

Abraham in the Book of *Jubilees*

*The Rewriting of Genesis 11:26-25:10
in the Book of Jubilees 11:14-23:8*

JACQUES T.A.G.M. VAN RUITEN

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Abraham in the Book of *Jubilees*

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By

Jacques T.A.G.M. van Ruiten



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To the memory of

Dirk Johannes Petrus van Ruiten (1924–1993)

and

Jacoba Cornelia Maria Bellekom (1929–2010)

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PREFACE

This monograph offers a systematic and detailed analysis of one of the most important and extensive Second Temple Jewish treatments of the figure of Abraham, namely *Jubilees* 11:14–23:8. Given the importance of representations and reinterpretations of Abraham within Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, I hope this analysis of this early source—which often provides the oldest known attestation of traditions that later became very popular and widespread—will prove to be an important contribution to research both on the evolving images of biblical patriarchs and on the history of biblical interpretation. At the same time, the monograph also contributes to the growing field of specialist research on *Jubilees*, being a companion volume to my monograph on its traditions about primeval history (*Primaeval History Interpreted: The Rewriting of Genesis 1–11 in the Book of Jubilees*. JSJSup 66; Leiden: Brill, 2000). I hope this work will be a helpful resource for those working on this and related materials, enabling easy consultation of the patterns of commonality and difference with parallel material in Genesis in particular.

Earlier versions of several chapters have been presented and discussed in the annual conferences on Themes in Biblical Narrative organized by the Groningen research group “Jewish and Christian Traditions” (recently renamed “Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Origins”), in conferences of the European networks “The Hermeneutics of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam” and “Rewritten Bible,” in the Enoch Seminar, and in guest lectures at the universities of Åbo, Århus, Greifswald, Louvain, and Zürich. Some of the results of this book have been published elsewhere in an earlier form. I would like to mention the following publications in particular: “Lot versus Abraham: The Interpretation of Genesis 18:1–19:38 in *Jubilees* 16:1–9,” in *Sodom’s Sin: Genesis 18–19 and Its Interpretations* (ed. E. Noort and E.J.C. Tigchelaar; Themes in Biblical Narrative 7; Leiden, 2004), 29–46; “Abraham’s Prayer: The Coherence of the Pericopes in *Jubilees* 12:16–27,” in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees* (ed. G. Boccaccini and G. Ibba; Grand Rapids, Mi., 2009), 211–27; “Land and Covenant in *Jubilees* 14,” in *The Land of Israel in Bible, History, and Theology* (ed. J. van Ruiten, and J.C. de Vos; VTSup 124; Leiden, 2009), 259–276; “The Book of *Jubilees* as Paratextual Literature,” in *In the Second Degree: Paratextual Literature in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Culture*

and Its Reflections in Medieval Literature (ed. P. Alexander, A. Lange, and R. Pillinger; Leiden, 2010), 65–95; “Abraham’s Last Day according to the Book of *Jubilees* (*Jub.* 22:1–23:8),” in *Rewritten Biblical Figures* (ed. E. Koskenniemi, and P. Lindqvist; Studies in Rewritten Bible 3; Turku, Åbo Akademi University, 2010), 57–88; “*Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Jubilees: The Case of the Early Abram* (*Jubilees* 11:14–12:15)” in *Companion to Jewish Biblical Interpretation in the Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods* (ed. M. Henze; Grand Rapids, Mich., 2012), 121–56. These papers are in one way or another all incorporated here, but I have reworked them all for the present purpose.

I would like to express here my gratitude to several people and institutions. The Board of the Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies, University of Groningen, released me from all teaching duties in 2007, when I started the preparation of this book. I also wish to thank the Board and staff of the Faculty of Theology, University of Louvain, where I enjoyed my sabbatical year. I thank my colleagues and friends Anke Dorman, Matthias Henze and Lautaro Roig Lanzillotta for reading through earlier stages of the manuscript. I am grateful to Ton Hilhorst, who read and commented on the entire book for many valuable suggestions. His friendly and stimulating inquiries were fundamental to its completion. My student-assistent, Albertina Oegema, made the index. Her meticulousness prevented me from making many more mistakes. The encouraging conversations with Hindy Najman were crucial in presenting the work to the *Supplements* to the *Journal for the Study of Judaism*. Special thanks are due to its present editor-in-chief, Benjamin Wright, who accepted the volume. Also production editor Maaïke Langerak (Brill) has been very supportive of the volume’s preparation.

During my work on the book, the devotion and support of my wife Tootje, and my children, Maartje, Lotje and Ruben, were essential for me. Not long before I finished the manuscript my mother passed away. It is to her, and to my father, whom she missed profoundly after his death, that I dedicate this book with love.

INTRODUCTION

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEXTS

Ever since classical antiquity there has been an awareness of the literal and thematic resemblances between texts. Classical rhetoricians felt it important to imitate authoritative texts to the best of their ability, with as little personal contribution as possible. Originality was esteemed less highly than copying, repeating, and discovering how others thought. Ultimately, this provided the incentive for one's own thinking. In classical philology the imitation of earlier texts was a form of self-enrichment through the ideas and formulations of one's predecessors.¹

The literature of the early Jewish and Christian traditions pre-eminently offers an image of an ongoing repetition of texts. The phenomenon of the inclusion of older texts within newer ones can be seen in the Hebrew Bible,² as well as in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. Also in the New Testament and rabbinic literature, there are many examples of the insertion of texts from the Old Testament, which find new applications in new situations.³ Here we experience the crossing of borders of literary corpora, and in reading this kind of literature we realize that texts are not created in a vacuum. They arise from other texts. The earlier texts are repeated and at the same time responded to. A more recent text is seen to repeat

¹ Much has been written on this subject. See, for example, J.W.H. Atkins, *Literary Criticism in Antiquity: A Sketch of Its Development* (2 vols.; Cambridge, 1934); A. Reiff, *Interpretatio, Imitatio, Aemulatio: Begriff und Vorstellung literarischer Abhängigkeit bei den Römern* (Würzburg, 1959); H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik: Ein Grundlegung der Literaturwissenschaft* (3d ed.; Stuttgart, 1990); F. Claus, *Imitatio in de Latijnse letterkunde* (Amfiteater; Kapellen, 1977). For the mechanics of ancient Greek education, see R. Criboire, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton, 2001).

² See, for example, R. Bloch, "Midrash," Columns 1263–1281 in vol. 5 of *DBSup* (1957). Edited by L. Pirot and A. Robert. 14 vols. Paris 1928—(translated and reworked as "Midrash," in *Approaches to Ancient Judaism I* [ed. W. Scott Green; Missoula, 1978], 29–50); M.A. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford, 1985); B.D. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40–66* (Contraversions: Jews and Other Differences; Stanford, Calif., 1998); J.C. de Moor, ed., *Intertextuality in Ugarit and Israel: Papers Read at the Joint Meeting of the Society for Old Testament Study and Het Oudtestamentisch Werkgezelschap in Nederland en België Held at Oxford* (OtSt 40; Leiden, 1998).

³ For a collection of many early Jewish and early Christian texts and traditions connected with the pericopes of the Pentateuch, see J.L. Kugel, *The Bible as It Was* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997).

an older text, as well as other older texts. The hypertext or phenotext (the more recent text) is in itself a significant whole, but it gains an extra dimension through the reader's recognition of its relationship with the hypotext or architext (the older text). It is the reader's task to trace and identify the elements of the architext present in the phenotext, addressing the information found within the latter. However, sometimes this information is limited, which makes the recognition, identification, and interpretation of earlier elements more difficult.⁴

In modern literature, many kinds of indicators assist in the recognition of an earlier element, such as the use of quotation marks, italics, unusual or different language, and the citing of sources or authors. This is not the case, however, in the Hebrew Bible and early Jewish literature. The link with the older text is only made explicit at times, such as in cases where quotations mention a source. For example, some post-exilic texts explain a certain religious practice as being conducted "as is written in the law of Moses" (see *inter alia*, Ezra 3:2; 2 Chr 23:18; and cf. 1 Kgs 2:3). In such cases, it is not always clear exactly what the author is referring to. Often the expression "the law of Moses" seems to suggest a book that must have been similar to the Pentateuch. Sometimes this expression refers to the book of Deuteronomy, and it is even possible to identify a specific text, as is the case with 2 Kgs 14:6, where the author points us to Deut 24:16. Most references to earlier works in the Hebrew Bible and early Jewish literature are merely implicit, however. In such cases, it is only on the basis of the author's choice of words, or sometimes on the basis of subject matter or structure of a text, that it is possible to determine whether a certain architext is present in the phenotext or not. Here the intertext, that ele-

⁴ My own conception of intertextuality, reflected in these paragraphs, has been influenced very much by the Belgian structuralist Paul Claes. He put the theory of intertextuality into practice in his study of Belgian and Dutch novelists, especially in his study of the work of the Belgian author Hugo Claus, who constantly refers to classical antiquity in an allusive way. See P. Claes, *Het netwerk en de nevelvlek: Semiotische studies* (Argo-studies 1; Leuven, 1979); P. Claes, *De mot zit in de mythe: Antieke intertextualiteit in het werk van Hugo Claus* (Ph.D. diss.; Leuven, 1981). Although his technical terminology is complicated, one can summarize his methodology quite simply in terms of three questions: what, how, and why? Which elements in a certain novel can be considered as ancient (= what)? In which form do these elements occur (= how)? (With respect to this form, Claes points to some basic types of intertextuality—quotation, allusion, translation—which have comparable transformations—repetition, addition, omission, variation—which can concern form, meaning, or both.) And finally, what is the role or the function of the ancient references in a given work (= why)? I have attempted to adopt his methodology in my work on early Jewish literature. See J.T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, *Een begin zonder einde: De doorwerking van Jesaja 65:17 in de intertestamentaire literatuur en het Nieuwe Testament* (Sliedrecht, 1990).

ment which the architext and the phenotext have in common, itself functions as an indicator. Examples are Mal 1:6–2:9 and Ps 4, where without the source being mentioned, there is an elaborate use of the priestly blessing (Num 6:23–27). It is clear that in the case of implicit references, a literate reader plays a key role in recognizing the intertextual relationship.

REWRITTEN SCRIPTURE

Sometimes a new work takes over an older work entirely. In such instances the new text does not point to one or more scattered texts but incorporates large parts of an older work. In the Hebrew Bible, the book of Chronicles is the best example of this phenomenon as it often more or less literally repeats large parts of the books of Samuel and Kings.⁵ It is important to stress that these authors were not writing an interpretative commentary on the earlier texts but were rewriting these older authoritative texts in order to adapt them to a different context. The result of this textual strategy was a new composition. One can find the same phenomenon in early Jewish literature, in works such as *Jubilees*, the *Genesis Apocryphon*, and the *Temple Scroll*, as well as the *Biblical Antiquities* of Pseudo-Philo. Works that “include” older compositions are often classified as belonging to a literary genre, namely the “rewritten Bible.”⁶ This term was coined by Vermes who defined it as a midrashic insertion of haggadic development into the biblical narrative designed to anticipate questions and solve problems in advance.⁷ The new composition is closely related to

⁵ Cf. Sommer, *Prophet Reads Scripture*, 26, who calls this form of implicit referencing “inclusion” or “enclosure.”

⁶ For some recent studies on the rewritten Bible, see A. Klostergaard Petersen, “Rewritten Bible As a Borderline Phenomenon—Genre, Textual Strategy, or Canonical Anachronism?,” in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (ed. A. Hilhorst, É. Puech, and E. Tigchelaar; JSJSup 122; Leiden, 2007), 285–306; E. Koskenniemi and P. Lindqvist, “Rewritten Bible, Rewritten Stories: Methodological Aspects,” in *Rewritten Bible Reconsidered: Proceedings of the Conference in Karkku, Finland August 24–26, 2006* (ed. A. Laato and J. van Ruiten; Studies in Rewritten Bible 1; Winona Lake, Ind., 2008), 11–39. See also D. Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts: Strategies for Extending the Scriptures among the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Library of the Second Temple Studies 63 = Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 8; London, 2007), 9–17; S. White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times* (Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids, Mich., 2008).

⁷ G. Vermes, “The Life of Abraham,” in idem, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies* (StPB 4; 2nd ed.; Leiden, 1973), 67–126 (esp. 95). Cf. also C. Perrot and P.-M. Bogaert, *Pseudo-Philon: Les Antiquités Bibliques* (2 vols.; SC 230; Paris, 1976), 2:22–8.

the biblical texts, although it includes a considerable number of additions and interpretative developments.⁸

In scholarly literature the term “parabiblical literature” is also used. This term, which is quite close to the term “rewritten Bible” was introduced by Ginsberg,⁹ and later used by others.¹⁰ It refers to a distinct literary genre that covers works that are closely related to texts or themes of the Hebrew Bible. Some of these compositions present a reworking, rewriting, or paraphrase of biblical books, while others, in contrast to rewritten Bible, start with a biblical text but result in an independent composition.

The terms “rewritten Bible” and “parabiblical literature” suggest the emergence of an authoritative body of Jewish literature after the exile.¹¹ In theory one should be able to distinguish between a pre-existing biblical text and one that interprets implicitly an older text in creating a new work.¹² In practice, however, it is very difficult to distinguish between biblical and rewritten biblical works.¹³ In early Judaism, before the first century of the Common Era, there was no single list of books regarded

⁸ E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–135 A.D.)* (ed. G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Goodman; 4 vols.; rev. ed.; Edinburgh, 1986), 3:1:326; G.W. Nickelsburg, “The Bible Rewritten and Expanded,” in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* (ed. M.E. Stone; CRINT 2.2; Assen, 1984), 89–156 (esp. 89); P.S. Alexander, “Retelling the Old Testament,” in *It Is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture: Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars* (ed. D.A. Carson and H.G.M. Williamson; Cambridge, 1988), 99–121 (esp. 116–17). Other scholars do not use the term “rewritten Bible” to refer to a distinctive genre. In their view, it describes a literary strategy that is expressed in various genres within a broad range of interpretative writings. See, for example, D.J. Harrington, “Palestinian Adaptations of Biblical Narratives and Prophecies: 1 The Bible Rewritten (Narratives),” in *Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters* (ed. R.A. Kraft and G.W.E. Nickelsburg; The Bible and Its Modern Interpreters 2; Philadelphia, Pa., 1986) 239–47, 253–355; B. Halpern-Amaru, *Rewriting the Bible: Land and Covenant in Post-Biblical Jewish Literature* (Valley Forge, Pa., 1994).

⁹ H.L. Ginsberg, review J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I: A Commentary*, *TS* 28 (1967): 574–77.

¹⁰ See E. Tov, “Foreword,” in *Qumran Cave 4. VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (ed. H. Attridge et al.; DJD 13; Oxford, 1994), ix; F. García Martínez, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* (Leiden, 1994), 218; A. Lange and U. Mittmann-Richert, “Annotated List of the Texts from the Judaean Desert Classified by Content and Genre,” in *The Texts from the Judaean Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the “Discoveries in the Judaean Desert” Series* (ed. E. Tov; DJD 39; Oxford, 2002), 115–64 (esp. 117–18); Falk, *Parabiblical Texts*.

¹¹ G.J. Brooke, “The Rewritten Law, Prophets and Psalms: Issues for the Understanding of the Text of the Bible,” in *The Bible as a Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (ed. E.D. Herbert and E. Tov; London, 2002), 31–40 (esp. 31).

¹² Falk, *Parabiblical Texts*, 13.

¹³ M. Segal, “Between Bible and Rewritten Bible,” in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. M. Henze; Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids, Mich., 2005), 10–28; M.J. Bernstein, “‘Rewritten Bible’: A Category Which Has Outlived Its Usefulness?” *Textus* 22 (2005): 169–196; Brooke, “Rewritten Law,” 31–40.

as authoritative—as the actual word of God—by all Jewish people.¹⁴ The Bible as the canon of sacred scriptures did not yet exist at the time of the composition of *Jubilees* or the *Genesis Apocryphon*, for example. The characterization of these works as “rewritten *Bible*” or “parabiblical texts” is therefore somewhat problematic. It is in fact anachronistic. The term “rewritten scriptures”¹⁵ might be a good alternative, even though also the term scripture(s) or Scripture(s) refers to a collection of writings that is regarded as sacred.

In an attempt to use the literary theories of Gérard Genette, recently the descriptive designation *paratextual* literature was introduced in exegetical discussions.¹⁶ Genette originally used the term “paratextuality” for the literature in the second degree.¹⁷ Although the designation “paratextual literature” is a nice parallel to the term “parabiblical literature,” avoiding anachronisms and canonical misunderstandings, it differs from Genette’s redefinition in *Palimpsests*, where paratextuality refers to devices that mediate the reception of a book to the reader, such as the title, subtitle, preface, foreword, dedication, epigraphs, notes, epilogue, afterword or book cover, and many other kinds of secondary signals, whether allographic or autographic.¹⁸ In *Palimpsests*, Genette uses the term *hypertextuality* for the literature in the second degree. This refers to “any relationship uniting a text B (the hypertext) to an earlier text A (the hypotext) upon which it is grafted in a manner that is not that of a commentary.” Therefore the use of the term paratextuality is somewhat confusing.¹⁹

¹⁴ J.C. VanderKam, “Revealed Literature in Second Temple Period,” in idem, *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature* (JSJSup 62; Leiden, 2000), 1–30.

¹⁵ See J.C. VanderKam, “The Wording of Scriptural Citations in Some Rewritten Scriptural Works,” in Herbert and Tov, *The Bible As Book*, 41–56; Klostergaard Petersen, “Rewritten Bible As a Borderline Phenomenon,” 285–89; M. Zahn, “Rewritten Scripture,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. T.H. Lim and J.J. Collins; Oxford, 2010), 323–36.

¹⁶ G. Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree* (Trans. C. Newman and C. Doubinsky; Stages 8; Lincoln, Neb., 1997). See the discussion in A. Lange, “In the Second Degree: Ancient Jewish Paratextual Literature in the Context of Graeco-Roman and Ancient Near Eastern Literature,” in *In the Second Degree: Paratextual Literature in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Culture and Its Reflections in Medieval Literature* (ed. P. Alexander, A. Lange, and R. Pillinger; Leiden, 2010), 3–40 (esp. 16–20).

¹⁷ G. Genette, *The Architext: An Introduction* (trans. J.E. Lewin; Berkeley, Calif., 1992), 82.

¹⁸ See Lange, “In the Second Degree,” 17, 19. See R. Macksey, foreword to *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, by G. Genette (trans. J.E. Levin; Literature, Culture, Theory 20; Cambridge, 1997), xviii.

¹⁹ I also myself used the term “paratextual literature.” See J.T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, “The Book of *Jubilees* as Paratextual Literature,” in *In the Second Degree: Paratextual Literature*

Despite the problems with regard to the term rewritten Bible, one should not exaggerate this point, because there is enough evidence to suggest that in the last centuries before the Common Era, several books were considered by Jewish groups as divinely inspired, that is, as the word of God, and prescriptive for religious life. There is even evidence that there were already collections of these sorts of books in an early form,²⁰ though the exact content of these collections is less clear. It is generally assumed that many of the books that were later incorporated into the canon of the Hebrew Bible were regarded as authoritative at an early stage, but this cannot be said of all of the books collected. Moreover, there is evidence that there were books regarded as authoritative by certain groups that were not incorporated into the Hebrew Bible. Indeed, in some cases, the content of the books themselves was not completely determined, and there may have been different texts taken from the same book. It would appear that there was a great deal of freedom in the transmission of sacred texts, something also reflected, for example, in the redaction history of the biblical books.

A well-known example is the book of Jeremiah, a book that has been preserved from antiquity in two different editions.²¹ A short edition is attested in the Greek text (Septuagint), whereas a longer edition can be found in the Hebrew text (Masoretic Text). Fragments of both editions were found in Qumran. This means that at least until the second century B.C.E., there was no uniform text of the book of Jeremiah. The Greek edition is not only about one-seventh shorter than the Hebrew, but it also has a different arrangement of chapters. In the Greek text the so-called “oracles against the nations” are placed in the middle of the book, whereas in the Hebrew text it is found at the end. Moreover, the internal structure of these oracles is different in each edition. Finally, for the book as a whole it can be said that the Septuagint is less inclined to include repetitions than the Masoretic Text. For ancient readers, both versions seem to have the same composition, containing the prophecies and stories related to Jeremiah. In any case, the two editions were later included in two different collections of biblical books, but we see that these two different edi-

in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Culture and Its Reflections in Medieval Literature (ed. P. Alexander, A. Lange, and R. Pillinger; Leiden, 2010), 65–95.

²⁰ For the coming about of the biblical canon, see K. van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Harvard, 2007), 233–64.

²¹ For the following see, for example, Segal, “Bible and Rewritten Bible,” 10–28.

tions and their textual forms were both recognized as authoritative by the same group of people. As copies of both editions were found in Qumran, it should be possible to accept the possibility that when different commentators refer to a particular title, they might nevertheless mean a book with a different content.

INTERPRETATION OF AUTHORITATIVE SCRIPTURES

During the centuries before the Common Era there was “canonical and textual fluidity.” However, at least some books were regarded as authoritative and as setting the standards for religious life, notably the five books of Moses, and, in particular, the book of Genesis. But the inspired immutable word of God needed explanation. The authoritative texts seemed to contain ambiguities and were subject to more than one understanding. When one realizes that language and culture are subject to constant change, this is understandable. It provoked a long and rich history of biblical interpretation in ancient Judaism.²²

By way of illustration, I would like to refer to the impact of one of these authoritative books on early Jewish literature, namely the book of Genesis. Important narrative characters give the name to entire works: *Life of Adam and Eve*; *Testament of Adam*; *Apocalypse of Adam*; 1 and 2 *Enoch*; *Testament of Abraham*; *Apocalypse of Abraham*; *Joseph and Aseneth*; *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*; *Prayer of Jacob*; *History of Joseph*. Sometimes, the whole book of Genesis is the starting-point of a complete new work or of a part of it. The original text of Genesis is still clearly recognizable in these works, although important elements are added or omitted. I refer to the book of *Jubilees* (Gen 1–Exod 19); Pseudo-Philo, *Biblical Antiquities* (Genesis–1 Samuel). In this respect, one may also refer to Flavius Josephus who makes extensive use of the book of Genesis (as well as other biblical books) in his *Jewish Antiquities*. It also happens that certain passages from the book of Genesis form the base of parts of other works. For example, the story of paradise is the basis for the first book of the *Sibylline Oracles*, for 2 *Enoch*, and for the *Life of Adam and Eve*. The short account of Enoch in Gen 5:21–24 formed the basis of an extensive Enoch literature. The mythical story about the sons of God having intercourse with the daughters of men in Gen 6:1–4 appealed to the imagination of later Jewish

²² Kugel, *Bible as It Was*, 1–49.

writers, and many other works made use of Genesis by referring to it and by quoting shorter or extensive pieces.

THE BOOK OF *JUBILEES*

In this volume, I study the Abraham cycle in the book of *Jubilees* (*Jub.* 11:14–23:8).²³ No matter how one describes the genre of the book as a whole, *Jub.* 11:14–23:8 does use extensively the material from the Abraham cycle in the book of Genesis (Gen 11:26–25:10), as well as other material. In this way, it resembles the rewriting of scriptural material in the rewritten scriptures, from Chronicles to Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities*.

The self-presentation of *Jubilees* is different from several of the other rewritten scriptures in that it presents itself as a revelation received by Moses on Mount Sinai. The prologue and *Jub.* 1:1–4 are a rewriting of the story of the revelation during Moses' first forty-day stay on Mount Sinai in Exod 24:12–18.²⁴ Among other things, the modifications of *Jubilees* compared to Exodus are concerned with the date of the revelation (the day after the making of the covenant) and with a summary of the content of the book ("These are the words regarding the divisions of the times of the law and of the testimony, of the events of the years, of the weeks

²³ This book was written somewhere in the second century B.C.E., possibly preceding the foundation of the community of Qumran. Fourteen Hebrew copies of the book of *Jubilees* were found in Qumran. The oldest fragment (4Q216) may be dated to 125–100 B.C.E. Some scholars opt for a pre-Hasmonean date, since the book does not mention the persecution and decrees of Antiochus IV. See, e.g., G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction* (2d ed.; Minneapolis, Minn., 2005), 73–4; M.A. Knibb, *Jubilees and the Origins of the Qumran Community: An Inaugural Lecture in the Department of Bible Studies Delivered on Tuesday 17 January 1989* (London, 1989). A few others argue for a date late in the second century because of the similarities with the Qumran texts. See, e.g., C. Werman, "The Book of *Jubilees* and the Qumran Community: The Relationship between the Two," *Megillot* 2 (2004): 37–55 [Hebrew]; M. Himmelfarb, *A Kingdom of Priests: Ancestry and Merit in Ancient Judaism* (Jewish Culture and Contexts; Philadelphia, Pa., 2006), 80–3. According to VanderKam, *Jubilees* antedates the founding of the Qumran community and exercised strong influence on it. See J.C. VanderKam, "Recent Scholarship on the Book of *Jubilees*," *CurBS* 6 (2008): 405–31.

²⁴ See J. van Ruiten, "The Rewriting of Exodus 24:12–18 in *Jubilees* 1:1–4," *BN* 79 (1995): 25–9; J.C. VanderKam, "The Scriptural Setting of the Book of *Jubilees*," *DSD* 13 (2006): 61–72; J.C. VanderKam, "Moses Trumping Moses: Making the Book of *Jubilees*," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts* (ed. S. Metso, H. Najman, and E. Schuller; STDJ 92; Leiden, 2010), 25–44; J.J. Collins, "The Genre of the Book of *Jubilees*," in *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam* (ed. E.F. Mason et al.; JSJSup 153; Leiden, 2012), 737–55 (esp. 745–47).

of their jubilees throughout all the years of eternity as he related [them] to Moses on Mount Sinai").²⁵ In the rest of the first chapter, Moses remains on Mount Sinai.²⁶ The author makes use of a great variety of scriptural passages. In direct speech, God predicts to Moses that the people of Israel will forget His commandments after they enter the promised land. He says they will turn to foreign gods, and as a consequence of this, they will be sent into exile. After this, however, the people will return to God, and a period of restoration and the renewed mercy of God will follow. A consequence of this is the second creation (cf. *Jub.* 1:29), which is the real end of the exile for Israel and is dependent on Israel's conversion. For the author of *Jubilees*, this is still in the future. The rest of the book (*Jub.* 2–50) contains the extensive revelation to Moses, which is mediated by the angel of the presence who gets its information from the heavenly tablets.²⁷

It is apparent that *Jubilees* presupposes the material that can be found in the scriptural text (Genesis 1 to Exodus 19; 24).²⁸ The material is mostly presented in the same sequential order, and nearly all pericopes can be discerned in the new composition. It is true, of course, that there are many differences between the older scriptural text and the version incorporated into the new composition. There are passages that run almost completely

²⁵ In his analysis of the terms "the law and the testimony," VanderKam shows that the term "law" can refer to the Pentateuch (e.g., *Jub.* 1:12; 23:16, 19, 26), and the term "testimony" (e.g., Prologue; *Jub.* 1:4, 26, 29; 2:24, 33; 3:14; 16:28; 23:32; 30:19; 31:32), which is used in relation to the chronological system, the festive calendar, and laws, might be identified with the content of the book of *Jubilees* itself. The book may not have used all of the testimony of the heavenly tablets. See VanderKam, "Moses Trumping Moses," 33–42. For the identification of *Jubilees* with the testimony, see B.Z. Wacholder, "Jubilees as the Super Canon: Torah-Admonition versus Torah-Commandment," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995, Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (ed. M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden, 1997), 195–211; J.L. Kugel, "Biblical Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha and the Hebrew of the Second Temple Period," in *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of the Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira* (ed. T. Muraoka and J.F. Elwolde; STDJ 36; Leiden, 2000), 168–69.

²⁶ On the first chapter of *Jubilees*, see G. Davenport, *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees* (StPB 20; Leiden, 1971), 19–31; B. Halpern-Amaru, "Exile and Return in *Jubilees*," in *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish and Christian Conceptions* (ed. J.M. Scott; JSJSup 56; Leiden, 1997), 127–44; Knibb, *Jubilees and the Origins of the Qumran Community*; Wacholder, "Jubilees as the Super Canon," 195–211; J.C. VanderKam, "The Scriptural Setting of the Book of Jubilees," *DSD* 13 (2006): 61–72.

²⁷ On the angel of the presence, see J.C. VanderKam, "The Angel of the Presence in the Book of Jubilees," *DSD* 7 (2000): 378–93.

²⁸ For a comparison of Gen 1–11 and *Jub.* 2–10, see J.T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, *Primaevial History Interpreted: The Rewriting of Genesis 1–11 in the Book of Jubilees* (JSJSup 66; Leiden, 2000); for a comparison of the Jacob story in Genesis and *Jubilees*, see J.C. Endres, *Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Jubilees* (CBQMS 18; Washington, 1987).

parallel in both editions; however, most of these parallel passages in *Jubilees* are not verbatim quotations from Genesis. The use and interpretation of the scriptural material show that the author of *Jubilees* acknowledges the existence and authority of the Torah. In this regard, one can also refer to those passages in which he refers to the (first) law as distinguished from the revelation to Moses in *Jubilees* (see *Jub.* 6:22; 30:12).²⁹

However, the author of *Jubilees* not only adopts the scriptural texts but also supplements it and offers the right interpretation of it. The book offers more material than Genesis and Exodus. Other sources and traditions are also incorporated into the book. Firstly, one can point to the addition of material originating from the Enochic traditions (*Jub.* 4:15–26; 5:1–12; 7:20–39; 10:1–17).³⁰ Some scholars opt for a common source for 1 *Enoch*, *Jubilees*, and some of the Qumran texts (the so-called *Book of Noah*).³¹ Others even consider *Jubilees* to be an Enochic document in which the so-called Zadokite Torah (that is, Genesis and Exodus) was incorporated into and digested by the Enochic revelation.³² However, most scholars do not go that far but instead speak about the incorporation of other traditions within the rendering and explanation of the biblical text or about a fusing together and reconciliation of different Jewish streams in the second century B.C.E. Secondly, one can also point to the influence of other works. It is likely that the author of *Jubilees* also knew and used the traditions upon which the *Aramaic Document of Levi* is based (see, for example,

²⁹ VanderKam, "Moses Trumping Moses," 35–37; Collins, "The Genre of the Book of *Jubilees*," 746.

³⁰ See especially J.C. VanderKam, "Enoch Traditions in *Jubilees* and Other Second-Century Sources," *SBLSP* 1 (1978): 229–51 (reprint in: idem, *From Revelation to Canon*, 305–31). This work is elaborated in his *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (CBQMS 16; Washington, 1984), 179–88 and formed the basis of a chapter in J.C. VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations* (Studies on the Personalities of the Old Testament; Columbia, S.C., 1995), 110–21. See also some of his predecessors: R.H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis: Translated from the Editor's Ethiopic Text* (London, 1902), xlv, 36–9, 43–44; P. Grelot, "La légende d'Hénoch dans les apocryphes et dans la Bible: Origine et signification," *RSR* 46 (1958): 5–26, 181–210; P. Grelot, "Hénoch et ses Écritures," *RB* 92 (1975): 481–500; J.T. Milik, *The Book of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford, 1976). The view of VanderKam is adopted by, for example, G.W.E. Nickelsburg, 1 *Enoch: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, Minn., 2001), 71–6.

³¹ See, for example, F. García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (STDJ 9; Leiden, 1992), 1–44; M.E. Stone, "The Book(s) Attributed to Noah," *DSD* 13 (2006): 4–23.

³² See G. Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1998), 86–98. See also P. Sacchi, "Libro dei Giubilei," in *Apocriphi dell'Antico Testamento* (ed. P. Sacchi; 5 vols.; Classici delle religioni. Second Series: La religione ebraica; Turin, 1981–2000), 1:179–411.

Jub. 31–32).³³ One can also point to the influence of *4QVisions of Amram* (see *Jub.* 46).³⁴

Although *Jubilees* acknowledges the Torah, it seems to claim a greater authority for its own revelation than for that of the Torah.³⁵ Najman stresses four authority-conferring strategies.³⁶ *Jubilees* claims that it reproduces material that had been written on the “heavenly tablets.” Moreover, the angel of the presence dictates the content of the book at God’s command. It was dictated to the same Moses to whom the Torah was given.

³³ Grelot and others see a dependency of *Jubilees* on the *Testament of Levi*. See P. Grelot, “Le coutumier sacerdotal ancien dans le Testament araméen de Lévi,” *RevQ* 15 (1991): 253–63 (esp. 255); P. Grelot, “Le Livre des *Jubilés* et le *Testament de Lévi*,” in “*Mélanges Dominique Barthélemy: Études bibliques offertes à l’occasion de son 60e anniversaire*” (ed. P. Casetti, O. Keel, and A. Schenker; OBO 38; Göttingen, 1981), 109–31. See also, for example, M.E. Stone, “Ideal Figures and Social Context: Priest and Sage in the Early Second Temple Age,” in *Ancient Israelite Religion: Essays in Honour of Frank Moore Cross* (ed. P.D. Miller et al.; Philadelphia, Pa., 1987), 575–86. See also P. Grelot, “Quatre Cents Trente ans (Ex 12:40): Notes sur les *Testaments de Lévi et d’Amram*,” in “*Homenaje a Juan Prado: Miscelánea de Estudios Bíblicos y Hebraicos*” (ed. L. Álvarez Verdes and E. Alonso Hernández; Madrid, 1975), 559–70; É. Puech, *Qumrân grotte 4.XXII: Textes araméens, 1: 4Q529–549* (DJD 31; Oxford, 2001), 285–86; H. Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Levi Document* (JSJSup 86; Leiden, 2004), 63–75; J.C. Greenfield, M.E. Stone, and E. Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary* (SVTP 19; Leiden, 2004), 19–22; M. de Jonge, “The *Testament of Levi* and ‘Aramaic Levi,’” *RevQ* 13 (1988): 367–85 (esp. 373–76) (reprint in: idem, *Jewish Eschatology, Early Christian Christology and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Collected Essays of Marius de Jonge* [NovTSup 63; Leiden, 1991], 244–62). According to Kugler, a so-called “Levi-apocryphon” was the source for both the *Aramaic Levi Document* and *Jubilees*; cf. R.A. Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest: The Levi-Priestly Tradition from Aramaic Levi to Testament of Levi* (SBLEJL 9; Atlanta, 1996), 138. According to Becker both the *Aramaic Levi Document* and *Jubilees* go back to common oral traditions; cf. J. Becker, *Untersuchungen zur Entstehungsgeschichte der zwölf Patriarchen* (AGJU 8; Leiden, 1970), 86.

³⁴ Cf. J.T. Milik, “4Q Visions of Amram et une citation d’Origène,” *RB* 79 (1972): 97; Puech, *Qumrân grotte 4.22*, 285–86, 322–24; B. Halpern-Amaru, “Burying the Fathers: Exegetical Strategies and Source Traditions in *Jubilees* 46,” in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran. Proceedings of a Joint Symposium by the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature and the Hebrew University Institute for Advanced Studies Research Group on Qumran, 15–17 January 2002* (ed. E.G. Chazon, D. Dimant, and R.A. Clements; STDJ 58, Leiden, 2005), 146–52; J.T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, “Between Jacob’s Death and Moses’ Birth: The Intertextual Relationship between Genesis 50:15–Exodus 1:14 and *Jubilees* 46:1–6,” in “*Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*” (ed. A. Hilhorst, E. Puech, and E.J.C. Tigchelaar; JSJSup 122; Leiden, 2007), 467–89.

³⁵ Collins, “The Genre of the Book of *Jubilees*,” 746.

³⁶ H. Najman, “Interpretation As Primordial Writing: *Jubilees* and Its Authority Confering Strategies,” *JSJ* 30 (1999): 379–410, esp. 408 (reprint in: Eadem, *Past Renewals: Interpretive Authority, Renewed Revelation and the Quest for Perfection in Jewish Antiquity* [JSJSup 53; Leiden, 2010], 39–71); H. Najman, “Reconsidering *Jubilees*: Prophecy and Exemplarity,” in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees* (ed. G. Boccaccini and G. Ibba; Grand Rapids, Mich., 2009), 229–243. (reprint in: Eadem, *Past Renewals*, 189–204).

Both the book of *Jubilees* and the Torah were transmitted by the same prophet.³⁷ Finally, *Jubilees* claims that its teachings are the true interpretation of the Torah.³⁸ So, its teachings derive from that of the Torah. According to VanderKam, *Jubilees* possesses a temporal precedent of the Torah in that it is the only surviving product of Moses' first visit to the mountain. It documents the justice of God when Israel turns away from the covenant.³⁹

THE NARRATIVES AND THE HALAKIC ADDITIONS

Despite the fact that *Jubilees* makes use of older material, the dominant position in research has been that the book is in one way or another a unity, although several authors have tried to point to editorial adaptations.⁴⁰ Some consider the eschatological passages as additions;⁴¹ others point to problems in the chronological framework⁴² or to inconsistencies

³⁷ Najman proposes for the book of *Jubilees* as a whole to contextualize it within the traditions of biblical prophecy, especially exilic and postexilic prophecy. *Jubilees* participates in prophetic discourse by attaching its origin to Mosaic recording and angelic dictation. See H. Najman, "Reconsidering *Jubilees*," 232.

³⁸ Cf. also H. Najman, *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple* (JSJSup 77; Leiden, 2003), 46, where she brings forward that the author of *Jubilees* primarily presents the scriptural text in what he considers to be its essence.

³⁹ VanderKam, "Moses Trumping Moses," 42.

⁴⁰ Cf. VanderKam, "Recent Scholarship," 410–11; M. Segal, *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology* (JSJSup 117; Leiden, 2007), 11–21.

⁴¹ Testuz isolated three eschatological passages (*Jub.* 1:7–25, 28; 23:11–32; 24:8b–30), as additions to original book. He considers them as stylistically different from the rest of the book, because the language of the passages is more passionate, and the hate towards non-Israelites is stronger than elsewhere. Cf. M. Testuz, *Les idées religieuses du Livre des Jubilés* (Geneva, 1960), 39–42. Davenport, for his part, separated the book into an original composition (the angelic discourse to teach the system of Torah; late 3rd or early 2nd century B.C.E.: *Jub.* 1:–4a; part of 1:29; 2:1–50:4), and two subsequent recensions (first redaction, which changed the angelic discourse in an eschatological word of hope and judgment; 166–160 B.C.E.: *Jub.* 1:4b–26; part of 1:29; 23:14–20, 21–31; 50:5; a more sanctuary-oriented second redaction; Hasmonean period: *Jub.* 1:27–28; part of 1:29; 4:24; 23:21; 31:14; 50:6–13). Cf. G.L. Davenport, *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees* (StPB 20; Leiden, 1971). VanderKam points to the vagueness of Testuz' criteria and with regard to Davenport to the lack of any objective indicator that redaction has taken place. J.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. L. LiDonnici and A. Lieber; JSJSup 119; Leiden, 2007), 267–84 (esp. 268–69; 272).

⁴² Wiesenberg explained inconsistencies and contradictions within the chronological framework of the composition as the result of editorial activity. According to him, the chronology of the original book places the date of the exodus and the arrival at Mount Sinai in *a.m.* 2451. An editor changed this so that it was the entry in the land that took place in

between the narratives and the halakic additions.⁴³ Although the question of authorship is not the focus of this study, the relationship between the rewritten narratives and the surrounding material does play a role. Therefore, I deal with recent studies that examine this relationship, on the basis of which they draw conclusions with regard to the authorship of the book.

On the basis of an analysis of the laws of the fourth year's produce in *Jub.* 7:1–37 (cf. Lev 19:23–25) and the description of Levi's consecration in connection with Jacob's paying the tithes, which he had vowed to bring (*Jub.* 31:1–32:16), Kister points to contradictions between the narratives (cf. *Jub.* 7:1–7; 32:1–8) and the halakic elements (*Jub.* 7:35–37; 32:9–15), which “constitute the work's distinctive and central feature.”⁴⁴ According to him it is not necessary to harmonize these contradictions. Different traditions were included in the book of *Jubilees*.⁴⁵

Kister's call for further examination of the relationship between the narrative and the halakic elements in *Jubilees* is taken up by Michael Segal, who is the first who has put forward a more overall hypothesis regarding the composition of the book. *Jubilees* is not a uniform and homogeneous

a.m. 2452. See E. Wiesenber, “The Jubilee of *Jubilees*,” *RevQ* 3 (1961): 3–40. VanderKam has sufficiently shown that the overall chronology appears to be a unity, even if occasional errors have crept into the author's numerous calculations. J.C. VanderKam, “Studies in the Chronology of the Book of *Jubilees*,” in *From Revelation to Canon*, 522–44 (esp. 532–40). Besides, Dimant pointed to inconsistencies in the calculation of the jubilee. According to *Jub.* 4:21, Enoch was six jubilees of years with the angels following the birth of his son. According to Gen 5:22, however, Enoch was 300 years with God. From this she deduces that *Jubilees* equated six jubilees with 300 years, calculating a jubilee as consisting of 50 years each. This is in contrast with the rest of the book, where a jubilee is 49 years. According to Dimant *Jubilees*, therefore, “borrows from various sources, often without reconciling the contradictions.” D. Dimant, “The Biography of Enoch in the Books of Enoch,” *VT* 33 (1983): 14–29 (esp. 19–24). Although the author of *Jubilees* may have been aware of many of the early traditions that surrounded Enoch, in my opinion, it does not necessarily mean that all reworkings of biblical narratives are from different sources.

⁴³ Ravid argues that the Sabbath laws in *Jub.* 50:6–13 contradict the normal practice of attaching halakic sections to the narratives. Moreover, they differ fundamentally of *Jub.* 2. She came to the conclusion that it was added as an appendix by a Qumran copyist. Cf. L. Ravid, “The Relationship of the Sabbath Laws in *Jubilees* 50:6–13 to the Rest of the Book,” *Tarbiz* 68 (2000): 161–66. Doering has rejected Ravid's proposal convincingly. Cf. L. Doering, “*Jub.* 50:6–13 als Schlussabschnitt des Jubiläenbuchs—Nachtrag aus Qumran oder ursprünglicher Bestandteil des Werkes?” *RevQ* 20 (2002): 359–87. VanderKam has underlined Doering's objections. See VanderKam, “The End of the Matter?” 278–84.

⁴⁴ M. Kister, “Some Aspects of Qumranic Halakhah,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls Madrid 18–21 March, 1991*, II (ed. J. Treballe Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; STDJ XI, 2; Leiden, 1992), 571–88 (esp. 588).

⁴⁵ Kister, “Some Aspects of Qumran in Halakhah,” 585. Cf also Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*, 17–9.

work, composed by one single author.⁴⁶ He points to internal contradictions, doublets, tensions, and discrepancies. There are contradictions particularly between the legal passages and the rewritten stories on which these laws are supposedly based. According to Segal, these contradictions are the result of a literary development of *Jubilees*. Rewritten biblical stories and existing exegetical texts were adapted and assimilated into a new composition. The tensions within the book are therefore the result of the integration of this existing material into a new framework. A redactor has adapted an already existing rewriting of the biblical stories; he enriched them with halakic material and enclosed them in a chronologic framework. The redactional layer is consistent in style, use of language, and theological view, whereas the adapted stories are not consistent in these respects.⁴⁷ In this way, Segal tries to differentiate between an editorial layer and the sources that are absorbed. In a certain sense, the book remains a unity, but the editor is not the author of the rewritten biblical stories.

In my opinion, it is true that other material influenced the adaptation of several biblical stories. Therefore in the strict sense, the author did not write these adapted biblical narratives himself (e.g., the garden of Eden; the fall of the angels). However, it is difficult to maintain that all narratives come from various sources, and that none of the reworkings of biblical narratives were written by the author of the book. The narrative has a very consistent character, and nearly all the biblical material is included. Moreover, I think that it gives a wrong impression to claim that there are discrepancies and contradictions between the *rewritten* biblical narratives and the halakic additions. In most cases the discrepancies are between the halakic sections and the biblical narratives as such. The earlier and authoritative text constrained the rewriter to a considerable degree.⁴⁸ In his method of reconciling the patriarchal stories and the Sinaitic laws, he sometimes runs into difficulties, but the discrepancies and contradictions within the book are not necessarily the result of an editor. Also an author of the book can be held responsible for their introduction.⁴⁹

Most recently, Kugel has put forward that most of the book of *Jubilees* is the work of a single author, not only its narrative sections but also many legal passages. However, someone else, whom he calls an "Interpolator,"

⁴⁶ M. Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*.

⁴⁷ Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 21–34.

⁴⁸ This point is very well made by VanderKam, "Recent Scholarship," 414.

⁴⁹ Cf. VanderKam, "Recent Scholarship," 412–16.

later inserted a series of passages of his own. These twenty-nine passages are mostly very small and deal with biblical law and are related to the heavenly tables.⁵⁰ According to Kugel, many of them contradict what the rest of the book says and seem to reflect a different ideology. The insertions sometimes complemented what *Jubilees* was saying, but sometimes they are reactions to what has just been said in the book of *Jubilees*.⁵¹ The interpolations were inserted into what was already a finished text. According to Kugel, "After removing the supposed interpolations, the result is a smoothly running text with no apparent gaps or other infelicities."⁵² Kugel conceives the interpolator as an absolute determinist: "The whole future of Israel and the world had long before been decided and recorded on high."⁵³ The precedents in patriarchal times for the laws were not an expression of God's eternal connection with Israel, as for the original author, but a demonstration that all Sinaitic laws and their application had been written long before in the heavenly tablets. According to Kugel, the interpolator was in polemical opposition to other groups with regard to the calendar, the Sabbath rules, the circumcision on the right day, and the second tithe. He, therefore, lived at the very beginning of the Qumran community's founding.⁵⁴

Kugel's hypothesis looks rather ingenious, but I would like to put forward some remarks. Firstly, a tension between a narrative and a halakic text does not necessarily arise from a contradiction between an original author and an interpolator. It can also come from the point of view that one can find in an earlier authoritative text, for example Genesis, and by which the rewriter is bound to a considerable extent.⁵⁵ Moreover, I would ask if the message of the supposed interpolator really is distinguished from that of the supposed original author. According to Kugel, *Jub.* 2:17–23 belongs to the original author. This text shows that the setting apart of Israel from the other nations is a component of the creation

⁵⁰ J.L. Kugel, "On the Interpolations in the Book of *Jubilees*," *RevQ* 24 (2009): 215–72. On 26:1–65, he gives a list of the insertions: *Jub.* 2:24–33; 3:9–14; 3:29–32; 4:5–6; 4:31–32; 5:13–19; 6:10–14; 6:17–22; 6:32–38; 13:25–27; 14:20b; 15:25–34; 16:3; 16:9; 16:28–31; 18:18–19; 19:8–9; 23:32; 24:33; 28:6b–7; 30:8–17; 30:18–23; 31:31–32; 32:9c–15; 32:27–29; 33:10–20; 41:23–26; 49:2–17; 49:22–23. Kugel builds on the insights of Segal. He combines this with an article of Ravid. See Kugel, "On the Interpolations," 216–17; L. Ravid, "The Special Terminology of the Heavenly Tablets in the Book of *Jubilees*," *Tarbiz* 68 (1999): 463–71.

⁵¹ Kugel, "On the Interpolations," 219.

⁵² Kugel, "On the Interpolations," 266.

⁵³ Kugel, "On the Interpolations," 267.

⁵⁴ Kugel, "On the Interpolations," 269.

⁵⁵ As VanderKam, "Recent Scholarship," 414, has made plausible.

events. In another study, Kugel argues that God's choice for Jacob as his first-born son should be understood as an intention, a plan, which God made known already at the beginning of his creation. Israel was designed long ago during the first Sabbath in history: "I have written him down as my first-born son."⁵⁶ One can go one step further. God made an absolute separation between Israel and the nations at the beginning of creation, which corresponds to an absolute separation between good and evil. This dualism is inherent in the creation. From the first Sabbath onwards, Israel is *predestined* to be God's chosen one.⁵⁷ For this reason, the commandments are given already before the giving of the law at Sinai, and the forefathers are obliged to keep them. As a result, the supposed original author seems to adhere to an absolute determinism as well. Finally, Kugel regards the heavenly tablets as an expression of the determinism of the interpolator. However, apart from the fact that the book of *Jubilees* itself is Moses' transcription of the revelation of heavenly tablets at Sinai (cf. the prologue)⁵⁸ and apart from the fact that the concept of the heavenly tablets occurs prior to *Jubilees* (Mesopotamian literature; Bible; early Jewish literature),⁵⁹ the sense of the term seems to be more varied than Kugel suggests.⁶⁰ Sometimes, the heavenly tablets may indeed reflect a deterministic worldview according to which all actions are recorded before they occur. However, in these cases they disclose not very much about the author/editor of the book but rather of his literary dependency on earlier works, especially *1 Enoch*.⁶¹ Elsewhere the heavenly tablets are connected with the commandments and the covenant and are innovations of *Jubilees*. They correspond to the worldview that Israel was chosen during the first week of creation as the elected nation and God's first-born son. This required the giving of the commandments as the stipulations of the covenant. However, before the giving of the law at Sinai, there was no book of the covenant. In these early times, the heavenly tablets function as the parallel of the earthly tablets and could attest to the special relationship between God and Israel.⁶² Besides these general remarks, I will discuss in

⁵⁶ Kugel, "4Q369 'Prayer of Enosh' and Ancient Biblical Interpretation," *DSD* 5 (1998): 119–48 (esp. 125–26).

⁵⁷ Compare Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*, 258–59.

⁵⁸ Najman, "Interpretation as Primordial Writing," 388.

⁵⁹ S.M. Paul, "Heavenly Tablets and the Book of Life," *JANES* 5 (1973): 345–52.

⁶⁰ F. García Martínez, "The Heavenly Tablets in the Book of *Jubilees*," in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (ed. M. Albani, J. Frey, and A. Lange; TSAJ 65; Tübingen, 1997), 243–60.

⁶¹ Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 313–16.

⁶² *Ibidem*.

the present study in more detail Kugel's suggestions, when I come across some of the places that he mentions as insertions by the interpolator (*Jub.* 13:25–27; 14:20b; 15:25–34; 16:3, 9, 28–31; 18:18–19; 19:8–9).

THE ABRAHAM CYCLE

This study investigates the relationship between Gen 11:26–25:10 and *Jub.* 11:14–23:8. Both texts confine themselves to the history of Abraham, from his birth until his death. For the discussion, I divide the texts into ten sections: the early Abram (Gen 11:26–12:3; *Jub.* 11:14–12:31); Abram's travels (Gen 12:4–14:24; *Jub.* 13:1–29); Land and Covenant (Gen 15:1–16:16; *Jub.* 14:7–24); Abraham, Israel and the Nations (Gen 17:1–27; *Jub.* 15:1–34); the events surrounding Isaac's birth (Gen 18:1–21:34; *Jub.* 16:1–17:14); the binding of Isaac (Gen 22:1–19; *Jub.* 17:15–18:19); the events after Sarah's death until Abraham's Blessing for Jacob (Gen 22:20–25:4, 21–28; *Jub.* 19:1–31); Abraham's testament to all his children and grandchildren (Gen 25:5–6; *Jub.* 20:1–13) and to Isaac (*Jub.* 21:1–26); and finally, Abraham's last day (Gen 25:7–10; *Jub.* 22:1–23:8).

By giving the synoptic perspective of Gen 11:26–25:10 and *Jub.* 11:26–25:10 the focus, the reader could get insight into the exact relationship of both texts. Questions as to what the author of *Jubilees* has adapted from Genesis (*what?*), and the way in which he adapted it (*how?*), are important. Only after this, one should consider the function of the rewriting. *Why* has the author adapted the text of Genesis in the way he did?⁶³

In most sections, I shall give, firstly, an *overall comparison* between both texts. At the level of the macrostructure the similarities and dissimilarities between both texts will be surveyed. My point of departure will be each time the final form of the text, both of *Jubilees* and Genesis. I refrain here from dividing the scriptural story into several sources or redactional layers. I presume that the author of *Jubilees* takes into account a text of Genesis in its final form, even if there remains a certain textual fluidity of the scriptural texts. Secondly, I shall give an analysis of the rewriting in more detail. I will put both texts side by side. In the synoptic overview I try to give a classification of the similarities and dissimilarities between Gen 11:26–25:10 and *Jub.* 11:14–23:8. I put in small caps the elements of Genesis which do not occur in *Jubilees*, and vice versa, i.e., the omissions and

⁶³ For my conception of intertextuality, see note 4.

additions. In “normal script” are the corresponding elements between both texts, i.e., the verbatim quotations of one or more words of the source text in *Jubilees*. I put in italics the variations between Genesis and *Jubilees*, other than addition or omission. The verbatim quotations and the modifications of them can occur in the same word order or sentence order in *Jubilees* as in Genesis. However, sometimes there is a rearrangement of words and sentences. I put those elements in bold. Thirdly, I shall analyze some of the dissimilarities. Each time I shall try to unravel the weaves of exegetical techniques of the author, of traditional elements, *haggadic* or *halakic* from biblical and non-biblical sources that exert influence on the book of *Jubilees*, and of tendencies of the author of the group with which he is involved.

When a passage in *Jubilees* deviates from the parallel passage in the Masoretic Text of Genesis, it is not always possible to ascertain whether the deviation reflects the hand of the author or the text of his *Vorlage*.⁶⁴ The comparison of Genesis and *Jubilees* is complicated by the fact that one should establish which Hebrew biblical text the author had in front of him when he composed his book. VanderKam compared *Jubilees* with all the extant versions of Genesis and Exodus and concluded that the biblical text of *Jubilees* should have been an early Palestinian text. It agrees more often with the Septuagint, and Samaritan Pentateuch, than with the Masoretic Text, but it is independent of them.⁶⁵ One should be aware of this problem continuously. Often I will point to significant textual variations. Sometimes the text reflects several textual traditions at the same time.

In the synoptic overview I give the texts of Genesis and *Jubilees* in an English translation. Biblical verses are quoted according to the *Revised Standard Version* with slight modifications. Quotations from *Jubilees* are from J.C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees, II* (CSCO, 511; Scriptorum Aethiopicum, 88; Leuven, 1989), also with slight modifications. The modifications are made at points where the comparison of these texts would otherwise have been troubled. They are made on the basis of the Hebrew text of the Bible and the Ethiopic text of *Jubilees*.

⁶⁴ This is rightly stated by Halpern-Amaru, *The Empowerment of Women in the Book of Jubilees* (JSJSup 60; Leiden, 1999), 137. Cf. also Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 12.

⁶⁵ J.C. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (Missoula, 1977), 136–38. See also J.C. VanderKam, “*Jubilees* and the Hebrew Texts of Genesis-Exodus,” *Textus* 14 (1988): 71–85; reprint in idem, *From Revelation to Canon*, 448–61 (esp. 460).

CHAPTER ONE

THE EARLY ABRAM (GEN 11:26–12:3; *JUB.* 11:14–12:31)

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter concentrates on the first pericopes about Abram's life,¹ namely the passage from his birth until his departure from Haran (*Jub.* 11:14–12:31). After an overall comparison between Gen 11:26–12:3 and *Jub.* 11:14–12:31 (section 2.1) and an overview of the genealogical framework (section 2.2), I consider the smaller pericopes within *Jub.* 11:14–12:31 (sections 2.3–2.7). When relevant, I discuss the intertextual relationship of Genesis and *Jubilees*; see especially section 2.3 (Gen 11:26–27b and *Jub.* 11:14–15), 2.5 (Gen 11:27c–31 and *Jub.* 12:9–15), and 2.6 (Gen 12:1–3 and *Jub.* 12:22b–24). Finally, I will identify the traditions (biblical and non-biblical) within *Jub.* 11:14–12:31 and look into the way they are incorporated into the book (section 2.8).

2. THE REWRITING OF GENESIS 11:26–12:3 IN *JUBILEES* 11:14–12:31

2.1. *An Overall Comparison between Genesis 11:26–12:3 and Jubilees 11:14–12:31*

Jubilees 11:14–12:31 deals with the first stages in Abram's life, from his birth until his departure from Haran. The theme of this passage can be summarized as follows: Abram at an early age renounces the services of the many gods and their idols, and he testifies to his belief in the one true God.² The genealogical elements (*Jub.* 11:14–15; 12:9–11) can be considered a rewriting of Gen 11:26–30. *Jubilees* 11:16–12:8 has no counterpart in the text of Gen 11:10–26, whereas the additions in *Jub.* 12:12–31 are partly based on Gen 11:28 (*Jub.* 12:14), 11:31 (*Jub.* 12:15), and 12:1–3 (*Jub.* 12:22–24). In the following

¹ In this chapter, I will speak consistently about Abram, since his name is changed to Abraham only in Gen 17:5 (*Jub.* 15:7).

² See, e.g., G.W.E. Nickelsburg, "Abraham the Convert: A Jewish Tradition and Its Use by the Apostle Paul," in *Biblical Figures outside the Bible* (ed. M.A. Stone and T.A. Bergren; Harrisburg, PA, 1998), 151–75 (esp. 156).

overall comparison of these texts, not only the common framework for both texts but also the numerous deviations in *Jubilees* from this model text should become evident:

Genesis 11:27b–12:3

Birth of Abram, NAHOR AND HARAN
(11:27b; cf. 11:26)

Birth of Lot (11:27c)

Death of Haran (11:28)

Marriages of Abram and Nahor (11:29)
BARRENNESS OF SARAI (11:30)

*Departure of Terah with Abram, Lot
and Sarai from Ur and arrival in
Haran* (11:31)

DEATH OF TERAH (11:32)

Call to go to the land (12:1–3)

Jubilees 11:14–12:27

1. MARRIAGE OF TERAH AND EDNA,
birth of Abram (11:14–15)
 2. ABRAM'S SEPARATION FROM HIS
FATHER (11:16–17)
 3. ABRAM AND THE RAVENS
(11:18–22)
 4. ABRAM INVENTS A SOWING
MACHINE (11:23–24)
 5. CONVERSATION OF ABRAM WITH
HIS FATHER (12:1–8)
- 6a. *Marriage of Abram* (12:9)
 - 6b. MARRIAGE OF HARAN AND *birth
of Lot* (12:10)
 - 6c. *Marriage of Nahor* (12:11)
 7. STORY AROUND *the death of
Haran* (12:12–14)
 8. *Departure from Ur of the
Chaldeans and arrival in Haran*
(12:15)
 9. ABRAM WATCHES THE STARS
(12:16–18)
 10. PRAYER OF ABRAM (12:19–21)
 11. *Call to go to the land* (12:22–24)
 12. ABRAM LEARNS HEBREW AND
STUDIES THE BOOKS (12:25–27)
 13. ABRAM INFORMS TERAH ABOUT
HIS DEPARTURE TO CANAAN
(12:28–31)

2.2. *The Genealogical Framework*

2.2.1. *Genesis* 11:(26)27–32

Genesis 11:(26)27–12:3 is the opening section of the Abraham cycle. It can be divided into two sections: the family background of Abram (Gen 11:(26)27–32) and the call to go to Canaan (Gen 12:1–3).

The genealogical entry on Abram is part of a larger genealogy, i.e., the genealogy of Shem, which begins in Gen 11:10 and ends in Gen 11:32 and

which can be divided into two parts, both introduced by the same formula. The first part, Gen 11:10–26, introduced by “These are the descendants of Shem” (אלה תולדות שם), contains a genealogy from Arpachshad’s birth until the birth of Terah’s sons. The second part, Gen 11:27–32, introduced by “These are the descendants of Terah” (אלה תולדות תרח), contains a genealogy from the birth of Terah’s sons until Terah’s death.

The pattern of the entries in the genealogy of Gen 11:10–26 is extremely regular and greatly resembles the genealogy of Gen 5:1–32. It starts with a birth report, accompanied by the age of the father, and is followed by a note about how long the father lived after that birth. The entries do not contain a death report, nor do they report how old the patriarch was when he died. The genealogy of Gen 11:10–26 ends with a comparable event as found at the end of the genealogy of Gen 5:1–32, namely the birth of three sons (Gen 5:32; 11:26). Unlike Gen 5:1–32, which is interrupted several times by narrative additions that contain information about one person or another (cf. Gen 5:3, 22–24, 29), the genealogy of Gen 11:10–26 does not contain any narrative additions at all.

The pattern of the genealogy of Gen 11:27–32 differs from the patterns of the entries in the genealogy of Gen 11:10–26. It starts with a birth report (Gen 11:27b), which takes up Gen 11:26 but which is not accompanied by the age of the father. It is followed by a narrative interruption (Gen 11:27c–31). Finally, there is a note about the total life span of the father (Gen 11:32).

2.2.2. Jubilees 11:14–12:31

Jubilees 11:14–12:31 is part of a larger text, 8:1–23:8, which is a genealogy interrupted by narrative additions. This larger text incorporates all the genealogical entries of Gen 11:12–32.³

³ Gen 11:10–11 is included with Gen 10:22, and can be found in *Jub.* 7:18. It also inserts the birth of Kainan (*Jub.* 8:1–4), which is otherwise only found in the Septuagint, Old Latin, and the Ethiopic text of Gen 11:13. It is not found in the Masoretic Text, Samaritan Pentateuch, Syriac, and the targums. They all say that Arpachshad is the father of Shelah. In the Masoretic Text and Samaritan Pentateuch of Gen 11:12–13, there is no mention of Kainan (Kenan). The addition of Kenan should probably be considered as secondary. First, the name is missing in the genealogy of 1 Chr 1:8, 24. Second, the same name does occur in Gen 5:9–14. Third, the age of Kenan when his first child was born, the duration of the rest of his life, and his total age are identical with those of Shelah. Cf. J. Skinner, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis* (ICC; Edinburgh, 1910), 231; M. Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung der Auslegung: Studien zur Genesis-Septuaginta* (BZAW 223; Berlin, 1994), 133–34, 224.

Genesis 11:10–25:10		<i>Jubilees</i> 8:1–23:8	
11:10–11	Genealogy: birth of Arpachsad (cf. 10:22)	(cf. Jub 7:18)	
		8:1	GENEALOGY: BIRTH OF KAINAN
11:12–13	<i>Genealogy: birth of Selach</i>	8:2–4	ADDITION ABOUT KAINAN
		8:5a–c	<i>Genealogy: birth of Sala</i>
		8:5de	ADDITION ABOUT SALA
11:14–15	<i>Genealogy: birth of Eber</i>	8:6–7b	<i>Genealogy: birth of Eber</i>
11:16–17	<i>Genealogy: birth of Peleg</i>	8:7c–8b	<i>Genealogy: birth of Peleg</i>
		8:8c–10:14	ADDITION ABOUT PELEG
	(cf. Gen 9:28–29)	10:15–17	<i>Genealogy: death of Noah</i>
11:18–19	<i>Genealogy: birth of Re'u</i> (cf. Gen 11:1–9)	10:18ab	<i>Genealogy: birth of Ragew</i>
		10:18c–35	<i>Additions about Ragew</i>
11:20–21	<i>Genealogy: birth of Serug</i>	11:1	<i>Genealogy: MARRIAGE OF RAGEW AND ARA; birth of Serug</i>
		11:2–7c	ADDITION ABOUT SERUG
11:22–23	<i>Genealogy: birth of Nahor</i>	11:7d–8a	<i>Genealogy: MARRIAGE OF SERUG AND MELCHA; birth of Nahor</i>
		11:8b–d	ADDITION ABOUT NAHOR
11:24–25	<i>Genealogy: birth of Terah</i>	11:9–10	<i>Genealogy: MARRIAGE OF NAHOR AND IYASAKA; birth of Terah</i>
		11:11–13	ADDITION ABOUT TERAH
11:(26)27ab	<i>Genealogy: birth of Abram, NAHOR AND HARAN</i>	11:14–15	<i>Genealogy: MARRIAGE OF TERAH AND EDNA; birth of Abram</i>
		11:16–12:8	ADDITION ABOUT ABRAM (I)
11:27c–29	<i>Genealogy: birth of Lot; death of Haran; marriages of Abram and Nahor</i>	12:9–11	<i>Genealogy: marriage of Abram and Sarai; marriage of Haran and woman; birth of Lot; marriage of Nahor</i>
		12:12–22:30	<i>Addition about Abra(ha)m (II)</i>
11:30–25:6	<i>Addition about Abra(ha)m</i>	23:1–8	<i>Genealogy: Death of Abraham</i>
25:7–10	<i>Genealogy: Death of Abraham</i>		

The structure of the genealogies in *Jubilees* differs greatly from that of Genesis. The two texts only have the name of the father and the son in common. Otherwise, the genealogy is a complete transformation of the genealogy of Genesis. Firstly, in *Jubilees* there is an addition in the beginning in which a marriage is mentioned. The name of the wife and the

date of the marriage are given. Secondly, the part that runs parallel, the report of the birth itself, shows some variation. The author of *Jubilees* uses a system of years, weeks, and jubilees for the dating of the events. He gives an absolute chronology, whereas the chronology of Genesis is related to the age of the father. Thirdly, there is an omission. The author of *Jubilees* leaves out the total life span of the patriarchs as well as the mention of the births of other sons and daughters. Finally, there are additions to the genealogical notes, with the exception of the birth of Eber. These additions relate events that take place in the life of the son and often include an etymology of the name of the son. Sometimes the additions are very large, and they seem to break up the fixed structure of the genealogy.⁴

2.3. *Abram's Birth (Gen 11:26–27b and Jub. 11:14–15)*

Jubilees 11:14–15 rewrites Gen 11:26–27b. *Jubilees* reads the twofold entry (Gen 11:26; 11:27b) for the birth of Terah's children as one entry, whereas the heading (Gen 11:27a) is not taken over. As can be seen in the following synoptic overview, the content and form of the reports of Abram's birth are completely different in both texts:⁵

Genesis 11:26–27b	<i>Jubilees</i> 11:14–15
	11:14a DURING THE THIRTY-NINTH JUBILEE, IN THE SECOND WEEK, IN THE FIRST YEAR, Terah MARRIED A WOMAN WHOSE NAME WAS EDNA, THE DAUGHTER OF ABRAM, THE DAUGHTER OF HIS FATHER'S SISTER.
26a WHEN Terah <i>had lived seventy years,</i>	15a <i>In the seventh year of this week she gave birth to</i> A SON FOR HIM,
b <i>he became the father of Abram,</i> NAHOR AND HARAN.	b AND HE CALLED HIM Abram AFTER THE NAME OF HIS MOTHER'S FATHER

⁴ Sometimes the additions in *Jub.* 8:1–12:8 are taken from passages in the literary context, e.g., the use of Gen 9:28–29 in *Jub.* 10:15–17, Gen 10:25 in *Jub.* 8:8, and Gen 11:1–9 in *Jub.* 10:19–26. More often the material comes from other sources. It provides details about the division of the earth (*Jub.* 8:8–9:15; 10:27–36) that cannot be obtained from Gen 10:1–32, which is very vague in this respect (Gen 10:5, 20, 31–32; cf. Gen 9:19). Also details with respect to the life of most of the patriarchs and the early life of Abram are added in *Jubilees*.

⁵ For the layout, see the introduction, on p. 17–18.

Genesis 11:26–27b

Jubilees 11:14–15

c BECAUSE HE HAD DIED BEFORE
HIS DAUGHTER'S SON WAS
CONCEIVED.

27a NOW THESE ARE THE DESCENDANTS
OF TERAH.

b TERAH WAS THE FATHER OF ABRAM,
NAHOR AND HARAN.

As in the other genealogical entries, the report of the birth is reworked into a combined marriage and birth report. The dating of the birth of the first son fits into the absolute dating system.⁶ It is striking that Abram's mother Edna is mentioned with reference both to her father ("Abram") and her mother ("his father's sister," i.e., the sister of Terah's father Nahor). Abram is named after his grandfather, because he died before the conception of Abram. The reason that Abram is named after his grandfather could be that the author wants to stress that the influence of Abram's grandfather, who is not from the genealogical line of Shem, is confined to the giving of his name.⁷ It is possibly also influenced by the fact that, in the biblical text, Nahor, Abram's brother, is named after the other grandfather, namely Terah's father. However, the most important element in the rewriting is the fact that Abram's mother Edna originates from the genealogical line of Shem.⁸ She is the sister of Terah's father Nahor, the son of Serug, who himself married a woman outside the genealogical line of Shem ("Iyaseka, the daughter of Nestag of the Chaldeans").⁹ Terah originates on his father's side, and Edna, even more importantly, on her mother's side from the genealogical line of Shem. Finally, it is striking that the reports of the birth of Nahor and Haran are omitted in *Jubilees*,¹⁰ despite the fact that both brothers play a part in the continuation of the narrative (cf. *Jub.* 12:8, 10–11, 14–15).

⁶ Abram is born in the seventh year of the second week of the 39th jubilee, which is 1876 *a.m.*

⁷ Cf. Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment*, 26–7.

⁸ Davenport, *Eschatology*, 82, note 1, states that the names of the wives and fathers-in-law have no relevance for the concerns that occupied the attention of the author of *Jubilees*: "They hardly seem relevant for his interest in the purity of Israel." See, however, J. Rook, "The Names of the Wives from Adam to Abraham in the Book of *Jubilees*," *JSP* 7 (1990): 105–17; Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment*, 9–31, *et passim*.

⁹ Rook states incorrectly that Edna is "the grand-daughter of the second, but unnamed, son of Seroh and Melka." Cf. Rook, "Names of the Wives," 117.

¹⁰ This is deviating from *Jub.* 4:33 in which the birth of all three sons of Noah (Shem, Ham, Japhet) is mentioned.

2.4. *From Abram's Birth until His Marriage* (Jub. 11:16–12:8)

Jubilees 11:16–12:8, which describes events in Abram's life after his birth but before his marriage with Sarai, can be divided into four pericopes on the basis of the content: a. Abram separates from his father (Jub. 11:16–17); b. Abram and the ravens (Jub. 11:18–22); c. Abram invents a sowing machine (Jub. 11:23–24); d. conversation of Abram and his father (Jub. 12:1–8). The four pericopes are distinguished from each other by subject and the use of words. Because of the length of the passage as a whole, I will present first the text of the smaller pericopes. After this, I will treat the coherence of the passage as a whole.

Jubilees 11:16–17: *Abram separates from his father*

- 11:16a The child began to realize the strayings of the land
 b —that everyone was going astray after the statues and after impurity.
 c His father taught him (the art of) writing.
 d When he was two weeks of years, he separated from his father
 in order not to prostrate himself before idols with him.
 17a He began to pray to the creator of all
 b that he would save him from the strayings of humankind
 c and that it might not fall to his share to go astray after impurity and
 wickedness.

Directly after the report of Abram's birth, the author relates his character.¹¹ His relationship with his father is the central issue here. After his father has taught him writing (Jub. 11:16c), at the age of fourteen he separates from his father in order not to worship idols with him (Jub. 11:16d). He realizes the deviations of others (Jub. 11:16a) and prays to be saved from them (Jub. 11:17b). Statues, impurity, and wickedness (Jub. 11:16b, 17c) illustrate the errors of the people. It is not said in which language his father taught Abram to write, nor what was the content of this writing. In Jub. 12:25–27 it is said that Hebrew, forgotten after the collapse of Babel, was revived in the days of Abram "through the revelation of an angel." This revelation allowed Abram to learn the writings of his forefathers like Enoch and Noah (cf. Jub. 21:10). The first thing Abram does after he learns Hebrew is to copy his fathers' books and study them for six months. This means that Abram, according to *Jubilees*, is to have access to esoteric knowledge inherited from the age before Babel, which is often revealed by the angels

¹¹ The unity of this small passage can be illustrated by its structure. The first two lines (11:16ab: the child realizes the strayings) are balanced by the last two lines (11:17bc: the child wants to be saved from the strayings). Within this framework there is also a balance between 11:16c (his father teaches him to write) and the first part of 11:16d (he separates from his father) in which the relationship of father and son is the central issue.

(e.g., *Jub.* 3:15; 4:15, 18, 21; 10:10–12; cf. also 8:3–4).¹² This would mean that Abram’s father did not teach him Hebrew and that he had no access to the knowledge of his forefathers before the revelation of the angel. This would also mean that the books he got from his father (*Jub.* 12:27: “his fathers’ books”) had just mechanically been handed down, after the collapse, from father to son. It was not part of his father’s instruction, which was related to idolatry. See also *Jub.* 11:8 (“His father [= Serug] taught him [= Nahor] the studies of Chaldeans, to practice divination and to augur by the signs of the sky”). In *Jub.* 8:2 one reads “And his father taught him writing,” which cannot be anything else than writing Hebrew. After this, Kainan was able to read the inscriptions of the watchers with regard to astrology, which were apparently written in Hebrew.

The statement that Abram separated from his father seems to be in contradiction with *Jub.* 12:1–8 in which Abram tries to persuade his father to abolish idolatry, with *Jub.* 12:15 in which Abram departs from Ur of the Chaldeans together with his father and subsequently lives with his father for fourteen years in Haran, and with *Jub.* 12:28–31, where Abram asks permission from his father to depart for Canaan.

