics (1 Macc 5:24; 7:11, 30; but also Menelaus in 2 Macc 5:5 and Jason in 2 Macc 5:7) could be echoed by the phrase “those who escape” in the same verse (Jub 23:21). Hanneken also suggests that the nations killing “indiscriminately and extensively” (Jub 23:23) would be “metonymy for the general time in which Seleucid forces were present in Judea, throughout the 160s,” with possible focus on the invasions of Bacchides and Alcimus in 161–160 BCE.¹³² A case to the point is Jubilees 23:22–23 and 1 Maccabees 7:16–17 which both allude to Psalm 79. Among Hanneken’s other findings are that both Jubilees 23:18 and 1 Maccabees refer to famines (1 Macc 6:54; 9:24; 162 BCE and 160 BCE respectively) and, moreover, that according to 1 Maccabees there came a sudden peace in 159 BCE, which seems to have lasted until 152 BCE. Thus, 159 BCE presents the *terminus post quem* for Hanneken whereas 152 BCE is set as *terminus ante quem* since Jubilees does not betray any knowledge of Jonathan claiming the high priesthood.¹³³

Louis Finkelstein, by contrast, sees no references to the edicts of Antiochos IV Epiphanes and so he sets the *terminus ante quem* to 167 BCE.¹³⁴ Here, he is followed by George Nickelsburg, who similarly sees no references to the person of Antiochos IV in Jubilees 23, and therefore prefers dating the book to 168 BCE.¹³⁵

The problem with Jubilees 23 is that the whole chapter is elusive and filled with biblical phraseology. First and foremost, the chapter is an exegesis on Psalm 90, Isaiah 65–66 and Deuteronomy 28–30.¹³⁶ This, as well as its rather general depiction of a general “social collapse,” as put by Robert Doran¹³⁷ makes the

¹³⁰ E.g., Martin Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus: Studien zu ihrer Begegnung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Palästinas bis zur Mitte des 2. Jh.s. v. Chr.*, 3rd ed., WUNT 1.10 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1988), 103, 411 (esp. n. 685); followed by Berger, *Jubiläen*, 300. Similarly Hanneken, *Subversion*, 278–284.

¹³¹ Hanneken, *Subversion*. For the following, see esp. pp. 278–284.

¹³² Both quotations from Hanneken, *Subversion*, 280.

¹³³ Cf. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 252–254.

¹³⁴ Finkelstein, “Pre-Maccabean Documents,” 21.

¹³⁵ Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 73. Moreover, he understands several prohibitions of practices, such as the already discussed nudity, but also uncircumcision (Jub 15:33–34), lunar calendar (Jub 6:35), intermarriage (*passim*), idolatry (Jub 20:7–9; 22:16–18) and blood consumption (Jub 6:12–14; 7:30; 21:6) to be important *halakic* matters which are the laws that will be studied again (Jub 23:26) and which will then bring fortune back to the land. Since these matters were crucial during the late 170s, he dates Jubilees to 168 BCE.

¹³⁶ James L. Kugel, “The Jubilees Apocalypse,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 1.3 (1994): 322–337; VanderKam, “Psalm 90 and Isaiah 65 in Jubilees 23;” James M. Scott, *On Earth as in Heaven: The Restoration of Sacred Time and Sacred Space in the Book of Jubilees*, JSJSup 91 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 115–117.

¹³⁷ Robert Doran, “The Non-Dating of Jubilees: Jub 34–38; 23:14–32 in Narrative Context,” *JSJ* 20.1 (1989): 1–11 (7–10): “the language of the catastrophe in Jub 23:16–21 is language designed to

apocalypse more evasive for mining historical allusions. However, the usage of Psalm 79 in both Jubilees and 1 Maccabees could support the identification of events depicted in Jubilees 23 with certain events that occurred during the Maccabean period. Also, as VanderKam has emphasized, along with many others (e.g., Nickelsburg, Hanneken, and Hengel), the general thrust regarding the *halakic* matters seems to imply that the book was written during the critical situation between 170–150s.¹³⁸ These include the prohibition against being naked, uncircumcision, sabbath observance, and the general negative attitude towards possible Hellenization. Moreover, the basic idea of Jubilees is not to portray history *per se* or indeed name any historical figures; the book is all about the events up to Sinai. Therefore, it is no surprise that its language is not designed to emphasize “the parties and politics of the Maccabean period”¹³⁹ *per se*. Instead, it might be an apocalyptic exegetical commentary on the recent historical situations in the mould of Deuteronomic theology (esp. Deut 28–30), Isaiah 65–66, and Psalm 90. The elusiveness, however, makes it difficult, if not impossible, to date the book in a more detailed way.

Certain scholars have also argued that Jacob’s war against the Amorites in Jubilees 34, and his struggle with Esau in Jubilees 37–38, reflect the wars of Judas Maccabeus. Their main argument is that the scenery contains geographical details that are parallel to the activities of Judas in 1 Maccabees 5. Here, the view of Charles was dominant up to VanderKam’s first studies on Jubilees.¹⁴⁰ This argument was, however, found weak by Nickelsburg in his review of VanderKam’s *Textual and Historical Studies* (1977),¹⁴¹ and later Robert Doran demonstrated how both Jubilees 34 and 37–38 should first and foremost be read

emphasize general social collapse, not the parties and politics of the Maccabean period.” (p. 10).

¹³⁸ Eberhard Schwarz, *Identität durch Abgrenzung: Abgrenzungsprozesse in Israel im 2. vorchristlichen Jahrhundert und ihre traditionsgeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Erforschung des Jubiläenbuches*, Europäische Hochschulschriften 23.162 (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1982), argues that Jubilees was written during the reign of Antiochos IV Epiphanes, and is a polemic against philohellenic Jews and Seleucid leaders. In my opinion, his arguments are in the end too vague to give an exact dating, but it conforms with the view of Nickelsburg and others in dating it somewhere around 170–150 BCE.

¹³⁹ Doran, “Non-Dating,” 10.

¹⁴⁰ Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, lxii–lxiii, 200–201, 214–221; VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 217–238, who although saw Jub 34 to be too vague an argument, but Jub 37–38 makes the case stronger for this identification. See also Hanneken, *Subversion*, 277.

¹⁴¹ George W. E. Nickelsburg, review of *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, by James C. VanderKam, *JAOS* 100.1 (1980): 83–84; cf. *idem*, *Jewish Literature*, 73.

in their narrative contexts.¹⁴² Here, also VanderKam has changed his view.¹⁴³ Thus, Jubilees 34; 37–38 cannot be used to date Jubilees.¹⁴⁴

(3) *Literary dependence on other known texts.* August Dillmann argued that Jubilees is dependent on 1 Enoch, although his dating of 1 Enoch to the first Century BCE led him to date Jubilees incorrectly to the first Century CE.¹⁴⁵ VanderKam has maintained that Jubilees 4:16–25, and 7:22 indicate that the author had some sort of knowledge of the Enochic books. The comparison with the *Book of Dreams* (1 Enoch 83–90) is the most vital given the other points of reference for dating argued above. If the author was acquainted with the *Book of Dreams*, either in its present form or in a hypothetical earlier form, then the *terminus post quem* is either 172 (hypothetical earlier form) or 164 BCE.¹⁴⁶

This view has been challenged by Jacques van Ruiten, who argues that no verbal parallels between Jubilees 4:16–25 and the *Book of Dreams* are to be found, although few more vague parallels can be discerned. Moreover Jubilees 7:22 is according to van Ruiten closer to the *Book of Watchers* (1 Enoch 7:2). According to him, the thematic parallels are best explained by common traditions behind the Enochic books and Jubilees. Thus, one should not use the *Book of Dreams* in dating Jubilees, since there is too little evidence to show that Jubilees was dependent on the *text* of *Book of Dreams*.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴² Robert Doran, “Non-Dating,” 1–11. Furthermore, *if* Jub 23:20–21 reflects the Maccabees in a negative way, *and* Jub 50:12 seems to oppose fighting on the sabbath, which is in direct opposition to 1 Macc 2:41, then why would the same author highlight (in an indirect way) Judas Maccabeus in Jub 34; 37–38? Indeed, either Jub 50:12 reflects a date for Jubilees before the Maccabean revolt, and that the view on this matter changed later due the experienced depicted in 1 Macc 2, or then both Jub 23:20–21 and 50:12 show a certain dislike against the Maccabees and their efforts. Both these options exclude the possibility that Judas Maccabeus would have been depicted favourably in Jub 34; 37–38.

¹⁴³ James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 20: “If events from earliest Maccabean times are echoed in *Jubilees* (and the point is merely possible, *not certain*) [my emphasis]”; he shows even more caution in his fresh commentary in *idem*, *Jubilees*, 33–34, 926–928, 999–1001. Hanneken, *Subversion*, 277 n. 43, by contrast, finds Doran’s literary analysis unconvincing, but gives no arguments for his judgment.

¹⁴⁴ Thus, also the dating proposed by Doron Mendels, *The Land of Israel as a Political Concept in Hasmonean Literature: Recourse to History in Second Century B. C. Claims to the Holy Land*, TSAJ 13 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1987), 57–88, the 120s BCE, mainly with the help of the depiction of Jacob-Esau hostilities in Jubilees (pp. 75–82) cannot be accepted. Mendels’ attitude to the book itself is also to search for “a historical meaning” which “can be discerned behind many of the departures from the canonical stories” (p. 59). Mendels is followed by John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: Messianism in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 93–94; *idem*, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, 3rd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016), 105–106.

¹⁴⁵ Dillmann, “Buch der Jubiläen,” 88–94.

¹⁴⁶ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 34–35. That the *Book of Dreams* also had an earlier version is argued by George W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36, 81–108*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 360–361.

¹⁴⁷ Jacques van Ruiten, “A Literary Dependency of Jubilees on 1 Enoch?” in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 90–93; *idem*, “A Literary Dependency of *Jubilees* on 1 Enoch? A Reassessment of a Thesis of J. C. VanderKam,” *Henoch* 26 (2004): 205–209. Van Ruiten’s hesitation on Jubilees’

VanderKam answered Jacques van Ruiten briefly in his contribution to *Enoch and Qumran Origins* (2005), where he admits that textual parallels are hard to find. However, the thematic parallels abound so much that Jubilees 4:19–25 can be understood as referring to extant *works* labelled as Enochic works on astronomy (Jub 4:17, 21), chronology (Jub 4:18) and predictive information (Jub 4:19). For VanderKam, it is “more economical to assume dependence on these written sources than to appeal unknown ones.”¹⁴⁸

Van Ruiten’s critique must be taken seriously: it is difficult to point to exact parallels between the texts. Certainly, the author of Jubilees was acquainted with different Enochic traditions, both oral and written. These might or might not include those books that scholars have reconstructed from 1 Enoch. That there seems to be general dependency on Enochic traditions, however, confirms the date of Jubilees to the second Century BCE. This includes earlier Enochic books, such as the *Book of Watchers* and the *Astronomical Book*. Because the *Book of Dreams* is the *crux* in giving a *terminus post quem* to Jubilees, the problem remains as to whether it has been updated. Thus, *if* Jubilees knew the *Book of Dreams*, it could have known that work only in its hypothetical earlier form. In my opinion, the use of the *Book of Dreams* in dating Jubilees is, thus, too shallow.

Other important parallel texts which have some relationship with Jubilees are the *Aramaic Levi Document* (ALD) and *Genesis Apocryphon*. Here, the debate goes in different ways.¹⁴⁹ Regarding ALD, many scholars regard it either as a source of Jubilees or that both of them use common traditions.¹⁵⁰ One dissident voice in this regard has been James Kugel, who has argued that ALD is (in its latest form) dependent on Jubilees and not *vice versa*.¹⁵¹ The main bulk of shared traditions

dependency on the earlier Enochic books need not detain us here, since they are often dated to an earlier period than the points of reference given above. On these early Enochic books and their relation to Jubilees, see John S. Bergsma, “The Relationship between Jubilees and the Early Enochic Books (Astronomical Book and Book of the Watchers),” in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini & Giovanni Ibba (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 36–51; James M. Scott, “The Chronologies of the Apocalypse of Weeks and the Book of Jubilees,” in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini & Giovanni Ibba (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 67–81.

¹⁴⁸ James C. VanderKam, “Response: Jubilees and Enoch,” in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 162–170 (163–164). Surprisingly, VanderKam does not deal with van Ruiten’s arguments in his commentary (*Jubilees*, 34–35).

¹⁴⁹ See generally VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 90–94.

¹⁵⁰ For the view that both use a common source, see Robert A. Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest: The Levi-Priestly Tradition from Aramaic Levi to Testament of Levi*, EJL 9 (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1996), 139–169; VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 90–93; For the view that ALD functions as a source to Jubilees, see Esther Eshel, “The Aramaic Levi Document, the Genesis Apocryphon, and Jubilees: A Study of Shared Traditions,” in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini & Giovanni Ibba (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 82–98. See also the edition and commentary by Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone, and Esther Eshel, eds., *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary*, SVTP 19 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 19–20, who argue for the dependency of Jubilees on ALD.

¹⁵¹ Kugel, *Walk through*, 343–364.

are found in ALD 4:9–5:8¹⁵² and the parallel in Jubilees 31–32, which deal with Levi’s vision, Jacob’s voyage to Isaac, Isaac’s blessing of Levi and events in Bethel where Levi functions as a priest. A second is Isaac’s instructions on priestly matters to Levi in ALD 6–10 with a parallel in Abraham’s instructions to Isaac in Jubilees 21. Since ALD is usually dated to the third Century BCE or early second Century BCE, the work is not helpful in dating Jubilees.¹⁵³

Regarding Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20=1QapGen), the debate is still ongoing.¹⁵⁴ Both works share many similar traits but also have many differences.¹⁵⁵ One of the main proponents for the view that Genesis Apocryphon was a source for Jubilees is Esther Eshel.¹⁵⁶ According to her, the *mappa mundi* of Genesis Apocryphon still retains the older Ionian map on which it is based. The map in Genesis Apocryphon has its centre in Delphi, whereas the map in Jubilees has its centre in Jerusalem. Thus, Genesis Apocryphon contains an older map, utilized, and changed by the author of Jubilees. Here, Eshel especially refers to 1QapGen XVII, 10 and the “eastern sea” (ים מדינהא) which she identifies as the present-day Sea of Azov (the same as Jubilees’ Mauq sea in Jub 8:22, 26). However, Daniel Machiela has shown quite clearly that the “eastern sea in the north” in 1QapGen XVII, 10–11 refers to the Caspian Sea, as the ancient lake Maeotis (sea

¹⁵² Regarding ALD, I follow the numbering of Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, eds., *Aramaic Levi Document*.

¹⁵³ To note, I find Kugel’s analysis and hypothesis of the compositional history of ALD a convincing case (Two visions, of which “Levi’s Apocryphon” was first influenced by exegetical traditions related to Mal 2:4–7, a later “Levi’s Priestly Initiation” which reworked the previous “Levi’s Apocryphon,” and latest ALD in its [modernly] reconstructed form, where it might have used Jubilees as a source), but the situation with ALD is complicated. Because we have other compelling reasons to date Jubilees to the early 2nd Century BCE, and the majority consensus of dating ALD is towards the 3rd or early 2nd Century BCE, we do not need to detain us here. The relationship between these works, however, might play a role in analysis of Jub 30–32 given in ch. 3 in this study.

¹⁵⁴ See the discussion in Daniel A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon: A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13–17*, STDJ 79 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 13–17; James C. VanderKam, “Some Thoughts on the Relationship between the Book of Jubilees and the Genesis Apocryphon,” in *Is There a Text in This Cave? Studies in the Textuality of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of George J. Brooke*, ed. Ariel Feldman, Maria Cioatã, and Charlotte Hempel, STDJ 119 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 371–384. One quite convincing argument against the primacy of Genesis Apocryphon was that its Aramaic was linguistically dated to the 1st Century BCE, and therefore it cannot predate Jubilees and function as a source for it. Machiela, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 137–140, shows, however, how the Aramaic can very well be dated to the 2nd Century BCE. Two arguments against the previous analyses are compelling: (1) many traits in 1QapGen earlier thought to be a later development are now found in earlier Aramaic texts at Qumran; (2) the relative dating with the help of the Biblical Aramaic (=BA) of Daniel has not taken into account that the majority of the Aramaic parts of Daniel are often linguistically dated to the 3rd Century BCE, although the Book of Daniel in its present form is dated to the middle of the 2nd Century BCE. Thus, using BA as a relative argument (i.e., that the Aramaic of 1QapGen is later than BA of Daniel) does not exclude dating the Genesis Apocryphon to the early 2nd Century BCE.

¹⁵⁵ VanderKam, “Some Thoughts,” 374–379, gives a good summary of the similarities and differences between the two works.

¹⁵⁶ Eshel, “Aramaic Levi Document.”

of Azov) can be read with “relative certainty” in 1QapGen XVI, 16 (ים מאזוּתא).¹⁵⁷ Moreover, the Mauq sea in Jubilees is not to be identified with the Sea of Azov, since the Me’at Sea (Jub 8:12, 27; 9:8) is clearly the Sea of Azov in Jubilees.¹⁵⁸ Thus, the *mappa mundi* in Genesis Apocryphon does not have Delphi as its centre. Therefore, the argument given by Eshel loses its main ingredient, too.

Eshel gives other arguments for her view that Jubilees is dependent on Genesis Apocryphon, which, however, are less decisive.¹⁵⁹ The main argument for the view that Genesis Apocryphon would be utilized by Jubilees is that Jubilees’ account on the *mappa mundi* is more detailed. This does not, however, make it clear that Genesis Apocryphon would be older of the two.¹⁶⁰

Regarding the relationship between Jubilees and Genesis Apocryphon, however, I am keener to follow James Kugel’s lead. He has demonstrated convincingly how Genesis Apocryphon shows a development of different exegetical motifs that are lacking in Jubilees. Therefore, Genesis Apocryphon should be dated after Jubilees.¹⁶¹ The main argument of Kugel lies in that the author of Jubilees was, as will also be shown in this study, a very clever exegete indeed. He used many different exegetical traditions and most probably created few fresh ones. If Genesis Apocryphon had been one source text for many of Jubilees’ exegeses, then why would the author of Jubilees have disregarded such exegetical motivations which could have helped him in his overall task and purpose? In Kugel’s words,

The *Apocryphon* contains at least nine exegetical motifs listed above that could, and possibly would, have served well the purposes of the author of *Jubilees*, yet not one of them found its way into his book; at the same time, *Jubilees* contains

¹⁵⁷ Machiela, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 124 (esp. n. 176).

¹⁵⁸ Machiela, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 107–108, 114; VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 371–372. The name of the Mauq sea and its identification is itself somewhat problematic. I find the proposal by VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 378–379, plausible, namely that the name is based on the verb מִחַק “destroy,” given that everything that goes there will be destroyed (Jub 8:22). Machiela, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 114, understands it to refer to the northern parts of the Sea of Atel in Jub 8:22, which is generally identified as the Atlantic.

¹⁵⁹ Eshel, “Aramaic Levi Document,” 89–91. Cf. the analysis of the *mappa mundi* in both Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees in Machiela, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 117–130. One should bear in mind that the word for mountain in both Jub 9:5–6 and 1QapGen XVII, 10 is in sg. (*contra* Machiela, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 117–118).

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Machiela, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 130, who is of the opinion that if one’s arguments are based on the maps, then Genesis Apocryphon would be earlier, but the author of Apocryphon also could have utilized an earlier map. The conclusion of his study on Genesis Apocryphon is that it and Jubilees “do not appear dependently related such that one drew directly from the other, and this should exhort the utmost care in using their parallel passages for relative dating.” (141).

¹⁶¹ Kugel, *Walk through*, 305–342. Similarly van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 117: “When comparing the different natures of *Jubilees* and the *Genesis Apocryphon*, it is difficult to imagine that the author of *Jubilees* was familiar with the rewriting of the story in the *Genesis Apocryphon*. If he had been, he would without doubt have used many of the harmonizing explicit statements. Therefore, in this part of the text [i.e., 1QapGen XIX, 8–XXII, 26 and Jub 13] we can rule out a direct dependency of *Jubilees* on the *Genesis Apocryphon*.” Van Ruiten is hesitant to draw many conclusions but proposes that Genesis Apocryphon is also non-dependent upon Jubilees.

no exegetical motifs that are *not* found in the *Apocryphon* in the sections that parallel the *Jubilees* narrative. This fact certainly strengthens the conclusion that, if one of these sources borrowed from the other, it was the *Apocryphon* that borrowed from *Jubilees*.¹⁶²

In the following I exemplify this with few examples raised by Kugel.¹⁶³ When the author of *Jubilees* is eager to name all the wives people are marrying, why does he not include Noah's daughters and granddaughters (cf. 1QapGen VI, 8–9)?¹⁶⁴ Moreover, why would the author of *Jubilees* omit the “carrying out” motif (i.e., Abram *expressis verbis* does as is commanded) in those stories told of Abram in 1QapGen XXI, 15–19; XXII, 24–26?¹⁶⁵ It becomes very odd that the author disregarded such a motif that would have been useful for him, when apparently these two texts share even similar names that are either invented or inherited from tradition.¹⁶⁶ Furthermore, given the apologetic nature of the author of *Jubilees* considering the flaws of the patriarchs in Genesis, why does the author tell of Noah's drunkenness but not utilize the possibility to understand the phrase ויגל בתוך אהלו (Gen 9:21) in such a way that “it was revealed (to Noah) in the midst of his tent,” as seems to be the case in 1QapGen XIII–XV?

Thus, I find it difficult, if not impossible, to use Genesis Apocryphon in discerning *terminus post quem* for *Jubilees*. Either both utilized common sources and exegetical traditions that were “in the air” or then Genesis Apocryphon used *Jubilees* as its source.¹⁶⁷ That *Jubilees* used Genesis Apocryphon is the least probable option.

To summarize, a certain *terminus ante quem* is given by the Damascus Document and 4Q216, which already make the late 2nd Century BCE dating problematic. A quite certain *terminus post quem* is given by the start of Jason's high priesthood in 175 BCE. Thus, the work was quite certainly written between 175–125 BCE. Other than that, the arguments become less certain, and are mostly dependent on the analysis of the *Jubilees* Apocalypse in *Jubilees* 23 and whether one can find allusions to or reflections on the hectic situation in Palestine during this period. I find it possible that such allusions can be found. I am, however, hesitant to say anything more than that *Jubilees* was written somewhere in the middle of the second Century BCE. A date after the 150s, seems

¹⁶² Kugel, *Walk through*, 326.

¹⁶³ See Kugel, *Walk through*, 305–325, for a more thorough discussion. Regarding how long Sarai stayed with the pharaoh in Egypt (a motif that I have excluded from the discussion), see, however, the refutation by VanderKam, “Some Thoughts,” 379–382.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 94; *idem*, “Some Thoughts,” 382–384.

¹⁶⁵ Indeed, Jub 14:5 adds that Abram *did* look at the sky (cf. Gen 15:1–6; the text in 1QapGen breaks during the scene), but he is not told to have walked through the land in Jub 13:21 (cf. Gen 13:17 and 1QapGen XXI, 15–19). If *Jubilees* had known the tradition in 1QapGen XXI, 15–19, surely he would have at least paraphrased it!

¹⁶⁶ See briefly the similarities between *Jubilees* and Genesis Apocryphon in VanderKam, “Some Thoughts,” 374–376.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Machiela, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 8–17, 141; VanderKam, “Some Thoughts,” 384.

to me, however, unlikely, as the possible historical allusions (which are indeed quite uncertain) in Jubilees 23 seem to end at the beginning of that decade.¹⁶⁸

1.6 Theory and Method

Having surveyed the recent approaches to the textual history of Jubilees, the composition of Jubilees as well as the dating of Jubilees, it is time to present the theoretical framework for the study at hand. In this subchapter, I outline the theoretical framework as well as the methodology which is utilized in the case studies in chapters 2–4 when I seek answer to the research questions presented at the beginning of this introduction.

1.6.1 Rewritten Bible, and Jubilees as Rewritten Bible

Since Geza Vermes coined the term the “Rewritten Bible” in his *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies* over 60 years ago, the Book of Jubilees has been at the centre of the discussion on what is actually meant by the term, since the work is often taken as a Rewritten Bible *par excellence*.¹⁶⁹ The debate consists mainly of whether the term is to be seen first and foremost as an *interpretive process*, a technique, which can be discerned in many different texts in various forms and/or genres,¹⁷⁰ or whether the “Rewritten Bible” is *a distinct form* or

¹⁶⁸ Cf. VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 37–38, who also gives 175–125 BCE as the certain range, and “perhaps the 150s” as the most likely date for the work.

¹⁶⁹ Geza Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies*, StPB 4 (Leiden: Brill, 1961).

¹⁷⁰ See here especially the SRB-series by Åbo Akademi University -based Network for the Study of the Reception History of the Bible and their more methodological approaches in Erkki Koskenniemi & Pekka Lindqvist, “Rewritten Bible, Rewritten Stories: Methodological Aspects,” in *Rewritten Bible Reconsidered: Proceedings of the Conference in Karkku, Finland August 24–26*, ed. Antti Laato & Jacques van Ruiten, SRB 1 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 11–39; Erkki Koskenniemi, “Legal Texts Rewritten? Some Methodological Aspects,” in *Holy Places and Cult*, ed. Erkki Koskenniemi & J. Cornelis de Vos, SRB 5 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2014), 27–50; Antti Laato, “Gen 48:8–12 and Its Interpretation in Antiquity: A Methodological Approach to Understanding of the Rewritten Bible,” in *Rewritten Biblical Figures*, ed. Erkki Koskenniemi & Pekka Lindqvist, SRB 3 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2010), 1–26; *idem*, “Interpreting the Hebrew Bible with Different Hermeneutical Models: A Contribution to Jewish and Christian Exegesis,” in *Voces Clamantium in Deserto: Essays in Honor of Kari Syreeni*, ed. Sven-Olav Back and Matti Kankaanniemi, Studier i exegetik och judaistik utgivna av Teologiska fakulteten vid Åbo Akademi 11 (Åbo: Åbo Akademi, 2012), 163–183; *idem*, “Hezekiah in the rewritten version of the Book of Isaiah, Targum Isaiah,” in *Take Another Scroll and Write: Studies in the Interpretive Afterlife of Prophets and Prophecy in Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, ed. Pekka Lindqvist & Sven Grebenstein, SRB 6 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2016), 111–137. The Åbo Akademi University team was more in keen to understand the Rewritten Bible as a modern meta-level concept coined by modern authors in order to understand the phenomenon in antiquity. They also emphasized the interpretive process of “rewriting the bible.” The problem of the term itself was noted, however, as the series changed its name from “Studies in Rewritten Bible” into “Studies in the Reception History of the Bible” from volume 5 onwards in order to note the more general approach in the “afterlife” of the biblical texts present in the series. See also Valve, *Early Modes of Exegesis*, 18–22.

genre.¹⁷¹ Moreover, even if the term is to be understood as a genre, it has been inquired as to whether that genre is *etic* or *emic*; that is, whether “Rewritten Bible” is a distinct genre in antiquity or whether it is a genre which is now labelled as a genre by modern scholars but which the readers in antiquity did not observe as a genre in its own regard. Other aspects have also been debated. Is the term the “Rewritten Bible” anachronistic itself? Should “Bible” be replaced with “Scripture?” Should the analysis of the “Rewritten Bible” be restricted to haggadic or narrative texts and, thus, not extend to *halakic* or legal texts?¹⁷²

Changing “Bible” to “Scripture” does not change the meaning that much. Both terms can be used when referring to an authoritative body of scriptures, with no clear-cut lines. This is perhaps more so with “Scripture,” but I do think every scholar can understand that when we are talking about the “Bible” in Second Temple Judaism, there was no single canon with clear-cut borders. However, certain writings were considered authoritative, and the process of canonization had already begun even though it had not yet been fully completed. Josephus (*Contra Apionem* 1.38–41), Philo (*Contempl.* 25), and even Qumran writings witness this process.¹⁷³ At least the body of the Pentateuch was certainly

¹⁷¹ That Vermes had certain works in mind which he labelled as Rewritten Bible is certain, as he mentions Jubilees, Genesis Apocryphon, *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* as such works (Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition*, 95). In retrospective, he also emphasized that there was an interpretive process going on which results in a literary genre, Geza Vermes, “The Genesis of the Concept of ‘Rewritten Bible,’” in *Rewritten Bible after Fifty Years: Texts, Terms, or Techniques? – A Last Dialogue with Geza Vermes*, ed. József Zsengellér, JSJSup 166 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 3–9 (8). Moshe J. Bernstein, “‘Rewritten Bible’: A Generic Category Which Has Outlived its Usefulness?” in *Reading and Re-Reading Scripture at Qumran*, STDJ 107 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 39–62 (61), emphasizes the distinction between the process of “rewriting the Bible” and the genre of “Rewritten Bible.” See also Molly Zahn, “Genre and Rewritten Scripture: A Reassessment,” *JBL* 131.2 (2012): 271–288; Jozef Tiño, “The Classification of Rewritten Scripture: A Plea for Retaining the Emic Perspective,” *JSJ* 49 (2018): 330–349. The terms “form” and “genre” have been used variously, which also causes problems. Valpey, *Early Modes of Exegesis*, 21–22.

¹⁷² For the inclusion of *halakic* and legal material into “Rewritten Bible,” see both Koskenniemi, “Legal Texts Rewritten?” and Bernstein, “‘Rewritten Bible.’”

¹⁷³ Also Geza Vermes, “The Genesis of the Concept of ‘Rewritten Bible,’” 8, takes Josephus as an example that there was a biblical canon in Palestine during the 1st Century CE, and perhaps even 1st Century BCE. Concerning Philo, it must be admitted that when talking about the *therapeutae*, he does not have the clear-cut threefold division as Karl-Gustav Sandelin, “Philo as a Jew,” in *Reading Philo: A Handbook to Philo of Alexandria*, ed. Torrey Seland (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2014), 19–46 (24), seems to argue for. I thank Sami Yli-Karjanmaa for this observation. Nonetheless, Philo himself does see the Torah consisting of five books, and this seems to be fixed. Moreover, he does not refer to any book other than the books found in the later Hebrew Bible (incl. Wisdom and Ben Sira). For Philo, however, the five books of Moses seem to function as the primary canon, and (if anachronistic usage is allowed) the other writings of the later Hebrew Bible are only deuterocanonical at best. He does not treat texts other than the Pentateuch as his main focus or main biblical lemma in his exegesis. On Philo’s exegetical method, see, e.g., David T. Runia, *Exegesis and Philosophy: Studies on Philo of Alexandria* (Variorum: Aldershot, 1990), 185–198. On Philo citing or alluding to Scripture, see Gregory E. Sterling, “The Interpreter of Moses: Philo of Alexandria and the Biblical Text,” in *A Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism*, ed. Matthias Henze (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 415–435 (424–427). Although Sterling dislikes the use of “canon” (p. 424), I do not see that big a difference between “canon” and “Scripture,” if we understand the term

considered as authoritative scripture. Therefore, it can be labelled “bible” or “scripture.”¹⁷⁴ That the textual form of these works was still fluid does not change their status and, therefore, I do not see any strong difference between “Rewritten Bible” and “Rewritten Scripture.” Using the term “Rewritten Bible” does not denote a watertight canon. For the author of Jubilees, in that matter, the Pentateuch, or Genesis and Exodus, is authoritative scripture, that is the Bible, which is being rewritten.

Moreover, I understand that those texts that scholars have labelled as the “Rewritten Bible” are a later development of inner-biblical exegesis.¹⁷⁵ In the case of Jubilees, it seems clear that it is not trying to *replace* Genesis or Pentateuch but rather to be an authoritative commentary on it. It still refers to the “words of the law” where the Angel (according to the Ethiopic version) has written more about what the Shechemites did to Dinah, citing Genesis 34:14 (Jub 30:12; cf. 2:24; 6:22).¹⁷⁶ It is of course possible that these references come from the written and oral sources the author utilized, but I regard that as improbable.¹⁷⁷

Instead, I propose the reason being the following, which also is true for lemmatic commentaries, though without as stark an effect. Jubilees does rewrite Genesis-Exodus in order to give an authoritative interpretation of the text with a distinct aim.¹⁷⁸ When reading or hearing Jubilees, the reader or the hearer is

“canon” in a looser way. See also the critique towards the *communis opinio* that there were no canon(s) during the Second temple period by Philip S. Alexander, “Textual Authority and the Problem of the Biblical Canon at Qumran,” in *Is There a Text in This Cave? Studies in the Textuality of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of George J. Brooke*, ed. Ariel Feldman, Maria Cioată, and Charlotte Hempel, STDJ 119 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 42–68. Cf. Martin Hengel, “Schriftauslegung’ und ‘Schriftwerdung’ in der Zeit des Zweiten Tempels,” in *Judaica, Hellenistica et Christiana: Kleine Schriften II*, WUNT 1.109 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 1–71 (8–12).

¹⁷⁴ Cf. already how the Chronist refers to the “book” or “Torah” of Moses or God (1 Chr 16:40 [cf. the LXX which adds ἐν χειρὶ Μωυσῆ τοῦ θεράποντος τοῦ θεοῦ]; 2 Chr 23:18; 25:4 [MT בספר משה; LXX τοῦ νόμου κυρίου]; 2 Chr 31:3; 35:12, 26; cf. Ezra 3:2; Neh 8:14, 15; 10:35, 37). Hengel, “Schriftauslegung,” 29–35: “man beruft sich auf die allseits anerkannte, in Schriftform vorliegende Tora, also auf nichts anderes als den Pentateuch.” (32). Cf. Gary N. Knoppers, “The Relationship of the Deuteronomistic History to Chronicles: Was the Chronicler a Deuteronomist?” in *Congress Volume Helsinki 2010*, ed. Martti Nissinen, VTSup 148 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 307–341 (312–316, 324–328).

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Sidnie White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times*, Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008). On inner-biblical exegesis, see the classic Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

¹⁷⁶ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 39.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Alexander, “Textual Authority,” 61–64, who contests the idea that rewriting would betray that the work was not canonical or authoritative. As he points out, “it is difficult to infer from Rewritten Bible texts themselves their attitude to their underlying text.” Rewriting itself means also that the text being rewritten is often deemed authoritative, since it is important enough to be rewritten in first place.

¹⁷⁸ For the general theology of Jubilees, see VanderKam, *Guide to Jubilees*, 120–134; *idem*, *Jubilees*, 39–84. By contrast, Rapp, *Jakob in Bet-El*, 4–8, situates himself against such an idea that, e.g., Jubilees would be “Sekundär bzw. Kommentarliteratur” (p. 8) to Genesis-Exodus.

drawn into the same world as Genesis and Exodus. If the reader or listener is already acquainted with Genesis and Exodus, he might very well notice the subtle changes, omissions, and additions. However, if the reader or listener is less well acquainted with these texts than modern scholars or their colleagues in Antiquity, the effect is that the stories modify what the reader or listener remembers and shapes his or her understanding of these previous texts. The next time the reader or listener (whether an elite level scribe or a modern scholar who lives in the world of the ancient texts, or one that is not that accustomed to them in this case is irrelevant) is confronted with Genesis and Exodus, he or she unconsciously starts to understand Genesis and Exodus in a way that is depicted in Jubilees. One cannot read Genesis or Exodus with the same lenses that one had before becoming acquainted with Jubilees. This is the *effect* of Jubilees, and perhaps also other texts categorized under the term the “Rewritten Bible.”¹⁷⁹ This is true even more so with the Targums when the knowledge of Hebrew (and thus the understanding of what is modified by the *meturgeman*) might not be available to the listener.¹⁸⁰

Whether the original audience of Jubilees did indeed categorize Jubilees as a different genre than, say, lemmatic commentaries, need not detain us in this study.¹⁸¹ The study at hand concerns the *rewriting*, the technique and the process, and the *uses and interpretations* made to the Jacob Story which can be discerned when comparing the rewritten version in Jubilees with the base text of Genesis. For this purpose, the methodology developed in the studies devoted to the “Rewritten Bible” on both sides of the debate is purposeful. The methodology utilized in this study is now presented.

¹⁷⁹ This is true for all biblical interpretation or to the “afterlife of biblical texts,” (Rewritten Bible in a broader sense), but even more so for those texts that have been categorized as Rewritten Bible in a narrower sense.

¹⁸⁰ It would be interesting for scholars to make an actual empirical study of people who have read the Bible during some point of their lives, to read or listen to Jubilees, and then ask how much they spotted the different details in the ways in which the author has changed the text of Genesis and Exodus which modern scholars both texts under their noses have (correctly) spotted.

A possible example for how “Rewritten Bible” can affect the reader is the biblical character, king Solomon. If one reads only 1 Kings, the picture of Solomon becomes quite negative: due his actions the nation became divided. If the story is read in the light of Chronicles (which does not mention the negative aspects of Solomon or his reign) and/or Qoheleth (as an apology meaning that Solomon did repent), however, the picture of Solomon becomes much more positive. If the reader or listener is acquainted only with Chronicles, then the picture is totally different. If he is *also* acquainted with 1 Kings afterwards, then it remains difficult not still to be influenced by Chronicles.

¹⁸¹ Possibly here is a difference, since Jubilees takes into itself the authority of angels and heavenly tablets, something which is not that often the case with commentaries. However, at Qumran, the more lemmatic *peshet* commentaries also take on themselves authorship of divine inspiration, and thus dictate the proper interpretation on the biblical texts that they comment.

1.6.2. “Rewritten Bible” and Reception History from a Methodological Perspective

The discussion on the “Rewritten Bible” above should be related to the reception historical perspective in general, which has gained much ground in the study of the Hebrew Bible in the last twenty years. Here, I follow the methodology developed by James Kugel concerning searching for motifs, and Jacques van Ruiten along with Erkki Koskenniemi and Pekka Lindqvist concerning the close reading from a synoptic point of view what has been changed between Genesis and Jubilees. Regarding criteria for identifying allusions, I follow Jeffery M. Leonard. I now present the methodological framework of the study and how it is followed in the following case studies.

Most of the study is based on a comparison of Genesis with Jubilees. When one starts such an endeavour the textual basis for the synoptic comparison must be addressed.¹⁸² In the case of Jubilees and Genesis, this is somewhat problematic, as we have many different textual witnesses of Genesis both in Hebrew and in daughter translations, and the Hebrew text of Jubilees mostly needs to be retroverted from Ge’ez via Greek to Hebrew.¹⁸³ As VanderKam has shown in his pivotal study, the basic text of Jubilees does not generally conform with any of the later textual forms of the Hebrew Bible (MT [consonants], LXX, Syriac, Latin, Ethiopic).¹⁸⁴ For practical purposes, the basis of the biblical text is the consonantal text of the MT, but other textual witnesses are taken into account in the discussion. The situation makes it clear, however, that we cannot be certain whether every difference between the texts is caused by the hand of the author of Jubilees or whether such difference is based more on the biblical text the author used as basis for his rewriting. As a rule of thumb, it is often more plausible to regard a minor variation from the MT which is, however, attested in other witnesses of Genesis (most often a certain LXX-tradition) as being dependent on the *Vorlage* of Hebrew Genesis that the author had in front of him when he rewrote the text. This means that such variations are most probably *not* the rewriting of the author *per se*; in such cases the author follows the base text he is rewriting. This rule of thumb must, however, always be checked individually and even then, it does not mean that we can be fully certain of such cases. In addition, the two translation phases from Hebrew to Greek and from Greek to Ge’ez (or Latin) probably caused variations. All this is discussed later when the synoptic comparison is conducted.

¹⁸² Koskenniemi & Lindqvist, “Rewritten Bible,” 23–27; Cf. van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 18.

¹⁸³ Regarding the textual history of Jubilees, see ch. 1.3 above. Retroversion is a difficult task and remains at best hypothetical, especially since we have the Greek translation in-between the Hebrew original and the extant Ge’ez version. See further, Tanskanen, “Deep Sleep.”

¹⁸⁴ VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 103–205. In this study, VanderKam followed the theory of local texts developed by William Foxwell Albright and Frank Moore Cross and concludes that the biblical material of Jubilees consisted of “early Palestinian text type.” (136–137). See, however, Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 155–190, and especially the comment that Qumran findings contradict “the logic of a theory of local texts” (p. 174). It is important to note that the Ethiopic version of Genesis has not affected the Ethiopic Jubilees.

When deemed necessary and useful, I present a synoptic comparison of Genesis and Jubilees in two columns. In these synoptic readings, the Hebrew of the MT is translated quite literally, as is the Ethiopic version of Jubilees. I have used NRSV as the basic English version of the Hebrew Bible, which I have modified to be more literal on the basis of the MT. The same goes with the English translation of Jubilees by VanderKam.¹⁸⁵ Sometimes the English translations made by me may seem clumsy and very un-English, but its main purpose is not to present a good translation of the original but rather a literal translation which makes the similarities and the differences of the texts visible also for a reader who is not acquainted with Hebrew, Greek, Ge'ez, Latin, or Syriac.

All deviations from the Ge'ez of Jubilees and discussion concerning different witnesses (Qumran mss., Latin) are mentioned in footnotes. These footnotes also include discussion of the different witnesses of the Hebrew Bible which might either explain the omission, addition or change in Jubilees, or a certain interpretation developed by Jubilees. The Ethiopic version of the Hebrew Bible is taken into account from a heuristic perspective: It gives the possibility to understand and compare how the Greek *Vorlage* of Genesis has been interpreted and translated in Ge'ez.¹⁸⁶ This can give a heuristic perspective on how the Ethiopic translator might have tackled his Greek *Vorlage* of Jubilees.

In these synoptic readings, I have followed the usage of Jacques van Ruiten in graphically highlighting similarities and differences between the two texts.¹⁸⁷ The text which corresponds exactly or almost fully to the compared text is given in normal script. The text which is found in one text but not in the other (omissions and additions) IS WRITTEN IN CAPITAL LETTERS. Small variations

¹⁸⁵ The translation of Jubilees is taken from VanderKam, *Jubilees*. In synoptic comparisons, the translation is modified to be more literal. Elsewhere in the text, the quotations are from VanderKam's translation, if not explicitly noted otherwise. It should be noted that both this newer translation as well as the previous English translation in James C. VanderKam, *Jubilees Translated*, are not actually direct translations of the Ethiopic Jubilees, but are translations of a text which VanderKam has built on the basis of the Ethiopic version but with changes he has made on the basis of the Latin version and of the Qumran fragments available at the time. The same is true for the German translation of Berger, *Jubiläen*. I am preparing a Finnish translation of Jubilees based on VanderKam's edition, which notes other versions in its comments, but remains a direct translation of the Ethiopic version.

¹⁸⁶ The Old Testament of the Ethiopic Bible is almost exclusively translated from Greek sources, although few scholars have not totally excluded the old thesis that there were also Syriac influences during the Aksumite period. No Hebrew influence is likely. See Knibb, *Translating the Bible*; contra Edward Ullendorff, *Ethiopia and the Bible*, The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1968 (London: Oxford University Press, 1968). Generally on the textual history and possible later influences via, e.g., Arabic, see Daniel Assefa et al, "The Textual History of the Ethiopic Old Testament Project (THEOT): Goals and Initial Findings," *Textus* 29 (2020): 80–110. No critical edition of the Ethiopic Bible has been published to date. See also Delamarter & Niccum & Lee, "Ethiopic Translation(s)." For the Ethiopic evidence, I have used two text modules in computer program *Accordance*: (1) "Ethiopic (Ge'ez) Old Testament," which includes Genesis-Ruth, 1 & 2 Samuel, and Psalms (basically the same as *Biblia Veteris Testament Aethiopica*, ed. August Dillmann et al.); and (2) "Mahibere Hawariyat Edition" which is the *textus receptus* form (19th and 20th Centuries) of the Ethiopic Bible, based on ms. IES 77.

¹⁸⁷ See van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 17–18; Cf. Koskenniemi & Lindqvist "Rewritten Bible," 27.

which are not omissions or additions are put in *italics*. Clear rearrangement of words, phrases or sentences are put in **bold**.

An analysis of the similarities and dissimilarities as well as reasons for them follows. This analysis has had to be done carefully. When observing the differences between the texts, a scholar might too hastily make the conclusion that every omission, or addition, is intentional. This would be a false conclusion. Omissions might be intentional or unintentional, and the same goes with smaller additions or even changes.¹⁸⁸

To complement synoptic readings, I have found the vast data collected by James Kugel regarding early biblical interpretation and reception history very useful. His approach to early reception history is also an important corrective to recent reception historical studies.¹⁸⁹ It is often emphasized in recent studies how the interpretations given to a certain biblical text are mostly context-based and have extra-textual reasons. This is of course true. It is, however, important to note that we are still dealing with *exegesis* or *interpretation*, which is triggered by a text and often influenced by earlier reception history of that text. This is true especially with what Kugel has labelled with *narrative expansions*, of which Jubilees abounds. These expansions are most often related to a certain detail in the biblical story and triggered exegetically.¹⁹⁰ Of course the expansions can, and often are, related to the historical situation of the ancient exegete, but this does not undermine the underlying exegetical nature of such expansions.

One good example of such a narrative expansion is the expansion of Jacob's two wars in Jubilees 34 and 37–38. As previously noted, when discussing the dating of Jubilees, these chapters were earlier read as legends related to the wars of the Maccabees or Hasmoneans. However, they are both narrative expansions based on one precise detail, which triggered the exegesis. In Genesis 48:22, Jacob states that he will give Joseph one שכם which he has taken from the hands of the Amorites with his bow sword and bow. The Hebrew word שכם can be interpreted as a mountain slope (ESV) or taken as a reference to the city of Shechem. The latter is the interpretation of the Greek translator (LXX Σικιμα). There is, however, no mention of a war against any Amorites in Genesis. This triggers the narrative expansion, where Jacob conquers the attacking Amorites in the fields of Shechem with his sword (Jub 34:1–9). Moreover, he kills his attacking brother Esau with a bow (Jub 37–38).¹⁹¹ Thus, the narrative expansion is exegetical in nature and should not be mined for historical details or allusions. Kugel presents a vast

¹⁸⁸ Koskeniemi & Lindqvist, "Rewritten Bible," 27–30, 36–38.

¹⁸⁹ James L. Kugel, *In Potiphar's House: The Interpretive Life of Biblical Texts* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1990); *idem*, *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible As It Was at the Start of the Common Era* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998); *idem*, *The Ladder of Jacob: Ancient Interpretations of the Biblical Story of Jacob and His Children* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).

¹⁹⁰ Kugel, *In Potiphar's House*, 4–6.

¹⁹¹ Atar Livneh, "With My Sword and Bow: Jacob as Warrior in Jubilees," in *Rewriting and Interpreting the Hebrew Bible: The Biblical Patriarchs in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Devorah Dimant and Reinhard G. Kratz, BZAW 439 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2013), 189–213.

number of similar interpretations from other works which also warn against taking every detail and deviation as having been implemented by the author for a certain extra-textual reason or motive.

That notwithstanding, the expansion is also *used* in a certain way by the author of Jubilees in the context of his rewriting of the Jacob Story of Genesis, as is shown in chapter 4 below. The magnifying glass must be raised higher from individual exegetical motifs in order to scrutinize the overall structure and thesis of the work, this time Jubilees.¹⁹² Therefore, this study also differs from those of Kugel, where he investigates the development and afterlife of individual exegetical motifs. Moreover, since the historical situation of the author is also taken into account in this study, relating the exegesis to the socio-religio-historical situation of the author is important too. Here, I find Pekka Lindqvist's definition of *confrontation criticism* helpful: "What is in the air in a particular era, with which the Jewish interpreter-mediator of the Bible is *confronted*."¹⁹³ This confrontation can be related to something in the air, which then consciously or unconsciously affects the use and interpretation of the Jacob Story, on the one hand, or the confrontation is related purely to the text itself (i.e., a certain detail which is, or is not, found in the text itself) on the other.

Since the author of Jubilees follows Genesis-Exodus quite faithfully, although he does make many deviations and changes also in the macrostructure, it is more difficult to determine precisely where he alludes to other biblical texts or passages. The question of what is meant by quotation, echo or allusion, and what the criteria for identifying them are, is also debated.¹⁹⁴ In this study, I follow the criteria developed by Jeffery M. Leonard on inner-biblical allusions.¹⁹⁵ His criteria can be used, *mutatis mutandis*, to identify biblical allusions too, especially since most often in some form or another the biblical texts predate Jubilees. Leonard proposes the following principles for establishing a link between two texts, which he then clarifies with the help of Psalm 78.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹² The magnifying glass is used as a metaphor by Pekka Lindqvist, *Sin at Sinai: Early Judaism Encounters Exodus 32*, SRB 2 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 18–21, when he discusses the hermeneutical approach of Kugel and Daniel Boyarin, on the one hand, and contrasts it with the historical or documentary approach by Jacob Neusner, on the other. Cf. Valve, *Early Modes of Exegesis*, 23–27.

¹⁹³ Lindqvist, *Sin at Sinai*, 23–24 (quotation from p. 24, emphasis original).

¹⁹⁴ Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 8–18, 285–288, speaks of the relationship between *traditio* and *tradtum*, but also touches on the problems of identifying them. Richard B. Hayes, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2016), differentiates between "quotation" (introduced by a citation formula or "features the verbatim reproduction of an extended chain of words, often a sentence or more, from the source text" [11]), "allusion" ("several words from the precursor text" or explicitly mentioning some "notable characters or events that signal the reader to make the intertextual connection" [11]) and "echo" (involving "inclusion of only a word or phrase that evokes... a reminiscence of an earlier text" [11]). Echo, the least distinct, only gives some extra for the reader or listener who notices it, whereas allusions and quotations are necessary parts for discerning the right message of the text.

¹⁹⁵ Jeffery M. Leonard, "Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions: Psalm 78 as a Test Case," *JBL* 127.2 (2008): 241–265.

¹⁹⁶ Leonard, "Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions," 246.

(1) Shared language is the most important factor in establishing a textual connection. (2) Shared language is more important than nonshared language.¹⁹⁷ (3) Shared language that is rare or distinctive suggests a stronger connection than does language that is widely used. (4) Shared phrases suggest a stronger connection than do individual shared terms. (5) The accumulation of shared language suggests a stronger connection than does a single shared term or phrase. (6) Shared language in similar contexts suggests a stronger connection than does shared language alone. (7) Shared language need not be accompanied by shared ideology to establish a connection. (8) Shared language need not be accompanied by shared form to establish a connection.

The most difficult methodological challenge this study has is the problem of shared language. As the Ethiopic Jubilees is a translation of a translation of the Hebrew, it is often difficult, if not impossible, to seek verbal agreements with Jubilees and a text other than Genesis, and sometimes it can even be difficult regarding Genesis. This is true especially concerning the thesis that Psalm 78 was important for the author in his rewriting of the Jacob Story, as I argue in chapter 2 below. Thus, the link must sometimes be addressed by searching for similar themes or ideas, even though this is more uncertain than the methodological guideline Leonard has offered. If the shared theme or idea is itself rare, it does give, however, more plausibility for the argument that a link between the texts under discussion exists.¹⁹⁸

1.7 Survey of Research

The study at hand concerns the Jacob Story of Jubilees which has been also investigated earlier, albeit from other perspectives. Therefore, I now present a short survey of research and show how my study is related to the previous scholarship on Jubilees.

The history of research on Jubilees has had two phases: Before and after the publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Before the DSS, interest towards Jubilees was mainly focused on *halakic* matters, dating and provenance.¹⁹⁹ The work gained more attention after the publication of the Jubilees Qumran-manuscripts (mostly 1994), as well as VanderKam's critical edition of the Ethiopic version along with an English translation (1989), mostly but not entirely based on the Ethiopic Jubilees, were published. This took place a decade after the Old Testament

¹⁹⁷ Non-shared language, however, is not a criterion for dismissing the allusion since there might be many reasons for the non-shared language. Most often the reason is that the author wants to reshape the allusion for his or her own purposes. Leonard, "Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions," 249–251.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. the third principle of Leonard that rare or distinctive shared language suggests a stronger connection.

¹⁹⁹ See Veronika Bachmann and Isaac W. Oliver, "The Book of Jubilees: A Bibliography, 1850–Present," in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 441–468. They also divide the bibliography into two sections, before and after Qumran.

Pseudepigrapha -project launched by James Charlesworth had already given new impetus on research on the pseudepigrapha, Jubilees included.²⁰⁰

Two important studies, published during the 1980s, partially dealt with the topic of this study. From the perspective of history of research, they are placed towards the beginning of the new interest in Jubilees, along with other pseudepigrapha, but before the critical edition by VanderKam (1989) and *editio princeps* of most of the DSS fragments (1994). In his published doctoral dissertation *Identität durch Abgrenzung: Abgrenzungsprozesse in Israel im 2. vorchristlichen Jahrhundert und ihre traditionsgeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen* *Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Erforschung des Jubiläenbuches* (1982), Eberhard Schwarz focused on Jubilees, having his starting point in the testament of Abraham to Jacob in Jubilees 22 and how the “delimitation process” (*Abgrenzungsprozesse*) was negotiated in Jubilees.²⁰¹ He then surveyed the tradition history of that delimitation process and its *Wirkungsgeschichte* from the pre-exilic period to Hellenistic period, with the result that the prohibition of making pacts (*Vertragsverbot*) is pre-exilic and inherent in the earliest instances of covenant traditions, whereas the commandment to separate oneself from other nations (*Aus- und Absonderung*) is post-exilic. In his opinion, these tradition-historically two different types of delimitation processes were developed together further by Jubilees. He connects his findings with the *Sitz im Leben* of Jubilees during the reign of Antiochos IV Epiphanes (174–164 BCE). His study of the delimitation process and how group identity was formed with the help of that process ends with a discussion of certain Qumran texts (1QS, 1QH and especially CD), which, according to him, continue the tradition of which Jubilees is part and where the delimitation process reaches its culmination.

Although Schwarz’ study touches the subject of the study at hand, that is, it discusses the identity formation and delimitation process and especially Jubilees 2 and 22, its focus is different. Whereas Schwarz’ study focuses on the

²⁰⁰ One could also mention the important work of Geza Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition*, published 1961, which also discussed Jubilees briefly, and the German translation of Jubilees by Berger, *Jubiläen*, published 1981, briefly before the *OTP*. On the importance of Charlesworth’s *OTP*, see Lorenzo DiTommaso, “Pseudepigrapha Research and Christian Origins After the *OTP*,” in *The Pseudepigrapha and Christian Origins: Essays from the Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas*, ed. Gerbern S. Oegema and James H. Charlesworth (New York: T & T Clark, 2008), 30–47; cf. Patricia D. Ahearne-Kroll, “The History of the Study of Pseudepigrapha,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Fifty Years of the Pseudepigrapha Section at the SBL*, ed. Matthias Henze and Liv Ingeborg Lied, EJL 50 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2019), 103–131 (118–123). The term “Old Testament Pseudepigrapha” need not detain us here, although I prefer the German terminology better, “jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit,” since in the end, it seems that all writings that cannot be included in the before known body of literature, namely rabbinic literature, targums, Philo, Josephus, Apocrypha (itself fluid), Qumran (but many texts, including Jubilees, are found there, too), are included in the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, at least from the Second Temple Period and somewhat after. Of course, the term “pseudepigrapha” has been widened to include also other Jewish and/or Christian (or of unknown provenance) texts not historically limited to the Hellenistic and Roman periods, which DiTommaso discusses.

²⁰¹ Eberhard Schwarz, *Identität durch Abgrenzung*, 15: “Für das Jubiläenbuch schließlich sind die Abgrenzungsprozesse ebenfalls grundlegend.”

Abgrenzungsprozess in general lines,²⁰² my study focuses on the *interpretation* of the Jacob Story in Jubilees, and secondly, its *use*. As my study demonstrates, the author uses the rewritten Jacob Story to construct the early Jewish identity in Deuteronomic mould. In this interpretation and use of the story, the author uses many interpretive traditions Schwarz also identified in the tradition historical parts of his study, and a large piece of the puzzle in this use and interpretation is precisely the delimitation process which is also Schwarz' focus.²⁰³ With the exception of analysis of Jubilees 2:19ff and Abraham's testament in Jubilees 22, Schwarz does not, however, notice the overall importance of the Jacob Story in the *Abgrenzungsprozesse* in Jubilees.²⁰⁴ Moreover, the study at hand benefits from the new research done in recent decades on early Judaism in general and on Jubilees and the Dead Sea Scrolls in particular. This being said, my study has another angle to Jubilees. It functions as a corrective to various details which Schwarz expounded, critiquing, but also strengthening, various aspects he raised from a different perspective. Although an important and somewhat pioneering study, Schwarz' work has, however, two fatal flaws in its methodology: Schwarz cannot read Ge'ez, and moreover, he leans heavily on Moshe Goldman's Hebrew retroversion, which stems from the time before the Qumran manuscripts.²⁰⁵

²⁰² Schwarz, *Identität durch Abgrenzung*, 13: "Wir fragen daher speziell nach dem Typ der Identitätssicherung, der sich durch eine strikte Abgrenzung kennzeichnen läßt und versuchen ihn traditionsgeschichtlich zu verfolgen."

²⁰³ Modern scholars may offer critique towards the tradition-historical analysis of Schwarz due the fact that he follows many secondary studies which may be outdated, or are at least highly critiqued, in modern scholarship. For example, Schwarz is highly influenced by Gerhard von Rad's thesis of Deuteronomy as Levitical sermon, and he dates the emergence of the Qumran movement to the 170s, where he is dependent upon Hartmut Stegemann's doctoral dissertation "Die Entstehung der Qumrangemeinde" from 1971 (1965).

²⁰⁴ One could also note that *Vertragsverbot* in Abraham's testament in Jubilees 22 may not be the most central account in Jubilees, as the contents of that testament rise from exegesis on the Abraham Cycle in Genesis and Gen 18:18-19 in particular. See David Lambert, "Last Testaments in the Book of Jubilees," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 11.1 (2004): 83-107, who mentions the work of Schwarz when stating that (96): "This theme [i.e., to separate from Gentiles] is indeed of great importance throughout Jubilees. Nevertheless, there are again exegetical reasons for the centrality of this particular issue in Abraham's testament to Jacob that prevent us from drawing the simple conclusion that separation from non-Jews is *the* fundamental teaching of Jubilees." (emphasis by Lambert). See, however, ch. 2.2.3 below.

²⁰⁵ A case to the point is his discussion of Jub 22:16 in Schwarz, *Identität durch Abgrenzung*, 29-30, where he talks about Goldman's retroversion to Hebrew where Goldman uses the verb רעה whereas, according to Schwarz, חבר is also a possible original reading. Schwarz then continues the discussion by noting how these two verbs or roots are used in the Old Testament and whether they denote political partnerships. In the end, he states that "Doch muß die Frage hier offenbleiben. Ich kann sie nicht entscheiden, zumal ich den äthiopischen Text nicht zu lesen vermag." Of course, Goldman's translation can have heuristic value for the reconstruction, which could be compared with the use of the Hebrew translation of the New Testament by Franz Delitzsch from the 19th Century, who tried to mix Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew in his translation. On Delitzsch' translation, see Eran Shuali, "The Translation of the New Testament Into Hebrew in the Eyes of Franz Delitzsch: Philology, Mission, Theology," *Wrocław Theological Review* 26.1 (2018): 85-96. This, however, has only some heuristic value. Moreover, Goldman's translation is from the time before the DSS fragments, and moreover, even the maximalistic

A second important work, which touches the subject of this study even more, is the late John C. Endres' work *Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Jubilees* (1987), it too being a reworked doctoral dissertation with an extended scope to the original. The study focuses on biblical interpretation, as the title suggests. Endres uses three steps to understand the biblical interpretation of the author of Jubilees: (1) "Isolation of elements of the biblical tradition" through synoptic comparison of Jubilees and Genesis; (2) "Identification of haggadic elements" derived from non-biblical texts; and (3) discernment of compositional techniques and tendencies.²⁰⁶ Endres focuses on those passages which include the Jacob traditions, because Jacob is the most important character in Jubilees. Endres' second research focus is to understand the main points and theological ideas of the author by examining his hermeneutic and interpretive choices.²⁰⁷

Thus, Endres' study is very similar to the one conducted here, and therefore my study also benefits much from his initial findings. However, Endres' study does have certain weaknesses, which especially Michael Fishbane exposed in his review of the book.²⁰⁸ First and foremost, Endres' synoptic reading should have been done much more meticulously.²⁰⁹ Second, Endres' study predates the critical edition of VanderKam on the one hand, and the published Jubilees-fragments at Qumran on the other, as does the previously mentioned study by Schwarz. Third, being one of the pioneering studies on biblical interpretation in non-biblical texts, Endres' study did not benefit from the methodological development and more recent results on the study of early biblical exegesis, and which this study does benefit from.²¹⁰ Fourth, the work is somewhat imbalanced as the original doctoral dissertation dealt only with Jubilees 19–30. These chapters take around 130 pages of *Biblical Interpretation*, whereas Jubilees 31–45 are given a somewhat more superficial analysis taking only 40 pages, which is an addition to the original doctoral dissertation.

Although the methodology used in this study is similar to that of Endres, the research questions differ. Instead of the Jacob traditions in general, I focus more on the Jacob Story and the character of Jacob and its importance and centrality in Jubilees. Moreover, my study concerns three case studies which I use to present the main points of the author in his interpretation, rewriting and usage of the

retroversions by VanderKam & Milik, "Jubilees," should be taken with caution. See ch. 1.3.2 above and Tanskanen, "Deep Sleep."

²⁰⁶ Quotations from Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 16–17.

²⁰⁷ Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 14–15, mentions the aforementioned study of Schwarz, but states that it appeared "too late for full consideration in the preparation of this study." (14).

²⁰⁸ Michael Fishbane, review of *Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Jubilees*, by John C. Endres, *JBL* 107.3 (1988): 526–528.

²⁰⁹ I understand that from the viewpoint of research history Fishbane's critique here was influencing the more detailed methodology of synoptic reading practised by Jacques van Ruiten in his two studies, *Primaeval* and *Abraham*, as he refers to Fishbane's review of Endres when stating in *Primaeval*, 5, that "It is one of the main purposes of this study to press the synoptic perspectives of Genesis 1:1–11:19 and *Jubilees* 2:1–10:36 to the utmost."

²¹⁰ See esp. chs. 1.6.1 and 1.6.2 above. This is true especially considering the vast amount of data of biblical interpretation and research on different individual exegetical motifs that Kugel has collected in his monographs. I refer especially to Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible*.

Jacob Story. The study at hand is not as broad as that of Endres in that matter, but the individual analyses are more thorough. This being said, my study benefits from the previous study by Endres on biblical interpretation and the Jacob traditions in Jubilees, but I also offer certain critical remarks on Endres as well as correctives from a slightly different point of view.

A third notable study which touches the subject of this inquiry is Hans A. Rapp's doctoral dissertation *Jakob in Bet-El: Gen 35,1-15 und die jüdische Literatur des 3. und 2. Jahrhunderts* (2001). In his study, Rapp starts with an inquiry into the Jacob tradition found in Hosea 12:5-7 and Isaiah 43:22-44:5 before a lengthier introductory investigation of Genesis 35:1-15. After briefly discussing Leviticus 26:42, he then starts with the main dish of analysing the reception²¹¹ of Genesis 35 in the Temple Scroll (11Q19 XXIX, 7-10), Levi literature (including ALD, T. Levi), 4Q537 and Oratio Joseph, chronological and genealogical works (Demetrius, 4Q464, 4Q225, 4Q226, 4Q559), Jubilees 31-32, 5Q13, as well as historical summaries (1 Chr 5-6; Neh 9; Sir 44-50 [esp. 44:22c-23]; 1 Macc 2:49-68; Apocalypse of Weeks and Animal Apocalypse [1 Enoch 93:1-9; 91:11-17 and 1 Enoch 85-90] and CD II, 14-IV, 12). One third of his dissertation focuses on Jubilees 31-32.

Although Rapp's main subject is Genesis 35 and its reception, he also touches on many other areas, such as the patriarchal promises in Jubilees (pp. 175-182). His study is well grounded and parts of it, especially the parts concerning ALD and Jubilees 31-32, is discussed further in chapters 3 and 4 when I deal with how the Deuteronomic stipulations have been connected to the Jacob story in Jubilees 30-32, and how the author has understood the Abrahamic Promise, respectively. Needless to say, I disagree with certain parts of Rapp's analyses (such as the role of Jacob in Jub 32, on which see the *Appendix* on ch. 3.9 below). In my opinion, Rapp downplays the role of clever exegesis on the text of Genesis too much. That the Levi-writings and Jubilees, for example, used many other sources along with Genesis in their contexts does not mean that the interpretations do not have a basis or anchor in the received text of Genesis (in whichever form it was at the time), those other sources included! Moreover, regarding Jubilees 31-32, Rapp does not notice the importance of Deuteronomy on the rewriting of the Jacob Story.

In addition to the studies of Schwarz, Endres and Rapp, one should also mention the works of three notable Jubilees-scholars, namely Jacques van Ruiten, James Kugel and James VanderKam. Jacques van Ruiten has conducted many studies on Jubilees, culminating in two large monographs, *Primaeval History Interpreted: The Rewriting of Genesis 1-11 in the Book of Jubilees* (2000) and *Abraham in the Book of Jubilees: The Rewriting of Genesis 11:26-25:10 in the Book*

²¹¹ Actually, Rapp, *Jakob in Bet-El*, 9, argues against the term "reception" and prefers to talk about "eine Geschichte des Stoffes von Gen 35,1-15," since in his opinion the texts which include similar material to Gen 35:1-15 should not be reduced to be mere reception of the text. According to him, some of the material which ALD, T. Levi, 4Q537 and Jub know may actually be such material that predate the latest redaction of the Pentateuch (p. 294): "Dann hätten wir in Jub 32,2.4-7 Materialien vor uns, die die Redaktion des Pentateuchs gekannt, aber nicht aufgenommen hatten."

of Jubilees 11:14–23:8 (2012). In these two monographs, he studies the rewriting of Genesis 1–25:10 in Jubilees 1:1–23:8, comparing these two works in meticulous detail. The methodology developed by him is also applied in chapters 3 and 4 in this study. Luckily for the study at hand, these monographs exclude the Jacob Story except for Jubilees 19–23:8. Needless to say, I am indebted to van Ruiten in many details and his arguments, as well as results, are discussed on many occasions throughout this study.

James Kugel's walk-through-like commentary on Jubilees, *A Walk through Jubilees: Studies in the Book of Jubilees and the World of its Creation* (2012) gives a good overview on the exegetical ingeniousness of the author of Jubilees. I disagree in Kugel's theory on the Interpolator (see above) but, nonetheless, his walk-through gives a good hermeneutic starting point for an inquiry into Jubilees and includes a vast amount of useful data. Accompanied by his previous studies, *In Potiphar's House: The Interpretive Life of Biblical Texts* (1990), *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible As It Was at the Start of the Common Era* (1998) as well as *The Ladder of Jacob: Ancient Interpretations of the Biblical Story of Jacob and His Children* (2006), Kugel's works on early Jewish exegesis and the development of individual exegetical motifs are fruitful for the investigation undertaken here, both from a methodological perspective and regarding the results he has obtained. Moreover, albeit not focusing on Jubilees in particular, most of the studies by Kugel named here focus on the patriarchs of Genesis and their interpretive afterlife. Thus, they give important context for the study of Jubilees conducted here.

It is impossible to conduct a study on Jubilees in the modern era without mentioning James VanderKam on almost every page. His career-long research on Jubilees began from his doctoral thesis resulting in *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (1977), where he compared the different textual witnesses to Jubilees published or pre-published at that time and discussed the dating of Jubilees at length. It continued with the critical edition of the Ethiopic Jubilees and English translation with textual commentary in 1989. He subsequently edited the *editio princeps* of the most Jubilees-manuscripts at Qumran in DJD 13 (1994) with Józef Milik. The many articles he has written on different subjects and from different viewpoints on Jubilees are too many to be listed here. The study at hand has benefited enormously from his over 1000 pages long *magnum opus*, a commentary on Jubilees (2018) that summarizes his career with Jubilees that extends to five decades. In this commentary, all parts of Jubilees and Jubilees-research are touched upon. No study on Jubilees can be done without consulting this commentary, even if in disagreement. This study is no exception. It has benefited enormously from the ground-breaking research VanderKam has done on Jubilees.

This short survey of history of research on Jacob in Jubilees suggests that although the study at hand rests on the work of previous generations and their results, it also offers a corrective to them. Moreover, as the results demonstrate, two important relationships, that between Jacob and Deuteronomy or the Torah,

and that between Jacob and the Abrahamic Promise, have not been touched upon to a great extent by previous scholarship.

1.8 Summary

In this study, I offer an analysis on the use and interpretation of the Jacob Story in the Book of Jubilees. My main research questions concern the overall use, interpretation and purpose of the Jacob Story, the interpretive and exegetical techniques utilized by the author; the relationship of Jacob and the Jacob Story to Deuteronomy as well as the reception of the Abrahamic Promise and its relationship with the character Jacob.

The study is conducted first and foremost with the help of synoptic comparison, where the MT of Genesis and the Ge'ez of Jubilees are compared with one another, and the many differences and similarities are portrayed. Other textual witnesses (mainly Greek and Ethiopic traditions) of the Hebrew Bible as well as the Hebrew and Latin and in few cases Syriac witnesses of Jubilees are taken into consideration. In the introduction, the textual history, and the composition of Jubilees as well as the issues related to them were discussed in more detail. It resulted in the view that Jubilees can be understood as a unified work, and that the Ethiopic Jubilees is *close enough* to the original Hebrew Jubilees and, thus, can serve as the basis of investigation.

The hermeneutical approach of James Kugel, as well as the methodology for identifying biblical allusions developed by Jeffery M. Leonard, accompanies the synoptic approach. Similar to Kugel's approach, individual exegetical motifs are discerned, but they are also collated with the composition of Jubilees as a whole, and their usage in the document of Jubilees in general are studied. Finally, the results are also correlated with the historical situation when Jubilees was written. In the introduction, Jubilees was dated between 175–125 BCE with certainty. The middle of the second Century BCE was found as a probable but not certain date.

This study consists of three case studies, which are roughly related to two distinct themes: Jacob's relation to the Torah (esp. Deuteronomy), and Jacob's relation to the Abrahamic Promise. In case study 1 (chapter 2), I focus on the exegetical basis for the idea that Jacob (and precisely Jacob) received the Torah. In case study 2 (chapter 3), I focus on the tight relationship between Jacob and Deuteronomy in Jubilees 30–32, which rewrite Genesis 34–35. In case study 3 (chapter 4) I explore how the Abrahamic Promise (Gen 12:1–3 par.) is interpreted in the parallel sections of Jubilees as well as in those sections that do not have any parallel in Genesis. The focus in that study is also to see how the Abrahamic Promise is related to the patriarch Jacob.

The practical steps in the labour for this doctoral dissertation are as follows. First, I have gone through the whole of Jubilees in Ge'ez, Hebrew, Latin, and taken the parallel material found in the Anonymous Syriac Chronicle into account. In this labour, I have had the opportunity to have Professor Emeritus of Semitic Languages and Cultures, Tapani Harviainen, as my tutor. His vast knowledge of Semitic languages as well as experience in practical translation work has been of crucial help in this endeavour.

Second, in parallel with this doctoral dissertation, I have been preparing a Finnish translation of Jubilees which will be published separately. This translation will include a lengthy introduction as well as comments on the text. The translation is based on the Ethiopic Jubilees, but all the other textual witnesses have been taken into account and discussed in the comments, too. These two first steps also form the basis of this study.

Third, when analysing the Jacob Story in Jubilees, I have taken the other fragmentary texts along with the Ethiopic main text into account. When I have made synoptic comparisons between the MT and the Ethiopic Jubilees, I have discussed the many differences between the texts on the basis of the MT, Greek as well as Ethiopic OT. The Ethiopic Old Testament has given me a heuristic possibility to understand and compare how the Ethiopic translator of Jubilees could have tackled this work with his Greek *Vorlage*. In many cases, the Ethiopic OT shows that various minor variances between the Ethiopic Jubilees and the MT of Genesis can be accredited to translation rather than to the author of the Hebrew Jubilees.

Fourth, I have proposed an interpretation of the Jubilees-texts in a dialogue with previous studies, of which some have been presented above. The most influential in this regard are the works of Robert Charles, James VanderKam, Jacques van Ruiten, James Kugel, Michael Segal, John Endres, Hans Rapp, and Betsy Halpern-Amaru.²¹²

Fifth, this labour with Jubilees with the help of the relevant textual witnesses has led me to understand something about the nature of the Ge'ez translation of Jubilees. The inductive material gathered with the help of this work has led me to a similar understanding as VanderKam and van Ruiten that the work functions as a unity, and that the author did seem to use a Genesis-*Vorlage* (not totally identical with the consonantal text of the MT), which he purposefully rewrote.

²¹² The works are of course mentioned in the bibliography.

2 “He established a Testimony in Jacob, He set Torah in Israel”: Psalm 78 and the Book of Jubilees

2.1 Introduction

Psalm 78 is the second longest psalm (after Ps 119) in the Book of Psalms.²¹³ It retells exemplary stories of the Israelite past in order to teach the congregation about the importance of correct behaviour and trust in God. Both the beginning and the end of the psalm are peculiar. Firstly, the psalm begins by emphasizing that one should pay close attention to the psalm and look for the teaching that history reveals (78:1–4):²¹⁴

<p>האזינה עמי תורתִי הטו אזנכם לאמר־פי:</p>	<p>Προσέχετε, λαός μου, τὸν νόμον μου, κλίνατε τὸ οὖς ὑμῶν εἰς τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ στόματός μου·</p>	<p>1 Hear, my folk, my Torah²¹⁵; incline your ears to the words of my mouth.</p>
<p>אפתחה במשל פי אביעה חידות מני־קדם:</p>	<p>ἀνοίξω ἐν παραβολαῖς τὸ στόμα μου, φθέγγομαι προβλήματα ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς.</p>	<p>2 I will open my mouth in a parable, I will allow to gush forth riddles of the old,</p>
<p>אשר שמענו ונדעם ואבותינו ספרו־לנו:</p>	<p>ὅσα ἠκούσαμεν καὶ ἔγνωμεν αὐτὰ καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν διηγήσαντο ἡμῖν,</p>	<p>3 which we have heard and that have been made known to us, and what our fathers have told us.</p>
<p>לא נכחד מבניהם לדור אחרון מספרים תהלות יהוה ועוזו ונפלאותיו אשר עשה:</p>	<p>οὐκ ἐκρύβη ἀπὸ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῶν εἰς γενεὰν ἑτέραν ἀπαγγέλλοντες τὰς αἰνέσεις τοῦ κυρίου</p>	<p>4 We shall not hide²¹⁶ them from their children. We²¹⁷ shall tell the following generation the glorious works of</p>

²¹³ This chapter has been previously published in Topias K. E. Tanskanen, “He Established a Testimony in Jacob, He Set a Torah in Israel’: Psalm 78 and the Book of Jubilees,” in *David, Messianism, and Eschatology: Ambiguities in the Reception History of the Book of Psalms in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. Erkki Koskenniemi & David Willgren Davage, SRB 10 (Åbo: Network for the Study of the Reception History of the Bible, 2020), 71–119. I have modified the chapter somewhat for this monograph.

²¹⁴ The Masoretic Text (MT) of BHS is found in the left column. The LXX of Rahlfs’ second, revised edition is found on the column in between. My own, fairly literal and “anachronistic” translation, as I think the author of Jubilees might have understood the text during the 2nd Century BCE, is found in the right column.

²¹⁵ תורה (LXX νόμος) may originally have meant only “teaching” or “law,” but the ancient interpreter of the Second Temple period could understand this as the “Torah,” i.e., the Pentateuch or its laws.

²¹⁶ The LXX has passive aorist indicative, 3. sg. of κρύπτω, that is, the translator has understood נכחד as *niphal*, not as *piel*, as it is vocalized in the MT.

²¹⁷ Both the MT and the LXX have plural participles, which can also be related to “their children,” who will then continue telling the glorious works of YHWH to the following generation.

καὶ τὰς δυναστείας αὐτοῦ
καὶ τὰ θαυμάσια αὐτοῦ, ἃ
ἐποίησεν.

YHWH,
his might and his wonderful acts
that he has done.

The psalm begins with *משכיל לאסף* which the LXX renders as *Συνέσεως τῷ Ασαφ*. The word *משכיל* is used as a title for thirteen psalms (32; 42–45; 52–55; 74; 78; 88; 89; 142). It derives from *שכל* “be wise.” The exact meaning of the term is unclear, and three basic meanings for it have been proposed: 1) An insightfully composed song of a *Kunstlied* type (derived from *שכל* “have insight”); 2) A didactic poem or a wisdom psalm, that makes one “wise” or “insightful” (“make insightful”); or 3) a successful song (“make successful”).²¹⁸ If one takes the Qumran use of the root *שכל* and the *משכיל*-title used there into account,²¹⁹ I would argue that the term was understood as an “instructive song” or a song that should be pondered upon, and so it was intended that the lesson given by the historical re-narration in Ps 78 was reflected on in order for its teaching to be understood.²²⁰ This means that when the reader or listener of the psalm hears *משכיל*, it invites him/her to ponder what follows carefully. The need for careful reflection is highlighted in verse 2, where the psalmist says that he will now speak in “parables/proverbs” and “riddles.”²²¹

Secondly, the psalm ends with David. He is the servant of God, chosen by God to shepherd Jacob/Israel, YHWH’s inheritance (*נחלה*; *κληρονομία*, v. 71). Whatever the historical situation of the original psalm or of its later redactions might have been,²²² during the Hellenistic and Roman period this psalm could be interpreted in a messianic or eschatological way, particularly if the reader or listener took the invitation to engage in careful reflection seriously.

In scholarly literature, Ps 78 has been linked to the Book of Jubilees. For example, James C. VanderKam refers to Ps 78 nine times in his recent

²¹⁸ K. Koenen, “*משכיל*,” *TDOT* 14:126–127. *DCH* 5:503–504 gives also three alternatives: “Psalm of success,” “responsive song,” or “instructive or skilful song.”

²¹⁹ See Koenen, *TDOT* 14:127–128; concerning the role of *maskil* in Qumran, see also Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their True Meaning for Judaism and Christianity*, ABRL (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 123–125. The causative use is to “instruct” or “teach” (*DCH* 8:150–151).

²²⁰ On the general meaning for the historical recapitulation of the psalm, see, e.g., Aarre Lauha, *Die Geschichtsmotive in den alttestamentlichen Psalmen*, AASF BLVI,1 (Helsinki: Suomalainen tiedeakatemia, 1945), 48: “Der Psalm 78 durchforscht die Vergangenheit Israels, um daraus Erleuchtung und Warnung für die Gegenwart und die Zukunft zu gewinnen.”

²²¹ Interesting enough, Matt 13:35 cites Ps 78:2 and interprets the psalm as a prophecy fulfilled when Jesus is teaching in parables. See Frank-Lothar Hossfeld & Erich Zenger, *Psalmen 51–100*, HthKAT (Freiburg: Herder, 2000), 442.

²²² On different opinions concerning the origins and the historical situation of the “original” psalm, see, e.g., Artur Weiser, *The Psalms: A Commentary*, trans. Herbert Hartwell, OTL (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1962), 538–540; Marvin E. Tate, *Psalms 51–100*, WBC 20 (Texas: Word, 1990), 284–286; Hossfeld & Zenger, *Psalmen 51–100*, 426–430. The suggestions range from the beginning of the Davidic dynasty to post-exilic times. The question of dating Ps 78 is not relevant in this study.

commentary on Jubilees.²²³ VanderKam's most relevant reference to the psalm is the exodus tradition found in Ps 78:42–51, especially the “band of wicked angels” or “a company of destroying angels” in Ps 78:49–51 which, according to VanderKam, may have influenced the tradition of ascribing the tenth plague to the forces of Mastema or wicked angels also found in Jub 49.²²⁴ Verse 49 might very well have been the basis for the interpretation in Jubilees that “the forces of Mastema” are behind the tenth plague in Jub 49:2.²²⁵ Apart from this tradition and few very short and unimportant notes, scholars have not seen Psalm 78 as important in the research of Jubilees.

In my opinion, the link between Ps 78 and Jubilees is even stronger, and more connections between the psalm and Jubilees hitherto not identified exist. In this chapter I argue that Ps 78 has influenced the rewriting of Genesis and Exodus in Jubilees and/or the exegetical traditions used in this rewriting process. I deal with the reception of Ps 78 in Jubilees from three different angles:

1) The reception of “Torah and Testimony” by Jacob/Israel (Ps 78:5–8).

2) The election of Zion/Judah and the rejection of Shiloh/Ephraim/Joseph (Ps 78:67–69).

3) The reception of David (Ps 78:70–72).

I argue that although Ps 78 is not cited *expressis verbis* or elaborated on in a manner similar to the reception of Ps 90 in Jub 23,²²⁶ it has influenced the author in many ways. To clarify, my aim here is *not* to present a historical and critical reading of Ps 78, i.e., how it perhaps was meant to be read by the original psalmist(s) or later redactor(s). Instead, my aim is to show *how the author of the Book of Jubilees read the psalm* and thus how the psalm influenced the rewriting or retelling of Genesis and Exodus in Jubilees.

Before going further, one methodological problem needs clarification. The Book of Jubilees has been preserved to us in full only in Ge'ez and partly in Latin, both being translations of a Greek translation of an original Hebrew text. Further, only fragments of the Hebrew version(s) have been found at Qumran.²²⁷

²²³ James C. VanderKam, *Jubilees: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2018). The verses referred to are Ps 78:2, 8 and 33, 42–51, 48, 49–51, 49, 51, 61.

²²⁴ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 1154–1155, 1173–1175.

²²⁵ Michael Segal, *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology*, SJSJ 117 (Leiden: Brill 2007), 225–226. As VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 1174 n. 16, has noted, Ps 78:49 is clearly located next to the killing of the firstborn in vv. 50–52.

²²⁶ See James L. Kugel, “The Jubilees Apocalypse,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 1.3 (1994): 322–337; *idem*, *A Walk through Jubilees: Studies in the Book of Jubilees and the World of its Creation*, JSJSup 156 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 129–133; and Pieter M. Venter, “Intertextuality in the Book of Jubilees,” *HTS* 63.2 (2007): 463–480. The use of Ps 90 in Jub 23 shows, at least, that the author of Jubilees has done exegesis (or as Kugel points out in connection to Ps 90, “reverse exegesis”) with a psalm or more psalms in mind. In this chapter I argue that Ps 78 is one of these psalms, although the use is different than with Ps 90. The only more or less *direct dependency* that has been identified before is Ps 78:49, as Segal and VanderKam have pointed out (see above). Of course, one could also think that it was a common tradition during the time of writing of Jubilees that wicked angels were used by God in Egypt, and that there was never a direct link between the account of exodus in Jubilees and Ps 78. Nevertheless, the argumentation in this study leads towards another possibility that agrees with Segal and VanderKam.

²²⁷ On the textual history of Jubilees, see further ch. 1.3 above.

Therefore, it is difficult, if not impossible, to seek verbal agreements between Ps 78 and Jubilees.²²⁸ Thus, the link between Ps 78 and Jubilees needs to be addressed by searching for similar themes or ideas, even though this method is more uncertain. In one case, as shown in the discussion concerning Ps 78:5 and Jubilees below, shared language or shared phrases can be identified, but in most cases, this is impossible. However, if a shared theme or idea is itself rare, it gives more plausibility for the argument that a link between the two texts does exist.

2.2 Psalm 78:5–8 and the Testimony and Torah in Jacob/Israel

2.2.1 Torah Known by Patriarchs in Jubilees

In the rewriting of Genesis in Jubilees, one peculiar and important innovation is that the patriarchs follow many stipulations and laws, and even theology given chronologically later at Mount Sinai/Horeb (Exod–Deut). That is, different stipulations from the later Mosaic Law have been connected to the patriarchal stories (including the patriarchs from Gen 2–11) in the rewriting process. This has been done by making up new stories (with an exegetical basis) or by making subtle changes to and omissions from the stories found in Genesis. The reason for this phenomenon is, most probably, that the author thought and wished to emphasize that the Law itself was eternal and thus already valid for the people before the giving of the Law in Mount Sinai.

Many Jubilees scholars, including Robert Charles in his early Jubilees translation and commentary (1902), have argued that one of the reasons for this may be the historical situation in which the author lived, most probably during the second Century BCE.²²⁹ Contact with the Hellenistic culture and the influence that it had upon Judaism most probably also caused some to question whether various laws and commandments were actually that important.²³⁰ In particular, laws such as circumcision, Sabbath regulations, food laws which underlined the

²²⁸ On identifying textual connections or allusions between two biblical texts, see the methodological reflection in Jeffery M. Leonard, "Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions: Psalm 78 as a Test Case," *JBL* 127.2 (2008): 241–265. According to Leonard, "shared language is the single most important factor in establishing a textual connection" (p. 246). See further ch. 1.6.2 above.

²²⁹ Robert H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1902), xiii: "His object was to defend Judaism against the attacks of the hellenistic spirit that had been in the ascendant one generation earlier and was still powerful, and to prove that the law was of everlasting validity." On the audience, see esp. James C. VanderKam, "The Origins and Purposes of the Book of Jubilees," in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, ed. Matthias Albani, Jörg Frey and Armin Lange, TSAJ 65 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 3–24 (19–22). On dating of Jubilees, see ch. 1.5 above.

²³⁰ On the relationship between Judaism and Hellenism, see the classical and still relevant Martin Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus: Studien zu ihrer Begegnung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Palästinas bis zur Mitte des 2. Jh.s. v. Chr.*, 3rd ed., WUNT 1.10 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1988); *idem*, "Judaism and Hellenism Revisited," in *Theologische, historische und biographische Skizzen: Kleine Schriften VII*, WUNT 1.253 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 179–216.

strangeness of Judaism in the minds of other peoples or made it more difficult to engage with Gentiles, might well have been questioned.

This would have led some to question whether this was the case from the beginning: was it not so that many of the laws and commandments, for example the Sabbath law, were given at Sinai? What about the patriarchs? Did they celebrate the festivals at all? Is it possible that the Law (especially the laws that made it difficult to cope with other cultures and people) was not there from the beginning? If so, then perhaps one would be less obligated to follow such commandments. For such a view towards the Law, scholars have often pointed to 1 Maccabees 1:11–15:

In those days certain renegades (*υιοὶ παράνομοι*) came out from Israel and misled many, saying, “Let us go and make a covenant with the Gentiles around us, for since we separated from them many disasters have come upon us.” This proposal pleased them, and some of the people eagerly went to the king, who authorized them to observe the ordinances of the Gentiles. So they built a gymnasium in Jerusalem, according to Gentile custom, and removed the marks of circumcision, and abandoned the holy covenant. They joined with the Gentiles and sold themselves to do evil.

One should keep in mind, however, that in Hellenistic times chronological matters became relevant. It was important to show how ancient Judaism was.²³¹ If Judaism had been, in a sense, lawless before Sinai, was it not then possible to revert to this ancient state of affairs and thus no longer necessary to maintain the laws that made relations with other nations more difficult?

The author of Jubilees answers with a decisive “No!”. The covenant was made from the very beginning, from the time of Creation, and the covenantal stipulations had been revealed to the patriarchs. They followed the stipulations long before Sinai. The Torah and its regulations had been there from the beginning. There was never a time in Israelite history where someone would have been without the Torah or at least some of its stipulations. Thus, one should abandon the idea of reversion and instead strictly follow the Torah.

Of course, the author had some biblical basis for his views. There are hints and clues which seem to indicate that whenever the patriarchs behaved in certain ways, they must also have known something which had not been revealed to them in Genesis. As Charles T. R. Hayward has shown, Genesis was read and could be read so that the patriarchs offered sacrifices, Enoch “walked with God” (Gen 5:22), Abraham knew how to tithe (Gen 14:20) and so on.²³² These hints and clues made it possible to elaborate on Genesis and, within the limits of its

²³¹ Although written in a different historical context and century, the (probably) original title of Josephus’ *Contra Apionem*, namely ΠΕΡΙ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΤΗΤΟΣ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ, reveals the *Zeitgeist* well. I thank Erkki Koskenniemi for this observation.

²³² For many other examples, see Charles T. R. Hayward, “Genesis and its Reception in Jubilees,” in *The Book of Genesis: Composition, Reception, and Interpretation*, ed. Graig A. Evans, Joel N. Lohr and David L. Petersen, VTSup 152 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 375–404 (390–394). See also Gary A. Anderson, “The Status of Torah Before Sinai: The Retelling of the Bible in Damascus Covenant and the Book of Jubilees,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 1.1 (1994): 1–29.

narration, introduce and insert different Mosaic legislation into the stories themselves.²³³

The idea of the Torah or the Law being pre-existent before Sinai is known from other sources too. Wisdom was most probably equated with the Torah of God at some point, and this led to the idea of a pre-existent Torah.²³⁴ The Book of Jubilees sees the revelation written down in Jubilees as coming from celestial “heavenly tablets,” which are otherworldly and have always existed.²³⁵

Thus, there were not only *extratextual historical* reasons for this development, but an *intratextual exegetical* background and an inner-Jewish *theological development*, as seen already in the Hebrew Bible, which led the author to elaborate on Pentateuchal laws and make connections between its stipulations and the patriarchs’ lives.

To this mix of influence which enabled an intimate connection between the stipulations and the patriarchs, particularly with the patriarch Jacob, I add one further passage, hitherto neglected in scholarly literature, namely Ps 78:5–8:

<p>ויקם עדות ביעקב ותורה שם בישראל אשר צוה את־אבותינו להודיעם לבניהם:</p>	<p>και ἀνέστησεν μαρτύριον ἐν Ἰακωβ και νόμον ἔθετο ἐν Ἰσραηλ, ὅσα ἐνετείλατο τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν τοῦ γνωρίσαι αὐτὰ τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτῶν,</p>	<p>5 He established a testimony in Jacob, he set a Torah in Israel, which he commanded our fathers to make known to their children</p>
<p>למען ידעו דור אחרון בנים יולדו יקמו ויספרו לבניהם:</p>	<p>ὅπως ἂν γινῶ γενεὰ ἐτέρα, υἱοὶ οἱ τεχθησόμενοι, και ἀναστήσονται και ἀπαγγελοῦσιν αὐτὰ τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτῶν,</p>	<p>6 so that the following generation should know, the children that will be born would rise and tell (it) to their children.</p>
<p>וישימו באלהים כסלם ולא ישכחו מעללי־אל ומצותיו ינצרו:</p>	<p>ἵνα θῶνται ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν τὴν ἐλπίδα αὐτῶν και μὴ ἐπιλάθωνται τῶν ἔργων τοῦ θεοῦ και τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ ἐκζητήσουσιν,</p>	<p>7 so that they would set their hope to God, and not forget the works of God, but follow His commands (instead).</p>
<p>ולא יהיו כאבותם דור סורר ומרה דור לא־הכין לבו ולא נאמנה את אל רוחו</p>	<p>ἵνα μὴ γένωνται ὡς οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν γενεὰ σκολιὰ και παραπικραίνουσα, γενεὰ, ἥτις οὐ κατηύθυνεν τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῆς και οὐκ ἐπιστώθη μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ</p>	<p>8 And that they would not become as their fathers, a stubborn and stupid generation, a generation with unstable heart, which spirit was not faithful to God.</p>

²³³ On the limits of the elaboration of *halakah* that the narration poses, see Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 278–279.

²³⁴ See esp. how חוכמה is elaborated on in Prov 8:22–31 and this pre-existent wisdom is equated with Torah in Ben Sira 24. On this, see Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 277–278; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Wisdom and Law in the Old Testament: The Ordering of Life in Israel and Early Judaism*, Oxford Bible Series (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 162–167. See, however, the careful comment to Blenkinsopp by David A. DeSilva, *Introducing the Apocrypha: Message, Context, and Significance* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002), 176: “This point of identification must not overshadow, however, the counterpoint between Wisdom and Torah elsewhere in Ben Sira. Torah is not the sum of Wisdom, though Wisdom resides in it and is found and known in the doing of Torah.”

²³⁵ On heavenly tablets, see Florentino García Martínez, “The Heavenly Tablets in the Book of Jubilees,” in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, ed. Matthials Albani, Jörg Frey, and Armin Lange, TSAJ 65 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 243–260.

Verses 5–8 were originally part of the introduction of the psalm, which extends to verse 11.²³⁶ Here, Jacob/Israel, addressed in verse 5, obviously refers to Israel as a nation or people and not the patriarch from Genesis.²³⁷ This is explicit in verse 21, where Jacob and Israel interchangeably denote the people of Israel wandering in the wilderness.

If the later ancient reader read the psalm differently, however, another possibility arises. What if the introduction was understood to have ended in verse 4, so that the historical recapitulation started from verse 5 onwards? If so, this would mean that God had established his Torah/Testimony in Jacob/Israel *before* the exodus mentioned in vv. 12ff. In such a reading, the Jacob/Israel of v. 5 could denote the patriarch himself. As noted above, this type of reading may of course stand against what the original psalmist(s) or later redactors may have meant. Nonetheless, it is well known that the latter did not dictate to the ancient exegete how to read the psalm.²³⁸

In fact, a similar “literal-chronological” reading was made in antiquity, albeit with a different detail from the psalm in mind. The perplexing verse 9, about Ephraimites who “turned back on the day of the battle”²³⁹ was connected with 1 Chr 7:20–22 and Exod 13:17. 1 Chronicles 7:20–22 is an account of Ephraim’s sons who were killed by the men of Gath (i.e. Philistines), and in Exodus 13:17, it is stated that God did not lead the Israelites via “the way of the Philistines, because that was near, because God said: ‘Lest the people repent when they see war and turn back to Egypt.’” With the help of Ps 78:9, concerning Ephraimites before the exodus, and the perplexing detail in 1 Chr 7:20–22, a motif of a premature Ephraimite Exodus was created, which took place before the real exodus led by Moses, and resulted in a catastrophe. In order not to discourage the Israelites led by Moses, God had led the people via the longer road, avoiding the “way of the Philistines,” in order to prevent the Israelites from seeing “the war,” i.e., the remains of the Ephraimites who had died pursuing that very road some years earlier. *Mekhilta de Rabbi Yishmael* 19:9, 12–13, gives arguably the oldest version of this motif:²⁴⁰

Another interpretation of the verse, “by way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near”: Too near was the first war [the one of the Ephraimites]

²³⁶ Hossfeld & Zenger, *Psalmen 51–100*, 425; Judith Gärtner, *Die Geschichtspsalmen: Eine Studie zu den Psalmen 78, 105, 106, 135 und 136 als hermeneutische Schlüsseltexte im Psalter*, FAT 84 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 46.

²³⁷ Cf. Gärtner, *Die Geschichtspsalmen*, 55.

²³⁸ Moreover, according to Anja Klein, *Geschichte und Gebet: Die Rezeption der biblischen Geschichte in den Psalmen des Alten Testaments*, FAT 94 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 112, Ps 78:5 did not originally refer to any historical situation (Sinai included). So, if the ancient reader *wanted* to connect a certain historical situation to his/her reading of v. 5, he/she had an option with the patriarch Jacob.

²³⁹ Psalm scholars often see v. 9 as a secondary addition. See, e.g., Gärtner, *Die Geschichtspsalmen*, 60; Klein, *Geschichte und Gebet*, 89–90.

²⁴⁰ On this, see Joseph Heinemann, “The Messiah of Ephraim and the Premature Exodus of the Tribe of Ephraim,” *HTR* 68.1 (1975): 1–15.

to make a second.... Another interpretation [of the verse, “Lest the people repent when they see war, and return to Egypt”]: This refers to the war with the people of Ephraim: “And the people of Ephraim, Shuthelah, and Bered his son...whom the men of Gath who were born in land slew” (1 Chr. 7:20-21), “two hundred thousand children of Ephraim” “The people of Ephraim were archers, handling the bow, they turned back in the day of battle” (Ps 78:9). Why? “They kept not the covenant of God and refused to walk in his law” (Ps 78:10). This was because they wanted to violate the designated time limit, because they violated the oath [concerning when the Israelites would be saved, trying to do it too soon]. Another interpretation [of the verse “Lest the people repent when they see war, and return to Egypt”]: It was so that they should not see the bones of their brethren strewn in Philistia and retreat.²⁴¹

Joseph Heinemann has argued that although this motif is known to us in rabbinical sources, it must already have been in circulation before Bar Kochba.²⁴² According to him, the tradition in MekhY is the oldest because it does not combine the legend with the bones in Ezek 37,²⁴³ as for example Tg. Ps.-J. to Exod 13:17 does.²⁴⁴ He argues that the premature Ephraimite Exodus was transformed after the Bar Kochba Revolt. Without being too immersed in this discussion, it is sufficient to say that the story of an Ephraimite Exodus before the Exodus was deeply influenced by a chronological reading of Ps 78, particularly verses 9 and 10, which are found before the verses dealing with the wilderness journey. If we can agree with Heinemann on the dating of this motif, then this reading could already have been in existence during the first Century CE. If this is the case, namely that such a “literal-chronological” reading of Ps 78:9–10 was in circulation in the first Century CE, then a similar reading could also be extended all the way to the verses 5ff and thus show that God had established his Torah and Testimony in Jacob/Israel. What I argue here is that, in the second Century BCE, the author of Jubilees utilized this kind of interpretive possibility.

A further example is found in Ps 105, which includes a similar historical recapitulation to Ps 78. Here, the patriarchal traditions are even more in the centre of attention (Ps 105:6–11):²⁴⁵

²⁴¹ Translation by Jacob Neusner, *Mekhilta According to Rabbi Ishmael: An Analytical Translation, Volume One: Pisha, Beshallah, Shirata, and Vayassa*, BJS 148 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 126–127.

²⁴² Heinemann, “The Messiah of Ephraim.”

²⁴³ According to Günter Stemberger, *Einleitung in Talmud und Midrash*, 9th ed. (Münich: Beck, 2011), 282, the final redaction of *MekhY* should be dated to the second half of the 3rd Century CE. Nevertheless, individual motifs and interpretations found in *MekhY* may be earlier.

²⁴⁴ The targum to Ps 78:9–10 does not include this either. David M. Stec, *The Targum of Psalms: Translated, with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes*, ArBib 16 (London: T & T Clark, 2004), 2, gives “a very tentative suggestion” regarding the date of Tg. Pss., which he places between the 4th and 6th centuries CE. See also the targum to 1 Chr 7:20–22. As with *MekhY*, the targums most probably include exegetical traditions that were older than the targums themselves.

²⁴⁵ See Lauha, *Die Geschichtsmotive*, 39–44, esp. his comment on p. 44: “Psalm 105 ist der einzige Psalm, der allen Erzvätern Beachtung schenkt und überhaupt die Geschichte der Patriarchen zum Gegenstand einer ausführlichen Schilderung macht.”

6 O offspring of his servant Abraham // children of Jacob, his chosen ones. // 7 He is the YHWH our God; // his judgements are in all the earth. // 8 He is mindful of his covenant forever // of the word that he commanded, for a thousand generations // 9 the covenant that he made with Abraham // his sworn promise to Isaac // 10 which he confirmed to Jacob as a statute (לחק) // to Israel as an everlasting covenant (ברית עולם) // 11 saying, "To you I will give the land of Canaan // as your portion for an inheritance."

The psalmist talks about some kind of statute (חק) which had been given to Jacob. What is it? When and where was it given? The recapitulation of the patriarchal history continues with the famine in Canaan, relating how Joseph was sold as a slave and how Jacob lived "in the land of Ham" as an alien (Ps 105:16–23). Thus, a reader could also interpret חק in v. 10 as some sort of legal material, given to the patriarch, Jacob, by God prior to the events happening to Joseph.²⁴⁶ Possibly the material in question could even have been the covenantal stipulations found in Deuteronomy or in the Pentateuch. Actually, חק is used again in v. 45, where the word is parallel to תורה and refers to the Mosaic stipulations that the people of Israel should obey in the Promised Land (cf. Deut 6:24).²⁴⁷ Thus, a probable interpretation of v. 10 in antiquity could be that God had given חק, i.e., Mosaic stipulations, to the patriarch Jacob. It is worth noting that Levi, the importance of the Jacob traditions (and the covenant with Jacob, perhaps in Bethel), the historical review until the exodus, and the pre-eminent authority of Deuteronomy are theological perspectives common to Jubilees, the Temple Scroll, the Damascus Document and Psalms 105 and 106.²⁴⁸

One should also bear in mind that there is an important connection between the people Israel and the patriarch Jacob already in the Pentateuch in its present form. The change of name from "Jacob" to "Israel" in Genesis bears witness to the close connection between the people and the biblical character. It seems probable to suppose that the Jacob story, at least in its present form, is also

²⁴⁶ Klein, *Geschichte und Gebet*, 198, argues that Jacob in v. 10 should *also* be interpreted as denoting the people Israel: "Als dritter Bundespartner wird hier der Erzvater Jakob-Israel mit ins Spiel gebracht, wobei der Tempuswechsel und die poetische Aufteilung des Namens auf die beiden Vershälften aber den Schluss zulässt, dass Jakob-Israel als Repräsentant für die Volksgroße steht." For the interpretation that the patriarch Jacob is meant here, see, e.g., Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Psalmen 101–150*, HthKAT (Freiburg: Herder, 2008), 103, and Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalmen 60–150*, 5th ed., BKAT XV/2 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1978), 893.

²⁴⁷ Cf. Klein, *Geschichte und Gebet*, 202, 222–223, who is interested in the original meaning of the word חק.

²⁴⁸ On this, see George J. Brooke, "Psalms 105 and 106 at Qumran," *RevQ* 54 (1989): 267–292 (esp. 274–292). According to him, the mention of "covenant with Jacob" in the Temple Scroll (11Q19 XXIX, 10) is most probably connected to the Bethel episode in Gen 28; 35 (see Jub 32!) and Lev 26:42, and the same can also be meant in Ps 105 (290). Concerning Ps 105:10, see also Kraus, *Psalmen 60–150*, 893; Klein, *Geschichte und Gebet*, 220.

shaped as a story about Israel. What happens to Jacob happens to Israel.²⁴⁹ If reasonable, it could also mean that what happens to Israel in other parts of the Pentateuch (or in other texts) can be read as something that had already happened to the patriarch Jacob even though that is not mentioned in Genesis. A peculiar detail in the Books of Chronicles is that Jacob is never addressed as Jacob, but his name is consistently given as Israel (1 Chr 1:34; 2:1; 5:1, 3; 6:38 [MT 6:23]; 7:29), including the phrase “God of Abraham, Isaac and Israel” (1 Chr 29:18; 2 Chr 30:6).²⁵⁰ The only mentions of Jacob in Chronicles are to be found in the hymn of 1 Chr 16:8–36, in verses 13 and 17 (cf. Ps 105). Interestingly, the Chronicler(s) has Israel instead of Abraham in 1 Chr 16:13 (cf. Ps 105:6). It seems that the Chronicler(s)’s use of Israel emphasizes the connection between the patriarch Jacob and the people Israel, a tendency similar to the one found in Jubilees.²⁵¹

The possibility of relating events and speeches connected to people Israel to the life of patriarch Jacob is further enabled by the Book of Deuteronomy. A very well-known detail in Deuteronomy is namely the change between the second person singular and plural. Although Israel is addressed throughout the book, it can be suggested that the author of Jubilees understood the one(s) addressed in Deuteronomy as the patriarch, in light of Ps 78:5 and 105:6–11 (among others). Such a reading is attested, again, in the rabbinic *Sifre Deuteronomy*. There, a connection is made between “Israel,” which is often addressed in the second person singular, and the *patriarch Jacob*.²⁵² It seems to me that the author of Jubilees utilized a similar interpretive possibility. He read Deuteronomy closely and related many of the details of its commandments to his own rewritten Jacob story (in particular), while at the same time remaining loyal to the original story in Genesis. I return to this aspect in chapter 3 below.

²⁴⁹ Stanley D. Walters, “Jacob Narrative,” *ABD* 3:599–608 (607–608). At least I am positive that many latent possibilities for the ancient exegete to interpret the Jacob Story as the story about the people of Israel do exist.

²⁵⁰ Cf. 1 Kings 18:26 (Abraham, Isaac, and Israel) and 2 Kings 13:23 (Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob).

²⁵¹ See Hugh G. M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, NCB (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 40–41, commenting on 1 Chr 1:1–2:2: “It is noteworthy that within this presentation no particular attention is drawn to Abraham. Rather, the break comes only with Israel (2:1), after whom the genealogies are arranged on a quite different principle. This is the first of several hints which suggest that the Chronicler traced the immediate origins of Israel to Jacob (see further on 1:34, 2:1–2, 16:13 and 2 Chr. 1:8–10), probably betraying thereby one of the reasons for his well-known stress on the full complement of twelve tribes as ‘all Israel’. At the same time, however, it is clear from this chapter that if Israel’s election was realised in Jacob, it was implicit already in Adam.” This trait is also important in Jub 2:19–25.