Jubilees 11:18–22: Abram and the ravens

- 18a When the time of the seed arrived for sowing in the land,
 b all of them went out together to guard the seed from the ravens.
 c Abram—a child of fourteen years—went out with those who were going out.
 19a As a cloud of ravens came to eat the seed,
 b Abram would run at them before they could settle on the land.
 c He would shout at them before they could settle on the land to eat the seed
 d and would say:
 e “Do not come down;
 f return to the place from which you came!”
 g And they returned.
 20a That day he did (this) to the cloud of ravens 70 times.
 b Not a single raven remained in any of the fields where Abram was.
 21a All who were with him in any of the fields would see him shouting:
 b then all of the ravens returned.
 c His name became great throughout the entire land of the Chaldeans.
 22a All who would sow came to him in this year,
 b and he kept going with them until the seedtime came to an end.
 c They sowed their land
 d and that year brought in enough food.
 e So they ate
 f and were filled.

¹² Cf. S. Weitzman, “Why did the Qumran Community Write in Hebrew?” *JAOS* 119 (1999): 35–45.

This passage can be subdivided into two parts: *Jub.* 11:18–21 and 11:22. The events described in *Jub.* 11:18–21 took place in one day, whereas the events of *Jub.* 11:22 took place during the rest of the year up until the end of seedtime. The story line in *Jub.* 11:18–21 can be described as follows: exposition (*Jub.* 11:18a–c); complication (*Jub.* 11:19a); climax (*Jub.* 11:19b–f); and *dénouement* (*Jub.* 11:19g–21). The problem in the exposition is the coming of the ravens, which finds its solution in the chasing away of them (*Jub.* 11:21).

Jubilees 11:23–24: *Abram invents a plow*

- 23a In the first year of the fifth week Abram taught the people who made implements for bulls—the skillful woodworkers—
 b and they made an implement above the land, opposite the plow beam, so that one could place seed on it.
 c The seed would then drop down from it onto the end of the plow and be hidden in the land;
 d and they would no longer be afraid of the ravens.
 24a They made (something) like this above the land on every plow beam.
 b They sowed,
 c and all the land did as Abram told them.
 d So they were no longer afraid of the birds.

One could think that *Jubilees* gives the episode of the ravens (*Jub.* 11:18–22) in order to introduce Abram as the first inventor of the useful technique of adapting a plough to hide seed in the earth (*Jub.* 11:23–24).¹³ However, I would say that Abram as the first inventor is a side issue here. More important is that Abram counteracts the plague of Mastema. Although Abram’s struggle against the ravens seems to have no clear connection with the pericopes in which Abram distances himself from idolatry, there is, in point of fact, a strong connection between the passages about the ravens (*Jub.* 11:18–24) and the passage about the ravens before Abram’s birth (*Jub.* 11:11–13). In this passage the relationship between the ravens and idolatry is more obvious. The text of *Jub.* 11:11–13 runs as follows:

¹³ According to S.P. Brock, “Abraham and the Ravens: A Syriac Counterpart to *Jubilees* 11–12 and Its Implications,” *JSJ* 9 (1978): 135–52 (esp. 140). E. Koskenniemi, *The Old Testament Miracle-Workers in Early Judaism* (WUNT 2.Reihe, 206; Tübingen, 2005), 53, refers to the fact that the topos of the first inventor was common in Greek literature. M.P. Knowles, “Abram and the Birds in *Jubilees* 11: A Subtext for the Parable of the Sower?” *NTS* 41 (1995): 145–51 (esp. 146) points to the fact that the interruption of the agricultural cycle by the ravens is a contravention of the Noahic covenant (cf. *Jub.* 6:4), and Abram restores the divine order promised to Noah.

Jubilees 11:11–13

- 11a Prince Mastema sent ravens and birds to eat the seed that was being sown in the land and to destroy the land in order to rob mankind of their labors.
- b Before they plowed in the seed,
 c the ravens would pick (it) from the surface of the land.
- 12a For this reason he named him Terah:
 b because the ravens and birds reduced them to poverty
 c and ate their seed.
- 13a The years began to be unfruitful due to their birds.
 b They would eat all of the fruit of the trees from the orchards.
 c During their time, if they were able to save a little of all the fruit of the earth, it was a great effort.

There are many similarities between *Jub.* 11:18–24 and 11:11–13. Also in *Jub.* 11:11–13 the word “ravens” occurs (*Jub.* 11:11a, 11c, 12b), as well as “birds” (*Jub.* 11:11a, 12b, 13a). The parallelism between “ravens” and “birds” also occurs in *Jub.* 11:23–24. In *Jub.* 11:11–13 the sowing of the seed in the land (*Jub.* 11:11a) is also mentioned, as well as the eating of the seed by the ravens (*Jub.* 11:11a, 12c). Elements in *Jub.* 11:11–13 that do not occur in *Jub.* 11:18–24 are the motifs of the destruction of the land, the people being robbed of their labors, the poverty, the eating of the fruit of the trees, and the setting aside of the fruit with great effort.¹⁴ One can point to the relationship between the mention of the famine (*Jub.* 11:13) and the remark that after Abram’s actions the people could eat and were filled (*Jub.* 11:22d–f). The text of *Jub.* 11:18–24 does not explicitly address the destruction of the land,¹⁵ the robbery of mankind, and the poverty. However, the fact that Abram chases away the ravens and invents a sowing machine can be understood as an answer to these threats.

The episodes of the ravens very strongly link prince Mastema, the leader of the evil spirits who sends the ravens, and Abram who chases the ravens away. By the way he acts, Abram shows that he can save the land from the results of the actions of Mastema. By keeping the ravens away from

¹⁴ The description in *Jub.* 11:13c looks like an antithesis to the description of the paradisiacal situation after the angels taught Adam how to till the land. In *Jub.* 3:16 one can read: “He would keep the garden against birds, animals, and cattle. He would gather its fruit and eat it and would store its surplus for himself and his wife. He would store what was being kept.” In paradise, the temptation of the serpent ends this situation. In *Jub.* 11:11–13, it is Mastema who sends the ravens and the birds.

¹⁵ For the destruction of the land by the evil spirits, see *Jub.* 10:3, 5.

the fields and by inventing a sowing machine, Abram is able to cancel at least part of the influence Mastema has over mankind.¹⁶

Elsewhere in the book, Mastema and the evil spirits are held responsible for the strayings of the people, for idolatry, and for impurity (*Jub.* 10:1–14; 11:4–5; 12:20–21). As a result, there is here a connection between the passages of the ravens (*Jub.* 11:18–22; 11:23–24) and the passages about idolatry (*Jub.* 11:16–17; 12:1–8), which also speak about the strayings of the people, idolatry, and impurity (*Jub.* 11:16–17; 12:2–3, 5).

Finally, I will highlight some similarities between the passages about the ravens and Abram's prayer and God's answer (*Jub.* 12:19–24). After Abram's first actions with regard to the ravens, it is said: "His name became great throughout the entire land of the Chaldeans" (*Jub.* 11:21c). In his answer to Abram's prayer to save him from the evil spirits, God says: "And I will make your name great, and you will be blessed in the land" (*Jub.* 12:23). After Abram has invented the sowing machine, it is stated twice that the people were no longer afraid of the ravens and the birds (*Jub.* 11:23e, 24d). In God's answer to Abram's prayer, he says that Abram will be blessed in the land and that he will be his God. He then summons him not to be afraid (*Jub.* 12:24b). Another interesting point of comparison is the use of the image of sowing the seed in the land in *Jub.* 11:18–24 and Abram's question about establishing his seed (*Jub.* 12:20c). God assures Abram that he and his seed will be established in the land and that they will grow into a large and populous people (*Jub.* 12:22). He will be the God of Abram and his seed (*Jub.* 12:24). It is true, of course, that the seed is used literally in *Jub.* 11:18–24, whereas in *Jub.* 12:19–24 it is used in the sense of progeny.¹⁷ The most important element in the similarities between both passages is keeping the demonic ravens away, along with the request to be saved from the demons (*Jub.* 12:20).

Abram enters into battle with the ravens without petitioning God's help. Later on, in his prayer he begs for God's help to save him from the evil spirits (*Jub.* 12:20) just as Noah does in his prayer (*Jub.* 10:3–6). In this

¹⁶ Compare this to the angels' teaching Noah about medicine so that he will be able to cure the people of the influence of the evil spirits (*Jub.* 10:10, 12–13). According to Koskeniemi, *Old Testament Miracle-Workers*, 53, agricultural knowledge is here combined with the wisdom to control Mastema and his demons.

¹⁷ Apart from the use of the same word (*zar*), one could also point to the use of the verb "to return" in both pericopes (*Jub.* 11:19f, g, 21b; 12:21b). I refer especially to the similarity between *Jub.* 11:19f ("return to the place from which you came") and *Jub.* 12:21b ("Shall I return to Ur of the Chaldeans who are seeking me to return to them?").

way, one could consider the episode of the ravens as an anticipation of a narrative form of Abram's prayer.¹⁸ Later in this chapter (section 2.6.3) we deal with Abram's prayer.

Jubilees 12:7–8: *Conversation of Abram and his father*

12:1a During the sixth week, in its seventh year, Abram said to his father Terah:

b "My father."

c He said:

d "Yes, my son?"

2a He said:

b "What help and advantage do we get from these idols before which you worship and prostrate yourself?

3a For there is no spirit in them,

b because they are dumb.

c They are a straying of the heart.

d Do not worship them.

4a Worship the God of heaven

b who makes the rain and dew fall on the land
and makes everything on the land.

c He created everything by his word;

d and all life (comes) from his presence.

5a Why do you worship those things that have no spirit in them?

b For they are works of the hands

c and you carry them on your shoulders.

d You receive no help from them,

e but instead they are a great shame for those who make them

f and a straying of the heart for those who worship them.

g Do not worship them."

6a And he said to him:

b "I, too, know (this), my son.

c What shall I do with the people who have ordered me to serve in their presence?

7a If I tell them what is right,

b they will kill me,

c because they themselves are attached to them
so that they worship and praise them.

e Be quiet, my son, so that they do not kill you."

8a When he told these things to his two brothers

b and they became angry at him,

c he remained silent.

¹⁸ Cf. Knowles, "Abram and the Birds," 146. T.R. Hanneken, "Angels and Demons in the Book of *Jubilees* and Contemporary Apocalypses," *Henoah, New Series 2* (2006): 11–25 (esp. 21), speaks about the inventing of the agricultural equipment as a type of the rediscovering of monotheism.

The dialogue between father and son does not occur in the preceding passages (*Jub.* 11:18–24) nor in the following one (*Jub.* 12:9–11). In this passage, Abram tries to convince his father Terah to renounce idolatry. In *Jub.* 12:6–7 it is implied that Terah is a priest of the idols. Both his brothers are also characterized as idolatrous (*Jub.* 12:8b: “and they became angry at him”). The scene can be characterized as a family affair in which for the first time in *Jubilees* Abram’s brothers are also mentioned.

Although these four pericopes (*Jub.* 11:16–17; 11:18–22; 11:23–24; 12:1–8) are distinguished from each other by subject and the use of words, they are not isolated from each other. Both the first and second pericope speak about the fourteenth year of Abram (*Jub.* 11:16d: “When he was two weeks of years”; 11:18c: “a child of fourteen years”). In the absolute dating system of the book, this is 1890 *a.m.* The third passage takes place “In the first year of the fifth week,” which is 1891 *a.m.* The fourth passage, finally, is dated “the sixth week, in its seventh year,” which is 1904 *a.m.*, when Abram was twenty-eight years.

It is evident that especially the first and the fourth passage and the second and third are closely connected. The central issue in the first and fourth passage is Abram’s aversion to idols and his wish to worship the creator of all. The father-son relationship plays an important part in both passages. There is also common use of words: “idols” (11:16d; 12:2b), “straying/going astray” (*Jub.* 11:16a, 16b, 17b, 17c; 12:3c, 5f), “to prostrate” (*Jub.* 11:16d; 12:2b), and the “creation of all” (*Jub.* 11:17a; 12:4d). The second and third passages are closely connected by the common theme of Abram who saves the seed from the ravens. In these passages, the relationship between Abram and his family does not seem to play an important part. Instead, the relation between Abram and the rest of the land is prominent (cf. *Jub.* 11:21c: “His name became great throughout the entire land of the Chaldeans; 11:24c: “and all the land did as Abram told them”). This points to a chiasmic order of the pericopes.

- A 11:16–17: Aversion of idols (father and son, going astray, to prostrate)
- B 11:18–22: Saving of the seed from the threat of the ravens
- B' 11:23–24: Invention of sowing machine against the threat of the ravens
- A' 12:1–8: Aversion of idols (father and son, going astray, to prostrate)

Although the coherence between the passages about the ravens and those about idolatry is not clear at first sight, we have shown that Abram’s struggle against the ravens is related to his struggle against idolatry, since the ravens were sent by Mastema.

2.5. *From Abram's Marriage until the Arrival in Haran*
 (Gen 11:27c–31; Jub. 12:9–15)

Unlike *Jub.* 11:16–12:8, there are connections between *Jub.* 12:9–15 and the biblical text. *Jubilees* 12:9–15 rewrites Gen 11:27c–31. On the basis of the content, this passage can be subdivided into three smaller passages: a. *Jub.* 12:9–11 (marriage reports of Abram, Haran and Nahor); b. *Jub.* 12:12–14 (Abram burns the house of idols); and c. *Jub.* 12:15 (departure from Ur and settling in Haran).

Jubilees 12:9–11: Marriages of Abram, Haran and Nahor

- 12:9a During the fortieth jubilee, in the second week, in its seventh year, Abram took a wife.
 b And her name was Sarai,¹⁹ the daughter of his father,
 c and she became his wife.
 10a His brother Haran took a wife in the third year of the third week,
 b and she gave birth to a son for him in the seventh year of this week.
 c He named him Lot.
 11a And his brother Nahor took a wife.

Jubilees 12:12–14: Story around the death of Haran

- 12a In the sixtieth year of Abram's life (which was the fourth week, in its fourth year), Abram got up at night
 b and burned the house of the idols.
 c He burned everything in the house,
 d but no one knew (about it).
 13a They got up at night
 b and wanted to save their gods from the fire.
 14a Haran dashed in to save them,
 b but the fire raged over him.
 c He was burned in the fire,
 d and he died in Ur of the Chaldeans before his father Terah.
 e They buried him in Ur of the Chaldeans.

Jubilees 12:15: Departure from Ur of the Chaldeans and arrival in Haran

- 15a And Terah went forth from Ur of the Chaldeans—he and his sons—to go to the land of Lebanon and the land of Canaan.
 b He settled in Haran,
 c and Abram settled with his father in Haran for two weeks of years.

The events in the first passage take place between 1925 *a.m.* (*Jub.* 12:9a: “During the fortieth jubilee, in the second week, in its seventh year”), when Abram marries, 1928 *a.m.* (*Jub.* 12:10a: “In the third year of the third week”), when Haran marries, and 1932 *a.m.* (*Jub.* 12:10b: “In the seventh year of this week”), when Lot is born. The event of the second passage

takes place in the sixtieth year of Abram's life (*Jub.* 12:12a), which is 1936 *a.m.* (*Jub.* 12:12a: "The fourth week, in its fourth year"), whereas the events in the short third passage take place over a period of fourteen years, beginning at an unspecified moment after the burning of the house of idols, probably between 1936 and 1950, because the next passage, where Abram is observing the stars (*Jub.* 12:16–18), is dated 1951 *a.m.*

The first two passages are located in Ur of the Chaldeans, while in the third passage Terah and his children depart from Ur of the Chaldeans and arrive in Haran. Whereas the following passage (*Jub.* 12:16–27) concentrates on Abram as the only person acting, *Jub.* 12:9–15 shows several characters involved: in *Jub.* 12:9–11 there are Abram, Sarai, Haran, Lot, and Nahor; in *Jub.* 12:12–14 "Abram" (*Jub.* 12:12a), "Haran" (*Jub.* 12:14a), and "his father Terah" (*Jub.* 12:14d); and in *Jub.* 12:15 "Terah" (*Jub.* 12:15a), "he and his sons" (*Jub.* 12:15a), and "his father" (*Jub.* 12:15d).

As we have said, *Jub.* 12:9–15 rewrites Gen 11:27c–31. Apart from verbatim quotations with variations (cf. *Jub.* 12:9a, 15), omissions (Gen 11:29c–31a), and additions (*Jub.* 11:12–14c, 14e, 15c), there is a striking rearrangement of some words and phrases (compare Gen 11:27c–28 with *Jub.* 12:10, 14d). In the following synoptic overview I have put both texts side by side:¹⁹

Genesis 11:27c–31	<i>Jubilees</i> 12:9–15
27c And Haran was the father of Lot.	[<i>Jub.</i> 12:10b]
28a And Haran died before his father Terah IN THE LAND OF HIS BIRTH, in Ur of the Chaldeans.	[<i>Jub.</i> 12:14d]
[]	12:9a DURING THE FORTIETH JUBILEE, IN THE SECOND WEEK, IN ITS SEVENTH YEAR, Abram took a wife
29a Abram and Nahor took wives;	AND her name was Sarai,
b the name of Abram's wife was Sarai,	
[]	THE DAUGHTER OF HIS FATHER, AND SHE BECAME HIS WIFE.
	b HIS BROTHER HARAN TOOK A WIFE IN THE THIRD YEAR OF THE THIRD WEEK,
	10a

¹⁹ For the layout of the synoptic overview, see the introduction, on pp. 17–18.

Genesis 11:27c–31

[Gen 11:27c]

[cf. Gen 11:29a]

c AND THE NAME OF NAHOR'S WIFE,
MILCAH, THE DAUGHTER OF
HARAN THE FATHER OF MILCAH
AND ISCAH.

30a NOW SARAI WAS BARREN;
b SHE HAD NO CHILD.

[]

[Gen 11:28]

31a Terah TOOK ABRAM HIS SON
AND LOT THE SON OF HARAN,
HIS GRANDSON, AND SARAI HIS
DAUGHTER-IN-LAW, HIS SON
ABRAM'S WIFE,

b and *they* went forth WITH THEM
from Ur of the Chaldeans [] to
go to [] the land of Canaan;

c *they came to* Haran,
d and *they settled there* [].

Jubilees 12:9–15

b **and she gave birth to a son for
him**

IN THE SEVENTH YEAR OF THIS
WEEK.

c HE NAMED HIM Lot.

11a AND HIS BROTHER Nahor **took a
wife.**
[]

12a IN THE SIXTIETH YEAR OF
ABRAM'S LIFE (WHICH WAS THE
FOURTH WEEK, IN ITS FOURTH
YEAR), ABRAM GOT UP AT NIGHT
AND BURNED THE HOUSE OF THE
IDOLS.

b HE BURNED EVERYTHING IN THE
HOUSE

d BUT NO ONE KNEW (ABOUT IT).

13a THEY GOT UP AT NIGHT

b AND WANTED TO SAVE THEIR
GODS FROM THE FIRE.

14a HARAN DASHED IN TO SAVE THEM,
b BUT THE FIRE RAGED OVER HIM.

c HE WAS BURNED IN THE FIRE

d and **he died** [] in Ur of the
Chaldeans before his father
Terah.

e THEY BURIED HIM IN UR OF THE
CHALDEANS.
[]

15a And *Terah* went forth [] from
Ur of the Chaldeans—HE AND
HIS SONS—to go to THE LAND
OF LEBANON and the land of
Canaan.

b *He settled in* Haran,

c and *Abram settled with his father
in Haran* FOR TWO WEEKS OF
YEARS.

The rearrangement of the genealogical details in *Jubilees* results in a sequence of three marriages, that of Abram and Sarai (in 1925 *a.m.*), of Haran with an unidentified woman (in 1928 *a.m.*), and of Nahor for whom neither the name of the woman nor date is given. Only the second marriage is followed by a report of the eldest son. The genealogical report of Haran, therefore, closely resembles the genealogical entries in *Jub.* 8:1–12:8, with the difference that the name of Haran’s wife and her origin are not mentioned.

As far as the report of Abram and Sarai’s marriage is concerned (*Jub.* 12:9), *Jubilees* fails to mention that Sarai was barren (Gen 11:30).²⁰ What is interesting, though, is that the information about their marriage is enlarged upon considerably. In Genesis, the report is quite brief. In *Jubilees*, a date is provided (“During the fortieth jubilee, in the second week, in its seventh year”) and their marriage is described more extensively (“Abram married a woman whose name was Sarai . . . and she became his wife”), and her descent is mentioned (“the daughter of his father”). In other words, Sarai was Abram’s sister. This addition could have been prompted by the fact that Abram called Sarai “his sister” elsewhere in Genesis, namely, when he visited Pharaoh (Gen 12:10–20) and the king of Gerar (Gen 20:1–18).²¹ However, more probably, the author of *Jubilees* would have wanted to stress Sarai’s excellent provenance. She came from the right family. In the mind of the author she could *not* have been the daughter of Haran. This could have been the conclusion on the basis of the biblical text: “Abram and Nahor took wives; the name of Abram’s wife was Sarai, and the name of Nahor’s wife, Milcah, the daughter of Haran the father of Milcah and Iscah” (Gen 11:29). Sarai’s father is not mentioned, whereas Milcah’s is. It could be inferred that Sarai was also a daughter of Haran. In early Jewish literature, there are several examples of the identification of Sarai and Iscah.²² This was not the case for the author of *Jubilees*, however.

²⁰ In its rewrite, *Jubilees* does not establish her barrenness as a central issue but rather her *descent*, her origin. This aspect of the rewriting of *Jubilees* is stressed emphatically by Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment*, 34–5. She underlines that Sarai is the “dominant bride,” that she is the only woman named and the only one with “genealogical credentials.”

²¹ It is interesting to note, however, that the author of *Jubilees* does not refer to Sarai as Abram’s sister when they encounter the Pharaoh (*Jub.* 13:13–15), and the visit with the king of Gerar, furthermore, is omitted altogether.

²² See *L.A.B.* 23:4; *Ant.* 1.151; Tg. Ps.-J. Gen 11:29; *b. Meg.* 14a; *b. Sanh.* 69b; *Gen. Rab.* 38:14. Cf. D.U. Rottzoll, *Rabbinischer Kommentar zum Buch Genesis: Darstellung der Rezeption des Buches Genesis in Mischna und Talmud unter Angabe Targumischer und Midrashischer Paralleltexthe* (SJ 14; Berlin, 1994), 201–2; Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment*, 35, note 4.

Further changes in the text support the opinion that Sarai could not have been Haran's daughter. This is a reference to the fact that in the book of Genesis most items concerning Haran are located before the marriages of Abram and Nahor: his birth, his fathering of Lot and his death (Gen 11:26–28). In *Jubilees*, though, the information concerning the marriage of Abram with Sarai is placed before the marriage of Haran (cf. *Jub.* 12:9–10).²³

The marriage of Abram and Sarai does not result immediately in the birth of a son. The postponement of the birth of their first son is part of the story line in Genesis. *Jubilees* cannot continue with the birth of a son and an elaboration on events during the life of this child. Instead, a second marriage report is mentioned, that of Abram's brother Haran (12:10), whose birth is not stated in *Jubilees*. Haran's marriage is not recounted in Genesis. In *Jubilees*, it is described in a manner comparable to the marriage of Abram and Sarai. As in Genesis, a son is born from this marriage. With the relocation of Lot's birth closely after the marriage of Abram and Sarai, the author seems to suggest that Lot is going to play the role of the not (yet) born son of Abram and Sarai.²⁴ Although Lot plays a part in the continuation of the story in Genesis and in its rewriting in *Jubilees*, it gradually becomes clear that he cannot take the place of the son of Abram and Sarai. *Jubilees* betrays a somewhat ambivalent attitude towards Lot. On the one hand, the genealogy points to a positive appreciation. On the other hand, disapproval is shown by the fact that the derivation of his mother is not mentioned and his father is depicted as an idolator.²⁵

The marriage report of Nahor (*Jub.* 12:11), which is quite extensive in Gen 11:29 where the name of the wife and her origin are mentioned, is very cursorily presented in *Jubilees*: "His brother Nahor also got married." It is not clear why the author does not mention the name of Nahor's wife. Possibly he had a need to push her origin, that of being a daughter of Haran, into the background. Much later in the story, in 19:10, Milcah is mentioned as the grandmother of Rebecca, the wife of Isaac. In this verse, the story of Gen 24:1–67 is condensed into a genealogical remark, one verse in

²³ Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment*, 35.

²⁴ In *Jub.* 12:30 Terah says to Abram: "Take Lot, the son of your brother Haran, with you as your son." In *Jub.* 13:18, after the separation from Lot, it is said of Abram: "He was brokenhearted that his brother's son had separated from him for he had no children."

²⁵ On the ambivalent attitude of *Jubilees* with regard to Lot, see J.T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, "Lot versus Abraham: The Interpretation of Genesis 18:1–19:38 in *Jubilees* 16:1–9," in *Sodom's Sin: Genesis 18–19 and Its Interpretation* (ed. E. Noort and E. Tigchelaar; Themes in Biblical Narrative 7; Leiden, 2004), 29–46.

length, about Isaac's wife, a remark which is at the same time a genealogy of Nahor. Three times Rebecca is called the daughter of Bethuel. And of this Bethuel it is said that he is the son of Abram's brother Nahor and of Milcah, "who was the wife of Abram's brother Nahor" (*Jub.* 19:10). The text does not put forward the fact that she is a daughter of Haran, whereas when mentioning the origin of the women of the patriarchs, the father is always mentioned.

Finally, in Genesis the report of the death of Haran, the father of Lot, is quite neutral (cf. Gen 11:28). In *Jubilees*, however, his death is connected with the fact that he tried to save from fire the idols that Abram tried to burn (cf. *Jub.* 12:12–14). The addition of the burning of the house of idols fits in with the context of *Jub.* 11:14–12:27, which shows Abram as someone who turns away from idolatry. First, he breaks with his father in order not to worship idols (*Jub.* 11:16–17) and subsequently, he tries to persuade his father to give up idolatry (*Jub.* 12:1–8).²⁶ The burning of the house of idols can be seen as a climax in this story line.

Genesis does not mention idolatry or the burning of the idols.²⁷ However, there are some clues in the biblical text, which might have caused these deviations in *Jubilees*. Haran, who is mentioned as the third son of Terah, first becomes the father of a son (*Jub.* 11:27c). However, there is no marriage report for him, as is the case for both his brothers (*Jub.* 11:29a). Immediately after the birth of Lot, Haran dies (*Jub.* 11:28). With regard to Haran's death, Genesis mentions some striking details: a. "and Haran died before Terah (על פני תרח)"; b. "in the land of his birth." One can easily deduce from the death of Haran, on the one hand, and the departure of Terah, on the other, that something irregular must have happened. The mention of a fire could be motivated by the mention of the name of the city of Ur. The root אור ("become light"), and in particular the noun אור ("brightness; light"), can be related to fire.²⁸ Moreover, one can point to a tradition found in Josh 24:2–3, 14–15, which states that Terah and his

²⁶ I have already pointed out the contradiction between both passages. Other places in *Jubilees* dealing with idolatry are *Jub.* 11:4 and *Jub.* 20:6–10. In *Jub.* 11:4, the worshiping of the idols is connected with the straying of the evil spirits. In *Jub.* 20:6–10, Abraham summons his children to follow God, to keep his commandments, and not to follow the idols.

²⁷ The burning of idols does not occur elsewhere in *Jubilees*, with the exception of *Jub.* 31:1–2, which is a rewriting of Gen 35:1–4. In Genesis, Jacob hides the foreign gods beneath the oak, which is in the land of Shechem. *Jubilees* adds not only that Rachel had stolen them from her father Laban but also that Jacob, before hiding them, first burned the foreign gods.

²⁸ For the tradition that Abram was saved from the fire (cf. *Jub.* 12:12), see, Kugel, *Bible*, 143–44.

fathers “lived of old beyond the Euphrates,” and there “they served other gods” (Josh 24:2). Therefore, God has led Abram from there (Josh 24:3).²⁹

The extensive description of the events surrounding the death of Haran does serve one clear function. It characterizes Haran as the prototype of the unfaithful one, in opposition to the faithful and righteous Abram. Although both derive from Terah and in that sense are in the line of Shem, the line of the chosen people will only continue through Abram. This is why it is significant that Sarai should not be defiled by the faithless Haran and that she should come straight from Terah, as we have shown above. According to *Jubilees*, it is important that a pure line can be drawn from Abram and Sarai back to the forefathers, via Terah, Shem, Noah and the other antediluvians, back to Seth and Azura and with them to Adam and Eve. The election of Israel is built into the creation of the world, as can also be illustrated using other passages from the book of *Jubilees*.³⁰ The marriage of Abram and Sarai is considered to be in the same line as that of the forefathers. In this case, this is done through the establishment of a sibling relationship between Abram and Sarai. This harks back to the first generations after Adam and Eve, which were, in the eyes of *Jubilees*, also brother-sister unions.³¹

In conclusion, the main focus in *Jub.* 12:9–14 is on the marriage of Abram and Sarai. The author of *Jubilees* is not really interested in Abram’s brothers. Only Haran is mentioned at any length in order to provide a contrast to Abram and in order to make clear that Sarai is not his daughter. Sarai’s infertility is not stressed by the author of *Jubilees*, rather, it is her origin that carried weight, that of going straight back to the creation of the first man and woman. With these few changes to the Genesis text, the author of *Jubilees* has completely changed the plot of the story. It is no longer the story of the continuously threatened promise of numerous offspring; it is a story of a pure lineage. By setting the marriage of Abram and Sarai in the same line as the forefathers, the nature of the miracle, i.e., the conception of children in old age, becomes much less important.

²⁹ For this tradition see, e.g., Kugel, *Bible*, 133–38.

³⁰ See, e.g., *Jub.* 2:20. Cf. B. Schaller, *Gen. 1.2 im antiken Judentum: Untersuchungen über Verwendung und Deutung der Schöpfungsaussagen von Gen 1.2 im antiken Judentum* (Diss.; Göttingen, 1961), 63; J.C. VanderKam, “Genesis 1 in Jubilees 2,” *DSD* 1 (1994): 31–21 (esp. 318); L. Doering, “The Concept of the Sabbath in the Book of *Jubilees*,” in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (ed. M. Albani, J. Frey, and A. Lange; TSAJ 65; Tübingen, 1997), 179–205 (esp. 185–88); Van Ruiten, *Primaeval History*, 49, 57–65.

³¹ Cf. Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment*, 36–7.

The last part of this passage describes the family's departure from Ur and their arrival in Haran (Gen 11:31; *Jub.* 12:15). There is some disagreement here between the ancient versions of Gen 11:31. The Samaritan Pentateuch adds to the enumeration of the family of Terah that went forth from Haran (*Jub.* 11:31a), Nahor and his wife: "and Sarai his daughter-in-law, and Milcah his daughter-in-law, the wife of his son Abram, and his brother Nahor." This addition is a harmonization. It is somewhat odd that Nahor would remain in Ur, whereas the rest of the family departs for Haran. Moreover, much later in the narrative the biblical text itself shows that Nahor and Milcah left Ur as well (cf. Gen 24:10). The construction יצאו ויהם (they went forth with them) is somewhat peculiar. The text changes from singular (*Jub.* 11:31a: "Terah took") to plural, and the addition of "with them" seems unusual. The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Septuagint read this as a singular form of the *hiph'il* ("he brought forth") instead of plural *qal* ("they went forth") and יהם (nota accusativi: "them") instead of ויהם (preposition "with them"): "he brought them forth."

The author of *Jubilees* does not date the departure from Ur of the Chaldeans, although he is fond of dating all the important events in history. It seems reasonable, then, to suggest that the departure most likely took place in the same year as the burning down of the house of idols (*Jub.* 12:12–14). This incident brings with it the flight of Abram's family. The text suggests tensions between Abram's family and a group of people, who are not identified but to whom reference is made implicitly (e.g., *Jub.* 12:7: "If I tell them what is right, they will kill me because they themselves are attached to them so that they worship and praise them. Be quiet, my son, so that they do not kill you"). Later on, Abram refers implicitly to certain tensions in his prayer: "Shall I return to Ur of the Chaldeans, who are looking for me to return to them?" (*Jub.* 12:22c).

Furthermore, there are omissions and additions. The first omission in *Jubilees* concerns Gen 11:31ab. Instead of two verbs "to take" (singular) and "to go forth" (plural) in the Masoretic Text, along with "to bring forth" (singular) in the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Septuagint, *Jubilees* reads only one ("to go forth," singular). Moreover, *Jubilees* omits the enumeration of Gen 11:31a. One could argue here that the enumeration of Gen 11:31a is summarized in the prepositional construction ויהם ("with them") in Gen 11:31b. In that case, *Jub.* 12:15 puts both the enumeration and its summary together in the words "he and his sons."

The first addition ("to the land of Lebanon") is a harmonization. Within the biblical text there is some disagreement between the statement that it was Terah, who initiated the journey from Ur to Canaan, and the view

that that the journey to Canaan was Abram's response to God's call.³² The biblical text gives no answer to the question of why Terah gave up his intention of reaching the land of Canaan. Once he arrived in Haran, he settled there instead. By adding "to the land of Lebanon," the author shows that a twofold trip, first to Lebanon and thereafter to Canaan, was in fact foreseen. *Jubilees* 12:28–31 can be seen as a continuation of this trip in 12:15. There, his father gives Abram permission to go to Canaan but asks him to come back and take him with him, if Abram finds a pleasant land to live in. Only his death prevents Terah from settling in Canaan.

The second addition gives the period of time Abram stays in Haran. After the flight from Ur, the settling in Haran lasts fourteen years. It seems obvious to suppose that these fourteen years must cover the period between the burning down of the house of idols (1936 *a.m.*) and the observation of the stars and the call to depart for Canaan (1951 *a.m.*). It is not completely clear why the period in Haran is a period of fourteen years. The data suggest that the author of *Jubilees* has his own dating system in which the unit of seven years plays is important. In the early life of Abram the events that take place in multiples of the seventh year play an important part. The use of a unit of fourteen years for the stay in Haran seems to fit very well into this system.³³

2.6. *Events Surrounding Abram's Prayer* (Jub. 12:16–27)

2.6.1. *The Pericopes in Jubilees 12:16–27*

The events that take place around Abram's prayer (*Jub.* 12:16–27) can be divided into four pericopes: a. Abram observes the stars (*Jub.* 12:16–18); b. Abram's prayer (*Jub.* 12:19–21); c. God's answer (*Jub.* 12:22–24); and d. Abram learns Hebrew (*Jub.* 12:25–27). With the exception of the third passage, which is a rewriting of Gen 12:1–3, these passages are an addition with respect to the biblical text of Genesis. Because of the length of the passages as a whole, I will present first the text of the pericopes, followed by a short description of the literary unity of each pericope with regard to its subject. For *Jub.* 12:22–24, I will also go into the rewriting of the

³² Cf. Y. Zakovitch, "The Exodus from Ur of the Chaldeans: A Chapter in Literary Archaeology," in *Ki Baruch Hu: Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical and Judaic Studies in Honor of Baruch A. Levine* (ed. R. Chazan, W.W. Hallo, and L.H. Schiffman; Winona Lake, In., 1999), 429–39 (esp. 431).

³³ For the chronology of Abram's early life, see the concluding section of this chapter (2.8).

biblical text. After this, I will deal with the coherence of the four pericopes as a whole.

Jubilees 12:16–18: *Abram observes the stars*

- 16a In the sixth week, during its fifth year, Abram sat at night—at the beginning of the seventh month—to observe the stars from evening until morning in order to see what would be the character of the year with respect to the rains.
- b He was sitting,
c and he was observing.
- 17a A voice came in his heart,
b and he said:
c “All the signs of the stars and signs of the moon and the sun—all are in the hand of the Lord.
d Why am I seeking?
- 18a If he wishes,
b he will make it rain in the morning and evening;
c and if he wishes,
d he will not make it fall.
e Everything is in his hand.”

This pericope contains a narrative (*Jub.* 12:16a–17b) and a direct speech (*Jub.* 12:17c–18). The monologue (cf. *Jub.* 12:17a: “A voice came in his heart”) shows a poetical structure in that there is balance between the lines: *Jub.* 12:17c (“all are in the hand of the Lord”) balances with *Jub.* 12:18e (“Everything is in his hand”). In between these lines, there are two sentences with an identical beginning (*Jub.* 12:18a, c: “if he wishes”) followed by an antithetical effect (*Jub.* 12:18b, d). It is striking that *Jub.* 12:17d (“Why am I seeking?”) is not balanced by another line. In this pericope, Abram rejects astrology through the recognition of God’s power. It forms the introduction to a prayer in which Abram praises God and requests him to save him from the evil spirits so that he will not be led astray (*Jub.* 12:19–21).

Jubilees 12:19–21: *Abram’s prayer*

- 19a That night he prayed
b and he said:
c “My God, my God, God most High,
d You alone are my God.
e You have created everything;
f everything that was and has been is the work of your hands.
g You and your kingdom I have chosen.
20a Save me from the hand of the evil spirits
who rule the thoughts of the people’s heart.
b May they not lead me astray from following you, my God.
c Do establish me and my seed until eternity.

- d May we not go astray from now until eternity.”
- 21a And he said:
- b “Shall I return to Ur of the Chaldeans who are seeking me to return to them?”
- c Or am I to sit here in this place?
- d Make the path that is straight before you prosper through the hand of your servant so that he may do (it).
- e May I not proceed in the going astray of my heart, my God.”

Abram’s prayer can be subdivided into two units: *Jub.* 12:19–20 en *Jub.* 12:21. It consists of a combination of a hymn (*Jub.* 12:19c–g) and a supplication (*Jub.* 12:20a–d, 21d–e), and also includes a question (*Jub.* 12:21bc). The prayer has a poetical structure in that two subsequent lines are balanced by each other (*Jub.* 12:19c and 12:19d; 12:19e and 12:19f; 12:20a and 12:20b; 12:20c and 12:20d; 12:21b and 12:21c; 12:21d and 12:21e). Also in this passage there is one unbalanced line (*Jub.* 12:19g: “You and your kingdom I have chosen”).

Abram’s prayer is caused by the recognition of the omnipotence of God when he practices astrology (*Jub.* 12:16–18). However, Abram does pray to save himself “from the hand of the evil spirits who rule the thoughts of the people’s heart” (*Jub.* 12:20ab). He continues that he prays that they may not lead him astray from following God. It is possible that the practice of astrology should be understood as a manifestation of the misleading of the evil spirits.³⁴ Other passages in the book of *Jubilees* show a clear connection between the demons and astrology. In *Jub.* 8:1–4 astrology is identified with the illegal teaching of the watchers. After Kainan was instructed in the art of writing (*Jub.* 8:2b), he found an inscription on a rock that described the astrological teachings of the watchers “by which they used to observe the omens of the sun, moon, and stars, and every heavenly sign” (*Jub.* 8:3). These signs were probably used to predict the future.³⁵ Kainan copied these instructions from the stone “and sinned on the basis of what was in it.” The teachings of the watchers contrast with the teachings of the patriarchs, which were received from the angels.³⁶

³⁴ A. Lange, “The Essene Position on Magic and Divination,” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies. Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (ed. M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden, 1997), 377–435 (esp. 383): “demons linked with astrology.”

³⁵ Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 260, note 8.

³⁶ Although this is the first time in the book of *Jubilees* that the watchers are connected with astrological teachings, it should be remembered that Enoch was born immediately after the watchers came down on earth (*Jub.* 4:15–16). The first thing he wrote down was concerned with calendrical and astronomical affairs: “the signs of the sky in accord with

As far as the astrological teachings of the watchers are concerned, the author is probably referring to an Enochic tradition. In *1 Enoch* 6–11 the watchers are not only involved in illicit sexual practices and violence, but they are also involved in astrological teachings. *1 Enoch* 8:3 says, “Barakiel taught astrologers, and Kokabel portents, and Tamiel taught astrology and Asradel taught the path of the moon.”³⁷ If *Jubilees* is referring here to the Enochic tradition, it is remarkable that of all the illicit angelic instructions of the watchers mentioned in the *Book of the Watchers* (metalworking, cosmetics, sorcery, pharmacology, spellbinding, and celestial divination) *Jubilees* includes only one.³⁸

In *Jub.* 11:8 one reads that Abram’s grandfather Nahor learned from his father Serug “the studies of the Chaldeans: to practice divination and to augur by the signs of the sky.” This forms the direct background for Abram’s observations made to predict the weather for the coming year in *Jub.* 12:16–18.³⁹ Although *Jub.* 11:8 does not show an explicit disapproval of “the studies of the Chaldeans,” it is striking that in the context of Serug’s birth the threats of the evil spirits and their leader Mastema are mentioned (*Jub.* 11:4–5). This means that the studies of the Chaldeans in regard to the practice of divination are closely related to the influence of the evil spirits. In *Jub.* 10:5, the only place in the book that explicitly refers to a connection between the evil spirits and the watchers (the watchers are “fathers of these spirits”), the relationship between astrology and evil spirits is strengthened.

Abram’s questioning of whether he has to return to Ur of the Chaldeans (*Jub.* 12:21bc) not only refers back to the burning down of the house of idols (*Jub.* 12:12–14), which was possibly the incentive for his departure from Ur of the Chaldeans (*Jub.* 12:15), but also prepares God’s call to leave his land and his father’s house in order to go to the land that he will show him (*Jub.* 12:22c). Also other elements in Abram’s prayer are reflected in God’s answer (*Jub.* 12:22b–24). The supplication in *Jub.* 12:20c (“Do establish me and my seed until eternity”) is reflected in the promise that God

the fixed pattern of their months, so that humankind would know the seasons of the years according to the fixed patterns of each of their months” (*Jub.* 4:17). The angels showed him the dominion of the sun (*Jub.* 4:21), after which the text continues with mention of the watchers and their illicit intercourse.

³⁷ Lange points to the heavy emphasis on the rejection of astrology in *1 Enoch* 8:3, which is developed further in *Jub.* 8:3. Cf. Lange, “The Essene Position,” 400–2.

³⁸ A.Y. Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity* (Cambridge, 2005), 92–3. Cf. Lange, “The Essene Position,” 400.

³⁹ Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 260.

will bless Abram in this land and establish him as progenitor of a large and populous people (*Jub.* 12:22d–23). The multiple invocation of “My God, my God, God most high. You alone are my God” (*Jub.* 12:19cd) is reflected in God’s answer of “I will become God for you” (*Jub.* 12:24a). The supplication to save him from the hand of the evil spirits (*Jub.* 12:20ab) is not answered explicitly. However, the call to leave his father’s house to go to the land that God will show him (*Jub.* 12:22c) can be understood as a liberation from the power of the evil spirits. In the new land Abram will prosper and be blessed. He need not be afraid. Several elements in the prayer and its answer are put chiastically in the text, as is shown in the following table:

- | | |
|----|--|
| A | You alone are my God (12:19d) |
| B | Establish me and my seed (12:20c) |
| C | Shall I return to Ur of the Chaldeans or sit in this place (12:21bc) |
| C' | Come from your country (12:22c) |
| B' | I will establish you into a large and populous people (12:22d–23) |
| A' | I will become God for you (12:24a, c) |

The third pericope in which God answers Abram’s prayer rewrites Gen 12:1–3, the call to go to Canaan.

Genesis 12:1–3	<i>Jubilees</i> 12:22b–24 (God’s answer)
	22 HE FINISHED HIS SPEAKING AND HIS PRAYING,
1a <i>And the Lord said to Abram:</i>	b <i>and behold, the word of the Lord was sent to him through my hand, saying:</i>
1b “Go from your land and your family and your father’s house to the land that I will show you.	c “Now you, come from your land, from your family, and your father’s house to the land that I will show you.
2a I will <i>make</i> of you a great [] people.	d I will <i>establish</i> you into a large AND POPULOUS people.
2b I will bless you,	23a I will bless you,
2c and make your name great,	b and make your name great.
2d You will become a <i>blessing</i> [].	c You will become <i>blessed</i> IN THE LAND.
	d All the <i>peoples</i> of the land will be blessed in you.
3a I will bless those who bless you,	e Those who bless you I will bless,
3b and <i>him</i> who curses you I will curse;	f and <i>those</i> who curse you I will curse.
3c and all the <i>families</i> of the land will be blessed in you.”	

Genesis 12:1–3

Jubilees 12:22b–24 (God's answer)

- 24a I WILL BECOME GOD FOR YOU,
YOUR SON, YOUR GRANDSON, AND
ALL YOUR SEED.
- b DO NOT BE AFRAID.
- c FROM NOW UNTIL ALL THE
GENERATIONS OF THE LAND I AM
YOUR GOD.”

This pericope shows the following repetition of words: “to bless” (*Jub.* 12:23a, 23c, 23d, 23e [2×]); “to curse” (*Jub.* 12:23f); “land” (*Jub.* 12:22c [2×], 23c, 23d, 24c); “I will become God for you” (*Jub.* 12:24a; cf 12:24c); and “family” (*Jub.* 12:22c, 24c [“generations”]). The poetical structure of the passage is reflected in the balance between the two subsequent lines (*Jub.* 12:22c and 12:22d; 12:23a and 12:23b; 12:23c and 12:23d; 12:23e and 12:23f; 12:24a and 12:24c). One line is not balanced, namely, *Jub.* 12:24b (“do not be afraid”).

With respect to the text of Gen 12:1–3, *Jub.* 12:22b–24 shows additions (*Jub.* 12:22d; 12:23c; 12:24), variations (*Jub.* 12:22b, 22d), and rearrangement (12:23d). *Jubilees* 12:22b is a variation of Gen 12:1. In fact, it also has some additions: “and behold”; “the word of”; and “saying,” in addition to the variation “was sent through my hand,” instead of “said,” and “to him,” instead of “to Abram.” The angel mediates between God and Abram. There is no direct contact between them. This mediation occurs also in the addition *Jub.* 12:25–26. In *Jub.* 13:3 (cf. Gen 12:7), just after Abram entered the land of Canaan, the Lord here speaks directly to Abram without the intermediary of an angel. From then onwards God addresses himself directly to Abra(ha)m.

Jubilees 12:22d uses the word “to put; to establish” (*rassaya*), where Gen 12:2a has “to make” (עשה; Septuagint: ποιέω). The same word is used in Abram’s prayer (*Jub.* 12:20c). Possibly the use of *rassaya* has been influenced by the blessing in Gen 13:16 (“I will establish [שום] your descendants like the dust of the earth”) for which *Jub.* 13:20b reads: “I will establish [*rassaya*] your descendants like the sands of the sea”).⁴⁰ Also the addition “and populous” in *Jub.* 12:22d is possibly influenced by a parallel passage, Gen 18:18 (לגוי גדול ועצום): “a great and populous people”). Also one

⁴⁰ See also Gen 21:18 (“I will make him [אשימנו] a great nation”, where *Jub.* 17:7 reads: “I will make him [*rassaya*] into a great nation”). Compare Gen 46:3 (“for I will there make of you [אשימך] a great nation,” where *Jub.* 44:5 reads: “I will make [*sar’a*] you into a great nation there”), but the difference between the Ethiopic verbs *rassaya* and *sar’a* seems to be very small. Cf. J.C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees, II* (CSCO 511, Scriptores Aethiopici 88; Leuven, 1989), 289.

textual witness of the Septuagint of Gen 12:2a (*d* 458) adds “and populous” (καὶ πολύ).⁴¹

Jubilees 12:23c shows a combination of variation (“blessed” instead of “a blessing”) and addition (“in the land”). This 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.⁴² Moreover, *Jubilees* adds that Abram is blessed *wəsta mədr*, which I have translated here (and in *Jub.* 12:23d) with “in the land.”⁴³ This is in conformity with the translation of *mədr* in *Jub.* 12:22c. Moreover, both in Genesis and in *Jubilees* the blessing of Abram is related to his entrance into the land. Both in Genesis and *Jubilees*, the promise of an abundance of offspring is combined with the promise of the land.⁴⁴

The rearrangement of Gen 12:3c in *Jub.* 12:23d is possibly due to a specific view of the poetic structure of the passage. In Gen 12:1–3 one can point to a balance between Gen 12:1b and 12:2a; 12:2b and 12:2c; 12:3a and 12:3c. In this structure both Gen 12:2d and 12:3c are not balanced by any adjacent line. By putting Gen 12:3c after Gen 12:2d (in *Jub.* 12:23cd) and, moreover, by adding the words “in the land” to Gen 12:2d, *Jubilees* strengthens the balance between these lines (Gen 12:2d, 3c). The use of “peoples” (‘aḥzāb) instead of “families” (משפחה; Eth. ‘azmād) is possibly influenced by the use of “peoples” in comparable contexts: Gen 18:18 (“and all the peoples of the land will be blessed in him”), and Gen 22:18 (cf. Gen 26:4) (“and in

⁴¹ Cf. VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees, II*, 73.

⁴² R.W.L. Moberly, *The Bible, Theology, and Faith: A Study of Abraham and Jesus* (Cambridge Studies in Christian Doctrine 5; Cambridge, 2000), 124, and K.N. Grüneberg, *Abraham, Blessing and the Nations: A Philological and Exegetical Study of Genesis 12:3 in Its Narrative Context* (BZAW 332; Berlin, 2003) have argued that Gen 12:2d does not make Abram a source of blessing to others but rather promises that he will be signally blessed in such a way that others will notice.

⁴³ So also O.S. Wintermute, “*Jubilees: A New Translation and Introduction*,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, II* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; London, 1985), 81. However, in *Jub.* 12:23d he translates this by “of the earth.” Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 95, and VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees, II*, 73, translate *mədr* in both cases by “the earth.” K. Berger, *Das Buch der Jubiläen* (JSHRZ 2.3; Gütersloh, 1981), 395, reads “auf der Erde.”

⁴⁴ Israel has the status of God’s people from the creation onwards. Israel is separated from the other peoples and lives in a sacred space. For the centrality of the land in the book of *Jubilees*, see J.M. Scott, *On Earth as in Heaven: The Restoration of Sacred Time and Sacred Space in the Book of Jubilees* (JSJSup 91; Leiden, 2005), 161–209, who stresses that the holy land of Israel with its central sanctuary is the focal point of the concept that the goal of history is the realignment of sacred space with sacred time so that everything will become “on earth as in heaven.” The universalistic strains in the book are subordinated to its particularistic emphasis on Israel and the temple in the land. The exact boundaries of the land are precisely defined.

your seed will all the *peoples* of the land bless themselves”). Note, however, that Gen 28:14 uses the word “families” (“and in you and your seed will all the *families* of the land be blessed”).

The reading in *Jub.* 12:23f (“*those* who curse you”; plural) instead of the Gen 12:3b (“*him* who curses you”; singular) reflects the plural reading that is also found in the Samaritan Pentateuch, Septuagint and the Peshitta. It is not necessary, therefore, to consider this as a variation.

Finally, the most striking element in the rewriting is the addition of *Jub.* 12:24. In Gen 12:1–3 there are no clues that could explain this addition. One could, of course, think of a possible influence from comparable passages, especially from the introduction to the concluding of the covenant in Gen 17 (Gen 17:1–8). Apart from the promise of the land and of numerous offspring, the conclusion of the covenant includes a promise that God makes to Abram and his descendants (Gen 17:7–8: “And I will establish my covenant between me and you, and your descendants after you throughout their generations, for an everlasting covenant, *to be God to you and to your seed after you*. And I will give to you, and to your descendants after you, the land of your sojournings, all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession, *and I will be their God*”).⁴⁵ Although I would not exclude the possibility that *Jub.* 12:24 alludes to the covenant of Genesis 17, God’s answer in *Jub.* 12:24 is a confirmation of Abram’s supplication in the first place and reflects the multiple invocation of “My God, my God, God most high. You alone are my God” (*Jub.* 12:19cd).

In the last pericope of this passage, Abram learns Hebrew:

Jubilees 12:25–27: Abram learns Hebrew

- 25a Then the Lord God said to me:
 b “Open his mouth and his ears to hear,
 c and speak with his tongue in the revealed language.”
 d For from the day of the collapse it had disappeared from the mouth(s) of all humankind.
- 26a I opened his mouth, ears, and lips
 b and began to speak Hebrew with him—in the language of the creation.
- 27a He took his fathers’ books
 b (they were written in Hebrew)
 c and copied them.
 d From that time he began to study them,
 e while I was telling him everything that he was unable (to understand).
 f He studied them throughout the six rainy months.

⁴⁵ The rewriting of Gen 17:7–18 in *Jub.* 15:9–10 is very literal.

In this pericope the narrative in which the actions of Abram play a part is dominant. This was also true in the first passage (*Jub.* 12:16–18). As far as the subject is concerned (the learning of Hebrew and the studying of the books of his father), this passage is somewhat loosely connected with the other pericopes. The following repetition of words and phrases occurs: “to speak in the language” (*Jub.* 12:25c, 26b); “to open mouth and ears” (*Jub.* 12:25b, 26a); and “Hebrew” (*Jub.* 12:26b, 27b).

2.6.2. *The Coherence of Jubilees 12:16–27*

The four pericopes that are distinguished from each other by subject, and the use of words are not disconnected. There is coherence in the four passages as a whole. In the first place, all the pericopes are located in Haran. In the second place, one can point to a unity of time to a great extent. The events take place when Abram was seventy-five years of age (cf. *Jub.* 12:16: “In the sixth week, during its fifth year,” which is 1951 *a.m.*). The destruction of the house of idols in the preceding passage took place in the sixtieth year of Abram’s life (*Jub.* 12:12), after which it is mentioned that they stayed for fourteen years in Haran (*Jub.* 12:15). Both in the beginning and at the end, the text refers to climatological circumstances, namely, the rain (cf. *Jub.* 12:16a, 18, 27). In the third place, one can point to the use of persons. Both in the preceding (*Jub.* 12:12–15) and in the following passage (*Jub.* 12:28–13:6), several members of Abram’s family are mentioned,⁴⁶ whereas in *Jub.* 12:16–27 it is mainly Abram who is the person acting. One sees him watching the stars alone (*Jub.* 12:16–18), after which he addresses God in prayer (*Jub.* 12:19–22a). God answers Abram’s prayer through an angel (*Jub.* 12:22–24, 25–26). Finally, it is Abram who copies and studies the Hebrew books (*Jub.* 12:27). Finally, we have pointed to the fact that the second (Abram’s prayer) and the third pericope (God’s answer) are closely interrelated. Several elements in the prayer and its answer are put chiasmatically in the text.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ In *Jub.* 12:12–15: “Haran” (12:14a), “his father Terah” (12:14d), “Terah” (12:15a), “he and his sons” (12:15a), and “his father” (12:15d). In *Jub.* 12:28–13:7: “his father” (12:28a), “his father Terah” (12:29a), “Lot the son of your brother Haran” (12:30d; 13:1b), “your brother Nahor” (12:31a), and “his wife Sarai” (13:1b).

⁴⁷ See also the repetitions of some words that occur in more than one pericope: “night” (*Jub.* 12:16a, 19a); “to sit” (*Jub.* 12:16a, 16b, 21c); “(all/everything in his) hand” (*Jub.* 12:17c, 18e, 19f; cf. 12:20a, 21d, 22b); “to seek” (*Jub.* 12:17d, 21b); “seed” (*Jub.* 12:20c, 24a); “to establish” (*Jub.* 12:20c, 22d); and “heart” (*Jub.* 12:17a, 20a, 21e).

2.6.3. *Abram's Prayer in Relation to Other Prayers in Jubilees*

The strong similarity in form and content with other prayers in the book of *Jubilees* confirms the unity of the passage as a whole (*Jub.* 12:16–27). One can point specifically to Noah's prayer *Jub.* (10:1–14), but Moses' prayer (*Jub.* 1:19–21) is also relevant in this respect. These texts not only show an affinity to each other, because the one who prays begs for God's help to hold back the influence of the evil spirits but also because the cause for the prayer, its form and God's reaction, show similarities.

2.6.3.1. Abram's Prayer and Noah's Prayer

The following scheme shows the similar structure of Abram's prayer and that of Noah, together with the cause for the prayer and God's reaction:

<i>Noah's prayer</i> (<i>Jub.</i> 10:1–14)	<i>Abram's prayer</i> (<i>Jub.</i> 12:16–27)
1. <i>Cause for the prayer</i> : dominion of the evil spirits (10:1–2)	1. <i>Cause for the prayer</i> : rejection of astrology through the recognition of God's power (12:16–18); dominion of the evil spirits (12:20ab)
2. <i>Form of the prayer</i>	2. <i>Form of the prayer</i>
a. praise (10:3c–h)	a. praise (12:19c–f; cf. 12:4)
b. supplication (10:3hi, 4, 5b–6)	b. supplication (12:20, 21d–f; cf. 11:17bc).
3. <i>Actions after the prayer</i>	3. <i>Actions after the prayer</i>
a. At God's request the angels bind ninety percent of the evil spirits after intercession by Mastema (10:7–9, 11)	a. God answers Abram through an angel and calls him to the land (12:22b–24)
b. God orders the angels to teach Noah about the medicines (10:10, 12–13)	b. God orders the angels to teach Abram the Hebrew language (12:25–26)
c. Noah writes in a book and gives it to his eldest son (10:13, 14)	c. Abram takes the books of his father and copies them (11:27)

The cause that brought about the prayer is formulated in different ways. Whereas the dominion of the evil spirits and their threatening of Noah's grandchildren (*Jub.* 10:1–2) form the direct cause for Noah's prayer, Abram's prayer is caused by the recognition of the omnipotence of God when he practices astrology (*Jub.* 12:16–18). However, Abram does pray to save himself "from the hand of the evil spirits who rule the thoughts of the people's heart" (*Jub.* 12:20ab). The practice of astrology could be understood as a manifestation of the misleading of the evil spirits.⁴⁸ Therefore,

⁴⁸ Lange, "The Essene Position," 383: "demons linked with astrology."

one can conclude that in both cases the reason that brought forth the prayer is more or less the same.

As far as the form proper is concerned, both prayers consist of a combination of praise and supplication. In the praise, Noah (*Jub.* 10:3) puts emphasis on God's grace ("... You have shown kindness to me, saved me and my sons from the flood waters, and did not make me perish as you did the people meant for destruction, because your mercy for me has been large, and your kindness to me has been great"), whereas Abram (*Jub.* 12:19c-f; 12:4) puts an emphasis on God's omnipotence ("My God, my God, God most High, You alone are my God. You have created everything; everything that was and has been is the work of your hands").⁴⁹ In the supplication Noah prays, on the one hand, that the evil spirits may not rule over his children (*Jub.* 10:3i: "And may the evil spirits not rule them in order to destroy them from the earth"; cf. *Jub.* 10:5-6). On the other hand, he prays for a blessing upon him and his children (*Jub.* 10:4: "Now you bless me and my children so that we may increase, become numerous, and fill the earth"). Both elements occur also in the supplication in Abram's prayer. The request to save him from the evil spirits plays an important part (*Jub.* 12:20ab: "Save me from the hand of the evil spirits who rule the thoughts of the people's heart. May they not lead me astray from following you, my God"). The element of blessing has its parallel in that Abram asks to establish him and his seed for eternity (*Jub.* 12:20c) and that he as God's servant may work on the right path (*Jub.* 12:21d).

With regard to the actions that take place immediately after the prayer, in both cases there is a twofold action of God, followed by an action of the supplicant. In both cases God addresses himself not to the supplicant but to an angel (*Jub.* 10:7, 10-12; 12:22b, 25-26, 27e). God's first reaction to Noah's prayer is his commandment to bind *all* the demons. After Mastema, the leader of the spirits, protests and asks for some of them to be left before him in order to be able to exercise his authority among humankind (*Jub.* 10:8), God allows him a tenth and gives orders to bind ninety percent of the evil spirits (*Jub.* 10:9). God's first reaction to Abram's prayer is a direct address to Abram through an angel in which Abram is summoned to leave his land and his father's house and to go to the land that God will show him (*Jub.* 12:22-24). The establishment in the new land seems to have a comparable function to the binding of the evil spirits. In

⁴⁹ Compare also *Jub.* 12:4 ("He created everything by his word").

the land where Abram and his descendants are to be blessed abundantly, the demons will have no influence.⁵⁰

In the case of both Noah and Abram, God's initial reaction seems not to be sufficient to save their descendants from the influence of the evil spirits. In the subsequent second action, God instructs the angels to teach Noah all the medicines, which could protect him and his sons against attacks from the evil spirits (*Jub.* 10:10, 12) and to teach Abram the Hebrew language (*Jub.* 12:25–26).

Finally, there is a reaction by the one who prays, which is comparable in both texts. Noah writes down in a book everything the angels have taught him. Thereafter, he gives all his books to his oldest son Shem (*Jub.* 10:13–14).⁵¹ Abram learns Hebrew, takes his fathers' books, then copies and studies them (*Jub.* 12:27). The mention of "his fathers' books" in *Jub.* 12:27 makes the connection with *Jub.* 10:13–14 explicit. Neither the binding of ninety percent of the demons nor his establishment in the land will give complete protection against the threat of the spirits. Books should also be studied, books that contain, among other things, medicines against the attacks of evil spirits.

In conclusion, the comparison of Abram's prayer with that of Noah shows the similar structure of both texts. This confirms, moreover, the formal unity and the coherence in regard to the content of *Jub.* 12:16–27.

⁵⁰ Compare this with Noah's supplication in which the request that the evil spirits might not rule over Noah's children is put next to the request for a blessing upon his children (cf. *Jub.* 10:3i and *Jub.* 10:4a–d).

⁵¹ According to Segal (*Book of Jubilees*, 171–73) the "book" (singular) in *Jub.* 10:13 cannot be identical with the "books" (plural) in *Jub.* 10:14. The reason to hand over the books to Shem ("because he loved him much more than all his sons") does not match up with the medicines, which were meant for *all* Noah's offspring. The transition from singular to plural even points to separate sources. The nature of the "books" (plural), which Noah handed over to his son Shem, should be understood in the light of the chain of tradition in which knowledge is handed over from generation to generation (*Jub.* 7:38–39; 12:27; 21:10; 39:6; 45:16). In my opinion, one should not stress too much the transition from singular to plural. The fact that Noah writes a book with regard to medicines (*Jub.* 10:13) does not exclude the fact that he has written other books. Enoch has written a book (*Jub.* 4:17–19, 21–23), and in the end of his testament (*Jub.* 7:38–39), Noah refers to that tradition. It is quite plausible that the new knowledge that Noah has received is going to belong to the chain of tradition. Moreover, it is really the offspring of Shem who have to be protected against the influence of the spirits. The spirits are permitted to have influence only over other peoples (*Jub.* 15:31–32; comp. *Jub.* 10:8). Nevertheless, it is true that the plural in *Jub.* 10:14 shows that it is not just the knowledge with regard to medicines that is handed over.

2.6.3.2. Abram's prayer and Moses' Prayer

There is also a similarity between Abram's prayer with its preceding and following events and Moses' prayer (*Jub.* 1:19–21) in the context of *Jub.* 1:5–2:1. The following scheme shows the structure of Moses' prayer, together with the cause for it, and God's reaction:

Moses' prayer (*Jub.* 1:5–2:1)

1. *Cause for the prayer* (1:5–18)
2. *Form of the prayer*—supplication (1:19–21)
3. *Actions after the prayer*
 - a. God answers Moses with regard to his dealing with the people (1:22–24); Moses receives an order to write (1:25)
 - b. God orders the angel of the presence to dictate the story of history to Moses (1:27–2:1)

Despite a structure comparable to Abram's prayer, the reason that brought about Moses' prayers seems to be somewhat different. Moses is reacting to a direct speech from God to him (*Jub.* 1:5–18) in which the Deuteronomistic scheme of sin, punishment, repentance, and restoration can be found. Because of the direct interaction between God and Moses, God addresses Moses directly through the reactions to the prayer (*Jub.* 1:22–25) and not through an angel, as was the case with Noah's and Abram's prayer. It is remarkable, however, that God also addresses Moses indirectly through an angel, since he orders the angels to dictate the story of *Jubilees* to Moses. Moses' prayer (*Jub.* 1:19–21) mainly consists of supplication, although some elements of praise are integrated (*Jub.* 1:20a: "your mercy"; *Jub.* 1:21a: "whom you have rescued from Egyptian control by your great power").

The structure of the supplication shows strong parallelism between the parts of the prayer:

- | | |
|-----|---|
| A | "O Lord my God, do not allow your people and your inheritance to go along in the strayings of their hearts" (1:19d), |
| B | and do not deliver them into the hands of the nations, with the result that they rule over them (1:19ef), |
| C | lest they make them sin against you (1:19g) |
| A' | May your mercy, Lord, be raised over your people (1:20a).
Create for them a just spirit (1:20b). |
| B' | May the spirit of Belial not rule over them (1:20c') |
| D | so as to bring charges against them before you (1:20c'') |
| C' | and to ensnare them away from every proper path (1:20d)
so that they may be wiped away from your presence (1:20e). |
| A'' | They are your people and your inheritance whom you have rescued from Egyptian control (hands) by your great power (1:21a).
Create for them a pure heart and a holy spirit (1:21b). |
| C'' | May they not be trapped in their sins from now to eternity (1:21c) |

The prayer requests a just spirit from God for his people, lest they follow the strayings of their heart (A). The parallelism between B and B' shows that the nations are put parallel with the "spirit of Belial." Both can rule over Israel. This means at the same time that both can cause Israel to sin against God (C). Whereas the nations cannot bring charges against Israel before God, the spirit of Belial is able to do so (D). Compare *Jub.* 1:29–21 in this respect with *Jub.* 15:30–33 in which God allows the spirits to rule over the nations. God himself chooses Israel to be his people. Only God is Israel's ruler.

As far as the use of words and phrases is concerned, Moses' prayer has several similarities with Noah's and Abram's prayers: *Jub.* 1:19d ("the strayings of their hearts"; see *Jub.* 12:20ab, d, 21f; cf. 11:17); 1:20a ("May your mercy, Lord, be lifted over your people" (cf. *Jub.* 10:3h); 1:20c ("May the spirit of Belial not rule over them so as to bring charges against them before you"; see 12:20; 10:3i, 6a); 1:20d ("to ensnare them away from every proper path"; cf. *Jub.* 12:21d).

With regard to the actions that take place immediately after the prayer, there is a twofold action by God followed by an action not by the supplicant but by the angel of the presence. God addresses himself directly to the supplicant (*Jub.* 1:22–26) and not to an angel, as was the case after Noah's and Abram's prayers (*Jub.* 10:7, 10–12; 12:22b, 25–26, 27e). God's first reaction is a speech to Moses in which he tells about the future repentance and restoration of the people. Moreover, Moses is ordered to write down everything God makes known. In the subsequent second speech, God instructs the angel of the presence to dictate the story to Moses (*Jub.* 1:27–28). Finally, the angel takes the tables of the division of the years and starts to dictate to Moses the content of history (*Jub.* 1:29–2:1)

2.6.3.3. Conclusion

A comparison of Abram's prayer with other prayers in the book of *Jubilees* (*Jub.* 1:19–21; 10:1–14) shows the strong connection between them in structure and content. The prayers are included in the book of *Jubilees* as additions with regard to the biblical text of Genesis and Exodus. They are caused by the threat of evil spirits. In God's answer to the prayer's supplication, several means are put into action, such as dictating from the heavenly tablets, binding ninety percent of the evil spirits, teaching about medicines, copying and studying books, and making a promise to live in the land.

Abram's and Noah's prayers, the preceding events, and their acts of writing afterwards can be seen as a sort of prefiguration of Moses' prayer and the dictating and copying of the book of *Jubilees* itself. In all these

cases, there is a relationship between the teaching of the angels and the content of the book. The books contain the information necessary in the conflict with the evil spirits and are handed down from generation to generation. Through Jacob, information is handed over to Levi (*Jub.* 45:16), Moses' great-grandfather.⁵²

2.7. Transitional Passage:

Abram Informs Terah about His Departure (Jub. 12:28–31)

Jubilees 12:28–31 is a transitional pericope. It prepares for Abram's travels that start in *Jub.* 13:1 and gives a date for the beginning of these travels (cf. 12:28a). However, it still belongs to the preparations for the actual travel, and as such it is connected with preceding passages in *Jub.* 12. This connection is strengthened by the fact that Abram's father only plays a part in *Jub.* 11–12 (*Jub.* 11:10, 12, 14; 12:1, 14, 15 [2×], 29).⁵³ Nahor appears outside these chapters (11:8; 12:11, 31) only in *Jub.* 19:10. The text of this passage runs as follows:

Jubilees 12:28–31 (No parallel in Genesis)

- 28a IN THE SEVENTH YEAR OF THE SIXTH WEEK, HE SPOKE WITH HIS FATHER
 b AND TOLD HIM THAT HE WAS LEAVING HARAN TO GO TO THE LAND OF CANAAN TO SEE IT AND RETURN TO HIM.
 29a HIS FATHER TERAH SAID TO HIM:
 b "GO IN PEACE.
 c MAY THE ETERNAL GOD MAKE YOUR WAY STRAIGHT;
 d MAY THE LORD BE WITH YOU
 e AND PROTECT YOU FROM EVERY EVIL;
 f MAY HE GRANT YOU KINDNESS, MERCY, AND GRACE BEFORE THOSE WHO SEE YOU;
 g AND MAY NO PERSON HAVE POWER OVER YOU TO HARM YOU. GO IN PEACE.
 30a IF YOU SEE A LAND THAT, IN YOUR VIEW, IS A PLEASANT ONE IN WHICH TO LIVE, THEN COME AND TAKE ME TO YOU.
 b TAKE LOT, THE SON OF YOUR BROTHER HARAN, WITH YOU AS YOUR SON.
 c MAY THE LORD BE WITH YOU.
 31a LEAVE YOUR BROTHER NAHOR WITH ME UNTIL YOU RETURN IN PEACE.
 b THEN ALL OF US TOGETHER WILL GO WITH YOU."

⁵² An important element in the rewriting of Genesis and Exodus in the book of *Jubilees* is the struggle against foreign influences, from evil spirits to other nations. The rewriting seems not to be a rewriting for no particular reason but a means of using the scriptural text in this struggle.

⁵³ Cf. *Jub.* 34:20 ("sons of Terah").

2.8. *Melting and Integrating Different Traditions*

The passages about the early life of Abram show several tensions. I would point, for example, to the fact that Abram first separates from his father (*Jub.* 11:16d) and later goes back to him and tries to persuade him to abandon idolatry (*Jub.* 12:1–8). Later on, Terah seems to be openly a follower of the true God (*Jub.* 12:29–31), but this change in attitude is not mentioned in the text. Different motifs seem to cause Abram's recognition of the one God, creator of all things. First, he realizes the mistakes of humankind (*Jub.* 11:16), and then he prays to God (*Jub.* 11:17). In *Jub.* 12:1–8, he shows his father again that the God of heaven, the creator, is the only one (*Jub.* 12:4) and that idols have no *raison d'être* (*Jub.* 12:2–3, 5). In *Jub.* 12:16–18 he seems to rediscover that everything is in the hands of God. The discovery of the strayings of humankind (*Jub.* 11:16–17), the discovery of the powerlessness of the idols (*Jub.* 12:2–3, 5), and the discovery that the celestial bodies have no independent power (*Jub.* 12:16–18) are all reasons for Abram's conversion. With regard to the etymology of the city of Ur of the Chaldeans, on the one hand, the naming of the city is connected with the founder of that city, Ur, son of Kesed, father of Ara, the wife of Ragew (*Jub.* 11:3), and on the other hand, legends about "fire" in relation to Ur also seem to play a role (*Jub.* 12:12–14). There seems to be no clear connection between the passages about the ravens (*Jub.* 11:18–22, 23–24) and the passages about idolatry and astrology (*Jub.* 11:16–17; 12:1–8). There is no causal connection between the departure of Terah and his sons from Ur of the Chaldeans and the temple burning, although both events are put adjacent to each other. These tensions point to the use of already existing traditions. The allusion to several situations and events also contributes to this suggestion. I would point out in this regard the allusion to Terah as a priest (*Jub.* 12:6), to the tensions between Terah and the Chaldeans (*Jub.* 12:7), the motif of the negative interaction of Abram and his brothers (*Jub.* 12:8), and the search for Abram by the Chaldeans (*Jub.* 12:21).

I have tried to show that despite these tensions, *Jub.* 11:14–12:31 is a well organized passage. It could be divided into twelve pericopes on the basis of structure and use of words (*Jub.* 11:14–15; 11:16–17; 11:18–22; 11:23–24; 12:1–8; 12:9–11; 12:12–14; 12:15; 12:16–17; 12:18–21; 12:22–24; 12:25–27). These individual pericopes are bound together in four textual unities (*Jub.* 11:14–15; 11:16–12:8; 12:9–15; 12:16–27). The unities are bound together on the basis of the theme that Abram at an early age renounces the services of the many gods and their idols. He testifies to his belief in the one and true God. The fight against idolatry is related to the fight against the demons,

and both are rooted in the broader context of *Jubilees*. I consider the passage 12:28–31 as a transitional passages between the early life of Abram and Abram's travels.

In the introduction, I pointed to Segal's thesis that a redactor has adapted an already existing rewriting of the biblical stories, which he enriched with halakic material, and which he enclosed in a chronological framework.⁵⁴ According to him, only the redactional layer is consistent in style, use of language, and theological view, whereas the adapted stories are not consistent in these respects. In this way, Segal tries to differentiate between an editorial layer and the sources that are absorbed. The narrative coherence of this passage that joins what might seem to be disparate episodes shows that his theory is highly unlikely.