²⁵² See, e.g., Pisqa §31 where Deut 6:4–9 is interpreted as such that “children of Israel” refers to the children of the patriarch Jacob. Jacob Neusner, *Sifre to Deuteronomy: An Analytical Translation*, 2 vols., BJS 89, 101 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 84, understands this as a way of excluding the other children of Abraham and Isaac. Pisqa §312 is the locus classicus where Deut 32:9 is analysed. For an analysis of this chapter, see especially Eugene Mihaly, “Rabbinic Defense of the Election of Israel: An Analysis of Sifre Deuteronomy 32:9, Pisqa 312,” *HUCA* (1964): 103–143. See also Pisqa §27 (where Isa 41:8 is cited); and §343, where Deut 33:2–6 is analysed. Here, the children of Israel, i.e., the children of the patriarch, are described as flawless and thus ready to accept the Torah, since Jacob himself was flawless. See further ch. 3 below.

2.2.2 What does *səm* ‘“Testimony” signify?

Another detail worth pondering in Ps 78:5 is the mention of both תורה and עדות.²⁵³ A very important question which has aroused much discussion and scholarly debate regarding Jubilees is: What does the author mean with the “Law” (תורה; *hagg*) and “Testimony” (תעודה; *səm*), often mentioned in the narration, both together and separately? The latter word in particular and its precise meaning is much debated.²⁵⁴ Although 4Q216 has shown that the word translated as *səm* in the Ethiopic Jubilees was originally תעודה in chapters 1 and 2 of Jubilees, the various uses of the Ge’ez term *səm* may not always go back to תעודה, since the word עדות (from the same root as תעודה) can be also translated (via Greek) as *səm*.²⁵⁵ This is an option that should not be neglected, although it may very well be that in almost all of the 25 cases in Ethiopic Jubilees where *səm* is attested,²⁵⁶ תעודה might have originally been used in the Hebrew version. Admittedly we do not know for certain which Hebrew word is behind every *səm*. Nonetheless, the best proposal is תעודה because that term is attested in 4Q216.

²⁵³ It is worth noting that in the Ethiopic Psalter, the verse goes: *za-’aqama sām’a la-Yāqob, wa-šar’a hagg la-’asrā’el* (Eth Ps 77:5). Interesting enough, the ויעמידה ליעקב לחק in Ps 105:10 (Eth Ps 104:10) is translated as *wa-’aqama sām’a la-Yāqob*. Of course, the LXX is to be found in between (εἰς πρόσταγμα in LXX Ps 104:10, μαρτύριον in LXX Ps 77:5 in Rahlfs’ edition). It is worth mentioning that the Ethiopic Psalter is not a critical edition in a modern sense. Such an edition has still not been published. See Steve Delamarter, Curt Niccum, and Ralph Lee, “Ethiopic Translation(s),” in *Textual History of the Bible: The Hebrew Bible, Volume 1A: Overview Articles*, ed. Armin Lange and Emanuel Tov (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 345–360 (348–349).

²⁵⁴ On different solutions given by various scholars on the meaning of “Testimony” in Jubilees, see the helpful summary and analysis in VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 72–79.

²⁵⁵ This was the option that the scholars starting from August Dillmann in his *Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae cum indice latino* (Lipsiae: T.O. Weigel, 1865), 338, proposed before the Qumran manuscripts. Dillmann gives Eth Ps 18:8 (LXX Ps 18:8 ἡ μαρτυρία; MT Ps 19:8 עדות); Eth Ps 118:88, 95 (LXX Ps 118:88, 95 τὰ μαρτυρία; MT Ps 119:88 עדות but in v. 95 עדתך) along with Jub 1 (erroneous) as examples and says that *səm* can mean “*testimonium Dei vel revelatio (cum praeceptis)*.” VanderKam, “Moses Trumping Moses: The Making of the Book of Jubilees,” in *Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts*, ed. Sarianna Metso, Hindy Najman, and Eileen Schuller, STDJ 92 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 25–44 (37–38; cf. *idem*, *Jubilees*, 72) is of the opinion, that עדות cannot be behind “testimony” in Jubilees. Nevertheless, that might be the case, since *səm* might have different functions in different contexts, and the only attestations of תעודה come from 4Q216 along with (first) Torah (except 4Q216 II, 4–5 // Jub 1:8). The use of *səm* when translating the LXX τὸ μαρτύριον or ἡ μαρτυρία, which are glossing of the Hebrew original עדות with two different Masoretic vocalisations (עדות and עדות) increases this possibility. See also the Latin uses of *testimonium* in Vulg Ps 19:8; 119:88, 95.

²⁵⁶ According to VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 73, these are Prologue; 1:4, 8 (x2), 26, 29; 2:24, 33; 3:14; 4:18, 19, 30; 6:12, 23, 32, 37; 10:17; 16:28; 23:32; 29:8 (x2); 30:17, 19; 31:32 and 32:29. In 29:8, the use of *səm* is related to the etymology of Galeed (Gen 31:47) and so the verse is left out of investigation here.

Scholars agree now in general that the use of תעודה in Jubilees most probably stems from Isa 8:16, 20.²⁵⁷ What is less often considered is the use of תעודה and עדות in the Dead Sea scrolls, and whether this might help us determine the meaning of *sām*^c (“testimony”) in Jubilees.²⁵⁸ I agree fully with the majority of scholars that the Book of Jubilees comes from the pre-Qumranite era. Nevertheless, the Dead Sea scrolls present us the use of these words from almost the same period and, moreover, Jubilees had its own impact on Qumranite theology.²⁵⁹

In *TDOT*, Helmer Ringgren writes on the use of the root עוּד in the DSS. According to him, the term עדות occurs three times (1Q22 II, 1; CD III, 15; XX, 31) and seems to denote stipulations or such.²⁶⁰ With the help of *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance* on non-biblical scrolls,²⁶¹ I found seven more possible attestations.²⁶² Most of them come from very small fragments. In *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* by Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar,²⁶³ עדות or עדוות is often translated as “stipulations” or “decrees”, although twice also as “witnesses” (4Q372 1, 28) and “testimony” (4Q375 1 ii 7, with ארון, i.e., the ark of the testimony) respectively. Interesting, too, is 4Q471 2, 2, where one keeps “pledges of your covenant” (עדוות ברייתכה). The term seems to refer to covenantal stipulations and thus has the covenantal connotation emphasized by Segal.²⁶⁴

By contrast, Ringgren notes that “The form *te’udā* undergoes a particular semantic development.”²⁶⁵ According to him, it occurs in several places in connexion with מועד (1QM XIV, 13; 1QS I, 9; III, 10) where it refers to some sort of appointed or predetermined time. *DCH* gives the gloss “fixed time, predetermined time, predetermined thing, destiny, sign” for many attestations in

²⁵⁷ The third attestation in the Hebrew Bible is Ruth 4:7.

²⁵⁸ This has previously been done at some level by George J. Brooke, “Exegetical Strategies in Jubilees 1–2,” in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, ed. Matthias Albani, Jörg Frey, and Armin Lange, TSAJ 65 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 39–57 (51–52) and Cana Werman, “The תורה and the תעודה Engraved on the Tablets,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 9.1 (2002): 75–103. I have not had access to Werman’s article “*Te’udah*—On the Meaning of the Term,” in *Fifty Years of Dead Sea Scrolls Research: Studies in Memory of Jacob Licht*, ed. B. Nitzan and G. Brin (Jerusalem: Yad Ben Zvi Press, 2001), 231–243 (Hebrew).

²⁵⁹ On the influence of Jubilees on Qumran, see esp. Aharon Shemesh, “4Q265 and the Authoritative Status of Jubilees at Qumran,” in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*, ed. Gabriel Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 247–260.

²⁶⁰ Helmer Ringgren, “עוּד, V Qumran,” *TDOT* 10:515–516.

²⁶¹ Martin G. Abegg Jr., James E. Browley, and Edward M. Cook, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance: Volume One, The Non-Biblical Texts from Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

²⁶² 4Q287 9, 13; 4Q364 17, 3; 4Q372 1, 28; 4Q375 1 ii 7; 4Q379 18, 6; 4Q418 120, 1; 4Q471 2, 2. Further, 4Q522 22–25, 3 cites Ps 122:4.

²⁶³ Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden: Brill 1999).

²⁶⁴ Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 295.

²⁶⁵ Ringgren, *TDOT* 10:516.

the DSS, along with “testimony, command, instruction,” “(method of) attestation” and “convocation, required gathering.”²⁶⁶ Ringgren suggests that this term might be derived from *יעד*, rather than from *עוד* (as *עדות*).²⁶⁷ García Martínez and Tigchelaar have often translated them as: 1) stipulations or synonyms with it;²⁶⁸ 2) assembly or convocation;²⁶⁹ 3) appointed time(s) or such;²⁷⁰ 4) course;²⁷¹ 5) testimony(ies), attestation(s) or witness(es);²⁷² 6) pledges;²⁷³ and 7) signs.²⁷⁴ The attestations of *תעודה* in non-biblical scrolls found in Qumran seem to indicate a slight shift in the use of the term. According to Cana Werman, *תעודה* “has the sense of something destined or preordained to take place, a law or action imposed upon all creatures by divine decree.”²⁷⁵ This short evaluation confirms this definition.

Whether the shift comes from the connection to *יעד* rather than *עוד* as Ringgren argues, or not, this meaning or at least a connotation of it in *תעודה* may very well lurk behind the Ge’ez *sām’c* when dealing with calendar or matters related to the calendar. Jubilees 4:30 refers to Ps 90:3–4 and states that 1000 years is one day “in the appointed time/testimony of heaven” (*westa sām’a samāyāt*).

²⁶⁶ DCH 8:658–659. The word *תעודה* is used in following non-biblical Qumran scrolls: 1Q36 (1, 2), 1QH^a (IX, 19; X, 37; XIV, 19; XX, 9), 1QM (II, 8; III, 4; IV, 5; XI, 8; XIII, 8; XIV, 4, 13), 1QS (I, 9; III, 10, 16), 1QSa (I, 25–26), 4Q215^a (1 ii 6), 4Q216 (II, 5; IV, 4; VII, 17), 4Q249e (1 ii 5), 4Q255 (2, 6), 4Q259^b (1), 4Q286 (1 ii 10), 4Q298 (3–4 ii 8), 4Q300 (1aii-b, 2), 4Q369 (1 i 7), 4Q402 (1, 3), 4Q403 (1 i 27), 4Q404 (2, 9), 4Q428 (18, 2), 4Q491 (8–10 i 11), 4Q502 (7–9, 11, 18; 14, 3; 43, 1; 159, 3), 4Q504 (1–2 ii 17), 4Q510 (1, 7), 4Q511 (42, 3; 63–64 ii 2); 4Q525 (30, 2) and 11Q17 (X, 3). I have consulted *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance*. They give the gloss “ordained time, confirmation, testimony” for *תעודה*, *תעודה*.

²⁶⁷ Ringgren, *TDOT* 10:516. See also Heinz-Josef Fabry, “*יעד*, *jā’ad*,” *ThWQ* 2:182–191 (183).

²⁶⁸ See 1QS I, 9, where the word is found with *מועד* (“their appointed times” by Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* [50th Anniversary Edition; London: Penguin Books, 2011], 99, preferable); 1QM II, 8; III, 4; IV, 5; XI, 8; XIII, 8; XIV, 13; 4Q369 1 i 7; 4Q402 1, 3; 4Q491 8–10 i 11.

²⁶⁹ See 1QS III, 10 (=4Q255 2, 6) with *מועד* (“the times appointed,” so Vermes, *Complete*, 101, is preferable); 1QSa I, 25–26; 4Q403 1 i 27.

²⁷⁰ See 1QS III, 16; 1Q36 1, 2; 4Q286 1 ii 10; 4Q510 1, 7; also 4Q428 18, 2 in DJD29. See also Vermes on 1QS I, 9 and 1QS III, 10 (=4Q255 2, 6), as noted above.

²⁷¹ See 1QH^a IX, 19; but “destiny” in Vermes, *Complete*, 260. This seems to have the same connotation as something “appointed” or “predetermined.”

²⁷² See 1QH^a X, 37; XIV, 19; XX, 9 (“precept” in Vermes, *Complete*, 296; the context refers to seasons and periods and their course.); 5, 11; 4Q215a 1 ii 6; 4Q298 3–4 ii 8 (“appointed time” in Vermes, *Complete*, 242); 4Q502 7–10, 11; 7–10, 18; 14, 3; 4Q504 1–2 ii 17; 4Q511 42, 3; 63–64 ii 2, with *מועד* (“appointed periods” in Vermes, *Complete*, 453).

²⁷³ 1QM XIV, 4 (“the appointed times of salvation” in Vermes, *Complete*, 180).

²⁷⁴ 4Q300 1aii-b, 2 (“attestations of heave[n]” in Vermes, *Complete*, 409). Interestingly, the term *חתום* “seal” is used in the same context, reminiscent of Isa 8:16.

²⁷⁵ Cana Werman, “The *Torah*,” 83. So also Ulrich Dahmen, “*תעודה*, *tēūdāh*,” *ThWQ* 3:1150–1151.

This too could be the case with Jubilees 6:23, 32, and 37. The four memorial days are “written down and prescribed as *eternal appointed time/testimony*” (šəḥufāt ’amāntu wa-šaru’āt la-səm’a ’ālam, Jub 6:23). Jubilees 6:32 states that when one keeps the year according to its number, 364 days, “everything will happen in harmony with their *appointed time/testimony*” (’asma kʷəllu yəbaššəḥ ba-kama səm’omu) and thus all festivals fall on their appointed times. Səm’ in Jub 6:37 can also be understood in the way proposed here: “Therefore years will come about for them when they will disturb (the year) and make a day of *testimony/fixed time* (’alata səm’) something worthless and a profane day a festival.”

The same connotation can very well be suggested with the festivals too. Abraham celebrated the Festival of Tabernacles “in its time, according to the *fixed time/testimony* (תעודה) of heavenly tablets” (ba’āla ba-gizēhā ba-kama səm’a šəllāta samāy, Jub 16:28). In the same way, the “Addition” that Jacob celebrates in Jubilees 32:29 is registered to the “*fixed time/testimony* of festival days” (yā’arrəgu yə’əti ba-səm’a mawā’ala ba’āl ba-kama ḥolqʷa mawā’al za-’āmat).

The same explanatory power is also to be found at the end of Jubilees 23. The eschatological elaboration on Psalm 90 is, in the end, “written and entered in the *fixed time/testimony* of the heavenly tablets for the history of eternity” (’asma kama-zə šəḥuf wə’ātu wa-ya’arrəgu wəsta səm’a šəllāta samāy la-təwladd za-la-’ālam, Jub 23:32).

The “Law and Testimony” attested in Prologue, 1:4, 26, 29 could also be included here. Even Jub 2:24 could be understood as “This is the *fixed time* and the first Law” (zə²⁷⁶-səm’ wa-ḥəgg qadāmi/[...הראשונה]). Alternatively, it may be the case that תעודה had the connotation of a fixed, prescribed time (or thing) attested in the Qumran texts, but still maintained its “testimonial” or “legal” main connotation in common with עדות.

By contrast, the confirmed attestation of תעודה in Jubilees 1:8²⁷⁷ may very well mean “testimony,” where the original use related to root עוד is meant. This תעודה, the book, is the witness.²⁷⁸ The same applies to passages concerning Enoch in Jubilees 4:18–19, 30, and 10:17.

In Jubilees 3:14, səm’ is originally most probably תעודה (attested along with תורה/ḥəgg), but עדות cannot be ruled out. Here it seems to mean a law or stipulation. The stipulation itself concerns a *time* during which the mother is impure and should not visit the sanctuary. I argue that תעודה/עדות in Jubilees 6:12 means some kind of a covenantal prescription, along with what Segal

²⁷⁶ The relative pronoun *za* in VanderKam’s edition, but see 4Q216 VII, 17.

²⁷⁷ Only the one in 4Q216 II, 5 is actually attested in this column, whereas the earlier תעודה is retroverted from Ge’ez.

²⁷⁸ Here, of course, Deut 31:21 is the main biblical lemma behind the phrase, but by using תעודה instead of עוד the author connects it with Isa 8:14–16. On this, see Brooke, “Exegetical Strategies,” 43.

proposes:²⁷⁹ “This *covenantal stipulation/testimony* has been written regarding you (*wa-ṣəḥəft zāti sām‘ lā’lēkamu*) to keep it for all times so that you may not at any time eat any blood of animals or birds throughout all the days of the earth.” It is impossible to be certain that עדות was used here, since we do not have any of these particular verses preserved in the Qumran manuscripts.

However, עדות may be behind the use of *sām‘* in Jubilees 30:19 and 31:32. Alternatively, the connotation of עדות as “covenant” has been added to תעודה. I, thus, agree here with Segal in this respect.²⁸⁰ By contrast, the use of *sām‘* in 30:17 is clearly related to “testimony” or “witness.” It is also worth noting, that in 30:17, 19, whereas Ge‘ez only has *sām‘*, the Latin palimpsest uses two different words: *testificatio* (30:17) and the more common *testimonium* (30:19).

To summarize, there may be two different words, namely עדות (“covenant, covenantal stipulation, testimony”) and תעודה (“appointed or fixed time, testimony”)²⁸¹ which, via the Greek, have been rendered as *sām‘* in Ethiopic Jubilees. This would explain the difficulty of defining the scope and the meaning of this odd word. Alternatively, תעודה has possibly adapted the semantic field of עדות. Without more manuscript evidence, however, my thesis here is hard to verify with full certainty.

Why did the author use תעודה in Jubilees 1 and 2 (4Q216) instead of עדות? As mentioned earlier, תעודה is used alongside תורה in Isa 8:16, 20. One further reason is that, in my opinion, the author wanted to emphasize the relationship between creation or created order (*Schöpfungsordnung*) and the covenant, given the later connotation of תעודה in Qumran literature, as discussed above. Jubilees 2:24–31 relates the Sabbath to the patriarch Jacob, so that the covenant with Jacob, i.e., Israel, is established already at the creation of the world. The author of Jubilees has chosen the term in order to enhance this connection.

²⁷⁹ Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 300–301.

²⁸⁰ Generally, see Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 292–297. However, I disagree with him regarding Jub 23:32 (297–298).

²⁸¹ This comes close to the views proposed by Brooke, “Exegetical Strategies,” and Werman, “The *Torah*,” concerning the meaning of תעודה. VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 78–79, proposes the essence of the word *sām‘* as “a message that is ... the book of Jubilees itself (and probably more)”: 1) clarifying and explaining different laws (2:33; 3:14; 4:30; 6:12; 16:28), 2) providing examples from history (23:32; 30:17, 19; 31:32) and 3) presenting the preordained divisions of time and calendar (Prologue, Jub 1 and 6 on matters related to calendars). This also comes close to the view presented here. In my opinion, the difference is that the various functions can be explained by two separate Hebrew words behind *sām‘*. In order to emphasize this once more, I reiterate that I understand the limits and problems related to this view, because it is impossible to verify this with manuscript evidence. Nevertheless, תעודה is attested in 4Q216, which deals *only* with Jub 1 and 2, so the evidence the other way is more limited than what is often acknowledged.

I also argue that the third attestation of תעודה in the Hebrew Bible in Ruth 4:7 inspired the use of תעודה instead of עדות in Jubilees.²⁸² According to the Masoretic consonantal text, the phrase at the end of Ruth 4:7 goes וזאת התעודה בישראל. The author thus had the possibility to connect the phrase התעודה בישראל in Ruth 4:7 to עדות ביעקב and תורה בישראל in Ps 78:5, where ביעקב and בישראל on the one hand, and the perhaps more or less synonymous (or at least interrelated) words עדות and תעודה on the other, are shared terms. The shared context of the key terms תורה and תעודה in Isa 8:16, 20, also provided the author with a possibility to substitute עדות with תעודה and connect it with the תורה of Ps 78:5. Thus, one can possibly see traces of an ancient interpretive technique later named as *gezera shava*, where rare words or uncommon phrases are connected and an interpretation is made.²⁸³ The author utilized these shared words and phrases when making the interpretation that the covenant was established with Israel already in the Creation, and that its stipulations concern the patriarch Jacob in particular.

I thus argue that Ps 78:5 has been important in the reception of the Jacob Story in Jubilees. These allusions to a “testimony/covenant/covenantal stipulation” established in Jacob and the Torah set in Israel before the exodus (cf. also Ps 105:6–11) provide the interpretive possibility to think that Jacob received some sort of covenantal stipulations before Sinai. It is worth noting that עדות is used especially as *nomen regens* with לחות (Exod 31:18; 32:15; 34:29). As Segal has pointed out, עדות has a clear connotation and the word and its cognates are often used in Deuteronomistic literature.²⁸⁴ During the third and second centuries BCE, Deuteronomy was very influential and much read, as the number of manuscripts found among the DSS shows. Since the book was one of the foundational bulwarks on which an early Jewish identity was formed,²⁸⁵ and since the patriarch Jacob was thought to signify Israel typologically, the connection between Jacob and Deuteronomy’s addressing of Israel in the second person singular could be made. I return to these aspects in chapter 3 below.

²⁸² I thank Lotta Valve for bringing this detail to my observation.

²⁸³ On *gezera shava*, see David Instone Brewer, *Techniques and Assumptions in Jewish Exegesis Before 70 CE*, TSAJ 30 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 18; Lotta Valve, *Early Modes of Exegesis: Ideal Figures in Malachi as a Test Case* (Åbo: Åbo Akademi University Press, 2014), 34–38.

²⁸⁴ Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 295–296.

²⁸⁵ See Timo Veijola, *Moses Erben: Studien zum Dekalog, zum Deuteronomismus und zum Schriftgelehrtentum*, BWAN 149 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2000).

2.2.3 The Transmission of the “Torah and Testimony”

As noted above, the “Testimony” and “Torah” mentioned in Ps 78:5 are influential for the author of Jubilees. However, this is not all. The verses which follow, namely Ps 78:5b–8, also seem to be important in Jubilees. There, it is said that God commanded “our fathers” to make these stipulations and commandments given to Jacob/Israel known to “their children,” so that the subsequent generations would know the Torah and Testimony and not forget God’s commandments. Consequently, *the transmission of Torah/Testimony is emphasized*, and that order was given to “our fathers.”

Many different “testimonies” or “testaments” given by patriarchs to their children in Jubilees.²⁸⁶ All the patriarchs, starting from Noah, give advice and instructions to their children in order that they would follow God’s ordinances.

David Lambert has emphasized Genesis 18:19 as the exegetical basis for the patriarchal transmission of laws.²⁸⁷ The verse goes as follows:²⁸⁸

For I have chosen him (Abraham) that he may instruct (יצוה) his children and his house after him (את בניו ואת ביתו אחריו) and that they (thus) will keep the way of YHWH by doing what is right (צדקה) and just (משפט)...

Lambert argues that Jubilees’ system of transmission emerges from a series of questions that can be asked of this verse:

1) Gen. 18:19 indicates that Abraham instructed his *children* to “keep the way of the LORD,” but at the time of the event to which this verse alludes only Ishmael had been born to Abraham. When did this instruction occur? 2) What precisely does it mean to do “what is right” (צדקה)? 3) What does it mean to do “what is just” (משפט)? 4) Why does it say that Abraham commanded “his children” *and* “his posterity” (literally: his house after him)? Did Abraham give additional testaments? 5) Did only Abraham instruct his children or did other patriarchs do so as well? 6) Were such instructions only passed on orally, or was some sort of written medium also in use?²⁸⁹

With the help of these interpretive questions, Lambert demonstrates how Abraham had three different testaments. One was given to *all* his children (including Ishmael), one was given to Isaac, and one to Jacob. He demonstrates that “what is right” refers to Leviticus 19:18 and “what is just” refers to the relationship with God, and that the details of what is included are deduced from the details of the Abraham Cycle and other details from Genesis.²⁹⁰ In the

²⁸⁶ Enoch’s testament in Jub 4:17–18; Noah’s testament in Jub 6–7; Abraham’s many testaments in Jub 19–22; Rebekah and Isaac’s testaments in Jub 35 and 36 respectively; Jacob’s testament in Jub 45:13–16. In Jub 45:16, it is stated that Levi was given all the earlier books in order to preserve them and relate them to his sons until “today.” That is, after Jacob, the duty of transmission is on the Levites’ shoulders.

²⁸⁷ David Lambert, “Last Testaments in the Book of Jubilees,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 11.1 (2004): 83–107.

²⁸⁸ Translation mine.

²⁸⁹ Lambert, “Last Testaments,” 87. Emphasis is his.

²⁹⁰ Lambert, “Last Testaments,” 87–97.

remainder of the article, Lambert also shows how the contents of “testaments” by Enoch (Jub 4:17–18), Noah (Jub 6–7), Rebekah (Jub 35) and Isaac (Jub 36) are worked out, either from details concerning their lives, or from exegetical traditions connected to these patriarchal figures.²⁹¹

However, Lambert also notices that the “testament” by Jacob (Jub 45:13–16) does not seem to be a testament or testimony at all.²⁹² He writes that the reason for this is that “Jacob simply does not have any particular commandments associated exegetically with his life, leaving a testament unnecessary.”²⁹³

Lambert concludes his article by noting that the transmission of laws is a dynamic process “with new revelation being pronounced and recorded in nearly every generation.”²⁹⁴ Thus, according to his view on the author(s) of Jubilees, the process still continues to the author’s day. According to Lambert, this is similar to the “revealed laws” and “hidden laws” at Qumran.²⁹⁵

I find Lambert’s arguments convincing in almost all respects. He emphasizes the *exegetical nature* of the contents of the testaments. The contents of these testaments do not come from thin air but are the result of a close reading of the narrative. This comes close to what Segal has said concerning the different *halakic* sections: They are elaborated on and selected *in the limits of the narrative itself*.²⁹⁶ This also means, as Lambert himself writes, that the contents are not necessarily central to Jubilees’ main agenda, although overlaps can be found.²⁹⁷ In my opinion, such overlaps abound.

Nevertheless, regarding the concluding remark on the dynamic ongoing process of revelation, I disagree somewhat with Lambert. The reason for this is the nature of Jacob’s testament. In the renarration of Jubilees, there are many *halakic* additions related to the Jacob Cycle. Thus, there *is* material that could be elaborated upon and testified to in a sort of final testament. This includes, for example, the correct tithing (Gen 28; 35; cf. Jub 32) or how to deal with intermarriage and the Hivvites in the Promised Land (Gen 34; cf. Jub 30 and Deut 7:1–4; 20:16–18).²⁹⁸ Similarly, Jacob’s blessing in Genesis 49 gives a very fine *exegetical basis* for instructing his sons.²⁹⁹ The author of Jubilees has a perfect

²⁹¹ Lambert, “Last Testaments,” 97–103.

²⁹² Lambert, “Last Testaments,” 103–104.

²⁹³ Lambert, “Last Testaments,” 104.

²⁹⁴ Lambert, “Last Testaments,” 106.

²⁹⁵ Lambert, “Last Testaments,” 106–107.

²⁹⁶ Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 278–279; see also the discussion above.

²⁹⁷ Lambert, “Last Testaments,” 107.

²⁹⁸ See further ch. 3 below.

²⁹⁹ The word צוה is used, albeit in reference to Jacob’s burial (Gen 49:29, 33; these “commandments” are omitted in Jub 45), but the word is at the end of the chapter and could even be interpreted as closing words regarding the whole chapter. As Lambert, “Last Testaments,” 96–97, himself notes: “Blessing, as an ancient biblical interpreter would have thought, goes together with commanding.” Cf. Jub 36:17, where VanderKam reconstruct ויכל יוכל in 4Q223–224 frg 2 III, 8–9 (the *taw* is discerned in line 9; cf. Eth *wa-faššama ’anza ya’ēzzazomu*).

opportunity, once again in the mouth of the most prestigious character³⁰⁰ in the whole book, to elaborate on the many commandments and ethical advisements that could be found by a similar reading of Jacob's life as done with the other patriarchs. The author, however, neglects this perfect opportunity and simply states that Jacob blessed his sons and then told them about what would happen to them in Egypt, and what was to come in the last days (Jub 45:14).³⁰¹ In my opinion, there must be a reason behind this.

Perhaps the reason is that the process of revelation was seen as coming to an end in Jacob. The revelation is now written in the books: "He gave all his books and the books of his fathers³⁰² to his son Levi so that he could preserve them and renew them for his sons until today" (*wa-wahabo k'wallo maṣāḥaftihu wa-maṣāḥafta 'abawihu la-Lēwi waldu kama ya'qabon wa-kama yaḥaddason la-weludu 'aska zāti 'alat*, Jub 45:16).

Thus, the author of Jubilees presents a dynamic, ongoing revelation. In the narration of Jubilees, however, it does not continue up to Sinai, or even further, as Lambert proposes. Instead, everything has already been revealed to Jacob/Israel who, in turn, transmits his and his fathers' books to Levi, the character who also symbolizes the Levites/priests. As VanderKam has noted, the phrase "until today" is now possibly used with the meaning that Levi, i.e., Levites/priests continued to have the same task during the second Century BCE, when Jubilees was written.³⁰³

Even Jubilees 36:20 backs this up.³⁰⁴ There it is told that Jacob "worshipped the Lord wholeheartedly and in line with the revealed commands according to what he had discerned in his generation." (*ba-kama ta'azāzāt za-yāstarā'i ba-kama falaṭa za-mawā'ala laḏatu*, Jub 36:20; own translation). VanderKam translates the phrase as "in line with the revealed commands according to the divisions of the times of his generation." The difference is whether one should read G verb in the perfect *falaṭa* "he separated, divided, discerned, distinguished," or as a noun

³⁰⁰ According to John C. Endres, *Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Jubilees*, CBQMS 18 (Washington: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1987), 18, c. 45% of the whole book deals with Jacob traditions!

³⁰¹ This might also be the exegetical background for the revelation that Jacob receives from the second vision in Jub 32:21–26. Kugel, *Walk through*, 154–157, 274–280, sees this second vision as a later interpolation that perhaps did not stem from his "Interpolator." According to him, the original version ended in 32:19 and continued in 32:22b. The biblical basis, however, can be found in Gen 49. How did Jacob know "the future" of his children and what is to come? (Gen 49:1) Answer: an angel had revealed it to him. The difference here in Jub 32:21 is that instead of the common "heavenly tablets" (*ṣallāta samāy*), the angel is carrying "seven pages or columns" (*ṣalēdāt*, derived from *σελίς*, see LXX Jer 43:23 [cf. MT Jer 36:23]) in his hand. Probably the vision was not an invention by the author, but a tradition he had inherited and adapted. Cf. Hans A. Rapp, *Jakob in Bet-El: Gen 35,1–15 und die jüdische Literatur des 3. und 2. Jahrhunderts*, HBS 29 (Freiburg: Herder, 2001), 238–241.

³⁰² The Latin version has *patris sui*. This might refer to Abraham, who has collected "his fathers' books" (Jub 12:27). Jacob has read Abraham's words to Joseph regarding adultery (Jub 39:6). Thus, the meaning remains the same: Abraham's books include the books of Abraham's fathers.

³⁰³ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 1115.

³⁰⁴ The following analyses on Jubilees 36:20 and 33:15–16 are lacking from the previous published version of this chapter in Tanskanen, "He Established."

fəlṭata “division” (in st.cstr.). VanderKam opts for *fəlṭata* mainly because Latin has *diuisionem*.³⁰⁵ However, no manuscript evidence is found to support such a reading in Ge’ez. Furthermore, the emendation would change two Ge’ez letters, **ፈ** to **ፍ** and **ለ** to **ለ**, and it would even need one further letter, *ta* (**ተ**), thus **ፍለጠተ** *fəlṭata* instead of **ፈለጠ** *falaṭa*. Although there is much variation in the Ge’ez manuscripts in general, the clear majority of variations are such that concern one and the same letter³⁰⁶ with a different vowel attached to it, as in between **ሰ** *sa* and **ሰ** *s(ə)*, to give but one example. In my opinion, in this particular case there is too much to emend without any manuscript support. Furthermore, if one takes the reading of mss. 20, 25, and 35 *ba-mawā’ala* instead of *za-mawā’ala* as original, the translation proposed above by me is even more suitable. Admittedly, if *za-mawā’ala* (lit. “of days”) is to be preferred, the interpretation given above is a little more awkward.

The Ge’ez is also *lectio difficilior* compared with the Latin which reads *secundum diuisionem temporum generationum eius*. It should be noted, however, that Latin *diuisio* can also be taken in the value of “distinction” or “division into classes.”³⁰⁷ In this case, *temporum generationum eius* “the times of his generation” would refer to the times when Jacob was living and making these “distinctions” of revealed laws. Whatever the case, the basic argument here is that Jubilees 36:20, along with 45:16, reveals the dynamic procession of the revealed laws of the Torah *until Jacob*. One should note, furthermore, that behind *za-yāstarə*”i (lit. “what is visible;” cf. Lat *uisibilia*) may lurk a niphthal form of גלה, i.e., “what is revealed.” This would refer to the revealed laws of the Torah (see, e.g., 1QS VIII, 1, 15–16).³⁰⁸

A similar result is found in the case of Reuben and Bilhah in Jubilees 33. The author was at pains to explain why the punishment decreed on a sin deserving death sentence, namely sleeping with the wife of one’s father, did not apply to Reuben.³⁰⁹ Thus, the author writes (Jub 33:15–16):

³⁰⁵ VanderKam, *Jubilees Translated*, 241; *idem*, *Jubilees*, 955.

³⁰⁶ Alternatively, in a number of cases the consonants are almost interchangeable as they were pronounced in the same way, at least when Ge’ez survived only as a literary and liturgical language. This is often true for the consonant clusters *s/š*, *ʾ/ʿ*, *h/ḥ/h* and *d/ṣ*. See Thomas O. Lambdin, *Introduction to Classical Ethiopic (Ge’ez)*, HSS 24 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978; repr. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 13–14.

³⁰⁷ See P. G. W. Glare, ed., *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 620.

³⁰⁸ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 967. According to Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony, and the Penal Code*, BJS 33 (Chico: Scholars Press; Brown University, 2020), 15, the law fell into two categories at Qumran, those of גלה “revealed,” and those of נסתר “hidden.” The first one was rooted in Scripture and “obvious to anyone,” whereas the second was only revealed to the sect. See also, e.g., CD V, 4–5; XV, 13; 1QS I, 9; V, 9; IX, 13, 19.

³⁰⁹ Although Lev 20:11 states that both the man and the woman are to be punished by death, Deut 22:25–27 applies in the case of Bilhah, as she cried out in Jub 33:4. This is noted by Betsy Halpern-Amaru, *The Empowerment of Women in the Book of Jubilees*, JSJSup 60 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 109–110; followed by VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 903–904. Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 78–79 (esp. 78 n. 20), argues that Jub 33:15 would state (over against the rewritten narrative in Jub 33:4) that Bilhah would also be under judgement, but he translates the verse in a false way, following

33:15 They are not to say, “Reuben was allowed to live and (have) forgiveness after he had slept with the concubine of his father while she had a husband and her husband—his father Jacob—was alive.” 33:16 For the statute, the punishment, and the law had not been completely (*fəṣṣuma*) revealed regarding everything (*la-kʷəllu*)³¹⁰ but (only) in your time as a law of its particular time and as an eternal law for the history of eternity.

The phrase *la-kʷəllu* (lit. “to/for all”) in Jubilees 33:16 is open for different interpretations. Does it mean “all cases,” i.e., that the revealed law had not yet covered all specific cases?³¹¹ Alternatively, does it say that the law was not revealed to *everyone*, i.e., the law was revealed perhaps to Judah or Joseph, but not to Reuben (and Bilhah),³¹² or should it be taken as referring to *time*, i.e., the law was not yet revealed for every time, and that only after Moses was it revealed for all time?³¹³ In my opinion, the first interpretation is to be preferred.³¹⁴ According to the testament of Abraham in Jubilees 20:3–6, women who fornicate (*zammawat*, Jub 20:4) will be burnt in fire. This is why Judah knew the punishment he decreed on Tamar in Jubilees 41:28.³¹⁵ Joseph, by contrast, knew the statutes of Abraham, too, and here he referred to Abraham’s words of which Jacob had informed him (Jub 39:6–7):³¹⁶

39:6 He remembered the Lord and what his father Jacob would read to him from the words of Abraham (*wa-qālāta za-yānabbəb Yā‘qob ‘abuhu za-’əm-wəsta qālāta ‘abrāhām*)—that no one is to commit adultery with a woman who has a husband; that there is a death penalty (*kʷənnanē mot*) that has been ordained for him in heaven before the Most High God. The sin will be entered regarding him in the eternal books forever before the Lord. 39:7 Joseph remembered what he had said (*zanta nəbāba*) and refused to sleep with her.

Both Anderson (who prefers the interpretation that *la-kʷəllu* in Jubilees 33:16 refers to “all cases”) and Segal (preferring “all people”) argue that Jubilees 39:6–7 reveals that Joseph did know the commandment not to sleep with a married

Charles. He also does not mention the prep. *la* before Reuben (see also 4Q221 4, 9, where לרובן is attested) in his analysis of the Ge’ez syntax. This is noted by VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 909 n. 40. Thus, the verse is all about Reuben, and the following *wa-yə’əti-ni* only underlines that Bilhah, furthermore, had a husband. On the enclitic suffix *-ni*, see Lambdin, *Introduction*, §51.4b.

³¹⁰ *Pro* “to all” (VanderKam). See the discussion below.

³¹¹ Anderson, “Status of Torah,” 21–24.

³¹² Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 77–81.

³¹³ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 811.

³¹⁴ The following interpretation comes close to what VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 911, argues, although he prefers the interpretation of time. The dimension of time is inherently connected to the interpretation of “case,” since all the cases became revealed in due course.

³¹⁵ On Judah and Tamar in Jub 41, see Topias K. E. Tanskanen, “Expectations of a Royal Messiah in the Book of Jubilees? The Case of Judah,” in *Herald of Good Tidings: Essays on the Bible, Prophecy and the Hope of Israel in Honour of Antti Laato*, ed. Pekka Lindqvist and Lotta Valve, HBM 97 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2021), 133–159 (142–148).

³¹⁶ James C. VanderKam and J. T. Milik, “Jubilees,” in *Qumran Cave 4, VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1*, ed. Harold Attridge et al, DJD 13 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 1–185 (79–80), show that 4Q221 7, 4–9, have preserved only few words from these verses in Hebrew. The rest in their *editio princeps* is retroverted from Ge’ez. The Latin has not survived. Thus, the Ge’ez is practically the only option for analysis.

woman. Should it then logically follow that Reuben was acquainted with the commandment too? For Anderson, Reuben was simply more lenient and did not think that it applied to Bilhah.³¹⁷ Thus, he knew the commandment not to sleep with a married woman, but Bilhah, as his father's wife (or concubine), presented a special case, where the law was not directly applicable. For Segal, since Reuben apparently did not know the commandment derived from Abraham, but Joseph did, it had not yet been revealed to everyone, i.e., it was not revealed to Reuben before Reuben raped Bilhah.

The situation is, however, more complex than presented by either Anderson or Segal. First, Jubilees 20:3–6 is the only stipulation where a punishment is given, this time in the form of burning, for a *woman fornicator*. Thus, Judah knew that specific commandment (Jub 41:28), as both notice correctly. However, the stipulation that Judah knew and referred to only referred to a woman fornicator.

Second, regarding the episode of Reuben and Bilhah in Jubilees 33:15–16 and that of Joseph and Potiphar's Wife in 39:6–7, the chronology and order of events should be taken into consideration. The punishment, "a transgression (worthy) of death" (*'abbasā mot*, Jub 33:18),³¹⁸ is revealed to Jacob when Reuben rapes Bilhah. The incident between Joseph and Potiphar's wife occurs *only later*.

Third, Joseph remembers the *reading* or *utterance* (*nəbāb*, Jub 39:7), namely that of Jacob *reading* or *studying* (*yānabbəb*)³¹⁹ from the words of Abraham (*za-ʾəm-wəsta qālāta ʾabrəhām*), albeit not the exact words of Abraham. Thus, it does not necessarily follow from Jubilees 39:6–7 that the commandment would already have been given by Abraham in reference to sleeping with a married woman but is an elaboration of Jacob on the basis of Abraham's words, and perhaps on the basis of what Reuben had done by raping Bilhah! One should also note that the Ge'ez translator uses an imperfect form (*yānabbəb*), which, when taken in a past tense, refers to habitual, durative, or iterative action.³²⁰ Thus, Jacob was reading and meditating on the words of Abraham and *used to read* them to his children, of course with some explication included. In other words, the commandment that Joseph remembers in Jubilees 39:6–7 may have been based on Abraham's words (such as Jub 20:3–6; 22:10–24; or what Jacob refers to in 25:5), but the actual explication is a result of Jacob's meditation after the incident with Reuben and Bilhah. None of the mentioned words of Abraham

³¹⁷ Anderson, "Status of Torah," 21 n. 38.

³¹⁸ Cf. Jub 39:6 *kʷənnanē mot* "death sentence."

³¹⁹ According to Wolf Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic): Ge'ez-English / English-Ge'ez with an index of the Semitic roots* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1987), 383, CG *'anbaba* also has the meaning of "study, meditate." Thus, it may be that Joseph remembers what Jacob had read and meditated from the words of Abraham! VanderKam & Milik, "Jubilees," 79–83, restore קרא for *'anbaba* in 4Q221 7, 5 (Jub 39:6) and מקרא in 4Q221 7, 8 (Jub 39:7) with a note that the retroversion of the noun echoes the previous verb. Both Hebrew terms are found in Neh 8:8, where the Torah is read aloud (קרא), and what is read (מקרא) is interpreted. Again, both are retroverted from Ge'ez. Thus, also VanderKam and Milik note the connection between the terms.

³²⁰ Lambdin, *Introduction*, §32.2; Josef Tropper, *Altäthiopisch: Grammatik des Ge'ez mit Übungstext und Glossar*, ELO 2 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2002), §54.232.

mention *expressis verbis* the prohibition to sleep with a married woman (or that a *male* fornicator is to be punished by death).

Thus, according to the author, the stipulations were not revealed in totality regarding every case during Reuben's time, but rather in the time of Moses. As I argue, furthermore, in the mind of the author the revelation was completed already during the life of Jacob who gave all the books to Levi (Jub 45:16).³²¹ Afterwards, Joseph did know the stipulation in Jubilees 39 very well, since the event that caused elaboration occurred before the wife of Potiphar tried to have sex with Joseph.³²² The commandment, along with others, became clear during Jacob's life.

To summarize, God established His Testimony/Covenantal Stipulations in Jacob, and placed His Torah in Israel. God also commanded "our fathers" to transmit and make them known to "their children" (Ps 78:5). This is what the "fathers" of the Israelites do in Jubilees, and Levi and his sons continue to do this after the transmission of commandments has been fulfilled in Jacob.

As a side note, the idea of the transmission of commandments and of the retelling of the marvellous acts of YHWH is clearly something that is also underlined in Deuteronomy (e.g., Deut 6:1–9; 11:18–21). In addition, perhaps the same idea in Ps 78:5–8 might itself allude to this Deuteronomic ideal.³²³ Testimonial accounts were also otherwise known, and the author most probably knew, for example, 1 Enoch 82:1–2, where Enoch recounts and writes down all that had been revealed to him so that his son Methuselah could pass them on to the next generation. Thus, the author of Jubilees could have adapted and modified the idea of testimonial accounts from 1 Enoch, in the same way as he did with "the Heavenly tablets"-motif and with certain other traditions.³²⁴

Thus, the author of Jubilees probably did not take this theme only from Ps 78:5–8. I do agree with Lambert in that Genesis 18:19 was influential in this respect.³²⁵ Nevertheless, I also argue that Ps 78:5–8 has played a major role, especially concerning how the "testaments" seem to cease with Jacob. The author of Jubilees has interpreted Ps 78:5–8 in such a way that helps him to understand

³²¹ This interpretation remains valid even if one prefers the interpretation *la-kwəllu* (Jub 33:16) referring to time, as VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 811, argues.

³²² Additionally, it should be noted that the *sui generis* case of Reuben and Bilhah was a problem for the author. In his *halakic* system, Reuben should have deserved death (and the readers/listeners most probably agreed), but he had to anticipate the reaction and make some excuse for Reuben, so that people would not use him as an example. A similar phenomenon is found in the case of Judah in Jubilees 41, too, on which, see Tanskanen, "Expectations," 142–148. Although the author had the possibility simply to bypass problematic passages almost totally (such as the Jabbok incident and Jacob bowing down to Esau in Genesis 32:23–33:20), in certain cases he had to build up some apologetic interpretation.

³²³ Hossfeld & Zenger, *Psalmen 51–100*, 433; Klein, *Geschichte und Gebet*, 88.

³²⁴ García Martínez, "Heavenly Tablets," 247–250, 258. On the relationship between Enochic literature and Jubilees, see ch. 1.5 above and the many articles dealing with Jubilees and Enochic literature in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009).

³²⁵ It is interesting that Abraham's House, in the author's view, is the patriarch Jacob, who shall establish Abraham's name and shall build his house (Jub 22:24). See further ch. 4.3.8 below.

the Book of Deuteronomy as the Law that had been given to Jacob. This relationship with Jacob and Deuteronomy is discussed further in chapter 3 below.

2.3 Ps 78:67–69, The Election of Zion/Judah and Rejection of Shiloh/Joseph in Jubilees

In the historical account of Ps 78, the election of Zion plays an important role (vv. 67–69):

<p>וימאס באהל יוסף ובשבט אפרים לא בחר:</p>	<p>και ἀπώσατο τὸ σκῆνωμα Ἰωσήφ και τὴν φυλὴν Ἐφραιμ οὐκ ἐξελέξατο·</p>	<p>67 He rejected the tent of Joseph, he did not choose the tribe of Ephraim,</p>
<p>ויבחר את שבט יהודה, את הר ציון אשר אהב:</p>	<p>και ἐξελέξατο τὴν φυλὴν Ἰουδα, τὸ ὄρος τὸ Σιών, ὃ ἠγάπησεν,</p>	<p>68 but he chose the tribe of Judah, the Mount Zion that he loves.</p>
<p>ויבן כמו רמים מקדשו כארץ יסדה לעולם:</p>	<p>και ὠκοδόμησεν ὡς μονοκεράτων τὸ ἅγίασμα αὐτοῦ, ἐν τῇ γῆ ἐθεμελίωσεν αὐτὴν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.</p>	<p>69 And he built his sanctuary like the heights, like the earth that he has established forever.³²⁶</p>

The election of Zion is also connected to the election of the tribe Judah and king David.³²⁷ Conversely, the election of Zion meant a rejection of Shiloh and the tribe of Joseph/Ephraim. The rejection of Shiloh is connected to the worship of idols on the *במות*, and the loss of the Ark of the Covenant to the Philistines (vv. 56–64, cf. 1 Sam 4–6). After the rejection of Shiloh and the northern tribes, the sanctuary would forever be established in Mount Zion.

Zion is mentioned six times in Jubilees: 1:28 (2x); 1:29; 4:26; 8:19 and 18:13. Jubilees 1:26–29 is part of the first clearly eschatological part of Jubilees (1:5–29).³²⁸ There God tells Moses that the people will forget all his commandments

³²⁶ The LXX interpretation of ἐν τῇ γῆ “in the land” instead of “like a land/earth” is probably caused by the similarity between the Hebrew prepositions כ and ב. Perhaps the translator had ב in his *Vorlage*, but it can also be an interpretive choice, which connects the sanctuary with a “forever established land” where the sanctuary is or will be located. The LXX tradition suits the author of Jubilees well, for whom the geographical details, Sinai included, is important, as is discussed in this section 2.3.

³²⁷ Concerning David/Judah, see the following ch. 2.4.

³²⁸ Gene Davenport, *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees*, StPB 20 (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 19–32; Sidnie White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times*, Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 79–80. The other is Jub 23. See, however, John J. Collins, “The Genre of the Book of Jubilees,” in *Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam*, ed. Eric F. Mason, JSJSup 153 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 737–755, according to whom the whole of Jubilees should be seen as a hybrid work, which adapts the genre of *apocalypse*. According to Collins (755), this includes the key elements of the apocalyptic worldview which were connected and modified to the Deuteronomistic historical mould that emphasizes the Torah and the covenant. This means that the eschatological framework should be taken into account when interpreting Jubilees. Although Jubilees concentrates on the past times of Israel, it does so in relation to the awaited future. According to Matthew P. Monger, “The Development of Jubilees 1 in the Late Second Temple Period,” *JSP* 27.2 (2017): 83–112 (see also the introduction and conclusion in *idem*, *4Q216: Rethinking Jubilees in the First Century BCE* [Oslo: MF Norwegian School of Theology, 2018]), 1:15b–25 is

and follow other nations; they will abandon the holy festivals, the tabernacle, and the temple, make בַּמִּוֹת and carved images, and so on. After suffering, however, they will repent and return to God and the relationship between them will be like a father and son.³²⁹ Jubilees 1:26–29 is the climax:

1:26: “Now you write all these words which I tell you on this mountain: what is first and what is after³³⁰ and what is to come during all the divisions of time which are in the Torah and which are in the Testimony and in the weeks of their jubilees until eternity—*until the time when I descend and live with them throughout all the ages of eternity.*” 1:27 Then he said to an angel of the presence: “Dictate to Moses (starting) from the beginning of the creation *until the time when my temple is built among them throughout the ages of eternity.*” 1:28 The Lord will appear in the sight of all, and all will know that I am the God of Israel, the father of all Jacob’s children, *and the king on Mt. Zion for the ages of eternity. Then Zion and Jerusalem will become holy.*” 1:29 The angel of the presence, who was going along in front of the Israelite camp, took the tablets (which told) of the divisions of the years from the time the law and the testimony were created—for the weeks of their jubilees, year by year in their full number, and their jubilees from [the time of the creation until] the time of the new creation when the heavens, the earth, and all their creatures will be renewed like the powers of the sky and like all the creatures of the earth, *until the time when the temple of the Lord will be created in Jerusalem on Mt. Zion.* All the luminaries will be renewed for (the purpose of) healing, health, and blessing for all the elect ones of Israel and so that it may remain this way from that time throughout all the days of the earth.³³¹

Zion and the future temple play an important role in the eschatological expectation in Jubilees.³³² In the final days, God himself will “build my temple

lacking from 4Q216. He agrees, thus, more or less with Davenport, *Eschatology of Jubilees*, 14–15.

³²⁹ This chapter is clearly worked around a *pleroma* of Deuteronomic passages. See, e.g., Betsy Halpern-Amaru, *Rewriting the Bible: Land and Covenant in Postbiblical Jewish Literature* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1994), 49 n. 95; Kugel, *Walk through*, 22–26.

³³⁰ VanderKam has “last”, but here *dahari* clearly means “last” in relation to “the previous,” meaning thus the things after the previous ones. Cf. Kugel, *Walk through*, 26.

³³¹ Emphasis mine. The text is according to the Ethiopic version. 4Q216 IV preserves partly 1:26–28. See VanderKam & Milik, “Jubilees,” 11–12. See also 4Q217, which might very well be one version of Jub 1:29.

³³² Davenport, *Eschatology of Jubilees*, 15–16, 29–31, 75, sees every mention of Zion/sanctuary as a later redaction (which he calls R₂) with cultic emphasis. Although he himself acknowledges the problem of seeing every mention of sanctuary as work of this “sanctuary-oriented” redactor (25 n. 3), nevertheless, he still does it. I fail to be convinced by his general arguments. See further ch. 1.4.2 above. The *halakah* concerning sanctuary is important in Jubilees, and thus “sanctuary” or laws pertaining to the sanctuary are also of interest outside the reconstructed “sanctuary-oriented” redactor of Davenport. See, e.g., the rewriting of Genesis 2–3 in Jubilees 3, and analysis of it in Jessi Orpana, “Awareness of Nudity in *Jubilees* 3: Adam Portrayed as a Priest in the Garden,” in *Crossing Imaginary Boundaries: The Dead Sea Scrolls in the Context of Second Temple Judaism*, PFES 108 (Helsinki: The Finnish Exegetical Society, 2015), 241–258; Topias K. E. Tanskanen, “The Deep Sleep of Adam and Abram in the Book of Jubilees,” in *Understanding Abnormalities in Biblical Figures*, ed. Guido Baltes, Lukas Bormann, and Martin Meiser, SRB 11 (Åbo: Network for the Study of the Reception History of the Bible, 2022), 59–79.

among them and will live with them” (1:17; cf. Ezek 37:26–28), and that temple will be “built among them throughout the ages of eternity (לְעוֹלָמִי עוֹלָמִים)”³³³ (1:27). If the author of Jubilees was reading Ps 78 (in more or less its present form), he would notice that, according to verse 69, the sanctuary in Mt. Zion would be established in such a stable way that it would last forever (לְעוֹלָם). During the post-exilic period, however, it would be difficult to interpret verse 69 as meaning *only* the pre-exilic temple, because of course it did not last forever, but was destroyed. Verse 69, therefore, could either be interpreted as the second temple, or eschatologically.³³⁴ A similar eschatological expectation of a new sanctuary/temple that would last forever is found in Jubilees, too. Actually, as Jacques van Ruiten has shown, the author of Jubilees was not fond of the present temple of his time (which is defiled, see Jub 1:10; 23:21), but speaks positively of the Garden of Eden as the sanctuary (and of other sanctuaries) *before* the first and the second temples, and of the eschatological future Zion and its temple, which is like the Garden of Eden (cf. Isa 51:3).³³⁵ Zion is next mentioned in Jubilees 4:26:

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

Here, Zion is mentioned as part of a list of four holy places. Presumably, there were originally only three places, so that the second place, “the mountain of the east,” stood in apposition to the Garden of Eden. The text became corrupt at this point.³³⁶ Jubilees 4:26 is thus closely connected to 1:29 and the idea of the new

³³³ This is the reconstruction of the Hebrew text from Ge’ez by VanderKam and Milik, “Jubilees,” 12, in 4Q216 IV, 8. Even if Jub 1:17 is a later (Qumranic?) addition, as it seems, basically the same idea is found in Jub 1:27. Monger, “The Development” (and *idem*, 4Q216), understands that vv. 26–29 were also added later along with 1:4b–15a, but this is hypothetical at best and lacks purely text critical and material philological evidence in my opinion (see the discussion of his views in chs. 1.3.1 and 1.4.1 above).

³³⁴ Cf. Klein, *Geschichte und Gebet*, 122: “Die Verwerfung der Nordstämme ist in Ps 78* Bild für die Anbindung an die nachexilischen Restaurationshoffnungen, die sich auf Juda, Zion, und David richten.”

³³⁵ Jacques T. A. G. M. van Ruiten, “Visions of the Temple in the Book of Jubilees,” in *Gemeinde ohne Tempel / Community without Temple: Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum*, ed. Beate Ego, Armin Lange and Peter Pilhofer, WUNT 118 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 215–227 (215–218, 224). Again, even if Jub 1:10 is a later addition, 23:21, if indeed original, states the same.

³³⁶ Kugel, *Walk through*, 50. The apposition would be an interpretation of מְקוֹדֵם in Gen 2:8. *Contra* VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 262, who argues for four holy places. That the Garden of Eden is “in a mountain” or “a mountain” is a known interpretation in, for example, Ephrem the Syrian’s *Paradise Hymns* (1:10–11). Cf. Antti Laato, *Nooa juutalaisessa tulkintatraditiossa ja sen vaikutus varhaiseen kristilliseen tulkintaan* [“Noah in the Jewish Reception History and Its Influence on Early Christian Reception”], *Studia Patristica Fennica* 13 (Helsinki: Societas Patristica Fennica, 2021), 152–155. Such an interpretation was possible with the help of Ezek 28:14, which in Judaism has been interpreted as being connected to Adam and Eden. Therefore, in the

creation there.³³⁷ Jacques van Ruiten has emphasized the role Isa 51:1–6 (especially 51:3 where Zion will be like Eden) and 65:17–25 play in relation to Jub 1:29 and the eschatological renewal.³³⁸

Jubilees 8:19 is a part of the “correct division of the earth” to the sons of Noah. Shem’s lot, which he and his children (and thus also Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, the Israelites) would occupy forever (Jub 8:17), included the areas where God would reside: The Garden of Eden, Mt. Sinai, and Mt. Zion (Jub 8:19). This is an interpretation of Genesis 9:27 (וישכן באהלי שם) where the subject of the verb שכן is understood as being God. Jubilees 8:18 refers directly to Genesis 9:27. These three places are the same as mentioned in Jubilees 4:26. Jubilees 18:13 then identifies the mountain where Abraham offered a ram instead of his son Isaac as Mt. Zion. A future sanctuary is also mentioned in Rebekah’s blessing of Jacob in Jubilees 25:21:

May your name and your descendants continue until all ages. May the most high God be their God; may the righteous God live with them; and may his sanctuary be built among them into all ages.

Jacob planned to build an “eternal temple” for himself and his descendants in Bethel after he fulfilled his vow to give tithes to God, but an angel prohibited him from doing that: “Do not build up this place, and do not make it an eternal temple. Do not live here because this is not the place” (Jub 32:22). It is worth noting, that “the places” where God resides or which belong to Him are mentioned in Jubilees 4:26 and 8:19.³³⁹

In Jubilees, Judah plays an important role in the retelling of the Jacob Cycle,³⁴⁰ but he is never connected to the sanctuary or the cult.³⁴¹ Isaac’s blessing of Judah (Jub 31:18–20) mentions that Judah is a prince/leader among Jacob’s sons and

Anonymous Syriac Chronicle (see VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees* 1:263 and 2:332), Eden is a Mountain. The plurality of holy places might be emphasized here due the plural of “tents” of Shem in Gen 9:27.

³³⁷ Kugel, *Walk through*, 50. Davenport, *Eschatology of Jubilees*, 85–86, sees also this as a work of his R2.

³³⁸ Van Ruiten, “Visions of the Temple,” 222–223. See also VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 262–263.

³³⁹ An intriguing idea related to Jacob’s plan to build “the place” (Jub 32:16, 22) is that he also gets revelation of the “correct place of worship,” which is not clearly stated in Deuteronomy. This goes along with the idea of dynamic process of the revelation of the law until Jacob/Israel presented above. See further ch. 3.5 below.

³⁴⁰ Judah’s birthday is now reported as 15/3 (Jub 28:15), which is the most important date in Jubilees and connected to the most important festival: Shavuot/Shevuot or Festival of Weeks. Concerning the role of Judah in Jubilees, see esp. Pauline P. Buisch, “The Absence and Influence of Genesis 48 (The Blessing of Ephraim and Manasseh) in the *Book of Jubilees*,” *JSP* 26.4 (2017): 255–273 (264–269).

³⁴¹ As Buisch, “Absence and Influence,” 267–269, notes, the birthdates are already of importance. In Jubilees, the birthday of Levi (1/1) is associated with sacrifice (Jub 7:2–6; 24:23) and Bethel (Jub 27:19). Moreover, the tabernacle was erected on that same day in the Book of Exodus (40:2, 17) and the temple was consecrated by Hezekiah (2 Chr 29:17). I would like to add Ezek 45:18–19 (concerning the purification of the temple) to the list that Buisch gives. Furthermore, Judah’s birthday is associated with Shavuot/Shevuot, which is the festival of renewal of covenant in Jubilees. Buisch (268) argues that this association is made “because of the promises to David that are interpreted as a covenant (2 Chon. 7:18; 21:7; Ps. 89:3).”

that he will defend Israel, but he has no role whatsoever in the cult or in the building of the future temple. Actually, regarding the eschatological temple, the builder is God himself (Jub 1:17) or the temple is simply built and sanctified in the passive voice (Jub 1:27, 29; cf. 4:26).³⁴² This is similar to Ps 78:69, where the subject for the building of the temple is clearly YHWH, not David. I return to Judah's role in the following section 2.4.

On a general level, neither Ephraim nor Joseph plays an important role in Jubilees even though both play a larger role in Genesis.³⁴³ This mirrors the importance of these tribes in the post-exilic period. By contrast, the role of both Ephraim (Ps 78:9, 67) and Joseph (Ps 78:67) is portrayed in a negative light in Ps 78. This is a vague connection between these two texts, but, nevertheless, a similar theme is detectable. The negative views towards these tribes and the forefathers that represent the tribes in Ps 78 might have influenced the way the author downgrades the portrayal of Joseph and Ephraim in Jubilees (compared to Genesis).

It is also important to observe that Jubilees is clearly interested in the tabernacle tradition *before* the first temple in Jerusalem. In the stipulations pertaining to the Passover sacrifice, the time before the centralization of the cult to Jerusalem is also addressed (Jub 49:18–21, emphasis mine):

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. 49:20 They will offer its blood on the base of the altar. They are to place the fat on the fire which is above the altar and are to eat its meat roasted on a fire in the courtyard of the sanctuary in the name of the Lord.

³⁴² Van Ruiten, "Visions of the Temple," 216. 4Q216 IV, 7 has יבנה מקדשי, where the verb should most probably be understood as niph. ipf. 3. sg. m. and not qal, since God is the speaker, and Ge'ez has Gt ipf. 3. sg. m. *yəṭḥannaṣ* "to be built." Regarding Jub 1:29, 4Q216 does not preserve it, and 4Q217 is too fragmentary. Ge'ez has again Gt ipf. 3. sg. m. *yəṭfaṭṭar* "will be created." Jub 4:26 survives only in Ge'ez, which also has Gt ipf. 3. sg. m. *yəṭqēddas* "will be sanctified" (the sanctified is Mt. Zion).

³⁴³ See esp. Buisch's article. She thinks that Joseph still plays an important role. I agree with most of what Buisch says, but I think that the larger omissions from the Joseph Story (e.g., the dream visions of Joseph in Gen 37:5–11, which would highlight his hegemony over his brothers and over Jacob too) indicate that Joseph's importance in Jubilees over the other brothers (with the exception of Levi and Judah) is maintained only because of his role in Genesis. His only function remains, I think, to be an exemplary Jew (see esp. Jub 39:5–11). Ephraim is just one of Joseph's sons. The blessing of Ephraim and Manasseh in Gen 48 is omitted in Jubilees, although it functions as an archetype for Abraham's blessing of Jacob, and Isaac's blessing of Judah and Levi, as Buisch clearly shows in her article. The reason for highlighting both Judah and Levi mirrors the importance of these two tribes in the Second Temple period (Orval S. Wintermute, "Jubilees," in *OTP* 2:35–142 [36]), which is seen also in the Hebrew Bible, as does the downgrading of Joseph/Ephraim. However, this might *also* be influenced by reception of Ps 78, as argued here.

49:21 They will not be able to celebrate the passover in their cities or in any places except before the Lord's tabernacle or otherwise before the house in which his name has resided. Then they will not go astray from the Lord.

Is this perhaps an echo to the time *before* Shiloh was rejected? The earlier importance of Shiloh as a cult place is evidenced by Ps 78. Alternatively, it might simply be a clever way of solving the different traditions pertaining to how the Passover was to be celebrated. In my opinion, it nonetheless seems apparent that the author of Jubilees was acquainted with the Shiloh and tabernacle traditions before the centralization of the cult in Jerusalem, but this could also have been influenced by the overall narrative of the Deuteronomistic History. Shiloh does not otherwise play a role in Jubilees. This means that the similarities between Ps 78 and Jubilees in this respect are vague and might also be explained by the influence which Deuteronomy and the narrative works of the Hebrew Bible had on the rewriting.³⁴⁴

To summarize the argumentation in this section, the following themes are common between Ps 78 and Jubilees:

- 1) The importance of Zion and the future eschatological temple that will endure forever.
- 2) The rejection of Joseph/Ephraim in Ps 78, and the downgrading of these two characters in Jubilees in comparison to the Jacob Cycle in Genesis.
- 3) The possible echo of the tabernacle traditions and Shiloh between the exodus and the building of the first temple.

2.4 Ps 78:70–72 and David/Judah in Jubilees

Psalm 78 ends with eschatological or messianic overtones, at least from a later listener or reader's point of view.³⁴⁵ God has chosen David, who will tend His people and His inheritance Jacob/Israel:

<p>ויבחר בדוד עבדו ויקהו ממכלאת צאן:</p>	<p>και ἐξελέξατο Δαυιδ τὸν δοῦλον αὐτοῦ και ἀνέλαβεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν ποιμνίων τῶν προβάτων,</p>	<p>70 He chose his servant David, he took him from the folds of sheep,</p>
<p>מאחר עלות הביאו לרעות ביעקב עמו ובישראל נחלתו:</p>	<p>ἐξόπισθεν τῶν λοχευομένων ἔλαβεν αὐτὸν ποιμαίνειν Ἰακωβ τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ και Ἰσραηλ τὴν κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ,</p>	<p>71 from the midst of suckling animals he brought him to tend Jacob, his people, and Israel, his inheritance.</p>
<p>וירעם כתם לבבו ובתבונות כפיו ינחם:</p>	<p>και ἐποίμανεν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀκακίᾳ τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ και ἐν ταῖς συνέσεσι τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ</p>	<p>72 He tended them with an upright heart,</p>

³⁴⁴ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 1186–1187, refers to hints in the narrative books of the Hebrew Bible, which could indicate that the Passover was celebrated before the temple was built. These include Joshua 5:10 and 2 Kings 23:22 // 2 Chr 35:18. The Tabernacle and Shiloh tradition are then connected to the Deuteronomic obligation to celebrate the festival in one place. This obligation is now temporal.

³⁴⁵ Cf. Klein, *Geschichte und Gebet*, 123: “Die Hirtenterminologie bestimmt aber auch die davidischen Restaurationshoffnungen der nachexilischen Zeit.” For the following section, see now also Tanskanen, “Expectations.”

Although David is never mentioned in Jubilees, Judah, as argued above, has an important role in the retelling of the patriarchal stories. However, it is important to note that Levi has the more prominent place in Jubilees in many different respects.³⁴⁷ First, Judah is given the birthdate 15/3, which is the date of Shavuot/Shevuot. According to Buisch, this connection between the Festival of Shavuot/Shevuot is made because of the Davidic Covenant in the Hebrew Bible.³⁴⁸ Jacob takes both Levi and Judah to Isaac, and Isaac blesses them both (Jub 31:5–23).³⁴⁹ When the seven Amorite kings attack Jacob’s sons,³⁵⁰ Jacob, Levi, Judah, and Joseph remain at home with the aged Isaac (Jub. 34:3). In Jubilees 38, Judah is the one who encourages Jacob to draw his bow and kill his brother (Jub 38:1). He is also the leader of one of the groups defending “the tower”, arguably the most important one, since he “went out in front” (Jub 38:5).³⁵¹ Jubilees 41 solves the problem of the Tamar incident ingeniously. Tamar had never really been “married,” i.e., had sexual intercourse with any of his sons. At the same time, the legitimate progeny comes from Tamar, who is now said to be “Aramean.” By contrast, all the sons of Judah and the Canaanite wife died, so the heritage remained pure.³⁵² Judah remains the leader (instead of Reuben) also in

³⁴⁶ If one read the *wayyiqtol* (imperfect consecutive) forms of the end of Ps 78 as *we-yiqtol* (waw + imperfect), the verbs would connote the future. This can be a possible reading, although it is not attested anywhere. Another possibility is, of course, that the Jews waited for God to do as he has done throughout history: As the first temple was once built, so also will an eternal temple be built (because apparently the first temple was not eternal). As David was chosen, so also a Davidic king will be chosen.

³⁴⁷ One example is that the blessing of Isaac in Jub 31 is written very much in the same way as the blessing of Manasseh and Ephraim by Jacob in Gen 48. On this, see Buisch, “Absence and Influence.” That Isaac first blesses Levi and grasps him with his right arm is a clear indicator of Levi’s prominence over Judah. This must be kept in mind all the time when dealing with possible messianic traits in Jubilees’ portrayal of these two brothers.

³⁴⁸ See the footnote 341 above. This is also the interpretation of Sejin Park, *Pentecost and Sinai: The Festival of Weeks as a Celebration of the Sinai Event*, LHBOTS 342 (London: T & T Clark, 2008), 122.

³⁴⁹ For the arguments against Christoph Berner, “Jacob or Levi – Who is the Officiating Priest in Jubilees 30–32?,” *JSP* 26.1 (2016): 20–31, who sees this blessing as a later addition to Jubilees, see the Appendix in ch. 3.9 below.

³⁵⁰ See Atar Livneh, “With My Sword and Bow: Jacob as Warrior in Jubilees,” in *Rewriting and Interpreting the Hebrew Bible: The Biblical Patriarchs in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Devorah Dimant and Reinhard G. Kratz, BZAW 439 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2013), 189–213. According to her, this is an elaboration of Gen 48:22. The “Sword” is explained in Jub 34, and the “Bow” launches an elaboration of the war between Jacob and Esau in Jub 37–38. I would like to add that the choice of killing Esau with a “bow” is also motivated by Gen 27:3. According to the verse, Esau himself as a hunter is also an archer. Thus, Jacob kills Esau with the very weapon Esau knows the best.

³⁵¹ Ge’ez reads *fəšma*, Lat *primus*. See the difference between the formula in Jub 38:5 and the following verses. Judah is mentioned alone, and the other brothers Naphtali and Gad are told to “be with him” along with 50 servants, whereas the other groups are mentioned with the formula “x, y, and z went out on the x side of the tower, and 50 were with them.” This reveals the importance of Judah as the war leader. The difference between the formulas is seen both in the Ethiopic and Latin versions. VanderKam’s translations resemble them well.

³⁵² Kugel, *Walk through*, 182–185; Tanskanen, “Expectations,” 142–148.

Jubilees 42–43, which retells Genesis 43–44. Thus, Judah is an important character and exhibits leadership traits. He is the leader of the brothers, especially at war. The question of whether any kind of eschatological or messianic overtones related to Judah are to be found in Jubilees, however, remains.

The messianism of Jubilees, or put differently, the awaiting of an eschatological royal figure in Jubilees, has been debated. According to certain scholars, such a royal figure could be found in Isaac’s blessing of Judah (Jub 31:18–20).³⁵³

However, in Isaac’s blessing of Levi and Judah, many scholars see only a reference to two institutions, namely, the priestly and the royal institution that were fulfilled in the historical priesthood and the Davidic monarchy.³⁵⁴ In their opinion, the blessing does not refer to the future, but rather to an ideal case of leadership or to a matter of state, perhaps referring to the Hellenistic or Hasmonean period.³⁵⁵ According to VanderKam, the “heroizing of Levi and Judah [in Jubilees] seems to represent a preceding stage in the process which culminated in the belief of two messiahs at Qumran.”³⁵⁶

As many scholars have noted, the only place where any ideas about a possible eschatological figure from the tribe of Judah can be found is in Isaac’s blessing of Judah (31:18–20):

31:18 Then he said to Judah:

“May the Lord give you the power and strength to trample on all who hate you.

Be a prince—you and one of your sons—for Jacob’s sons.

May your name and the name of your sons be one

that goes and travels around in the entire earth and the regions.

Then the nations will be frightened before you;

all the nations will be disturbed;

all peoples will be disturbed.

31:19 May Jacob’s help be in you;

May Israel’s safety be found in you.

31:20 At the time when you sit on the honourable throne that is rightly yours, there will be great peace for all the descendants of the beloved’s sons.

The one who blesses you will be blessed,

and all who hate and trouble you,

and those, too, who curse you

will be uprooted and destroyed from the earth

and are to be cursed.”

³⁵³ E.g., Charles, *Jubilees*, lxxxvii. See the closer treatment in Tanskanen, “Expectations.”

³⁵⁴ Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 296.

³⁵⁵ John J. Collins, *Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature*, ABRL (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 85–86; Johannes Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran: Königliche, priesterliche und prophetische Messiasvorstellungen in den Schriftfunden von Qumran*, WUNT 2.104 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 231–232.

³⁵⁶ James C. VanderKam, “Jubilees and the Priestly Messiah of Qumran,” *RevQ* 49–52 (1988): 353–365 (here 365).

Most of the debate about messianism in Jubilees is related to the different interpretations of two of the lines in the blessing, namely “Be a prince—you and one of your sons—for Jacob’s sons” (*mak^wannən kun ’anta wa-’ahadu ’amanna wəludəka la-wəluda Yā’qob; princeps eris tu et unus filiorum tuorum*, Jub 31:18)³⁵⁷ and “At the time when you sit on the honourable throne that is rightly yours, there will be great peace for all the descendants of the beloved’s sons” (*wa-’ama ’əlata tənabbər wəsta manbara kəbra šədqəka, təkawwən ’abbāy salām la-k^wəllu zar’a wəludu la-fəqur*, Jub 31:20).³⁵⁸

In Jubilees 31:18, Judah is described as a prince/ruler (*mak^wannən; princeps*) for Jacob’s other sons too. The same word *mak^wannən/princeps* is also used regarding Levi’s offspring in Jubilees 31:15a: “They will be princes, judges, and leaders for all the descendants of Jacob’s sons” (*wa-mak^wānnənta wa-masāfənta wa-malā’əkta yəkawwənu la-k^wəllu zar’a wəluda Yā’qob; et principes et iudices erunt omni semini iacob*).³⁵⁹ The noun *mak^wannən* comes from the verb *k^wannana* which connotes ruling, governing, and judging. According to Wolf Leslau, the noun can be rendered as “ruler, prince, governor, magistrate, officer, high official, headman, prefect, judge, noble, nobleman, or dignitary.”³⁶⁰ Kugel understands the word as referring to a political leader.³⁶¹ Davenport would render it as “judge” (שופט) as an allusion to the “judges” of the olden days.³⁶²

Nevertheless, although the words themselves do not seem to be royal epithets *per se*, connotating only political leadership, the whole blessing is inspired by many different texts concerning David or a Davidic king, as is shown below. This also makes Davenport’s proposal implausible.

VanderKam argues that the phrase “May the Lord give you the power and strength to trample on all who hate you” (Jub 31:18) could have been inspired by Ps 89:21–30 which refers to the enemies of a Davidic king, and to David’s throne. In his opinion, Genesis 49:8–10 also seems to be a source of inspiration, considering the whole verse.³⁶³

This is reminiscent of the following in Jub 31:20, where Judah will sit on his honourable throne, which is rightly his (*manbara kəbra šədqəka*).³⁶⁴ When this happens, it will cause a great peace for “all the descendants of the sons of the beloved one.” I interpret “the beloved one” to be Jacob due to his role in Jubilees. The same word is also used in the blessing of Levi (Jub 31:15). The throne is

³⁵⁷ A clear scribal *parablepsis* has erased the following text from *unus filiorum* until next *filiorum tuorum* concerning the name of Jacob and his sons. Thus, the Ethiopic text is to be preferred in that regard. See VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 846.

³⁵⁸ Only the Ge’ez text is extant here.

³⁵⁹ The word *wa-malā’əkta* is not found in the Latin version, where only two nouns are mentioned. VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 845, explains this as *parablepsis* from *et* to *et*. It is also possible that the Latin version preserves the more original here.

³⁶⁰ Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary*, 287.

³⁶¹ Kugel, *Walk through*, 151.

³⁶² Davenport, *Eschatology*, 64.

³⁶³ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 859.

³⁶⁴ The phrase could be rendered as “The throne of the glory of your righteousness.”

clearly alluding to the Davidic throne,³⁶⁵ and the abundant or great peace (*abbāy salām*) that shall come to Jacob's descendants echoes 2 Sam 7:9–10³⁶⁶ and the peace under Solomon's reign (1 Kings 4:25 [NRSV]; cf. Mic 4:4; Zech 3:10).³⁶⁷

One important question is also the interpretation of the phrase “one of your sons.” Does it refer to the historical David³⁶⁸ and/or to one Davidic king in every generation³⁶⁹ or to a future messianic king?³⁷⁰ Alternatively, is it a later addition, as Davenport argues?³⁷¹

It is difficult to argue for a simple solution. I propose, however, that if Ps 78³⁷² was of importance to the author of Jubilees, these echoes to the Davidic traditions also make it possible to interpret Isaac's blessing of Judah in a messianic or eschatological way. Additionally, the idea of “great peace” is often connected to the times of the Messiah, and are actual part and parcel of the eschatological future depicted by the author of Jubilees (23:29–31), although without any reference to a Messianic figure *per se*. The eschatological or apocalyptic framework of the whole book should be taken into account when interpreting passages that concern the future. The author writes about past events from his particular point of view, but the past is at the same time the present, and it tells about the future. Kings are also referred to precisely in the revelation that God gives to Jacob later at Bethel (Jub 32:18–19; cf. Gen 35:11–12; See also Jub 15:3–10; cf. Gen 17:4–8):³⁷³

I am the Lord who created heaven and earth. I will increase your numbers and multiply you very much. Kings will come from you (*wa-nagašt 'amānnēka yākawwānu*), and they will rule (*wa-yāk'ēnnānu*) wherever mankind has set foot. I will give your descendants all of the land that is beneath the sky (*k'wāllā mādra za-mathāta samāy*).³⁷⁴ They will rule over all the nations just as they wish (*wa-yāk'ēnnānu wāsta k'wāllu 'ahzāb; et dominabuntur et potestatem*

³⁶⁵ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 860–861, refers to 2 Sam 7:10–11 and also to Isa 9:7.

³⁶⁶ Cf. also 2 Sam 7:9 and Jub 31:18 considering the “name of David” and Isa 9:7 on “the throne of David” and “endless peace.”

³⁶⁷ Antti Laato, *A Star is Rising: The Historical Development of the Old Testament Royal Ideology and the Rise of the Jewish Messianic Expectations* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 274.

³⁶⁸ Kugel, *Walk through*, 151; VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 859. Perhaps also Collins, *Scepter and the Star*, 86.

³⁶⁹ Kugel, *Walk through*, 151; VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 859. Similarly, Laato, *Star is Rising*, 274.

³⁷⁰ Charles, *Jubilees*, lxxxvii, 188; García Martínez, “Heavenly Tablets”, 250; Laato, *Star Is Rising*, 275; Cf. Klaus Berger, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, JSRZ 2.3 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1981), 475, 478. Kugel, *Walk through*, 151, does not exclude this possibility either.

³⁷¹ Davenport, *Eschatology*, 64–66. He thinks the addition is either a Christian addition, or a later addition that glorifies the Maccabean warriors. He remarks (77): “In the question of messianism, form analysis enables us to see the Judah blessing (xxxii, 18–20) as a tribal blessing and thereby raises the possibility that the reference to one of Judah's sons is a later addition to the tradition. This is supported by the parallelism of the lines. Thus, there not only are not two messiahs in Jubilees [i.e., a Levite and Judahite Messiah]; there is not even one.”

³⁷² Ps 78:70–71 seem to refer to the same shepherd tradition that is also found in 2 Sam 7:8.

³⁷³ For a closer analysis of Jub 32:18–19 as a rewriting of Gen 35:11–12, see ch. 4.2.9 below.

³⁷⁴ Here the Latin version, starting again from the end of 32:18, has *uniuersas benedictiones quaecumque sunt sub caelo*, which seem to be a mistake, considering the context and the base text of Gen 35:12. See further ch. 4.2.9 below.

exercent in omnibus gentibus). Afterwards, they will gain the entire earth (*kʷallā mādra*), and they will possess it forever.

What is striking here is the universal hegemony that the “kings” who come out from Jacob (a theme already found in Gen 35:11–12) have over even the Gentiles. The promise of the land in Genesis 35:12 has been modified into a promise of universal power over all the nations.³⁷⁵ The Davidic king is the one who receives these promises which the author adds to the original Genesis 35:11–12, as VanderKam himself says with reference to Ps 2:8; Pss Sol 17:24–25, 29–30, 34–35; and 1QS^b V, 24–28.³⁷⁶ Jacob then tells his sons what will happen “to them at the end of time” in Jubilees 45:14.

The author also emphasizes the importance of these blessings by using the authority of the Heavenly Tablets (Jub 31:31–32):³⁷⁷

When Jacob recalled the prayer with which his father had blessed him and his two sons—Levi and Judah—he was very happy and blessed the God of his fathers Abraham and Isaac. He said: “Now I know that I and my sons, too, have an eternal hope before the God of all.” This is the way it is ordained regarding the two of them, and it is entered for them as an eternal testimony (*ba-səmʿ za-la-ʿālam; in testimoniis saeculi*) on the heavenly tablets just as Isaac blessed them.

Because Jubilees also had an impact and a status of authority at Qumran,³⁷⁸ it might be also worth investigating the matter from a reception historical point of view. As already mentioned earlier, VanderKam sees the blessing of Isaac as a kind of preceding stage of the two Messiahs at Qumran.³⁷⁹ In his commentary, VanderKam also refers to Isaiah 11:1–5 when dealing with the throne of David, and comments: “The emphasis on the righteousness of the Branch of David in Isa 11:1–5 could lie behind Isaac’s reference to Judah’s rightly holding the throne.”³⁸⁰ VanderKam also refers to a *peshet* commentary on Isaiah 11:1–5 in 4QpIsa^a (4Q161) 8–10, 17–21, which clearly relates to an eschatological royal messianic figure. Furthermore, in 4Q252, whose author(s) according to VanderKam must have read Jubilees (or at least parts of it),³⁸¹ Genesis 49:10 is clearly interpreted in a messianic way (4Q252 V, 1–4).³⁸² If Isaac’s blessing of Judah cannot be

³⁷⁵ Halpern-Amaru, *Rewriting the Bible*, 40–41; VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 886–887. See further ch. 4.2.9 below.

³⁷⁶ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 887.

³⁷⁷ García Martínez, “Heavenly Tablets,” 249–250.

³⁷⁸ See esp. Shemesh, “4Q265.” According to VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 99–107, CD, *ALD*, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 4Q543–549, 1Q22 and 4Q588, 4Q225–227 (Pseudo-Jubilees), 4Q228, 4Q265, 4Q384, 4Q390, 11Q5 and 4Q252 have similarities with Jubilees, and the possibility is, that Jubilees might have influenced these texts (in certain cases, the direction of influence is much debated).

³⁷⁹ VanderKam, “Jubilees and the Priestly Messiah,” 365.

³⁸⁰ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 861.

³⁸¹ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 105.

³⁸² Collins, *Specter and Star*, 61–63; Laato, *Star is Rising*, 294; Juhana Saukkonen, *The Story Behind the Text: Scriptural Interpretation in 4Q252* (PhD diss., Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 2005), 140–143, 184–185, 192–193; Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte*, 113–125; According to Laato, 4Q252 is one of the Qumran texts that refer to a political messianic figure.

interpreted as originally referring to a messianic figure, it might very well have been done so later, considering the importance of Genesis 49:9–10 in this blessing and how Genesis 49:9–10 has been received and interpreted in texts on which Jubilees has had influence. Thus, both options remain possible: Jubilees witnesses to a preceding stage, but alternatively the author of Jubilees was already waiting for a messianic or eschatological royal (warrior-like) figure from the tribe of Judah. In my opinion, the latter is more probable.³⁸³

As previously mentioned at the beginning of this section, one should nevertheless bear in mind that Levi is much more important in Jubilees than Judah. Thus, the theme of a Davidic/Judahite royal figure did not necessarily come directly from Ps 78. Nevertheless, if Ps 78 was important in other respects, as I have already argued, it is a possibility, but not a necessity, that the author of Jubilees downplayed these expectations but was unable to omit them totally.³⁸⁴ Judah remained Jacob's most important son after Levi. Isaac's blessing includes also many echoes or allusions to David and the Davidic dynasty and to the promises related to this dynasty. Judah's birthday already echoes the covenant that God made with David.

To put it clearly, my argument here is that the author of Jubilees could not and did not omit Judah (and via Judah also David) totally, because of the influence Ps 78 had on him. In other respects, as shown above, he utilized Ps 78. In the case of David/Judah, however, his usage remained somewhat ambivalent. For him, Levi and the Levites take the most prominent role, also in future, but through his portrayal of Judah, on the one hand, and Isaac's blessing of Judah, on the other, he also gives a hint that a Davidic figure is to be expected, as the end of Ps 78 can be read.

In other words, Ps 78 influenced him in portraying Judah in the way he did, in spite of the ending of Ps 78 (or how he read it) being different from his own basic view concerning Levi's prominence over Judah in the coming eschatological era. This basic view was most probably caused by the law of the king in Deuteronomy 17:14–20.³⁸⁵

³⁸³ See further Tanskanen, "Expectations," where I deal with Judah and the possible messianic expectations in a more detailed way.

³⁸⁴ This actually comes close to what Laato, *Star is Rising*, 274–275, proposes considering the messianic expectations in Jubilees. According to him, the author of Jubilees preferred the tribe of Levi and de-emphasized the expectations considering a Davidic figure or dynasty. He connects this into the era of Levite Maccabean Rule and its "acute political situation." Still, the expectations on a possible Davidic figure/dynasty could not be omitted fully due their strength.

³⁸⁵ James M. Scott, *On Earth as in Heaven: The Restoration of Sacred Time and Sacred Space in the Book of Jubilees*, JSJSup 91 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 176–177; Tanskanen, "Expectations," 153.

2.5 Conclusions

In this chapter, I have argued that the author of the Book of Jubilees was influenced by Psalm 78. The argument is plausible and by nature cumulative. The following observations have been made:

(1) Ps 78:49, or a similar tradition, influenced the interpretation of the killing of the firstborn in Egypt. According to Ps 78:49, God sent “a band of wicked angels” to Egypt. According to Jubilees, it was the forces of Mastema who killed the firstborns. This main connection has been noted previously by Michael Segal and James VanderKam. However, more connections between Jubilees and the psalm hitherto not identified exist.

(2) In Ps 78:5 it is stated that *Testimony* (עדות) and *Torah* (תורה) were established in Jacob/Israel, literary-chronologically taken *before the re-narration of exodus*. A similar kind of a literal-chronological reading of Ps 78 is attested in the rabbinical motif of a premature Ephraimite Exodus of which *MekhY* gives arguably the oldest version. According to Joseph Heinemann, the motif should be dated prior to the Bar Kochba revolt.

Although the “Testimony” and “Torah” in Jubilees are not influenced only by Ps 78:5, and are also closely connected to Isa 8:16, 20 (and Ruth 4:7), the mention of עדות and תורה in Ps 78:5 has, in my opinion, influenced the reception of the Jacob Story in Jubilees. In addition, as was noted, עדות might be behind certain attestations of the Ge’ez *səm*^c in Jubilees, because תעודה is only attested in 4Q216 which only includes the first and second chapter of Jubilees. This can clarify the various uses and connotations that *səm*^c has in the Ethiopic Jubilees.

This detail in Ps 78:5 was important for the author in his retelling of how Jacob/Israel followed the Deuteronomic stipulations in particular (often addressed in the second person singular). This interpretative possibility was heavily used subsequently in *Sifre Deuteronomy*.

(3) Ps 78:5b–8 underlines the importance of transmitting the above-mentioned testimony and law to subsequent generations. In Jubilees, Noah, Abraham, Rebekah, and Isaac give last testaments to their children. Jacob, by contrast, simply gives the books of his fathers and books written by himself to Levi, thus highlighting the end of the process of the transmission of laws (Jub 45:13–16). He has received the Torah and Testimony.

The transmission of Torah and Testimony and the telling of the marvellous acts of YHWH in history is a common theme, perhaps influenced by Deuteronomy or the Enochic tradition. Nevertheless, it was noticed that, in Jubilees, the transmission *ends* in Jacob. This detail is connected to Ps 78:5a and how the author interpreted the verse.

(4) Ps 78:67–69 highlights the election of Zion and Judah and the rejection of Shiloh and Ephraim/Joseph. In the version of the Jacob Story in Jubilees, Judah is also highlighted and Joseph, if not actually rejected, is a less important character than in the original Genesis. This can be explained by the influence of Deuteronomy 33, but not fully. Joseph still has a prominent place there. Another

possibility is that the increased emphasis on Levi and Judah and the downplaying of the role of Joseph (along with the other brothers) merely reflects their importance at the time of the second Century BCE author. Nevertheless, I argue that Ps 78 might be of importance here. The election of Zion is of huge importance to the account of the past, present, and future in Jubilees too. Moreover, it was noted that, according to John Collins, the whole book should be read as an (odd) member of the apocalyptic genre, and that the waiting for an eschatological temple in the future, one that is to last forever, is important in Jubilees, thus creating a common link between Ps 78:69 and Jubilees. In a strict sense, David has no function that is connected to the temple in Ps 78, and the same can be said about Judah (and thus David) in Jubilees. God himself is the one who will build the eschatological temple (Ps 78:69; cf. Jub 1:17). Jubilees is also acquainted with the tabernacle traditions (Shiloh?) that are to be situated between the exodus and the building of the first temple.

(5) Ps 78:70–72 highlights the king, David, and so the psalm ends with messianic overtones, at least from a reception historical point of view. Judah exhibits leadership traits in Jubilees, and his role is to lead the brothers in war. His birthday, 15/3, is the date of the Festival of Weeks (Shavuot/Shevuot) in Jubilees, which, according to the author, is the festival of the renewal of the covenant. This hints at the Davidic Covenant, as Pauline Buisch has noticed.

The strongest messianic overtones in Jubilees are found in Jubilees 31, where Isaac blesses both Judah and Levi. Levi takes the prominent place, but Judah and “one of his sons” will also be leaders, and “a throne that is rightly yours” is mentioned. Although certain modern scholars do not see any hints of messianic expectations here, in my opinion such a reading is possible given the connotations to, and echoes of, many Davidic texts and promises in the Hebrew Bible. Moreover, texts that were acquainted with Jubilees at Qumran interpret texts on which Jubilees 31:18–20 is based on in a messianic way (such as 4Q252; cf. Gen 49:9–10). Nevertheless, David is not directly mentioned in Jubilees and Levi is a much more important figure/person than Judah. In my opinion, since Ps 78 was utilized by the author, the author could not and would not omit the Davidic promises totally. The problem for the author was that in his view, Levi was the prominent one, but Levi had no role in Ps 78. Apparently, Jubilees also influenced the expectation of the two Messiahs at Qumran.

Taken individually, the existence of these common links and themes between Ps 78 and Jubilees could be incidental. When taken together, however, it becomes plausible that Ps 78 has been used by the author of Jubilees. The core connection is made by observations 1–3 above. The common themes (4) and (5) are vaguer, but taken together with the first three mentioned above, they strengthen the cumulative argument given here.³⁸⁶

³⁸⁶ A hypothetical link, which (if proven) could explain this kind of usage of Ps 78 by the author of Jubilees could be some sort of a (Covenantal) festival known to the author where Ps 78 might have been recited. The Festival of Shavuot/Shevuot seems to function as such in the Book of Jubilees. There might also be some evidence of a similar festival at Qumran. On this, see James C. VanderKam, “Weeks, Festival of,” *ABD* 6:895–897; *idem*, “Covenant and Pentecost,” *Calvin*

3 The Impact of Deuteronomy on the Reception of the Jacob Story in the Book of Jubilees: Jubilees 30–32 as a Test Case

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I offer an analysis of how the Book of Deuteronomy has influenced the reception of the Jacob Story in Jubilees. As was argued in chapter 2 above, Psalm 78 was important for the author of Jubilees in many ways. The author understood the phrase *שם בישראל ויקם עדות ביעקב ותורה שם* (Ps 78:5) before the following historical retelling of exodus in the psalm as referring to the Torah of Moses and especially to the Mosaic legislation more or less resembling the Pentateuch we have today. This “Torah” (תורה) or “Testimony” (עדות/תעודה) is then set and placed in Jacob/Israel before Moses. The author of Jubilees utilized this interpretive possibility and argued that the patriarchs, and the patriarch Jacob here in particular, had received the Torah.

As *Sifre Deuteronomy* reveals, it was possible in Antiquity to understand the addressed Israel in Deuteronomy as the patriarch Jacob. This is true, first, because Israel is Jacob’s other name. Second, Israel is often addressed in the second person singular in Deuteronomy. Thus, the possibility arises that what is stipulated to Israel in Deuteronomy is actually stipulated to the patriarch Jacob.³⁸⁷

The relationship between Deuteronomy, the people called Israel, and the patriarch Jacob is tightened by the following presuppositions. First, the word *עדות* and its cognates are often used especially in Deuteronomistic literature.³⁸⁸ This makes it plausible to see an even a tighter link between the Mosaic stipulations in Jubilees and Deuteronomy, given the importance of the root in Jubilees as was argued in chapter 2.

Second, Jacob in the Jacob Story of Genesis seems to represent the people of Israel typologically.³⁸⁹ Scholars have noted that the patriarchal stories may have

Theological Journal 37 (2002): 239–252; Werner Eiss, “Das Wochenfest im Jubiläenbuch und im antiken Judentum,” in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, ed. Matthias Albani, Jörg Frey, and Armin Lange, TSAJ 65 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 165–178; Park, *Pentecost and Sinai*, 79–175. This, however, goes well outside the scope of this chapter and this book.

³⁸⁷ *Sifre Deuteronomy (Devarim)*, a midrash “commentary” on Deuteronomy, going through parts of the book, is dated to the later part of the 3rd Century CE in its final form. *SifDev* or at least its material predates the targums to Deut. See Günter Stemberger, *Einleitung in Talmud und Midrash*, 9th ed. (München: Beck, 2011), 299–302. On Jacob’s role in *Sifre Deuteronomy*, see Eugene Mihaly, “Rabbinic Defense of the Election of Israel: An Analysis of *Sifre Deuteronomy* 32:9, *Pisqa* 312,” *HUCA* (1964): 103–143.

³⁸⁸ Michael Segal, *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology*, JSJSup 117 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007), 295–296.

³⁸⁹ Stanley D. Walters, “Jacob Narrative,” *ABD* 3:599–608. Walters comments (608): “The individual ‘Jacob’ and the collective ‘Israel’ overlap—even coalesce—at the artistically most significant points in the cycle: the beginning, the ending, and the middle... It is a cycle about

a long tradition and have been cooked with new ingredients throughout centuries.³⁹⁰ Abraham Malamat has written of two processes taking place in forming and rewriting the ancient biblical tradition: *reflection*, meaning that ancient traditions were re-contemplated “in the current intellectual and theological terms, yielding new appraisals and motivations for past events,”³⁹¹ and *telescoping*, meaning that historical events are compressed “into a simplified, artificial account.”³⁹² Since the patriarchal stories are the result of such processes, it can also lead into shaping (or if not shaping, at least seeing and interpreting) the more ancient traditions in the light of more recent events in the later reception history of the Jacob Cycle. To take one example: Jacob leaving the Promised Land and then returning to the land as a new man with a family may be read in the light of the exile and return from Mesopotamia. If this is true, namely that the Jacob Cycle can be read as reflecting the people of Israel (in proto-history or even in the light of later history), it is worth asking whether also later historical events or documents, such as Deuteronomy where Israel is addressed, could be read into the Jacob Cycle. The patriarch and the people could, thus, be merged in reception history, one influencing the other.

Third, the Book of Deuteronomy played a crucial role in early Jewish self-identification and was one of the main bulwarks creating early Jewish identity. This is emphasized by Timo Veijola in few of his studies.³⁹³ According to Veijola,

the people of God.” Cf. Michael Fishbane, “Composition and Structure in the Jacob Cycle (Genesis 25:19–35:22): Formations of Epic Narrative,” in *Biblical Text and Exegetical Culture: Collected Essays*, FAT 154 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2022), 5–28, who concludes that (27–28): “The added power of the Jacob Cycle is, with the patriarchal narratives generally, that it personalizes the tensions and dialectics which are also crystallized on a national level at later points: the struggle for blessing, the threat of discontinuity, the conflicts between and within generations; and the wrestling for birth, name, and destiny.” See also Johannes Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture I*, South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism 28 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 277–278.

³⁹⁰ I am not referring here to the English slang of “cooking the books” meaning cheat or defraud in finances, but that the books have a long tradition history. See Antti Laato, *Inledning till Gamla testamentet*, 2nd ed., Religionsvetenskapliga skrifter 54 (Åbo: Åbo Akademis tryckeri, 2004), 138, with a reference to Abraham Malamat.

³⁹¹ Abraham Malamat, “The Proto-History of Israel: A Study in Method,” in *History of Biblical Israel: Major Problems and Minor Issues*, CHANE 7 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 3–16 (9–10).

³⁹² Malamat, “Proto-History,” 10.

³⁹³ Timo Veijola, *Moses Erben: Studien zum Dekalog, zum Deuteronomismus und zum Schriftgelehrtentum*, BWANT 149 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2000), 192–240; *idem*, “The Deuteronomistic Roots of Judaism,” in *Sefer Moshe: the Moshe Weinfeld Jubilee Volume: Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East, Qumran, and Post-Biblical Judaism*, ed. Chaim Cohen, Avi Hurvitz, and Shalom M. Paul (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 459–478; *idem*, “Laki ja viisaut: Deuteronomistinen perintö Ben Siran lakiteologiassa,” in *Raamattu spiritualiteetin lähteenä: Kokoelma Timo Veijolan artikkeleita*, ed. Minna Salmi et al, PFES 98 (Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society, 2009), 381–405. Cf. Martin Hengel, “Schriftauslegung’ und ‘Schriftwerdung’ in der Zeit des Zweiten Tempels,” in *Judaica, Hellenistica et Christiana: Kleine Schriften II*, WUNT 1.109 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 1–71; Sidnie White Crawford, “Reading Deuteronomy in the Second Temple Period,” in *Reading the Present in the Qumran Library: The Perception of the Contemporary by Means of Scriptural Interpretations*, ed. Kristin De Troyer and Armin Lange, SymS 30 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 127–140; and Martti Nissinen, ed., *Congress Volume Helsinki 2010*, VTSup 148 (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

Deuteronomy and the school behind the Book of Deuteronomy and their theology, which he calls “Deuteronomism,” was the basic theological framework after the exile. Veijola connects the Deuteronomists and their background to the scribes from the time of Josiah. He also places Ezra in the group of Deuteronomist scribes. Ezra-Nehemiah, then, continues the Deuteronomistic tradition.³⁹⁴

The influence of Deuteronomy can also be detected, for example, in Ben Sira, often recognized as part of the Wisdom tradition. Ben Sira connects Wisdom with the Torah in a way already found in a rudimentary stage in Deuteronomy.³⁹⁵ One could also mention other books which have been highly influenced by the Deuteronomistic tradition and theology, such as the Book of Tobit.³⁹⁶ Although these or other works which have been connected to the postulated Deuteronomistic school³⁹⁷ are possibly not products of one particular movement or school, they nevertheless betray the influence which Deuteronomy had during the Second Temple Period.³⁹⁸ One of the main reasons why scholars debate which books are related to the postulated school, or why certain scholars have disregarded the idea of a Deuteronomistic school, is the fact that Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic tradition was so influential regarding the formation of

³⁹⁴ Veijola, “Deuteronomistic Roots.” Cf. Hengel, “Schriftauslegung,” 46: “die deuteronomistische Theologie, die man fast als die ‘Basistheologie’ der Zeit des Zweiten Tempels bezeichnen kann, ähnlich wie die ‘reformatorische Theologie’ im deutschen Protestantismus.”

³⁹⁵ Veijola, “Laki ja viisau,” 384–392. See also Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 244–281.

³⁹⁶ Tobit has many interesting parallel phenomena with Jubilees both in terms of research history and in content. For example, the content of Tobit highlights the honouring of one’s parents, taking care of the poor who still behave righteously, and endogamy. The same is true with Jubilees, although taking care of the poor is not in the forefront in Jubilees. Tobit also includes eschatological parts highly influenced by Deut 28–32 (esp. Tob 13–14), which are not in the forefront of the actual narrative. The same can be said of Jub 1 and 23 in the framework of Jubilees as a whole. Regarding the history of scholarship, these eschatological parts (Tob 13 and 14) were argued to be secondary before Qumran, which is similar to what for example Testuz, Davenport and others have argued regarding Jubilees before and after Qumran. On Tobit in general, see David A. deSilva, *Introducing the Apocrypha: Message, Context, and Significance*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2018), 58–82. On the Deuteronomistic traits, see Alexander A. Di Lella, “The Deuteronomistic Background of the Farewell Discourse in Tob 14:3–11,” *CBQ* 41 (1979): 380–389.

³⁹⁷ See, e.g., the discussion of Deuteronomistic school, movement, guild, or tradition, in various articles in Nissinen, ed., *Congress Volume Helsinki 2010*. The term “Deuteronomistic” itself is a bit problematic, as it has been used to refer to different phenomena, which might or might not be interrelated, such as the relationship of one work (or hypothetical group behind the work) to Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History, a possible Deuteronomistic redaction in different books of the Hebrew Bible using similar vocabulary and phraseology (see here, esp. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 320–365), or an ideology or theological tradition.

³⁹⁸ Cf. Gary N. Knoppers, “The Relationship of the Deuteronomistic History to Chronicles: Was The Chronicler a Deuteronomist?” in *Congress Volume Helsinki 2010*, ed. Martti Nissinen, VTSup 148 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 307–341, who maintains the view that Chronicles shows how influential Deuteronomy has been in reception history (316), but is also cautious in saying that Chronicles belongs to the Deuteronomistic guild (331–336). Instead, Chronicles is, according to him, a good example of *mimesis* or creative imitation, a common phenomenon in antiquity.

the Hebrew Bible and early Judaism in general.³⁹⁹ For the purpose of this study, only the influence and centrality of Deuteronomy and Deuteronomistic tradition in general is of importance, not the question of whether there was a uniform group behind every work.

Certain scholars have argued for a distinct Enochic Judaism without the Mosaic Torah.⁴⁰⁰ This is exemplified in Enochic writings, which have been gathered in what we know as the Ethiopic Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch. It seems most probable, however, that the group or groups behind the Enochic texts did not see it or them as work(s) which would be totally against Mosaic writings, even though they attributed their authority to a figure who predates Moses.⁴⁰¹ Even had there been an Enochic Judaism which did not comply under Mosaic authority, Jubilees did, and thus the very same scholars see Jubilees combining the Enochic and Mosaic discourses and traditions. Clearly Jubilees complies with Mosaic authority and highlights it with Angelic revelation.⁴⁰²

With this background in mind, I use this chapter to show how the author of Jubilees utilized this interpretive possibility in his rewriting of the Jacob Story in Jubilees 30–32, where he connects many commandments given to Israel in

³⁹⁹ Cf. Steven L. McKenzie, “The Still Elusive Deuteronomists,” in *Congress Volume Helsinki 2010*, ed. Martti Nissinen, VTSup 148 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 401–408, who is of the opinion that Deuteronomy and “the Deuteronomistic History in its wake exercised considerable influence in the development of the Hebrew Bible. This does not mean, though, that all this literature can be considered Deuteronomistic or that there was a continuing group of Deuteronomistic writers.” (407).

⁴⁰⁰ See the discussion in the chapter 3 “The Persistence of Non-Mosaic Judaism,” in John J. Collins, *The Invention of Judaism: Torah and Jewish Identity from Deuteronomy to Paul*, The Taubman Lectures in Jewish Studies 7 (Oakland, California: The University of California Press, 2017), who does see that Deuteronomy (or the Pentateuch) was only one source for wisdom for Qoheleth and Book of Watchers, and that Daniel and Esther, furthermore, betray no knowledge of the Mosaic Torah. Cf. the articles in Gabriele Boccaccini, ed., *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans), 2005. Boccaccini is one of the main proponents of a distinct Enochic Judaism. See, e.g., Gabriele Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998). However, also he maintains that Jubilees combines Enochic Judaism with Moses (86–98).

⁴⁰¹ Cf. Philip S. Alexander, “Textual Authority and the Problem of the Biblical Canon at Qumran,” in *Is There a Text in This Cave? Studies in the Textuality of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of George J. Brooke*, ed. Ariel Feldman, Maria Cioată, and Charlotte Hempel, STDJ 119 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 42–69, who, acknowledging “a certain tension” between the “Enochic lore” and the Mosaic one, writes (p. 60): “To talk of an ‘Enochic Judaism’ is exaggerated because the books of Enoch on their own are insufficient to form the basis of a rounder religious life... It is possible that the authors or compilers of the Enochic literature were bidding to have it recognized as canonical Scripture but it is hardly likely that they wanted 1 Enoch to *replace* the Torah of Moses, or to de-canonize the Torah.”

⁴⁰² See esp. Hindy Najman, *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism*, JSJSup 77 (Leiden: Brill, 2003). By representing the material as angelic discourse to Moses, Jubilees authorizes itself over the Mosaic Torah, but *only* as an authoritative elaboration of it. It still presupposes the authority (and thus, also canonicity) of the Torah. That it predates the revelation before Sinai (in heavenly tablets and patriarchs) does not diminish the Sinaitic revelation, but transforms it to already pre-existent heavenly tablets, too.

Deuteronomy to the patriarch's life when possible. I have chosen these chapters as a test case for closer scrutiny since they offer the clearest case.

Deuteronomy has also influenced the book in many other ways, too. I discuss this briefly at the end of this chapter, taking eschatology as an example.