Jubilees 11:14–12:31 shows a melting of different texts and traditions. The analysis of *Jub.* 11:14–12:31 has shown that to a large extent the text of *Jubilees* is guided by Gen 11:26–12:3, as far as content and sequence are concerned. As far as the wording is concerned, one can point to the fact that *Jub.* 12:9–11, 14d, 15, 22–23 are based on the biblical text (Gen 11:27c–12:3). Moreover, the main sequence of the events is the same in both texts: Abram's birth, the marriages of Abram and his brothers, the departure from Ur and arrival in Haran, as well as God's call. These events form the basic framework for both texts. At certain places, the sequence deviates in *Jubilees*. I indicated as one example the marriage of Haran, which is put later than that of Abram. This seems to be a conscious adaptation of the biblical text in order to make clear that Sarai is not Haran's daughter. Moreover, this rearrangement brings out Lot's birth after the marriage of Abram and Sarai, as well as Haran's death after this marriage. Both aspects make it easier to view Lot as the surrogate son of Abram and Sarai. In this way, the author lessens the emphasis on the biblical notion of Sarai's infertility, which is after all in contradiction to Isaac's birth. These alterations of the framework can be attributed to the author of *Jubilees*.

Apart from the alteration in the framework of the passage, the author changes the structure of the genealogical entries drastically. This is the case with the marriage-report of Terah, which is the birth-report of Abram (Gen 11:26, 27b; *Jub.* 11:14–15) and is in line with the rewriting of all the genealogical entries in the book (*Jub.* 4:1–33; 8:1–11:14), such that, in the end, this is what can be considered as having been the real task of the author of the book. The mentioning of the wives of the patriarchs and their iden-

⁵⁴ See notes 46–47 of the introduction.

tification is an appropriate touch for an author who is so concerned with the sacred line of inheritance. In this light it is possible, therefore, that the author of *Jubilees* added the wives independently. However, it could also be possible that he was influenced by certain traditional elements from non-biblical sources.⁵⁵

It is clear that a large portion of the text of *Jub.* 11:14–12:27 cannot be traced back to the biblical text. One should consider this, then, to be an addition. There are, however, some clues in the biblical text (gaps, etymologies), which can still explain some portion of this addition. It is, for example, not clear to the reader of Genesis why Terah makes the decision to leave Ur of the Chaldeans and to set out for Canaan. The text does not make clear either why Haran died during his father's life. Both gaps in the text are combined in the history of interpretation as well as in the book of *Jubilees*. Moreover, it is not clear in Genesis why Terah gives up his original intention to go to Canaan and why instead Abram puts it into practice. Another blank in the text is the question of why God chooses Abram to be blessed.⁵⁶ Some characteristics in *Jub.* 11:14–12:27 (contradictions, irregularities in the plot of the story, allusions to known details, and presentation of some events in a very short form) suggest the influence of older traditions on the text.⁵⁷

The polemic against foreign gods is deeply rooted in the Hebrew Bible.⁵⁸ One can point to Deuteronomy but also to the prophetic literature, such as Second Isaiah and Jeremiah. The renouncing of idolatry is no invention of *Jubilees*. What is striking, however, is the fact that *Jubilees* connects these anti-idol polemics with Abram.⁵⁹ This characteristic also seems to be a traditional one. In any case, one can see that Josh 24:2–3 refers to the idolatry of the fathers on the other side of the river ("Your fathers

⁵⁵ According to Davenport, *Eschatology*, 82, note 1, the names of the wives and fathers-in-law were added even before the author received the list. In support of this opinion, one can point to the *Genesis Apocryphon*. In what remains of this work, it is clear that in column 2 and 6, the names of two of the wives do occur: *Bitenos* and *Amzara*. Moreover, Noah says in column 6: "... for my sons I took wives from my brother's daughters, and my daughters I gave to my brother's sons, according to the eternal law." Since the *Genesis Apocryphon* is only partially extant, one cannot be sure that the names of the wives of the other patriarchs were also originally mentioned. Since the structure and wording of the book of *Jubilees* and the *Genesis Apocryphon* are quite different, it is reasonable to suppose that both texts borrowed their material from a common tradition.

⁵⁶ Zakovitch, "Exodus from Ur", 429–39; Kugel, *Bible*; 133–48.

⁵⁷ Cf. also Nickelsburg, "Abraham," 157.

⁵⁸ See, e.g., *ABD III*, 376–81.

⁵⁹ Apart from his early years, one can point to Abraham's testamentary speeches (*Jub.* 20:7–9; 21:3–5, 21–23; 22:16–22).

lived of old beyond the Euphrates, Terah, the father of Abraham and of Nahor; and they served other gods. Then I took your father Abraham from beyond the River and led him through all the land of Canaan, and made his offspring many"; cf. also Josh 24:14, 15). Differing from Genesis, here Ur of the Chaldeans is the point of departure for Abram's journey to Canaan. Moreover, the departure from Ur is on God's initiative and not on Terah's. It is not completely clear whether Josh 24:2–3 means that Abram also served other gods, or only that Terah and Nahor did ("they served other gods"). *Jubilees* does not follow the tradition of Joshua that on God's initiative Abram departed from Ur without his family. It follows rather the text of Genesis. *Jubilees* does follow Joshua in the connection that is made between Abram and the renouncement of idolatry, however. Also Jdt 5:6–9 speaks about Abram's early life and connects Abram with the anti-idol polemic.⁶⁰ Comparable to *Jubilees*, the departure from Ur is related to the renouncing of the foreign gods ("they would not follow the gods of their fathers"). They left the way of their parents and "worshiped the God of heaven, a god whom they had come to know" (cf. Jdt 6:8). Because of this, they were driven out of Ur. This tradition concerning Abram's transition from idolatry to monotheism is quite similar to that of *Jubilees*. Even though *Jubilees* does not say that the family is expelled from Ur, there are some traces of the tensions between Abram's family and the Chaldeans (*Jub.* 12:6–8, 21). Also the fact that the departure from Ur is put immediately after the burning of the house of idols points in the direction of a flight.⁶¹

We have seen that there is a strong connection between the different prayers in the book of *Jubilees* (*Jub.* 1:19–21; 10:1–14; 12:16–27; cf. 19:26–29) both in structure and in content. The prayers are caused by the threat of evil spirits. In God's answer to the supplication in Abram's prayer to save him from the evil spirits, several means are put into play, such as dictating from the heavenly tablets, binding ninety percent of the evil spirits, teaching about medicines, copying and studying books, and making a promise

⁶⁰ A. Roitman, "The Traditions about Abraham's Early Life in the Book of Judith (5:6–9)," in *Things Revealed: Studies in Early Jewish and Christian Literature in Honor of Michael E. Stone* (ed. E.G. Chazon, D. Satran, and R.A. Clements; JSJSup 89; Leiden, 2004), 73–87.

⁶¹ For a development of this tradition, most of it from somewhat later sources: Pseudo-Eupolemus (*Praeparatio evangelica* 9.17.2–9; 9.18.2); *Orphica* (25–31; long recension); Philo, *De Abrahamo*, 68–88; *De migratione Abrahami*, 176ff; *De somniis*, 1.44ff etc.; Flavius Josephus, *Ant.* 1.7.1–2; *L.A.B.* 6–7; *Apoc. Ab.* 1–8; Acts 7:2–4; Targum Neofiti 1 and Targum Pseudo-Jonathan (passim). Cf. Roitman, "Traditions," 74; Nickelsburg "Abraham the Convert," 159–71; Kugel, *Bible*, 133–48.

to live in the land. In the Old Testament there is no demonology. In Genesis one can read nothing about demons. Within *Jubilees*, however, demons occur in several places, especially in relation to the spread of humankind on the earth after the flood. They belong to the time of Noah and the early Abram, although they continue to operate in later times. Apart from the term “demon” (*Jub.* 1:11c; 7:27; 10:1, 2; 22:17), “(evil) spirit” is also used (*Jub.* 10:3, 5, 8, 11, 13; 11:4, 5; 12:20; 15:31, 32; 19:28). The demons are charged with causing bloodshed and with inciting people to kill each other (e.g., *Jub.* 7:27; 11:4–5). In this respect, *Jubilees* seems to be influenced by other sources than Genesis. The teaching about the demons seems to be part of the wider influence of material originating from the Enochic traditions.⁶² One can point to the influence of *1 Enoch* (*Book of the Watchers*). *Jubilees* shares the fundamental pattern of the *Book of the Watchers* in which the angels descended from heaven, married women and sinned with them. Their children were the giants. *1 Enoch* 15:8–16:1 describes how the evil spirits came out of the carcasses of the giants and how they were threatening humanity: they do violence, make desolate, attack, and wrestle and hurl upon the earth.⁶³ *Jubilees* seems not to be completely consistent here in that the demons are mentioned as the emanations from the angels themselves (*Jub.* 10:5: “your watchers, the fathers of these spirits”), whereas it also understands the giants as the sons of the watchers (*Jub.* 5:1, 6–10).⁶⁴ Moreover, it shows some deviations from *1 Enoch*, e.g., the demons are put under the authority of Mastema (*Jub.* 10:8; 11:5; 19:28; 49:2; cf. 11:11; 17:16; 18:9, 12; 48:2, 3–4, 9, 12–18). This leader of the demons is probably no demon himself but a sort of angel. He is, however, not one of the watchers, because they are tied up in the depths of the earth until the great day of judgment (*Jub.* 5:6–11). The demons do everything Mastema tells them so that he is able to exercise the authority of his will among humankind to punish them for their evil (cf. *Jub.* 10:8).

The specific linkage of the story of the ravens with the polemic against the religion of the Chaldeans has possibly been implemented by the author. The struggle against the ravens can be related to the fight against

⁶² For the influence of Enochic traditions in the book of *Jubilees*, see note 30 of the introduction.

⁶³ J.C. VanderKam, “The Demons in the Book of *Jubilees*,” in *Demons: The Demonology of Israelite-Jewish and Early Christian Literature in Context of their Environment*, (ed. A. Lange, H. Lichtenberger, and K.F. Diethard Römheld; Tübingen, 2003), 339–64 (esp. 348–50); Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 267–75.

⁶⁴ *Jubilees* possibly preserves several older traditions about the watchers. Cf. Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 109–18.

the evil spirits. However, it is also possible that this linkage is a traditional one. In the *Epistle of Jeremiah* the struggle against idols plays a prominent role. They cannot save themselves from war or calamity. They cannot set up a king over a country or give rain to men (Ep. Jer. 29–51; cf. *Jub.* 12:1–8). Moreover, the text speaks about a fire that breaks out in a temple and about their priests who will flee and escape (Ep. Jer. 54; cf. *Jub.* 12:12–14). Sun, moon, and stars are sent forth for service and are obedient. Only when God commands the clouds to cover the whole world, do they carry out his command (Ep. Jer. 59–61; cf. *Jub.* 12:16–18). It is in this context of anti-idol polemics that ravens are also mentioned: “For they have no power; they are like *ravens* between heaven and earth.”⁶⁵ The powerless idols are compared to the ravens, who have no power when they are flying in the air. Although EpJer does not speak about Abram, the connection is easily made, since the letter describes the situation of Babel and the Chaldeans.⁶⁶

A last item bearing on the possible influence of other traditions is the chronology. The biblical data with regard to the early life of Abram are very scanty. Therefore the author of *Jubilees* is rather free in implementing his own system of dating the events. With regard to Abram’s life it is striking that many events are dated in the seventh year of year-week, which can be seen in the following scheme:⁶⁷

Jub.	Event	Year (a.m.)	Age Abram
11:15	Birth of Abram	1876 (7th year, 2nd week, 39th jubilee)	0 year (Terah 10 × 7)
11:16–17	Separation from father	(1890)	14 years (2 × 7)
11:18–22	Abram chases the ravens	(1890)	14 years (2 × 7)
11:23–24	Abrams’ equipment	1891 (1st year, 5th week, 39th jubilee)	15 years
12:1–8	Abram speaks with Terah	1904 (7th year, 6th week, 39th jubilee)	28 years (4 × 7)

⁶⁵ For text-critical problems in EpJer 53: cf. C.J. Ball, “The Epistle of Jeremy,” in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English: with Introduction and Critical and Explanatory Notes to the Several Books* (ed. R.H. Charles; 2 vols; Oxford, 1913) 1:607–8; C.A. Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah; the Additions: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 44; New York, 1977), 352; I. Assan-Dhôte and J. Moatti-Fine, *Baruch, Lamentations, Lettre de Jérémie* (La Bible d’Alexandrie 25.2; Paris, 2005), 327.

⁶⁶ C.D. Crawford, “On the Exegetical Function of the Abraham-Ravens Tradition in *Jubilees* 11,” *HTR* 97 (2004) 91–7 (esp. 96) suggests that the raven tradition, before it was integrated into *Jubilees*, served as an explanation of the odd use of the word “raven” in Ep. Jer. 53.

⁶⁷ VanderKam, “Studies in the Chronology, 522–44 (esp. 530, 534–38).

Jub.	Event	Year (a.m.)	Age Abram
12:9	Abram marries Sarai	1925 (7th year, 2nd week, 40th jubilee)	49 years (7×7)
12:10	Haran marries a woman	1928 (3rd year, 3rd week, 40th jubilee)	52 years
12:10	Birth of Lot	1932 (7th year, 3rd week, 40th jubilee)	56 years (8×7)
12:12–14	Abram burns idols	1936 (4th year, 4th week, 40th jubilee)	60 years
12:15	Departure from Ur	?	
12:15	Stay in Haran 14 years	?	
12:16	Abram observes stars	1951 (5th year, 6th week, 40th jubilee)	75 years
12:22	Call to go to the land	(1951)	75 years
12:28	Abram to Canaan	1953 (7th year, 6th week, 40th jubilee)	77 years (11×7)

As far as the periodization in units of seven years is concerned, one can point to the age of 14 years (2×7) in which Abram separates from his father (*Jub.* 11:16–17) and chases the ravens (*Jub.* 11:18–22), to the age of 28 years (4×7) in which he has a conversation with his father to persuade him to abandon the idols (*Jub.* 12:1–8), to the age of 49 years (7×7) in which he marries (*Jub.* 12:9), to his age of 56 years (8×7) in which Lot is born (*Jub.* 12:10), and to his age of 77 years when he leaves Haran (*Jub.* 12:28).⁶⁸ Some data do not fit in with this system: the invention of the equipment (*Jub.* 11:23–24), the marriage of Haran (*Jub.* 12:10), the burning of the temple (*Jub.* 12:12: Abram 60 years), the observation of the stars, and the subsequent call to go to the land (*Jub.* 12:16–27; Abram 75 years). One event does not receive an explicit date, namely, the departure from Ur of the Chaldeans for Haran (*Jub.* 12:15), whereas one event is not mentioned at all (Terah's death; Gen 11:32). As far as the invention of the equipment is concerned, one could argue that this follows naturally from the events in the fourteenth year. Further, the dating of Haran's marriage puts his marriage after the marriage of Abram and Sarai. He could have dated Haran's marriage so that it was in the same year as Lot's birth, but he did not do so.

Abram's incendiary efforts, which are set in his sixtieth year, do not fit in with the system of dating events vis-à-vis the seventh year of a year-week. According to Brock, *Jubilees* is dependent here on an older tradition, which is later attested in some Syriac sources (Jacob of Edessa, the Catena Severi, Michael the Syriac, Bar Hebraeus) and in Jerome. Brock says that *Jubilees* took over certain elements from this chronological

⁶⁸ Abram dies at the age of 175 years (25×7 ; *Jub.* 23:8).

framework (the numbers 60 and 14) and re-used them without comprehending the rationale that lay behind them.⁶⁹ According to this tradition, Abram leaves Haran 14 years after the burning of the house of idols. When Terah died at the age of 145 (see the Samaritan Pentateuch of Gen 11:32), Abram had time to bury his father before he left Haran at the age of 75. Jerome preserves the reasoning that resulted in dating the temple incident to Abram's sixtieth year. He refers to a Jewish tradition stating that Abram left Haran 75 years after leaving Ur and the destruction of the idols in the temple. Since Abram was born when Terah was 70 years of age, and Terah died at the age of 205 (so goes the Masoretic Text), 75 years after Abram's "conversion" must have been in his sixtieth year of age.⁷⁰ This is precisely the figure given in *Jubilees*. This number determined that the length of the subsequent stay in Haran would be 14 years.

The family's departure from Ur does not get a new date. It is possible that this, too, took place in Abram's sixtieth year. Although in *Jubilees* there is no hint of any causal relationship between both events, the adjacent position of both events makes it natural to suppose that the incident with the temple causes the family to flee from Haran. The text shows tensions between the Chaldeans and Abram's family (*Jub.* 12:7 "Be quiet, my son, so that they do not kill you"). However, Abram and his family leave Ur and settle in Haran for two weeks of years (*Jub.* 12:15). From Abram's departure from Haran at the age of 77 (cf. *Jub.* 12:28), one can infer that the beginning of the period of 14 years must have been at the age of 63, which would fit in nicely with his predilection for dating the events in the seventh year (9×7). However, this would mean a gap of three years between the burning of the house of idols and the departure of the family.⁷¹ According to VanderKam, it is somewhat forced to say that *Jubilees* does not connect the temple burning with the departure from Ur.⁷² In his opinion *Jub.* 12:15 does not refer to the entire time that Abram spent with Terah in Haran but only to the period from their arrival to the next event narrated.

With regard to Abram's departure from Haran, the biblical text is clear. Gen 12:5 speaks about Abram being aged 75 when he goes to Canaan. In

⁶⁹ Brock, "Abraham and the Ravens," 151 (cf. also 144–49).

⁷⁰ See Brock, "Abraham and the Ravens," 144. Cf. also VanderKam, "Studies in the Chronology," 535–36.

⁷¹ See Brock, "Abraham and the Ravens," 141–42. Cf. W. Adler, "Abraham and the Burning of the Temple of Idols: *Jubilees'* Traditions in Christian Chronography," *JQR* 77 (1986–87): 95–117.

⁷² VanderKam, "Studies in the Chronology," 537.

Jubilees Abram leaves at the age of 77. This fits in very well with the tendency of the author to date the events in the seventh year of a year-week (11×7), but it contradicts the biblical figure. However, *Jubilees* separates the order to go to the land when Abram was 75 from the execution of that order. In this way, that author has kept a biblical date, and at the same time he can apply his preference for dating important events in the seventh year.⁷³

It is clear that the author has applied his own dating system in which the figure seven is important to the early Abram pericopes. Data that he probably finds in his sources and that he is not able or willing to adapt into his own system, he simply incorporates (60 years + 14 years, 75 years; cf. *Jub.* 12:12, 15). It is therefore somewhat odd that he does not mention Terah's death (in contrast to Gen 11:32). This is even more striking when one realizes that in the context of *Jubilees* the passing down of the books of the ancients takes place in close relationship to the father's death. One can point to *Jub.* 10:14 in which Noah gives the books to his son: "He gave all the books that he had written to his oldest son Shem because he loved him much more than all his sons." In *Jub.* 10:15–17 Noah's death is related, and in *Jub.* 45:16 Jacob hands down the books to Levi: "And he gave all of his books and his fathers' books to Levi, his son, so that he might preserve them and renew them for his sons until today." The time just preceding Jacob's death is described (*Jub.* 45:13–15). In the context of *Jub.* 12:27 ("He took his father's books . . . and he copied them") one would expect a note about Terah's death. Instead, Abram informs Terah about his departure to Canaan, whereupon Terah blesses him, asks to take Lot with him, and leaves Nahor in Haran (*Jub.* 12:28–31). The continuation of the text nowhere states that Abram returned to Haran to take his father back with him.

On the basis of Gen 11:26 (Terah is 70 years old when Abram was born) and Gen 12:4 (Abram is 75 years old at his departure), combined with the location of Gen 11:32 (Terah's death) before Abram's call, one should assume that Terah was 145 years old when he died and that in that same year Abram left for Canaan. This is, in fact, the reading of the Samaritan Pentateuch.⁷⁴ The Masoretic Text and the Septuagint mention that Terah died at the age of 205 years. One cannot say with certainty which

⁷³ VanderKam, "Studies in the Chronology," 537.

⁷⁴ This age is also presupposed, e.g., in Acts 7:4 ("And after his father died, God removed him from there into this land in which you are now living").

of them was in the biblical *Vorlage* of *Jubilees*. If it was the reading of the Samaritan Pentateuch (145 years), then serious problems occur, since Terah is already 147 years old at the moment Abram asks permission from his father. The biblical date for Terah's death would have been in conflict with his own preference. He therefore left it out.⁷⁵

One can say that *Jub.* 11:14–12:31, despite some tensions, is a well-organized text. It is guided to a large extent by Gen 11:26–12:3, as far as content and sequence are concerned. Nearly all the biblical material is included. Some deviations with regard to Genesis can be attributed to the author of *Jubilees*. I pointed to the marriage of Haran, which is put later than Abram in order to make clear that Sarai is not Haran's daughter. Moreover, the changes in the structure of the genealogical entries are completely in line with the rewriting of all the genealogical entries in the book. For the additions, there are several gaps in the biblical text (e.g., the reason that Terah decided to leave Ur; the reason for Haran's death during his father's life), which are filled in by the author with material that he derived from other traditions that are connected with the early life of Abram. The connection of the polemic against foreign gods with the early Abram is probably also a traditional one. In the strict sense, the author did not write the adapted narrative completely by himself. However, it is difficult to maintain that the whole narrative comes from various sources or that the author has adapted an already existing rewriting of Gen 11:26–12:3.

⁷⁵ If he read 205 years in his *Vorlage*, one could read *Jub.* 12:28–31 as an attempt to accommodate the problem that Abram had left Terah before his death.

CHAPTER TWO

ABRAM'S TRAVELS (GEN 12:4–14:24; JUB. 13)

1. INTRODUCTION

Jubilees 13 rewrites Gen 12:4–14:24 and can be divided into three parts. The first part (*Jub.* 13:1–16) covers Abram's departure from Haran up until his sojourn in Hebron, including his stay in Egypt. This part runs parallel with Gen 12:4–13:4. The second part (*Jub.* 13:17–21) covers the separation of Abram and Lot and runs parallel with Gen 13:5–18. The third part (*Jub.* 13:22–29) deals with the war of the kings, including the capture of Lot and the battle and victory of Abram. This is followed by the law of the tithes, which runs parallel with Genesis 14. Many elements of the biblical text are incorporated in the rewritten text, but there are also omissions, additions, and variations. The following scheme provides an overall comparison of Gen 12:4–14:24 and *Jub.* 13.

Genesis 12:4–14:24	<i>Jubilees</i> 13:1–29
12:4–13:4 <i>Departure from Haran to the sojourn in Hebron</i>	13:1–16 <i>Departure from Haran to the sojourn in Hebron</i>
13:5–18 <i>Separation of Abram and Lot</i>	13:17–21 <i>Separation of Abram and Lot</i>
14:1–24 <i>War of the kings</i>	13:22–29 <i>War of the kings</i>

Several commentators consider Gen 11:27–12:9 as the opening section of the Abraham cycle,¹ Gen 11:27–32 dealing with the family background and Gen 12:1–9 with the divine promises. Abram's career is said to begin with the episode of his stay in Egypt and the threat of the ancestress in Gen 12:10–20.² Gen 13:1–18 is usually considered as a separate unit, containing the story of the separation of Abram and Lot.³ The first part of this

¹ See, e.g., C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (BKAT 1.2; 4th ed.; Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1999), 136; G.W. Coats, *Genesis with an Introduction to Narrative Literature* (FOTL, 1; Grand Rapids, Mi., 1983), 106–7; G.J. Wenham, *Genesis 1–15* (WBC 1; Waco, Tex., 1987), 267.

² Westermann, *Genesis 12–36*, 187–89; Wenham, *Genesis 1–15*, 285–87. A slightly different demarcation of this scene can be found, e.g., in Coats, *Genesis*, 109–112 (Gen 12:9–13:1) and H. Seebass, *Genesis: II.1 Vätergeschichte 1 (11,27–22,24)* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1997), 23 (Gen 12:9–20).

³ Westermann, *Genesis 12–36*, 199–200; Coats, *Genesis*, 116–18; Wenham, *Genesis 1–15*, 294–95; Seebass, *Genesis II.1 Vätergeschichte*, 31–2.

unit (Gen 13:1–4), an itinerary between Egypt and Bethel, is considered as a transition between the period in Egypt (Gen 12:10–20) and the actual separation (Gen 13:5–18).⁴

In my comparison of Genesis and *Jubilees*, I deviate slightly from the proposed demarcations of Gen 11:27–13:18, because of the structure of *Jubilees*. As was shown in the preceding chapter, Gen 12:1–3, Abram's call, is integrated into the stories about the early Abram (*Jub.* 11–12; cf. Gen 11:27–12:3). A new unit begins in Gen 12:4, where Abram starts travelling and ends in Gen 13:4 with his arrival in Bethel.

The chronological data show that the first part of the text of *Jubilees* (*Jub.* 13:1–16) covers a period of 10 years (1953–1963 *a.m.*), whereas the events of the second part (13:17–29) occur one year later (1964 *a.m.*).⁵ The following scheme summarizes the chronological data of the texts:

Jub.	Event	Year (a.m.)	Age Abram
12:28	Abram to Canaan	1953 (7th year, 6th week, 40th jubilee)	77
13:8	Abram calls on Lord's name	1954 (1st year, 7th week, 40th jubilee)	78
13:10	(two years in Hebron)	(1954–1956)	
13:11	Abram goes to Egypt	1956 (3rd year, 7th week, 40th jubilee)	80
13:11b	(first five years in Egypt)	(1956–1961)	
13:12	(Tanais built seven years after Hebron = 1961)		
13:16	Abram returns	1963 (3rd year, 1st week, 41th jubilee)	87
13:17	Lot separates	1964 (4th year, 1st week, 41th jubilee)	88
13:19	Lord speaks to Abram	1964 (4th year, 1st week, 41th jubilee)	88
13:22	Chedorlaomer	1964 (4th year, 1st week, 41th jubilee)	88

In the second section of this chapter I will deal with *Jub.* 13:1–16, in the third with *Jub.* 13:17–21, and in the fourth with *Jub.* 13:22–29. A rewriting of Gen 12:9–14:24 is preserved in a more or less contemporary text of *Jubilees*, namely the *Genesis Apocryphon*. Both texts have a comparable attitude towards the text of Genesis, in that they both try to solve certain problems in the scriptural text in their rewriting. Nevertheless, they also differ

⁴ Seebass, *Genesis II.1*, 31–2. Others have a slightly different demarcation, e.g., Gen 13:1–5 and Gen 13:6–18. See Westermann, *Genesis 12–36*, 200; Wenham, *Genesis 1–15*, 294.

⁵ The events of *Jubilees* 14 are also usually dated to 1964 *a.m.* Because of its subject (the covenant), *Jubilees* 14 is distinguished from *Jubilees* 13.

widely from each other. Whereas *Jubilees* shortens the story very much, the *Genesis Apocryphon* is expanding it greatly. Many researchers opt for a dependency of the *Genesis Apocryphon* on *Jubilees*, but others argue for a dependency of *Jubilees* on the *Genesis Apocryphon*—or for a common source for the common elements in both texts. Because of the different length of both texts, it is difficult to integrate a discussion on the *Genesis Apocryphon* into the examining of *Jubilees* 13. Therefore, I will deal with the rewriting of Genesis in the *Genesis Apocryphon* separately (section five) and compare this with the book of *Jubilees* only after this (section six).

2. ABRAM'S DEPARTURE FROM HARAN UP UNTIL HIS SEPARATION
FROM LOT: AN ANALYSIS OF THE REWRITING OF GENESIS 12:4–13:4
AND *JUBILEES* 13:1–16

Jubilees 13:1–16 parallels Gen 12:4–13:4. The passage can be divided into three scenes: *Jub.* 13:1–4 (*From Haran to Shechem*), 13:5–9 (*From Shechem to Bethel*), and 13:10–16 (*Abram and Sarai's Stay in Egypt*). In each scene, there is first a movement from one place to another place (A). This movement is followed by the seeing of the land (B). After this, there is a promise by the Lord or a blessing (C). Finally, an offering on an altar is mentioned (D). The similarity of these three scenes confirms the unity of this passage within the book of *Jubilees*:

Jubilees 13:1–4

- A "Abram went from . . . he came to . . . he walked as far as . . . and settled near . . ." (13:1)
- B Seeing of the land (positively) (13:2)
- C Promise by the Lord (13:3)
- D Offering on an altar (13:4)

Jubilees 13:5–9

- A "He departed from . . . toward . . . and pitches his tent . . ." (13:5)
- B Seeing of the land (positively) (13:6)
- C Blessing of the Lord (13:7)
- D Calling on the Lord's name and offering on an altar (13:8–9)

Jubilees 13:10–16

- A "He departed from . . . and went towards . . . he reached . . . he stayed . . . he went . . ." (13:10a–e)
- B (Seeing of) the land (negatively: famine) (13:10f)
- A' Abram went to . . . he lived . . . He expelled him . . . he went to . . . (13:11–15c)
- C Blessing of the Lord (13:15d)
- D Offering on an altar and calling on the Lord's name (13:16)

2.1. *From Haran to Shechem (Gen 12:4–7 and Jub. 13:1–4)*

Genesis 12:4–7

4a ABRAM WENT, AS THE LORD HAD TOLD HIM;

4b AND LOT WENT WITH HIM.

4c ABRAM WAS SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS OLD WHEN HE DEPARTED FROM HARAN.

5a And Abram took his wife Sarai, and Lot the son of his brother [], AND ALL THEIR POSSESSIONS WHICH THEY HAD GATHERED, AND THE PERSONS THAT THEY HAD GOTTEN IN HARAN;

5b AND THEY SET FORTH TO GO TO THE LAND OF CANAAN.

5c They came to the land of Canaan.

6a Abram passed THROUGH THE LAND TO THE PLACE AT SHECHEM, [] TO THE [] OAK OF MOREH.

6b AT THAT TIME THE CANAANITES WERE IN THE LAND. []

7a And the Lord APPEARED TO ABRAM,

7b AND SAID [],

7c “[] TO YOUR SEED I WILL GIVE THIS LAND.”

7d He built there an altar

[] TO THE LORD, WHO HAD APPEARED TO HIM.

Jubilees 13:1–4

1a Abram went []

[]
from Haran

b and he took his wife Sarai and Lot, the son of his brother HARAN, []

to the land of Canaan.

c He came to Asur.

d He walked [] as far as [] Shechem

e AND SETTLED NEAR A TALL OAK [].

[]

2a HE SAW AND BEHOLD, THE LAND FROM THE ENTRANCE OF HAMATH TO THE TALL OAK—WAS VERY PLEASANT.

3a And the Lord []
said TO HIM:

b “TO YOU AND YOUR SEED I WILL GIVE THIS LAND.”

4a He built there an altar

b AND OFFERED ON IT A SACRIFICE TO THE LORD WHO HAD APPEARED TO HIM.

The text of Gen 12:4–7 is clearly recognizable in the text of *Jubilees*. Some small deviations in *Jub.* 13:1–4 with respect to the Masoretic Text of Gen 12:4–7 are due to the fact that the author of *Jubilees* uses a biblical text that is different from the Masoretic. The reading “a tall oak” (*dars nawwāḥa*) in *Jub.* 13:1e is a rendering of “the oak of Moreh” (אלון מורה). This is in line with the Septuagint, Old Latin, and the Ethiopic text of Gen 12:6.⁶ The

⁶ According to Charles and VanderKam, this reading may have originated from a Hebrew variant רומה for מורה. See R.H. Charles, *Mashafa kufale or the Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees* (Anecdota Oxoniensia; Oxford, 1895), 45, note 24; VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees, II*, 75.

addition “to him” (*Jub.* 13:3a) can be found in most versions (Samaritan Pentateuch, Peshitta, Septuagint, Old Latin, and Ethiopic) of Gen 12:7b. We cannot consider these deviations as variations of the biblical text.⁷

In *Jubilees*, the story of Gen 12:4–7 is slightly simplified by way of omissions (elements in Gen 12:4a–c, 5ab, 6ab, 7ab). The few additions (*Jub.* 13:1e, 2a; elements in 13:1b, 3b, 4b) make the narrative more explicit. There are also a few small variations (*Jub.* 13:1cd).

Jubilees 13:1a (“Abram went from Haran”) is a very short rendering of Gen 12:4. Words are taken from the beginning and end of this verse. Firstly, it is obvious that *Jubilees* does not borrow the mention of Abram’s age (Gen 12:4c). In the preceding passages it was made clear that Abram was seventy-five years old when he received the call to go to Canaan (*Jub.* 12:16–24).⁸ When he asked his father for permission, Abram was already seventy-seven years old (*Jub.* 12:28).⁹ Secondly, the omission of the phrase “as the Lord had told him” (Gen 12:4a) might be due to the narrative storyline. The divine call to go to Canaan was sent through the angel (*Jub.* 12:22–24), after which Abram first learned Hebrew and copied the books of his father (*Jub.* 12:25–27), and only then asked his father for permission to leave (*Jub.* 12:28–31). Thirdly, the omission of the phrase “and Lot went with him” (Gen 12:4b) might be due to the fact that Lot is also mentioned in Gen 12:5a (cf. *Jub.* 13:1b). The author of *Jubilees* might have felt that only one statement was necessary, because if Lot was already travelling with Abram (cf. Gen 12:4), the remark that Abram took Lot (cf. Gen 12:5) would have been superfluous.

The omission of the phrases “when he departed” (Gen 12:4c) and “and they set forth to go” (Gen 12:5b) results in a somewhat more simple storyline. Rather than five verbal acts in Gen 12:4–5 (Abram went—he departed—Abram took—they set forth—they came), *Jub.* 13:1a–c has only three (Abram went—he took—he came).

Jubilees 13:1b is a short rendering of Gen 12:5ab, taking over the beginning and end of a sequence of phrases. 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. Only later in the text of *Jubilees*, is it said that Abram was honoured with many possessions (*Jub.* 13:14; cf. Gen 12:16; 13:2).

⁷ See note 65 of the introduction to this volume.

⁸ Cf. *Jub.* 12:16: “In the sixth week, during its fifth year,” which is 951 *a.m.*

⁹ “In the seventh year of the sixth week,” which is 1953 *a.m.*

Jubilees 13:1c is a rendering of Gen 12:5c. The plural of Genesis (“they came”) is not taken over. Abram remains the protagonist. *Jubilees* reads “Asur” rather than the “land of Canaan.” According to Charles, this is a corruption.¹⁰ VanderKam suggests that the Ashurites (2 Sam 2:9), as a people in Ishbosheth’s kingdom, might be relevant.¹¹ According to Zuurmond, Ethiopic *’asur* represents Hebrew חַצוֹר (Hasor) via the Greek Ἄσσυρ or Ἀσωρ.¹² The Greek transcription of Hasor as Ἄσωρ (cf. Judg 4:2; Josh 11:1, 10, 11, 13; 12:19; 15:25; 19:36; 1 Macc 11:63) and the geographical position of this city in the northern part of the land makes this proposal not unlikely.¹³

Jubilees 13:1de is a rendering of Gen 12:6. In contrast to *Jub.* 13:1a–c, where the number of verbs is reduced, an extra act (“he settled”) is added in 13:1e, which makes the narrative description more precise. Most striking is the omission of Gen 12:6b (“at that time the Canaanites were in the land”). This omission might be related to an addition in *Jub.* 13:2, where emphasis is put on the beauty of the land (cf. also *Jub.* 13:6), in other words the emphasis is on the positive aspect of the land. This refers back to the description of Shem’s portion (*Jub.* 8:12–21) and especially to Canaan’s illegal seizure of this land in Shem’s portion (*Jub.* 10:27–34).

Jubilees 13:3 renders Gen 12:7a–c. The appearance of the Lord to Abram (Gen 12:7a) is omitted.¹⁴ Furthermore, the land is not only promised to Abram’s descendants but to him as well. The addition of “to you” might be influenced by comparable passages in Genesis (Gen 13:15; 17:8; 26:3), which are taken over literally in *Jubilees* (*Jub.* 13:20; 15:10; 24:10).¹⁵

Jubilees 13:4 adds to the account of the building of the altar that Abram “offered on it a sacrifice.” This brings the passage into line with other passages in *Jubilees* in which the building of altars is mentioned. They are built by Noah (*Jub.* 6:1) and by Abram (*Jub.* 13:4, 9; 14:1; 16:22–24), both of whom also offer several kinds of offerings on the altar (*Jub.* 6:2–3; 7:3–5; 13:4, 9, 16; 16:22–24).¹⁶

¹⁰ Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 97, note.

¹¹ VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees, II*, 75. Cf. also Gen 25:3 (“The sons of Dedan were *Asshurim*, *Letushim*, and *Leummim*”).

¹² R. Zuurmond, “Asshur in *Jubilees* 13.1?” *JSP* 13 (1989): 87–9.

¹³ Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 5.199.

¹⁴ The appearance of the Lord to Abram in Gen 17:1 is taken over in *Jub.* 15:3. In *Jub.* 16:1, the appearance of the Lord is transformed into an appearance of the angels (“We appeared to Abraham”).

¹⁵ See, however, Gen 13:17c: “. . . because I will give it *to you*,” which is rendered in *Jub.* 13:21d: “. . . because I will give it to *your seed*.” See also also Gen 15:7: “. . . to give *you* this land to occupy,” which is rendered in *Jub.* 14:7: “to give *you* the land of the Canaanites to occupy forever and to become God *for you and your seed after you*.”

¹⁶ The offering is also mentioned in Josephus, *Ant.* 1.157.

2.2. *From Shechem to Bethel (Gen 12:8 and Jub. 13:5–9)*

Genesis 12:8

8a He *removed* from there toward the mountain ON THE EAST OF BETHEL,8b and pitched his tent, Bethel *on the west* and Ai on the east;

[]

8c and *there* he [] built an altar TO THE LORD

8d and called on the name of the Lord []

Jubilees 13:5–95a He *departed* from there toward the mountain [] of Bethel *which is toward the west*, and Ai toward the east,

b and pitched his tent THERE.

6a HE SAW AND BEHOLD, THE LAND WAS SPACIOUS AND MOST EXCELLENT

b AND EVERYTHING WAS GROWING ON IT: VINES, FIG TREES, POMEGRANATES, OAK TREES, HOLM OAKS, TEREBINTHS, OLIVE TREES, CEDARS, CYPRESSES, INCENSE TREES, AND ALL TREES OF THE WILDERNESS;

c AND (THERE WAS) WATER ON THE MOUNTAINS.

7 AND HE BLESSED THE LORD WHO HAD LED HIM FROM UR OF THE CHALDEANS AND BROUGHT HIM TO THIS MOUNTAIN.

8a DURING THE FIRST YEAR IN THE SEVENTH WEEK—ON THE FIRST OF THE MONTH IN WHICH he had INITIALLY built the altar [] *on this mountain*—

he called on the name of the Lord:

b “YOU, MY GOD, ARE THE ETERNAL GOD.”

9a HE OFFERED TO THE LORD A SACRIFICE ON THE ALTAR

b SO THAT HE WOULD BE WITH HIM

c AND NOT ABANDON HIM THROUGHOUT HIS ENTIRE LIFETIME.

Jubilees 13:5–9 is a rendering of Gen 12:8. Most of this text of Genesis is clearly recognizable in *Jubilees* (*Jub.* 13:5, 8a), with only very few omissions (cf. elements in Gen 12:8a, c) and some slight variations. Compared to the Masoretic Text of Gen 12:8ab, the phrase “Bethel, which is toward the west, and Ai toward the east” (*Jub.* 13:5) can be considered a form of permutation. According to VanderKam, it might be caused by parablepsis (from the first Bethel to the second Bethel in the verse), as in some septuagintal witnesses. The intervening clause (“He pitched his tent”) would then have been added at the end of the verse, when a scribe noticed that

it had been missed.¹⁷ The addition “there” (*Jub.* 13:5b) can also be found in the Septuagint, Old Latin, and the Ethiopic text of Gen 12:8b. The word “initially” is added to the quotation of Gen 12:8c, whereas the location (“there”) is made more explicit (“on this mountain”).¹⁸

Most striking are the additions. In *Jub.* 13:6, emphasis is put on the beauty and fertility of the land. This is in line with the addition in *Jub.* 13:2. This description might be related to Gen 13:10–11, which is not taken over in *Jubilees*, where the land that Lot chose for himself is described (“the Jordan valley was well watered everywhere like the garden of the Lord”). The land in which Abram settled is not described (Gen 13:12a: “Abram settled in the land of Canaan”).

Jubilees 13:7–9 is an extensive rendering of Gen 12:8cd. First, Abram blesses the Lord (*Jub.* 13:7), then a reference is made to the building of the altar (*Jub.* 13:8), and Abram then calls the name of the Lord. Abram’s actual words of praise are mentioned (*Jub.* 13:8b). Finally, an offer is made (*Jub.* 13:9; compare *Jub.* 13:4, 15c–16).

A parallel text of Gen 12:8d can also be found in 1QapGen 19:7–8. Apart from the fact that Abram speaks in the first person in the *Genesis Apocryphon* (“I called there on the na[me of G]o[d], and I said”),¹⁹ there is also an extensive addition. The first part contains Abram’s words of praise (“You are (8) God and King of Etern[i]ty”)²⁰ which are very similar to the additional words in *Jub.* 13:8b. The second part of the addition provides a reason for Abram’s departure from Bethel (“And he spoke with me in the night ‘. . . and why wander? Up until now you have not reached the holy mountain”).²¹ These words cannot be found in *Jubilees*.

¹⁷ VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*, II, 75.

¹⁸ Cf. VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*, II, 76. Littmann (“Das Buch der Jubiläen,” in *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments* [ed. E. Kautzsch; vol. 2 of *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigrapha des Alten Testaments*; Tübingen, 1900, 2:31–119; repr., Darmstadt, 1975], 63, note 1), Charles (*Book of Jubilees*, 98, note), Berger (*Buch der Jubiläen*, 397) and Wintermute (“*Jubilees*,” 83) all omitted *baza* (“in which”), arguing that it is omitted in mss. C and D (= 51 and 38). The meaning of the text would then read: “on the first of the new month, he built the altar”). However, according to VanderKam, ms. 51 only omits *ba*, whereas ms. 36 does have *baza*. Berger (397) seems to read *baza* before *warh*: “am Neumond in diesem ersten Monat.”

¹⁹ This is also the case with Lamech (1QapGen 2), Enoch (1QapGen 3–5) and Noah (1QapGen 6–15).

²⁰ The translation of the *Genesis Apocryphon* is by D.A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon: A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13–17* (STDJ 79; Leiden, 2009).

²¹ According to White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture*, 117, the holy mountain probably refers to Jerusalem. In this case a polemic against the northern kingdom, which maintained a shrine in Bethel, might be at stake. It might also refer to the Samaritans, who maintained a sanctuary at Mount Gerizim, not far from Shechem.

2.3. *Abram and Sarai's Stay in Egypt (Gen 12:9–13:4 and Jub. 13:10–16)*

Genesis 12:9–13:4

- 9a *Abram* departed [],
 b *still going* toward the south.
 []
- 10a There was a famine in the land.
 10b Abram went to Egypt [] TO
 SOJOURN THERE, FOR THE FAMINE
 WAS SEVERE IN THE LAND.
 []
- 11a WHEN HE WAS ABOUT TO ENTER
 EGYPT,
 11b HE SAID TO SARAI HIS WIFE:
 11c "I KNOW THAT YOU ARE A WOMAN
 BEAUTIFUL TO BEHOLD;
 12a AND WHEN THE EGYPTIANS SEE
 YOU, THEY WILL SAY:
 12b "THIS IS HIS WIFE";
 12c THEN THEY WILL KILL ME,
 12d BUT THEY WILL LET YOU LIVE.
 13a SAY YOU ARE MY SISTER,
 13b THAT IT MAY GO WELL WITH ME
 BECAUSE OF YOU,
 13c AND THAT MY LIFE MAY BE SPARED
 ON YOUR ACCOUNT."
 14a WHEN ABRAM ENTERED EGYPT THE
 EGYPTIANS SAW THAT THE WOMAN
 WAS VERY BEAUTIFUL.
 15a AND WHEN THE PRINCES OF
 PHARAOH SAW HER, THEY PRAISED
 HER TO PHARAOH.
 15b *The woman was taken* [] into
 Pharaoh's HOUSE.
 16a AND FOR HER SAKE HE DEALT WELL
 WITH ABRAM;

Jubilees 13:10–16

- 10a *He* departed FROM THERE
 b *and went* toward the south.
 c HE REACHED HEBRON—HEBRON
 WAS BUILT AT THAT TIME—
 d HE STAYED THERE FOR TWO YEARS.
 e AND HE WENT TO THE LAND OF THE
 SOUTH AS FAR AS BOA LOT.
 f There was a famine in the land.
 11a Abram went to Egypt IN THE THIRD
 YEAR OF THE WEEK [].
 b HE LIVED IN EGYPT FOR FIVE YEARS
 c BEFORE HIS WIFE WAS TAKEN FROM
 HIM BY FORCE.
 12a EGYPTIAN TANAIIS WAS BUILT AT
 THAT TIME—SEVEN YEARS AFTER
 HEBRON.
 []
- 13a *And it came to pass* when Pharaoh
 [] took Abram's wife Sarai BY
 FORCE,

Genesis 12:9–13:4

16b **he** had [] sheep, cattle, **he-asses**,
[] male and female servants,
SHE-ASSES, and camels.

17a The Lord plagued Pharaoh and his
house with great plagues because
of Abram's wife Sarai.
[cf. Gen 12:16b; 13:2a]

[]

18a SO PHARAOH CALLED ABRAM,

18b AND SAID,

18c "WHAT IS THIS YOU HAVE DONE TO
ME?

18d WHY DID YOU NOT TELL ME THAT
SHE WAS YOUR WIFE?

19a WHY DID YOU SAY: 'SHE IS MY
SISTER,'

19b SO THAT I TOOK HER FOR MY WIFE?

19c NOW THEN, HERE IS YOUR WIFE,

19d TAKE HER,

19e AND BE GONE."

20a Pharaoh *gave men orders concern-*
ing him;

20b and *they* expelled him, WITH HIS
WIFE AND ALL THAT HE HAD [].

13:1a ABRAM WENT UP FROM EGYPT, HE
AND HIS WIFE, AND ALL THAT HE
HAD, AND LOT WITH HIM, INTO THE
NEGEB.

2a **Abram was very rich in cattle, in
silver, and in gold.**

3a He *journeyed* ON FROM THE SOUTH
AS FAR AS BETHEL, to the place
where he had first pitched his tent,
between Bethel and Ai,

Jubilees 13:10–16

[cf. *Jub.* 13:14a]

b that the Lord plagued Pharaoh
and his house with great plagues
because of Abram's wife Sarai.

14a **Abram was honoured with an
extremely large amount of pro-**
perty: sheep, cattle, asses, HORSES,
camels, male and female servants,
SILVER, and very (much) gold.

b LOT—HIS BROTHER'S SON—ALSO
HAD PROPERTY.

[]

15a Pharaoh *returned Abram's wife
Sarai*

b and *he* expelled him [] FROM THE
LAND OF EGYPT.

[]

[cf. *Jub.* 13:14]

c He *went* [] to the place where he
had first pitched his tent—to the
place of the altar [], **with Ai on
the east and Bethel on the west.**

Genesis 12:9–13:4

Jubilees 13:10–16

4a to the place of the altar, which he had made in the beginning;

[]

d HE BLESSED THE LORD HIS GOD WHO HAD BROUGHT HIM BACK SAFELY.

16a DURING THIS FORTY-FIRST JUBILEE, IN THE THIRD YEAR OF THE FIRST WEEK, HE RETURNED TO THIS PLACE.

b and THERE *Abram* called on the Lord's name.

[]

b HE OFFERED A SACRIFICE ON IT
c and *he* called on the Lord's name:

d "YOU, LORD, MOST HIGH GOD, ARE MY GOD FOREVER AND EVER."

Despite the extensive omissions (Gen 12:11–15a, 16a, 18–19; 13:1; elements of Gen 12:10b, 20b; 13:3a) and additions (*Jub.* 13:10c–e, 11b–12a, 14b, 15d–16b, d; elements of 13:11a, 15b), the text of Gen 12:9–13:4 is clearly recognizable in *Jubilees*. I refer to the verbatim quotations (*Jub.* 13:10f, 11a, 13b, 15c, 16c) and the variations (*Jub.* 13:10ab, 13a, 15a–c).

We may assume that the transformations in *Jubilees* are brought about by several problems in the story of Abram and Sarai's journey to Egypt (Gen 12:10–20). How is it possible that Abram, who is called righteous (cf. Gen 15:6) and with whom God had made a covenant (Genesis 15; 17), was driven to a ruse to save his own skin? How could he accept a payment for the abduction of his own wife by the Pharaoh? Did Abram pimp his own wife? Was that how he became wealthy? Another problem is that it is not made clear in the text of Genesis whether Pharaoh had intercourse with Sarai or not. Finally, at the end of the text, Pharaoh rebuked Abram and sent him away.

A first rewriting of this story one can find in Genesis itself. The story of Abraham who settles in the land of King Abimelech (Gen 20:1–18) resembles in many respects the story of Abram in Egypt.²² Abram resorts to the same trick, but several aspects of the story soften the implications of Gen 12:10–20. In Gen 20, it is mentioned explicitly that Abimelech did not approach Sarah (cf. Gen 20:4). God warned Abimelech that he would die

²² Cf. also the story of Isaac and Rebekah in Gerar (Gen 26:1–33). For the relationship between Gen 12:10–20 and Gen 20:1–18, see, e.g., J. van Seters, *Abraham in History and Tradition* (New Haven 1975), 171–75; Westermann, *Genesis 12–36*, 389–91; Coats, *Genesis*, 149–51.

unless he returned Sarah (Gen 20:3–7). Abimelech defends his innocence (Gen 20:4–5), and he rebukes Abraham (Gen 20:9–10), who also defends himself (Gen 20:11–13), claiming Sarah is indeed also his sister. At the end, Abraham prays for Abimelech and his people (Gen 20:17–18).

Outside the Bible, *Jub.* 13:10–16 contains one of the oldest retellings of the stay of Abram and Sarai in Egypt (Gen 12:10–20). It is a heavily abbreviated version of it. Several aspects, however, are adopted more or less verbatim: the famine in the land as the reason for the journey to Egypt (*Jub.* 13:10f),²³ the actual mention of the journey (*Jub.* 13:11a), and the fact that the Lord plagues Pharaoh (*Jub.* 13:13b). Other aspects are adopted with some variation, such as the abduction of Sarai (*Jub.* 13:13a),²⁴ the gifts of Pharaoh for Abram (*Jub.* 13:14a),²⁵ and the mention of the actual expulsion (*Jub.* 13:15). In the following scheme, I present a general overview of these elements in both texts.

Genesis	<i>Jubilees</i>
1. Abram travels to south (12:9)	1. Abram travels to south (13:10ab)
2. –	2. Hebron built (13:10cd)
3. –	3. Abram travels further southwards (13:10e)
4. Famine in the land (12:10)	4. Famine in the land (13:10f)
5. Travel to Egypt (12:10b)	5. Travel to Egypt (13:11a)
6. Abram's ruse (12:11–13)	6. –
7. Sarai spotted on the entrance to Egypt (12:14–15a)	7. –
8. –	8. Five years in Egypt (13:11b)
9. Abduction of Sarai (12:15b)	9. Abduction of Sarai (13:11c, 13a)
10. –	10. Tanais built (13:12)
11. Abram honoured (12:16; 13:2)	11. –
12. The Lord plagued Pharaoh and his house (12:17a)	12. The Lord plagued Pharaoh and his house (13:13b)
13. –	13. Abram honoured (13:14)
14. Abram rebuked by Pharaoh (12:18–19)	14. –
15. Expulsion (12:20)	15. Expulsion (13:15)
16. Journey to Bethel (13:1–4a)	16. Journey to Bethel (13:15c)
17. Priestly acts (13:4b)	17. Priestly acts (13:15d–16)

²³ Note that the famine is mentioned only once in *Jubilees*. In Genesis it is mentioned twice (Gen 12:10a, b).

²⁴ The abduction of Sarai is also mentioned in *Jub.* 13:11c by way of anticipation.

²⁵ *Jub.* 13:14a is a conflation of Gen 12:16b and 13:2.

Most striking are the omissions, such as the episode in which Abram and Sarai enter Egypt and in which Abram instructs Sarai that she should say that she is his sister (Gen 12:11–13); Abram's fear to be killed (Gen 12:12c); and the mention that Abram tries to save his own life on her account (Gen 12:13c). In the rewriting of *Jubilees*, Abram did not resort to a ruse. He did not make plans with the intention to deceive the Egyptians to save his own life on Sarai's account. *Jubilees* improves Abram's character that is somewhat dubious in the book of Genesis.

There are some more transformations in the text of *Jubilees* with regard to Genesis. They have to do with the chronology of the couple's stay in Egypt (cf. *Jub.* 13:11ab, 12, 16a), which is related to the chronological framework of the book.

First, in the story of Genesis, it is said that the Egyptians saw the beauty of Sarai *immediately* when Abram entered Egypt (Gen 12:14), and that the nobles reported it to Pharaoh (Gen 12:15), whereupon Sarai was taken into Pharaoh's house (Gen 12:15b). In *Jubilees*, it is said that they had already lived for *five* years in Egypt. It is not said what they did in these five years, but apparently the author does not want to mention that Sarai's beauty was observed in this period.

Secondly, Hebron was built "at that time" (*Jub.* 13:10c; cf. 13:8: "During the first year of the seventh week," which is 1954 *a.m.*), and Abram stayed there "for two years" (*Jub.* 13:10d; 1955–1956 *a.m.*). He then went to Egypt "in the third year of the week" (*Jub.* 13:11a; 1956 *a.m.*), where he stayed "for five years before she was taken" (*Jub.* 13:11bc; 1956–1961 *a.m.*). Tanais, the Greek word for Hebrew Zoan, was built "at that time, seven years after Hebron" (*Jub.* 13:12a; 1961 *a.m.*). Finally, Abram returned to his place "during the forty-first jubilee, in the third year of the first week" (*Jub.* 13:16a; 1963 *a.m.*). In this way, Abram's stay in Hebron, his sojourn in Egypt and his return to Hebron are dated accurately. The relative dating of Hebron and Tanais (Zoan) in *Jub.* 13:10–12 corresponds with Num 13:22 ("Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt").²⁶ This all means that, according to *Jubilees*, Sarai stayed for two years with Pharaoh, probably in his house.

The duration of Abram's stay in Egypt was somewhat problematic for ancient interpreters.²⁷ There is a tendency, especially in rabbinic texts, to minimize the time Abram spent in Egypt to a very short period. This is

²⁶ In Ps 78:12, 43 Zoan is a region in Egypt ("in the fields of Zoan"). In Isa 30:4 Zoan is mentioned as an official city ("his officials are at Zoan and his envoys reach Hanes").

²⁷ See B.Z. Wacholder, "How Long Did Abram Stay in Egypt? A Study in Hellenistic, Qumran, and Rabbinic Chronology," *HUCA* 35 (1964): 43–56.

derived from Gen 12:4 (“Abram was *seventy-five* years old when he departed from Haran”) and Gen 16:16 (“Abram was *eighty-six* years old when Hagar bore Ishmael to Abram”) in relation to Gen 16:3 (“After Abram had dwelt *ten* years in the land of Canaan, Sarai, Abram’s wife, took Hagar the Egyptian, her maid, and gave her to Abram her husband as a wife”). This allows only a short period for their stay in Egypt. Some texts even speak about a stay of one night.²⁸ The dominant view in Hellenistic times (see, e.g., Josephus, Pseudo-Eupolemus, Artapanus), however, was to emphasize a lengthy stay in Egypt. In this period, Abram teaches his wisdom to the Egyptians. The lengthy stay can be derived from a different understanding of Gen 16:3: when it is read in a way that it means Abram’s first entrance into Canaan, then a lengthy stay can be included.²⁹ As we have seen, this view can also be found in *Jubilees*, five years probably unobserved, and two years in Pharaoh’s house.

According to the story in Genesis, Sarai was taken into Pharaoh’s house, after she was observed by the Egyptians and the nobles (Gen 12:14–15). Abram anticipated the attractiveness of Sarai’s beauty for the Egyptians (Gen 12:11c–12). This might imply that Sarai’s abduction is part of Abram’s plan. In *Jubilees*, however, it is said that Pharaoh took Sarai by force. This implies that the initiative and the execution of the action is completely on the side of Pharaoh and that it is not part of Abram’s plan.

Related to this point is a transformation in the relationship between Sarai’s stay in Pharaoh’s house and the generosity of Pharaoh towards Abram. In Genesis, after Sarai was taken into Pharaoh’s house, Pharaoh dealt well with Abram (Gen 12:15b–16). Only thereafter the Lord plagued Pharaoh’s house (Gen 12:17). In *Jubilees*, immediately after Sarai was taken (*Jub.* 13:13a), the Lord plagued Pharaoh and his house (*Jub.* 13:13b). Only after this, the text speaks about the honor made towards Abram (*Jub.* 13:14). *Jubilees* seems to avoid conceiving of Abram’s property as a reward because of Sarai. It seems to be a reaction after the divine intervention.³⁰

In Genesis, it is not stated explicitly whether Pharaoh had intercourse with Sarai or not. After Sarai was taken into Pharaoh’s house, Pharaoh dealt well with Abram (Gen 12:16). Only thereafter the Lord plagued

²⁸ See *Gen. Rab.* 41:1.

²⁹ The seven-year stay in these works might also be related to the chronology in the Jacob story (cf. Gen 43:1; 45:6). See also Falk, *Parabiblical Texts*, 92; White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture*, 119–20.

³⁰ It is also said that Lot had property (*Jub.* 13:14b). This remark anticipates the coming separation of Lot from Abram (*Jub.* 13:17–21). It is not made explicit why Pharaoh honoured Abram.

Pharaoh's house (Gen 12:17). Moreover, in Genesis, Pharaoh says that he took her for his wife (Gen 12:19b: "so that I took her for my wife"). This all might imply that Pharaoh had intercourse with Sarai. In the parallel story of Abram and Sarai's visit to Egypt, namely their visit to the king of Gerar in Gen 20, Abram resorts to the same trick, but several aspects of the story soften the implications of Gen 12:10–20. In Gen 20, it is mentioned explicitly that Abimelech did not approach Sarah (cf. Gen 20:4). *Jubilees* is not explicit with regard to this point. On the one hand, Sarai was taken by force, and moreover she stayed for two years in Pharaoh's house. This causes one to suppose the possibility at a narrative level that Pharaoh would have had intercourse with Sarai. On the other hand, immediately after it is said that Pharaoh took Sarai by force, the Lord plagued Pharaoh and his house (*Jub.* 13:13b). This might imply that intercourse was impossible, but it is not stated explicitly.³¹ It is not even said what these plagues imply. *Jubilees* does not repeat the actual words of Pharaoh that he took Sarai as his wife (cf. Gen 12:19b). Despite the lack of clarity at this point, I think it is not imaginable that Sarai would have been defiled by Pharaoh, since according to the law of Deut 24:1–4 (cf. Jer 3:1), a wife cannot return to her first husband after having a second husband. If Sarai and Pharaoh would have had intercourse, then Isaac would have been an illegitimate child.³²

Finally, the rebuke of Pharaoh after the divine intervention (Gen 12:8–19) is missing. Although the author of *Jubilees* might have thought that it was Abram who was to blame for the events in Egypt, he did not mention it. Also this omission in *Jubilees* helps to enhance Abram's character.

Summarizing, one can say that according to the abbreviated retelling in *Jubilees*, Abram did not resort to a ruse. The abduction of Sarai was not part of Abram's plan to save his own life on her account. Sarai's beauty was not immediately observed after the couple's entrance into Egypt, only after five years. Sarai was taken by force by the Pharaoh, and she stayed in

³¹ It is possible that there is an internal contradiction in the text of *Jubilees*. On the one hand, the divine interventions apparently took place immediately after the abduction of Sarai (*Jub.* 13:13: "And it came to pass when Pharaoh took Abram's wife Sarai by force, that the Lord plagued Pharaoh and his house"). On the other hand, the chronology of the text reckons with an interval of two years Sarai's stay in Pharaoh's house. It is not said that the affliction lasted for a period of two years, although it is not impossible. In the *Genesis Apocryphon*, after Sarai was taken by force by Pharaoh, Abram wept bitterly and prayed to God to bring judgment. That same night God sent an ongoing affliction, which lasted for two years (1QapGen 20:17–18).

³² Moreover, very strict requirements on marriage are formulated with regard to the priestly line (Lev 21:7). Cf. Falk, *Parabiblical Texts*, 84.

his house for two years. Immediately after she was taken, God started with his afflictions on Pharaoh's house. The abbreviated rewriting makes clear that Abram was powerless to resist Sarai's abduction, and it removes any hint that Abram would have accepted the new situation and the property he received. He did not receive any wealth when Sarai was taken. Only after God's intervention Abram was honored.

3. THE SEPARATION OF ABRAM AND LOT (GEN 13:5-18 AND *JUB.* 13:17-21)

Genesis 13:5-18

Jubilees 13:17-21

- 5 AND LOT, WHO WENT WITH ABRAM,
ALSO HAD FLOCKS AND HERDS AND
TENTS,
- 6a SO THAT THE LAND COULD NOT
SUPPORT BOTH OF THEM DWELLING
TOGETHER;
- b FOR THEIR POSSESSIONS WERE
SO GREAT THAT THEY COULD NOT
DWELL TOGETHER,
- 7a AND THERE WAS STRIFE BETWEEN
THE HERDSMEN OF ABRAM'S CATTLE
AND THE HERDSMEN OF LOT'S
CATTLE.
- b AT THAT TIME THE CANAANITES
AND THE PERIZZITES DWELT IN THE
LAND.
- 8a THEN ABRAM SAID TO LOT,
- b "LET THERE BE NO STRIFE BETWEEN
YOU AND ME, AND BETWEEN YOUR
HERDSMEN AND MY HERDSMEN;
- c FOR WE ARE KINSMEN.
- 9a IS NOT THE WHOLE LAND BEFORE
YOU?
- b SEPARATE YOURSELF FROM ME.
- c IF YOU TAKE THE LEFT HAND, THEN I
WILL GO TO THE RIGHT;
- d OR IF YOU TAKE THE RIGHT HAND,
THEN I WILL GO TO THE LEFT."
- 10a AND LOT LIFTED UP HIS EYES,
b AND SAW THAT THE JORDAN VALLEY
WAS WELL WATERED EVERYWHERE
LIKE THE GARDEN OF THE LORD,
LIKE THE LAND OF EGYPT, IN THE
DIRECTION OF ZOAR;

Genesis 13:5-18

- c THIS WAS BEFORE THE LORD DESTROYED SODOM AND GOMORRAH.
- 11a SO LOT CHOSE FOR HIMSELF ALL THE JORDAN VALLEY,
- b AND LOT JOURNEYED EAST;
- c THUS THEY SEPARATED FROM EACH OTHER.
- 12a ABRAM SETTLED IN THE LAND OF CANAAN,
- b while Lot settled AMONG THE CITIES OF THE VALLEY
- c AND MOVED HIS TENT AS FAR AS Sodom.
- 13a Now the men of Sodom WERE WICKED AND very sinful AGAINST THE LORD.
[]
- 14a The Lord said to Abram,
after Lot had separated from him:
[]
- b "Lift up your eyes,
- c AND LOOK from the place where you are, toward the north, the south, **the east and the west;**
- 15 because all the land which you see **to you I will give and to your seed** forever.
- 16a I will establish your descendants like the *dust* of the *earth*;
- b if a man can count the *dust* of the earth,
- c your seed *will also be counted*.

Jubilees 13:17-21

- 17a IN THE FOURTH YEAR OF THIS WEEK LOT SEPARATED FROM HIM.
- b Lot settled in [] Sodom.
- c Now the people of Sodom were [] very sinful [].
- 18a HE WAS BROKENHEARTED THAT HIS BROTHER'S SON HAD SEPARATED FROM HIM
- b FOR HE HAD NO CHILDREN.
- 19a IN THAT YEAR WHEN LOT WAS TAKEN CAPTIVE, the Lord said to Abram
- b —after Lot had separated from him, IN THE FOURTH YEAR OF THIS WEEK—
- c AND SAID TO HIM:
- d "Lift up your eyes [] from the place where you have been living toward the north, the south, **the west, and the east;**
- 20a because all the land which you see **to you and your seed I will give** forever.
- b I will establish your descendants like the *sand* of the *sea*.
- c if a man can count the *sand* of the earth,
- d your seed *will not be counted*.

Genesis 13:5–18

- 17a Get up,
 b [] walk IN THE LAND through its length and its breadth,
 []
 c because I will give it to *you*.”
 18a ABRAM MOVED HIS TENT,
 b and *he came* []
 c and settled *by the oaks of Mamre, which are at Hebron;*
 d AND THERE HE BUILT AN ALTAR TO THE LORD.

Jubilees 13:17–21

- 21a Get up
 b AND walk [] through its length and its breadth.
 c LOOK AT EVERYTHING
 d because I will give it to *your seed*.”
 []
 e *Abram went to Hebron*
 f and settled *there*.
 []

The author of *Jubilees* clearly omits almost entirely Gen 13:5–12a, referring to this passage only by way of summary (*Jub.* 13:17a). The rest of the text of Genesis (Gen 13:12b–18) is followed quite closely. There are a few more omissions (Gen 13:18a, d; elements of Gen 13:12b, 13a, 14c, 16c, 17b), some additions (*Jub.* 13:18, 19c, 21c; elements in *Jub.* 13:19a, b, 20d), and a few variations.

Jubilees 13:17a summarizes Gen 13:5–12a. Moreover, it also puts the separation of Abram and Lot into the chronological framework of the book (“In the fourth year of this week”; repeated in 13:19b). Furthermore, it seems to present the events as an activity undertaken by Lot (“*Lot* separated from him”). The passage about the struggle between Abram’s herdsmen and those of Lot (Gen 13:5–10) is not mentioned in *Jubilees*. Thus, complete responsibility for the separation of Lot and Abram is put squarely on the shoulders of Lot, who is the one who leaves: Abram and his herdsmen are not to blame. *Jubilees* adds an emotional response to the event by Abram in saying that he grieved for Lot: “He was broken-hearted that his brother’s son had separated from him for he had no children” (*Jub.* 13:18). Abram’s response corresponds to Terah’s reaction earlier in the text: “Take Lot, the son of your brother Haran, as your son” (*Jub.* 12:30). Despite the dubious birth of Lot (his mother is unnamed, and her origins are unknown),³³ and the problems of his father (idolatry),³⁴ the author of *Jubilees* seems to confirm that there is a certain affinity between Abram and Lot, who seems to function as a sort of substitute son. Despite this, Abram was not able to keep Lot on the right path.

³³ Cf. *Jub.* 12:10.

³⁴ Cf. *Jub.* 12:12–14.

Jubilees 13:17bc, 19–21 are quite close to the biblical text of Gen 13:12b–18d. However, some transformations can be noted. *Jubilees* 13:17b summarizes Gen 12:12bc.³⁵ All of the emphasis here is put on Sodom, with mention of the other cities of the valley omitted. This emphasis can also be found in *Jub.* 13:22–29. Furthermore, in *Jub.* 13:17c the expressions “they were wicked” (רעים) and “against the Lord” (ליהוה) are again omitted. However, *Jub.* 13:19 also contains some additions. The reference to the chronological system is repeated twice (13:19a: “In that year”; 13:19b: “In the fourth year of this week”). At the same time, the rewriting points forward to the next episode (“when Lot was taken captive”), while the introductory formula is repeated (13:19c). In the quotation, one can find a small omission (13:19d: “and look”) and a permutation (the reversing of west and east).³⁶ In *Jub.* 13:20, there is a slight change in the order of the words with regard to Gen 13:15 (“to you I will give and to your seed”). While Gen 13:16ab contains the phrase כעפר הארץ (“[like] the dust of the earth”) twice, *Jubilees* reads first *ḥoḏā bāḥr* (13:20b: “the sand of the sea”) and then *ḥoḏā maḏr* (13:20c: “the sand of the earth”).³⁷ *Jubilees* 13:20d (“your seed will *not* be counted”) can possibly be interpreted as a variation of Gen 13:16c (“your seed will *also* be counted”), even though the word גם (Gen 13:16c: “also”) is omitted in *Jub.* 13:20d, which adds a negative here.³⁸ Genesis expresses that if a man can count the dust of the earth, then also your seed can be counted. However, since nobody can count the dust of the earth, also your seed cannot be counted. *Jubilees* adds to this story that even if it would be possible to count the sand of the earth (which is impossible), even then your seed cannot be counted. *Jubilees* 13:21b adds a copulative (“and”) and omits “in the land,” although it is presupposed in the continuation. The phrase “look at everything” (*Jub.* 13:21c) is added. The phrase “I will give

³⁵ See the comparable strategy of simplifying Abram’s itinerary in *Jub.* 13:1a (cf. Gen 12:4), 1b (cf. Gen 12:5ab).

³⁶ The Ethiopic text of *Jubilees* is close to the biblical versions of Gen 13:14c, except for the inversion of west and east. The Latin text reads in the order: west, south, east, north. 1QapGen 21:9 has east, west, south, north. See VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees, II*, 79. See also H. Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen: oder die Kleine Genesis; unter Beifügung des revidirten Textes der in der Ambrosiana aufgefundenen lateinischen Fragmente* (Leipzig 1874; repr. Amsterdam, 1970), 98; Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 147.

³⁷ According to Charles, the first expression is borrowed from Gen 22:17 וכחול אשר על שפת הים (“and like the sand which is on the seashore”), but the expression is slightly different.

³⁸ This word is also omitted in many other manuscripts but is supported by the Latin text. It is also found in some witnesses of the Septuagint, in Targum Onqelos, and in 1QapGen 21:13. See Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 100; VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees, II*, 79. In *Jub.* 19:22, which is also a quotation of Gen 13:16, the negative is omitted.

it to you” (Gen 13:17c) is transformed into “I will give it to your seed” (see the discussion above). Finally, *Jub.* 13:21e,f is an abbreviated version of Gen 13:18 with the itinerary also somewhat simplified.

In conclusion, one can say that apart from the large omission of the beginning, *Jub.* 13:17–21 is close to Gen 13:5–18. However, in contrast to Genesis, *Jubilees* places complete responsibility for the separation of Lot and Abram on Lot’s shoulders.

4. THE WAR OF THE KINGS (GEN 14 AND *JUB.* 13:22–29)

4.1. *An Overall Comparison of Genesis 14 and Jubilees 13:22–29*

The demarcation of this passage is clear both in Genesis and in *Jubilees*. In Genesis, the passage begins with the macro-syntactical sign וַיְהִי־ (Gen 14:1: “And it happened”), in *Jubilees* with an indication of time (*Jub.* 13:22: “In this year”). The story is distinct from the rest of the patriarchal narrative due to its subject matter. Here one comes across a report of a military campaign, with several kings mentioned by name, while the mention of Abram and Lot connects the story with its literary context.

As far as the structure is concerned, a division into two main parts has been noted.³⁹ The first part (Gen 14:1–11) reports a military campaign while the second (Gen 14:12–24) narrates a liberation story. Most authors argue that Gen 14:18–20—the Melchizedek periscope—which interrupts the line of the narrative, is a separate unit that was inserted at a later stage.⁴⁰ The perspective of the first part is that of the foreign kings, and the report is built up quite stereotypically. Abram and Lot do not play a role, in contrast to the second part of the text. It is clear, however, that in the final form of the text both units are interrelated.⁴¹ The taking captive

³⁹ Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 223–28; Coats, *Genesis*, 118–22; Wenham, *Genesis 1–15*, 304–5; Seebass, *Genesis II.1 Vätergeschichte I*, 45–7.

⁴⁰ Cf. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 223–24, who stresses the difference in the genre of Gen 14:1–11 (report of a battle) and Gen 14:12–17, 21–24 (narrative of liberation).

⁴¹ For an overview of historical-critical issues with regard to Genesis 14, see, e.g., J.A. Emerton, “The Riddle of Genesis XIV,” *VT* 21 (1971): 403–39; G. von Rad, *Das erste Buch Mose: Genesis* (ATD 2–4; 9th ed.; Göttingen, 1964), 175; Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 223–26. Many scholars think that the narrative about Abram’s military achievements is a composite unit incorporating texts that originally had no reference to the patriarch. See also E.F. Mason, *You are a Priest Forever: Second Temple Jewish Messianism and the Priestly Christology of the Epistle to the Hebrews* (STDJ 74; Leiden, 2008), 141. I refrain from a historical-critical analysis of this text, because historical-critical questions were not an issue for the author of *Jubilees*.

of Lot (Gen 14:12) is narrated as a consequence of the fourth war between the king of Sodom and his allies against Chedorlaomer and his allies. This war was lost by the king of Sodom, and as one of the consequences, Lot, who lived in Sodom, was taken captive. This capture provokes the subsequent act of liberation by Abram, which can be seen as another war: the battle of Abram against Chedorlaomer and his allies. This means that in the version of Genesis, five different wars are mentioned (14:1–4; 14:5–6; 14:7; 14:8–12; 14:13–15). If we take the wars as the point of departure for the textual structure, it is possible to distinguish three parts, because the second and third wars, and the fourth and fifth wars are closely connected. The first part (Gen 14:1–4) describes the war between Chedorlaomer and his allies (four kings) and Bera and his allies (five kings) due to a rebellion by Bera and his allies in the thirteenth year. The war takes place in the fourteenth year. The second part (Gen 14:5–7) reports the war of Chedorlaomer and his allies against the Rephaim and others (Gen 14:5–6), and the war against the Amalekites and others (Gen 14:7). The third part (Gen 14:8–24) first describes a war between Sodom and his allies (five kings) and Chedorlaomer and his allies (four kings) (Gen 14:8–12), which Chedorlaomer won. His victory is described implicitly by the mention of the flight of the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah and the act of plundering. The capture of Lot and the taking of his possessions is the immediate cause of Abram starting a war against Chedorlaomer (Gen 14:13–15). Abram won this struggle, after which the events following his victory are described (Gen 14:16–24): he returns what was taken (Gen 14:16), and he receives the gratitude of the king of Sodom (Gen 14:17, 21–24), as well as Melchizedek, king of Salem (Gen 14:18–20).