3.2 “When the LORD, your God brings you into the land...” (Deut 7:1–4)

Jubilees 30 retells the Shechem episode of Genesis 34. The chapter has been researched from many different perspectives, much of the research devoted to the question of intermarriage and the relationship between Jubilees and the Aramaic Levi Document.⁴⁰³ One passage that has influenced the renarration of the story but which has been reflected upon less often, is Deuteronomy 7:1–4.⁴⁰⁴ I first present a synopsis followed by discussion and analysis of the rewritten passage in the light of the rewriting process:⁴⁰⁵

3.2.1 Genesis 34 and Jubilees 30: Synopsis

⁴⁰³ Chanoch Albeck, *Das Buch der Jubiläen und die Halacha* (Berlin: Scholem, 1930), 27–29; John C. Endres, *Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Jubilees*, CBQMS 18 (Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1987), 120–154; Martha Himmelfarb, “Levi, Phinehas, and the Problem of Intermarriage at the Time of the Maccabean Revolt,” in *Between Temple and Torah: Essays on Priests, Scribes, and Visionaries in the Second Temple Period and Beyond*, TSAJ 151 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 27–47 (see esp. 37–41); Magnar Kartveit, *The Origin of the Samaritans*, VTSup 128 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 149–160; James L. Kugel, *A Walk through Jubilees: Studies in the Book of Jubilees and the World of its Creation*, JSJSup 156 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 142–148; Robert A. Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest: The Levi-Priestly Tradition from Aramaic Levi to Testament of Levi*, EJL 9 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 139–170; William Loader, *Enoch, Levi and Jubilees on Sexuality: Attitudes towards Sexuality in the Early Enoch Literature, the Aramaic Levi Document, and the Book of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 155–196; Lotta Valve, *Early Modes of Exegesis: Ideal Figures in Malachi as a Test Case* (Åbo: Åbo Akademi University Press, 2014), 63–89; James C. VanderKam, “Jubilees and the Priestly Messiah of Qumran,” *RevQ* 13 (1988), 353–365; repr. in *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible & Second Temple Literature*, JSJSup 62 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 462–475; *idem*, *The Book of Jubilees*, Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 67–69; Pieter M. Venter, “A Triadic Construct in Jubilees 30,” *HTS* 66.1 (2010): 1–8; Cana Werman, “Jubilees 30: Building a Paradigm for the Ban on Intermarriage,” *HTR* 90.1 (1997): 1–22. See also James L. Kugel, *The Ladder of Jacob: Ancient Interpretations of the Biblical Story of Jacob and His Children* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 36–80, where Kugel deals with different motifs that have arisen from interpretation of Gen 34 in general.

⁴⁰⁴ VanderKam noticed this in 1988 in his article “Jubilees and the Priestly Messiah of Qumran,” 470 (page numbering refers to the reprinted version). The connection is also noted by Valve, *Early Modes of Exegesis*, 81; and already by Albeck, *Jubiläen und Halacha*, 28–29. Cf. now also Jacques van Ruiten, “The Canaanites in Deuteronomy 7 and the Book of Jubilees,” in *Violence in the Hebrew Bible: Between Text and Reception*, ed. Jacques van Ruiten and Koert van Bekkum, OTS 79 (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 141–158. The article was published after my first draft of this chapter was presented in SBL International 2019 in Rome.

⁴⁰⁵ See ch. 1.6.2 for the explanation of the graphical layout.

Genesis 33:18–34:31; 35:5	Jubilees 30:1–26
33:18 <i>Jacob came safely TO THE CITY</i> of Shechem, WHICH IS IN THE LAND OF CANAAN, ON HIS WAY FROM PADDAN-ARAM, AND HE CAMPED BEFORE THE CITY.	30:1 DURING THE FIRST YEAR OF THE SIXTH WEEK [2143] <i>he went up safely TO SALEM</i> ⁴⁰⁶ , WHICH IS ON THE EAST SIDE OF Shechem, IN THE FOURTH MONTH
[Gen 33:19–20 telling about buying a piece of land for Jacob’s tent omitted from Jubilees]	
34:1 NOW DINAH THE DAUGHTER OF LEAH, WHOM SHE HAD BORNE TO JACOB, WENT OUT TO SEE THE WOMEN OF THE REGION.	
34:2 Shechem son of Hamor the Hivite, the ruler of the land, SAW HER, and he SEIZED HER, lay with her and RAPED her	30:2 THERE <i>Dinah daughter of Jacob</i> WAS TAKEN BY FORCE TO THE HOUSE OF Shechem son of Hamor the Hivite, the ruler of the land. He lay with her and defiled ⁴⁰⁷ her.
	NOW SHE WAS <i>young</i> ⁴⁰⁸ , daughter OF TWELVE YEARS.
34:3 AND HIS SOUL WAS DRAWN TO <i>Dinah daughter of Jacob</i> , HE LOVED <i>the girl</i> , AND SPOKE TENDERLY TO <i>the girl</i> .	
34:4 SO SHECHEM SPOKE TO HIS FATHER HAMOR, SAYING, “GET ME THIS GIRL TO BE MY WIFE.”	
34:5 NOW JACOB HEARD THAT SHECHEM HAD defiled HIS DAUGHTER DINAH, BUT HIS SONS WERE WITH HIS CATTLE IN THE FIELD, SO JACOB WAS SILENT UNTIL THEY CAME.	
34:6 AND HAMOR THE FATHER OF SHECHEM WENT OUT TO JACOB TO SPEAK WITH HIM,	

⁴⁰⁶ The LXX Gen 33:18 interprets שלם as a city, Σαλαμ. Here, the author of Jubilees has used a double interpretation, on which see below.

⁴⁰⁷ Most probably the author of Jubilees connected the rape and defilement mentioned in Gen 34:5 into one verb. Lat underlines the defilement: *et pollut eam quia dormiuit cum ea*.

⁴⁰⁸ Ge’ez *wa-yə’ati-sa nəstit walatta ‘ašartu...* The adj. *nəstit* (fem.) derives from G *nə’sa* and means small or young as an adjective. Wolf Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge’ez (Classical Ethiopic): Ge’ez-English / English-Ge’ez with an index of the Semitic roots* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1987), 381; Thomas O. Lambdin, *Introduction to Classical Ethiopic (Ge’ez)*, HSS 24 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 418. Lat has *adulescens*. Both are probably derived from נערה in Gen 34:3, which occurs twice.

34:7 JUST AS THE SONS OF JACOB CAME IN FROM THE FIELD.	
[cf. Gen 34:11–12]	30:3 HE BEGGED HER FATHER AND HER BROTHERS THAT SHE BE GIVEN TO HIM AS (HIS) WIFE
WHEN THEY HEARD OF IT, <i>the men</i> were INDIGNANT AND VERY angry, because he had committed an outrage⁴⁰⁹ in Israel BY LYING WITH JACOB'S DAUGHTER [cf. Jub 30:5]	<i>Jacob and his sons</i> were angry with the <i>men of Shechem</i> because they had defiled their sister Dinah [cf. Gen 34:13]
for such a thing ought not be done.	[cf. Jub 30:5]
34:8 BUT HAMOR SPOKE WITH THEM, SAYING, “THE HEART OF MY SON SHECHEM LONGS FOR YOUR DAUGHTER, PLEASE GIVE HER TO HIM AS A WIFE. 34:9 MAKE MARRIAGES WITH US, GIVE YOUR DAUGHTERS TO US, AND TAKE OUR DAUGHTERS FOR YOURSELVES. 34:10 YOU SHALL LIVE WITH US, AND THE LAND SHALL BE OPEN TO YOU; LIVE AND TRADE IN IT, AND GET PROPERTY IN IT.”	
34:11 SHECHEM ALSO SAID TO HER FATHER AND TO HER BROTHERS, “LET ME FIND FAVOUR WITH YOU, AND WHATEVER YOU SAY TO ME I WILL GIVE. 34:12 PUT THE MARRIAGE PRESENT AND GIFT AS HIGH AS YOU LIKE, AND I WILL GIVE WHATEVER YOU ASK ME, ONLY GIVE ME THE GIRL TO BE MY WIFE.”	[cf. Jub 30:3]
34:13 <i>The sons of Jacob</i> answered <i>Shechem</i> and his father <i>Hamor</i> deceitfully, because he had defiled their sister Dinah . [cf. Jub 30:3 above]	[30:3 cont.] <i>They spoke deceptively⁴¹⁰ with them</i> , DEALT CRAFTILY WITH THEM, AND DECEIVED THEM. ⁴¹¹
34:14 THEY SAID TO THEM “ We CANNOT DO THIS THING, to give our sister to a	[Cf. Jub 30:12]

⁴⁰⁹ The Hebrew נבלה refers to sacrilege, outrage, or disgrace, often used in reference to sexual offences (Gen 34:7; Deut 22:21; Judg 19:23–24; 20:6, 10; 2 Sam 13:2; Jer 29:23). See *DCH* 5:595. The LXX renders it as ἄσχημον “shameful,” with reference to shame. This is followed in Eth Gen 34:7 by *ḥafrata* “shame, impropriety, disgrace.” This same Ge’ez term is used in Jub 30:5, 7 (in Latin *ignominiam*).

⁴¹⁰ Ge’ez *ba-’ākay*, the basic meaning of the root connotating evil and vice.

⁴¹¹ Latin has the end of the verse differently: *et locuti sunt ad eos in simulationem et in dolo deriserunt eos symeon et leuii et posuerunt in corde suo symeon et leuii exterminare eos*.

<p>man with a foreskin, for that would be a disgrace to us.”</p>	
<p>34:15 ONLY THIS CONDITION WILL BE CONSENT TO YOU: THAT YOU WILL BECOME AS WE ARE AND EVERY MALE AMONG YOU BE CIRCUMCISED. 34:16 THEN we will give our daughters TO YOU AND WE WILL TAKE YOUR DAUGHTERS FOR OURSELVES; AND WE WILL LIVE AMONG YOU AND BECOME ONE PEOPLE. 34:17 BUT IF YOU WILL NOT LISTEN TO US AND BE CIRCUMCISED, THEN WE WILL TAKE OUR DAUGHTER AND BE GONE.”</p>	<p>[cf. Jub 30:7]</p>
<p>[Gen 34:18–24 is omitted in Jubilees, though one phrase highlighted in the text might be reused in Jub 30:7?, 11]</p> <p>34:18 THEIR WORDS PLEASED HAMOR AND HAMOR’S SON SHECHEM. 34:19 AND THE YOUNG MAN DID NOT DELAY TO DO THE THING, BECAUSE HE WAS DELIGHTED WITH JACOB’S DAUGHTER. NOW HE WAS THE MOST HONOURED OF ALL HIS FAMILY. 34:20 SO HAMOR AND HIS SON SHECHEM CAME TO THE GATE OF THEIR CITY AND SPOKE TO THE MEN OF THEIR CITY; SAYING, 34:21 “THESE PEOPLE ARE FRIENDLY WITH US, LET THEM LIVE IN T HE LAND AND TRADE IN IT, FOR THE LAND IS LARGE ENOUGH FOR THEM. Let us take their daughters for us as wives and let us give them our daughters. [Cf. Jub 30:7?, 11?]</p> <p>34:22 ONLY ON THIS CONDITION WILL THEY AGREE TO LIVE AMONG US, TO BECOME ONE PEOPLE: THAT EVERY MALE AMONG US BE CIRCUMCISED AS THEY ARE CIRCUMCISED. 34:23 WILL NOT THEIR LIVESTOCK, THEIR PROPERTY, AND ALL THEIR ANIMALS BE OURS? ONLY LET US AGREE WITH THEM, AND THEY WILL LIVE AMONG US.”</p> <p>34:24 AND ALL WHO WENT OUT OF THE CITY GATE HEDED HAMOR AND HIS SON SHECHEM, AND EVERY MALE WAS CIRCUMCISED, ALL WHO WENT OUT OF THE GATE OF HIS CITY.</p>	
<p>34:25 ON THE THIRD DAY, WHEN THEY were in pain, TWO OF THE SONS OF JACOB,</p>	<p>[cf. Jub 30:4, 17 below]</p>
<p>Simeon and Levi, DINAH’S BROTHERS, TOOK THEIR SWORDS [cf. Jub 30:6?] <i>and</i></p>	<p>30:4 Simeon and Levi came <i>to Shechem unexpectedly</i>⁴¹³ AND EFFECTED A PUNISHMENT ON ALL THE MEN OF SHECHEM. And they killed every <i>man</i> WHOM THEY FOUND IN IT. THEY LEFT</p>

⁴¹³ The Ge’ez *gabta* has a nuance of surprise. It may be an interpretation of the Hebrew בַּטָּח of Gen 34:25 which denotes first and foremost security (cf. NRSV “unawares”). Eth Jub differs from the Eth Gen 34:25, which has *tatābi’omu* “them behaving courageously/manly.” The Latin version of Jub 30:4 is different: *et fecerunt iudicium in uiros sychemorum quem inuenerunt in ea et non reliquerunt in ea usque unum uniuersos enim occiderunt in iudicio propter quod polluerant dinam sororem suam.*

came <i>against</i> ⁴¹² the city confidently, and they killed every male.	ABSOLUTELY NO ONE IN IT. THEY KILLED EVERYONE <i>in a painful way</i> ⁴¹⁴ [cf. Gen 34:25] because they had defiled ⁴¹⁵ their sister Dinah ⁴¹⁶ [cf. Gen 34:27].
[cf. Gen 34:7]	30:5 <i>Nothing like this is to be done</i> ANYMORE FROM NOW ON—TO DEFILE AN ISRAELITE WOMAN.
34:26a THEY killed HAMOR AND HIS SON <i>Shechem</i> with the sword, [cf. Jub 30:23]	FOR THE PUNISHMENT HAD BEEN DECREED AGAINST THEM IN HEAVEN THAT THEY WERE TO ANNIHILATE ⁴¹⁷ <i>all the men of Shechem</i> with the sword, SINCE they had committed a shameful act in Israel. [cf. Gen 34:7]
	30:6 THE LORD HANDED THEM OVER TO JACOB'S SONS FOR THEM TO UPROOT THEM <i>with the sword</i> [cf. Gen 34:25b] AND TO EFFECT PUNISHMENT AGAINST THEM AND SO THAT THERE SHOULD NOT AGAIN BE SOMETHING LIKE THIS WITHIN ISRAEL—TO DEFILE AN ISRAELITE VIRGIN.
[Jub 30:7–23: <i>Halakic</i> Elaboration Continues]	
30:7 IF THERE IS A MAN IN ISRAEL WHO WISHES <i>to give his daughter</i> [cf. Gen 34:15] OR HIS SISTER TO ANY MAN WHO IS A DESCENDANT OF NATIONS, HE IS TO DIE. HE IS TO BE STONED BECAUSE he has committed a shameful act in ⁴¹⁸ Israel. [cf. Gen 34:7] THE WOMAN IS TO BE BURNED IN FIRE BECAUSE SHE HAD DEFILED THE NAME ⁴¹⁹ OF HER FATHER'S HOUSE; SHE IS TO BE UPROOTED FROM ISRAEL. 30:8 NO ADULTERESS ⁴²⁰ OR IMPURITY IS TO BE FOUND WITHIN ISRAEL THROUGHOUT ALL THE TIME OF THE GENERATIONS OF EARTH, FOR ISRAEL IS	

⁴¹² The Hebrew *בַּעַד* can be interpreted as coming “against,” the city, that is attacking it. (“fiendskapens preposition,” H. S. Nyberg, *Hebreisk grammatik* [Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1952], §981). LXX has *εἰς* and Eth Gen similarly *wāsta*. Eth Jub uses the suffix *-hā* as accusative for locative (Josef Tropper, *Altäthiopisch: Grammatik des Ge‘ez mit Übungstext und Glossar*, ELO 2 [Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2002], §52.31e) for the same meaning.

⁴¹⁴ Lat *in iudicio*. Cf. Jub 30:17.

⁴¹⁵ Jub 30:4 Ge‘ez *gammanu* “they polluted/defiled/contaminated.” Cf. MT Gen 24:27 *טמא*; LXX *ἐμίαναν*, Eth *ʾarkwasəwwā* “they defiled/contaminated/polluted her.” That Jub 30:4 uses different verb to Eth Gen 24:27 is probably caused by translational phases. Most probably the original Hebrew Jubilees also had *טמא*.

⁴¹⁶ “Dinah” is lacking from the MT Gen 24:27b, but found in the LXX Eth Gen 24:27b.

⁴¹⁷ Lat has *ut pugnent in gladio aduersus sychem* before a break in the reading of the ms.

⁴¹⁸ Ge‘ez *ba-wāsta* has the same meaning as *wāsta* (Jub 30:5). Latin has *in* in both cases.

⁴¹⁹ “Name” is lacking from Lat

⁴²⁰ VanderKam, *Jubilees Translated*, 193, translated the Ge‘ez *zammā* as “adulterer” (masc.), since the predicate is in masc. The noun, however, is fem., as well as *fornicaria* in the Lat version. In his commentary, *Jubilees*, 813, 815, VanderKam has changed the previous translation, and

HOLY TO THE LORD. ANY MAN WHO HAS DEFILED (IT) IS TO DIE; HE IS TO BE STONED.⁴²¹

30:9 FOR THIS IS THE WAY IT HAS BEEN ORDAINED AND WRITTEN ON THE HEAVENLY TABLETS REGARDING ANY DESCENDANT OF ISRAEL WHO DEFILES (IT): “HE IS TO DIE; HE IS TO BE STONED.”

30:10 THIS LAW HAS NO TEMPORAL LIMIT. THERE IS NO REMISSION OR ANY FORGIVENESS; BUT RATHER THE MAN WHO HAS DEFILED HIS DAUGHTER WITHIN ALL OF ISRAEL IS TO BE ERADICATED BECAUSE HE HAS GIVEN FROM HIS SEED TO MOLECH⁴²² AND HAS SINNED⁴²³ BY DEFILING IT.

30:11 NOW YOU, MOSES; ORDER THE ISRAELITES AND TESTIFY TO THEM THAT THEY ARE NOT TO **give from their daughters to nations and that they are not to take from the daughters of nations** [cf. Gen 34:19?] BECAUSE IT IS DESPICABLE BEFORE THE LORD

30:12 FOR THIS REASON I HAVE WRITTEN FOR YOU IN THE WORDS OF THE LAW ALL THE WORKS OF THE SHECHEMITES WHICH THEY DID TO DINAH AND HOW JACOB’S SONS SAID: “**We will not give our daughter to men⁴²⁴ with a foreskin because that would be a disgrace to us.**” [cf. Gen 34:14]

30:13 IT IS A DISGRACE⁴²⁵ FOR ISRAELITES⁴²⁶ WHO GIVE OR TAKE FROM THE DAUGHTERS OF NATIONS BECAUSE IT IS IMPURE AND DESPICABLE FOR⁴²⁷ ISRAEL⁴²⁸.

translates it now as “prostitute.” Also, the following noun *rakus* is now translated as “impurity” instead of the previous “impure person” (a possibility in Ge’ez, but Lat *abominatio* guides to understand *rakus* as an alternative spelling to *rakʷs* “impurity.”)

⁴²¹ Lat has *moriatur in lapidibus* “he is to die by stones,” whereas Ge’ez has two predicates, *mot la-yəmut* and *wa-ba-’əbn yəwgarəwwo*.

⁴²² Lat *alienigenae*. It is probably an interpretation of Molech, which refers to Lev 18:21. See Robert H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1902), 181; VanderKam, *Jubilees Translated*, 194; *idem*, *Jubilees*, 815.

⁴²³ Lat pl. *egerunt*, which VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 815, correctly explains to be caused by a misreading of *εποιησαν* as *εποιησαν*.

⁴²⁴ Ge’ez *sab*’ in pl.; Lat *homini* in sg. Gen 34:14 has *שׂרׂא* (Eth *bə’si* in sg.).

⁴²⁵ The same Ge’ez term *ṣə’lat* “disgrace” is used here as in the previous verse and in Eth Gen 34:14 (*ḏə’lat*; *ḏ* and *ṣ* are often confused in the Eth mss.). Also, Lat has *obproprium* here and in the previous verse. The following is, thus, elaboration of what is meant by the term “disgrace.”

⁴²⁶ Ge’ez *la-’əsrā’ēl*; Lat *istrahel*, could connote either the entity or the people, but the following use of plural verbs guide the reader to understand the term as referring to the people.

⁴²⁷ Although VanderKam, *Jubilees Translated*, 195; *idem*, *Jubilees*, 816, prefers the reading of *’əm* (denoting comparative) before “Israel,” several mss. (21, 38, 39, 42, 47, 48, 58) have *la* (dative) instead. This corresponds more with the Lat *in*. The Ge’ez *rakus* “impure, impurity” and *mənnun* “despicable” are of the verbal adjective *qətul*-pattern. *rakus* can also be an alternative noun form with same meaning as *rakʷs*. Nevertheless, *qətul*-pattern is also used for nouns in certain cases, and also *mənnun*, derived from the transitive active *D mannana*, could be taken with the force of the noun. See August Dillmann & Carl Bezold, *Ethiopic Grammar*, trans. James A. Chrichton (London: Williams & Norgate, 1907), §108c; Lambdin, *Introduction*, §35.1; Tropper, *Altäthiopisch*, §42.13.3. This is to be preferred since Lat too has two corresponding nouns, *abominatio* and *inmunditia* here. If *’əm* is to be preferred, then the phrase could be translated: “because it is too impure and despicable for Israel.”

⁴²⁸ Latin adds *omni*.

30:14 ISRAEL WILL NOT BECOME CLEAN FROM THIS IMPURITY WHILE IT HAS ONE WIFE FROM THE DAUGHTERS OF NATIONS OR IF ANYONE HAS GIVEN FROM HIS DAUGHTERS TO A MAN (DESCENDING FROM) ANY NATION.⁴²⁹

30:15 FOR IT IS BLOW UPON BLOW AND CURSE UPON CURSE. EVERY PUNISHMENT, BLOW,⁴³⁰ AND CURSE⁴³¹ WILL COME ⁴³² 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.⁴³³

30:16 THERE WILL BE NO FAVOURITISM OR PARTIALITY⁴³⁴; THERE WILL BE NO RECEIVING FROM HIM OF FRUIT⁴³⁵, SACRIFICES, OFFERINGS, FAT⁴³⁶, OR THE AROMA OF A PLEASING FRAGRANCE SO THAT HE SHOULD ACCEPT IT. (SO) IS ANY MAN OR WOMAN IN ISRAEL TO BE WHO DEFILES HIS SANCTUARY.⁴³⁷

30:17 FOR THIS REASON I HAVE ORDERED YOU: "PROCLAIM THIS TESTIMONY TO ISRAEL: 'SEE HOW IT TURNED OUT FOR SHECHEM AND HER CHILDREN⁴³⁸—HOW THEY WERE HANDED OVER TO JACOB'S TWO⁴³⁹ SONS. THEY KILLED THEM IN **a painful way**.⁴⁴⁰ [cf. Gen 34:25] IT WAS A JUST ACT FOR THEM AND WAS RECORDED AS A JUST ACT FOR THEM.'"

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.⁴⁴¹

30:19 SO BLESSING AND JUSTICE BEFORE THE GOD OF ALL ARE ENTERED FOR HIM AS A TESTIMONY ON THE HEAVENLY TABLETS.

⁴²⁹ The later part of the verse in Lat: *et non mumndabimus [?] de filiabus nostris omnibus gentibus*, in 1.pl. For the question mark, see a possible suggestion by Rönsch, *Jubiläen*, 143–144.

⁴³⁰ Ge'ez *wa-kʷəllu kʷənnanē wa-maqšaft* "and every punishment *and* blow," but Lat *et omnia iudicia plagarum*. The Latin can be explained by a loss of "and" at some point of the transmission history.

⁴³¹ Lat *maleidictio maledictionum* "curse of curses."

⁴³² Lat *super illum*, but the following seems to lack something in Latin. See VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 816.

⁴³³ For the discussion of the difference between the Ethiopic and Latin versions, see Rönsch, *Jubiläen*, 144; VanderKam, *Jubilees Translated*, 196.

⁴³⁴ Omitted in Lat.

⁴³⁵ Omitted in Lat.

⁴³⁶ Omitted in Lat. Some of these omissions might be due that they are part of a list which includes conjunctions, being thus a result of *parablepsis*.

⁴³⁷ Lat pl. *sanctificationes*.

⁴³⁸ Lat *sychimis et filiis ipsius* (in pl.)

⁴³⁹ Lat *hominum* probably an error for *duorum*, see VanderKam, *Jubilees Translated*, 197; *idem*, *Jubilees*, 816.

⁴⁴⁰ Lat *in iudicio* (as in Jub 30:4).

⁴⁴¹ Lat differs: *quoniam aemulatus est ueritatem ut facere iudicium et defensionem ab omnibus qui positi sunt super istrachel* "because he was eager for *the truth* to carry out justice and revenge on all who were placed against Israel." See the discussion below. For *defensionem* in the sense of "revenge," see Rönsch, *Jubiläen*, 144.

30:20 WE⁴⁴² OURSELVES REMEMBER THE JUSTICE WHICH THE MAN⁴⁴³ PERFORMED DURING HIS LIFETIME AT ALL TIMES OF THE YEAR. AS FAR AS 1000 GENERATIONS WILL IT BE ENTERED⁴⁴⁴. IT WILL COME TO HIM AND HIS SEED AFTER HIM. HE HAS BEEN RECORDED ON THE HEAVENLY TABLETS AS A FRIEND AND⁴⁴⁵ A JUST MAN.

30:21 I HAVE WRITTEN THIS ENTIRE MESSAGE FOR YOU AND HAVE ORDERED YOU TO TELL THE ISRAELITES NOT TO SIN OR TRANSGRESS THE STATUTES OR VIOLATE⁴⁴⁶ THE COVENANT WHICH WAS ESTABLISHED FOR THEM SO THAT THEY SHOULD PERFORM IT⁴⁴⁷ AND BE RECORDED AS FRIENDS⁴⁴⁸.

30:22 BUT IF THEY TRANSGRESS⁴⁴⁹ AND BEHAVE IN ANY IMPURE WAYS, THEY WILL BE RECORDED⁴⁵⁰ ON THE HEAVENLY TABLETS AS ENEMIES. THEY WILL BE ERASED FROM THE BOOK OF THE LIVING AND WILL BE RECORDED IN THE BOOK OF THOSE WHO WILL BE DESTROYED⁴⁵¹ AND⁴⁵² WITH THOSE WHO WILL BE UPROOTED FROM THE EARTH.

30:23 ON THE DAY THAT JACOB'S SONS **killed** (THE PEOPLE OF)⁴⁵³ **Shechem** [cf. Gen 34:26a], A WRITTEN NOTICE WAS ENTERED IN HEAVEN FOR THEM (TO THE

⁴⁴² Lat *memorabitur iustitia* “the justice... will be remembered.” VanderKam, *Jubilees Translated*, 198, suggests an emendation of the Latin to *memorabimur* which would then agree with the Ge’ez form.

⁴⁴³ Ge’ez *sab’* is in pl., but *ba-həy watu* has 3. sg. m. suffix (i.e., “in his life”), and also the continuation of the verse speaks of one individual. Ms. 12 has *sab’a* which can be interpreted as a verb “to become a man” instead of a noun. Latin reading *homo* confirms that one should read it in sg.

⁴⁴⁴ VanderKam translates *yā’arragu* in active sense “will they enter it,” but 3.pl. can be also periphrastic passive. Lambdin, *Introduction*, §51.7. This conforms with Lat *offeretur*. Since the CG *’a’raga* (lit. “to cause to go up”) also has the meaning of “offer” as does hiph. of *עלה*, the unexpected *offeretur* here is caused by a mistranslation in some point of the textual history (cf. *refertur* in 30:19).

⁴⁴⁵ Lat *amicus iustus*, i.e., the conjunction is lacking. Either can be the original.

⁴⁴⁶ Lat has *ut* + present subjunctives following by future form *et non dissipabunt testamentum*, whereas Ge’ez follows with *kama’i* + subj. “in order not to.”

⁴⁴⁷ Lat *ea* “them,” i.e., the precepts of the covenant.

⁴⁴⁸ Lat adds “of God.” Cf. Jub 19:9, where Abraham is *’arka’agzi’abhēr* “friend of the Lord” in Ge’ez, and *amicus dei* in Lat.

⁴⁴⁹ Lat adds *testamentum* “the covenant.”

⁴⁵⁰ Lat *quaecumque scripta sunt* “which (*abominationem* or the *uiis*) are written.” i.e., the Latin version has understood that the impure ways are written in the heavenly tablets, not that they are enemies. Because of this interpretation, Lat adds *erunt* after *inimici dei* (For *dei*, cf. the previous verse). Ge’ez is to be preferred. Cf. VanderKam, *Jubilees Translated*, 199; *idem*, *Jubilees*, 817.

⁴⁵¹ Lat *in libro perditionum* “in the book of destructions.”

⁴⁵² The conjunction is lacking from Lat, most probably due the different interpretation of the book as book of destructions and not “book of those who will be destroyed.”

⁴⁵³ Ge’ez has only *saqimā-hā* “Shechem,” but since the rewritten story tells of the killing of all the people in Shechem, it probably refers to the people. Ms. 63 adds *sab’a* in st. cstr. before Shechem to make it more explicit (“the people of Shechem”). Lat has also only *sycimam* here. However, the author may have used Shechem in a double meaning (the individual and the people) and used part of the phrase found in Gen 34:26a here, given that he continues with a closer rewriting of Gen 34:26b in Jub 30:24. Thus, the author ends the *halakic* elaboration with a mention of the killing of Shechem/Shechemites, as he starts it in Jub 30:5.

EFFECT) THAT THEY HAD CARRIED OUT WHAT WAS RIGHT ⁴⁵⁴ , JUSTICE, AND REVENGE AGAINST THE SINNERS ⁴⁵⁵ . IT ⁴⁵⁶ WAS RECORDED AS A BLESSING.	
34:26b and they took Dinah out of Shechem's house AND WENT AWAY.	30:24 They led their SISTER Dinah from Shechem's house
34:27 AND THE OTHER SONS OF JACOB CAME UPON THE SLAIN, and <i>plundered the city, because they had defiled their sister.</i> [cf. Jub 30:4] ⁴⁵⁷	<i>and captured everything that was in Shechem—</i>
34:28 <i>They took their flocks and their herds, their donkeys, and whatever was in the city and in the field.</i>	<i>their sheep, cattle, and donkeys; all their property and all their flock</i> ⁴⁵⁸
34:29 <i>All their wealth, ALL THEIR LITTLE ONES AND THEIR WIVES, ALL THAT WAS IN THE HOUSES, THEY CAPTURED AND MADE THEIR PREY.</i>	
	AND BROUGHT EVERYTHING TO THEIR FATHER JACOB.
34:30 Then <i>Jacob</i> said to <i>Simeon and Levi</i> , "You have brought trouble on me by making me odious to the inhabitants of the land, the Canaanites and the Perizzites,	30:25 <i>He</i> spoke with <i>them</i> about the <i>fact</i> ⁴⁵⁹ that they had killed (the people of) a city because he was afraid of the people who were living in the land—of the Canaanites and the Perizzites.
MY NUMBERS ARE FEW, AND IF THEY GATHER THEMSELVES AGAINST ME AND ATTACK ME, I SHALL BE DESTROYED, BOTH I AND MY HOUSEHOLD."	
34:31 BUT THEY SAID, "SHOULD OUR SISTER BE TREATED LIKE A WHORE?"	

⁴⁵⁴ Ge'ez *ṣadqa* "righteousness, right;" Lat *ueritatem* "truth." Cf. Lat in Jub 30:18.

⁴⁵⁵ Lat *in ipsis* instead of sinners.

⁴⁵⁶ Ge'ez *taṣəḥfa* "it was recorded;" but many mss. (17, 20, 39, 42, 44, 47, 48, 58) have pl. *taṣəḥfu* meaning Levi and Simeon instead of their act. This conforms with Lat *scripti sunt*. The letters *fa* and *fu* in Ge'ez script can be easily mistaken. However, it would be odd for them to be "written" as a blessing, instead of the act being recorded as a blessing.

⁴⁵⁷ LXX Eth Gen 34:27b also include "Dinah" as does Jub 30:4.

⁴⁵⁸ Lat *terram*.

⁴⁵⁹ Ge'ez *ba'anta za-qatalu* "about (the fact) that they killed," or "because they killed" but Lat *quare exterminauerunt* "why they destroyed." The Ge'ez correspondent would be *ba'anta mant*.

35:5 AS THEY JOURNEYED ⁴⁶⁰ , a <i>terror</i> of God was <i>upon</i> the cities all around <i>them</i> ⁴⁶¹ . And they did not pursue AFTER ⁴⁶² Jacob's sons.	30:26 A <i>fear</i> ⁴⁶³ of God was <i>in</i> ⁴⁶⁴ ALL ⁴⁶⁵ the cities which were around <i>Shechem</i> . And they did not set out to pursue ⁴⁶⁶ Jacob's sons ⁴⁶⁷ BECAUSE TERROR ⁴⁶⁸ HAD FALLEN ON THEM.
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3.2.2 Discussion

The double interpretation of שלם (Gen 33:18) in Jubilees 30:1 as “Salem” and “safely” is intentional.⁴⁶⁹ First, שלם as “safely” can be taken as an allusion to God’s

⁴⁶⁰ Cf. LXX καὶ ἐξῆρην Ἰσραηλ ἐκ Σικιμων. It may be that the author of Jubilees had a similar phrase in his Genesis-*Vorlage* naming Shechem, and therefore he could connect the verse inherently with Shechem, substituting “them” with “Shechem.”

⁴⁶¹ Certain LXX-variants do have 3.sg. instead of 3.pl. John W. Wevers, ed. *Genesis*, Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974), 332.

⁴⁶² Lat Jub 30:26 has also the prep. *post*, which agrees with MT LXX Eth Gen 35:5.

⁴⁶³ MT Gen 35:5 has the noun חתה, which Eth Gen 35:5 has rendered (via the LXX φόβος) as *fərhat*. Eth Jub 30:26 has *gərmā*, which however is found as a translation of φόβος in certain instances, too (e.g., Gen 15:12). Lat *timor*. It may be that the Hebrew Jubilees had the same noun as MT Gen 35:5 even though the Ge’ez verbs differ. On different Ge’ez terms for denoting fear and what Greek and Hebrew terms they gloss in the Ethiopic Bible, see Topias K. E. Tanskanen, “The Deep Sleep of Adam and Abram in the Book of Jubilees,” in *Understanding Abnormalities in Biblical Figures*, ed. Guido Baltes, Lukas Bormann, and Martin Meiser, SRB 11 (Åbo: Network for the Study of the Reception History of the Bible, 2022), 59–79.

⁴⁶⁴ Ge’ez *wəsta* “in;” but Lat *super*, which follows MT LXX Eth Gen 35:5.

⁴⁶⁵ Wevers, ed. *Genesis*, 332, notes that certain textual variants of Gen (318 La^x) include “all.”

⁴⁶⁶ Lat *et non persecuti sunt post iacob* corresponds well with the Ge’ez *wa-’i-tanš’u la-sadida*. Lat adds *ut nocerent eum* “in order to harm him.”

⁴⁶⁷ Lat has only “Jacob.”

⁴⁶⁸ Ge’ez *dəngāḏē* (on the term, see Tanskanen, “Deep Sleep.”). Lat again has *timor* as before in the verse.

⁴⁶⁹ Kugel, *Walk through*, 140. It is also possible that there was a tradition that located Salem near Shechem (perhaps near the modern Arabic village called Salim c. 5 km east from modern Balaṭa, the ancient Shechem). El-Amarna letters show that Shechem (via Laba’yu, the prince of Shechem; see, e.g., letters EA 244, 245 250, 252, 254, 280, 287, 289 [ANET 485–489]) had great influence during the Amarna-period (14th Century BCE) in Canaan, and Shechem furthermore played a significant cultic role. For the cultic role of Shechem, see Sven Tengström, *Die Hexateucherzählung: Eine literaturgeschichtliche Studie*, ConBOT 7 (Uppsala: GWK Gleerup, 1976). Moreover, according to Michael C. Astour, “Salem (Place),” *ABD* 5:905, Salim is a common Arabic toponym. Therefore, it may be that Salem/Salim originally was a town (not Jerusalem), which was under the influence of Shechem. However, according to the biblical tradition, Salem is equated with Jerusalem (Ps 76:3; see also 1QapGen XXII, 13 as well as Tg. Onq. and Ps.-J. to Gen 14:18). It should be borne in mind, however, that Jub 13:25, which is only partially preserved (most probably corrupted due a *parablepsis*, see VanderKam, *Jubilees Translated*, 81–82; *idem*, *Jubilees*, 467, 481–484), if reconstructed correctly by VanderKam, mentions only Melchizedek, but without designating him as the king of Salem. Thus, the only reference to Salem in Jubilees is Salem beside Shechem in Jub 30:1! However, since in the same (admittedly reconstructed) passage Abraham is to “return” (*tamayṭa*) to where he had been before, i.e., Hebron before he meets Melchizedek, it, thus, seems plausible that the author did not depict Melchizedek’s Salem (although the name is not mentioned in Jub 13:25) as the same

promise in Jubilees 27:24 where “safely” (*ba-salām*) is an addition to Genesis 28:15; and to Jacob’s vow in Jubilees 27:27 (cf. Gen 28:20–22). Second, interpreting the place where Jacob arrives as Salem and not Shechem creates a space between Jacob and the Shechemites: he did not mingle with foreigners. It makes it also possible for the author to omit the detail concerning Jacob having purchased something from the Canaanites/Hivvites (Gen 33:19) in the Promised Land, which according to Jubilees originally belonged to Shem’s descendants, and thus also to Jacob.⁴⁷⁰ Abraham had also commanded Jacob not to become a friend to other peoples and especially not to marry Canaanites (Jub 20:1–5; 22:16–24).⁴⁷¹

Salem in the vicinity of Shechem in the north, as in Jub 30:1. Otherwise Abraham’s return to Hebron would have taken a long detour via Salem to Hebron, whereas the off-route to Hebron via Jerusalem would not have been as long. Cf. Pseudo-Eupolemos (2nd Century BCE, see Eusebius, *Pr. Ev.* 9.17.2.5–6), who states that Melchizedek is the priest and ruler of city in a temple Hargarizim (πόλιως ἱερὸν Ἀργαριζίμ), hence situating Salem there near Shechem. With this detail in mind, scholars have argued that Pseudo-Eupolemos was a Samaritan. See Carl R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors, Volume 1: Historians* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1983), 157–187 (including the text with translation); Martin Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus: Studien zu ihrer Begegnung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Palästinas bis zur Mitte des 2. Jhs v. Chr.*, 3rd ed., WUNT 1.10 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1988), 162–169. Magnar Kartveit, “Abraham and Joseph in Samaritan Tradition,” in *Abraham’s Family: A Network of Meaning in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. Lukas Bormann, WUNT 1.415 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 59–80 (62–69), has recently argued that the original text of Pseudo-Eupolemos was written by a Hellenising Jew, and that the identification of Mt. Gerizim in the text is a later Samaritan addition when the text was “Samaritanized.”

The author of Jubilees gives two interpretations on the same consonantal text, which indicates that the author was aware of both interpretive traditions. He wanted to use both for the reasons given below. Of recent commentators, Claus Westermann, *Genesis 12–36: A Commentary*, trans. John J. Scullion S.J. (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1985), 527, argues in favour of reading שלם in Gen 33:18 as a place name.

⁴⁷⁰ The dividing of the land in Jub 8–10 between Noah’s sons bears a huge theological significance in Jubilees. Canaan’s (and thus the Canaanites’) lot is as far from the Promised Land as was possible, namely in western Africa (Jub 9:1). The name “Land of Canaan” is explained by the story in Jub 10:27–34 that Canaan was dissatisfied with his lot and decided to occupy the area that is now called the land of Canaan. On this, see Florentino García Martínez, “Geography as Theology: From the *Book of Jubilees* to the *Phaleg* by Arias Montano,” in *Between Philology and Theology: Contributions to the Study of Ancient Jewish Interpretation*, ed. Eibert Tigchelaar and Hindy Najman, JSJSup 162 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 31–48 (esp. 39–44) and James C. VanderKam, “Putting Them in Their Place: Geography as an Evaluative Tool,” in *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible & Second Temple Literature*, JSJSup 62 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 476–499.

⁴⁷¹ The context of Jub 20:1–5 is also revealing, because it also talks about sexual impurity, also of giants (v. 5), and about circumcision (v. 3). The question of circumcision is worth noting since it plays an important role both in Gen 34 and Jub 30. Van Ruiten, “Canaanites,” 151–152, notes the impact of Deut 7 on Abraham’s farewell speeches, esp. to Jub 22:16–22. The similarities he notices, are, (1) destruction of cultic sites (Deut 7:5; Jub 22:22 implicit; cf. Jub 12:1–14 where Abram destroys an idol temple); (2) prohibition against mixed marriages, in the context of fear that it would lead to idolatry (Deut 7:3; Jub 22:17–23); (3) prohibition of making treaties (cf. Jub 22:16–22).

In the Genesis' version, Jacob is less offended by the rape of Dinah than he is in Jubilees.⁴⁷² In Jubilees, he is angry alongside his sons (Jub 30:3).⁴⁷³ The possible interpretation that Jacob could actually go against the Deuteronomic stipulation and decide that it was possible to intermarry with Hivites/Canaanites needed to be corrected.⁴⁷⁴ Thus, with the help of a few changes, the author of Jubilees corrects Jacob's behaviour. He is angry and offended alongside his sons.

The talk about circumcision would have been, again, something horrible in the eyes of the author. Thus, the discussion between Hamor, Shechem and the sons of Jacob is omitted, and the author leaves untold in which way Jacob and his sons deceived them (Jub 30:3). What was included in this exchange of words is later taken up in the angelic discourse: "For this reason I have written for you in the words of the Law all the deeds of Shechemites that they did to Dinah and how Jacob's sons said: 'We will not give our daughter to men with a foreskin because that would be a disgrace to us.'" (Jub 30:12, referring to Gen 34:14). Possibly the author intended the reader or hearer to understand that this was all that the sons, together with Jacob, said, or at least meant; nothing more.⁴⁷⁵ It is taken as Law (Jub 30:13–16), because Jacob already knew the Law and the Testimony.

According to Jubilees 30:5–6, it was decreed in heaven by God that the Shechemites were to be annihilated "with the sword." So, they were handed over to Jacob's sons in order that they would uproot the Shechemites. The reason

⁴⁷² As Werman, "Jubilees 30," 4, puts it concerning the version found in Gen: "from Jacob's perspective, Dinah has been defiled; but the situation is salvageable if Shechem and Hamor undergo circumcision." What does *החריש* mean in Gen 34:5? The basic meaning is "keep silent," that is, Jacob did not answer anything (cf. LXX: *παρεσιώπησεν*). NRSV translation "held his peace" interprets it as if Jacob was very angry but "held his peace" before his sons could come back. However, the text does not say this. He was only silent, whatever that means. The sons of Jacob are the ones that become angry in Gen 34:7, not Jacob.

⁴⁷³ The *אנשים* in Gen 34:7 *can* include Jacob, but the most natural interpretation is to interpret it as meaning the sons of Jacob, who had just arrived home and heard the news. The author of Jubilees made the possible interpretation explicit.

⁴⁷⁴ If Kugel, *Ladder of Jacob*, 41–57, is correct in his reading of T. Levi 6:3 (Levi insisting to Jacob that the Hivites *ought not to be* circumcised), then T. Levi understood that Jacob was really going to give his daughter to Shechem. Levi (and Simeon) interrupted the proposition by initiating the killing of the Shechemites in T. Levi. However, the punishment was affected upon Shechemites, not because of Shechem's foreignness (cf. Jub 30!), but because of their other crimes (T. Levi 6:6–7:1), although these crimes were also connected to sexual immorality. This means that the reception of Gen 34 in Jub 30 would be different from the one found in T. Levi 6. In Jub, Jacob is angry and schemes with his sons against the Shechemites. In T. Levi, he acts against Deut 7:3, and Levi himself intervenes and stops that from happening. This is, in turn, interesting in comparison to Num 25 and how Phinehas intervenes where Moses does not. On the relation between Gen 34 and Num 25, see below.

⁴⁷⁵ Cf. Kugel, *Walk through*, 144. This means, that the author of Jubilees could think that Jacob and his sons perhaps only said that much, but that they never intended that the Shechemites were actually to circumcise themselves. The rest is left for the reader (and to the Shechemites, who perhaps then thought that this was an exhortation to circumcise themselves). Moreover, the author omitted the verb "cannot" (*נוכל*, Gen 34:14), which could be interpreted so that Jacob etc. actually would have agreed, if that had been a possibility, from Jub 30:12. The "painfulness" connected to circumcision in Gen 34:25 is connected to the way in which Levi and Simeon kill the Shechemites in Jub 30:4.

given was that such defilement should never be done to Israel again, a phrase taken from Gen 34:7: *וכן לא יעשה*. This is interpreted as God's direct speech also in Judith 9:2.⁴⁷⁶

Kugel has emphasized how the ancient interpreters thought that every text must have a reason for having been written and retained in the Scriptures.⁴⁷⁷ Why then is the Shechem episode told in Genesis in the first place? According to Jubilees, the ban against intermarriage is crucial. Jubilees 30:12, cited above, begins with "For this reason" (*ba'anta-zæ; propter hoc*). This reveals why the episode is, according to the author of Jubilees, retained in the Scriptures, and I think that both Jubilees 30:7 and the following verses 8–17 should be understood from this perspective. The biblical backbone is found in Deuteronomy 7:3 with Leviticus 18:21.

Deuteronomy 7:1–4 says, addressing "you" in the second person singular:

7:1 When Yhwh your God brings you into the land that you are about to enter and possess, and He clears away many nations before you—the Hittites, the Girgashites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites, seven nations mightier and more numerous than you— 7:2 and when Yhwh your God gives them over to you and you defeat them, then you must utterly destroy them. Make no covenant with them and show them no mercy. 7:3 Do not intermarry with them, giving your daughter to his son or taking their daughter for your son, 7:4 for that would turn away your children from following me, to serve other gods. Then the anger of Yhwh would be kindled against you [pl.], and he would destroy you [sg.] quickly.⁴⁷⁸

As VanderKam has noted, Deuteronomy 7:2–4 "lies behind a number of points made in Jubilees 30 and forbids precisely what Hamor and Shechem propose, and Jacob and his eleven sons apparently consider in Genesis 34. It also contains authorization for the response of Simeon and Levi ('you must utterly destroy them')."⁴⁷⁹ This is the case, even though on the surface Leviticus 18:21; 20:1–5 seem to take the most prominent role, those texts and a certain exegetical tradition concerning them being explicitly alluded to in Jubilees 30:10.⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁷⁶ See Kugel, *Ladder of Jacob*, 65–69; *idem*, *Walk through*, 143–144.

⁴⁷⁷ James L. Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible As It Was at the Start of the Common Era* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 19: "In searching for such a [relevant] message, the interpreter could rest assured that no detail in Scripture's manner of speaking was insignificant, nor would there be any inconsistency between what is said in one place and what is said in another, nor any lesson that contradicted right thinking." Cf. *idem*, *Ladder of Jacob*, 1–4.

⁴⁷⁸ NRSV with some modifications by me to keep it more literal.

⁴⁷⁹ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 820. One should note that Ezra 9:10–12 includes a composite citation of different biblical passages (Deut 7:1–3; 11:8–9; 23:7; 2 Kings 21:16; Isa 1:19) which the author modifies to make a statement. Thus, Deut 7:1–3 probably already played a role during the times of Ezra-Nehemiah against intermarriage with foreigners. Additionally, it shows already how early on the interpreters could creatively connect different texts with one another. I thank Antti Laato for this detail. On Composite Citations in general, see Sean A. Adams and Seth M. Ehorn, eds., *Composite Citations in Antiquity: Volume One: Jewish, Graeco-Roman, and Early Christian Uses*, LNTS 525 (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016).

⁴⁸⁰ Concerning how the author uses and interprets Lev 18; 20; 21, see VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 825–832; Werman, "Jubilees 30," 11–21. Shaye J. D. Cohen, "From the Bible to the Talmud: The

The Deuteronomic stipulations about חרם in Deuteronomy 7:2 are connected to the problem of intermarrying the Canaanites, which in turn leads the offspring to worship false and foreign gods.⁴⁸¹ The same fear is found in Exodus 34:10–16 and Deuteronomy 20:16–18 too. Leviticus 18:24–30 states how the people who inhabited ארץ before the Israelites were sexually immoral, and this is also the reason why they would be eradicated from the land. It is important to note that the phrase about giving one’s “seed” to Molech, expounded in Jubilees, is found precisely in this context. The context probably implied the meaning of “giving one’s seed to Molech” for the ancient interpreters.⁴⁸² Moreover, the term תועבה, used in Leviticus 18:22, 26–27, 29–30, is also used in Deuteronomy 7:26, and in 20:17–18 together with חרם. In Leviticus 18:24–30; 20:3, טמא “defilement” causes worry. The same root is used in Genesis 34:5.⁴⁸³ It probably lies behind the Ge’ez root *rkws*, often used in Jubilees 30 (vv. 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 [2x], 13, 14, 15 [2x], 16, 22). This means that the Hebrew terms, namely תועבה, חרם and טמא are somewhat interrelated terms. Actually, both תועבה and טמא in Leviticus 18:20–30 are glossed (via Greek) in Ge’ez with the help of the root *rkws*. This means that the author of Jubilees did have the possibility to connect Deuteronomy 7 with Leviticus 18 and 20 in his interpretation of Genesis 34. In this interpretation, all these texts are concerned with impurity and defilement which, according to the Pentateuch the Canaanites caused, and which could also be transmitted to Israel by intermarriage.

Another detail that helps the author to connect חרם order of Deuteronomy 7:2 to the Shechem episode is that חרם is often used alongside with הרב “sword” in the Hebrew Bible.⁴⁸⁴ When the sword is mentioned in Genesis 34:25, it was easy to connect the Shechem episode to the חרם legislation in Deuteronomy 7:2–5. This is seen in Jubilees 30:6 in particular: “The Lord handed them over to Jacob’s sons for them to uproot them with the sword and to effect punishment against

prohibition of Intermarriage,” *HAR* 7 (1983): 23–39 (26, 34–36) argues that the author of Jubilees *did not* use Deut 7:3–4 but the interpretive tradition of “seed of Molech,” (explicit in the *halakic* discourse in Jub) in his rhetoric against intermarriage. VanderKam sees the mention of “Hivite” as crucial here (*Jubilees*, 820 n 12), but that detail is already in Gen 34:2 and could simply have been reproduced here. The rhetoric of Jub 30, which implicitly alludes to Deut 7:1–4, is a more convincing argument, and on that basis the mention of the Shechemites’ Hivite background can be connected to the Deuteronomic stipulation which also mentions the Hivites. Moreover, the argument becomes even stronger when the whole context of Jub 30–32 is seen from the perspective of Jacob keeping the commandments in Deuteronomy, which is what this chapter is all about.

⁴⁸¹ That חרם is connected to the ban of idolatry and foreign cults and syncretism in Deuteronomy is emphasized by Richard D. Nelson, “*Herem* and the Deuteronomic Social Conscience,” in *Deuteronomy and Deuteronomic Literature: Festschrift C.H.W. Brekelmans*, ed. Marc Vervenne and J. Lust, BETL 133 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997), 39–54.

⁴⁸² VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 827.

⁴⁸³ In Eth Gen 34:5, the Hebrew *pi. טמא* is glossed (via the LXX *ἐμίανεν*) as CG *’arkwāsā*.

⁴⁸⁴ Norbert Lohfink, “חרם,” *TDOT* 5:180–199 (183–184).

them and so that there should not again be something like this within Israel—defiling an Israelite virgin.” (*wa-maṭṭawomu ’agzi’abhēr wasta ’ada waluda Yā’qob kama yašarrəwəwwomu ba-sayf wa-kama yaḡbaru lā’lēhomu kwānnanē wa-kama ’i-yəkun ’ənka kama-zə ba-wasta ’asrā’ēl la-’arkwəso dəngəl ’asrā’ēlāwit; et tradidit eos dominus in manibus filiorum iacob ut eradicent eos in gladio et fiat in ipsis iudicium et non amplius erit in ... istrahel ut polluatur uirgo istrahel*).⁴⁸⁵ This can be compared with Deuteronomy 7:2: “when Yhwh your God gives them over to you and you defeat them, then you must utterly destroy them.” It is to be noted that according to Jubilees 30:6, it was God who handed over the Hivites to Levi and Simeon.⁴⁸⁶ Thus, the usage of the “sword” as the medium of the killing of the Shechemites in Genesis 34:26 was connected to the חרם order in Deuteronomy 7:2, even though it does not explicitly state that it should be done with a “sword.” The addition of the author in Jubilees 30:6 then confirms that he connected the Shechem episode to Deuteronomy 7 by noting that it was God who had “handed them over” to Simeon and Levi.⁴⁸⁷

Deuteronomy 7:3 forbids not only the taking of foreigners as wives as one exegetical tradition interpreted Leviticus 18:21,⁴⁸⁸ and of which Jubilees is aware,

⁴⁸⁵ When חרב is found in the context of חרם in the Hebrew Bible, The Ethiopic OT renders the LXX renderings of חרב (*μάχαιρα* in LXX Deut 13:16; 20:13; *ρόμφαία* in LXX Josh 6:21; 1 Sam 15:8; *ξίφος* in LXX Josh 10:28, 35, 37, 39; 11:11–12) with *haddin*, whereas *μάχαιρα* of LXX Gen 34:25 is rendered with *maṭbāht* (*μάχαιρα* in Gen 34:27 is not rendered or is lacking in the *Vorlage* of Ethiopic OT). In Vulg., these are rendered with *gladius* (in Josh 11:11–12, חרב לפי is left out in Vulg.).

⁴⁸⁶ Vulg. uses *tradiderit* in Deut 7:2. The same verb is used in the Lat Jub 30:6. Eth Gen most often uses the CG form of root *gb* “return, deliver, hand over” to render the LXX *παράδιδωμι*, as it does here. חרם חרם of Deut 7:2 is translated *percuties eas usque ad internicionem*, in Vulg.; Eth *’atfə’o ’atfə’omu*. The same root *tf* is used in Jub 30:5, where Lat surprisingly has *pugno*. The *yešarrəw* of Jub 30:6 might originally come from ברה, as VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 829, proposes, but that is not the only option. Actually, the root *šrw* is used many times in the Ethiopic OT when rendering different LXX renderings of חרם too (Exod 22:19; Deut 3:6; Josh 2:10; 10:1; 11:12, 20; 1 Sam 15:3, 15, 18 [with *tf*], 20; the LXX has always different forms of [ἐξ]ἀλεθρεύω here). The CG form of *tf* is also often used (Deut 2:34; 7:2; Josh 8:26; 10:26, 37, 39, 40; 11:11, 21; 1 Sam 15:18). Also roots *rgm*, *hṛm*, and sometimes even *qtl* and CG forms of *msn* are used. The Ethiopic Old Testament has been translated from Greek version(s) (On the textual history of the Ethiopic Bible, see ch. 1.3.2 above). The translator(s) of Jubilees most probably did not scrutinize Deuteronomy when translating Jubilees from Greek to Ge’ez. That is a probable scenario regarding the first translation of Jubilees from Hebrew to Greek too.

⁴⁸⁷ *Contra* van Ruiten, “Canaanites,” 152, who states that “In contrast to Deuteronomy 7 (and related texts), *Jubilees* does not refer to God’s handing over the peoples of Canaan to Israel or his instruction to destroy them.”

⁴⁸⁸ See, e.g., Tg. Ps.-J. to Lev 18:21. This is noted especially by Kugel, *Walk through*, 261–262. It is worth noting too that Ps 106:37 states that Israelites “offered their sons and daughters to demons.” This verse is in the context of intermarriage (v. 35), which can be interpreted as the reason that led the people to serve idols (v. 36). Before this account the positive role of Phinehas as being zealous is mentioned (vv. 30–31). Since Ps 106:30–31 and the Phinehas tradition is of importance for the author of Jubilees in chapter 30 (see below), it is plausible that Ps 106:37 also was connected to Lev 18:21.

but it also forbids the giving of daughters to foreigners as wives.⁴⁸⁹ Clearly Leviticus 18 and 20 are important in the author's rewriting of the Shechem episode. The defilement of the land and sanctuary is prominent in Leviticus 18 and 20. Because Jacob is Israel, he and his family are the chosen people and the priestly kingdom (Exod 19:5–6), perhaps also "sanctuary" (Lev 20:3 // Jub. 30:15).⁴⁹⁰ The laws pertaining to the priest's daughter (Lev 21:3) are applied to every member of Israel.⁴⁹¹ Either the author has shared a common exegetical tradition with Malachi 2:11–12, which might also have connected Leviticus 20:3 to intermarriage, or the author of Jubilees already used the Book of Malachi and its exegetical tradition here as well.⁴⁹² This is plausible because of the allusions of Malachi 2:9, 13 in Jubilees 30:16.⁴⁹³ Nevertheless, the ban concerning intermarriage regarding both sexes is stated clearly in Deuteronomy 7:3, and that ban is, moreover, applied to both sexes in the *halakic* section of Jubilees 30.

The law in Deuteronomy 22:28–29 did not apply to the Shechemites, because they were Hivites/Canaanites rather than Israelites, as VanderKam has noted.⁴⁹⁴ Instead, regarding the Hivites, the laws from Deuteronomy 7:2–4 and 20:16–18, addressed in the second person singular (except for Deut 20:18), are applied by Jacob/Israel.

In Jubilees 30:17, the author already starts to zoom to Levi. The end of v. 17 ("It was a just act for them and was recorded as a just act for them") in Latin is *et computatum est illis in ueritate et conscriptum est illis in iustitia*, which VanderKam translates as "It was counted for them as a truthful act and was recorded as a just act for them." Similarly, the Ge'ez *wa-taṣəḥfomu la-ṣədq* could be translated as "And it was written for them as righteousness." Both options are reminiscent of Genesis 15:6, and even more of Psalm 106:31 where Phinehas' act in Baal-Peor (Ps 106:30; Num 25:7–13) is counted as righteousness for him, and the psalm itself most probably alludes to Gen 15:6.

This leads towards Numbers 25 and Phinehas' action and reward there. What Ps 106:31 states, along with Num 25:11–13, is that Phinehas was lauded as righteous from generation to generation forever (עַד עוֹלָם; Ps 106:31). God made a covenant with Phinehas (Num 25:12), which includes the eternal priesthood

⁴⁸⁹ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 830, sees Deut 7:3 in the background of Jub 30:11. One of Kugel's reasons for seeing the hand of his Interpolator in 30:8–17 is that according to him the original text dealt only with Israelite daughters. Deut 7:3, however, prohibits both sexes from intermarrying with Canaanites. As I argue in this chapter, Deut 7 influences the whole renarration in Jub 30–32, too. Thus, the contradiction that Kugel posits in *Walk through*, 259–261, is not real. See also VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 841–842. The original story in Gen 34 also dealt with intermarrying both ways, as the proposal by Hamor and Shechem in Gen 34:9–12 clearly shows.

⁴⁹⁰ On this possibility, see Werman, "Jubilees 30," 15, (esp. 15 n. 67). The use of קדש in Mal 2:11 as designating either the people of Israel, sanctuary, or consciously both, as pointed out by Valve, *Early Modes of Exegesis*, 86, strengthens this interpretation. On Malachi's influence on Jub 30, see Valve, *Early Modes of Exegesis*, 63–89.

⁴⁹¹ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 827–828. See also Jub 33:20 in the context of Reuben's sin.

⁴⁹² On this possibility, see Valve, *Early Modes of Exegesis*, 81–83.

⁴⁹³ Valve, *Early Modes of Exegesis*, 83–86.

⁴⁹⁴ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 820.

(Num 25:13). In the same way, in Jubilees, Levi and his sons are blessed “forever” (*la-’ālam*, Jub 30:18) and Levi’s deeds will be entered “as far as 1000 generations.” (Jub 30:20).⁴⁹⁵ They will be serving before the Lord for all time (*ba-kʷallu mawā’al*, Jub 30:18) In the same way as Phinehas was “jealous” or “zealous” (קנן MT; *qan’a* Eth Num 25:11, 13), so was Levi “eager” (*qan’a*, Jub 30:18) to carry out justice (*ṣadqa*), something which was counted as righteousness for him (*la-ṣadq*, Jub 30:17; cf. Ps 106:31 לִצְדָקָה; Eth *ṣadq*).

Thus, the link between Phinehas in Baal-Peor (Num 25) and Levi in Shechem (Gen 34) is visible in Jubilees. Most probably the Levites’ actions in the Golden Calf episode (Exod 32) and Moses’ blessing of the tribes of Israel in Deuteronomy 33 also played a role,⁴⁹⁶ but perhaps a lesser one at this point.

This exegetical tradition that connects Phinehas and Levi in Gen 34 is older than Jubilees, or the *Aramaic Levi Document* (ALD).⁴⁹⁷ Lotta Valve has convincingly argued that the Book of Malachi interprets typologically the Jacob Traditions which are similar to those now found in Genesis.⁴⁹⁸ I will not repeat her arguments here in full. In summary, according to her, the covenant with Levi in Malachi 2:4–7 might already connect Numbers 25 and Genesis 34. Furthermore, Malachi 2:8–12 is against intermarriage, especially of the priests, but also of the whole people. Judah’s relationship with a Canaanite woman (probably referring to the tradition found now in Gen 38), is typologically alluded in Malachi 2:11.⁴⁹⁹ Thus, this tradition of connecting Numbers 25 and Phinehas with Levi and Genesis 34 is older than Jubilees, or ALD in that respect.⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁵ Regarding 1000 thousand generations, see below.

⁴⁹⁶ Similarly already Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 148–151.

⁴⁹⁷ The majority of scholars think that Jub has borrowed from ALD or from a very similar tradition. For this view, see Esther Eshel, “The Aramaic Levi Document, the Genesis Apocryphon, and Jubilees: A Study of Shared Traditions,” in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 82–98; Robert Kugler leans strongly towards a view that the relationship is indirect and that there is an intermediary source which both works have used and adapted, see Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest*, 146–155. For a similar view, see VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 90–93. Kugler has argued, in my opinion convincingly, that Jub is older than ALD and that the relationship between these two texts is more complicated. On this, see Kugler, *Walk through*, 343–364 (esp. 362–363 against Kugler). On the relationship between ALD and Jub, see ch. 1.5 above.

⁴⁹⁸ Valve, *Early Modes of Exegesis*, 39–78.

⁴⁹⁹ See further in Valve, *Early Modes of Exegesis*, 65–78, and the discussion about the age of the exegetical tradition of Levi as the priest *par excellence* in the Appendix below (ch. 3.9). Is it possible that the prohibition of “defiling seed” with “harlots” (זְנוּיָן) has an edge over the story of Judah and Tamar of Genesis 41? This would mean that the use of Judah and Tamar would also be found in the Levi tradition in ALD, albeit in a different way to that in Mal 2:11. The author of Jubilees, by contrast, tackled that episode in a different way. On the rewriting of the Judah and Tamar episode in Jubilees, see Topias K. E. Tanskanen, “Expectations of a Royal Messiah in the Book of Jubilees? The Case of Judah,” in *Herald of Good Tidings: Essays on the Bible, Prophecy, and the Hope of Israel in Honour of Antti Laato*, ed. Pekka Lindqvist and Lotta Valve, HBM 97 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2021), 134–159 (142–148).

⁵⁰⁰ See also James L. Kugler, “Levi’s Elevation to the Priesthood in Second Temple Writings,” *HTR* 86 (1994): 1–64.

The line “he was eager to carry out justice, punishment, and revenge on all who rise (*yētnāššāʾu*; *positi sunt*) against Israel” (Jub 30:18) may echo Deuteronomy 33:11: “Bless, O Lord, his substance, and accept the work of his hands; crush the loins of his adversaries (קמיו), of those that hate him, so that they do not rise again (יקומון).”⁵⁰¹ The Latin version (differing from the Ge’ez version at the beginning), stating *aemulatus est veritatem* “he aimed at truth,” may also recall Malachi 2:6, as Valve has also pointed out.⁵⁰² The one thousand generations and “friend” in Jubilees 30:20 also allude to Deut 7:9–10, where אהב, “the lover, friend,” is the one who keeps the covenantal stipulations.⁵⁰³

The continuation in Jubilees 30:21–23 continues along the same path, echoing the Deuteronomic stipulations (e.g., Deut 7:9–10). Two things are worth noting: First, God will show his love towards his friends (Deut 7:9), but those who hate him (לשנאיו) will, however, be repaid and destroyed (להאבידו, Deut 7:10). In the same manner, in Jubilees, the “friends” of God experience love (they seem to be written on the book of the living, one can infer from Jub 30:22), but those who transgress the covenant will be God’s enemies (*ṣalāʾt*) and thus be uprooted from the earth (*yāššērrawu ʾəm-wāsta mādr*, Jub 30:22).⁵⁰⁴ Second, the context of Deuteronomy 7:9–10 is after the חרם order and ban against intermarriage with the Hivites in Deuteronomy 7:2–4, which has been alluded to before.

After the *halakic* discourse and notes concerning Levi (and Simeon), the author returns to the base story from Jubilees 30:24 onwards. Here, it is worth noting that the children and women captured in Genesis 34:29 are not mentioned at all in Jubilees 30:24. Instead, Jubilees 30:24 emphasizes the absolute destruction that Levi and Simeon initiate. This is in accordance with Deuteronomy 7 and 20 and the חרם stipulations there: one should leave absolutely no-one alive.

In the rewritten version, Jacob does not rebuke Levi and Simeon, whereas he seems to do precisely that in Genesis 34:30.⁵⁰⁵ In Jubilees, he merely mentions the fact that that he is afraid of the Canaanites (Jub 30:25).⁵⁰⁶ Genesis 34:30, where Jacob tells how small his people is, may have actually brought Deuteronomy 7:1 (“mightier and more numerous than you”) into the mind of the author of Jubilees, although the author omits this actual detail in Jubilees. Moreover, it should be noted that the author has transformed the mention of the fear falling upon the cities around Jacob in Genesis 35:5 directly after the

⁵⁰¹ ESV. So also VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 837. Eth Deut has *yəṭqāwaməwwo* and *ʾi-tānšəʾomu*.

⁵⁰² Valve, *Early Modes of Exegesis*, 86–87. See also VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 838.

⁵⁰³ Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 292–294.

⁵⁰⁴ Eth Deut 7:10 uses *yāššērrawomu* “he will uproot them” to gloss (via Greek) the Hebrew להאבידו.

⁵⁰⁵ The same rebuke is strong in Gen 49:5–7 too, which is not found in Jub. A similar positive attitude to Simeon and Levi’s actions in Shechem as in Jub is found in Jud. 9:2–3.

⁵⁰⁶ The Latin version may allude to a possibility that Jacob was calling into question the deeds of his sons (see the textual note in the synopsis above for differences between Ge’ez and Latin), but the Latin can be influenced by the narrative of Genesis here.

Shechem incident (Jub 30:26). Although the phrase is not “fear of God” (חַתַּת אֱלֹהִים, Gen 35:5) but “fear of you” (פְּחֹדְךָ, Deut 2:25), the situation is very similar: the fear will fall upon everyone when Jacob/Israel returns to the Promised Land (Deut 2).⁵⁰⁷ This is also what takes place in Jubilees 30:26.

In Jubilees, the Shechem episode has been changed into a story and a warning about intermarriage. At the same time, Jacob’s role in the destruction of the Shechemites is changed: he is not against Levi or Simeon’s actions, but schemes with them. Many different exegetical traditions have been connected by the author. One exegetical tradition, that is more clearly part of the parcel, is found in Deut 7:1–4 and 20:16–18, a trait not found in other retellings of the Shechem episode. Jacob is part of the people putting the חַרֵּם into action, although Levi (and Simeon) are the ones who actually do it. Of course, the original story of Genesis 34 and the strong exegetical tradition, found already in the Book of Malachi, that connected this story with Numbers 25, remains vital. The exegetical tradition connected to Leviticus 18 and 20 is explicit. Nevertheless, Deuteronomy 7 influences the rewriting. When Israel (=Jacob) comes to the holy land, as a small people, God gives the Canaanites into his hands, and he must destroy them utterly refraining from giving his daughters to them and not taking their daughters for his sons either. This is what Jacob and his sons do.⁵⁰⁸ As a result, Levi is shown to be righteous, and his deed is remembered for 1000 generations, echoing Deuteronomy 7:9–10. This example, the ban on intermarriage and purity in sexual relations, is something which also the sons of Jacob, i.e., the Israelites, must follow in order to be recorded as God’s friends rather than enemies who will be uprooted from the earth as the Canaanites were to be destroyed (Jub 22:20). In Jubilees 30, Jacob fulfils the Deuteronomic stipulations, addressed to Israel in the second person singular.

3.3 “Do not postpone fulfilling it...” (Deut 23:21–23)

After the Shechem episode in Jubilees 30, the author continues with a retelling of Jacob’s path back to Bethel in Jubilees 31 (cf. Gen 35:1–8).

⁵⁰⁷ Cf. Deut 2:34 in the same context, where Israel נַחֲרֵם “devote to destruction” every city, men, women, and children.

⁵⁰⁸ One should note the importance of the Promised Land in the geographical details of Jubilees. Also, the jubilee of jubilees (2450 AM) is the time when Israelites, according to Jubilees, will come to the Promised Land. The *halakah* of Jubilees should be put into action in the Promised Land. Therefore, it is important for the author to depict Jacob/Israel as doing the very thing in his version of the Jacob Story. Cf. James M. Scott, *On Earth as in Heaven: The Restoration of Sacred Time and Sacred Space in the Book of Jubilees*, JSJSup 91 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 182–208.

3.3.1 Genesis 35:1–4 and Jubilees 31:1–2: Synopsis

Genesis 35:1–4	Jubilees 31:1–2
35:1 GOD SAID TO JACOB, “ARISE, GO UP TO BETHEL, AND SETTLE THERE.	31:1 ON THE FIRST OF THE MONTH ⁵⁰⁹
MAKE AN ALTAR THERE TO THE GOD WHO APPEARED TO YOU when you fled from the face of your brother Esau. ”	
35:2 Jacob said to <i>his household and to all who were with him,</i>	Jacob told <i>all the people of his household,</i>
“Remove the foreign gods which are among you,	
and purify yourselves, and change your clothes;	“Purify yourselves and change your clothes;
35:3 Let us arise and go up to Bethel,	we shall arise and go up to Bethel
THAT I MAY MAKE AN ALTAR THERE	WHERE I MADE A VOW,
	on the day that I ran away from the face of my brother Esau,
<i>to the God</i> WHO ANSWERED ME IN THE DAY OF MY DISTRESS and has been with me ON THE WAY I HAVE GONE.”	<i>to the one who</i> has been with me and BROUGHT ME BACK SAFELY TO THIS LAND.
	Remove the foreign gods which are among you.”
35:4 They gave to Jacob ALL the foreign gods THAT WERE IN THEIR HANDS, <i>and the rings that were in their ears;</i>	31:2 They handed over ⁵¹⁰ the foreign gods, <i>and what were in their ears</i> AND WHAT WERE IN THEIR NECKS, AND THE IDOLS THAT RACHEL HAD STOLEN FROM HER FATHER LABAN. SHE GAVE EVERYTHING to Jacob , AND HE BURNED THEM, BROKE THEM INTO PIECES, RUINED THEM,

⁵⁰⁹ Unfortunately, the surviving Latin version breaks down after this, and thus the Ge’ez version is the only extant version for analysis.

⁵¹⁰ Ge’ez *wa-masawəwwomu*, “and they melted them.” The Ge’ez reading is either a corruption because Jacob destroys and burns the idols subsequently, or alternatively the people of Jacob’s household melted them themselves, and the following sentences are a later addition. I lean towards the first possibility. VanderKam, *Jubilees Translated*, 201; *idem*, *Jubilees*, 845, entertains the possibility of *maṭṭawəwwomu* “hand over” being the Ge’ez original, although he thinks that the corruption was already at the Hebrew level, so that the Greek translator confused נתן with נתק. I find this a plausible explanation and have followed VanderKam.

and Jacob hid them under the oak that was in⁵¹¹ Shechem.

and hid them beneath the oak which is in the LAND⁵¹² OF Shechem.

3.3.2 Discussion

The account in Jubilees omits God's words to Jacob (Gen 35:1) but rearranges the phrase "when you fled from the face of your brother Esau" to Jacob's speech to his household in Jubilees 31:1. In this way, he emphasizes that the reason for the journey to Bethel was the vow he had made earlier. This is an important change that Kugel in particular has emphasized.⁵¹³ The problem for ancient interpreters of the Jacob Story was that Jacob does not seem to recall his vow that he made to God in Bethel (Gen 28:20–22). Nowhere in Genesis is it stated that Jacob would fulfil the vow and give tithes to God. The second trip to Bethel in Gen 35:1–8 could be associated with Jacob's vow, and that is actually the case for example in Josephus and in various rabbinical traditions.⁵¹⁴ The difference here in comparison to the other versions is that God's words are omitted, most probably because it could have been understood as if Jacob had forgotten his vow and needed some reminder of it from God.⁵¹⁵ That would be a grave mistake, because Deuteronomy addresses Israel in the second person singular and stipulates as follows (Deut 23:22–24; NRSV 23:21–23):

23:21 If you make a vow to Yhwh your God, do not postpone fulfilling it; for Yhwh your God will surely require it of you, and you would incur guilt. 23:22 But if you refrain from vowing, you will not incur guilt. 23:23 Whatever your lips utter you must diligently perform, just as you have freely vowed to the LORD your God with your own mouth.

Thus, Jacob fulfils the Deuteronomic stipulation and sets forth to fulfil the vow he had made to God in Bethel. He needed no reminding of his unfulfilled vow.

Jubilees adds the date "on the first of the month" (*ba-šarqa warh*, Jub 31:1) too. Why, and what is the month in question? Presumably, the month is the seventh, because the Shechem episode happened during the fourth month (Jub 30:1) and "on the first of the seventh month" (Jub 31:3) Jacob then continued his way up to Bethel.⁵¹⁶ The dating is not found in Genesis. Jacob is clearly constantly moving

⁵¹¹ MT: םע; LXX: ἐν.

⁵¹² Mss. 17, 35 omit.

⁵¹³ Kugel, *Ladder of Jacob*, 116–118; *idem*, *Walk through*, 149. Similarly already Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 159; Rapp, *Jakob in Bet-El*, 189–190.

⁵¹⁴ Josephus, *Ant.* 1.341. See other treatments briefly in Kugel, *Ladder of Jacob*, 118, 246 n 7. Few rabbinical traditions connect the payment with the Jabbok River incident in Gen 32, see Kugel, *Ladder of Jacob*, 117. This incident is fully omitted in Jubilees.

⁵¹⁵ See, e.g., Carl Friedrich Keil's interpretation in *The Pentateuch*, K&D 1, trans. James Martin (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1866–1891; repr. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2011), 202: "This command stirred him up to perform what had been neglected, viz., to put away from his house the strange gods ... and to pay to God the vow that he had made in the day of his trouble." (emphasis mine) See also already Gen. Rab. 81:1–2.

⁵¹⁶ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 847. According to VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 847 n. 2, "Jubilees 27:19 implies that Jacob travelled from Beer Sheba to Bethel in one day. The journey to Bethel from his present location (apparently near Shechem [30:26 and v. 2 below]) would be shorter."

forward, not wasting time on his way back to Bethel. This could also be a minor change, the addition of a detail that emphasizes that Jacob is going to fulfil what he promised.

A minor but important difference between Genesis' account and Jubilees' account concerning the people addressed by Jacob can be noticed. In Genesis, Jacob addresses "his household" (ביתו) and "all who were with him" (כל אשר עמו). In Jubilees, however, the people addressed are "all the people of his household" (*kʷallu sab'a bētu*, Jub 31:1).⁵¹⁷ Although one could interpret "all who were with him" synonymously with "his household,"⁵¹⁸ it could also be interpreted as some people who were not of Jacob's household or family.⁵¹⁹ They could also have been Gentiles. That is what Nahum Sarna actually states in his commentary on Genesis: "all who were with him" include the captives taken at Shechem (Gen 34:29).⁵²⁰ This kind of interpretive possibility would be disastrous for the Jacob character the author of Jubilees wants to portray. The author had already omitted the possibility that any Shechemites were left alive and emphasized that no mingling whatsoever occurred with them. Instead, they were devoted to their destruction, put to חרם, as argued in chapter 3.2.2 above. No foreigners are to be found in Jacob's "house," which is Abraham's house (Jub 22:16–24). All are to worship God.

The exhortation Jacob makes to his household contains many changes, as is shown in the synopsis above. First, the commandment to purify oneself and change one's clothes is rearranged to come first, whereas the commandment to get rid of the foreign gods is placed last. According to Lutz Doering, this implies that the purification and change of clothes are not connected to the renouncement of idols, but rather to the path Jacob is taking towards a cultic setting in Bethel.⁵²¹ This is itself connected to the vow Jacob made in Genesis 28:22 // Jubilees 27:27 on the pillar (or the place) becoming a House of the Lord.

Second, the detail concerning the building of an altar is, somewhat surprisingly, omitted in Jacob's speech (but not in Jub 31:3). The reason given for the venture back to Bethel is the vow that Jacob had made: "we shall arise and go up to Bethel *where I made a vow*" (Jub 31:1). In Genesis 35:3, the vow is not implied. In Jubilees, by contrast, the author makes the connection explicit. The

⁵¹⁷ *Sab'a* is very likely only an interpretive gloss, that is what is meant with ביתו. So also Tg. Nf. and Tg. Ps.-J. to Gen 35:2.

⁵¹⁸ See, e.g., Westermann, *Genesis 12–36*, 550.

⁵¹⁹ Perhaps this is what is implied in Victor P. Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis: Chapters 18–50*, NIBCOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 374: "Before leaving Shechem, Jacob instructs *his family and entourage*" (emphasis mine).

⁵²⁰ Nahum M. Sarna, *Genesis*, The JPS Torah Commentary (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1989), 240.

⁵²¹ Lutz Doering, "Purity and Impurity in the Book of Jubilees," in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 261–275 (267). Cf. Sarna, *Genesis*, 240, who gives four different possibilities to which the purification in Genesis is connected: (1) rite of renunciation of idols, (2) bodily impurity acquired by proximity to corpses with Shechem, (3) pilgrimage to Bethel, and (4) preparation for an experience with God. Tg. Ps.-J. to Gen 35:2 connects the purification to the corpses in Shechem.

phrase “who were with me on the way I walked” (ויהי עמדי בדרך אשר הלכתי, Gen 35:3) can be connected either to God’s promise (Gen 28:15) or to Jacob’s vow (Gen 28:20). In Genesis 28:20–21 // Jubilees 27:27, Jacob has four conditions for his vow: (1) God is with him; (2) God will guard him *in this way on which he is travelling*; (3) God gives food and clothes and (4) Jacob returns safely to *his father’s house*.⁵²² In Genesis 28:15 // Jubilees 27:24, furthermore, God promises to (1) be with Jacob; (2) guard him *wherever he goes*; (3) bring him back to “this land” (Jub adds “safely”), and (4) not abandon him before fulfilling His promise. The promise and the vow are interconnected already in Genesis.

In Jubilees, the vow is mentioned *expressis verbis*. Other additions also connect the reason for the journey to the vow Jacob had made. The phrase “made a vow ... to the one who has been with me and brought me back safely (*ba-salām*) to this land” (Jub 31:1) alludes to the first and the fourth conditions of Jacob’s vow and to the first and the third of God’s promises. With the help of many small changes and additions, the author has thus emphasized the role of the vow Jacob made in Genesis 28:20–22 // Jubilees 27:27.

The importance of the vow is also enhanced when Jacob is visiting his parents. In Jubilees 31:24–26, Jacob recounts to his father what he had vowed and that everything was ready for the fulfilment of that vow. Isaac’s answer was that Jacob must *hurry* and fulfil the vow, because otherwise he would be held accountable for not fulfilling it (Jub 31:29). This alludes clearly to Deuteronomy 23:22–24.⁵²³

The rewriting of Genesis 35:2–4 in Jubilees 31:1–2 clearly emphasizes the role of the vow Jacob had made. That vow is the *primus motor* for his journey back to Bethel again. Behind this is the urgent matter: A vow must be fulfilled.⁵²⁴ Jacob remembers the vow himself and makes his household ready for the cultic event connected to the vow. He is not reminded of the vow by God at all. In Jubilees 31:1–2, Jacob fulfils the commandment of fulfilling vows given to God without delay, addressed to Israel in the second person singular.

⁵²² The last condition might be one of the exegetical reasons for the addition of the story of Jacob visiting his aged parents in Jubilees 31 before fulfilling the vow, as noted by James C. VanderKam, “Jubilees’ Exegetical Creation of Levi the Priest,” in *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and the Second Temple Literature*, JSJSup 62 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 545–562 (552–553). Kugel, “Levi’s Elevation,” 24–27, has noted that the exegetical background for the trip is the mentioning of Deborah in Genesis 35:8, and the reason for the side trip is specifically that Levi could officiate as the priest. See the Appendix in ch. 3.9 below.

⁵²³ Cf. VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 863–864.

⁵²⁴ Interesting enough, the *Damascus Document* handles the keeping of oaths and cites Deut 23:24 (CD XVI:6–9) right after referring to “The book of the divisions of the periods according to their jubilees and their weeks” (CD XVI:3–4, trans. by Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1:565), that is, most probably, the Book of Jubilees. For a different approach, see the warnings against giving vows altogether in Sir 23:9–11. Cf. Jesus’ teaching in Matt 5:33–37 and early Christian teaching in the Letter of James 5:12.

3.4 “...burn their idols with fire” (Deut 7:5–6)

Another peculiar detail at the beginning of Jubilees 31 is the addition in verse 2: “and the idols that Rachel had stolen from her father Laban. She gave everything to Jacob, and he burned them, broke them into pieces, ruined them, and hid them beneath the oak which is in the land of Shechem.” (*wa-ṭā’ota za-saraqat Rāḥēl ’am-ḥaba Lābā ’abuhā wa-wahabat k’wallo la-Yā’qob wa-’aw’ayo wa-ṣatamo wa-’amāsano wa-ḥab’o tāḥta dāryos za-hallo wasta mādra Saqimon.*)

The addition of Rachel’s idols here is extremely peculiar, because Jubilees does not in first place mention that Rachel stole any idols. The mention of Rachel stealing his father Laban’s *teraphim* while he was tending his flock in Genesis 31:19 is omitted from Jubilees 29:1–4. Also, Jubilees is silent on Laban searching for these *teraphim* among Jacob’s fleeing group (Jub 29:5–8; cf. Gen 31:22–42). There are no idols or *teraphim* for Jubilees to mention in Jubilees 31:2.⁵²⁵ The question is: Why does the author *add* a detail about idols that is not found in Genesis at all? Furthermore, why does he add the idols here, while they have been *omitted* completely in the renarration of Jubilees in those very passages where they actually are mentioned in Genesis?

I think the reason for adding this detail is found in Deuteronomy 7:5, which addresses Israel (this time in the second person plural):

But this is how you must deal with them: break down their altars, smash their pillars, hew down their sacred poles, and burn their idols with fire.

The verbs used in Deuteronomy 7:5 are נָתַץ (qal “break, tear down”), שָׁבַר (pi. “smash”), גָּדַע (pi. “hew down”) and שָׂרַף (qal “burn”). The verbs in Jubilees 31:2 are ’aw’aya (“burn”), ṣatama (“break into pieces”) and ’amāsana (“ruin, destroy, desolate”).⁵²⁶ The semantic range of גָּדַע and ’amāsana on the one hand, and שָׁבַר and ṣatama on the other correspond to one another. שָׂרַף and ’aw’aya correspond to one another most smoothly.⁵²⁷ The burning of the idols and not taking any gold or silver from idols is also important in Deuteronomy 7:25. Similarly, the same verbs in Hebrew and Ge’ez are used when Moses burns the calf which was made of gold (Exod 32:2–4, 20). The connection to the Golden Calf episode becomes more plausible, since the author has elaborated upon the jewellery which the household of Jacob had with them (Jub 31:2), and, according to Exodus, the calf itself was made of earrings. Although in Ge’ez there are verbs that stem etymologically from the same common Semitic roots as the Hebrew שָׁבַר and גָּדַע with similar semantic ranges,⁵²⁸ they are not used in this context in Deuteronomy

⁵²⁵ A similar tradition connecting the “strange gods” of Gen 35:2–4 with Laban’s idols that Rachel stole is found in Josephus, *Ant.* 1.342, where Jacob finds them when purifying his people. That Rachel steals the idols is mentioned in *Ant.* 1.310, 323.

⁵²⁶ For the English glosses of the Ge’ez words, I have used Wolf Leslau, *Comparative*.

⁵²⁷ The same correspondence is also between שָׂרַף and root w’y in Gen 38:24 // Jub 41:17.

⁵²⁸ Namely G *sabara* “break” and D *sabbara* “break in pieces, shatter,” G *gʷad’a/gʷad’a* “strike, smite, crush, shake.”

7:5. This is not a problem, given that there was a Greek version in between the Ge'ez translation and the Ethiopic original.⁵²⁹

It is also vitally important to keep the context in mind. The exhortation in Deuteronomy 7 continues in verse 7:6 (in the second person singular): "For you are a people holy to Yhwh your God; Yhwh your God has chosen you out of all the peoples on earth to be his people, his treasured possession." This means that the second person plural of Deuteronomy 7:5 could be understood to mean a singular person-ought-to-become-people, Israel, i.e., Jacob. Alternatively, it includes the whole *household* of Jacob. Deuteronomy 7:6 plays an important role already in Jubilees 19:18.⁵³⁰

Thus, Jacob is doing exactly what is stated in Deuteronomy 7:5. Deuteronomy 12:1–4 too gives another context for the commandment to destroy the false worship in the holy land. The verbs used in Deuteronomy 12:3 are the same as in Deuteronomy 7:5, though in a different order.

It would be disastrous for the author's portrayal of the patriarch Jacob, had Jacob treated the idols as respectfully as he seems to be doing in Genesis 35:4, and thus not following the stipulations of Torah that he, in the author's reading of Deuteronomy, is acquainted with. Burying is not burning. Jacob is, again, fulfilling the stipulations given to Israel, although this time in the second person plural instead of singular.

3.5 "But you shall seek the place that the LORD your God will choose..." (Deut 12:5–28)

It is worth emphasizing, that all of the commandments discussed above (except fulfilling the vow in Deut 23:22–24) are given to Israel in order that the people follow them *in the Promised Land*:

When Yhwh your (sg.) God brings you (sg.) into the land that you (sg.) are about to enter and possess (NRSV: occupy), and he clears away many nations before you (sg.) – the Hittites, the Girgashites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites, seven nations mightier and more numerous than you (sg.) ... (Deut 7:1)

These are the statutes and ordinances that you (pl.) must diligently observe in the land that Yhwh, the God of your (sg.) ancestors, has given you (sg.) to possess (NRSV: occupy) all the days that you (pl.) live on the land (NRSV: earth⁵³¹) (Deut 12:1)

Jacob crossed the Jordan in the first year of the fifth week of "this jubilee" (44th, Jub 27:19), that is 2136 AM (Jub 29:14). During the first year of the sixth week,

⁵²⁹ Neither is it a problem, that the Ge'ez version of Deut 7:5 (also 12:3) has different verbs to Jubilees: *našata* "destroy, demolish, ruin," *qaṭqaṭa* "smash, crush, break to pieces," *gazama* "cut, cut down, tear up," and *'aw'aya* "burn," the last one being the same as in Jub 31:2. Again, the semantic fields correspond to one another with those used in Jub 31:2.

⁵³⁰ Betsy Halpern–Amaru, *Rewriting the Bible: Land and Covenant in Postbiblical Jewish Literature* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1994), 37, 145 n. 53; Kugel, *Walk through*, 115.

⁵³¹ Hebrew ארדמה is also used of the Promised Land in Deuteronomy, see, e.g., Deut 11:21.

2143 AM, Jacob went *safely* to Salem (Jub 30:1).⁵³² During the same year he started his journey towards Bethel. Nonetheless, Jacob was still some sort of newcomer in the Promised Land. After he had put the Shechemites to חרם and denied the possibility of intermarriage (Deut 7:1–4; 12:3), destroyed the idols that Rachel and his own house were carrying (Deut 7:5–6; 12:1–4), he then searches for the correct place for worship (Deut 12:5–7, addressed in a mixed second person plural and singular; cf. also 12:8–28):

12:5 But you (pl.) shall seek the place that Yhwh your (pl.) God will choose out of all your (pl.) tribes as his habitation to put his name there. You (sg.) shall go there, 12:6 bringing (pl.) there your (pl.) burnt offerings and your (pl.) sacrifices, your (pl.) tithes and your (pl.) donations, your (pl.) votive gifts, your (pl.) freewill offerings, and the firstlings of your (pl.) herds and flocks. 12:7 And you (pl.) shall eat there in the presence of Yhwh your God, you (pl.) and your (pl.) households together, rejoicing (pl.) in all the undertakings in which Yhwh your (sg.) God has blessed you (sg.).

The place is a place that God, not humans, will choose. According to Jubilees 32:16, Jacob “decided to build up it [Bethel, the place] into a (cult) place⁵³³ and to surround the courtyard with a wall, to sanctify it and make it eternally holy for himself and for his children after him forever.” Jacob thus thought to make it *the place*, המקום, the correct place that God must have chosen. What else could have been on his mind since God had appeared there before? Another *angelophany* was needed in order to make it clear that it was not המקום: “Do not build this into a (cult) place, and do not make it an eternal temple. Do not live here *because this is not that place* (ʿasma ʾakko zə-makān).” (Jub 32:22) What place? The place that God would choose, and which Jacob was seeking.⁵³⁴

Deuteronomy 12:5–28 talks about tithes and votive gifts, מעשר ונדב, that ought to be offered in המקום that God would choose (Deut 12:6, 11, 17, 26). Jacob is fulfilling the vow (נדר) he gave and giving the tithes (מעשר) he had vowed. The place is of course Bethel, because the original narrative in Jubilees 28, 31 and 35

⁵³² VanderKam, “Exegetical Creation of Levi the Priest,” 551–552, has actually pondered whether the seven-year time lapse (שבוע) might imply that it was now the time for Jacob to fulfil the vow (שבועה, although נדר is used in Gen 28:20 and in Deut 23:22–24). See also the *seventh* month in which Jacob is going to Bethel in Jub 31:3.

⁵³³ Geʿez *kama yāhnəṣ wəʾəta makāna*. The manuscript variations indicate that the phrase was somewhat difficult to understand. Instead of *wəʾəta*, ms. 25 has *wəʾətu*, and ms. 38 *wəsta*. The word *makān* is in the nominative in ms. 21. Other variations: *wəʾətu makān* (ms. 9); *wəsta wəʾətu makān* (ms. 63). Maybe the Hebrew original had המקום with a connotation to a holy place, or Jerusalem, i.e., the place of correct worship and cult place, which the translators into Greek or Geʿez did not fully grasp. The meaning would then be that Jacob decided to build it as המקום, which had connotations to Jerusalem. On these connotations, see Johann Gamberoni, “מקום,” *TDOT* 8:532–544 (537–540). See also VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 885.

⁵³⁴ See also Kugel, *Walk through*, 153–156, according to whom this belongs to the original author. VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 771, has correctly noted that Jacob’s eagerness to build a sanctuary in Bethel is also part of fulfilment of the vow he had made in Jub 27:27.

are well-known. The contradiction that the author is facing is that Jacob *must* fulfil what he had promised, but he cannot do it fully according to the Deuteronomic stipulations, because it is later revealed that המקום is Jerusalem and not Bethel. Jacob, however, *thinks* that Bethel is המקום, as he was planning to build it as המקום. The author solves the contradiction by stating that Jacob wanted to build a cult place, a house of God in Bethel, in good faith. He fulfilled his promises, but the angel revealed that the correct place was elsewhere.

Deuteronomy 12:17–18 stipulates, this time in the second person singular:

12:17 Nor may you eat within your towns the tithe of your grain, your wine, and your oil, the firstlings of your herds and your flocks, any of your votive gifts that you vow, your free will offerings, or your donations; 12:18 these you shall eat in the presence of Yhwh your God at the place that Yhwh your God will choose, you together with your son and your daughter, your male and female slaves, and the Levites resident in your towns, rejoicing in the presence of Yhwh your God in all your undertakings.⁵³⁵

According to Jubilees 32:7 Jacob “was eating happily (*ba-fəššəḥā*) there—he, all his sons, and his men—for seven days.”⁵³⁶ Although the joyful meal is connected to the Festival of Tabernacles (cf. Jub 16:20, 25–27), and therefore to Deuteronomy 16:13–15,⁵³⁷ the meal is at the same time also connected to Jacob’s votive gifts and offerings. When Jacob⁵³⁸ had given the first tithe and his offerings, Jubilees says: “This was his gift because of the vow which he had made that he would give a tithe along with their sacrifices and their libations” (Jub 32:5). The joyous festival Jacob and his household celebrated, with great joy, is simultaneously fulfilling the stipulations of Deuteronomy 12:5–28 (cf. Deut 14:25–27).

Is this reading too far-fetched? It suits the context perfectly. Jacob came and put the people of Shechem to חרם. Then he destroyed and burnt the idols. What next? He was to find *the place* and celebrate and be happy. Furthermore, Jacob was precisely doing that, although his plans were denied by an angel.

⁵³⁵ The whole passage is addressed in 2.sg. in the MT; The LXX has 2.pl. in a few instances.

⁵³⁶ The passage is most probably omitted by *parablepsis* in the Latin version. See VanderKam, *Jubilees Translated*, 210.

⁵³⁷ Betsy Halpern-Amaru, “Joy as Piety in the Book of Jubilees,” *Journal of Jewish Studies* 56.2 (2005): 185–205 (195–196) notes the reference to *Sukkot*-legislation (i.e., Deut 16:13–15).

⁵³⁸ I comment on the problem of who the officiating priest was in the Appendix below (ch. 3.9).

3.6 “As for the Levites... do not neglect them...” (Deut 14:27)

According to the vow Jacob had made in Genesis 28:20–22 // Jubilees 27:27, he was to give tithes *from everything* (*kʷəllu*). This is what he does in Jubilees 32:2: “[Jacob] gave a tithe of everything which had come to him (*ʿəm-kʷəllu za-maṣʿa məslēhu*; *decimauit uniuersa quaecumque uenerunt cum eo*) —from people to animals, from money to all utensils and clothing. He gave a tithe of everything.”⁵³⁹

Scholars have noted that the tithing and sacrifices in Jubilees 32 do not correspond with any tithing stipulated in the Pentateuch.⁵⁴⁰ I do not deal with this further, but rather concentrate on the importance of Levi as the recipient of the tithes.

The most interesting detail in Jubilees 32 is “the second tithe” which Jacob gives in Jubilees 32:9. Levi is not the one to whom Jacob tithed, as VanderKam assumed in his *Guide to Jubilees* (2001), but rather a second tithe, which is probably connected to Jubilees 32:7, as VanderKam remarks in his recent commentary.⁵⁴¹ This second tithe, which is then elaborated upon in Jubilees 32:10–15, is more or less linked to the tithing regulations in Deuteronomy 14:22–27, and to the exegetical traditions connected therein, although even Numbers 18:21, 24 and Leviticus 27:32, probably quoted in Jubilees 32:15, do play a role.⁵⁴² Deuteronomy 14:22–27 (addressed in the second person singular) goes as follows:

14:22 Set apart a tithe of all the yield of your seed that is brought in yearly from the field. 14:23 In the presence of Yhwh your God, in the place that he will choose as a dwelling for his name, you shall eat the tithe of your grain, your wine, and your oil, as well as the firstlings of your herd and flock, so that you may learn to fear Yhwh your God always. 14:24 But if, when Yhwh your God has blessed you, the distance is so great that you are unable to transport it, because the place where Yhwh your God will choose to set his name is too far away from you, 14:25 then you may turn it into money. With the money secure in hand, go to the place that Yhwh your God will choose; 14:26 spend the money for whatever you wish—oxen, sheep, wine, strong drink, or whatever you desire. And you shall eat there in the presence of Yhwh your God, you and your household rejoicing together. 14:27 As for the Levites resident in your towns, do not neglect them, because they have no allotment or inheritance with you.

The importance of Levi's presence in the tithing is quite clear. In his earlier article, VanderKam comments that “A tithe had to be given to someone. In the Hebrew Scriptures, it is a portion set aside for sacred purposes and specifically a portion given to the Levites, the priestly tribe, who had no assigned land on which to grow

⁵³⁹ Tg. Ps.-J. to Gen 14:20–21 interprets that Abraham's tithe also includes human tithes, which VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 876, points out.

⁵⁴⁰ Kugel, *Walk through*, 152–153; VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 875–881.

⁵⁴¹ VanderKam, *Guide to Jubilees*, 71; *idem*, *Jubilees*, 882.

⁵⁴² Kugel, *Walk through*, 152–153; VanderKam, *Guide to Jubilees*, 71–72; *idem*, “Exegetical Creation of Levi the Priest,” 555; *idem*, *Jubilees*, 883–885.

food and raise animals.”⁵⁴³ Perhaps the original “inventor” of this motif, as far as it can be known, is the author of the Book of Malachi. According to Valve, the author of Malachi uses Jacob as an ideal tither in Malachi 3:6–12.⁵⁴⁴ In Malachi 3:8, 10, a complaint is raised that the people had not given their tithes to the temple. This can be compared with Jubilees 32:10: “The entire tithe of cattle and sheep is holy to the Lord,” reflecting Leviticus 27:32. The tithes to the temple belong to the priests/Levites too. This is what the second tithe is all about, not to mention the exegetical tradition in Malachi.

Robert A. Kugler has also pointed out that in Jubilees 32 Jacob fulfils what was said about Levi in Jubilees 30:18–20; 31:12–17 and 32:1.⁵⁴⁵ What is relevant regarding the “second tithe” is Isaac’s blessing of Levi, where he says: “His table is to belong to you; you and your sons are to eat (from it). May your table be filled throughout all history; may your food not be lacking throughout all ages.” (Jub 31:16) This may echo the tithes and sacrifices in which the priests/Levites partake, something which Deuteronomy 14:27 also addresses.⁵⁴⁶

Thus, Levi was needed in order for Jacob to give the tithes and sacrifices connected to the vow he was fulfilling correctly. In so doing, the author shows how Jacob, i.e., Israel, was doing what has been prescribed for him in Deuteronomy. As John Endres has put it: “In sum, the author described the correct giving of the tithe, and Levi provided an opportunity to view the proper observance.”⁵⁴⁷ Thus, Jacob fulfils the Deuteronomic commandment, addressed in the second person singular, not to neglect the Levites.

⁵⁴³ VanderKam, “Exegetical Creation of Levi the Priest,” 554–555.

⁵⁴⁴ Valve, *Early Modes of Exegesis*, 39–62 (esp. 58–60).

⁵⁴⁵ Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest*, 166–167.

⁵⁴⁶ Thus also VanderKam, “Exegetical Creation of Levi the Priest,” 554–555. The problem of Levites and Priests and what the similarities and possible dissimilarities are between these groups, if any during the Second Temple period, falls outside the scope of this study. According to Deut 18:1, the priesthood belonged to the whole tribe of Levi, see Jeffrey H. Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, The JPS Torah Commentary (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1996), 169–172. This seems to be somewhat against, e.g., Num 3–4, which makes a clear distinction between the “Sons of Aaron” and the Levites. On the discussion of the different reconstructions of Levites and Priests and their relationship, see, e.g., Merlin D. Rehm, “Levites and Priests,” *ABD* 4:297–310; Frank Moore Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 195–215; Antti Laato, *Inledning till Gamla testamentet*, 2nd ed., Religionsvetenskapliga skrifter 54 (Åbo: Åbo Akademis tryckeri, 2004), 91–96; Lester L. Grabbe, *A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period 1: Yehud: A History of the Persian Province of Judah*, LSTS 47 (London: T & T Clark International, 2004), 224–230. In the later tradition (e.g., Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah) it seems clear that Levites also had cultic functions. See, e.g., Lester L. Grabbe, *An Introduction to Second Temple Judaism: History and Religion of the Jews in the Time of Nehemiah, The Maccabees, Hillel and Jesus* (London: T & T Clark International, 2010), 42–46. According to another reconstruction, the Levites (i.e., non-Zadokites/Aaronides who functioned as priests in Jerusalem) assimilated to other groups of Israelites during the end of the first temple period and disappeared from the picture during the second temple period. Thus Cana Werman, “Levi and Levites in the Second Temple Period,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 4.2 (1997): 211–225 (211–216). It should be noted that according to Jub 30:18 Levi’s descendants were to become both “priests” and “Levites,” but both were to “serve before God.”

⁵⁴⁷ Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 166.

3.7 Other Deuteronomomic Influence in Jubilees: Eschatology

I have shown above that many Deuteronomomic commandments, addressed to Israel, are connected to the Jacob Story in the rewritten version of Jubilees 30–32. The impact Deuteronomy has had on Jubilees is not restricted to these chapters, though. In order to widen the scope for a brief moment, I now address the overall impact Deuteronomy has had on Jubilees, taking eschatology as the point of departure. A detailed analysis is not possible within the limits of this study. The eschatology of Jubilees is taken only as a point for departure in order to show the importance of Deuteronomy in other areas of Jubilees, too.

Usually, scholars understand Jubilees 1 and 23 as clearly eschatological sections in the Book of Jubilees.⁵⁴⁸ In these sections, the author tells, through God or the Angel of Presence, what is going to take place in the future, both from the point of view of the narrative (after Exod 24) but also from the audience's point of view.

Jubilees 1 (excluding the most probable later addition of Jub 1:15b–25)⁵⁴⁹ prefaces the rewritten Genesis, as God exhorts Moses to pay attention and write down everything (Jub 1:5). The reason for that writing is that it will be a witness or testimony (Jub 1:8) against the Israelites, assuring them that despite everything, God will take care of his people (Jub 1:5).⁵⁵⁰

Betsy Halpern-Amaru has correctly noted that the Book of Jubilees, a rewriting of Genesis-Exodus, opens “with a Deuteronomomic preview of future history.”⁵⁵¹ The structure of the chapter is based on Deuteronomy 28–30,⁵⁵² and

⁵⁴⁸ See, e.g., Gene Davenport, *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees*, StP 20 (Leiden: Brill, 1971); Betsy Halpern-Amaru, *Rewriting the Bible: Land and Covenant in Postbiblical Jewish Literature* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1994), 48–54; John C. Endres, “Eschatological Impulses in Jubilees,” in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 323–337; Todd R. Hanneken, *The Subversion of the Apocalypses in the Book of Jubilees*, EJL 34 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), 27–28, 38–49; James C. VanderKam, “Psalm 90 and Isaiah 65 in Jubilees 23,” in *Revealed Wisdom: Studies in Apocalyptic in Honour of Christopher Rowland*, ed. John Ashton, AJEC 88 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 73–81.

⁵⁴⁹ See the discussion in chs. 1.3.1 and 1.4.1 above and the referred literature therein. Jub 1:15b–25 contains a more detailed dialogue between God and Moses regarding what will happen in the future. It contains a plethora of allusions to Deuteronomy or similarities with it. These allusions, however, are not restricted to 1:15b–25. Halpern-Amaru, *Rewriting the Bible*, 149 n. 95, gives the following list for similarities in language between Jub 1 and Deut: Jub 1:8 and Deut 31:20; Jub 1:9 and Deut 7:16; Jub 1:11 and Deut 32:17; Jub 1:13 and Deut 31:17–18; 32:20; Jub 1:14 and Deut 4:27–28; 28:64; Jub 1:15a and Deut 4:29–31; 30:2; Jub 1:15b and Deut 30:3 (cf. Jer. 29:13–14 which is closer); Jub 1:16 and Deut 28:13 (see also Jer 32:41 and Deut 28:63; 29:27); Jub 1:17 and Deut 29:12 (cf. Lev 26:11–12); Jub 1:18 and Deut 31:6. To her list, one could add Jub 1:15, 23–24 and Deut 6:4–6. Cf. VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 162; Scott, *On Earth as in Heaven*, 79.

⁵⁵⁰ Halpern-Amaru, *Rewriting the Bible*, 48, notes that the twist of the concept of witness in relation to Deuteronomy 31: now it witnesses that God will not abandon Israel despite all that will happen.

⁵⁵¹ Halpern-Amaru, *Rewriting the Bible*, 49.

⁵⁵² Halpern-Amaru, *Rewriting the Bible*, 49.

the Deuteronomic pattern of Sin (1:7–12), Exile (1:13–14) and Restoration (1:15–18).⁵⁵³

Jubilees 23, which tells about the decline of humanity and Israel and its restoration in the future, is a reading of Psalm 90, where Isaiah 65 also plays an important role.⁵⁵⁴ The promise found in Deuteronomy 30:15–20 of a long life to those who obey the commandments is the hermeneutic key for the author to understand both Psalm 60 and Isaiah 65 and connect them to one another.⁵⁵⁵ Furthermore, the same Deuteronomic pattern of Sin (23:16–21), Exile/Punishment (23:22–25) and Restoration (23:26–31) is found in Jubilees 23, too.⁵⁵⁶ The chapter also has many parallels to curses in Deuteronomy 28, which are connected to the “toil” and “trouble” in Psalm 90:10.⁵⁵⁷

Thus, the history of Israel and eschatology are framed in the Deuteronomic pattern. The book starts with Deuteronomy and its central eschatological part in Jubilees 23 also includes influences from Deuteronomy. The calamities and hardships that Israel suffers are the result of abandoning the covenant, the Mosaic stipulations addressed to whole Israel, of which the commandments in Deuteronomy are the best example. This being said, the author has every reason for depicting his main character, Jacob, as fulfilling those very commandments as Israel as he returned to the Promised Land. When the Israelites, the seed of Jacob, behave in the same manner and fulfil the Torah as Jacob does in Jubilees, they will experience restoration and the (physical and) spiritual exile will end.

3.8 Conclusions

In this chapter, I have argued that the author of the Book of Jubilees has read the Book of Deuteronomy as a Law that addresses the patriarch Jacob. In my opinion, this kind of interpretive possibility has arisen from several different grounds or roots. First, the patriarch Jacob is closely connected to the people Israel, and the Jacob Story and the events in the story occurring to Jacob can be read as having something to do with the people Israel. Second, the patriarchs seem to know certain Mosaic stipulations also in Genesis (on this, see ch. 2.2 above). Third, the Book of Deuteronomy played a major role in the Second Temple in constituting the early Jewish identity. Fourth, Deuteronomy addresses Israel in the second person singular. This, along with the importance of Deuteronomy in the formation of the early Jewish identity and the important role of Jacob, makes it possible to connect Deuteronomy and Jacob to one another; Fifth, Psalm 78:5–8

⁵⁵³ Scott, *On Earth as in Heaven*, 77–82. 4Q216 II, 17, seems to end in Jub 1:15a (ending “with all their heart.”). It seems that the restoration part is elaborated upon more closely in 1:15ff in a later redaction, but overall, it suits what is written elsewhere in Jubilees and, thus, is not far from the original point of Jubilees.

⁵⁵⁴ James L. Kugel, “The Jubilees Apocalypse,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 1.3 (1994): 322–337; VanderKam, “Psalm 90 and Isaiah 65 in Jubilees 23.”

⁵⁵⁵ Scott, *On Earth as in Heaven*, 115–117.

⁵⁵⁶ Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 53–62; Scott, *On Earth as in Heaven*, 115; George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 72–73.

⁵⁵⁷ See VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 683–685; Hanneken, *Subversion*, 138–144.

(and 105:6–11) can be interpreted as referring to some kind of Torah/Law/Testimony received by Jacob, as was argued in chapter 2. Jubilees 30–32 was introduced as a test case in showing how this reading of Deuteronomy is implemented in the rewriting of the Jacob Story.

(1) In Jubilees 30–32, the author presents Jacob as Israel, who constantly follows the Deuteronomic stipulations given to him, most often in the second person singular. Jacob, *with* his sons in the Shechem episode, fulfils the commandments especially those given in Deuteronomy 7:2–4 that forbid intermarriage with seven Canaanite nations (including the Hivites) and commands Israel to destroy them utterly (חרם). This is something that Jacob does, once he has arrived (Deut 7:1) to the land that was promised to him, a land that, according to Jubilees, already belonged to him and to his descendants.

(2) At the beginning of Jubilees 31, the author changes the base text in such a way to omit all possibilities of thinking that Jacob had forgotten his vow that he had given in Genesis 28:20–22 // Jubilees 27:27. He himself sets out to Bethel and is not hesitant in fulfilling the vow he had made. In this way he fulfils the stipulations, addressed again in the second person singular in Deuteronomy 23:22–24.

(3) What betrays the author's reading the most is the clear allusion to the command to destroy the pagan idols and other objects depicting divinity in Deut 7:5 and 12:2–3. This allusion is found in Jubilees 31:2, which mentions how Jacob/Israel destroys the "foreign gods" that Rachel had stolen from her father. The original theft of these idols is not mentioned in Jubilees. Nevertheless, they show up in the rewriting of Genesis 35:1–4 in Jubilees 31:1–2. The reason for this is obvious: the author wishes to underline that Jacob is following the Deuteronomic stipulations.

(3) Jacob then searches for the place that God will choose, as stipulated in Deut 12:5–28. This has a connection to the vow he had made. He *knows*, or at least *thinks* that he knows, where *the place* is: It must be in Bethel! However, Bethel is not *the place*. Thus, an angel forbids Jacob from building it as a cult place in Jubilees 32. Here, the author creatively solves the dilemma: In order to fulfil his vow, Jacob must search for the correct place of worship. This correct place is Jerusalem, but the original narrative concerns Bethel.

(4) Nevertheless, Jacob comes to Bethel and offers his sacrifices and vows there, and celebrates happily, as Deuteronomy 12:7, 18, order. For that to happen, he needs a priest. Jacob invites his priestly father Isaac to come, but he is too old. So, Jacob, along with his sons Levi and Judah, visits Isaac and Rebekah, and Isaac prophesies that Levi is to become a priest. Later, Levi sees a vision about the same thing. Jacob tithes Levi a part of his all-including tithe and ordains him as the priest.

(5) Jacob is then ready to offer the sacrifices and fulfil the vows, which include a portion for Levi as Deuteronomy 14:22–29, or at least an exegetical tradition that derives the second tithe from it, prescribes.

What then does Jacob do in Jubilees 30–32? He fulfils the many commandments in Deuteronomy that can easily be connected to the basic text of

Genesis 34–35 and the exegetical traditions that already had been connected therein prior to the author. This is done within the limits of the original narrative in Genesis. The author's possible innovation is that Jacob follows the commandments that he reads in Deuteronomy closely: You Israel, do this, do that. In the author's reading of Genesis, Israel does.

3.9 Appendix: Who is the Officiating Priest in Jubilees 31–32?

Christoph Berner argues that Jubilees 30–32 encountered a later redaction which elevated Levi to the priesthood. Since Jubilees 30–32 has been analysed in detail above, it is reasonable to present a response to Berner’s analysis. The many ambiguities in the narrative serve as basis for Berner’s view.⁵⁵⁸

(1) Four different answers unrelated to one another as to why Levi becomes a priest are found in Jubilees: reward for dealing with the Shechemites in Jubilees 30:18–20; Isaac’s blessing in 31:13–17; Levi’s dream in 32:1; and Jacob’s tithing in 32:3. According to Berner, it is not sufficient to think that an author just adopted several traditions or sources, a practice labelled by James Kugel as “overkill.”⁵⁵⁹

(2) According to Berner, Jacob seems to be the one giving the offerings in Jubilees 32:4–7, 27 (cf. 44:1).

(3) Jacob gives his writings to Levi only much later in Jubilees 45:16.

According to Berner, Jubilees 30:18–20 is, therefore, a later addition which interrupts the narrative in 30:17, 21–23. The situation is a little more complex in Jubilees 31 and 32. According to him, Jacob functions as the officiating priest in 32:4–7, 27, but 32:1, 3, are only loosely connected there, and verse 2 does not mention to whom Jacob gives his tithes, which then is in line with the original vow in Jub 27:27 of giving the tithes to God himself. Also, the tithes given to Levi are, according to him, an afterthought in 32:8–9. Thus, states Berner, Levi does not appear in the original version of Jubilees 32, which is 32:2, 4–7. Instead, he argues, the text originally told how Jacob tithed on the fourteenth day of the seventh month (Jub 32:2) and then made the sacrifices for the Festival of Tabernacles in Jub 32:4–7.⁵⁶⁰

For Berner, the *crux interpretum* is Jubilees 31:24–30. Does Jacob invite the family patriarch Isaac simply to join in the festival, or to officiate as the priest, because Jacob himself could not?⁵⁶¹ According to Berner, this is uncertain. Nevertheless, Isaac wishes that *Jacob fulfils his oath* in 31:27–29. Thus, according to Berner, there can be an indirect acceptance of Jacob’s priesthood, even if one interprets the reason for the invitation of Isaac to the sacrifices along with Kugel and others. Isaac’s blessing, by contrast, is, according to him, a *promise* and thus needs not to be interpreted along the lines of the ordination of the new (high) priest. However, Berner argues that even the blessings of Levi and Judah were not in the original narrative, because the boys are not mentioned in 31:30, where

⁵⁵⁸ Christoph Berner, “Jacob or Levi—Who is the Officiating Priest in *Jubilees* 30–32?*” *JSP* 26.1 (2016): 20–31; *idem*, “Priesterliche Sukzession,” in *Sukzession in Religionen: Autorisierung, Legitimierung, Wissenstransfer*, ed. Almut-Barbar Renger and Markus Witte (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2017), 181–206 (192–200).

⁵⁵⁹ On “overkill,” see, e.g., Kugel, *Ladder of Jacob*, 4–7.

⁵⁶⁰ Berner, “Jacob or Levi?” 21–25.

⁵⁶¹ VanderKam seems to adopt the first possibility in his recent commentary, too. See VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 863 (esp. 863 n. 78).

Rebekah, Deborah and Jacob are returning to Bethel.⁵⁶² Thus, according to him, the original version of Jubilees 31 was 31:1–4,.5*.6.8*.22.24–30, all about Jacob’s vow.⁵⁶³ Conversely, a Levi-redaction consisting of Jub 30:18–20; 31:13–17; 32:1*.3.8–9* was added afterwards.⁵⁶⁴ Berner’s second thesis is that the “priestly succession” is something which may be implicit, but this is not at all to the fore other than in his alleged Levi-redaction.

The problem that is inherently connected to this is the question of whether Jubilees is older than the *Aramaic Levi Document* (ALD) or vice versa, and which of these documents borrows material from the another. Berner is himself of the opinion that ALD 5:2–6 is borrowed from Jubilees 32:2–9 because the account in ALD is more sophisticated. Furthermore, ALD 5:1, 6 presupposes Jubilees 31:9–21. At the same time, he argues that the editorial hand has later borrowed Levi’s dream (Jub 32:1) and the reward for his actions in Shechem (Jub 30:18–20) from ALD 4 and 1–3.⁵⁶⁵ Notwithstanding the question of the relationship between Jubilees and ALD, which remains somewhat problematic,⁵⁶⁶ Berner’s fascinating argumentation for a later Levi-redaction in Jubilees can be countered with following comments:

(1) *Concerning Levi and Judah’s role in Jubilees 31.* The roles of Levi and Judah as the favourite sons do not come forth only in Jubilees 31. *First*, the birthdays that Levi and Judah are given in the chronology that the author juxtaposes are not random. The most important sons in Jubilees and in the reception history, namely Levi, Judah, and Joseph, are all given significant birthdays: Levi was born on 1/1 (Jub 28:14), Judah on 15/3 (Jub 28:15) and Joseph on 1/4 (Jub 28:24).⁵⁶⁷ It seems clear that, on the one hand, Levi’s birthday is related to sacrifices, cult and the temple (Jub 7:2–6; 24:23; 27:19; in the Hebrew Bible Exod 40:2, 17; 2 Chr 29:17; Ezek 45:18–19), and Judah’s birthday, on the other, is related to the festival of Weeks, that is the festival of renewal of the covenant in Jubilees.⁵⁶⁸ As Pauline Buisch has argued, the connection between Judah’s date of birth is related to the Davidic covenant (e.g., 2 Chr 7:18; 21:7; Ps 89:3),⁵⁶⁹ and as I have argued elsewhere, the connection between Judah and David is stark elsewhere in Jubilees too.⁵⁷⁰ If we assume that the chronological framework is *the innovation par excellence* of the author of Jubilees, the two offices that Levi and Judah resemble in tradition history, echoed in the birthdays given to these figures in Jub 28, are an organic part of the same parcel seen in Isaac’s blessing. The blessing,

⁵⁶² Cf. VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 865: “oddly, only Jacob, Rebekah, and Deborah are mentioned, not Levi and Judah.”

⁵⁶³ Berner, “Jacob or Levi?” 25–28.

⁵⁶⁴ Berner, “Priesterliche Sukzession,” 192–200, 203–204.

⁵⁶⁵ Berner, “Jacob or Levi?” 28–29; *idem*, “Priesterliche Sukzession,” 197–198.

⁵⁶⁶ See the brief discussion in ch. 1.5 above.

⁵⁶⁷ VanderKam, *Guide to Jubilees*, 64; Kugel, *Walk through*, 140.

⁵⁶⁸ See Pauline P. Buisch, “The Absence and Influence of Genesis 48 (the Blessing of Ephraim and Manasseh) in the *Book of Jubilees*,” *JSP* 26 (2017): 255–273; See also Tanskanen, “Expectations,” 138–139, and the literature referred therein.

⁵⁶⁹ Buisch, “Absence and Influence,” 268; cf. Sejin Park, *Pentecost and Sinai: The Festival of Weeks as a Celebration of the Sinai Event*, LHBOTS 342 (London: T & T Clark, 2008), 122–125.

⁵⁷⁰ Tanskanen, “Expectations.”

thus, is coherent with how Judah and Levi are otherwise depicted in Jubilees, the birthdays being one piece in the larger picture.

Second, apart from their significant birthdays, Levi and Judah are the ones who stay with their grandfather Isaac also in Jubilees 34:3. This reveals their importance and prominent status in the Jubilees' re-narration. *Third*, this view is strengthened by the addition of Jacob's war with Esau and his sons in Jubilees 37–38. Judah and Levi lead sections of Jacob's defence in Jubilees 38:5–6, and Judah is the only one of the sons who speaks in that scene, as a warrior-like leader figure should (Jub 38:1)!⁵⁷¹

Fourth, the role of Levi and Judah's mother, Leah, and Jacob's love towards her are enhanced throughout the work. The family drama of Jacob's family in Genesis is rewritten by omitting the etymologies connected to the names of the sons, as is the dubious scene about love-berries (Gen 30:14–16). Jacob's attraction and love for Rachel is diminished in Jubilees by omitting Genesis 29:18, whereas Leah's role is enhanced after Rachel dies in Jubilees 36:23–24; 37:14. One reason for this may be an overall dampening of the family drama. Furthermore, both Levi and Judah are important figures, and therefore their mother should be important too. In Jubilees, Leah's role becomes much more important in comparison with the role that she plays in Genesis.

Fifth, Levi plays an enhanced role in Jubilees 30–32. In comparison with Genesis, Judah's role in Jubilees is omitted less than that of Joseph. Although Joseph is still important as an exemplary person and due the role he plays in the original tradition presented in Genesis, the omission of his dreams, which symbolize his hegemony over his brothers and his father Jacob, or the omission of the blessing of Ephraim and Manasseh in Genesis 48, which itself influenced and inspired the additions of Abraham's blessings in Jubilees 19; 22–23 and Isaac's blessing in Jubilees 31, tell clearly of his role in Jubilees' in comparison with Levi and Judah. He is important, but only as a good example of a law-obeying Jew, especially in the area of sexual purity, which is itself an important theme for the author.

Thus, if Isaac's blessing is a later addition, as Berner argues, then many other sections in the book *must also have been tampered with*. It is simpler and more economical to assume that both Levi and Judah had been part of the story from the beginning, at least in Jubilees.⁵⁷² The account is coherent with the overall view that the author paints about the children of Jacob, Levi and Judah in particular.⁵⁷³

⁵⁷¹ On the scene, see further Tanskanen, "Expectations," 139–141.

⁵⁷² If the exegetical creation of Jacob's visit to Isaac is older than the version in Jubilees, then it might be that the author of Jubilees has changed the scene. Nevertheless, I do not think that Levi and Judah were added, for example, at Qumran, but rather that they had been in the text of Jubilees from the beginning.

⁵⁷³ *Contra* Berner, "Priesterliche Sukzession," 198: "Während im Grundbestand des Jubiläenbuches [i.e., without the postulated *Levi-Fortschreibung* in chs. 30–32] noch überhaupt nichts von einer entsprechend herausgehobenen Position Levis erkennbar ist..."

(2) *The importance of the chain of priests.* The motif of the chain of priests, starting from Adam up to Levi, is important in Jubilees.⁵⁷⁴ In Jubilees, Abraham clearly functions as a priest, and the succession to Isaac is in my opinion clear in Jubilees 21, where certain *halakic* regulations concerning sacrifices are given. This idea of the patriarchs as priests is of course based on an interpretation of Genesis: That Abraham and Isaac built altars and offered sacrifices and/or called God's name implies that they were priests, at least they seem to have functioned as such.

Moreover, although certain generations of antediluvian patriarchs are not mentioned as having been priests, one should take the chronology of Jubilees into account. When Adam functions as a priest in Jubilees 3:27, and the next patriarch functioning as a priest is Enoch in Jubilees 4:25, Adam is still alive, as he will only at the age of die 930 years in 930 *Anno Mundi* (=AM; Jub 4:29). At this time, also Noah, the next priest in the chain, who functions as a priest in the postdiluvian age (Jub 6:1–3), has already been born (Jub 4:28). The only gap falls place between Noah and Abram, since Noah dies as a 950 year old (Jub 10:16), that is somewhere between 1651–1658 AM, if we combine the accounts of 4:28 with 10:16,⁵⁷⁵ and Abraham was born 1876 AM according to Jubilees 11:15. Thus, there is a gap of over 200 years without a priest. At the same time, however, this period between Noah and Abram was the era of darkness and the rule of prince Mastema until Abram understood the vanity of idol worship and returned to the true faith in Jubilees 12. Nevertheless, some continuity seems to have taken place as Jubilees 12:27 mentions the books of Abraham's fathers. These are most probably the books of Adam, Enoch, and Noah.⁵⁷⁶ Thus, the books most probably did not include the writings of Terah. The author had to emphasize the *discontinuity* with idol worship and Terah on the one hand (perhaps due Joshua 24:2 as a background for the interpretive tradition in Jubilees 12), but on the other hand *continuity* with the predecessors of Terah (i.e., Noah and perhaps Shem), from which Terah had received the books in Hebrew that he himself most probably did not understand.⁵⁷⁷

Moreover, when Abraham is instructing Isaac in cultic matters, he refers to the book or books⁵⁷⁸ of his ancestors, and names Enoch and Noah (Jub 21:10). Thus, the line from Adam-Enoch-Noah (and perhaps also Shem, Jub 10:14),⁵⁷⁹ with a

⁵⁷⁴ See esp. James L. Kugel, "Levi's Elevation to the Priesthood in Second Temple Writings," *HTR* 86 (1993): 1–64 (17–21); *idem*, *Ladder of Jacob*, 131–136.

⁵⁷⁵ The chronology jumps a bit here and there, since Jub 10:18 continues at 1576 AM

⁵⁷⁶ The line Enoch-Noah-Abraham is also found in Jub 21:10.

⁵⁷⁷ Cf. Najman, *Seconding Sinai*, 122–123.

⁵⁷⁸ Mss. 12, 17, and 44 have "book" in pl. instead of sg.

⁵⁷⁹ *Contra* Berner, "Priesterliche Sukzession," 183–189, who states that "Stattdessen ragen einzelne Priestergestalten wie Inseln aus dem genealogischen Strom heraus, und eine Verbindung zwischen ihnen wird bestenfalls zaghaft auf der Ebene des Transfers priesterlichen Wissens angedeutet. Dass es eine ungebrochene Kette amtierender Priester gegeben habe, lässt sich dem Jubiläenbuch für die Zeit bis Noah jedenfalls nicht ausdrücklich entnehmen." (189) He does not take the chronology into account, i.e., that both Enoch and Noah lived when Adam was still alive.

small gap of a dark age of idolatry, continues renewed from Abraham to Isaac (Jub 21; cf. Isaac functioning as the priest in 22:3) and furthermore to Levi (Jub 31–32), Jacob excluded!

The important detail is that *not once* is there a situation where Jacob is said to have offered anything in Genesis. The only exceptions to this are found in Genesis 31:53 and 46:1. However, the offerings mentioned there are in accordance with the use of “secular” slaughter of זָבַח in Deuteronomy 12:15. Genesis 31 does not mention an altar or that God’s name was called. Even Jubilees’ own interpretation of the scene is that Jacob simply prepared a banquet (Jub 29:5–11). This is a totally different matter in comparison with how both Abraham and Isaac are seen to behave in both Genesis and in Jubilees. Moreover, Jubilees 44:1, which rewrites Genesis 46:1, does not include an altar either, and this scene takes place after Levi is installed as a priest in Jub 32. Thus, it can easily be implied, without any explicit comment, that Jacob’s offering is made via Levi, if the act is cultic, especially since Levi’s role has already been made clear in Jubilees 32:9. Thus, although the author likes to make the implicit in Genesis explicit in Jubilees, Levi’s role as a functioning priest in the era after Isaac is explicit enough and does not need to be stated again in Jubilees 44. Similarly, the only mention in Genesis of an altar built by Jacob apart from Genesis 35 is in 33:20, which is actually omitted in Jubilees. I still agree with Kugel, and do not find Berner’s arguments regarding the reason why Jacob invites Isaac and Rebekah to Bethel convincing.

VanderKam writes in his recent commentary that the reason for the invitation was not that Isaac was a priest and Jacob was not, and that the invitation had nothing to do with sacrifice whatsoever. He gives two arguments: First, Rebekah was also invited in Jubilees 31:3. Second, Jubilees 31:26–30 does not explicitly state that Jacob needed Isaac as a priest there.⁵⁸⁰ These arguments can be countered with following comments: *First*, Rebekah’s invitation is crucial, because the biblical basis for the whole journey is Genesis 35:8, which talks about *Rebekah’s* nurse Deborah. Deborah needed to be in Bethel. *Second*, the tithes to a *Levite/priest* are crucial in Jacob’s case too, as was argued above. Jacob also thinks that Bethel is *the place* that God has chosen, i.e., the setting is cultic. Moreover, VanderKam himself explains that perhaps the omitted Genesis 35:1, which contains the command to “make an altar,” also invites the sacrifices into the scene. He also notices certain biblical verses that connect the vows, sacrifices and a cultic setting, such as Pss 50:14; 22:25 (MT 22:26) and comments: “Perhaps that association explains the connection between Jacob’s vow and the need to sacrifice in Jubilees 31 (see 32:5).”⁵⁸¹ Perhaps the connection between the vow and sacrifice was so strong, that it did not need any explicit mention. By the same

The death of Shem is not told in Jubilees. Kugel, *Walk through*, 116, understands Melchizedek to be identified as Shem in Jubilees, but this is something which is not stated in the text, as Berner, “Priesterliche Sukzession,” 190, rightly notes. The same is true for Kugel’s identification of Adam, Enoch, Noah and Shem as the priestly line in Jub 19:27, as the text is more about the promised blessing (cf. 19:24), something which Berner also notes.

⁵⁸⁰ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 849 n. 12, 863 (esp. n. 78).

⁵⁸¹ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 864.

token, neither was it needed to show the reader explicitly that Jacob needed Isaac to be the priest. The idea is there implicitly.

In the end, sacrifice is part of the vow, and a priest is needed in order to sacrifice and tithe too. Kugel's original point remains: Nowhere is it said that Jacob sacrificed or offered anything (except in Jub 32 as "he," but see my remark below). Instead, it is emphasized that Levi officiated as the priest in Bethel (Jub 32:9).

(3) *How old is the tradition about Levi, priest par excellence?* Berner is of the opinion that the tradition of patriarch Levi as the prototypical priest *par excellence* developed fairly late under the Hellenistic period.⁵⁸² Lotta Valve has, however, argued that the whole Book of Malachi should be read with Malachi 1:2 and the dichotomy between Jacob and Esau in mind.⁵⁸³ She has also identified at least a similar exegetical tradition behind Malachi 2:4–17, which has possibly treated at least a tradition similar to the Shechem incident in Genesis 34 and connected it with the Phinehas tradition in Numbers 25, with that of Jubilees 30, which deals with the same chapter in Genesis and similarly connects it with the Phinehas tradition.⁵⁸⁴ The patriarch Judah and the tradition behind Genesis 38 (taking a Canaanite wife) is in the mind of the author when he alludes to Judah in Malachi 2:11.⁵⁸⁵ Moreover, the question of tithing was a problem during the post-exilic times, as the Book of Nehemiah (Neh 10:35, 37–40; 12:44; 13:5–12) testifies. According to Valve, Malachi 3:6–12 should be understood as having used Jacob and his tithe, implicitly understood in Genesis 35, as an ideal model for the audience that is addressed in Malachi.⁵⁸⁶ The author of Jubilees was probably highly influenced by the Book of Malachi and its interpretive traditions, as Valve shows.⁵⁸⁷

If this is true, then there is no reason *not to believe* that Levi the patriarch already had a priestly role in the original Jubilees. Jacob functions as an ideal figure, who is giving his tithes to God, via the correct person, i.e., Levi, *the priest par excellence*. Levi plays an important role both in Malachi and Jubilees, both of which deal with the same tradition of Jacob the tither, where Jacob functions as a model for giving the correct tithes, in order that the Levites/priests get their fair

⁵⁸² Berner, "Jacob or Levi?" 30–31. According to him, the LXX represents the earlier textual tradition of Mal 2:4 (Levite instead of Levi), and thus the mention of *the patriarch Levi* is a later change in the textual history. The following discussion aims to show that even if the LXX would represent an earlier textual tradition than the consonantal text of the MT (and not simply a translation of it), the author of Malachi used the Levi traditions in his portrayal. Furthermore, even if Malachi would be dated fairly very late, it should still predate Jubilees.

⁵⁸³ Valve, *Early Modes of Exegesis*, 62: "Many scholars have paid attention to single references to patriarchal traditions in the book of Malachi but have not read the whole book in light of its opening verse 1:2."

⁵⁸⁴ See Valve, *Early Modes of Exegesis*, 63–78. On p. 69, Valve emphasizes that at the time when Mal was probably written (c. 500–445 BCE), Gen was still under formation. According to Kugel, "Levi's Elevation," 30–33, these verses have triggered the tradition of the heavenly dream of which Jub 32:1 is one version.

⁵⁸⁵ Valve, *Early Modes of Exegesis*, 52–56. See also pp. 63–64.

⁵⁸⁶ Valve, *Early Modes of Exegesis*, 58–60.

⁵⁸⁷ Valve, *Early Modes of Exegesis*, 78–89.

share too. Jubilees itself most plausibly used the traditions that the author of Malachi had already used or created. He then connected them to his reading of the Deuteronomic stipulations addressed to the patriarch Jacob.

(4) *What about the four different motifs that explain Levi's priesthood?* James Kugel, in his initial article on Levi from 1994, saw this as a classic example of what he labelled as *overkill*: An author/redactor, who knew many different motifs, which were originally created to explain the same exegetical problem, in this case how Levi became a priest, incorporated them all into one work. According to Berner, this cannot explain why Jubilees includes four different and concurring motifs. Kugel has subsequently changed his opinion and has stated recently that the "overkill" is actually the work of his Interpolator.⁵⁸⁸ In my opinion, the overkill that Kugel presents in his original article is still relevant and has explanatory power. This view is strengthened by VanderKam's remarks considering how some of the motifs (such as "Levi's Priestly Initiation" in Kugel's terms, see Jub 32:1) are downplayed in the present form of Jubilees.⁵⁸⁹ The author thought it important to highlight Levi's role, and in the meantime, he incorporated different motifs. At the same time, he downplayed some of these motifs.

(5) *Who is the mysterious 'he' in Jub 32?* According to VanderKam's recent view, Jacob *did* officiate as a priest in Jubilees 32. Considering Jubilees 32:4 ("On the fifteenth of this month *he* brought to the altar 14 young bulls..."), VanderKam writes:

Jacob is the only logical subject here, despite Kugler's claim that Levi offers the sacrifices (*From Patriarch to Priest*, 149). This would make the next verses, where Jacob continues to be the subject (vv. 5–8), meaningless. The verse also shows that Jacob is indeed a priest in Jubilees. Kugel has denied that he was (e.g., "Levi's Elevation," 19–21), but Jacob certainly seems to act as one here. The passage conflicts with Kugel's claim that Jacob had invited his father to come to the sacrifice in Bethel (chap. 31) because Jacob, who was supposedly not a priest, needed one to officiate at his altar. Note that Jacob says nothing of the sort in chap. 31 where he invites both parents to Bethel. Moreover, Isaac does not mention the subject. Kugel thinks that Isaac made Levi a priest so that he could officiate at the altar in Bethel, but he does not make Levi a priest and again fails to say anything about Levi's assuming the duty in Bethel.⁵⁹⁰

Furthermore, VanderKam points out that the priestly vestments were in Jacob's hands in Jubilees 32:3. He doubts Kugel's view that Isaac *must have* given them to Jacob, since nowhere is this implied in the text itself.⁵⁹¹

⁵⁸⁸ On Kugel's theory of Interpolator, see the brief discussion in ch. 1.4.2 above.

⁵⁸⁹ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 872. According to him, ALD is older than Jubilees, and in Jubilees' version of Isaac's blessing, Isaac is *prophesying* about Levi's forthcoming priesthood, not *ordaining* him into priesthood. Cf also Berner's views presented above.

⁵⁹⁰ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 879 n. 44. VanderKam refers to Rapp, *Jakob in Bet-El*, 183, who argues that the subject of v. 3 is Jacob, since the same subject is found also in v. 7. According to Rapp, the "he" of Jub 32:7 must be the same as "he" in Jub 32:4–6.

⁵⁹¹ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 877, esp. n. 33.

The mentions of “him” (Jacob) sacrificing in Jubilees 32:4–8, 27 can also be understood in terms of “giving the sacrifice to Levi who did the rite of sacrificing,” as I think many ancient interpreters understood, for example, the remarks about Solomon “offering” in 1 Kings 8:63; 9:25.⁵⁹² Jacob was thus the one who gave the sacrifices, but Levi did the priestly job as stipulated in the Pentateuch. Thus, it might be that the author did not ponder upon this any further. Jacob was the giver of the tithes, but Levi was the officiating priest. That is what is underlined in Jubilees 32:9. It was also in need of explicit statement since the previous patriarchs, themselves being priests, did not use any priestly medium outside of themselves in giving their sacrifices to God.

I think these arguments show that Levi must have been the officiating priest from the beginning. There is no later Levi-redaction as Berner has proposed, nor is the “he” sacrificing in Jubilees 32 saying that Jacob himself must have been a priest as VanderKam recently interpreted the case. Instead, Levi’s role is crucial for Jubilees’ understanding about priests, because Jacob could not have been the priest, at least not if we take Deuteronomy, the important book which influenced the whole Jacob Story in Jubilees, into account. At the same time Levi was needed to be the priest, since Jacob needed him to be the recipient of the tithe (Deut 14:22–27), as was argued above.

One further important reason for the author not to portray Jacob as a priest was that Jacob represented *the whole Israel* in Jubilees. Jubilees 2 and the analogy of Sabbath and Jacob the patriarch (that is, the people Israel), found also in sheet 2 of 4Q216, shows this clearly too. So, if Jacob functioned as a priest, would that not mean that all the people of Israel could be priests too? The situation is different with Isaac and Esau because unlike Jacob they are not “the holy seed.” Jacob, by contrast, is chosen to be God’s people already in the creation as God’s “first-born” (Jub 2:19–23).⁵⁹³ Moreover, Jacob was the one through which Abraham’s name and seed was to remain (Jub 22:24). All his sons are in the covenant relationship with God, whereas Esau and Ishmael fall outside the covenant boundaries. Thus, only Levi is the priest, but Jacob cannot be. And he shall not be.

All this notwithstanding, it may be, and probably is, considering the overkill of different motifs explaining how Levi became priest, that the author utilized different oral or written traditions pertaining to Jacob’s visit to Isaac and also pertaining to his offerings in Bethel, which were perhaps originally created in order to explain the exegetical problem that Jacob had not fulfilled in Genesis 35 what he had promised in Genesis 28.⁵⁹⁴ However, Levi’s role in these chapters seems to have been the same in Jubilees from the beginning. There is no later Levi-redaction.

⁵⁹² 1 Kings 8:63–64 is actually very fitting in comparison. Solomon is offering *peace offerings*, just like Jacob in Jub 32:6! This too happened during the Festival of Tabernacles, which VanderKam himself notices, *Jubilees*, 885, 889 n. 99.

⁵⁹³ On this, see Kugel, *Walk through*, 33–34 and ch. 4.3.2 below.

⁵⁹⁴ Rapp, *Jakob in Bet-El*, 197–202, does a similar literary critical analysis to Berner and argues, with the help of other early Jewish texts (ALD, T. Levi, 4Q537), that the author had earlier sources in Jub 32 which he utilized and tried to combine together.

4 The Abrahamic Promise and Jacob in the Book of Jubilees

4.1 Introduction

God's promise to Abraham in Genesis 12:1–3 and elsewhere (13:14–17; 15:1–7, 13–21; 17:1–21; 18:17–19; 21:12–13 and 22:16–18; cf. promises given to Hagar in 16:10–12; to Isaac in 26:2–5, 24; to Jacob in 28:13–15; 35:10–12; 46:3–4) is important both in Genesis and in the reception history of the Abrahamic Family History in general.⁵⁹⁵

God's promise and blessings to Abraham and to the other patriarchs play a significant role also in the Book of Jubilees.⁵⁹⁶ In this chapter, I analyse how the Abrahamic Promise is interpreted and expounded in various passages in Jubilees. My focus is on four themes or individual promises found in Genesis 12:1–3: (1) The “seed” or offspring of Abraham; (2) Abraham (or his offspring) having a big reputation/name; (3) Abraham (and his offspring) as a blessing (to others). The fourth theme (4) land, which is implicit in Genesis 12:1–3, and more explicit elsewhere (e.g., Gen 13:14–17), is also included.

The material in Jubilees is twofold. First, there are direct parallels, or direct rewriting of the speeches by God or patriarchs/matriarchs to a patriarch/matriarch. Second, there are also what I have labelled additions, that is, sections which have no direct parallels in Genesis. On occasion the division into additions and parallels can be somewhat problematic, especially regarding

⁵⁹⁵ On Genesis and the patriarchal promise(s) in Genesis, see, e.g., Gerhard von Rad, *Theologie des Alten Testaments 1: Die Theologie der geschichtlichen Überlieferungen Israels*, 6th ed. (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1969), 181–189; Sven Tengström, *Die Hexateucherzählung: Eine literaturgeschichtliche Studie*, ConBOT 7 (Uppsala: GWK Gleerup, 1976), 102–162; J. A. Emerton, “The Origin of the Promises to the Patriarchs in the Older Sources of the Book of Genesis,” *VT* 32.1 (1982): 14–32; Ludwig Schmidt, “Väterverheißungen und Pentateuchfrage,” *ZAW* 104 (1992): 1–27; David J. A. Clines, *The Theme of the Pentateuch*, 2nd ed., JSOTSup 10 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997); Antti Laato, *Inledning till Gamla testamentet*, 2nd ed., Religionsvetenskapliga skrifter 54 (Åbo: Åbo Akademis tryckeri, 2004), 137–140; Konrad Schmid, *Genesis and the Moses Story: Israel's Dual Origins in the Hebrew Bible*, trans. James D. Nogalski (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2010), 97–106. See esp. Clines, *Theme of Pentateuch*, 30: “The theme of the Pentateuch is the partial fulfilment – which implies also the partial non-fulfilment – of the promise to or blessing of the patriarchs.” (emphasis original). From the reception historical perspective of this study, the question whether (some of) the patriarchal promise(s) were later redactional additions to the patriarchal stories or part of the original stories is of no importance. What is important, however, is their relevance for the Genesis (and the Pentateuch) in its final or almost final form. Since the patriarchal promise(s) is the centre of Genesis (and the Pentateuch), it gives relevance for the study of its reception in Jubilees too, also from the perspective taken here.

Regarding the reception history of Genesis in general, see Craig A. Evans, Joel N. Lohr, and David L. Petersen, eds., *The Book of Genesis: Composition, Reception, and Interpretation*, VTSup 152 (Leiden: Brill, 2012). Regarding the reception of the Abrahamic Promise in the Hebrew Bible, see, e.g., Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer, “Abraham – A Judahite Prerogative,” *ZAW* 120 (2008): 49–66.

⁵⁹⁶ See Hans A. Rapp, *Jakob in Bet-El: Gen 35,1–15 und die jüdische Literatur des 3. und 2. Jahrhunderts*, HBS 29 (Freiburg: Herder, 2001), 175–182.

whether larger additions in the near context of parallel passages should be included in the analysis of parallel passages or whether they should be labelled as additions. I have deemed it better to include such passages, such as the *halakic* addition in Jubilees 15, in the analysis of the parallel passages. Furthermore, a narrative expansion (such as Jubilees 16:15–19 or 19:16–31) is deemed as an addition.

All of the parallels are analysed. Regarding the additions, to put it figuratively, I have “raked” Jubilees with a four-pronged rake in order to see where the four themes or promises mentioned above are present. These sections are then analysed in turn. A synthesis of how the four individual themes or promises are then interpreted in Jubilees is given after the individual analyses of parallel passages, and for a second time after the analyses of the additions. Finally, a conclusion is given where these two parts are correlated with one another to see whether differences or similarities exist with how the Abrahamic Promise is handled in parallel passages and in additions. Furthermore, a brief discussion on certain parallels outside of Jubilees is conducted.

Before investigating Jubilees, however, the Abrahamic Promise in Genesis and in the Hebrew Bible is introduced briefly in order to form a background for the case study conducted in this chapter.

4.1.1 The Abrahamic Promise in Genesis

With the Abrahamic Promise I refer to the abstracted idea of four significant promises given to Abraham, and later to his descendants, which can be inferred from Genesis 12:1–3 and which are referred to in various parts of Genesis and the Hebrew Bible.⁵⁹⁷ There are four:

(1) Abraham is to inherit ארץ “land.” This promise is found implicit in Genesis 12:1–3: God tells Abraham that he is to go to the land which He will show him.⁵⁹⁸ The promise is explicit just few verses later in Genesis 12:7, and is also found in 13:15, 17; 15:7, 18–21; 17:8; 26:3; 28:13; 35:12.⁵⁹⁹

⁵⁹⁷ The analysis of the Abrahamic Promise in the Hebrew Bible in general, or even in the Pentateuch, is outside the scope of this study. For orientation, see Clines, *Theme of Pentateuch*, 31–47, where Clines lists passages in the Pentateuch which contain statements regarding individual elements of what he calls the patriarchal promise (he lists three elements: descendants, relationship with God, land) as well as allusions to them.

⁵⁹⁸ Keith N. Grüneberg, *Abraham, Blessing and the Nations: A Philological and Exegetical Study of Genesis 12:3 in its Narrative Context*, BZAW 332 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 164: “V1 raises the issue, when Abraham is told to go to the land Yhwh will show him. Nothing is said about his gaining possession of this land; it could be merely another staging-place on his journey. However, Abraham—and the reader—may suspect that the journey’s destination will have special significance.”

⁵⁹⁹ Gen 22:17 tells that Abraham’s descendants shall “possess the gate of his enemies,” gate or gates referring to cities. Possessing cities also implies possessing the land of those cities and, thus, this passage could also be added here.

Grüneberg, *Abraham*, 164–165, connects implicitly the promise of the land to the promise of Abraham becoming a great nation, as a nation “at least typically has its own land.” (164).

(2) Abraham is to become a large nation and/or have descendants/seed (Gen 12:2). The same basic promise, in different forms, is found in Genesis 13:16; 15:1–6; 16:10; 17:1–6, 16, 19–21; 18:18; 21:12; 22:17; 26:4, 24; 28:14; 35:11; 46:3 as well.⁶⁰⁰ Although most of the passages refer to Abraham (or Jacob) as becoming *one* nation (Gen 12:2; 18:18; 46:3) or do not comment on whether one or many nations are intended (Gen 13:16; 15:1–6; 16:10; 26:4, 24; 28:14), certain passages (Gen 17:1–6, 16; 35:11) also include a more universal promise: many nations and even kings shall come from Abraham and Jacob. Regarding Genesis 17, however, both the more universal and more particular view are represented: Ishmael is to become a multitude of nations, too, but Abraham will have descendants through Isaac (Gen 17:19–21; cf. 21:12). Even Sarah (and thus Isaac) shall become the source of nations in plural (Gen 17:16). Regarding Genesis 22:17, it seems that Isaac, as Abraham’s seed, is at stake given the context, although this is not explicitly stated.

(3) Abraham is to have a great name or reputation (Gen 12:2), which may also imply might, force or influence. This is not elaborated on elsewhere in Genesis.⁶⁰¹

(4) Abraham is to become a blessing, or blessed, and through him other nations will be blessed, acquire blessing, will bless themselves or wish a blessing for themselves (Gen 12:3).⁶⁰² The same promise is also found in Genesis 18:18; 22:18; 26:4; 28:14.

As can be seen, the promise of seed and land are at the fore in Genesis, the blessing less so, and the promise of name is found only in Genesis 12:2. However, as Grüneberg among others has noted, these promises are also deeply interrelated.⁶⁰³ A great nation implies a possession of a land. In the Hebrew Bible, a blessing is related to prosperity, many descendants included. Also, as Grüneberg notes, with reference to Moberly, the first promise, namely Abraham becoming a great nation, along with God blessing Abraham, are related to what Abraham (and his descendants) are to become. Furthermore, the promise of a great name and Abraham becoming blessed/blessing are promises that are related to others noticing them.⁶⁰⁴ Abraham is to have a great name or reputation once he has become a great nation.

Similarly, the blessing is related to the promise of Abraham becoming a great nation, as the promise that God will bless Abraham continues the promise given in Genesis 12:2a. Again, the blessing is related to the promise of a name, as Abraham is to become a blessing or blessed in Genesis 12:2b, perhaps even so

⁶⁰⁰ Furthermore, Gen 24:60, where Rebekah’s relatives bless her and hope that she would become myriads of thousands and that her seed would possess the gates of the enemies of her seed, could be added to the list.

⁶⁰¹ Grüneberg, *Abraham*, 166–169, notes that God also promises to make David’s name great (2 Sam 7:9), followed by a promise that God would destroy his enemies. This has ANE-parallels in royal contexts. Cf. Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 80.

⁶⁰² The philological question of how the niph. or hitp. of בָּרַךְ should be understood is introduced in the following subchapter 4.1.2 below.

⁶⁰³ Grüneberg, *Abraham*, 161–190.

⁶⁰⁴ Grüneberg, *Abraham*, 166.

that Abraham becoming blessing refers to the instrument by which other people wish to attain blessing (cf. Ps 72:17).⁶⁰⁵ Nonetheless, it seems that Abraham becoming blessed or a blessing is also an individual promise, given what is stated in Genesis 12:3.

Although having a great name and being a great nation are interrelated, and the blessing is related to both promises in Genesis 12:2, all three, nonetheless, have certain distinctions which are important to keep intact. For example, a great name does not always imply *only* a great nation but can also be related to the individual's reputation in his deeds. Similarly, the blessed status does not always need to imply a great name or indeed many descendants. Thus, the interrelatedness of the promises notwithstanding, it is necessary to keep the individual promises apart, especially when the investigation consists of reception history, although the connections between them must be recognized. Hence, I refer to the Abrahamic Promise in the singular, although it consists of four individual promises which are also interrelated to one another.

4.1.2 The Philological Question of Genesis 12:3b: Niphal and Hitpael of בָּרַךְ

One of the main linguistic problems causing much debate concerning the Abrahamic Promise is the niphal form of בָּרַךְ in Genesis 12:3b: וַנְּבָרְכֶךָ בְּכָל מְשַׁפְּחַת הָאָדָמָה. A long debate concerning this phrase deals with whether the verb form should be interpreted as a reflexive, middle, passive or even reciprocal of the piel form “bless.” Thus, different proposals for translating the niphal form of בָּרַךְ include “bless oneself” (or “regard oneself blessed”), “become blessed,” “be blessed” or even “bless one another.” The prepositional phrase בְּךָ is mostly understood as instrumental (“through you”) or causal, although even spatial understanding could have been important for ancient interpreters, too.⁶⁰⁶ The aim here is not to give a detailed philological survey but rather to raise certain questions that the interpreter is confronted with.

From a grammatical perspective, the older grammars are of the opinion that the niphal stem was originally a reflexive to qal, including a possibility for

⁶⁰⁵ Grüneberg, *Abraham*, 170, argues that since the promise is formulated in the second person imperative here, “the stress is on what Abraham receives, as opposed to the divine initiative in making him such,” and so “equally the promise would seem more concerned with Abraham/Israel than with the others who might see the example of blessing.” Nevertheless, since 12:2 includes a1) the promise of nation and a2) the blessing followed by b1) the promise of a name and b2) the blessing, the promises of blessings seem to be connected to the promises of nation/descendants and name themselves. Thus, that Abraham is to become a blessing/blessed is connected primarily to the name. Thus, I disagree slightly with Grüneberg's conclusion that “[t]he primary concern of v2d is Yhwh's favour to Abraham” (170).

⁶⁰⁶ H. S. Nyberg, *Hebreisk grammatik* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1952; repr. Uppsala: Universitetstryckeriet, 2006), §98g. Regarding the spatial interpretation, I refer to the Pauline use of the Greek preposition ἐν with Christ in the dative, i.e., “in Christ,” which can also have such a connotation for Paul. For Paul, Jesus was Abraham's seed (Gal 3:16).

reciprocity. The meaning of the niphāl, however, subsequently glided towards a pure passive and took over the original qal passive form that disappeared from active use.⁶⁰⁷ The passive is actually the most common meaning for the niphāl in Biblical Hebrew.⁶⁰⁸ Niphāl can also give an ingressive (or in Waltke and O'Connor's term ingressive-stative) meaning to a stative verb, something which has been compared with the N-stem of Akkadian, and which has also been reconstructed in Proto-Semitic.⁶⁰⁹ The view of the older grammarians of the niphāl as mainly reflexive is contested by modern scholars, who argue for an original middle or passive function.⁶¹⁰

Furthermore, the hitpael stem, also found in parallel passages in Genesis (22:18; 26:4: *והתברכו בזרעך כל גוי הארץ*), functions mostly as reflexive to piel,

⁶⁰⁷ Nyberg, *Hebreisk grammatik*, §78e–f.; Bill T. Arnold & John H. Choi, *A Guide to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 38–39. See also Edward Lipiński, *Semitic Languages: Outline of a Comparative Grammar*, OLA 89 (Leuven: Peeters, 1997), §41.15; Barak Dan, "Binyanim: Biblical Hebrew," in *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, ed. Geoffrey Khan (Leiden: Brill, 2013, online).

⁶⁰⁸ Nyberg, *Hebreisk grammatik*, §78e; *IBHS*, 382–385. Niph. is the basic form for denoting the passive in the DSS. See, Eduard Yechezkel Kutscher, *A History of the Hebrew Language* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1982), 97; Elisha Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, HSS 29 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 48–49; Jan Joosten, "The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *A Handbook of Biblical Hebrew: Volume 1: Periods, Corpora, and Reading Traditions*, ed. W. Randall Garr and Steven E. Fassberg (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2016), 83–97 (91–92). Generally, niph. became to denote the passive over time. See Kutscher, *History of Hebrew*, 127; On niph. in the Samaritan tradition, see Kutscher, *History of Hebrew*, 110; Moshe Florentin, "Samaritan Tradition," in *A Handbook of Biblical Hebrew: Volume 1: Periods, Corpora, and Reading Traditions*, ed. W. Randall Garr and Steven E. Fassberg (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2016), 117–132 (129–130).

⁶⁰⁹ *IBHS* 385–386. On the Proto-Semitic, see John Huehnergard, "Proto-Semitic," in *The Semitic Languages*, ed. John Huehnergard and Na'ama Pat-El, 2nd ed., Routledge Language Family Series (London: Routledge, 2019), 49–79 (65). According to Huehnergard, the N-stem functioned as ingressive for verbal adjectives denoting state. The N-stem in Akkadian functions mostly as the passive for the active transitive G or middle. According to Huehnergard, the reflexive is denoted rarely with an N-stem. See John Huehnergard, *A Grammar of Akkadian*, 3rd ed. (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 361–362. Benjamin J. Noonan, "Abraham, Blessing, and the Nations: A Reexamination of the Niphāl and Hitpael of בָּרַךְ in the Patriarchal Narratives," *Hebrew Studies* 51 (2010): 73–93 (77–78), emphasizes that since בָּרַךְ is a stative and not an active verb, pi. denotes the declarative and niph. can, thus, denote either passive or ingressive, which are quite similar in meaning in this case.

⁶¹⁰ On the contrast between older grammars and newer approaches, see the discussion in Ellen van Wolde, "The Niphāl as Middle Voice and Its Consequence for Meaning," *JSOT* 43.3 (2019): 453–478 (463–467). Van Wolde (pp. 468, 477–478) sees niph. as middle, which took over the passive voice of qal in certain contexts when the internal qal passive was lost if the external agent was coded. It should be noted, that although Nyberg, *Hebreisk grammatik*, §78e, saw niph. as originally reflexive, he still maintained that niph. functions mostly as the passive, a corrective to the older opinion of *GKC* §39f on niph. as "rarely passive." Cf. the view of Nyberg on *GKC* already in 1952 as "totally outdated" (p. iv): "Naturligtvis har Gesenius-Kautzsch's berömda *Hebräische Grammatik*... flitigt rådfrågats, men uteslutande som materialsamling; I sina synpunkter är den helt föråldrad." It is symptomatic that modern scholars still may use *GKC* as the primary or only reference grammar for Biblical Hebrew.

which can seldom become a pure passive.⁶¹¹ Waltke and O'Connor note, however, that the usage of hitpael increased over time, and the passive function also became more widespread.⁶¹² Their argument for this is, however, contested.⁶¹³ Outside the Hebrew Bible, the niph'al stem of בָּרַךְ is not attested, but the hitpael is found in 1QS II, 13; 4Q448 2, 9; and 4Q525 14 ii 7.⁶¹⁴

Thus, from a purely grammatical perspective, the functions of the niph'al and hitpael stems overlap with one another.⁶¹⁵ Noteworthy, too, is that over time, the passive function of both stems seems to have become more widespread. The question as to whether the niph'al and hitpael forms of בָּרַךְ had any difference in meaning is something which scholars debate.⁶¹⁶

Different lexica have solved the special problem of the verb בָּרַךְ with differing results. William L. Holladay interprets both the niph'al and hitpael forms as reflexive and does not give a passive meaning at all.⁶¹⁷ *DCH*, by contrast, gives only the passive meaning “be blessed” for the niph'al and interprets the preposition כּ as an agent or instrument through which the blessing becomes

⁶¹¹ Nyberg, *Hebreisk grammatik*, §78p–q; Arnold & Choi, *Guide to Biblical Hebrew*, 47. See also Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, §41.20, §41.25; Dan, “Binyanim: Biblical Hebrew.” According to Lipiński (p. 396), “From a semantic point of view, the stems with *t*-affix, especially the one corresponding to the basic stem, approximately cover the same field as the *N*-stem.” Regarding Biblical Aramaic, it is noteworthy that the passive is often denoted by *t*-stems, although there still existed internal passives (pa’il for pe’al, pu’al for pa’el, and huf’al for af’el). See Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Biblical Aramaic Reader: With an Outline Grammar* (Leuven: Peeters, 2015), 17.

⁶¹² *IBHS*, 429.

⁶¹³ Joel S. Baden, “Hithpael and Niph'al in Biblical Hebrew: Semantic and Morphological Overlap,” *VT* 60 (2010): 33–44 (34–35), locates only three certain passives, which are, according to him, Qoh 8:10; 1 Sam 3:14 and Lam 4:1.

⁶¹⁴ James K. Aitken, *The Semantics of Blessing and Cursing in Ancient Hebrew*, ANESSup 23 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 89, 115. Aitken takes the entry in 4Q448 2, 9 to be passive, but he interprets the other two as reflexive (“he will congratulate himself in his heart” in 1QS II, 13; “you will bless yourself” in 4Q525 14 ii 7).

⁶¹⁵ Nyberg, *Hebreisk grammatik*, §78v, notices that when the meanings of niph. and hitp. overlap, they can also be varied in the same paradigm. He gives טָמָא as an example: The reflexive meaning is found in ipf. after hitp., but in pf. after niph. Baden, “Hithpael and Niph'al,” argues that the ipf. forms were later understood as hitp., but without vocals the ipf. forms of both niph. and hitp. are indistinguishable. Richard Benton, “Verbal and Contextual Information: The Problem of Overlapping Meanings in the Niph'al and Hitpael,” *ZAW* 124 (2012): 385–399, argues that both niph. and hitp. should be understood primarily as passives, where the (semantic) patient is highlighted, but the agent is unstated. Hebrew (along with other Semitic languages) allows the (semantic) agent to be co-referenced with the patient, something which English does not allow. Because of the no co-reference criterion of English, English must make a distinction between the passive and reflexive.

⁶¹⁶ See, e.g., Chee-Chiew Lee, “Once Again: The Niph'al and the Hithpael of בָּרַךְ in the Abrahamic Blessing for the Nations,” *JSOT* 36.3 (2012): 279–296, and the literature referred in the beginning of that article. Although Barak Dan, “Binyanim: Biblical Hebrew,” does not specifically refer to the verb בָּרַךְ, he does note in his brief entry that “Some *hitpa*‘el and *nifal* verbs are basically synonymous.”

⁶¹⁷ William L. Holladay, *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 49–50; Cf. *BDB*, 138.

reality.⁶¹⁸ The hitpael is understood as reflexive in both dictionaries.⁶¹⁹ According to Josef Scharbert in his entry of בָּרַךְ in *TDOT*, the hitpael form in Genesis 22:18 and 26:4 should be interpreted so that “the other nations will pride themselves in participating in the blessing of Abraham or Isaac and their descendants.”⁶²⁰ He interprets the niphāl form mostly as reflexive and rejects the pure passive force for niphāl stem. According to him, the writer(s) would in that case have used pual instead.⁶²¹

At the very least the short survey above shows us that the niphāl and even the hitpael verb forms of בָּרַךְ are open for different interpretations. One important observation in this regard is that the Septuagint and later Vulgate have interpreted both the niphāl forms in Genesis 12:3; 18:18; 28:14 and the hitpael forms in 22:18; 26:4 as passive.⁶²² Targums as well as Peshitta use ethpael-forms (tD) when translating the niphāl and hitpael.⁶²³

In the Ethiopic version of Genesis, the phrase is translated as *wa-yəṭbārrak kʷəllu ʾaḥzāba mād̄r baʾəntiʾaka* (“And all the peoples of the earth will be blessed / will bless oneself because of you.”). Interestingly, the preposition בָּךְ (or more probably, the LXX ἐν σοί) has not been rendered with the common Semitic preposition *ba*, but with the narrower compound preposition *baʾənta*. Of course, the Hebrew Bible was translated into Geʾez by Christians. This can, in turn,

⁶¹⁸ *DCH* 2:268. Similarly, Lee, “Once Again,” 287. Although Aitken, *Semantics*, 100, differentiates the agency and instrument with regards to piel ב + בָּרַךְ, he understands the usage of ב with niph. and hitp. of בָּרַךְ as denoting agency.

⁶¹⁹ Holladay, *Concise Hebrew*, 50, also lists reciprocal and reflexive declarative (“call oneself happy”) forces as options. Cf. *BDB*, 139. Similarly, Lee, “Once Again,” 289–295, argues that the hitp. in the Abrahamic Promise should be understood as estimative-declarative reflexive (i.e., “regard oneself blessed”).

⁶²⁰ Josef Scharbert, “בָּרַךְ *brk*; בָּרַכָּה *bərākhāh*,” *TDOT* 2:279–308 (296).

⁶²¹ Scharbert, *TDOT* 2:297.

⁶²² Vulg has *benedicendae sint* in Gen 18:18, but in other passages *benedicentur*. I do not know why Aitken, *Semantics*, 110, lists Gen 22:18 and 26:4 with “*benedico* + reflexive personal pronoun” According to Aitken, *Semantics*, 104–105, the aorist and future passive forms in koine Greek could also be used for middle forms. However, in classical Greek, middle future forms could also have a passive meaning, even if the verb had both forms morphologically. See Jerker Blomqvist and Poul Ole Jastrup, *Grekisk – Græsk grammatik*, 3rd ed. (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 2013), §173. Actually, *LSJ*, s.v. εὐλογέω, gives Isocrates *Evag.* 5 for a middle form with passive force. ἐνευλογέομαι is attested only in the LXX and in the NT. Thus, the argument can be used in both ways, and possibility does not denote certainty. It is therefore more plausible to understand the LXX-forms as genuine passive. Cf. John W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis*, SCS 35 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1993), 164.

⁶²³ Aitken, *Semantics*, 105–109. T-affixed stems in Syriac (and Aramaic) denote the passive, reflexive, or ingressive, and are, thus, grammatically as ambiguous as niph. and hitp. in Hebrew. Takamitsu Muraoka, *Classical Syriac for Hebraists*, 2nd ed., SILO 6 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), 34; Cf. Muraoka, *Biblical Aramaic*, 17. Cf. Theodor Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, trans. James A Chrichton (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2001), §159, “The reflexives have for the most part acquired a passive meaning.”

explain the choice of preposition here.⁶²⁴ Nevertheless, the meaning of *ba* and *baʿanta* can also overlap. The Lt imperfect of *bāraka* is as ambiguous as the Hebrew cognate verb form and stem. Lt has mostly reflexive and/or passive, but even reciprocal, functions in Geʿez.⁶²⁵ Lexically it is always important to search for the precise meanings from dictionaries, which, however, does not help much in this case.⁶²⁶

My object here is not to give an elusive answer to what the writer(s) of the Book of Genesis originally wanted to signify with the phrase, even less to dive into tradition-historical debates on the origins of the blessings.⁶²⁷ Nonetheless, the small survey above concerning only the linguistic debate offers us a glimpse of how ambiguous the verb form has been in modern exegesis. This, in turn, reveals that something similar may also have been the case in the minds of ancient interpreters during the Second Temple period. The phrase and the verb forms are open for different interpretations, and these are inspired not only by the context of the phrase in Genesis but also by the context of the interpreter and his/her inherited interpretive traditions, too.⁶²⁸ Here, the reception history becomes relevant.

From the reception historical point of view, in his recent study of the reception of the Abrahamic Blessing (Gen 12:3) in the LXX, targums and few Jewish texts including Philo and especially Josephus (but excluding Jubilees), Erkki Koskenniemi has argued that there seems to be no evidence of such an interpretation that the names of Abraham, Isaac or Jacob would have been used in macarisms (“I wish you/I were like Abraham”). His conclusion is that “God’s blessing somehow was connected with Abraham, Isaac or Jacob. This was

⁶²⁴ Because the Abrahamic Promise is important in the NT (e.g., Paul), in the choice of translating the agent interpretation can come up stronger. Concerning the Ethiopic Bible and its origins, see ch. 1.3.2 above.

⁶²⁵ Concerning the reflexive-passive generally and with regards to L-stem in Geʿez, see the classical treatment in Carl Bezold & August Dillmann, *Ethiopic Grammar*, Second Edition Enlarged and Improved, trans. James A. Crichton (London: Williams & Norgate, 1907), §80, §82; more recently Thomas O. Lambdin, *Introduction to Classical Ethiopic (Geʿez)*, HSS 24 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978; repr. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 88–90, 101–102; Josef Tropper, *Altäthiopisch: Grammatik des Geʿez mit Übungstexten und Glossar*, ELO 2 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2002), §44.45. Cf. Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, §41.20, §41.27. Typologically, the same is true for the t-stems in Aramaic, that is, they cover both the passive and reflexive functions.

⁶²⁶ Concerning the two main dictionaries of Geʿez, see firstly August Dillmann, *Lexicon Linguae Aethiopiae: Cum indice latino* (Lipsiae: T. O. Weigel, 1865), 505. He gives the following glosses: 1) *laudari, celebrari*; 2) *benedicere sibi vel sibi invicem* (rflx. et recipr.), *benedictionem petere vel accipere* (pass.); 3) *benedictione consecrari*, 4) *benedici* i.e. *fortunari, prosperari* (here referring to Gen 12:3; 18:8; 22:18; 26:4 and 28:14). Secondly, Wolf Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez (Classical Ethiopic): Geʿez-English / English-Geʿez with an index of the Semitic roots* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1987), 105, gives two options: 1) passive; 2) also “receive benediction, bless one another, ask for benediction.”

⁶²⁷ Concerning these questions, one should consult commentaries and devoted studies, some of which were mentioned at the beginning of this chapter (see 4.1). See further Grüneberg, *Abraham*, and the literature referred to therein.

⁶²⁸ Cf. Richard Benton, “Verbal and Contextual Information,” 385, who notes that a given verb should be analysed from three different pieces of information: morphology, semantics, and context (my emphasis).

apparently the sense in which Josephus understood it too.”⁶²⁹ The study conducted here functions as a complement to the contribution by Koskenniemi.⁶³⁰

What does the author of Jubilees have to say concerning the Abrahamic Promise? When the Abrahamic Promise is quoted, alluded to, or echoed, how is it then utilized in Jubilees in general, and in relation to the patriarch Jacob in particular? Jacob is, in Abraham’s own words, Abraham’s son (Jub 22). As will be shown in this chapter, the Abrahamic Promise is particularly important, if not indeed crucial, to the author of Jubilees. Furthermore, Jubilees presents a good amount of interpretation concerning Genesis 12:3b, something which has not been considered earlier in studies concerning it and its reception history in antiquity. In this chapter, I seek answers to these questions.

4.2 The Abrahamic Promise in the Parallel Sections of Jubilees

4.2.1 Jubilees 12:22–24

Jubilees 11:14–12:27 rewrites Genesis 11:27–12:3.⁶³¹ Jacques van Ruiten has analysed the rewriting process in Jubilees meticulously, and therefore it is unnecessary to explore all the details here.⁶³² Instead, I concentrate on those aspects which are important for the study at hand.

In Jubilees 12:12–15, Abram burns a pagan temple in Ur of the Chaldeans. His brother Haran dies when trying to save the gods from the temple. Because of this incident, Terah leaves Ur and arrives in Harran (cf. Gen 11:31–32). This event

⁶²⁹ Erkki Koskenniemi, “No Star from Jacob, No Lion from Judah: Josephus and the Blessing to All the Nations,” in *Herald of Good Tidings: Essays on the Bible, Prophecy, and the Hope of Israel in Honour of Antti Laato*, ed. Pekka Lindqvist and Lotta Valve, HBM 97 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2021), 160–190 (188).

⁶³⁰ Cf. Mladen Popović, “Abraham and the Nations in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Exclusivism and Inclusivism in the Texts from Qumran and the Absence of a Reception History of Gen 12:3,” in *Abraham, the Nations, and the Hagarites: Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Perspectives on Kinship with Abraham*, ed. Martin Goodman, George H. van Kooten, and Jacques T. A. G. M. van Ruiten, TBN 13 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 77–103. Popović notes that reception of Gen 12:3 is lacking from the DSS, and a case to the point for him is 4Q252 II, 8–10, where the Abrahamic Promise is not referred to at all, but the author continues from Gen 11:31 directly to 12:4–5 and from II, 11 onwards to Gen 15. Popović also deals with Jubilees in brief (p. 87). However, he deals only very summarily with Jub 12:23 and does not consider the many allusions to Gen 12:3 in Jub which have been analysed in this chapter. Therefore, my contribution is an important corrective to the otherwise intriguing contribution of Popović in this matter.

⁶³¹ 11Q12 frgs 8 and 9 include fragments of Jub 12:15–17, 28–29. As far as the readings can be followed, they seem to agree with Ge’ez. Lat is not preserved. The Anonymous Syriac Chronicle also includes a similar tradition, but that is not a direct textual witness to Jub. On the Syriac tradition of Abram similar to Jub 11–12, see Sebastian P. Brock, “Abraham and the Ravens: A Syriac Counterpart to Jubilees 11–12 and Its Implications,” *JSJ* 9.2 (1979): 135–152.

⁶³² Jacques T. A. G. M. van Ruiten, *Abraham in the Book of Jubilees: The Rewriting of Genesis 11:26–25:10 in the Book of Jubilees 11:14–23:8*, JSJSup 161 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 19–64.

along with the following in 12:17–21 forms the stage for the Abrahamic Promise in Jubilees 12:22–24.

Abram (1951 AM) starts to investigate the stars in order to see how the following year is to be rain wise. At that moment “A word came to his mind/heart” (Jub 12:17) and he understands that God controls everything, even the rain (Jub 12:18). Now, he prays (Jub 12:19–20):

12:19 My God, my God, God Most High,
You alone are my God
You have created everything:
Everything that was and has been is the product of your hands.
I choose hereby you and your lordship.⁶³³
12:20 Save me from the power of the evil spirits who rule the thoughts of
peoples’ minds.
May they not mislead me from following you, my God.
May you establish me (*wa-tarassayani*)⁶³⁴, me and my seed forever.
May we not go astray from now until eternity.

After this, Abram continues: “Shall I return to Ur of the Chaldeans who are looking for me to return to them? Or am I to remain here in this place? Make the path that is straight before you prosper through your servant so that he may do (it). May I not proceed in the error of my mind, my God.” (Jub 12:21)

The rewritten version of Genesis 12:1–3 in Jubilees answers this very question of Abram. The abrupt calling of Abram in Genesis 12, which seems to come out of nowhere, is thus solved in Jubilees.⁶³⁵ Abram takes the initiative, and God responds through his Angel of Presence (Jub 12:22).⁶³⁶ What follows is a synopsis of Gen. 12:1–3 (MT) and Jub 12:22–24 (Ge’ez) in English translation.⁶³⁷

⁶³³ The Ge’ez perfect can also have a performative aspect, which suits here better than a past perfect (VanderKam). On performative aspect in Ge’ez, see Stefan Weninger, “On Performatives in Classical Ethiopic,” *JSS* 45.1 (2000): 91–101.

⁶³⁴ VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees Translated*, CSCO 511; SA 88 (Leuven: Peeters, 1989), 72; *idem*, *Jubilees: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2018), 441, 443, translate “Do establish me,” which seems to be according to the imp. form of D *rassaya* (*rassayani*) in mss. 21, 42, 47 and 58, instead of the subj. form *wa-tarassayani* which is the reading in the critical edition. One can argue for the imp. reading, if one sees a pattern of imp. + subj, imp. + subj.

⁶³⁵ Cf. Grüneberg, *Abraham*, 141, who reads Genesis 12:1–3 in its narrative context and states that “in contrast [to Noah], there is no attempt to distinguish Abraham from other people in chs 11–12, no reason given why Abraham might be favoured above others... his choice from among the nations in 12:1–3 would seem quite arbitrary, if it is essentially for his good that he is thus favoured.” Cf. p. 155. Jubilees explains why God suddenly calls Abraham.

⁶³⁶ Van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 44, notes the chiasmic structure of Abraham’s words in Jub 12:19–21 and God’s words (via angel) in Jub 12:22–24.

⁶³⁷ Cf. van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 44–47. The text in CAPITAL LETTERS is such that is not found in the other document, the text in normal script is what is corresponding between the two texts. *Italics* mark small variations other than addition or omission, and rearrangements are marked in **bold**. See further ch. 1.6.2 above.

Genesis 12:1–3	Jubilees 12:22–24
	22 AND WHEN HE HAD FINISHED HIS SPEAKING AND HIS PRAYING,
1 And the Lord <i>said to Abram</i> ,	and BEHOLD, THE WORD of the Lord WAS SENT <i>to him</i> THROUGH MY HAND <i>saying</i> ,
“Go from your land and from your family and from your father’s house to the land that I will show you.	“Now you, <i>come</i> ⁶³⁸ from your land and from your family and from your father’s house to the land that I will show you.
2 I will <i>make</i> of you a great people.	I will <i>establish</i> ⁶³⁹ you into a great AND POPULOUS ⁶⁴⁰ people.
I will bless you	23 I will bless you
and make your name great,	and make your name great.
You will become a <i>blessing</i>	You will become <i>blessed</i> ⁶⁴¹ IN THE LAND
	All the peoples⁶⁴² of the land will be blessed in you.
3 Those who bless you I will bless, and <i>him</i> who <i>curses</i> you I will curse;	Those who bless you I will bless, and <i>those</i> who <i>curse</i> ⁶⁴³ you I will curse.
and all the families of the land will be blessed in you.”	
	24 I WILL BECOME GOD FOR YOU, FOR YOUR SON, FOR YOUR GRANDSON, AND FOR ALL YOUR SEED. DO NOT BE AFRAID. FROM NOW UNTIL ALL THE GENERATIONS OF THE LAND I AM YOUR GOD.”

⁶³⁸ Ge’ez *na’ā* functions as a particle, which is similar to the לך לך in MT Gen 12:1 (Eth Gen 12:1 imp. *ḏā’*).

⁶³⁹ The same Ge’ez verb *rassaya* is used also in Eth Gen 12:2, so the choice of word may be due translation although van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 45, argues that it may have been influenced by the blessing in Gen 13:16 (Jub 13:20b uses the same word). *Rassaya* is also used in Jub 12:20 above, as well as in Jub 17:7 (cf. Eth Gen 21:13, MT has שים) It is possible that Eth Gen has been influenced by Jub in general (and thus also here). James C. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, HSS 14 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977), 113, entertains the possibility of Jub influencing Eth Gen, but regards it as “purely speculative.” I regard the use of *rassaya* as a translational choice, nothing more.

⁶⁴⁰ Van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 45, argues that the addition may have been influenced by Gen 18:18 where עצום is also found along with גדול. One LXX-witness also includes και πολύ (*d* 458).

⁶⁴¹ Eth Gen 12:2 also has *buruka* “blessed,” something which resembles the LXX εὐλογητός.

⁶⁴² Eth Gen 12:3 has *’ahzāb* “peoples, nations,” too, which can also have the meaning of “tribe,” resembling the LXX αἱ φυλαί. Thus, also Eth Gen 10:5; 28:14, but often-times Eth Gen has *nagad* (10:31, where *hazb* corresponds with ἔθνος; 24:38, 40; 36:40; 49:16).

⁶⁴³ LXX Gen 12:3 pl. τοὺς καταρωμένους. Most probably Jub follows an LXX-like tradition.

In addition to the altered context of the Abrahamic Promise, the following changes are relevant regarding our survey: (1) Abram becomes *blessing* (ברכה, Gen 12:2) vs. *blessed in the land* (*buruka wasta mædr*, Jub 12:23) and (2) the addition in Jubilees 12:24 that God will become the God of Abram, his son (*wald*), his grandson (*walda wald*), and all his seed (*kʷəllu zar*).

(1) The change from “blessing” into “blessed” probably occurred due the Greek influence: the LXX Gen 12:2 namely translates וְהָיָה בְרָכָה “be blessing” with ἔσῃ εὐλογητός and Eth Gen 12:2 *wa-təkawwənan buruka* “you will become blessed.” Furthermore, the LXX rendering of בְרָכָה with εὐλογητός is possibly already an interpretive tradition that the author of Jubilees follows. As van Ruiten points out, “The transformation stresses the fact that Abram is the one who is blessed. It does not focus on his role as being a blessing *for others*, as can be argued from Gen 12:2d.”⁶⁴⁴ However, in Genesis 12:2 בְרָכָה could also have been understood as denoting the state of blessedness of Abraham, not that he would be a blessing for others *per se*.⁶⁴⁵

The more interesting case, then, is what is meant by the words that Abraham is to become *blessed in the land* (*westa mædr*). One difficult issue in Jubilees in general is the ambiguous Ge’ez word *mædr*, which can mean both “earth” and a specific “land.” Thus, the interpretive problem is similar as to אֶרֶץ in Biblical Hebrew. The question as to whether the addition “in the land” in Jubilees 12:23 should be rendered “in the earth” instead needs to be posed. The same question could also be asked of the phrase “peoples of the land:” does it denote the *Promised Land* or the *earth* in general? Van Ruiten defends the translation of “land” with the notion that the Promised Land plays an important role in Jubilees, and that the whole scene is related to Abram’s entrance into the Promised Land.⁶⁴⁶ VanderKam, by contrast, understands both references of *mædr* to mean “earth” in general, since Genesis 12:3 uses אֲדָמָה to mean earth/soil/world in general.⁶⁴⁷ אֲדָמָה can, however, be used to denote the land/soil that was promised, too (e.g., Deut 7:13; 11:9, 21; 12:19). Moreover, it would be somewhat superfluous to say that Abram will “be blessed in the earth:” Where else would he be blessed? Thus, although both options remain possible and some uncertainty remains, *mædr* should be interpreted here as referring to the Promised Land.⁶⁴⁸

⁶⁴⁴ Van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 46 (emphasis *his*).

⁶⁴⁵ See Grüneberg, *Abraham*, 170; Cf. James K. Aitken, “ברך,” *ThWQ* 1:522–529 (527), who understands the noun in Qumran texts to denote “einen allgemeinen Zustand des Erfolgs und des Wohlstands.”

⁶⁴⁶ Van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 46.

⁶⁴⁷ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 456.

⁶⁴⁸ It is also possible that already the Hebrew author has blurred the promise of land and has consciously wanted to refer both to the Promised Land as a geographical entity, but also to universalize it to refer to the whole world. This is something which is seen in the course of this study. Cf. Betsy Halpern-Amaru, *Rewriting the Bible: Land and Covenant in Postbiblical Jewish Literature* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1994).

(2) Van Ruiten does not exclude the option that the ending in Jubilees 12:24 could allude to the ratification of the covenant in Genesis 17:2–8, where God promises to be God to Abram and his seed after him. Additionally, he is of the opinion that God now answers what Abram had decided beforehand (Jub 12:19; note the performative aspect as translated above).⁶⁴⁹ This is a plausible interpretation, since the expanded (or changed) context also affects the text itself.

The formula “I will be God for you” (Jub 12:24) is a covenantal formula which is found in a *pleroma* of places within the Hebrew Bible (e.g. Gen 17:7–8; Exod 6:7; 29:45; Lev 11:45; 22:33; 25:38; 26:12, 45; Num 15:41; Jer 7:23; 11:4; 30:22; Ezek 36:28).⁶⁵⁰ Although the original promise in Genesis (12:1–3 par.) has its tradition-historical background in covenantal formulas, this addition is still worth noting.⁶⁵¹ The personal relationship between God and Abraham does not seem to be an issue in Genesis 12:1–3,⁶⁵² but the personal level is enhanced in the reception in Jubilees. In this addition by the author (or by the tradition he inherited) in Jubilees 12:24, God promises to be God to *one* of Abram’s sons (Isaac), to *one* of his grandsons (Jacob), and to *all Abram’s seed*.⁶⁵³ This seems to exclude Ishmael and Esau, although they may (at least at first sight) be included in Abram’s whole seed, i.e., his descendants. However, according to Jubilees (15:28–32; 19:17–18, 23–24; 22:13, 15, 24; see the analyses below), Abraham’s “house” (22:24) is to be built by Jacob, and Jacob will take Abram’s place (19:17). The author is, thus, hinting that Jacob and Jacob’s whole seed (his twelve sons and their legitimate offspring) are what is meant with the phrase “all Abram’s seed” here. This becomes the plausible interpretation since “all your seed” comes *after* Jacob in the promise. With the help of the addition, the author connects Jacob and his offspring to the first and original instance of the Abrahamic Promise.⁶⁵⁴ The ultimate goal is that God will be God for Jacob and his seed, i.e., Abraham’s whole seed.

Concerning the linguistic problem of the niphala/hitpael ברך discussed in chapter 4.1.2 above, the Ge’ez version in Jubilees 12:23 is as ambiguous as the original. The Lt imperfect *wa-yətbār[r]aku* can be interpreted as either passive or reflexive. The relationship with other peoples is that they will be blessed or they will bless themselves in or by or with the instrument or agency of Abram.⁶⁵⁵

⁶⁴⁹ Van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 47. VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 456, opts for influence from Gen 17:7–8 and 15:1 (“do not be afraid”).

⁶⁵⁰ Claus Westermann, *Genesis 12–26: A Commentary*, trans. John J. Scullion S.J. (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1985), 262.

⁶⁵¹ On the covenantal background of the Abrahamic Promise, see, e.g., Moshe Weinfeld, “The Covenant of Grant in the Old Testament and in the Ancient Near East,” *JAOS* 90.2 (1970): 184–203.

⁶⁵² Grüneberg, *Abraham*, 138–139.

⁶⁵³ In the Hebrew Bible and during the Second Temple Time, God had the epithet “The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.”

⁶⁵⁴ Rapp, *Jakob in Bet-El*, 177, is correct in stating that “Damit steht die Verheißung an Abraham und seine Nachkommen von Anfang an unter dem Vorzeichen des Bundes.”

⁶⁵⁵ Jub 12:23 has *bəka* instead of Eth Gen 12:3 *ba’antiaka*. Cf. discussion in ch. 4.1.2 above.

Although the original text in Genesis 12:1–3 itself is particularistic (God calls one man from the whole world to be in a covenantal relationship with him), it could also be interpreted in a universalistic or inclusive way (i.e., other nations have a share in Abraham’s blessing). The latter interpretation remains somewhat possible, since the change of “blessing” to “blessed” may not be as significant a change as, for example, van Ruiten has maintained. However, the addition of “in land,” makes the promise more exclusive so that it does not seem to have any relationship with the promise of other peoples being blessed by Abraham. If *mādr* indeed should be read as “land” instead of “earth,” this addition leads the interpretation towards in a more exclusive direction, too. Moreover, the intimate relationship between God and Abraham, and the selected individuals from his offspring (Isaac and Jacob), are underlined. With these changes the possibility to interpret the promise in a more universalistic way (i.e., the LXX and later the NT) is rendered impossible. For the author, the promise hinted at the special bond between Jacob, his legitimate seed and God.

Moreover, it is also worth noting that the scene in Jubilees continues so that God orders the Angel of Presence to teach Abram Hebrew, the revealed language of the creation which no one had spoken since the time of the Tower of Babel (Jub 12:25–27):⁶⁵⁶

12:25 Then the Lord God said to me, “Open his mouth and his ears to hear and speak with his tongue in the revealed language.” For from the day of the Collapse it had disappeared from the mouth(s) of all humanity. 12:26 I opened his mouth, ears, and lips and began to speak Hebrew with him—in the language of the creation. 12:27 He took his father’ books – they were written in Hebrew—and copied them. from that time he began to study them, while I was telling him everything that he was unable (to understand). He studied them throughout the six rainy months.

Thus, Abram could read and study the old books that, for example, Noah and Enoch (Jub 4:17; 10:13; 21:10) had written, and everything that Abram could not understand by himself was explained to him by the angel. This means that at this point Abram spoke a language no other did. Therefore, he had also access to revelation that no one else had access to. This is also an exclusive trait in the rewritten story. At the same time this trait also underlines the difference between the old (Jub 11) and the new: Abraham is not taking part in the idolatry. Instead, he rediscovers the older *traditum*, something which his father Terah had possibly forgotten.⁶⁵⁷ This corresponds with the exclusive trait in Jubilees 12:22–24.

Other nations, however, can still be blessed (Jub 12:23) As in Genesis, this is related to how they relate to Abram and his family. If they bless Abram, they too will be blessed. The ways in which this happens is not elaborated on in Jubilees 12.

⁶⁵⁶ See, further, John C Poirier, *The Tongues of Angels: The Concept of Angelic Languages in Classical Jewish and Christian Texts*, WUNT 2.287 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 12–15.

⁶⁵⁷ Terah as a priest of idols did teach Abram writing letters in Jub 11:16; but the Hebrew language was taught to him by the Angel of Presence in 12:25–26. Moreover, Terah is not mentioned in Jub 21:10, where Abraham recounts to Isaac what he has discerned from the “book” (“books” in mss. 12, 17, 44) of his forefathers, and mentions the words of Enoch and Noah.

4.2.2 Jubilees 13

Jubilees 13 rewrites Genesis 12:4–14:24.⁶⁵⁸ In this section I focus on the promises given to Abram in Genesis 12:7; 13:14–17 and how they are interpreted in Jubilees.

Jubilees 13 follows chapter 12 where Abram had gone on the journey to Canaan with the permission by his father Terah. Terah asked Abraham to take Lot along with him as his own son, and then to return if the land was found pleasant (Jub 12:28–31). Abram thus started out on the journey with Sarai and Lot.⁶⁵⁹

Genesis 12:4–7	Jubilees 13:1–4
4 Abram went, AS THE LORD HAD TOLD HIM; AND LOT WENT WITH HIM. ABRAM WAS-SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS OLD WHEN HE DEPARTED from Haran	1 Abram went from Haran
5 And <i>Abram</i> took Sarai, his wife, and Lot, the son of his brother,	and <i>he</i> took Sarai, his wife, and Lot, the son of HARAN, his brother,
AND ALL THEIR POSSESSIONS WHICH THEY HAD GATHERED, AND THE PERSONS THAT THEY HAD ACQUIRED IN HARAN; AND THEY SET FORTH TO GO	
to the land of Canaan.	to the land of Canaan.
<i>They came to the land of Canaan.</i>	<i>He</i> ⁶⁶⁰ came to <i>Asur</i> . ⁶⁶¹
6 ABRAM <i>went through</i> THE LAND as far as THE PLACE Shechem, <i>as far as</i> the oak of <i>Moreh</i> .	He <i>walked</i> ⁶⁶² as far as Shechem AND SETTLED <i>near a tall</i> ⁶⁶³ oak.
AT THAT TIME THE CANAANITES WERE IN THE LAND	

⁶⁵⁸ For a detailed analysis of the rewriting process, see van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 65–118. Parts of Jub 13:10–21 have been preserved in Latin, and the Anonymous Syriac Chronicle includes a tradition similar to Jub 13:17, 21–23, 25, 28, 29.

⁶⁵⁹ Cf. van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 68–70. Only Ge'ez is extant here.

⁶⁶⁰ Ms. 58 has the verb in pl., but it is the only one according to VanderKam's apparatus.

⁶⁶¹ Robert H. Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1902), 97, expects this to be corrupt for "Canaan," but most probably "Asur" ('*asur*) is a form of Hazor. See van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 70; VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 468.

⁶⁶² Ge'ez '*ansosawa* has the connotation of constant repetition. See Lambdin, *Introduction*, §50.3. Eth Gen 12:6 has '*oda* "go around." Cf. LXX $\omega\tau\epsilon\delta\epsilon\sigma\tau\omega$ "travel through;" MT עבר "go/pass through." Perhaps the verb in Jub 13:1 anticipates Jub 13:21 (cf. Gen 13:17), where God commands Abram to walk through (Jub 13:21 '*ansosawa*; MT Gen 13:17 התהלך ; LXX $\omega\tau\epsilon\delta\epsilon\sigma\tau\omega$; Eth '*oda*) the Promised Land. It may be that the Ge'ez verb reflects a different verb in the Hebrew *Vorlage* (התהלך ?), but that remains a mere hypothesis which cannot be verified with the available data.

⁶⁶³ The name מרה seems to have been interpreted as "tall" (from רום). The same interpretation is found in LXX Eth Gen 12:6. VanderKam, *Jubilees Translated*, 75, is of the opinion that it may be derived from a variant רומה, but it may simply be an interpretation of the place name. Cf. LXX Gen 22:2 and Wevers, *Notes*, 166.

	2 HE SAW AND BEHOLD, THE LAND FROM THE ENTRANCE OF HAMATH ⁶⁶⁴ TO THE TALL OAK WAS VERY PLEASANT.
7 And Yhwh APPEARED to <i>Abram</i> , AND said,	3 And the Lord said to <i>him</i> ,
“To your seed I will give this land.”	“TO YOU ⁶⁶⁵ AND to your seed I will give this land.”
He built there an altar to Yhwh, who had appeared to him.	4 He built there an altar AND OFFERED ON IT A SACRIFICE to the Lord who had appeared to him.

As can be seen from the synopsis, the author of Jubilees has paraphrased Gen 12:4–7 quite heavily.⁶⁶⁶ He omits quite a lot from Gen 12:4, 5, 6, although adds a detail in Jub 13:2, too. The possessions Abram acquired in Genesis are omitted in Jubilees; only Sarai and Lot are mentioned, as if to emphasize that Abram was not a man of many possessions when he came to the land of Canaan. This might be a wrong assumption, however, since Abram’s possessions are, nonetheless, still mentioned in Jubilees 13:13 (cf. Gen 12:16). The omission was done more in order to highlight that Abram was travelling with his wife Sarai and with the son of his brother Lot who was like his own son.⁶⁶⁷ In this way, the bond between Abram and Lot is strengthened in Jubilees.

As in Genesis, there is no promise of blessing, name, or seed *per se* in Jubilees 13:3, although the seed is implicit in the addition made by the author. The promise by God that the land will be given to Abram differs here just slightly: here it is stated that it will be given both to Abram *and* to his seed. The same is said in Jubilees 13:20 (cf. Gen 13:15). Perhaps the addition is a mere harmonisation between the two passages.⁶⁶⁸ Given the closer bond between Abram, his wife Sarai, and their adopted son Lot in the passage, the reader (and Abram in the narrative) can easily also connect the promise in such a way that the land is also to belong to his seed, Lot, the adopted son of the married couple. This interpretation becomes more plausible since the bond between Abram and Lot is emphasized in Jubilees 13:17–21, too. I return to this below.

That the land is pleasant is highlighted with the addition in Jubilees 13:2. By contrast, the mention in Genesis 12:6 that Canaanites would occupy the land is omitted. With these two changes the author emphasizes that the pleasant land,

⁶⁶⁴ “From the Entrance of Hamath” is probably derived from לבא חמת in Num 34:8 (cf. LXX Num 34:8 εἰσπορευομένων εἰς Εμαθ).

⁶⁶⁵ Wevers notes a few variants from quotations by Church Fathers as well as certain daughter translations, which include “to you” in Gen 13:7, but their text-critical value remains very low.

⁶⁶⁶ This is also true regarding Gen 12:9–13:4 in Jub 13:10–16, on which, see van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 73–80.

⁶⁶⁷ Similarly van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 69, who states that “The consequence of the omission of the mention of Abram’s possessions (Gen 12:5a) is that in *Jubilees* the focus is solely on the persons Abram, Sarai, and Lot.”

⁶⁶⁸ Van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 70, who sees it influenced by comparable passages in Genesis.

and not the land of the Canaanites, is the land that is promised in Jubilees 13:3.⁶⁶⁹ The author concentrates on the positive aspects of the land (pleasant land) instead of the negative ones (i.e., occupied by the Canaanites).

The next section relevant for the task at hand is Jubilees 13:17–21, which rewrites Genesis 13:5–18.⁶⁷⁰ It is to be noted that the struggle between Abram and Lot and their groups (Gen 13:5–10) are only summarized very shortly in Jubilees 13:17.

Genesis 13:11–18	Jubilees 13:17–21
11 SO LOT CHOSE FOR HIMSELF ALL THE JORDAN VALLEY. LOT JOURNEYED EAST.	
<i>The men separated from one another.</i>	17 IN THE FOURTH YEAR OF THIS WEEK <i>Lot separated from him</i>
12 ABRAM SETTLED IN THE LAND OF CANAAN	
while Lot settled in THE CITIES OF THE VALLEY AND MOVED HIS TENT AS FAR AS ⁶⁷¹ Sodom.	Lot settled in Sodom.
13 Now the men of Sodom were very WICKED AND sinful FOR YHWH	Now the men of Sodom were very sinful.
	18 HE WAS BROKEN-HEARTED THAT THE SON OF HIS BROTHER HAD SEPARATED FROM HIM FOR HE HAD NO CHILDREN.
14 Yhwh said to Abram, after Lot had separated from him,	19 IN THAT YEAR WHEN LOT WAS TAKEN CAPTIVE, The Lord said to Abram, after Lot had separated from him, IN THE FOURTH YEAR OF THIS WEEK, AND SAID TO HIM,
“Lift up your eyes, AND LOOK from the place where you are, toward the north, the south, the east and the west ;	“Lift up your eyes from the place where you have been living toward the north, the south, the west, and the east ; ⁶⁷²
15 because all the land which you see to you I will give and to your seed forever.	20 because all the land which you see to you and to your seed I will give ⁶⁷³ forever.

⁶⁶⁹ Cf. van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 70. Abram never returns to his father Terah to take him along (cf. Jub 12:30). Terah is not mentioned in Jubilees after Abram has left him. The same happens in Genesis, too.

⁶⁷⁰ Cf. van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 80–84.

⁶⁷¹ The LXX omits, in Wevers' words, “the seminomadic way of life” and makes the plural “cities of the valley” into singular “a city of the regions,” and settled thus in Sodom: *Λωτ δὲ κατώκησεν ἐν πόλει τῶν περιχώρων καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν Σοδομοῖς*. See Wevers, *Notes*, 181. Thus, the LXX already makes the textual tradition more straightforward, which Jubilees then continues here. This being said, the account in Jubilees still differs from the LXX.

⁶⁷² The cardinal points are in a different order in different traditions. Cf. 1QapGen XXI, 9, which has east, west, south, and north.

⁶⁷³ The word order is different between MT LXX Eth Gen 13:15 and Jub 13:20.

16 I will establish your seed like the <i>dust</i> of the <i>earth</i> ; if a man can count the <i>dust</i> of the earth, your seed will also be counted.	I will establish ⁶⁷⁴ your seed like the <i>sand</i> ⁶⁷⁵ of the <i>sea</i> ⁶⁷⁶ ; if a man can count the <i>sand</i> of the earth ⁶⁷⁷ , your seed will also ⁶⁷⁸ NOT ⁶⁷⁹ be counted.
17 Get up, walk IN THE LAND through its length and its breadth, because I will give it to you ⁶⁸⁰ .”	21 Get up AND ⁶⁸¹ walk through its length and its breadth. LOOK AT EVERYTHING because I will give it to <i>your seed</i> .”
18 Abram MOVED HIS TENT, AND <i>he came</i> and settled BY THE OAKS ⁶⁸² OF MAMRE, WHICH ARE at Hebron ; AND there HE BUILT AN ALTAR TO YHWH	Abram <i>went</i> ⁶⁸³ to Hebron and settled there.

As noted already, the author of Jubilees has mainly omitted Genesis 13:5–11 which tell about struggles between Abram and Lot. The author only refers to this event by noting that Lot separated from him, making Lot the active party in the separation.⁶⁸⁴ Whereas in Genesis Abram orders Lot to separate (Gen 13:9), this detail is not found in Jubilees at all.⁶⁸⁵ Since the relationship between Abram and Lot is strengthened in Jubilees, and one needs to remember that Terah had said to Abram that he should take Haran’s son Lot with him to his journey *as his son* (*laka la-wald*, Jub 12:30), how that separation broke Abram’s heart is now elaborated on. It seems as if Abram wished that Lot would be his adopted son

⁶⁷⁴ Cf. Jub 12:22 and the discussion there concerning the verb *rassaya* above.

⁶⁷⁵ MT Gen 13:16 עפר; but LXX ἄμμος, followed by Eth *hoṣā* “sand, gravel.” Thus, “sand” in Jub is most probably influenced by the Greek *Vorlage* here. The same is true for the other occurrence of “sand” in the verse.

⁶⁷⁶ Here Jub 13:20 agrees with Eth Gen 13:16, which also has first *bāhr* “sea,” but later *madr*. MT LXX have, however, “earth” (although certain LXX-mss. have also θαλασσης in both cases; see Wevers, ed., *Genesis*, 157). However, several Jub-mss. (9, 12, 17, 21, 63) have *madr* instead of *bāhr* also here. The difference may be due to a different textual tradition.

⁶⁷⁷ Certain mss. (38, 39, 58) have *bāhr* instead of *madr* here. Certain LXX-mss. (see Wevers, ed., *Genesis*, 157), agree. The difference may be due to a different textual tradition.

⁶⁷⁸ Van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 83, argues that ג (Gen 13:16) seems to be omitted in Jub 13:20, but it is probably included in the suffix *-ni* (“also, even, that very”). Cf. Eth Gen 13:16, who uses the variant of the same suffix (*-hi*), too.

⁶⁷⁹ Many mss. (9, 21, 35, 38, 39, 42, 47, 48, 58, 63) omit the negation *’i* here. Certain LXX-mss. include οὐκ (911, 458, 527, 55). Cf. 1QapGen XXI, 13; Tg. Onq. and Tg. Neof. Gen 13:16.

⁶⁸⁰ Certain mss. Of the LXX (*A b f* + variant tradition) glosses with *και τω σπερματι σου εις τον αιωνα*, harmonizing with v. 15. Wevers, *Notes*, 184. Cf. 1QapGen XXI, 14. Rapp, *Jakob in Bet-El*, 178, sees this as something which is not found in Genesis, but it may be that it was already in the *Genesis-Vorlage* of our author.

⁶⁸¹ The addition of *wa* is probably due to the translation. Several Jub mss. (12, 42, 47, 58, 63) omit the conjunction. MT Gen 13:17 has two imperatives, which the LXX renders with aor. part. + imp. (*f*²⁴⁶ includes *και*) but Eth with two imperatives connected with *wa* as does Jubilees (using different verbs but with basically the same meaning).

⁶⁸² LXX sg. δρῦς.

⁶⁸³ Ge’ez *hora* perhaps paraphrases the two verbs אהל and בוא of Gen 13:18.

⁶⁸⁴ Van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 82, 112. Cf. 1QapGen XXI, 5, where the blame of separation is “the behaviour of our shepherds,” although Lot takes the initiative for separation as in Jub.

⁶⁸⁵ The omission of this detail is emphasized by VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 477–478.

who would inherit the promises given to him (Jub 13:3), since “he had no children” (Jub 13:18). This rewriting can be compared with 1QapGen XXI, 5–7, which does not develop the motif of Abraham’s childlessness as it is developed in Jubilees, although *Genesis Apocryphon* does also mention that Abraham was disturbed by the separation.

In this context, after the separation and Abram’s broken-heartedness, God confirms his previous promise.⁶⁸⁶ The author of Jubilees dates God’s speech to the same year when Lot separated himself from Abram. In this way he strengthens the link between Lot’s separation and God’s promise. This link, already found in Genesis 13:14, is now made more explicit.

The promises themselves are the same as in Genesis, namely the (1) land, and (2) seed. Neither the name nor blessing is mentioned. Whereas most of the differences in these promises seem to be quite minor details, of which most can be attributed to different textual *Vorlage* for the author or evolution in textual transmission (see the notes above), one difference does catch the eye. The land that Abram is supposed to walk through and watch “everything” is to be given to his seed (Jub 13:21), and not him (Gen 13:17). Although the change may have been caused by the fact that the author had a different textual *Vorlage* (cf. the LXX-variants and 1QapGen XXI, 14), it can, however, strengthen the link between the promises of land and seed even more than in Genesis, given the context given to this event. However, both Abraham and the seed are mentioned as recipients of the land in Jub 13:20 (cf. Gen 13:15). Abram is, as in Genesis, comforted by God’s confirmation of the promises.

To conclude, Jubilees 13, together with the final section of chapter 12, continues to highlight the close father-son-relationship that Abram enjoyed with Lot. After this relationship was broken, God maintained his promise and Abram understood that it would be someone other than Lot who would be his son and thus inherit the promise of the land. This is highlighted in comparison with Genesis, but the same interpretation is possible already for the text of Genesis. As usual, the author makes this interpretation explicit.

4.2.3 Jubilees 14

Jubilees 14 rewrites Genesis 15–16.⁶⁸⁷ What is important in our investigation is the conversation between Abram and God. Van Ruiten divides this conversation into two promise dialogues: Jubilees 14:1–6 (cf. Gen 15:1–6) and Jubilees 14:7–20 (cf. Gen 15:7–21).⁶⁸⁸ The first dialogue in Jubilees does not differ much from the one given in Genesis.⁶⁸⁹ As in Genesis, it focuses on the heir and descendants.

One important detail, however, is that the author of Jubilees adds that Abram asks God to give him seed (*habani zar’a* “Give me seed,” Jub 14:2). The demand is indeed in the imperative, so that Abram is either ordering God to fulfil his

⁶⁸⁶ Cf. VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 478: “The note about Abram’s lack of a biological son provides a fitting backdrop for the promise of land and progeny in vv. 19-21.”

⁶⁸⁷ On the rewriting process in general, see van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 119–136.

⁶⁸⁸ Van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 121.

⁶⁸⁹ On synopsis and discussion in general, see van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 122–125.

promise of seed, or at the very least he is very desperate and, in that situation, he cries out with an imperative force.⁶⁹⁰ This detail along with the broken-heartedness of Abram after Lot separated from him (Jub 13:18) underlines the pain Abram experiences regarding the promise of seed. God promises that Abram will have many descendants and that someone coming from his loins would be his heir (Jub 14:3–5).

The second dialogue, by contrast, has few interesting differences; two of them deserving more attention. The differences are shown in the synopsis below, and the discussion concerning two main differences follows.

Genesis 15:7–21	Jubilees 14:7–20
7 He said to him, “I am Yhwh who brought you from Ur of the Chaldeans to give you <i>this</i> land to <i>inherit</i> .”	7 He said to him, “I am the Lord who brought you from Ur of the Chaldeans to give you the land <i>of the Canaanites</i> to <i>possess</i> ⁶⁹¹ FOREVER
	AND TO BE GOD FOR YOU AND FOR YOUR SEED AFTER YOU”
8 He said, “My Lord Yhwh, how am I to know that I shall inherit it?”	8 He said, “Lord, Lord, how am I to know that I will inherit (it) ^{692?} ”
9 He said to him, “Bring me a three-year-old heifer, a three-year-old female goat, a three-year-old ram, a turtle-dove, and a young pigeon.”	9 He said to him, “Get for me a three-year-old calf, a three-year-old goat, a three-year-old sheep, a turtle-dove, and a dove.” ⁶⁹³
10 He got HIM ⁶⁹⁴ all of these	10 He got all of these IN THE MIDDLE OF THE MONTH.

⁶⁹⁰ *IBHS*, 565: “The force with which that will is exerted depends on various factors, including the speaker’s social standing *vis-à-vis* the addressee, the social context of the discourse, and the meaning of the verb. For these reasons the precise nuances of the volitional forms may range from command, advice, and permission to request, wish, etc.” Abram’s desperate situation can be compared with, e.g., Ps 6:5 [Eng 6:4], where the psalmist asks (in imp.) for God to turn and save him because of God’s חסד (ESV “steadfast love”). According to Helmer Ringgren, *Israels religion* (Stockholm: Svenska bokförlaget, 1965), 28, חסד refers first and foremost to God’s covenantal loyalty: “det betecknar Guds trogna fasthållande vid de löften, som han gav Israel, då förbundet slöts, hans solidaritet gentemot den andra förbundspartnern.” The imperative, in my opinion, underlines Abram’s distress, which would not come forth as energetically if the author (or translator) had used juss./subj.

⁶⁹¹ Ge’ez *la-’əḥiz* “to take, possess” instead of “to possess, inherit” (*warasa* as in Jub 13:8 or *tawārasa* as in Eth Gen 15:7; cf. Hebrew ירש).

⁶⁹² The object is lacking in most mss. Only mss. 21, 58, include it.

⁶⁹³ The animals differ somewhat between the versions, some of it perhaps due translation issues, some for other reasons. However, this detail is not significant concerning this study, and therefore I have not noted the difference here.

⁶⁹⁴ If לו is understood as meaning “for himself,” (cf. LXX-variants having *εαυτω* instead of *αυτω* in Wevers, ed., *Genesis*, 169) and not “for Yhwh,” then the preposition can become unnecessary and omitted. This seems to be the case in Jub. Regarding the ambiguity, see Wevers, *Notes*, 208.

	HE WAS LIVING AT THE OAK OF MAMRE THAT IS NEAR HEBRON.
	11 HE BUILT AN ALTAR THERE AND SACRIFICED ALL OF THESE. HE Poured THEIR BLOOD ON THE ALTAR
and he <i>cut them in two</i> ⁶⁹⁵ in the middle. He put <i>each half over against the other</i> , but the birds he did not <i>cut in two</i> .	and he <i>divided</i> ⁶⁹⁶ them in the middle. He put <i>them opposite one another</i> , ⁶⁹⁷ but the birds he did not <i>divide</i> .
11 <i>Birds of prey came down on the carcasses</i> , but Abram <i>drove</i> ⁶⁹⁸ them away.	12 <i>Birds</i> ⁶⁹⁹ <i>kept coming down</i> ⁷⁰⁰ on what was <i>spread out</i> ⁷⁰¹ , but Abram <i>kept preventing</i> ⁷⁰² them AND NOT ALLOWING THE BIRDS TO TOUCH THEM.
12 <i>As the sun was going down</i> , a deep sleep fell upon Abram, and see, a deep and terrifying darkness descended upon him.	13 <i>At sunset</i> , ⁷⁰³ a <i>terror</i> ⁷⁰⁴ fell upon Abram; indeed, a great, dark fear fell on him.
13 <i>He</i> ⁷⁰⁵ <i>said</i> to Abram, “Know this for certain, that your seed will be aliens in a	<i>It was said</i> ⁷⁰⁶ to Abram: “Know this for certain, that your seed will be aliens in a

⁶⁹⁵ MT בָּתַר “cut in two” is attested only here (see *DCH*); LXX διαιρέω “divide, separate;” Eth *matara* “cut.”

⁶⁹⁶ Ge’ez *nafaqa* “tear off, divide (in two)” seems to indicate a Greek work similar to διαιρέω in the LXX Gen 15:10. In the Hebrew *Vorlage* it may have been בָּתַר even though that is only attested in Gen 15:10. The same verbs are also used later in the same verse.

⁶⁹⁷ The meaning is the same, although they are phrased differently (probably due different layers of translation). Eth Gen 15:10 lacks the sentence. Cf. van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 127.

⁶⁹⁸ LXX Eth Gen 15:11 have understood וַיִּשַׁב to come from יָשַׁב “sit” (and thus also the following תָּא in the sense “with”) instead of hiph. נָשַׁב “drive away” (so Holladay, *Concise*, 248; *DCH* 5:776), or hiph. שׁוּב “cause to turn back.” For the last interpretation, cf. the interpretive tradition based on Gen 15:11 in Jub 11:19–21, where the author uses several times the verb *mēṭa*, the Ge’ez equivalent of שׁוּב. Syriac tradition uses similarly *hpk*. Given the sparsity of נָשַׁב (in this sense only in Gen 15:11), the ancient reader could very well interpret it as either of the more common verbs יָשַׁב (LXX followed by Eth) or שׁוּב (Jub 11).

⁶⁹⁹ The LXX already translates העֵיט as ὄρνεα, and Eth follows. Thus, the small change is due translation.

⁷⁰⁰ Jub 14:12 *wa-yəwarrādu* (ipf.) in the iterative/habitual aspect vs. Eth Gen 15:11 *waradu* (pf.) reflecting the LXX aor. (and the MT cons.ipf.) as the simple past.

⁷⁰¹ Jub 14:12 *səfh* from *safha* “spread out;” not “corpses” as in MT Gen 15:11.

⁷⁰² Jub 14:12 again has ipf. in the iterative/habitual sense instead of pf. as the simple past (וַיִּשַׁב).

⁷⁰³ The phrasing is different, but the meaning remains the same.

⁷⁰⁴ Regarding “deep sleep” and *dangādē* in Jubilees, see Topias K. E. Tanskanen, “The Deep Sleep of Adam and Abram in the Book of Jubilees,” in *Understanding Abnormalities in Biblical Figures*, ed. Guido Baltes, Lukas Bormann, and Martin Meiser, SRB 11 (Åbo: Network for the Study of the Reception History of the Bible, 2022), 59–79.

⁷⁰⁵ LXX has ἐπέθη followed by periphrastic pass. in Eth *wa-yəbēləwwo*, lit. “and they said to him.”

⁷⁰⁶ Ge’ez *wa-tabəhla* is in the passive form, instead of periphrastic passive in Eth Gen 15:13. The Greek *Vorlage* most probably had a similar phrasing to LXX Gen 15:13.

land <i>that is not theirs</i> . They will <i>serve them</i> , and they will oppress them for 400 years.	<i>foreign</i> ⁷⁰⁷ land. They will <i>enslave them</i> ⁷⁰⁸ , and they will oppress ⁷⁰⁹ them for 400 years.
14 But I will also judge the nation that they serve, and afterwards they shall come out with <i>great</i> possessions.	14 But I will also judge the nation that they serve. Afterwards, they will leave FROM THERE ⁷¹⁰ with <i>many</i> ⁷¹¹ possessions.
15 As for yourself, you shall go to your fathers in peace, you shall be buried in a good old age.	15 As for yourself, you shall go to your fathers in peace, you shall be buried in a good old age.
16 In the fourth generation they will return here, for the <i>iniquity</i> of the Amorites is not <i>yet</i> complete.”	16 In the fourth generation they will return here, for the <i>sins</i> ⁷¹² of the Amorites <i>have not been completed</i> ⁷¹³ <i>until now</i> ⁷¹⁴ .”
17 When the sun had gone down AND IT HAD BECOME DARK, <i>a smoking fire pot and a flaming torch passed between these pieces</i> .	17 WHEN HE AWAKENED AND GOT UP, the sun had set. <i>There was a flame and see, an oven was smoking. Fiery flames passed between the spread (pieces)</i> . ⁷¹⁵
18 On that day Yhwh made a covenant with Abram, saying,	18 On that day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying,
“To your seed I <i>hereby</i> give this land, from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates,	“To your seed I <i>will</i> ⁷¹⁶ give this land, from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates,

⁷⁰⁷ Ge'ez *nakir* “foreign, alien.” instead of MT LXX Gen 15:3 “which is not theirs.” Certain Greek variants, however, do have *αλλοτρια*. Wevers, ed., *Genesis*, 170.

⁷⁰⁸ Ge'ez *yaqannayawwomu* is the same as LXX Gen 15:13 *δουλώσουσιν αὐτούς* followed by Eth Gen 15:13 instead of the MT *ועבדום*.

⁷⁰⁹ Jub agrees with MT Gen 15:13 in having only one verb and over against LXX Eth, which have two. Wevers, *Notes*, 211, understands the two verbs in LXX as doublets of *נהג* in the MT.