The Melchizedek passage (Gen 14:18–20) interrupts the description of Abram's meeting with the king of Sodom. Melchizedek appears without introduction and then disappears after a few verses. He is said to be king of Salem and priest of God Most High.

Jubilees seems to be interested mainly in Abram's combat and victory. The first three wars (Gen 14:1–7) are not mentioned, although some later details are taken over (cf. Gen 14:3 and *Jub.* 13:22). The fourth battle in Genesis (Gen 14:8–12) is taken over (*Jub.* 13:22–23) because it establishes the motive for Abram's war. However, this battle is not initiated by the king of Sodom, as in Genesis, but by Chedorlaomer. Therefore, although *Jub.* 13:22–29 rewrites Gen 14:1–24, it is mainly a rewriting of Gen 14:8–24. Several elements of the biblical text are incorporated into the rewritten text, but there are also omissions, additions and variations. The following scheme provides an overall comparison of Gen 14:1–24 and *Jub.* 13:22–29.

Genesis 14:1–24		<i>Jubilees</i> 13:22–29	
14:1–4	FIRST WAR (CHEDORLAOMER AND HIS ALLIES AGAINST BERA AND HIS ALLIES)	[]	
14:5–6	SECOND WAR (CHEDORLAOMER AND HIS ALLIES AGAINST THE REPHAIM AND OTHERS)		
14:7	THIRD WAR (CHEDORLAOMER AND HIS ALLIES AGAINST THE AMALEKITES AND OTHERS)		
14:8–12	<i>Fourth War (the king of Sodom and his allies against Chedorlaomer and his allies)</i>	13:22–23	<i>War of Chedorlaomer and his allies against kings of Sodom and Gomorrah</i>
14:13–15	<i>Fifth War (Abram against Chedorlaomer and his allies)</i>	13:24–25c	<i>War of Abram against Chedorlaomer</i>
14:16–24	<i>Events after Abram's victory</i>	13:25d–29	<i>Events after Abram's victory</i>
	16 RESTITUTION OF PEOPLE AND GOODS	[]	
	17 King of Sodom		
	18–20 <i>Melchizedek</i>	25e–f	<i>Abram to Melchizedek</i>
	[]	25g–27	<i>LAW OF THE TITHE</i>
	21 <i>King of Sodom</i>	28	King of Sodom
	22–24 <i>Abram</i>	29	<i>Abram</i>

4.2. A Synoptic Overview of Genesis 14 and Jubilees 13:22–29

Genesis 14:1–7 (No parallel in *Jubilees*)

- 1 IN THE DAYS OF AMRAPHEL KING OF SHINAR, ARIOCH KING OF ELLASAR, CHEDORLAOMER KING OF ELAM, AND TIDAL KING OF THE NATIONS,
- 2a THESE KINGS MADE WAR WITH BERA KING OF SODOM, BIRSHA KING OF GOMORRAH, SHINAB KING OF ADMAH, SHEMEBER KING OF ZEBOIIM, AND THE KING OF BELA (THAT IS, ZOAR).
- 3a AND ALL THESE JOINED FORCES IN THE VALLEY OF SIDDIM (THAT IS, THE SALT SEA).
- 4a TWELVE YEARS THEY HAD SERVED CHEDORLAOMER,
- b BUT IN THE THIRTEENTH YEAR THEY REBELLED.
- 5 IN THE FOURTEENTH YEAR CHEDORLAOMER AND THE KINGS WHO WERE WITH HIM CAME AND SUBDUED THE REPHAIM IN ASHTEROTHKARNAIM, THE ZUZIM IN HAM, THE EMIM IN SHAVEHKIRIATHAIM,
- 6 AND THE HORITES IN THEIR MOUNT SEIR AS FAR AS ELPARAN ON THE BORDER OF THE WILDERNESS;
- 7a THEN THEY TURNED BACK
- b AND CAME TO ENMISHPAT (THAT IS, KADESH),
- c AND SUBDUED ALL THE COUNTRY OF THE AMALEKITES, AND ALSO THE AMORITES WHO DWELT IN HAZAZONTAMAR.

Genesis 14:8–24

- 8a THE KING OF SODOM, THE KING OF GOMORRAH, THE KING OF ADMAH, THE KING OF ZEBOIIM, AND THE KING OF BELA (THAT IS, ZOAR) WENT OUT,
- b AND THEY JOINED BATTLE IN THE VALLEY OF SIDDIM
- 9a WITH [] Chedorlaomer, the king of Elam, ***Tidal***, the king of the nations, Amraphel, the king of Shinar, and Arioch, the king of *Ellasar*,
FOUR KINGS AGAINST FIVE.
- 10a ***the valley of Siddim was full of bitumen pits;***
[]
- b and the king of Sodom AND OF GOMORRAH fled,
- c and *they fell into them*,
- d AND THE REST FLED TO THE MOUNTAIN.
- 11a *The enemy took ALL THE GOODS OF Sodom and Gomorrah*, AND ALL THEIR PROVISIONS,
- b AND WENT THEIR WAY.
- 12a *They took* [] Lot and [] his possessions, the son of Abram's brother,
- b *and they went* [].
- c HE DWELT IN SODOM,
- 13a One who had escaped came,
- b and told Abram THE HEBREW, WHO WAS LIVING BY THE OAKS OF MAMRE THE AMORITE, BROTHER OF ESHCOL AND OF ANER;
- c THESE WERE ALLIES OF ABRAM.

Jubilees 13:22–29

- []
- 22a IN THIS YEAR Chedorlaomer, the king of Elam, Amraphel, the king of Shinar, Arioch, the king of *Selasar*, and ***Tergal***, the king of the nations CAME
[]
- b AND KILLED THE KING OF GOMORRAH,
- c and the king of Sodom [] fled.
- d *Many people fell with wounds in the valley of Saddimaw, in the Salt Sea.*⁴²
[]
- 23a *They took captive* [] Sodom, Adamah, and Zeboim [].
- b *They ALSO took captive* Lot, the son of Abram's brother, and ALL his possessions.
- c *He went as far as Dan.*
[]
- 24a One who had escaped came
- b and told Abram []

⁴² "Valley" is an emendation. See Charles, Mashafa kufale, 48, note 5; VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees, II*, 80.

Genesis 14:8–24

- 14a ABRAM HEARD that (the son of) his brother had been taken captive,
 b *he led forth his trained men, born in his house, THREE HUNDRED AND EIGHTEEN OF THEM,*
 c and *he* went in pursuit as far as **Dan**.
- 15a AND HE DIVIDED HIS FORCES AGAINST THEM BY NIGHT, HE AND HIS SERVANTS,
 b AND ROUTED THEM AND PURSUED THEM TO HOBAB, NORTH OF DAMASCUS.
- 16a THEN HE BROUGHT BACK ALL THE GOODS,
 b AND ALSO BROUGHT BACK HIS KINSMAN LOT WITH HIS GOODS, AND THE WOMEN AND THE PEOPLE.
- 17a AFTER HIS RETURN FROM THE DEFEAT OF CHEDORLAOMER AND THE KINGS WHO WERE WITH HIM, THE KING OF SODOM WENT OUT TO MEET HIM AT THE VALLEY OF SHAVEH (THAT IS, THE KING'S VALLEY).
- 18a MELCHIZEDEK KING OF SALEM BROUGHT OUT BREAD AND WINE;
 b HE WAS PRIEST OF GOD MOST HIGH.
- 19a AND HE BLESSED HIM
 b AND SAID:
 c "BLESSED BE ABRAM BY GOD MOST HIGH, MAKER OF HEAVEN AND EARTH;
- 20a AND BLESSED BE GOD MOST HIGH, WHO HAS DELIVERED YOUR ENEMIES INTO YOUR HAND!"
 b And he gave *him* a **tithe of everything**.

Jubilees 13:22–29

- that the son of his brother had been taken captive.
 25a *He armed his household servants,*
 []
- 25b {And *Abram* went []
 []
- c [] and killed Chedorlaomer.
- 25d UPON RETURNING, HE TOOK a **tithe of everything**

Genesis 14:8–24

- 21a And the king of Sodom []
 said TO ABRAM:
 b “[] *Give me* the persons [],
 c *but take the possession for your-
 self.*”
 22a Abram said to *the king of Sodom*:
 b “I lift my hands to YHWH the most
 high God, MAKER OF HEAVEN AND
 EARTH,
 23a that I will not take a thread or
 a sandal-thong or anything of
 yours,
 b so that you may not say,
 c ‘I have made Abram rich’
 24a excepting only what the young
 men have eaten, and the share of
 the men who went with me: Aner,
 Eshcol, and Mamre.
 b These will take their share.”

Jubilees 13:22–29

- e and he gave it to *Melchizedek*.
 f THIS TITHE WAS⁴³ FOR ABRAM AND
 HIS DESCENDANTS THE TITHE OF THE
 FIRSTFRUITS FOR THE LORD.
 g THE LORD MADE IT AN ETERNAL
 ORDINANCE THAT THEY SHOULD
 GIVE IT TO THE PRIESTS WHO SERVE
 BEFORE HIM FOR THEM TO POSSESS
 IT FOREVER.
 26a THIS LAW HAS NO LIMIT
 b BECAUSE HE HAS ORDAINED IT FOR
 THE HISTORY OF ETERNITY TO GIVE
 A TENTH OF EVERYTHING TO THE
 LORD—OF SEED, THE VINE, OIL,
 CATTLE, AND SHEEP.
 27a HE HAS GIVEN (IT) TO HIS PRIESTS
 TO EAT AND DRINK JOYFULLY BEFORE
 HIM.
 28a And the king of Sodom CAME UP TO
 HIM,
 b HE KNELT BEFORE HIM
 c AND said []:
 “OUR LORD ABRAM, *kindly give us*
 the persons WHOM YOU RESCUED,
 e *but their booty is to be yours.*”
 29a Abram said to *him*:
 b “I lift my hands to [] the most high
 God []
 that I will not take not a thread or
 sandal-thongs, anything of yours
 c so that you may not say:
 d ‘I have made Abram rich’
 e excepting only what the young men
 have eaten and the share of the men
 who went with me: Awnan, Eshcol,
 and Mamre.
 f These will take their share.”

⁴³ *Jubilees* 13:25b–f is missing from all manuscripts. The given text (“And Abram went and killed Chedorlaomer. Upon returning, he took a tithe of everything, and he gave it to Melchizedek. This tithe was”) is a reconstruction of VanderKam. See the discussion below.

As far as the text of *Jubilees* is concerned there is a lacuna after *Jub.* 13:25a (“He had armed his household servants”) and before most of *Jub.* 13:25f (“for Abram and his descendants the tithe of the firstfruits for the Lord”).⁴⁴ We may assume that it does concern a lacuna here, because the halakic addition to the text (*Jub.* 13:25f–27) deals with the giving of a tenth to the Lord to support the priests of Israel. Without a preceding narrative that dealt with the tithe, this would have been meaningless. The continuation of the text (*Jub.* 13:28–29) is very close to the biblical text (Gen 14:21–24), as is the preceding part of the text (compare *Jub.* 13:22–25a with Gen 14:9–14). None of the manuscripts that were collated by VanderKam for his critical edition of the book offers any additional text; however, several of the uncollated mss. (45 50) do.⁴⁵ Moreover, there is a marginal addition in ms. 38, a manuscript closely related to ms. 40 but not belonging to the same ms. family. On the basis of mss. 38 and 40, VanderKam made an addition to the Ethiopic text (“Abram went and killed Chedorlaomer. Upon returning, he took a tithe of everything and he gave it to Melchizedek. This tithe was . . .”). The reason for the widespread omission in the Ethiopic manuscripts remains unclear, and according to VanderKam, the lacuna might originate at the Hebrew level.⁴⁶ He stresses the “exceedingly tentative nature of the restoration.”⁴⁷ Given the fairly close rendering of Gen 14:9–14b, 21–24 in *Jub.* 13:22–25a, 28–29, there is no reason to believe that the lacuna would not also have contained Abram’s pursuit of the kings in more detail, as well as the restoration of the captives and the booty.⁴⁸ It would have also told of Melchizedek, given the mention of the tithe. If this hypothesis is correct, the omission of Melchizedek from *Jubilees* is not tendentious, as some would have it.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ A. Dillmann, “Das Buch der *Jubiläen* oder die kleine Genesis,” *Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft* 3 (1851): 71, note 84; Charles, *Mashafa kufale*, 48, note 9; Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 101, note; Berger, *Buch der Jubiläen*, 1981, 400–1; Wintermute, “*Jubilees*,” 85; VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*, II, 81–2.

⁴⁵ VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*, II, 81.

⁴⁶ VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*, II, 82.

⁴⁷ VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*, II, 82.

⁴⁸ Cf. also Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 102.

⁴⁹ Cf. E. Tisserant, “Fragments syriaques du Livre des *Jubilés*,” *RB* 30 (1921): 55–86, 206–32 (esp. 215); A. Caquot, “Le livre des *Jubilés*, Melkisédeq et les dîmes,” in *Essays in Honour of Yigael Yadin* (ed. G. Vermes and J. Neusner), *JJS* 33 (1982): 257–64 (esp. 261–64).

4.2.1. *The War between Chedorlaomer and the King of Sodom (Gen 14:8–12; Jub. 13:22–23)*

Gen 14:1–7 is not taken over by *Jubilees*. Only the fourth war, the battle between Sodom and his allies and Chedorlaomer and his allies (Gen 14:8–12), is adopted. *Jubilees* 13:22–23 can therefore be considered primarily as the rewriting of Gen 14:8–12. Some elements of the biblical text are incorporated into the rewritten text, but there are also omissions, additions and some variations, as can be seen in the synoptic overview.

As suggested above, in *Jubilees*, the fourth battle functions as the motive for Abram's war because Lot is involved. In contrast to Genesis, this battle is not initiated by the king of Sodom and his allies but by Chedorlaomer. In Genesis, both parties to the battle are described (Gen 14:8a, 9a), as is the scene of the battle (Gen 14:8b, 10a). In *Jubilees* only the aggressor is mentioned (Chedorlaomer and his allies), after which the focus is immediately on the consequences of the battle. There are some slight variations in the list of kings. *Jubilees* reads "Selasar" rather than אֵלְסָר ("Ellasar"), found in the Masoretic Text. However, many manuscripts of the Septuagint read σελλασαρ or a comparable form. *Jubilees* has "Tergal," whereas the Masoretic Text reads תְּרַעַל ("Tidal"). However, the Septuagint has θαργάλ.⁵⁰ There are some variations in the account of the consequences of the fight, as can be seen in the following overview:

Genesis 14:10–12	<i>Jubilees</i> 13:22–23
	1. HE KILLED THE KING OF GOMORRAH (22b)
1. The king of Sodom AND OF GOMORRAH fled (10b)	2. and the king of Sodom [] fled (22c)
2. <i>They fell into them</i> (10c) = <i>the bitumen pits of the valley of Siddim</i> (10a); cf. 14:3: "the valley of Siddim, that is, the Salt Sea"	3. <i>Many people fell with wounds in the valley of Saddimaw</i> , IN THE SALT SEA (22d)
3. AND THE REST FLED TO THE MOUNTAIN (10d)	
4. <i>The enemy took ALL THE GOODS OF Sodom and Gomorrah, AND ALL THEIR PROVISIONS</i> (11a)	4. <i>They took captive Sodom, ADAMAH, AND ZEBOIM</i> (23a)
5. They took Lot and his possessions, the son of Abram's brother (12a)	5. They took captive Lot, the son of Abram's brother, and all his possessions (23b)

⁵⁰ Although the editors of 1QapGen 21:23 have transcribed the name as תְּרַעַל, according to VanderKam, the reading probably is תְּרַעַל ("Targel"), which corresponds with the Septuagint of Gen 14:1, 9. Cf. J.C. VanderKam, "The Textual Affinities of the Biblical Citations in the Genesis Apocryphon," *JBL* 97 (1978): 51.

According to *Jubilees*, the first consequence of the battle is the death of the king of Gomorrah.⁵¹ This king is therefore not mentioned in the description of the second consequence, the flight of the king of Sodom (*Jub.* 13:22c). The description of the third consequence in *Jubilees* has some deviations with regard to the vocabulary in Genesis, where it is the second consequence. Rather than “they fell into them,” *Jubilees* reads “many people fell *with wounds* in the valley of Saddimaw, *in the Salt Sea*.” *Jubilees* has integrated here Gen 14:10a (“full of bitumen pits of the valley of Siddim”) and Gen 14:3 (“the valley of Siddim, that is the Salt Sea”). *Jubilees* does not take over “full of bitumen pits” but instead reads “with wounds.” *Jubilees* does not take over the third consequence of Gen 14:10 (“And the rest fled to the mountain”). The fourth consequence (*Jub.* 13:23a) corresponds to Gen 14:11a. “Gomorrah” is not taken over, because the king of Gomorrah had already been killed in the version of *Jubilees* (13:22b). Instead, two other kings are mentioned (“Adamah and Zeboim”) as allies of the king of Sodom (Gen 14:8a; cf. 14:2). The fifth ally, the king of Bela is not mentioned in *Jubilees*, nor are the goods and possessions that were confiscated. The fifth consequence is very much parallel to Genesis. The addition “also” with regard to the Masoretic Text can also be found in the Septuagint.⁵² *Jubilees* 13:23c reads “he went as far as Dan.” Charles emended the singular subject to a plural, in congruity with Gen 14:12b and with the preceding subject in *Jubilees*.⁵³ According to Berger, Abram is the subject, probably on the basis of Gen 14:14, where it is clear that it is Abram who went as far as Dan.⁵⁴ However, this seems illogical in the order of the events. Lot can be the only subject of the verb in *Jub.* 13:23c, and therefore Lot and the people who took him captive went as far as Dan and only later Abram came to Dan in pursuit. The omission of Lot’s settling in Sodom and the mention of Dan might solve a problem in the text of Genesis, where it is mentioned that Lot settled in Sodom after it is said that he was taken captive (Gen 14:12), but Abram went as far as Dan to liberate Lot (Gen 14:14).

⁵¹ According to Charles, *Jubilees* corrects the apparent contradiction between Gen 14:10b and Gen 14:17 (“After his return from the defeat of Chedorlaomer and the kings who were with him, the king of Sodom went out to meet him at the Valley of Shaveh, that is, the King’s Valley”). However, Adamah and Zeboim are not mentioned in Gen 14:17, while *Jubilees* does mention them (*Jub.* 13:23a).

⁵² The addition “all” can also be found in Targum Onqelos.

⁵³ Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 100. Note that in the text of Genesis there is also a transition from the plural (Gen 13:11–12b) to the singular (Gen 13:12c). The singular verb is introduced by a *pronomem personale* וְהוּא (“and he”).

⁵⁴ Berger, *Buch der Jubiläen*, 400.

4.2.2. *Abram against Chedorlaomer and the Events after His Victory* (Gen 14:13–24; Jub. 13:24d–29)

Jubilees 13:24–29 rewrites Gen 14:13–24, which describes the battle of Abram against Chedorlaomer (Jub. 13:24–25c; cf. Gen 14:13–15) and the events after Abram's victory (Jub. 13:25d–29; Gen 14:17–24). Both scenes are very much abbreviated in *Jubilees*. The preparations (Gen 14:13c–15b; Jub. 13:25a) and the battle itself (Gen 13:14c–15b; Jub. 13:25bc) are reduced to their essences. Several elements of the biblical text are incorporated into the rewritten text, while there are also many omissions and some variations, as can be seen in the synoptic overview. As we have already mentioned above, there is a lacuna in almost all of the Ethiopic manuscripts. The gap is explained as a scribal lapse and restored by VanderKam in his critical edition. It is in this section of the text that Genesis mentions Melchizedek. The author of *Jubilees* uses this passage as the basis for a halakic addition (Jub. 13:25f–27), that is, the law of tithing.⁵⁵

According to Kugel, the halakic addition is a later insertion from an interpolator,⁵⁶ who would have added his own halakah because the Pentateuchal laws on tithing conflict with each other, stressing that the tithes are to be given to the priests and not to the Levites. It is difficult to know whether the halakic addition would have matched the preceding narrative or not.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, *Jubilees* seems to associate the tithes paid to Melchizedek with those later paid to support the Levitical priests (cf. Lev 27:30–33; Num 18:21–34; Deut 14:22–29). Nothing seems to imply a discontinuity between the two priestly traditions.⁵⁸ It is therefore difficult to follow Kugel's proposal.

5. GENESIS 12:9–14:24 IN THE *GENESIS APOCRYPHON*

5.1. *Introduction*

The *Genesis Apocryphon* was one of the first of the seven manuscripts that were discovered at Qumran in 1947. The scroll was in a very bad condition, and it was only possible to unroll and to take photographs of it in

⁵⁵ VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees* (2001), 49.

⁵⁶ Kugel, "On the Interpolations," 215–72 (esp. 263).

⁵⁷ Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 19, note 51.

⁵⁸ See, for example, Heb 7:4–10 where Abraham's tithe to Melchizedek serves as a symbol of the superiority of Melchizedek's priesthood to that of the Levites. See, Mason, *You are a Priest Forever*, 151.

1954.⁵⁹ The manuscript contains the remainders of 22 columns. The text of the manuscript was written in Aramaic shortly before or shortly after the beginning of the Common Era. Only one copy of this work is known. It is possible that we have to do with the autograph,⁶⁰ but this is far from sure. It is also possible that we have a copy.⁶¹ The work could have been written in Qumran,⁶² but many authors opt for an origin outside Qumran.⁶³ The writer of the manuscript used a kind of ink that affected the leather and that made unreadable the largest part of the text. The state of the manuscript deteriorated in later times, but advanced techniques with infrared have led to some unexpected results.⁶⁴ The official edition of the text in the DJD series (by M. Bernstein and E. Eshel) is still waiting.⁶⁵

The *Genesis Apocryphon* seems to consist of two clearly distinguished parts. The most extensive part (column 1 until the middle of column 21) is written in the first person and consists of three autobiographic stories of Lamech, Noah and Abram. It retells the biblical text of Genesis 6–13 in the same order with many extensive additions. Lamech is the narrator in 1QapGen 2:1–5:18 (cf. Gen 5:18–6:5), Noah in 1QapGen 5:29–17 (cf. Gen 5:32–10:32), and Abram from 1QapGen 19–22 onwards (cf. Gen 11:26–13:18). We are not sure whether the first chapters of Genesis were also included into the scroll, because the beginning of the manuscript is missing. From the middle of column 21 the style is very different. The story shifts to the third person, is very close to the biblical text of Genesis 14 and the

⁵⁹ J.T. Milik, *Apocalypse of Lamech* (DJD I; Oxford, 1955), 86–7 + pl. XVII; N. Avigad, and Y. Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea, Jerusalem, 1956*; Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*.

⁶⁰ See, e.g., White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture*, 106.

⁶¹ See, e.g., Falk, *Parabiblical Texts*, 28–9. In this case, the original work should be dated some time before the beginning of the Common Era.

⁶² White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture*, 107.

⁶³ Falk, *Parabiblical Texts*, *ibidem*.

⁶⁴ J.C. Greenfield, and E. Qimron, “The *Genesis Apocryphon* Col. XII,” in *Studies in Qumran Aramaic* (ed. T. Muraoka; *Abr-Nahrain Supplements* 3; Louvain, 1992), 70–7; M. Morgenstern, E. Qimron, and D. Sivan, “The Hitherto Unpublished Columns of the *Genesis Apocryphon*,” *Abr-Nahrain* 23 (1995): 30–54; M. Lundberg, and B. Zuckerman, “New Aramaic Fragments from Qumran Cave One,” *CALNews* 12 (1996): 1–5; B. Zuckerman and M. Lundberg, “Ancient Texts and Modern Technology: The West Semitic Research Project of the University of California,” *AJS Perspectives* (Fall/Winter 2002): 13–5. Most recently: D.A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon: A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13–17* (STDJ 79; Leiden, 2009).

⁶⁵ E. Qimron, “Towards a New Edition of the *Genesis Apocryphon*,” *JSP* 10 (1992): 11–8; *idem*, “Toward a New Edition of 1Q ‘*Genesis Apocryphon*’,” in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, & Reformulated Issues* (ed. D.W. Parry and E. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden, 1999), 106–9.

beginning of Genesis 15, and has hardly any additions. We do not know how far the reformulation of Genesis lasted, since the last columns of the scroll are lost. Possibly it continued with the story of Genesis 15, and possibly beyond it, but we are not certain where it ended.

The author of the *Genesis Apocryphon* used beside the biblical text other sources as well. The story of Lamech has a clear parallel in *1 Enoch* 106–107. It is possible that the *Genesis Apocryphon* used the text of *1 Enoch* as a source,⁶⁶ but it is also possible that both texts go back to a common source.⁶⁷ The story of Noah has many similarities with the one in the book of *Jubilees*. Many researchers opt for a dependency of the *Genesis Apocryphon* on *Jubilees*,⁶⁸ but others argue for a common source for the common elements in both texts.⁶⁹

5.2. A Synoptic Overview of Genesis and the Genesis Apocryphon

The translation of the *Genesis Apocryphon* is taken from D.A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon: A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13–17* (STDJ 79; Leiden, 2009).

5.2.1. Abram and Sarai's Stay in Egypt (Gen 12:9–13:4 and 1QapGen 19:8–21:4)

Genesis 12:9–13:4

- 9a Abram departed,
b still going toward the south.

10a There was a famine in the land.

1QapGen 19:8–21:4

- (8) . . . So I set out (9) to [g]o there.
I was going to the south OF MOREH . . . ,
AND WENT UNTIL I REACHED HEBRON.
FOR THIS REGION HEBRON WAS B[U]ILT,
AND I LIVED (10) [THE]RE FOR [TWO]
YEARS. vacat
Now there was a famine in ALL OF THIS
land, AND I HEARD THAT THERE WA[S]

⁶⁶ Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 139–40; White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture*, 108–9.

⁶⁷ See G.W.E. Nickelsburg, "Patriarchs Who Worry About their Wives: A Haggadic Tendency in the *Genesis Apocryphon*," in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. M.E. Stone and E.G. Chazon; STDJ 28; Leiden, 1998), 137–58 (esp. 143) (republished in: J. Neusner, and A.J. Avery-Peck, Eds., *George W.E. Nickelsburg in Perspective: An Ongoing Dialogue of Learning*, Vol. 1 [SuppJS] 80; Leiden, 2003], 177–99).

⁶⁸ See, e.g. Falk, *Parabiblical Texts*, 42–80.

⁶⁹ García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 40. Others suggest that the *Genesis Apocryphon* was a source for *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*; cf. Avigad, and Yadin, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 38.

Genesis 12:9–13:4

10b *Abram went to Egypt to sojourn there, for the famine was severe in the land.*

11a *When he was about to enter Egypt,*

11b *he said to Sarai his wife:*

11c *“I know that you are a woman beautiful to behold;*

12a *and when the Egyptians see you, they will say:*

12b *‘This is his wife’;*

12c *then they will kill me,*

12d *but they will let you live.*

1QapGen 19:8–21:4

w[H]EAT IN EGYPT. *So I set out (n) to go . . . [] to the land that is in Egypt . . . [] . . . AND THERE WAS [] I [REACHED] THE CARMON RIVER, ONE OF 12. THE HEADS OF THE RIVER, [I] SAI[D] “ . . . [] . . . [UNTIL] NOW WE HAVE BEEN WITHIN OUR LAND.” SO I CROSSED OVER THE SEVEN HEADS OF THIS RIVER, WHICH 13. AF[TERWARDS EN]TERS [INT]O THE GREAT SEA [O]F SALT. [AFTER THIS I SAID], NOW WE HAVE LEFT OUR LAND and entered the land of the sons of Ham, the land of Egypt.”*

(14) vacat NOW I, ABRAM, DREAMT A DREAM IN THE NIGHT OF MY ENTRY INTO EGYPT. I SAW IN MY DREAM THAT THERE WAS A SINGLE CEDAR AND A SINGLE DATE PALM (15) ON A MOUNTAIN, HAVING SPROUTED TOGETHER FROM [ONE] ROO[T]. AND M[E]N CAME SEEKING TO CUT DOWN AND UPROOT THE [CE]DAR, THEREBY LEAVING THE DATE PALM BY ITSELF. (16) BUT THE DATE PALM CRIED OUT AND SAID, “DO NOT CUT DOWN THE CEDAR, FOR THE TWO OF US ARE SP[RUNG] FROM O[NE] ROOT!” SO THE CEDAR WAS LEFT ON ACCOUNT OF THE DATE PALM, 17. AND THEY DID NOT CUT ME DOWN. vacat THEN I AWOKE IN THE NIGHT FROM MY SLEEP,

and I said to my wife Sarai: I DREAMT (18) A DREAM, (AND) ON ACCO[UNT] OF THIS DREAM I AM AFRAID.” SHE SAID TO ME, “TELL ME YOUR DREAM, SO THAT I MAY KNOW (ABOUT IT).” SO I BEGAN TO TELL HER THIS DREAM, (19) [AND I] SA[ID] TO [HER], “. . . THIS DREAM

who will seek to kill me,

but to spare you.

Yet, this is all the kindness (20) th[at you] must do for me: in all cities that [we will ent]er s[a]y of me,

Genesis 12:9–13:4

- 13a *Say you are my sister,*
- 13b *that it may go well with me because of you,*
- 13c *and that my life may be spared on your account."*

1QapGen 19:8–21:4

*'He is my brother.'
I will live under your protection,
and my life will be spared because of you.*

14a *When Abram entered Egypt*

(21) [T]HEY [WILL S]EEK TO TAKE YOU AWAY FROM ME, AND TO KILL ME." SARAI WEPT BECAUSE OF MY WORDS ON THIS NIGHT

(22) ...when we en[ter]ed into the dist[ri]ct of E[gypt]... AND PHARAOH ZOA[N]... T[HE]N... SARAI TO TURN TOWARD ZOAN 23... [AND] SHE WAS SECRETLY [V]ERY CONCERNED THAT NO MAN WOULD SEE HER (FOR) [FIV]E YEARS. NOW AT THE END OF THOSE FIVE YEARS 24. TO ME, AND THREE MEN FROM NOBLES OF EGYPT... HIS []... BY PHARA[OH] ZOAN BECAUSE OF MY WORDS AND MY WISDOM, AND THEY WERE GIVING 25. M[E MANY GIFTS THEY AS]KED ERUDITION AND WISDOM AND TRUTH FOR THEMSELVES, SO I READ BEFORE THEM THE BOOK OF THE WORDS OF ENOCH 26. [] IN THE WOMB IN WHICH HE HAD GROWN. THEY WERE NOT GOING TO GET UP UNTIL I WOULD CLEARLY EXPOUND FOR THEM THE WORDS OF 27. []... WITH MUCH EATING AND MUCH DRINKING... []... THE WINE 28. ... []... []... TO YOU, I... []... [] 29. [HE WA]S ENTERING ... AND I SAID TO ... I... TO ZOAN, BY ... [] A[L]L THE WORDS OF ENOCH 30. []... [] 31. [] VACAT32–35.

THE EGYPTIANS SAW THAT THE WOMAN WAS VERY BEAUTIFUL.

Column 20

(1) []... [] (2) ... [] []... HOW IRRESISTIBLE AND BEAUTIFUL IS THE IMAGE OF HER FACE; HOW (3) LOVELY H[ER] FOREH[EAD, AND] SOFT THE HAIR OF HER HEAD! HOW GRACEFUL ARE HER EYES, AND HOW PRECIOUS HER NOSE; EVERY FEATURE (4) OF HER FACE IS RADIATING BEAUTY! HOW LOVELY IS HER BREAST, AND HOW BEAUTIFUL HER WHITE

Genesis 12:9–13:4

15a *And when the princes of Pharaoh saw her, they praised her to Pharaoh.*

15b *The woman was taken INTO PHARAOH'S HOUSE.*

16a *And for her sake he dealt well with Abram;*

16b HE HAD SHEEP, CATTLE, HE-ASSES, MALE AND FEMALE SERVANTS, SHE-ASSES, AND CAMELS.

1QapGen 19:8–21:4

COMPLEXION! AS FOR HER ARMS, HOW BEAUTIFUL THEY ARE! AND HER HANDS, HOW (5) PERFECT THEY ARE! EVERY VIEW OF HER HANDS IS STIMULATING! HOW GRACEFUL ARE HER PALMS, AND HOW LONG AND THIN ALL THE FINGERS OF HER HANDS! HER FEET (6) ARE OF SUCH BEAUTY, AND HER LEGS SO PERFECTLY APPORTIONED! THERE IS NOT A VIRGIN OR BRIDE WHO ENTERS THE BRIDAL CHAMBER MORE BEAUTIFUL THAN SHE. (7) HER BEAUTY SURPASSES THAT OF ALL WOMEN, SINCE THE HEIGHT OF HER BEAUTY SOARS ABOVE THEM ALL! AND ALONGSIDE ALL THIS BEAUTY SHE POSSESSES GREAT WISDOM. EVERYTHING ABOUT HER (8) IS JUST RIGHT!

Now when the king heard the words of Herqanos and his two companions—that the three of them spoke as one

—HE GREATLY DESIRED HER, AND SENT SOMEONE (9) TO BE QUICK IN ACQUIRING HER. WHEN HE SAW HER HE WAS DUMBFOUNDED BY ALL OF HER BEAUTY, *and took her for himself as a wife.* HE ALSO SOUGHT TO KILL ME, BUT SARAI SAID (10) TO THE KING, "HE IS MY BROTHER," SO THAT I WOULD BE BENEFITED ON ACCOUNT OF HER. *Thus I, Abram, was spared because of her,* AND WAS NOT KILLED.

I, (11) ABRAM, WEPT BITTERLY IN THE NIGHT—I AND LOT, MY BROTHER'S SON, WITH ME—WHEN SARAI WAS TAKEN FROM ME BY FORCE. Vacat (12) THAT NIGHT I PRAYED AND ENTREATED AND ASKED FOR MERCY. THROUGH SORROW AND STREAMING TEARS I SAID, "BLESSED ARE YOU MOST HIGH GOD, MY LORD, FOR ALL (13) AGES, FOR YOU ARE LORD AND RULEROVEREVERYTHING. YOU ARE RULER OVER ALL THE KINGS OF THE EARTH,

Genesis 12:9–13:4

17a *The Lord plagued Pharaoh and his house with great plagues because Abram's wife of Sarai.*

1QapGen 19:8–21:4

HAVING POWER TO ENACT JUDGMENT ON ALL OF THEM. SO NOW (14) I CRY OUT TO YOU, MY LORD, CONCERNING PHARAOH ZOAN, KING OF EGYPT, FOR MY WIFE HAS BEEN FORCEFULLY TAKEN FROM ME. BRING JUDGMENT AGAINST HIM FOR ME, AND MANIFEST YOUR MIGHTY HAND (15) THROUGH HIM AND ALL OF HIS HOUSE, THAT HE MIGHT NOT PREVAIL THIS NIGHT IN DEFILING MY WIFE FOR ME! THUS, THEY WILL COME TO KNOW YOU, MY LORD, THAT YOU ARE LORD OVER ALL THE KINGS (16) OF THE EARTH. SO I WEPT AND WAS DEEPLY TROUBLED.

During that night the Most High God sent a pestilential spirit to afflict him, and to every person of his household an (17) evil spirit.

IT WAS AN ONGOING AFFLICTION FOR HIM AND EVERY PERSON OF HIS HOUSEHOLD, SO THAT HE WAS NOT ABLE TO APPROACH HER, NOR DID HE HAVE SEXUAL RELATIONS WITH HER. SHE WAS WITH HIM (18) FOR TWO YEARS, AND AT THE END OF TWO YEARS THE AFFLICTIONS AND HARDSHIPS GREW HEAVIER AND MORE POWERFUL OVER HIM AND EVERY PERSON OF HIS HOUSEHOLD, SO HE SENT (19) A MESSAGE TO ALL THE WISE MEN [N] OF EGYPT, AND TO ALL THE MAGICIANS, IN ADDITION TO ALL THE PHYSICIANS OF EGYPT, (TO SEE) IF THEY COULD HEAL HIM AND (EVERY) PERSON (20) OF HIS HOUSEHOLD OF THIS AFFLICTION. BUT ALL OF THE PHYSICIANS AND MAGICIANS AND ALL OF THE WISE MEN WERE NOT ABLE TO RESTORE HIM TO HEALTH. TO THE CONTRARY, THE SPIRIT BEGAN AFFLICTING ALL OF THEM (AS WELL), (21) SO THAT THEY FLED THE SCENE! vacat
AT THIS POINT HYRCANOS CAME TO ME AND ASKED THAT I COME AND PRAY OVER (22) THE KING AND LAY MY HANDS UPON HIM, SO THAT HE WOULD LIVE. THIS WAS

Genesis 12:9–13:4

- 18a *So Pharaoh called Abram,*
 18b *and said,*
 18c *“What is this you have done to me?”*
 18d *Why did you not tell me that she was
 your wife?*
 19a *Why did you say: ‘She is my sister,’*
 19b *so that I took her for my wife?*
 19c *Now then, here is your wife,*
 19d *take her,*
 19e *and be gone.”*

1QapGen 19:8–21:4

BECAUSE HE HAD SEEN [ME] IN A DREAM . . . BUT LOT SAID TO HIM, “ABRAM, MY UNCLE, CANNOT PRAY OVER (23) THE KING WHILE HIS WIFE SARAI IS WITH HIM! NOW GO AND TELL THE KING THAT HE SHOULD SEND HIS WIFE AWAY FROM HIMSELF TO HER HUSBAND, SO THAT HE (ABRAM) CAN PRAY OVER HIM AND HE MAY LIVE.” (24) vacat NOW WHEN HYRCANUS HEARD THE WORDS OF LOT, HE WENT (AND) SAID TO THE KING, “ALL THESE AFFLICTIONS AND HARDSHIPS (25) THAT ARE AFFLICING AND TROUBLING MY LORD, THE KING, ARE DUE TO SARAI, THE WIFE OF ABRAM. JUST RETURN SARAI TO ABRAM HER HUSBAND (26) AND THIS AFFLICTION AND THE PUTRID SPIRIT WILL DEPART FROM YOU.”

*So the [k]i[ng] called me
 and said to me,
 “What have you done to me?!”
 Why were you saying (27) to me,
 ‘She is my sister,’
 when she was your wife?
 That is why I took her as a wife for myself!
 Here is your wife.
 Take her,
 go and get yourself out of (28) the entire
 district of Egypt!*

BUT NOW PRAY OVER ME AND MY HOUSEHOLD, THAT THIS EVIL SPIRIT MAY BE EXPELLED FROM US. SO I PRAYED OVER [HIM IN ORDER TO] HEAL (29) HIM, AND I LAID MY HANDS UPON HIS [H]EAD. THEN THE AFFLICTION WAS REMOVED FROM HIM, AND THE EVIL [SPIRIT] REBUKED [FROM HIM]. SO HE RECOVERED, ROSE UP, AND THE KING GAVE (30) TO ME ON T[HAT DA]Y MANY GIFT[S], AND THE KING SWORE TO ME BY AN OATH THAT HE DID NOT HAVE SEXUAL RELATIONS WITH HER, [NOR] DID HE [DE]FILE HER.

Genesis 12:9–13:4

- 20a *Pharaoh gave men orders concerning him;*
 20b *and they expelled him, with his wife and all that he had.*
 [Gen 13:2]

13:1a *Abram went up from Egypt, he and his wife, and all that he had, and Lot with him, into the Negeb.*

- 2a *Abram was very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold.*
 3a *He journeyed on from the south*

as far as Bethel, to the place where he had first pitched his tent, BETWEEN BETHEL AND AI,
 4a *to the place of the altar, which he had made in the beginning;*

b *and there Abram called on the Lord's name.*

1QapGen 19:8–21:4

THEN HE RETURNED (31) SARAI TO ME, AND THE KING GAVE TO HER [M]UCH SI[LVER AND G]OLD AND MUCH CLOTHING OF FINE LINEN AND PURPLE, WHICH... ...[] (32) BEFORE HER, AS WELL AS HAGAR.

Thus he restored her to me, and appointed for me a man who would escort me [from Egypt] to []... to your people.

To you [] (33) vacat Now I, Abram, grew tremendously in many flocks and also in silver and gold.

I went up from Egy[p]t, [and] my brother's son [Lot wen]

t (34) with me. LOT HAD ALSO ACQUIRED FOR HIMSELF MANY FLOCKS, AND TOOK A WIFE FROM THE DAUGHTERS OF EGY[P]T.

[cf. 1QapGen 20:33]

I was encamping [with him]

Column 21

(1) *at every place of my (former) encampments until I reached Bethel, the place where I had built the altar.*

I BUILT IT A SECOND TIME, (2) ... AND OFFERED UPON IT BURNT OFFERINGS AND A MEAL OFFERING TO THE MOST HIGH GOD.

And I called there on the name of the Lord of the Ages.

I PRAISED THE NAME OF GOD, BLESSED (3) GOD, AND GAVE THANKS THERE BEFORE GOD BECAUSE OF ALL THE FLOCKS AND GOOD THINGS THAT HE HAD GIVEN TO ME, AND BECAUSE HE HAD WORKED GOOD ON MY BEHALF AND RETURNED ME (4) TO THIS LAND IN PEACE. VACAT

5.2.2. *The Separation of Abram and Lot (Gen 13:5-18 and 1QapGen 21:5-22)*

Genesis 13:5-18

1QapGen 21:5-22

- 5 AND LOT, WHO WENT WITH ABRAM,
ALSO HAD FLOCKS AND HERDS AND
TENTS,
- 6a SO THAT THE LAND COULD NOT
SUPPORT BOTH OF THEM DWELLING
TOGETHER;
- b FOR THEIR POSSESSIONS WERE
SO GREAT THAT THEY COULD NOT
DWELL TOGETHER,
- 7a AND THERE WAS STRIFE BETWEEN
THE HERDSMEN OF ABRAM'S
CATTLE AND THE HERDSMEN OF
LOT'S CATTLE.
- b AT THAT TIME THE CANAANITES
AND THE PERIZZITES DWELT IN THE
LAND.
- 8a THEN ABRAM SAID TO LOT,
b "LET THERE BE NO STRIFE BETWEEN
YOU AND ME, AND BETWEEN YOUR
HERDSMEN AND MY HERDSMEN;
c FOR WE ARE KINSMEN.
- 9a IS NOT THE WHOLE LAND BEFORE
YOU?
b SEPARATE YOURSELF FROM ME.
c IF YOU TAKE THE LEFT HAND, THEN
I WILL GO TO THE RIGHT;
d OR IF YOU TAKE THE RIGHT HAND,
THEN I WILL GO TO THE LEFT."
- 10a AND LOT LIFTED UP HIS EYES,
b AND SAW THAT THE JORDAN VALLEY
WAS WELL WATERED EVERYWHERE
LIKE THE GARDEN OF THE LORD,
LIKE THE LAND OF EGYPT, IN THE
DIRECTION OF ZOAR;
- c THIS WAS BEFORE THE LORD
DESTROYED SODOM AND
GOMORRAH.
- 11a SO LOT CHOSE FOR HIMSELF ALL
THE JORDAN VALLEY,
b AND LOT JOURNEYED EAST;
c *thus they separated from each other.*

(5) AFTER THIS DAY *Lot parted from me* DUE TO THE BEHAVIOR OF OUR SHEPHERDS.

Genesis 13:5-13:18

1QapGen 21:5-22

12a ABRAM SETTLED IN THE LAND OF CANAAN,

b *while Lot settled among the cities of the valley*

c *and moved his tent as far as Sodom.*

13a NOW THE MEN OF SODOM WERE WICKED AND VERY SINFUL AGAINST THE LORD.

14a *The Lord said to Abram,*

AFTER LOT HAD SEPARATED FROM HIM:

b "Lift up your eyes,

c and look FROM THE PLACE WHERE YOU ARE, toward **the north, the south, the east and the west;**

15 BECAUSE all the land *which you see* to you I will give and to your seed forever.

He went and settled in the Jordan Valley ALONG WITH ALL OF HIS FLOCKS, (6) AND I ALSO ADDED A GREAT DEAL TO WHAT HE HAD.

HE CONTINUED PASTURING HIS FLOCKS, *and (eventually) reached Sodom.*

HE BOUGHT A HOUSE FOR HIMSELF IN SODOM,

(7) and lived in it while I was living on the mountain of Bethel.

It was disturbing to me that Lot, my brother's son, had parted from me.

(8) vacat THEN GOD APPEARED TO ME IN A VISION IN THE NIGHT, *and said to me,*

"GO UP TO RAMAT-HAZOR, WHICH IS TO THE NORTH OF (9) BETHEL, THE PLACE WHERE YOU ARE LIVING.

Lift up you eyes

and look to **the east, to the west, to the south, and to the north,**

and look at this entire (10) land that I am giving to you and to your descendants for all ages."

SO ON THE FOLLOWING DAY I WENT UP TO RAMAT-HAZOR

AND I SAW THE LAND FROM (11) THIS HIGH POINT: FROM THE RIVER OF EGYPT UNTIL LEBANON AND SENIR, AND FROM THE GREAT SEA TO

HAURAN, AND ALL THE LAND OF GEBAL UP TO KADESH, AND THE ENTIRE GREAT DESERT (12) THAT IS EAST OF HAURAN AND SENIR, UP TO THE EUPHRATES.

HE SAID TO ME, "TO YOUR DESCENDANTS I WILL GIVE ALL OF THIS LAND, AND THEY WILL INHERIT IT FOR ALL AGES.

Genesis 13:5–13:18

- 16a I will establish your descendants like the dust of the earth;
- b if a man can count the *dust* of the earth,
- c your seed will also be counted.

17a Get up,

- b walk IN THE LAND THROUGH its length and its breadth,
- c because I will give it *to you.*”

18a ABRAM MOVED HIS TENT,

- b *and he came*
- c *and settled by the oaks of Mamre, which are at Hebron;*

1QapGen 21:5–22

- (13) I will make your descendants as numerous as the dust of the earth, which no one is able to reckon.

So too your descendants will be beyond reckoning.

Get up,

walk around, GO

(14) AND SEE HOW GREAT ARE its length and its width.

For I shall give it to you AND TO YOUR DESCENDANTS AFTER YOU UNTO ALL THE AGES. vacat

(15) SO I, ABRAM, WENT OUT TO GO AROUND AND LOOK AT THE LAND.

I BEGAN TO TRAVEL THE CIRCUIT FROM THE GIHON RIVER, AND CAME ALONGSIDE THE SEA UNTIL (16) I REACHED MOUNT TAURUS. I THEN TRAVERSED FROM ALO[NG] THIS GREAT SEA OF SALT AND WENT ALONGSIDE MOUNT TAURUS TO THE EAST, THROUGH THE BREADTH OF THE LAND,

(17) UNTIL I REACHED THE EUPHRATES RIVER. I JOURNEYED ALONG THE EUPHRATES UNTIL I REACHED THE ERYTHREAN SEA, TO THE EAST, AND WAS TRAVELING ALONG

(18) THE ERYTHREAN SEA UNTIL I REACHED THE GULF OF THE RED SEA, WHICH EXTENDS OUT FROM THE ERYTHREAN SEA. I WENT AROUND TO THE SOUTH UNTIL I REACHED THE GIHON

(19) RIVER, AND I THEN RETURNED, ARRIVING AT MY HOUSE IN SAFETY.

I FOUND ALL OF MY PEOPLE SAFE *and went*

and lived at the Oaks of Mamre, which are near Hebron, (20) to the northeast of Hebron.

Genesis 13:5–13:18

d *and there he built an altar TO THE LORD.*

1QapGen 21:5–22

I built an altar there AND OFFERED UPON IT A BURNT OFFERING AND A MEAL OFFERING TO THE MOST HIGH GOD. I ATE AND DRANK THERE,
(21) I AND EVERY PERSON OF MY HOUSEHOLD. THEN I SENT AN INVITATION TO MAMRE, ARNEM, AND ESHKOL, THREE AMORITE BROTHERS (WHO WERE) MY FRIENDS, AND THEY ATE (22) WITH ME AND DRANK WITH ME. vacat

5.2.3. *The War of the Kings (Gen 14 and 1QapGen 21:23–22:26)*

Genesis 14:1–24

1 *In the days of Amraphel, the king of Shinar, Arioch, the king of Ellasar, Chedorlaomer, the king of Elam, and Tidal, the king of Goiim,*

2a *these kings made war* with Bera the king of Sodom, and with Birsha the king of Gomorrah, and with Shinab, the king of Admah, and with Shemeber, the king of Zeboiim, and the king of Bela (THAT IS, ZOAR).

3a *And all these joined forces in the Valley of Siddim (THAT IS, THE SALT SEA).*

4a *Twelve years they had served Chedorlaomer,*

b *but in the thirteenth year they rebelled.*

5a *In the fourteenth year Chedorlaomer and the kings who were with him came*

1QapGen 21:23–22:26

23a *Before these days, Chedorlaomer, the king of Elam, Amraphel, the king of Babylon, Arioch, the king of Cappadocia, (and) Tiral, the king of Goiim, WHICH (24) IS MESOPOTAMIA,*

24b *came and waged war* with Bera, the king of Sodom, and with Birsha, the king of Gomorrah, and with Shinab, the king of Admah, (25) and with Shemiabad, the king of Zeboiim, and with the king of Bela.

25b *All of these banded together for battle at the Valley of Siddim.*

25c *THE KING OF (26) ELAM AND THE KINGS WHO WERE WITH HIM OVERPOWERED THE KING OF SODOM AND ALL OF HIS ALLIES,*

26b *AND THEY IMPOSED A TRIBUTE ON THEM.*

26c *For twelve years they were (27) paying their tributes to the king of Elam,*

27b *but during the thirteenth year they rebelled AGAINST HIM,*

27c *so that in the fourteenth year the king of Elam brought together all (28) of his allies.*

Genesis 14:1–24

b *and subdued the Rephaim in Ashterothkarnaim, the Zuzim in Ham, the Emim in Shavehkiriathaim,*

6 *and the Horites in their Mount Seir as far as Elparan on the border of the wilderness;*

7a then they turned back

b AND CAME TO ENMISHPAT (THAT IS, KADESH),

c *and subdued all the country of the Amalekites, and also the Amorites who dwelt in Hazazontamar.*

8a The king of Sodom, the king of Gomorrah, the king of Admah, the king of Zeboiim, and the king of Bela (THAT IS, ZOAR) went out,

b and they joined battle in the valley of Siddim

9a with Chedorlaomer, the king of Elam, *Tidal, the king of the nations, Amraphel, the king of Shinar, and Arioch, the king of Ellasar, four kings against five.*

10a THE VALLEY OF SIDDIM WAS FULL OF BITUMEN PITS;

b and the king of Sodom and **Gomorrah** fled,

c and SOME fell INTO THEM,

d *and the rest fled to the mountain.*

11a *The enemy took all the goods of Sodom and Gomorrah, and all their provisions,*

b AND WENT THEIR WAY.

1QapGen 21:23–22:26

28b THEY WENT UP THE WAY OF THE DESERT, DESTROYING AND PLUNDERING FROM THE EUPHRATES RIVER (ONWARD).

28c *They destroyed the Rephaim who were in Ashtera (29) of Karnaim, the Zumzamim, who were in Amman, the Emim, [who were in] Shaveh-Hakerioth,*

29b *and the Hurrians, who were in the mountains of Gebal, until they reached El- (30) Paran, which is in the desert.*

30b They then turned back

and destroyed Ein-[Dina] . . . , which is in Hazazon-Tamar. vac

31a The king of Sodom went out TO MEET THEM ALONG WITH THE KING OF [GOMORRAH, the k]ing of Admah, the king of Zeboiim, and the king of Bela.

b and they joined battle (32) in the valley of Siddim

32b against Chedorla[omer *and the kings*] who were with him,

c but the king of Sodom WAS CRUSHED

d AND fled,

e while the king of Gomorrah (33) fell

33a *and many from [a]l*

b *The King of Elam plundered all of the goods of Sodom and of (34) [Go]morrah, [and all] the p[oss]essions [of. . .*

34b AND ALL TH[AT] THEY FOU[ND] THERE,

Genesis 14:1–24

- 12a *They took Lot and his possessions, the son of Abram's brother, and they went.*
- b *and they went.*
- c *he dwelt in Sodom,*

- 13a One who had escaped came,
- b **and told Abram the Hebrew,** *who was living by the oaks of Mamre the Amorite, brother of Eshcol and of Aner;*

- c THESE WERE ALLIES OF ABRAM.
- 14a ABRAM HEARD THAT (the son of) his brother had been taken captive,

- b *he led forth his trained men, born in his house, three hundred and eighteen of them,*

- c *and he went in pursuit as far as Dan.*

- 15a *And he divided his forces against them by night, he and his servants,*

- b *and routed them and pursued them*

to *Hobah*, north of Damascus.

1QapGen 21:23–22:26

- c *while Lot, the son of Abram's brother, (22:1) who was living in Sodom together with them along with his flocks, was taken captive.*

- 1a But one OF THE SHEPHERDS (2) THAT ABRAM HAD GIVEN TO LOT, *who had escaped the captors, came to Abram.*

- 2b at that time Abram (3) *was living in Hebron,*

- 3b **and he informed him**

- c that his brother's son Lot had been captured, ALONG WITH HIS PROPERTY,

- d BUT THAT HE HAD NOT BEEN KILLED.

- e ALSO THAT (4) THE KINGS HAD SET OUT (ON) THE WAY OF THE GREAT VALLEY TOWARD THEIR PROVINCE, (ALLT HE WHILE) TAKING CAPTIVES, PLUNDERING, DESTROYING, KILLING, AND HEADING (5) FOR THE CITY DAMASCUS.

- 5b THEN ABRAM WEPT OVER HIS BROTHER'S SON LOT.

- c HAVING COLLECTED (6) HIMSELF, ABRAM GOT UP

- 6a *and chose from his servants three hundred and eighteen warriors fit for battle.*

- b ARNEM, (7A) ESHKOL AND MAMRE ALSO SET OUT WITH HIM.

- 7b *He chased after them, until he reached Dan, WHERE HE FOUND THEM (8) RESTING IN DE VALLEY OF DAN.*

- 8b *He swooped upon them at night from all four sides, killing (9) among them throughout the night.*

- 9b *He crushed them*

- c *and chased after them,*

- d AND ALL OF THEM WERE FLEEING BEFORE HIM (10) UNTIL THEY REACHED *Helbon*, WHICH IS SITUATED in the north of Damascus.

Genesis 14:1–24

16a *Then he brought back all the goods,*

b *and also brought back his kinsman Lot with his goods, and the women and the people.*

17a After his return from the defeat of Chedorlaomer and the kings who were with him, the king of Sodom

went out to meet him

at the Valley of Shaveh (that is, the King's Valley).

18a Melchizedek, the king of Salem brought out *bread and wine*;

b he was priest of God Most High.

19a And he blessed *him*

b and said:

c "Blessed be Abram by God Most High, maker of heaven and earth;

20a and blessed be God Most High, who has delivered your enemies into your hand!"

b And he gave *him* a tithe of *everything*.

21a And the king of Sodom

said to Abram:

b "Give me *the persons*,

c *but take the possession for yourself."*

1QapGen 21:23–22:26

10b (THERE) HE TOOK AWAY FROM THEM EVERYONE THEY HAD CAPTURED, (11) *all that they had plundered, and all of their own goods.*

11b *Lot, his brother's son, he also saved, along with his property.*

c *All (12) those whom they had taken captive he brought back.*

12a The king of Sodom HEARD THAT ABRAM HAD BROUGHT BACK ALL THE CAPTIVES (13) AND ALL THE BOOTY

13b He went out to meet him.

c HE CAME TO SALEM, THAT IS JERUSALEM,

d WHILE ABRAM WAS CAMPED in the Valley of (14) Shaveh.

14a This is the King's Valley, THE VALLEY OF BETH-HACCHEREM.

b Melchizedek, the king of Salem, brought out (15) *food and drink* FOR ABRAM AND FOR ALL THE MEN WHO WERE WITH HIM.

15b He was a priest of God Most High,

c And he blessed (16) *Abram*

16b and said:

c Blessed be Abram by God Most High, the Lord of heaven and earth!

d Blessed be God Most High, (17) who has delivered your enemies into your hand."

17b And he gave him a tithe *from all the goods of the kings of Elam and his confederates.*

18a THEN the king of Sodom DREW NEAR

b AND said to Abram:

c "MY LORD, ABRAM, (19) give me *anyone who belongs to me of the captives with you whom you have rescued from the king of Elam.*

19b *But as for all the property, (20) it is left to you."*

Genesis 14:1–24

22a Abram said to *the king of Sodom*:

b “I lift my hands to Yhwh God Most High, *maker* of heaven and earth,

23a that I will not take a thread or a sandal-thong or anything of yours,

b so that you may not say,

c *‘I have made Abram rich’*

24a excepting only what the young men have eaten, and the share of the men who went with me: ANER, ESHCOL, AND MAMRE.

b *These will take their share.*”

1QapGen 21:23–22:26

20b THEN Abram said to the king of Sodom:

c “I lift up (21) my hands THIS DAY to God Most High *the Lord* of heaven and earth,

21b (swearing) that I will take neither thread nor sandal thong (22) or anything of what belongs to you,

22b so that you may not say:

c *‘All the wealth of Abram (derives) from my (23) property.’*

23b (This) excludes that which my young men WHO ARE WITH ME have eaten, and also the share of the THREE men (24) who went with me.

24b (*Only*) they have authority to give you their share.

c SO ABRAM RETURNED ALL OF THE PROPERTY AND ALL (25) OF THE CAPTIVES,

25b AND GAVE (THEM) TO THE KING OF SODOM.

c EVERY LAST ONE OF THE CAPTIVES WHO WERE WITH HIM FROM THAT LAND HE SET FREE

26a AND SENT ALL OF THE AWAY.

5.3. *Abram and Sarai’s Stay in Egypt according to the Genesis Apocryphon (1QapGen 19:8–21:4)*

Several aspects remain untouched in *Jubilees*. What was the reason that Sarai could remain for five years in Egypt without being noticed? Why and how was she discovered? Did the plagues last for a period of time? Although the implication might be that Pharaoh was not able to approach Sarai, it is not said explicitly. What was the reason that Abram was honoured after the plagues?

These and other questions are dealt with in later rewritings of Abram and Sarai’s stay in Egypt. Shortly I will go into the rewriting of the story in the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen 19:8–21:5).⁷⁰ While the narrative of Gen 12:10–20 is abbreviated very much in *Jubilees*, it is extended very

⁷⁰ For a study of rewriting of Genesis in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, see Falk, *Parabiblical Texts*, 26–106; White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture*, 105–43.

much in the *Genesis Apocryphon*. Between both rewritings there are several similarities that they do not share with Genesis, but also differences. Most of these differences have to do with making more explicit things that are implicit in Genesis and in the rewriting in *Jubilees*.⁷¹

As far as the chronological structure with regard to Abram's travels is concerned, the *Genesis Apocryphon* parallels *Jubilees* to a great extent. Although the author of the *Genesis Apocryphon* shows no interest in an overall chronological framework, he is interested indeed in the solution of the problem of the chronology with regard to Abram's travels and especially the length of his stay in Egypt.⁷² Before Abram entered Egypt, he settled in Hebron at the time it was built and stayed there for two years (1QapGen 19:9–10; cf. *Jub.* 13:10). Abram and Sarai dwelled in Egypt for five years before Sarai was taken into Pharaoh's house (1QapGen 19:23; cf. *Jub.* 13:11–12). Sarai lived in Pharaoh's palace for two years (1QapGen 20:17–18; cf. *Jub.* 13:11–12, 16). The same chronology can be found in God's summary of Abram's travels (1QapGen 22:27–29).⁷³

While in the biblical text, Sarai was taken immediately after they entered Egypt, both in the *Genesis Apocryphon* and *Jubilees* there is a period of five years in Egypt before Sarai was taken. In contrast to *Jubilees*, however, the *Genesis Apocryphon* has an extensive elaboration of this period of five years (1QapGen 19:23–29). The beauty of Sarai was not noticed by the Egyptians, because Sarai was "very concerned that no man would see her" (1QapGen 19:23). So Sarai was not discovered because she did not flaunt her beauty. At the end of those five years three nobles of Egypt came to Abram because of his words and wisdom. They asked erudition and wisdom and truth for themselves, so Abram read before them the book of the words of Enoch. The motifs of a decent Sarai and a wise Abram are not found in Genesis or *Jubilees*.⁷⁴ With these additions, both Sarai and Abram are guarded from possible accusations.

As we saw above, the retelling of Gen 12:10–20 in Gen 20 already softens the accusation that Abram was driven back to a ruse that Sarai was his sister. It reports that Sarai was Abram's half-sister. In *Jubilees*, Abram's ruse is omitted altogether. However, also according to the book of *Jubilees*

⁷¹ For the following, see Falk, *Parabiblical Texts*, 80–94; White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture*, 117–23.

⁷² For the problem of Abram's stay in Egypt, see note 56. See also Falk, *Parabiblical Texts*, 92; White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture*, 119–20.

⁷³ Cf. Falk, *Parabiblical Texts*, 91–3.

⁷⁴ The motif of Abram as teacher of wisdom can also be found in Pseudo-Eupolemus, Artapanus, Josephus (*Ant.* 1.165–166), and rabbinic literature.

Sarai is Abram's half-sister (cf. *Jub.* 12:9).⁷⁵ The *Genesis Apocryphon* does not omit this passage, but it makes clear through a dream about a cedar and a palm (1QapGen 19:14–17) that it is not a question of Abram's deceit but a divinely approved plan.⁷⁶ At the same time, the *Genesis Apocryphon* makes clear that the ruse and Sarai's abduction are not part of Abram's plan. This is also confirmed by the fact that, as in *Jubilees*, Sarai is taken by force to Pharaoh's house.

Also important is the fact that Abram does not profit from the transaction of Sarai. In Genesis, there is no reaction from the side of Abram after Sarai's abduction. It is therefore possible to interpret Abram's actions in such a way that he tries to save his own skin. In the text, it is not said that he shows concern about Sarai's physical or emotional well-being. Moreover, in Genesis, Pharaoh gives presents to Abram when Sarai is taken away. In *Jubilees*, we became aware of a certain correction of this impression. It is true that no reaction of Abram is given in *Jubilees*, but the fact that the presents are not given after the abduction but after God's affliction is a softening of this possible accusation. The *Genesis Apocryphon*, however, goes far beyond this. Contrary to Gen 12:16, where Pharaoh treats Abram well ("And for her sake he dealt well with Abram"), in 1QapGen 20:9b Pharaoh tries to kill Abram. After Sarai prevents this (1QapGen 20:9–10), Abram and Lot are described as bitterly weeping, and praying to God for help to prevent Sarai from becoming defiled through illegal intercourse (1QapGen 20:10–16). The affliction of God on Pharaoh and his house are brought about by Abram's prayer (1QapGen 20:16–21). It is not a one-sided action of God (Gen 12:17). With regard to the gifts, the *Genesis Apocryphon* changes the sequence and the recipient. In Genesis, the presents are given to Abram when Sarai was taken away, whereas in the *Genesis Apocryphon* they are given to Abram as a reward for Abram's prayer through which Pharaoh and his house recovered (1QapGen 20:28–31).⁷⁷ This means that Abram does not profit from Sarai's averted defilement. Moreover, presents

⁷⁵ According to White Crawford (*Rewriting Scripture*, 119), the story of Genesis troubles ancient readers, since Sarai and Abram are in fact sister and brother. This is a violation of the laws in Lev 18:19; 20:17. Gen 20 and *Jub.* 12:9 make Sarai Abram's half-sister. But according to her, uncle-niece marriages also were forbidden (cf. CD 5:7–11; 11QTemple^a 66:15–17).

⁷⁶ It is possible that by putting the actual words in Sarai's mouth ("He is my brother"), the *Genesis Apocryphon* excuses Abram even more.

⁷⁷ The details about the healing anticipates the doublet of the episode of Sarah in Gen 20. In this narrative, God sent a dream to Abimelek, in which he tells Abimelek that Sarah is Abraham's wife, and not his sister. God advises Abimelek to look for healing through Abraham. Abimelek is healed in answer of Abraham's prayer.

are also given to Sarai (1QapGen 20:31–32). That means that Abram’s prosperity is not only the result of Pharaoh’s generosity towards him.

Finally, the *Genesis Apocryphon* makes clear that Pharaoh did not touch Sarai. When he returns Sarai to Abram, Pharaoh assures that he did not have sexual relations with her, nor did he defile her (1QapGen 20:30). This resembles the actions of Abimelek in Gen 20:6. This may be presupposed both in Genesis and in *Jubilees*, but it is not stated explicitly as in the *Genesis Apocryphon*. Through the plagues and the evil spirit, Pharaoh was not able to approach Sarai for intercourse (1QapGen 20:17).

5.4. *The Separation of Abram and Lot according to the Genesis Apocryphon (1QapGen 21:5–22)*

The first part of the text of Genesis (Gen 13:5–12a) is almost completely omitted in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, as in *Jubilees*. It refers to this passage only by way of summary (1QapGen 21:5). At this point there are some noticeable differences between *Jubilees* and the *Genesis Apocryphon*. While Genesis describes the separation as a result of the behavior of the shepherds (Gen 13:5–7), but initiated by Abram (Gen 13:8–9), *Jubilees* passes the full responsibility to Lot (*Jub.* 13:17: “Lot separated from him”) and does not mention either the shepherds or Abram. The *Genesis Apocryphon*, however, points to the behavior of the shepherds (1QapGen 21:5: “Lot departed from me due to the behavior of our shepherds”). In the *Genesis Apocryphon*, the summary also refers to Lot’s choice of the Jordan Valley (1QapGen 21:5; cf. Gen 13:10–11). The reason for this choice, however, is not mentioned (cf. Gen 13:10b). The events that occur between the separation of Abram and Lot, and the latter’s settlement in Sodom are described more elaborately in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, compared to both Genesis and *Jubilees*, but the negative characterization of Sodom is omitted. *Jubilees* (*Jub.* 13:17c) retains one of the negative descriptions found in Genesis (Gen 13:13). In the *Genesis Apocryphon*, an important addition to the story is the generosity of Abram as Lot departed. He gives him a farewell gift (1QapGen 21:6: “And I also added a great deal to what he had”). This addition does not occur in *Jubilees*. Moreover, the *Genesis Apocryphon* describes Abram’s sorrow as Lot departs (1QapGen 21:8). This grief is also described in *Jubilees*, which refers in this regard to Abram’s childlessness (*Jub.* 13:18). This aspect does not play a role in the *Genesis Apocryphon*.

The promise of land (Gen 13:14–18; *Jub.* 13:19–21) also occurs in the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen 21:8–19), but there are some differences.

Firstly, God appears to Abram in a vision during the night (1QapGen 21:8). Secondly, God not only orders Abram to look around (Gen 13:14bc; *Jub.* 13:19d) but first orders him to go to a higher point (Ramoth Hazor) and to look around from there (1QapGen 21:8–9). Subsequently, Abram is described as “going up” the following day and reporting on the contours of the land (1QapGen 21:10–12). Thirdly, in Genesis and *Jubilees*, God orders Abram to get up and walk the length and breadth of the land (cf. Gen 13:17; *Jub.* 13:21). However, it is not mentioned whether Abram obeyed this command. The *Genesis Apocryphon* states that Abram actually walked along the borders of the land (1QapGen 21:15–19). This addition cannot be found in *Jubilees* nor in any other version of the story of Abram, but it seems to parallel the activities of Noah in the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen 11:15).

The rewriting of the separation of Abram and Lot in the *Genesis Apocryphon* shows a clear tendency to rehabilitate Lot. The choices that are made diminish the negative aspects of Lot's character.

5.5. *The War of the Kings according to the Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen 21:23–22:26)

In the rewriting of the narrative of Genesis 14, the author of the *Genesis Apocryphon* changes from the first person singular to the third person. He translates Genesis 14 with only some minor alternations. There are very few omissions and no extensive additions. Nevertheless, these small differences result in some interesting transformations. The author of *Genesis Apocryphon* seems to fill several narrative gaps found in the story of Genesis.⁷⁸

In contrast to *Jubilees*, the *Genesis Apocryphon* adapts Gen 14:1–7 (1QapGen 21:23–30). The adaptation is fairly literal with some small alterations. In the beginning, the order of the kings is slightly different (1QapGen 21:23), in that Cherdolaomer, the king of Elam, is placed at the top of the list. For the remainder of the story, this king seems to be the most influential. Therefore it seems quite natural to put him in the first place.⁷⁹ In addition, Amraphel, the king of Shinar, is rendered as the king of Babylon, and Arioch, the king Ellasar, as the king of Cappadocia. One

⁷⁸ For the following, see also White Crawford, *Rewritten Bible*, 125–26.

⁷⁹ White Crawford (*Rewritten Bible*, 126) suggests that the *Genesis Apocryphon* has changed the order of the kings on the basis of the text of *Jubilees*. However, *Jubilees* has no equivalent of Gen 14:1. *Jubilees* 13:22a is the parallel text of Gen 14:8.

could speak of a modernization.⁸⁰ Moreover, there is an addition in the *Genesis Apocryphon* that fills the narrative gap between Gen 14:3 and 14:4. In Gen 14:3, it is not made explicit who emerges as the victor of the battle. One can deduce from Gen 14:4 that it is the adversary of Chedorlaomer, but this adversary is only specified as “they.” The *Genesis Apocryphon* mentions explicitly that “the king of Elam and the kings who were with him overpowered the king of Sodom and all of his allies” (1QapGen 21:25–26). Moreover, the author explains the meaning of “serving” (עָבַד; Gen 14:4; cf. also 1QapGen 21:27), namely “paying a tribute.” Possibly, the author of the *Genesis Apocryphon* experienced a gap between the first part of Gen 14:5 (“In the fourteenth year Chedorlaomer and the kings who were with him came”) and the second part (“and subdued the Rephaim”). In the *Genesis Apocryphon*, the verb אָבַד is elaborated. It is said that “the king of Elam brought together all of his allies” (1QapGen 21:27–28) and subsequently, “they went up the Way of the Desert, destroying and plundering from the Euphrates River onward.” Only afterwards is the destruction of the Rephaim mentioned.

The description of the fourth war (Gen 14:8–12) is very much abbreviated in *Jubilees* (*Jub.* 13:22–23). In contrast to Genesis, this battle is not initiated by the king of Sodom and his allies but by Chedorlaomer. As we saw above, in Genesis, both parties to the battle are described (Gen 14:8a, 9a), as is the battle scene (Gen 14:8b, 10a), while in *Jubilees* only the aggressor is mentioned (Chedorlaomer and his allies). The *Genesis Apocryphon* is very close to Genesis, with both parties to the battle being mentioned, as is the battle scene (1QapGen 21:31–32). However, in the *Genesis Apocryphon* the allies of Chedorlaomer are only summarized (“and the kings who were with him”), and the bitumen pits (Gen 14:10a) are not mentioned in *Jubilees* or the *Genesis Apocryphon*. According to Genesis, the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah both fled and in doing so fell into the bitumen pits (Gen 14:10bc), and as a consequence, apparently both kings die. However, the death of the king of Sodom would have been contradicted by Gen 14:17, where the king of Sodom encounters Abram, and this might be the reason why both *Jubilees* and the *Genesis Apocryphon* make a distinction between the king of Sodom and the king of Gomorrah.

In *Jubilees*, the king of Gomorrah was killed (*Jub.* 13:22b), whereas the king of Sodom fled (*Jub.* 13:22c). In the *Genesis Apocryphon*, “the king of Sodom was crushed and fled, while the king of Gomorrah fell” (1QapGen

⁸⁰ See White Crawford, *Rewritten Bible*, 125.

21:32). According to Genesis, all the goods and provisions of Sodom and Gomorrah were taken afterwards. Jubilees omitted the reference to goods and provisions, stating that some people were taken captive, not mentioning Gomorrah (*Jub.* 13:23a). The *Genesis Apocryphon* is again much closer to the biblical text and refers to the goods and possessions of Sodom and Gomorrah (1QapGen 21:33–34). With regard to Lot, the *Genesis Apocryphon* mentions that he is living in Sodom (1QapGen 21:34–22:1), a remark that is omitted from *Jubilees*, probably because it is mentioned that Abram went as far as Dan (*Jub.* 13:23c). According to Genesis, “they went”, whereas the *Genesis Apocryphon* has omitted this.

The description of the fifth war (Gen 14:13–15) is very much abbreviated in *Jubilees*. The *Genesis Apocryphon* remains close to Genesis, except for one part where there are extensive additions (1QapGen 22:3–5) which aim to explain what is not made clear in Genesis. In the first place, the *Genesis Apocryphon* makes the identity of the person who comes to Abram more explicit (1QapGen 22:1–2: “One of the shepherds that Abram had given to Lot”). Moreover, it is explained that Lot was still alive (1QapGen 22:3) and that the king is on his way to Abram’s province (1QapGen 22:3–5). Abram is also said to weep over Lot (1QapGen 22:5). In 1QapGen 22:6–7, it is mentioned that Arnem, Eskol, and Marme set out with Abram. In Genesis, it is only said that they live in Abram’s neighbourhood and are allies (Gen 14:13), and only at the end of the story is it said that they engaged in the battle with Abram (Gen 14:24). In the *Genesis Apocryphon* it is not only said that they set out with Abram but also that they were already introduced at an earlier stage (1QapGen 21:21–22).

The description of the events after Abram’s victory in 1QapGen 22:10–17 follows Gen 14:16–20 quite literally. In *Jubilees*, we have a lacuna here, and hence a reconstructed text. The small differences between Genesis and the *Genesis Apocryphon* result in some interesting transformations.⁸¹ The author of the *Genesis Apocryphon* seems to smooth out some narrative irregularities in the story of Genesis. In Genesis, one reads that the king of Sodom himself went directly to the valley to meet Abram (Gen 14:17), after which Melchizedek, the king of Salem, appears unexpectedly (Gen 14:18–20). Melchizedek’s appearance between the mention of the king of Sodom on his way to see Abram (Gen 14:17) and his actual addressing of Abram (Gen 14:21–24) is unusual. In the *Genesis Apocryphon*, one finds a narrative adaptation designed to anchor the sudden appearance

⁸¹ See Mason, *You are a Priest Forever*, 147–49.

of Melchizedek in the story. It is stated that the king of Sodom did not go directly to the valley but first went to Salem. The author understands Salem as Jerusalem (1QapGen 22:13: "He came up to Salem, that is Jerusalem, while Abram was camped in the valley of Shaveh"). Consequently, the kings of Sodom and Salem first meet in Salem (Jerusalem), and afterwards both travel together to the valley of Shaveh, where they meet Abram.

There are some other adaptations: whereas in Genesis, Melchizedek offers Abram bread and wine (Gen 14:18), in the *Genesis Apocryphon* he offers food and drink. Moreover, the offerings are not meant for Abram alone, but also for his troops (1QapGen 22:14–15: "The king of Salem, brought out food and drink for Abram and for all the men who were with him"). According to Mason, the *Genesis Apocryphon* changes the sacred meeting between Melchizedek and Abram in Genesis into a meal for the victorious troops on the field. Although Melchizedek is still called priest of the Most High God, he is above all a hospitable king.⁸²

Finally, in Genesis it is not completely clear who gives a tenth to whom (Gen 14:20b: "he gave him a tenth of everything"). By mentioning the origin of the tenth (1QapGen 22:1: "And he gave him a tenth from all the goods of the kings of Elam and his confederates"), the *Genesis Apocryphon* makes it clear that it is Abram who pays the tenth. After the reconstructed offering of the tenth in *Jubilees* (*Jub.* 13:25de), there is a halakic addition (*Jub.* 13:25f–27). This does not occur in the *Genesis Apocryphon*. Both *Jub.* 13:28–29 and 1QapGen 22:18–24 follow Gen 14:21–24 quite closely. The *Genesis Apocryphon* ends with an addition (1QapGen 22:24–25), stating that Abram carried out what had been announced in direct speech.

6. SOME CONCLUDING REMARKS

As we have seen in this chapter, both *Jubilees* and the *Genesis Apocryphon* take a similar approach towards the text of Genesis, i.e. they both try to solve certain problems which have to do with the potentially suspect character of Abram and the possibility that Sarai may have had intercourse with Pharaoh. Abram did not resort to a ruse and the abduction of Sarai was not part of Abram's plan to save his own life on her account. Sarai's beauty was not immediately observed after the couple's entrance into Egypt. It was only later that Sarai was taken by force by

⁸² Mason, *You are a Priest Forever*, 149.

the Pharaoh. Both rewritings seem to presuppose that there had been no intercourse between Sarai and Pharaoh. In this way, both rewritings result in an upgrading of Abram's and Sarai's characters. Moreover, both *Jubilees* and the *Genesis Apocryphon* deal similarly with the chronology of Abram's travels. Before Abram entered Egypt, he settled in Hebron at the time it was built and stayed there for two years. Abram and Sarai dwelled in Egypt for five years before Sarai was taken into Pharaoh's house, where she lived in Pharaoh's palace for two years.

We have also seen that, despite fundamental similarities between both rewritings, both also differ significantly from each other. Whereas *Jubilees* shortens the story, the *Genesis Apocryphon* expands it. The *Genesis Apocryphon* makes more explicit what is implicit in the biblical text and in *Jubilees*. As we have seen, there is often no clue in the biblical text for these expansions. Many of them cannot be traced back to a biblical text but go back either to the author of the *Genesis Apocryphon* himself or to older traditions of which he made use, and which were authoritative for him.

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 we can rule out a direct dependency of *Jubilees* on the *Genesis Apocryphon*. Is the other way around a more likely possibility then? Can *Jubilees* have been an authoritative source for the *Genesis Apocryphon*? In favor of this, we can point to the elements that both texts share in opposition to the biblical text (the chronological system; the stay of five years in Egypt and two years in Pharaoh's house; the reward of Abram only after the plagues; the priestly action of Abram after his return to the land). Against it, we can point to the fact that the *Genesis Apocryphon* has a completely different solution for what can be seen as Abram's trick (cf. Gen 12:11–15a, 18–19). The *Genesis Apocryphon* does not follow the omissions of *Jubilees* but rather the biblical text, which it significantly extends.

In the Abram cycle there is yet another negative argument, although only slightly connected to the pericope of the stay in Egypt: the evaluation of Lot. In *Jubilees* this is very ambiguous. In contrast, the *Genesis Apocryphon* is very positive with regard to Lot. This can be seen in our text, where Lot and Abram together wept for Sarai (1QapGen 20:10–11: "I, Abram, wept bitterly in the night—I and Lot, my brother's son, with me—when Sarai was taken from me by force"). Later in the text (1QapGen

20:22–24), Lot functions as an intermediary between Abram and Pharaoh, when the latter asks Abram to restore him to health. Lot sets the condition that Sarai should first be returned. When Lot leaves Abram in the next part of the narrative, Abram gives him many additional possessions (1QapGen 21:6 “and I also added a great deal to what he had”). Moreover, the *Genesis Apocryphon* leaves out that Sodom, the place where Lot settled, had a sinful reputation.

I am still hesitant, but these two elements, not following the omission of the ruse and the evaluation of Lot, might argue in favor of a non-dependency of the *Genesis Apocryphon* on the book of *Jubilees*. It is easier to imagine that the author of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, apart from the biblical text, which was authoritative for him in any form, was familiar with yet another tradition concerning Abram and Sarai’s stay in Egypt, from which tradition the author of *Jubilees* also drew his material. Both works have incorporated this tradition in their rewritings while placing their own emphasis.

CHAPTER THREE

LAND AND COVENANT (GEN 15–16; *JUB.* 14)

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines *Jub.* 14:1–24, in which the interrelated promises of progeny and land play an important part.¹ This passage consists of two themes which are paralleled in Genesis. The first part, *Jub.* 14:1–20, is a rewriting and interpretation of the first conclusion of the covenant between God and Abram as described in Genesis 15, the second, *Jub.* 14:21–24, an abbreviation and integration of the first account of Hagar and Ishmael in Genesis 16. After an outline of the structure of both *Jub.* 14:1–24 and Genesis 15–16 and a comparison between these texts, I will go into the meaning of the covenant and the promises of progeny and land in *Jubilees* 14 and their significance for the central figures Abram, his wife Sarai, her slave-girl Hagar, and their sons Isaac and Ishmael.

2. DEMARCATION AND STRUCTURE OF *JUBILEES* 14

Jubilees 14 is demarcated from the preceding pericope (*Jub.* 13:22–29) by a new beginning in *Jub.* 14:1a (“after these things”) and by an explicit dating. The events of this chapter take place in the fourth year of the first week of the 41st jubilee (1964 *a.m.*; cf. *Jub.* 14:1a). Also the events in *Jub.* 14:20–24 are connected to this year, since the name-giving of Ishmael is dated “in the fifth year of this week” (*Jub.* 14:24d; 1965 *a.m.*).² This means that Sarai

¹ For the theme of land in Genesis 15, see: E. Noort, “‘Land’ in the Deuteronomistic Tradition: Genesis 15. The Historical and Theological Necessity of a Diachronic Approach,” in *Synchronic or Diachronic? A Debate on Method in Old Testament Exegesis* (ed. J.C. de Moor; OtSt 34; Leiden, 1995), 129–44.

² There seems to be an internal contradiction with regard to the dating of the events. According to *Jubilees*, Abram was born in 1876 *a.m.* (*Jub.* 11:15), and he entered Canaan 1954 *a.m.* (*Jub.* 13:8). This means that, according to the internal system of *Jubilees*, Abram was eighty-nine years old, when he named Ishmael in 1965 *a.m.*. According to *Jub.* 14:24e, however, the name-giving took place when Abram was eighty-six years old. The mention of eighty-six years agrees with Genesis at this point (Gen 16:16a). The internal contradiction seems to originate from the fact that the author of *Jubilees* is following Genesis in this passage, without paying attention to the inconsistency. The number eighty-six is the same

gives Hagar to Abram in 1964 *a.m.*, whereas the subsequent conception of Ishmael took place in the same year. Therefore, the conception and birth of Ishmael are closely related to God's promises of progeny and land to Abram.³ The events of the next pericope (*Jub.* 15:1–24) are placed twenty-one years later, namely in the fifth year of the fourth week of the same jubilee (1986 *a.m.*).

Apart from the fact that the events in this chapter are dated in a certain year, they are also related to a specific period. The first dialogue between the Lord and Abram takes place “on the first of the third month” (*Jub.* 14:1a), whereas the second dialogue happens “in the middle of the month” (*Jub.* 14:10a), “on that day” (*Jub.* 14:18a), “during this night . . . during this month” (*Jub.* 14:20a).

The passage can be divided into three units: a. *Jub.* 14:1–6; b. *Jub.* 14:7–20; c. *Jub.* 14:21–24. The first unit is an initial dialogue between the Lord and Abram, in which the promise of progeny is the central issue. The second unit is a second dialogue between the Lord and Abram, in which the promise of land is the central issue. Apart from the dialogue, Abram also brings sacrifices (*Jub.* 14:11–12, 19), whereas the promise of land is interpreted as the conclusion of the covenant (*Jub.* 14:18, 20). In the third passage, the relationship between Abram, Sarai, and Hagar is the central point. Sarai gives Abram her slave-girl, and he begets a son with her.

The coherence of the chapter is expressed by the parallel structure of the first and second unit, by the fact that the events in these units are dated in the same month of the same year, and by the strong thematic coherence between the first and third unit, which can be seen in the following scheme:

A	14:1a:	“in the fourth year of this week”
B	14:2c–e:	childless, no seed
C	14:2f:	“give me seed”
D	14:6a:	“He believed the Lord”
CD	14:21a–c:	“He believed that he would have seed”
B	14:21d:	“she bore no children”
	14:22–24:	“Hagar gave birth to Ishmael”
A	14:24d:	“in the fifth year of this week”

in both texts. The fifth year in this week (1965 *a.m.*) is the eleventh year after the arrival of Abram in Canaan (1954 *a.m.*). This corresponds with the “ten years” in Gen 16:3, which the author of *Jubilees* omits.

³ See *Jub.* 14:21ab: “And Abram was very happy and told all these things to his wife Sarai. He believed that he would have seed.”

3. AN OVERALL COMPARISON BETWEEN GENESIS 15:1–16:16
AND *JUBILEES* 14:1–24

The author of *Jubilees* borrows the text of Gen 15:1–21 entirely, except for a short introduction to a direct speech (Gen 15:3a) and twice “behold” (Gen 15:3a, 4a). *Jubilees* has variations and some additions as well (*Jub.* 14:2f, 5ab, 10b–11c, 17ab, 19–20; elements in *Jub.* 14:1a, 2d, 4b, 7b, 10a, 14b, 18b). In contrast, he does not take over most of the text of Gen 16:1–16. Most striking is the major omission of Gen 16:4c–14 that describes the tension between Hagar and Sarai (Gen 16:4c–6), and the subsequent flight of Hagar into the wilderness (Gen 16:7–14). Besides this major omission, *Jubilees* also has some other (smaller) omissions (Gen 16:1b, 2b, 3b, elements in 15a–b, 16b), some additions (*Jub.* 14:21a–c, 22a, 23bc, and elements in *Jub.* 14:22d, 23a, 24d) and some variations. The overall comparison of these texts is shown in the following scheme:

Genesis 15:1–16:16	<i>Jubilees</i> 14:1–24
1. Promise dialogue I (15:1–6)	1. Promise dialogue I (14:1–6)
2. Promise dialogue II (15:7–21)	2. Promise dialogue II (14:7–18) ADDITIONS (14:19–20)
3. Sarai gives Hagar to Abram (16:1–4b)	3. Sarai gives Hagar to Abram (14:21–24b)
4. TENSION BETWEEN SARAI AND HAGAR (16:4c–6)	
5. HAGAR’S FLIGHT TO THE WILDERNESS (16:7–14)	
6. Ishmael’s birth and name-giving (16:15–16)	4. Ishmael’s birth and name-giving (14:24c–e)

Neither of the promissory dialogues (Gen 15:1–6 and Gen 15:7–21) are dated in Genesis, apart from the vague mention of “on that day” (Gen 15:18a), whereas in the story of Hagar and Sarai (Gen 16:1–16), the author of Genesis gives some chronological information: “after Abram had dwelt ten years in the land of Canaan” (Gen 16:3b) and “Abram was eighty-six years old when Hagar bore Ishmael to Abram” (Gen 16:16). According to Genesis Abram was seventy-five years old when he departed from Haran to Canaan (Gen 12:4). This means that he must have been eighty-five years old when Ishmael was conceived (Gen 16:3b), which is consistent with the mention of Abram’s age at the name-giving of Ishmael (Gen 16:16).

I have already pointed out the fact that, in contrast to Genesis, the author of *Jubilees* anchors both dialogues in his chronological system, and he brings them into close relation to Sarai’s advice to Abram to take Hagar as a wife. Both promise dialogues are dated in the same year as the

conception of Ishmael, namely 1964 *a.m.* The birth and name-giving of Ishmael (*Jub.* 14:24cd) are dated one year later. Both events in the promissory dialogues are dated in the same month, namely the third month of the year, although not on the same day. The first dialogue (*Jub.* 14:1–6) takes place at the beginning of the third month, the second dialogue (*Jub.* 14:7–20) in the middle of the third month.

4. AN ANALYSIS OF THE REWRITING OF GENESIS 15:1–16:16 IN *JUBILEES* 14:1–21

The text will be discussed according to the three units (*Jub.* 14:1–6; 14:7–20; 14:21–24). For each I first present a synoptic overview of the text of *Jubilees* and the parallel text in Genesis and then continue with a discussion of the differences and similarities between both texts.

4.1. *The First Dialogue (Gen 15:1–6; Jub. 14:1–6)*

Genesis 15:1–6

- 1a After these things []
- the word of Yhwh came to Abram in a *vision*:
- b “Do not be afraid, Abram,
- c I am your *shield*;
- d your reward will be very large.”
- 2a *Abram* said:
- b “O, Yhwh God, what are you going to give me?
- c I go on being childless,
- d and the son of Mesheq *of my house*, he is Damascene Eliezer [].”
- 3a AND ABRAM SAID:
- b “BEHOLD, you have given me no seed;
- []
- c AND A SLAVE BORN IN MY HOUSE WILL BE MY HEIR.”
- 4a AND BEHOLD, *the word of Yhwh came* to him:
- b “This one will not be your heir;
- c but rather someone who will come out of your loins will be your heir.”

Jubilees 14:1–6

- 1a After these things—IN THE FOURTH YEAR OF THIS WEEK, ON THE FIRST OF THE THIRD MONTH— the word of the Lord came to Abram in a *dream*:
- b “Do not be afraid, Abram.
- c I am your *protector*;
- d your reward will be very large.”
- 2a *He* said:
- b “O, Lord, Lord, what are you going to give me?
- c I go on being childless,
- d and the son of Masheq, *the son of my maid servant*—he is Damascene Eliezer—WILL BE MY HEIR. []
- e [] You have given me no seed.
- f GIVE ME SEED.” []
- 3a [] *He said* to him:
- b “This one will not be your heir
- c but rather someone who will come out of your loins will be your heir.”

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>5a And he brought him outside
 b and said []:
 c "Look toward heaven,
 d and count the stars,
 e if you can count them."
 []</p> <p>f He said to him:
 g "So will your seed be."
 6a And he believed Yhwh,
 b and <i>he reckoned it</i> to him as righteous-
 ness.</p> | <p>4a And he brought him outside
 b and said TO HIM:
 c "Look toward heaven
 d and count the stars,
 e if you can count them."
 5a WHEN HE HAD LOOKED AT THE
 SKY
 b AND SEEN THE STARS,
 c he said to him:
 d "<i>Like this</i> your seed will be."
 6a And he believed the Lord,
 b and <i>it was counted</i> to him as righteous-
 ness.</p> |
|--|---|

Compared to the Masoretic Text of Gen 15:1–6, *Jub.* 14:1–6 has the addition of the dating (*Jub.* 14:1a), some other small additions (elements in *Jub.* 14:2d, 2f, 4b, 5ab), some small omissions (Gen 15:3a, and elements in Gen 15:3b, 3c, 4a), and some variations (elements in *Jub.* 14:1a, 1c, 2a, 2d, 3a, 5d, 6b). Some of the differences are possibly due to the fact that the text of Genesis the author of *Jubilees* uses is a text different from the masoretic one. The suffix ("to him") to the verb in *Jub.* 14:4 occurs also in the Peshitta, Septuagint, Old Latin, and Ethiopic text of Gen 15:5b.⁴ The passive form in *Jub.* 14:6b ("it was counted") occurs also in the Peshitta, Septuagint, Old Latin, and Ethiopic text of Gen 15:6b.⁵ Therefore, we cannot consider these deviations as variations of the scriptural text.

Jubilees shows a certain freedom in the rendering of the introductory formula of the direct speeches. In *Jub.* 14:2a the proper name ("Abram") is replaced by a personal noun, in *Jub.* 14:3a the formula is completely changed,⁶ and the formula of Gen 15:3a is omitted in *Jubilees*. In *Jub.* 14:1c, the Lord is not called "your shield" (מגן לך) as in Gen 15:1c, but "your protector" (*qāwmka*). The author of *Jubilees* did not use another version of Genesis, but rather he tries to explain the metaphor of the shield.⁷

In *Jub.* 14:1a, it is said that the word of the Lord did not come to Abram "in a vision" (במחזה) but "in a dream" (*baḥalm*). It is not completely clear why *Jubilees* used the word "dream." The construction "in a vision" is quite exceptional in the Hebrew Bible (Gen 15:1; Num 24:4, 16; Ezek 13:7). The Septuagint reads ἐν ὁράματι. In Gen 46:2, the Septuagint uses this word

⁴ VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees, II*, 83.

⁵ Ibid. See also Rom 4:3; Gal 3:6; Jas 2:23; 1 Macc 2:52.

⁶ So also 1QapGen 22:34 ("And he said to him").

⁷ Also the Septuagint, Old Latin, and the Targumim use a term denoting "protector." See A. Salvesen, *Symmachus in the Pentateuch* (Journal of Semitic Studies Monograph 15; Manchester, 1991), 39–40.

not taken over in *Jubilees*. Instead, there is an addition in *Jub.* 14:2f: "Give me seed."¹³

Jubilees 14:5ab is an addition. The author confirms that Abram has looked to the sky and seen the stars. The pattern that a command in direct speech is followed by a narrative element in which the execution of the command is carried out occurs quite often in the Bible. There are no versions of Gen 15:5 which have the addition of *Jub.* 14:5ab. According to Berger it stresses Abram's loyalty.¹⁴

4.2. *The Second Dialogue (Gen 15:7–21; Jub. 14:7–20)*

Genesis 15:7–21

7a He said to him:
b "I am Yhwh who brought you from Ur of the Chaldeans, to give you *this* land to occupy []."

8a He said:
b "Yhwh God, how will I know that I will inherit it?"

9a He said to him:
b "Take for me a three-year-old calf, a three-year-old goat, a three-year-old ram, a turtle-dove, and a pigeon."

10a He took HIM all of these [],

[]

b and divided them in the middle.

Jubilees 14:7–20

7a He said to him:
b "I am the Lord who brought you from Ur of the Chaldeans to give you the land *of the Canaanites* to occupy FOREVER AND TO BECOME GOD FOR YOU AND YOUR SEED AFTER YOU."

8a He said:
b "Lord, Lord, how will I know that I will inherit (it)?"

9a He said to him:
b "Take for me a three-year-old calf, a three-year-old goat, a three-year-old ram, a turtledove, and a pigeon."

10a He took [] all of these IN THE MIDDLE OF THE MONTH.

b HE WAS LIVING AT THE OAK OF MAMRE WHICH IS NEAR HEBRON.

11a HE BUILT AN ALTAR THERE

b AND SACRIFICED ALL OF THESE.

c HE Poured OUT THEIR BLOOD ON THE ALTAR

d and divided them in the middle.

¹³ This sentence is not read by Dillmann (see Dillmann, "Das Buch der Jubiläen," 7), nor by Charles (see Charles, *Mashafa kufale*). It is lacking also in Charles' translation of 1902 (see Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 102). Also Wintermute does not translate it (see O.S. Wintermute, "*Jubilees*," 2:84). However, there seems to be enough evidence in the manuscripts to read the sentence. See VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*, II, 83. So also Berger, *Buch der Jubiläen*, 402.

¹⁴ Berger, *Buch der Jubiläen*, 402.

- c He put *each piece over against the other*,
 d but the birds he did not divide.
 11a *The birds of prey* came down upon the *carcasses*,
 b but Abram drove them away.
 []
- 12a It came to pass that the sun was going down,
 b and *a deep sleep* fell on Abram;
 c and behold, a dread of great darkness fell on him.
 13a *He said* to Abram:
 b “Know for a fact that your seed will be aliens in a land *that is not theirs*.
 c They will *be slaves to* them,
 d and they will oppress them for 400 years.
 14a But I will judge the nation whom they serve.
 b Afterwards, they will leave [] with *great possessions*.
 15a But you will go peacefully to your fathers
 b and be buried in a good old age.
 16a [] The fourth generation [] will return here
 b because until now the sins of the Amorites have not been completed.”
 []
- 17a The sun had gone down
 b and there was *darkness*.
 c And behold, an oven was smoking,
 d and a *torch* of fire passed between *these pieces*.
 18a On that day Yhwh concluded a covenant with Abram, saying:
 b “To your seed I will give this land, from the river of Egypt to the great river, the Euphrates River:
- e He put *them opposite one another*,
 f but the birds he did not divide.
 12a *Birds* came down upon *what was spread out*,
 b but Abram drove them away
 c AND NOT ALLOWING THE BIRDS TO TOUCH THEM.
 13a It came to pass that the sun was going down,
 b and *a terror* fell on Abram;
 c and behold, a dread of great darkness fell on him.
 d *It was said* to Abram:
 e “Know for a fact that your seed will be aliens in a *foreign* land.
 f They will *enslave* them,
 g and they will oppress them for 400 years.
 14a But I will judge the nation whom they serve.
 b Afterwards, they will leave FROM THERE with *many possessions*.
 15a But you will go peacefully to your fathers
 b and be buried in a good old age.
 16a IN the fourth generation THEY will return here
 b because until now the sins of the Amorites have not been completed.”
 17a AND HE AWOKE FROM HIS SLEEP,
 b AND GOT UP.
 c The sun had gone down.
 d and there was *a flame*.
 e And behold, an oven was smoking,
 f and *a flame* of fire passed between *what was spread out*.
 18a On that day the Lord concluded a covenant with Abram with these words:
 b “To your seed I will give this land, from the river of Egypt to the great river, the Euphrates River:

- 19 the Kenites, the Kenizzites, the Kadmonites,
 20 the HITTITES, the Perizzites, the Rephaim [],
 21 [] the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Girgashites and the Jebusites.”
 []
- the Kenites, the Kenizzites, the Kadmonites,
 [] the Perizzites, the Rephaim, THE PHAKORITES,
 THE HIVITES, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Girgashites, and the Jebusites.”
- 19a IT PASSED (ALONG),
 b AND ABRAM OFFERED WHAT HAD BEEN SPREAD OUT, THE BIRDS, THEIR (CEREAL) OFFERING, AND THEIR LIBATION.
 c THE FIRE DEVoured THEM.
- 20a DURING THIS NIGHT WE CONCLUDED A COVENANT WITH ABRAM LIKE THE COVENANT WHICH WE CONCLUDED DURING THIS MONTH WITH NOAH.
 b ABRAM RENEWED THE FESTIVAL AND THE ORDINANCE FOR HIMSELF FOREVER.

Jubilees 14:7–20 has some additions (*Jub.* 14:10b–11c, 12c, 17ab, 19–20; elements in *Jub.* 14:7b, 10a, 14b, 18b), and some small variations (elements in 14:11e, 12a, 13b, 13d–f, 14b, 17d, 17f, 18b) with regard to Gen 15:7–21. Remarkably, there is just one minor omission in *Jub.* 14:18b.¹⁵

Some of the differences might be explained by the author's use of a text of Genesis different from the Masoretic Text.¹⁶ *Jubilees* 14:11e shows some variation with regard to the Masoretic Text of Gen 15:10c in that “each piece over against the other” (אִישׁ בְּתֵרוֹ לְקִרְאָת רֵעֵהוּ) is rendered by “opposite one another” (*ansāratihomu baba gašomu*). *Jubilees*, however, agrees here with the Septuagint in that there is no equivalent for אִישׁ בְּתֵרוֹ and an idiomatic rendering of לְקִרְאָת רֵעֵהוּ.¹⁷ *Jubilees* 14:12a reads “birds” in line with the Septuagint, Old Latin, and Ethiopic of Gen 15:11a. The Masoretic Text has הַעֵיט (“birds of prey”). The word *sāfh* (“what was spread out”; *Jub.* 14:12a, 17f) is a rendering of הַפְּגָרִים (“the carcasses”). Charles tries to explain *sāfh* as a result of a corruption within the Greek stage of *Jubilees*,¹⁸

¹⁵ The mention of Hittites in the list of nations (Gen 15:20) is not taken over by *Jubilees*. One can possibly see the Hivites as a variation of it, but see the discussion below. See also the addition of Phakorites in the list of *Jubilees*.

¹⁶ See note 65 of the introduction to this volume.

¹⁷ VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees, II*, 84. The Septuagint of Gen 15:10c reads: καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὰ ἀντιπρόσωπα ἀλλήλοις.

¹⁸ Charles, *Mashafa kufale*, 49 note 28; idem, *Book of Jubilees*, 103; VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees, II*, 84–85.

whereas VanderKam keeps *safli* as a meaningful text. *Jubilees* 14:12b agrees with Gen 15:11b, in that *Jubilees* seems to render the verb נשב (“to drive away”) and not συνεκάθισεν (Septuagint), which is derived from the root ישב. The word *dagāde* (“terror”) in *Jub.* 14:13b can also mean “astonishment, amazement.” It differs from the Masoretic Text of Gen 15:12b תרדמה (“deep sleep”) but comes close to ἔκστασις of the Septuagint.¹⁹ Note, however, the addition in *Jub.* 14:17ab (“And he awoke from his *sleep* and got up”). The passive verbal form in *Jub.* 14:13d (“it was said”) is in line with the Septuagint, Old Latin, and the Ethiopic of Gen 15:13a.²⁰ Some manuscripts of the Septuagint read ἀλλότρια (“foreign”) like *Jub.* 14:13e instead of “not theirs.” The addition “from there” (*Jub.* 14:14b) possibly reflects the reading of the Septuagint of Gen 15:14b (ὧδε). *Jubilees* 14:17d (“a flame”) agrees with the Septuagint of Gen 15:17b (φλόξ), whereas the Masoretic Text of Gen 15:17b reads עלטה (“darkness”).²¹

However, there are other differences between both texts besides these small deviations ascribed to the use of a different *Vorlage* from the Masoretic Text of Genesis. The text of *Jub.* 14:7 contains some modifications with regard to Gen 15:7. In the first place, the Lord promises Abram to give “the land of the Canaanites” and not only “this land” (Gen 15:7). In the second place there is the addition (“to occupy forever”) that puts emphasis on the eternal possession of the land. Finally, the end of the verse stresses the relationship of God to Abram and his progeny (“to become God for you and your seed after you”). These elements (the land identified by name; the eternal possession of it; the personal relationship between God and Abram and his progeny) are all connected with the covenant. One could think here of a possible influence from comparable passages, especially from the introduction to the concluding of the covenant in Gen 17:1–8. Apart from the promise of the land and the promise of numerous offspring, the conclusion of the covenant includes here an identified land, a mention of the eternal possession, and a personal relationship (Gen 17:7–8: “And I will establish my covenant between me and you, and your descendants after you throughout their generations, for an everlasting covenant, to be God to you and to your seed after you. And I will give to you, and to your descendants after you, the land of your sojournings, all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession, and I will be their God”). The rewriting of Gen 17:7–8 in *Jub.* 15:9–10 is very

¹⁹ Cf. VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees, II*, 85.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

literal. All additions in *Jub.* 14:7 with regard to Gen 15:7 can be explained by the influence of this parallel passage (namely Gen 17:7–8), which also describes a renewal of the covenant.

The dating of the second dialogue in the middle of the third month (*Jub.* 14:10) is connected with *Jubilees'* view of the covenant. According to *Jubilees*, the covenant that the Lord concluded with Abram (*Jub.* 14:18a, 20a) is made on the same date as the covenant that was concluded with Noah (*Jub.* 14:20a). This means that the covenant with Abram is understood as a renewing of the covenant (*Jub.* 14:20b), which was neglected from Noah's death until Abram (cf. *Jub.* 6:18–19).²²

According to Kugel, *Jub.* 14:20b is an addition from a later interpolator, which makes clear that the festival of the first fruits that Abram inaugurates in *Jub.* 15:1–2 is different from the festival mentioned in *Jub.* 14:20b (“the festival”).²³ It is difficult to understand why exactly the words of *Jub.* 14:20b would reflect the words of an interpolator and not also the words of *Jub.* 14:20a, which assert that the covenant with Abram is a renewing of the covenant with Noah. Besides, it is inaccurate to maintain that *Jub.* 15:1–2 is the inauguration of an agricultural festival (“festival of the first fruits”) that would have nothing to do with a commemoration of the covenant. On the contrary, the making of the covenant with Abram is from the beginning characterized as a renewing of the covenant that God concluded with Noah. The specifications of the festival in *Jub.* 15:1–2 are very much similar to the covenant of Noah. It is celebrated on the same date of the year and at the same festival. There is also an offering that precedes the concluding of the covenant.²⁴ It seems, therefore, unnecessary to consider the words of *Jub.* 14:20b as words of a later interpolator, which would point to a festival that was not the festival of the first fruits.

The additions in *Jub.* 14:10b–11c, 19 show the place where Abram lives (*Jub.* 14:10b), and they make explicit the act of sacrifice (*Jub.* 14:11a–c, 19). The text of Genesis is ambiguous in this respect. In Genesis, Abram is ordered to take sacrificial animals (Gen 15:9–10), but it is not clear that

²² On the covenant of God with Noah in the book of *Jubilees*, see Van Ruiten, *Primaeval History*, 215–56; see also idem, “The Covenant of Noah in *Jubilees* 6.1–38,” in *The Concept of the Covenant in the Second Temple Period* (ed. S.E. Porter and J.C.R. de Roo; JSJSup 71; Leiden, 2003), 167–90. See also J.C. VanderKam, “Covenant and Biblical Interpretation in *Jubilees* 6,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L.H. Schiffman et al.; Jerusalem, 2000), 92–104.

²³ Kugel, “On the Interpolations,” 215–72 (esp. 246–47, 263): “The Interpolator was careful to insert a brief mention that, in addition to inaugurating First Fruits, Abraham had also ‘renewed the Festival [of Oaths] and the ordinance for himself forever,’” The addition of “of oaths” in the quoted phrase of *Jub.* 14:20b is from Kugel.

²⁴ See further the discussion in Chapter Four.

he is going to offer them. In *Jubilees*, Abram builds an altar (*Jub.* 14:11a), sacrifices all animals (*Jub.* 14:11b), and pours out their blood on the altar (*Jub.* 14:11c). In the addition at the end, it is repeated that Abram offers what was spread out. He sacrifices the animals in the fire, together with the cereal offering and the libation (*Jub.* 14:19). And this is explicitly connected with the concluding of the covenant, which is seen here as a renewal.

The last difference can be found in the list of nations (*Gen* 15:19–21; *Jub.* 14:18b). The mention of Hittites in the list of nations (*Gen* 15:20) is not taken over by *Jubilees*, whereas the Pharoikites and the Hivites are added to the list. One can possibly see the Hivites as a variation of the Hittites. However, the Hivites do occur in the Septuagint and the Samaritan Pentateuch of *Gen* 15:19–21.²⁵ It is possible, therefore, that the Hivites were mentioned in the text of Genesis that the author of *Jubilees* had in front of him. It is not completely clear why he omitted the Hittites, since both groups (the Hittites and the Hivites) appear together in comparable lists of nations (cf. *Exod* 3:8, 17; 13:5; 23:23, 28; 33:2; 34:11; *Deut* 7:1; 20:17; *Josh* 3:10; 9:1; 11:3; 12:8; 24:11; *Judg* 3:5; 1 Kgs 9:20; 2 Chr 8:7). The reason might be that both Genesis and *Jubilees* present the Hittites in a favorable light when Abraham buys the cave near Hebron to bury his wife (cf. *Gen* 23:1–20; *Jub.* 19:1–9).²⁶ The Hivites, in contrast, are placed in a negative light in the book of *Jubilees* (see, e.g. *Jub.* 30:2).²⁷ The mention of the Phakorites in the list is unique to *Jubilees*.²⁸

4.3. *Hagar and Ishmael (Gen 16; Jub. 14:21–24)*

Genesis 16:1–4, 15–16

Jubilees 14:21–24

21a ABRAM WAS VERY HAPPY

b AND TOLD ALL THESE THINGS TO HIS WIFE SARAI.

c HE BELIEVED THAT HE WOULD HAVE SEED.

[]

1a *Sarai, Abram's wife*, bore HIM no children.

d *She* bore [] no children.

²⁵ See *Gen. Rab.* 44:23, where is explained why the Hevites are not in the list of *Gen* 15:19–21.

²⁶ Cf. Scott, *On Earth as in Heaven*, 198–99.

²⁷ See Scott, *On Earth as in Heaven*, 199–201.

²⁸ Scott (*On Earth as in Heaven*, 199 note 95) suggests that the Phakorites should be understood as “the Philistines.” However, there is no textual base for this suggestion. Moreover, it does not explain the addition of this group in the list of *Jubilees*.

- | | | | |
|-----|--|-----|---|
| b | SHE HAD AN EGYPTIAN SLAVE-GIRL WHOSE NAME WAS HAGAR; | [] | |
| 2a | [] | | 22a AND SARAI ADVISED HER HUSBAND ABRAM |
| | and <i>Sarai</i> said to <i>Abram</i> : | | b and <i>she</i> said to <i>him</i> : |
| b | “BEHOLD NOW, YHWH HAS PREVENTED ME FROM BEARING CHILDREN; | | [] |
| c | go in to my [] slave-girl []; | | c “Go in to my EGYPTIAN slave-girl HAGAR; |
| d | Perhaps I will <i>be built up</i> [] from her.” | | d perhaps I will <i>build up</i> SEED FOR YOU from her.” |
| e | Abram listened to the voice of Sarai []. | | 23a Abram listened to the voice of Sarai, HIS WIFE |
| | | | b AND SAID TO HER: |
| | | | c “Do (AS YOU SUGGEST).” |
| 3a | Sarai, ABRAM’S WIFE, took her Egyptian slave-girl Hagar, | | d Sarai [] took her Egyptian slave-girl Hagar, |
| b | AFTER ABRAM HAD DWELT TEN YEARS IN THE LAND OF CANAAN, | | [] |
| c | and gave her to her husband Abram <i>as a wife</i> . | | e and gave her to her husband Abram <i>to be his wife</i> . |
| 4a | And he went in to <i>Hagar</i> , | | 24a And he went in to <i>her</i> , |
| b | and she conceived; | | b and she conceived, |
| | [GEN 16:4c–14] | | [] |
| 15a | And <i>Hagar</i> gave birth to ABRAM to a son. | | c and <i>she</i> gave birth [] to a son. |
| b | <i>Abram</i> called the name OF HIS SON, WHOM HAGAR BORE, Ishmael []. | | d <i>He</i> called the name [] ISHMAEL IN THE FIFTH YEAR OF THIS WEEK. |
| 16a | <i>Abram was eighty-six years old</i> | | e <i>That year was the eighty-sixth year in Abram’s life</i> . |
| | | | [] |
| b | WHEN HAGAR BORE ISHMAEL TO ABRAM. | | |

As can be seen in this synoptic overview, *Jub.* 14:21–24 is the rewriting of Gen 16:1–16. The text of Genesis is shortened greatly in *Jubilees*, mainly because Gen 16:4c–14 is not taken over. Besides this major omission, *Jubilees* also has some other (smaller) omissions (Gen 16:1b, 2b, 3b, 16b; elements in Gen 16:1a, 3a, 15a–b), some additions (*Jub.* 14:21a–c, 22a, 23bc, and elements in *Jub.* 14:22cd, 23a, 24d), and some variations (which are concerned with the replacement of a proper name by a personal noun: *Jub.* 14:21d, 22b, 24a, 24c–d; some other small variations in *Jub.* 14:23e, 24e). *Jub.* 14:22c can be considered as a conflation of Gen 16:2c with Gen 16:1b. This corresponds with the omission of Gen 16:1b and the additions in

Jub. 14:22c. The omission of Gen 16:3b (“After Abram had dwelt ten years in the land of Canaan”) corresponds with the additions in *Jub.* 14:10b, 24d (“in the fifth year of this week”).

Through the lack of the explicit dating of the events at the beginning and the mention of “all these things,” the Hagar story is closely related to the preceding passage. Sarai’s giving of her slave-girl Hagar to Abram takes place in the same year as the concluding of the covenant. In a certain sense it can be seen as the conclusion of this passage. Abram complains to God that he has no children up to this moment and that the son of Maseq is going to be his heir. God assures him that he will have numerous offspring and that he and his offspring will inherit Canaan. In this way, God establishes a covenant with Abram.

It is made clear that Abram was happy with the promise of many offspring (*Jub.* 14:21a–c). We may suppose that he thought that he would achieve this with his wife Sarai. Ultimately, they would have children. One should realise that in the book of *Jubilees*, up to the scene with Hagar, the author has not yet provided any clue that Sarai could not bear children.²⁹ In Genesis, the first thing said about Sarai is that she was infertile (Gen 11:30: “Now Sarai was barren; she had no child”). Stating this fact twice, the pivotal role of her barrenness in the story and the hopelessness of the couple’s situation is underlined.³⁰ In his rewrite (*Jub.* 12:9), the author of *Jubilees* fails to mention that Sarai was barren. He does not establish her barrenness as a central issue but rather her descent, her origin.³¹

When Sarai continued to have no children (*Jub.* 14:21d), she advised Abram to try to conceive children with her slave-girl Hagar (*Jub.* 14:22). It seems that it was Sarai’s wish to protect Yhwh’s promise made to Abram (*Jub.* 14:1–6) that makes Abram so happy. It is significant that Gen 16:2b (“Behold now, Yhwh has prevented me from bearing children”) is omitted in *Jubilees*. This indicates that, according to *Jubilees*, Sarai is probably not really convinced that she would always remain barren.

The author of *Jubilees* seems to change the picture of Sarai in comparison to Genesis 16. In Genesis, it is as if Sarai also acts for selfish reasons.³²

²⁹ Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment of Women*, 50, 100.

³⁰ See, e.g. W.H. *Genesis 2: Genesis 11:27–25:11* (COut; Kampen, 1979), 20; Westermann, *Genesis 12–36*, 159.

³¹ This aspect of the rewriting of *Jubilees* is stressed emphatically by Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment of Women*, 34–5.

³² See, for example, P.R. Drey, “The Role of Hagar in Genesis 16,” *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 40 (2002): 179–95 (esp. 189).

The text not only reads: "Behold now, Yhwh has prevented *me* from bearing children" (Gen 16:2b), but also: "Perhaps I will be built up from her" (Gen 16:2d). Whatever the exact meaning of this phrase is, it focuses attention on Sarai or on Sarai's interest.³³ She seems not to make a connection between the offspring that was promised *to Abram* and her own action in these verses. These elements are changed in *Jubilees*, which not only does not take over the phrase "Yhwh has prevented me" but also changes the phrase "Perhaps I will be built up from her" into "Perhaps I will build up *seed for you* from her." With these small alterations, *Jubilees* shows how Sarai acts out of interest for Abram, which is in the end the interest of God. She does not act for her own sake. It is interesting to see that Abram asserts explicitly what his wife proposes: "And Abram listened to the voice of Sarai, his wife and said to her: Do (as you suggest)" (*Jub.* 14:23). *Jubilees* stresses that the marriage of Abram and Sarai is an ideal marriage. The partners work together harmoniously to work out the promise of God.³⁴

In Genesis, there is an interlude (Gen 16:4c–14) between the conception and the birth of Ishmael. In this passage the author deals with the tension between Hagar and Sarai (Gen 16:4c–6), and Hagar's flight into the desert (Gen 16:7–14). This is completely omitted in *Jubilees*. It is, of course, possible that the author of the book found it as such in his sources. However, there may have been several reasons for omitting it himself. The author of *Jubilees* probably felt that it would contradict the fact of Sarai's decision to give Hagar to Abram and Abram's positive response. By omitting these verses, the author of *Jubilees* again stresses his positive view of Sarai. The hostile reproach of Sarai is left out (Gen 16:5: "And Sarai said to Abram: 'May the wrong done to me be on you! I gave my maid-servant to your embrace, and when she saw that she had conceived, she looked on me with contempt. May Yhwh judge between you and me!'"). Everything that overshadows the positive image of Sarai and of the harmonious cooperation of wife and husband, united in an exemplary marriage, is left out of *Jubilees*.³⁵ Also the fact that Abram puts Hagar under the authority of Sarai, who humiliates her (Gen 16:6: "But Abram said to Sarai: 'Behold, your maid-servant is in your power; do to her as you please.' Then Sarai dealt harshly with her, and she fled from her") is left out, for Sarai's abuse of her slave-girl would not fit into a positive picture of Sarai either. In

³³ See, for example, G.J. Wenham, *Genesis 16–50* (WBC 2; Waco, Tex., 1994), 6–7.

³⁴ See Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment of Women*, 50–1, 60, 70.

³⁵ Cf. Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment of Women*, 51.

the biblical text, the humiliation receives divine approval (Gen 16:9: “The angel of Yhwh said to her: ‘Return to your mistress, and submit to her’”). However, this passage also is not taken over into *Jubilees*.

At the same time, it is not only the picture of Sarai that changes by omitting this large passage, but also the representation of Hagar. Genesis pictures the arrogance of Hagar after she became pregnant (cf. Gen 16:4: “and when she saw that she had conceived, she looked with contempt on her mistress”). This is incriminating for Hagar, and that is possibly the reason why it is left out of *Jubilees*.³⁶ Also the long narrative passage in the desert in which there is a dialogue between Hagar and the angel of Yhwh is omitted (Gen 16:7–14). This follows probably from what has been said thus far. If the arrogance of Hagar is left out, if Sarai does not reproach Abram, and if Hagar is not humiliated by Sarai, then it is not necessary for Hagar to depart. The family of Abram lives in great harmony, not only Abram and Sarai, but his whole household.

By omitting this passage everything that elevates the status of Hagar is also left out, specifically her direct communication with the angel about her son (as a sort of birth report, which is reserved, elsewhere in Genesis, only for the patriarchs, not for women, let alone a slave-woman).³⁷ Moreover, in Gen 16:13, Hagar seems to suggest that she has seen God: “So she called the name of Yhwh who spoke to her: ‘You are a God of seeing’; for she said: ‘Have I really seen God and remained alive after seeing him?’” She would have been the only woman in Genesis and Exodus that has encountered God, and this was probably too much honor for a slave-woman.

In summary, it can be said that *Jubilees* alters the first of the Hagar stories mainly through omissions, for it does not report the tension between Hagar and Sarai. Therefore, it is not necessary to speak about Hagar’s flight to the wilderness and her subsequent return. This, consequently, changes the picture of both Sarai and Hagar in *Jubilees* a great deal. Sarai is depicted more positively, whereas Hagar’s status is neither raised nor lowered. Moreover the birth of Ishmael is closely connected to the concluding of the covenant and its promises of progeny and land. So, the meaning of covenant is also transformed.

³⁶ Cf. P. Söllner, “Ismael und Isaak—muss der eine den anderen denn immer nur verfolgen? Zum Verhältnis der beiden Abrahamssöhne im Jubiläenbuch,” in *Religionsgeschichte des Neuen Testaments: Festschrift für Klaus Berger zum 60. Geburtstag* (ed. A. von Dobbeler et al.; Tübingen, 2000), 357–78 (esp. 361).

³⁷ Cf. Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment of Women*, 107.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

According to the *Jubilees*, there is only one single covenant. The Noachic union (*Jub.* 6) is the first conclusion. It is the basis for all subsequent ones. The author of *Jubilees* presents the covenant of Moses as a continuation of the covenant of Noah, but at the same time he extrapolates elements from the Sinaitic covenant to that of Noah.³⁸ Also the bonds with the patriarchs are seen as a renewal of the covenant of Noah. In *Jubilees* 14 this is stated explicitly (*Jub.* 14:20), whereas it is also implied in the dating of the covenant during the festival of weeks (*Jub.* 14:1a, 10a, 20a).³⁹ The transformation of the ambiguous reference to an offering in Gen 15:9–11 into an explicit offering including the sprinkling of blood (*Jub.* 14:11–12, 19) stresses the similarity of Abram's covenant with that of Noah (cf. *Jub.* 6:1–3, 11). Also the second conclusion of the covenant between God and Abraham (*Jub.* 15) shows these elements: a dating of the covenant and a mentioning of the festival (*Jub.* 15:1) as well as an offering (*Jub.* 15:2). This results in a comparable structure of *Jubilees* 14 and 15. This similarity is strengthened by the fact that in the description of the land (*Jub.* 14:7) the author integrates Gen 17:7–8 (the land identified by name; the eternal possession of it; the personal relationship between God and Abram and his progeny) in his use of Gen 15:7. However, the resemblance between *Jubilees* 14 and 15 draws attention to still another element.

In *Jubilees* 14, Abram demands descendants, which is followed by the promise of descendants (*Jub.* 14:1–6) and the promise of land (*Jub.* 14:7). The story of Ishmael's birth (*Jub.* 14:21–24) is presented as a first answer to Abram's question in the beginning of the chapter. After the promise of descendants (*Jub.* 15:6, 8) and land (*Jub.* 15:10), in *Jubilees* 15 the announcement of Isaac's birth is made (*Jub.* 15:15–22).⁴⁰ The parallel structure seems to point to the fact that Ishmael is of equal status as Isaac, but this is refuted more powerfully in *Jubilees* than in Genesis. *Jubilees* 15 stresses the superiority of Isaac more than Genesis 17. It is not only said that God will conclude a covenant with Isaac alone (*Jub.* 15:18–22; cf. Gen 17:18–22), but also the multiple mention of Ishmael with regard to the circumcision of Abraham and his house (*Jub.* 15:23–24; cf. Gen 17:23–27) is pushed into the background. Moreover, in the halakic addition, it is explicitly mentioned

³⁸ On the identification of Noah with Moses, see Van Ruiten, "Covenant of Noah," 189–90.

³⁹ The renewal of the covenant by Abraham is announced already in *Jub.* 6:19.

⁴⁰ The commandment of circumcision (*Jub.* 15:11–14) has no parallel in *Jubilees* 14.

that God has not chosen Ishmael (*Jub.* 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”). Therefore, the rewriting and interpretation of Genesis 15 and 16 by the author of *Jubilees* make clear how God’s covenant with Abra(ha)m and the promises of land and progeny are fulfilled in the birth of Isaac.

As we have seen in this chapter, *Jubilees* 14 is very close to Genesis 15–16, except for a few alterations and the omission of Gen 16:1–16. If one follows the suggestions of Segal, one could suppose that the redactor of the book adapted an already existing rewriting of the biblical stories.⁴¹ As I have tried to argue in this chapter, the transformations of *Jubilees* with regard to Genesis seem not to be arbitrary, but they are in line with the rest of the book. The transformation of the ambiguous reference to an offering in Genesis 15 into an explicit offering in *Jubilees* 14, for example, stresses the similarity of Abram’s covenant with that of Noah (cf. *Jubilees* 6) and of the first conclusion with the second conclusion of the covenant between God and Abraham (cf. *Jubilees* 15). Another example is that in *Jubilees*, Sarai’s barrenness is not a central issue. This is not only reflected in some alterations in *Jubilees* 14, but also in *Jubilees* 12. Also the change in the picture of Sarai in comparison to Genesis 16 in *Jubilees*, which stresses the positive view of Sarai and which shows that Sarai acts out of interest for Abram, is in line with the general interest of *Jubilees* that both partners work together harmoniously to work out the promise of God. I consider it, therefore, improbable that the author of *Jubilees* inherited all of these reworkings of scriptural narratives from other sources.

⁴¹ See note 47 of the introduction to this volume.

CHAPTER FOUR

ABRAHAM, ISRAEL AND THE NATIONS (GEN 17; *JUB.* 15)

1. AN OVERALL COMPARISON BETWEEN GENESIS 17 AND *JUBILEES* 15

The theme of the nations in relation to Israel touches the very heart of the book of *Jubilees*. In many places, the author refers to the nations, and in most cases he creates a dichotomy between them and the nation par excellence (Israel). The author erects sharp boundaries between Israel and the other nations, between insiders and outsiders. Israel is summoned to separate from the nations. The people of Israel should stay far away from them and from their customs and their practices. The separation from the nations is formulated quite explicitly in the rewriting of Abraham's covenant of circumcision in *Jubilees* 15. This text is a very close rendering of Genesis 17. There are only a few additions, omissions, and variations in *Jub.* 15:3–23, whereas more substantial additions precede (*Jub.* 15:1–2) and follow (*Jub.* 15:25–34) the rendering of Genesis 17, as can be seen in the overall comparison of these texts:

Genesis 17:1–27

1. *God speaks with Abram* (17:1–22)
 - a. making of the covenant; commandment of circumcision (17:1b–14)
 - b. covenant exclusively with Isaac (17:15–22)
2. *Abraham executes divine commandment of circumcision* (17:23–27)

Jubilees 15:1–34

1. ABRAM CELEBRATES THE FESTIVAL OF THE FIRST FRUITS (15:1–2)
2. *God speaks with Abram* (15:3–22)
 - a. making of the covenant; commandment of circumcision (15:3–14)
 - b. covenant exclusively with Isaac (15:15–22)
3. *Abraham executes divine commandment of circumcision* (15:23–24)
4. HALAKIC ADDITION WITH REGARD TO CIRCUMCISION (15:25–34)

2. AN ANALYSIS OF THE REWRITING OF GENESIS 17 IN *JUBILEES* 15

2.1. *The Introduction to the Renewing of the Covenant* (*Jub.* 15:1–2)

The appearance of God is put in the author's absolute dating system of world history. Moreover, the making of the covenant with Abraham is

from the beginning characterized as a renewing of the covenant that God concluded with Noah. There is also an offering that precedes the concluding of the covenant. The text of the introduction is as follows:

Genesis 17:1a

1a Abram was ninety-nine years old.

[]

Jubilees 15:1–2

1a During the fifth year of the fourth week of this jubilee—IN THE THIRD MONTH, IN THE MIDDLE OF THE MONTH—ABRAM CELEBRATED THE FESTIVAL OF THE FIRST FRUITS OF THE WHEAT HARVEST.

2a HE OFFERED AS A NEW SACRIFICE ON THE ALTAR THE FIRST FRUITS OF THE FOOD FOR THE LORD—A BULL, A RAM, AND A SHEEP;

b (HE OFFERED THEM) ON THE ALTAR AS A SACRIFICE TO THE LORD TOGETHER WITH THEIR (CEREAL) OFFERINGS AND THEIR LIBATIONS.

c HE OFFERED EVERYTHING ON THE ALTAR WITH FRANKINCENSE.

The Chronological System

In *Jub.* 15:1a, the appearance of the Lord and the establishing of the covenant is dated 1986 *a.m.* (“During the fifth year of the fourth week of this jubilee”). This date is related to the announcement in Gen 17:1a that Abram was ninety-nine years old, but it is put into the absolute dating system of the world history in years, weeks, and jubilees. In Gen 17:24, it is also mentioned that Abram was ninety-nine years old, but this text is not used in *Jubilees*. In *Jub.* 15:17d, 21a, the author calculates an age of ninety-nine, since it is stated that Abraham will be one hundred years old in exactly one year.

The mention of Abram’s age in *Jubilees*, taken from the text of Genesis, is not in line, however, with the data of the absolute dating system. Since Abram’s birth is put in the seventh year of the second week of the thirtieth jubilee, which is 1876 *a.m.* (*Jub.* 11:35), Abraham would have been hundred and ten years old at the concluding of the covenant in 1986 *a.m.* and not just ninety-nine years old. In *Jub.* 14:24 the mention of Abram’s age at Ishmael’s birth and naming is taken from Genesis (“That year was the eighty-sixth in Abram’s life”). This is consistent with the mention of Ishmael’s age in Gen 17:25 (“And Ishmael his son was thirteen years old when he was circumcised”), which is not taken up by *Jubilees* but which can be deduced from Abram’s age of ninety-nine years. However, in the absolute dating system, Ishmael’s birth and naming is put in the fifth year

of the first week of the forty-first jubilee, which is 1965 *a.m.* On the basis of Abram's birth in (1876 *a.m.*), he would have been eighty-nine years at that moment and not eighty-six years! While there is consistency in the explicit mention of Abraham's age (eighty-six years in *Jub.* 14:24 and ninety-nine years on the basis of *Jub.* 15:17), this does not match the data of the absolute dating system, since in this system the covenant of circumcision takes place twenty-one years after Ishmael's birth rather than thirteen. This means that the absolute dating system gives an age eight years greater than the explicit data given in Genesis and taken over by *Jubilees*. This inconsistency is possibly due to text-critical reasons.¹

The Renewing of the Covenant

According to Kugel, *Jub.* 15:1–2 served as precedent for the festival of the first fruits.² This agricultural festival has no connection at all with the covenant of Noah (or any other covenant). Because of this, he postulates two festivals, one in the time of Noah (festival of oaths) and one in the time of Abraham (festival of the first-fruits). The precedent of the festival of the first-fruits is created by the original author, whereas the festival in connection with the covenant of Noah would have been the invention of a later interpolator. It is difficult to agree with this presupposition. It is not only in the Bible that the festival of weeks is identified with the festival of the first-fruits (cf. Exod 34:22; Num 28:26) but also in the book of *Jubilees*: *Jub.* 6:21 (“Because it is the festival of weeks and it is the festival of the first fruits. This festival is twofold and of two kinds”) and *Jub.* 22:1 (“Isaac and Ishmael came from the well of the oath to their father Abraham to celebrate the festival of weeks; this is the festival of the first fruits of the harvest”).³ Furthermore, *Jub.* 15:1–2 immediately precedes the covenant between God and Abraham (*Jub.* 15:3–22). The specifications of the

¹ Charles notes that the text should read “third week” instead of “fourth week.” See Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 105–6. This emendation also necessitates a change in *Jub.* 16:15 and 17:1. This would give 1979 *a.m.* as the date of the covenant, and Abraham's age as 103 years. See VanderKam, “Studies in the Chronology,” 522–44 (esp. 538–39). VanderKam has suggested that the reading “the fifth year” in 15:1 is possibly influenced by the date in the preceding verse (14:24: “in the fifth year of this week”), whereas the reading of “the fourth week” instead of “the third week” could have originated from a confusion of the forms τρίτος and τέταρτος in the Greek transmission. If each of these numbers is reduced by one, it is possible to obtain “in the fourth year of the third week,” which would mean 1978 *a.m.* and which would be consistent with *Jub.* 14:24.

² Kugel, “On the Interpolations,” 215–72 (esp. 246).

³ See also *Jub.* 16:13 (“Isaac was born on the feast of the first-fruits of the harvest”). In the next verse, it is mentioned that the circumcision is executed “according to the *covenant* which was ordained forever” (*Jub.* 16:14).

festival are very similar to the covenant of Noah. It is kept on the same date and at the same festive occasion. There is also an offer that leads in the concluding of the covenant.⁴ The conception of the covenant itself, however, does not deviate greatly from Genesis.⁵ The promises that are connected to the covenant are formulated in the same way: a. the promise of fruitfulness that Yhwh made to Abraham (*Jub.* 15:4b, 8a; cf. 15:16b, 19b) and that has as its goal Abraham becoming the father of many nations and kings (*Jub.* 15:6b, 8bc; cf. 15:16de); b. the promise that God will be the only God for Abraham and his descendants (*Jub.* 15:9a, 10b); and c. the promise of the gift of the land (*Jub.* 15:10a). The response to the covenant, circumcision (*Jub.* 15:11–14), is also adopted.

What is different, however, is the fact that the giving of the covenant is preceded by an offering (*Jub.* 15:2) and is fixed on a specific day of the year, the middle of the third month, on which the festival of the first-fruits is celebrated. A further deviation in *Jub.* 15 is the addition at the end (*Jub.* 15:25–34), which contains an interpretation of the narrative, especially with regard to the nature of circumcision and the relationship between God and the descendants of Abraham.

⁴ The renewing of the covenant, which is dated to the middle of the third month and connected to the celebration of the festival of the first fruits, refers back to *Jub.* 6:17–31. It is also referred to in *Jub.* 14:17–20; 16:13; 22:1–9; 29:7; 44:1–5.

⁵ As in Genesis 17, the word ברית (“covenant”) is also a keyword in *Jub.* 15. In *Jub.* 15:1–24, an equivalent of the word ברית can be found twelve times, of which eight times *kidān* and four times *śar’at*. At one point the word has no equivalent (Gen 17:10a), probably due to *homoioteleuton*. It occurs nine times with a possessive suffix (“my covenant”), seven times as *kidānya* (*Jub.* 15:4a, 9a, 11b, 13c, 14b, 19d, 21a), once as *śar’atya* (*Jub.* 15:6a), and once in the construction “my eternal covenant” (*śar’atya zala’ām*: *Jub.* 15:11e). The equivalent of the construction ברית עולם (“eternal covenant”) is *śar’at zala’ām* (“eternal covenant”: *Jub.* 15:9a, 13c), *śar’atya zala’ām* (“my eternal covenant”: *Jub.* 15:11e), and *kidāna zala’ām* (“eternal covenant”: *Jub.* 15:19d). There seems to be no difference in meaning between *kidān* and *śar’at*. Both seem to be a translation of the original Hebrew ברית. See W.K. Gilders, “The Concept of Covenant in Jubilees,” in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: the Evidence of Jubilees* (ed. G. Boccaccini and G. Ibbá; Grand Rapids, Mich., 2009), 178–92 (esp. 188–92). It is worth noting that the Hebrew ברית in Gen 17:1–27 is consistently translated with the term διαθήκη in the Septuagint. See also Van Ruiten, “Covenant of Noah,” 167–90 (esp. 168–70). In the addition of *Jub.* 15:25–34, the term *kidān* occurs four times (*Jub.* 15:26d, 28a, 29a, 34b) and *śar’at* five times (*Jub.* 15:25c, 26a, 28a, 33a, 34e). Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 105–13; Wintermute, “*Jubilees*,” 35–142 (esp. 85–7); and J.C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: I. A Critical Text* (CSCO 510 = *Scriptores Aethiopiici* 87; Leuven, 1989), 87–94, all translate *kidān* consistently with the terms “covenant” (Berger: “Bund”). Charles, Wintermute, and VanderKam translate *śar’at* four times with the term “ordinance” (*Jub.* 15:25c, 28a, 34e); Charles and Wintermute translate it once using the term “covenant” (*Jub.* 15:26a) and VanderKam once with “pact” (*Jub.* 15:26a). Berger, *Buch der Jubiläen*, 404–9, translates *kidān* consistently with the term “Bund” and *śar’at* with the term “Ordnung.”

In Genesis 17, God takes the initiative in establishing the covenant, whereas in *Jubilees* Abraham acts on his own initiative (like Noah). Here, he is portrayed as a person who fulfils the stipulation of the renewed commandment that he has inherited from Noah. He celebrates the festival of the renewing of God's covenant on the date specified and thereby undertakes that which Noah's descendants neglected. An important element of Abraham's initiative is the bringing of offerings. The festival of weeks, which is the festival of the renewing of the covenant, has the character of a harvest festival at which offerings are brought. In *Jubilees* 14, the ambiguous procedure of Genesis 15 is made abundantly clear in an offering. In *Jub.* 15:1–2, the bringing of the offering is added to the text of Genesis, and in *Jub.* 15:2 Abraham's sacrifice during this festival is described as "a bull, a ram, and a sheep." This is not completely in agreement with the biblical prescriptions. In Lev 23:15–22, the following offerings are mentioned: two loaves of bread; seven unblemished year-old lambs; one young bull; and two rams. Num 28:26–31 mentions two young bulls, one ram, and seven unblemished year-old male lambs (with one male goat for a sin offering), while Deut 16:10 speaks of a freewill offering.

In conclusion, one can say that the concept of the making of the covenant between God and Abraham is changed in *Jubilees* 15 into a renewing of the covenant. It is in fact a renewing of the covenant that God had made with Noah, a topic already introduced in the preceding chapter (*Jub.* 14:20).

2.2. *The Appearance of God and the Execution of the Commandment* (Genesis 17; *Jub.* 15:3–24)

Only after Abraham has brought an offering, God appears and speaks with him. As can be seen in the following synopsis, *Jub.* 15:3–24 follows the text of Gen 17:1b–27 quite closely:

Genesis 17:1b–27	<i>Jubilees</i> 15:3–24
1b Yhwh appeared to <i>Abram</i> ,	3a The Lord appeared to <i>him</i> ,
c and <i>he</i> said to <i>him</i> :	b and <i>the Lord</i> said to <i>Abram</i> :
d "I am the God of Shaddai.	c "I am the God of Shaddai.
e <i>Walk before me</i> ,	d <i>Please me</i> ,
f and be perfect.	e and be perfect,
2a I will place my covenant between me and you.	4a I will place my covenant between me and you.
b I will increase you VERY greatly."	b I will increase you [] greatly."
3a Abram fell on his face.	5a Abram fell on his face.
b <i>God</i> spoke with him	b <i>The Lord</i> spoke with him
saying:	c and said:

- 4a “Behold, my covenant is with you.
b *You shall be the father of a multitude of nations.*
- 5a You will no longer be called Abram,
b but your name [] shall be Abraham;
c because I have *made* you the father of a multitude of nations.
- 6a I will make you very *fruitful*.
b I will make you into nations,
c and kings shall emerge from you.
- 7a I will *establish* my covenant between me and you and your seed after you throughout their generations [] as an eternal covenant *to be* God to you, and to your seed after you.
- 8a And I will give to you, and to your seed after you, the land of *your sojournings*, ALL the land of Canaan, *as a possession* forever.
b I will be their God.”
- 9a *God* said to Abraham:
b “As for you, keep my covenant, you and your seed after you THROUGHOUT THEIR GENERATIONS.
- 10a THIS IS MY COVENANT, WHICH YOU SHALL KEEP, BETWEEN ME AND YOU AND YOUR SEED AFTER YOU:
b All males among you shall be circumcised.
11a You shall be circumcised IN THE FLESH of your foreskins.
b It shall be a sign of [] the covenant between me and you.
- 12a A child *of eight days* among you shall be circumcised;
b every male throughout your *generations*, the person who has been born in your house, the one whom you bought with money from any foreigner [] who is not from your seed.
- 6a “Behold, my covenant is with you.
b *I will make you* the father of *many* nations.
- 7a You will no longer be called Abram,
b but your name FROM NOW TO ETERNITY shall be Abraham;
c because I have *designated* you the father of many nations.
- 8a I will make you very *great*.
b I will make you into nations,
c and kings shall emerge from you.
- 9a I will *place* my covenant between me and you and your seed after you throughout their generations AND as an eternal pact *so that I may be* God to you and to your seed after you.
- 10a [I will give to you and to your seed after you]⁶ the land *where you have sojourned*—[] the land of Canaan *which you will rule* forever.
b I will be their God.”
- 11a *The Lord* said to Abraham:
b “As for you, keep my covenant— you and your seed after you [].
- c Circumcise all your males;
d circumcise [] your foreskins.
e It shall be a sign of MY ETERNAL pact between me and you.
- 12a A child *on the eighth day* you will circumcise
—every male in your *families*: the person who has been born in your house, the one whom you bought with money from any foreigner— WHOM YOU HAVE ACQUIRED, who is not from your seed.

⁶ The words between these brackets are a restoration. See below, note 19.

- 13a The person who is born in your house [] and he that is bought with YOUR money, is to be circumcised.
- b My covenant will be in your flesh as an eternal covenant.
- 14a The male who has not been circumcised, who is not circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin [] that person will be uprooted from his people;
- b [] he has violated my covenant.”
- 15a *God* said to Abraham:
b “Your wife Sarai, *you will not* [] *call* her name Sarai,
c for Sarah will be her name.
- 16a I will bless her.
b MOREOVER I will give you a son from her
c and I will bless *her*.
d *She* will become for *nations*,
e [] kings of *peoples* will come from *her*.”
- 17a And Abraham fell prostrate
b and *laughed*.
c He said to himself:
d “Will (a son) be born to one who is hundred years of age?
e Will Sarah who is ninety years of age give birth (to a child)?”
- 18a And Abraham said to *God*:
b “O that Ishmael could live in your presence.”
- 19a *God* said:
b “No, but Sarah YOUR WIFE will give birth to a son for you,
c and you will call his name Isaac.
d I will establish my covenant with him as an eternal covenant [] for his descendants after him.
- 20a Regarding Ishmael I have listened to you.
b [] Behold, I will bless him,
c and increase him,
d and make him very numerous.
- 13a The person who is born in your house MUST BE CIRCUMCISED;
b and he that is bought with [] money is to be circumcised.
- c My covenant will be in your flesh as an eternal covenant.
- 14a The male who has not been circumcised, who is not circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin ON THE EIGHTH DAY—that person will be uprooted from his people
b BECAUSE he has violated my covenant.”
- 15a *The Lord* said to Abraham:
b “Your wife Sorah *will no LONGER be called with* the name Sorah,
c for Sarah will be her name.
- 16a I will bless her.
b [] I will give you a son from her
c and I will bless *him*.
d *He* will become [] a *nation*,
e AND kings of *nations* will come from *him*.”
- 17a And Abraham fell prostrate
b and was *very happy*.
c He said to himself:
d “Will a son be born to one who is hundred years of age?
e Will Sarah who is ninety years of age give birth (to a child)?”
- 18a And Abraham said to *the Lord*:
b “*I wish* that Ishmael could live in your presence.”
- 19a *The Lord* said:
b “*Very well*, but Sarah [] will give birth to a son for you
c and you will call his name Isaac.
d I will establish my covenant with him as an eternal covenant and for his descendants after him.
- 20a Regarding Ishmael I have listened to you.
b and behold, I will bless him,
c and increase him,
d and make him very numerous.

- e He will be the father of twelve princes,
f and I will make him into a large nation.
- 21a But my covenant I will establish with Isaac, to whom Sarah will give birth for you
at this season next year.”
- 22a When he had finished speaking with him,
b *God* went up from Abraham.
- 23a *Abraham* took his son Ishmael and everyone who was born in his house and who had been bought with HIS money, every male AMONG THE MEN OF ABRAHAM’S house,
b and he circumcised the flesh of their foreskins THAT VERY DAY,
c [] as God had told him.
- 24a ABRAHAM WAS NINETY-NINE YEARS OLD
b WHEN HE WAS CIRCUMCISED IN THE FLESH OF HIS FORESKIN.
- 25a AND ISHMAEL HIS SON WAS THIRTEEN YEARS OLD WHEN HE WAS CIRCUMCISED IN THE FLESH OF HIS FORESKIN.
- 26a That very day Abraham AND HIS SON Ishmael *were* circumcised;
27a and all the men of his house, those who were born in the house and [] those who had been bought with money from a foreigner, were circumcised with him.
- e He will be the father of twelve princes,
f and I will make him into a large nation.
- 21a But my covenant I will establish with Isaac to whom Sarah will give birth for you *in these days* next year.”
- 22a When he had finished speaking with him,
b *the Lord* went up from Abraham.
- 23a **ABRAHAM DID as *the Lord* told him.**
b *He* took his son Ishmael, [] everyone who was born in his house and who had been bought with [] money—every male who was *in his* house—
c and he circumcised the flesh of their foreskins [].
[]
- 24a That very day Abraham [] *was* circumcised;
b [those who were born in his house], the men of his house, and ALL those who had been bought with money even from a foreigner, were circumcised with him.

2.2.1. *The Structure of the Passage*

As far as the structure is concerned, Gen 17:1–27 and *Jub.* 15:3–24 are similar. One can point to the five divine speeches (Gen 17:1d–2b, 4a–8b, 9b–14b, 15b–16e, 19b–21; *Jub.* 15:3c–4b, 6a–10b, 11b–14b, 15b–16e, 19b–21), which are all introduced explicitly (Gen 17:1c, 3b, 9a, 15a, 19a; *Jub.* 15:3b, 5b, 11a, 15a, 19a).⁷ These divine speeches are enclosed by the appearance

⁷ See S.E. McEvenue, *The Narrative Style of the Priestly Writer* (AnBib 50; Rome, 1971), 150–51; Westermann, *Genesis 12–36*, 306–7; Wenham, *Genesis 16–50*, 17–8.

(Gen 17:1b; *Jub.* 15:3a) and disappearance of God (Gen 17:22b; *Jub.* 15:22b), and they are related to the mention of the age of Abra(ha)m (Gen 17:1a, 24a; cf. *Jub.* 15:1a). The speeches are interrupted (Gen 17:3a, 17–18; *Jub.* 15:5a, 17–18) and followed (Gen 17:23–27; *Jub.* 15:23–24) by a reaction of Abraham, which consists of falling down (Gen 17:3a, 17a; *Jub.* 15:5a, 17a), laughing (Gen 17:17b; *Jub.* 15:17b), the expression of a wish (Gen 17:18b; *Jub.* 15:18b), and the execution of the command (Gen 17:23–27; *Jub.* 15:23–24).

The first three speeches are especially concerned with Abra(ha)m and his descendants, and in Genesis, they are introduced each time by a personal pronoun (אני in Gen 17:1d, 4a; cf. 'ana in *Jub.* 15:3c; ואתה in Gen 17:9b). The last two speeches are concerned with Sarah and her son Isaac, and they begin with a mention of Sarah (שרי אשתך in Gen 17:15b; אבל שרה אשתך in Gen 17:19b). In the second and fourth speech, the change of names is at stake from Abram into Abraham (Gen 17:5) and from Sarai into Sarah (Gen 17:15).

In Gen 17:1–27 (cf. *Jub.* 15:3–24), the gift and the establishment of the covenant is the central issue.⁸ The promises that are elsewhere connected to the covenant occur: a. the promise of fruitfulness, which Yhwh made to Abraham (Gen 17:2b, 6a; *Jub.* 15:4b; cf. Gen 17:16b, 19b; *Jub.* 15:16b, 19b) and which has as its goal to make Abraham the father of many nations, and of kings (Gen 17:4b, 6bc; *Jub.* 15:6b, 8bc; cf. Gen 17:16de; *Jub.* 15:16de); b. the promise that God will be God for Abraham and his descendants (Gen 17:7a, 8b; *Jub.* 15:9a, 10b); c. the promise of the gift of the land (Gen 17:8a; *Jub.* 15:10a). There is also an element of human response necessary for the covenant, which is circumcision (Gen 17:9–14; *Jub.* 15:11–14), a sign of the covenant that indicates that this man, Abraham and his progeny belong to the covenant that God has given. The execution of this circumcision takes place in the last part of the chapter (Gen 17:23–27; *Jub.* 15:23–24). The alternation of promise and circumcision as a response structures this chapter: promises (Gen 17:1–8; *Jub.* 15:3–10; circumcision (Gen 17:9–14; *Jub.* 15:11–14); promises (Gen 17:15–22; *Jub.* 15:15–22); circumcision (Gen 17:23–27; *Jub.* 15:23–24).