⁷¹⁰ LXX Gen 15:14 supplies “here.” See Wevers, *Notes*, 211. The reading in Jub may be the result of the Genesis *Vorlage* the author had in front of him.

⁷¹¹ Jub agrees with LXX Eth Gen 15:14 in reading “many” instead of “great.”

⁷¹² LXX Eth Gen 15:16 reads “sins” in pl. as does Jub.

⁷¹³ Jub uses a verb instead of a noun as does LXX Eth Gen 15:16. *שלם* can be interpreted as a verb form, too.

⁷¹⁴ Jub *ʾaska yaʾzē* as Eth LXX Gen 15:16. The minor variation, like the other variations in this verse, is probably due to translation.

⁷¹⁵ Jub resembles more what is found in LXX Gen 15:17. The detailed explication of differences is not relevant for the study at hand.

⁷¹⁶ MT Gen 15:18 has clearly a performative pf. (see Nyberg, *Hebreisk grammatik*, §86j), which I have noted by adding “hereby.” The verb is rendered by fut. in LXX followed by ipf. (future) in Eth Jub uses also ipf., which is probably due to Greek influence. According to Weninger, “On Performatives,” ipf. is used in Ge'ez with performative aspect only due to the Greek influence, pf. having usually the performative aspect in Ge'ez.

19 that of the Kenites, the Kenizzites, the Kadmonites, 20 THE HITTITES ⁷¹⁷ , the Perizzites, the Rephaim, 21 the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Girgashites, and the Jebusites.”	that of the Kenites, the Kenizzites, the Kadmonites, the Perizzites, the Rephaim, THE PHAKORITES ⁷¹⁸ , THE HIVITES ⁷¹⁹ , the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Girgashites, and the Jebusites.”
	19 IT PASSED (along), AND ABRAM OFFERED WHAT HAD BEEN SPREAD OUT, THE BIRDS, THEIR (CEREAL) OFFERING, AND THEIR LIBATION. THE FIRE DEVoured THEM.
	20 DURING THIS DAY WE MADE A COVENANT WITH ABRAM LIKE THE COVENANT THAT WE MADE DURING THIS MONTH WITH NOAH. ABRAM RENEWED THE FESTIVAL AND THE COVENANT ⁷²⁰ FOR HIMSELF FOREVER.

(1) In contrast to Genesis 15:7, Jubilees 14:7 expounds that the reason for bringing Abram from Ur was to give him the land of *the Canaanites* in order to occupy it forever, and so that God could have personal relationship with him and his seed. First, the promise was to last forever, and not only for a while. Second, the covenantal language is again expounded (cf. Jub 12:24 and the discussion above). Jubilees emphasizes the intimate relationship between God and Abram and his “seed” after him. Again, van Ruiten is correct in noticing the influence of Genesis 17:7–8 here.⁷²¹ The author has harmonized the different promises, which he understands as being connected to one another. Furthermore, the addition and harmonizing help to connect the relationship God–Abraham and/or God–Seed of Abraham with the promise in a tighter way, even though the seed is mentioned in Genesis 15:18 and in the previous discourse in Genesis 15:1–6 where it was the *Leitmotif*.

(2) Jubilees 14:19–20 adds to the version found in Genesis

⁷¹⁷ The Hittites are not mentioned in Jub. James M. Scott, *On Earth as in Heaven: The Restoration of Sacred Time and Sacred Space in the Book of Jubilees*, JSJSup 91 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 198–199, and van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 130, propose that the omission of the Hittites may be due to their part in selling the cave near Hebron (Jub 19:1–9; cf. Gen 23:1–20).

⁷¹⁸ The Phakorites are not mentioned elsewhere. It may be a corrupted form of some more common people. Scott, *On Earth*, 199 n. 95, proposes that Philistines were originally mentioned, but van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 130, does not find his proposal convincing. Similarly VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 499 n. 44, notes that “Philistines” is found in Jub 24:24–33. Either way, the detail is of no bigger relevance here.

⁷¹⁹ The Hivites are found in the LXX and Sam and, therefore, were most probably in the author’s copy of Genesis. Scott, *On Earth*, 199–201, explains how the Hivites are portrayed negatively in Jub, and therefore Jub adds them to the list, but he may have read too much into this here.

⁷²⁰ Ge’ez *šar’āt* means both “ordinance” and “covenant,” and should be understood as covenant here. See the discussion below.

⁷²¹ Van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 128–129. VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 493, notes that Gen 17:8 uses the root *חכא*, and Jub 14:7 here a cognate Ge’ez root *ʿhz*, which strengthens van Ruiten’s argument.

14:19 It passed (along), and Abram offered what had been spread out, the birds, their (cereal) offering, and their libation. The fire devoured them. 14:20 During this day we concluded a covenant with Abram like the covenant that we concluded during this month with Noah. Abram renewed the festival and the ordinance/covenant for himself forever.” (*wa-ba-zāti ‘alat* ⁷²² *takāyadna kidāna māsla ‘abrām ba-kama kidān za-takāyadna ba-zāti warḥ māsla Noḥ. wa-‘abrām ḥaddasā la-ba-‘āl wa-la-šar‘āt lotu ‘aska la-‘ālam*)

The Angel of Presence here refers to the covenant that was made with Noah in Jubilees 6 after the flood. The author of Jubilees connects the covenant between Noah and God to the Sinaitic Covenant between God and Moses/Israel. As William K. Gliders has emphasized, there is but one covenant in Jubilees: it is ratified first with Noah, renewed with Abraham and his seed and has its culmination in Jacob. The Festival of Weeks, which was already celebrated by angels in heaven (Jub 6:18), is the festival during which this renewal of the covenant takes place.⁷²³ Noah had celebrated it when the covenant was ratified between God and Noah. Now, Abram renews or “confirms” (how *ḥaddasa* could also be rendered) the festival and the covenant (*šar‘āt*) for himself forever (Jub 14:20). The word *šar‘āt* can mean either an ordinance, something stipulated or also a covenant. The word is used many times in the following chapter (Jub 15) in a synonymic sense with *kidān* (“covenant;” see below).⁷²⁴ Abram renews the covenant “for himself” (*lotu*) which excludes the other descendants of Noah from the picture.⁷²⁵ Furthermore, other people had already become corrupt by the time Abram understood that God was the only one in Jubilees 12. In Jubilees 6:17–19, the Angel of Presence tells Moses that after Noah died his sons corrupted the festival until Abraham, who alone kept it as well as Isaac and Jacob before Moses.

The conversation between Abram and God is connected to the following story in Genesis 16 concerning Hagar and Abram in a more explicit way in Jubilees 14:21–24 as is shown by the synopsis below.

⁷²² VanderKam opted for “night” in his critical edition (*lēlit*) and translation from 1989. However, in his commentary, he opts for “day” (*‘alat*), which the oldest manuscripts also have. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text*, CSCO 510; SA 87 (Leuven: Peeters, 1989), 86; *idem*, *Jubilees Translated*, 86; *idem*, *Jubilees*, 487–488, 500.

⁷²³ William K. Gliders, “The Concept of Covenant in Jubilees,” in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 178–192 (182–187). On Festival of Weeks in Jubilees, see esp. Werner Eiss, “Das Wochenfest im Jubiläenbuch und im antiken Judentum,” in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, ed. Matthias Albani, Jörg Frey, and Armin Lange, TSAJ 65 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 165–178; Sejin Park, *Pentecost and Sinai: The Festival of Weeks as a Celebration of the Sinai Event*, LHBOTS 342 (London: T & T Clark, 2008), 79–175.

⁷²⁴ See also Gliders, “The Concept of Covenant,” 190.

⁷²⁵ Kugel, *Walk through*, 96; VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 502.

Genesis 16:1–16	Jubilees 14:21–24
	21 ABRAM REJOICED AND TOLD ALL THESE THINGS TO HIS WIFE SARAI.
	HE BELIEVED THAT HE WOULD HAVE DESCENDANTS,
1 Sarai, Abram’s wife, <i>had not borne HIM a child.</i>	but she <i>continued not to have a child.</i> ⁷²⁶
SHE HAD AN Egyptian slave-girl WHOSE NAME WAS Hagar .	
2 And Sarai said to Abram,	22 And Sarai ADVISED HER HUSBAND Abram and said,
“SEE: YHWH HAS PREVENTED ME FROM BEARING.	
Go in to my slave-girl.	“Go in to Hagar , my Egyptian slave-girl.
Perhaps I will build up (children) from her.”	Perhaps I will build up SEED FOR YOU from her.”
And Abram listened to the voice of Sarai.	23 And Abram listened the voice of Sarai, HER WIFE, AND SAID TO HER:
	“DO.”
3 Sarai, ABRAM’S WIFE, took Hagar the Egyptian, HER slave-girl	Sarai took Hagar, the Egyptian slave-girl,
AFTER ABRAM HAD DWELT TEN YEARS IN THE LAND OF CANAAN	
and gave her to Abram, her husband, <i>as a wife for him.</i>	and gave her to Abram, her husband, <i>to be</i> ⁷²⁷ a wife for him.
4 He went in to <i>Hagar</i> , and she became pregnant,	24 He went in to <i>her</i> , and she became pregnant,
[Gen 16:4c–14 telling about Hagar holding Sarai in contempt; Sarai beating Hagar and Hagar escaping from Sarai; the dialogue between Hagar and angel; are omitted from Jubilees] ⁷²⁸	
15 And <i>Hagar</i> gave birth TO ABRAM to a son.	and <i>she</i> gave birth to a son.
And <i>Abram</i> called <i>the name of the son</i> WHO HAGAR GAVE BIRTH TO Ishmael.	And <i>he</i> called <i>his</i> name Ishmael IN THE FIFTH YEAR OF THIS WEEK [1965].

⁷²⁶ Whereas Gen 16:1 has pf. ילדה (cf. Eth Gen 16:1 G pf. *waladat*) *not* denoting habituality or iterativity, Jub 14:21 has ipf. form *təwalləd* denoting habitual action. i.e., it implies that Sarai had tried, but (continued) not to bear a child (G ipf. is found in Eth Gen 16:2; cf. MT part. and LXX inf.). The prepositional phrase לו is not found in Jub 14:21.

⁷²⁷ Jub 14:23 has *təkuno* as seems to be the case with Eth Gen 16:3.

⁷²⁸ For discussion on the omission, see van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 133–134.

16 Abram was eighty-six years old	That year was the eighty-sixth year in Abram's life.
WHEN HAGAR BORE ISHMAEL TO ABRAM.	

Genesis 16:1–6 does not mention the covenant or the Abrahamic Promise. Moreover, Sarah seems to act on her own behalf as a woman who needed children. In Jubilees 14:21–24, however, the situation is different.⁷²⁹

With the addition in Jubilees 14:21, the author connects the story of birth of Ishmael with the Abrahamic Promise. Abram, rejoicing and believing that he will get a son, shares everything that had happened in Jubilees 14:1–20 (cf. Gen 15) with his wife. Thus, the fact that Sarah tries to have a child and that she *continues* not to bear a child (imperfect *tawallad* having habitual aspect) is even more striking, especially since the author had not said prior to this that Sarah was barren.⁷³⁰ Now, Sarah *advises* (*'amkarat*,⁷³¹ Jub 14:22) her husband, perhaps regarding the fulfilment of the Abrahamic Promise. This interpretation becomes plausible, since Sarah is concerned with building up “seed for you,” a phrase not found in Genesis. That means that Sarah is concerned about the seed or the descendants of Abraham that will inherit the promise.⁷³² Moreover, the author emphasizes that Abram's actions had Sarah's consent.

Thus, Sarah is acting on behalf of the Abrahamic Promise. She is not concerned with getting a son for herself *per se*. She is concerned about the seed of Abraham who would inherit the promise she had heard about from her husband Abraham. Of course, such an interpretation is possible also regarding Genesis since Genesis 16 follows Genesis 15. Furthermore, as van Ruiten notes, Sarah gives her slave-girl during the same year as the covenant was ratified with Abraham in Genesis.⁷³³ What is implicit in Genesis is made now explicit and underlined in Jubilees.⁷³⁴

It is also worth noting that both mentions of Ishmael as a son “to Abram” (לאברם, Gen 15:15, 16; cf. Jub 14:24) are omitted from Jubilees. In Jubilees, Ishmael is only born, but not born “to” or “for the benefit of” Abram (ל could be interpreted as *dativus commodi*). Thus, whereas in Genesis Sarah seems to be

⁷²⁹ Concerning the way in which Sarai gives Hagar to Abram as a wife and produces a descendant through her in its ancient near-eastern context, see Nahum P. Sarna, *Genesis*, JPS Torah Commentary (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1989); and two marriage contracts in *ANET*, 219–220; 543.

⁷³⁰ Jub 12:9 does not tell of the barrenness of Sarah; cf. Gen 11:30. Sarah's belief in Genesis that her state is caused by God is omitted in Jubilees. *Contra* van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 132, the reason is not that “Sarai is probably not really convinced that she would always remain barren,” but rather that she (and the author of Jubilees) does not blame God for her hardships. Similarly VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 503.

⁷³¹ The verb has also the connotation of persuading (by advising).

⁷³² Similarly Betsy Halpern-Amaru, *The Empowerment of Women in the Book of Jubilees*, JSJSup 60 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 50–51.

⁷³³ Van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 132.

⁷³⁴ Van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 132, emphasizes that the author had not informed the reader concerning Sarai's problem to have children before. In Genesis, it is stated at the beginning of the Abraham Cycle (Gen 11:30).

concerned of getting a son for herself, in Jubilees she is concerned of the fulfilment of the Abrahamic Promise. Whereas in Genesis Ishmael is born “to Abram,” in Jubilees he is simply “born.”

To conclude, the dialogue between God and Abram differs somewhat in Jubilees. The covenant between Abram and God is connected with the Festival of Weeks and the Noahide covenant: it is the same covenant. The promise of seed and the near relationship between Abram’s seed and God is emphasized. Additionally, the birth of Ishmael is connected more firmly to the promise of seed, although the following chapters in Jubilees make it clear that Ishmael is not the promised seed. This may also be implied in how Jubilees has omitted the phrases which tell in Genesis that Ishmael was born “to Abram.” Sarai gave Hagar to Abram as a wife in order to safeguard the promise, not for selfish purposes.

It seems that Abram is again confused. In Jubilees 13, he thinks Lot is his seed, but Lot separated from him. Then, in Jubilees 14, he thinks that Ishmael is his promised seed.⁷³⁵ Ishmael is, after all, someone who came out of his loins (Jub 14:3). The next chapters in Jubilees reveal, however, that this is not the case.

4.2.4 Jubilees 15

Jubilees 15 rewrites Genesis 17.⁷³⁶ One can divide chapter 15 into four sections: (1) Celebration of the festival of the first fruits (15:1–2); (2) God’s speech with Abram (15:3–22); (3) Execution of the command to circumcision (15:23–24); and (4) *Halakic* addition pertaining to circumcision (15:25–34).⁷³⁷

(1) The first part, the celebration of the festival of the first fruits (Jub 15:1–2) has no parallel in Genesis. As in Jubilees 14 (cf. Gen 15) Abram was an active partaker in ratifying the covenant,⁷³⁸ he is also now an active part in renewing the covenant during the festival of the first fruits in the middle of the third month, the festival which, in Jubilees, plays the role of renewing the covenant.⁷³⁹

(2) After this introduction (and an explication of context), the author narrates God’s speech to Abram (Jub 15:3–22; cf. Gen 17:1–27). The narration is close to the account in Genesis.⁷⁴⁰ Instead of a detailed synopsis for a long passage, I note here only the differences that are of importance, highlighting especially the speeches uttered by God.⁷⁴¹

⁷³⁵ Cf. Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment*, 77–78: “Consequently, for twenty-one years, i.e., from the time of Ishmael’s birth until the annunciation of the birth of Isaac, Abraham believes that his older son will be the heir to all three covenant promises.”

⁷³⁶ Part of the Latin version has survived for Jub 15:20–31. For a detailed comparative analysis between Jub 15 and Gen 17, see van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 137–167.

⁷³⁷ Van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 137.

⁷³⁸ See more closely in Tanskanen, “Deep Sleep.”

⁷³⁹ Surprisingly, the sacrifices differ somewhat from Lev 23:15–22; Num 28:26–31 and Deut 16:10. For details, see VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 511–512.

⁷⁴⁰ Van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 141–144.

⁷⁴¹ For discussion concerning the small differences between the MT and Jub, most probably caused by the author’s different *Vorlage* of Genesis, and some possible omissions because of *parablepsis*, see van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 146–149.

Genesis 17:1b–8	Jubilees 15:3–10
1 Yhwh appeared to Abram and He said to him ,	3 The Lord appeared to him , and the Lord said to Abram ,
“I am God Shaddai; <i>walk</i> before me and be perfect.	“I am the God of Shaddai. <i>Please</i> ⁷⁴² before me and be perfect.
2 (Then) I will make my covenant between me and you and I will <i>make</i> ⁷⁴³ you VERY ⁷⁴⁴ exceedingly <i>numerous</i> .”	4 (Then) I will make my covenant between me and you and I will <i>increase</i> you exceedingly.”
3 Then Abram fell on his face. God spoke with him and said,	5 Then Abram fell on his face. The Lord spoke with him and said,
4 “AS FOR ME, see, my covenant is (now) with you so that <i>you shall be</i> father of a <i>multitude</i> of nations.	6 “See, my covenant is (now) with you so that <i>I will establish</i> ⁷⁴⁵ you as the father of <i>many</i> ⁷⁴⁶ nations.
5 Your will no longer be called Abram, but your name <i>will be</i> Abraham,	7 You will no longer be called Abram; your name <i>is to be</i> ⁷⁴⁷ Abraham FROM NOW ON UNTIL ETERNITY,
for I have <i>made</i> you the father of a <i>multitude</i> of nations.	for I have <i>designated</i> ⁷⁴⁸ you the father of <i>many</i> nations
6 I will make you very EXCEEDINGLY ⁷⁴⁹ <i>fruitful</i> , and I will make you into nations, and kings shall emerge from you.	8 I will make you very <i>great</i> ⁷⁵⁰ . I will make you into nations, and kings shall emerge from you.

⁷⁴² Ge'ez *ʾašmara* “please,” is also used in Eth Gen 17:1, which follows LXX *εὔαρεστέω*. The same Greek interpretation of התהלך is found in LXX Gen 5:22 regarding Enoch.

⁷⁴³ Eth Gen 17:2 has *ʾabəḥza* “make numerous,” whereas Jub 15:4 *ʾaləḥqa* “make grow old, increase.”

⁷⁴⁴ MT *במאד מאד*; but the LXX and Eth have “very” only once. Thus, the omission may be due to a different *Vorlage* or due to transmission history.

⁷⁴⁵ Jub has *rassaya* “establish” in 1.sg. instead of והיית cons. pf. 2. sg. m. (MT Gen 17:4), fut. (LXX) or ipf. (Eth, fut. in meaning). However, many Jub-mss. (9, 12, 17, 21, 38, 63) have *təkawwən* (= MT LXX Eth Gen 17:4), which may be a later harmonization. The reading of *rassaya* is *lectio difficilior*.

⁷⁴⁶ The meaning is basically the same, although Jub corresponds with LXX Gen 17:6 (“many”). The difference is due to translation. Certain mss. (9, 17, 21, 38, 63) have “all” instead of “many,” which is certainly secondary, and may even be a later “correction” by Ethiopic Christians.

⁷⁴⁷ Jub has subj. *yəkun* instead of ipf. (cf. LXX Eth Gen 17:5), although ms. 35 has ipf. *yəkawwən*. MT has cons. pf. והיה connecting it to the previous ipf. יקרא “to be called.” The change in nuance is, however, minor.

⁷⁴⁸ Ge'ez *šēma* “place, put, set, designate” corresponds with LXX Gen 17:5 *τίθημι* (Eth Gen 17:5 has *rassaya* here). The difference is due to translation.

⁷⁴⁹ Jub omits the second *מאד* here, possibly intentionally or due to a different *Vorlage*.

⁷⁵⁰ Jub uses *ʾaʿbaya* “make great, big” instead of more common *ʾabəḥza* or *ʾastabāzəḥa* (Eth Gen 17:6). See van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 146–147.

7 I will <i>establish</i> my covenant between me and you and your seed after you throughout their generations, for an eternal covenant, <i>to be</i> God to you and to your seed after you.	9 I will <i>place</i> ⁷⁵¹ my covenant between me and you and your seed after you throughout their generations, for an eternal covenant <i>so that I may be</i> ⁷⁵² God to you and to your seed after you.
8 And I will give to you and to your seed after you the land <i>of your sojournings</i> , ALL ⁷⁵³ the land of Canaan, for an eternal <i>holding</i> .	10 [And I will give to you and to your seed after you] ⁷⁵⁴ the land <i>where you have resided as an alien</i> ⁷⁵⁵ —the land of Canaan that you will <i>rule</i> ⁷⁵⁶ forever.
And I will be God for them.”	And I will God for them.”

The promise of seed is twofold as in Genesis: Abram is to get seed and the land of Canaan. Abram, who is now named Abraham (Jub 15:7) is to become a father of many nations. Both nations and kings will come forth from Abraham (Jub 15:7–7; cf. Gen 17:5–6). As in Genesis 17:7–8, the close relationship between God and Abraham’s seed is also emphasized in Jubilees 15:9–10. It seems that Genesis 17:7–8 played a significant role in Jubilees 12:24 and 14:17 too: The promise in this chapter in Genesis 17:1–8 was significant, and no intentional omissions seems to have occurred in Jubilees. Furthermore, the imperative followed by consecutive perfect in Hebrew functions as indicating the intended result caused by the commandment.⁷⁵⁷ Although the Ge’ez of Jubilees does not follow the same structure precisely, the imperative followed by *wa* + imperfect (future) connects the dots too. The covenant and the promise related to it are *conditional* in both versions: When Abram pleases God and is perfect (v. 3), he will attain the promise (v. 4). In Jubilees, one important part of being perfect is to be circumcised.

The commandment of circumcision is highlighted in Jubilees 15. First, the circumcision is to be a sign of God’s *eternal* covenant (*šar’ātāya za-la-’ālam* “My eternal covenant”; Jub 15:11; cf. Gen 17:11). The longevity of the covenant and circumcision as its sign is highlighted by the author in many different places. Although Genesis 17:8 (cf. Jub 15:10) and 13:15 (cf. Jub 13:20) already include the theme, the author has added it in several places. In Jubilees 12:20, Abram prays that God will establish his seed “forever.” In Jubilees 14:7, the author adds that the land of Canaan will be occupied “forever.” He also adds in Jubilees 14:20

⁷⁵¹ Ge’ez *šēma* “place, put, set, designate” (the same verb is used in Eth Gen 17:7) corresponds with LXX Gen 17:7 ἵστημι “put, stand” which is a good translation of the MT הקים. The difference is due to translation.

⁷⁵² Jub has *kama* + subj. *’əkunka*, whereas MT LXX Gen 17:7 use inf.

⁷⁵³ “All” is not found in Jubilees.

⁷⁵⁴ Due to *parablepsis*, the part in brackets has been lost. See van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 148; VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 507–508, 514.

⁷⁵⁵ Jub *ħaba falaska* “where you have been an alien” is similar to the rendering of מגריך in the LXX (ἦν παροικεῖς). The difference between MT Gen 17:8 and Jub 15:10 emerged probably due to translation.

⁷⁵⁶ Jub *za-təkʷēnnān* “which you will rule” is similar to Eth Gen 17:8 *kama yəkʷannānəwāwā* “so that they will rule it.” This is different from both the MT and the LXX, but the idea is the same: ruling something means one has a grasp of it (and, thus, possession).

⁷⁵⁷ Nyberg, *Hebreisk grammatik*, §86gg.

that Abram renewed the festival and the covenant “forever.” In Jubilees 15:25, the Angel of Presence explicates to Moses that the law of circumcision is valid “forever.”

The author also solves the ambiguity of Genesis 17:12 (“child of eight days”) by stating that the circumcision shall be made on the eighth day (Jub 15:12). The strict time limit of “on the eighth day” is also added to Jub 15:14 (“...who is not circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin *on the eighth day*—that person shall be uprooted from his kin.” Cf. Gen 17:14).⁷⁵⁸ The author then develops this detail in an *halakic* addition (Jub 15:25–34), to which I will return in due time.

Now, regarding the second set of promises in Jubilees 15:15–22, the author follows closely Genesis 17:15–22, except in few minor details. Jubilees 15:15–16 is of main interest:

Genesis 17:15–16	Jubilees 15:15–16
15 God said to Abraham,	15 The Lord said to Abraham,
“As for Sarai your wife, <i>you</i> ⁷⁵⁹ shall not <i>call</i> her name Sarai, for Sarah shall be her name	“As for Sarai your wife, her name will no LONGER ⁷⁶⁰ <i>be called</i> ⁷⁶¹ Sarai for her name will be Sarah.
16 I will bless her. I will also give you a son from her.	16 I will bless her. I will give you a son from her.
I will bless <i>her</i> , and <i>she</i> ⁷⁶² will become <i>nations</i>	I will bless <i>him</i> ⁷⁶³ , and <i>he</i> ⁷⁶⁴ will become a <i>nation</i> ⁷⁶⁵
and kings of <i>peoples</i> shall come from <i>her</i> ⁷⁶⁶ .”	and kings of <i>nations</i> ⁷⁶⁷ will come from <i>him</i> .”

As can be noted from the textual notes given to Genesis 17:15–16 above, the textual tradition varies greatly regarding whether it is Sarah who is blessed and who will become nations and from whom kings will emerge. *Lectio difficilior* would be that textual tradition which has been preserved in the MT, since it is

⁷⁵⁸ This may also be found in the Genesis-*Vorlage* the author had in front of him. “On the eighth day” is found in LXX Sam Gen 17:14, too.

⁷⁵⁹ The consonantal text of the MT תקרא can be read either as qal ipf. 2. sg. m. “you will call” (MT vocalization) or niph. ipf. 3. f. sg. “she will be called” (LXX).

⁷⁶⁰ Several LXX-witnesses to Gen 17:15 include ετι “yet, (no) longer.” See Wevers, ed., *Genesis*, 179. Thus, the addition may be due to the author’s differing *Vorlage* from the MT.

⁷⁶¹ The difference is due to a different reading of תקרא as either qal or niph. The author of Jub has understood it as niph.

⁷⁶² Instead of “she will become” (MT Sam Vulg Tgs.), Syr has “he will become.” LXX εσται can be either masc. or fem., but suits the context better if it is interpreted as masc.

⁷⁶³ Jub agrees with LXX (majority) Sam Syr Vulg Tg. Ps.-J. in reading “him” instead of “her.”

⁷⁶⁴ Jub agrees with Syr and LXX.

⁷⁶⁵ Only Jub has sg.

⁷⁶⁶ MT Sam T “from her” but Jub agrees with certain LXX-mss. (cf. Rahlfs’ edition having εξ αὐτοῦ, a majority reading according to Wevers, *Notes*, 238; but in Wevers’ edition it is εξ αὐτῆς since he deems the masc. as secondary) and Vulg “from him.”

⁷⁶⁷ MT uses first גוים “nations” and then עמים “peoples,” but the LXX and Eth use same word to render both. Thus, “nations” in Jub is due to translation.

much easier to imagine that later editors attached the promise to Isaac. Nevertheless, here Jubilees follows mainly the LXX-traditions, and the differences most probably did not come from the author's pen, but from his *Vorlage*.

There is one minor detail, however, which cannot be attributed as having been caused by a different *Vorlage* of Genesis used by the author in his rewriting. Whereas in Genesis 17:16 Sarah (or Isaac) will become *nations*, in Jubilees 15:16 Isaac will become *a nation*. From the perspective of Genesis as a whole, the plural form presumably concerned Jacob and Esau, i.e., Israel and Edom. Isaac is a father of two nations in Genesis. In Jubilees, however, only Jacob is referred to.

This minor change also affects the latter part of the verse. Whereas in Genesis the kings of nations can be interpreted as referring to rulers derived from the nations or peoples they rule, in Jubilees it becomes clear that the kings (pl.) of nations (pl.) come from Isaac, who becomes only *one nation*, i.e., Jacob=Israel.⁷⁶⁸ Thus, with one subtle change, the author has excluded Esau from the picture and foreshadows the hegemony of Jacob/Israel over other nations. In this way, the promise in Jubilees 15:8 (cf. Gen 17:6) can also be interpreted in a narrower manner: kings shall come from Abraham (and perhaps the twelve leaders of Ishmael are included), but the main intent is that these kings come from the line Isaac-Jacob, and they will rule nations. This trait is found elsewhere in Jubilees too (e.g., Jub 26:23–24; 32:18–19), as is demonstrated further below in this chapter.

As a reaction, Abraham prostrates on the ground and *rejoices* (*tafaššəḥa*, Jub 15:17) instead of laughing (ויצחק, Gen 17:17). This means that the laughing is interpreted positively in Jubilees: Abraham is glad about the promise, he does not laugh in disbelief about such an impossible promise.⁷⁶⁹ The latter option is a possible interpretation of Genesis 17:17 which is attested in early Jewish reception history.⁷⁷⁰ However, the author makes the more positive interpretation explicit.⁷⁷¹

The rewriting of Genesis 17:18–21 in Jubilees 15:18–21 has no deviations that are of significance for the study at hand. Abraham pleads for Ishmael and God confirms that Ishmael will also become a large nation and be a father of twelve rulers (Jub 15:20), but the covenant, and the Abrahamic Promise, becomes fulfilled through Isaac and his seed. (Jub 15:19, 20). The reader is affirmed by the slight change in Jubilees 15:16 that only Jacob is in God's mind also in 15:19, when the seed is mentioned.

(3) After this, in Jubilees 15:23–24, the author narrates the fulfilment of the commandment to circumcise oneself and every male (Jub 15:11–14). Here, the

⁷⁶⁸ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 516, notes the sg. "nation" instead of pl. "nations" in Jubilees, but he does not comment it further.

⁷⁶⁹ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 517.

⁷⁷⁰ So interprets, e.g., Wevers, *Notes*, 238, when he comments on the LXX-version of Genesis: "The laughter is then explicated by his statement of disbelief."

⁷⁷¹ This interpretation was widespread. See, e.g., Tgs. on Gen 17:17 and Ephrem the Syrian, *Commentary on Genesis* (See Kathleen McVey, ed., *St. Ephrem the Syrian: Selected Prose Works*, FC 91 [Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1994], 157), all admittedly from a later period in their present form.

author has made certain significant changes. He does not mention Ishmael in Jubilees 15:24 (cf. Gen 17:26), although he is mentioned in Jub 15:23 (cf. Gen 17:23). Furthermore, Genesis 17:24–25, telling about the circumcision of Ishmael, is omitted from Jubilees. Possibly *homoiooteleuton* may have caused this omission (Gen 17:23 has “that very day” and Genesis 17:26 begins with the same phrase). Van Ruiten argues, however, that the author used the phrase “as God told him” from the end of Genesis 17:23c in the beginning of Jubilees 15:23a, and thus the author at least had the text in front of him. Since the author has borrowed this phrase, van Ruiten has argued that *homoiooteleuton* did not cause the omission.⁷⁷² It may be possible, however that after using that phrase from Genesis 17:23c in Jubilees 15:23a, once he had written Jubilees 15:23 the author skipped over the text after Genesis 17:23b. Most probably, however, the author wanted to de-emphasize that Ishmael too was circumcised in the same manner as was done in Genesis 17:25, as van Ruiten suggests.⁷⁷³

(4) The author continues by giving a *halakic* addition pertaining to the commandment of circumcision in Jubilees 15:25–34.

15:25 This law is (valid) for every generation ⁷⁷⁴ forever. There is no circumcising of days, nor passing⁷⁷⁵ any day over the eight days because it is an eternal ordinance ordained and written on the heavenly tablets. 15:26 Anyone who is born the flesh of whose private parts has not been circumcised by the eighth day does not belong to the people of the covenant⁷⁷⁶ that the Lord made with Abraham but to the people (meant for) destruction. Moreover, there is no sign on him that he belongs to the Lord, but (he is meant) for destruction, for being destroyed from the earth, and for being uprooted from the earth because he has violated the covenant of the Lord our God. 15:27 For this is what the nature of all the angels of the presence and all the angels of holiness was like 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 generations as an eternal ordinance so that they may not be uprooted from the earth 15:29 because the command has been ordained as a covenant⁷⁷⁷ 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 humanity. For there are many

⁷⁷² Van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 148–149.

⁷⁷³ Van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 150.

⁷⁷⁴ *Pro* “history” (VanderKam). The Ge’ez word is *tawlədd*. I reckon “generation” to be a better translation of the word.

⁷⁷⁵ *Pro* “omitting” (VanderKam). The word is Gt infinitive *ta’adəwo* the basic meaning of which is “to go over.” I understand *kəsbata mawā’əl* (“circumcising of days”) to mean that one would circumcise before the eighth day, i.e. “cut from the days,” and *ta’adəwo* to mean that one circumcises *after* the eighth day, i.e., one then “goes over” the days. That is, the legitimate circumcision needs to take place when the child is eighth days old, no less, no more. Similarly Kugel, *Walk through*, 98.

⁷⁷⁶ *Pro* “pact” (VanderKam). The word is *šar’āt*; Lat *de testamento*.

⁷⁷⁷ *La-kidān* could also mean “regarding the covenant.”

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.

15:33 I am now telling you that the Israelites will prove false to this ordinance⁷⁷⁸. They will not circumcise their sons in accord with this entire law because they will leave some of the flesh of their circumcision when they circumcise their sons. All the people of Belial will leave their sons uncircumcised just as they were born. 15:34 Then there will be great anger from the Lord against the Israelites because they abandoned his covenant, departed from his word, provoked, and blasphemed in that they did not perform the ordinance (*šar'āt*) of this sign. For they have made themselves like the nations so as to be removed and uprooted from the earth. They will no longer have forgiveness or pardon so that they should be pardoned and forgiven for every sin, for (their) violation of this eternal (ordinance).

The focus here is on the right time for circumcision as well as proper circumcision. 1 Maccabees tells us that during the second Century BCE, some people wanted to remove or hide the marks of circumcision (1 Macc 1:15, 48). The true children of the covenant are those who are circumcised and circumcised on the right day. It seems that the main issue at hand was the delay of circumcision after the eighth day.⁷⁷⁹ Delayed circumcision is allowed in certain cases by the rabbinical view found in m. Šabb. 19:5. This tradition most probably stems from an earlier time than when Mishnah was written. For Jubilees, however, those Israelites, who were not circumcised on the right day, are “sons of Beliar” (Jub 15:33) and not reckoned as sons of the covenant (Jub 15:26). Thus, they are also under the influence of misleading spirits (Jub 15:31–32) and doomed to be destroyed (Jub

⁷⁷⁸ Alternatively, “covenant” (*šar'āt*).

⁷⁷⁹ Van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 156–157; Michael Segal, *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology*, JSJSup 117 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 243–245. Additionally, the author may also have known such people who interpreted the whole commandment as an allegory (the author still emphasizes that the law is valid forever!). In *Migr.* 86–94, Philo argues, admittedly later, against such allegorists who interpret the Torah in such a way that they did not see physical circumcision as necessary. Karl-Gustav Sandelin, “Philo as a Jew,” in *Reading Philo: A Handbook to Philo of Alexandria*, ed. Torrey Seland (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2014), 19–46 (27–28) interprets the passage in such a way that physical circumcision according to Philo is necessary. He does not recognize, however, that, nevertheless, Philo still downplays its importance and does not see it as a special physical sign of the covenant. Moreover, it seems that Philo advocates physical circumcision mainly in order to defend the allegorical interpretation and preserve its reputation (*Migr.* 93; private communication Sami Yli-Karjanmaa, 15/06/2022). See also *Migr.* 86, which shows that the main subject of the section is Abraham’s reputation. Philo is an example which shows that even later, after the Hellenistic reforms and the Maccabean uprising, which influence to later early Judaism is emphasized by Martin Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus: Studien zu ihrer Begegnung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Palästinas bis zur Mitte des 2. Jh.s. v. Chr.*, 3rd ed., WUNT 1.10 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1988), some Jews could still regard physical circumcision as not totally necessary; at least without any salvific function, even if it is observed for maintaining one’s good reputation, as Philo does.

15:26). The true Israelites, by contrast, are properly circumcised (as are the highest two ranks of angels, Jub 15:27). Here, the circumcision is what differentiates Israel from the rest of the peoples as does Sabbath-observance (Jub 2:17–33) and keeping the Festival of Weeks (Jub 6:17–22), too. In fact, Israel joins the highest two ranks of angels in observing these three: the Sabbath, circumcision, and the covenantal festival.⁷⁸⁰

Although Ishmael was circumcised too, the addition makes clear that neither Ishmael nor later Esau could belong to the children of the covenant, or “Abraham’s seed” in that sense. A reader of Genesis 17 could make (in the author’s mind) false conclusions in interpreting the status of Ishmael as circumcised in too universal terms, even though the particularistic “Isaac and not Ishmael” is found there too.⁷⁸¹ Although Ishmael was circumcised, it did not happen on the eighth day. However, although it is not mentioned anywhere, Esau was probably circumcised on the eighth day as was Jacob, while Ishmael was circumcised at the same time as Abraham was. Why then was Abraham included, but not Ishmael? Both were circumcised after they had celebrated the eighth day of their lifetime.⁷⁸² Similarly, why was Jacob chosen, but not Esau? Here, two important factors come into play.

(A) For the author, the revelation of the “Torah and Testimony” was dynamic and ended up in Jacob, who ultimately gives his books and the books of his father(s) to his priestly son Levi so that he would renew them and teach them to

⁷⁸⁰ One should note that according to Jub 2:2, 18, also angels of lesser rank, who do not keep the Sabbath but keep the world going (angels of fire, wind, and different phenomena), exist. In the same manner, Israel keeps the Sabbath with the higher rank of angels (Jub 2:21), whereas other peoples are not to keep the Sabbath (Jub 2:31). The harmony between heaven and earth, and thus also the calendar (Jub 6!) is therefore of highest importance for the author. The two different interpretive traditions pertaining to Gen 6:1–4 find their relevance here. According to one tradition, the “sons of god(s)” relate to angelic beings who mingle with female humans. According to another tradition, they are the descendants of Seth who “came down” from the vicinity of Eden (which is a mountain) to the daughters of Cain. The second interpretation prevailed over the first one later during the period of the Rabbis and Church Fathers. See Antti Laato, *Nooa juutalaisessa tulkintatraditiossa ja sen vaikutus varhaiseen kristilliseen tulkintaan*, SPF 13 (Helsinki: Societas Patristica Fennica, 2021), 232–233. According to many scholars, the Watchers-story in *Book of Watchers* is related to the criticism of impure priestly marriages. See, e.g., George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 51. The story is also used in Jubilees in order to warn against intermarriage with the Canaanites (Jub 20:5). As Israel is the offspring of Seth and resembles the higher ranks of angels who minister before God, being a priestly nation, then intermarrying descendants of the daughters of men/Cain, i.e., with the Canaanites or Gentiles in general, is forbidden. The two traditions, thus, collide.

⁷⁸¹ Van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 166.

⁷⁸² The commandment of circumcision in both Gen 17:10 and Jub 15:11 is directed towards *every male* (כל זכר; *kʷallo rosəmu*). One can argue that Ishmael is Abraham’s child and therefore the condition of circumcision on the eighth day in Jub 15:12 (cf. Gen 17:12) applies to Ishmael but not to Abraham, but one can ask why that is the case: surely he is included, along with Ishmael, in the group of “every male,” but neither Abraham nor Ishmael is circumcised as “a son of eight days.” Why then is there a difference between Abraham and Ishmael in this regard?

the following generations (Jub. 45:16).⁷⁸³ Before Jacob's death, however, there are things that are first revealed and then followed after that. The author of Jubilees has also used this interpretive strategy when dealing, for example, with Reuben's sin with Jacob's wife Bilhah (Jub 33:16).⁷⁸⁴

In my opinion, the same idea is at play here. The question as to why even though Abraham was not circumcised on the eighth day, he could be made an exception confirming the rule, is crucial, since the author emphasizes the time limit of circumcision (see above). The law concerning circumcision, however, was first regulated in Jubilees 15, meaning that Abraham had not any opportunity to do it before. Once informed, however, his action was immediate: "On that very day (*wa-ba-gizē zāti ʿalat*) Abraham was circumcised." (Jub 15:24) This is also what the author wants to underline in Jubilees. It is noteworthy that when the *Damascus Document* refers to Jubilees, it too mentions Abraham's immediate action regarding circumcision (CD XVI, 2–6):⁷⁸⁵

As for the exact determination of their times to which Israel turns a blind eye, behold it is strictly defined in the *Book of the Divisions of the Times into their Jubilees and Weeks*. And on the day that a man swears to return to the Law of Moses, the Angel of Persecution shall cease to follow him provided that he fulfils his word: for this reason Abraham circumcised himself on the day that he knew (ביום דעתו)

Thus, on the day Abraham knew (ביום דעתו), on that very day (*ba-gizē zāti ʿalat*), Abraham was circumcised and accepted as a member of the covenant that was made on the same day. This, however, still does not explain Ishmael's expulsion: he, too, was circumcised on the same day "with Abraham" (Jub 15:24), even though he is not mentioned explicitly in Jubilees as in Genesis 17:26.⁷⁸⁶

(B) That Ishmael and Esau were not chosen is motivated by the fact that God "knew them" (*ʿasma ʿaʿmaromu*, Jub 15:30). Although Genesis 16:4c–14 is omitted from the rewriting of Genesis 16:1–4, 15–16 in Jubilees 14:21–24, a negative depiction of Genesis 16:12 could be lurking behind it:

⁷⁸³ See ch. 2 above.

⁷⁸⁴ On this, see Kugel, *Walk through*, 163–164, and esp. ch. 2.2.3 above. Unlike Kugel, I do not think that Jub 33:10–17 is from a hand of Interpolator, but rather from the same author as the rest. There is no "temporary ruling" after Jacob hands his books to Levi.

⁷⁸⁵ Translation by Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, Fiftieth Anniversary Edition (London: Penguin Books, 2011).

⁷⁸⁶ Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 230–232, 242–243, suggests that omission of "on that day" in Jub 15:23 (cf. Gen 17:23) and of Ishmael in Jub 15:24 (cf. Gen 17:26) are intentional. With these differences in mind, he understands the verses so that Abraham was circumcised immediately, whereas Ishmael was circumcised later "with Abraham", but perhaps not on the same day. Segal's interpretation is tempting, but I think that it is, perhaps, too far-fetched. I agree with van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 148–151, namely that by omitting mentions of Ishmael, he is downgraded. As van Ruiten notes (150–151), in comparison with the account of Genesis, where it is explicitly mentioned three times that Ishmael was circumcised, Jubilees mentions Ishmael just once as a passing remark (Jub 15:23). The author wants to direct the focus away from Ishmael.

“He shall be a wild ass of a man, with his hand against everyone, and everyone’s hand against him; and he shall live at odds with all his kin.”

However, if this is the case, it is perplexing that the detail is left out from Jubilees.⁷⁸⁷

VanderKam suggests that perhaps different Jewish exegetical traditions concerning the participle מצחק in Genesis 21:9 (Ishmael “laughing, mocking” [MT] or “playing, dancing” with Isaac [LXX]), where Ishmael is connected to illicit behaviour, may lie behind the author’s comment that God knew Ishmael’s nature.⁷⁸⁸ However, as VanderKam himself comments, this interpretive tradition is not used in Jubilees 17:4. Thus I do not believe it has played any role here.

The verb choice of the author in Jubilees 15:30 (“for He knew them”) is perplexing, since Ishmael honours his parents and is not morally objectionable. What he does is that his descendants are mixed with the sons of Keturah (Jub 20:12–13), but even this does not militate against the prohibition of exogamy that Abraham gives to all his children in Jubilees 20.⁷⁸⁹ Michael Francis is of the opinion that since Ishmael’s mother is from the line of Ham, he is no rival to Isaac, whose family, by contrast, is derived from the correct line, that of Sarah. In this sense, he is not a threat in the same way as Esau is to Jacob.⁷⁹⁰ Francis concludes that Ishmael represents an obedient non-Israelite, who is in the middle: he is not part of the chosen lineage and cannot convert fully. Nevertheless, he follows and hears the law, and can share some of the blessings. In the end, however, he remains as outsider.⁷⁹¹

I agree with Francis here. Ishmael is not a part of the Abrahamic Promise, but he can thrive and be depicted as neutral, since he behaves in a good way. May it be that the biological line comes into play as to why God “knew” Ishmael? It was through Isaac that Jacob was to become the heir of the promise. Furthermore, those not of Abraham’s seed (*za-’i-kona ’am-zar’aka*, lit. “who was not from your seed,” Jub 15:12; cf. Gen 17:12) became circumcised too. Thus, proper circumcision is a sign of the covenant, and covenantal obligation, but circumcision itself is insufficient.

To conclude, the rewriting in Jubilees 15 affirms that Abraham is to become father of many nations (also through Ishmael). The land is also to belong to him,

⁷⁸⁷ Cf. Michael Francis, “Defining the Excluded Middle: The Case of Ishmael in *Jubilees*,” *JSP* 21.3 (2012): 259–283 (264): “The nonexistence of the announcement in *Jubilees* removes one of the poles around which Ishmael’s status as other is established.”

⁷⁸⁸ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 522. On these exegetical traditions, see Tgs. on Gen 21:9 and Gen. Rab. 53:11.

⁷⁸⁹ Francis, “Defining,” 281 n. 72.

⁷⁹⁰ Francis, “Defining,” 272–273. According to Francis, this is not the only reason for the different depiction of Ishmael (compared to Esau) in Jubilees. Since Jacob is the true heir and Isaac is relativized too (in comparison to Jacob, see the analysis of Jub 16 below), Ishmael is not a threat. Biblical traditions do not portray him that negatively either (Francis, “Defining,” 271–272, 275–276).

⁷⁹¹ Francis, “Defining,” 282–283.

when he pleases God and is perfect: including circumcision!⁷⁹² However, the author makes sure that the covenant is ratified with Isaac and not with Ishmael, even though Ishmael is circumcised too. The land is to belong to the covenantal people, and even kings of other nations shall emerge from that one nation that Isaac (not Sarah) will become (through Jacob). The *halakic* addition is at pains to explicate that even though Ishmael was circumcised along with Abraham as soon as the law was revealed, he and Esau remained outside the covenant and the promise related to the covenant.

Although Jacob is only briefly mentioned in the *halakic* addition with his other name Israel (Jub 15:30), ultimately the Abrahamic Promise and its fulfilment is related to Jacob. Here, the author has again removed any possible universalistic interpretations in favour of particularism. However, Ishmael functions as a character who represents those outside the covenant and the promises, who can, nevertheless, still partake in some way in the blessing which Abraham, Isaac and ultimately Jacob have.

4.2.5 Jubilees 18:14–16

Jubilees 17:14–18:19 rewrites the known story of the Binding of Isaac or the *Aqedah* (Gen 22:1–19).⁷⁹³ As the scene has already been widely scrutinized by other scholars,⁷⁹⁴ I focus here on the rewriting of the promise given by God/angel to Abraham as it is crucial for this investigation (Jub 18:14–16; cf. Gen 22:15–18).⁷⁹⁵

⁷⁹² The word תמים has the connotation of circumcision in some Jewish texts too. For example, Noah was born circumcised in certain interpretive traditions, for he was תמים (Gen 6:9)! Perhaps Gen 17:1, preceding the commandment to circumcise, was one exegetical basis for this interpretive tradition. See, further, Laato, *Noaa*, 110–111.

⁷⁹³ Lat has preserved Jub 18:10–19.

⁷⁹⁴ For a close analysis of the rewriting process, see van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 209–226. See also Leroy Andrew Huizenga, “The Battle for Isaac: Exploring the Composition and Function of the *Aqedah* in the Book of *Jubilees*,” *JSP* 13.1 (2002): 33–59; Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 189–202; Kugel, *Walk through*, 108–113; VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 568–582; Furthermore, 4Q225, labelled “Pseudo-Jubilees” by VanderKam and Milik, offers a somewhat different account on *Aqedah*. I agree with them in not regarding 4Q225 as a textual witness of Jubilees (see ch. 1.3.1).

From a more general reception historical perspective on the *Aqedah*, also including an analysis of Jubilees and Pseudo-Jubilees, see, e.g., Geza Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies*, StPB 4 (Leiden: Brill, 1961); James L. Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible as It Was at the Start of the Common Era* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 296–299, 301–306, 308–309; Moshe J. Bernstein, “Angels at the *Aqedah*: A Study in the Development of a Midrashic Motif,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 7.3 (2000): 263–291; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, “The Sacrifice of Isaac in Qumran Literature,” *Biblica* 83.2 (2002): 211–229; Florentino García Martínez, “The Sacrifice of Isaac in 4Q225,” in *Qumranica Minora II: Thematic Studies on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, STDJ 64 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 131–143.

⁷⁹⁵ For the synopsis, cf. van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 217–218.

Genesis 22:15–18	Jubilees 18:14–16
15 THE ANGEL OF Yhwh called to Abraham a second time from heaven.	14 The Lord called to Abraham BY HIS NAME a second time from heaven,
	JUST AS WE HAD APPEARED ⁷⁹⁶ IN ORDER TO SPEAK TO HIM IN THE LORD'S NAME.
16 He said, "By myself I swear hereby, says Yhwh: because you have done this thing, and have not withheld your son, <i>your only one</i> , ⁷⁹⁷	15 He said, "By myself I swear hereby ⁷⁹⁸ , says the Lord: because you have done this thing, and have not refused ME ⁷⁹⁹ your FIRST-BORN ⁸⁰⁰ son <i>whom you love</i> , ⁸⁰¹
17 I will indeed bless you,	I will indeed bless you

⁷⁹⁶ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 575, states that the "better manuscript support" (he lists only mss. 17, 20, 25, 63 in the apparatus and in textual notes in the commentary) is 'astar'ayana "he appeared to us," but prefers 'astar'ayna "we appeared" instead. This is also how Klaus Berger, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, JSRZ 2.3 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1981), 420, translates the phrase ("indem wir erschienen"). Lat *fuimus ut loquamur illi nomine domini* which either can be taken as "as we were to speak with him in Lord's name" or Lat may have lost *uisi* after *fuimus* (starting with the same letter), which VanderKam, *Jubilees Translated*, 108, suggests. For the previous option, see Hermann Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die kleine Genesis: Unter Befügung des revidierten Textes der in der Ambrosiana aufgefundenen lateinischen Fragmente sowie einer von Dr. August Dillmann aus zwei äthiopisches Handschriften gefertigten lateinischen Übertragung* (Leipzig: Fue's Verlag [R. Reisland], 1874), 108–110. Rönsch suggests that originally there would have been הִיָּה + inf. cstr. with לְ. However, it should be noted that also the Eth mss. have many other variations of this verb (9 "he appeared to him"; 35 "he appeared to me" [similarly though defective mss. 42 and 47]; 58 "we appeared to him").

⁷⁹⁷ LXX τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ.

⁷⁹⁸ Although VanderKam translates the Ge'ez pf. with a past tense, and van Ruiten follows him, the Ge'ez pf. (as the Hebrew pf. in Gen) clearly has a performative aspect here. On performatives in Ge'ez, see Stefan Weninger, "On Performatives."

⁷⁹⁹ "From me" is also found in Eth Sam Syr Gen 22:16; *propter me* in Lat Jub 18:15 is also found in LXX OL Gen 22:16, clearly an interpretation of מִמֶּנִּי (see Wevers, *Notes*, 324). This difference is due to a different *Vorlage* being used by the author.

⁸⁰⁰ The Ge'ez mss. vary somewhat, and *bak^{wr}* "first-born" is not found in mss. 9 ("your son") 12 ("your beloved son") and 38 ("son who you love"). VanderKam, *Jubilees Translated*, 108, considers it to be an original even though it is not found in the Lat (*unigenito* "only-born"). He argues that the same word *bak^{wr}* is used in Jub 18:11 (where Lat has *primogenito!*) against all textual witnesses of Gen 22:12 (MT: "only son," LXX "beloved"), so the Eth Jub retains the more original.

Alternatively, it is also possible that one should have both "only one," and then "whom you love." It seems that originally there is a double interpretation of יִחִיד as both "your only one" (the Hebrew meaning) and "your beloved" (LXX Gen 22:2, 12, 16; Am 8:10; Zech 12:10; Jer 38:20 have ἀγαπητός). Wevers, *Notes*, 316, argues that the only son becomes beloved. Mixing between יִחִיד and יָדִיד "beloved" is also possible. However, it is likely that Isaac's first-bornness is highlighted due to the fact that *Aqedah* is connected to the passover events as Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 194–198; and VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 578–579, argue. On the relationship between *Aqedah* and Passover, see Huizenga, "Battle for Isaac," 39–46.

⁸⁰¹ Ge'ez *za-ʾafqarka* and Lat *quem dilexisti* "whom you love" resembles the LXX Gen 22:16 followed by Eth.

and I will indeed multiply your seed as the stars of heaven and as the sand on the seashore.	and I will indeed multiply your seed as the stars of heaven and as the sand on the seashore.
Your seed will inherit <i>the gate</i> of their enemies.	Your seed will inherit <i>the cities</i> ⁸⁰² of their enemies.
18 By your seed will all nations of the earth be blessed, because of the fact that you have obeyed my voice.”	16 By your seed will all the nations of the earth be blessed because of the fact that you have obeyed my voice.
	I MAKE HEREBY KNOWN ⁸⁰³ TO EVERYONE THAT YOU ARE FAITHFUL TO ME IN EVERYTHING THAT I HAVE TOLD YOU. GO IN PEACE.”

The synopsis above shows that no significant changes have been made to the speech, except that God Himself, and not his angel, is the one speaking, and at the end God reveals that he has (now) made known to everyone that Abraham is, as God already knew, faithful to him in everything. This final addition is related to the fact that prince Mastema had not believed that to be the case (Jub 17:15–18), and also that the angel of God now knew that Abraham was faithful (Jub 18:11).⁸⁰⁴ Both “first-born” (Ge’ez Jub 18:14) and “only-born” (Latin Jub 18:14), which one is preferred is not relevant here,⁸⁰⁵ as well as already יחיד in Genesis 22:16, show that Ishmael is out of the picture regarding the covenant. Isaac was not Abraham’s “only one” and even less his “first-born,” other than from the covenantal point of view (cf. Jub 15:30 etc.).⁸⁰⁶

The promises included in Jubilees 18 are the same as in Genesis: (1) seed who also possess the cities of their enemies perhaps alluding to the Promised Land

⁸⁰² Ge’ez (*’ahgura*) and Lat Jub (*ciuitates*) follow the interpretation of LXX Gen 22:16 τὰς πόλεις “cities” and Eth Gen 22:16 (*’ahgura*), an interpretation of “gate,” as noticed by, e.g., Wevers, *Notes*, 326; VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 576.

⁸⁰³ VanderKam and van Ruiten have translated the Ge’ez pf. using a past tense, but it has a performative aspect here. Abraham was tested, and now it is made known to everybody (pi. interpretation of ידעתי in Gen 22:12) that Abraham is faithful in everything. Cf. Kugel, *Walk through*, 111.

⁸⁰⁴ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 576. The Ethiopic text with *’a’marku* “I know (now)” is the preferred reading over the Latin *manifestauit* in Jub 18:11. Perhaps the Greek *Vorlage* of the Latin text understood the original ידעתי (cf. Gen 22:12) as pi. and not as qal, whereas the Greek *Vorlage* behind the Ethiopic translation understood it differently. God did know all the time (Jub 17:17; 18:9), but now in Jub 18:11 also the Angel of Presence knows. ידעתי is then understood as pi. in Jub 18:16. See Kugel, *Walk through*, 110–111; van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 218. Cf. also Syr Gen 22:12 with af’el *’wd’t* “I made known” of the verb *yd’* “know.” Sebastian P. Brock, *The Bible in the Syriac Tradition*, 3rd ed., Gorgias Handbooks 52 (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2020), 20; *The Old Testament in Syriac According to the Peshitta Version, 1.1: Genesis–Exodus* (Leiden: Brill, 1977), 41.

⁸⁰⁵ See the textual note in the synopsis above.

⁸⁰⁶ Ishmael and Hagar were exiled in Jub 17:1–14 (cf. Gen 21:8–21). Fitzmyer, “Sacrifice of Isaac,” 213, notes regarding Gen 22 that in that way Isaac is “only son” for Abraham also in the original story.

(cf. Gen 35 // Jub 32 below!) and (2) the blessing which is related to other nations too. Neither the name nor land is explicitly present. However, as already mentioned, land is implied in Jubilees 18:15 where Abraham's seed is to inherit the cities of their enemies. This is reminiscent of what is stated in Jubilees 15:16, namely that kings of other nations shall come from one nation, Isaac.

That Abraham is faithful seems to be the basis for the oath sworn by God. VanderKam comments that in Genesis “[t]his raises a problem of interpretation because on earlier occasions God delivered the promises to him without condition or with the condition of circumcision.”⁸⁰⁷ As stated already when dealing with Jubilees 12:22–24 (cf. Gen 12:1–3) above, the Abrahamic Promise was dependent on Abraham's actions to leave his family and journey forth to the Promised Land. In Jubilees 12:19–21, he was also the instigator for asking God for advice. Also in Jubilees 14, when rewriting Genesis 15, it was noted that Abraham was the active party in ratifying the covenant. Regarding Jubilees 15 too (cf. Genesis 17), it was noted above that Abraham actively renewed the covenant which resulted in God confirming the Abrahamic Promise and giving the commandment to obey Him and circumcise the folk. The only scene hitherto analysed where the promise does not seem to be dependent upon Abraham's previous actions or obedience is found in Jubilees 13:17–21 after Lot had separated himself from Abraham. The condition is also found in Genesis 22:16, but the author of Jubilees has highlighted this conditionality in his rewritten work. That the promises are dependent on Abraham's faithfulness is reflected in Jubilees 24:9–11 too, which is analysed next.

4.2.6 Jubilees 24

Broadly speaking, Jubilees 24 rewrites Genesis 25:11–26:33.⁸⁰⁸ Isaac settles at the Well of the Vision (Beer-Lahai-Roi) and a famine (cf. Gen. 26:1) starts to plague the land (Jub 24:1–2). Esau gives his birthright to Jacob in exchange for the soup (Jub 24:3–7; cf. Gen 25:29–34). Because of the famine, Isaac decides to go down to Egypt and he goes to the Philistine king Abimelech in Gerar (Jub 24:8).

Genesis 26:2–6	Jubilees 24:9–11
2 Yhwh appeared to him and said,	9 The LORD appeared to him and told HIM ⁸⁰⁹ ,
“Do not go down to Egypt. Dwell in the land that I will tell you.	“Do not go down to Egypt. Dwell in the land that I will tell you.

⁸⁰⁷ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 576.

⁸⁰⁸ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 712. What is left out is the family tree of Ishmael's descendants, the birth of the twin brothers and what became of them (Gen 25:12–28). The birth story is reproduced in Jub 19:10–14, and the future descendants of Ishmael are mentioned briefly in Jub 20:12–13. The Latin text that has survived includes Jub 24:12–33.

⁸⁰⁹ “Him” is also found in LXX-minuscule 527 as well as in Eth Gen 26:2 and in certain other witnesses (see Wevers, ed., *Genesis*, 249). Either it was found in the author's *Vorlage* or he added it, but the variation does not change the meaning at all.

3 Reside in this land as an alien, and (so that) ⁸¹⁰ I will be with you and I will bless you;	Reside in this land as an alien, and I will be with you and I will bless you;
for to you and to your seed I will give all <i>these lands</i> , ⁸¹¹ and I will establish the oath that I swore to your father Abraham.	10 for to you and to your seed I will give all <i>this land</i> . I will establish MY ⁸¹² oath that I swore to your father Abraham.
4 I will make your seed as numerous as the stars of the sky and will give to your seed all <i>these lands</i> ⁸¹³ .	I will make your seed as numerous as the stars of the sky and will give to your seed all <i>this land</i> .
And through your seed will all the nations of the land be blessed,	11 And through your seed will all the nations of the land be blessed,
5 <i>because Abraham</i> ⁸¹⁴ obeyed my voice and kept <i>my obligation, my commandments, my statutes, and my laws</i> . ⁸¹⁵	<i>because</i> ⁸¹⁶ <i>your father</i> obeyed my voice and kept <i>my obligation, my commandments, my laws, my statute, AND MY COVENANT</i> .
	NOW OBEY MY VOICE AND LIVE IN THIS LAND."

All the other minor changes between the Masoretic Genesis and the Ethiopic Jubilees (except the addition at the end) can be explained by a different *Vorlage* which the author of Jubilees has utilized.⁸¹⁷ One possible difference, however, might be in the clause “because Abraham/your father obeyed...” (Jub 24:11; cf.

⁸¹⁰ The cohortatives with ו follow the initial imperative נר and indicate its intention or intended result. Nyberg, *Hebreisk grammatik*, §87i. See the discussion below.

⁸¹¹ MT has, here as in v. 4, pl. את כל הארצות האל but the LXX sg. πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ταύτην is followed by Eth. Wevers, *Notes*, 399, says that the LXX-translator probably just “simplified and normalised the expression by using the singular.” Another possibility is that there was sg. in his *Vorlage*. At least that seems to be the case for the author of Jub, or alternatively the same simplification occurred in its textual transmission to Ge’ez. Abraham Tal, ed., *Biblia Hebraica Quinta 1: Genesis* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2015), 142*, argues that the sg. is perhaps used in the LXX in order to focus on the promise that Abimelech’s land is to belong to Abraham and his offspring.

⁸¹² The genitive is lacking in the MT but found in LXX Eth Gen 26:3. Wevers, *Notes*, 399, is probably correct in stating that the genitive is added “ad sensum,” since who else’s oath would it have been? Alternatively, it can be also present in the translator’s *Vorlage*, as well as in the *Vorlage* of the author of Jubilees.

⁸¹³ MT has here, as in v. 3, pl. את כל הארצות האל but the LXX sg. πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ταύτην followed by Eth. See the note on Gen 26:3 above.

⁸¹⁴ MT Eth Gen 26:5 only “Abraham”, but the LXX Αβρααμ ὁ πατήρ σου which agrees with Sam. Most probably the author had only “your father” in his *Vorlage*.

⁸¹⁵ The list includes many synonymic words which have been translated differently between Eth Gen 26:5 (which has only three kinds of commandments, *tə’əzāz* “commandments,” *kʷənnanē* “ordinances, sentences” and *ḥəgag* “laws”) and Jub (*uqābē* lit. “keeping” [I have translated this as “obligation,” since the Ge’ez word is literally the same as משמרת in Gen 26:5, a form from the root *ʿqb* meaning guarding, keeping etc.], *tə’əzāz*, *ḥəgag*, and *šər’āt* “ordinance, covenant”). Regarding the translational choices of the LXX, see Wevers, *Notes*, 400.

⁸¹⁶ Ge’ez *ḥəyyānta*, see the discussion below.

⁸¹⁷ See the textual notes above.

Gen 26:5). The Ge'ez for "because" above is *həyyānta* which can also mean "in substitution for, in compensation,"⁸¹⁸ and the basic meaning is that it denotes something which substitutes for or takes the place of the previous. In the MT Gen 26:5 the particle is עקב אשר which according to *BDB* denotes a consequence and hence also reward.⁸¹⁹ In the LXX, the phrase is translated as ἀντὶ ὧν ("in return for, in compensation")⁸²⁰ and in Eth Gen 'əsmā ("because, since, for")⁸²¹.

However, the difference, if there is one, is not that great. In every version God's promise to Isaac is dependent on Abraham's pious life. The promise is established *because* Abraham had been pious and had kept the covenant with its stipulations.⁸²² It seems that ultimately this is related to the Binding of Isaac (Jub 18; cf. Gen 22). As was shown above, in Jubilees, God says that by means of that test he has now made known that Abraham is faithful in everything God has told him (all other tests included, which are explained in Jub 17:17–18).

The promise given by God is similarly dependent on Isaac's actions. This is emphasized in the version of Jubilees, where God's commandment is re-iterated: "Now obey my voice and live in this land." Namely, in Hebrew, an imperative followed by *wav* + cohortative/jussive/imperative can also mean the logical consequence. Turned the other way, the original imperative can denote the logical prerequisite of what follows it.⁸²³ Thus, in Hebrew (and perhaps also in Ge'ez), God exhorts Isaac to stay in the land and not to go to Egypt *so that* God will be with Isaac and bless him (ואהיה... ואברכך, Gen 26:3; cf. Jub 24:9 *wa-ʾəhillu... wa-ʾəbārrākaka*). In Jubilees, this is emphasized with the addition at the end. Although God will keep his oath to Abraham because Abraham had been tested and found faithful, he demands the same kind of faithfulness from Isaac, too.

The rewriting of Jubilees follows Genesis very closely. According to VanderKam, it includes one of the longest direct citations of Genesis in Jubilees.⁸²⁴ As in Genesis, God promises (1) to be with Isaac,⁸²⁵ (2) to bless him, and (3) to give the land on which Isaac is standing to him and his seed. Moreover, God promises to carry the terms of the oath he had given to Abraham. According to Genesis and Jubilees, the oath seems to include God's promises (1) to make the number of descendants numerous, (2) to give the land to Isaac and to his descendants, and (3) that Isaac's seed will be the instrument by which all the

⁸¹⁸ Leslau, *Comparative*, 221.

⁸¹⁹ *BDB*, 784. *DCH* 6:542 gives "consequence, reward, recompense" for עקב and renders אשר עקב with "because."

⁸²⁰ Blomqvist & Jastrup, *Grekisk grammatik*, §241, give the Swedish "till gengäld för" as a gloss for the metaphorical use for ἀντί + gen. The phrase is used, e.g., in Acts 12:23, where Lord's angel smote Herod Agrippa I ἀντὶ ὧν he had not given the glory to God.

⁸²¹ Lambdin, *Introduction*, 385.

⁸²² According to VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 717, the addition of covenant in the end may stem from Gen 17:9–10 // Jub 15:11. See also Kugel, *Walk through*, 133–134.

⁸²³ Nyberg, *Hebreisk grammatik*, §87b, d, i.

⁸²⁴ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 716.

⁸²⁵ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 716, notes that this is the first time this promise is given to the patriarch in Genesis and Jubilees.

nations of the earth/land will be blessed or desire the same kind of blessing they have.⁸²⁶ The promise of name or reputation is not mentioned here or in Genesis.

Jubilees then continues by telling how Isaac resides in Gerar (Jub 24:12–17; cf. Gen 26:6–16). The author, however, omits the problematic scene where Isaac lies about his wife, Rebekah is close to losing her integrity, and Abimelech the Gentile king rebukes Isaac for his actions (Gen 26:7–10). This passage would portray the patriarch in a bad light.⁸²⁷ Only the ending in Genesis 26:11 has been rewritten, with the modification that, instead of mentioning Isaac’s wife, Abimelech forbids everyone to touch anything that belongs to Isaac (Jub 24:13). The reason for this change may be that any mentioning of the wife would be obscure since the incident itself is not mentioned.⁸²⁸ However, a more suitable explanation may be that in what follows the Philistines actually do have quarrels concerning the wells Isaac and his people dig. Therefore, the Philistines now explicitly break the prohibition Abimelech himself had decreed earlier, namely that no-one should touch anything that belongs to Isaac (Jub 24:18–20). Abimelech expels Isaac when he becomes wealthy and subsequently Isaac settles as an alien in the valleys of Gerar (Jub 24:14–17).⁸²⁹ Abimelech is not worth trusting.

The servants of Isaac then dig the wells that his father Abraham had previously dug. They also dig new wells. The shepherds of Gerar argue that the wells belong to them (Jub 24:18–20; cf. Gen 26:17–22). After some struggle, Isaac sets out to the Well of the Oath or Beer Sheba where God reveals himself to him (Jub 24:21–23). A synopsis is of use here, too.

Genesis 26:23–25	Jubilees 24:21–23
23 He went up from there to <i>Beer Sheba</i> .	21 He went up from there to <i>the well of the oath</i> ⁸³⁰ DURING THE FIRST YEAR OF THE FIRST WEEK IN THE FORTY-FOURTH JUBILEE [2108].
24 Yhwh appeared to him that night and said,	22 The Lord appeared to him that night— ON THE FIRST OF THE FIRST MONTH— and said TO HIM ⁸³¹ ,
“I am the God of Abraham, your father. Do not be afraid,	“I am the God of Abraham, your father. Do not be afraid,

⁸²⁶ On the problem of hitp. of בָּרַךְ and Lt of *bāraka*, see ch. 4.1.2 above.

⁸²⁷ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 718.

⁸²⁸ So, e.g., VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 718.

⁸²⁹ Yet one possibility is to interpret the rewording so that the wife belonged to the category of “what belongs to him,” as Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 67, suggests. Cf. the phrasing in Exod 20:17 and Deut 5:21. Although it might be that the change was possible due enlarging the category where the original mention of wife is included too, I would suggest that the *motive* for the change would be to connect it to the struggles Isaac later has with the Philistines.

⁸³⁰ Here the Ethiopic Jubilees, as usual, has translated the Greek translation of the name (cf. LXX Eth Gen 26:23).

⁸³¹ “To him” is found in certain LXX-mss. (f 59), Latin, Eth, and other daughter translations of the LXX. Wevers, ed., *Genesis*, 254.

for I am with you, and I will ⁸³² bless you and make your seed numerous for my servant ⁸³³ Abraham's sake."	for I am with you, and I will bless you. I will CERTAINLY ⁸³⁴ make your seed numerous LIKE THE SAND OF THE EARTH ⁸³⁵ for my servant ⁸³⁶ Abraham's sake."
25 There he built an altar and called on the name of Yhwh, and PITCHED HIS TENT THERE	23 There he built the altar THAT HIS FATHER ABRAHAM HAD FIRST BUILT and called on the name of the Lord and OFFERED A SACRIFICE ⁸³⁷ TO THE GOD OF HIS FATHER ABRAHAM.

The author has added certain details here but left out the detail of Isaac pitching his tent at Beer Sheba as found in Genesis 26:25. Two of the additions concern dating of which the second one is of greater importance: the theophany of God is dated to the first of the first month (1/1), which is a significant date in the calendar of Jubilees. It was a memorial day written on the heavenly tablets that Noah had set for himself (Jub 6:23–31). On that very day God will also appear to Jacob in Bethel (Jub 27:19). VanderKam notes that since the event was situated on the first day of the first jubilee, it was “surely an auspicious occasion in the chronology.”⁸³⁸ On that day also Levi will be born (Jub 28:14).⁸³⁹

Moreover, the author has added two details to the promise by God, neither of which, however, alter the meaning significantly. God *certainly* promises to make Isaac's seed numerous (*wa-’abzəḥo ’abazzəḥ* CG inf. + CG imperfect reflecting the infinitive absolutus + predicate structure in Hebrew)⁸⁴⁰ like the sand of the earth (*kama ḥoḏā mādr*⁸⁴¹). Both the infinitive structure reflecting certainty and the likening of the offspring to sand of the seashore are found in Genesis 22:17, which

⁸³² Interestingly LXX Gen 26:24 has rendered וברכתך as pf. ἡὐλόγηκά instead of fut. (but see following πλεθύνω for והרביתי). Although certain LXX-mss. include fut. εὐλογήσω (*A b d n*; cf. Eth Gen 26:24), the pf. is *lectio difficilior* according to Wevers, *Notes*, 409. One could take the original וברכתך either as *wav* + pf. or as cons. pf. The pf. of the LXX could indicate that the performative aspect is used here in the MT Gen 26:24 too for both pf./cons. pf. with the following cons. pf. taking its aspect from the previous pf. Nyberg, *Hebreisk grammatik*, §86j, gg. It is, however, perhaps better to take וברכתך with its Masoretic vocalization as cons. pf. which takes its tempus from the preceding nominal clause, thus indicating the future.

⁸³³ Instead of “my servant,” LXX Eth Gen 26:24 have “your father.” Wevers, *Notes*, 410, is of the opinion that the change is due the influence of the often used phrase “Abraham your father.”

⁸³⁴ Ge’ez *’abzəḥo ’abazzəḥ* is the common inf. + finite verb form phrase to indicate emphasis in Ge’ez too. However, ms. 63 omits the inf., and Lat has only *multiplicabo*. Both variations can be explained as being caused by *parablepsis*.

⁸³⁵ Certain mss. (38, 44, 58) have *bāhr* “sea” instead of *madr* “earth.” However, Lat has *terrae*.

⁸³⁶ Ms. 21 has *fəquraya* “my beloved,” but Lat *puerum meum* agrees with the majority of the Ethiopic mss.

⁸³⁷ Lat has pl. *hostias*.

⁸³⁸ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 720.

⁸³⁹ The date is associated with sacrifice and Bethel in Jubilees and to the tabernacle and temple in the Hebrew Bible (Exod 40:2, 17; 2 Chr 29:17; Ezek 45:18–19).

⁸⁴⁰ Lat only *multiplicabo* like Vulg Gen 26:24.

⁸⁴¹ Mss. 38, 44, 58 have *bāhr* ‘sea’ instead of *madr* ‘land.’ Lat has *terrae* and conforms thus with the majority of the Eth mss.

Endres and VanderKam have noted, although the likening in Jubilees is to the sand of the earth.⁸⁴² The sand or dust of the earth is also mentioned in Genesis 13:16 and 28:14.⁸⁴³ Although it is tempting to see some connections to the vision that Jacob experiences in Genesis 28 (it too occurred on the first of the first month and was a nocturnal vision according to Jub 27:19), it is reasonable to assume that the author did not refer to one precise passage or version of the promises given to the patriarchs, but rather refers to the Abrahamic Promise in general. With the addition the author strengthened the connection to the Abrahamic Promise by alluding to general phrases like the likening to the sand. What Isaac is promised is a continuation of that covenant and the covenantal promises given to his father Abraham. God promises, as in Genesis, (1) to be with Isaac, (2) to bless him, (3) and to make his seed numerous. Land, blessing to others or name are not mentioned either here or in the version of Genesis.

The links between Isaac and Abraham are strengthened by the additions in Jubilees 24:23. Isaac did not build a new altar in Beer Sheba, but instead (re)built that very altar that Abraham had built before him (Jub 16:10–31). VanderKam is correct in noting that the altar was built there in first place when Sarah had become pregnant with Isaac.⁸⁴⁴ The author also adds the detail of Isaac offering an actual sacrifice on the altar as Abraham had done previously (Jub 13:4; cf. Gen 12:7 where the offering is not mentioned). Isaac had been instructed by Abraham in Jubilees 21 concerning the sacrifices, and he was a priest as Abraham was before him.⁸⁴⁵

After this promise, Isaac lets one well to be dug where water is found (cf. Gen 26:25), and another where water is not found (cf. LXX Gen 26:32). For the author, the detail in Genesis 26:32 (with the possible reading of the *Vorlage* of the LXX)⁸⁴⁶ was a result of the fact that Isaac had sworn an oath to the Philistines and made a covenant with them, although the word “covenant” is not used by the author.⁸⁴⁷ The author does not want to remind his readers of the exact nature of how the covenant was made in Genesis 26:26–31, but he betrays the fact that he knew the text and wanted to give a correct interpretation to it by mentioning it very briefly in Jubilees 24:26.⁸⁴⁸ With the addition in Jubilees 24:27 (“On that day Isaac realized that he had sworn an oath to them under pressure to make peace with them.”), the author makes clear that Isaac did not voluntarily act against what

⁸⁴² Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 67; VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 711. In Eth Gen 22:17 the likening goes *ba-kama hoṣā za-wāsta dāngāga bāḥr*. The Ge’ez letters *d* and *ṣ* are often confused in the Eth mss. as they would later be pronounced the same way.

⁸⁴³ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 721.

⁸⁴⁴ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 721.

⁸⁴⁵ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 721.

⁸⁴⁶ The LXX καὶ εἶπαν οὐχ εὔρομεν ὕδωρ indicates that וַי of the MT was read or was written as וַי in the *Vorlage* of the LXX. This was noted already by Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 154, followed by Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 69; Kugel, *Walk through*, 134; and VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 721–722.

⁸⁴⁷ Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 154; Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 69; Kugel, *Walk through*, 134; VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 722.

⁸⁴⁸ Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 68–69.

Abraham had said to Jacob in Jubilees 22:16 (and presumably the same advice was known to Isaac), nor against those passages in the Torah which prohibited making covenants with Canaanites (Exod 23:32; 34:12, 16; Deut 7:2).⁸⁴⁹ Thus, in an addition by the author of Jubilees, Isaac curses the Philistines with words inspired by Amos 9:2–4 (Jub 24:28–33).⁸⁵⁰ As the text contains a curse that seems to be the opposite of the blessing and promise of Abraham, it seems reasonable to quote it in full, highlighting important phrases, and comment on it briefly.

24:28 “May the Philistines be cursed from among all peoples **at the day of anger and wrath**. May the Lord make them into (an object of) **disgrace** and a **curse**, into (an object of) anger and wrath **in the hands of the sinful nations** and in the hands of the Kittim. 24:29 Whoever escapes from the **enemy’s sword** and from the Kittim may **the just nation** in judgment eradicate from beneath the sky, for they will become **enemies** and **opponents** to my sons during their times on the earth. 24:30 They will have no one left or anyone who is rescued on the **day of judgmental anger**, for all the seed of the Philistines (are meant) for destruction, eradication, and removal from the earth. All of Caphtor will no longer have **either name or seed** left upon the earth. 24:31 For even if he should go up to the sky, from there he would come down; even if he should become powerful on the earth, from there he will be torn out. Even if he should hide himself among the nations, from there he will be uprooted; even if he should go down to Sheol, there his punishment will increase. There he will have no peace. 24:32 Even if he should go into captivity through the power of those who seek his life, they will kill him along the way. There will remain for him **neither name nor seed** on the entire earth, because he is going to an eternal curse.”

24:33 This is the way it has been written and inscribed regarding him on the heavenly tablets – to do (this) to him on the day of judgment so that he may be eradicated from the earth.

John Endres and James VanderKam have shown how the curse against Philistea echoes many sayings and doom prophecies against Philistea or other nations in the Hebrew Bible, and thus they refute the view of Robert Charles that the (late) Maccabean confrontation against the Philistine cities is echoed here.⁸⁵¹ Such texts are Amos 1:6–8; 9:1–4 (where כפתור of v. 1 is read as referring to Kaphtor), and Jeremiah 25:15–20; 47:4. Moreover, Sirach 50:23–24 betrays the common attitude against the Philistines during the second Century BCE.

⁸⁴⁹ Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 69–70; VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 722–723.

⁸⁵⁰ As VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 724–725, has noted, the author has probably read כפתור in Amos 9:1 to mean Kaphtor as in v. 7. Thus, the prophecy uttered first against Israel is with this reinterpretation directed against Kaphtor = Philistea!

⁸⁵¹ Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 154–155; Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 70–72; VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 723–725. To be fair, Endres still considers that the attitude towards the cities of the Philistines in the 2nd Century BCE were mirrored here, although he disagrees with Charles concerning the date of the work and that they would reflect especially or only the late Hasmonean period.

One detail, however, which seems to have almost escaped the eye of previous commentators,⁸⁵² is the close relationship between the curse uttered by Isaac here and the end of the Jubilees apocalypse in Jubilees 23:23–24, 30:

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

The shared terminology and thematic similarity are significant: the enemy or adversary, the day of judgment or anger and wrath (admittedly Jub 23:11), sinful nations as a tool against the evil, the final eradication of the enemies, a righteous people or righteous servants. It seems as if in the curse of Isaac precedes what is stated in Jubilees 23:30 (“they will see all their punishments and curses on their enemies”) and is now directed (exemplarily?) towards the Philistines. Neither seed nor name will be left of them, whereas Isaac’s seed will be numerous, and his name will be big.

To summarize this section, the author of Jubilees did not alter the promises given to Isaac that much. Concerning the first set of promises given in Jubilees 24:9–11, the author added the covenant and the commandment to stay in the land in order to make explicit the relationship of the promises to the covenant made with Abraham and also the conditional nature of the promises to the actions of Isaac. This condition can be inferred from the Hebrew text too, but the author of Jubilees has made it explicit. Regarding the second set of promises in Jubilees 24:21–23, the author strengthened the links between the promises given to Isaac and those given to Abraham by adding few details to the promises. As in Genesis, there is no condition given here. By adding the detail of when the nocturnal appearance happened, the author also highlighted the importance of that revelation to Isaac.

In relation to the Philistines, the author shows great disgust, and by rewriting the text he gives an ideal interpretation of his own to the dealings between Isaac and the Philistine king Abimelech: Isaac did not voluntarily accept the covenant but was forced to make one. Therefore, the Philistines are cursed to have the fate which is exact opposite of what awaits the seed of Isaac, that is Jacob.

⁸⁵² VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 724, has recently shown how the sinful nations mentioned remind one of Jub 23:23–24.

4.2.7 Jubilees 26

Jubilees 26:1–35 rewrites Genesis 27:1–41.⁸⁵³ Isaac calls Esau to himself and asks him to hunt game and prepare a dish for him in order that he may bless him (Jub 26:1–2; cf. Gen 27:1–4). Rebekah is eavesdropping, and when Esau has left for the desert to hunt, Rebekah calls Jacob to herself and wants Jacob to obey her (Jub 26:4–6; cf. Gen 27:5–10). At this point, the author adds certain details to Jacob’s reply, most likely in order to show that Jacob honours his father and will not do anything against him (Jub 26:7–8).

Genesis 27:11–12	Jubilees 26:7–8
11 But Jacob said to his mother Rebekah,	7 But Jacob said to his mother Rebekah,
	“MOTHER, I WILL NOT BE SPARING ABOUT ANYTHING THAT MY FATHER EATS AND THAT PLEASES HIM,
	BUT I AM AFRAID, MOTHER, THAT HE WILL RECOGNIZE MY VOICE <i>and wish to feel me</i> .
“Look, my brother Esau is a hairy man, while I am smooth.	8 You know that I am smooth while my brother Esau is hairy.
12 <i>Perhaps my father will feel me,</i>	
and I would be like a mocker <i>in</i> his eyes,	I would be like a mocker <i>before</i> ⁸⁵⁴ his eyes.
	I WOULD BE DOING SOMETHING THAT HE DID NOT ORDER ME, AND HE WOULD GET ANGRY AT ME,
and I would bring a curse on myself and not a blessing.”	and I would bring a curse on myself and not a blessing.”

Jacob’s reply in Jubilees is altered in order to show that he honours his father. His reply in Genesis could be interpreted as him gladly joining in with Rebekah’s scheme. Only the skin is problematic, and he fears getting caught.⁸⁵⁵ In Jubilees, however, Jacob emphasizes that he would do anything that pleases his father, but he would not want to do something which his father had not asked him to do. Thus, his reluctance to follow Rebekah’s orders does not come from his fear of getting caught *per se*, but rather that he would be caught doing something the patriarch had not ordered and thus he would dishonour him.⁸⁵⁶ Moreover, not only the hair but the voice too (perhaps the addition is inspired by the well-known “the voice is Jacob’s but the hands are Esau’s” in Gen 27:22)⁸⁵⁷ would

⁸⁵³ The Latin text has survived only from 26:8 to the beginning of v. 23.

⁸⁵⁴ MT Gen 27:12 בעיניו; LXX ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ; Eth *ba-qədmēhu* “before him;” Jub 26:8 *qədma ‘a‘yāntihu* “before his eyes.” The change of preposition is probably caused by transmission.

⁸⁵⁵ Cf Bill T. Arnold, *Genesis*, NCBC (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 246: “Jacob’s objection to his mother’s proposed subterfuge is not *whether* to do it, but *how* to get by with it (vv. 11–12).”

⁸⁵⁶ Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 87.

⁸⁵⁷ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 748.

reveal to Isaac that he was not the one he had called to himself. Thus, the additions in Jubilees portray Jacob as an obedient son who honours his aged Isaac, even though the author had emphasized before that Jacob does have the right of the firstborn (Jub 24:7), even if Isaac still seems to favour Esau unjustly. The reason for this favouritism is not actually revealed in Jubilees 19:15 at all (cf. Gen 25:28).⁸⁵⁸

Rebekah continues by stating that the curse shall be on her and not on Jacob, if such a thing occurred (Jub 26:9; cf. Gen 27:13). So, Jacob obeys her (this is highlighted by the addition of Jub 26:10a)⁸⁵⁹ and he brings Rebekah what is needed. Rebekah prepares both the dish and Jacob for him to approach Isaac (Jub 26:10–12; cf. Gen 27:14–17).

The reader is already told in Jubilees 19:16–25 that Abraham had ordered Rebekah to take care of Jacob and make it sure that he would take Abraham's place and that all the blessings would be upon him.⁸⁶⁰ Abraham said this because he had recognized that Isaac loved Esau more than Jacob. This in mind, the reader understands that Jacob obeys now (Jub 26:10) the orders of Rebekah, who follows the orders of Abraham, who ultimately follows what he had recognized as God's plan, and which the author has revealed to be God's plan already in the creation story (Jub 2:19–23).⁸⁶¹

Jacob comes to Isaac and their discussion is narrated (Jub 26:13–22). It is worth noting that in Jubilees Jacob never claims to be Esau. He merely says that he is Isaac's son.⁸⁶² Therefore, he does not actually seem to lie or deceive intentionally, he is telling a half-truth.⁸⁶³ Moreover, the author wants to underline that everything happened according to God's plan by adding that Isaac "did not recognize him because there was a turn of affairs from heaven to distract his mind." (Jub 26:18) Thus, ultimately, it was not Rebekah's cunning plan which caused Isaac to bless Jacob, but rather God's plan and the turn of affairs from

⁸⁵⁸ The reason for Isaac's favouritism is not mentioned by Josephus, *Ant.* 1.258, either.

⁸⁵⁹ Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 1:269, and the note by Louis Feldman, ed., *Flavius Josephus: Judean Antiquities 1–4*, FJTC 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 106 n. 809.

⁸⁶⁰ See ch. 4.3.5 below.

⁸⁶¹ Cf. Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment*, 87–88. Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 80, suspects that "the author desired to point once again to Rebekah's stature as the real leader of the family; Jacob's acquiescence to her command also corresponds well with her authority as prophetess." I would hesitate this strong a suspect and instead note that Rebekah is following what Abraham had ordered, although Jub 25 does add a strong flavour to Rebekah's prophetic role (Cf. Also VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 749 n. 19, with which I disagree on the same grounds). However, Rebekah does safeguard the Abrahamic Promise as does Sarah before in Jub 14 and 17.

⁸⁶² Jub 26:13: "I am your son..." cf. Gen 27:18: "I am Esau your firstborn..."; Jub 26:19: "He said, 'Are you my son Esau?' He said, 'I am your son (*'ana waldaka*)'" cf. Gen 27:24 "He said, 'Are you really my son Esau?' He said, 'I am (אני).'" On how the interpretation could be made, see Kugel, *Walk through*, 137; *idem*, *Traditions*, 359–360.

⁸⁶³ Berger, *Jubiläen*, 455–456; Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 88–89; VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 750. VanderKam also gives a valid interpretation as to why the author, leaving Isaac's original question in Gen 27:18 out, still retained the latter part of Jacob's answer ("I have done as you told me."): Jacob had been obedient to Isaac his whole life.

heaven that distracted Isaac at the crucial moment.⁸⁶⁴ The author, thus, solved the problem inherent in the account of Genesis which could easily have been interpreted as Jacob scheming and doing something horrible: cheating his father.⁸⁶⁵ So, Isaac blesses Jacob in Jubilees 26:23–24:

Genesis 27:28–29	Jubilees 26:23–24
28 “May God give you of the dew of heaven, and of the fatness of the earth,	23 “May the Lord give you AND MULTIPLY FOR YOU of the dew of heaven, and of the fatness ⁸⁶⁶ of the earth;
and multitude of grain and <i>wine</i> .	MAY HE MULTIPLY ⁸⁶⁷ the multitude of grain and <i>oil</i> ⁸⁶⁸ for you.
29 May peoples serve you, and <i>nations</i> bow down to you.	May peoples serve you, and <i>people</i> ⁸⁶⁹ bow ⁸⁷⁰ down to you.
Become lord to your brothers, and may the sons of your mother bow down to you.	24 Become lord to your brothers ⁸⁷¹ ; may the sons of your mother bow down to you.
	MAY ALL THE BLESSINGS WITH WHICH THE LORD HAS BLESSED ME AND BLESSED MY FATHER ABRAHAM BELONG TO YOU AND TO YOUR SEED FOREVER
May <i>those</i> ⁸⁷² who curse you be cursed, and <i>those</i> who bless you be blessed.”	May <i>the one</i> who curses you be cursed, and <i>the one</i> who blesses you be blessed.”

⁸⁶⁴ Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 89; VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 751. The Ge’ez word *miṭat* “turning, turn” stems from *mēṭa* “to turn” and might reflect Greek μεταστροφή (LXX 1 Kgs 12:15; 2 Chr 10:15) and ultimately Hebrew סבה or נסבה. Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 162; VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 751. On similar interpretations of why Isaac blessed Jacob, see Kugel, *Traditions*, 361–362.

⁸⁶⁵ Regarding the story in Genesis and the morally dubious actions of Jacob and Rebekah, see, e.g., Gerhard von Rad, *Genesis*, Rev.ed., OTL (London: SCM Press, 1972), 279–281; Sarna, *Genesis*, 397–398; E. A. Speiser, *Genesis*, AB 1 (New York: Doubleday, 1962), 211.

⁸⁶⁶ Although the Ge’ez word in both cases (“dew” and “fatness”) is *ṭall*, which usually connotes moisture and dew, it can also refer to “fatness.” Cf. also the verbal form *ṭalla*, which can have meaning “to be fat” (Leslau, *Comparative*, 591). VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 744, 752, did not notice this and translated it as “dew” also here. Even though the words in the MT and LXX Gen 27:28 differ (“dew” and “fatness”), the same word is used in Ge’ez both here and in Eth Gen 27:28, because the semantic range of that word is wider than those in Hebrew and Greek respectively.

⁸⁶⁷ Eth Jub adds the predicate *yābzəḥ* which is not found in Gen 27:28.

⁸⁶⁸ Ms. 44 also adds “wine” along with grain and oil.

⁸⁶⁹ The first occurrence is pl. *’aḥzāb* of *ḥəzb* “nation, people, tribe, sect, gentiles;” the second one is in sg., which can refer to Gentiles in general too (Leslau, *Comparative*, 253). Eth Gen 27:29 follows the LXX ἄρχοντες in rendering it with *malā’əkt* “leaders.” Cf. also Tg. Onq. Gen 27:29.

⁸⁷⁰ Mss. 9, 63 have ipf. *yəsaggadu* (agreeing with LXX Gen 27:29) instead of subj. *yəsgadu* (agreeing with MT Eth Gen 27:29). The difference in writing is very small, being only between *ḥ sa* and *ḥ s/sə*, and most probably the subjunctive is the original here. In the same way, mss. 9, 12, 58, 63 have ipf. for the same verb instead of subj. in the following verse.

⁸⁷¹ Several mss. (17, 21, 35, 38, 39, 42, 44, 47, 48, 58) have sg. (agreeing with LXX Eth Gen 27:29) instead of pl.

⁸⁷² In MT Gen 27:29, the cursing ones are in pl., but the adjectives “cursed” and “blessed” in sg. In LXX Eth Gen 27:29 both are in sg. Nyberg, *Hebreisk grammatik*, §69hh, notes that there are many participles which certainly mean sg. but have plural suffixes. He lists Deut 21:10; 28:48;

From the synopsis above it becomes clear that the blessing is altered very little. The blessing includes the same promises as in Genesis: that the earth will produce food, hegemony over other peoples and Esau (and other brothers?), and that those who bless Jacob will be blessed but those who curse him will be cursed. It is worth noting that the basic promises of seed, name, land and blessing are not found here or in Genesis *per se*.⁸⁷³ Only the land is perhaps alluded to in Genesis 27:28, if ארץ is interpreted as referring to the Promised Land instead of earth in general.⁸⁷⁴ The author has, nevertheless, added allusions to the Abrahamic Promise with his addition in Jubilees 26:24, namely that all the blessings given to Abraham and Isaac would forever belong to Jacob and his seed. Although Genesis 28:4 (“May he give to you the blessing of Abraham, to you and to your seed with you, so that you may take possession of the land where you now live as an alien—land that God gave to Abraham.”) may be the biblical basis,⁸⁷⁵ the addition is reminiscent of what Abraham said to Rebekah few chapters back:

19:23 All the blessings with which the Lord blessed me and my seed will belong to Jacob and his seed for all time. 19:24 Through his seed my name and the name of my ancestors Shem, Noah, Enoch, Malaleel, Enosh, Seth, and Adam will be blessed.⁸⁷⁶

Isaac has done what Abraham knew would happen, and that was the reason behind Abraham ordering Rebekah to take care of Jacob: Jacob is the heir to all the promises and blessings.⁸⁷⁷ Abraham said the same to Jacob too in his last speech (Jub 22:13).⁸⁷⁸ Therefore, the severity of the event is also enhanced. That Rebekah helped Jacob steal Isaac’s blessing from Esau is crucial, since otherwise the blessing would have gone to the wrong person.

Isa 3:12; 54:5; Nah 3:7; Lev 17:14; Ps 149:2; Exod 31:14 and 1 Sam 24:5 as examples. He does not see any reason caused by syntax for this phenomenon and therefore suggests that the Masoretes may have vocalized the text in a wrong way. It is possible that here the consonantal text was not different in the *Vorlage* of the author of Jubilees. Johannes Pedersen, *Hebræsk grammatik*, 2nd ed. (Copenhagen: Poul Branner, 1933), §122f, by contrast, argues that the sg. predicates for pl. subjects are to be understood with distributive force. This could then easily be translated with singular subject in other languages.

⁸⁷³ Cf. von Rad, *Genesis*, 278, “The blessing is strangely independent of the otherwise rather uniformly formulated patriarchal promises (chs. 12.1–3; 13.14–16; 22.17; 26.24; 28.3 f., 13–15; etc.)”

⁸⁷⁴ Cf. Carl Friedrich Keil, *The Pentateuch*, trans. James Martin, K&D 1 (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2011), 177, who is of the opinion that the promises of land (“possession of the land”) and seed (“dominion over nations”) are present in Gen 27:28–29, but that the promise of blessing is generalized in the expression 27:29c.

⁸⁷⁵ Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 163. The other possibility is that the phrase “may those who curse you be cursed, but those who bless you be blessed” evoked the connection to the Abrahamic Promise in the mind of the author of Jubilees, who then made the connection more explicit with his addition in Jub 26:24.

⁸⁷⁶ On the differing translation from VanderKam, see the discussion in ch. 4.3.5 below.

⁸⁷⁷ Kugel, *Walk through*, 137. Cf. Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment*, 88: “The addition transforms Isaac’s blessing into a formal transfer of the covenant promises from one generation to the next.”

⁸⁷⁸ On Jub 22, see ch. 4.3.8 below.

Isaac concludes his blessing and Jacob leaves his father and hides prior to Esau arriving on the scene (Jub 26:25; cf. Gen 27:30).⁸⁷⁹ The discussion between Esau and Isaac follows that of Genesis (Jub 26:26–32; cf. Gen 27:31–38). The author of Jubilees has, however, added something to the “blessing” Isaac utters to Esau:

Genesis 27:39–40	Jubilees 26:33–34
39 Then Isaac, HIS FATHER ⁸⁸⁰ , answered and said to him,	33 Isaac answered and said to him,
“See, away from the fatness of the earth shall your dwelling place be, and away from the dew of heaven on high.	“See, away from the fatness ⁸⁸¹ of the earth shall your dwelling place be, and away from the dew of heaven on high.
40 By your sword you shall live, and you shall serve your brother;	34 By your sword you shall live, and you shall serve your brother;
<i>And it shall happen that when you break loose⁸⁸², you shall break his yoke from your neck.”</i>	<i>May it be that if⁸⁸³ you become great and shake off his yoke from your neck,</i>
	THEN YOU WILL COMMIT AN OFFENCE FULLY WORTHY OF DEATH AND YOUR SEED WILL BE ERADICATED FROM BENEATH THE SKY.”

In Jubilees, Isaac’s “blessing” of Esau follows quite closely the text of Genesis, except with the addition at the end and the clarification of the difficult Hebrew phrase in Genesis 27:40.⁸⁸⁴ However, one important change the author has made is that he substituted “when” (כִּאֲשֶׁר) with “if” (ʿamma = אם). The author of Jubilees has, thus, made the “blessing” uttered by Isaac a curse or a warning. Instead of being a prophecy about Esau removing or breaking the yoke of his brother, perhaps meaning that Edom would not be a vassal to Israel in the minds

⁸⁷⁹ The addition of Jacob hiding (*tahab’a*) in Jub 26:25 seems to be an explanation as to why Esau did not see Jacob, given the Hebrew wording in Gen 27:30 (ויהי אך יצא יצא יעקב מאת פני יצחק) (אביו ועשו אחיו בא מצידו).

⁸⁸⁰ This is lacking in Eth Gen 27:39, but found in the MT LXX (lacking, however, in LXX-ms. 44).

⁸⁸¹ Concerning the Ge’ez *tall* see the note on Jub 26:23 above.

⁸⁸² The MT Hebrew phrase כִּאֲשֶׁר תֵּרֵד has been problematic for ancient commentators. See Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 164; Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 91; Kugel, *Walk through*, 137–138; VanderKam, *Jubilees Translated*, 170; *idem*, *Jubilees*, 755–756; Wevers, *Notes*, 439. תֵּרֵד can be taken as hiph. of ירד “cause to go down” (which would perhaps indicate that the yoke or Jacob’s hegemonial status is taken down), which LXX καθέλγης supports. Alternatively, it can be taken as hiph. of רוד “show restlessness” which would then mean breaking loose from the yoke or servitude (NRSV, see *DCH* 7:426). Sam Gen 27:40 has תהדר which could be either qal “you honour” or more likely niph. “you will be honoured.” On different textual witnesses, see also the note in *BHQ* by Tal, ed., *Genesis*, 147*. On different interpretations in antiquity, see esp. Kugel, *Traditions*, 366–372.

⁸⁸³ Ms. 63 has ʿama “when” instead of ʿamma “if,” but the latter is original and has manuscript support.

⁸⁸⁴ See the textual note above and the literature referred to therein.

of the writer(s) of Genesis, in Jubilees the utterance becomes a warning. *If Esau becomes great and removes the yoke, it will be reckoned as a mortal crime which will result in the eradication of the whole of Esau's offspring beneath the sky.*⁸⁸⁵ The reader of Jubilees is reminded of this utterance when Esau and his sons attack the sons of Jacob in Jubilees 38 but fail bitterly.⁸⁸⁶ The link between the curse uttered by Isaac and Jubilees 37–38 is further supported by the grudge that Esau bears in Jubilees 26:35: “Esau kept threatening Jacob because of the blessing with which his father had blessed him. He said to himself, “The time of mourning for my father is now approaching. Then I will kill my brother Jacob.” (cf. Gen 27:41).⁸⁸⁷

To summarize the analysis on Jubilees 26, the author followed the text of Genesis quite faithfully. With the help of few modifications, additions as well as omissions, however, the author whitewashed Jacob so that he is not lying. Moreover, he emphasizes that the scheming of Rebekah (and Jacob) is actually necessary in order to fulfil the will of God, which Abraham had previously told Rebekah. This connection between Isaac's blessing of Jacob in Jubilees 26 and Abraham's speech to Rebekah in Jubilees 19 is further strengthened by the addition to Isaac's blessing: all the blessings to Isaac and Abraham will be on Jacob and his seed forever. Moreover, the addition to Isaac's “blessing” of Esau makes that prophecy into a warning: It is ordained that Esau should be inferior to Jacob forever, and if he or his descendants, i.e., Edom, ever tried to break free from that yoke of servitude, it would cause the total eradication of his seed. That is the total opposite to the blessing Isaac bestowed on Jacob. Particularism is noteworthy here, and that Jacob becomes the true heir of the Abrahamic Promise becomes clear indeed. The author of Jubilees has connected a blessing which has no explicit connection to the Abrahamic Promise in Genesis to that very promise.

⁸⁸⁵ Kugel, *Walk through*, 137–138, notes that Isaac would certainly not wish bad things for Esau, and warns him instead. I disagree with his interpretation that “his yoke” could possibly refer to God's yoke (too) and not to the yoke of servitude for Jacob. As Esau is to serve his brother according to Isaac's word just prior to this, it is most natural to interpret that “his” refers to Jacob.

⁸⁸⁶ Kugel, *Traditions*, 370–372, has observed that the war between Jacob and Esau in Jubilees 37–38 seems to be related to Isaac's blessing too. Jub 37:8; 38:10, 12–14, allude to the yoke of servitude. See further ch. 4.3.12 below.

⁸⁸⁷ Although most of the Ethiopic mss. contain the G ipf. *yəbaššəḥ* “will come,” many mss. (12, 17, 21, 38, 58, 63) contain the subj. form *yəbšəḥ(o)* instead according to the apparatus of VanderKam (the correct form should however be *yəbšāḥ*, but that might be a typo in the apparatus as there seems to be few in the text, such as *wa'azā* instead of *ma'azā* in the main text in Jub 26:22, but *ma'azā* in the apparatus). In that case, the sentence could be translated: “Let the time of mourning for my father come (to him, adds ms. 12).” The MT Gen 27:41 consonantal text יקרבו without vocal marks can be interpreted either as ipf. ind. or juss., so both options are possible. The LXX has actually imp. ἐγγισάτωσαν which Eth Gen 27:41 follows with *la* + subj. (*la-təqrabo*). Lat is not extant here. With this possible reading, a possibility that the Hebrew text of Genesis gives, Esau's behaviour is even worse in Jubilees: he wishes an early death for his father so that he can kill his brother. This is also how Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 165, translated the text, and Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 91, follows his lead. According to VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 756, this is an inferior reading, but it still has some manuscript support.

4.2.8 Jubilees 27

Jubilees 27:1–27 rewrites Genesis 27:42–28:22.⁸⁸⁸ Rebekah knows, via a dream, what Esau is planning against Jacob. Therefore, she wants Jacob to leave for Haran (Jub 27:1–5). Jacob hesitates because Isaac is aging and he wants to have Isaac order him to leave, because otherwise it would look like he is leaving the old man behind (Jub 27:6).⁸⁸⁹ Rebekah then goes to Isaac and complains about Esau’s wives, and this causes Isaac to summon Jacob and command him to journey forth to Laban:⁸⁹⁰

Genesis 28:1–4	Jubilees 27:9–11
1 So Isaac called Jacob, blessed him, and <i>commanded</i> ⁸⁹¹ him, and said to him,	9 So Isaac called HIS SON ⁸⁹² Jacob, blessed him and <i>instructed</i> him, and said to him,
“You shall not take a wife from the daughters of Canaan.	10 “You shall not take FOR YOURSELF a wife from ANY ⁸⁹³ daughter of Canaan.
2 Set out to <i>Paddan-aram</i> to the house of Bethuel, your mother’s father;	Set out, GO ⁸⁹⁴ to <i>Mesopotamia</i> , ⁸⁹⁵ to the house of Bethuel, your mother’s father;
and take for yourself a wife from there, from the daughters of Laban, your mother’s brother.	and take for yourself a wife from there, from the daughters of Laban, your mother’s brother.
3 May God Shaddai bless you and make you <i>fruitful</i> and make you numerous, <i>that you may become</i> a company of peoples.	11 May the God of Shaddai bless you; may he make you <i>grow</i> and make you numerous. And <i>be</i> ⁸⁹⁶ a company of peoples.

⁸⁸⁸ Part of the Hebrew text has survived (Jub 27:6–7 in 4Q222 and 27:19–20 in 1Q17). The Latin text has survived partly for Jub 27:11–24.

⁸⁸⁹ Cf. Jub 26:7–8. Both these additions confirm that Jacob is honouring his parents. This is true also after he returns (Jub 29:15–20; see also 32:31–32; 33:21; 35:1–6, 9–13).

⁸⁹⁰ On the exegetical brilliance of the author who solves certain questions raised by the text in Genesis, see Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 92–94; Kugel, *Walk through*, 138; VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 760–762.

⁸⁹¹ The Hebrew צוה is semantically quite close to the Ge’ez *gaššaša*. Eth Gen 28:1 lacks the verb completely.

⁸⁹² “His son” is also found in LXX-mss. 78, 527, and in the Eth Gen 28:1.

⁸⁹³ MT Gen 28:1 אשה מבנות כנען but Eth Jub 27:10 *bə’sita ʾəm-kʷallu awālāda kanāʾan* (Cf. Eth Gen 28:1 *bə’sita ʾəm-awālāda kanāʾan*).

⁸⁹⁴ Eth Jub adds *hor* “go,” which is similar to the LXX Gen 28:2 ἀναστὰς ἀπόδραθι (Eth Gen 28:2 *tanšəʾ wa-hur*). Therefore, the addition is most probably due to the translation.

⁸⁹⁵ Cf. LXX Gen 28:2 εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν.