⁸ The word ברית occurs thirteen times, of which nine times as בריתי ("my covenant": Gen 17:2a, 4a, 7a, 7b, 10a, 13b, 14b, 19d, 21a), three times in the construction ברית עולם ("an eternal covenant": Gen 17:7a, 13b, 19d), and once in the construction ברית אות ("sign of the covenant": Gen 17:11b). Cf. art. "ברית b'rit Verpflichtung," *THAT*, I, 339–52 (E. Kutsch); art. "ברית," *TWAT*, 781–808 (M. Weinfeld); art. ברית, R. Rendtorff, "'Covenant' as a Structuring Concept in Genesis and Exodus," *JBL* 108 (1989): 385–93; T.R. Blanton, IV, *Constructing a New Covenant: Discursive Strategies in the Damascus Document and Second Corinthians* (WUNT 2. Reihe, 233; Tübingen, 2007), 24–39.

2.2.2. *The Problem of the Vorlage*

There are some small differences between the Masoretic Text of Gen 17:1–22 and *Jub.* 15:3–22 of a grammatical or syntactical nature, such as the use of a personal pronoun or another form of the verb. Most small deviations, however, are due to the fact that the author of *Jubilees* uses a biblical text that is different from the Masoretic one. In these cases, deviations in *Jubilees* vis-à-vis the Masoretic Text can also be found in the biblical texts of, for example, the Septuagint or the Samaritan Pentateuch. We cannot consider these deviations as variations of the biblical text. As VanderKam suggests, a further biblical text of Genesis–Exodus might have existed in Palestine that agreed more often with the Septuagint and the Samaritan Pentateuch than with the Masoretic Text but which was an independent witness.⁹

We point to the following small variations.¹⁰ The phrase “please me” in *Jub.* 15:3d comes close to the Septuagint of Gen 17:1e (εὐαρέσται; cf. also the Old Latin and Ethiopic of Genesis) and can probably be regarded as a free rendering of לְפָנַי לְתַהַלֵּךְ. *Jubilees* 15:4b (“greatly”) has a single adverb like the Septuagint, the Old Latin, and the Ethiopic of Gen 17:2b, whereas the Masoretic Text, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the Syriac have a double (בְּמֵאֵד מְאֵד). *Jubilees* 15:8a (“I will make you very great”) is a rendering of Gen 17:6a (“I will make you very fruitful”). According to VanderKam the reading of *Jubilees* is closer to the Septuagint (ἀύξάνω; cf. also the Old Latin and the Ethiopic of Genesis).¹¹ This observation does not stand on firm ground, however. In the Septuagint of Genesis the verb פָּרָה is without exception rendered by the verb ἀύξάνω.¹² In the Ethiopic version of Genesis the verb *bazha* (“be numerous, be many, be abundant, increase”) is used.¹³ In *Jubilees*, seven out of the thirteen Genesis forms of the verb פָּרָה have an equivalent form, usually the verb *lahqa* (“grow, grow up, grow old, increase”): *Jub.* 6:5 (= Gen 9:1); 6:9 (= Gen 9:7); 15:20 (= Gen 17:20); 24:20 (= Gen 26:22); 27:11 (= Gen 28:3). A form of the verb

⁹ See, for example, J.C. VanderKam, “*Jubilees* and the Hebrew Texts of Genesis–Exodus,” *Textus* 14 (1988) 71–85; repr. in idem, *From Revelation to Canon*, 448–61 (esp. 460).

¹⁰ For the following see also the notes in VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees, II*, 87–91. See also VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 142–98.

¹¹ VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees, II*, 88.

¹² The verb פָּרָה occurs thirteen times in the Masoretic Text of Genesis. Nine times in the *qal*: Gen 1:22, 28; 8:17; 9:1, 7; 26:22; 35:11; 47:27; 49:22; four times in the *hiph'il*: 17:6, 20; 28:3; 48:4.

¹³ The *qal*-forms of פָּרָה correspond with the simple form (I.1) of *bazha*, only once by the causative (II.1: Gen 26:22). The *hiph'il*-forms correspond with the causative (II.1) and once with the causative reflexive (IV.1: Gen 17:6).

'abya ("be great, be large, increase") is used on one occasion (*Jub.* 15:8a = Gen 17:6a). The phrase "I will place my covenant" (*wa'ahub kidānya*: *Jub.* 15:9a) is the rendering of "I will establish my covenant" (והקמת את בריתי Gen 17:7a).¹⁴ Mostly *takāyada kidān* (*Jub.* 6:4, 10) or *'aqama kidān* (Gen 17:19d, 21a; cf. *Jub.* 15:19d, 21a) is the equivalent of ברית הקים. The phrase *wahaba kidān* is the equivalent of נתן ברית (Gen 17:2a; *Jub.* 15:4a).¹⁵ *Jubilees* 15:9a, however, seems to be in line with the Old Latin of Gen 17:7a (*ponam*) and many manuscripts of the Septuagint, which read θήσω and not στήσω. The phrase "where you have sojourned" (*Jub.* 15:10a) seems to be closer to the Septuagint of Gen 17:8a (ἦν παροικεῖς; see also the Old Latin and the Ethiopic of Genesis) than to the Masoretic Text (מגריך; see also the Samaritan Pentateuch and Syriac). The words "on the eighth day" (*Jub.* 15:14a) are not found in the Masoretic Text and Syriac of Gen 17:14a. They are present, however, in the Samaritan Pentateuch, Septuagint, and Old Latin. The conjunction "because" (*Jub.* 15:14b) is not found in the Masoretic Text, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and Syriac of Gen 17:14b, but it is in the Septuagint, Old Latin, and Ethiopic. The word "longer" (*Jub.* 15:15b) is not found in Gen 17:15b. See, however, some witnesses of the Septuagint.¹⁶ The Septuagint of Gen 17:15b (*Jub.* 15:15b) contains the passive form "be called" (αληθήσεται; see also the Old Latin and Ethiopic of Genesis). The masculine suffix in *Jub.* 15:16c ("I will bless *him*") occurs also in the Samaritan Pentateuch, Syriac, witnesses of the Septuagint, and the Old Latin of Gen 17:16c. The Masoretic Text and the Septuagint have a feminine suffix.¹⁷ In *Jub.* 15:16d the text reads, "He will become." The Masoretic Text and the Samaritan Pentateuch of Gen 17:16d have a feminine subject of the verb. Syriac has also a masculine subject. The conjunction "and" in *Jub.* 15:16e is found in all ancient versions except the Masoretic Text, whereas the reading "from him" is also in the Old Latin of Gen 17:16. Most versions have "from her." The conjunction "and" in *Jub.* 15:19d occurs in most ancient versions but not in the Masoretic Text.

¹⁴ The Septuagint of Gen 17:7a reads: καὶ στήσω τὴν διαθήκην μου.

¹⁵ The Septuagint of Gen 17:2a reads: καὶ θήσομαι τὴν διαθήκην μου.

¹⁶ VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*, II, 89; Cf. J.W. Wevers, Ed., *Genesis* (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum, I), 179.

¹⁷ This is according to the edition of Wevers ("I will bless *her*. *She* will become . . ., will come from *her*"). Rahlfs reads the text with masculine suffixes ("I will bless *him*. *He* will become . . ., will come from *him*"). Harl follows the reading of Rahlfs, see M. Harl, *La Genèse* (La Bible d'Alexandrie 1; Paris, 1986), 171.

2.2.3. *Two Omissions in Jub. 15:10–11*

A striking phenomenon in this chapter of *Jubilees* is the occurrence of a few omissions in the text. In two places, the difference between the Masoretic Text of Genesis and *Jubilees* is possibly due to text-critical reasons. Either the author of *Jubilees* made a mistake when he read his *Vorlage*, or the mistake occurred later in the textual tradition. I am referring here to two possible cases of *parablepsis* due to *homoioteleuton* (words or phrases with the same ending) in *Jub. 15:10–11*. In such instances, one cannot speak of a *Vorlage* of Genesis that deviates from the Masoretic Text nor of a certain interpretation by the author of *Jubilees*. The first passage (Gen 17:8a; *Jub. 15:10a*) is mentioned by nearly all translators, and the missing words are reconstructed.¹⁸ Gen 17:7 ends with *ולזרעך אחריך* (“to your seed after you”), while Gen 17:8 begins with the same words: *ידתתי לך ולזרעך אחריך* (“And I will give to you and to your seed after you”).

A second case of *homoioteleuton* might be present in *Jub. 15:10b* (cf. Gen 17:9b–10a), though none of the translations mention this. The first part of Gen 17:9b reads: “As for you, keep my covenant, you and your seed after you” (*ולזרעך אחריך*). These words are taken over precisely in *Jub. 15:10b*. The following passage is omitted (the second part of Gen 17:9b, and the entire sentence in Gen 17:10a). The last words of Gen 17:10a read: “your seed after you” (*לזרעך אחריך*). Moreover, the lost part has several words in common with the first part of Gen 17:9b (*ברית; שמר*). Therefore, I would suggest that it is quite possible that a part of the text has been lost in *Jubilees*. It is not necessary to assume intervention by the author.¹⁹

2.2.4. *The Omission of Genesis 17:24–25*

There might be a third case of *homoioteleuton* in this chapter, namely the omission of the last words of Gen 17:23b and the entirety of Gen 17:24–25. Genesis 17:23b ends with the words “that very day” (*בעצם היום*), the same phrase with which Gen 17:26a begins. It might be suspected that the eye of one of the copyists in the tradition of *Jubilees* leapt from the one *בעצם היום* to the other. However, the issue might be more complicated, as the author uses part of the text between the two occurrences of the phrase by way of permutation and variation: *כאשר דבר אתו אלהים* (“as

¹⁸ Charles, *Mashafa kufale*, 51 note 31; Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 108; Littmann, “Buch der Jubiläen,” 66 note h; VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*, 88; Berger, *Buch der Jubiläen*, 406, note, finds a restoration unnecessary, but his reading is unconvincing.

¹⁹ It is of course not possible to attain absolute certainty here. It is also possible that the author felt somewhat uncomfortable with the duplication in the biblical text.

God had told him": Gen 17:23c) occurs in *Jub.* 15:23a as "Abraham did as the Lord told him." This borrowing makes it more difficult to speak of a *homoioteleuton*, since it is not clear why the author of *Jubilees* would copy one part of the text found in between the phrases and neglect the rest.²⁰

If we make the assumption that there is no text-critical reason for this omission, what would then be the reason for the author of *Jubilees* to skip this section of the text? Perhaps the conflict in dating the events is at stake, as referred to above. Ishmael was born when Abraham was eighty-six years old according to Gen 16:16, a fact that is taken over literally in *Jub.* 14:24, even though this does not concur with the absolute dating system of *Jubilees*. In 1876 *a.m.*, the year of Ishmael's birth, Abraham would have been eighty-nine and not eighty-six. According to Genesis, the circumcision of Ishmael would have occurred thirteen years later. This corresponds with the age of Abraham mentioned in Genesis, namely ninety-nine years. *Jubilees* 15 does not adopt the age of Abraham according to Genesis but dates the circumcision according to the absolute system, which is 1986 *a.m.* This is, however, twenty-one years later. It is possible that the author of *Jubilees* 15 omitted the mention of Ishmael in order to avoid disagreement between the biblical data and the internal dating system of *Jubilees*. After all, the mention of Abraham's age in this part of the text is also omitted.

By omitting the first appearance of "that very day" (Gen 17:23b), a slightly different structure is created in *Jubilees*. This also creates a difference between *Jub.* 15:23 and 24 with respect to the content.²¹ First it is said that Abraham fulfilled his duty to circumcise everybody in his house (*Jub.* 15:23), without any specification of the day. Subsequently, it is said that on the very day that the command was issued, Abraham was circumcised and all the men in his house with him, but Ishmael is not mentioned by name (*Jub.* 15:24). This means that the author of *Jubilees* might have made a distinction between the circumcision of Abraham and the men of his house, and the circumcision of Ishmael. The first took place on the day the command was issued, the other possibly on another day.

Segal argues that the suggestion, according to *Jubilees*, that Ishmael was circumcised on a day other than the one on which the command was

²⁰ Theoretically it is possible that we are dealing here with a phased *homoioteleuton* within the text of *Jubilees*. The author adopted the whole text with the exception of Gen 17:23c, which he transposed to *Jub.* 15:23a. It might also be that a transcriber made the mistake of *homoioteleuton*.

²¹ Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 229–32, 241–43.

issued receives support from a certain tension within the text of Genesis 17.²² The original command with regard to the circumcision (Gen 17:1–14, see especially verse 11–14) requires that all the descendants of Abraham are to be circumcised. Moreover, those who are circumcised belong to the covenant (Gen 17:11, 13). In the execution of the command (Gen 17:23–27), all the men in Abraham’s house are circumcised, including Ishmael, on the same day as Abraham. However, the text found between (Gen 17:15–22) creates a problem. The covenant, of which the circumcision is the sign, is restricted to Isaac, in other words, excluding Ishmael. While the latter will receive some of the blessing connected to the covenant (Gen 17:20), it is written, “my covenant I will establish with Isaac” (Gen 17:21). According to Segal, the biblical text creates a logical problem. According to the first (Gen 17:1–14) and the third (Gen 17:23–27) part of the text all the descendants of Abraham shall be circumcised as a sign of the covenant, but according to the second part (Gen 17:15–22) circumcision as such is not a sign of membership in the covenant, since Ishmael is being circumcised, but he will be excluded from the covenant.

One can raise the objection to this line of argument that the halakic addition in *Jub.* 15:25–34 does not deal with the circumcision on that very day but with the circumcision “on the eighth day.” Since the circumcision on the eighth day is not at stake in *Jub.* 15:23–24, the halakic addition does not comment on these verses. The addition refers to the general command to circumcise on the eighth day (*Jub.* 15:11–14; Gen 17:9–14) and not to the circumcision “on that very day” of the circumcision of Abraham and those of his house.

It is perhaps more plausible to suggest that the author of *Jubilees* does not want to stress too much the circumcision of Ishmael, who does not hold a privileged position. Even though he is Abraham’s eldest son, he is not the one with whom God is intending to make his covenant. That will be Isaac, the son of Sarah, as is made abundantly clear in *Jub.* 15:15–22 (cf. Gen 17:15–22). This is confirmed strongly in the halakic addition (*Jub.* 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”). Genesis 17:23–27 mentions three times that Ishmael was circumcised: in Gen 17:23a Ishmael is circumcised together with all the slaves in the house; in Gen 17:25a Ishmael is mentioned separately, and it is said that he was circumcised when he was thirteen; while

²² Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 229–30, 243.

in Gen 17:26a Ishmael was circumcised together with Abraham. This all points to the very specific position of Ishmael, which is in conflict with the preceding passage. This might be the reason that *Jubilees* mentions Ishmael only once (*Jub.* 15:23b) as one of the males who was in Abraham's house. He is mentioned by name, and therefore he is distinct from the other slaves in the house, because he is also Abraham's son. However, he is not privileged as much as is suggested by the text of Genesis.

2.3. *Halakic Addition regarding Circumcision (Jub. 15:25–34)*

The narrative part of this chapter (*Jub.* 15:1–24) is followed by a halakic addition (*Jub.* 15:25–34). It questions the status of Israel in relation to the nations, which is connected to the commandment of circumcision. The addition as such has no counterpart in the text of Genesis, but one should be aware of the fact that it is closely related to the narrative preceding it, especially to the part commanding circumcision (*Jub.* 15:11–14; cf. Gen 17:9–14), with particular regard to the time of circumcision and the sanction for not following the command. Moreover, the preference of Isaac over Ishmael plays an important part both in the narrative (*Jub.* 15:15–24) and in the halakic addition (*Jub.* 15:28–32). The text runs as follows:

- 25a THIS LAW IS (VALID) FOR ALL HISTORY FOREVER.
 b THERE IS NO CIRCUMCISING OF DAYS,
 c NOR OMITTING ANY DAY OF THE EIGHT DAYS,
 d BECAUSE IT IS AN ETERNAL ORDINANCE ORDAINED AND WRITTEN ON THE HEAVENLY TABLETS.
- 26a 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 PACT WHICH THE LORD MADE WITH ABRAHAM BUT TO THE PEOPLE (MEANT FOR) DESTRUCTION.
 b MOREOVER, THERE IS NO SIGN ON HIM THAT HE BELONGS TO THE LORD,
 c BUT (HE IS MEANT) FOR DESTRUCTION, FOR BEING DESTROYED FROM THE LAND AND FOR BEING UPROOTED FROM THE LAND,
 d BECAUSE HE HAS VIOLATED THE COVENANT OF THE LORD OUR GOD.
- 27a 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.
 b IN FRONT OF THE ANGELS OF THE PRESENCE AND THE ANGELS OF HOLINESS HE SANCTIFIED ISRAEL TO BE WITH HIM AND HIS HOLY ANGELS.
- 28a NOW YOU COMMAND THE ISRAELITES TO KEEP THE SIGN OF THIS COVENANT THROUGHOUT THEIR HISTORY AS AN ETERNAL ORDINANCE
 b SO THAT THEY MAY NOT BE UPROOTED FROM THE LAND,
 29a BECAUSE THE COMMAND HAS BEEN ORDAINED AS A COVENANT
 b SO THAT THEY SHOULD KEEP IT FOREVER ON ALL THE ISRAELITES.
 30a FOR THE LORD DID NOT DRAW NEAR TO HIMSELF EITHER ISHMAEL, HIS SONS, HIS BROTHERS, OR ESAU.

- b HE DID NOT CHOOSE THEM (SIMPLY) BECAUSE THEY WERE AMONG
ABRAHAM'S CHILDREN,
c FOR HE KNEW THEM.
d BUT HE CHOSE ISRAEL TO BE HIS PEOPLE.
31a HE SANCTIFIED THEM
b AND GATHERED (THEM) FROM ALL HUMANKIND.
c FOR THERE ARE MANY NATIONS AND MANY PEOPLES,
d AND ALL BELONG TO HIM.
e HE MADE SPIRITS RULE OVER ALL IN ORDER TO LEAD THEM ASTRAY FROM
FOLLOWING HIM.
32a BUT OVER ISRAEL HE MADE NO ANGEL OR SPIRIT RULE,
b BECAUSE HE ALONE IS THEIR RULER.
c HE WILL GUARD THEM
d AND REQUIRE THEM FOR HIMSELF FROM HIS ANGELS, HIS SPIRITS, AND
EVERYONE, AND ALL HIS POWERS
e SO THAT HE MAY GUARD THEM
f AND BLESS THEM
g AND SO THAT THEY MAY BE HIS AND HE THEIRS FROM NOW AND FOREVER.
33a I AM NOW TELLING YOU THAT THE ISRAELITES WILL PROVE FALSE TO THIS
ORDINANCE.
b THEY WILL NOT CIRCUMCISE THEIR SONS IN ACCORD WITH THIS ENTIRE LAW,
c BECAUSE THEY WILL LEAVE SOME OF THE FLESH OF THEIR CIRCUMCISION
WHEN THEY CIRCUMCISE THEIR SONS.
d ALL THE PEOPLE OF BELIAL WILL LEAVE THEIR SONS UNCIRCUMCISED JUST
AS THEY WERE BORN.
34a THEN THERE WILL BE GREAT ANGER FROM THE LORD AGAINST THE
ISRAELITES,
b BECAUSE THEY NEGLECTED HIS COVENANT,
c DEPARTED FROM HIS WORD,
d PROVOKED,
e AND BLASPHEMED IN THAT THEY DID NOT PERFORM THE ORDINANCE OF THIS
SIGN.
f FOR THEY HAVE MADE THEMSELVES LIKE THE NATIONS SO AS TO BE REMOVED
AND UPROOTED FROM THE LAND.
g THEY WILL NO LONGER HAVE FORGIVENESS OR PARDON SO THAT THEY
SHOULD BE PARDONED AND FORGIVEN FOR EVERY SIN, FOR (THEIR) VIOLA-
TION OF THIS ETERNAL (ORDINANCE).

The addition has a tripartite structure: I. *Jub.* 15:25–27; II. *Jub.* 15:28–32; III. *Jub.* 15:33–34.²³ In the second and third part, Moses is addressed directly (“you”). In *Jub.* 15:28a he is ordered to command the Israelites to keep

²³ The conjunction *’asma* (“because, for”), which occurs quite often (*Jub.* 15:25c, 26d, 27a, 29a, 30a, 30c, 32a, 33c, 34b, 34f), seems not to play a role in the macrostructure of this text.

the sign of the covenant forever (“Now *you* command the Israelites etc.”), and in *Jub.* 15:33a the angel (“I”) addresses Moses, predicting the failure of Israel to fulfil the law (“I am now telling *you* that the Israelites . . .”). In contrast, in the first part (*Jub.* 15:25–27) there is no direct form of address. Moreover, in this first part, the law and the covenant are mentioned with regard to an individual (15:26: “*Anyone who is born . . . there is no sign on him that he belongs to the Lord . . . he has violated . . .*”), whereas in the second and third part Israel is referred to by the plural forms (for example, *Jub.* 15:28: “. . . throughout *their* history . . . so that *they* may not be uprooted . . . so that *they* should keep it . . .”).

The words used point to a comparable subdivision within parts I and II. Subunit A (*Jub.* 15:25–26; 15:28–29; 15:33) contains halakic words such as “law” (*ḥəgg*; cf. *Jub.* 15:25a; cf. 15:33b), “ordinance” (*šər’at*; cf. *Jub.* 15:25c, 28a; cf. 15:33a, 34e; see also 15:29a), “command” (*tə’əzāz*; cf. *Jub.* 15:29a; see also *Jub.* 15:28a) and “covenant” (*kidān*; cf. *Jub.* 15:26d, 28a, 29a; cf. 15:34b; *šər’at*; *Jub.* 15:25c, 26a, 28a; cf. 15:33a, 34e). In addition, the word “sign” (*tə’amart*) occurs in this subunit (*Jub.* 15:26b, 28a; cf. 15:34e), as does the mention of circumcision (*Jub.* 15:25b, 26a; cf. 15:33b–d) and the sanction against violation of the law, which have as a common factor “being uprooted from the land” (*Jub.* 15:26c, 28b; cf. 15:34f). In subunit B (*Jub.* 15:27; 15:30–32), the above-mentioned words do not occur. In this subunit, the author speaks about the election and sanctification of Israel. Moreover, heavenly angels play a role (for example, “angels”: *Jub.* 15:27, 32). As opposed to the preceding two parts, there is no positive subunit B (the election and sanctification of Israel) in part III of the halakic addition (*Jub.* 15:33–34). Instead, God’s anger against Israel is predicted (*Jub.* 15:34a). Forgiveness is not possible any more (*Jub.* 15:34g). Perhaps the announcement of punishment in *Jub.* 15:34 can be considered as a counterpart of the positive subunit B. In that case, one also could subdivide the third part in a subunit A (*Jub.* 15:33) and a subunit B (*Jub.* 15:34). The structure can be summarized as follows:

- | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| I.A <i>Jub.</i> 15:25–26: | An eternal commandment |
| I.B <i>Jub.</i> 15:27: | The Lord sanctifies Israel |
| II.A <i>Jub.</i> 15:28–29: | Keep the sign as an eternal ordinance |
| II.B <i>Jub.</i> 15:30–32: | The Lord sanctifies Israel |
| III.A <i>Jub.</i> 15:33: | Israel neglects the covenant |
| III.B <i>Jub.</i> 15:34: | Anger from the Lord against Israel |

The addition as a whole elaborates the status of Israel, which is connected to the keeping of the eternal commandment to keep the covenant, and to

the election of circumcision. It can be related to the preceding narrative, especially to the part of the command of the circumcision (*Jub.* 15:11–14; cf. *Gen* 17:9–14). Meanwhile, the preference of Isaac instead of Ishmael (*Jub.* 15:15–22; cf. *Gen* 17:15–22) plays a part in the addition. The promissory aspects of the covenant of land and fruitfulness do not play an important role in it. However, the aspect of the relationship between God and the descendants of Abraham (cf. *Jub.* 15:9b, 10b; cf. *Gen* 17:7, 8b) does play an important role in the addition.

2.3.1. *The Eternal Commandment*

The first part of the examined text (*Jub.* 15:25–26) identifies the covenant with the law and stresses the eternity of the law using the reference to the heavenly tablets (*Jub.* 15:25a, d).²⁴ The eternity of the covenant is also brought up in the preceding narrative (*Gen* 17:7a, 13b, 19d; cf. *Jub.* 15:9a, 13b, 19d), but the elaboration in this addition and the reference to the heavenly tables possibly indicate an uncertainty with regard to the precise dating.²⁵ One could ask, for example, whether the law is concerned only with circumcision or with circumcision at the proper moment, namely on the eighth day. In *Jub.* 15:26a one can read: “Anyone who is born, the flesh of whose private parts has not been circumcised *by the eighth day*.”²⁶ In *Jub.* 15:25c it is stated that “there is no *ta’adwa* of one day from the eight days.” The meaning of *ta’adwa* is “to go beyond, step over, pass over, pass by, surpass, transgress, deviate.” The Latin text of *Jub.* 15:25c reads *praeterire*, which means “to go past, to go by, to skip over, to pass over.” That means that one cannot omit any day from the counting of the eight days. The omission of one of these days would delay the circumcision until the ninth, tenth, or eleventh day.²⁷ This would affirm the narrative of Genesis

²⁴ See, for example, García Martínez, “Heavenly Tablets,” 243–60.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 256.

²⁶ The Ethiopic reads “*ʿaska* the eighth day,” which means “until, till as far as.” VanderKam translates it as “by the eighth day,” as does Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 230. Berger reads “bis zum achten Tag.” Littmann points to the Latin text that has “usque in,” which shows that the Greek text should have had this reading. Charles and Wintermute read “on.” Probably, the Hebrew text of *Jubilees* read “on the eighth day.” According to Charles, לַע was misread as טַע.

²⁷ Also B. Beer, *Das Buch der Jubiläen und sein Verhältnis zu den Midraschim: Ein Beitrag zur orientalischen Sagen- und Alterthumskunde* (Leipzig, 1856), 45: “(Und man darf die Tage nicht ändern), noch einen von den 8 Tagen übergehen”; Berger, *Buch der Jubiläen*, 408: “und es gibt kein Überschreiten eines (einzigen) Tages von den acht Tagen”; Wintermute, “Jubilees,” 87: “there is no *passing* a single day beyond eight days”; Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 232–33: “and no *passing* of one day from the eight days.” In contrast, in his translation, Charles (*Book of Jubilees*, 110) reads: “and [there is] no *omission* of one day

17, which refers to the proper moment in v. 12 (“A child of eight days”), which is rendered in *Jubilees* as “A child *on* the eighth day.” It is significant that the reading of Gen 17:14 is rendered in *Jub.* 15:14 according to the Septuagint and the Samaritan Pentateuch, which both include circumcision “on the eighth day,” whereas the Masoretic Text omitted any specification of the eighth day.

The meaning of *Jub.* 15:25b (“there is no circumcising of days”) is difficult to interpret. Rabin proposed to read: “and there can be no reduction in the number of days.”²⁸ VanderKam says it is a “metaphor for shortening the number of days,” and Wintermute’s interpretation is more or less the same.²⁹ In this interpretation, not only is it not permitted to wait until after the eighth day, it is also not allowed to circumcise before the eighth day. This would mean that circumcision of the male child should take place on precisely the eighth day. In his text edition of 1895, Charles has included the reading *kətrata* (= *qətrata*), a reading that occurs in eight Ethiopic manuscripts. It means “a closing.” Although in his 1902 translation Charles writes, “and there is no circumcision of days,” Berger follows Charles’s original reading with “Und es gibt kein Abschliessen der Tage,” and he explains that one may not wait longer than eight days.³⁰ This alternative reading of *Jub.* 15:25bc has it consisting of two parallel sentences (25b: “There is no circumcising of days”; 25c: “nor omitting any day of the eight days”), and both speak about the law by which the circumcision should take place no later than the eighth day. Charles also reads the two parallel sentences as meaning that the circumcision may not be performed before the eighth day. Most other interpretations read an antithetical parallelism, such that *Jub.* 15:25b says that no circumcision

out of the eight days,” and he explains that in no case is the circumcision to be performed *before* the eighth day. See also P. Riessler, *Altjüdisches Schrifttum außerhalb der Bibel* (4th ed.; Freiburg, 1979): “noch eine Weglassung eines Tages von den acht Tagen”; C. Rabin, “*Jubilees*,” in *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (ed. H.F.D. Sparks; Oxford, 1984), 55: “nor omitting of even a single day out of eight.” Also VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees* translates: “nor omitting any day of the eight days,” but he notes that the text literally says that there is no “passing over” any day of the eight days. Finally, Littmann, “Buch der Jubiläen,” translates: “es gibt keine Übertretung eines Tags von den acht Tagen.”

²⁸ Rabin, “*Jubilees*,” 55.

²⁹ Wintermute, “*Jubilees*,” 87, note g explains that with the expression of the circumcising of days the writer suggests “that no day should be cut off to shorten the total number of days.”

³⁰ VanderKam rejects the reading of Berger. In his text-critical edition, VanderKam accepted *kəsbata* (“circumcision”) because of the paronomasia. VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*, 91.

is allowed before the eighth day and *Jub.* 15:25c that it is not allowed later than the eighth day.³¹

With the addition related to exegetical problems in Genesis 17, the author of *Jubilees* seems to provide answers to questions originating in his own time. In any case, the discussion of circumcision seems to fit well within the circumstances of the Hellenistic era (cf. 1 Macc 1:15, 48, 60; 2:46; *As. Mos.* 8:3; Josephus, *Ant.* 12.241).³² However, the law of *Jubilees* 15 seems not to be directed against those who refrain from circumcising but against those who delay its performance. The implication of *Jub.* 15:25–26 seems to be that children who are circumcised after the eighth day are considered uncircumcised halakically.³³ Although there are no contemporary documents reflecting this problem, in rabbinic Judaism there is a tradition that allows, in certain circumstances, the delay of circumcision until the twelfth day (see *m. Shabbat* 19:5).³⁴ According to Segal, the viewpoint

³¹ Segal has put forward an alternative reading of *Jub.* 15:25b. Usually one reads a balance between *Jub.* 15:25a (“This law is [valid] for all history forever”) and *Jub.* 15:25d (“because it is an eternal ordinance ordained and written on the heavenly tablets”) and combines 15:25b with *Jub.* 15:25c. However, Segal states that there is a balance between *Jub.* 15:25a and *Jub.* 15:25b (“There is no circumcising of days”). The circumcision of days is connected in this view with the period during which this law of circumcision is valid, and that is forever. He refers to similar expressions in *Jub.* 33:16–17 (“and as an eternal law for the history of eternity. And there is no completion of days for this law”). Instead of “circumcision,” the word “completion” is used. The Hebrew word for “completion” is מִלָּא, and in Qumran orthography the infinitive form of מִלָּא is sometimes written as מוֹלֵאֵת or מוֹלֵאֵת (cf. 1QS 6:17–21), even once as מוֹלוֹת (4Q511). When one realizes that the form מוֹלֵאֵת or מוֹלוֹת is very close to מוֹלוֹת (“circumcision”; cf. Exod 4:26), the suggestion of an exchange of both is easily made. Segal therefore opts for an original reading of מִלָּא (“completion”) in *Jub.* 15:25b, and combines *Jub.* 15:25b with *Jub.* 15:25a (“This law is [valid] for all history forever, and there is no completion of days”). The law is expressed clearly in *Jub.* 15:25c and can in Segal’s eyes only mean that the circumcision should take place no later than the eighth day. See Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 232–36. Segal’s suggestion is very sophisticated. It also does justice to the fact that the collocation “circumcision of days” cannot be found elsewhere in early Jewish literature. Nevertheless this proposal disturbs the chiasmatically ordered structure of the sentences in *Jub.* 15:25 in which *Jub.* 15:25a is balanced by *Jub.* 15:25d and *Jub.* 15:25b by *Jub.* 15:25c.

³² See, for example, Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 108–9; García Martínez, “Heavenly Tablets,” 256.

³³ See Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 236, note 22.

³⁴ See Beer, *Buch der Jubiläen*, 45; Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 108–9; L. Finkelstein, “The Book of *Jubilees* and the Rabbinic Halaka,” *HTR* 16 (Cambridge, 1923), 39–61 (esp. 59); García Martínez, “Heavenly Tablets,” 256. In contrast, the Samaritans have held fast to the more severe regulation to the present day. The harsher form of the halakah probably also existed in the second century C.E. (See: Justin Martyr, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 27).

of *Jub.* 15:25–26 might reflect a polemic against a similar moderate halakic position in earlier times, namely in the second century B.C.E.³⁵

The command to circumcise on the right day requires human action, and the neglect of this will result in the loss of the covenantal relationship: those who have not been circumcised in the proper way do not belong to the people of the covenant (*Jub.* 15:26a). Circumcision seems then not to function as a sign (*Jub.* 15:26b). They will become like the rest of the peoples, damned to be alienated from God forever, utterly destroyed, and uprooted from the land (*Jub.* 15:26a, c; and see also *Jub.* 15:28b, 34f). This aspect refers back to the preceding narrative where it is said that circumcision shall be a sign of the eternal pact between God and Israel (*Jub.* 15:11e). This covenant will be in the flesh as an eternal covenant (*Jub.* 15:13c). Finally, “the male who has not been circumcised—who is not circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin on the eighth day—that person will be uprooted from his people” (*Jub.* 15:14a). In the halakic addition, this sanction (“that person will be uprooted *from his people*”) is formulated much more rigorously. This person “does not belong to the people of the pact, which the Lord made with Abraham, but to the people (meant for) destruction” (*Jub.* 15:26a). He is meant “for destruction, for being destroyed from the land, and from being uprooted from the land” (*Jub.* 15:25c; cf. 15:28b).

2.3.2. *Israel and the Angels*

The election of Israel is expressed as a dichotomy between those who belong to the covenant of the Lord and those who are meant for destruction from the land.³⁶ This division exists from the creation onwards. For, as *Jub.* 15:27 says, circumcision, as a sign of the election of Israel, is connected to the nature of the angels of the presence and of holiness, the two highest classes of angels. The command of circumcision thus exists from the beginning of time onwards. God had chosen these kinds of angels to become members of the covenant already on the first day of creation, which is, according to *Jubilees*, the day of the creation of the spirits (*Jub.* 2:2). These angels were apparently created with male genital organs and circumcised.³⁷

³⁵ Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 236–37, note 22, 242. According to Segal, the legal passage of *Jubilees* 15 provides evidence of a split in the nation over halakic issues at an early stage. It justifies separation from the rest of the people. See Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 245.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 237.

³⁷ J.T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, “Angels and Demons in the Book of *Jubilees*,” in *Angels: The Concept of Celestial Beings—Origins, Development and Reception* (ed. F.V. Reiterer, T. Nicklas, and K. Schöpflin; DCLY 2007; Berlin, 2007), 585–609.

The comparison with the angels in *Jub.* 15:27 not only underlines the importance of the command of circumcision, it also expresses the status of Israel with regard to God. Just as the two leading classes of angels are the closest to God, so is Israel.³⁸ Moreover, with the act of circumcision Israel becomes like these angels.³⁹ If the sign of circumcision is the expression of God's choice for Israel but dependent on human action, then it is clear that the consequence of ignoring the command of circumcision is that Israel does not become angelic, and thus it is no different from the rest of the world, alienated from God and destined to be destroyed.

The angels are also involved in other activities. In heaven, they are not only circumcised, but they also observe the Sabbath and celebrate the festival of weeks. By keeping these commandments, the angels observe the laws that are related to the covenant between Israel and God. In *Jubilees*, there is a correlation between cultic practice in heaven and on earth.⁴⁰ The observance of the Sabbath is of crucial importance for *Jubilees*, and it is referred to at the beginning and the end of the book. The practice of keeping the Sabbath is not only an *imitatio dei* (cf. *Jub.* 2:1: "And he [= the Lord God] kept Sabbath on the seventh day and sanctified it for all ages"), but also an *imitatio angelorum*: "He gave us the Sabbath day as a great sign so that we should perform work for six days and that we should keep Sabbath from all work on the seventh day. He told us—all the angels of the presence and all the angels of holiness (these two great kinds)—to keep sabbath with him in heaven and on earth" (*Jub.* 2:17–18). Later in *Jubilees* 2, just as the angels keep the Sabbath with God, so Israel keeps the Sabbath with the angels. Israel is the only nation permitted to do so (*Jub.* 2:31), and as such they will be holy and blessed throughout all times, as are the angels (*Jub.* 2:28).

Immediately after the flood, the rainbow in the clouds was the sign of the covenant. The covenant, however, is eternal, because it also applies

³⁸ According to Segal, *Jub.* 15:27 might express a vision of the world that presupposes a dualism in heaven that is similar to the dualism between Israel and the peoples. Does the author presuppose here a separation between the two leading classes of angels and the other angelic beings in heaven? See Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 237.

³⁹ Gilders even states that the act of circumcision changes the human body into an angelic body, which means an ontological change in the body. See Gilders, "Concept of Covenant," 185.

⁴⁰ For the synchronization of cultic practices on earth as in heaven, see Scott, *On Earth as in Heaven*, 1–15. See also B. Ego, "Heilige Zeit—heiliger Raum—heiliger Mensch: Beobachtungen zur Struktur der Gesetzesbegründung in der Schöpfungs—und Paradiesgeschichte des Jubiläenbuches," in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (ed. M. Albani, J. Frey, and A. Lange; TSAJ 65; Tübingen, 1997), 207–19.

to later generations. Therefore, the Israelites have to renew the covenant each year at the festival of weeks (*Jub.* 6:17). In this way, the festival of weeks in fact becomes the sign of the covenant. This festival had already been celebrated *in heaven* from the time of creation: “For this reason it has been ordained and written on the heavenly tablets that they should celebrate the festival of weeks during this month—once a year—to renew the covenant each and every year. This entire festival had been celebrated in heaven from the time of creation until the lifetime of Noah—for 26 jubilees and five weeks of years. Then Noah and his sons kept it for seven jubilees and one week of years until Noah’s death” (*Jub.* 6:17–18).

Circumcision is also initiated in the same sequence as the Sabbath and the festival of weeks: first the angels, then Israel. It is also a sign of Israel’s election. The Sabbath is given to the angels in the first week of creation, the circumcision is given to the angels at the beginning of the creation with their very creation, and the festival of weeks is kept from the creation onwards. Israel is chosen from amongst all peoples to celebrate the Sabbath with the Lord. The festival of weeks is the time that the covenant between the Lord and Israel is commemorated and renewed, so, too, the Israelites are chosen from all peoples to keep the commandment of circumcision.

2.3.3. *The Election of Israel*

The specific relationship between the Lord and Israel is expressed most clearly in *Jub.* 15:30–32 in which the author opposes the treatment of Israel as distinct from the other nations. The election of Israel means that the Lord has adopted Israel for Himself. The other nations belong to God indeed, but they do not have the same direct relationship with Him as has Israel. The Lord makes spirits rule over the nations, and they try to “lead them astray from following him.” He Himself rules over Israel, and this relationship is the basis for the covenant.

Demonic Spirits

The spirits rule over the nations, and they play an important role in *Jubilees*. They enter the stage after the flood. These beings are known as “demons” (*Jub.* 1:11c; 7:27; 10:1, 2; 22:17), but also as “spirits” (*Jub.* 10:3, 5, 8, 11, 13; 11:4, 5; 12:20; 15:31, 32; 19:28).⁴¹ Sometimes an adjective is used to characterize them: “impure demons” (*Jub.* 10:1); “wicked/evil spirits” (*Jub.* 10:3,

⁴¹ In *Jub.* 49:2 the term “powers” occurs.

13; 12:20). *Jubilees* does not speak about a creation of demons nor about their birth. However, they are mentioned as emanations from the angels themselves (*Jub.* 10:5: “You know how your watchers, the fathers of these spirits, have acted during my lifetime”). The demons remained alive after the watchers were imprisoned and the giants died. The demons are commanded by a leader, Prince (of) Mastema (*Jub.* 10:8; 11:5; 19:28; 49:2; cf. 11:11; 17:16; 18:9, 12; 48:2, 3–4, 9, 12–18), who was active in six events: in the days of Noah’s sons, when Mastema asked God not to destroy all the evil spirits who bother Noah’s sons but to leave one tenth under his command (*Jub.* 10:8–9); at the time of Ur son of Kesed (*Jub.* 11:5–6); in the days of Terah (*Jub.* 11:10–12); and the sacrifice of Isaac (*Jub.* 17:16). The last two episodes were in the days of Moses: the first was his struggle with Moses on his way to Egypt, and the second (and most detailed) is his aid to the Egyptians and their magicians (*Jub.* 48:9–18) during the Exodus.⁴² This leader is possibly not a demon himself, but he seems to be a bad angel. It is impossible, however, that he is one of the watchers, since they are tied up in the depths of the earth by the good angels, waiting their judgment (*Jub.* 5:6–11). The context of *Jub.* 10:11 implies that Mastema is identified with Satan. The demons do everything Mastema tells them, so that he is able to exercise the authority of his will among humankind to punish them for their evil (cf. *Jub.* 10:8).⁴³

The demons are involved in several activities. They are the cause of evil in human society, and what they bring about is comparable to the situation before the flood. They rule over people (*Jub.* 10:3; 15:31; 19:28) and exercise power on earth before Satan (*Jub.* 10:11). They are active in leading people astray (*Jub.* 7:27; 15:31; 19:28). They mislead them (*Jub.* 10:1, 8; 11:2; 12:20), make them act foolishly (*Jub.* 10:1), and let them commit sins, impurities, and transgressions (*Jub.* 11:4, 5). They shed human blood on the earth (*Jub.* 7:27; 11:5), a crime connected to the drinking of blood (*Jub.* 7:28–33; 11:2–5). Demons prevent people from following God (*Jub.* 12:20; 15:31; 19:28). They help with the making of statues and images of idols (*Jub.* 11:4). Although demons are connected to many kinds of sins, blood-guilt and idolatry are predominant. Besides misleading the people, they sometimes have a destructive power themselves. The demons begin

⁴² Cf. E. Eshel, “Mastema’s Attempt on Moses’ Life in the ‘Pseudo-Jubilees’ Text from Masada,” *DSD* 10 (2003): 359–64.

⁴³ P.S. Alexander, “The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P.W. Flint, and J.C. VanderKam; Leiden, 1999), 331–53 (esp. 341).

to destroy Noah's children, to blind and kill them (*Jub.* 10:1–2). They are meant for destruction (*Jub.* 10:8). In *Jub.* 49:2 demons seem to assist Mastema in killing all the first-born of Egypt.

Jubilees speaks about reducing the influence of demons. When Noah's sons complain about the attacks of the demons on their children (*Jub.* 10:2), God grants Noah's intercession by commanding the good angels to bind all demons (*Jub.* 10:7). Mastema protests against this plan (*Jub.* 10:8: "Lord, creator, leave some of them for me; let them listen to me and do everything that I tell them, because if none of them is left for me I shall not be able to *exercise the authority of my will among mankind*. For they are meant for the purpose of destruction and misleading before my punishment because the evil of mankind is great"). God accedes to Mastema's protest and leaves ten percent of the evil spirits, while ninety percent descend to the place of judgment (*Jub.* 10:9, 11). This implies that Mastema has a function in the divine order.⁴⁴ God seems to approve of his appearance. Evil people are handed over to the authority of Mastema for punishment, and the demons help him with the execution of this task. Further influence of the demons is reduced, because the angel of the presence teaches Noah about the remedies for the afflictions that the demons cause (*Jub.* 10:10, 12: "He told one of us that we should teach Noah all their remedies, because he knew that they would neither conduct themselves properly nor fight fairly . . . We told Noah all the remedies for their diseases with their deceptions so that he could cure them by means of the earth's plants"). This means that "the evil spirits were prohibited from pursuing Noah's children" (*Jub.* 10:13). Israel belongs directly to God and is protected by him. The demons have no influence on the chosen people. In contrast, they are assigned to the nations (*Jub.* 15:30–32), who worship them (*Jub.* 22:16–17; cf. 1:11). Nevertheless, the spirits seem to be a (continual) threat for the chosen people (*Jub.* 19:28: "May the spirits of Mastema not rule over you and your descendants to remove you from following the Lord who is your God for now and forever").

In the Bible, there is no demonology. In Genesis, one cannot read anything about evil spirits. In this aspect, *Jubilees* seems to be influenced by other sources. The teaching about the demons seems to be part of the wider influence of material originating from the Enochic traditions.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Cf. Alexander, "Demonology," 342.

⁴⁵ For the influence of Enochic traditions in the book of *Jubilees*, see note 30 of the introduction.

One can point to the influence of *1 Enoch*. In the *Book of the Watchers* the angels descended from heaven, married women, and sinned with them. Their children were giants, who behaved in an unlawful way: “They were devouring the labour of all sons of men, and men were not able to supply them. And the giants began to kill men and to devour them. And they began to sin against the birds and beasts and creeping things and the fish, and to devour one another’s flesh. And they drank the blood” (*1 En.* 7:3–5).⁴⁶ They would have ruined humankind, but the people brought accusations against the lawless ones (*1 En.* 7:6), and their cry went up to heaven (*1 En.* 8:4). Thereupon God sent Gabriel to destroy the sons of the watchers from among the sons of men (*1 En.* 10:9). However, this is not the end of the giants. In *1 En.* 15:8–16:1 the evil spirits came out of their carcasses, and they threaten humanity: they do violence, desolate, attack and wrestle upon the earth.⁴⁷

Why did the author of *Jubilees* think it appropriate to incorporate the myth of the demons in his rewriting of Genesis? The evil spirits play a part in the rewritten narrative of the period between the flood and the story of Abram. They belong therefore primarily to the period of Noah. The shedding and consumption of blood is an important characteristic of the demons in *Jubilees*, as it is in Gen 9:1–7. Moreover, in this period, the earth is repopulated after the flood (Genesis 10) and divided among the three sons of Noah.⁴⁸ Different family lines emerge in different nations.⁴⁹ Tensions between the different nations are predicted—so, for example, the curse of Canaan (Gen 9:25–27). In sum, *Jubilees* seems to take up several elements of Genesis 9–10 and relate them to the demons. Bloodshed and eating of blood is caused by the demons, and the continuation of the line of Shem is threatened by the demons, whereas the development of the nations is under the demons’ control.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Translation taken from G.W.E. Nickelsburg and J.C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch: A New Translation. Based on the Hermeneia Commentary* (Minneapolis, 2004).

⁴⁷ VanderKam, “Demons,” 339–64 (esp. 348–50); Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 267–75.

⁴⁸ O. Keel et al. (eds.), *Orte und Landschaften der Bibel, I–II* (Zürich, 1982–84), I, 191; J.M. Scott, *Paul and the Nations: The Old Testament and Jewish Background of Paul’s Mission to the Nations with Special Reference to the Destination of Galatians* (WUNT 84; Tübingen, 1995), 6–8. Cf. P.S. Alexander, “Geography and the Bible. Early Jewish Geography,” *ADB, II*, 977–88 (esp. 980); G. Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten* (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 1944–48, 3; Heidelberg, 1949), 45–6.

⁴⁹ Cf. Skinner, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, 188; Wenham, *Genesis 1–15*, 213–27; Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 665–71. Cf. Alexander, “Geography and the Bible,” 985.

⁵⁰ Cf. VanderKam, “Demons,” 351.

The incorporation of the demons shows that the author of *Jubilees* brought the passages on the division of the earth and the separation of the nations from the chosen people into association with other biblical passages, especially Deut 32:8–9 (cf. Sir 17:17), and Ps 106:34–39.⁵¹

The song of Moses (Deuteronomy 32) refers to an assembly of gods (cf. Psalm 82) in which, according to the reading of 4QDeut^d, the Most High (Elyon) fixed the boundaries of the people “according to the number of the sons of God (בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים)” (Deut 32:8). In this context, each nation on earth is entrusted to one of God’s sons, whereas Yhwh keeps Israel for himself (Deut 32:9: “For Yhwh’s portion is his people, Jacob his allotted heritage”). Some Greek manuscripts also read υἱῶν θεοῦ (“the sons of God”), whereas many other Greek manuscripts read ἀγγέλων θεοῦ (“the angels of God”). The Masoretic Text reads בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (“the sons of Israel”). The reading “the sons of God” is considered as the most original reading.⁵² In the masoretic tradition this polytheistic reading was rejected by way of a small modification of the text.

One could argue that Deut 32:8–9 refers back to the process of separating the nations described in Genesis 10 (cf. Gen 10:5, 10–12, 19–20, 30–31, 32).⁵³ Although each nation is entrusted to one of God’s sons and not to a demon, Deut 32:16–17 brings demons in relation to foreign gods. Also in Ps 106:34–39 a connection is made between the nations and the demons. I refer especially to Ps 106:36–37 in which the idols of the nations are paralleled with the demons: “They served their idols, which became a snare to them. They sacrificed their sons and their daughters to the demons.”⁵⁴ Idolatry is connected with impurity and with polluting the land with blood (Ps 106:38–39). *Jubilees* also put these aspects in relation to the demons.

⁵¹ Cf. VanderKam, “Demons,” 351–54.

⁵² R. Meyer, “Die Bedeutung von Deuteronomium 32,8f.43 (4Q) für die Auslegung des Moseliedes,” in *Verbanung und Heimkehr: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Theologie Israels im 6. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*: Wilhelm Rudolph zum 70. Geburtstag dargebracht von seinen Freunden und Schülern (ed. A. Kuschke; Tübingen, 1961), 197–209; O. Loretz, “Die Vorgeschichte von Deuteronomium 32,8f.43,” *UF* 9 (1977): 355–57; C. McCarthy, *The Targum Sopherim and Other Theological Corrections in the Masoretic Text of the Old Testament* (OBO 36; Göttingen, 1981), 211–14; A. van der Kooij, “The Ending of the Song of Moses: On the pre-Masoretic Version of Deut 32:43,” in *Studies in Deuteronomy: In Honour of C. J. Labuschagne on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (ed. F. García Martínez et al.: VTS 53; Leiden, 1994), 93–100 (esp. 94); P. Sanders, *The Provenance of Deuteronomy 32* (*OtSt* 37; Leiden, 1996), 24–5; 156–58.

⁵³ See VanderKam, “Demons,” 351–54.

⁵⁴ See also Ps 96:4–5 where God and the idols are contrasted. Here, the Septuagint of Ps 95:5 reads “demons” where the Masoretic Text reads “idols.”

The election of Israel, the separation from the other peoples, is the central issue in *Jubilees* 15. This unique relationship between God and Israel is incorporated into the order of creation and precedes the covenant, forming the basis of it.⁵⁵ The covenant is the expression of this relationship in time and provides the means to sanctify Israel. The ritual is a visible sign of God's choice.

The exclusive covenantal relationship between God and Israel involves a mutual commitment. This means that there is a sharp division between those elected and the impure gentiles. Both groups have to be kept separate from each other. Those elected were descended from Jacob, Isaac, Abraham, Shem and Noah, and Adam. Everyone outside this pure lineage did not belong to the elected people, even if they were closely related, such as Ishmael and Esau. In this way, the author clearly advocates separatism. For him, circumcision reflected the special position of Israel, which had angelic status, belonging to the Lord and not to the spirits who reign over the other nations. Those who were not circumcised, or not circumcised at the right moment, could not participate in the covenantal relationship. However, there is not only a dividing line between Israel and the nations, but also within Israel, between those who are circumcised at the right moment and those who are not. The latter do not participate in the covenant.

This might indicate that for the author of *Jubilees* the threat to Israel's existence does not come only from the outside, from the nations (separate from the nations), but also from inside, from those within Israel that do not keep the Torah, the ancestral laws, in its totality. Those within Israel are put on an equal level with the gentiles.

2.3.4. *The Eternal Law Neglected*

In the third part of the halakic addition (*Jub.* 15:33–34), there is no positive subunit B (the election and sanctification of Israel) as opposed to the preceding two parts (cf. *Jub.* 15:27; 15:30–32). Instead God's anger against Israel is predicted (*Jub.* 15:34a). Forgiveness is not possible any more (*Jub.* 15:34g).

After the author underlines the eternity of the law of circumcision on the right day (*Jub.* 15:25–26), he emphasizes the command by commanding Moses to teach this law to the Israelites (*Jub.* 15:28–29). Now it is predicted that Israel will not keep the command (*Jub.* 15:33–34). The text does not refer any longer to the aspect of time with regard to the

⁵⁵ See Gilders, "Concept of Covenant," 181.

circumcision, namely the eighth day, despite the references to “*this ordinance*” (*Jub.* 15:33a) and to “*this entire law*” (*Jub.* 15:33b). The author mentions incomplete circumcision, namely leaving “some of the flesh of their circumcision” (*Jub.* 15:33c), and the ignorance of circumcision altogether (*Jub.* 15:33d).

The Israelites (literally “the sons of Israel”) occur in every line of *Jub.* 15:33–34 with the exception of *Jub.* 15:33d in which all the people of Belial (literally “all the sons of Belial”) are the subject. Who are these sons of Belial? Is this a group inside Israel, identical or parallel with “the sons of Israel” (*Jub.* 15:33a, 34a), or is it a group outside Israel? In *Jub.* 15:34f it is said, “For they have made themselves *like the nations*,” and the destiny of the nations is “to be removed and uprooted from the land.” Those who do not belong to the covenant of God and Abraham, that is to say, those who do not keep the stipulations of the covenant, belong to the people (literally: “the sons”) meant for destruction (*Jub.* 15:26a; cf. 15:26c) and meant for being uprooted from the land (*Jub.* 15:26c; cf. 15:28b). In that case, it would be the spirits who rule them and not the Lord (cf. *Jub.* 15:31–32). In *Jub.* 15:33–34, it is said that by not keeping the entire law the sons of Israel have made themselves like the nations. After this transformation, they can be called “sons of Belial.” In *Jub.* 15:31e the spirits rule over all nations “in order to lead them astray from following him.” Although Israel belongs to the Lord, apparently the angels managed to lead Israel astray. In that case, Israel belongs to the spirits. It has become like the nations.⁵⁶

The leader of the evil forces is mostly called Mastema (*Jub.* 10:1–13; 11:5, 11; 17:16–18:19; 19:26; 48; 49:2) but sometimes Belial (*Jub.* 1:20; 15:33). In *Jubilees*, Belial is mentioned in 1:20 within the context of a prayer of supplication (*Jub.* 1:19–21). The prayer requests a just spirit from God for his people lest they follow the strayings of their heart. The spirit of Belial is put in parallel with the nations. Both can rule over Israel and thus can cause Israel to sin against God. Moreover, the spirit of Belial can bring charges against Israel before God.

2.4. *Jubilees* 15:25–34 a Later Addition?

According to Kugel, *Jubilees* 15 is a compound unit made up of a part written by the original author (*Jub.* 15:1–24) and a part of a later interpolator

⁵⁶ Segal suggests that *Jub.* 15:33–34 also reflects an inner-Jewish polemic. It might react against a position that distinguishes between parts of the foreskin that should be removed and those that can remain. Cf. Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 242, note 30.

(*Jub.* 15:25–34).⁵⁷ The reason for this supposition is that the addition is in the wrong place. It should have appeared alongside the initial proclamation on circumcision (*Jub.* 15:11–14). Because the interpolator wanted to include his clarification that Ishmael is not included in Abraham’s covenant in his proclamation about the importance of the eighth day and the prohibition of partial circumcision, he had to wait until the narration of Ishmael’s circumcision.

It is true that the halakic additions form a single block, but Kugel does not explain why this fact should necessarily lead to the assumption that the author of *Jub.* 15:25–34 is not the author of *Jub.* 15:1–24. In the preceding section, we have tried to show that most elements of the halakic addition are closely related to the narrative, especially to the part commanding circumcision (*Jub.* 15:11–14), with particular regard to the time of circumcision (the eighth day) and the sanction for not following the command (*Jub.* 15:11–14; 15:25–26, 33–34). Moreover, the preference of Isaac over Ishmael, in relation to the status of Israel, plays an important part both in the narrative (*Jub.* 15:15–24) and in the halakic addition (*Jub.* 15:28–32). It is interesting to observe that the author of the rewriting of Gen 17:23–27 in *Jub.* 15:23–24 makes clear that Ishmael, although he is Abraham’s son and circumcised, is not privileged as much as is suggested by the text of Genesis. This very same point is made in the addition (*Jub.* 15:30). If the author of *Jubilees* adapted a given text of Genesis in such a way that it is in line with the halakic addition, why should one then suppose a later interpolator?

3. CONCLUSION

This chapter examined the way Genesis 17 was rewritten in *Jubilees* 15. Interestingly, the source text turns out to have been almost completely rewritten. With the help of omissions, variations, and additions, the author has modified the older text. He has interpreted the making of the covenant between God and Abraham as a renewing of the covenant, where Abraham acts on his own initiative to fulfil the stipulation of the renewed covenant that he has inherited from Noah. Moreover, the author has tried to reduce the tension within the text of Genesis 17 between the

⁵⁷ Kugel, “On the Interpolations,” 248–50.

requirement that all descendants of Abraham be circumcised as a sign of the covenant and the covenant being restricted to Isaac.

The addition at the end is related to some exegetical problems in the text of Genesis 17, especially the exact date of circumcision and the related curse (cf. Gen 17:14). It reveals several central concerns of the book. *Jubilees* stresses that the moment of circumcision (“on the eighth day”) is of the utmost importance. Those who are not circumcised on the eighth day are considered not to have been circumcised. This concern probably reflects an issue prevailing during the author’s time, and it is not necessary to suppose a different authorship of the addition.

The exclusive covenantal relationship between God and Israel concerns a mutual commitment. This means that there is a sharp division between elected and impure gentiles. Both groups have to be kept separate from each other. The elected were descended from Jacob, Isaac, Abraham, Shem, Noah, and Adam. Anyone not of this pure lineage was not among the elected, even if they were closely related, such as Ishmael and Esau. In this way the author clearly advocates separatism. For him, circumcision reflects the special position of Israel, which has an angelic status, belonging to the Lord and not to the spirits who reign over the other nations. Those who were not circumcised, or not circumcised at the right moment, could not participate in this covenantal relationship. However, there is not only a dividing line between Israel and the nations, but also one within Israel: between those who are circumcised at the right moment and those who are not. The latter do not participate in the covenant.

Although the special relationship between God and Israel is emphasized throughout the book, it is particularly relevant here because of the theme of the covenant and the specific selection of Isaac rather than Ishmael in Genesis 17. The reference to the angels and their day of creation also underlines the fact that the election of Israel actually precedes the making of the covenant. Because the covenant between God and Israel is inherent to the order of creation, Ishmael cannot participate in this relationship despite the fact that he is circumcised. The law and the covenant are thus presented as eternal, dating back to the time of creation and of the earliest patriarchs, which is in line with many other halakic additions in the book, including, for example, the halakah concerning women giving birth (*Jub.* 3:8–14), the prohibition against consuming blood (*Jub.* 6:11–14; 7:29), the keeping of the Sabbath (*Jub.* 2:17–33; 50) and several festivals, such as the festival of weeks (*Jub.* 6:17–22), the festival of the first fruits (*Jub.* 15:1–2), and Pesach (*Jubilees* 4).

CHAPTER FIVE

EVENTS SURROUNDING ISAAC'S BIRTH

(GEN 18:1–21:21; *JUB.* 16:1–17:14)

1. INTRODUCTION

Isaac's birth was foretold for the first time in the story of the covenant of the circumcision (*Jub.* 15:19, 21; Gen 17:19, 21) and is now announced a second time (*Jub.* 16:1–4; cf. Gen 18:1–15). After this second prediction there is a brief version of the story of Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen 18:16–19:32) in which *Jubilees* focuses on the exemplary character of the judgment made on these cities (*Jub.* 16:5–6) and on Lot's rescue (*Jub.* 16:7). Lot's incestuous activities with his daughters (Gen 19:30–38) are condemned and punished through the extermination of all of his descendants (*Jub.* 16:8–9). The events with regard to king Abimelech of Gerar (Gen 20:1–18; 21:22–34) are omitted almost completely in *Jubilees*. From the story of Sarah's abduction into Abimelech's palace (Gen 20:1–18), only Abraham's move from Hebron to Gerar is preserved (Gen 20:1; *Jub.* 16:10), and from the account of the covenant of Abraham with the king of Gerar (Gen 21:22–34), only the mention of Abraham's settling at the well of the oath, which is an interpretation of Beersheba,¹ is retained (*Jub.* 16:11; cf. Gen 21:31–34). Moreover, this remark is introduced into the account immediately after Abraham's settling in Gerar.

Isaac's birth itself (*Jub.* 16:12–13; cf. Gen 21:1–2) and his circumcision (*Jub.* 16:14; cf. Gen 21:4) are also described. After a flashback of the angel's visit to Abraham and Sarah (*Jub.* 16:15–19) and a halakic addition (*Jub.* 16:20–31), the text mentions the feast of Isaac's weaning (*Jub.* 17:1–3; Gen 21:8). Strongly connected with this feast is the expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael (*Jub.* 17:4–14; Gen 21:9–21). With regard to Isaac's early years, much of the biblical text is extensively abbreviated or omitted altogether.

The following scheme provides an overall comparison of Gen 18:1–21:34 and *Jub.* 16:1–17:14.

¹ באר שבועה is read as באר שבע.

Genesis 18:1–21:34		<i>Jubilees</i> 16:1–17:14	
18:1–15	<i>Second announcement of Isaac's birth</i>	16:1–4	<i>Second announcement of Isaac's birth</i>
18:16–33	ABRAHAM'S INTERCESSION		
19:1–23	RESCUE OF LOT		
19:24–29	<i>Judgment on Sodom and Gomorrah</i>	16:5–6	<i>Judgment on Sodom and Gomorrah</i>
19:30–38	<i>Lot and his daughters</i>	16:7–9	<i>Lot and his daughters</i>
20:1	<i>Abraham's journey to Gerar</i>	16:10	<i>Abraham's journey to Gerar</i>
20:2–18	SARAH'S ABDUCTION TO ABIMELECH'S HOUSE (cf. Gen 21:31–34)	16:11	<i>Abraham at the well of the oath (Beersheba)</i>
21:1–7	<i>Birth of Isaac</i>	16:12–14	<i>Birth of Isaac</i>
		16:15–19	THE ANGELS RETURN TO ABRAHAM AND SARAH
		16:20–31	SUKKOT
21:8–21	<i>Weaning of Isaac and expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael</i>	17:1–14	<i>Weaning of Isaac and expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael</i>
21:22–34	ABRAHAM'S COVENANT WITH ABIMELECH <i>in Beer Sheba</i>		(cf. <i>Jub.</i> 16:11)

2. EVENTS PRECEDING ISAAC'S BIRTH (*JUB.* 16:1–9)

The story of Genesis 18–19 is abbreviated significantly in *Jub.* 16:1–9. On the basis of the formal features, it is possible to detect a division of *Jub.* 16:1–9 into two parts. The first part (*Jub.* 16:1–4) deals with the announcement of the birth of a child to Abraham and Sarah and corresponds with Gen 18:1–15. It starts with an indication of time (“On the first of the fourth month”),² continues with a short rendering of the biblical story, and ends with the consequences in which a reference to the heavenly tablets is included (“We told her the name of her son as it is ordained and written in the heavenly tablets”).

The second part (*Jub.* 16:5–9) also starts with an indication of time (“During this month”) and ends with a reference to the heavenly tablets (“It has now been commanded and engraved on the heavenly tablets”). The two parts differ remarkably from each other with respect to what is written on these tablets. In the first case, this concerns the immediate offspring of Abraham and Sarah, i.e., Isaac (*Jub.* 16:3). In the second

² *Anno mundi* 1986 (cf. *Jub.* 15:1; 16:15). Problems with regard to the chronology of the Abraham story in the book of *Jubilees* are discussed by VanderKam, “Studies in the Chronology,” 522–44 (esp. 532–40).

case, it concerns the descendants of Lot and his daughters (*Jub.* 16:9). His offspring will be uprooted. In this way, the two parts become antithetical: on the one hand, there is the example of the righteous Abraham and the guarantee of his progeny; on the other, the example of the unrighteous Lot and the destruction of his seed.

The second part consists of two units. The first (*Jub.* 16:5–6) is structured as follows: first, an indication of time (*Jub.* 16:5a), then a short rendering of the biblical story (*Jub.* 16:5ab), and finally the consequences of the story, with no mention of the heavenly tablets (*Jub.* 16:5c–6). This unit deals with the judgment on Sodom and is a rewriting of Gen 18:16–19:32. In the second unit (*Jub.* 16:7–9), an indication of time is missing. However, there is a short rendering of the biblical story (*Jub.* 16:7), and at the end the consequences of the story are mentioned with a reference to the heavenly tablets (*Jub.* 16:8–9). This deals with Lot and his daughters. It is, strictly speaking, a rewriting of the last unit of Genesis 19, that is, Gen 19:30–38. Therefore, with regard to the content, we might speak of a tripartite story (*Jub.* 16:1–4, 5–6, 7–9: Abraham and Sarah; Sodom and Gomorrah; Lot and his daughters). It is clear, of course, that the second and third parts are closely interrelated. The indication of time occurs only in the second part, whereas the heavenly tablets occur only in the third. In both parts the author speaks about the “judgment of Sodom.”

Jubilees 16:1–9, seems to be more concerned with a rewriting of the introduction (Gen 18:1–15) and the postscript (Gen 18:30–38) than with the story of Abraham’s intercession (Gen 18:16–33), Lot’s rescue (Gen 19:1–23), and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah itself (Gen 19:24–29). Moreover, not only is the story of Genesis 18–19 shortened and more clearly structured in the rewriting, but the perspective from which the story is told also differs. In Genesis, an objective narrator speaks in the third person about Yhwh, the angels, Abraham and Sarah, and Lot and his daughters, whereas the angel of the presence dictates the whole story of *Jubilees* to Moses. *Jubilees* is concerned with the acts of the angels themselves and is related in the first person plural. Some changes in the text (e.g., the change from third person singular to first person plural) are connected with this. The narrative character of Genesis, which includes the alternation of direct speech and narrative parts, becomes a summary rendering of the biblical story in which direct speech is completely omitted.

2.1. *A Comparison of Genesis 18:1–15 and Jubilees 16:1–4*

The following synoptic overview presents a classification of the similarities and dissimilarities between Genesis and *Jubilees*.

Genesis 18:1-15

- 1a []
Yhwh appeared to *him* by the oaks
of Mamre,
- b AS HE SAT AT THE DOOR OF HIS
TENT IN THE HEAT OF THE DAY.
- 2a HE LIFTED UP HIS EYES
b AND LOOKED,
c AND BEHOLD, THREE MEN STOOD
IN FRONT OF HIM.
d WHEN HE SAW THEM,
e HE RAN FROM THE TENT DOOR TO
MEET THEM,
f AND BOWED HIMSELF TO THE
EARTH,
- 3a AND SAID:
b "MY LORD, IF I HAVE FOUND
FAVOUR IN YOUR SIGHT,
c DO NOT PASS BY YOUR SERVANT.
4a LET A LITTLE WATER BE BROUGHT,
b AND WASH YOUR FEET,
c AND REST YOURSELVES UNDER THE
TREE,
5a WHILE I FETCH A MORSEL OF BREAD,
b THAT YOU MAY REFRESH YOUR-
SELVES,
c AND AFTER THAT YOU MAY PASS ON
d —SINCE YOU HAVE COME TO YOUR
SERVANT."
e SO THEY SAID:
f "DO AS YOU HAVE SAID."
6a AND ABRAHAM HASTENED INTO
THE TENT TO SARAH,
b AND SAID:
c "MAKE READY QUICKLY THREE
MEASURES OF FINE MEAL,
d KNEAD IT,
e AND MAKE CAKES."
7a AND ABRAHAM RAN TO THE HERD,
b AND TOOK A CALF, TENDER AND
GOOD,
c AND GAVE IT TO THE SERVANT,
d WHO HASTENED TO PREPARE IT.
8a THEN HE TOOK CURDS, AND MILK,
AND THE CALF WHICH HE HAD
PREPARED,
b AND SET IT BEFORE THEM;
c AND HE STOOD BY THEM UNDER
THE TREE WHILE THEY ATE.

Jubilees 16:1-4

- 1a ON THE FIRST OF THE FOURTH
MONTH *we* appeared to *Abraham*
at the oak of Mamre.
[]

- 9a *They said to him:*
 b "WHERE IS SARAH YOUR WIFE?"
 c AND HE SAID:
 d "SHE IS IN THE TENT."
- 10a YHWH SAID:
 b "I WILL SURELY RETURN TO YOU
 NEXT YEAR,
 c and Sarah *your wife shall have a son.*"
 d AND SARAH WAS LISTENING AT
 THE TENT DOOR BEHIND HIM.
- 11a NOW ABRAHAM AND SARAH WERE
 OLD, ADVANCED IN AGE;
 b IT HAD CEASED TO BE WITH SARAH
 AFTER THE MANNER OF WOMEN.
- 12a Sarah laughed TO HERSELF, SAYING:
 b "AFTER I HAVE GROWN OLD, AND
 MY HUSBAND IS OLD,
 c SHALL I HAVE PLEASURE?"
- 13a *And Yhwh said to Abraham:*
 b "WHY DID SARAH LAUGH,
 c AND SAY:
 d 'SHALL I INDEED BEAR A CHILD,
 NOW THAT I AM OLD?'"
- 14a IS ANYTHING TOO HARD FOR YHWH?
 b *At the appointed time I will
 return to you, next year,
 and Sarah shall have a son.*
 c *Sarah denied, SAYING:*
 b "I DID NOT laugh";
 c **for she was afraid.**
 d HE SAID:
 e "NO, BUT YOU DID LAUGH."
 []
- b *We spoke with him*
 []
- c AND TOLD HIM that a son *would be
 given to him* from his wife Sarah.
 []
- 2a Sarah laughed []
- b WHEN SHE HEARD THAT WE HAD CON-
 VEYED THIS MESSAGE TO ABRAHAM,
 c *And we chided her.*
- d *And she was afraid*
 e *and she denied*
 f THAT SHE HAD **laughed** ABOUT THE
 MESSAGE.
 []
- 3a WE TOLD HER THE NAME OF
 HER SON AS IT IS ORDAINED AND
 WRITTEN ON THE HEAVENLY
 TABLETS—ISAAC—
- 4a AND (THAT) WHEN *we* returned to
her at a specific time
 b *she would have become preg-
 nant with a son.*

In *Jubilees*, the text of Gen 18:1–15 has been stripped of all its frills. The only thing that the author of *Jubilees* seems to be interested in is the announcement of the birth of a son to Abraham and Sarah and the reaction of Sarah.

Several elements of the story are omitted altogether, i.e., the meeting of Abraham with Yhwh (Gen 18:1; cf. 18:10, 13–14), the scene of hospitality in which Abraham prepares food and drink for the angels (Gen 18:2–8), and the advanced age of Abraham and Sarah (Gen 18:11, 12bc).

The appearance of Yhwh in combination with Abraham's meeting with three men introduces a certain ambiguity to the text of Gen 18:1–15.³ The author of *Jubilees* has apparently chosen to remove this ambiguity.⁴ In addition, he identifies the three men with the angels. The omission of the theophany and its substitution with the appearance of the angels is noticeable, because in his rendering of Genesis, the author of *Jubilees* often does copy the theophanies.

In relation to the omission of the hospitality scene, it is possible that the author had some problems with the anthropomorphic character of the angels, since it would have been impossible for the angels to eat the meal prepared by Abraham (Gen 18:8e: "they ate"). Other early Jewish authors, such as Philo and Flavius Josephus, also mention this problem, whereas all of the targumim render the phrase "and they ate" as follows: "*they seemed to be eating and drinking.*" Thus Abraham was under the impression that they were eating.⁵

Finally, the advanced age of Abraham and Sarah (Gen 18:11–12; cf. also the omissions of Gen 21:2b, 5, 7) is omitted possibly because it somewhat contradicts the preceding chapter, where Abraham already refers to their age, not in the context of doubt and disbelief but of happiness (cf. *Jub.* 15:17; Gen 17:17). *Jubilees* does not stress their advanced age, because the marriage of Abraham and Sarah is considered on a par with the forefathers, who also begot children at advanced ages. The nature of the miracle, that is, having children in old age, is thus not extraordinary. It is, in fact, in accordance with an important point in the rewriting of the Genesis story. In *Jubilees*, the story of a promise of rich offspring—a promise that is

³ See, e.g., Westermann, *Genesis 12–36*, 331–35; Wenham, *Genesis 16–50*, 45–7; Seebass, *Genesis II: Vätergeschichte*, 121–23.

⁴ This tension points to an interesting origin of the text of Genesis. See H. Gunkel, *Genesis* (9th ed.; Göttingen, 1977); Skinner, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, 299–303; Van Seters, *Abraham*, 202–3; J.A. Loader, *A Tale of Two Cities: Sodom and Gomorrah in the Old Testament, Early Jewish and Early Christian Traditions* (Contribution to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 1; Kampen, 1990), 17–26.