⁸⁹⁶ Whereas in MT Gen 28:3, cons. pf. follows the many *wav* + juss. in order to present the result (“so that,” see Nyberg, *Hebreisk grammatik*, §86ff–gg), *wa-kun* in Jub 27:11 is another imp. in the chain following previous subjunctives. The LXX changes opt. to fut. to indicate the result of the previous optatives. Eth Gen 28:3 has only ipf. forms with fut. force for all the verbs, perhaps following a variant LXX-tradition which has fut. instead of opt. of all the verbs (see Wevers, ed., *Genesis*, 269). Moreover, Eth Gen 28:3 has first “and my God will walk with you,” perhaps being influenced by God’s promise in Gen 28:15.

4 May he give to you the <i>blessing</i> of Abraham, to you and to your seed <i>with</i> you, so that you may possess the land where you live as an alien—which God gave to Abraham.”	May he give to you the <i>blessings</i> of MY FATHER ⁸⁹⁷ Abraham, to you and to your seed <i>after</i> you, so that you may possess the land where you live as an alien—AND ALL THE LAND that the Lord gave to Abraham.
	GO IN PEACE, MY SON.”

The blessing is mostly the same as in Genesis.⁸⁹⁸ As in Genesis, Isaac wishes that God will bless Jacob (general blessing), make him numerous, that Jacob would become a company of peoples (promise of seed) and that the blessings given to Abraham would be on Jacob and his seed *so that* he would possess (*kama t̄aras*) the land (promise of land). Again, the promise of name or reputation is not found either here or in Genesis.

The final promise, however, is different in Jubilees in comparison to the one in Genesis. In Genesis 28:4, Jacob and his seed will possess the land where Jacob resides in as an alien (אֶרֶץ מְגֵרִיד). This is the same land that God gave to Abraham (אֲשֶׁר נָתַן אֱלֹהִים לְאַבְרָהָם). Jubilees 27:11, however, includes two lands that Jacob and his seed will possess: the land where Jacob resides as an alien (*mādra f̄alsat̄aka*; *terram peregrinationis tuae*) and all the land God gave Abraham (*wak̄wallā mādra ʾanta wahabo ʾagziʾabḥēr la-ʾabrāhām*; *et omnem terram quam dedit deus abrahae*). Of course, these two entities can overlap (also totally), but it seems that the promise of land has become wider in Jubilees. One possibility may be that “the land where you reside as an alien” designates Jacob in Mesopotamia, and “all the land that Lord gave to Abraham” refers to the Promised Land.⁸⁹⁹ Given that the promise of land is also widened elsewhere in Jubilees (see esp. Jub 32:17–19 and the analysis below), this is a plausible interpretation.

That the blessings given to Abraham would be on Jacob and his seed is found also in Genesis (although there the word is in the singular). The idea is not developed here in Jubilees but has been highlighted elsewhere and especially in the main blessing Isaac gives Jacob in the version of Jubilees (26:24) as shown

⁸⁹⁷ Cf. LXX Gen 28:4 τοῦ πατρός μου, Eth Gen 28:4 ʾabuka “your father:” (Eth *textus receptus*: ʾabuya “my father”).

⁸⁹⁸ See the textual notes in the synopsis for possible reasons for the minor differences. See also VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 763 n. 18. VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 762–764, also notes many similarities between Rebekah’s blessing of Jacob in Jub 25 and Isaac’s blessing here in Jub 27:9–11 // Gen 28:1–4. On analysis of Jub 25, see ch. 4.3.9 below.

⁸⁹⁹ This is noted also by VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 764. The Geʾez root *fls*, used in *mādra f̄alsat̄aka* also has a connotation of exile and suits Mesopotamia well. Leslau, *Comparative*, 160. This is, however, true only in the Geʾez layer, but perhaps מְגֵרִיד in Gen 28:4 could have the same connotation, at least in the reception history. The root גֵּר is used in Deut to refer to Israel when they “sojourned as aliens” in Egypt (Deut 10:19; 23:8; cf. Exod 22:21; 23:9; Lev 19:34). During the second temple period, in the post-exilic times, a close connection between alienhood in Egypt and exile in Mesopotamia was made, and exodus and return from exile were connected too. See, e.g., Isa 52:4. See also Ezra 1:4, where the Israelites “reside as alien” in Mesopotamia. as well as Lam 4:15, where Israelites cannot “live as aliens” even among foreign nations. See also CD IV, 6 (hitp.).

above. VanderKam is correct in noting that after “the instructions and blessings that Isaac gave to Jacob on this occasion, there could be no question as to whether Jacob was the rightful patriarchal heir.”⁹⁰⁰ This is now what Isaac knows, too, but for the reader of Jubilees that was clear from the beginning and confirmed many times after Jubilees 2.

As Isaac sends Jacob on his way, Rebekah starts to grieve for him (Jub 27:12–13). In an addition to the narrative in Genesis, Isaac comforts Rebekah with the following words (Jub 27:14–18):

27:14 “My sister, do not cry for my son Jacob because he will go in peace⁹⁰¹ and return in peace. 27:15 The Most High God will guard him from every evil and will be with him because he will not abandon him throughout his entire lifetime. 27:16 For I well know that his ways will be directed favorably⁹⁰² wherever he goes until he returns in peace to us and we see that he is in peace⁹⁰³. 27:17 Do not be afraid for him, my sister, because he is just in his way. He is perfect; he is a true man. He will not be abandoned. Do not cry.” 27:18 So Isaac was consoling Rebekah regarding her son Jacob, and he blessed him.

The consolation given to Rebekah by Isaac alludes to the Bethel theophany which follows shortly. The Ge’ez phrase *ba-salām* recurs 4 times in Jubilees 27:14–18 (Lat *in pace* 3x, *cum pace* 1x) and was also added to Isaac’s instruction to Jacob in Jubilees 27:11, as shown above. This is reminiscent of what Jacob wishes in Genesis 28:21 (Cf. Jub 27:24, 27),⁹⁰⁴ namely that God would bring him back *in peace* (בְּשָׁלוֹם). Other allusions also exist: God will guard Jacob, will be with him, and will not *ever* abandon Jacob (cf. Gen 28:15 and Jub 27:24). Interestingly, Genesis 28:14, which contains the promises also given to Abraham, is not alluded to in the consolation given by Isaac. It is also noteworthy that Isaac refers to Jacob’s upright and just behaviour, as he is perfect and true in his actions (that is, not Esau).⁹⁰⁵ Either he assures Rebekah that Jacob will not become unjust during his journey to another land when he is out from under their direct sphere of influence, or that his just actions are also presented as a condition to God’s

⁹⁰⁰ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 763.

⁹⁰¹ I have translated *ba-salām* (Lat *in pace*) as “in peace” instead of “safely” (as VanderKam does) in order to make clear the connection to the Hebrew term שָׁלוֹם, as it seems to allude to Gen 28:21 and 33:18.

⁹⁰² It seems that here VanderKam has translated the verse according to both versions, as Ge’ez *yaššērrāh fānāwihu ba-kʷallu ḥaba ḥora* “his ways will be successful everywhere he goes” is a bit different from the Lat *dirigentur eum omnibus diebus in quibus iter faciet*, thus using the Latin verb *dirigentur* “be directed” and the Ge’ez Dt verb *tašarrāha* “be successful,” thus his translation “will be directed favorably.” This coins the ultimate meaning quite well though.

⁹⁰³ Ge’ez *ba-salām*; Lat *cum pace*.

⁹⁰⁴ I will return to this below.

⁹⁰⁵ “Perfect” (Jub 27:17) seems to stem ultimately from the Hebrew תָּם in Gen 25:27, as Kugel, *Traditions*, 353, points out. See also Jub 35:12. Both the Ge’ez *bə’si mā’əman* and Lat *uir verax* (which VanderKam translates as “true man”) refer to a man who speaks true and is trustworthy and reliable in his speech and actions. The same Ge’ez term is also found in Jub 17:15–18; 18:16 referring to Abraham as reliable and faithful. In Jub 35:12, the Ge’ez term behind “true” is *rātə* “upright, honest, righteous.” The same word is used in Jub 27:17 where Jacob is said to be “just in his ways.”

providence (cf. Jub 15–16; 20; and the analyses of these chapters in chs. 4.2.4, 4.3.3 and 4.3.6). The latter option is the more plausible interpretation, especially in the light of Jubilees 35–36.⁹⁰⁶

After being instructed by Isaac, Jacob continues his journey towards Haran (Jub 27:19–24).

Genesis 28:10–15	Jubilees 27:19–24
10 Jacob left <i>Beer Sheba and went toward Haran</i> .	19 Jacob left <i>the well of the oath</i> ⁹⁰⁷ in order to go ⁹⁰⁸ to Haran DURING THE FIRST YEAR OF THE SECOND WEEK OF THE FORTY-FOURTH JUBILEE [2115]. ⁹⁰⁹
[cf. Gen 12:8; Josh 16:1; 18:12–13; Judg 1:22–23; 1 Sam 13:2]	HE ARRIVED AT LUZ—THAT IS ON THE MOUNTAIN—THAT IS, BETHEL—ON THE FIRST OF THE FIRST MONTH OF THIS WEEK.
11 He <i>happened to come</i> to a certain place and <i>spent the night</i> there, because the sun had set.	He <i>arrived</i> ⁹¹⁰ at the place IN THE EVENING, TURNED OFF THE ROAD TO THE WEST OF THE HIGHWAY ⁹¹¹ DURING THIS NIGHT, and <i>slept</i> ⁹¹² there because the sun had set.

⁹⁰⁶ See the analysis of these chapters in chs. 4.3.11 and 4.3.12 below.

⁹⁰⁷ As usual, the Greek *Vorlage* has translated the Hebrew Beer Sheba and it is then translated to Ge'ez too.

⁹⁰⁸ Ge'ez *kama yaḥor*; Lat *ut iret*; 1Q17 1, 2 לִלְכַת [ל. Cf. MT Gen 28:10 וַיֵּדֶךְ.

⁹⁰⁹ Dating is found at the beginning of the sentence in Lat, but 1Q17 1, 2, agrees with Ge'ez in having the date at the end of the sentence.

⁹¹⁰ The Ge'ez *baṣṣa* also has a connotation of something occurring by accident (Leslau, *Comparative*, 111), but this connotation is weaker than with the MT פָּגַע and the LXX ἀπρόγυτησεν (For the latter, see Wevers, *Notes*, 448).

⁹¹¹ For the differing reading of 1Q17 1, 4 and how it is reconstructed by Milik in *DJD* 1, 82–83, see VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 77–78. See also VanderKam, *Jubilees Translated*, 174; *idem*, *Jubilees*, 759.

⁹¹² MT Gen 28:11 וַיֵּלֶךְ; LXX ἐκοιμήθη “slept;” Eth Gen *wa-bēta* “and he spent the night.” Cf. Jub *wa-noma* “and he slept;” Lat *dormiuit*.

He took from the stones of <i>the</i> place and set (it) UNDER HIS HEAD ⁹¹³ and <i>lay down</i> IN THAT PLACE.	20 He took from the stones of <i>that</i> ⁹¹⁴ place and set it BENEATH THAT TREE. ⁹¹⁵ HE WAS TRAVELING ALONE and <i>fell asleep</i> ⁹¹⁶ .
12 He dreamed that a <i>ramp</i> ⁹¹⁷ was set up on the earth, the top of it reaching to heaven; and that angels of God were ascending and descending on it. 13 And the Lord was standing on it ⁹¹⁸ .	21 He dreamed THAT NIGHT that a <i>stairway</i> was set up on the earth and its top was reaching to heaven; and that angels of the Lord were ascending and descending on it; and that the Lord was standing on it.
He said, “I am YHWH, the God of Abraham, your father, and the God of Isaac.	22 He SPOKE WITH JACOB and said, “I am the God of Abraham, your father, and the God of Isaac.

⁹¹³ Alternatively “beside his head (for protection).” See the same phrase in 1 Sam 26:11–12; 1 Kings 19:6. The stone did not most probably function as a pillow, but as protection. See Gordon Wenham, *Genesis 16–50*, WBC 2 (Dallas: Waco, 1994), 237; Victor P. Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis: Chapters 18–50*, NIBCOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 237.

⁹¹⁴ The Ge’ez *wə’ātu* is probably a translation of the Greek article.

⁹¹⁵ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 757, 759, translates “set it at the place (for) his head beneath that tree.” The phrase concerning the head is lacking in Ge’ez but found in Latin *ad caput sibi*. Cf. Jub 27:26 where *diba rə’su* is found. Although VanderKam says that “the lack of the expression in the Eth. MSS. tradition here may seem the preferred reading, and perhaps it is,” (p. 759) he still adds this to the text with the help of Latin. The omission is, however, *lectio difficilior* and thus preferable, even though hypothetically there is space for מראשתי in 1Q17 1, 5 (VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 79–80). It seems more reasonable that the Latin tradition has added the phrase here in order to harmonize with the known text of Genesis. Furthermore, VanderKam also notes that “there is no obvious scribal trigger for omission of *diba re’su*” (p. 759). Either way, the omission is not important for the study at hand.

⁹¹⁶ MT Gen 28:11 וישכב “lay down;” LXX ἐκοιμήθη “slept;” Eth Gen *wa-bēta* “and he spent the night.” Cf. Jub *wa-noma* “and he slept;” Lat *dormiens*.

⁹¹⁷ The Hebrew סלם is a *hapax legomenon*. The traditional translation of “ladder” comes from the LXX interpretation of it as κλίμαξ “ladder, stairway;” Vulg as *scalae* “ladder, stairway,” followed by Eth Gen 28:12 *sawāsaw* “ladder.” Jub translates it as *ma’ārāg*, a pl. of a *ma*-noun derived from *’arga* “go up,” meaning some sort of an ascent. As it is in pl., it seems to denote steps, i.e., stairs in this case. Lat has *scale*. For a recent analysis of what the Hebrew word means, see Ellen van Wolde, “A Stairway to Heaven? Jacob’s Dream in Genesis 28:10–22,” *VT* 69 (2019): 722–735, who argues for “a descent road,” i.e., a road constructed from above (hence why the word is not used elsewhere too). It seems clear, however, that from the reception historical perspective the word caused problems.

⁹¹⁸ NRSV “beside him.” The problem is to which object does the suffix in עליו refer, namely to סלם or to Jacob? As the suffix is used twice to refer to סלם and the whole scene is Jacob’s dream (cf. LXX Gen 28:13), I see it more reasonable to understand it as referring to Jacob. Also Jub follows this tradition. This is also the interpretation in the, admittedly very late, *Testament of Jacob* (2:15). I reckon that those who do not see the suffix as referring to Jacob are influenced *a priori* by the hypothesis of v. 12 stemming from Elohist and v. 13 from Jahvist, the common thesis in older literary critical studies.

The land on which you are <i>laying</i> I will give to you and to your seed.	The land on which you are <i>sleeping</i> ⁹¹⁹ I will give to you and to your seed AFTER YOU ⁹²⁰ .
14 Your seed will be like the dust of the earth, and you shall <i>spread abroad</i> toward the west and the east and the north and the south.	23 Your seed will be like the dust of the earth. You will <i>become numerous</i> ⁹²¹ toward the west, the east, the north, and the south.
All the <i>families</i> of the <i>earth</i> shall be blessed through you and through your seed.	All the <i>regions</i> ⁹²² of the <i>nations</i> will be blessed through you and through your seed.
15 As for me, I <i>am</i> with you and I will guard you wherever you go, and I will bring you back to this land because I will not leave you until I have done what I have said to you.”	24 As for me, I <i>will be</i> ⁹²³ with you and I will guard you wherever you go, and I will bring you back IN PEACE to this land because I will not leave you until I have done EVERYTHING ⁹²⁴ that I have said to you.”

⁹¹⁹ MT Gen 28:13 has again שכב “lay down,” (also Eth Gen 28:13 cognate verb *sakaba*) which is interpreted as sleeping (*καθεύδω*) in the LXX. Most probably the choice in Jubilees is influenced by the Greek *Vorlage* of the Ge’ez and Lat Jub-translators (Ge’ez *noma* “sleep;” Lat *ordomis* => *obdormis* “you are sleeping.” On the Lat reading, see VanderKam, *Jubilees Translated*, 176).

⁹²⁰ “After you” is found in LXX-mss. and daughter translations of the LXX. See, Wevers, ed., *Genesis*, 272.

⁹²¹ The same Ge’ez verb *bazḥa* in G ipf. (though in 3. sg. m. referring to the seed [cf. the LXX], and not 2. sg. m.) is used also in the Eth Gen 28:14. Certain LXX-mss. (16–79, 129) also have *πλαθυνθήσεται* “you will be multiplied,” thus agreeing with Jub and Eth Gen 28:14, instead of *πλατυνθήσεται* “it will be enlarged.” See Wevers, ed., *Genesis*, 272. Lat Jub *abundabit* “it will overflow” follows the MT Gen 28:14 more closely, although Vulg has *dilataberis* “you will be spread out.” Thus, the difference is probably due to the *Vorlage* and/or translation, and not from the pen of the author.

⁹²² Ge’ez *kʷəllomu baḥāwarta ʾaḥzāb*; Lat *omnes tribus terrae*. I am not sure why VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 757, 768, translates “all the families of the nations,” where the one part seems to be taken from the Lat and the second from the Ge’ez version (He backs up his choice with *tribus* in VanderKam, *Jubilees Translated*, 176, but in which case why not take both from Lat?). Although Dillmann, *Lexicon*, 493, also gives a people in a certain region as a possibly meaning for *baḥēr* (pl. *baḥāwarta*), referring to Gen 41:57 among others, and similarly Leslau, *Comparative*, 91, gives “nation” as a one possible gloss, the basic meaning is a region or district. In that sense the word can also denote a nation living there. See also Lambdin, *Introduction*, 392. Even then the translation of the phrase should be something like “all the (regional) nations of the peoples,” referring first and foremost to the area, not “families of the nations.” Again, Ge’ez is *lectio difficilior* and Lat perhaps conforms with the known text of Gen. Eth Gen 28:14 has *kʷəllu ʾaḥzāba madr* “all the nations of the earth.” Readings in ms. 12 (*ʾaḥzāb baba baḥāwartihomu* “nations in their regions”) and ms. 44 (*ʾaḥzāb madr* “nations, land”) are secondary.

⁹²³ Ge’ez has D ipf. *ʾaḥēlli* indicating fut. Certain Greek witnesses include also *εσομαι*; see Wevers, ed., *Genesis*, 272. Eth Gen 28:15 has G ipf. *ʾaḥawwār* “I will walk”

⁹²⁴ “Everything/all” is also found in LXX Eth Gen 28:15. When discussing the LXX, Wevers, *Notes*, 352, is of the opinion that it may have had a textual basis. Tal, ed., *Genesis*, 148*, comments that the elliptic in MT “produces unease for the translator” and one way to avoid it is to use “empty” words such as “everything,” “all,” or “anything.” Thus, most probably this is not an invention by the author of Jubilees.

It becomes clear in the synopsis that Jubilees includes many additions with which the author changes the episode. First, he dates the event on the first of first month (1/1), a significant date, connected to the sanctuary and offerings in the Hebrew Bible (Exod 40:2, 17; 2 Chr 29:17; Ezek 45:18–19). Moreover, the date is one of the memorial days revealed in the aftermath of the flood (Jub 6:23–31) and the birthday of Levi, as well (Jub 28:14). The connection to the cult is noteworthy here, since the original story is cultic too, but the author wishes to diminish it somewhat.

Namely, in Genesis, Jacob comes to a *certain place* (במקום). במקום with an article has a connotation of a holy place and subsequently also alludes specifically to Jerusalem.⁹²⁵ In Jubilees, by contrast, Jacob arrives immediately in Luz. Thus, when he arrives in “the place” in Jubilees 27:19b, the place is already presented as Luz and not as a possible known cultic place *per se*, although במקום retains the cultic connotation elsewhere in Jubilees 31–32.⁹²⁶ Either the author did not notice the cleverness of במקום at the beginning of the story in Genesis,⁹²⁷ or he wanted to diminish the holiness of the place by giving the reader or listener the geographical detail in the beginning. The latter is a more plausible explanation since the author has an axe to grind regarding Bethel’s status as a cult place in Jubilees 32.⁹²⁸

The author also uses other information about Bethel and Luz in the Bible in order to locate the event. A connection with Abraham’s actions in Genesis 12:8 is made with the addition that Jacob “turned off the road to the west of the highway” (Jub 27:19).⁹²⁹ The author adds a detail that a tree was present in Bethel, beneath which Jacob slept and saw the dream. Here, too, he uses a detail found elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible regarding Bethel (Gen 35:8 mentions an oak).⁹³⁰ Moreover, he wants to emphasize that Jacob was travelling alone, a possible biblical basis being Jacob’s words in Genesis 32:11 that he crossed Jordan only with his staff.⁹³¹

The dream itself (Jub 27:21) and God’s speech in the dream (Jub 27:22–24) are quite similar to the biblical story (Gen 28:13–15), but few changes can be

⁹²⁵ See, e.g., J. Gamberoni, “מקום,” *TDOT* 8:537–540. The word also functions as a *Leitwort* in the story, on which see Rolf Rendtorff, “Beobachtungen zum Aufbau und zur Quellenfrage in Gen 28:10–22*,” *ZAW* 94 (1982): 511–523 (512); Melania Köhlmoos, *Bet-El – Erinnerungen an eine Stadt: Perspektiven der alttestamentlichen Bet-El-Überlieferung*, FAT 49 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 235.

⁹²⁶ See ch. 3.5 above.

⁹²⁷ The LXX omits the article, which, according to Wevers, *Notes*, 448, is “somewhat more appropriate than the Masoretic interpretation of Hebrew.”

⁹²⁸ *Contra* Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 98, who comments that “the author’s transposition [of names to the beginning of the text] demonstrates his desire for absolute clarity in details.”

⁹²⁹ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 767.

⁹³⁰ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 767–768. *Contra* Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 167, and Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 98, who regard that the tree functioned as Asherah here. This is certainly not the case, since even the *maššebah* (cultic erected stone) is interpreted in a non-cultic way, as shown below.

⁹³¹ Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 98.

detected. The basic promises of (1) land, (2) seed and spreading, (3) blessing, (4) presence, (5) guarding and (6) bringing back to the Promised Land are maintained with certain additions. The promise of name or reputation is not present here in either version, which is peculiar given how God's speech in Genesis 28 connects Jacob with the patriarchal promises given to Abraham in Genesis 12:3; 13:14, 16.⁹³²

Regarding the promise of the land, the addition that it will be given to Jacob's offspring "after you" should be regarded only as a phrase that is often found in the patriarchal promises (e.g., Gen 17:7, 9, 19; 35:12),⁹³³ and actually found in certain LXX-variants, too.⁹³⁴ The promise of Jacob and his offspring becoming the instrument of blessing to the *regions* of nations is interesting enough, and found only here (cf. Jub 12:23; 18:16; 24:11). Regarding the individual promises to Jacob, the author has added the detail of bringing Jacob back "in peace" in order to harmonize it with Jacob's vow in Jubilees 27:27 (cf. Gen 28:21). Hypothetically, one can surmise that the reason would be that Jacob would not ask from God something more than God had promised previously, but this might be to read too much into the text (Jacob is still asking for bread and clothing which God does not promise *per se*). Moreover, God had said to Jacob that he will not abandon Jacob before he has done "everything." It is interesting that the author has maintained this promise in this way, since in Jubilees 27:17 Isaac, the reader or listener can understand it alluding to God's promise in Jubilees 27:24 (cf. Gen 28:15), maintains that Jacob will not (ever) be abandoned. Perhaps Isaac's consolation is also to guide the reader's association when one reads the text further: God will not abandon Jacob before he has done everything he promised to do, but the same is true also after he has fulfilled the promises.

VanderKam comments that "[b]y this time in Jubilees, then, Jacob has received words of blessing from Abraham, Rebekah, and Isaac, and God himself has set his imprimatur on them. Jacob is definitely the chosen descendant and successor of Abraham and Isaac."⁹³⁵ VanderKam's words could be modified somewhat to become even clearer: The promises are ultimately about Jacob.

The author of Jubilees has, thus, been mostly interested in dating and harmonizing the text with the help of other details found in the Hebrew Bible regarding Bethel. God's speech itself and the dream are rendered quite faithfully. The only notable exception is that regions of nations rather than families or nations themselves are to be blessed through Jacob and his seed.

Regarding Jacob's actions in what follows, the same is true too: the author has rendered the speech quite faithfully with certain notable exceptions which are discussed below. However, he changes the context of the speeches and the event itself quite radically with few modifications (Jub 27:25–27).

⁹³² On the connection between Jacob and Abraham, see VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 768–769.

⁹³³ As Gen 17:7 and 35:12 are related to the land and, moreover, the promise in Gen 35:12 is given in Bethel, they seem to be what influenced the addition, but I would not see this detail as significant.

⁹³⁴ See the textual note above.

⁹³⁵ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 769.

Genesis 28:16–22	Jubilees 27:25–27
16 Jacob <i>woke from his sleep</i> and said,	25 Jacob <i>slept sleep</i> ⁹³⁶ and said,
“Surely <i>Yhwh is in this place</i> but I did not know (it)!”	“Surely <i>this place is the house of the Lord</i> but I did not know (it)!”
17 He was afraid and said, “HOW ⁹³⁷ awe-inspiring is this place! <i>This</i> is none other than the house of God; and that ⁹³⁸ is the gate of heaven.”	He was afraid and said, “This place, <i>which</i> is nothing but the house of the Lord, is awe-inspiring; and that is the gate of heaven.”
18 So Jacob rose early in the morning, and he took the stone that he had put <i>under his head</i> and set it up for a pillar and poured oil on the top of it.	26 So Jacob rose early in the morning, and he took the stone that he had put <i>at his head</i> and set it up as a pillar FOR A MARKER. He poured oil on the top of it.
19 He <i>called</i> that place Bethel; but the name of <i>the city</i> was Luz at first .	He <i>named</i> that place Bethel. But at first the name of <i>the region</i> ⁹³⁹ was Luz.
20 Jacob made a vow, saying,	27 Jacob made a vow TO THE LORD, saying,
“If God is with me, and guards me on this road which I am going, and gives me food to eat and clothing to wear,	“If the Lord is with me, and guards me on this road which I am going, and gives me food to eat and clothing to wear,
21 so that I return to my father’s house in peace, then the Lord shall be my God,	so that I return to my father’s house in peace, then the Lord shall be my God,
22 and this stone, which I have set up for a pillar, <i>shall be</i> the house of God.	And ALSO this stone, which I have set up as a pillar FOR A MARKER IN THIS PLACE <i>is to become</i> ⁹⁴⁰ the house of the Lord.
And of all that you will give me I will SURELY ⁹⁴¹ tithe to you.”	And of all that you will give ⁹⁴² me I will tithe to you, MY LORD.”

⁹³⁶ Ge’ez *wa-noma yā’qob nəwāma*.

⁹³⁷ Eth Gen 28:17 lacks “how,” and states only that *gərum wə’ətu zəntu mādər* “this land is awe-inspiring.” Jub starts in an almost identical way, *gərum zəntu makān* “awe-inspiring (is) this place.”

⁹³⁸ For the usage of *וזה ... זה*, see *IBHS*, 308–309, and Michael Oblath, “‘To Sleep, Perchance to Dream...’: What Jacob Saw at Bethel (Genesis 28.10–22),” *JSOT* 26.1 (2001): 117–126 (121–122). The demonstrative pronouns refer to different objects in Hebrew, presumably first to the place, and second to the *maṣṣebah*.

⁹³⁹ Ge’ez *bəḥēr* “region” is found also in Eth Gen 28:19; Chrysostom uses *τόπος* which is close to the Ge’ez term. On Chrysostom, see Wevers, ed., *Genesis*, 274.

⁹⁴⁰ MT LXX Eth Gen 28:22 have the verb in ipf. / fut., but all the Jub-mss. except ms. 58 (having ipf.) have G subj. (=jussive) *yəkun*.

⁹⁴¹ The inf. abs. paronomasia is not followed in LXX Eth Gen 28:22 (or they have rendered the inf. abs. *עשר* as a noun “tenth.”). It is not found in Jub either.

⁹⁴² MT LXX Gen 28:22 have the verb “give” in ipf. / fut., but Eth Gen 28:22 and Jub have G pf. Probably one should not understand these differently, since pf. can be used to indicate the future in Ge’ez in certain cases, and that must be the case here. See Tropper, *Altäthiopisch*, §54.134 (also §54.126).

Certain changes in the context are worth noting. First, whereas in Genesis Jacob seems to wake up from a sleep (and then sleeps again?), Jacob of Jubilees continues to sleep and reacts while sleeping, probably in a dream. The change is most probably done in order to harmonize the situation and explain away a discrepancy in Genesis. There, Jacob seems to both wake up immediately after the dream (Gen 28:16) and then also rise again early in the morning (Gen 28:18), but there is no mention of him going back to sleep in between.⁹⁴³

Second, Jacob's reaction (now while sleeping) is different in Jubilees. He does not state that God would be or dwell in the place, Bethel (Gen 28:16). He only states that the place itself must be "the house of the Lord." (Jub 27:25). This conforms with the later post-exilic theology, especially with the Deuteronomic Name-theology, which tried to detach the direct presence of God from the temple by stating that God's name, not God himself, was in the temple.⁹⁴⁴

Third, whereas in Genesis Jacob erects the stone into a *maššebah*, originally representing God's presence in the place, an act which is later forbidden for the Israelites in the Hebrew Bible, and are also ordered to be destroyed later on too (Exod 23:24; 34:13; Lev 26:1; Deut 7:5; 12:3 16:21–22), Jacob of Jubilees sets it up as a pillar for the marker (*ḥawālta la-tə'mart*, Jub 27:27).⁹⁴⁵ With this change, the (forbidden) cultic connotation is omitted and the function of the pillar is altered so it simply marks the place where Jacob is going to tithe to God and build a sanctuary.⁹⁴⁶ Afterwards, when Jacob fulfils his vow and builds an altar there and subsequently tithes (Jub 31:3; 32:4–9), he then actually plans to build the (cultic) place there (*yəḥnəš wə'əta makāna*⁹⁴⁷, Jub 32:16). He is, however, prevented from doing this by the angel of God (Jub 32:22). The pillar itself did not function as a cult object, only as a pillar to mark the place, which is also emphasized with the addition in Jubilees 27:27 that Jacob set up the stone "as a pillar for a marker *in this place*."

In all other respects, the vow is not itself altered and Jubilees closely follows Genesis. If God fulfils his promises, God will become Jacob's God, and Jacob will in turn tithe from everything God has given him, and the place shall become a house of the Lord.

Thus, the author has been more concerned with Jacob's actions than with the Abrahamic Promise itself. The scene retains its significance since it is dated to the *first of the first month*, perhaps because it remains connected to Jacob's belief that Bethel would ultimately be the place where God will be worshipped. As it is later revealed to Jacob, when planning to build the cultic place, this is not actually

⁹⁴³ Similarly VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 769–770; Contra Kugel, *Walk through*, 139, who sees the difference resulting from a mistake for Gen 28:16.

⁹⁴⁴ Regarding "Shem" and "Kabod" -theologies, see Tryggve N. D. Mettinger, *The Dethronement of Sabaoth: Studies in the Shem and Kabod Theologies*, ConBOT 18 (Lund: GWK Gleerup, 1982).

⁹⁴⁵ On the *maššebot* and their function in Antiquity, see, e.g., Tryggve N. D. Mettinger, *No Graven Image? Israelite Aniconism in Its Ancient Near Eastern Context*, ConBOT 42 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1995).

⁹⁴⁶ Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 99; Kugel, *Walk through*, 139; VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 770.

⁹⁴⁷ The odd "to build the place" betrays that in Hebrew most probably מִקְדָּשׁ was there, the word having the cultic connotation as noted before. See further ch. 3.5 above.

the case. God's promise to Jacob still includes the promises God gave to Abraham. That Jacob will return "in peace" is highlighted by harmonizing God's promise with Jacob's vow, and this is an important promise in Jubilees since Isaac refers to it many times when he comforts Rebekah after Jacob has been sent away. Later on, that Jacob returns "in peace" is retained in the double interpretation of Genesis 33:18 in Jubilees 30:1.⁹⁴⁸

Regarding the Abrahamic Promise in Jubilees 27, the same promises of seed, land and blessing are included. The promise of name is not included in either version. However, the promise of land was expanded to include two areas of land: first "the land where you live as an alien," referring most probably to Mesopotamia, and second the Promised Land (Jub 27:11). Moreover, the regions of the nations (Jub 27:23) will be blessed instead of the families/peoples of the earth/land (Gen 28:14). Perhaps these regions also include the people living in those regions, but the emphasis is on the geographical regions rather than the people living there. Thus, the promise of land is expanded and the promise of blessing, which will also affect the nations, is linked to the promise of land. One could say that the promise of land becomes in a sense universalized (widened), whereas the promise of blessing becomes particularized. This trait was also noted regarding the seed, which is often particularized (e.g., Jub 15:15–16), stating that Abraham's seed will become *one nation* from which kings of *nations* will emerge.

4.2.9 Jubilees 32

Jubilees 32 is a rewriting of Genesis 35:7–20.⁹⁴⁹ Since the chapter is analysed from a different point of view and set of questions elsewhere, here I focus only on the rewriting of God's speech (Gen 35:9–13) in Jubilees 32:17–19.⁹⁵⁰

According to Hans Rapp, Jubilees 32 is the high point of theophanies of which Jubilees 12:22–24 is the starting point.⁹⁵¹ Jacob has returned to Bethel and he installs Levi into the priesthood and offers and gives tithes to God via Levi (Jub 32:1–9 and the *halakic* discussion in 32:10–15). Afterwards, Jacob plans to develop ("build") the place into a cultic place and erect an eternal sanctuary in Bethel. During the night, God appears to him (Jub 32:17–19):

Genesis 35:9–13	Jubilees 32:17–19
9 God appeared to <i>Jacob</i> again WHEN HE CAME FROM PADDAN-ARAM, and he blessed him. 10 GOD said to him,	17 The Lord appeared to <i>him</i> DURING THE NIGHT. And He blessed him and said to him,

⁹⁴⁸ See the discussion in ch. 3.2.2 above.

⁹⁴⁹ The Hebrew text of Jub 32:18–21 has been preserved somewhat in 4Q223–224 1 i 1–5.

⁹⁵⁰ See ch. 3 above.

⁹⁵¹ Rapp, *Jakob in Bet-El*, 177.

“YOUR NAME IS JACOB ⁹⁵² ; Your name <i>will be called</i> Jacob no more, but Israel <i>will be your name.</i> ”	“Your name <i>is not to be called</i> Jacob only but your name <i>will be named</i> Israel.” ⁹⁵³
SO HE CALLED HIM ISRAEL. ⁹⁵⁴	
11 GOD said to him,	18 He said to him again ,
“I am God <i>Shaddai</i> .	“I am the Lord <i>who created heaven and earth.</i> ” ⁹⁵⁵
<i>Be fruitful and multiply;</i>	<i>I will hereby make you fruitful</i> ⁹⁵⁶ and <i>multiply you</i> ⁹⁵⁷ VERY MUCH.
A NATION AND A COMPANY OF nations WILL COME FROM YOU,	
and kings will <i>come out from your loins.</i> ⁹⁵⁸	And kings will <i>come from you</i> , AND THEY WILL RULE WHEREVER HUMANITY HAS SET FOOT. ⁹⁵⁹

⁹⁵² Interestingly, this is also lacking from the Eth Gen 35:10 but found in the MT LXX Gen 35:10.

⁹⁵³ I have used very clumsy and literal English for both the Hebrew of Gen and the Ge’ez of Jub in order to show the similarities and dissimilarities. Although the text is phrased differently, the meaning remains almost the same except that instead of “no more,” Jub states that Jacob will not be *only* called Jacob, but (*also*) Israel.

⁹⁵⁴ The sentence is lacking in LXX Eth Gen 35:10. Therefore, it seems plausible that it was also omitted from the Genesis-*Vorlage* of the author of Jubilees. Alternatively, it is also possible that the author wanted to erase the sentence, since Jacob is connected to Israel already in Jub 2. See also Jub 18:19. I regard the first option to be the more plausible explanation for the omission.

⁹⁵⁵ See the discussion below for the difference.

⁹⁵⁶ 4Q223–224 1 i 1 reads והפרייהיכה hiph. pf. “I make you (hereby) fruitful” whereas Ge’ez reads CG ipf. *’aləhhaqaka* “I will make you grow.” The pf. of Hebrew must be performative in nature. On performatives, see Nyberg, *Hebreisk grammatik*, §86j. I have followed 4Q223–224 in the translation.

⁹⁵⁷ Ge’ez CG *wa-’abazzəḥaka* “and I will multiply you.” VanderKam & Milik, “Jubilees,” restore it with hiph. pf. or cons. pf. of רבה in analogy with the previous verb in 4Q223–224 1 i 1 and the verbs found in MT Gen 35:11, which is a very plausible retroversion. The Hebrew verb has a performative function, see Nyberg, *Hebreisk grammatik*, §86j, gg.

⁹⁵⁸ MT מוהלציך יצאו, but Eth Jub *’əmannēka yəkawwānu* which retroverted would be ממה יהיו (cf. Eth Gen 35:11 *yəḏā’u* [interestingly subj.] *’əmannēka*). On the retroversion, see VanderKam & Milik, “Jubilees,” 100–101. VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 886 n. 81, refers to Gen 17:6 as a possible inspiration.

⁹⁵⁹ 4Q223–224 1 i 2, lit. “in every troddening place of the sole [of the foot of the sons of Adam],” differs very slightly from the Ge’ez but the meaning is same. Lat differs somewhat *ubicumque fecerint uestigium pedum suorum aduersus filios hominum* “wherever they will make their footprint against sons of men.” Since 4Q223–224 1 i 2 seems not to have included anything similar to *aduersus* in Latin, that seems to be a later interpretation which emphasizes the difference between the kings emerging from Jacob (Jacob’s seed) and the sons of Adam (mankind in general). See further the discussion below.

12 The land that I GAVE TO ABRAHAM AND ISAAC I will give TO YOU, and to your seed <i>after you I will give</i> the land.”	19 I will give your seed ALL OF the land ⁹⁶⁰ that IS BENEATH THE SKY. THEY WILL RULE OVER ALL the nations JUST AS THEY WISH. And <i>After that, they will gain</i> the ENTIRE land/earth, AND THEY WILL POSSESS IT FOREVER.”
13 Then GOD went up from him AT THE PLACE WHERE HE HAD SPOKEN WITH HIM.	20 WHEN HE HAD FINISHED SPEAKING WITH HIM, he went up from him, AND JACOB KEPT WATCHING UNTIL HE HAD GONE UP INTO HEAVEN.

The synopsis above shows significant changes made by the author both to God’s speech and to the situation concerning the speech itself. This is significant given that elsewhere the author has not significantly altered other speeches uttered by God.⁹⁶¹ God’s speech in Jubilees retains the basic promises of seed and land with no mention either of name or blessing (as in Genesis), although one can note that the imperative to be fruitful and increase is changed into a promise or declaration.⁹⁶² That many peoples will come forth from Jacob is found in Genesis only here and in Genesis 28, whereas regarding Abraham that promise is also found in Genesis 17:5, 16.

This (universalistic?) promise of Jacob too as a source for many nations, found in Genesis 28:11, is, however, omitted in Jubilees. Only one nation comes forth from Jacob. This can be compared with Abraham, who still is a source of many nations also in Jubilees, since he is the father of Ishmael and the sons of Keturah (Jub 15:6–8).⁹⁶³

Instead of many nations, Jubilees 32:18 states only that from Jacob there shall emerge “kings” who rule everything and everyone. Moreover, this same motif of kings coming from Jacob who rule everything is connected *expressis verbis* to the promise of the land. Furthermore, the mention of the kings ruling “nations” may have been taken from the account in Genesis that nations would come from Jacob. The modification changes the meaning totally into a more particularistic interpretation of the promise of seed. In Jubilees 15:16, the author changed the promise so that only one nation would produce the kings for other nations, too.

As the phrasing in Jubilees 32:18 seems to be close to that of Genesis 17:6 (cf. Jub 15:8), it is imperative to note the differences. In Genesis 17:6 and Jubilees 15:8, God promises that generally kings and nations shall come from Abraham. In Jubilees 32:18, however, these kings (presumably coming from Jacob since the author has omitted the crucial phrase of Genesis 35:11) shall rule the nations. Only one nation comes forth from Jacob, who is Abraham’s seed, and therefore

⁹⁶⁰ Although Lat reads “blessings,” it seems to be a corruption, given the context in Jub 35:19 and its base text in Gen 35:12. VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 868, 887 n. 85.

⁹⁶¹ This is noted especially by Rapp, *Jakob in Bet-El*, 192–193. Cf. other speeches by God analysed in this chapter.

⁹⁶² Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 167; Kugel, *Walk through*, 154.

⁹⁶³ See, however, Jub 27:11, where the pl. “nations” is retained (cf. Gen 28:3). This may be due to the fact that there is no mention of the kings ruling other nations, as in Jub 15:15–16 and here in Jub 32:18.

the kings of nations are Israelite kings who show their hegemonial status over the other nations.⁹⁶⁴

Regarding Jubilees 32:18, one should also note certain biblical parallels. In the Hebrew version of Jubilees 32:18, 4Q223–224 1 i 2, we namely read:⁹⁶⁵

וימש[לו בכל מדרוך⁹⁶⁶ כף רגל בני אדם

“They will [ru]le in every **treading place of the sole [of the foot]** of the sons of Adam⁹⁶⁷.”

In particular, the phrase “treading place of the sole of the foot” should be compared with Deuteronomy 2:5:

אל תתגרו בם כי לא אתן לכם מארצם עד מדרך כף רגל כי ירשה לעשו נתתי את הר שעי

“Do not provoke them, for I will not give you any of their land, even a **treading place of the sole of a foot**, because I have given Mount Seir to Esau as a possession.” (Deut 2:5)

Moreover, almost the exact same phrase is found in Deuteronomy 11:24 and Joshua 1:3, too.⁹⁶⁸

כל המקום אשר תדרך כף רגלכם בו לכם יהיה מן המדבר והלבנון מן הנהר נהר פרת ועד הים האחרון יהיה גבלכם

“Every place on which **the sole of your foot treads** shall be yours from the wilderness and Lebanon, from the River, the river Euphrates, to the western sea shall your border be.” (Deut 11:24)

כל מקום אשר תדרך כף רגלכם בו לכם נתתיו כאשר דברתי אל משה

“Every place that **the sole of your foot will tread upon** I hereby give you, just as I promised to Moses.” (Josh 1:3)

These three instances are the only ones in the Hebrew Bible where כף רגל is found along with the root דרך in the meaning “to tread.” On the one hand, the phrase in Deuteronomy 11:24 and Joshua 1:3 indicates that everywhere the Israelites set their foot (qal דרך) would belong to them. In their near context that means the Promised Land. On the other hand, precisely the same phrase as the phrase found in Jubilees 32:18 is used in Deuteronomy 2:5 (now with *ma*-noun מדרוך meaning a place where one treads). In that near context the word is used in a negative way: even though Israelites were going through Edom they would not possess their land, since it belonged to Esau(!). In its original context in Deuteronomy 2:5, this

⁹⁶⁴ Cf. Rapp, *Jakob in Bet-El*, 194: “Im Gegensatz zur Verheißungsrede an Abraham ist die Gottesrede an Jakob durch eine Universalisierung der Herrschaft der Nachkommenschaft Jakobs und durch eine Universalisierung der Landverheißung an diesen Patriarchen gekennzeichnet.”

⁹⁶⁵ See VanderKam & Milik, “Jubilees,” 100–101, for the reconstruction.

⁹⁶⁶ See Elisha Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, §200.26, for the vocalisation *o* instead of *a*.

⁹⁶⁷ Alternatively “Edom.” Ge’ez and Lat support reading “Adam,” as they have interpreted the case (see above), but the Hebrew consonants are open for two interpretations. Cf. Am 9:12, where the MT אדם is interpreted as Adam/man/men in the LXX and Eth. I thank Antti Laato for reference to the verse.

⁹⁶⁸ As noted by VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 886.

emphasized the universal sovereignty of God, since the Israelite God is the one who allots the lands to different peoples and nations.⁹⁶⁹

It can be seen and is further discussed below that Jubilees 32:18 underlines God's sovereignty and universality, since he introduces himself as the creator of heaven and earth. It seems that the author has taken the phrase from Deuteronomy 2:5, which there indicates that Jacob will not possess the land of Esau and transformed that into a promise that Jacob, or Jacob's sons as kings, would actually rule the land of Edom too, since it is a place where mankind has trodden! Perhaps, indeed, an interpretive technique of *gezera shava* was also used here: Deut 2:5; 11:24 and Josh 1:3 including these terms, although not completely rare, were connected to one another to make a creative interpretation.⁹⁷⁰ At the very least the author alluded to Deut 2:5 and turned it upside down. Thus, the promise of seed is turned into a promise of that seed's sovereignty over other nations, including Esau/Edom.⁹⁷¹

As previously mentioned, the promise of the land is connected to the ruling of the land. The author, however, did not stop here. The promise is also widened: it now includes *the whole earth*.⁹⁷² Although the Ge'ez *mādr* and the Hebrew ארץ can mean both "land" and "earth," it seems as if the author has taken the text of Genesis 35:12 to include two different lands or pieces of earth, if the Hebrew text is broken down in two parts: (1) The land promised to Abraham and Isaac (ואתה והארץ אשר נתתי לאברהם וליצחק לך אתגנה), which although has already been expanded as "all of the land that is beneath the sky" (*kwəllā mādra za-mathəta samāy*, Jub 32:19),⁹⁷³ and (2) the land which God will give to Jacob's seed after

⁹⁶⁹ See, e.g., Jeffrey H. Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, The JPS Torah Commentary (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1996), 24: "This theme indicates the universal dominion of God and His involvement in the history of all nations."

⁹⁷⁰ On *gezera shava*, see ch. 2.2.2 above and the literature referred to therein. Of course, the author was also inspired by such texts in the Hebrew Bible where the nations are depicted to bow down to Jacob/Israel (e.g., Am 9:11–12!).

⁹⁷¹ The connection to Esau/Edom is even clearer if אדם in 4Q223–224 1 i 2 should be read as "Edom" instead of "Adam," which, however, suits the context of Jubilees better. Cf. the interpretation of Am 9:12 in the LXX and Eth.

⁹⁷² Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 194; Berger, *Jubiläen*, 484; Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 167; VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 887.

⁹⁷³ The retroversion by Milik & VanderKam, "Jubilees," 100, for the phrase in 4Q223–224 1 i 2–3 is based fully on the Ge'ez and has not survived in the actual manuscript. They reconstruct it as כול הארץ אשר תחת השמים. Latin has, surprisingly, *et dabo semini tuo uniuersas benedictiones quaecumque sunt sub caelo* ("and I will give your seed all the blessings under heaven") which admittedly is *lectio difficilior* but should be disregarded for the obvious reason that the actual exegetical trigger of pausing the Hebrew of Gen 35:12 so that it includes two pieces of land would make absolutely no sense. *Contra* Todd R. Hanneken, "Latin, Jubilees," in *Textual History of the Bible, vol 2: The Deuterocanonical Scriptures*, ed. Frank Feder and Matthias Henze (Leiden: Brill, 2020, online), who argues in favour of the Latin version. The "pausing" of the text in the appropriate places in order to make new readings is a phenomenon also attested elsewhere in Jubilees. For example, in Jub 41:20 the כן על כן said by Judah in Gen 38:26 has been understood as an utterance by the angel of Presence, and not by Judah. This can be attained by ending the reply of Judah before the phrase. See Topias K. E. Tanskanen, "Expectations of a Royal Messiah

him (ולזרעך אחריד אתן את הארץ), where the author most probably understood the הארץ to denote the whole earth (*wa-ʿam-dəḥra-zə*⁹⁷⁴ *yāstagāb[b]əʿu kʷallā mādra wa-γəwarrəsəwwā la-ālam*; “And after that they will gain the whole earth and possess it forever.”; Lat *et post haec optinebunt uniuersam terram et hereditabunt eam in saecula*, Jub 32:19).⁹⁷⁵ The reasoning behind this reading could be as follows: Why does Genesis 35:12 have two different times “I will give” and “land,” and not simply ולזרעך אחריד לך, as seems to be the case elsewhere (cf. Gen 17:8 ...ונתתי לך ולזרעך אחריד את ארץ)? This change is interesting especially concerning the blessing that Isaac uttered to Judah earlier (Jub 31:18–20), namely that leaders will come forth from Judah and rule Jacob’s sons.⁹⁷⁶

Moreover, this widening of the horizon also seems to hold true with regards to how God introduces himself: Instead of El Shaddai (“God Almighty” in NRSV), he is now the Lord who has created heaven and earth, that is, the whole world.⁹⁷⁷ The Creator God promises Jacob’s offspring universal hegemony.

In these ways the possible universalistic interpretation of Jacob’s seed producing many nations is thus omitted. Instead, the idea is turned the other way around: other nations will be under the hegemony of Jacob’s offspring, from which kings will come forth and rule wherever mankind has set foot. The entire earth will be possessed forever by Jacob’s descendants. The question remaining is how this promise is related to the other promises and blessings in the Book of Jubilees. Is this trait of universal hegemony an exception and found only here, or is the same idea also found elsewhere?

It does not seem to be an exception. Similar promises are given to Abraham, namely that his seed would possess the cities of their enemies (Jub 18:15; cf. Gen 22:17). Isaac too blesses Jacob with the same kind of promise (Jub 26:23; cf. Gen 27:29). The theme is further put in the mouth of Abraham in Jubilees 22:11–14,

in the Book of *Jubilees*? The Case of Judah,” in *Herald of Good Tidings: Essays on the Bible, Prophecy, and the Hope of Israel in Honour of Antti Laato*, ed. Pekka Lindqvist and Lotta Valve, HBM 97 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2021), 133–159 (145); Kugel, *Walk through*, 183. See also James Kugel, *The Ladder of Jacob: Ancient Interpretations of the Biblical Story of Jacob and His Children* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 180–185, for atomistic readings of Judah’s reply which then triggers exegetical motifs in early and rabbinical Jewish texts.

⁹⁷⁴ Cf. Eth Gen 35:12 *ʿam-dəḥrēka*.

⁹⁷⁵ The retroversion by Milik & VanderKam, “Jubilees,” 100, for the phrase in 4Q223–224 1 i 3 is based fully on the Ge’ez and Lat versions and has not survived in the actual manuscript. They reconstruct it as ואחר יקחו את כול הארץ וירשוה לעולם.

⁹⁷⁶ On this blessing, see chs. 2.4 and 4.3.10.

⁹⁷⁷ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 886, considers that this change explains the meaning of Shaddai, and refers to LXX Job and Tg. Neof. as other examples. So also Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 166–167. Elsewhere, however, that word is transliterated (Jub 15:3; 27:11), which betrays the fact that most probably the original Hebrew Jubilees did not have Shaddai here either. The author must have had reason to substitute Shaddai with “creator of heaven and earth.” Rapp, *Jakob in Bet-El*, 193, notes the universalistic connotation, too: “Der Blick des Jubiläenbuchs ist nicht auf Israel beschränkt, sondern auf die ganze Menschheit und die ganze Erde ausgeweitet.”

where Abraham gives his last testament to Jacob, too.⁹⁷⁸ The theme is, nevertheless, expanded in a way not found in other passages (except perhaps in Jub 22). It seems reasonable to suggest that this speech by God in Jubilees 32 is the pinnacle of the patriarchal promises, as Rapp argues.⁹⁷⁹ This is even more peculiar, since God’s speech is not altered that much elsewhere. For the author, the Abrahamic Promise given to Jacob by God in Bethel is of crucial importance.⁹⁸⁰

4.2.10 Jubilees 44:1–6

Jubilees 44:1–34 rewrites Genesis 46:1–27.⁹⁸¹ As Jacob leaves Hebron⁹⁸² via the Well of the Oath or Beer Sheba and offers sacrifices, Jacob remembers the vision he had seen in Bethel and is afraid to go to Egypt. A synopsis is of good value here (Jub 44:1–6):

Genesis 46:1–4	Jubilees 44:1–6
1 Israel set out WITH ALL THAT HE HAD.	1 Israel set out FROM HEBRON, FROM HIS HOUSE, ON THE FIRST OF THE THIRD MONTH.
He came to Beer Sheba and offered sacrifices to the God of his father Isaac.	He went BY WAY of the well of the oath and offered a sacrifice ⁹⁸³ to the God of his father Isaac ON THE SEVENTH OF THIS MONTH.
	2 WHEN JACOB REMEMBERED THE DREAM THAT HE HAD SEEN IN BETHEL, HE WAS AFRAID TO GO DOWN TO EGYPT
	3 BUT AS HE WAS THINKING ABOUT SENDING WORD TO JOSEPH THAT HE SHOULD COME TO HIM AND THAT HE WOULD NOT GO DOWN, HE REMAINED THERE FOR SEVEN DAYS ON THE CHANCE THAT HE WOULD SEE <i>a vision</i> (ABOUT) WHETHER HE SHOULD REMAIN OR GO DOWN.
	4 HE CELEBRATED THE HARVEST FESTIVAL—THE FIRSTFRUITS OF GRAIN—WITH OLD GRAIN BECAUSE IN

⁹⁷⁸ Similarly Rapp, *Jakob in Bet-El*, 181; VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 887. See the analyses of these sections in chs. 4.2.5, 4.2.7, and 4.3.8.

⁹⁷⁹ Rapp, *Jakob in Bet-El*, 177.

⁹⁸⁰ Perhaps the *Temple Scroll* is acquainted with at least a similar interpretive tradition as the author of Jubilees who highlights the importance of Jacob’s actions in Bethel, when the text mentions a covenant that God had made with Jacob in Bethel (11QT XXIX, 9).

⁹⁸¹ Only the Ethiopic version has survived.

⁹⁸² The text of Jub 44:1 states Haran, but it must be a corruption of Hebron. See Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 238; VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 1088–1089.

⁹⁸³ MT Gen 46:1 has pl. זבחים but LXX Eth Gen 46:1 have sg.

	ALL THE LAND OF CANAAN THERE WAS NOT EVEN A HANDFUL OF SEEDS IN THE LAND SINCE THE FAMINE AFFECTED ALL THE ANIMALS, THE CATTLE, THE BIRDS, AND HUMANITY AS WELL.
2 God <i>spoke</i> to ISRAEL <i>in visions</i> ⁹⁸⁴ OF THE NIGHT, and said, “Jacob, Jacob.” He said, “Here I am.”	5 ON THE SIXTEENTH the Lord <i>appeared</i> to him and said TO HIM, “Jacob, Jacob.” He said, “Here I am.”
3 Then he said, “I am GOD ⁹⁸⁵ , the God of your <i>father</i> .”	Then he said TO HIM, “I am the God of your <i>fathers</i> ⁹⁸⁶ —THE GOD OF ABRAHAM AND ISAAC.
Do not be afraid to go down to Egypt, for I will <i>set</i> you into a great nation there.	Do not be afraid to go down to Egypt, for I will <i>set</i> ⁹⁸⁷ you into a great nation there.
4 I will myself go down with you TO EGYPT, and I will myself ALSO <i>bring you up</i> ;	6 I will myself go down with you and I will myself <i>lead you away</i> . ⁹⁸⁸
	YOU WILL BE BURIED IN THIS LAND,
and Joseph shall put his hand on your eyes.”	and Joseph shall put his hand on your eyes.
	DO NOT BE AFRAID; GO DOWN TO EGYPT.”

As can be seen in the synopsis above, the author has not altered God’s speech that much, but the situation itself is totally different. First, he has dated the event, as is usual. The dating itself is not, however, arbitrary at all.⁹⁸⁹ The theophany is dated to 16/3, i.e., the following day after the Festival of Weeks or Firstfruits

⁹⁸⁴ MT Gen 46:2 pl. but LXX Eth Gen 46:2 sg. “vision,” which may be caused by reading מראת as fem. sg. st. cstr. instead of pl. as the Masoretes have vocalized it. It seems that Jub 44:3 has interpreted the word in the same manner. Cf. Wevers, *Notes*, 771, regarding the LXX. See also Tal, ed., *Genesis*, 187*.

⁹⁸⁵ MT Gen 46:3 אלהי אביך אלהי האל אלהי אביך, but Eth Jub seems to follow that of the LXX (and Eth) Gen 46:3 ἐγὼ εἶμι ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων σου without El=God.

⁹⁸⁶ LXX has pl., whereas MT Eth Gen 46:3 have sg. Reading stems probably from the Gen-*Vorlage* of the author of Jub.

⁹⁸⁷ MT Gen 46:3 שים “set, place;” LXX ποιέω “make;” Eth *rassaya* “establish” (cf. Jub 12:22 and the discussion above), but Jub 44:5 uses *šar’a* “set, establish, ordain, decree, legislate” (although mss. 39, 42, 47, 48, 58 use also *rassaya*).

⁹⁸⁸ Jub 44:6 uses *wasada* “lead (away), carry away;” whereas MT Gen 46:4 has hiph. of עלה “bring up.” Perhaps the slight difference between the Ge’ez of Jub and the Hebrew of Gen should be attributed to changes caused by the translation process.

⁹⁸⁹ VanderKam, *Guide to Jubilees*, 124–125; *idem*, *Jubilees*, 1089–1091, is of the opinion that the name of the place as Beer Sheba might have triggered the dating. I would suggest that the main reason is that Jacob wants the covenant to be renewed or confirmed here, as is shown below. The name could very well be an additional trigger or additional grounds for the dating, but there are also events taking place in Beer Sheba that are not connected to the Festival of Weeks, such as Jub 24:21–24.

(15/3), which is the most important festival in Jubilees. As we have seen already, during that festival the covenant already made with Noah (Jub 6) is renewed and confirmed with Abraham (Jub 14 and 15). Isaac was also born during that festival (Jub 16), and Abraham gives his testament to Jacob during that festival as well (Jub 22).⁹⁹⁰ As the original offering is dated to 7/3, Jacob understands that the Festival of Weeks is approaching. He celebrates the festival and remains *in situ* waiting for God's confirmation of the covenant: Is it alright for him to go to Egypt, given that God had prohibited Isaac (in Beer Sheba!) from travelling there during the famine (Jub 24:9–11)?⁹⁹¹ It seems that the mentioning of “visions of the night” (Gen 46:2) triggered the interpretation and a reader could implicitly interpret an incubation taking place here. Moreover, the author connects this event with the dream that Jacob had had in Bethel (Jub 44:2), this connection perhaps again triggered by the “vision” mentioned in Genesis. The earlier vision which Jacob had seen was indeed in Bethel (Jub 27:19–27). That he was afraid is inferred from Genesis 46:3 where God says that Jacob should not be afraid: the addition in Jubilees 44:2–3 explains why God is saying this.⁹⁹²

God does appear and confirms the covenant. The promise of the seed is extant, as well as the personal promises to be with Jacob and to bring him back. No mention of blessing or name is given here. The author has also added the observation that Jacob will be buried “in this land” rather than in Egypt, which is an addition that is true for the narrative both in Genesis and Jubilees (Gen 49:29–33; 50:4–14; Jub 45:15). This addition is connected to the promise of the land in which Jacob is promised to be buried, although the land is not mentioned *expressis verbis* as a promise. The whole situation that Jacob is afraid to leave the

⁹⁹⁰ See also Jub 29:7 where Jacob makes a treaty with Laban.

⁹⁹¹ Berger, *Jubiläen*, 531, notes that in Judaism seven days became a fixed time limit for preparation of a theophany. He refers to 4 Ezra 5:19–6:1; JosAs 13:9 and Mark 9:2. VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 1092–1093, also notes the connection between God's speeches to Jacob in Jub 44:1–6 and to Isaac in Jub 24:9–11.

⁹⁹² Kugel, *Walk through*, 188. Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 189, says that “Jacob's anxiety ... seems slightly inexplicable, except that his anxiety apparently was a nonbiblical element of tradition which he felt compelled to include in his narrative.” Endres also refers to Josephus' *Ant.* 2.170–171 and notes that also there Jacob feared going to Egypt (see also VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 1090 n. 7).

It seems that the tradition stems from the original question which Kugel asks with the text of Gen 46:3, namely what is the reason that Jacob feared, since it can be deduced that he feared, because God says in Genesis that he ought not to fear. Why would God say so if Jacob was not fearful? Different solutions were offered. In Jub, this seems to be connected to the dream Jacob had in Bethel, either to the first one in Jub 27:19–24, or to the second and third ones in Jub 32:17–26. Furthermore, the situation is also connected to Jub 24 where God prohibits Isaac from going to Egypt, although this is not explicitly referred to in the text. Kugel, *Walk through*, 154–157, 188, 273–280, understands Jub 32:20–22a, 24–26, as a later addition (from a third hand and not from his hypothetical Interpolator). If it is a later addition, then one could infer with one option given by Endres, that it would be the original promise in Jub 27:24, given that Jacob had returned in peace: would he, however, return again after leaving the land, this time of his own free will?

Alternatively, VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 1090, gives a plausible interpretation: Jacob knows that he will die in Egypt according to Gen 32:23. Why then would he want to go there?

land must also be kept in mind. This means that the promise of the land is in the background, but not mentioned *expressis verbis*.

The author adds that the “God of the fathers” is precisely the God of Abraham and Isaac. This change can be interpreted as strengthening the link of the vision with the covenant made by God with Abraham and Isaac respectively.⁹⁹³ As with the prohibition for Isaac in Jubilees 24:11, the author has added a commandment on the end, namely that Jacob must go to Egypt.

4.2.11 Synthesis

In the parallel sections of Jubilees, all the basic promises of (1) blessing, (2) land, (3) seed, and (4) name are retained. The author has quite faithfully rendered God’s speeches and promises except in the case of Jubilees 32 (cf. Gen 35). By contrast, the contexts of the utterances of the Abrahamic Promise have often been modified (e.g., Jub 27; cf. Gen 28).

Jubilees includes, however, not a few slight changes, of which the most relevant ones are those made to the original promise (Jub 12:24), Isaac’s blessing of Jacob (Jub 26:24), and God’s speech to Jacob (Jub 32:17–19). The author has already revealed in Jubilees 12:24 that God will have a covenantal relationship with Abraham, Isaac (not Ishmael), Jacob (not Esau), and all Abram’s, that is Jacob’s, seed. Jubilees 26:24 makes Isaac’s blessing, which originally had no allusions to the Abrahamic Promise, into a blessing with which Isaac bestows all the blessings onto Jacob and him alone. Moreover, in God’s speech to Jacob in Bethel (Jub 32), universal hegemony is promised to Jacob and his seed. Thus, these three chapters can be taken as an example of how the author modified the story to delete every possible interpretation that Jacob would not be the rightful heir, the culmination point, and the ultimate goal of the Abrahamic Promise. Jacob’s role, as the rightful heir of the Abrahamic Promise and blessing, is very much whitewashed (esp. concerning how he steals the promise that according to Jubilees rightfully belongs to him without technically lying and at the same time honouring his father greatly in Jub 26). This whitewashing and positive image of Jacob can be contrasted with the modifications that was made to Esau, who is practically cursed by Isaac in the rewritten version of Jubilees 26:33–34 (cf. Gen 27:39–40).

In the following, I offer a synthesis of how the individual promises are expounded in Jubilees. I mostly note those aspects that are new to or different from Genesis.

(1) *Land*. Land is present in every instance where it is found in Genesis, too. That the land was occupied by Canaanites is omitted in certain cases (Jub 13:3; cf. Gen 12:6). In certain other cases, the phrase that the possession of the land is to last forever (e.g., Jub 14:7) is added to the promise. In certain cases, the promise of land covers not only the Promised Land but is actually widened to include Mesopotamia (Jub 27:11) and even the whole earth (Jub 32:18–19). Thus, starting from the borders of the Promised Land, the author widens the promise

⁹⁹³ Similarly VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 1091–1092.

before stating that the whole earth will be under Jacob's hegemony. Perhaps the idea of spheres of holiness and purity is present here: in future Israel will reign from the renewed and purified promised holy land (Jub 1; 23; 31:18–20), which would then affect the whole world (Jub 1:29; 19:24–25).

(2) *Seed*. As already mentioned above, the promise of seed is interpreted to mean Jacob, and Jacob alone. It is interesting, however, that the author has depicted Abraham as vividly first thinking that Lot would be the promised seed, which is then corrected by God (Jub 13:1–4, 17–21). The delay of the fulfilment of the promise of seed is dramatized by the addition that Abraham, after the separation of Lot, demands of God or at least beseeches him desperately (imperative) to give him seed (Jub 14:2). The agency of Sarah is highlighted too when she advises Abraham to sleep with Hagar: the reason for her suggesting this is not that she blames God for her infertility (the detail in Gen 16:2 is omitted from Jub 14:22), but rather that the promise would be fulfilled through Hagar, since she continued not to have a child (Jub 14:21, the imperfect tense denoting habituality/iterativity), especially since Abraham had informed Sarah regarding the promise of seed (Jub 14:21).

Circumcision on the eighth day was obligatory in order to be a part of the seed of Abraham, but it was not the only condition (Jub 15:10–34). According to the author, the keeping of the correct *halakah*, expounded by the author, was also needed in order to be a part of the heir of the promises. Correct circumcision is related to perfectness, which is a condition for fulfilment of the promises (Jub 15:3–4; cf. Gen 17:1–2). Although Abraham was not circumcised on the eighth day, he did circumcise himself immediately after having learned of the commandment (Jub 15). The other perfect individual, and one could argue even more perfect than Abraham since he was circumcised on the eighth day, is Jacob, who is also a true or truthful man (Jub 27:17).

Whereas it is still maintained that Abraham is a father of many nations, and that kings shall come from him (e.g., Jub 15:8), in one instance where a similar promise is found in Genesis concerning Jacob is altered so that it refers to Jacob and his seed alone (Jub 32:18–19). A similar phenomenon has occurred in Jub 15:16 where Isaac is to become *a nation* instead of *nations* (cf. Gen 17:16). However, the plural “nations” is retained in Jubilees 27:11 (cf. Gen 28:3). Furthermore, the promise of seed is connected to the promise of land: Jacob's seed shall have hegemony over the whole earth (Jub 32:18–19). With this subtle change from the plural, nations, to the one singular nation in Jubilees 15:16, the promise of kings of nations emerging from Sarah/Isaac is similarly changed to mean that those kings actually emerge from *one* nation, i.e., Jacob/Israel (cf. Gen 17:16). In this way the author gives a corrective to Jubilees 15:8, too: kings coming from Abraham most probably mean kings coming from Isaac/Jacob. The hegemony may be related to the promise of Abraham's seed inheriting the cities of its enemies (Jub 18:15; cf. Gen 22:17). Perhaps the author did not see the plural “nations” as a problem in Jubilees 27:11 for two reasons. First, the phrasing in Jub 27:11 (cf. Gen 28:3) speaks of *company* of nations (קהל עמים). The Ge'ez rendering of *makbāba aḥzāb* may refer to “a company of tribes,” which could

denote that Jacob is to become a company or assembly of twelve tribes. However, whereas the Ge'ez term *həzb* can also denote a tribe, this is not the case with the Hebrew *עַבְד*, which most probably was the original reading in the Hebrew Jubilees.⁹⁹⁴ A second and more plausible reason is that in the case of Jubilees 27:11 (cf. Gen 28:3), there is no mention of kings and hegemony, as there are in Jubilees 15:15–16 and 32:18–19.

(3) *Name*. It is peculiar that the promise of name is not found either in Genesis or in Jubilees other than in the original promise of Jubilees 12 (cf. Genesis 12). However, the promise of name is prevalent in many passages in Jubilees which do not have a parallel in Genesis. Those are analysed in the following chapter 4.3.

(4) *Blessing*. Concerning the original promise in Jubilees 12:22–24, the universalistic interpretation that Abram will be a blessing is changed so that he is blessed *in the land* which presumably refers to the Promised Land. Thus, the blessing seems to be interpreted in an exclusive way. Elsewhere, the blessing is not elaborated on that much. In Jubilees 18:16 (cf. Gen 22:18), it seems that the blessing is connected to the promise of hegemony over other nations (Jub 18:17). The aspect of dominance seems to be present in Jubilees 27:23, too, where Jacob is an instrument of blessing for the *regions* instead of *families* (cf. Gen 28:14). The ambiguous “become blessed” or “wish blessing” remains ambiguous in the parallel passages of Jubilees as well. Other people will become blessed if they bless Jacob.

It should be noted that the activity of the patriarchs, especially Abraham, is highlighted in Jubilees. In a similar vein, the author emphasizes the conditionality of the Abrahamic Promise in subtle ways. In the rewriting of Genesis 15 in Jubilees 14, as well as in the rewriting of Genesis 17 in Jubilees 15, Abraham is the active part: there is no covenant which is one-sided over and against the ceremony in Genesis 15. The same activity is highlighted in the rewriting of Genesis 12:1–3 in Jubilees 12: Abraham is the one who takes the initiative, not God. Moreover, the conditionality of the promise in the further actions of Abraham is made explicit (e.g., Jub 15:3–4). In Jubilees 18:16, God makes it (hereby) known, that Abraham has been faithful. For this reason, God will fulfil his promises, too (cf. Gen 22:15–17). Abraham's obedience is highlighted further in Jubilees 24:9–11 (cf. Gen 26:2–6), where the author has added that Isaac should obey God too, so that God could fulfil his promises. In most of these cases, the author has made an implicit interpretation of conditionality in the Hebrew text more explicit. The only unconditional promise is found in Jubilees 13:17–21 after Lot separated himself from Abraham. Perhaps the dramatized situation made it *sui generis*. Moreover, Abraham had already obeyed God and left his father and clan before the event!

⁹⁹⁴ The Ge'ez word *həzb* in sg. and pl. is sometimes used in the Ethiopic OT as a translation of the LXX *φυλή* or *δῆμος* and, thus, ultimately the Hebrew *שבט* or *מטה* (e.g., Exod 28:21; Num 18:2; 24:2). Given the base text of Genesis, however, it is implausible that the Hebrew Jub would have had another term than *עַבְד*. Moreover, the Ge'ez *nagad* is a much more common rendering of “tribe” (e.g., Gen 49; Exod 36:21; Num 4:18; 18:2; 32:33 etc.).

4.3 The Abrahamic Promise in the Additions of Jubilees

4.3.1 Jubilees 1:16

Jubilees 1:16 belongs to a longer discourse between God and Moses on the future where Israel and the Israelites neglect the Torah and disobey God. God gives them up to the hands of foreign nations, and they forget his whole Law (Jub 1:5–14).

Jubilees 1:15–18 reads:

1:15 After this they will return to me from among the nations with all their minds, all their souls, and all their strength. Then I will gather them from among all the nations, and they will search for me so that I may be found by them when they have searched for me with all their minds and with all their souls. I will rightly disclose to them abundant peace. 1:16 I will plant them as a righteous plant with all my mind and with all my soul. They will become a blessing, not a curse; they will become the head, not the tail. 1:17 I will build my temple among them and will live with them; I will be their God and they will be my true and righteous people. 1:18 I will neither abandon them nor become alienated from them, for I am the Lord their God.

Matthew P. Monger has conducted an extensive material philological analysis on 4Q216.⁹⁹⁵ According to him, Jubilees 1:15b–25 was lacking from the version of Jubilees Creation Narrative found in that oldest known “manuscript” of Jubilees. Jubilees 1:15b–25 has possibly been added to Jubilees 1 at Qumran during the Second Temple Period.⁹⁹⁶

The passage, which was most probably added during the 1st Century BCE, includes plenty of Deuteronomic traits.⁹⁹⁷ The concept of blessing (Jub 1:16) is not related to any other nation or people, or to Genesis 12:3. Instead, Deuteronomy 28:13 is directly alluded to: “Yhwh will make you the head, and not the tail; you shall be only at the top, and not at the bottom—if you obey the commandments of Yhwh your God, which I am commanding you today, by diligently observing them.” Deuteronomy 28–30 already contain the prediction that Israel would fail to follow the commandments, and be exiled, but would have a chance to return to God. The mention of becoming blessed has no connotations of Genesis 12 here.

⁹⁹⁵ Matthew P. Monger, *4Q216: Rethinking Jubilees in the First Century BCE*. (PhD diss. Oslo: MF Norwegian School of Theology, 2018).

⁹⁹⁶ Monger, *4Q216*, 139–179. Monger’s material philological analysis leads also towards the conclusion that originally 4Q216 contained only sheet 2 (Jub 2, i.e., Jubilees Creation Account), and sheet 1 (Jub 1) was added to this manuscript later. Monger, *4Q216*, 95–115. It should be noted, however, that 4Q216 most probably was an excerpt from Jubilees. See further chs. 1.3.1 and 1.4.1 above.

⁹⁹⁷ On the Deuteronomic influence on Jub 1, see further ch. 3.7 above.

4.3.2 Jubilees 2:19–25

Jubilees 2:19–25 belongs to the Jubilees Creation Account where the Creation Narratives from Genesis 1–2 have been harmonized.⁹⁹⁸ In Jubilees 2:1–14, God’s creative actions are divided into 22 different kinds or categories of creation (*zamad* Jub 2:15; מניח 4Q216 VII, 4 [retroversion from Ge’ez]). God ends his creation work on the sixth day and then gives a great sign, the sabbath, to the two highest categories of angels, the angels of Presence and the angels of Holiness, so that they would keep the sabbath with them both in heaven and on earth (Jub 2:16–18). The section in question then follows (Jub 2:19–25):

2:19 He said to us [the angels]: “I will now separate a people for myself among my nations. They, too, will keep Sabbath. I will sanctify a 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.]⁹⁹⁹ They will be my people and I will be their God. 2:20 I¹⁰⁰⁰ have hereby¹⁰⁰¹ chosen the seed of Jacob as a treasured people from all the nations. I have recorded them hereby as my firstborn son and have sanctified them for myself throughout the ages of eternity. I will tell them about the seventh day so that they may keep Sabbath from all work on it.” 2:21 In this way he made a sign on it by which they, too, would keep Sabbath with us on the seventh day to eat, drink, and bless the Creator of all as he had blessed them and sanctified them for himself as a treasured people out of all the nations; and to be keeping Sabbath together with us. 2:22 He made his commands rise as a fine fragrance that is to be acceptable in his presence for all times.

2:23 There were 22 leaders of humanity from Adam until him; and 22 kinds of works were made until the seventh day. That is blessed and holy and he, too, is blessed and holy. Both were made together for holiness and blessing. 2:24 It was granted to these that for all times they should be the blessed and holy ones. This is the testimony and the first law, as it was sanctified and blessed on the seventh day. 2:25 He created the heavens, the earth, and everything that was created in six days. The Lord gave a holy festal day to all his creation. For this reason he gave orders regarding it that anyone who would do any work on it was to die; also, the one who would defile it was to die.

In this section, the author (and/or the exegetical traditions he uses) made a close connection between Jacob/Israel and the Sabbath: both are blessed and sanctified. James Kugel has pointed out that the exegetical axe to grind here is the question of how Israel (Jacob) can be said to have been God’s firstborn (Exod 4:22) when he was created much later than Adam in Genesis. However, if God had thought of Jacob and already chosen him during the creation, he could be recorded as his firstborn son (Jub 2:20). Jacob was namely in God’s mind before

⁹⁹⁸ On detailed analysis of Jub 2 and its modifications on the base text Gen 1:1–2:4a, see Jacques T. A. G. M. van Ruiten, *Primaeval History Interpreted: The Rewriting of Genesis 1–11 in the book of Jubilees*, JSJSup 66 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 9–70.

⁹⁹⁹ The bracketed section is most probably a later addition, since it is lacking from 4Q216 VII, 10. The idea is still the same as in Jub 2:23.

¹⁰⁰⁰ 4Q216 VII, 10 surprisingly בחר “he has (hereby) chosen.”

¹⁰⁰¹ Pf. forms can have a performative aspect both in Hebrew and in Ge’ez, which I see at use here (cf. ipf. in Jub 2:19 with *nāhu*). Nyberg, *Hebreisk grammatik*, §86j; Weninger, “On Performatives.”

Adam was created. This idea was backed up with a creative interpretation of Genesis 2:3 together with Deuteronomy 7:6, 14. According to Genesis 2:3, ויברך אתו "God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it/him (3rd person singular masculine)." (cf. Exod 20:11). According to Deuteronomy 7:6, 14, Israel too is "holy" and "blessed," as is the Sabbath. Perhaps the latter *nota accusativi* in Genesis 2:3 in third person singular masculine was interpreted as Jacob in God's thoughts. As God blessed and sanctified the seventh day, he similarly blessed and sanctified Jacob/Israel in his thoughts.¹⁰⁰²

It is, however, interesting that, according to Jubilees 2:31, God "blessed but did not sanctify any people(s) and nations to keep the Sabbath during that (day) except Israel alone" (*wa-bāraka... wa-ʾi-qaddasa kwʾllo ḥəzba wa-ʾaḥzāba la-ʾasanbato bāti zaʾənbala ʾəsrāʾēl-hā*). God's blessing, as he creates mankind, is directed to everyone, but his sanctifying is not. Sanctification itself is an act of separating something for special use or from profane use. In the same way as the Sabbath is separated from other days, so is Israel separated from other nations, and thus sanctified, although other nations are also blessed when God blesses humankind. The role of Israel in humankind is analogous to the angels of Presence and Holiness, separated from lower angelic creatures in order to keep the Sabbath with God in heaven and on earth; other angels keep the world running in the meantime (Jub 2:1–3, 17–18). In the same vein, Israel keeps the Sabbath along with these two higher ranks of angels and God, while the rest of humankind keeps the world going in the meantime.¹⁰⁰³

Another perspective on the separation of Israel from the rest of the nations is the use of Hebrew root בָּדַל. The root is used many times in Genesis 1 where God separates light from darkness, day from night and so on (Gen 1:4, 6, 7, 14, 18).¹⁰⁰⁴ This may have led to the understanding that in the same way as God separates one thing from another in creation, God separates Israel from the rest of the nations already in creation, since the same verb is used in certain passages (Lev 20:24, 26; 1 Kings 8:53) concerning the election of Israel by God.¹⁰⁰⁵ Although the verb בָּדַל in the hiphil is not found in the surviving part of 4Q216, VanderKam and Milik supply it in their retroversion of 4Q216 VII, 9–10: אני מבדיל לִי עִם בְּתוֹךְ עַמִּי.¹⁰⁰⁶

To conclude, Jacob was sanctified and chosen already in the creation. Although the Abrahamic Promise is not alluded to in this section, only a general blessing and sanctification is mentioned, the section, nonetheless, still marks the way Jubilees portrays the Abrahamic Family History with the Abrahamic Promise in the centre: The goal from the start is Jacob, not Enoch, Noah, Abraham, or Isaac.

¹⁰⁰² Kugel, *Walk through*, 33–35.

¹⁰⁰³ Cf. van Ruiten, *Primaeval*, 53 n. 100.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 311.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Eth Lev 20:24, 26, and 1 Kgs 8:50 [MT 8:53] have the Ge'ez verb *faḷaṭa*. The same verb is used in Jub 2:19.

¹⁰⁰⁶ VanderKam & Milik, "Jubilees," 19–20.

Later, Abraham's testament to "his son" Jacob in Jubilees 22:10–16 resembles what was said in 2:19–21.¹⁰⁰⁷ This is true especially if the Ge'ez formulation of Jubilees 22:16 to separate oneself from other peoples (*tafaḥaṭ 'əm-ʾaḥzāb*) originally included usage of בָּדַל as Schwarz proposes.¹⁰⁰⁸ Furthermore, the relationship between God and Jacob/Israel is presented as a covenant from the beginning.¹⁰⁰⁹

4.3.3 Jubilees 16:15–19

Jubilees 16:15–19 is an addition to the story of Genesis, which is related to Genesis 18:10, 14. In Genesis, one of the three guests who visit Abraham, and is identified as Lord (Gen 18:10), tells that he will return when Sarah is pregnant. The three men are identified as the angels of Presence in Jubilees ("we"). It is not stated in Genesis, however, that the men, or God, would come back and find Sarah pregnant. So, the author includes a Midrashic addition, which may be inherited from tradition too. Between the report of the birth of Isaac during the Festival of Weeks and his circumcision, which is the first one according to the eternal covenant (Jub 16:13–14), and the celebration of festival of tabernacles or Sukkot, Jubilees adds a story of angels visiting the family (Jub 16:15–19):

16:15 In the sixth year of the fourth week [1987]¹⁰¹⁰ we came to Abraham at the well of the oath. We appeared to him just as we had said to Sarah that we would return to her and she would have become pregnant with a son. 16:16 We returned during the seventh month, and in front of us we found Sarah

¹⁰⁰⁷ Van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 310. Schwarz, *Identität durch Abgrenzung*, 63–81.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Schwarz, *Identität durch Abgrenzung*, 21–23. The root *flṭ* is used in Eth Gen 1 as well as in the command to separate oneself in Jub 22:16.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Schwarz, *Identität durch Abgrenzung*, 22.

¹⁰¹⁰ The years after 15:1 seem to be corrupted. On this, see VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 510–511; *idem*, "Studies in the Chronology of the Book of Jubilees," in *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature*, JSJSup 62 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 522–544 (532–540).

pregnant.¹⁰¹¹ We blessed him and told him¹⁰¹² everything that had been commanded for him: that he would not yet die until he became the father of six sons and (that) he would see them before he died; but (that) through Isaac he would have a name and a seed. 16:17 All the descendants of his sons would become nations and be numbered with the nations. But one of Isaac's sons would become a holy seed 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 the (share) that God owns so that they would become a treasured¹⁰¹³ people of the Lord out of all the nations; and that they would become a kingdom of priests¹⁰¹⁴ and a holy people. 16:19 Then we went on our way and told Sarah all that we had reported to him. The two of them were extremely happy."

In this section, Isaac or actually one of his sons, namely Jacob, is highlighted. The promised "name" and "seed" would come through Isaac, and through one specific son of Isaac (Jub 16:16–17). A clear distinction is made between the other sons of Abraham and this particular grandson of Abraham. The others, too, will become nations, but they will also be numbered among the (Gentile) nations. One of Isaac's sons, by contrast, will become the "holy seed," and not numbered among the other nations (Jub 16:17), because that particular son would be "God's share" (Jub 16:18). This includes "his whole seed" (*kwəllu zar'u*, Jub 16:18), whereas the seed of his other sons (*wa kwəllu zar'a wəluḍu*, Jub 16:17) are not a part of God's share. That the progeny of the other sons of Abraham are numbered among the nations should be compared with Jubilees 44:34, where it is stated that Er and Onan, as well as those who did not survive to Egypt, were put

¹⁰¹¹ VanderKam translates "had returned" and "had found" in pl.pf. He tries to solve the chronological problem (Isaac would already have been born by the seventh month of 1857 AM) by translating the Ge'ez perfects with pl.pf., which is grammatically possible. Thus, in VanderKam's opinion, 16:16 is a retrospective account about an even earlier visit to Sarah inside the account in 16:15–19. However, the whole reason for the addition in 16:15–19 is to tell about the visit that Genesis fails to mention. So why then would the author invent (with the help of Gen 18:10, 14; cf. Jub 16:4) a visit by angels, inside which the angel tells of a visit that had happened earlier, but which Jubilees does not tell? In my opinion, the chronology is corrupted here, and the perfects in 16:16 should also be translated as the simple past. Alternatively, vv. 13–14 could be taken as a summary and a proper ending for whole vv. 10–14. The addition of the visit in vv. 15–19, thought the author, was better to be placed after the report on Isaac's birth and circumcision. At the time when the *one* visit in vv. 15–19 takes place, Sarah is still pregnant, even though Isaac's birth and circumcision are already mentioned in 16:13–14. Certain scholars opt for a later gloss of vv. 15b–16a here (Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 115; Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 304 n. 83), which is possible, but this lacks manuscript evidence. Of course, one could translate the whole of 16:15–19 in pl.pf. and see it as a retrospective at whole, which makes more sense in my opinion than combining simple past and pl. pfs.

¹⁰¹² The Eth mss. (except ms. 12) contain 3. sg.f. object suffix for the verbs "bless" and "tell," but the Lat has *eum*. Given the Lat evidence as well as v. 19 where it is stated that the angels talked to Sarah (too), the masc. suffix seems to be the original.

¹⁰¹³ Ge'ez *tərsit* "ornament, adornment, glory;" Lat *sanctificatum*. The background of the verse is, however, found in Exod 19:5–6 where the word סגלה is used.

¹⁰¹⁴ *Pro* VanderKam "a kingdom, a priesthood." In the Critical Edition of VanderKam, the text is *mangašta wa-kəhanāta*, "kingdom and priesthood," but ms. 9 has *mangašta kəhnāta* which goes well with the Lat *regnum sacerdotale*. Cf. MT Exod 19:6.

(*tašaymu*)¹⁰¹⁵ among the 70 foreign nations. Hence, they were not real descendants of Jacob, that is, they did not belong to Jacob's seed, which is neither numbered nor put among the nations!

The "name" and "seed" mentioned in Jubilees 16:16 is a general allusion to the Abrahamic Promise. It is attained through Abraham's grandson, Jacob. The term "holy seed" (*zar' qaddus*, Jub 16:17) is related to a remnant of Israel in Isaiah 6:13 and the returnees from exile in Ezra 9:2. Jacob/Israel is also Abraham's seed in Isaiah 41:8.¹⁰¹⁶

The main allusion is to Exodus 19:5–6, where the "treasured people," "kingdom of priests," and "holy people" are shared terms.¹⁰¹⁷ Furthermore, Deuteronomy 32:9 is also alluded to: God's share is Jacob.

In this section Jacob as the means for Abraham's "name" and "seed" is enhanced. Although the section concerns *prima facie* Isaac, he is just a mediator of the true "holy seed" which is Jacob, not Esau.¹⁰¹⁸ A clear distinction is made between Jacob and the other descendants of Abraham, Isaac's progeny included. Both Abraham and Sarah are now aware of the promise and its fulfilment in one of Isaac's sons.

4.3.4 Jubilees 17:1–7

Jubilees 17:1–7 belong to a section of Jubilees 17:1–14 which rewrites Genesis 21:8–21.¹⁰¹⁹ As can be discerned from van Ruiten's synopsis, Jubilees 17:1–3 contains much material not found in Genesis 21:8.¹⁰²⁰ What is important in this scene is the addition in Jubilees 17:1–3, which changes the context of the event and Sarah's reaction. That is why I have analysed it here instead of in chapter 4.2. Jubilees 17:1–7 goes as follows:

17:1 In the first year of the fifth week, in this jubilee [1989], Isaac was weaned. Abraham gave a large banquet in the third month, on the day when his son Isaac was weaned. 17:2 Now Ishmael, the son of Hagar the Egyptian, was in his place in front of his father Abraham. Abraham was very happy and blessed the Lord because he saw his own sons and had not died childless. 17:3 He remembered the message that he had told him on the day when Lot had separated from him. He was very happy because the Lord had given him seed on the earth to inherit¹⁰²¹ the earth¹⁰²². With his full voice he blessed the Creator of everything.

¹⁰¹⁵ Alternatively "named" (*tasamyu*, ms. 12).

¹⁰¹⁶ Cf. van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 190; Kugel, *Walk through*, 103.

¹⁰¹⁷ Rapp, *Jakob in Bet-El*, 179; van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 190.

¹⁰¹⁸ Cf. Francis, "Defining," 275: "The functionally *post eventum* prophecy acknowledges Isaac's precedence among his brothers but immediately relativizes his ultimate significance." Similarly Rapp, *Jakob in Bet-El*, 179.

¹⁰¹⁹ On the rewriting in general, see van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 195–207.

¹⁰²⁰ Van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 196–197.

¹⁰²¹ *Pro* "possess" (VanderKam). Ge'ez *warasa* has the same connotations as its cognate ירש in Hebrew.

¹⁰²² Ge'ez *mādr* can be taken either as "land" or "earth," as the Hebrew ארץ. VanderKam translates as "land," but see the discussion below.

17:4 When Sarah saw Ishmael playing (*yətwānnay*) and dancing (*yəzaffən*)¹⁰²³ and Abraham being extremely happy, she became jealous of Ishmael. She said to Abraham, “Banish this maidservant and her son because this maidservant’s son will not be an heir with my son Isaac.” 17:5 For Abraham the command regarding his servant girl and his son—that he should banish them from himself—was distressing, 17:6 but the Lord said to Abraham: “It ought not to be distressful for you regarding the child and the maidservant. Listen to everything that Sarah says to you and do (it) because through Isaac name and seed will be called to you. 17:7 Now with regard to this maidservant’s son—I will make him into a large nation because he is from your seed.

The additions in Jubilees 17:1–4 are such that they make the situation between Ishmael and Isaac harmonious. Whereas Ishmael “playing” (מְצַחֵק) in Genesis 21:9 has been interpreted with dark shades in Jewish exegetical traditions (e.g., Gen. Rab. 53:11),¹⁰²⁴ Jubilees portrays the situation as purely joyful. The Ge’ez Lt verb *tawānaya* (Jub 17:4) may have a connotation to mockery, as does the Latin *ludo*, but this connotation does not come into play here. If the Ethiopian translator had the verb *παίζω* (LXX Gen 21:9) in his Greek Jubilees, he might well have translated it with two verbs in order to emphasize that no mockery was at play here. Alternatively, the Hebrew author of Jubilees possibly used a similar technique, and Ge’ez resembles a translation of it. The use of two verbs makes the implicit explicit, which is a common trend for the author.¹⁰²⁵ Moreover, if Ishmael had been mocking Isaac, would Abraham have been happy and blessed God (Jub 17:2)?¹⁰²⁶

In Jubilees 17:2, Ishmael is “in his own place in front of his father Abraham.” Abraham sees his sons, Ishmael included, before he dies. He sees both Ishmael and Isaac and blesses God because he had given him “seed,” i.e., descendants, so that “seed” would inherit the land (Jub 17:3). The message referred to in Jubilees 17:3 is what God had told Abram when Lot had separated from him in Jubilees 13:19–21. There, the question of seed and land was highlighted, as is in Abraham’s joy here.¹⁰²⁷ Regarding the promise of land, the Ge’ez word *mādr* is ambiguous and can either refer to the Promised Land or the earth in general. The word should possibly be translated as “earth” in general, since Abraham would then be thanking “the creator of everything.” In the same vein the author has spoken about God as the creator of heaven and earth in Jubilees 32:18–19, where he universalizes the promise of land to refer to the whole earth (see ch. 4.2.9 above).

¹⁰²³ Lat only *ludentem cum isac* “playing with Isaac.” “With Isaac” is found also in the LXX Eth Gen 21:9. Either Lat has been influenced by the tradition of the LXX *Vorlage*, or it may be original. The first option is preferable.

¹⁰²⁴ See further Emmanouela Grypeou and Helen Spurling, *The Book of Genesis in Late Antiquity: Encounters between Jewish and Christian Exegesis*, JCPs 24 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 249–256 on rabbinical traditions on Gen 21:9.

¹⁰²⁵ On examples of the implicit or unclear in Genesis being made explicit or clear in Jubilees, see, e.g., Tanskanen, “Deep Sleep.” In modern times, it is common to translate one verb with, e.g., two different verbs in order to better grasp the nuances of the verb in the target language.

¹⁰²⁶ Cf. Kugel, *Walk Through*, 106; VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 555.

¹⁰²⁷ Similarly Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment*, 78.

As discussed above, in Jubilees 13, Abram seems to have thought that Lot would be the promised seed, since he was his adopted son according to the account of Jubilees. Now, in Jubilees 17, he seems to be thinking that Ishmael would inherit the promises along with Isaac. The connection to the Abrahamic Promise is clear.¹⁰²⁸

In this situation, Sarah's jealousy is explained in a way which differs from those exegetical traditions which emphasize the negative connotations of Ishmael's actions (מצחק).¹⁰²⁹ Sarah is worried and jealous that Abraham would forget that Ishmael is not the one who will inherit the Abrahamic Promise, but rather Isaac and through Isaac Jacob (cf. Jub 15:30–32; 16:15–19). She reacts in a similar way as Rebekah does later when Isaac is preferring Esau over Jacob (e.g., Jub 19:13–31; 25:1–27:18). God's promise is at stake. Therefore, Sarah must act, and Abraham must banish Ishmael and Hagar; Ishmael "will not inherit" (*'i-yəwarrās*) the land with Isaac (Jub 17:4). God confirms that Sarah is right here, and that name and seed will be called to Abraham through Isaac (*ba-yəṣṣəḥq yəṣṣəwwā' laka səm wa-zar'* "Name and seed will be called to you through Isaac," Jub 17:6). It should be noted that "name" is lacking from Genesis 21:12.

It is also worth noting that in Genesis 21:13, God explains his good will towards Ishmael by saying, that "he too is your [Abraham's] seed" (כי זרעך הוא). In Jubilees 17:7, however, Ishmael is "from your seed," (*'əṃ-zar'əka wə'ətu*) not "your seed" (*zar'a zi'aka wə'ətu*, Eth Gen 21:13). The correct seed will be called through Isaac (Jub 17:6), as was announced by the angels earlier (Jub 16:16). With this subtle change, Ishmael is, thus, played out.

This section highlights, even more than the version in Genesis, that Isaac and through him Jacob is the heir of the Abrahamic Promise. The name, seed, and land are all mentioned. Blessing or being blessed, however, is not mentioned here. The banishment of Hagar is made in order to safeguard the Abrahamic Promise, which comes into fruition through Jacob.

4.3.5 Jubilees 19:15–31

Broadly speaking, Jubilees 19 rewrites Genesis 22:20–25:4, 21–28.¹⁰³⁰ The part of interest to this study is, however, Jubilees 19:16–31 which is an *inclusio* to Genesis 25:28.¹⁰³¹ Jubilees 19:15 starts the *inclusio* by stating that "Abraham loved Jacob, whereas Isaac loved Esau." It differs from Genesis 25:28 which has Rebekah instead of Abraham as the subject in the first sentence. The *inclusio* ends in Jubilees 19:31, where the author returns to Genesis 25:28 by modifying it and stating that "Rebekah loved Jacob with her entire heart and her entire being very

¹⁰²⁸ Cf. van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 202: "It seems as if in the eyes of Abraham, the promise of offspring and of the land is made with reference to his two sons and not only to Isaac. He was happy not only because Isaac was born and weaned but also because he had sons, which includes Ishmael."

¹⁰²⁹ Francis, "Defining," 265. For the following, cf. Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment*, 76–80.

¹⁰³⁰ On the rewriting process, see van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 227–251.

¹⁰³¹ Jub 19:9 does mention the promise of land, and credits Abraham for not mentioning it to the Hittites when purchasing the cave of Makpelah, but that detail is not of importance here.

much more than Esau; but Isaac loved Esau much more than Jacob.” Since Jubilees 19:16–31 form a longer addition to Genesis 25:28, I have deemed it as an addition by the author, which explains the reason for Rebekah preferring Jacob over Esau in Genesis 25:28 and later in the Jacob Cycle; hence it being analysed here instead of as a parallel passage in chapter 4.2.

Jubilees 19–23 reveal that Abraham saw Jacob and spent time with him. This elaboration is exegetically possible for the author because an accurate reading of the chronology in Genesis gives the result that Abraham and Jacob had at least 15 years together. According to Genesis 21:5, Abraham was 100 years old when Isaac was born. Genesis 25:20–21 reveals that Isaac was 40 years old when he married Rebekah. Furthermore, according to Genesis 25:26, Isaac was 60 years old when Jacob and Esau were born. According to Genesis 25:7, Abraham died when he was 175 years old. These chronological details combined makes 175–(100+60) = 15 years between the birth of Jacob and Abraham’s death.¹⁰³² The author has utilized this detail to the utmost in Jubilees 19–23.¹⁰³³

Jubilees 19:10–12 narrates that after Sarah died (and Hagar before Sarah, the author hastens to mention), Abraham took a third wife, Keturah. She gives birth to six more sons, and Rebekah becomes Isaac’s wife. In Jubilees 19:13–14, the author narrates the birth of Jacob and Esau. He portrays them graphically with high contrast.¹⁰³⁴ As already mentioned above, Jubilees 19:15 modified Genesis 25:28 by stating that Abraham and not Rebekah is said to love Jacob. Thus, Abraham’s piety instead of Rebekah’s motherly affection is put into stark contrast with Isaac’s preference.¹⁰³⁵ Additionally Isaac’s love towards Esau is not explained in any way (similarly Josephus, *Ant.* 1:257).¹⁰³⁶ In this context, the author has added a long discussion between Abraham and Rebekah, which is the focus here (Jub 19:16–25):

¹⁰³² Van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 229, notes few discrepancies between the chronologies of Gen and Jub. Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 1:257, where Josephus does not take the chronology given in Gen into account but is affected by the sequence in which things are told in Genesis, and states that Rebekah conceived *after* Abraham had died.

¹⁰³³ The author also interpreted Gen 18:18–19 so that Abraham commanded his sons “and his house after him” to keep the way of Yhwh. This is a central passage, which is utilized in Abraham’s many testaments in Jub 20–22, too. On Gen 18:18–19, see the analysis of Jub 35–36, below and ch. 2 above. Cf. van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 227: “In *Jubilees*, much attention is paid to Abraham’s testimonies to his children and grandchildren, and the relationship between Abraham and Jacob is especially pushed to the fore.”

¹⁰³⁴ On the depiction of Jacob and Esau in Jubilees, see Aliyah El Mansy, “‘He is perfect, he is a true man!’ (Jub 27:17): Constructions of Masculinities in Abraham’s Family,” in *Abraham’s Family: A Network of Meaning in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. Lukas Bormann, WUNT 1.415 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 129–144.

¹⁰³⁵ Cf. Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 25–26; Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment*, 81–82.

¹⁰³⁶ I agree with Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment*, 59 n. 29, who disagrees with Endres’ interpretation (*Biblical Interpretation*, 25–26) that the author makes the portrait of Isaac more harmful when leaving the rationale out. Halpern-Amaru notes that it is actually the opposite: the very bad reason for preferring Esau is left out, the preference is only because he was the first-born. Cf. Jub 35:13. Similarly van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 246 n. 38.

19:16 As Abraham observed Esau's behavior, he realized that through Jacob a name and seed would be called to him. He summoned Rebekah and gave her orders about Jacob because he saw that she loved Jacob much more than Esau. 19:17 He said to her, "My daughter, take care of my son Jacob because he will be in place of me (*həyyantēya*)¹⁰³⁷ on the earth and (will be) a blessing (*la-barakat*)¹⁰³⁸ among humanity and the glory of all the seed of Shem. 19:18 For I know that the Lord will choose him as his own people (who will be) more enduring than all who are on the surface of the earth. 19:19 My son Isaac now loves Esau more than Jacob, but I see that you rightly love Jacob. 19:20 Increase your favor to him still more: may your eyes look at him lovingly because he will be a blessing for us on the earth from now and throughout all the generations of the earth. 19:21 May your hands be strong and your mind be happy with your son Jacob because I love him much more than all my sons; for he will be blessed forever and his seed will fill the entire earth. 19:22 If a person is able to count the sand on the earth, in the same way his seed, too, will be counted. 19:23 May all the blessings with which the Lord blessed me and my seed belong to Jacob and his seed for all time. 19:24 Through his seed may my name and the name of my ancestors Shem, Noah, Enoch, Malaleel, Enosh, Seth, and Adam be blessed. 19:25 May they serve (the purpose) of laying heaven's foundations, making the earth firm, and renewing all the luminaries which are above the firmament."

Before analysing this section more closely, a translation problem comes to the fore regarding Jubilees 19:22–24. I have mostly retained the translation of VanderKam above, but in my opinion verses 22–25 should be translated differently. In the Latin palimpsest, all the verbs in Jubilees 19:22–25 are in the future tense (*erit, erunt, benedicetur, erunt*). It may be that Latin preserves the original meaning here. Instead of "wishing" or "commanding" (subjunctive in Ge'ez, as in VanderKam's edition), Abraham is simply *indicating* (future in Latin, imperfect in Ge'ez) what will come to pass in the future.

The Ethiopic manuscript tradition also supports this reading. First, the verb in Jubilees 19:22 is in the imperfect, signifying the future (*yəṭḥwēllaqu* "will be counted" and variations) almost uniformly in VanderKam's listed manuscripts, although certain manuscripts (mss. 38, 39, 42, 48) do have a subjunctive form. Second, the verb in Jubilees 19:24 can be either interpreted as subjunctive (*yəṭbārak* "may be blessed") or imperfect (*yəṭbā[r]rak* "will be blessed").¹⁰³⁹

¹⁰³⁷ *Pro* "will occupy my place" (VanderKam).

¹⁰³⁸ VanderKam adds "will prove," which in my opinion blurs the allusion to the Abrahamic Promise here. Mss 38, 39, 42, 44, 47, 48 and 58 omit the conjunction *wa* before *la-barakat*. If this was the original reading, then the verse would be "because he will be a blessing in place of me on earth among mankind..." (*'əsmā wə'ātu yəkawwən həyyantēya diba mədr la-barakat ba-mā'kala wəluda sab*). Lat supports the critical edition of VanderKam though.

¹⁰³⁹ The doubling of the consonants is not visible in Ge'ez script, and Ge'ez grammars differ whether the Lt imperfect forms do have a doubling of the second radical or not. The verb paradigms of Tropper, *Altäthiopisch*, §44.44, include doubling, whereas Lambdin, *Introduction*, §44.2, is of the opinion that the doubling is found in the tradition, but the doubling was not original. I have, however, retained the doubling in transliterations in order to note the difference between subj. and ipf. forms.

Third, the verb in Jubilees 19:25 is found in the imperfect in various manuscripts (*yākawwānu* “will become” *pro yākunu* “may become” in mss. 17, 35, 38, 48, 57).

Thus, if we follow Latin version here, backed up by our remarks on the Ge’ez manuscript traditions above, we can interpret Jubilees 19:22–25 in the following way:

19:22 If a person is able to count the sand on the earth, in the same way his seed, too, will be counted. 19:23 All the blessings with which the Lord blessed me and my seed will belong to Jacob and his seed for all time. 19:24 Through his seed my name and the name of my ancestors Shem, Noah, Enoch, Malaleel, Enosh, Seth, and Adam will be blessed. 19:25 They will serve (the purpose) of laying heaven’s foundations, making the earth firm, and renewing all the luminaries which are above the firmament.

Abraham bluntly states and indicates the facts: This is what happens with Jacob. Abraham has the same certainty in Jubilees 19:22–25 as in 19:17–18, where the imperfect tenses are used in Ge’ez.

This section gives the correct background for the reader to understand Rebekah’s actions later when she sides heavily with Jacob instead of with her other son, Esau. A modern reader, and why not also an ancient one, might be perplexed over the way Rebekah treats her older son and favours her younger one in Genesis. With the addition in Jubilees 19:16–25, it becomes clear that Abraham has instructed Rebekah to safeguard that Jacob will be the heir, especially when Isaac seems to be fonder of Esau. Rebekah’s situation is similar to Sarah’s situation analysed above (Jub 17:1–7): Rebekah must take action in order to safeguard that the Abrahamic Promise with its blessings will be realized through the right lineage.¹⁰⁴⁰

Abraham’s words contain many direct quotations of or allusions to the Abrahamic Promise. Jacob’s seed will “fill the earth/land” (*za-yəmallā’ kʷallā mādra*, Jub 19:21)¹⁰⁴¹ and be numerous as the sand of the earth (Jub 19:22). “He is blessed forever” (*la-‘ālam yətbārrak*, Jub 19:21) and will also be “a blessing among humanity” (*la-barakat ba-mā’kala wəluda sab’*, Jub 19:17), “a blessing for us on earth” (*yākawwānana*¹⁰⁴² *la-barakat diba mādri*, Jub 19:20). Having a name/reputation is also highlighted: “Through Jacob’s seed the name of Abraham and his forefathers will be blessed” (*wa-ba-zar’u yətbārrak səməya wa-səma ‘abawiya*, Jub 19:24).

Actually, Abraham knows, that Jacob will take his place (*həyyantēya*, Jub 19:17). All the blessings (and one could add the promises) with which Yhwh had blessed Abraham and his seed will belong to Jacob and his seed for all time (Jub 19:23). Thus, Jubilees 19:16–25 highlights that Jacob will be the true (and only)

¹⁰⁴⁰ See also Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment*, 81–83.

¹⁰⁴¹ Lat has *et* after *semen eius* which connects *semen eius* to that being “blessed,” and implicitly the subject of *erit complens* “will fill” is to be taken as Jacob instead of Jacob’s seed as in Ge’ez. The text critical choice between these two readings remains subjective, and both options are defensible. The allusion is to Gen 28:14.

¹⁰⁴² Certain mss. (29, 42, 44, 47, 58) have the obj. suffix *-ani* “to me” instead of *-ana* “to us.”

heir of the Abrahamic Promise.¹⁰⁴³ What is promised to Abraham is promised to Jacob. Moreover, as Harald Wahl has noted, the speech by Abraham in Jubilees 19 comes directly after Jacob is born. Thus, the fact that Jacob takes the place of Abraham is made clear from the beginning of the Jacob Cycle in Jubilees.¹⁰⁴⁴

The promise of land remains ambiguous, however, as the Ge'ez *mādr* can be interpreted as either “land” or “earth” in Jubilees 19:21. Given the allusion to Genesis 28:14 (thematically filling the earth is similar to expanding to every point of compass), however, it may reflect the idea that the seed of Jacob will become numerous in the whole earth. As was noted above, the expansive interpretation of the land promise is also found in Jubilees 32:18–19, and “regions of nations” instead of “families of nations” are blessed in Jubilees 27:23 (cf. Gen 28:14). Therefore, it seems that the author already had that interpretation of the promise of land in mind here.

Furthermore, the question of blessing remains ambiguous. That Jacob is “blessed among humanity” (Jub 19:17) most probably means his extraordinary, blessed status among humanity, since he is to become “glory of all the seed of Shem” in the same sentence. Additionally, according to Jubilees 19:25, Jacob’s seed, i.e., descendants, do have some role in the eschatological future. Is this the way Jacob’s seed is to become a blessing? Would the blessing then be connected with the eschatological era of renewed “luminaries” and “healing” mentioned in Jubilees 1:29; 23:29; passages which may allude to Isaiah 57:18–19; 65:17–18?

The scene continues with Abraham summoning Jacob into the presence of Rebekah (19:26). Abraham, with Rebekah listening in, says to Jacob (Jub 19:27–31):

19:27 My dear son Jacob whom I myself love, may God bless you from above the firmament. May he give you all the blessings with which he blessed Adam, Enoch, Noah, and Shem. Everything that he said to me and everything that he promised to give me may he attach to you and your seed until eternity—like the days of heaven above the earth. 19:28 May the spirits of Mastema not rule over you and your seed to remove you from following the Lord who is your God from now and forever. 19:29 May the Lord God be your Father and you his firstborn son and people for all time. Go in peace, my son.

19:30 The two of them departed together from Abraham. 19:31 Rebekah loved Jacob with her entire heart and her entire being very much more than Esau; but Isaac loved Esau much more than Jacob.

In his speech, Abraham continues to confirm that Jacob is the true heir of all the promises given to him. All the blessings given to Adam, Enoch, Noah, and Shem will be given to Jacob (Jub 19:27). This can be compared with Jubilees 19:24, where additionally Malaleel, Enosh, and Seth are mentioned. Abraham wishes and exhorts in subjunctive that everything that was said and promised to Abraham may be firmly attached (*yātqāʿ*, Jub 19:27) to Jacob and his seed forever.

¹⁰⁴³ Cf. Berger, *Jubiläen*, 421. Kugel, *Walk through*, 116, notes that this is a point which is never stated *explicitly* in Genesis. In its latest form, it is there implicitly.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Harald Martin Wahl, “Die Jakobserzählungen der Genesis und der Jubiläen im Vergleich: Zur Auslegung der Genesis im 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr. und mit Anmerkungen zur Pentateuchforschung,” *VT* 44.4 (1994): 524–546 (532).

This must include the land, too. God being the Father and Jacob being God's (firstborn) son is found here, as in Jubilees 2:20, where God declares Jacob as his firstborn son.¹⁰⁴⁵ The scene in Jubilees 19:27–31 along with 19:16–26 gives the reason for Rebekah's actions in the Jacob Cycle.

To conclude, in Jubilees 19, Abraham makes it clear that Jacob is the true heir of every promise and blessing that God had given to Abraham. He is to take Abraham's place. This directs Rebekah's actions in the Jacob Cycle, too. Jacob is separated out as the sole inheritor of the Abrahamic Promise. Blessing is related to Jacob's extraordinary status and perhaps also to his special role in the eschatological future. The promise of land is widened to cover the whole earth in a similar fashion to Jubilees 32:18–19. The names of Abraham and his forefathers will be blessed via Jacob and his seed. Jacob's seed, which is Abraham's seed, will indeed become numerous and fill the entire earth.

4.3.6 Jubilees 20:9–10

In Jubilees 20, Abraham calls Ishmael with his twelve children, Isaac and both his children, and Keturah with her six children and all their children. When they are gathered around him, Abraham gives a kind of last testament to his descendants ("seed").¹⁰⁴⁶ They are to do on earth what is just, to keep themselves in the way of the Lord and to love one another and be united in every war against those who attack them (Jub 20:2). Interesting enough, Abraham also gives the command to circumcise their sons to the covenant which God had made with them and not deviate from Lord's commands (Jub 20:3). They must refrain from sexual impurity, especially from marrying the Canaanites, who are to be uprooted from the earth (Jub 20:4). In the second section (Jub 20:6–10), Abraham testifies the following to all his descendants (not only to Isaac and his family, and this is of importance):

20:6 Now you keep yourselves from all sexual impurity and uncleanness and from all the contamination of sin so that you do not make our name into a curse, your entire lives into a (reason for) hissing and all your children into something that is destroyed by the sword. Then you will be accursed like Sodom, and all who remain of you like the people of Gomorrah. 20:7 I testify to you my sons: love the God of heaven and hold fast to all his commandments. Do not follow their idols and their uncleanness. 20:8 Do not make for yourselves gods that are molten images or statues because they are something empty and have no spirit in them. For they are made by hands, and all who trust in them all trust in nothing at all. Do not worship them or bow to them.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 147, notes a chiastic structure, where several elements that occur in the first speech are present in the second one too, albeit in a reverse order: election of Israel (vv 18, 29), blessings/promises given to Abraham will be for Jacob (vv. 23, 27), forefathers (vv. 24, 27; but in v. 24, however, "name" of forefathers will be blessed, but in v. 27 their blessings will be bestowed also to Jacob), "above the firmament" (vv. 25, 27).

¹⁰⁴⁶ On last testaments in Jubilees, see David Lambert, "Last Testaments in the Book of Jubilees," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 11.1 (2004): 83–107, and my analysis and certain critical remarks concerning Lambert's interpretation of Jacob not giving a testament in ch. 2.2 above. Cf. van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 262–273; Kugel, *Walk through*, 116–117.

20:9 Rather, worship the Most High God and bow to him continually. Look expectantly for his presence at all times, and do what is right and just before him so that he may be delighted with you, give you his favor, and make the rain to fall for you morning and evening; bless everything that you do – all that you have done on the earth; bless your¹⁰⁴⁷ food and water; and bless the products of your loins, the products of your land, the herds of your cattle, and the flocks of your sheep. 20:10 You¹⁰⁴⁸ will be a blessing on the earth, and all the nations of the earth will desire¹⁰⁴⁹ you. They will bless your sons in my name so that they may be blessed as I am.

The most interesting detail in this section is verses 9–10, where the theme of blessing or becoming blessed is elaborated on (cf. the translation above):

<p>20:9 'allā 'amlaku 'amlāka la'ula wa-səgədu lotu watra wa-tasaffawu gaşşa zi'ahu ba-kw^ollu gizē wa-gəbāru şadqa warət'a ba-qədmēhu kama yaftaw lā'lēkəmu wa-yahabkəmu məhrato wa-yāwrəd lakəmu zənāma nagh wa-sark wa-yəbārək kw^ollo tagbārakəmu kw^ollo za-tagabbarkəmu ba-diba mədr wa-yəbārək 'əklaka wa-māyaka wa-yəbārək zar'a karşəka wa-zar'a mədrəka wa-marā'aya 'əlhəmtika wa-marā'aya 'abāgə'ika.</p>	<p>20:9 Seruite autem deo excelso et adorate eum adorando et sustinendo uultum eius in omni tempore et facite ueritatem et iustitiam in conspectu eius ut dirigat¹⁰⁵⁰ uos et det uobis misericordiam et deponat uobis plubias matutinas et serotinas et benedicat omnia opera uestra quaecumque operati super terram et benedicat panem tuum et aquam tuam et benedicet fructum uteri tui et fructum terrae tuae ut armenta bouum tuorum et egreges ouium tuarum</p>
<p>20:10 wa-təkawwən (sg.) la-barakat ba-diba mədr wa-yəfattəwukəmu kw^ollomu 'ahzāba mədr wa-yəbārrəku wəludəkəmu (suff. pl.) ba-səməya kama yəkunu burukāna ba-kama 'ana</p>	<p>20:10 et eritis (pl.) in benedictione super terra et desiderabunt uos omnes gentes terrae et benedicent in nomine meo filios uestros (pl.) ut sint in benedictionem quemammotum et ego</p>

The blessings bestowed on the actions of Abraham's descendants and their belongings allude to or even quote from many Deuteronomic passages (Deut 7:13; 11:14; 28:3–4, 12).¹⁰⁵¹ In the mind of the author, the blessing (v. 10), the Abrahamic one included, is connected to the blessings and curses given in Deuteronomy 27–30 (cf. Jub 1:15). However, the testament does not allude to the Abrahamic Promise much, other than regarding the being blessed or becoming a blessing.¹⁰⁵²

¹⁰⁴⁷ From here onwards, Ge'ez has 2. sg. m. instead of pl.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Ge'ez (except ms. 63) has 2. sg.; Latin though 2. pl. *eritis*.

¹⁰⁴⁹ *Pro* "will be delighted with you" (VanderKam).

¹⁰⁵⁰ *Dirigat* "lead, direct" is close to *diligat*, which is synonymous with Ge'ez *yaftaw*, may have been the original. This was first suggested by Franz Praetorius, review of *The Ethiopic version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*, by Robert A. Charles, *TLZ* 24 (1895): 613–616 (615), which is followed by Berger, *Jubiläen*, 428; VanderKam, *Jubilees Translated*, 118; *idem*, *Jubilees*, 605.

¹⁰⁵¹ See VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 615–617.

¹⁰⁵² Cf. Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment*, 83: "The testaments, one addressed to a gathering of all the children and another specifically for Isaac, are strikingly devoid of references to covenant and promise." This is partly true, except regarding the blessing.

Verse 10 is clearly an interpretation of the niph'al/hitpa'el form of בָּרַךְ in Genesis 12:3 par., especially Genesis 18:18 given the context of the verse at the end of Abraham's first testament.¹⁰⁵³ The Ge'ez verb *fatawa* as well as *desidero* in Latin have a connotation to longing for something. Especially the Ge'ez *fatawa* often has a strong (but not always) negative connotation of lust. Something is missing, which the one wishes to become true.¹⁰⁵⁴ The descendants, the seed who obey the Mosaic law (in the Deuteronomic mould), are to become an object of lust and longing. Other nations wish to become similar to the descendants of Abraham. When they then "bless" the grandchildren of Abraham, they do so with the help of Abraham's name (*ba-samāya* "in my name") in order for them to become blessed as Abraham was, that is, in order to obtain the same status as Jacob and his family enjoy, the status that they desire (*fatawa*; *desidero*) so much.¹⁰⁵⁵ For me it seems that here the author has interpreted the niph'al/hitpa'el of בָּרַךְ to have a reflexive or reciprocal meaning, not a passive one which is found in the Septuagint (Genesis) or in the New Testament. The other nations wish to be blessed like Abraham, and for that they use Abraham's name as an instrument. That they do so does not mean, however, that they will attain the blessed status of Jacob's seed. That would be difficult for the author to accept, as he makes a clear distinction between Jacob and other nations already in creation where Jacob's status is compared with the status of the Sabbath in relation to profane days and the highest ranks of angels in relation to lower ranks of angels and spirits (Jub 2:19–33).

It is important to note that Abraham's testament here is meant for *all* his descendants, not only for Jacob or even Isaac's family. Even Keturah's family is called to hear Abraham testify. However, the blessing or becoming blessed is *conditional* on keeping the covenant and the covenantal stipulations (the connection to Deut 27–30). In the background lurks Genesis 18:18–19 which is the hermeneutical key for the author in Jubilees 35–36 too in understanding the Abrahamic Promise and its fulfilment as conditional. Ishmael with his sons, and Esau too, hear Abraham's words. Still, they are not chosen, for God knew them (Jub 15:30). The question of predestination and knowing beforehand is at stake here.¹⁰⁵⁶ Possibly, the sudden change to the second person singular instead of the previous second person plural from the end of Jubilees 20:9 to the end of 20:10 may be connected to this idea. Abraham knows that Isaac (and Jacob) is the one who is to be the recipient of the blessing and the one becoming a blessing (*wa-*

¹⁰⁵³ Similarly VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 617; van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 263. Regarding the linguistic problem and Gen 12:3b, see ch. 4.1.2 above.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Lambdin, *Introduction*, 400: "to desire strongly (often, but not necessarily, in bad sense: to lust for; be greedy for)." Cf. Leslau, *Comparative*, 171, who gives meanings "desire, wish, love, covet, lust for, have a liking for" for G *fatawa*. The verb is used, e.g., in Eth Exod 20:17; Eth Deut 5:18 [MT 5:21] (the tenth commandment in the decalogue).

¹⁰⁵⁵ Cf. VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 617. VanderKam does not take the negative connotation of *fatawa/desidero* into account.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Similarly VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 617.

təkawwən la-barakat, Jub 20:10).¹⁰⁵⁷ Even though the testament is formally addressed to everyone, the focus at the end already starts to shift to Isaac, and zooms in to Jacob, who is the only one keeping the way of Yhwh (*kama yə'qabu fənota ʿagzi'abhēr* = יהוה דרך יחיה?) by doing what is just (*ṣədqa* = צדקה?) and what is just and right (*fəth wa-ṣədq* = משפט וצדקה?) on earth (Jub 20:2; cf. Jub 20:9 and Gen 18:19), as will be seen throughout the book of Jubilees.¹⁰⁵⁸

Jubilees 20:11–13 continues the story. Ishmael and his family get mixed with the sons of Keturah and are called Arabs and Ishmaelites. They are separated from Isaac's family and settle a long way from the Promised Land.¹⁰⁵⁹ After this, Abraham gives two additional testaments, one to Isaac concerning the priesthood in particular (Jub 21:1–20), and another to Jacob (Jub 22). We turn to these next.

4.3.7 Jubilees 21:21–26

In Jubilees 21, Abraham calls Isaac and gives him a kind of second testament with orders regarding the priesthood (Jub 21:1–20). The same sort of regulations are found in the *Aramaic Levi Document* (ALD 6–8; 10), where Isaac teaches the regulations to Levi. After giving Isaac regulations concerning the priestly office, Abraham continues:

21:21 “I see, my son, that all the actions of humanity (consist of) sin and wickedness
and all their deeds of impurity, worthlessness, and contamination.
With them there is nothing that is right.
21:22 Be careful not to walk in their ways
or tread in their paths
and commit a mortal sin before the Most High God.
Otherwise he will hide his face from you
and will give you over to the power of your offenses.
He will cut you off from the earth
and your seed from beneath heaven.
Your name and memory¹⁰⁶⁰ will be destroyed from the entire earth.
21:23 Depart from all their actions and from all their abominations.

¹⁰⁵⁷ VanderKam, *Jubilees Translated*, 119, is of the opinion that the Lat 2.pl. in Jub 20:10 reflects the original, while the Ethiopic reading is affected by the copyist(s) who “thought that the blessing sounded proper only for Isaac and his descendants.” However, VanderKam does not take into account that *both* Ge'ez and Lat start using 2.sg. instead of 2.pl. already in 20:9 (although the 2.sg. may be due to the quotation from Deut 28:4). It may be that Latin, along with ms. 63 of Eth Jub having pl. instead of sg., reflects a correction by the scribes who thought that the blessing sounded proper for everyone, since Abraham is still addressing all his offspring. It should be noted, however, that the whole testament in 20:1–11 includes certain syntactical irregularities, on which, see, e.g., van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 257–259.

¹⁰⁵⁸ See further analysis of Isaac's testament in Jub 36 below.

¹⁰⁵⁹ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 618–619.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Ge'ez has *zar'a* “seed,” but Milik read 4Q221 1, 4 as זכרך; and 4Q219 II, 27 has זכרכה, both “your memory.” See VanderKam & Milik, “Jubilees,” 67. Kugel, *Walk through*, 124, points out that the word is a synonym for “name” in Biblical Hebrew. The Hebrew is followed in the translation.

Keep the obligations of the Most High God and do his will.

Then you will be successful in every respect.

21:24 He will bless you in all your actions.

He will raise from you a plant of truth¹⁰⁶¹ in the earth throughout all the generations of the earth.

Then he will not make my name and your name cease from beneath heaven throughout all time.

21:25 Make your way straight, my son, in peace. May the Most High God—my God and your God—strengthen you to do his will and to bless all your seed and the remnant of your seed throughout the generations of eternity with all proper blessings so that you become a blessing on the entire earth.” 21:26

Then he went out from him feeling happy.

In this section, Abraham instructs his son Isaac to hold fast to God’s commandments and to separate himself from other nations and their actions. Isaac will receive blessing if he obeys God. If he fails to live according to the covenantal stipulations, his name and memory will cease to exist (Jub 21:24) and he and his seed will be cut off (הכריתתכן in 4Q219 II, 26; *yāš’errāwaka* “uproot” in Eth Jub 21:22) from beneath heaven. Both the seed and name are mentioned. The land is not mentioned unless the “earth” (*mādr*; ארץ) in Jubilees 21:22 (and 21:25) is understood as the “land” instead. That the word is in parallel with “heaven” in Jubilees 21:22 speaks, however, against any such an interpretation.

According to 4Q219 II, 32 (if VanderKam and Milik’s reconstruction is correct), the blessing in Jubilees 21:25 is to be uttered by Isaac (ולברך את זרעכה) “and to [bless your seed]”), whereas Ge’ez has a new subjunctive here with God as the subject (*wa-yābārək kw’llo zar’āka* “and may he bless all your seed”). If the Hebrew is the correct reading here, then Abraham may be anticipating Isaac’s blessing of Jacob in Jubilees 26:23–24 and 27:9–11 (see the analyses of these passages above). Whether the subject was originally God or Isaac does not change the fact that the recipient of blessing is Isaac’s seed. All the “proper blessings” will be uttered to the seed of Isaac, or “the remnant of your seed” (4Q219 II, 33; שאר זרעכה; *tarafa zar’āka*, Jub 21:25) so that Isaac will become “a blessing on the whole earth” (4Q219 II, 33–34: לברכה בכל הארץ; *kama təkun la*¹⁰⁶²-*barakata ba-kw’llu mādr*, Jub 21:25). What that blessing seems to indicate is that Isaac and/or the remnant of his seed will have an extraordinary status. The relationship to other nations and whether they can enjoy the benefits of that blessing is not elaborated upon.

The remnant of the seed alludes to Jacob, or to a remnant of Jacob (true Jacob?) during the present time of the author. If Isaac is the one blessing the “remnant of your seed” in Jubilees 21:25, the remnant of Isaac’s seed must refer to Jacob. That Jacob would be related to the “remnant of your seed” gains more plausibility if Isaiah’s usage of Jacob as referring to the elected ones and the remnant (Golah

¹⁰⁶¹ Ge’ez *takla šādq* “righteous plant,” which can also be translated as “true plant.” 4Q219 II, 30 has אמר, which is followed in the translation.

¹⁰⁶² The preposition is found in mss. 35, 38, 58, and 63; cf. 4Q219 II, 34.

community) is taken into account (e.g., Isa 41:8; 65:9).¹⁰⁶³ The “plant of truth” most probably refers to Jacob, too, since in Jubilees 16:26 the term is found along with “holy seed” and refers to Jacob.¹⁰⁶⁴ A similar “plant of uprightness” (*takla rət*) is also found in Jubilees 1:16 referring to the eschatological remnant. Jubilees 1:16, however, may be a later redactional addition at Qumran.¹⁰⁶⁵ In my opinion, the addition concurs with the original intention of the author of Jubilees.

To conclude, Jubilees 21 mentions all the themes in the Abrahamic Promise other than the promise of the land. These blessings and promises are directed towards Jacob. They are, however, conditional. One must follow the covenantal stipulations, cultic matters (Jub 21:7–17) included.¹⁰⁶⁶ Given that Abraham’s testament to Isaac in Jubilees 21 is a product of an exegesis on Genesis 18:18–19

¹⁰⁶³ On Jacob and the “remnant” in Isaiah, see further Antti Laato, *Message and Composition of the Book of Isaiah: An Interpretation in the Light of Jewish Reception History*, DCLS 46 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2022), 219–222; On Isa 65:9, see Stefan Green, *Toward Apocalypticism: A Thematic Analysis of Isaiah 65–66* (Åbo: Åbo Akademi University Press, 2020), 99–105. See, additionally, Lena Sofia-Tiemeyer, *For the Comfort of Zion: The Geographical and Theological Location of Isaiah 40–55*, VTSup 139 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 215–250, who argues that Jacob-Israel in Isa 40–55 is interchangeable with Zion-Jerusalem and represents the post-exilic Judahite community in continuity with the past (pre-exilic) community.

¹⁰⁶⁴ See also Jub 16:17, where “holy seed” refers to Jacob, too.

¹⁰⁶⁵ On Jub 1:15b–25, see chs. 1.3.1 and 1.4.1 above and the literature referred to therein.

¹⁰⁶⁶ *Contra* Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 31, one cannot assume that the author is overwhelmingly concerned “with cultic and ritual purity” and neglects “social and ethical issues.” The context of the passage implies that Isaac is now to become the priest, and therefore the author has a good possibility to elaborate on cultic and priestly matters in this situation. Both Abraham and Isaac are mentioned as having built an altar and called upon God’s name in Genesis (Gen 12:7, 8; 13:4; 26:25), as van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 275, 282, has rightly observed. Social and ethical matters are elaborated upon elsewhere (e.g., Jub 35–36). Additionally, Abraham starts his testament by stating that Isaac should keep all God’s “commandments, ordinances, and verdicts.” (Jub 21:5) 4Q220 1, 1 has preserved the word מצוות, and the other words may be חקות and משפטים, which are often grouped together (Deut 6:2; 8:11; 11:1; 26:17; 30:16). See VanderKam & Milik, “Jubilees,” 57–58; Kugel, *Walk through*, 121–122. Moreover, Jub 21:21–25 may also include social and ethical matters, as they generally refer to the wickedness and impurity of the mankind, and Abraham is wishing that Isaac would do משמרת “watch” of God of High and his רצון “will.” (4Q219 II, 28–29 and 4Q221 I, 5–7 [which includes a dittography, see VanderKam & Milik, “Jubilees,” 69] = Jub 21:23). The first word, משמרת, may refer to cultic matters (see, e.g., the usage of the word in Lev 22:9; Ezek 40:45–46; 44:8, 14–16; 48:11; Zech 3:7), and that is also possible for רצון too in this context (see, e.g., Lev 22:19–21, 29 in the same chapter with Lev 22:9), but it may also refer to God’s will in general or be related to social and ethical matters too (e.g. Ezra 10:11), and that is how the word is most probably used in Jub 22:10. רצון is, however, mainly used in reference to what offerings are acceptable before God (e.g. Lev 23:11; Isa 56:7; 58:5; Jer 6:20), and therefore Jub 21:21–25 may also have cultic matters in mind. William Loader, *Enoch, Levi and Jubilees on Sexuality: Attitudes towards Sexuality in the Early Enoch Literature, the Aramaic Levi Document, and the Book of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 210, takes v. 21 to refer to sexual wrongdoings because it contains the word *rakws* “impurity,” and the theme is found in the parallel passage in ALD 6:3–5, too. The priests have stricter regulations on sexuality and marriage in Lev 21:7, although Jubilees widens the priestly regulations to the whole of Israel (e.g., Jub 30:7; cf. Lev 21:9).

along with his other testaments in Jubilees 20 and 22, this is no surprise. Genesis 18:18–19 functions as a hermeneutical key in the author’s understanding of the Abrahamic Promise as being conditional.

4.3.8 Jubilees 22

The author of Jubilees even narrated a third “testament” for Abraham in Jubilees 22.¹⁰⁶⁷ This time Abraham gives the testament to Jacob during the year of his death (Jub 22:1). During the Festival of Weeks, the festival of renewal of the covenant, Isaac and Ishmael come to Beer Sheba or the Well of the Oath to celebrate with Abraham. Rebekah and Isaac send food and wine to Abraham via Jacob (Jub 22:4–5). Abraham then blesses God saying:

22:7 Now I pay homage to you, my God, because you have shown me this day. I am now 175 years of age, old and satisfied with (my) days. All of my days have proved to be peace for me. 22:8 The enemy’s sword has not subdued me in anything at all that you have given me and my sons during all my lifetime until today. 22:9 May your kindness and peace rest on your servant and on the seed of his son¹⁰⁶⁸ so that it out of all the nations of the earth may be your acceptable people and heritage from now until all the days of the generations of the earth throughout all ages.

The text in Jubilees 22:9 includes two important interpretive issues, which VanderKam too has raised.¹⁰⁶⁹ Here, the Ge’ez and Latin versions differ especially in two points, highlighted below:

<p><i>tākun šāhlāka wa-salāmaka lā^ʿla gabrāka wa-lā^ʿla zar^ʿa wəluḍu kama yəkunka ḥəzba ḥəruya wa-rəsta ʾəm-kwəllu ʾəḥzāba mədr ʾəm-yəʾzē wa-ʾaska k^wəllu mawāʿəl za-təwladda mədr la-kwəllu ʾālamāt</i></p>	<p>... nunc misericordia tua et pax tua super puerum istum domine et super semen eius ut sint tibi in populum acceptabilem et hereditas ex omnibus filiis terrae ex hoc nunc et usque in omnibus diebus generationum terrae in uniuersa saecula</p>
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(1) VanderKam understands the Ge’ez *wəluḍ* as a plural form of *wald* “son,” which is most often the case.¹⁰⁷⁰ However, *wəluḍ* can have a singular meaning, too, and be synonymous with *wald*.¹⁰⁷¹ This also conforms with the third person singular form of *yəkunka*, although the verb can often be in singular if the subject is a singular noun with a collective meaning (*constructio ad sensum*).¹⁰⁷² Thus, the Ge’ez version should be translated “on your servant and on the seed of his son,” as done above.

The Latin version, however, has *puerum istum* “this young boy” instead of “your servant” (*gabrāka*) and *semen eius* “his seed” instead of “seed of his son”

¹⁰⁶⁷ Lat has preserved text for Jub 22:1–19. 4Q219 II, 35, includes sections of Jub 22:1; 4Q221 2, I, 1–3, bits of Jub 22:20 and 4Q221 2, II, possibly two letters of one word in Jub 22:30.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Pro “sons” (VanderKam). See the comment below.

¹⁰⁶⁹ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 656–657.

¹⁰⁷⁰ This is true also for Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 138, and Berger, *Jubiläen*, 436.

¹⁰⁷¹ Lambdin, *Introduction*, 442: “*welud* (1) pl. of *wald*; (2) syn. of *wald* in singular; (3) adj. born, begotten.” Actually, *wəluḍ* is in the verbal adjective *qətul*-pattern, and therefore could be taken as sg., too. Cf. Leslau, *Comparative*, 613.

¹⁰⁷² Lambdin, *Introduction*, 32; Tropper, *Altäthiopisch*, §62.24.

(*zarʾa wəluḍu*). In the Latin version, Abraham is praying that God will take care of Jacob (“young boy”) and his seed. In the Geʾez version, it is easiest to interpret “your servant” as Abraham being himself, and “the seed of his son” as Isaac.¹⁰⁷³ However, according to the speech that Abraham gives next, Jacob is often called “his son” (Jub 22:10, 11, 16, 19, 20). Most importantly, Abraham calls him “the son of Abraham” (*walda ʾabrəhām*, Jub 22:23).¹⁰⁷⁴ Abraham called Jacob as “my son” (*waldəya*) already in Jubilees 19:17, not long after Jacob was born. That Jacob is “Abraham’s son” is an important theme in Jubilees 22:23–24, as shown below.¹⁰⁷⁵ If this context is taken into account, then “the seed of his son” must mean Jacob (“his son”) and his offspring (“the seed”). If this is true, then *semen eius* and *zarʾa wəluḍu* mean the same thing, namely Jacob’s offspring, even though “your servant” (Abraham) and “young boy” (Jacob) do not correspond between the Latin and Ethiopic versions.¹⁰⁷⁶

(2) The second problem highlighted by VanderKam is the meaning of *ḥəruy* vs. *acceptabilem*.¹⁰⁷⁷ The word *ḥəruy* often means “chosen, selected,” but can also have the meaning of “acceptable.”¹⁰⁷⁸ In this case, both the Latin and Geʾez would mean the same here, as VanderKam notes. Abraham prays that the seed of Jacob would be acceptable for God. This is an important prayer, given that the promises remain conditional in many ways (cf. Abraham’s words to Isaac [Jub 21] and the detailed analysis above in the previous ch. 4.3.7).

Because VanderKam reads *wəluḍ* in the plural as “sons,” he is of the opinion that Abraham is praying that in the future all the descendants of his sons, Ishmael

¹⁰⁷³ This is the interpretation by VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 656.

¹⁰⁷⁴ That Jub 22:23 is taken from Jer 30:10, as Kugel, *Walk through*, 127–128, notes, does not affect the interpretation given here. According to Kugel, “Israel” is changed with “son of Abraham” because the name of Israel was revealed only afterwards. In my opinion the reason is more that the author wants to underline that Jacob is the promised son (and seed) of Abraham.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Cf. van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 297: “The relationship between Abraham and Jacob is depicted as an intimate one in which Abraham seems to fill the role of Isaac.” Perhaps one could say this the other way round: Jacob fills the role of Isaac, as the true son of Abraham. Van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 297, continues: “Moreover, Abraham does not give his final blessing to his son Isaac but to his grandchild Jacob.” That Abraham addresses Jacob more often as his son in Jub 22 than Isaac in Jub 21 is also noted by Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment*, 83 n. 21. Cf. also Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 43 (although “denigrating” might not be the correct judgment here): “The author clearly denigrated Isaac by portraying Abraham addressing Jacob as his son and also transferring the blessing, the election, and the covenant to him.”

¹⁰⁷⁶ There is also a possibility that the Greek *Vorlage* of the Eth and Lat Jub translators did have *παῖς*, which could be either translation of עֶבֶד (e.g., MT LXX Vulg Gen 18:7; Eth *qʷəlʿē* “youth, boy, servant”) or עֶבֶד (e.g., MT LXX Vulg Eth Gen 19:2). *παῖς* could then be understood either as “servant/slave” (*gabr* in Geʾez) or “young boy” (*puer* in Lat). Actually, *puer* can also denote “servant,” but in Lat Jub 22:9 *istum* “this” makes it clear that at least the translator understood the hypothetical *παῖς* in the Greek *Vorlage* as “young boy.” *Istum* can also be a translation of a Greek article and thus an interpretive choice by the translator to make it explicit what he thought was the referent. If this is the case, then the Hebrew original and the Greek translation(s) could have referred to Abraham, and only the Latin translator did understand the referent to have been Jacob instead!

¹⁰⁷⁷ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 657.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Lambdin, *Introduction*, 445–446; Leslau, *Comparative*, 265.

included, would be acceptable before God. To back up this interpretation, he brings the more positive nuances towards Ishmael in Jubilees to the fore (Jub 17:7, 13; 20).¹⁰⁷⁹ However, given the exhortations given by Abraham to Jacob from Jubilees 22:10 onwards, it is more likely that Abraham is praying that Jacob's seed would be acceptable before God. For this to happen, they must follow the Mosaic Torah (Jub 20; 22).

That Jacob is depicted as Abraham's son here is of importance. Jubilees 22:9 also gives background to the following discussion between Abraham and his (grand)son Jacob. The scene continues as Abraham summons Jacob and gives him a testimony (Jub 22:10–15).

22:10 He summoned Jacob and said to him, "My son Jacob, may the God of all bless and strengthen you to do before him what is right and what he wills (*ṣədq wa-faqādu; ueritatem et uoluntatem suam*). May he choose you and your seed to be his people of his heritage (*kama təkunəwwo ḥəzba la-rəstu*) in accord with his will throughout all time. Now you, my son Jacob, come close and kiss me." 22:11 So he came close and kissed him. Then he said, "May my son Jacob and all his sons be blessed to the Most High God throughout all ages. May the Lord give you righteous seed (*zar'a ṣədq; semen ueritatis*), and may he sanctify some of your sons in the entire earth (*wa-'əm-wəludəka yəqaddəs ba-mā'kala kwəllā mədr; et de filiis tuis sanctificabis in medio totius terrae*). May the nations serve you, and may all the nations bow before your seed. 22:12 Be strong before people and exercise¹⁰⁸⁰ power among all of Seth's seed. Then your ways and the ways of your sons will be justified so that they may be a holy people. 22:13 May the Most High God give you all the blessings with which he blessed me and with which he blessed Noah and Adam. May they come to rest on the sacred head of your seed throughout each and every generation and forever. 22:14 May¹⁰⁸¹ he purify you from all filthy pollution so that you may be pardoned for every sin you have committed in ignorance. May he strengthen and bless you; may you inherit the entire earth. 22:15 May he¹⁰⁸² renew his covenant with you so that you may be for him the people of his heritage (*kama təkuno ḥəzba la-rəstu*) throughout all ages. May he truly and rightly be God for you and your seed throughout all the time of the earth."

In this blessing, Abraham wants Jacob and his seed to be the people of God's heritage (*ḥəzba la-rəstu*, Jub 22:10, 15), his own people. This is connected to the covenant and God's personal relationship with Jacob's seed (Jub 22:15). The seed is important (Jub 22:10, 11, 13, 15). Sons (Jub 22:12) and "some of your sons" (*'əm-wəludəka*, Jub 22:11) are also mentioned. The mention of sanctification

¹⁰⁷⁹ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 657. Similarly Francis, "Defining," 269.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Lat *exerce* in imp.; Ge'ez *təməbbəl* in ipf. Perhaps Ge'ez ipf. was a mistranslation of an original Hebrew cons. pf., which follows imp. (*kun* in Ge'ez) via a Greek medium? VanderKam, *Jubilees Translated*, 130. On cons. pfs. following initial imp. in Biblical Hebrew, see Nyberg, *Hebreisk grammatik*, §86gg.

¹⁰⁸¹ Lat has fut. forms starting from the beginning of 22:14 to the end of v. 15, whereas Ge'ez continues with subj. ("may"). This time the Ethiopic mss. collated in VanderKam's edition do not show any significant variants in favour of ipf. (=fut.) forms.

¹⁰⁸² Instead of God being the subject, Lat has *et renouauis testamentum eius cum ipso* "And you will renew his covenant with him," indicating Jacob as the active part.

(*yəqaddās*) “from your sons” (*ʿəm-wəludaka*) in Jubilees 22:11 may refer to the special status of Levi and Judah among Jacob’s sons (Jub 30–31; cf. below).¹⁰⁸³

Jacob’s seed is to exercise power among all of Seth’s seed: “then your ways and the ways of your children will be justified with the result that (they) will become a holy people.” (*ʿamēhā yəšaddaqā fənāwika wa-fənāwa wəludaka la-kawina ḥəzb qəddus; set tunc iustificabuntur uiae tuae et uiae filiorum tuorum ut sint in populum sanctum*, Jub 22:12). Abraham’s hope concerning Jacob is that “you will inherit the whole land/earth” (*wa-təras kwəllā mədra; et hereditabis omnem terram*, Jub 22:14). Although *mədr* can mean either (the promised) “land” or (the entire) “earth,” it is more natural to interpret it as meaning the latter here, since Jacob’s seed is to exercise power among Seth’s seed and every nation shall bow and pay homage to Jacob’s seed (Jub 22:11–12).¹⁰⁸⁴ Thus, the promise of “land” becomes universal: the entire earth belongs to Jacob and his descendants, or at least the entire earth is under their hegemonial rule, or should be. Although Rapp argues that the holiness of the people, according to Jubilees 22:12, is related to the hegemony and not to separation from other peoples here,¹⁰⁸⁵ it should, nonetheless, be interpreted with the background of Jubilees 1:19 in mind, namely that if other people ruled Israel, it would lead them into sin, and thus unholiness.¹⁰⁸⁶ That the nations will serve the seed of Jacob alludes to Jubilees 26:23 (cf. Gen 27:29).

Jacob is the heir of all the blessings with which God has blessed Abraham, Noah, and Adam (Jub 22:13; cf. 19:27). The wording in Jubilees 22:13 comes from Genesis 49:26 where Jacob blesses Joseph and imparts God’s blessings on the head of Joseph who is set apart from his brothers or is the chief of them.¹⁰⁸⁷ This imagery is used by the author about Jacob himself. As Rapp has noticed, by means of these additions the author connects the Abrahamic Promise and patriarchal blessings to the patriarchs before Abraham, too.¹⁰⁸⁸ This is similar to the covenant, which in the mind of the author is one and the same from the beginning (Jub 2:19ff), established in creation and ratified at least beginning with Noah (Jub 6).

¹⁰⁸³ Cf. Francis, “Defining,” 274 n. 55: “This does not undermine the fundamentally blessed, chosen status of all Jacob’s sons, however... Rather, it allows for a hierarchical arrangement of individuals (/tribes) within the elect nation of Israel (cf. 30.18). The distinctions internal to Israel are, nevertheless, a much smaller concern in *Jubilees* than the basic dissimilarity between Israel and all other nations.”

¹⁰⁸⁴ According to Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 139; Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 43; Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment*, 83, that nations will serve Jacob seems to taken out of Isaac’s blessing of Jacob in Gen 27:29 // Jub 26:23. See also the analysis of Jub 32:17–19 above. That Seth’s seed is mentioned may be also an echo to Num 24:17. See also CD VII, 21; 1QM XI, 6, both citing Num 24:17.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Rapp, *Jakob in Bet-El*, 181.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Jub 1:19 is probably a later redactional addition (see chs. 1.3.1 and 1.4.1 above), but the idea is found, e.g., in Deut 28:36, namely that being under the hegemony of foreign people the keeping of the Torah and its stipulations becomes difficult, and temptations to neglect the commandments becomes stronger; indeed a situation in which the author of Jubilees himself most probably lives in Palestine during the 1st half of the 2nd Century BCE!

¹⁰⁸⁷ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 659.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Rapp, *Jakob in Bet-El*, 181.

The close and personal relationship between Jacob and God is also highlighted in Jubilees 22:15. This is also found in the addition of Jubilees 12:24 to the Abrahamic Promise in Genesis 12:1–3. Abraham’s speech seems to resemble the election terminology present in Jubilees 2:19–21.¹⁰⁸⁹

Thus, in Jubilees 22:10–15, the author has underlined the election of Jacob. Jacob is the receiver of the Abrahamic Promise. The promise of land is widened to include the whole earth, and it includes the hegemony of the seed of Jacob over other mankind (Seth’s seed). Whether this servitude to Jacob’s seed would bring any blessing or prosperity to foreign nations is not mentioned here.

In Jubilees 22:16–24, Abraham continues his testimony to Jacob. In 22:16–18, he warns Jacob about other nations and their idolatrous worship of false and empty gods. He commands Jacob to separate from the other nations and not even to eat with them.¹⁰⁹⁰ In 22:19, he asks God to bless him and to remove Jacob from the impurity of other nations. He subsequently warns Jacob against the Canaanites and their daughters and testifies that the Canaanites are to be uprooted from the earth, that idol worshippers have no hope in the land and are to be destroyed (22:20–22). Then, Abraham continues (Jub 22:23–24):

22:23 Do not be afraid, my son Jacob, and do not be upset, son of Abraham. May the Most High God keep you from corruption; and from every erroneous way may he rescue you. 22:24 This house I have built for myself to put my name on it upon the earth. It is hereby given¹⁰⁹¹ to you and to your seed forever. May it be called¹⁰⁹² Abraham’s house. It is hereby given¹⁰⁹³ to you and to your seed forever because you will build my house and will establish my name before God until eternity. Your seed and your name will remain throughout all the generations of earth.

In this testimony, Abraham calls Jacob “son of Abraham,” (Jub 22:23) in the same way he earlier called Jacob “my son” (Jub 19:17; 22:10, 11). He makes it clear that he has built his “house” in order for his name to remain on the earth. That “house” is given to Jacob and Jacob’s seed and will be called Abraham’s house. The “house of Abraham” (Jub 31:5; 32:22; 33:21) is a place-name in the vicinity of Hebron, which is also called the “tower/fortress¹⁰⁹⁴ of Abraham” (Jub 29:16–17, 19; 31:6;

¹⁰⁸⁹ Van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 310.

¹⁰⁹⁰ On the prohibition against eating with other nations, see Schwarz, *Identität durch Abgrenzung*, 23–25. The background can be in Exod 34:15 along with the food regulations in Lev 11 and esp. Deut 14 (see 14:2 as the motive for regulations: Israel is God’s סגולה). Cf. the discussion on Jubilees 2 above). The term סגולה may be reflected in Jub 22:10, 15, 30, too. On separation, the verb הבודיל, used in Gen 1 and Jub 2:19ff, may be relevant. See the discussion on Jub 2 above and van Ruiten, *Abraham*, 310–312.

¹⁰⁹¹ *Pro* “it has been given” (VanderKam). The pf. in Ge’ez has a performative aspect here.

¹⁰⁹² The verb can be interpreted either as ipf. (*təssammay* “it will be called”) or as subj. (*təssamay* “it shall be called / may it be called”). VanderKam opts for ipf., but I see the subj. as preferable between the two performatives and have translated thus above.

¹⁰⁹³ *Pro* “it has been given” (VanderKam). The pf. in Ge’ez has performative aspect here.

¹⁰⁹⁴ VanderKam translates the Ge’ez *māḥfad* as “tower,” but Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary*, 338, also gives the glosses “fort, fortress, citadel,” which suit the meaning here, too. Possibly מגדל lurks in the background, which can also denote “tower” in the sense of a stronghold (e.g., Judg

36:12, 20; 37:14, 16–17; 38:4–8).¹⁰⁹⁵ Similarly, Jacob will be the builder of “Abraham’s house,” this time in the meaning of household, family, clan. He will establish Abraham’s name (*tāqawwām*, Jub 22:24) before God. Jacob’s own seed and name will remain (*yəqawwām*, Jub 22:24) forever. The mentioning of name may allude to the promise of a great name in Genesis 12:2. House, however, should not be taken literally, but more as a family line (cf. David’s house and name in 2 Sam 7).¹⁰⁹⁶ The information here corresponds with Jubilees 19:17 where it is stated that Jacob will take Abraham’s place and hence inherit the blessings promised to Abraham. Thus, the author again makes sure that Jacob is the direct recipient of the Abrahamic Promise. Jacob is, however, warned not to stray from God’s path (Jub 22:16–22). In this endeavour, God will provide help in staying on the right path (Jub 22:23).

After Abraham finishes commanding and blessing Jacob (Jub 22:25), they lay together. Abraham is happy about him and then blesses him, once more (Jub 22:27–30):

22:27 He blessed him wholeheartedly and said: “The Most High God is the God of all and Creator of everything who brought me from Ur of the Chaldeans to give me this land in order that I should possess it forever and raise up holy seed (*wa-kama ’aqam zar’a qəddusa*) so that it may be blessed forever.”¹⁰⁹⁷ 22:28 Then he blessed Jacob: “My son, with whom I am exceedingly happy with all my mind and feelings—may your grace and mercy continue on him and his seed for all time. 22:29 Do not leave or neglect him from now until the time of eternity. May your eyes be open on him and his seed so that they may guard over them and so that you may bless and sanctify them as the people of your heritage (*la-həzb za-la-rəstəka*). 22:30 Bless him with all your blessings from now until all the time of eternity. With your entire will renew your covenant and your grace with him and with his seed throughout all the generations of the earth.”

In this final blessing and words by Abraham (he dies in Jub 23:1), Abraham yet again refers to the Abrahamic Promise given in Genesis. First and foremost, it is worth noting that Abraham reveals the reason for his journey from Ur to the Promised Land: God brought him from there so that Abraham would possess the Promised Land and would raise holy seed, so that the holy seed would be forever blessed. Land, seed, and blessing are, thus, at the fore. Land is promised to Abraham. Seed is promised to Abraham so that it would be blessed. That seed is holy. The same phrase is used of Jacob in Jubilees 16:17 where “one of Isaac’s sons” would become holy seed. All the blessings are, yet again, directed towards

9:51; see *DCH* 5:131–132), although VanderKam & Milik, “Jubilees,” *passim*, retrovert בִּירָה on many occasions (4Q221 6, 2–3; 4Q223–224 2 iii 3, 13; 2 iv 21–25, 29).

¹⁰⁹⁵ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 914. Perhaps the “house of Abraham” (esp. in Jub 31:5) is a special name deciphered from Gen 28:21, where Jacob is to return to “my father’s house,” since his father (in the greatest sense) is Abraham (Jub. 19; 22), and his “safely” return from Mesopotamia plays a crucial role in the rewriting of Genesis 34–35 in Jubilees 30–32, too (see ch. 3 above).

¹⁰⁹⁶ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 667; Kugel, *Walk through*, 128.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Mss. 9, 38 indicate that God would be blessed instead of the “holy seed,” which seems inferior. For the textual critical problems, see VanderKam, *Jubilees Translated*, 133–134; *idem*, *Jubilees*, 668. Cf. Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 143; Berger, *Jubiläen*, 438.

Jacob. Jubilees 22:27 may very well allude to Genesis 15:7 (God saying that he brought Abraham from Ur of the Chaldeans in order to give him the land) and Genesis 18:19 (God chooses Abraham because/since he commands his household to keep the way of Yhwh so that He can fulfil the promises given to Abraham).¹⁰⁹⁸

That Abraham blesses Jacob and expresses the wish that God would never leave Jacob (*wa-ʿi-təhdəgo*, Jub 22:29) seems to be related to God’s promise in Bethel not to leave Jacob before he has done everything (*ʿi-yaḥaddəgaka*, Jub 27:24) and Isaac’s consolation of Rebekah that God will never leave Jacob (*ʿi-yaḥaddəgo*, Jub 27:15), all related to God’s promise in Genesis 28:15. It seems as if Jubilees 22:29 and 27:15 are a kind of corrections to Genesis 28:15, which is still preserved in Jubilees 27:15. Will God leave Jacob/Israel some day? No, say the additions. In this way, one possible problematic interpretation is removed.¹⁰⁹⁹

In Abraham’s last testament to Jacob (Jub 22), all four themes, namely land, seed, name, and blessing, are present.

(1) All the blessings of Abraham are on Jacob and his seed.

(2) Jacob is Abraham’s son and will build the house for Abraham. He is the one through whom Abraham, too, raises holy seed.

(3) Through Jacob, Abraham’s name will remain.

(4) Jacob will inherit or possess the land, or actually the entire earth, and will exercise power over all the descendants of Seth. Everyone will bow to his seed.

Abraham wishes, too, that God would renew his covenant with Jacob. If Jacob follows his lead and does not deviate from the right path, he will be blessed. He is the heir of the Abrahamic Promise.¹¹⁰⁰ Through Jacob, the promise will become reality, as he follows the Mosaic Torah.¹¹⁰¹ For the author, it is important that this last testament took place during the Festival of Weeks, Shavuoth (Jub 22:1), the festival of renewal of the covenant.¹¹⁰²

4.3.9 Jubilees 25

In Jubilees 25:1–3, Rebekah summons Jacob to her and advises him not to marry a Canaanite as Esau had done.¹¹⁰³ He is to go to Mesopotamia instead. There, he is to take a wife from his mother’s family. Rebekah’s words end in the following way (Jub 25:3):¹¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁹⁸ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 668, notes the connection to Gen 18:19, too. Cf. Neh 9:7–8.

¹⁰⁹⁹ See also the analysis of Jub 27 in ch. 4.2.8 above.

¹¹⁰⁰ Schwarz, *Identität durch Abgrenzung*, 19–20, notes that Abraham’s testament in Jub 22 speaks of renewing the covenant. Thus, the Abrahamic Promise is related to the covenant, and keeping the stipulations of the covenant in the Deuteronomic mould (Deut 28–30).

¹¹⁰¹ See chs. 2 and 3 above.

¹¹⁰² Cf. Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 39–40.

¹¹⁰³ 4Q222 1, 1–7 has preserved parts of Jub 25:9–12 in Hebrew. In Latin, only the beginning of Jub 25:1 has survived.

¹¹⁰⁴ The author has reworked Isaac’s admonition to Jacob in Gen 28:1–3 in Jub 25:3. See VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 732–733.

Now, my son, listen to me. Do as your mother wishes. Do not marry any of the women of this land but (someone) from my father's house and from my father's clan. Marry someone from my father's house. The Most High God will bless you; your family will be a righteous family and your seed (will be) holy (*wa-yakawwən təwləddəka təwlədda šədq wa-zar'əka qəddus*).

Rebekah knows (cf. Jub 19) that Jacob is to be blessed and his family is to become righteous. Most interesting is that when Jacob takes a wife from the clan of his mother's father, his seed will be holy (*zar'əka qəddus*, Jub 25:3). This is reminiscent of Jubilees 22:27 and 16:17 (analysed above). A condition is present: Jacob will be holy if he follows endogamy. That Jacob's seed is to become "holy" most probably refers to the idea found in Ezra 9:1–2, too: the prerequisite of holiness of the seed is to marry within the Jewish people, since the condition is to refrain from taking a wife from among the Canaanite women (cf. Isa 6:13 and Deut 7:6 in the context of Deut 7:3–6 prohibiting exogamy; cf. Jub 30 and its analysis in ch. 3.2 above).¹¹⁰⁵

In Jubilees 25:4–10, Jacob makes it clear to his mother Rebekah that he would never marry a Canaanite. He refers to the orders of Abraham (Jub 20:4; 22:16–24). After he has assured his mother that he will do as she wishes, Rebekah blesses him in the following way (Jub 25:11–23):

25:11 Then she lifted her face to heaven, extended her fingers, and opened her mouth. She blessed the Most High God who had created the heavens and the earth and gave him thanks and praise. 25:12 She said, "May the Lord God be blessed, and may his name be blessed forever and ever—he who gave me Jacob, a pure son and a holy seed (*walda nəṣuḥa wa-zar'a qəddusa*),¹¹⁰⁶ for he belongs to you. May his seed be yours throughout all time, throughout all the generations forever. 25:13 Bless him, Lord, and place a righteous blessing in my mouth so that I may bless him." 25:14 At that time the spirit of righteousness descended into her mouth. She put her two hands on Jacob's head and said:

25:15 "Blessed are you, righteous Lord, God of the ages;
and may he bless you from all the human race (*wa-kiyāka yəbārək 'əm-kwəllu təwlədda sab'*)¹¹⁰⁷

My son, may he provide the right path for you (*yahabka waldəya fənota šədq*)
and reveal righteousness to your seed. (*wa-la-zar'əka yəkšət šədq*)

25:16 May he multiply your sons during your lifetime; (*wa-yābzəḥ wəwəludaka ba-ḥəywataka*)

¹¹⁰⁵ Cf. James C. VanderKam, "Rebekah's Patriarchal Prayers," in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday*, ed. Jeremy Penner, Ken M. Penner, and Cecilia Wassen, STDJ 98 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 421–436 (426), who notes the connection to Deut 7:1–6 along with Exod 34:11–16.

¹¹⁰⁶ The exact phrasing of this part is not preserved in 4Q221. VanderKam & Milik, "Jubilees," 89, retrovert 4Q222, 1, 6, with the help of Ge'ez as follows: בן טהור וזרע קודש.

¹¹⁰⁷ *Pro* "more than all the human race" (VanderKam). See the discussion below. That the verse starts with the 2. sg. m. addressing God, and then continues by referring to God in the 3. sg. m. is an interesting phenomenon, which reminds one of the *berakhot* in the Jewish prayer book *Siddur*. The *berakhot* begin by addressing God in the 2. sg. and then continue with the 3. sg. On this phenomenon in morning prayers, see Karl-Johan Illman, *Judendomen i ljuset av dess högtider*, Religionsvetenskapliga skrifter 24 (Åbo: Åbo Akademis tryckeri, 1992), 29–30.

may they rise in number to the months of the year.
 May their children be more numerous and great than the stars of the sky;
 may their number be larger than the sands of the sea.
 25:17 May he give them this pleasant land
 as he said he would give it for all time
 to Abraham and his seed after him;
 may they own it as an eternal possession.
 25:18 Son, may I see your blessed children during my lifetime;¹¹⁰⁸
 may your whole seed be blessed and holy seed (*wa-zar'a buruka wa-qaddusa*
yəkun kw'llu zar'aka).
 25:19 As you have given rest to your mother's spirit during her lifetime,
 so may the womb of the one who gave birth to you bless you.
 My affection and my breasts bless you;
 my mouth and my tongue praise you greatly.
 25:20 Increase and spread out in the land;
 may your seed be perfect throughout all eternity
 in the joy of heaven and earth.
 May your seed be delighted,
 and, on the great day of peace, may it have peace (*wa-ba-'alata salām 'abāy*
yəkun lotu salām).
 25:21 May your name and your seed continue until all ages (*səmaka wa-*
zar'aka 'aska kw'llu 'ālamāt yəqum).
 May the Most High God be their God;
 may the righteous God live with them;
 and may his sanctuary be built among them into all ages.
 25:22 May the one who blesses you be blessed
 and anyone who curses you falsely be cursed."
 25:23 She then kissed him and said to him, "May the Lord of the World¹¹⁰⁹
 love you as your mother's heart and her affection are delighted with you and
 bless you."¹¹¹⁰ She then stopped blessing (him).

¹¹⁰⁸ The "blessed children" in Ge'ez is *wəluda buruka*. *wəlud* is normally a pl. form of *wald* "son," but sometimes may also be synonymous with *wald*. See the discussion on Jub 22:9 in ch. 4.3.8 above. Now, the adj. attr. *buruk* is in sg. (though ms. 63 corrects pl. *burukāna*) but that is possible since there full congruence is not necessary in Ge'ez. Lambdin, *Introduction*, §5.2; Tropper, *Altäthiopisch*, §52.65. Generally speaking, the adj. attributes to pl. nouns describing humans are pl. too, but this is not obligatory. Certain mss. (39, 42, 47, 48, 58) do have *walda* in the clear sg. instead of *wəluda*. This variant may have emerged in order to correct the noun *wəlud* with more usual *wald* in order to reflect the adj. attr. *buruka* and is therefore a later corrected reading. Alternatively, it may be possible that *wəluda* is a later correction, since 25:18b speaks of Jacob's "whole seed," and also previously 25:16 has emphasized the plurality of Jacob's offspring. Thus, two possible scenarios for the development of different readings can be reconstructed: (1) *walda buruka* => *wəluda buruka* => *wəluda burukāna* in ms. 63; or (2) *wəluda buruka* => *walda buruka*. If the first scenario is to be preferred, Rebekah would wait for a special son from Jacob. In Jub 31:8, however, Rebekah notes the special status of both Levi and Judah, not only one of them. Therefore, the second option is more plausible. One should note, however, that in Jub 25:23 the heart of mother and her affection (thus, pl.) is constructed with two verbs in sg. (ms. 39 corrected to pl. forms), if the subject is not to be taken as Lord.

¹¹⁰⁹ Pro "eternal Lord" (VanderKam).

¹¹¹⁰ Ge'ez *yāfqar bəka 'əgzi'a 'ālam ba-kama ləbba 'əmməka wa-məhratā yəṯḥašay bəka wa-yəbārəkaka*. Since both verbs in the end (*yəṯḥaš[š]ay* "may he/it rejoice" and *yəbār[r]əkaka*

Rebekah's dramatic¹¹¹¹ blessing contains many allusions to the Abrahamic Promise. All the themes are found here: seed (Jub 25:12, 16, 18, 20, 21), land (Jub 25:17, 20, perhaps even v. 21), name (Jub 25:21) and blessing (Jub 25:13, 15, 18, 22).¹¹¹² The author emphasizes that the blessing is uttered under the influence of the "spirit of righteousness" (Jub 25:14). In this way he underlines its significance.

(1) *Seed*. Jacob is a "pure son" (*wald nəsuḥ*) and "holy seed" (*zar' qəddus*; Jub 25:12; cf. v. 18). In Jubilees 25:16, the author alludes to the Abrahamic promise, that the number of Jacob's seed would be like the stars in the sky (Gen 15:5; 22:17; 26:4) or sand on the seashore (Gen 22:17).¹¹¹³ As VanderKam notes, the number of the descendants of Jacob's sons are to surpass the number of stars and the sand.¹¹¹⁴ "Your whole seed" (*kwəllu zar'əka*), meaning all the descendants of Jacob, shall be "blessed and holy seed" (*zar'a buruka wa-qəddusa*, Jub 25:18). This way the author emphasizes that the *whole* seed is to be holy and blessed, not only *part* of it.¹¹¹⁵ Whereas parts of Abraham's seed (Ishmael is 'əm-zar'əka "from your seed" in Jub 17:7) do not inherit the promises given to Abraham, Jacob's descendants will be fully blessed and holy. Jacob's seed shall be forever holy (Jub 25:20) and remain forever (*yəqum*, Jub 25:21). Again, it seems that on the one hand the idea of Jacob as "holy seed" reflects the remnant theology of Isaiah (e.g., Isa 6:13) and the endogamic ideal of Ezra 9:1–2 on the other. The author stated already in Jubilees 16:17–18 that one of Isaac's sons would become holy people and holy seed.

(2) *Land*. "This land" (*zāta mədra*, Jub 25:17) shall be given to the descendants of Jacob. Here the author refers *expressis verbis* to the Abrahamic Promise. Jacob is to increase and spread out on the land (Jub 25:20), which reminds one of God's command to Jacob to spread out in Genesis 28:14.¹¹¹⁶ It will also be an eternal possession, which is reminiscent of what was promised to Abraham in Jub

"may he/it bless you") are in the 3. sg.m. (in ms. 39 they are in the pl.) VanderKam understands the subject to be "mother's heart and her affection," which is possible, since they seem to be hendiadys, and at least the scribes of ms. 39 understood those to be the subject. Another possibility is to understand Lord as the subject. In this case, the text should be translated: "May the Lord of the World love you as your mother's heart and her affection. May He be delighted with you and bless you." That there is no *wa* before *yəṯaš[š]ay* could speak against such an interpretation, but not totally. Moreover, both verbs can also be interpreted either as ipfs., indicating the future or habituality (as translated by VanderKam and above), or as subjunctives, indicating the volitive, since the doubling is not visible in the Ge'ez script in this case.

¹¹¹¹ Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 77–78, notes that Rebekah's blessing is depicted more vividly than others and thus "is the most articulated blessing-prayer in the book of Jubilees." Kissing and embracing is found in Jub 22:10, and Jub 31:7, 8, 11, 21 too.

¹¹¹² VanderKam, "Rebekah's Prayers," 434–435.

¹¹¹³ Cf. Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 81.

¹¹¹⁴ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 737. Cf. Jub 13:20 on which see ch. 4.2.2 above.

¹¹¹⁵ That Rebekah speaks of twelve sons in Jub 25:16 emphasizes also that the *whole* seed of Jacob is blessed, not only a part.

¹¹¹⁶ Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 82, by contrast, sees here an echo of Gen 1:28. I think this association is not the primary one, although it is possible given how the author expands the promise of land in Jub 32 (see ch. 4.2.9 above).

14:7.¹¹¹⁷ In Jubilees 25:21, it is stated that God will live with Jacob's seed in that land. This time the promise of land is not widened to cover the whole earth, as is done in Jubilees 32.

(3) *Name*. The name along with seed is to remain (*yəqum*) forever (Jub 25:21).

(4) *Blessing*. Jacob is to be blessed (Jub 25:13). God shall bless him from among humankind (Jub 25:15), and his sons and descendants shall be blessed (Jub 25:18). Starting with *kiyāka* "you" in Jubilees 25:15aβ, the author changes the basic word order of the sentence. With the help of the change in the word order the author emphasizes that Jacob is the one who receives the blessings. Given the emphasis with *kiyāka*, the prepositional clause *'əm-kwəllu təwlədda sab'* should be interpreted as singling Jacob out from the generations or families of men or humankind, and not translated as a comparative as VanderKam does.¹¹¹⁸ This implies particularity of blessing. The same is true even if the comparative interpretation is to be preferred, although the interpretation given here emphasizes the exclusivity. Those who bless Jacob shall be blessed, but those who curse him falsely will be cursed (Jub 25:22). It is interesting that the author has added the word "falsely" (*ba-ḥassat*) here, as if there would be an occasion where a rightful curse could be uttered against Jacob/Israel. Is this, again, a note of condition?¹¹¹⁹

Regarding the condition of the Abrahamic Promise, Genesis 18:18–19 has been referred to many times during this study. It stated that Abraham would command his sons to keep the way of Yhwh by doing what is right and just (צדקה (*ymšpṣ*)). Immediately after Rebekah wishes that Jacob would be picked out from among the humankind to be the recipient of the blessing by God (or alternatively be blessed more than the rest of humankind), Rebekah wishes, too, that the righteous path (*fənota šədq*) would be given to Jacob and righteousness (*šədq*) would be revealed to his seed (Jub 25:15b). Although "the way" is not appositioned as the "way of God" (cf. Jub 20:2), the way of God is depicted as a righteous way. Moreover, that "righteousness" should be revealed to Jacob's seed may imply that they should precisely practise "righteousness" in their lives. This is what, for example, Levi and Simon do in Shechem (Jub 30:17, 20). Thus, Rebekah asks God to keep Jacob in his ways and reveal the right path to his seed too. Thus, in my opinion the author uses Genesis 18:18–19 here, as well.¹¹²⁰

Furthermore, the "right path" (*fənota šədq*) is also found in Jubilees 23:26: "In those days the children will begin to study the laws, to seek out the comands, and

¹¹¹⁷ Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment*, 86. On Jub 14:7, see ch. 4.2.3 above.

¹¹¹⁸ Ms. 38 lacks the preposition *'əm*. Then the idea would be that the rest of humankind would bless Jacob. This reading, is however, most probably a result of textual corruption, and attested only in one ms. Moreover, the subject is God again in 25:15b.

¹¹¹⁹ Cf. Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 83: "This qualifier presents a moral sensitivity not repeated in chapter 26, when Isaac blessed Jacob." However, the condition is clear in Jub 36 (see ch. 4.3.12 below). VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 740, relates the condition to Jub 1:16, which implies that God's curse had rest or (in the author's time) rests on Israel, which is an appropriate curse. One could add Jub 1:13 here, too, which alludes to the curses in Deut 28:64–65; 30:1; 31:17–18; 32:20.

¹¹²⁰ The possible allusion is also noted by VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 737.

to return to the right way (*fānota ṣadq*)." Rebekah refers to a "great day of peace" (*alata salām 'abāy*) in Jubilees 25:20 too, along with "joy and peace." This reminds one of Jubilees 23:29–30, where joy and peace are mentioned along with "great peace" (*salām 'abiy*).¹¹²¹ Thus, when following the right path, Jacob and his seed present an object of imitation for the audience of the author's own era, when they too will return to the right path, namely to the teaching of the author.

Halpern-Amaru notes that Rebekah's blessing "also extends beyond the traditional covenant" as she mentions joy and peace (Jub 25:20), a sanctuary, and speaks of Jacob's twelve sons.¹¹²² That is partly true. On the one hand, joy is a theme connected to the festivals in Jubilees (see Abraham being joyful during the Festival of Weeks, Jub 22:1).¹¹²³ Peace, on the other hand, is a theme that is important especially in the Jacob Cycle, as that is mentioned in the Bethel episode (Jub 27:19–27), and in Isaac's consolation of Rebekah (Jub 27:14–18).¹¹²⁴ Jacob's twelve sons, in turn, are related to the promise of seed. Thus, one can argue that the traditional covenant is extended, but the themes and motifs are taken from Genesis and are still related to the covenant.¹¹²⁵

To summarize, the author has provided in Jubilees 25 one of the most illuminating blessings, uttered by the matriarch *par excellence*, Rebekah, who, having been instructed privately by Abraham himself (Jub 19), alludes to the Abrahamic Promise in its totality. The passage reflects the unity of the individual promises and how the author saw them as referring particularly to Jacob and the totality of his seed/offspring. Noteworthy is also the fact that Rebekah blesses Jacob by alluding to the whole set of the Abrahamic Promise *before* Isaac does the same in Jubilees 26:23–24; 27:9–11 (cf. Gen 27:28–29; 28:1–4).

4.3.10 Jubilees 31

In Jubilees 31, Jacob returns to Bethel (cf. Gen 35).¹¹²⁶ He is ready to fulfil his promise and make Bethel a sanctuary and tithes to God.¹¹²⁷ However, he needs a priest to perform the sacrifices. He sends a message to his father Isaac, who,

¹¹²¹ The connection is also noted by VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 739; and by Halpern-Amaru (see below).

¹¹²² Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment*, 87.

¹¹²³ See also Jub 7:16; 8:18. Moreover, see her later article, Betsy Halpern-Amaru, "Joy as Piety in the 'Book of Jubilees,'" *Journal of Jewish Studies* 56.2 (2005): 185–205. Piety/faith is important also regarding the covenant and fulfilling many stipulations in the Torah. Halpern-Amaru, "Joy as Piety," 205, refers esp. to Deut 12:7 and 28:47. Anke Dorman, "Abraham's Happiness and Faith in the Book of Jubilees," in *Glaube: Das Verständnis des Glaubens im früher Christentum und in seiner jüdischen und hellenistisch-römischen Umwelt*, ed. Jörg Frey, Benjamin Schliesser, and Naiden Ueberschaer, WUNT 1.373 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 143–158, makes the interesting and plausible proposal that in the case of Abraham the motif of joy is aroused by a specific interpretation of Gen 17:17 in Jub 15:17 (see also ch. 4.2.4 above).

¹¹²⁴ See also Jub 30:1 // Gen 33:18, and the eschatological future in Jub 23:29 where both happiness and peace are present.

¹¹²⁵ Halpern-Amaru is, of course, correct in stating that the themes and motifs are extended with the help of other books of the Hebrew Bible, as she demonstrates. This is, however, done within the scope of the covenant and the Abrahamic Promise.

¹¹²⁶ Parts of Jub 31:9–18, 29–32 are preserved in Latin.

¹¹²⁷ See chs. 3.5 and 3.6 above.

however, says that Jacob should come to visit them instead. He visits his aged parents taking Judah and Levi along. Jubilees 31 contains many blessings which are analysed separately below. Since Jubilees 31 has been analysed from a different perspective in chapter 3 above, here I will deal only with the blessings uttered by Rebekah and Isaac, and whether they contain allusions to the Abrahamic Promise.

As Jacob is arriving with Judah and Levi to visit his parents, Rebekah comes out to greet them (Jub 31:5–6). When she sees Levi and Judah, she recognizes them and blesses them (Jub 31:7):

“Through you Abraham’s seed will become famous. You will become a blessing on the earth.” (*bəkəmu yəkabbər zar’a ’abrəhām wa-’antəmu takawwənu la-barakat ba-diba mədr*)

Although Jacob’s whole seed is to become blessed and holy (Jub 25:18; see analysis above), and Jacob is Abraham’s seed, Abraham’s seed will become famous (*yəkabbər*) precisely through Judah and Levi (*bəkəmu*). Levi and Judah in particular will become a blessing on earth. Abraham’s name (honour) will be realized through Judah and Levi and they are to become the blessing.¹¹²⁸ A clear allusion to the Abrahamic Promise is found here.¹¹²⁹

After Rebekah’s blessing, Jacob goes into his father’s bedroom with his two sons (Jub 31:8). When Isaac sees the two boys, he blesses them (Jub 31:12–20). As Endres has rightly noted,¹¹³⁰ Isaac’s blessing has similarities with Rebekah’s blessing in Jubilees 25:14–22. In Jubilees 25:14, “a spirit of righteousness” (*manfasa šədq*) descended on Rebekah and inspired her prayer and blessing of Jacob. Now, “a spirit of prophecy” (*manfasa tənbit*, Jub 31:12) descends on Isaac and inspires his blessings. Both spirits are said to have descended on their mouth (*warada wəsta ’afuhā/’afuhu*). I deal with the blessings separately, starting with the blessing of Levi (Jub 31:13–17):¹¹³¹

31:13 He turned to Levi first and began to bless him first. He said to him, “May the Lord of everything—he is the Lord of all ages—bless you and your sons throughout all ages.

31:14 May the Lord give you and your seed greatness and honor;¹¹³² may he make you and your seed (alone) out of all humanity approach him to serve in his temple like the angels of the presence and like the holy ones. The seed of your sons will be like them in honor, greatness, and holiness.

¹¹²⁸ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 850: “The covenant promises will continue and come to fruition through them.”

¹¹²⁹ Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment*, 62, sees this in connection with the blessing Abraham bestowed upon Jacob in Jub 19 and that Rebekah had witnessed.

¹¹³⁰ John C. Endres, “Revisiting the Rebekah of the Book of *Jubilees*,” in *Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam*, ed. Eric F. Mason, JSJSup 153 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 765–782 (780).

¹¹³¹ For the following, see also Tanskanen, “Expectations,” 150–155, and ch. 2.4 above.

¹¹³² In VanderKam’s Critical Edition of Jub *wa-la-zar’əka ’əbaya ’abāya la-kəbr* “to your seed great greatness for honour”; Lat *semini tuo magno intellegere gloriam eius* “your great seed to know his honour.” VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 845, reads the text according to ms. 21 *’əbaya wa-kəbra* “greatness and honour,” and concludes: “Perhaps it is safest to conclude that the text speaks about two gifts from the Lord to Levi and his descendants: greatness and honor.”

May he make them great throughout all the ages.
 31:15 They will be princes, judges, [and leaders]¹¹³³ of all the seed 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 mouth,
 so that they may bless all the seed of the beloved.
 31:16 Your mother named you Levi,
 and she has given you the right name.
 You will become one who is joined to the Lord
 and a companion of all Jacob's sons.
 His table is to belong to you;
 you and your sons are to eat (from) it.
 May your table be filled throughout all history;
 may your food not be lacking throughout all ages.
 31:17 May all who hate you fall before you,
 and all your enemies be uprooted and perish.
 May the one who blesses you be blessed,
 and any nation who curses you be cursed."

In this blessing there is the use of the motif "all who bless you be blessed, all who curses you be cursed" (31:17). Otherwise, the blessing does not include any allusions to the Abrahamic Promise. Instead, the author mostly uses Levi and the priestly traditions (Gen 29:34; Num 6:22–27; Deut 33:8–11; Mal 2; 1 Chr 23:4; 2 Chr 35; Neh 8:9). However, one should note that honour in Jubilees 31:14 may refer to the promise of name (cf. Jub 31:7 above).

Isaac then turns towards Judah and blesses him (Jub 31:18–20):

31:18 Then he said to Judah: "May the Lord give you the power and strength
 to trample on all who hate you.
 Be a prince—you and one of your sons—for Jacob's sons.
 May your name and the name of your sons be one
 that goes and travels around in the entire earth and the regions.
 Then the nations will be frightened before you;
 all the nations will be disturbed;
 all peoples will be disturbed.
 31:19 May Jacob's help be in you;
 May Israel's safety be found in you.

¹¹³³ The Ge'ez *wa-malā'akta* "and leaders" is not found in Lat which has only *et principes et iudices erunt omni semini iacob*. Although *wa-malā'akta* shows similarity to Levi's role in Mal 2:7 (מלאך יהוה צבאות הוא), it might be a later addition. In the parallel passage in ALD 13:16 there is a Hebraism ראשין ושפטין according to Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone, and Esther Eshel, eds., *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary*, SVTP 19 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 214. According to Kugel, *Ladder of Jacob*, 253 n. 42, ALD is here influenced by the Hebrew text of Jub 31:15. See also Kugel, *Walk through*, 362. VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 845, opts for *parablepsis* in the Latin version. Both *mak^wannan* and *masfān* can either mean a judge, ruler, or governor. See Leslau, *Comparative*, 287, 488. *Masfān* is used, e.g., in Eth Gen 36; Judg; 1 Sam 18:29 (MT LXX 18:30); Ps 67:27 (MT 68:28); Neh 12:26.

31:20 At the time when you sit on the honorable throne that is rightly yours,
 there will be great peace for all the seed of the beloved's sons.
 The one who blesses you will be blessed,
 and all who hate and trouble you,
 and those, too, who curse you
 will be uprooted and destroyed from the earth
 and are to be cursed."

The blessing here contains plenty of allusions to the Davidic promises.¹¹³⁴ Although "name" is mentioned (Jub 31:18), the word is most probably first and foremost related to Davidic traditions and not to the Abrahamic Promise.¹¹³⁵ It is possible, however, that the great name promised to Abraham is tradition-historically related to royal ANE-traditions, and inside the Hebrew Bible also to Israelite royal traditions.¹¹³⁶ This blessing also uses the same motif "all who bless you be blessed, all who curse you be cursed" (Jub 31:20), as does the blessing of Levi (Jub 31:17), both in way which indicates that the cursing ones will be uprooted and destroyed. These two instances might be similar "innovation by analogy," as Howard Jacobson has noted in *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*.¹¹³⁷ For example, the author of Jubilees takes phrases or quotations from analogous passages and makes other characters say the same thing. As Jacobson cautiously reminds us, it is not always possible to tell if the allusion serves any purpose.¹¹³⁸ Nonetheless, I still interpret that the author connects the blessings given to Judah and Levi to the Abrahamic Promise (cf. Abraham's words in Jub 22:11; Rebekah's blessing of Judah and Levi in Jub 31:7). The promises become reality especially through Judah and Levi. This is shown particularly regarding the promise of name/reputation, as honour (Jub 31:14) and name (Jub 31:18) are mentioned in both blessings. Furthermore, honour is the aspect which Rebekah underlines in her blessing of the boys in Jubilees 31:7. Nevertheless, the other brothers/tribes are also heirs of the promise.

Additionally, one can surmise that the way in which Judah and Levi will become a "blessing on earth" (Jub 31:7) seems to be opened here: In Jubilees 31:15, a blessing is imparted on Levi and his descendants, probably alluding to the Lord's blessing in Numbers 6:22–27.¹¹³⁹ The blessing is, however, directed only towards "all the seed of the beloved" (*kʷallo zar'a la-fəqur*, Jub 31:15) referring to Jacob's seed, i.e., Abraham's seed.¹¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, when the future leader from the tribe of Judah sits on the throne which belongs to him, a great

¹¹³⁴ See ch. 2.4 above as well as Tanskanen, "Expectations," 152–155.

¹¹³⁵ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 860, refers to Solomon's reputation in 1 Kings 4:31 (MT 5:11) and 10:1–10.

¹¹³⁶ On the connection of Gen 12:2 to 2 Sam 7:9, see Grüneberg, *Abraham*, 166–169; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and Deuteronomistic School*, 80.

¹¹³⁷ Howard Jacobson, "Biblical Interpretation in Pseudo-Philo's *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*," in *A Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism*, ed. Matthias Henze (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 180–199 (181–184).

¹¹³⁸ Jacobson, "Biblical Interpretation," 184.

¹¹³⁹ Thus Kugel, *Walk through*, 151.

¹¹⁴⁰ Cf. Isa 41:8, where "my friend" (lit. "whom I love") may be taken as a reference to the chosen Jacob instead of Abraham.

peace will occur, but only for “all the seed of the beloved’s sons” (*la-kʷallu zar’a wəludu la-fəqur*, Jub 31:20). Thus, the great peace affected by the enthronement of the king from Judah and the blessing uttered by the Levite priests will concern only Israel. I suggest that Isaac’s blessing is, thus, connected to Rebekah’s blessing: Levi and Judah’s name/honour is the medium by which Abraham’s name will be realized, and Judah’s rule and Levi’s blessing are the mediums by which they will become a blessing on earth, namely to Israel.

After the scene in Jubilees 31, Jacob recalls Isaac’s blessing and blesses God: “Now I know that I and my sons, too, have an eternal hope before the God of all.” (Jub 31:32) The angel continues and tells Moses: “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.” (Jub 31:32)

To conclude, Levi and Judah become the special heirs of the Abrahamic Promise in Jubilees 31. They are to become a blessing, and through them Abraham’s name becomes famous. Those blessing them will become blessed, those cursing them will become cursed. They will become the leaders among Jacob’s descendants, i.e., Israel. They are given a special status among Jacob’s sons. The promises of name and blessing will become reality in favour of Israel precisely through their monarchic and priestly rule. However, the other sons are heirs of the promises too.

4.3.11 Jubilees 35

In Jubilees 35, Rebekah summons Jacob and asks Jacob to honour his father and brother. Jacob affirms that this is what he has done (Jub 35:1–8).

Rebekah then goes to Isaac and asks Isaac to make Esau swear that he would not harm Jacob in any way. She depicts the harsh ways Esau has behaved and treated his parents, contrasting that with the honouring way Jacob has treated his parents (Jub 35:8–12). Isaac affirms this and acknowledges that he now loves Jacob much more than Esau. Nevertheless, he does not believe that Esau, even if bound by an oath, would behave in a good way; his word is not to be trusted. Nevertheless, Jacob is still safe because his guardian is greater than Esau’s guardian. That is why Rebekah should not worry too much (Jub 35:13–17).

Rebekah nonetheless still summons Esau and asks him to do as she requests, which Esau promises to do (Jub 35:18–19). Then Rebekah asks of Esau (Jub 35:20):

She said to him: “I ask of you that on the day I die you bring me and bury me near your father’s mother Sarah; and that you and Jacob love one another, and that the one does not desire harm for his brother but only love for one another. Then you will be prosperous (*wa-təssərrəhu*), my sons, and be honored on the earth (*wa-təkabbəru*). Your enemy will not be happy over you. You will become

a blessing (*wa-təkawwānu la-barakat*) and an object of kindness in the view of all who love you.”¹¹⁴¹

Esau swears according to Rebekah’s will and makes it clear that he loves Jacob and has accepted that Jacob will be his superior and rule over him and his sons (Jub 35:21–24). Rebekah subsequently summons Jacob and he also promises to love Esau. They have a meal together, and Rebekah dies that night. Jacob and Esau bury her near Sarah (Jub 35:25–27).

Rebekah’s plea contains an allusion to the Abrahamic Promise. If Jacob and Esau love one another (fulfilling the commandment of brotherly love, Lev. 19:17–18),¹¹⁴² they will become a blessing (*la-barakat*) and will be kindly looked upon (*la-məhrat*) by those who love them. The second phrase is an elaboration: Other people react to them according to their love and actions towards one another. Jacob and Esau will also be honoured on earth (*wa-təkabbəru*). This is a theme connected to name since it represents honour and fame (cf. Jub 31:7).

Thus, a condition for the fulfilment of the Abrahamic Promise is found in Jubilees 35:20, where Rebekah is concerned about what will happen after she and Isaac die. When Esau (and Jacob) behaves well, the sons will be successful and honoured, and they will become a blessing.

It is interesting to note that Esau has the theoretical opportunity to inherit the Abrahamic Promise here. Thus, it leads one to ask what Esau actually represents in Jubilees. Jacob certainly typologically represents Israel and the ideal Israelite, as he does in the Hebrew Bible, but what does Esau represent? Does Esau represent *only* the Edomites, which he generally does in Jubilees as in Genesis (Jub 24:6; 36:19; 38:14), or does he typologically also represent Jewish apostates who are not part of the holy seed, i.e., Jacob (Jub 16:17, 26; 25:18)?¹¹⁴³ At the very least Esau has the possibility to be honoured and become a blessing if he shows kindness towards Jacob.

¹¹⁴¹ Only very small fragments of the Hebrew text for Jub 35:20 have been survived in 4Q223–224 2 ii 16–20. Most of the text in VanderKam & Milik, “Jubilees,” 106–107, is reconstructed from Ge’ez. Therefore, the Ge’ez text is to be preferred as the basis for analysis.

¹¹⁴² Kengo Akiyama, *The Love of Neighbour in Ancient Judaism: The Reception of Leviticus 19:18 in the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint, the Book of Jubilees, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the New Testament*, AJEC 105 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 90, argues that in Jub 35–36 “Jubilees names Lev 19:18 as the key prerequisite for covenant fulfilment.” That is partly true, since Gen 18:19 seems to be behind the various testaments in Jubilees, and as David Lambert, “Last Testaments,” has argued, the author of Jubilees has understood the term צדקה in Gen 18:19 as pertaining to Lev 19:18 (relationship with others). However, also משפט referring to relationship with God and different stipulations pertaining to that relationship, is important (see further ch. 2.2.3 above). This can be seen in the many *halakic* additions which often pertain to such matters throughout the book. Jub 35–36 emphasize brotherly love since that is the main theme in the struggle between Jacob and Esau both in Gen and in Jub. See, however, Jub 36:3–6 and the analysis below.

¹¹⁴³ Cf. the discussion concerning Esau/Edom in Isa 63:1–6, where certain scholars argue that Esau represents that part of Israel that is not faithful. See Brevard S. Childs, *Isaiah: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), 516–519; Laato, *Message and Composition*, 239–242.

Indeed, if Esau is to be understood as representing the apostates too, the idea that they are also under a guardian other than Jacob's God is worth noting. Isaac namely responds to Rebekah that she should not worry, because Jacob's guardian is greater, mightier, and more powerful and praised than that of Esau (Jub 35:17): "Now you are not to be afraid for Jacob because Jacob's guardian is greater and more powerful, glorious, and praiseworthy than Esau's guardian." Whereas Ge'ez ends in Jubilees 35:17, 4Q223-224 2 ii 12-14 include few extra lines. I first give 4Q223-224 2 ii 12-14,¹¹⁴⁴ followed by the translation by VanderKam in his recent commentary on Jubilees.

12 כִּיָּא כִּאֲבָק לִפְנֵי רוּחַ כִּן כּוֹל שׁוֹמְרֵי עֵישָׂאוּ לְ[פ]נֵי אֱלֹהֵי
 13 [אֲבֵרָהֶם וְאֱלֹהֵי יִצְחָק וְאֱלֹהֵי יִ]עֲקֹב בְּ[נֵי הַתְּמִים וְהִי]קֵר אֲבֵל אֲנִכִּי אֵה[ב אֵת הָעוֹ]שָׂה
 רְצוֹנִי
 14 [אֲחֹתִי בְשָׁלוֹם] [...]

12 For like dust before[e ...] all the guardians of Esau before the God of
 13 [...]Jacob [my perfect and de]jar s[on.] But I lo[ve ... do]es our wishes
 14 [...] my sister in peace.

What is worth noting here is that Esau's guardian is not the same as Jacob's. Few possible explanations for such a statement or idea can be suggested. First, since Esau represents Edom in Genesis, it is not that difficult to understand that his guardian or guardians (=god[s]) are not the same as the guardian of Israel, Yhwh. The author stated already in Jubilees 15:30-32 that God did not choose Esau, even though he was a son of Abraham. All peoples belong to God, but they are ruled by false-leading spirits so that they do not follow Him. In the case of Israel, however, that is not true. In Jubilees 15:30-32, the author has given an interpretation on Deuteronomy 32:8-9,¹¹⁴⁵ and now in Jubilees 35:17 he alludes to this idea once again: Esau's guardian is a false-leading spirit.

However, according to Deuteronomy, God gave Mt. Seir to Edom (Deut 2:5; cf. Josh 24:4), and Mt. Seir is also paralleled with Sinai as a holy mountain from whence Yhwh comes forth (Deut 33:2; cf. Judg 5:4). Thus, although later Edom and Mt. Seir are depicted negatively in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Ezek 35), it does still have positive connotations in tradition history. This seems to mirror the brotherly relations between Jacob and Esau in Genesis, too. Moreover, from the perspective of the story in Jubilees itself, Isaac has surely also taught his son Esau to worship the only real God of Israel, and if this had not been done implicitly earlier, he at least does so explicitly in Jubilees 36:1-11, as demonstrated below. Why then would Isaac say that Esau has a different guardian?

One possibility arises that the wives of Esau led Esau on false paths. That is what is stated also by Isaac: "For he has abandoned the God of Abraham and has gone after the impurity of the women and after the error of the women." (Jub 35:14). One should note the stark connection made between idolatry and foreign

¹¹⁴⁴VanderKam & Milik, "Jubilees," 106.

¹¹⁴⁵ See 4QDeut XII, 14, for the correct reading. "Sons of God" is interpreted as angels in the LXX Deut 32:8-9.

wives in Jubilees.¹¹⁴⁶ Esau had, thus, become an apostate, which is also reflected in his actions. Thus, he can very well represent an Israelite apostate, who does not belong to the holy seed, the remnant, the plant of righteousness and therefore is not guarded by Yhwh, but rather by false spirits who lead other nations instead, as stated in Jubilees 15:30–32.

4Q223–224 2 ii 12–14 possibly preserves the original text, something which has been lost in Ethiopic Jubilees 35:17.¹¹⁴⁷ Alternatively it may be part of *Fortschreibung* at Qumran as seems to be the case with Jub 1:15b–25,¹¹⁴⁸ but that is less plausible. However, the same idea is presented both in 4Q223–224 and in the Ethiopic version of Jubilees: Esau’s guardian is different. As was mentioned already, in Isaiah Esau/Edom seems to represent those, who do not belong to the holy seed or the chosen ones. Since, according to Rebekah, the fulfilment of the Abrahamic Promise seems to be within reach of Esau, at least theoretically, and because, according to Isaac, Esau did worship the Israelite God before abandoning Him and going after foreign wives, it seems plausible to suggest that Esau typologically represented the apostates also in Jubilees.

4.3.12 Jubilees 36

In a way Jubilees 36¹¹⁴⁹ rewrites or broadens Genesis 35:28–29. Here, Isaac summons his two sons, Jacob and Esau. He says to them (Jub 36:1–11):

36:1 My children, I am going the way of my fathers, to the eternal home where my fathers are. 36:2 Bury me near my father Abraham in the double cave in the field of Ephron the Hittite that Abraham acquired to (have) a burial place there. There, in the grave that I dug for myself, bury me. 36:3 This is what I am ordering you, my sons: that you do what is right and just on the earth¹¹⁵⁰ so that the Lord may bring on you everything that the Lord said that he would do for Abraham and his seed. (*kama taḡbaru ṣadqa wa-rət’a ba-diba madr kama yāmṣə’ ʿagzi’abḥēr lā’lēkamu kw’llo za-maṭana nagaro ʿagzi’abḥēr yaḡbar la-ʿabrahām wa-la-zar’u*) 36:4 Practice brotherly love among yourselves, my sons, like a man who loves himself, with each one desiring what is good for his brother and doing things together on the earth. May they love one another as themselves. 36:5 Regarding the matter of idols, I am instructing you to reject them, to be an enemy of them, and not to love them because they are full of errors for those who worship them and who bow to them. 36:6 My sons,

¹¹⁴⁶ See Jub 20; 22; 30; and the analysis of Jub 30 in ch. 3.2 above.

¹¹⁴⁷ This is the opinion of VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 948.

¹¹⁴⁸ See chs. 1.3.1 and 1.4.1 above.

¹¹⁴⁹ 4Q223–224 2 ii 48–iii 19 have fragmentarily preserved parts of vv. 7–10 and 10–23. *Contra* Maurice Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4 III (4Q482–4Q520)*, DJD 7 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 1–2, 4Q482 frg 2 is not part of v. 9, see James C. VanderKam, “Hebrew, Jubilees,” in *Textual History of the Bible, vol 2: The Deuterocanonical Scriptures*, ed. Frank Feder and Matthias Henze (Leiden: Brill, 2020, online). Regarding 1Q18 frg 3 and Jub 36:12, see VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 99, who argues against the identification. Parts of 36:20–24 have been preserved in Latin, too.

¹¹⁵⁰ Alternatively “land.” The exhortation is, however, general: one ought to do what is just and right on the earth (including the Promised Land). Doing what is just or right is not only restricted to the Promised Land.

remember the Lord, the God of your father Abraham—afterwards I, too, worshipped and served him properly and sincerely—so that he may make you numerous and increase your seed in number like the stars of the sky and plant you in the earth as a righteous plant that will not be uprooted throughout all the generations of eternity/world. (*kama yābzəḥkəmu wa-yālhəq zar’əkəmu kama kawākəbta samāy la-bəzḥ wa-yətkəlkəmu wəsta mədr takla šədq za-i-yəššərraw la-kwəllu təwlədd za-la-‘ālam*) 36:7 Now I will make you swear with the great oath—because there is no oath which is greater than it, by the praiseworthy, glorious, and great, splendid, marvelous, powerful, and great name which made the heavens and the earth and everything together—that you will be his fearers and his worshipers 36:8 by loving one another kindly and properly and by not desiring harm for his brother from now and forever, throughout your entire lifetime, so that you may be prosperous in everything that you do and not be destroyed.¹¹⁵¹ 36:9 If one of you desires harm for his brother, be aware from now on that anyone who desires harm for his fellow will fall into his control and will be uprooted from the land of the living, while his seed will be destroyed from beneath the sky. 36:10 On the day of anger with raging wrath and fury—with a blazing fire that devours—he will burn his land, his cities, and everything that belongs to him just as he burned Sodom. He will be erased from the disciplinary book of humanity. He will not be entered in the book of life but is one who will be destroyed. He will pass over to an eternal curse so that their punishment may always be renewed with denunciation and curse, with anger, pain, and wrath, and with blows and eternal sickness. 36:11 I am reporting and testifying to you, my sons, in accord with the punishment that will come on the man who wishes to do what is harmful to his brother.”

In this long testimony given by Isaac to his children, Isaac reminds Jacob and Esau of the brotherly love they should show towards one another (Cf. Jub 35). Doing righteousness (*šədq*) and what is just (*rət’a*) is the condition for obtaining the promises God had given to Abraham (Jub 36:3).¹¹⁵² Unfortunately, 4Q223–224 has not preserved the exact Hebrew terms used, but generally the Ge’ez *šədq* and *rət’* are semantically close to the Hebrew terms צדקה and משפט.¹¹⁵³ I noted

¹¹⁵¹ For the different translation from the end of Jub 36:7 to here in v. 8, see the discussion below.

¹¹⁵² The condition is noted also by Berger, *Jubiläen*, 501. VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 958, notes the relationship of 36:3 to Gen 18:19, too, of which see below.

¹¹⁵³ Eth Gen 18:19 has translated the terms as *məšwāt* “almsgiving, charity” and *fəṭḥ* “justice,” but one should remember that the Greek δίκαιοσύνη and κρίσις are in-between. Where the Hebrew words צדקה and משפט (I list them in this order) are both used, Eth translates them (via the LXX) as *šədq* and *fəṭḥ* (2 Sam 8:15; 1 Kgs 10:9; Isa 32:16; Eth Isa 58:1 [MT 58:2]; Jer 4:2 where תמם is translated as *rət’*; Jer 22:3; 33:15; Ezek 18:19; 45:9; Am 5:24; 6:12; Mi 7:9; Ps 98:4 [MT 99:4]; 105:3 [MT 106:3] 1 Chr 18:14; 2 Chr 9:8), *fəṭḥ* and *šədq* (Jer 9:23, where חסד is rendered by *šahl*), *rət’* and *šədq* (Isa 5:7, 16; 33:5; 56:1; 59:9, 14; Jer 22:15; 23:5; Ezek 18:5, 27; 33:14, 16, 19), *šədq* and *rət’* (Isa 9:6), *šədq* and *kwənnanē* (Deut 33:21; or other way around, depending on the edition; Ps 71:1 [MT 72:1]), *rət’* and *kwənnanē* (Ps 35:6 [MT 36:7]), *məšwāt* and *šədq* (Isa 1:27; Ezek 18:21), *šədq* and *məšwāt* (Ps 32:5 [MT 33:5]), *šahl* and *šədq* (Isa 28:17), *šədq* and *šədq* (Prov 8:20). Eth Isa 54:17 is very different from the MT and LXX. In Am 5:7 Eth renders משפט as *fəṭḥ* and uses CGt verb of root *rt’* for צדקה. In Ps 102:6 [MT 103:6] Eth uses *šahl* for צדקה and renders משפט by G verb from root *fṭḥ*. In Prov 21:3 Eth loses one of the terms

earlier (in ch. 2.2.3) above, joining David Lambert,¹¹⁵⁴ that Genesis 18:18–19 plays a significant role in testimonial accounts in Jubilees, the testament of Isaac in Jubilees 36 being one of them:

ואברהם היו יהיה לגוי גדול ועצום ונברכו בו כל גויי הארץ כי ידעתיו למען אשר יצוה את בניו ואת ביתו אחריו ושמרו דרך יהוה לעשות צדקה ומשפט למען הביא יהוה על אברהם את אשר דבר עליו

18:18 Abraham will surely become a great and mighty nation, and all the nations of the earth will be blessed through him. 18:19 For I have known¹¹⁵⁵ him so that he will command his sons and his house after him (so that) they will keep the way of the Lord by doing what is right and just, so that Yhwh would bring to Abraham everything he has said to him.¹¹⁵⁶

Lambert has argued convincingly that these two terms, *צדקה* and *משפט* in Genesis 18:19, are interpreted in Jubilees so that *צדקה* refers to love for neighbour and *משפט* to relationship with God.¹¹⁵⁷ We can see this also in Jubilees 36:4–6. After the heading in verse 3, Isaac starts with commands regarding the brotherly love in verse 4 (*צדקה*) and continues to command regarding right worship in verses 5–6 (*משפט*). In verses 7–8 he then makes the brothers swear that they will be godfearers and his worshippers and will love one another. In verses 9–11, he returns to the matter of brotherly love (*צדקה*). One should not interpret the emphasis on brotherly love here as implying that brotherly love is more important than right worship for the author.¹¹⁵⁸ The narrative dictates the matter

due to the LXX. One should bear in mind that the Greek is in-between the Hebrew and Ge'ez. This short survey only tells that the renderings are not uniform. It remains plausible that the original Hebrew had *צדקה* and *משפט* here in some order or other.

One should note, furthermore, Jub 36:8, where Isaac instructs Esau and Jacob to love another *ba-məḥrat wa-ba-šədq* (“kindly and properly”). 4Q223–224 2 ii 49 includes the word *צדקה* for *šədq*, and Milik & VanderKam, “Jubilees,” 107, have reconstructed רחמים to correspond with *məḥrat*. Another possibility is that Greek *ἐλεημοσύνη* lurks behind the Ge'ez *məḥrat*. These two words are found in LXX Eth Gen 47:29 (MT: חסד); Deut 6:25 and Isa 59:16 (MT *צדקה*[!]). Again, one cannot be certain at all as to which Hebrew terms lurk behind the Ge'ez terms, especially since the Greek is in-between.

¹¹⁵⁴ Lambert, “Last Testaments.”

¹¹⁵⁵ Alternatively “I have chosen,” if *ידעתי* should be taken in that sense (e.g., ESV). It is, however, important to keep the word intact, see the discussion below.

¹¹⁵⁶ My fairly literal translation.

¹¹⁵⁷ Lambert, “Last Testaments,” 88–94.

¹¹⁵⁸ *Contra* Akiyama, *Love of Neighbour*, 90. Akiyama states that the concise blessing formula in Jub 36:8 (“so that you may be prosperous in everything that you do and not be destroyed”) “follows Isaac’s charge to Jacob and Esau to love each other.” The charge, however, begins already in Jub 36:7, where Isaac makes his sons swear that they will fear and worship God *and* (following in Jub 36:8a) that they love one another *and* that they will not aim for bad. Only *then* does the result come that they will be successful and will not be destroyed in Jub 36:8. Both love for God *and* love for neighbour are prerequisites. VanderKam & Milik, “Jubilees,” 107, have reconstructed the verbs as ipfs. in 4Q223–224 2 ii 48–50. One should remember that the

at hand. The main problem between Jacob and Esau is (a lack of) brotherly love, which can be seen from Jubilees 35, too. Nonetheless, right worship is also embedded in that problem as a part of it (Jub 35:14). These two, *משפט* and *צדקה*, equally form conditions for the Abrahamic Promise, as can be inferred from Genesis 18:19.

Interesting enough, it seems like Esau still has a theoretical possibility to be part of the promises given to Abraham (Jub 36:3). However, Isaac himself knows that this will not be the case in the end, even if Esau would swear to love Jacob and remain obedient. When Rebekah asked Isaac to make Esau swear not to harm Jacob, Isaac replied: “If he does swear, he will not persevere and will not do what is virtuous but rather what is evil.” (Jub 35:15). Isaac, however, “knows” and sees how Jacob behaves in a just way (Jub 35:13).

One interesting detail left regarding the influence of Genesis 18:19 in Jubilees, namely that God *knows* (ידע) Abraham, needs to be discussed here. The word includes the idea of intimate knowledge, hence choosing and singling out.¹¹⁵⁹ Additionally, Ps 1:6 states that Yhwh “knows the way of the righteous, but the way of the wicked will perish” (ESV). From the *parallelismus*, one could infer that Yhwh “knows” both righteous and wicked people, and their ways.

As Claus Westermann notes, the verb ידע “occurs only here with this meaning in the patriarchal story.”¹¹⁶⁰ Surely an ancient interpreter would ask why Genesis has ידע instead of בחר “choose,” to give just one example of a more common word. It seems to be the case that in the reading of Genesis 18:19 by the author of Jubilees, God “knows” Abraham, i.e., knows his nature (see Jub 17:17; 18:9, and the discussion on Jub 18 in ch. 4.2.5 above), and he “knows” him so that he will teach his sons and “his house after him” what is just and right (Jub 19–22).

reconstructions are reconstructions. The Ge'ez is even clearer: *kama təkunu* (subj.) *’alla tafarrəhəwwo* (ipf.) *wa-’alla tāmalləkəwwo* (ipf.) 36:8 *wa-’anza yāfaqqər* (ipf.) ... *wa-’i-yāfaqqəd* (the reading of mss. 9, 20, 21, 38, 39, 47, 58, 63, is ipf.) ... *kama təsərrəhu* (subj.) ... *wa-’i-təḥagwəlu* (subj.) “so that you will be his fearers and his worshipers by loving... and not aiming... so that you will be successful... and you will not be destroyed.” The preposition *’alla* functions here to nominalize the relative clause, see Lambdin, *Introduction*, §25.1d. Thus, VanderKam’s translation “continue to worship and fear him” is wrong here. *’anza* + the following two ipfs. reflect the circumstance in which the sons are “fearers” and “worshipers,” and they should be taken as circumstantial clauses. See Lambdin, *Introduction*, §32.3. These circumstantial verbs are then followed by *kama* + subj. (cf. *kama təkunu* in the end of Jub 36:7), which give the intended result or purpose of what precedes it (ultimately *kama təkunu*!). See Lambdin, *Introduction*, §33.2b. The last verb can be either ipf. or subj, but it should be taken as subj., since it follows the previous subj. According to Lambdin, *Introduction*, §33.2b, *kama* can be also omitted, and this is the case here. Cf. the translation by Berger, *Jubiläen*, 502: “Daß ihr solche seid, die ihr ihn fürchtet und ihn verehrt und indem ein jeder seinen Bruder liebt in Bamherzigkeit und in Gerechtigkeit. Und ein Mensch nicht Böses für seinen Bruder erstrebt von jetzt an und bis in Ewigkeit, alle Tage eures Lebens, damit ihr glücklich seid in all eurem Werk und nicht umkommt.”

¹¹⁵⁹ Sarna, *Genesis*, 31. Both Keil, *Pentateuch*, 147, and Speiser, *Genesis*, 133, take ידע here in the sense of “acknowledge.” *DCH* 4:99, lists Gen 18:19 for instances where specifically “legally recognize” and “perh. choose” could be the proper English glosses.

¹¹⁶⁰ Westermann, *Genesis 12–26*, 288.

Abraham, however, is not the only one known by God in Jubilees. In Jubilees 15:31 it is stated that God also “knew” Ishmael and Esau, and therefore He did not choose them, but Israel. I suggest that Genesis 18:19 may be behind the odd word choice in Jubilees 15:31, too. Here, in Jubilees 35–36, the detail is followed by the war between Jacob and Esau in Jubilees 37–38, and so every reader knows why Esau was not chosen. He had the opportunity to fear and worship God. He had the opportunity to show brotherly love. He failed at both, as will be seen.

Although Jubilees 36:3 refers to everything God had promised Abraham, the seed and promise of seed are actually highlighted in Jubilees 36:6–10: When Jacob and Esau remember God and bear him in mind (*tazakkara*, Jub 36:6), he will make the seed numerous, and they will be a “righteous plant” (*takla šadq*, Jub 36:6) on earth, which will remain forever. The same term “righteous plant” is used in Jubilees 1:16 referring to those who turn from idolatry and return to God. The same term in Ge’ez (“plant of truth” in Hebrew) is also used in Jubilees 21:24, where Abraham says to Isaac that the “righteous plant” will be raised from Isaac if he follows the will of God. Furthermore, in Jubilees 16:26 Abraham knew that “righteous plant” and “holy seed” would come from Isaac. The comparison to the numbers of the stars (Jub 36:6) alludes to the Abrahamic Promise as well.

“Righteous plant” is similar to what is stated in Isaiah 61:3:

וקרא להם אילי הצדק מטע יהוה להתפאר

“And they will be called oaks of righteousness, plant of Yhwh for glorification.”¹¹⁶¹

In Isaiah, it seems that “oaks of righteousness,” “plant of Yhwh” (Isa 61:3) and “blessed seed of Yhwh” (Isa 61:9) are related to the “holy seed of Yhwh” (Isa 6:13) and also the “seed of Jacob” (Isa 65:9). In Isaiah, these terms refer to the Golah community which is assured to return to the Promised Land.¹¹⁶² Ezra 9:2 takes the idea of “holy seed” (found in connection with “righteous plant” in Jub 16:26) and links it with the prohibition of exogamy, which is similar to what is stated in Jubilees 30.¹¹⁶³ As Andrew Teeter states regarding the metaphor of “righteous plant,” in Jubilees, it functions “as a kind of shorthand for referencing a complex idea (or set of ideas) that develops over an extensive plotline—a plotline that emerges directly from a construal of a larger scriptural corpus... It represents, in fact, little more than a summary or distillation of concepts inherent within a variety of texts throughout the existing corpus.”¹¹⁶⁴ In Jubilees, this referential background is visible when the author uses the metaphor of “righteous plant” or

¹¹⁶¹ Cf. Eth Isa 61:3 *wa-yəssammayu təwlədda šadaqān takl za-’əm-ḥaba ’agzi’abḥēr* “And they will be called generation of righteous, a plant from God.”

¹¹⁶² See Laato, *Message and Composition of Isaiah*, 217–224. See also D. Andrew Teeter, “Metaphor and the Poetics of Scriptural Rewriting in Jubilees,” in *The Metaphorical Use of Language in Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature*, ed. Markus Witte and Sven Behnke, Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook 2014/2015 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), 411–426 (418–422), who also discusses usage of the metaphor outside the Bible; cf. Halpern-Amaru, *Rewriting the Bible*, 29.

¹¹⁶³ See ch. 3.2 above.

¹¹⁶⁴ Teeter, “Metaphor,” 421.

“holy seed.” It represents the law-obeying Jews, who will also emerge in the eschaton (Jub 23). For the author of Jubilees, Jacob represents that “holy seed” and “righteous plant.” That is, however, not unconditional, but rather conditional upon Jacob (and thus the Israelites) remembering their God, following the Torah, and showing brotherly love. Similarly, already Noah had commanded his sons to do what is just and right in order that God would “plant” them “in righteousness” (*gəbaru fəṯḥa wa-ṣədqa kama təttakalu ba-ṣədq wəsta gaṣṣa kʷəllu mədr*, Jub 7:34).

After his testimony, Isaac divides his property between the two sons, giving the larger part to “the man who was the first to be born” (Jub 36:12). Then he exchanges words with Esau (Jub 36:13–16):

36:13 He said, “I am making this portion larger for the man who was the first to be born.” 36:14 But Esau said, “I sold (it) to Jacob; I gave my birthright to Jacob. It is to be given to him. I will say absolutely nothing about it because it belongs to him.” 36:15 Isaac then said, “May a blessing rest on you, my sons, and on your seed today because you have given me rest. My mind is not sad regarding the birthright—lest you do something evil about it. 36:16 May the Most High Lord bless the man who does what is right—him and his seed forever.”

After the dialogue they eat together, and Isaac dies while sleeping. Esau and Jacob bury him (Jub 36:17–18).

It seems that Isaac was struggling with the question of what would happen to the right of the firstborn when Esau had sold it to Jacob and Jacob had, subsequently, gotten the blessing. Genesis does not tell about this family affair at all (Gen 35:28–29), and Jubilees omits the details of the meeting between Jacob and Esau when Jacob returns to the Promised Land (Jub 29:13; cf. Gen 33).

Isaac is relieved by the fact that Esau seems to hold no grudge against Jacob. He wishes that blessing will find rest on both of his sons and their seed, because they have given him rest.¹¹⁶⁵ A backdoor is still open: “lest you (sg.) do something evil about it.” (Jub 36:15). So, Isaac wishes that God would bless that man who does the right thing (*ṣədq*¹¹⁶⁶, Jub 36:16). In the end, only that man’s seed will be blessed forever.

¹¹⁶⁵ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 964–965, emphasizes the word “today” in Jub 36:15 and comments “He does not ask for an eternal blessing on them” but only for the one who does right (v. 16). 36:15 can be interpreted in the way VanderKam does, but it may also be possible to interpret it so that the blessing is uttered “today” (but its effects are to last forever). The Ge’ez *ba-zāti ‘alat* tells the time of uttering, not the time of how long the blessing lasts (cf. v. 16 *’aska la-’ālam*) However, the backdoor is also open for that uttered blessing at the end of v. 15. The last sentence is connected to the previous with *’asma* “for, because,” which VanderKam leaves untranslated. The ultimate meaning, however, does not change that much between either interpretation.