⁵ See, e.g., Philo, *De Abrahamo*, 118; *QuaestGen* 4:9; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.11.2 (196); *Tg Neofiti Gen* 18:8.

continuously threatened but ultimately fulfilled through the intervention of God⁶—has become a story of pure lineage.⁷

Besides omissions, there are also some additions to the text. Some of these can be regarded as summaries—for example, *Jub.* 16:2b (“When she heard that we had conveyed this message to Abraham”). Although one might consider it as a variation of Gen 18:10d (“And Sarah was listening at the tent door behind him”), it is probably better to see it as a summary of the whole passage down to Gen 18:10. In the same way, *Jub.* 16:2cde (“And we chided her. And she was afraid, and she denied that she had laughed about the message”) is a summary of Gen 18:11–15. It is striking, however, that in Genesis Yhwh speaks to Abraham, whereas in *Jubilees* the angels speak to Sarah.

At the end of the passage there is a clear addition. The first part refers to Isaac's name (*Jub.* 16:3: “We told her the name of her son as it is ordained and written on the heavenly tablets—Isaac”). The curious thing is that in *Jubilees* the name of the son is mentioned on the heavenly tablets. The name had already been announced to Abraham earlier in the text: “Sarah your wife shall bear you a son, and you shall call his name Isaac” (Gen 17:19; *Jub.* 15:19). According to Kugel, however, this reference to the heavenly tablets is the work of an interpolator who was disturbed by the notion of Isaac being so named because of an act reproved by the angels. He therefore added that Isaac was named in the heavenly tablets long before the announcement to Sarah.⁸ I am not convinced by this recourse to an interpolation at this place. In this part of the biblical story, there is no explicit relationship made between Sarah's laughter and Isaac's name. Moreover, the author of *Jubilees* omits Sarah's laughter in the biblical text after Isaac's birth (cf. Gen 21:6) see below). Possibly, the “heavenly tablets” mean nothing more than the Torah, and the reference to these tablets is merely a reference to the biblical text.⁹ The message is now transmitted to Sarah by the angels. Finally, I would like to point to *Jub.* 16:13. Despite the fact that Gen 21:1–4 is taken up quite literally in *Jub.* 16:12–14, the explicit name giving of Isaac by Abraham (Gen 21:3) is not taken over. *Jubilees* says

⁶ See, e.g., A. van der Kooij, *Abraham, vader van / voor een menigte volken: Gen. 17,4–5 in het Hebreuws, alsmede in de Griekse, Aramese en Syrische vertaling* (Leiden, 1990; inaugural lecture), 3.

⁷ Cf. especially the rewriting of Gen 11:29–30 in *Jub.* 12:9–11. Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment of Women*, 33–46.

⁸ See Kugel, “On the Interpolations,” 215–72 (esp. 263).

⁹ García Martínez, “Heavenly Tablets,” 243–60 (esp. 245).

that Sarah “gave birth to a son,” and slightly later “Isaac was born.” This transformation presupposes not only *Jub.* 15:19 but also *Jub.* 16:3.

The second part of the addition (*Jub.* 16:4: “and [that] when we returned to her at a specific time she would have become pregnant with a son”) seems to be a variation of Gen 18:10 (“I will surely return to you next year, and Sarah your wife shall have a son”) and particularly 18:14 (“At the appointed time I will return to you, next year, and Sarah shall have a son”). *Jubilees* does not understand the return (Gen 18:10, 14) as a return of God but as a return of the angels (“we”). This is in conformity with the rewriting in *Jub.* 16:1–2 in which the appearance of God and three men (Gen 18:1–15) is replaced consistently by the appearance of the angels. Later on in this chapter, it is first reported that God visited Sarah in the middle of the sixth month (*Jub.* 16:12–13; parallel Gen 21:1–2a) and then in an addition that the angels returned to Abraham and Sarah in the seventh month of the sixth year of the fourth week, when Sarah was pregnant (*Jub.* 16:15–16). This might indicate that *Jubilees* differentiates between God’s visit and the angels’ visit.

The consequence is that *Jub.* 16:4 is more than just a variation of Gen 18:14, because the angels and not God appear to Abraham. The text deliberately omits God’s announcement to Abraham that he would return the following year (Gen 18:10, 14). However, the promise of a son is not omitted, although it not transmitted by God but by the angels (*Jub.* 16:1bc: “We spoke with him and told him that a son would be given to him from his wife Sarah”). The reason might be that in the preceding chapter (Gen 17:21; *Jub.* 15:21) God has already promised Abraham that Sarah would give birth for him “in these days next year.”¹⁰ Why then did the angels repeat the message? The reason might be that the focus in *Jub.* 16:1–4, like Gen 18:9–15, is mainly on Sarah. Thus she should also hear the message.

2.2. A Comparison of Genesis 18:16–19:38 and Jubilees 16:5–9

Jubilees 16:5–9 is a very short rendering of the rest of Gen 18–19. It deals first with the judgment on Sodom (*Jub.* 16:5–6) and then with Lot and his daughters (*Jub.* 16:7–9). Most obvious are the extensive omissions. Almost the entire passage about Abraham negotiating with Yhwh in order to save Sodom because of the presence of some righteous people (Gen 18:16–33) is omitted. There is only one reference to the wickedness of Sodom and

¹⁰ According to Kugel, God had already announced that He would return in Gen 17:21, and that promise is carried out in Gen 21:1. Cf. Kugel, “On the Interpolations,” 237.

Gomorrah (Gen 18:20: חטאתם כי כבדה מאד: “their sin is very grave”) in *Jub.* 16:5e (“they are very sinful”). The omission of the passage accords very well with the general picture of Abraham and Lot that the author of *Jubilees* draws. It is not convenient to have a depiction of Abraham making a plea for the righteous Lot. At the same time, a bargaining Abraham, who dares to contradict God, does not accord very well with the picture of Abraham as the ultimate righteous person. Also, Genesis 19, where the story of Lot and his visitors is related, is also almost completely omitted. The enumeration of the several sins of Sodom (*Jub.* 16:5c–h) might be an implicit reference to Genesis 19, but this is not certain. The author refers explicitly to the incestuous relationship between Lot and his daughters (Gen 19:30–38) clearly in *Jub.* 16:7–9.

2.2.1. *Genesis 18:16–19:28 and Jubilees 16:5–6*

As can be seen in the following synopsis, the complete story of Sodom and Gomorrah is summarized in one phrase, which is a judgment on the cities and the region (*Jub.* 16:5ab).

Genesis 19:24–25	<i>Jubilees</i> 16:5–6
24 [] Yhwh rained on Sodom and Gomorrah [] brimstone and fire from Yhwh out of heaven;	5a DURING THIS MONTH the Lord executed the judgement of Sodom and Gomorrah, ZEBOIM and all the environs of the Jordan [].
25 and he overthrew those cities, and all the valley, AND ALL THE INHABITANTS OF THE CITIES, AND WHAT GREW ON THE GROUND. []	b He burned them with fire and brimstone
	c AND ANNIHILATED THEM UNTIL THE PRESENT IN ACCORD WITH WHAT I HAVE NOW TOLD YOU (ABOUT) ALL THEIR ACTIONS—
	d THAT THEY WERE SAVAGE
	e AND VERY SINFUL,
	f (THAT) THEY WOULD DEFILE THEMSELVES,
	g COMMIT SEXUAL SINS IN THEIR FLESH,
	h AND DO WHAT WAS IMPURE ON THE EARTH.
	6a THE LORD WILL EXECUTE JUDGEMENT IN THE SAME WAY IN THE PLACES WHERE PEOPLE COMMIT THE SAME SORT OF IMPURE ACTIONS AS SODOM—JUST LIKE THE JUDGEMENT ON SODOM.

In spite of the extensive omissions of Gen 18:16–19:28, the author of *Jubilees* adopts several elements of Gen 19:24–25 in *Jub.* 16:5ab, sometimes verbatim (“brimstone and fire,” “Sodom and Gomorrah”). *Jubilees* 16:5a is a rendering of Gen 19:25. The phrase “he executed the judgment” is a variation and interpretation of “he overthrew,” whereas “all the environs of the Jordan” is a variation of “all the valley.” *Jubilees* 16:5b mainly renders Gen 19:24. The phrase “he burned them” is an interpretation of “Yhwh rained . . . from Yhwh out of heaven,” whereas the rendering “he burned them” is possibly suggested by “brimstone and fire.” It might also be inspired by Gen 19:28 (“the smoke of the land went up like the smoke of a furnace”).

Although Gen 18:16–33 seems to be completely absent in the rewriting of *Jubilees*, it might have had some influence. Firstly, Gen 18:25 might play a part in *Jub.* 16:5a. The text of Gen 18:25 reads: **השפט כל הארץ לא יעשה**: **משפט**: “Shall not the judge of all the earth do right?” The phrase *gabr kwānanehomu* (*Jub.* 16:5a: “he executed the judgment”) is the equivalent of **יעשה משפט**. The phrase also occurs in *Jub.* 16:6a, 9e. Secondly, with regard to the judgment, Genesis 18 uses several words: **ספה** (“to destroy”) in 18:23–24 (“Wilt thou indeed destroy the righteous with the wicked? . . . wilt thou then destroy the place?”), in 18:25 **להמית** (“to slay”), and in 18:28 **שחת** (“to ruin”). These terms could all be related to *wa’atfə’omu* (*Jub.* 16:5c: “he annihilated them”).

In *Jubilees*, the story of Sodom and Gomorrah is rendered briefly and concisely. All the emphasis is put on judgment. In *Jub.* 16:5c–6 the judgment is combined with an accusation (*Jub.* 16:5d–h), which functions as its motivation. Here, the narrating angel refers explicitly to the text of Genesis, but without reproducing it: “in accord with what I have now told you about all their actions.” In *Jubilees*, the angel has not yet said anything about the actions of Sodom and Gomorrah, apart from a small verbatim quotation of Gen 13:13 (“Now the people of Sodom were very sinful”) in *Jub.* 13:17. To what extent the author of *Jubilees* is implicitly referring to the story of Sodom and Gomorrah in Genesis 18–19 is not completely clear. The terminology is fairly broad. The expression “savage” (16:5d) could refer to the intimidation of the guests and the surrounding of the house of Sodom, but even then it remains vague.

The expression “sinful” (*Jub.* 16:5e: “they were . . . very sinful”) does have a textual relationship to Gen 18:20 (“And their sin is very grave”; cf. also Gen 13:13), but this expression is also too general. As far as the other three expressions (“to defile” in *Jub.* 16:5f: “they would defile themselves”; “to commit sexual sins” in *Jub.* 16:5g: “commit sexual sins in their flesh,”

and “impurity” in *Jub.* 16:5h: “they do what was impure on the earth”) are concerned, there are very few clues in the text of Genesis. The author of *Jubilees* could be interpreting the sins of Sodom. In *Jub.* 9:15 there is a comparable enumeration of accusations, and there those who wanted to occupy that which was not their lot, filled the earth with “wickedness, impurity, fornication, and sin.” This text, however, does not speak of Sodom and Gomorrah.

In the Old Testament and early Jewish literature other than Genesis 18–19, references to Sodom and Gomorrah are also usually quite vague.¹¹ In most cases, the accusations seem to refer to social injustice, very occasionally to a sexual violation. The Hebrew Bible hints only once at the sexual connotation of the sin of Sodom (Jer 23:14: “But in the prophets of Jerusalem I have seen a horrible thing: they commit adultery and walk in lies [וְהָלְךְ בְּשִׁקְרָא] . . . All of them have become like Sodom, and its inhabitants like Gomorrah”). As far as early Jewish literature is concerned, it occurs only in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. In the *TLevi* 14:6, the heirs of Levi will become apostates by marrying married women, by having intercourse with whores and adulteresses, by taking gentile women for their wives, in short their “sexual relations will become like Sodom and Gomorrah.” *TBenjamin* 9:1 reads, “You will be sexually promiscuous like the promiscuity of the Sodomites.” I do not think that *Jubilees* depends on any of these texts, but their sexual connotation demonstrates that the notion of sexually unacceptable behavior was connected with Sodom and Gomorrah from quite an early stage. In the other texts in *Jubilees* where Sodom and Gomorrah are mentioned, the author does not address the accusation. In these texts, the judgment on Sodom and Gomorrah functions as a model for all other judgments.

2.2.2. *Genesis 19:29–38 and Jubilees 16:7–9*

In the last part of the passage (*Jub.* 16:7–9), the most obvious demarcation of the end of Genesis 19 is abandoned. The scene with Lot and his daughters (Gen 19:30–38) is connected with the preceding part of the text. The following synopsis compares Gen 19:29–38 to *Jub.* 16:7–9:

¹¹ For a brief rendering of the several Sodom and Gomorrah traditions in the Hebrew Bible and their interpretation in early Jewish literature, see Loader, *Tale*, 49–117; M.J. Mulder, *Sodom en Gomorra: Een verhaal van dode steden* (Exegetische Studies 4; Kampen, 1988), 45–68; J.H. Newman, “Lot in Sodom: The Post-Mortem of a City and the Afterlife of a Biblical Text,” in *The Function of Scripture in Early Jewish and Christian Tradition* (ed. C. Evans and J.A. Sanders; JSNTSup 154; Sheffield, 1998), 34–44.

Genesis 19:29–38

29a SO IT WAS THAT,
 b WHEN GOD DESTROYED THE
 CITIES OF THE VALLEY,

c [] God remembered Abraham,
 d and sent Lot out of the midst of
 the overthrow [],
 e WHEN HE OVERTHREW THE CITIES
 IN WHICH LOT DWELT.

30a NOW LOT WENT UP OUT OF
 ZOAR,

b AND DWELT IN THE HILLS WITH
 HIS TWO DAUGHTERS,

c FOR HE WAS AFRAID TO DWELL IN
 ZOAR;

d SO HE DWELT IN A CAVE WITH HIS
 TWO DAUGHTERS.

31a AND THE FIRST-BORN SAID TO
 THE YOUNGER:

b “OUR FATHER IS OLD,
 c AND THERE IS NOT A MAN ON
 EARTH TO COME IN TO US AFTER
 THE MANNER OF ALL THE EARTH.

32a COME,

b LET US MAKE OUR FATHER DRINK
 WINE,

c AND WE WILL LIE WITH HIM,

d THAT WE MAY PRESERVE OFF-
 SPRING THROUGH OUR FATHER.”

33a SO THEY MADE THEIR FATHER
 DRINK WINE THAT NIGHT;

b AND THE FIRST-BORN WENT IN,

c AND LAY WITH HER FATHER;

d HE DID NOT KNOW

e WHEN SHE LAY DOWN

f OR WHEN SHE AROSE.

34a AND ON THE NEXT DAY, THE FIRST-
 BORN SAID TO THE YOUNGER:

b “BEHOLD, I LAY LAST NIGHT WITH
 MY FATHER;

c LET US MAKE HIM DRINK WINE
 TONIGHT ALSO;

d THEN YOU GO IN AND LIE WITH
 HIM,

e THAT WE MAY PRESERVE OFF-
 SPRING THROUGH OUR FATHER.”

Jubilees 16:7–9

[]

7a BUT WE WENT ABOUT RESCUING LOT
 b BECAUSE the Lord remembered
 Abraham.

c So he brought *him* out from the
 overthrow (OF SODOM).

[]

- 35a SO THEY MADE THEIR FATHER
DRINK WINE THAT NIGHT ALSO;
b AND THE YOUNGER AROSE,
c AND LAY WITH HIM;
d AND HE DID NOT KNOW
e WHEN SHE LAY DOWN
f OR WHEN SHE AROSE.
- 36a THUS BOTH THE DAUGHTERS OF
LOT WERE WITH CHILD BY THEIR
FATHER.
- 37a THE FIRST-BORN BORE A SON,
b AND CALLED HIS NAME MOAB;
c HE IS THE FATHER OF THE
MOABITES TO THIS DAY.
- 38a THE YOUNGER ALSO BORE A SON,
b AND CALLED HIS NAME BENAMMI;
c HE IS THE FATHER OF THE AMMO-
NITES TO THIS DAY.

- 8a HE AND HIS DAUGHTERS COMMIT-
TED A SIN ON THE EARTH WHICH
HAD NOT OCCURRED ON THE
EARTH FROM THE TIME OF ADAM
UNTIL HIS TIME
- b BECAUSE THE MAN LAY WITH HIS
DAUGHTER.
- 9a IT HAS NOW BEEN COMMANDED
b AND ENGRAVED ON THE HEAV-
ENLY TABLETS REGARDING ALL HIS
DESCENDANTS
- c THAT HE IS TO REMOVE THEM,
d UPROOT THEM,
e EXECUTE JUDGEMENT ON THEM
LIKE THE JUDGEMENT OF SODOM,
f AND NOT TO LEAVE HIM ANY HUMAN
DESCENDANTS ON THE EARTH ON
THE DAY OF JUDGEMENT.

Jubilees 16:7 is in the first place a rendering of Gen 19:29. However, it is possible to interpret the first phrase (16:7a) as a summary of Gen 19:15–22. The role of the angels is mentioned explicitly in Gen 19:15–16 (“When morning dawned, the angels urged Lot, saying: ‘Arise, take your wife and your two daughters who are here, lest you be consumed in the punishment of the city.’ But he lingered; so the men seized him and his wife and his two daughters by the hand”). The author of *Jubilees* is obviously not interested in the deliverance of the wife of Lot and his daughters. He does not refer

to the curious death of Lot's wife during the escape,¹² nor is the flight into a cave mentioned. In this respect, it is also important to note that Lot offering his daughters to the men of Sodom in a final attempt to save his guests (cf. Gen 19:8) does not occur in *Jubilees*. Finally, the rearrangement of the material is striking. In Genesis 19, Lot's escape is narrated in a dramatic way. After the flight, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah is related. In *Jubilees*, it is the other way around. The text speaks first about the destruction and afterwards about the deliverance of Lot.

In the rewriting (*Jub.* 16:8), all the attention is paid to the incestuous relationship of Lot with his daughters. However, the perspective has been changed. In the biblical story, the daughters seduce their father. Moreover, the daughters offer an excuse: "Our father is old, and there is not a man on earth to come in to us after the manner of all the earth. Come, let us make our father drink wine, and we will lie with him that we may preserve offspring through our father" (Gen 19:31–32). In *Jubilees*, the daughters play no active role nor is any excuse given for the incestuous relationship. The initiative is attributed to Lot, who was completely passive in the biblical story: "Because the man lay with his daughter" (*Jub.* 16:8b). However, the daughters seem to have had no objections to the acts of their father, since the text also reads: "He and his daughters committed a sin" (*Jub.* 16:8a).¹³

After he has briefly summarized the story of Lot and his daughters, the author of *Jubilees* pays a great deal of attention to the consequences of his deed (*Jub.* 16:9). It is striking that the sin of Lot and his daughters itself is not engraved on the heavenly tablets but the judgment on their descendants. Compare the preceding section, where the impure acts of Sodom become an example to those who intend to commit the same sort of impure actions in the future (cf. *Jub.* 16:6). I suggest that it is because of Abraham's merit, and not because of Lot's own merit, that Lot is spared from the judgment (cf. *Jub.* 16:7),¹⁴ which illustrates the ambivalent attitude of the author of *Jubilees* towards Lot.

The destiny of the descendants of Lot and his daughters is written on the heavenly tablets, where it is stated that Lot will have no descendants in the land on the day of judgment. His progeny are thus predestined

¹² In contrast to, e.g., Wisdom 10:7–8, where the death of Lot's wife receives much attention.

¹³ It is somewhat curious that *Jub.* 16:8b reads "daughter" in the singular. The Latin texts read in the plural; however, this seems to be a harmonization on the basis of the biblical text.

¹⁴ See A. Marmorstein, *The Doctrine of Merits in Old Rabbinic Literature* (New York 1927; reprint 1968).

to destruction, like Sodom, regardless of their own actions.¹⁵ In this way, *Jub.* 16:7–9 stands opposed to *Jub.* 16:1–4. In the latter, Abraham and Sarah are promised a son, whose name, Isaac, which is missing in the biblical text at this point, will be written on the heavenly tablets, where it is stated that Isaac will be the progenitor of Abraham's offspring. In *Jub.* 16:7–9, however, the story concerns Lot and his daughter (the singular fits in very well in this connection), who also produce progeny. However, it is written in the heavenly tablets that it will be progeny destined for destruction. The names of these descendants, although mentioned in the biblical text, are not engraved on the heavenly tablets.

According to Kugel, the original author of *Jubilees* had said that Lot was saved because of Abraham, and he overlooked the story of Lot and his daughters. A later interpolator found it necessary to condemn Lot and his daughters explicitly.¹⁶ Because of the tight structure of *Jub.* 16:1–9, I do not think it necessary to suppose that an interpolator is involved here.¹⁷ Moreover, also in the biblical text, after the rescue of Lot (*Gen* 19:29: "God remembered Abraham, and sent Lot out of the midst of the overthrow"), it is described how Lot committed the sin with his daughters (*Gen* 19:30–38).¹⁸ Finally, the condemnation (*Jub.* 16:8–9) concerns not so much Lot himself but his descendants.

Lot Elsewhere in *Jubilees*

The biblical author has an ambivalent attitude with respect to the figure of Lot. He is considered both positively, since he is closely related to Abraham, and negatively, since he settled in Sodom, which is the city of all sin. In *Jubilees* an ambivalent attitude is also apparent, but it mainly offers a negative interpretation of the figure of Lot.

Whereas Genesis mentions only briefly that "Haran was the father of Lot" (*Gen* 11:27), *Jubilees* has an extensive marriage report: "His brother Haran married a woman in the third year of the third week, and she gave

¹⁵ According to García Martínez, "Heavenly Tablets," 247–48, here we are dealing with the registration of actions with a predestinational character. Not only past acts but also future castigation and future rewards are engraved and fixed forever; thus García Martínez speaks of the heavenly tablets as the "The Book of Destiny." This is an important aspect of the heavenly tablets. See also *Jub.* 5:13–14; 24:33; 23:32; 31:32b; 32:21–22, and 1 *Enoch*.

¹⁶ See, Kugel, "On the Interpolations," 263.

¹⁷ See section 2 of this chapter.

¹⁸ It is, of course, true that the judgment is not mentioned explicitly in the biblical text. This is no reason, however, to presuppose an interpolator. See, for example, the addition in *Jub.* 16:5c–6.

birth to a son for him in the seventh year of this week. He named him Lot" (*Jub.* 12:10). This extensive genealogy points to a positive appreciation of Lot. However, disapproval is shown by the fact that neither the name of his mother nor her derivation is mentioned and it is striking that not even her name is reported. Moreover, in Genesis the notice of Haran's death is quite neutral (cf. Gen 11:28). In *Jubilees*, however, his death is connected with the fact that he attempted to save the idols that Abram was trying to burn (cf. *Jub.* 11:12–14). The extensive coverage of the events surrounding the death of Haran characterizes him as the prototype of an unfaithful person, as opposed to the faithful and righteous Abram. Although both descend from Terah and are thus in the line of Sem, the line of the elected people only continues through Abraham.

The affection Abraham shows towards his nephew is also related. When Abraham leaves his brother to go to Canaan, his father Terah blesses him, telling Abraham that if he sees good land, he should come back and get him. However, he also adds: "Take Lot, the son of your brother, Haran, with you as your son" (*Jub.* 12:30). Despite the dubious birth of Lot (his mother is unnamed, and her origins are unknown) and the problems of his father (idolatry), the author of *Jubilees* seems to confirm that there is a certain affinity between Abraham and Lot, who seems to function for Abraham as a substitute son.

However, Lot has a dubious life. He is held responsible for the separation from Abraham, and after this he is moved into Sodom. The passage about the struggle between the herdsmen of Abraham and those of Lot (Gen 13) is not mentioned in *Jubilees*. The text simply states: "Lot separated from him," and then continues, "Lot settled in Sodom" (*Jub.* 13:17). Complete responsibility for the separation of Lot and Abraham is thus put squarely on Lot's shoulders. Since he is the one who leaves, Abraham and his herdsmen are not to blame. *Jubilees* adds an emotional reaction by Abraham: "He was broken-hearted that his brother's son had separated from him for he had no children" (*Jub.* 13:18). The text suggests that Abraham loved his nephew very much, but he was unable to keep him on the right path.¹⁹ The same ambivalence recurs in *Jubilees* 16. While

¹⁹ The mention of Lot in *Jub.* 14:23–24, where his being taken captive is a motive for Abram taking action, is very close to the biblical text. In contrast to *Jubilees*, the *Genesis Apocryphon* is very positive with regard to Lot. One can see this, e.g., in 1QapGen 20:10–11, where Lot and Abram wept because Sarai had been taken ("I, Abram, wept bitterly in the night—I and Lot, my brother's son, with me—when Sarai was taken from me by force"). Later in the text (1QapGen 20:22–24), Lot functions as an intermediary between Abram and Pharaoh. When the latter asks Abram to cure him, Lot makes this conditional on Sarai's release. When Lot departs from Abram in the next part of the narrative, Abram

he is rescued from Sodom because the Lord remembered Abraham, his descendants are uprooted.

3. ISAAC'S BIRTH (*JUB.* 16:10–31)

3.1. *Abraham's Journey from Haran to Beersheba* (*Gen* 20:1; *Jub.* 16:10–11)

Genesis provides an extensive narrative about the visit of Abraham to king Abimelech. First, it recounts the story of Abraham's stay in Gerar and the conflict after Sarah was taken into the king's palace (*Gen* 20:1–18). After Isaac's birth and Ishmael's dismissal, the text discusses a covenant between Abraham and Abimelech, which was made in Beersheba (*Gen* 21:22–34).²⁰ *Jubilees* omits most of both stories, except for the relocation of Abraham. First his migration from Hebron to Gerar is noted (*Jub.* 16:10; *Gen* 20:1) and then his settling in Beersheba (*Jub.* 16:11; cf. *Gen* 21:31–34). Moreover, this remark is introduced immediately after Abraham's settling in Gerar. In this way, it is clear that Isaac was born in Beersheba. Moreover, the observation that Hagar wandered in the desert of Beersheba (*Gen* 21:14; *Jub.* 17:9) is put into context.

<p>Genesis 20:1 1a [] From there Abraham journeyed TOWARD THE LAND OF THE NEGEB, [] b and settled between Kadesh and Sur; c AND HE SOJOURNED in Gerar.</p> <p>GEN 20:2–18 GEN 21:1–21 [GEN 21:31–33]</p> <p>[CF. GEN 21:34]</p>	<p><i>Jubilees</i> 16:10–11 10a DURING THIS MONTH Abraham migrated from Hebron []. b HE WENT c and settled between Kadesh and Sur [] in THE MOUNTAINS OF Gerar. [] [cf. <i>Jub.</i> 16:12–17:14] []</p> <p>11a IN THE MIDDLE OF THE FIFTH MONTH HE MIGRATED FROM THERE b AND SETTLED AT THE WELL OF THE OATH.</p>
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gives him many other possessions (1QapGen 21:6 “and I also added a great deal to what he had”). Moreover, the *Genesis Apocryphon* does not mention that Sodom, the place where Lot settled, had a sinful reputation. See chapter two of this book.

²⁰ The chronological and thematic relationship of *Gen* 21:22–34 with the literary context and the source-critical analysis is quite complicated. See, e.g., Westermann, *Genesis* 12–36, 422–28; Wenham, *Genesis* 16–50, 90–1.

3.2. *Isaac's Birth (Gen 21:7–7; Jub. 16:12–14)*

Jubilees 16:12–14 contains the rewriting of the birth itself. As can be seen in the synoptic overview below, *Jub.* 16:12–14 is a fairly literal rendition of Gen 21:1–4. There are only some minor omissions, additions, and variations. What stands out is the omission of Gen 21:5–7.

Genesis 21:1–7	<i>Jubilees</i> 16:12–14
[]	12a IN THE MIDDLE OF THE SIXTH MONTH
1a The Lord visited Sarah AS HE HAD SPOKEN,	the Lord visited Sarah []
b and <i>the Lord</i> did for Sarah as he had said.	b and <i>he</i> did for <i>her</i> as he had said.
2a And Sarah conceived,	13a And <i>she</i> conceived,
b and she gave birth to a son FOR ABRAHAM IN HIS OLD AGE	b and she gave birth to a son []
[]	c AND IN THE MIDDLE OF THE MONTH,
<i>at the time of which God had spoken to him</i> [].	<i>on the day that the Lord had told Abraham—ON THE FESTIVAL OF THE FIRST FRUITS OF THE HARVEST—</i>
3a ABRAHAM CALLED THE NAME OF HIS SON WHO <i>was born</i> TO HIM, WHOM SARAH GAVE BIRTH FOR HIM, Isaac.	[] <i>Isaac was born.</i>
4a And Abraham circumcised <i>his son Isaac</i>	14a And Abraham circumcised <i>him</i>
b when he was eight days old,	b when he was eight days old.
[] <i>as God had commanded him</i>	c HE WAS THE FIRST TO BE CIRCUMCISED <i>according to the covenant</i>
[].	WHICH WAS ORDAINED FOREVER.
5a ABRAHAM WAS A HUNDRED YEARS OLD	[]
b WHEN HIS SON ISAAC WAS BORN TO HIM.	
6a AND SARAH SAID:	
b "GOD HAS MADE LAUGHTER FOR ME;	
c EVERY ONE WHO HEARS WILL LAUGH OVER ME."	
7a AND SHE SAID:	
b "WHO WOULD HAVE SAID TO ABRAHAM THAT SARAH WOULD SUCKLE CHILDREN?	
c YET I HAVE BORNE HIM A SON IN HIS OLD AGE."	

Apart from the omission of Gen 21:5–7, there are some other minor omissions (elements in Gen 21:1, 2b, 3a), some additions (*Jub.* 16:12a, 13b, c, 14c), and some variations (elements in *Jub.* 16:12b, 13c, 14a, 14c). Some differences are restricted to small syntactical adaptations, such as the use of a personal pronoun rather than a proper name (see *Jub.* 16:12b, 13a, 14a) or a proper name rather than a personal pronoun (*Jub.* 16:13c). *Jubilees* does not add much to the report of the birth, largely preferring to repeat what is found in Genesis. How the Lord visited Sarah and what he did for her are not related. The first small omission (Gen 21:1a: “as he had spoken”) might be due to stylistic reasons, since the end of Gen 21:1b is almost the same (“as he had said”). The phrase “The Lord did for Sarah as he had said” (Gen 21:1b; *Jub.* 16:12b) refers back to the concluding of the covenant in the preceding chapter, where God said to Abraham that he would give a son to him from Sarah (Gen 17:16, 19; *Jub.* 15:16, 19).

Another omission is Abraham’s naming of Isaac (Gen 21:3). *Jubilees* only says, “Isaac was born.” This is somewhat remarkable, because the naming by the fathers is most often used in *Jubilees* (see, e.g., *Jub.* 4). Moreover, at the concluding of the covenant, it was said that Abraham would call his son Isaac (Gen 17:19; *Jub.* 15:19). The omission probably has to do with the fact that the angels had already told Sarah the name of her son (*Jub.* 16:3: “We told her the name of her son as it is ordained and written on the heavenly tablets—Isaac”). More striking is the triple omission of Abraham’s old age (Gen 21:2b, 5, 7). At the first foretelling of Isaac’s birth, it was Abraham who referred to his and Sarah’s age (Gen 17:17; *Jub.* 15:17). In the rewriting of the second announcement, which was meant to communicate the message to Sarah (Gen 18:9–15; *Jub.* 16:1–4), the reference to the couple’s age was also omitted (Gen 18:11–12). In *Jubilees* the marriage of Abraham and Sarah appears to be on a par with the forefathers who also begot children at advanced ages. Possibly, the nature of the miracle in Genesis, that is, the begetting children in old age, is of no importance for *Jubilees*.

The additions to Gen 21:1–7 mainly concern the dating of Isaac’s birth. In *Jubilees*, the author stresses the date of the occasion emphatically: “In the middle of the sixth month . . . she conceived, and she gave birth to a son in the third month; in the middle of the month.” This was, moreover, the time of “the festival of the first fruits.” This festival is also called the “festival of weeks” (*šabu’ot*).²¹ Unlike the biblical dating of this festival,

²¹ Cf. A. Jaubert, *La notion d’alliance dans le judaïsme aux abords de l’ère chrétienne* (Paris, 1963), 101–4; W. Eiss, “Das Wochenfest im Jubiläenbuch und im antiken Judentum”,

according to *Jubilees*, it took place in the middle of the third month. This festival is not only a harvest festival, during which offerings had to be brought, but also a festival of the renewal of the covenant. All the festivals of the covenant in the book of *Jubilees* take place on the same day of the year (*Jub.* 14:1, 10, 18; 15:1–5; 22:1–9), as does the promise to make a covenant with Isaac when God announces his birth (*Jub.* 15:21). Isaac is consequently born during the festival of weeks (*Jub.* 16:13). The emphasis that *Jubilees* put on the date of the birth is related to the fact that God would establish a covenant only with Isaac and his descendants, as has already been shown. Moreover, it is stressed that Isaac is the first to be circumcised according to the covenant (*Jub.* 16:14c), which is on the eighth day. Abraham and others in his house were only circumcised afterwards (Genesis 17; *Jubilees* 15).

Finally, the omission of Sarah's laughter (Gen 21:6) is also notable. The reason for the omission is probably the fact that God had rebuked Sarah for her laughter as a response to the promise of the birth (Gen 18:9–15),²² after which Sarah denied her laughter. How then could she refer to her laughter after the birth?²³ It is also possible that *Jubilees* understood the root קחצ ("to laugh") in a positive sense ("to rejoice"). This was also the case in *Jub.* 15:17 (cf. Gen 17:17). Moreover, the Septuagint of Gen 21:6 deviates from the Masoretic Text and the Samaritan Pentateuch in that the root קחצ, which occurs twice in Gen 21:6, is translated the second time with a form of συγχαίρω ("to rejoice") (εἶπεν δὲ Σαρρα γέλωτά μοι ἐποίησεν κύριος ὃς γὰρ ἂν ἀκούσῃ συγχαρεῖται μοι: "And Sarra said: 'The Lord has made laughter for me, because everyone who hears will rejoice with me'"). Although Gen 21:6 as such is not taken over in *Jubilees*, a reading parallel to the Septuagint might have had an influence on *Jubilees*, in that a form of the root "to rejoice" (*tafaśśāha*) occurs several times in the addition of *Jub.* 16:15–31 (cf. *Jub.* 16:19c, 20a, 20b, 25a, 27b, 27c, 29b, 31d). According to Segal, the addition of *Jub.* 16:15–19 as well as the halakah of the festival of tabernacles (*Jub.* 16:20–31) are based on this reading of Gen 21:6, although the verse itself is not taken over.²⁴ However, one should be aware that *Jub.* 16:15–19 contains a flashback to a time before Isaac's birth. Abraham

in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (M. Albani, J. Frey, and A. Lange; TSAJ 65; Tübingen, 1997), 165–78; J.C. VanderKam, "Weeks, Festival of", *ADB*, VI, 895–97; Van Ruiten, *Primaeval History*, 247–50.

²² In *Jub.* 16:2, the angels rebuked her.

²³ Cf. Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 305, note 84.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

and Sarah's joy (*Jub.* 16:19) is not so much related to Isaac's birth but to the message of the angels (*Jub.* 16:16–18), especially in relation to the election of one of Isaac's sons, who would become the holy seed (*Jub.* 16:17c).

3.3. *Flashback to the Angel's Visit* (*Jub.* 16:15–19)

Isaac's birth story is followed by two additions (*Jub.* 16:15–19; 16:20–31). The first addition to the story of Isaac's birth is a flashback to a time when Sarah was pregnant (*Jub.* 16:15–19).

Jubilees 16:15–19 (no parallel in Genesis)

- 15a IN THE SIXTH YEAR OF THE FOURTH WEEK WE CAME TO ABRAHAM AT THE WELL OF THE OATH.
 b WE APPEARED TO HIM
 c JUST AS WE HAD SAID TO SARAH THAT WE WOULD RETURN TO HER
 d AND SHE WOULD HAVE BECOME PREGNANT WITH A SON.
 16a WE RETURNED DURING THE SEVENTH MONTH,
 b AND IN FRONT OF US WE FOUND SARAH PREGNANT.
 c WE BLESSED HIM
 d AND TOLD HIM EVERYTHING THAT HAD BEEN COMMANDED FOR HIM:
 e THAT HE WOULD NOT DIE UNTIL HE BECAME THE FATHER OF SIX SONS
 f AND (THAT) HE WOULD SEE (THEM) BEFORE HE DIED;
 g BUT (THAT) THROUGH ISAAC HE WOULD HAVE A NAME AND A SEED.
 17a ALL THE SEED OF HIS SONS WOULD BECOME NATIONS
 b AND BE NUMBERED WITH THE NATIONS.
 c BUT ONE OF ISAAC'S SONS WOULD BECOME A HOLY SEED
 d AND WOULD NOT BE NUMBERED AMONG THE NATIONS,
 18a FOR HE WOULD BECOME THE SHARE OF THE MOST HIGH.
 b ALL HIS SEED HAD FALLEN INTO THAT (SHARE) WHICH GOD OWNS
 c SO THAT THEY WOULD BECOME A PEOPLE WHOM THE LORD POSSESSES OUT OF ALL THE NATIONS;
 d AND THAT THEY WOULD BECOME A KINGDOM, A PRIESTHOOD, AND A HOLY PEOPLE.
 19a THEN WE WENT ON OUR WAY
 b AND TOLD SARAH ALL THAT WE HAD REPORTED TO HIM.
 c THE TWO OF THEM REJOICED WITH GREAT JOY.

The angel's visit took place "in the sixth year of the fourth week" (*Jub.* 16:15a),²⁵ "during the seventh month" (*Jub.* 16:16a). This is one month after the Lord visited Sarah (*Jub.* 16:12: "In the middle of the sixth month"). The addition refers back to the earlier visit of the angels (*Jub.* 16:4: "when

²⁵ This would have been 1987 *a.m.*, which is one year too late. Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 115; VanderKam, "Studies in the Chronology," 538.

we returned to her at a specific time, she would have become pregnant with a son"). This visit is not found in Genesis, which speaks for its part about God's return to Abraham (Gen 18:12, 14). The angels' return is different from God's return. The visit took place between Isaac's conception (*Jub.* 16:13a) and birth (*Jub.* 16:13b), but the author does not interrupt the report of Isaac's birth. He narrated their visit in the form of a flashback. The message that the angels related to Abraham is that he would have numerous offspring.²⁶ All of his sons would become nations (*Jub.* 16:17ab), but only through Isaac would Abraham have a name and a seed (*Jub.* 16:16g). One of Isaac's sons (Jacob) would become a holy seed (*Jub.* 16:17c) and share in the Most High God (*Jub.* 16:18a). His descendants would not be numbered among the nations (*Jub.* 16:17d) but become a special property of God (*Jub.* 16:18c), a holy people (*Jub.* 16:18d).²⁷

Jubilees 16:17–18 has resemblances to several passages in the Hebrew Bible. For Jacob as a "holy seed" (*Jub.* 16:17c), one might refer to Isa 6:13 and Ezra 9:2.²⁸ Num 23:9 might be the source for the remark that he would not be numbered among the nations (*Jub.* 16:17d). The notion of Israel as a share of the Most High, which God owns (*Jub.* 16:18ab), refers to Deut 32:8–9. Israel as God's possession of all nations (*Jub.* 16:18c) occurs in Exod 19:5; Deut 7:6; 26:18. Israel as a kingdom, a priesthood and a holy people (*Jub.* 16:18d) refers to Exod 19:6. The message of the angels (*Jub.* 16:17–18) has strong affinities with other passages in the book of *Jubilees*, where the election of Israel out of all nations is mentioned, for example, *Jub.* 2:19–21; 15:30–32; 19:18; 22:11–23; 33:20.

Jubilees 16:19c tell us that Abraham and Sarah "rejoiced with great joy" after receiving this message. Thus, they knew in the seventh month of Sarah's pregnancy that their son would be elected. Their joy is answered with a description of the festival of tabernacles, also connected with joy, and which also takes place in the seventh month.

²⁶ *Jubilees* 16:16e reads: "he would not die until he became the father of six sons." However, Abraham became the father of eight sons. Perhaps we could read this phrase as: "he became the father of *another* six sons."

²⁷ The people of Israel as the chosen people is an important theme in the Old Testament. See, e.g., Deut 7:6–8. Cf. Van Ruiten, *Primaeval History*, 60–1.

²⁸ Cf. J.L. Kugel, "The Holiness of Israel and Its Land in Second Temple Times," in *Texts, Temples, Traditions: A Tribute to Menahem Haran* (ed. M. Fox; Winona Lake, Ind., 1996), 21–32.

3.4. *Festival of Tabernacles (Jub. 16:20–31)*

Jubilees 16:20–31 (no parallel in Genesis)

- 20a THERE HE BUILT AN ALTAR FOR THE LORD WHO HAD RESCUED HIM AND WHO WAS MAKING HIM REJOICE IN THE LAND WHERE HE RESIDED AS AN ALIEN.
- b HE CELEBRATED A JOYFUL FESTIVAL IN THIS MONTH—FOR SEVEN DAYS—NEAR THE ALTAR WHICH HE HAD BUILT AT THE WELL OF THE OATH.
- 21a HE CONSTRUCTED TENTS FOR HIMSELF AND HIS SERVANTS DURING THIS FESTIVAL.
- b HE WAS THE FIRST TO CELEBRATE THE FESTIVAL OF TABERNACLES IN THE LAND.
- 22a DURING THESE SEVEN DAYS HE WAS MAKING—THROUGHOUT ALL THE DAYS, EACH AND EVERY DAY—AN OFFERING TO THE LORD ON THE ALTAR: TWO BULLS, TWO RAMS, SEVEN SHEEP, ONE GOAT FOR SINS IN ORDER TO ATONE THROUGH IT FOR HIMSELF AND HIS SEED.
- 23a AND AS A PEACE OFFERING: SEVEN RAMS, SEVEN KIDS, SEVEN SHEEP, SEVEN HE-GOATS AS WELL AS THEIR (CEREAL-) OFFERINGS AND THEIR LIBATIONS OVER ALL THEIR FAT
- b —(ALL OF THESE) HE WOULD BURN ON THE ALTAR AS A CHOICE OFFERING FOR A PLEASING FRAGRANCE.
- 24a IN THE MORNING AND EVENING HE WOULD BURN FRAGRANT SUBSTANCES: FRANKINCENSE, GALBANUM, STACTE, NARD, MYRRH, AROMATIC SPICES, AND COSTUM.
- b ALL SEVEN OF THESE HE WOULD OFFER BEATEN, EQUALLY MIXED, PURE.
- 25a HE CELEBRATED THIS FESTIVAL FOR SEVEN DAYS,
- b HE REJOICED WITH HIS WHOLE HEART AND ALL HIS BEING—HE AND ALL THOSE WHO BELONGED TO HIS HOUSEHOLD.
- b THERE WAS NO FOREIGNER WITH HIM, NOR ANYONE WHO WAS UNCIRCUMCISED.
- 26a HE BLESSED HIS CREATOR WHO HAD CREATED HIM IN HIS GENERATION
- b BECAUSE HE HAD CREATED HIM FOR HIS PLEASURE,
- c FOR HE KNEW
- d AND ASCERTAINED THAT FROM HIM THERE WOULD COME A RIGHTEOUS PLANT FOR THE HISTORY OF ETERNITY
- e AND (THAT) FROM HIM THERE WOULD BE HOLY SEED
- f SO THAT THEY SHOULD BE LIKE THE ONE WHO HAD MADE EVERYTHING.
- 27a HE GAVE A BLESSING
- b AND HE REJOICED.
- c HE NAMED THIS FESTIVAL THE FESTIVAL OF THE LORD—A JOY ACCEPTABLE TO THE MOST HIGH GOD.
- 28a WE BLESSED HIM ETERNALLY AND ALL THE SEED WHO WOULD FOLLOW HIM THROUGHOUT ALL THE HISTORY OF THE EARTH
- b BECAUSE HE HAD CELEBRATED THIS FESTIVAL AT ITS TIME IN ACCORD WITH THE TESTIMONY OF THE HEAVENLY TABLETS.
- 29a FOR THIS REASON IT HAS BEEN ORDAINED ON THE HEAVENLY TABLETS REGARDING ISRAEL

- b THAT THEY SHOULD CELEBRATE THE FESTIVAL OF TABERNACLES JOYFULLY FOR SEVEN DAYS DURING THE SEVENTH MONTH WHICH IS ACCEPTABLE IN THE LORD'S PRESENCE
- c —A LAW WHICH IS ETERNAL THROUGHOUT THEIR HISTORY IN EACH AND EVERY YEAR.
- 30a THIS HAS NO TEMPORAL LIMIT
- b BECAUSE IT IS ORDAINED FOREVER REGARDING ISRAEL
- c THAT THEY SHOULD CELEBRATE IT,
- d LIVE IN TENTS, PLACE WREATHS ON THEIR HEADS,
- e AND TAKE LEAFY BRANCHES AND WILLOW BRANCHES FROM THE STREAM.
- 31a SO ABRAHAM TOOK PALM *BRANCHES* AND THE FRUIT OF GOOD TREES,
- b AND EACH AND EVERY DAY HE WOULD GO AROUND THE ALTAR WITH THE BRANCHES—SEVEN TIMES PER DAY.
- c IN THE MORNING HE WOULD GIVE PRAISE
- d AND JOYFULLY OFFER HUMBLE THANKS TO HIS GOD FOR EVERYTHING.

The description of the joyful festival of tabernacles reveals several connections with the literary context. Besides the repeated joyful character of the feast (*Jub.* 16:20a, 20b, 25b, 27b, 27c, 29b, 31d), which is related to Abraham and Sarah's joy (*Jub.* 16:19), the festival took place in the seventh month (*Jub.* 16:20b, 29b), which is also the time of the return of the angels (*Jub.* 16:16a). Moreover, Abraham realizes "that from him there would be a holy seed," just as it was said that one of Isaac's sons would become a "holy seed" (*Jub.* 16:17c).

The text is structured in two parts. In the first part (*Jub.* 16:20–27), the text describes several activities of Abraham: he built an altar (*Jub.* 16:20a), celebrated a joyful festival for seven days (*Jub.* 16:20b, 25a), constructed tents (*Jub.* 16:21a), made offerings, which he burned on the altar (*Jub.* 16:22–23), and burned fragrant substances (*Jub.* 16:24). He rejoiced and blessed God (*Jub.* 16:25b–27b) and finally named the festival (*Jub.* 16:27c), which he was the first to celebrate (*Jub.* 16:21b). In the second part (*Jub.* 16:28–31), the angels blessed Abraham, because he had celebrated the festival properly in accordance with the heavenly tablets (*Jub.* 16:28). For this reason it was also ordained for Israel (*Jub.* 16:29–30). With regard to the celebration of Israel, it is repeated that they should celebrate the festival joyfully for seven days during the seventh month (*Jub.* 16:29b) and that they should live in tents (*Jub.* 16:30d). However, it is also said that they should "place wreaths on their heads and take leafy branches and willow branches from the stream" (*Jub.* 16:30de). This was not mentioned in *Jub.* 16:20–27, and therefore it is said in *Jub.* 16:31 that Abraham did the same.

According to Kugel, both parts come from a different hand. The first part is from the original author, whereas the second is from the

interpolator.²⁹ In response to the joyful news of Isaac's birth and Israel's election, the original author describes how Abraham celebrated what was to become the feast of tabernacles, which is connected with joy. The interpolator not only repeats what the original author already had said, but he inserts a description of what Abraham did (*Jub.* 16:31). It is true that what is said in *Jub.* 16:31 is somewhat out of place, because Abraham's activities are described in *Jub.* 16:20–27. However, is this a decisive factor to suppose that *Jub.* 16:28–31 is written by a later interpolator? According to my opinion, the goal of this passage is to confirm that the festival that Abraham had celebrated was ordained for Israel in later generations. In describing the festival for later generations, elements from the biblical description of the festival are taken up, which are then connected with Abraham as well.

In the Bible, the festival of tabernacles is described as the third and last of the annual festivals. It was the most important of the pilgrimages to the sanctuary.³⁰ The festival of tabernacles (booths) is also called by its Hebrew name *sukkot* (see, e.g., Lev 23:24; Deut 16:13, 16; Zech 14:16, 18; Ezra 3:4). Elsewhere, it is called "the feast of the ingathering" (Exod 23:16; 34:22), "a feast to the Lord" (Lev 23:39; cf. Lev 23:41; Num 29:12) and "the feast" (1 Kgs 8:2, 65; Ezek 45:25). It is an agricultural festival and is celebrated after the harvest (Lev 23:39; Deut 16:13), beginning on the fifteenth of the seventh month, lasting for seven days, and followed by a day of closure (Lev 23:34; Num 29:12–38; cf. Ezek 45:25). The festival of tabernacles was a time of celebration; after harvesting the produce of the land, the people were to feast and thereby rest and rejoice (Lev 23:39–40; cf. Num 29:12), and eat and drink (cf. Deut 14:22–26). An important characteristic of the festival is joy (Lev 23:39–40; Deut 16:14–15; Neh 8:17). It is related that the people made booths for themselves (cf. Neh 8:16) and lived in them during seven days in memory of the tabernacles in which the people of Israel dwelled, when the Lord brought them out of the land of Egypt (Lev 23:42–43). Special sacrifices were offered, including a descending number of bulls each day (Num 29:13–39), and at the end of every seven years the law was to be read (Deut 31:10–11).

²⁹ Kugel, "On the Interpolations," 236–41.

³⁰ For the festival of tabernacles in the Hebrew Bible, see H. Ulfgard, *The Story of Sukkot: The Setting, Sharpening, and Sequel of the Biblical Feast of Tabernacles* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese, 34; Tübingen, 1998); G.W. MacRae, "The Meaning and Evolution of the Feast of Tabernacles," *CBQ* 22 (1960): 251–76; R. de Vaux, *Les Institutions de l'Ancien Testament, II* (Paris 1962), 411.

In *Jub.* 16:20–31 several aspects of the festival are stressed.³¹ Twice it is called the “festival of tabernacles” (*Jub.* 16:21b, 29b), and it is also called the “festival of the Lord” (*Jub.* 16:27c), “a joyful festival” (*Jub.* 16:20b), and just “this festival” (*Jub.* 16:21a, 28b). The festival lasts for “seven days” (*Jub.* 16:22a, 25a, 29b). The text does not speak about the additional eighth day. According to *Jub.* 32:27–29, this is only introduced at the time when Jacob celebrated the festival in Bethel. As we have already seen, *Jubilees* dates the festival to the seventh month (*Jub.* 16:20b, 29b), but it does not specify which days of this month it was observed. Abraham is also to offer many sacrifices each day (*Jub.* 16:22–24), but the number does not correspond with Num 29:13–34.³² It is also mentioned that Abraham praises and blesses God (16:26a, 27a, 31c), and several ceremonies from the festival are described. Abraham constructed tents for himself and his seed (*Jub.* 16:22a). Moreover, Israel is to live in tents. Because the festival is put back to Abraham’s time, it is not possible to refer to the connection between the tabernacles and the exodus (Lev 23:42–43). Only in *Jubilees* is there a reference to the placing of wreaths on their heads.³³ Moreover, Israel should “take leafy branches and willow branches from the stream” (*Jub.* 16:30de). Abraham thus took palm branches and the fruit from good trees, and with these he circled the altar seven times a day (*Jub.* 16:31). The biblical prescription can be found in Lev 23:40. However, the four offerings have a different order in *Jubilees*. Moreover, it is not clear whether the ritual performed by Abraham—circling around the altar with the palm branches and the fruit—should be performed by the Israelites using the leafy branches and willows:

³¹ P. Grelot, “Jean 8,56 et Jubilé 16,16–29,” *RevQ* 13 (1988): 621–28; J.L. Rubinstein, *The History of Sukkot in the Second Temple and Rabbinic Periods* (BJS 302; Atlanta, Ga., 1995); J.C. VanderKam, “The Temple Scroll and the Book of *Jubilees*,” in *Temple Scroll Studies: Papers Presented at the International Symposium on the Temple Scroll, Manchester, December 1987* (ed. G.J. Brooke; JSPSup 7; Sheffield, 1989), 211–36; Ulfsgard, *The Story of Sukkot*, 155–73.

³² According to Kugel, this might be due to a sense of reality, since even for Abraham’s extensive household it would be difficult to offer and consume so many sacrifices. See Kugel, “On the Interpolations,” 238. The number of animals for the peace offerings (*Jub.* 16:23) coincides with Hezekiah’s sin offering in 2 Chr 29:21.

³³ Cf. Rubinstein, *History of Sukkot*, 50–56. Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 118, points to Wisdom 2:7–8; Josephus, *Ant.* 19.9.1, and 3 Macc 4:8, where the custom of wearing wreaths is referred to but not established as a Jewish ritual.

Leviticus 23:40	<i>Jubilees</i> 16:30e–31a
40a You shall take on the first day	30e and take
(1) the fruit of goodly trees,	(3) leafy branches
(2) branches of palm trees,	(4) and willow branches from the stream.
	31a Abraham took
(3) and boughs of leafy trees,	(2) palm branches
(4) and willows from the stream	(1) and the fruit of good trees,
....	b and each and every day he would go around the altar with the branches—seven times per day.
b and you shall rejoice before the Lord your God seven days.	c In the morning he would give praise
	d and joyfully offer humble thanks to his God for everything.

A further difference from the biblical prescription occurs in *Jub.* 16:25b, where Abraham celebrates the festival without foreigners, nor anyone who was uncircumcised.³⁴

4. ISAAC'S WEANING AND THE EXPULSION OF HAGAR AND ISHMAEL (GEN 21:8–21; *JUB.* 17:1–14)

4.1. *An Overall Comparison of Genesis 21:8–21 and Jubilees 17:1–14*

On the occasion of the feast of Isaac's weaning (*Jub.* 17:1–14; cf. Gen 21:8–21), Ishmael is mentioned together with his mother Hagar, having already been mentioned in relation to the covenant of the circumcision along with his father Abraham (Gen 15:18–21, 23–27; *Jub.* 15:18–21, 23–24; cf. also *Jub.* 15:30).

In *Jub.* 17:1–14, the rewriting of Gen 21:8–21 is clearly demarcated. The preceding passage deals with the birth of Isaac (*Jub.* 16:10–14), followed by two additions (*Jub.* 16:15–19, 20–31). The subsequent passage (*Jub.* 17:15–18:19) describes the binding of Isaac (cf. Gen 22:1–19). The intermediate passage in Genesis, the encounter of Abraham and Abimelech (Gen 21:22–34), is omitted in *Jubilees*.

³⁴ Only with regard to Passover does the Bible say that no foreigner shall eat of it (Exod 12:43). If a slave or visitor were to eat from it, he would have to be circumcised, since it was said that none who were uncircumcised shall eat of it (Exod 12:48).

As far as the dating is concerned, the events in *Jub.* 16:15 are dated to the fourth week, sixth year, *Jub.* 17:1 in the fifth week, first year, and in *Jub.* 17:15 to the seventh week, first year, first month. With regard to the subject, *Jubilees* 16 deals with Isaac's birth, *Jub.* 17:1–14 with Isaac's weaning (and the related expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael), while *Jub.* 17:15–18:19 deals with his binding.

It is striking that Ishmael is not called by name in Genesis (he is "the son of Hagar/the maidservant," "the child," "the lad"), but *Jubilees* does so (*Jub.* 17:2a, 4a, 4c). In this part of the narrative, there is a certain interaction between Isaac and Ishmael (*Jub.* 17:4a; cf. Gen 21:9), which results in the subsequent expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael (*Jub.* 17:4c–14; cf. Gen 21:10–21). In the text of Genesis nothing explicitly connects the feast of Isaac's weaning and Ishmael and Isaac playing together, although it can be implicitly presupposed. In *Jubilees*, however, this connection is made explicitly. As can be seen in the following synoptic overview, *Jub.* 17:1–14 is a rewriting of Gen 21:8–21.

Genesis 21:8–21

- 8a AND THE CHILD GREW,
[]
- b AND *he* was weaned.
- c Abraham made a great banquet
[] on the day
when [] Isaac was weaned.
[]

Jubilees 17:1–14

- []
- 1a IN THE FIRST YEAR OF THE FIFTH
WEEK, IN THIS JUBILEE, *Isaac* was
weaned.
- b Abraham made a great banquet
IN THE THIRD MONTH, on the day
when HIS SON *Isaac* was weaned.
- 2a ISHMAEL, THE SON OF HAGAR THE
EGYPTIAN, WAS IN HIS PLACE IN
FRONT OF HIS FATHER ABRAHAM.
- b ABRAHAM REJOICED
- c AND BLESSED THE LORD
- d BECAUSE HE SAW HIS OWN SONS
- e AND HE HAD NOT DIED WITHOUT
SONS.
- 3a HE REMEMBERED THE WORD
WHICH HE HAD TOLD HIM ON THE
DAY WHEN LOT HAD SEPARATED
FROM HIM.
- b HE REJOICED
- c BECAUSE THE LORD HAD GIVEN
HIM SEED IN THE LAND TO INHERIT
THE LAND.
- d WITH HIS FULL VOICE HE BLESSED
THE CREATOR OF EVERYTHING.

- 9a Sarah saw *the son of Hagar the Egyptian, whom she had borne to Abraham*, playing.
[]
- 10a She said to Abraham:
b "Banish this maidservant and her son
c because the son of this maidservant will not inherit with my son, WITH Isaac."
11a The word was VERY *displeasing* in the sight of Abraham because of [] his son.
[]
- 12a God said to Abraham:
b "Let it not be *displeasing* in your sight because of the *lad* and because of *your* maidservant.
c Everything that Sarah says to you,
d listen to her *voice*,
[]
e because through Isaac shall be named for you [] a seed.
- 13a But *also* the son of *the* maidservant,
I will make him a [] nation
b because he is of your seed."
- 14a Abraham rose early in the morning,
b and took bread and a bottle of water,
c AND GAVE (IT) TO HAGAR,
d placed them *on her shoulder, along with* the child,
e and sent her away.
f She went,
g and wandered about in the wilderness of Beersheba.
- 15a When the water in the bottle was gone,
[]
- 4a Sarah saw *Ishmael* playing AND DANCING,
b AND ABRAHAM REJOICED WITH GREAT JOY.
c SHE BECAME JEALOUS OF ISHMAEL.
d She said to Abraham:
e "Banish this maidservant and her son
f because the son of this maidservant will not inherit with my son [] Isaac."
5a The word was [] *saddening* in the sight of Abraham because of HIS MAID AND BECAUSE OF his son
b —THAT HE SHOULD BANISH THEM FROM HIMSELF—
6a The Lord said to Abraham:
b "Let it not be *sad* in your sight because of the *child* and because of *the* maidservant.
c Everything that Sarah says to you, listen to her *speech*,
d AND DO (IT)
e because through Isaac shall be named for you A NAME AND a seed.
- 7a But *with regard to* the son of *this* maidservant, I will make him into a LARGE nation
b because he is of your seed."
- 8a Abraham rose early in the morning,
b and took bread and a bottle of water,
[]
c placed them *on the shoulders of Hagar and* the child,
d and sent her away.
9a She went
b and wandered about in the wilderness of Beersheba.
c When the water in the bottle was gone,
d THE CHILD GREW THIRSTY.
e HE WAS UNABLE TO GO ON,

- b she threw *the child* under one of the *bushes*.
- 16a She went,
b and sat opposite [] A GOOD WAY OFF, at a distance of a bowshot;
c for she said:
d “May I not see the death of *the child*.”
e She sat down OVER AGAINST HIM,
f AND SHE LIFTED UP HER VOICE
g and she cried.
- 17a AND GOD HEARD THE VOICE OF THE LAD;
b and an angel of God [] CALLED TO HAGAR FROM HEAVEN,
c AND said to her:
d “*What troubles you, Hagar?*”
e FEAR NOT;
f **because God has heard the voice of the lad where he is.**
- 18a Get up,
b take the lad,
c and hold him with your hand;
d FOR I WILL MAKE HIM A GREAT NATION.”
[cf. Gen 21:17f]
- 19a And *God* opened her eyes,
b and she saw a well of water.
c She went,
d filled *the* bottle with water,
e and gave *the* lad a drink.
[]
- 20a **And God was with *the lad*.**
b *He* grew up,
c AND HE LIVED IN THE WILDERNESS.
d He became an archer.
[Cf. Gen 21:20a]
- 21a HE LIVED IN **the wilderness of Paran.**
- f AND FELL.
10a HIS MOTHER TOOK HIM
b AND SHE WENT
c she threw *him* under an *olive tree*.
d She went
e and sat opposite HIM [], at a distance of a bowshot;
f for she said:
g “May I not see the death of *my child*.”
h She sat down []
[]
i and she cried.
[]
- 11a And an angel of God—ONE OF THE HOLY ONES—[] said to her:
b “*What are you crying about, Hagar?*”
[]
[cf. Jub. 17:11fg]
- c Get up,
d take the lad,
e and hold him with your hand,
[]
f **because the Lord has heard your voice, and has seen the child.**
- 12a And *she* opened her eyes,
b and she saw a well of water.
c She went,
d filled *her* bottle with water,
e and gave *her child* a drink.
f SHE SET OUT
g AND WENT TOWARD **the wilderness of Paran.**
[cf. Jub. 17:13c]
- 13a *The child* grew up.
[]
b He became an archer,
c **and the Lord was with *him*.**
[cf. Jub. 17:12g]

- | | |
|---|---|
| b His mother took a wife for him
<i>from the land of Egypt.</i>
[] | d His mother took a wife for him
<i>from the girls of Egypt.</i>
14a SHE GAVE BIRTH TO A SON FOR HIM,
b AND HE NAMED HIM NEBAIOTH;
c FOR SHE SAID:
d "THE LORD WAS CLOSE TO ME
WHEN I CALLED TO HIM." |
|---|---|

4.2. *An Analysis of the Rewriting of Genesis 21:8–21 in Jubilees 17:1–14*

4.2.1. *The Problem of the Vorlage*

The text of *Jubilees* runs very much in parallel to the scriptural text. Some deviations in *Jub.* 17:1–14 with regard to the Masoretic Text of Gen 21:8–21 are due to the fact that the author of *Jubilees* uses a text other than the masoretic one. In these cases, deviations in *Jubilees* vis-à-vis the Masoretic Text can also be found in the biblical texts of, for example, the Septuagint or the Samaritan Pentateuch. Thus, we cannot consider these deviations as variations of the biblical text. There are usually small variations, examples of which follow.³⁵ The Masoretic Text of Gen 21:8c reads: "on the day when Isaac was weaned," whereas *Jub.* 17:2b reads: "on the day when *his son* Isaac was weaned." The reading of *Jubilees* is also found in the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Septuagint. The Masoretic Text of Gen 21:10c reads: "with my son, *with* Isaac," whereas *Jub.* 17:4f reads: "with my son Isaac." The reading of *Jubilees* can be also found in the Septuagint. The Masoretic Text of Gen 21:11a reads: "The word was *very* displeasing," whereas *Jub.* 17:5a reads: "The word was saddening." The reading of *Jubilees* (with "very") can also be found in some manuscripts of the Septuagint. The Masoretic Text of Gen 21:12b reads: "because of your maidservant," whereas *Jub.* 17:6b reads: "because of the maidservant." The reading of *Jubilees* also occurs in the Septuagint. The Masoretic Text of Gen 21:13a reads: "*the* maidservant," whereas *Jub.* 17:7a reads: "*this* maidservant." The reading of *Jubilees* also occurs in the Samaritan Pentateuch. The Masoretic Text of Gen 21:13a reads: "I will make him a *large* nation," whereas *Jub.* 17:7a reads: "I will make him a nation." The reading of *Jubilees* occurs also in the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Septuagint. The Masoretic Text of Gen 21:16b reads: "and sat opposite," whereas *Jub.* 17:10e reads: "and sat opposite *him*." The reading of *Jubilees* also occurs in the Septuagint. The Masoretic Text of

³⁵ For the following, see VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 142–98; see also the textual notes in VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees, II*, 102–4.

Gen 21:16b reads: “and sat opposite a good way off,” whereas *Jub.* 17:10e reads: “and sat opposite *him* a good way off.” The reading of *Jubilees* also occurs in some manuscripts of the Septuagint. The Masoretic Text of Gen 21:16d reads: “the death of *the* child,” whereas *Jub.* 17:10f reads: “the death of *my* child.” The reading of *Jubilees* also occurs in the Septuagint. The Masoretic Text of Gen 21:20c reads: “And he lived in the wilderness.” *Jubilees* omits this phrase. This omission also occurs in some manuscripts of the Septuagint.

In Gen 21:8–21 Ishmael is not named. In the Masoretic Text and the Samaritan Pentateuch Ismael is indicated as “son” (בן: Gen 21:9a, 10b, 10c, 11a, 13a),³⁶ but also as “lad” (הנער: Gen 21:12b, 17a, 17f, 18b, 19e, 20a) and as “child” (הילד: Gen 21:14d, 15b, 16d). In the Septuagint of Gen 21:8–21 בן is rendered with a form of ὁ υἱός (“son”), whereas both הנער and הילד are rendered by a form of τὸ παιδίον (“child”).³⁷ Also, *Jub.* 17:1–14 has only two designations, namely *wald* (“son” *Jub.* 17:2a, 2d, 2e, 4e, 4f, 5a, 7a) and *hadana* (“child”: *Jub.* 17:6b, 8c, 9d, 10f, 11d, 11g, 12e, 13a). However, *Jubilees* also mentions Ishmael by his name (*Jub.* 17:2a, 4a, 4c).

In some places a noun is replaced by a personal pronoun or vice versa, usually as a consequence of an addition or omission: Gen 21:15b (*Jub.* 17:10c); Gen 21:20a (*Jub.* 17:13c); Gen 21:20b (*Jub.* 17:13a).

In the Masoretic Text and the Samaritan Pentateuch of Gen 21:11–12, the expression רעע בעיני (“be displeasing in the sight of”) occurs twice. In the Septuagint of Gen 21:11–12 this is rendered with σκληρός . . . ἐναντίον. σκληρός, meaning “dry, hard, inflexible” and occurs in the Septuagint fifty times, as a rendering of several Hebrew roots (אמיץ, עז, פריץ, קשה, רעע). In addition, רעע has several Greek equivalents.

The Masoretic Text and the Samaritan Pentateuch of Gen 21:12d read שמע בקלה (“Listen to her voice”). The Septuagint of Gen 21:12d renders this literally (ἄκουε τῆς φωνῆς αὐτῆς). *Jubilees* 17:6c reads *samā’ nābābā* (“listen to her speech”). Eth. Gen 21:12d has no equivalent for שמע בקלה.

The Masoretic Text and the Samaritan Pentateuch of Gen 21:9a read: “And Sarah saw the son of Hagar the Egyptian, whom she had borne to Abraham, *playing* (מצחק).” The Septuagint Gen 21:9a has a somewhat different reading: “And Sarah saw the son of Hagar the Egyptian, whom she

³⁶ It is used in several constructions: “the son of Hagar the Egyptian, whom she had borne to Abraham” (Gen 21:9a), “her son” (Gen 21:10b), “the son of this maidservant” (Gen 21:10c), “his son” (Gen 21:10a), “the son of the maidservant” (Gen 21:13a).

³⁷ Eth. Gen 21:8–21 renders בן (ὁ υἱός) with *wald*, whereas both הנער and הילד (τὸ παιδίον) are rendered by a form of *hadana*.

had borne to Abraham, *playing with her son Isaac.*" *Jubilees* 17:4a reads: "Sarah saw Ishmael *playing and dancing.*" Apart from the rendering of "the son of Hagar the Egyptian, whom she had borne to Abraham," with the proper name "Ishmael," there is an addition at the end: "and dancing." The Latin text of *Jubilees* instead reads "with Isaac." It is possible that the Hebrew מְצַחֵק ("playing") is the basis for the first verb (*yətwānay*) in the Ethiopic text of *Jub.* 17:9a.³⁸ The second verb (*wayəzafən*; where the Latin text has: *cum isac*) was a corruption of *beyiṣḥaq*.³⁹ Charles thus considered the Masoretic Text of Gen 21:9a defective, the Septuagint of Gen 21:9a representing the more original text. According to VanderKam, it could be true that the combination of a preposition and a name was misread at some point as a verb.⁴⁰ At the same time, the Latin version of *Jubilees* may have been influenced by the Septuagint tradition later on in the textual transmission of *Jubilees*. Finally, it may not be irrelevant that the Greek verb παίζω could mean both "to play" and "to dance." Perhaps one should also add that the proper name Isaac and the verb "to play" have the same root.⁴¹

As has been pointed out, many differences between the Masoretic Text of Gen 21:8–21 and *Jub.* 17:1–14 can be attributed to the fact that the author of *Jubilees* had a *Vorlage* of Gen 21:8–21, which deviates at certain points from the Masoretic Text. Nevertheless, one can point to some transformations that cannot be attributed to this *Vorlage*. There are some *additions* (*Jub.* 17:1ab [elements], 2a–3c, 4bc, 5a [elements], 5b, 6d, 6e [elements], 9d–10b, 11a, 12fg, 14a–d), *omissions* (Gen 21:8a, 14c, 16f, 17a, 17e, 18d, 20c and small elements in Gen 21:4f, 5a, 16b, 16e, 17b), and some *variations* (*Jub.* 17:1a, 4a, 4e, 5a, 6b, 7a, 8c, 10b, 11fg, 12a, 12de, 13a, 13c, 13d). A few permutations are also apparent: Gen 21:7f in *Jub.* 17:11fg; Gen 21:20a in *Jub.* 17:13c; elements of Gen 21:21a in *Jub.* 17:12g.

4.2.2. *Genesis 21:8 and Jubilees 17:1–3: Abraham's Gratitude at the Banquet* *Jubilees* 17:1–3 takes up the celebration of the banquet on the occasion of Isaac's weaning from Gen 21:8 and extends it greatly. The first element in the addition is the dating of the banquet ("In the first year of the fifth week,

³⁸ Charles, *Mashafa kufale*, 60–1, n. 29–30; Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 119 note.

³⁹ Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 119 note.

⁴⁰ VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*, II, 103.

⁴¹ See, e.g., J. Schwartz, "Ishmael at Play: On Exegesis and Jewish Society," *HUCA* 66 (1995): 203–21; J.S. Kaminsky, "Humor and the Theology of Hope: Isaac as a Humorous Figure," *Interpretation* 54 (2000): 363–75 (esp. 366).

in this jubilee”). “This jubilee” is the forty-first jubilee, which means that the banquet is dated to 1989 *a.m.* According to *Jub.* 16:12, Sarah became pregnant in the sixth month of 1986 *a.m.* and bore a child in the third month of the next year (1987 *a.m.*; cf. *Jub.* 16:13).⁴² According to the absolute dating system of *Jubilees*, Ishmael was born in 1965 *a.m.* (cf. *Jub.* 14:24) and would have been twenty-four years old at the time of Isaac’s weaning. This is apparently eight years too many, due to a miscalculation in *Jub.* 15:1.⁴³

Moreover, the story is not only dated to a specific moment in history but also to a specific moment in the year, namely the third month. Isaac was also born in the same month (*Jub.* 16:13), and the two covenants between God and Abraham were also established at this time (*Jub.* 14:1, 10; 15:1). It is the time when the feast of the first fruits is celebrated, the feast of weeks (*šabu’ot*), which is in fact the feast of the renewing of the covenant.⁴⁴

In the depiction of the banquet, Abraham’s feelings of happiness are stressed (*Jub.* 17:2b, 3b; cf. 17:4b), as is his gratitude towards God (*Jub.* 17:3bc). Abraham does not refer to Isaac in particular, since the plural form “sons” is used. 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. He is aware that his seed will inherit the land (*Jub.* 17:3b), referring to what was said earlier

⁴² VanderKam, “Studies in the Chronology,” 538. According to *Jub.* 16:15, Sarah became pregnant in 1987 *a.m.*, and Isaac was born in 1988 *a.m.* According to VanderKam, this inconsistency is possibly due to the fact that the episode in *Jub.* 16:15–19 is a flashback.

⁴³ Ishmael was circumcised at the age of thirteen (cf. Gen 17:25). However, according to the absolute dating system in *Jubilees*, the circumcision took place in 1986 *a.m.*, which is in fact twenty-one years after his birth! This miscalculation influences the later narratives. Cf. VanderKam, “Studies in the Chronology,” 539.

⁴⁴ According to the author of *Jubilees*, the date of the festival of weeks is in the third month. In *Jub.* 6, it is merely “in the third month” (*Jub.* 6:17, 20; cf. *Jub.* 6:1, 11), but later this is clarified, as it is placed it in the middle of this month (*Jub.* 15:1; 16:13). The most exact date is given in *Jub.* 44:1–5, although it is not stated explicitly: Jacob offered on the seventh of the third month (*Jub.* 44:1). After this he remained there for seven days (*Jub.* 44:3), then he celebrated the harvest festival—the first fruits of the grain (*Jub.* 44:4). Finally, the Lord appeared to him on the sixteenth of this month (*Jub.* 44:5). Therefore, the date of the fifteenth of the third month is implied. If this is true, “the morrow after the Sabbath” should have been on the twenty-sixth of the first month, assuming a calendar of 364 days (cf. *Jub.* 6:28–37), which is the first Sunday after the festival of unleavened bread. The author of *Jubilees* does not mention this explicitly. Cf. Eiss, “Das Wochenfest,” 165–78 (esp. 168); Jaubert, *La notion d’alliance*, 101–4; VanderKam, “Weeks, Festival of,” 895–97 (esp. 896); Van Ruiten, *Primaeval History*, 249.

with regard to Lot (cf. *Jub.* 13:19–21), that God said to Abram that he would give land to his seed. The use of the plural “sons” can be easily understood, since the promise would apply to both his sons, despite what was said in *Jub.* 15:15–22.