¹¹⁶⁶ VanderKam & Milik, “Jubilees,” 113, have restored אמת for the line 4Q223–224 2 iii 8, but that is only a guess. It could also be צדקה or משפט for example. The line has only four clear letters preserved, indicating one word in Hebrew. See their comment on p. 114.

Jubilees 35–36 prepare way for the final fight between the seed of Jacob and the seed of Esau in Jubilees 37 and 38.¹¹⁶⁷ The sons of Esau become furious when they hear what Esau had done when Isaac divided his property and demand that Jacob's family is to be killed and destroyed. Esau hesitates at first, but then changes his mind and does not remember the oath he had given to both Rebekah and Isaac. In the end, Jacob and his family prevail, Esau is killed, and his children pay tribute until Jacob goes to Egypt (Jub 38:2, 10–13). The sons of Edom have not “until today” extricated themselves from the yoke of servitude that Jacob's sons imposed on them (Jub 38:14). These chapters make it clear that the one who did what was right (*ṣadq*; צדקה) and just (*raṭ*; משפט) to the very end was Jacob and his seed. He, fully and clearly, is the true heir of the Abrahamic Promise. Esau, representing both the historical Edom, and as I have argued regarding Jubilees 35, also the apostate Israelites, remained outside of the covenant and the Abrahamic Promise.¹¹⁶⁸

To conclude, Isaac refers to all that is included in the Abrahamic Promise in Jubilees 36:3, but the theme of seed is highlighted in 36:6–10. The promise remains conditional: right worship of God and love for neighbour or kinsman is needed in order to be successful and in order for God to fulfil his promises given to Abraham. Jubilees 36, along with Jubilees 35, prepare the way for the final fight between Jacob and Esau in Jubilees 37 and 38. Only Jacob will remain as the true inheritor of the Abrahamic Promise.

4.3.13 Synthesis

The Abrahamic Promise (Gen 12:1–3 and par.) remains important in the rewritten version of the Abrahamic Family History in Jubilees. The Abrahamic Promise is alluded to and expanded upon in the parallel sections of Jubilees. The themes found in the Abrahamic Promise (seed, name, blessing, land) are also continuously referred to in various additions to the story of Genesis in Jubilees, not least in the utterings of the patriarchs and matriarchs (Abraham, Rebekah, Isaac) to one another and to their descendants. Especially important is Abraham's advice and blessings to Rebekah and Jacob in Jubilees 19:16–31 and Rebekah's blessing of Jacob in Jubilees 25. Both these sections allude to all four individual promises. A case in point is Jubilees 19:22–31, where Abraham firmly

¹¹⁶⁷ Cf. VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 961.

¹¹⁶⁸ Love towards the brother is also a command that is found to have been uttered by Noah (Jub 7:26), and Abraham (Jub 20:2), see VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 958–959. Thus, it may also be that the emphasis on brotherly love and peace and harmony between the Jews (see esp. Jub 20:2!) is one aspect that the author wants to highlight regarding the context of his readers in his day during the 2nd Century BCE as he at the same time highlights that Jacob is the one that one should follow. As Jacob's behaviour in Jubilees 37–38 towards Esau makes clear, the Jacobs should not attack against their brothers (Esaus) unless that is inevitable and they themselves are in danger of being eradicated because of the apostates. This is a different viewpoint when compared with how the attitude towards Gentiles in Jubilees is portrayed (see, esp. Jub 22; 30 and analysis of Jub 30 in ch. 3.2 above). Thus, one can very well argue that there are some seeds of later sectarian dualistic attitude found in certain Qumran texts (e.g., the sons of light and darkness, the *locus classicus* being 1QS III, 13–IV, 26).

indicates that all the blessings of Abraham and his seed will belong to Jacob and his seed for all time. He also desires that everything promised to him will be given to Jacob and his seed.

(1) *Land*. The first clear reference to the promise of land is found in Jubilees 17:3. Abraham is happy since God had given him seed, which he erroneously takes to mean both Ishmael and Isaac. In Jubilees 17:3 it is revealed that the seed is given to Abraham so that it would inherit the *mādr*. The author may have referred to the whole earth here since Abraham thanks “the creator of everything” in the same verse. This is reminiscent of Jubilees 32:18–19, where the “Lord who created heaven and earth” promises the whole earth to Jacob. The same expansive notion may also be visible in Jubilees 19:21, which refers to the promise in Genesis 28:14. Again, in Jubilees 22:14, Jacob will inherit the whole earth and exercise power among Seth’s seed (Jub 22:11–12, alluding, *inter alia*, to Num 24:17).

The original promise of land (over against the universalistic interpretation of earth) is found in certain cases, too (e.g., Jub 25:17 referring to “pleasant land”). These two aspects need not to be in contradiction, since it may be that Jacob’s “headquarters” will be the Promised Land, the borders of which remain very important for the author.¹¹⁶⁹ From there, Jacob’s universal hegemony will radiate to the whole world.

(2) *Seed*. The promise of seed is very much elaborated upon in the additions to Genesis in Jubilees. First, the promise is found alongside the name in Jubilees 16:16–19. This first allusion to the promise of seed in the additions of Jubilees betrays that the goal is Jacob. Although the passage is a report from angels regarding Isaac, the main focus is on one son of Isaac, i.e., Jacob.

As in parallel passages, it is interesting to note that the author continued to dramatize the failure of Abraham to know who the right heir of the promises was and thus who is Abraham’s seed. This is certainly so in the addition in Jubilees 17:1–3, where it seems that Abraham thought that Ishmael would also become an heir of the promise. This was not to be so, and with the addition of the scene the author portrays Sarah as a matriarch who safeguards the Abrahamic Promise by banishing Hagar along with Ishmael (Jub 17:1–14; cf. Gen 21:8–21). Ishmael is only “from your seed” (Jub 17:7), not “your seed” (Gen 21:13), and therefore not that seed of Abraham which the promise meant. In this way the author also changed Sarah’s motivation for demanding the banishment of Hagar and Ishmael: she was not acting on her own behalf but rather for the greater good. The implicit interpretation of Genesis 21 is made explicit here. Later, Abraham knows for sure who is meant with “your seed” (Jub 19:16–31).

The promise of seed is also often connected with the terminology of “holy seed” or “plant of righteousness.” In Jubilees, these terms seem to be related to the usage of the same terms in Isaiah (e.g., 6:13) and Ezra (9:2–3) and denote a remnant of the holy people who keep themselves pure from Gentile fornication including idolatry. The term “holy seed” is found in Jubilees 16:17 (and “holy people” in Jub 16:18). The author also refers to Exodus 19:5–6 and Deuteronomy

¹¹⁶⁹ See, e.g., Scott, *On Earth as in Heaven*, 182–209.

32:9 in the passage, thus connecting the promise of seed to those epithets that are appositions to the chosen people Israel in the Pentateuch. “Holy seed” is also found in Jubilees 22:27 and 25:3, 12. The “plant of truth/righteousness” is found in Jubilees 21:24 alongside with “remnant of your seed” in 21:25.

In Jubilees 19:16–31, the argument becomes clear. After perceiving the behaviour of Jacob and Esau, Abraham is sure that Jacob will take his place, and his desire is that every promise is attached to Jacob and his seed. Thus, Jacob is Abraham’s seed. Against earlier contributors on research on Jubilees, Abraham does not pray that every child of his would become God’s people in Jubilees 22:9. A philological analysis of the Ge’ez and Latin text shows that Abraham is praying for Jacob to become the acceptable nation for God.

A particularly important aspect regarding the seed of Abraham is Jubilees 2:19–25, where Jacob/Israel is separated from the other nations in the same way as the angels of holiness are separated from the lower ranks of angels and spirits and how the Sabbath is separated from the profane days of week. This dichotomy is revealed from the beginning, and it gives the correct context for interpreting the promise of seed, too. Although Jubilees 2 does not refer to the Abrahamic Promise *per se*, it gives the proper perspective on the reception of the Abrahamic Promise. Moreover, the author uses הַבְּדִיל “to separate” as a *terminus technicus* in Jubilees 2:19–21, which is related to Abraham’s testament to Jacob in 22:10–16, a speech that alludes a lot to the Abrahamic Promise. Moreover, Jacob being God’s firstborn son is related to the Abrahamic Promise in Jubilees 19:29, too.

Although the author emphasizes that the totality of Jacob’s seed is heir of the promise (e.g., Jub 25), in few cases, there is a certain differentiation inside Jacob’s seed. This idea, which highlights Levi and Judah among Jacob’s sons, is found in Jubilees 31, where Rebekah and Isaac bless them. Through Levi and Judah, the promise of name/reputation will become reality. The same singling out of Judah and Levi may be visible in Jubilees 22:11, where the whole of Jacob’s seed is blessed, but “some” are sanctified. The verse continues by referring to the dominance of Jacob over and against the foreign nations (Seth’s seed).

(3) *Name*. The promise of name is found only in Genesis 12:2. The survey in the previous subchapter 4.2 showed that the author did not add any allusions to the name or reputation in the parallel passages either. The case is different in the additions. First, the promise of name is found alongside the promise of seed in Jubilees 16:16. There it is stated that the promise of name will be fulfilled through one special son of Isaac, namely Jacob, who will become the holy people and holy seed. The promise of name is also added to Jubilees 17:6 (cf. Gen 21:12). In Jubilees 19:24, Abraham states that his name and the name of his forefathers will be blessed through Jacob. If Isaac follows the proper *halakah*, his name will not cease to exist from beneath heaven (Jub 21:24). Rebekah’s hope is that Jacob and his seed’s name will remain forever (Jub 25:21). As was mentioned already, the promise of name becomes reality through Levi and Judah (Jub 31:7). Esau too has the possibility to become honoured on earth if he followed the *halakah* (Jub 35:20).

(4) *Blessing*. Blessing is vividly elaborated upon in Jubilees 19–22. According to Jubilees 19:17–21, Jacob is blessed forever and will be a blessing among humanity (probably referring to his extraordinary status), which will become a blessing for “us” on the earth. According to Jubilees 19:22–25, the extraordinary blessing attained by Jacob and his seed will be in favour for the whole earth, “laying heaven’s foundations, making the earth firm, and renewing all the luminaries which are above the firmament.” This may be one interpretation of Genesis 12:3b.

The נברכו of Gen 12:3b is clearly alluded to in Jubilees 20:10. Against certain earlier studies on the passage, which resulted the conclusion of a positive universalistic tone in the verse, my analysis showed that the opposite is true. In Jubilees 20:10, it is stated that other people long to be the same as Jacob/Israel, or those who “keep the way of Yhwh,” alluding to Genesis 18:18–19. They do so by blessing Jacob with the help of Abraham’s name, but they keep longing (Ge’ez *fatawa*; Lat *desidero*) for the blessedness of Jacob. In Jubilees 20:9, the promise of being blessed or becoming a blessing is interpreted in a Deuteronomic mould as the author alludes to and even cites many Deuteronomic passages in Jubilees 20:1–10 (Deut 7:13; 11:14; 28:3–4, 12). Thus, the promise of blessing is related to the conditional view of covenant: the covenant is conditional on keeping the way of Yhwh (Jub 20:2; cf. Gen 18:19), i.e., the *halakah* the author propagates. Even Esau can become a blessing and honoured on earth if he follows the commandments (Jub 35:20).

The extraordinarily blessed status of Jacob is also referred to in Jubilees 25:15, where Jacob is singled out of humankind for blessing. The particular interpretation of blessing may also be found in Jubilees 31:7, 13–20, where the blessing placed in Levi’s, i.e., the priests’, mouth (alluding to Num 6:22–27) is directed towards Jacob’s seed, and where the eschatological peace caused by a future king taking a seat in his royal throne is also directed only to Jacob’s seed.

As in the parallel passages, it becomes clear in the additions too that the Abrahamic Promise is interpreted in conditional terms. The promise of blessing is related to the blessings and curses of the covenant formula in Deuteronomy 27–30. The hermeneutical key for the author in this regard has been Genesis 18:18–19, which is alluded to in the many testaments of Abraham, Isaac, and Rebekah (Jub 20–22; 25; 35–36). The terms צדקה and משפט in Genesis 18:19 are interpreted as referring to commandments in relation to God and commandments in relation to others (esp. Jub 36).

Although in Jubilees 20:1–10, the testament of Abraham is given to all his descendants, Ishmael and probably Esau included, the focus shifts towards Isaac, and ultimately towards Jacob in Jubilees 20:9–10, with the sudden change to the second person singular from the second person plural. Jacob is the only one who keeps the way of Yhwh to the fullest, and therefore only he who can receive the Abrahamic Promise. Similarly, the condition is present in Abraham’s testament to Isaac (Jub 21), where especially cultic matters are elaborated upon.

The same conditionality is also to the fore of Jubilees 35–36. There, Esau has the theoretical possibility to be the heir of the promise, but ultimately fails to

uphold the condition (Jub 37–38). It seems that Esau represents not only Edom in Jubilees, but also the apostate Jew, who has the chance to repent and return to the right path (*halakah*) but who fails to do so. In this way, the author creates a demarcation line between the right heir of the promises, those who keep the way of Yhwh, i.e., Jacobs, and the apostate Esaus. The whole seed of Jacob is “holy seed,” “plant of truth,” and “remnant” of Isaac’s seed: Jacob represents the elect remnant (Jub 1:16), who steadily keep the way of Yhwh. If the elected people follow the *halakah*, those who curse them will be cursed, but if they do not, it remains possible to curse them (Jub 25:22). In this struggle for righteousness Jacob can pray for strength and help from God (Jub 22:10, 14, 23). The right path will be revealed (via the author) to Jacob (Jub 25:15), and in that way the elected will return in the future (Jub 23:26; cf. vv. 29–30 and 25:20).

4.4 Conclusions

As has been shown in this chapter, the Abrahamic Promise is indeed a crucially important theme in the Book of Jubilees. The author has kept the accounts of the promises in Genesis. Most of the parallel passages have been preserved more or less intact, but in certain cases, especially regarding the rewriting of Genesis 35 in Jubilees 32, the author has made significant changes. In addition, the author has created a substantial number of new scenes where, to a great extent, the Abrahamic Promise is alluded to. This is true especially regarding Jubilees 19, 22, and 25.

The author has understood the promise of seed as referring to Jacob and his seed. At the same time, the patriarch Jacob represents typologically the remnant of Israel, those who are the elect ones and who will follow the proper *halakah* expounded in Jubilees. Two children inside Jacob are singled out, namely Levi and Judah. They represent the priests and the king typologically. Although Jacob’s whole seed, that is, those following the *halakah* of Jubilees, are heirs of the promise and thus Abraham’s seed, the blessing on earth becomes reality and Abraham will be honoured on earth through the priests and their blessings as well as through the righteous rule of the future king which causes great peace for Jacob’s seed.

The promise of land is twofold in Jubilees. On the one hand, the author retains the notion of the Promised Land which belongs to Jacob/Israel. On the other hand, and especially in the many allusions to the promise of land in the additions in Jubilees, the author universalizes the promise. Especially in Jubilees 32:18–19, but also elsewhere, the promise refers to the whole earth, which is under the hegemony of Jacob, and presumably under the hegemony of the king of Israel. In this sense, kings of nations too are to emerge from Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

In my opinion, this twofold view on the promise of land can be systematized in the following way. The Promised Land serves as the headquarters of Jacob/Israel. At the same time, the rule of Jacob/Israel radiates out to the entire world. In this sense, the name of Abraham will remain on earth, and Levi and Judah will make Abraham famous.

This is also related to the promise of blessing. The author emphasizes the extraordinary and blessed status of Jacob/Israel, who is singled out among humankind to become blessed. The status of Jacob/Israel in relation to other nations can be compared with the status of the angels of presence and holiness in relation to the lower ranks of angels, or with the status of the Sabbath in relation to profane days. However, in the coming eschatological era, the righteous conduct of Jacob/Israel will radiate some kind of blessing to other nations too, since the blessings will also serve to fix the world (Jub 19:25). In the end, however, the other nations can only long for or desire the blessed status of Jacob/Israel, when they use Abraham's name in blessing them (Jub 20:10). Here, a clear allusion to the niphala/hitpael of בָּרַךְ in Gen 12:3b and parallels is found. Over and against the interpretation of ancient translations (e.g., the LXX and Vulg) and the New Testament, the verb is here understood as reflexive, but in a negative way. It seems that the author utilized both medium/passive and reflexive forces in his reception of the Abrahamic Blessing.

For the author, the account in Genesis 18:18–19, namely that God knows that Abraham will command his sons and his house after him so that God could fulfil his promises, is the hermeneutical key in understanding the Abrahamic Promise. Even though Genesis 18:18–19 play such a crucial role, it is interesting that the actual passage is not included in the rewriting of Jubilees.¹¹⁷⁰ In this way, the conditionality of the promise comes to the fore. This is seen in particular in the additions to Genesis in Jubilees. However, the conditionality is highlighted in the parallel passages too. In almost every case the author has emphasized the initiative and activity of the patriarchs, especially Abraham.

In Jubilees, Jacob is the ideal model for righteous conduct and behaviour, whereas Esau represents the Jewish apostate who, therefore, falls from being the heir of the Abrahamic Promise, although even he had the theoretical possibility to be the heir of the Promise. In this vein, the author elaborates on the two terms found in Genesis 18:19, צדקה and משפט, which he understands as referring to commandments pertaining to a relationship with God and to others (esp. Israelites). Although there is a certain abstraction present in this case, the author expounds (in great detail and with great many commandments and stipulations, mostly taken from the lives of the patriarchs and Rebekah giving the testimonies to their children) on how one should conduct oneself in relation to God and other humans. As Jacob represents the ideal Israelite, one can see a clear connection to the result of chapters 2 and 3 of this study, namely that the author wants to highlight in detail how Jacob actually fulfils the Mosaic commandments, especially those given to him in the second person singular in Deuteronomy.

Thus, Jacob, as the ideal Israelite, represents the demarcation line for the author. To summarize the results of the study conducted here, Abraham's seed is

¹¹⁷⁰ Cf. Jacob's blessing of Ephraim and Manasseh in Gen 48, which the author has utilized elsewhere, but which is not rewritten in Jubilees. On this, see Pauline P. Buisch, "The Absence and Influence of Genesis 48 (The Blessing of Ephraim and Manasseh) in the *Book of Jubilees*." *JSP* 26.4 (2017): 255–273.

Jacob. In order to be Jacob, one must be circumcised on the eighth day, be ethnically a Jew, and follow the *halakah* propagated by the author. When this takes place, then God can fulfil the promise of universal hegemony with the Promised Land (and Zion/Jerusalem)¹¹⁷¹ being in the centre. The reputation of Jacob/Israel is then to be known to everyone, and subsequently the world will be healed and enjoy blessing and prosperity, although that blessing is concentrated upon Jacob, and the clear distinction between Jacob and the foreign nations remains.

The clear and straightforward connection between Abraham and Jacob as Abraham's seed and as the goal of the Abrahamic Promise in Jubilees, and the exclusive tendency inherent in this connection, finds a parallel in certain Qumran scrolls. When dealing with the (non)reception of Genesis 12:3 and the blessing to all the nations via Abraham (and/or his seed) in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Mladen Popović noted that both 4Q372 3, 8–9 and 4Q393 3, 7–8 include only Abraham and Jacob, and exclude Isaac.¹¹⁷² With the reading preferred by Popović,¹¹⁷³ 4Q372 3, 8–9, would read [... the covenant of A]braham, which he made with Jacob, is to be with him forever [...].” Before this, in line 7, it is stated that “God will not give his statutes (חֻקָיו) to other nation.” Thus, the covenant made with Abraham, and the Abrahamic Promise, is interpreted in a particularistic way, with the goal being Jacob. This is precisely how the Abrahamic Promise is interpreted in Jubilees, too. This text, dating to the middle of the first Century BCE (the palaeographical dating) at latest,¹¹⁷⁴ may have been influenced by Jubilees in this regard.

An intriguing possibility for a similar influence may be found in 4Q393, which is labelled the “Communal Confession” or “Confession Ritual.”¹¹⁷⁵ 4Q393 3, 7, reads: “You will establish us as a remnant for them in order to give us (what you have) established with Abraham for Israel to dispossess...” (תַּעֲמִידֵנוּ לְשֹׂאֲרֵי־תְלָמֵי אֲבְרָהָם לְיִשְׂרָאֵל לְהַרְשִׁיעַ לָהֶם). The continuation in line 8 needs to be reconstructed, but a guess of the editors as well as Popović is that “mighty nations” are to be dispossessed before “them.” Thus, also 4Q393 includes an exclusive and particularistic view on the covenant with Abraham along with the promise. Moreover, one should note the language of “remnant” (שֹׂאֲרֵי־תְלָמֵי) in 4Q393 3, 7, and how this may have been related to Jacob. As we have seen during this case study, Jacob is related to the idea of remnant, “holy seed” and “plant of righteousness/truth,” terms found also in Isaiah and Ezra-Nehemiah.

¹¹⁷¹ See ch. 2.3 above.

¹¹⁷² Popović, “Abraham and the Nations,” 89–97.

¹¹⁷³ Popović, “Abraham and the Nations,” 94 n. 52, prefers the reading אַבְרָהָם instead of בְּנֵי־אֲבְרָהָם for the beginning of line 4Q372 3, 9, which is a possible alternative reading.

¹¹⁷⁴ Popović, “Abraham and the Nations,” 90, entertains the possibility of the text being from the 2nd Century BCE. One reason for this is the possible anti-Samaritan polemics found in the text, which would predate the destruction of the temple in Mount Gerizim. Cf. Vermes, *Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 565.

¹¹⁷⁵ Vermes, *Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 396.

Vermes notes a connection to 1QS 1, 24-II, 1 where, according to him, a parallel confession to 4Q393 is found as a “part of the ceremony of the renewal of the Covenant.”¹¹⁷⁶ 4Q393 itself is dated to the turn of the era at latest.¹¹⁷⁷ Is it possible that the idea of the covenant of Abraham, and the Abrahamic Promise, is related to a possible festival of renewal of the covenant at Qumran, where also Jubilees played a part?¹¹⁷⁸ Whatever the case, it seems reasonable to assume that Jubilees, which had an authoritative role at Qumran, could have influenced the view on the Abrahamic Promise and the covenant with Abraham present in 4Q372 and 4Q393.¹¹⁷⁹

¹¹⁷⁶ Vermes, *Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 396.

¹¹⁷⁷ Popović, “Abraham and the Nations,” 95, dates it to the turn of the era, whereas Vermes, *Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 396, dates it palaeographically to the mid-first Century BCE.

¹¹⁷⁸ This falls well outside the scope of this study, but it should be noted that the festival of Shavuot/Shevuot functions as a festival of renewal of the covenant in Jubilees, and a festival with a similar function may have taken place at Qumran. I noted a possible and hypothetical link between Ps 78 and Jub in the end of ch. 2 too, see above. However, this remains purely hypothetical.

¹¹⁷⁹ On the authoritative status of Jub at Qumran, see the introduction to this dissertation as well as Aharon Shemesh, “4Q265 and the Authoritative Status of Jubilees at Qumran,” in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 247–260.

5 Results

This study deals with the use and interpretation of the Jacob Story in the second Century BCE rewriting of Genesis-Exodus, the Book of Jubilees. I conducted three case studies, which have investigated various aspects of the use and interpretation of the Jacob Story. Chapters 2 and 3 dealt with the relationship of Jacob and Torah (especially Deuteronomy) and chapter 4 with the relationship between Jacob and the Abrahamic Promise and blessing. The results of this study can be summarized in what follows.

5.1 Jacob and the Torah

The Jacob Story in Jubilees is a story of Jacob, the forefather of Israel fulfilling the Mosaic commandments. In chapter 2, it was argued that the author used *gezera shava* -technique in order to connect Ps 78:5 (“He established a testimony in Jacob, He set a Torah in Israel”), which he understood to have happened before the exodus (Ps 78:11ff) with Isaiah 8:16, 20 and Ruth 4:7. This technique, already used in Malachi, was also used by the author of Jubilees in establishing an interpretation that Jacob had received the Torah before the Torah was revealed to Moses and Israel on Mount Sinai. This is not the only reason for the emergence of such an idea that Jacob, along with the other patriarchs, received some kind of legal or *halakic* information. It serves, however, as one of the exegetical bases for the idea that after Jacob, the Torah was revealed in full to Levi (Jub 45:16), who then was given the task to keep them and renew them for his children.

Furthermore, as was argued in chapters 2 and 3, the author also interpreted the addressed Israel in Deuteronomy *also* as the patriarch Jacob. This interpretive possibility was established by the fact that already in Genesis in its present form the patriarch Jacob was intimately connected to the people of Israel, and, furthermore, by the fact that Deuteronomy itself was one of the most central works in early Judaism. In chapter 3, taking Jubilees 30–32 as a case study, it was shown that the author of Jubilees had connected many central Deuteronomic commandments, often addressed in the second person singular, to his rewritten Jacob story. After having returned to the Promised Land, Jacob fulfils the Deuteronomic stipulation neither to mingle with the Canaanites nor to intermarry with them but to utterly destroy them (Deut 7:1–4). He hastily tries to fulfil the vow he made in Bethel, as stipulated in Deuteronomy 23:22–24. He destroys the idols of his household by burning them, as stipulated in Deuteronomy 7:5 and 12:2–3. He searches for the place, the correct place of worship that God will choose, in order to fulfil his vow, and has Levi as the recipient of the tithes, as Deuteronomy 12:5–28 and 14:22–29 commanded.

What did the author want to achieve by this interpretation of Jacob? He wanted to create an example of an ideal Israelite, one who follows the commandments to the uttermost. He wanted to eliminate such, in his opinion harmful, interpretations easily raised by a reading of Genesis that Jacob (and the other patriarchs) would not have known the Torah or its stipulations, or that

Jacob would have acted against some of the Torah's commandments. Since the patriarch Jacob functioned as a *typos* of the people Israel, this was, indeed, an important matter. Moreover, since Deuteronomy was one of the main bulwarks in constituting what Judaism was, it created a fruitful ground for connecting it to the Jacob Story.

5.2 Jacob and the Abrahamic Promise

The Abrahamic Promise (Gen 12:1–3 par.), which includes four individual but interrelated promises of land, seed, name, and blessing, plays a key role in Genesis and in the Pentateuch. This holds true for Jubilees too. The reception, interpretation and usage of the Abrahamic Promise in Jubilees is not limited to the parallel passages which the author of Jubilees rewrites and modifies. A great many scenes, which do not have any parallel in Jubilees, are also included in his rewriting. Many of these scenes include allusions to the Abrahamic Promise or parts of it.

The third case study in chapter 4 showed that the Abrahamic Promise was important if not crucial for the author. He understood it in a very particularistic way: the ultimate goal and inheritor of the Abrahamic Promise was Jacob, who represents Israel typologically. Jacob is Abraham's seed. By keeping the way of Yhwh (alluding to Gen 18:18–19), Jacob, and the Jacobs of the author's era, becomes the heir of the promise. Jacob is the one who takes Abraham's place on earth (Jub 19:17), and every blessing and promise bestowed to Abraham is later bestowed on Jacob.

The conditionality of the Abrahamic Promise is strongly emphasized in Jubilees. In the rewriting of Genesis 12 in Jubilees 12, Abraham's initiative in first taking contact with God is emphasized. The same is true for the rewriting of Genesis 15 and 17 in Jubilees 14 and 15, where the covenant is ratified. The condition is particularly visible in the testaments given by Abraham to his descendants in Jubilees 20, to Isaac in Jubilees 21, and to Jacob in Jubilees 22. Moreover, the testaments of Rebekah and Isaac (Jub 35–36) emphasize the same condition. It was shown that Genesis 18:18–19 functioned as the hermeneutical key for the author of Jubilees in understanding the Abrahamic Promise as conditional, since all of these testaments are elaborations based upon exegesis of those verses.

Jacob fulfils the conditions and thus inherits the promises, as he remains as the perfect and true/truthful son (Jub 27:17) and is, therefore, not to be abandoned. The rewriting of the Jacob Story by whitewashing every possible blame one can imagine concerning Jacob of Genesis thus serves the purpose of making Jacob the ideal Israelite.

The same is true for every descendant of Jacob, namely a true Israelite. If they obey the *halakah* propagated by the author, they too will inherit the Abrahamic Promise. They too will be true descendants of Israel, the holy seed and plant of truth/righteousness, the remnant of the seed of Isaac, and will thus not be abandoned. Here, the author alludes to such terminology as is used of the

returnees from Golah in Ezra-Nehemiah (Ezra 9:2) and of the remnant of Israel in the Book of Isaiah (Isa 6:13).

The condition given to the Abrahamic Promise removes Esau to outside the borders of what constitutes “Abraham’s seed.” He functions as the archetype of the Jewish apostate. Although he had worshipped the God of his ancestors earlier, he became an apostate and was destroyed, and his sons became subject to Jacob’s lordship (Jubilees 35–38). The usage of Jacob and Esau may reflect the way the figures are used in the Book of Isaiah (e.g., Isa 41:8; 63:1–6; 65:9), Malachi, and probably Obadiah, too.

Although the whole seed of Jacob, i.e., Israel (who stays true to the *halakah* propagated by the author of Jubilees), is interpreted as the promised Abraham’s seed in Jubilees, Levi and Judah are singled out (esp. Jub 31:7, 13–20). The Abrahamic Promise becomes reality through these two characters and the priests and the (future) king that they represent.

The author of Jubilees maintained a twofold view of the promise of land. On the one hand, he retains the notion of a land promised and which belongs to Jacob/Israel. The author is deeply interested in the geography of the Promised Land and its borders. On the other hand, and this is the view that is especially prevalent in the rewriting of Genesis 35 in Jubilees 32 as well as in the many new scenes in Jubilees, the promise is widened or universalised to include the entire world. The entire world is to belong to Jacob/Israel, who reigns over other nations from the Promised Land.

The promise of blessing is interpreted in a particularistic way: Jacob and his seed are the ones who receive the extraordinary and blessed status, and this separates them from the rest of humankind. This can be compared with the status of the angels of presence and holiness in relation to the lower ranks of angels. However, the reception of the promise of blessing in Jubilees includes also certain universalistic aspects. First, Jacob/Israel will radiate some kind of blessing to other nations too, since the blessings given to Jacob and his seed will repair the world (Jub 19:25). Most probably this blessing is bestowed upon the other nations via the reign of Jacob through the king from Judah (promise of land). However, although other nations can benefit from the blessing and reign of Jacob/Israel, they will never attain the same status of blessedness. Instead, they will only desire and long for the same kind of blessing as they use Abraham’s name in their blessings by which they bless Israel (Jub 20:9–10). The promise of name is related to the reputation and honour bestowed upon Jacob/Israel from the other nations. This promise becomes reality through Levi and Judah (Jub 31:7).

5.3 Jacob as the Ideal Jew

Earlier scholarship read perhaps too hastily the many testaments of Abraham in Jubilees 20–22 as relating to crucial points of conflict and interest in the author’s own era. For example, Eberhard Schwarz named Jub 22:16ff and the separation of Jacob from other foreign nations as the *Grundsatzforderung* of Jubilees, and at

the same time and partly independently, John Endres agreed.¹¹⁸⁰ However, in discussing the exegetical basis Genesis 18:18–19 plays in the invention of these testaments, David Lambert was of the opposite opinion: the intention of the author in these chapters was to relate different sets of revealed commandments that were exegetically based on the given patriarch's life.¹¹⁸¹ Therefore, argued Lambert, one cannot read the emphases of different testaments as the crucial points the author wants to represent to his audience.

This study shows that both options can be true at the same time. Jacob, fulfilling the covenantal stipulations exemplified by Deuteronomy, is also the inheritor and receiver of the Abrahamic Promise, including hegemony over the entire world, an offspring that will last forever, a name and reputation that does not wither, and lastly, a blessing which other people under Jacob's rule can taste but can never receive in full. Lambert is correct in underlining the exegetical basis of this interpretation. Schwarz and Endres have, however, also glimpsed the truth. The separation from the Gentiles is based on creation and the separation is maintained throughout Jubilees. The testaments of the patriarchs and the matriarchs do reflect the concerns of the author during the first half of the second Century BCE, but they are, nevertheless, exegetically based. The fact that some social or ethical matters are not present in a certain testament (e.g., in Abraham's testament to Isaac in Jub 21), however, does not imply that they are not relevant for the author. The work should be read as a whole, and different testaments complement one another.

In the end, the different threads come together in Jacob, who exemplifies for the reader the eagerness and zealousness of fulfilling the Mosaic Torah to the utmost. He is the *typos* of the chosen people and he exemplifies the correct behaviour. With the help of the character Jacob, the author draws a demarcation line between "the holy seed" or "the righteous plant" and "the sons of Beliar" who are to be uprooted from the land, and presumably from the earth, too. This is what the author wanted to achieve by his interpretation of Jacob and the Jacob Story.

Anders Runesson has problematized the usage of vague terms such as "universalism" and "particularism;" terms which have been also used in this study.¹¹⁸² According to him, at least three aspects or dimensions related to universalism and particularism can be raised: (1) ethnic (relation to ethnicity), (2) salvific (inclusion or exclusion of others) as well as (3) aspect of mission (active or passive proselytizing, ethical-religious, or inward mission). To apply

¹¹⁸⁰ Eberhard Schwarz, *Identität durch Abgrenzung: Abgrenzungsprozesse in Israel im 2. vorchristlichen Jahrhundert und ihre traditionsgeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Erforschung des Jubiläenbuches*. Europäische Hochschulschriften 23.162 (Frankfurt: Peter Lagn, 1982); John C. Endres, *Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Jubilees*, CBQM 18 (Washington: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1987), 43–45.

¹¹⁸¹ David Lambert, "Last Testaments in the Book of Jubilees," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 11.1 (2004): 83–107.

¹¹⁸² Anders Runesson, "Particularistic Judaism and Universalistic Christianity?: Some Critical Remarks on Terminology and Theology," *Studia Theologica* 54.1 (2000): 55–75.

these aspects, one could state that with the interpretation on the Jacob Story in Jubilees, the author is a representative of

(1) *closed-ethnic particularism*. For the author, only the Israelites, the Jews, circumcised on the eighth day, matter.

(2) *salvation-exclusive particularism*. According to the author, only the “seed of Jacob,” demarcated by adherence to the Torah and the ethnicity, matter. However, the other nations may have some relation to Jacob/Israel in the eschatological era, but this is not elaborated upon more closely.

(3) *active inward mission*. The author actively wants to propagate in favour of his own views of *halakah* with the help of the rewritten Jacob Story. In this, he addresses the whole ethnic Israel. However, the whole ethnic Israel may not be the same as the true Israel who form the holy seed and are, thus, the heirs of the Abrahamic Promise.

5.4 Implications for Further Study

When the results from the case studies conducted above are taken into consideration, a synthesis emerges. Although Abraham is and remains an important figure in Jubilees and in Judaism in general, Jacob emerges as the central character in Jubilees as the ancestor and prototype of the people of Israel. The important themes recurring in Jubilees, namely the Torah and the Abrahamic Promise, find their linkage through Jacob. Thus, Jubilees could be characterized as an ellipse with two foci: the Torah and the Promise.

The fixed points or foci (F_1 and F_2) are needed in order to draw the boundary line of the ellipse. Any given point P in the boundary line of the ellipse is at a distance which is equal to the sum of the distance from the foci to P , thus $|PF_1|$ and $|PF_2|$. This distance ($|PF_1| + |PF_2|$) is always the same as the distance between the two vertices (V_1 and V_2 , the furthest points of the ellipse in the horizontal angle), i.e., $2a$ (where “ a ” is the distance between one vertex and the centre [C] of the ellipse).

$$(|PF_1| + |PF_2|) = 2a$$

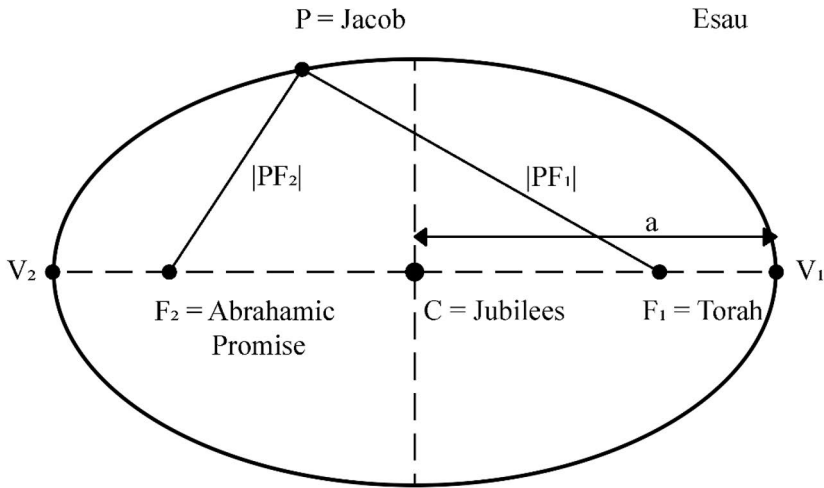


Figure 1: Jubilees as Ellipse (Illustration by Sonja Tanskanen)

The analogy is the following: The first focal point in the ellipse is the Torah, and the second is the Abrahamic Promise. These are connected to one another via the figure of Jacob. These two, then, draw the boundary line of Jacob/Israel in Jubilees, the ellipse. That which is outside the boundary is not part of Jacob, i.e., true Israel. That which is inside, follows the Torah as propagated by the author and exemplified by Jacob, and is the heir of the Abrahamic Promise. Jacob, thus, draws the demarcation line in Jubilees between the true and false Israel. In this drawing, Esau functions as the negative exemplar.

Further study is needed to address this in more detail and to research the connection between Jacob and Deuteronomy in particular more thoroughly, as the study conducted here dealt only with Jubilees 30–32 in detail. It would be important to study how the relationship is developed or underdeveloped in other early Jewish and rabbinical literature, too. Regarding this literature, one important course of study would also be to investigate whether it is a unique phenomenon in Jubilees that only one of the many speeches by God, namely that of Jubilees 32:17–19 (cf. Gen 35:9–13), has been rewritten thoroughly, whereas in comparison with the rewriting of that speech the many other speeches by God pertaining to the Abrahamic Promise have been kept much more intact. Regarding the speeches by God, is it common for other rewritten texts to keep them intact or to modify them? This investigation was not done in the course of this study, but it would be of interest to determine as to whether the rewriters or elaborators of Genesis-traditions did find it easier to introduce new interpretations of the surrounding contexts of God's speeches, or to speeches uttered by humans, and whether the threshold was higher to modify speeches by

God, even if interpretive traditions pertaining to those speeches were already established. In addition, it may have been easier to introduce new speeches by humans instead.¹¹⁸³

Furthermore, regarding the interpretive techniques utilized by the author of Jubilees in the Jacob Story, two examples of *gezera shava* were identified. In *gezera shava*, which probably is the most primitive interpretive technique developed in early Judaism, rare words or uncommon phrases are connected to one another. When certain verses and phrases are linked with one another, a new and often innovative interpretation can be established.¹¹⁸⁴ The first one concerned the interpretation made by the author that Jacob had received the Torah before it was given on Mount Sinai. This interpretation was based upon a connection between Ps 78:5; Isa 8:16, 20; and Ruth 4:7, where עדות/תעודה and תורה and יעקוב/ישראל served as word links. A second possible attestation of *gezera shava* was identified in Jubilees 32:18, where Deuteronomy 2:5; 11:24 and Joshua 1:3 are connected to one another. In this way, the author flips the meaning of Deuteronomy 2:5 upside down: God, who allots every group of people their own lands, also gives the land of Esau to Jacob and his sons (against Deut 2:5). A further study could perhaps identify even more cases of *gezera shava*. A second interpretive technique used by the author is also exemplified in Jubilees 32:19, where the two attestations of “land” in Genesis 35:12 are identified as referring to different lands. The interpretation can be made by parsing the Hebrew text of Genesis accordingly. The same interpretive technique is used also elsewhere (e.g., Jub 41; cf. Gen 38).

In the introduction to this monograph, I briefly referred to the *effect* of the “Rewritten Bible.” In my opinion, the Jacob Story in Jubilees, and Jubilees in general, functions by shaping the image the reader or listener has concerning the story. What is stated and what is left unstated affects the memory and the image and the referential world which the reader or listener has of Jacob, for example. For the reader or listener of Jubilees, or for the scholar who investigates the book and its intentions, the Jacob of Jubilees becomes easily merged with the Jacob of Genesis. To separate these Jacobs from one another after becoming acquainted with the rewritten story becomes difficult if not almost impossible. Without checking the details every now and then, the images become more and more intertwined. This is surely what the author intended with his rewriting: to accompany Genesis-Exodus with a proper and authoritative interpretation.

Jubilees should be taken into consideration more thoroughly in other areas of research in early Judaism and Christianity, not only in Jubilees-centred research

¹¹⁸³ An interesting comparative phenomenon is that in the NT, God (Father) does not speak, except in one parable of Jesus (Luke 12:20) and possibly in the baptism of Jesus (Mark 1:9–11 par.). However, even in Mark 1:9–11 par. a “voice from heaven” and not directly God is the speaker. In John 1:33, it may be discerned that the one who had sent John the Baptist was God, but it is not stated directly. Furthermore, the angels are the ones who mediate messages from heaven to Zechariah and Mary in Luke 1–2, and to Joseph in Matt 1–2.

¹¹⁸⁴ On *gezera shava*, see esp. Lotta Valve, *Early Modes of Exegesis: Ideal Figures in Malachi as a Test Case* (Åbo: Åbo Akademi University Press, 2014).

of which this study is an example. Sometimes in the research on the Dead Sea Scrolls or Qumran-movement, only the Hebrew fragments are examined, if even them, and if Jubilees has not been totally excluded from surveys, it has only merely been mentioned. The situation has changed in recent decades, however, and Jubilees has received more attention in studies pertaining to the Dead Sea Scrolls.

The scholars of the New Testament should also pay more attention to Jubilees as a background material in understanding the early (Jewish-)Christian movement of which the New Testament witnesses, as Jubilees not only predates Qumran where it functioned as authoritative scripture but was also transmitted in wider circles. Pauline scholars in particular should take Jubilees into consideration more often when they study and discuss the background for Paul's discussion of "Abraham's seed" in Romans and Galatians, and especially on how Paul makes a distinction between the (chronologically later) Torah and the Abrahamic Promise.¹¹⁸⁵ This disconnection is crucial in comparison to Jubilees, where these two are firmly connected through Jacob, the seed of Abraham.

Actually, in the early days of research on Jubilees, the relationship between Jubilees and early Christianity was sought after and studied (although also misused and somewhat abused).¹¹⁸⁶ Without the evidence of the Qumran-fragments, the contrast and antithetical relationship between Jubilees and Paul resulted in dating Jubilees to the first Century CE, and even to such statements that Jubilees was a reaction against Pauline anti-Mosaic Christianity (by a Jewish-Christian contemporary)!¹¹⁸⁷ Although such statements are clearly found false by the knowledge we have today (not least regarding the dating with the help of the Qumran manuscripts), Jubilees can still function as a good hermeneutical background for New Testament scholars too.

¹¹⁸⁵ Cf. Lukas Bormann, "Paul and the Patriarchs of the Hebrew Bible," in *Rewritten Biblical Figures*, ed. Erkki Koskeniemi and Pekka Lindqvist, SRB 3 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2010), 181–196. He mentions Jubilees briefly when discussing Paul's Jewish education and the Abraham tradition in early Judaism (pp 186–190) but, in my opinion, he would have benefited from a more thorough analysis of both Abraham and Jacob in Jubilees in comparison with how Paul speaks of "Abraham's seed" etc. See now, however, Lukas Bormann, "Abraham as 'Forefather' and his Family in Paul," in *Abraham's Family: A Network of Meaning in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. Lukas Bormann, WUNT 1.415 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 207–233 (esp. 227–228), where Bormann notes the interesting detail that Jacob is mentioned in Paul's letters only in quotes of the Old Testament. According to Bormann, Paul wants to avoid Jacob/Israel and the sons due to it being more exclusive tradition.

¹¹⁸⁶ For one example, see Hermann Röscher *Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die kleine Genesis: Unter Beifügung des revidierten Textes der in der Ambrosiana aufgefundenen lateinischen Fragmente sowie einer von Dr. August Dillmann aus zwei äthiopischen Handschriften gefertigten lateinischen Übertragung* (Leipzig: Fues's Verlag [R. Reisland], 1874), 517–521, 528–529.

¹¹⁸⁷ This was the view of Wilhelm Singer, *Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die Leptogenesis, I. Theil: Tendenz und Ursprung, zugleich ein Beitrag zur Religionsgeschichte* (Stuhlweissenburg, Hungary: Ed. Singer'sche Buchhandlung, 1898). I have not had access to this publication. For a summary and evaluation of Singer's thesis, see Robert H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1902), xxv–xxvi; James C. VanderKam, *Jubilees: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2018), 29.

The breakthrough study of E.P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (1977), which was the grounding work for the school of “New Perspective on Paul,” can be used as an example of taking Jubilees into account in Pauline studies.¹¹⁸⁸ Regarding Jubilees’ view on “salvation,” Sanders noted: “*Physical descent is the basis of the election, and the election is the basis of salvation, but physical descent from Jacob is not the sole condition of salvation.*”¹¹⁸⁹ For Sanders, Jubilees is part of the pattern of Palestinian Judaism which he labelled as *covenantal nomism*: Salvation is based on election, and the “works” and human actions are necessary to “stay in,” not to “get in.” Here, Sanders argued against an earlier (overly) legalistic interpretation of early Judaism prevalent in the first half of the 20th Century in New Testament scholarship, and which indeed often misused the early (or in their somewhat pejorative terminology, late) Jewish texts.

The study at hand confirms some of Sanders’ ideas. The author of Jubilees bases the election and covenant on creation, where Jacob/Israel is compared to the higher status of angels in relation to the Gentiles and the lower status of angels. For the individual, the covenant starts with being circumcised exactly on the eighth day. However, after this, the work of staying in, and the importance of the Mosaic Torah *social and ethical components included* may quite quickly result in “getting out” and, thus, raise need to “get back in” again, something which Sanders did not take into account.¹¹⁹⁰ Actually, for the author, it seems that the problem is that the whole nation and every individual therein need to take the *halakic* elaboration of the author backed up by heavenly authority into account in order to “get in” again, and make the Abrahamic Promise reality. The author of Jubilees does not represent such Judaism which would take the Mosaic Torah and its stipulations lightly; and on this also Sanders agrees. Perhaps the author did take it so seriously that the Pharisee Paul, reflecting his own zealotry and righteousness (Phil 3:1–8), would basically have agreed, too. Nevertheless, for Paul, the Abrahamic Promise was unconditional (Rom 4; Gal 3:1–14). For the

¹¹⁸⁸ E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (London: SCM Press, 1977), 362–387.

¹¹⁸⁹ Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 368 (emphasis his). Sanders, along with Schwarz and Endres after him, paid high attention to Jub 22:16ff (see pp. 369–370).

¹¹⁹⁰ Cf. Jacques T. A. G. M. van Ruiten, *Abraham in the Book of Jubilees: The Rewriting of Genesis 11:26–25:10 in the Book of Jubilees 11:14–23:8*, JSJSup 161 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 343: “For the author of this work, the only way to please God is to keep the Torah, the ancestral laws, *in its totality*. Because, according to Jubilees, the Torah demands a man to be circumcised on the eighth day, gentiles are excluded from the beginning. The author does not explain the reason for this exclusion. It is axiomatic.” (my emphasis) When discussing the view of certain previous scholars (Becker, Testuz) on salvation in Jubilees, Sanders notes that Jubilees includes statements that God will not forsake his people even if they transgress, and refers to 1:5, 18 (p 371). This is true *from the national perspective*, but from the individual perspective it seems very much so that “salvation,” or “staying in,” or even “getting in” the true Israel that is being saved, is related to keeping the commandments to the utmost. The Abrahamic Promise, and the covenant, are conditional in Jubilees, and related to the stipulations pertaining both to the relationship with God and with other human beings or specifically the Israelites, as chs. 2 and 4 in this study clearly show. Sanders agrees somewhat by stating that (p. 371): “Obedience, as is generally the case in Judaism, is the *condition* of salvation (when it is coupled with repentance for transgression), but not its cause.” However, does not condition also cause?

author of Jubilees, having Genesis 18:18–19 as his hermeneutical key, the Abrahamic Promise was very much conditional, and in the eschatological future the keeping of the Law is the prerequisite for the salvation/restoration, too (Jub 23:26–29). Thus, Jubilees does not fit into the picture Sanders portrayed as well as he presented the case in *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, and (comparative) research on Jubilees and Paul would in this case provide new fruitful insights on Pauline scholarship in general.¹¹⁹¹

Moreover, the tight connection between Jacob, the Torah, and the Abrahamic Promise, also calls for caution also when dealing with relationship between Christianity and Judaism when those borderlines were still open and/or were beginning to be set. For example, Eugene Mihaly saw that *Sifre Deuteronomy* highlighted Jacob and Jacob's relationship to the Torah in comparison with Abraham as a reaction against such anti-Jewish and anti-Mosaic texts such as the Letter of Barnabas.¹¹⁹² Even though this is still a possibility, this study reveals that a similar interpretive possibility to relate Jacob and Deuteronomy was already taking place long before Jesus walked on the earth and the early Christians were starting to form as a Jewish group. Thus, that Jacob and not Abraham is highlighted may not be a reaction against Christianity, but merely an older interpretive tradition being used. The historical situation of Jubilees (the attack against the necessity of following the Mosaic Torah in full during the second Century BCE) demonstrates, of course, similarity to the anti-Mosaic attacks against Judaism in certain circles of early Christianity. A similar situation during a later period may also have caused an older interpretive tradition to be fired up once again. The tradition is, however, not unique, and, furthermore, it is not directly a result of the later historical situation. Further analysis on the relationship between Deuteronomy/Torah and Jacob/Israel in early and rabbinical Judaism is needed, something which goes well outside the scope of this minor study.

¹¹⁹¹ The discussion has, of course, continued after Sanders. For evaluation of Sanders, see, e.g., Timo Eskola, *Theodicy and Predestination in Pauline Soteriology*, WUNT 2.100 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 18–22.

¹¹⁹² Eugene Mihaly, "Rabbinic Defense of the Election of Israel: An Analysis of Sifre Deuteronomy 32:9, Pisqa 312," *HUCA* (1964): 103–143.

6 Appendix: All Analysed Passages from the Synoptic Perspective

In this Appendix, I have collected all the synoptic readings comparing the MT of Genesis and the Ethiopic Jubilees presented in chapters 3 and 4 in this study. This is done in order to help the reader to check more quickly the major differences between the texts. One should note, however, that the textual notes discussing the differences of Genesis and Jubilees including other textual traditions of both Genesis and Jubilees are found only in the chapters where they are analysed in detail. As stated in the analyses above, *many* minor differences between the MT (consonantal text) of Genesis and Ge'ez of Jubilees can be explained by two factors: (1) The author of Jubilees utilized a Genesis-*Vorlage* which differed from the MT. (2) The minor differences may be caused by translations (Hebrew => Greek => Ge'ez/Latin). Therefore, the Appendix should be consulted only when reading the study itself, not independently of it. The following translations are made as "literal" as possible in order to show the similarities and dissimilarities between the texts. This certainly reduces the quality of the English translations.

Genesis 12:1-3	Jubilees 12:22-24
	22 AND WHEN HE HAD FINISHED HIS SPEAKING AND HIS PRAYING,
1 And the Lord <i>said to Abram,</i>	and BEHOLD, THE WORD of the Lord WAS SENT <i>to him</i> THROUGH MY HAND <i>saying,</i>
"Go from your land and from your family and from your father's house to the land that I will show you.	"Now you, come from your land and from your family and from your father's house to the land that I will show you.
2 I will <i>make</i> of you a great people.	I will <i>establish</i> you into a great AND POPULOUS people.
I will bless you	23 I will bless you
and make your name great,	and make your name great.
You will become a <i>blessing</i>	You will become <i>blessed</i> IN THE LAND
	All the <i>peoples</i> of the land will be blessed in you.
3 Those who bless you I will bless, and <i>him</i> who <i>curses</i> you I will curse;	Those who bless you I will bless, and <i>those</i> who <i>curse</i> you I will curse."
and all the <i>families</i> of the land will be blessed in you."	
Genesis 12:4-7	Jubilees 13:1-4
4 Abram went, AS THE LORD HAD TOLD HIM; AND LOT WENT WITH HIM. ABRAM WAS-SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS OLD WHEN HE DEPARTED from Haran	1 Abram went from Haran

5 And <i>Abram</i> took Sarai, his wife, and Lot, the son of his brother,	and <i>he</i> took Sarai, his wife, and Lot, the son of HARAN, his brother,
AND ALL THEIR POSSESSIONS WHICH THEY HAD GATHERED, AND THE PERSONS THAT THEY HAD ACQUIRED IN HARAN; AND THEY SET FORTH TO GO	
to the land of Canaan.	to the land of Canaan.
<i>They came to the land of Canaan.</i>	<i>He came to Asur.</i>
6 ABRAM <i>went through</i> THE LAND as far as THE PLACE Shechem, <i>as far as</i> the oak of <i>Moreh</i> .	He <i>walked</i> as far as Shechem AND SETTLED <i>near</i> a tall oak.
AT THAT TIME THE CANAANITES WERE IN THE LAND	
	2 HE SAW AND BEHOLD, THE LAND FROM THE ENTRANCE OF HAMATH TO THE TALL OAK WAS VERY PLEASANT.
7 And Yhwh APPEARED to <i>Abram</i> , AND said,	3 And the Lord said to <i>him</i> ,
“To your seed I will give this land.”	“TO YOU AND to your seed I will give this land.”
He built there an altar to Yhwh, who had appeared to him.	4 He built there an altar AND OFFERED ON IT A SACRIFICE to the Lord who had appeared to him.
Genesis 13:11-18	Jubilees 13:17-21
11 SO LOT CHOSE FOR HIMSELF ALL THE JORDAN VALLEY. LOT JOURNEYED EAST.	
<i>The men separated from one another.</i>	17 IN THE FOURTH YEAR OF THIS WEEK <i>Lot separated from him</i>
12 ABRAM SETTLED IN THE LAND OF CANAAN	
while Lot settled in THE CITIES OF THE VALLEY AND MOVED HIS TENT AS FAR AS Sodom.	Lot settled in Sodom.
13 Now the men of Sodom were very WICKED AND sinful FOR YHWH	Now the men of Sodom were very sinful.
	18 HE WAS BROKEN-HEARTED THAT THE SON OF HIS BROTHER HAD SEPARATED FROM HIM FOR HE HAD NO CHILDREN.
14 Yhwh said to Abram, after Lot had separated from him,	19 IN THAT YEAR WHEN LOT WAS TAKEN CAPTIVE, The Lord said to Abram, after Lot had separated from him, IN THE

	FOURTH YEAR OF THIS WEEK, AND SAID TO HIM,
“Lift up your eyes, AND LOOK from the place where you are, toward the north, the south, the east and the west ;	“Lift up your eyes from the place where you have been living toward the north, the south, the west, and the east ;
15 because all the land which you see to you I will give and to your seed forever	20 because all the land which you see to you and to your seed I will give forever.
16 I will establish your seed like the <i>dust</i> of the <i>earth</i> ; if a man can count the <i>dust</i> of the earth, your seed will also be counted.	I will establish your seed like the <i>sand</i> of the <i>sea</i> ; if a man can count the <i>sand</i> of the earth, your seed will also NOT be counted.
17 Get up, walk IN THE LAND through its length and its breadth, because I will give it <i>to you</i> .”	21 Get up AND walk through its length and its breadth. LOOK AT EVERYTHING because I will give it to <i>your seed</i> .”
18 Abram MOVED HIS TENT, AND <i>he came</i> and settled BY THE OAKS OF MAMRE, WHICH ARE at Hebron ; AND there HE BUILT AN ALTAR TO YHWH	Abram <i>went to Hebron</i> and settled there.
Genesis 15:7-21	Jubilees 14:7-20
7 He said to him, “I am Yhwh who brought you from Ur of the Chaldeans to give you <i>this</i> land to <i>inherit</i> .”	7 He said to him, “I am the Lord who brought you from Ur of the Chaldeans to give you the land <i>of the Canaanites</i> to <i>possess</i> FOREVER
	AND TO BE GOD FOR YOU AND FOR YOUR SEED AFTER YOU”
8 He said, “My Lord Yhwh, how am I to know that I shall inherit it?”	8 He said, “Lord, Lord, how am I to know that I will inherit (it)?”
9 He said to him, “Bring me a three-year-old heifer, a three-year-old female goat, a three-year-old ram, a turtle-dove, and a young pigeon.”	9 He said to him, “Get for me a three-year-old calf, a three-year-old goat, a three-year-old sheep, a turtle-dove, and a dove.”
10 He got HIM all of these	10 He got all of these IN THE MIDDLE OF THE MONTH.
	HE WAS LIVING AT THE OAK OF MAMRE THAT IS NEAR HEBRON.
	11 HE BUILT AN ALTAR THERE AND SACRIFICED ALL OF THESE. HE Poured THEIR BLOOD ON THE ALTAR
and he <i>cut them in two</i> in the middle. He put <i>each half over against the other</i> , but the birds he did not <i>cut in two</i> .	and he <i>divided</i> them in the middle. He put <i>them opposite one another</i> , but the birds he did not <i>divide</i> .
11 <i>Birds of prey</i> came down on the carcasses, Abram <i>drove</i> them away.	12 <i>Birds kept coming down</i> on what was <i>spread out</i> , but Abram <i>kept preventing</i>

	them AND NOT ALLOWING THE BIRDS TO TOUCH THEM.
12 <i>As the sun was going down, a deep sleep</i> fell upon Abram, and see, a deep and terrifying darkness descended upon him.	13 <i>At sunset, a terror</i> fell upon Abram; indeed, a great, dark fear fell on him.
13 <i>He said</i> to Abram, “Know this for certain, that your seed will be aliens in a land <i>that is not theirs</i> . They will <i>serve them</i> , and they will oppress them for 400 years.	<i>It was said</i> to Abram, “Know this for certain, that your seed will be aliens in a <i>foreign</i> land. They will <i>enslave them</i> , and they will oppress them for 400 years.
14 But I will also judge the nation that they serve, and afterwards they shall come out with <i>great</i> possessions.	14 But I will also judge the nation that they serve. Afterwards, they will leave FROM THERE with <i>many</i> possessions.
15 As for yourself, you shall go to your fathers in peace, you shall be buried in a good old age.	15 As for yourself, you shall go to your fathers in peace, you shall be buried in a good old age.
16 In the fourth generation they will return here, for the <i>iniquity</i> of the Amorites is not <i>yet</i> complete.”	16 In the fourth generation they will return here, for the <i>sins</i> of the Amorites <i>have not been completed until now</i> .”
17 When the sun had gone down AND IT HAD BECOME DARK, <i>a smoking fire pot and a flaming torch passed between these pieces</i> .	17 WHEN HE AWAKENED AND GOT UP, the sun had set. <i>There was a flame and see, an oven was smoking. Fiery flames passed between the spread (pieces)</i> .
18 On that day Yhwh made a covenant with Abram, saying,	18 On that day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying,
“To your seed I <i>hereby</i> give this land, from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates,	“To your seed I <i>will</i> give this land, from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates,
19 that of the Kenites, the Kenizzites, the Kadmonites, 20 THE HITTITES, the Perizzites, the Rephaim, 21 the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Girgashites, and the Jebusites.”	that of the Kenites, the Kenizzites, the Kadmonites, the Perizzites, the Rephaim, THE PHAKORITES, THE HIVITES, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Girgashites, and the Jebusites.”
	19 IT PASSED (along), AND ABRAM OFFERED WHAT HAD BEEN SPREAD OUT, THE BIRDS, THEIR (CEREAL) OFFERING, AND THEIR LIBATION. THE FIRE DEVoured THEM.
	20 DURING THIS DAY WE MADE A COVENANT WITH ABRAM LIKE THE COVENANT THAT WE MADE DURING THIS MONTH WITH NOAH. ABRAM RENEWED THE FESTIVAL AND THE COVENANT FOR HIMSELF FOREVER

Genesis 16:1-16	Jubilees 14:21-24
	21 ABRAM REJOICED AND TOLD ALL THESE THINGS TO HIS WIFE SARAI.
	HE BELIEVED THAT HE WOULD HAVE DESCENDANTS,
1 Sarai, Abram's wife, <i>had not borne HIM a child.</i>	but she <i>continued not to have a child.</i>
SHE HAD AN Egyptian slave-girl WHOSE NAME WAS Hagar .	
2 And Sarai said to Abram,	22 And Sarai ADVISED HER HUSBAND Abram and said,
"SEE, YHWH HAS PREVENTED ME FROM BEARING.	
Go in to my slave-girl.	"Go in to Hagar , my Egyptian slave-girl.
Perhaps I will build up (children) from her."	Perhaps I will build up SEED FOR YOU from her."
And Abram listened to the voice of Sarai.	23 And Abram listened the voice of Sarai, HER WIFE, AND SAID TO HER,
	"DO."
3 Sarai, ABRAM'S WIFE, took Hagar the Egyptian, HER slave-girl	Sarai took Hagar, the Egyptian slave-girl,
AFTER ABRAM HAD DWELT TEN YEARS IN THE LAND OF CANAAN	
and gave her to Abram, her husband, <i>as a wife for him.</i>	and gave her to Abram, her husband, <i>to be a wife for him.</i>
4 He went in to <i>Hagar</i> , and she became pregnant,	24 He went in to <i>her</i> , and she became pregnant,
[Gen 16:4c-14 telling about Hagar holding Sarai in contempt; Sarai beating Hagar and Hagar escaping from Sarai; the dialogue between Hagar and angel; are omitted from Jubilees]	
15 And <i>Hagar</i> gave birth TO ABRAM to a son.	and <i>she</i> gave birth to a son.
And <i>Abram</i> called <i>the name of the son</i> WHO HAGAR GAVE BIRTH TO Ishmael.	And <i>he</i> called <i>his</i> name Ishmael IN THE FIFTH YEAR OF THIS WEEK [1965].
16 <i>Abram</i> was <i>eighty-six years old</i>	<i>That year was the eighty-sixth year in Abram's life.</i>
WHEN HAGAR BORE ISHMAEL TO ABRAM.	

Genesis 17:1b-8	Jubilees 15:3-10
1 Yhwh appeared to Abram and He said to him ,	3 The Lord appeared to him , and the Lord said to Abram ,
“I am God Shaddai; <i>walk</i> before me and be perfect.	“I am the God of Shaddai. <i>Please</i> before me and be perfect.
2 (Then) I will make my covenant between me and you and I will <i>make</i> you VERY exceedingly <i>numerous</i> .”	4 (Then) I will make my covenant between me and you and I will <i>increase</i> you exceedingly.”
3 Then Abram fell on his face. God spoke with him and said,	5 Then Abram fell on his face. The Lord spoke with him and said,
4 “AS FOR ME, see, my covenant is (now) with you so that <i>you shall be</i> father of a <i>multitude</i> of nations.	6 “See, my covenant is (now) with you so that <i>I will establish</i> you as the father of <i>many</i> nations.
5 Your will no longer be called Abram, but your name <i>will be</i> Abraham,	7 You will no longer be called Abram; your name <i>is to be</i> Abraham FROM NOW ON UNTIL ETERNITY,
for I have <i>made</i> you the father of a <i>multitude</i> of nations.	for I have <i>designated</i> you the father of <i>many</i> nations
6 I will make you very EXCEEDINGLY <i>fruitful</i> , and I will make you into nations, and kings shall emerge from you.	8 I will make you very <i>great</i> . I will make you into nations, and kings shall emerge from you.
7 I will <i>establish</i> my covenant between me and you and your seed after you throughout their generations, for an eternal covenant, <i>to be</i> God to you and to your seed after you.	9 I will <i>place</i> my covenant between me and you and your seed after you throughout their generations, for an eternal covenant <i>so that I may be</i> God to you and to your seed after you.
8 And I will give to you and to your seed after you the land <i>of your sojournings</i> , ALL the land of Canaan, for an eternal <i>holding</i> .	10 [And I will give to you and to your seed after you] the land <i>where you have resided as an alien</i> —the land of Canaan that you will <i>rule</i> forever.
And I will be God for them.”	And I will God for them.”
Genesis 17:15-16	Jubilees 15:15-16
15 God said to Abraham,	15 The Lord said to Abraham,
“As for Sarai your wife, <i>you shall not call</i> her name Sarai, for Sarah shall be her name	“As for Sarai your wife, her name will no LONGER <i>be called</i> Sarai for her name will be Sarah.
16 I will bless her. I will also give you a son from her.	16 I will bless her. I will give you a son from her.
I will bless <i>her</i> , and <i>she</i> will become into <i>nations</i>	I will bless <i>him</i> , and <i>he</i> will become a <i>nation</i>
and kings of <i>peoples</i> shall come from <i>her</i> .”	and kings of <i>nations</i> will come from <i>him</i> .”

Genesis 22:15-18	Jubilees 18:14-16
15 THE ANGEL OF Yhwh called to Abraham a second time from heaven.	14 The Lord called to Abraham BY HIS NAME a second time from heaven,
	JUST AS WE HAD APPEARED IN ORDER TO SPEAK TO HIM IN THE LORD'S NAME.
16 He said, "By myself I swear hereby, says Yhwh: because you have done this thing, and have not withheld your son, <i>your only one</i> ,	15 He said, "By myself I swear hereby, says the Lord: because you have done this thing, and have not refused ME your FIRST-BORN son <i>whom you love</i> ,
17 I will indeed bless you,	I will indeed bless you,
and I will indeed multiply your seed as the stars of heaven and as the sand on the seashore.	and I will indeed multiply your seed as the stars of heaven and as the sand on the seashore.
Your seed will inherit <i>the gate</i> of their enemies.	Your seed will inherit <i>the cities</i> of their enemies.
18 By your seed will all nations of the earth be blessed, because of the fact that you have obeyed my voice."	16 By your seed will all the nations of the earth be blessed because of the fact that you have obeyed my voice.
	I MAKE HEREBY KNOWN TO EVERYONE THAT YOU ARE FAITHFUL TO ME IN EVERYTHING THAT I HAVE TOLD YOU. GO IN PEACE."
Genesis 26:2-6	Jubilees 24:9-11
2 Yhwh appeared to him and said,	9 The LORD appeared to him and told HIM,
"Do not go down to Egypt. Dwell in the land that I will tell you.	"Do not go down to Egypt. Dwell in the land that I will tell you.
3 Reside in this land as an alien, and (so that) I will be with you and I will bless you;	Reside in this land as an alien, and I will be with you and I will bless you;
for to you and to your seed I will give all <i>these lands</i> , and I will establish the oath that I swore to your father Abraham.	10 for to you and to your seed I will give all <i>this land</i> . I will establish MY oath that I swore to your father Abraham.
4 I will make your seed as numerous as the stars of the sky, and will give to your seed all <i>these lands</i> .	I will make your seed as numerous as the stars of the sky, and will give to your seed all <i>this land</i> .
And through your seed will all the nations of the land be blessed,	11 And through your seed will all the nations of the land be blessed,
5 <i>because Abraham</i> obeyed my voice and kept <i>my obligation, my commandments, my statutes, and my laws</i> ."	<i>because your father</i> obeyed my voice and kept <i>my obligation, my commandments, my laws, my statute, AND MY COVENANT</i> .

	NOW OBEY MY VOICE AND LIVE IN THIS LAND.”
Genesis 26:23–25	Jubilees 24:21–23
23 He went up from there to <i>Beer Sheba</i> .	21 He went up from there to <i>the well of the oath</i> DURING THE FIRST YEAR OF THE FIRST WEEK IN THE FORTY-FOURTH JUBILEE [2108].
24 Yhwh appeared to him that night and said,	22 The Lord appeared to him that night— ON THE FIRST OF THE FIRST MONTH— and said TO HIM,
“I am the God of Abraham, your father. Do not be afraid,	“I am the God of Abraham, your father. Do not be afraid,
for I am with you and I will bless you and make your seed numerous for my servant Abraham’s sake.”	for I am with you and I will bless you. I will CERTAINLY make your seed numerous LIKE THE SAND OF THE EARTH for my servant Abraham’s sake.”
25 There he built an altar and called on the name of Yhwh, and PITCHED HIS TENT THERE	23 There he built the altar THAT HIS FATHER ABRAHAM HAD FIRST BUILT and called on the name of the Lord and OFFERED A SACRIFICE TO THE GOD OF HIS FATHER ABRAHAM.
Genesis 27:11–12	Jubilees 26:7–8
11 But Jacob said to his mother Rebekah,	7 But Jacob said to his mother Rebekah,
	“MOTHER, I WILL NOT BE SPARING ABOUT ANYTHING THAT MY FATHER EATS AND THAT PLEASES HIM,
	BUT I AM AFRAID, MOTHER, THAT HE WILL RECOGNIZE MY VOICE <i>and wish to feel me</i> .
“Look, my brother Esau is a hairy man, while I am smooth.	8 You know that I am smooth while my brother Esau is hairy.
12 <i>Perhaps my father will feel me,</i>	
and I would be like a mocker <i>in</i> his eyes,	I would be like a mocker <i>before</i> his eyes.
	I WOULD BE DOING SOMETHING THAT HE DID NOT ORDER ME, AND HE WOULD GET ANGRY AT ME,
and I would bring a curse on myself and not a blessing.”	and I would bring a curse on myself and not a blessing.”
Genesis 27:28–29	Jubilees 26:23–24
28 “May God give you of the dew of heaven, and of the fatness of the earth,	23 “May the Lord give you AND MULTIPLY FOR YOU of the dew of heaven and of the fatness of the earth;

and multitude of grain and <i>wine</i> .	MAY HE MULTIPLY the multitude of grain and <i>oil</i> for you.
29 May peoples serve you, and <i>nations</i> bow down to you.	May peoples serve you, and <i>people</i> bow down to you.
Become lord to your brothers, and may the sons of your mother bow down to you.	24 Become lord to your brothers; may the sons of your mother bow down to you.
	MAY ALL THE BLESSINGS WITH WHICH THE LORD HAS BLESSED ME AND BLESSED MY FATHER ABRAHAM BELONG TO YOU AND TO YOUR SEED FOREVER
May <i>those</i> who curse you be cursed, and <i>those</i> who bless you be blessed.”	May <i>the one</i> who curses you be cursed, and <i>the one</i> who blesses you be blessed.”
Genesis 27:39–40	Jubilees 26:33–34
39 Then Isaac, HIS FATHER, answered and said to him,	33 Isaac answered and said to him,
“See, away from the fatness of the earth shall your dwelling place be, and away from the dew of heaven on high.	“See, away from the fatness of the earth shall your dwelling place be, and away from the dew of heaven on high.
40 By your sword you shall live, and you shall serve your brother;	34 By your sword you shall live, and you shall serve your brother;
<i>And it shall happen that when you break loose, you shall break his yoke from your neck.”</i>	<i>May it be that if you become great and shake off his yoke from your neck,</i>
	THEN YOU WILL COMMIT AN OFFENCE FULLY WORTHY OF DEATH AND YOUR SEED WILL BE ERADICATED FROM BENEATH THE SKY”
Genesis 28:1–4	Jubilees 27:9–11
1 So Isaac called Jacob, blessed him, and <i>commanded</i> him, and said to him,	9 So Isaac called HIS SON Jacob, blessed him and <i>instructed</i> him, and said to him,
“You shall not take a wife from the daughters of Canaan.	10 “You shall not take FOR YOURSELF a wife from ANY daughter of Canaan.
2 Set out to <i>Paddan-aram</i> to the house of Bethuel, your mother’s father;	Set out, GO to <i>Mesopotamia</i> , to the house of Bethuel, your mother’s father;
and take for yourself a wife from there, from the daughters of Laban, your mother’s brother.	and take for yourself a wife from there, from the daughters of Laban, your mother’s brother.
3 May God Shaddai bless you and make you <i>fruitful</i> and make you numerous, <i>that you may become</i> a company of peoples.	11 May the God of Shaddai bless you; may he make you <i>grow</i> and make you numerous. And <i>be</i> a company of peoples.
4 May he give to you the <i>blessing</i> of Abraham, to you and to your seed <i>with</i>	May he give to you the <i>blessings</i> of MY FATHER Abraham, to you and to your seed

you, so that you may possess the land where you live as an alien—which God gave to Abraham.”	<i>after</i> you, so that you may possess the land where you live as an alien—AND ALL THE LAND that the Lord gave to Abraham.
	GO IN PEACE, MY SON.”
Genesis 28:10–15	Jubilees 27:19–24
10 Jacob left <i>Beer Sheba and went toward</i> Haran.	19 Jacob left <i>the well of the oath in order to go to</i> Haran DURING THE FIRST YEAR OF THE SECOND WEEK OF THE FORTY-FOURTH JUBILEE [2115].
[cf. Gen 12:8; Josh 16:1; 18:12–13; Judg 1:22–23; 1 Sam 13:2]	HE ARRIVED AT LUZ—THAT IS ON THE MOUNTAIN—THAT IS, BETHEL—ON THE FIRST OF THE FIRST MONTH OF THIS WEEK.
11 He <i>happened to come</i> to a certain place and <i>spent the night</i> there, because the sun had set.	He <i>arrived</i> at the place IN THE EVENING, TURNED OFF THE ROAD TO THE WEST OF THE HIGHWAY DURING THIS NIGHT, and <i>slept</i> there because the sun had set.
He took from the stones of <i>the</i> place and set (it) UNDER HIS HEAD and <i>lay down</i> IN THAT PLACE.	20 He took from the stones of <i>that</i> place and set it BENEATH THAT TREE. HE WAS TRAVELING ALONE and <i>fell asleep</i> .
12 He dreamed that a <i>ramp</i> was set up on the earth, the top of it reaching to heaven; and that angels of God were ascending and descending on it. 13 And the Lord was standing on it.	21 He dreamed THAT NIGHT that a <i>stairway</i> was set up on the earth and its top was reaching to heaven; and that angels of the Lord were ascending and descending on it; and that the Lord was standing on it.
He said, “I am YHWH, the God of Abraham, your father, and the God of Isaac.	22 He SPOKE WITH JACOB and said, “I am the God of Abraham, your father, and the God of Isaac.
The land on which you are <i>laying</i> I will give to you and to your seed.	The land on which you are <i>sleeping</i> I will give to you and to your seed AFTER YOU.
14 Your seed will be like the dust of the earth, and you shall <i>spread abroad</i> toward the west and the east and the north and the south.	23 Your seed will be like the dust of the earth. You will <i>become numerous</i> toward the west, the east, the north, and the south.
All the <i>families</i> of the <i>earth</i> shall be blessed through you and through your seed.	All the <i>regions</i> of the <i>nations</i> will be blessed through you and through your seed.
15 As for me, I <i>am</i> with you and I will guard you wherever you go, and I will bring you back to this land because I will not leave you until I have done what I have said to you.”	24 As for me, I <i>will be</i> with you and I will guard you wherever you go, and I will bring you back IN PEACE to this land because I will not leave you until I have done EVERYTHING that I have said to you.”

Genesis 28:16-22	Jubilees 27:25-27
16 Jacob <i>woke from his sleep</i> and said,	25 Jacob <i>slept sleep</i> and said,
“Surely <i>Yhwh is in this place</i> but I did not know (it)!”	“Surely <i>this place is the house of the Lord</i> but I did not know (it)!”
17 He was afraid and said, “HOW awe-inspiring is this place! <i>This</i> is none other than the house of God; and that is the gate of heaven.”	He was afraid and said, “This place, <i>which</i> is nothing but the house of the Lord, is awe-inspiring; and that is the gate of heaven.”
18 So Jacob rose early in the morning, and he took the stone that he had put <i>under his head</i> and set it up for a pillar and poured oil on the top of it.	26 So Jacob rose early in the morning, and he took the stone that he had put <i>at his head</i> and set it up as a pillar FOR A MARKER. He poured oil on the top of it.
19 He <i>called</i> that place Bethel; but the name of <i>the city</i> was Luz at first .	He <i>named</i> that place Bethel. But at first the name of <i>the region</i> was Luz.
20 Jacob made a vow, saying,	27 Jacob made a vow TO THE LORD, saying,
“If God is with me, and guards me on this road which I am going, and gives me food to eat and clothing to wear,	“If the Lord is with me, and guards me on this road which I am going, and gives me food to eat and clothing to wear,
21 so that I return to my father’s house in peace, then the Lord shall be my God,	so that I return to my father’s house in peace, then the Lord shall be my God,
22 and this stone, which I have set up for a pillar, <i>shall be</i> the house of God.	And ALSO this stone, which I have set up as a pillar FOR A MARKER IN THIS PLACE <i>is to become</i> the house of the Lord.
And of all that you will give me I will SURELY tithe to you.”	And of all that you will give me I will tithe to you, MY LORD.”
Genesis 33:18-34:31; 35:5	Jubilees 30:1-26
33:18 Jacob came safely TO THE CITY of Shechem, WHICH IS IN THE LAND OF CANAAN, ON HIS WAY FROM PADDAN-ARAM, AND HE CAMPED BEFORE THE CITY.	30:1 DURING THE FIRST YEAR OF THE SIXTH WEEK [2143] he went up safely TO SALEM, WHICH IS ON THE EAST SIDE OF Shechem, IN THE FOURTH MONTH
[Gen 33:19-20 telling about buying a piece of land for Jacob’s tent omitted from Jubilees]	
34:1 NOW DINAH THE DAUGHTER OF LEAH, WHOM SHE HAD BORNE TO JACOB, WENT OUT TO SEE THE WOMEN OF THE REGION.	
34:2 Shechem son of Hamor the Hivite, the ruler of the land, SAW HER, and he SEIZED HER, lay with her, and RAPED her	30:2 THERE <i>Dinah daughter of Jacob</i> WAS TAKEN BY FORCE TO THE HOUSE OF Shechem son of Hamor the Hivite, the

	ruler of the land. He lay with her and defiled her.
	NOW SHE WAS <i>young, daughter</i> OF TWELVE YEARS.
34:3 AND HIS SOUL WAS DRAWN TO Dinah daughter of Jacob , HE LOVED <i>the girl</i> , AND SPOKE TENDERLY TO <i>the girl</i> .	
34:4 SO SHECHEM SPOKE TO HIS FATHER HAMOR, SAYING, “GET ME THIS GIRL TO BE MY WIFE.”	
34:5 NOW JACOB HEARD THAT SHECHEM HAD defiled HIS DAUGHTER DINAH, BUT HIS SONS WERE WITH HIS CATTLE IN THE FIELD, SO JACOB WAS SILENT UNTIL THEY CAME.	
34:6 AND HAMOR THE FATHER OF SHECHEM WENT OUT TO JACOB TO SPEAK WITH HIM,	
34:7 JUST AS THE SONS OF JACOB CAME IN FROM THE FIELD.	
[cf. Gen 34:11–12]	30:3 HE BEGGED HER FATHER AND HER BROTHERS THAT SHE BE GIVEN TO HIM AS (HIS) WIFE
WHEN THEY HEARD OF IT, <i>the men</i> were INDIGNANT AND VERY angry, because he had committed an outrage in Israel BY LYING WITH JACOB’S DAUGHTER [cf. Jub 30:5]	<i>Jacob and his sons</i> were angry with <i>the men of Shechem</i> because they had defiled their sister Dinah [cf. Gen 34:13]
for such a thing ought not be done.	[cf. Jub 30:5]
34:8 BUT HAMOR SPOKE WITH THEM, SAYING, “THE HEART OF MY SON SHECHEM LONGS FOR YOUR DAUGHTER, PLEASE GIVE HER TO HIM AS A WIFE. 34:9 MAKE MARRIAGES WITH US, GIVE YOUR DAUGHTERS TO US, AND TAKE OUR DAUGHTERS FOR YOURSELVES. 34:10 YOU SHALL LIVE WITH US, AND THE LAND SHALL BE OPEN TO YOU; LIVE AND TRADE IN IT, AND GET PROPERTY IN IT.”	
34:11 SHECHEM ALSO SAID TO HER FATHER AND TO HER BROTHERS, “LET ME FIND FAVOUR WITH YOU, AND WHATEVER YOU SAY TO ME I WILL GIVE. 34:12 PUT THE MARRIAGE PRESENT	[cf. Jub 30:3]

<p>AND GIFT AS HIGH AS YOU LIKE, AND I WILL GIVE WHATEVER YOU ASK ME, ONLY GIVE ME THE GIRL TO BE MY WIFE.”</p>	
<p>34:13 <i>The sons of Jacob answered Shechem and his father Hamor deceitfully, because he had defiled their sister Dinah.</i> [cf. Jub 30:3 above]</p>	<p>[30:3 cont.] <i>They spoke deceptively with them, DEALT CRAFTILY WITH THEM, AND DECEIVED THEM.</i></p>
<p>34:14 THEY SAID TO THEM “We CANNOT DO THIS THING, to give our sister to a man with a foreskin, for that would be a disgrace to us.”</p>	<p>[Cf. Jub 30:12]</p>
<p>34:15 ONLY THIS CONDITION WILL BE CONSENT TO YOU: THAT YOU WILL BECOME AS WE ARE AND EVERY MALE AMONG YOU BE CIRCUMCISED. 34:16 THEN we will give our daughters TO YOU AND WE WILL TAKE YOUR DAUGHTERS FOR OURSELVES; AND WE WILL LIVE AMONG YOU AND BECOME ONE PEOPLE. 34:17 BUT IF YOU WILL NOT LISTEN TO US AND BE CIRCUMCISED, THEN WE WILL TAKE OUR DAUGHTER AND BE GONE.”</p>	<p>[cf. Jub 30:7]</p>
<p>[Gen 34:18–24 is omitted in Jubilees, though one phrase highlighted in the text might be reused in Jub 30:7?, 11]</p> <p>34:18 THEIR WORDS PLEASED HAMOR AND HAMOR’S SON SHECHEM. 34:19 AND THE YOUNG MAN DID NOT DELAY TO DO THE THING, BECAUSE HE WAS DELIGHTED WITH JACOB’S DAUGHTER. NOW HE WAS THE MOST HONOURED OF ALL HIS FAMILY. 34:20 SO HAMOR AND HIS SON SHECHEM CAME TO THE GATE OF THEIR CITY AND SPOKE TO THE MEN OF THEIR CITY; SAYING, 34:21 “THESE PEOPLE ARE FRIENDLY WITH US, LET THEM LIVE IN T HE LAND AND TRADE IN IT, FOR THE LAND IS LARGE ENOUGH FOR THEM. Let us take their daughters for us as wives and let us give them our daughters. [Cf. Jub 30:7?, 11?]</p> <p>34:22 ONLY ON THIS CONDITION WILL THEY AGREE TO LIVE AMONG US, TO BECOME ONE PEOPLE: THAT EVERY MALE AMONG US BE CIRCUMCISED AS THEY ARE CIRCUMCISED. 34:23 WILL NOT THEIR LIVESTOCK, THEIR PROPERTY, AND ALL THEIR ANIMALS BE OURS? ONLY LET US AGREE WITH THEM, AND THEY WILL LIVE AMONG US.”</p> <p>34:24 AND ALL WHO WENT OUT OF THE CITY GATE HEDED HAMOR AND HIS SON SHECHEM, AND EVERY MALE WAS CIRCUMCISED, ALL WHO WENT OUT OF THE GATE OF HIS CITY.</p>	
<p>34:25 ON THE THIRD DAY, WHEN THEY were in pain, TWO OF THE SONS OF JACOB,</p>	<p>[cf. Jub 30:4, 17 below]</p>
<p>Simeon and Levi, DINAH’S BROTHERS, TOOK THEIR SWORDS [cf. Jub 30:6?] <i>and</i></p>	<p>30:4 Simeon and Levi came <i>to Shechem unexpectedly</i> AND EFFECTED A</p>

<p>came <i>against the city confidently</i>, and they <i>killed every male</i>.</p>	<p>PUNISHMENT ON ALL THE MEN OF SHECHEM. And they killed every <i>man</i> WHOM THEY FOUND IN IT. THEY LEFT ABSOLUTELY NO ONE IN IT. THEY KILLED EVERYONE <i>in a painful way</i> [cf. Gen 34:25] because they had defiled their sister Dinah [cf. Gen 34:27].</p>
<p>[cf. Gen 34:7]</p>	<p>30:5 <i>Nothing like this is to be done</i> ANYMORE FROM NOW ON—TO DEFILE AN ISRAELITE WOMAN.</p>
<p>34:26a THEY killed HAMOR AND HIS SON <i>Shechem</i> with the sword, [cf. Jub 30:23]</p>	<p>FOR THE PUNISHMENT HAD BEEN DECREED AGAINST THEM IN HEAVEN THAT THEY WERE TO ANNIHILATE <i>all the men of Shechem</i> with the sword, SINCE they had committed a shameful act in Israel. [cf. Gen 34:7]</p>
	<p>30:6 THE LORD HANDED THEM OVER TO JACOB'S SONS FOR THEM TO UPROOT THEM <i>with the sword</i> [cf. Gen 34:25b] AND TO EFFECT PUNISHMENT AGAINST THEM AND SO THAT THERE SHOULD NOT AGAIN BE SOMETHING LIKE THIS WITHIN ISRAEL—TO DEFILE AN ISRAELITE VIRGIN.</p>
<p>[Jub 30:7–23: <i>Halakic</i> Elaboration Continues]</p> <p>30:7 IF THERE IS A MAN IN ISRAEL WHO WISHES <i>to give his daughter</i> [cf. Gen 34:15] OR HIS SISTER TO ANY MAN WHO IS A DESCENDANT OF NATIONS, HE IS TO DIE. HE IS TO BE STONED BECAUSE he has committed a shameful act in Israel. [cf. Gen 34:7] THE WOMAN IS TO BE BURNED IN FIRE BECAUSE SHE HAD DEFILED THE NAME OF HER FATHER'S HOUSE; SHE IS TO BE UPROOTED FROM ISRAEL.</p> <p>30:8 NO ADULTERESS OR IMPURITY IS TO BE FOUND WITHIN ISRAEL THROUGHOUT ALL THE TIME OF THE GENERATIONS OF EARTH, FOR ISRAEL IS HOLY TO THE LORD. ANY MAN WHO HAS DEFILED (IT) IS TO DIE; HE IS TO BE STONED.</p> <p>30:9 FOR THIS IS THE WAY IT HAS BEEN ORDAINED AND WRITTEN ON THE HEAVENLY TABLETS REGARDING ANY DESCENDANT OF ISRAEL WHO DEFILES (IT): "HE IS TO DIE; HE IS TO BE STONED."</p> <p>30:10 THIS LAW HAS NO TEMPORAL LIMIT. THERE IS NO REMISSION OR ANY FORGIVENESS; BUT RATHER THE MAN WHO HAS DEFILED HIS DAUGHTER WITHIN ALL OF ISRAEL IS TO BE ERADICATED BECAUSE HE HAS GIVEN FROM HIS SEED TO MOLECH AND HAS SINNED BY DEFILING IT.</p> <p>30:11 NOW YOU, MOSES; ORDER THE ISRAELITES AND TESTIFY TO THEM THAT THEY ARE NOT TO <i>give from their daughters to nations and that they are not to take from the daughters of nations</i> [cf. Gen 34:19?] BECAUSE IT IS DESPICABLE BEFORE THE LORD</p> <p>30:12 FOR THIS REASON I HAVE WRITTEN FOR YOU IN THE WORDS OF THE LAW ALL THE WORKS OF THE SHECHEMITES WHICH THEY DID TO DINAH AND HOW JACOB'S SONS SAID: "We will not give our daughter to men with a foreskin because that would be a disgrace to us." [cf. Gen 34:14]</p>	

<p>30:13 IT IS A DISGRACE FOR ISRAELITES WHO GIVE OR TAKE FROM THE DAUGHTERS OF NATIONS BECAUSE IT IS IMPURE AND DESPICABLE FOR ISRAEL.</p> <p>30:14 ISRAEL WILL NOT BECOME CLEAN FROM THIS IMPURITY WHILE IT HAS ONE WIFE FROM THE DAUGHTERS OF NATIONS OR IF ANYONE HAS GIVEN FROM HIS DAUGHTERS TO A MAN (DESCENDING FROM) ANY NATION.</p> <p>30:15 FOR IT IS BLOW UPON BLOW AND CURSE UPON CURSE. EVERY PUNISHMENT, BLOW, AND CURSE WILL COME. IF ONE DOES THIS OR SHUTS HIS EYES TO THOSE WHO DO IMPURE THINGS AND WHO DEFILE THE LORD'S SANCTUARY AND TO THOSE WHO PROFANE HIS HOLY NAME, THEN THE ENTIRE NATION WILL BE CONDEMNED TOGETHER BECAUSE OF ALL THIS IMPURITY AND THIS CONTAMINATION.</p> <p>30:16 THERE WILL BE NO FAVOURITISM OR PARTIALITY; THERE WILL BE NO RECEIVING FROM HIM OF FRUIT, SACRIFICES, OFFERINGS, FAT, OR THE AROMA OF A PLEASING FRAGRANCE SO THAT HE SHOULD ACCEPT IT. (SO) IS ANY MAN OR WOMAN IN ISRAEL TO BE WHO DEFILES HIS SANCTUARY.</p> <p>30:17 FOR THIS REASON I HAVE ORDERED YOU: "PROCLAIM THIS TESTIMONY TO ISRAEL: 'SEE HOW IT TURNED OUT FOR SHECHEM AND HER CHILDREN—HOW THEY WERE HANDED OVER TO JACOB'S TWO SONS. THEY KILLED THEM IN <i>a painful way</i>. [cf. Gen 34:25] IT WAS A JUST ACT FOR THEM AND WAS RECORDED AS A JUST ACT FOR THEM.'"</p> <p>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.</p> <p>30:19 SO BLESSING AND JUSTICE BEFORE THE GOD OF ALL ARE ENTERED FOR HIM AS A TESTIMONY ON THE HEAVENLY TABLETS.</p> <p>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 IT BE ENTERED. IT WILL COME TO HIM AND HIS SEED AFTER HIM. HE HAS BEEN RECORDED ON THE HEAVENLY TABLETS AS A FRIEND AND A JUST MAN.</p> <p>30:21 I HAVE WRITTEN THIS ENTIRE MESSAGE FOR YOU AND HAVE ORDERED YOU TO TELL THE ISRAELITES NOT TO SIN OR TRANSGRESS THE STATUTES OR VIOLATE THE COVENANT WHICH WAS ESTABLISHED FOR THEM SO THAT THEY SHOULD PERFORM IT AND BE RECORDED AS FRIENDS.</p> <p>30:22 BUT IF THEY TRANSGRESS AND BEHAVE IN ANY IMPURE WAYS, THEY WILL BE RECORDED ON THE HEAVENLY TABLETS AS ENEMIES. THEY WILL BE ERASED FROM THE BOOK OF THE LIVING AND WILL BE RECORDED IN THE BOOK OF THOSE WHO WILL BE DESTROYED AND WITH THOSE WHO WILL BE UPROOTED FROM THE EARTH.</p> <p>30:23 ON THE DAY THAT JACOB'S SONS killed (THE PEOPLE OF) Shechem [cf. Gen 34:26a], A WRITTEN NOTICE WAS ENTERED IN HEAVEN FOR THEM (TO THE EFFECT) THAT THEY HAD CARRIED OUT WHAT WAS RIGHT, JUSTICE, AND REVENGE AGAINST THE SINNERS. IT WAS RECORDED AS A BLESSING.</p>	
34:26b and they took Dinah out of Shechem's house AND WENT AWAY.	30:24 They led their SISTER Dinah from Shechem's house
34:27 AND THE OTHER SONS OF JACOB CAME UPON THE SLAIN, and <i>plundered the city</i> , because they had defiled their sister . [cf. Jub 30:4]	<i>and captured everything that was in Shechem –</i>

34:28 <i>They took their flocks and their herds, their donkeys, and whatever was in the city and in the field.</i>	<i>their sheep, cattle, and donkeys; all their property and all their flock</i>
34:29 <i>All their wealth, ALL THEIR LITTLE ONES AND THEIR WIVES, ALL THAT WAS IN THE HOUSES, THEY CAPTURED AND MADE THEIR PREY.</i>	
	AND BROUGHT EVERYTHING TO THEIR FATHER JACOB.
34:30 Then <i>Jacob</i> said to <i>Simeon and Levi</i> , “ <i>You have brought trouble on me by making me odious to the inhabitants of the land, the Canaanites and the Perizzites,</i>	30:25 <i>He spoke with them about the fact that they had killed (the people of) a city because he was afraid of the people who were living in the land—of the Canaanites and the Perizzites.</i>
MY NUMBERS ARE FEW, AND IF THEY GATHER THEMSELVES AGAINST ME AND ATTACK ME, I SHALL BE DESTROYED, BOTH I AND MY HOUSEHOLD.”	
34:31 BUT THEY SAID, “SHOULD OUR SISTER BE TREATED LIKE A WHORE?”	
35:5 AS THEY JOURNEYED, a <i>terror</i> of God was <i>upon</i> the cities all around <i>them</i> . And they did not pursue AFTER Jacob’s sons.	30:26 A <i>fear</i> of God was <i>in</i> ALL the cities which were around <i>Shechem</i> . And they did not set out to pursue Jacob’s sons BECAUSE TERROR HAD FALLEN ON THEM.
Genesis 35:1-4	Jubilees 31:1-2
35:1 GOD SAID TO JACOB, “ARISE, GO UP TO BETHEL, AND SETTLE THERE.	31:1 ON THE FIRST OF THE MONTH
MAKE AN ALTAR THERE TO THE GOD WHO APPEARED TO YOU <i>when you fled from the face of your brother Esau.</i> ”	
35:2 Jacob said to <i>his household and to all who were with him</i> ,	Jacob told <i>all the people of his household</i> ,
“Remove the foreign gods which are among you,	
and purify yourselves, and change your clothes;	“Purify yourselves and change your clothes;
35:3 Let us arise and go up to Bethel,	we shall arise and go up to Bethel
THAT I MAY MAKE AN ALTAR THERE	WHERE I MADE A VOW,
	<i>on the day that I ran away from the face of my brother Esau,</i>

to the God WHO ANSWERED ME IN THE DAY OF MY DISTRESS and has been with me ON THE WAY I HAVE GONE.”	to the one who has been with me and BROUGHT ME BACK SAFELY TO THIS LAND.
	Remove the foreign gods which are among you.”
35:4 They gave to Jacob ALL the foreign gods THAT WERE IN THEIR HANDS, and the rings that were in their ears;	31:2 They handed over the foreign gods, and what were in their ears AND WHAT WERE IN THEIR NECKS, AND THE IDOLS THAT RACHEL HAD STOLEN FROM HER FATHER LABAN. SHE GAVE EVERYTHING to Jacob , AND HE BURNED THEM, BROKE THEM INTO PIECES, RUINED THEM,
and Jacob hid them under the oak that was in Shechem.	and hid them beneath the oak which is in the LAND OF Shechem.
Genesis 35:9-13	Jubilees 32:17-19
9 God appeared to <i>Jacob</i> again WHEN HE CAME FROM PADDAN-ARAM, and he blessed him. 10 GOD said to him,	17 The Lord appeared to <i>him</i> DURING THE NIGHT. And He blessed him and said to him,
“YOUR NAME IS JACOB; Your name <i>will be called</i> Jacob <i>no more</i> , but Israel <i>will be your name</i> .”	“Your name <i>is not to be called</i> Jacob <i>only</i> , but <i>your name will be named</i> Israel.”
SO, HE CALLED HIM ISRAEL.	
11 GOD said to him,	18 He said to him again ,
“I am God <i>Shaddai</i> .	“I am the Lord <i>who created heaven and earth</i> .
<i>Be fruitful and multiply</i> ;	<i>I will hereby make you fruitful and multiply you</i> VERY MUCH.
A NATION AND A COMPANY OF nations WILL COME FROM YOU,	
and kings will <i>come out from your loins</i> .	And kings will <i>come from you</i> , AND THEY WILL RULE WHEREVER HUMANITY HAS SET FOOT.
12 The land that I GAVE TO ABRAHAM AND ISAAC I will give TO YOU, and to your seed <i>after you I will give</i> the land.”	19 I will give your seed ALL OF the land that IS BENEATH THE SKY. THEY WILL RULE OVER ALL the nations JUST AS THEY WISH. And <i>after that, they will gain</i> the ENTIRE land/earth, AND THEY WILL POSSESS IT FOREVER.”
13 Then GOD went up from him AT THE PLACE WHERE HE HAD SPOKEN WITH HIM.	20 WHEN HE HAD FINISHED SPEAKING WITH HIM, he went up from him, AND JACOB KEPT WATCHING UNTIL HE HAD GONE UP INTO HEAVEN.

Genesis 46:1-4	Jubilees 44:1-6
1 Israel set out WITH ALL THAT HE HAD.	1 Israel set out FROM HEBRON, FROM HIS HOUSE, ON THE FIRST OF THE THIRD MONTH.
He came to Beer Sheba and offered sacrifices to the God of his father Isaac.	He went BY WAY of the well of the oath and offered a sacrifice to the God of his father Isaac ON THE SEVENTH OF THIS MONTH.
	2 WHEN JACOB REMEMBERED THE DREAM THAT HE HAD SEEN IN BETHEL, HE WAS AFRAID TO GO DOWN TO EGYPT.
	3 BUT AS HE WAS THINKING ABOUT SENDING WORD TO JOSEPH THAT HE SHOULD COME TO HIM AND THAT HE WOULD NOT GO DOWN, HE REMAINED THERE FOR SEVEN DAYS ON THE CHANCE THAT HE WOULD SEE <i>a vision</i> (ABOUT) WHETHER HE SHOULD REMAIN OR GO DOWN.
	4 HE CELEBRATED THE HARVEST FESTIVAL—THE FIRSTFRUITS OF GRAIN—WITH OLD GRAIN BECAUSE IN ALL THE LAND OF CANAAN THERE WAS NOT EVEN A HANDFUL OF SEEDS IN THE LAND SINCE THE FAMINE AFFECTED ALL THE ANIMALS, THE CATTLE, THE BIRDS, AND HUMANITY AS WELL.
2 God spoke to ISRAEL <i>in visions</i> OF THE NIGHT, and said, “Jacob, Jacob.” He said, “Here I am.”	5 ON THE SIXTEENTH the Lord appeared to him and said TO HIM, “Jacob, Jacob.” He said, “Here I am.”
3 Then he said, “I am GOD, the God of your father.	Then he said TO HIM, “I am the God of your fathers—THE GOD OF ABRAHAM AND ISAAC.
Do not be afraid to go down to Egypt, for I will set you into a great nation there.	Do not be afraid to go down to Egypt, for I will set you into a great nation there.
4 I myself will go down with you TO EGYPT, and I myself will ALSO bring you up;	6 I myself will go down with you and I myself will lead you away.
	YOU WILL BE BURIED IN THIS LAND,
and Joseph shall put his hand on your eyes.”	and Joseph shall put his hand on your eyes.
	DO NOT BE AFRAID; GO DOWN TO EGYPT.”

Abbreviations

The abbreviations follow mainly *the SBL Handbook of Style*, 2nd ed. (Atlanta, Georgia: SBL Press, 2014).

Primary Sources

1QapGen	Genesis Apocryphon
ALD	Aramaic Levi Document. The numbering is according to Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone, and Esther Eshel, eds., <i>The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary</i> , SVTP 19 (Leiden: Brill, 2004).
ANET	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> . Edited by James B. Pritchard. 3 rd ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969.
BHQ	<i>Biblia Hebraica Quinta</i> . On different volumes, see bibliography.
BHS	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i> . Edited by Karl Elliger and Wilhelm Rudolph. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983.
CD	Damascus Document
DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls
EA	El Amarna tablets.
Eng	English (translation of the Bible)
Eth	Ethiopic (Bible/Jubilees)
<i>Evag.</i>	Isocrates, <i>Evagoras</i> (<i>Or.</i> 9)
Gen. Rab.	Genesis Rabbah
Jub	Book of Jubilees
m. Šabb.	Mishnah, tractate Šabbat.
<i>MekhY</i>	<i>Mekhilta de Rabbi Yishmael</i>
MT	Masoretic (consonantal) Text
ms(s).	manuscript(s)
NT	New Testament
Lat	Latin (Jubilees)
LXX	Septuagint
Sam	Samaritan (Pentateuch)
SifDev	Sifre Deuteronomy (Devarim)
Syr	Syriac (textual tradition)
Tg.	Targum
Tg. Neof.	Targum Neofiti
Tg. Onq.	Targum Onqelos
Tg. Ps.-J.	Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
T. Levi	Testament of Levi
Vulg	Vulgate

Modern Bible Versions

ESV	English Standard Version
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version

Secondary Sources

AASF	Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae
AB	Anchor Bible

<i>ABD</i>	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . Edited by David Noel Freedman. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
AJEC	Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity
ANESSup	Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement Series
ArBib	The Aramaic Bible
<i>BDB</i>	Brown, Francis, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs. <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951.
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
<i>GKC</i>	<i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i> . Edited by Emil Kautzsch. Translated by Arthur E. Cowley. 2 nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910.
ConBOT	Coniectanea Biblica: Old Testament Series.
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium.
<i>CurBR</i>	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
<i>DCH</i>	<i>Dictionary of Classical Hebrew</i> . Edited by David J. A. Clines. 9 vols. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 1993–2014.
DCLS	Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies
DJD	Discoveries in the Judean Desert
<i>E Ae</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia Aethiopica</i> . Edited by Siegbert Uhlig et al. 5 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003–2014.
EJL	Early Judaism and Its Literature
ELO	Elementa Linguarum Orientis
<i>ESTJ</i>	<i>T & T Clark Encyclopedia of Second Temple Judaism</i> . Edited by Daniel Gurtner and Loren T. Stuckenbruck. 2 vols. London: T & T Clark, 2019.
FAT	Forshungen zum Alten Testament
FC	Fathers of the Church
<i>HAR</i>	<i>Hebrew Annual Review</i>
HBM	Hebrew Bible Monographs
HBS	Herders Biblische Studien
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HthKAT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HTS</i>	<i>HTS Theologiese Studies</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<i>IBHS</i>	<i>An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax</i> . Bruce K. Waltke and Michael O'Connor. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990.
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JCPS	Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i>

JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplement Series
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSP	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
JSQ	<i>Jewish Studies Quarterly</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
K&D	Keil, Carl Friedrich, and Franz Delitzsch. <i>Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament</i> . Translated by James Martin et al. 25 vols. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1866–1878. Repr, 10 vols., Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2011.
LHBOTS	The Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LNTS	The Library of New Testament Studies
LSTS	The Library of Second Temple Studies
NCB	New Century Bible
NCBC	The New Cambridge Bible Commentary
NIBCOT	New International Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTP	<i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> . Edited by James H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1983, 1985. Repr. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2019.
PFES	Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
RevQ	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
SA	Scriptores Aethiopici
SCS	Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SILO	Subsidia et Instrumenta Linguarum Orientis
SRB	Studies in the Reception History of the Bible (formerly Studies in Rewritten Bible)
SPF	Studia Patristica Fennica
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StPB	Studia Post-biblica
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
SymS	Symposium Series
TBN	Themes in Biblical Narrative
TDOT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> . Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren. Translated by John T. Willis et al. 15 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977–2006.
ThWQ	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zu den Qumrantexten</i> . Edited by Heinz-Josef Fabry and Ulrich Dahmen. 3 vols. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2011–2016.
TLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
TRE	<i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i> . Edited by Gerhard Krause and Gerhard Müller. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977–
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

Other

abs.	absolutus
act.	active
adj.	adjective
ANE	Ancient Near East(ern)
aor.	Aorist
attr.	attribute
BA	Biblical Aramaic
cf.	<i>confer</i> = compare with
coh.	cohortative
cons.	consecutive
cstr.	constructus
f.	feminine
f.	(after verse numbering) the following verse
ff.	the following verses
fem.	feminine
fut.	future
hiph.	hiphil
hitp.	hitpael/hitpolel
imp.	imperative
inf.	infinitive
ipf.	imperfect (indicative)
juss.	jussive
m.	masculine
masc.	masculine
niph.	niphal
opt.	optative
part.	participle
pass.	passive
pf.	perfect
pi.	piel
pl.	plural
pl.pf.	pluperfect
prep.	preposition
pu.	pual
sg.	singular
st.abs.	status absolutus
st.cstr.	status constructus
subj.	subjunctive (jussive)
suff.	suffix

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Topias K. E. Tanskanen

Jacob, the Torah, and the Abrahamic Promise

Studies on the Use and Interpretation of the Jacob Story in the Book of Jubilees

The patriarch Jacob functions as the main character in Jubilees, one of the most important early Jewish texts outside the Bible. In this study, Tanskanen investigates two important connections made by the author of Jubilees: Jacob and the Torah, and Jacob and the Abrahamic Promise (Gen 12:1–3 and par.), both of which play an important role in Jubilees but of which the latter has been somewhat neglected in research. Jacob functions as the perfect Israelite who follows the Deuteronomic commandments (addressed to Israel in the second singular) to the utmost, and thus exemplifies the “holy seed” or “rest” of Israel, who will also inherit the Abrahamic Promise. Esau functions as an archetype of the apostate Israelite who will be left outside of the Promise.

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