Jubilees pays greater attention to Ishmael than does Genesis when describing the celebration of the weaning of Isaac. Ishmael is not only present at the banquet, in contrast to Genesis, he is referred to by name (*Jub.* 17:2a, 4a, c). Moreover, Ishmael was “in his place in front of his father Abraham” (*Jub.* 17:2a). Apparently, Abraham is also happy because of the harmony between his two sons.

4.2.3. *Genesis 21:9–13 and Jubilees 17:4–7: Sarah's Jealousy*

The subsequent passage in which Sarah demands Ishmael's expulsion is very much parallel in both texts (*Gen* 21:9–13; *Jub.* 17:4–7). She makes her demand for Ishmael's expulsion, Abraham reacts with sadness, and God tells Abraham he must agree with Sarah. However, there are some deviations in the text of *Jubilees*, mainly consisting of a few additions (cf. *Jub.* 17:4bc, 5b, 6d and elements in *Jub.* 17:5a, 6e).

The contrast between the emotional reaction of Abraham and Sarah seems to be more defined than in Genesis. On the one hand, the author of *Jubilees* stresses Abraham's feelings of extreme happiness (*Jub.* 17:2b, 3b, 4b), while on the other, the jealousy of Sarah is made explicit (*Jub.* 17:4c) and is directed towards Ishmael. The decisive psychological reason for her demand is her jealousy of the playing and dancing Ishmael. The goal of the expulsion is the same as in Genesis: Ismael should not inherit along with Isaac (*Jub.* 17:4f). Her demand for Ishmael's banishment evokes a reaction of sadness in Abraham (*Jub.* 17:5). The text of Genesis does not make any statement about Abraham's happiness, nor is anything said about Sarah's emotions. The text merely notes that Abraham had a great banquet on the day Isaac was weaned. Subsequently, Sarah saw Ishmael playing, and this motivated her request. *Jubilees* is not more explicit about this.⁴⁵

Abraham is promised numerous progeny (*Gen* 12:1–3; 13:16; 15:1–6; 17:2–6; cf. *Jub.* 12:22–24; 13:20; 14:1–6; 15:4–8). Moreover, he is told that he and his descendants will possess the land (*Gen* 13:14–15, 17; 15:7, 18–21; 17:8; *Jub.* 13:19–20a, 21; 14:7, 18; 15:10 cf. also *Jub.* 17:3). In *Gen* 17:19–21 (*Jub.* 15:19–21) despite the fact that God will bless Ishmael and that Ishmael will

⁴⁵ On the problem of Ishmael's activities as the motive for Sarah's actions, see the literature mentioned in note 41 of this chapter.

become a large nation, God will nevertheless establish his covenant with Isaac. This is confirmed in Gen 21:12e–13. Although Gen 21:12e (“because through Isaac shall be named for you a seed”; cf. *Jub.* 17:6e) is rather difficult to understand, its general sense is that Abraham’s promised lineage will be continued exclusively through Isaac.⁴⁶ Gen 21:13 (cf. *Jub.* 17:7) reiterates the promise made to Abraham about Ishmael in Gen 17:20 (cf. *Jub.* 15:20).⁴⁷

God attempts to address Abraham’s sadness at Sarah’s request to send away Hagar and Ishmael (Gen 21:11; cf. *Jub.* 17:5). Sarah’s request conforms to what God had said to Abraham earlier (see Gen 17:19–21; *Jub.* 15:19–21). Genesis 21:12e (*Jub.* 17:6e) differs from Gen 17:19, 21 in that the covenant between God and Abraham is not explicitly mentioned; it is merely stated that Abraham’s line will be continued exclusively through Isaac. This promise is, of course, closely connected with the covenant. Ultimately, it is the reason that Ishmael must leave Abraham’s house, for he cannot inherit the land with Isaac. Sarah’s self-interest or interest for her son may also be at stake here,⁴⁸ but it conforms with the divine revelation as described in Genesis 17 (*Jubilees* 15). The addition at the beginning of the text (*Jub.* 17:3–4) makes it clear that *Jubilees* 17 also deals with the inheritance of the land.

At the moment he sees both of his sons, Abraham remembers that God has given him seed to inherit the land (*Jub.* 17:3c). *Jubilees* 17:3 seems to suggest that Abraham would prefer both of his sons to inherit the land, but Sarah reminds him indirectly of the fact of the exclusivity of the covenant with Isaac, in other words, God’s promise, which reserves the land for Isaac and not for Ishmael (Gen 21:10; *Jub.* 17:4d–f). Sarah’s jealousy seems to be motivated by Abraham’s happiness, which jeopardizes the divine promise that Isaac will be Abraham’s and Sarah’s true heir. In *Jub.* 17:1–3 Abraham suggests that not only her son Isaac but both his sons will inherit. Sarah seems to correct Abraham, who is probably overwhelmed by his fatherly feelings for both children. Subsequently, God affirms Sarah’s action. He says: “Everything that Sarah says to you, listen to her speech,” and as if to

⁴⁶ Cf. P.R. Williamson, *Abraham, Israel and the Nations: The Patriarchal Promise and Its Covenantal Development in Genesis* (JSOTSup 315; Sheffield, 2000), 165; Wenham, *Genesis 16–50*, 83; Westermann, *Genesis 12–36*, 416–17.

⁴⁷ Wenham, *Genesis 16–50*, 83; cf. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36*, 417.

⁴⁸ Cf. P.R. Drey, “The Role of Hagar in Genesis 16,” *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 40 (2002): 179–95 (esp. 189).

further convince him, the text continues, “and do it.” Sarah is presented as the real partner of God.⁴⁹

Abraham’s sadness, which concerns both his son Ishmael and the latter’s mother Hagar, is more pronounced in *Jubilees* due to the direct juxtaposition of Abraham’s happiness and sadness. Abraham is obedient to his wife Sarah, and therefore to God. Nevertheless it hurts him. In the passage that follows the banishment of Hagar and Ishmael and that introduces the sacrifice of Isaac (*Jub.* 17:15–18), this banishment is explicitly called one of God’s tests of Abraham: “And he had tested him through Ishmael and his servant girl Hagar, when he sent them away.”

4.2.4. *Genesis 21:14–21 and Jubilees 17:8–14: The Banishment of Hagar and Ishmael*

The passage in *Jubilees* concerning the banishment of Hagar and Ishmael and their stay in the desert very much parallels Genesis. Nevertheless, there are some minor transformations. Firstly, there are some problems in the understanding of Gen 21:14 (“Abraham rose early in the morning and took bread and a bottle of water and gave it to Hagar, placed them on her shoulder, along with the child, and sent her away”). The phrase ויתן אל הגר שם על שכמה ואת הילד, in particular, creates some problems.⁵⁰ The first part of reads ויתן אל הגר (“He gave to Hagar”). What did he give Hagar? Probably the objects mentioned in the preceding lines, “bread and a bottle of water,” although they are not mentioned explicitly. The second part reads שם (“he placed [them]”). What did he place? The answer could be the same: “the bread and the bottle of water.” However, has he just given this to her? Or is it the child, which is preceded by the *nota accusativi*? However, it would then be strange that there is also a copula ו (ואת הילד). This could suggest, of course, that he put the bread, the bottle, and the child on her shoulders. This is the opinion of many modern commentators and is reflected in many translations.⁵¹ The Septuagint reads the phrase as: “And he gave it to Agar, and he placed also the child on her shoulder.” The fact that Ishmael is fourteen or perhaps even twenty-four is probably of no importance. Another suggestion is that ואת הילד still depends on ויתן, consequently the translation would be: “and he gave it (i.e., bread and water) to Hagar, placed them (bread and water) on her

⁴⁹ Cf. Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment of Women*, 76.

⁵⁰ Cf. Gispén, *Genesis 2*, 217–18; Wenham, *Genesis 16–50*, 84.

⁵¹ See, e.g. Wenham, *Genesis 16–50*, 84.

shoulder, and he gave (to her) also the child." *Jubilees* attempts to solve these problems, simplifying the phrase considerably: "He took food and a bottle of water, and he placed them *on the shoulders of Hagar and the child*." In any case, the author of *Jubilees* must have realized that it would have been quite difficult to put a son who, according to the absolute dating system of *Jubilees*, was already twenty-four years old, on the shoulders of his mother together with the food and the water.

In spite of his age, in this part of the text *Jubilees* calls Ishmael "child," just as in Genesis (דילי). Moreover, the author does not hesitate to dwell on the fate of Ishmael when he and his mother wander in the desert. In fact, he emphasizes Ishmael's dependence on his mother, as can be seen in the additions of *Jub.* 17:9d–10b.

Jubilees eliminates an inconsistency in the biblical text of Gen 21:16–17, where Hagar cries out but God hears the voice of the boy: "She sat down over against him, and she lifted up her voice and she cried. And God heard the voice of the lad." In *Jubilees*, it is an angel of God who informs Hagar that "the Lord has heard *your* voice, and *has seen* the child" (*Jub.* 17:11fg). Subsequently, it is Hagar *herself* who opens her eyes, and not God, as in the biblical text. Whatever the meaning, there is no direct contact between God and Hagar. This is in line with the removal of the desert passage found in Genesis 14, where Hagar says that she has seen God.

5. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we studied the rewriting of the events surrounding Isaac's birth. We have seen that some narratives are nearly verbally the same. I pointed to the conception and birth of Isaac (Gen 21:1–4; *Jub.* 16:12–14), and to Isaac's weaning and the dismissal of Ishmael and his mother (Gen 21:8–21; *Jub.* 17:1, 4–13). Other passages in *Jubilees* run parallel with Genesis as far as the story line is concerned. The wording, however, is quite different. I referred to the second announcement of Isaac's birth (Gen 18:1–15; *Jub.* 16:1–4), in which the text of Gen 18:1–15 has been stripped of all its frills. The only thing that the author of *Jubilees* seems to be interested in is the announcement of the birth of a son to Abraham and Sarah, and the reaction of Sarah. *Jubilees* 16:5–9 deals with the rest of Genesis 18–19, firstly with the judgment on Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen 19:24–29; *Jub.* 16:5–6) and then with the story of Lot and his daughters (Gen 19:30–38; cf. *Jub.* 16:7–9). With regard to Sarah's abduction to Abimelech's house (Gen 20:1–18), and Abraham's covenant with Abimelech (Gen 21:22–34),

one can hardly say that they run parallel, because these episodes are summarized into one phrase. *Jubilees* takes over only a notice about Abraham's travel (*Jub.* 16:10) and the setting of the oath at the well (*Jub.* 16:11). We have seen that there are also other omissions or passages that are summarized very briefly: Gen 18:16–33 (Abraham's intercession); Gen 19:1–23 (Lot's rescue); Gen 21:5–7 (mention of age and Sarah's laughter in relation to Isaac's birth). There are also additions in the stories surrounding Isaac's birth. I have pointed to the mention of Isaac's name on the heavenly tablets (*Jub.* 16:3); the angels return to Abraham and Sarah (*Jub.* 16:15–19); the halakah concerning Sukkot (*Jub.* 16:20–31); Abraham's joy (*Jub.* 17:2–3); and the birth of Ishmael's first child (*Jub.* 17:14), which is in fact an example of permutation (cf. Gen 25:13).

Most of the transformations with regard to the scriptural text are in fact connected with each other. The halakic addition concerning Sukkot (*Jub.* 16:20–31) is linked up with the addition of the flashback to the angel's visit (*Jub.* 16:15–19). The events in both texts are dated in the seventh month, and the central theme in both texts is joy. It is interesting that also in the transformations in the next periscope, the joy is of central importance (cf. *Jub.* 17:1–4). The flashback is clearly related to the second announcement of Isaac's birth (*Jub.* 16:1–4), where the angels predicted that they would return. The mention of the name Isaac (*Jub.* 16:3) is probably related to the omission of the explicit name-giving after Isaac's birth (*Jub.* 16:13). The mention of Sarah's laughter (*Jub.* 14:1–4) might be the cause for the omission of her laughter after Isaac's birth (Gen 21:6–7).

CHAPTER SIX

ISAAC'S BINDING (GEN 22:1-19; *JUB.* 17:15-18:19)

1. AN OVERALL COMPARISON BETWEEN GENESIS 22:1-19 AND *JUBILEES* 17:15-18:19

The story of the offering of Isaac in *Jubilees* corresponds quite closely to that in Genesis. The most striking deviation is the fact that, in *Jubilees*, it is preceded by an introduction, and followed by a halakic addition.

Genesis 22:1-19	<i>Jubilees</i> 17:15-18:19
	17:15-18 INTRODUCTION
22:1-19 <i>Story of the binding of Isaac</i>	18:1-17 <i>Story of the binding of Isaac</i>
	18:18-19 HALAKIC ADDITION

2. AN ANALYSIS OF THE REWRITING OF GENESIS 22:1-19 IN *JUBILEES* 17:15-18:19

2.1. *The Introduction to Isaac's Binding* (*Jub.* 17:15-18)

Genesis leaves the reader with the question of why God had to test Abraham in such a cruel way. Moreover, for the ancient reader it might have been a problem that God did not know the result of the test in advance. In the introduction (*Jub.* 17:15-18), the author of *Jubilees* makes clear that it is not God who takes the initiative but the prince of Mastema. *Jubilees* keeps evil away from God, who is completely good.¹ According to *Jubilees*, the test does not show to God that Abraham is God-fearing, but it demonstrates his loyalty to others (cf. *Jub.* 18:16: "I have made known to everyone that you are faithful to me in everything that I have told you"). Moreover, Abraham has already been tested six times (Abraham's land; the famine; the wealth of kings; his wife when she was taken forcibly; circumcision; Ishmael and his servant girl Hagar, when he sent them away),² God knows

¹ Cf. Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 190.

² S. Sandmel (*Philo's Place in Judaism: A Study of Conceptions of Abraham in Jewish Literature* (New York 1971), 44, note 129, speaks about six trials in *Jub.* 17:17. So also L.A. Huizenga, "The Battle for Isaac: Exploring the Composition and Function of the *Aqedah* in the Book of *Jubilees*," *JSP* 13 (2002): 33-59 (esp. 38); Kugel, "On the Interpolations," 215-272

that Abraham is faithful to him (*Jub.* 17:17–18). The introduction runs as follows:

Jubilees 17:15–18

- 15a DURING THE SEVENTH WEEK, IN THE FIRST YEAR, DURING THE FIRST MONTH—
ON THE TWELFTH OF THIS MONTH—IN THIS JUBILEE,
15b THERE WERE WORDS IN HEAVEN REGARDING ABRAHAM,
15c THAT HE WAS FAITHFUL IN EVERYTHING THAT HE TOLD HIM,
15d THAT THE LORD LOVED HIM
15e AND (THAT) IN EVERY DIFFICULTY HE WAS FAITHFUL.
16a THEN PRINCE MASTEMA CAME
16b AND SAID BEFORE GOD:
16c “ABRAHAM DOES INDEED LOVE HIS SON ISAAC
16d AND FINDS HIM MORE PLEASING THAN ANYONE ELSE.
16e TELL HIM TO OFFER HIM AS A SACRIFICE ON AN ALTAR.
16f THEN YOU WILL SEE WHETHER HE PERFORMS THIS ORDER
16g AND WILL KNOW WHETHER HE IS FAITHFUL IN EVERYTHING THROUGH WHICH
YOU TEST HIM.”
17a NOW THE LORD WAS AWARE THAT ABRAHAM WAS FAITHFUL IN EVERY
DIFFICULTY WHICH HE HAD TOLD HIM.
17b FOR HE HAD TESTED HIM THROUGH HIS LAND AND THE FAMINE;
17c HE HAD TESTED HIM THROUGH THE WEALTH OF KINGS;
17d HE HAD TESTED HIM AGAIN THROUGH HIS WIFE WHEN SHE WAS TAKEN
FORCIBLY,
17e AND THROUGH CIRCUMCISION;
17f AND HE HAD TESTED HIM THROUGH ISHMAEL AND HIS SERVANT GIRL HAGAR
WHEN HE SENT THEM AWAY.
18a IN EVERYTHING THROUGH WHICH HE TESTED HIM HE WAS FOUND
FAITHFUL.
18b HE HIMSELF DID NOT GROW IMPATIENT,
18c NOR WAS HE SLOW TO ACT;
18d FOR HE WAS FAITHFUL
18e AND ONE WHO LOVED THE LORD.

The introduction is an addition to the text of Gen 22:1–19. It first places the *Akedah* within the overall chronological framework of the book. According to the author of *Jubilees*, the binding of Isaac takes place during the seventh week, in the first year of the forty-first jubilee (cf. *Jub.* 17:15a), which is 2003 *a.m.* Isaac was born in 1988 *a.m.* (cf. *Jub.* 16:15; 17:1) and

(esp. 263–264). One can also come to seven, if Ishmael and Hagar are seen as two separate trials. So Kugel, *Bible As It Was*, 168; J.C. VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees* (Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha; Sheffield 2001), 54; F. García Martínez, “The Sacrifice of Isaac in 4Q225,” in *The Sacrifice of Isaac: The Aqedah (Genesis 22) and Its Interpretations* (ed. E. Noort and E. Tigchelaar; Themes in Biblical Narrative 4; Leiden, 2002), 44–57 (esp. 49).

should have been fifteen years at the time of the binding. The test started on the twelfth of the first month (*Jub.* 17:15a).

It is very well possible that there is a clue in the biblical text for this introduction, i.e., the very first sentence of Gen 22:1 ויהי אחר הדברים האלה. This formula occurs in the book of Genesis outside Gen 22:1 in Gen 39:7; 40:1 and in slightly different form also in Gen 15:1; 22:20; 48:1,³ and it provides the connection with the preceding passage.⁴ The author of *Jubilees* has taken over the formula only in *Jub.* 14:1 (= Gen 15:1), "After these things" (*wəʾamdəhara zəṇagara*), and in *Jub.* 39:14 (= Gen 40:1), "In those days" (*wabawaʾətu mawāʾəl*).⁵ It is possible that the author of *Jubilees* interpreted the formula of Gen 22:1 as referring to something that happens before Abraham is put to a test, though he could not find this occurrence in the text of Genesis. By way of a midrash, he then suggests that something in the heavens caused the test. More precisely, it seems as if he interpreted דברים (Septuagint: ῥήματα) as "words." The phrase "there were words (*qalat*) in heaven regarding Abraham" (*Jub.* 17:15b) seems to reflect the opening phrase of Gen 22:1.⁶ Prince Mastema raises objections with regard to Abraham. Although he is a model of good behavior, God only knows if he is really faithful when God asks him to offer his son Isaac, claims the prince. God complies with prince Mastema's request, though he knows it is not really necessary. The test is being executed for others, in the first place for Mastema (*Jub.* 18:9, 12), but also for others (*Jub.* 18:16).

Jubilees 17:15–18 forms the beginning of a history of interpretation of Gen 22:1. A comparable interpretation occurs in 4Q225,⁷ *L.A.B.* 32:1–4;

³ Outside the book of Genesis, see 1 Kgs 17:17; 21:1. In slightly different form, see Josh 24:29; Esth 2:1; 3:1; 7:1. The function of the formula seems to be to fit the individual events into the entire story. So, e.g., Westermann, *Genesis 12–36*, 433; H.-D. Neef, *Die Prüfung Abrahams: Eine exegetisch-theologische Studie zu Gen 22,1–19* (AzTh 90; Stuttgart, 1998), 51.

⁴ Cf. Seebass, *Genesis II: Vätergeschichte I*, 203.

⁵ The larger passages in which Gen 22:20 and 48:1 occur are not taken over in *Jubilees*. Genesis 39:7 is rewritten in *Jub.* 39:5, but *Jubilees* does not have an equivalent for "It happened after these things."

⁶ Since the heavenly "words" (*Jub.* 17:15b) reflect the "words" of Gen 22:1a, the plural reading seems to be preferred. See M. Kister, "Observations on Aspects of Exegesis, Tradition, and Theology in Midrash, Pseudepigrapha, and Other Jewish Writings," in *Tracing Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J. Reeves; SBLEJL 6; Atlanta, 1994), 1–34 (esp. 10); J.C. VanderKam, "The *Aqedah*, *Jubilees* and Pseudojubilees," in *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders* (ed. C. A. Evans and S. Talmon; Biblical Interpretation Series 28; Leiden, 1997), 241–62 (esp. 249).

⁷ For a study on 4Q225, which has many similarities with *Jub.* 17:15–18:19, see VanderKam, "Aqedah," 241–61; R. Kugler and J.C. VanderKam, "A Note on 4Q225 (4QPseudo-Jubilees)," *RevQ* 20 (2001): 110–15; García Martínez, "Sacrifice of Isaac," 44–57; R. Kugler, "Hearing

b. Sanh. 89b, and *Gen. Rab.* 55:4.⁸ These texts describe the events that precede the binding of Isaac, which is the direct cause for the test of Abraham. From several sides, doubts are cast upon Abraham's true loyalty. In *Jub.* 17:15–18 and 4Q225 prince Mastema doubts; according to him, Abraham is not willing to offer his only son.⁹ In *L.A.B.* 32:1–4, all the angels were jealous of Abraham, and all the worshipping host envied him.¹⁰ In *b. Sanh.* 89b, Satan puts forward objections. According to him, Abraham has prepared many feasts, but he had not even a turtledove or a young bird to sacrifice to God. In *Gen. Rab.* 55:4, objections against Abraham are put forward, first by Abraham himself, then by the ministering angels, and finally by the nations of the world. Although Abraham caused everyone to rejoice, he did not set aside a single bull or ram for God. Thus, in the course of the tradition, several instigators of the test of Abraham are mentioned, although the reasons why they object to Abraham are diverse. In *Jubilees* and 4Q225, God meets the challenge of Mastema, in Pseudo-Philo he responds to the jealousy of the angels, whereas in *b. Sanh.* 89b and *Gen. Rab.* 55:4 God is reacting to objections put forward by several sides. In all cases, God is the one who tests Abraham. The goal of the test is to show to others how faithful Abraham is to God.

Job 1:1–2:13 an Intermediary between Genesis 22:1–19 and Jubilees 17:15–18:19?

According to some, the influence of *Job* 1:1–2:13 can probably be discerned in *Jub.* 17:15–18:19. This passage is called a “reading of *Gen* 22 in the light of *Job* 1.”¹¹ Kister writes: “Apparently the situation in *Jubilees* is shaped by the opening scene of the book of *Job*.” He even calls *Jub.* 17:15–18:1 a midrash on the *Job* verses.¹² Especially the beginning of the passage (*Jub.* 17:15–18) in which the prince of Mastema is introduced is seen as the most evident influence of *Job* 1–2: “On notera aussi l'intervention de Mastéma à propos

4Q225: A Case Study in Reconstructing the Religious Imagination of the Qumran Community,” *DSD* 10 (2003): 80–103; J. Kugel, “Exegetical Notes on 4Q225 ‘Pseudo-Jubilees,’” *DSD* 13 (2006): 73–98; B. Halpern-Amaru, “A Note on Isaac as First-Born in *Jubilees* and Only Son in 4Q225,” *DSD* 13 (2006): 127–33.

⁸ For the following, see Kister, “Observations,” 10–5; cf. also VanderKam, “Aqedah,” 249–50; García Martínez, “Sacrifice of Isaac,” 49–51.

⁹ 4Q225 9–10 reads: “And the prince of Mastema came to God and accused Abraham with regard to Isaac.”

¹⁰ The envy might be caused by his being loved by God, or because he got a son from his barren wife.

¹¹ R.W.L. Moberly, *Genesis 12–50* (Old Testament Guides; 2nd ed.; Sheffield, 1995), 91–2.

¹² Kister, “Observations,” 10.

du sacrifice d'Isaac; le prince des démons, et non plus Dieu lui-même, est responsable de l'épreuve imposée à Abraham; cet épisode rappelle le début de l'histoire de Job (Job 1s).¹³ VanderKam also stresses the influence of Job on the rewriting of Genesis 22 in *Jubilees*: "We recognise the influence of Job 1–2 not only from the title of the malicious individual who challenges God to try Abraham—the Prince (of) Mastema, reflecting Job's טשׁה —but also from the nature of the conversation that takes place between him and God. Here we discover that Abraham's virtues were being reported in heaven: he was faithful, loved by the Lord, and successful in all trials. The sorts of virtues that Abraham is said to possess are not the very same but are similar to those the deity specifies for Job who is blameless, unique, fears God, and turns aside from evil (e.g. Job 1:8)."¹⁴ If this supposition is correct, then this would be the first instance in which Abraham and Job are related to each other.

I am not sure that Job 1:1–2:13 functioned as an intermediary between Gen 22:1–19 and *Jub.* 17:15–18:19.¹⁵ Admittedly, *Jubilees* shares with Job (against Genesis) several elements. One can point in the first place to the narrative technique by which the reader becomes informed about what is going to happen in the life of the protagonists. Both Job and *Jubilees* make use of a heavenly scene to achieve this goal. In the second place, there is a dialogue between God and Satan/Mastema about the virtue of the protagonists. God is absolutely confident about the faithfulness of his hero, whereas Satan/Mastema tries to bring this topic up for discussion. This demonic intervention forms the starting point of the unravelling drama, both in Job and *Jubilees*.

However, there are also several differences between *Jubilees* and Job with regard to this heavenly scene. In *Jubilees*, God remains the one who tests Abraham, as he is in Genesis. Although by prince Mastema challenges him, he remains the sovereign. With regard to the book of Job, it is clear that God places Job in the hands of Satan. Of course, God imposes

¹³ R. Martin-Achard, *Actualité d'Abraham* (Neuchâtel, 1969), 122. Veijola is more cautious: "In der Nacherzählung von Gen 22,1–19 durch *Jub.* 17,15–18,19 wird die Initiative der Prüfung auf Mastema, den Fürsten der Dämonen, verlegt, was die früh empfundene Verwandtschaft mit dem Ijobprolog zeigt." See T. Veijola, "Das Opfer des Abraham—Paradigma des Glaubens aus dem nachexilischen Zeitalter," *ZTK* 85 (1988): 129–64 (esp. 151, n. 127).

¹⁴ VanderKam, "Aqedah," 249.

¹⁵ Cf. J.T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, "Abraham, Job and the *Book of Jubilees*: The Intertextual Relationship of Genesis 22:1–19, Job 1:1–2:13 and *Jubilees* 17:15–18:19," in *The Sacrifice of Isaac: The Aqedah (Genesis 22) and Its Interpretations* (ed. E. Noort, E. Tigchelaar; Themes in Biblical Narrative 4; Leiden, 2001), 58–85.

restrictions on Satan's activities (no injury to the body; no death), but Satan is the one who afflicts Job (cf. Job 2:7). Moreover, the verb נסה (to test), which is used in Gen 22:1a and which is not used in the framework story of the book of Job, is very important for the author of *Jubilees*. In the introduction (*Jub.* 17:15–18), the verb *makkara* (to test) is used five times. In addition, it is important for the author of *Jubilees* that God is not ignorant. He shows this also in other parts of his rewriting. Great emphasis is put on the fact that the test is to show others, i.e., Mastema (*Jub.* 18:9a, 12a) and everyone (*Jub.* 18:16cd), that Abraham is faithful to God. God himself knew already that Abraham would be faithful to him.¹⁶ In the framework story of the book of Job, Satan simply disappears from the stage after the plagues. It is not said that he is put to shame. Finally, the modification of *Jubilees* compared to Genesis, i.e., the dating of the event of the Akedah, does not play a part in Job.

So, despite the common narrative technique, there are substantial differences between *Jubilees* and Job. Therefore, I consider it very unlikely that the author of *Jubilees* was influenced directly by the prologue of the book of Job. This part of the Hebrew Bible (the Writings), which was probably not yet concluded in the days of the author of *Jubilees*, does not play an important part in the book of *Jubilees*, in any case. Moreover, in the literature of this period, the intervening appearance of Satan does occur more often.¹⁷ In addition, Mastema also plays an important part elsewhere in the book of *Jubilees*. He has an argument with God in *Jub.* 10:1–14, and he tries to kill Moses and assist the Egyptians (cf. *Jub.* 48:1–19). In this context, the angel of the presence stands between the Egyptians and Israel (*Jub.* 48:13; cf. *Jub.* 18:9 where the angels of the presence stands between Mastema and Isaac).

¹⁶ Cf. *Jub.* 17:17a: "Now the Lord was aware that Abraham was faithful in every difficulty which he had told him." See also *Jub.* 18:9e, where the word "now" is omitted when compared to Gen 22:12d.

¹⁷ Apart from the biblical texts (1 Chr 21:1; Zech 3:1–2), I point to 1 *En.* 40:7; 65:6; 4Q213 1:17. For the development of the meaning of נְשׂוּ in the biblical tradition, see P.L. Day, *An Adversary in Heaven: Satan in the Hebrew Bible* (HSM, 43; Atlanta, 1988). For the Qumran material, see: J. Frey, "Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library: Reflections on their Background and History," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies Cambridge 1995. Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (ed. M. Bernstein et al.; STDJ 23; Leiden, 1997), 275–335.

2.2. *The Story of the Binding* (Gen 22:1–19; Jub. 18:1–17)

The actual text of the trial of Abraham (*Jub.* 18:1–17) is a quite literal reproduction of Gen 22:1b–19, apart from a few additions that are related to the introduction of Mastema (*Jub.* 18:9, 12a, 16cd), as can be seen in the following synopsis.

Genesis 22:1–19	<i>Jubilees</i> 18:1–17
1a AFTER THESE THINGS GOD TESTED ABRAHAM.	[cf. 17:15–18]
b <i>He</i> said to him:	1a <i>The Lord</i> said to him:
c “Abraham []!”	b “Abraham, ABRAHAM!”
d And he said:	c And he said:
e “Here am I.”	d “Here am I.”
2a He said []:	2a He said TO HIM:
b “Take your son, your <i>only</i> one whom you love—Isaac,	b “Take your son, your <i>beloved</i> one whom you love—Isaac—
c and go to <i>the land of Moriah</i> .	c and go to <i>a high land</i> .
d Offer him THERE AS A SACRIFICE on one of the mountains (of) which I will tell you.”	d Offer him [] on one of the mountains which I will <i>show</i> you.”
3a So <i>Abraham</i> got up early in the morning,	3a So <i>he</i> got up early in the morning,
b saddled his ass,	b saddled his ass,
c and took two servants with him and his son Isaac.	c and took with him two servants and his son Isaac.
d He cleaved the wood for the sacrifice,	d He cleaved the wood for the sacrifice,
e AND AROSE and went to the place OF WHICH GOD HAD TOLD HIM.	e [] and went to the place []
4a On the third day ABRAHAM LIFTED UP HIS EYES	on the third day. []
b and he saw the place from a distance. []	f And he saw the place from a distance.
5a Abraham said to his servants:	4a WHEN HE REACHED A WELL OF WATER,
b “Stay here with the ass;	b <i>he</i> said to his servants:
c I and the child will go YONDER,	c “Stay here with the ass
d we worship,	d I and the child will go [],
e and we will return to you.”	e we worship,
6a <i>Abraham</i> took the wood for the sacrifice,	f and we will return to you.”
b and <i>laid it on</i> Isaac his son.	5a <i>He</i> took the wood for the sacrifice
c He took in his hand the fire and the knife.	b and <i>placed it on the shoulders</i> of Isaac his son.
	c He took in his hand fire and a knife.

- d The two of them went together [].
- 7a Isaac said to his father ABRAHAM, and he said:
- b "My father!"
- c He said:
- d "Here am I, my son."
- f He said []:
- g "Here are the fire [] and the wood;
- h but where is the *lamb* for the sacrifice []?"
- 8a *Abraham* said:
- b "*God* will provide for himself the lamb of the sacrifice, my son."
- c THEY WENT BOTH OF THEM TOGETHER.
- 9a When *they* came to the place of which *God* had told him,
- b Abraham built an altar THERE,
- c and laid in order the wood [].
- d He tied up Isaac his son
- e and laid him **on the altar, on the wood.**
- 10a *Abraham* stretched forth his hand,
- b *and took* the knife to slaughter [] his son [].
- 11a *The angel of the Lord* called to him from heaven,
- b and said []:
"Abraham, Abraham!" []
- c And he said:
- d "Here am I."
- 12a *He* said []:
- d The two of them went together TO THAT PLACE.
- 6a Isaac said to his father []:
- b "[] Father."
- c He said:
- d "Here am I, my son."
- e He said TO HIM:
- f "Here are the fire, THE KNIFE, and the wood,
- g but where is the *sheep* for the sacrifice, FATHER?"
- 7a *He* said:
- b "*The Lord* will provide for himself a sheep of the sacrifice, my son." []
- c When *he* neared the place of the mountain of the Lord,
- 8a *he* built an altar []
- b and *placed* the wood ON THE ALTAR.
- c He tied up Isaac his son,
- d and *placed* him **on the wood WHICH WAS ON the altar.**
- e and *he* stretched forth his hand to take the knife to slaughter ISAAC his son.
- 9a THEN I STOOD IN FRONT OF HIM, AND IN FRONT OF THE PRINCE OF MASTEMA.
- b THE LORD SAID:
- c "TELL HIM NOT TO LET HIS HAND GO DOWN ON THE CHILD,
- d AND NOT DO ANYTHING TO HIM BECAUSE I KNOW THAT HE IS ONE WHO FEARS THE LORD."
- 10a *I* called to him from heaven
- b and said TO HIM:
- c "Abraham, Abraham!"
- d HE WAS STARTLED,
- e and he said:
- f "Here am I."
- 11a *I* said TO HIM:

- | | | | |
|-----|---|-----|---|
| b | “Do not lay your hand on the child | b | “Do not lay your hand on the child |
| c | and do not do anything to him, | c | and do not do anything to him, |
| d | because now I know that you are one who fears God. | d | because now I know that you are one who fears <i>the Lord</i> . |
| e | You have not withheld from me your son, <i>your only one</i> .” | e | You have not refused me your <i>first-born</i> son.” |
| | [] | 12a | THE PRINCE OF MASTEMA WAS PUT TO SHAME. |
| 13a | Abraham lifted up his eyes, | b | Abraham lifted up his eyes, |
| b | and looked, | c | and looked, |
| c | and behold, a ram <i>behind</i> , caught <i>in a thicket</i> by its horns. | c | and behold a ram caught; <i>it was coming</i> with its horns. |
| d | Abraham went | d | Abraham went |
| e | and took the ram. | e | and took the ram. |
| f | He offered it as a sacrifice instead of his son. | f | and took the ram. |
| | | g | He offered it as a sacrifice instead of his son. |
| 14a | Abraham called THE NAME of that place “The Lord <i>will see</i> ,” | 13a | Abraham called [] that place “The Lord saw,” |
| b | as it is said TO THIS DAY: | b | so that it is said []: |
| c | “ON THE MOUNT OF the Lord <i>it will be seen</i> .” | c | “[] The Lord <i>saw</i> .” |
| | | c | IT IS MT. ZION. |
| 15a | THE ANGEL OF the Lord called to Abraham [] a second time from heaven. | 14a | [] The Lord called to Abraham BY HIS NAME a second time from heaven, |
| | [] | b | JUST AS WE HAD APPEARED IN ORDER TO SPEAK TO HIM IN THE LORD'S NAME. |
| 16a | He said: | 15a | He said: |
| b | “By myself I have sworn, says the Lord: | b | “By myself I have sworn, says the Lord: |
| c | because you have done this thing, | c | because you have done this thing |
| d | and have not withheld your son, <i>your only one</i> [], | d | and have not refused me your <i>first-born</i> son WHOM YOU LOVE, |
| 17a | I will indeed bless you, | e | I will indeed bless you |
| b | and I will indeed multiply your descendants as the stars of heaven and as the sand on the seashore. | f | and will indeed multiply your descendants as the stars of heaven and as the sand on the seashore. |
| c | Your descendants will possess <i>the gate</i> of their enemies. | g | Your descendants will possess <i>the cities</i> of their enemies. |
| 18a | By your descendants will all the nations of the earth be blessed, | 16a | By your descendants will all the nations of the earth be blessed |
| b | because of the fact that you have obeyed my voice.” | b | because of the fact that you have obeyed my voice. |
| | [] | c | I HAVE MADE KNOWN TO EVERYONE |

		d	THAT YOU ARE FAITHFUL TO ME IN EVERYTHING THAT I HAVE TOLD YOU.
		e	GO IN PEACE.”
19a	Abraham <i>returned</i> to his servants.	17a	Abraham <i>went</i> to his servants.
b	They arose	b	They arose
c	and went together to Beer-sheba;	c	and went together to Beersheba.
d	Abraham lived at <i>Beer-Sheba</i> .	d	Abraham lived at <i>the well of the oath</i> .

Despite the fact that the author of *Jubilees* follows Gen 22:1–19 quite closely, the synopsis shows that there are additions, omissions, and other variations. Three cases may be discerned.

In the first place, the additions in *Jub.* 18:9, 12a, 16cd are motivated by the introduction (*Jub.* 17:15–18). In *Jub.* 18:9a, 12a, prince Mastema is mentioned. When one compares Gen 22:11–18 with *Jub.* 18:9–16, it is striking that whereas in Genesis the “angel of Yhwh” twice calls to Abraham, he is not referred to explicitly in *Jubilees*. However, an angel does indeed play a part in *Jubilees*. In *Jub.* 18:9–11 the use of the first person singular (*Jub.* 18:9a, 10a, 11a) refers to “the angel of the presence,” who is dictating the entire book of *Jubilees* to Moses (cf. *Jub.* 2:1).¹⁸ In *Jub.* 18:14b the first person plural is used. The angel speaks directly (*Jub.* 18:10a, 11a) or indirectly (*Jub.* 18:14b: “just as we had appeared in order to speak to him”). In contrast to Genesis, the angel of the presence explicitly receives the command to speak from God (*Jub.* 18:9bc: “The Lord said: ‘Tell him’”). Moreover, God dictates literally (*Jub.* 18:9c–e) what the angel later on says to Abraham (*Jub.* 18:11b–d). In *Jub.* 18:14b, it is explicitly stated that the angels speak to Abraham “in the Lord’s name.” In addition, in *Jub.* 18:15a the third person singular is used (“He said”), and this refers to God, not to the angels. In conclusion, on the one hand one can say that, more explicitly than in Genesis, God is held responsible for the content of what the angel says. On the other hand, it is clear that by putting the words of Gen 22:12b–e into the mouth of the angel (*Jub.* 18:11b–e) God is protected against the reproach that he is uninformed. He should have known beforehand how Abraham was going to behave. It is possible that the use of “now” (*yə’əze*) in *Jub.* 18:11d contributes to this interpretation, for this word does not occur in *Jub.* 18:9e, where God is speaking.¹⁹

¹⁸ Some Ethiopic manuscripts read *Jub.* 18:10a: “He called”; cf. VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*, II, 106.

¹⁹ Apparently, the contradiction between *Jub.* 18:9a (“I stood in front of him and in front of the prince of Mastema”) and *Jub.* 18:10a (“I called to him from heaven”) was not relevant

In the second place, most of the deviations in *Jub.* 18:1–17 with respect to the Masoretic Text of Gen 22:1–19 are of a text-critical nature. They run parallel to alternative readings of words and phrases in one or more ancient versions of Genesis. I point out the deviations in the following lines: Gen 22:1c (= *Jub.* 18:1b), 2a (= *Jub.* 18:2a), 2b (= *Jub.* 18:2b), 2c (= *Jub.* 18:2c), 3a (= *Jub.* 18:3a), 5a (= *Jub.* 18:4b), 6a (= *Jub.* 18:5a), 7a (= *Jub.* 18:6a), 7f (= *Jub.* 18:6e), 8a (= *Jub.* 18:7a), 9a (= *Jub.* 18:7c), 9b (= *Jub.* 18:8a), 9c (= *Jub.* 18:8b), 10a (= *Jub.* 18:8e), 10b (= *Jub.* 18:8e), 12a (= *Jub.* 18:11a), 12b (= *Jub.* 18:11b), 13c (= *Jub.* 18:12c), 13f (= *Jub.* 18:12g), 14a (= *Jub.* 18:13a), 14c (= *Jub.* 18:13c), 15a (= *Jub.* 18:14a), 16d (= *Jub.* 18:15d), 17c (= *Jub.* 18:15g). In most of these cases, the differences between *Jubilees* and the Masoretic Text of Gen 22:1–19 are attested in ancient versions of Genesis. Therefore, they could be due to the fact that the author of *Jubilees* had a text of Genesis in front of him that was slightly different from the Masoretic Text.

In the third place, there are also quite a lot of small differences between *Jub.* 18:1–17 and the Masoretic Text of Gen 22:1–19, which are not attested in ancient versions and which do not fundamentally change the meaning of the text: Gen 22:1b (= *Jub.* 18:1a), 2d (= *Jub.* 18:2d [2x]), 3e (= *Jub.* 18:3e [2x]), 4a (= *Jub.* 18:3e [2x]), 4b (= *Jub.* 18:4a), 5c (= *Jub.* 18:4d), 6b (= *Jub.* 18:5b), 6d (= *Jub.* 18:5d), 7b (= *Jub.* 18:6a), 7c (= *Jub.* 18:6b), 7h (= *Jub.* 18:6g), 8c (= *Jub.* 18:7b), 9a (= *Jub.* 18:7c [2x]), 9b (= *Jub.* 18:8a), 9d (= *Jub.* 18:8c [?]), 11a (= *Jub.* 18:10a), 11b (= *Jub.* 18:10b), 11c (= *Jub.* 18:10d), 12e (= *Jub.* 18:11e), 13c (= *Jub.* 18:12d), 14a (= *Jub.* 18:13a), 14b (= *Jub.* 18:13b), 14c (= *Jub.* 18:13cd [2x]), 15a (= *Jub.* 18:14ab [2x]), 16d (= *Jub.* 18:15d [2x]), 19a (= *Jub.* 18:17a), 19d (= *Jub.* 18:17d).

Many of these small deviations, either text-critical or not, are discussed by VanderKam, and it is not necessary to go into all these differences here.²⁰ I restrict myself only to some.

First, three times the Masoretic Text of Gen 22:1–19 contains the word “your only one” (יְחִידְךָ: Gen 22:2b, 12e, 16d), the first time completed with the phrase “whom you love, Isaac” (Gen 22:2b: יִצְחָק אֶת יְצַחֵק). In all these places, the Septuagint, Old Latin, and the Ethiopic of Genesis read “your beloved one” instead of “your only one.” This reading possibly goes back to the form יְחִידְךָ. Likewise, *Jub.* 18:2d (= Gen 22:2b) reads “your

for the author of *Jubilees*. It illustrates the tendency in this chapter to follow the biblical text as closely as possible.

²⁰ VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees, II*, 105–109. For a complete inventarisation of the differences, see: VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 150–198; cf. also: VanderKam, “*Jubilees* and the Hebrew Texts,” 448–461.

beloved one." In *Jub.* 18:11e (= Gen 22:12e) and in *Jub.* 18:15d (= Gen 22:16d), the reading is "your first-born son," in the last case followed by the phrase "whom you love," as in Gen 22:2b (= *Jub.* 18:2d). The original Hebrew of *Jubilees* probably read בכורך, a reading not attested in any of the versions of Gen 22:12e, 16d.²¹

Second, some of the differences have to do with the place of the offering. In his rendering of Gen 22:2c ("the land of Moriah") with "a high land" (*Jub.* 18:2c), the author of *Jubilees* comes close to the reading of the Septuagint (τῆν ὑψηλήν),²² which possibly goes back to a Hebrew *Vorlage* of Gen 22:2c, which did not have המריה but something like המרה.²³ However, it is also possible that the author of *Jubilees* deliberately changed his *Vorlage*, because in *Jub.* 18:13 it becomes clear that the place where Abraham is going to offer his son is identified with Mount Zion. The identification of Moriah and Zion (Jerusalem) occurs also in 2 Chr 3:1 ("the house of Yhwh in Jerusalem on Mount Moriah, where Yhwh had appeared") and in rabbinic sources.²⁴ In three places where the text deals with the place of the sacrifice, *Jubilees* changes or omits the relative clause: *Jubilees* 18:2d reads "Offer him on one of the mountains which I will show you," which could perhaps better be translated with "which I will *make known* to you" (*za'ana 'ayad'aka*), against the Masoretic Text: "which I will *tell* you" (Gen 22:2d: אשר אמר אליך); *Jubilees* 18:3e omits the relative clause of Gen 22:3f (אשר אמר לו האלהים), whereas *Jub.* 18:7c interprets the "place of which God had told him" (Gen 22:9a) with "the mountain of the Lord," which can hardly mean anything other than Mount Zion. The author of *Jubilees* thus consistently interprets the place of the offering as Mount Zion, and he might therefore have deliberately changed "the land of Moriah" (Gen 22:2c) into "a high land" (*Jub.* 18:2c), whereas the changes

²¹ Note that the Latin text of *Jubilees* reads in 18:11e: *primogenito* (= בכורך), and in 18:15d: *unigenito* (= יחידך). In fact, neither the reading "your only son" nor "your first-born son" is adequate to describe Isaac, who is not Abraham's first-born son. According to Segal, the use of the "first-born son" in relation to Isaac might be influenced by the parallelism between the Akedah and Passover. See Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 196–97.

²² Cf. also the Old Latin and the Ethiopic version of Genesis.

²³ The versions differ quite a lot in their rendering of המריה. The Samaritan Pentateuch has המוראה, Peshitta reads *mwrj'*, which reflects האמרי. Symmachus reads τῆς ὀπτασίας, which might reflect a vocalisation of the verb יראה in Gen 22:14a, d as a passive form: "will appear, be seen." Cf. Salvesen, *Symmachus*, 44. *Gen. Rab.* 55:7 gives several etymologies of the word הוראה: הוראה: המריה: "teaching"), יראה ("fear"), מוריד ("bring down," i.e., the nations to Gehenna), ראי of the correspondence of the Temple to the heavenly Temple, מור of the myrrh of the Temple and in Song of Songs 4:6. Cf. also Salvesen, *Symmachus*, 44, n. 177; M.M. Kasher, *Encyclopedia of Biblical Interpretation: Genesis III* (New York, 1957), 133.

²⁴ E.g., *Gen. Rab.* 56:10; *b. Pesah.* 88a; *b. Ber.* 62b.

the author makes with regard to the description of the place (*Jub.* 18:3e, 7c) serve the same goal.

Third, the proper name "Abraham" is used in *Jub.* 18:1–17 considerably less than in Gen 22:1b–19: against 17 times in Gen 22:1b–19, only 10 times in *Jub.* 18:1–17.²⁵ This difference might be due to text-critical reasons in that the author of *Jubilees* did not have the proper name in his copy of Genesis. However, when one looks at the evidence in the versions, omission of the proper name "Abraham" occurs only in some manuscripts of the Septuagint (cf. Gen 22:3a, 6a, 10a), in the Peshitta (Gen 22:5a), in EthGen (Gen 22:8a), and some are not attested at all. Furthermore, it is striking that omission of the proper name occurs only before the intervention of the angel of the Lord (*Jub.* 18:10 = Gen 22:11). From *Jub.* 18:10 onwards, the use of the proper name is identical to the Masoretic Text.²⁶

Fourth, sometimes the author of *Jubilees* omits indications of direction, probably because they are vague or redundant (cf. Gen 22:5c: yonder; 22:9b: there). At other times, he specifies the indication of direction. In *Jub.* 18:5d "to that place" is added to Gen 22:6d. It fixes the direction of the departure of Abraham and Isaac. They are not going somewhere (cf. the omission of "yonder" in *Jub.* 18:4d) but to the place of the sacrifice.²⁷ In *Jub.* 18:8b (cf. Gen 22:9c), the author specifies that the wood is placed "on the altar." In connection with this, he rearranges the words of Gen 22:9e ("on the altar, on the wood") in *Jub.* 18:8d ("on the wood which was on the altar").

Fifth, on three occasions the author of *Jubilees* seems to omit duplications of words (compare Gen 22:2d: "Offer him... as a sacrifice" [והעלהו... לעלה] with *Jub.* 18:2d: "Offer him") and phrases (compare Gen 22:4ab: "Abraham lifted up his eyes and he saw the place" with *Jub.* 18:3f: "And he saw the place"; and Gen 22:8c: "They went, both of them together" [cf. 22:6d] with *Jub.* 18:7b [cf. 18:5d]). Finally, I point out some narrative additions, which

²⁵ In one place, the Masoretic Text only once reads "Abraham," whereas *Jubilees* reads it twice (Gen 22:1c = *Jub.* 18:1b). Therefore, in fact eight times *Jubilees* does not have the proper name "Abraham" of Genesis.

²⁶ In four cases, *Jubilees* adds "to him" to the verb "to say" (*wayabelo*: *Jub.* 18:2a, 6e, 10b, 11a; compare the Masoretic Text of Gen 22:2a, 7f, 11b, 12a). In some cases, the addition also occurs in the Peshitta and EthGen (Gen 22:2a, 7f, 12a). It might be that the addition is not significant, since in some places where the Masoretic Text does have not the personal pronoun (see Gen 22:1c, 7d, 8a, 11c, 16a), it does not occur in *Jubilees* either (see *Jub.* 18:1c, 6c, 7a, 10e, 15a).

²⁷ See "place" also in *Jub.* 18:7c, 13a.

have nothing to do with the introduction (cf. *Jub.* 18:4a: “When he reached a well of water”; *Jub.* 18:10d: “He was startled”).

2.3. *The Halakic Addition*

The relationship of the halakic addition at the end of the text (*Jub.* 18:18–19) with the preceding rewriting of Gen 22:1–19 is somewhat unclear. It seeks to prove the patriarchal origin of a festival of seven days:

Jubilees 18:18–19

- 18a HE USED TO CELEBRATE THIS FESTIVAL JOYFULLY FOR SEVEN DAYS DURING ALL THE YEARS.
 18b HE NAMED IT THE FESTIVAL OF THE LORD IN ACCORD WITH THE SEVEN DAYS DURING WHICH HE WENT AND RETURNED SAFELY.
 19a THIS IS THE WAY IT IS ORDAINED
 19b AND WRITTEN ON THE HEAVENLY TABLETS REGARDING ISRAEL AND HIS DESCENDANTS:
 19c (THEY ARE) TO CELEBRATE THIS FESTIVAL FOR SEVEN DAYS WITH FESTAL HAPPINESS.

Although *Jub.* 18:18–19 tries to relate the origin of this festival to the journey of the binding of Isaac, one should be aware of the fact that there is no reference in the rewritten narrative for “*this* festival.” The last reference to a festival is in *Jub.* 16:20–31, where the festival of tabernacles (*Sukkot*) is described. Also the festival is called “this festival” (*Jub.* 16:21), and “a festival of the Lord” (*Jub.* 16:27). It is a festival of joy (*Jub.* 16:20, 27, 29, 31), and it lasts for “seven days” (*Jub.* 16:22, 25). Moreover, this festival is written on the heavenly tablets (*Jub.* 16:29). This does not mean that the description of the unnamed festival in *Jub.* 18:18–19 refers to the festival of tabernacles.²⁸ In the literary context, the joy of the festival of tabernacles is related with Abraham’s and Sarah’s joy (*Jub.* 16:19) and the date (“the seventh month”) with the return of the angels (*Jub.* 16:16). In the preceding narrative of *Jub.* 18:18–19, there is no explicit mention of joy, whereas the binding takes place in the first month and not in the seventh.

According to most exegetes, the festival mentioned in *Jub.* 18:18–19 refers to unleavened bread, which is related to Passover.²⁹ Apart from the

²⁸ According to Testuz, *Les idées religieuses*, 162–63, however, the travel of Abraham took place on the festival of tabernacles. See also A. Caquot in A. Dupont-Sommer, and M. Philonenko, Eds., *La Bible: Écrits intertestamentaires* (Paris, 1987), 710. For the rejection of this opinion, see Jaubert, *La notion d’alliance*, 90, note 5.

²⁹ G. Vermes, “Redemption and Genesis xxii—The Binding of Isaac and the Sacrifice of Jesus,” in idem, *Scripture and Tradition: Haggadic Studies* (Studia Post-Biblica 4; 2nd ed.

festival of tabernacles, it is the only festival that lasts for seven days. Moreover, it takes place in the first month, and according to *Jubilees* itself, it is a joyful festival (*Jub.* 49:2, 22). Several exegetes have tried to strengthen the connection between *Jub.* 18:18–19 and the preceding narrative by considering the *Akedah* as a prefiguration of Passover. According to Vermes, the saving virtue of the Passover lamb proceeded from the merits of the first lamb, i.e., Isaac, who offered himself upon the altar.³⁰ Huizenga stresses that “the author has made the *Aqedah* an etiology of Passover: Isaac’s near-sacrifice takes place at the precise calendrical time of the paschal ritual.”³¹ It must be admitted that there are some similarities between the story of the binding of Isaac and the description of Passover in *Jubilees*.³² Apart from the date (*Jub.* 49:1), one can also point to the important role of Prince Mastema both in the *Akedah* and in the Passover (*Jub.* 48:2, 9, 12).³³ Halpern-Amaru points to the transformation of Isaac as only and beloved son (*Gen* 22:2, 12, 16; cf. *Jub.* 18:2) into a “first-born” son after he is no longer at risk (*Jub.* 18:11, 15). According to her “the author of *Jubilees* is creating a deliberate association between the rescued Isaac and the first-born sons of the Israelites who are saved from the tenth plague.”³⁴

I think it is clear that *Jub.* 18:18–19 refers to the festival of the unleavened bread. Moreover, there are some parallels between the story of the *Akedah* and the Passover story. However, the connection of *Jub.* 18:18–19 with the preceding narrative is much looser than, for example, that of the festival of tabernacles with its context. There is no mention of joy in the narrative of the *Akedah*, whereas no month is given in *Jub.* 18:18–19. Moreover, in the Bible (cf. *Exod* 12:15–20; *Lev* 23:6–8; *Num* 28:16–25; *Deut* 16:8) the festival of the unleavened bread happens to be from the fifteenth until the twenty-first of the first month.³⁵ This might indicate that, according

Leiden, 1973), 193–227 (esp. 215, note 3); Jaubert, *Notion d'alliance*, 90, note 5; VanderKam, “*Aqedah*,” 247.

³⁰ The tradition of the association of the *Akedah* and Passover continued to play a part until the 2nd century C.E. See Vermes, “Redemption,” 215–16.

³¹ Huizenga, “Battle for Isaac,” 33.

³² Segal quite strongly emphasizes that the rewritten version of *Gen* 22:1–19 in *Jubilees* considers the *Aqedah* as a foreshadowing of the Passover, on the basis of the date of the story, Isaac as firstborn, the occurrence of the sheep, and Mount Zion. See Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 191–98.

³³ VanderKam, “*Aqedah*,” 248; Huizenga, “Battle for Isaac,” 45–6.

³⁴ Halpern-Amaru, “A Note on Isaac,” 129; see also Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 194–197.

³⁵ Cf. VanderKam, “*Aqedah*,” 248; J. Baumgarten, “The Calendar of the Book of *Jubilees* and the Bible,” in idem, *Studies in Qumran Law* (Leiden, 1977), 101–14 (esp. 103–4). Compare *Jub.* 49:1 (“Remember the commandments which the Lord gave you regarding the passover so that you may celebrate it at its time on the fourteenth of the first month, that you may

to the halakic addition, the dates of Abraham's travel took place from the fifteenth until the twenty-first. This is in contrast, however, with the preceding narrative, which speaks about the twelfth of the first month as the date for the beginning of the trial (cf. *Jub.* 17:15), and there is no hint of any delay between the revelation to Abraham and the actual departure.³⁶ Apart from *Jub.* 17:15a, indicators of time can be found, in 18:3a ("early in the morning"), 18:3e ("on the third day," or "in three days"), and 18:18b ("seven days during which he went and returned safely"). It seems to be obvious that the challenge of Mastema and the commandment of Yhwh took place on the twelfth of the first month, which is according to the calendar of *Jubilees* a Sunday. According to some, the departure of Abraham was on Monday, the thirteenth ("early in the morning"), whereas the arrival and the binding of Isaac should have been then on Wednesday, the fifteenth. The return-trip started at the sixteenth and ended on the eighteenth, a Saturday.³⁷ In the light of the strict Sabbath observation, some find it problematic to imagine that Abraham would have travelled on a Sabbath day.³⁸ However, when one realises that the author of *Jubilees* could have viewed the evening as the beginning of the day, it works out somewhat differently.³⁹ In this case the challenge of Mastema took place during the evening or night of the twelfth of the first month, but "early in the morning" (*Jub.* 18:3a) was still on the same day. The arrival at the mountain was, in this opinion, not on the fifteenth but on the fourteenth,⁴⁰ whereas the return-trip took place from the fifteenth until the seventeenth. The eighteenth could in this case be celebrated as a Sabbath. In this proposal, however, the trip lasted for only six days, which is in contrast with *Jub.* 18:18b ("the seven days during which he went and returned safely"). Whether one reckons with a journey of seven (twelfth–eighteenth of the first month) or six days (twelfth–seventeenth of the

sacrifice it before evening, and so that they may eat it at night on the evening of the fifteenth from the time of sunset").

³⁶ Cf. Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 200–1.

³⁷ This is more or less the opinion of Le Déaut, although, according to him, Abraham departed on the twelfth. R. Le Déaut, *La nuit pascale: Essai sur la signification de la Pâque juive à partir du Targum d'Exode XII 42* (AnBib 22; Rome, 1963), 179–84; cf. A. Jaubert, "Le calendrier des *Jubilés* et les jours liturgiques de la semaine," *VT* 7 (1957): 252–53.

³⁸ VanderKam, "Aqedah," 246. See, especially, *Jub.* 2:29–30.

³⁹ J. Baumgarten, "The Beginning of the Day in the Calendar of *Jubilees*," *JBL* 77 (1958): 355–60; VanderKam, "Aqedah," 247–48.

⁴⁰ Vermes, "Redemption," 215, note 3; Jaubert, *La notion d'alliance*, 90, note 5; VanderKam, "Aqedah," 247.

first month), in both cases this does not match with the biblical date of the festival of the unleavened bread (fifteenth–twenty-first of the first month). One could argue that *Jub.* 18:18–19 does not say that the dates of the festival are the same as the days of the travel of Abraham. However, according to some, when the author wanted to connect the story of Isaac's binding with the festival of unleavened bread one would have expected an agreement in reference to the dates.⁴¹ It seems not appropriate to suppose that Abraham himself celebrated the festival from the twelfth to the eighteenth in conformity with the dates of the story.⁴² This understanding is a harmonization of the legal passage in the light of the narrative, but the solution is uncharacteristic for *Jubilees*.⁴³

According to Segal and Kugel, the tension between the two parts of the text presupposes that they are of different provenance.⁴⁴ *Jubilees* 18:18–19 would be the work of an interpolator, who might have thought that the original author, who rewrote Gen 22:1–19, intended to create a precedent for Passover. However, according to Kugel, the original author did not refer to Passover. In fact, it was not necessary to create a precedent for the Passover in patriarchal times, since it has been proclaimed before the Sinai (Exodus 12; cf. *Jubilees* 49).⁴⁵ Moreover, the date of the near offering was not chosen because of the date of the offering of *pesah*, but he chose the fifteenth of the month, because it was a significant day for him.⁴⁶ The least one can say is that the author of the halakic passage connects the rewritten story with the festival of the unleavened bread, albeit in an imperfect way, as far as the date is concerned. I am in doubt as to whether the conclusion that both parts are of different origins because of the different dates is correct. The preceding narrative of the festival of weeks puts the offering of Noah and the conclusion of the covenant on the first

⁴¹ So also Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 198–99.

⁴² This is the opinion of J. van Goudoever, *Biblical Calendars* (2nd ed.; Leiden, 1961), 68–9.

⁴³ Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 199.

⁴⁴ Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 201–2; Kugel, "On the Interpolations," 233–36; Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 201, prefers not to resolve this tension between the rewritten story and the halakic passage against the plain meaning of both passages. According to him, in the rewritten story the *Akedah* is a forshadowing of Passover, whereas the halakic passage refers to the festival of the unleavened bread. Both passages are from a different origin.

⁴⁵ Kugel, "On the Interpolations," 235, note 27.

⁴⁶ Kugel, "On the Interpolations," 235. He refers especially to Ravid for this observation. See L. Ravid, "The Book of *Jubilees* and Its Calendar—A Reexamination," *DSD* 10 (2003): 371–94 (esp. 381).

of the third month (*Jub.* 6:1). The festival of weeks is first dated simply “in the third month” (*Jub.* 6:17, 20; cf. 6:11).⁴⁷ Later in the book, it is placed in the middle of this month (*Jub.* 15:1; 16:13; 44:4). Concerning the festival of tabernacles, no date is given, neither in the halakic addition nor in the preceding narrative.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ An important reason for Kugel to presuppose that the festival mentioned in *Jub.* 6:17–22 is not the festival of weeks but a festival of oaths is the fact that the date of Noah’s offering did not match with the festival of weeks. Only in a later stage both festivals were combined. See Kugel, “On the Interpolations,” 241–48.

⁴⁸ In contrast to this, one can point of course to the day of atonement. Both in the halakic addition (*Jub.* 34:18) and in the preceding narrative (*Jub.* 34:10–17) the same date is given (“the tenth day of the seventh month”).

CHAPTER SEVEN

EVENTS AFTER SARAH'S DEATH UNTIL ABRAHAM'S BLESSING FOR JACOB (GEN 22:20–25:4; 25:21–28; *JUB.* 19)

1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I concentrate on the rewriting of Genesis in *Jubilees* 19, in which mention is made of Sarah's death and burial (*Jub.* 19:1–9; cf. Genesis 23) and of a new marriage of Abraham, namely with Keturah, that produced six children (*Jub.* 19:11–12; cf. Gen 25:1–2). In Genesis, grandchildren are also mentioned (Gen 25:3–4), which is not the case in *Jubilees*. Moreover, the marriage of Isaac and Rebekah occurs (*Jub.* 19:10; Gen 24:1–67; 25:20). Although their children, Jacob and Esau, are born before Abraham died, their birth is mentioned in Genesis only after his death (Gen 25:21–28). In *Jubilees*, their birth is mentioned before Abraham passes away (*Jub.* 19:13–14).

Sarah's death and burial mark the beginning of the last stage of Abraham's life. In the subsequent chapters, mention is made of three farewell testimonies of Abraham in his final years: his testament to all his children (*Jub.* 20:1–13); his testament to Isaac (*Jub.* 21:1–13); and his testament to Jacob, which is embedded in a story concerning Abraham's last day, his death, and burial (*Jub.* 22:1–23:8). 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. In this way, special attention is paid to Abraham's role as Jacob's ancestor. The following scheme provides an overall comparison between Gen 22:20–25:28 and *Jub.* 19:1–23:8.

Genesis 22:20–25:28	<i>Jubilees</i>
22:20–24 GENEALOGY OF NAHOR	(cf. <i>Jub.</i> 19:10)
23:1–20 <i>Death and Burial of Sarah</i>	19:1–9 <i>Death and Burial of Sarah</i>
24:1–67 MARRIAGE OF ISAAC AND REBEKAH (cf. also Gen 22:20–24; 25:19–20)	19:10 <i>Marriage of Isaac and Rebekah</i>
25:1–2 <i>Marriage of Abraham and Keturah and the Birth of Their Children</i>	19:11–12 <i>Marriage of Abraham and Keturah and the Birth of Their Children</i>

25:3-4	AND GRANDCHILDREN (cf. Gen 25:21-27) (cf. Gen 25:28)	19:13-14	Birth of Jacob and Esau
		19:15-31	ABRAHAM'S BLESSINGS FOR JACOB
25:5-6	<i>Gifts for Abraham's Children</i>	20:1-13	ABRAHAM'S TESTAMENT AND <i>Gifts for All His Children and Grand-children</i>
		21:1-26	ABRAHAM'S TESTAMENT FOR ISAAC
		22:1-9	ABRAHAM CELEBRATES FEAST OF THE FIRST FRUITS
		22:10-30	ABRAHAM'S TESTAMENT FOR JACOB
25:7-10	<i>Death and Burial of Abraham</i>	23:1-8	<i>Death and Burial of Abraham</i>
25:12-18	ISHMAEL'S GENEALOGY		
25:19-20	Marriage of Isaac and Rebekah	(cf. <i>Jub.</i> 19:10)	
		(cf. <i>Jub.</i> 19:13-14)	
25:21-28	Birth of Jacob and Esau		

A comparison of the overall structure of both passages that deal with the last stage of Abraham's life makes it clear that Gen 22:20-25:28 and *Jub.* 19:1-23:8 run parallel, even though there are important omissions, additions, variations, and permutations. One can point to *Jub.* 19:1-9, which runs parallel to Gen 23:1-20, to *Jub.* 19:11-12, which runs parallel to Gen 25:1-2, and *Jub.* 23:1-8, which runs parallel to Gen 25:7-10. Within this structure, there seems to be an extensive omission of Gen 24:1-67. However, this text is apparently summarized in just one verse, namely *Jub.* 19:10, although Gen 22:20-24 and Gen 25:19-20 also play a part in this summary verse.

In between these passages, there are many changes in *Jub.* 19:13-22:30 when compared to Gen 25:5-6. It is noteworthy that Jacob and Esau's births are still narrated before Abraham's death (*Jub.* 19:13-14), while in Genesis, Abraham's death is told first (Gen 25:7-10), followed by the birth of the twins (Gen 25:21-28). Also, the extensive additions in *Jub.* 19:15-22:30 are tied up with the brief account of the distribution of Abraham's property to Isaac (Gen 25:5) and to his other children (Gen 25:6) in the biblical text. It is interesting to see that in this context *Jubilees* also changes the order. First the gifts to the children and the grandchildren are recounted (*Jub.* 20:11a) and only after this the present to Isaac (*Jub.* 20:11c), after which follows Abraham's testament to Isaac (*Jub.* 21:1-26). The blessing of and testimony to Jacob (*Jub.* 19:15-31; 22:10-30) are made possible by the mention of Jacob's birth before Abraham's death. These have no equiva-

lence in the book of Genesis. It is true that in Genesis Jacob also acquires the inheritance and blessing, but in *Jubilees* Abraham blesses him first as his true heir.¹

The change in the order of the events can be explained by looking at their dating.² In Genesis, the birth of the twins took place when Isaac was sixty years old (Gen 25:26). Since Abraham was a hundred years old when Isaac was born (cf. Gen 17:17), he must have been one hundred and sixty years old at the birth of the twins. Abraham died when he was one hundred and seventy-five years old (Gen 25:7). Thus, according to Genesis, there is an overlap of fifteen years in the lives of Abraham and Jacob. In the absolute dating system of *Jubilees* the birth of Jacob and Esau took place in the second year of the sixth week of the forty-second jubilee (*Jub.* 19:13), which is *a.m.* 2046. Abraham's death was in the second year of the first week of the forty-third jubilee (*Jub.* 22:1), which is *a.m.* 2060.³ When one realizes that Abraham was born in *a.m.* 1876 (cf. *Jub.* 11:15), it is clear that according to these numbers Abraham must have been one hundred and seventy years old when Jacob and Esau were born, and one hundred and eighty-four years old when he died. *Jub.* 23:8, however, takes over the number of one hundred and seventy-five from the Genesis text as Abraham's age at death.⁴ Both in Genesis and in *Jubilees* the twins were born before Abraham's death. In the biblical narrative, the story of Abraham is first brought to an end before the birth of Jacob is recounted. By reordering the biblical material, the author of *Jubilees* is removing a chronological inconsistency in the biblical text. Abraham and Jacob still shared fifteen years together.⁵

¹ Cf. VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees* (Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha), 55.

² See also Sandmel, *Philo's Place in Judaism*, 46–7; Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 24–5; VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees* (Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha), 54–5.

³ For the reading of “forty-third jubilee” rather than “forty-fourth jubilee,” see Dillmann, “Das Buch der Jubiläen,” 71, n. 14; VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*, II, 127; VanderKam, “Studies in the Chronology, 539. Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 137, changed all the numbers in the verse.

⁴ The confusion in the numbers can partly be attributed to some mistakes by the author of *Jubilees* earlier in his chronological report (cf. *Jub.* 14:1) and partly to some mistakes that are possibly due to text-critical reasons (cf. *Jub.* 15:1; 19:13; 22:1). Cf. VanderKam, “Studies in the Chronology,” 538–40.

⁵ Cf. Heb 11:9, where it is said that Abraham lived in tents with Isaac and Jacob.

2. DEATH AND BURIAL OF SARAH (GENESIS 23:1–20 AND *JUB.* 19:1–9)

Only a very few elements of Genesis 23 are taken over literally in *Jub.* 19:1–9. I point to elements in *Jub.* 19:2b, 3a, 6e, 6f, 7b, but in most cases these quotations are taken up with variations.⁶ In a few places the order has been changed. I refer especially to Gen 23:1 in relation to *Jub.* 19:7.⁷ A striking characteristic of this rewriting is that the complete dialogue in which Abraham is negotiating with the Hittites to buy a piece of land as a burial ground (Gen 23:3–15) is summarized in a short passage in *Jub.* 19:5b–6f.⁸ In *Jubilees* nothing is said about Ephron. The negotiations with the Hittites deal with the price, and that narrative states that the Hittites were willing to give the land to him for nothing. Abraham preferred to pay the full amount, however. Against the very short rendering of the passage of Genesis, there are substantial additions, in which the event is not only placed in the chronological system of *Jubilees* (*Jub.* 19:1–2a), but Sarah's burial is also interpreted as a test for Abraham (*Jub.* 19:3c–5a, 8–9). One can sketch the correspondence between Gen 23:1–20 and *Jub.* 19:1–9 schematically as follows:

Genesis 23:1–20	<i>Jubilees</i> 19:1–9
–	19:1–2a
23:1	–
23:2	19:2b–3b
–	19:3c–5a
23:3–20	19:5b–6f
–	19:7
–	19:8–9

I present a synoptic overview of Gen 23:1–2 and *Jub.* 19:1–3b, 7. I refrain from presenting a synoptic overview of *Jub.* 19:3c–6, 8–9 and Gen 23:3–20 because the latter is basically summarized by the former.

Genesis 23:1–2	<i>Jubilees</i> 19:1–3b, 7
	19:1a DURING THE FIRST YEAR OF THE FIRST WEEK IN THE FORTY- SECOND JUBILEE, ABRAHAM RETURNED
	b AND LIVED OPPOSITE Hebron— that is, Kiriath Arba —FOR TWO WEEKS OF YEARS.
[]	

⁶ For the text of *Jub.* 19:1–9 see below.

⁷ See also elements in Gen 23:2a in relation to *Jub.* 19:1b.

⁸ Josephus (*Ant.* 1.237) also has a short summary of Sarah's death and burial.

- 1a ***Sarah's life was a hundred and twenty-seven years; years of Sarah's life.*** [cf. *Jub. 19:7*]
[]
- 2a IN THE FIRST YEAR OF THE THIRD WEEK OF THIS JUBILEE THE DAYS OF SARAH'S LIFE WERE COMPLETED
- 2a And *Sarah* died in Kiriath-Arba, that is Hebron IN THE LAND OF CANAAN; b and *she* died in [] Hebron [] .
- b Abraham went to mourn for *Sarah* AND TO WEEP FOR HER. []
- 3a Abraham went to mourn for *her* []
- b AND TO BURY HER.
[*Jub. 19:3c-6*: see below]
- 7a ***All the time of Sara's life was 127—THAT IS, TWO JUBILEES, FOUR WEEKS, AND ONE YEAR.***
- b ***This was the time in years of Sarah's life.***
[*Jub. 19:8-9*: see below]

Jubilees 19:3c-9

- 19:3c WE WERE TESTING WHETHER HE HIMSELF WAS PATIENT AND NOT ANNOYED IN THE WORDS THAT HE SPOKE.
- d BUT IN THIS RESPECT, TOO, HE WAS FOUND TO BE PATIENT AND NOT DISTURBED,
- 4a BECAUSE HE SPOKE WITH THE HITTITES IN A PATIENT SPIRIT
- b SO THAT THEY WOULD GIVE HIM A PLACE IN WHICH TO BURY HIS DEAD.
- 5a THE LORD GAVE HIM A FAVOURABLE RECEPTION BEFORE ALL WHO WOULD SEE HIM.
- b *He mildly pleaded with the Hittites,*
- c *and they gave him the land of the double cave which was opposite Mamre—that is, Hebron—for a price of four hundred silver pieces.*
- 6a *They pleaded with him:*
- b *“Allow us to give (it) to you for nothing!”*
- c *Yet he did not take (it) from them for nothing*
- d *but he gave as the price of the place the full amount of money.*
- e *He bowed twice to them*
- f *and afterwards he buried his dead in the double cave.*
- 7 (see above)
- 8a THIS WAS THE TENTH TEST BY WHICH ABRAHAM WAS TRIED,
- b AND HE WAS FOUND TO BE FAITHFUL (AND) PATIENT IN SPIRIT.
- 9a HE SAID NOTHING ABOUT THE PROMISE OF THE LAND WHICH SAID THAT THE LORD WOULD GIVE IT TO HIM AND HIS DESCENDANTS AFTER HIM.
- b HE PLEADED FOR THE PLACE THERE TO BURY HIS DEAD
- c BECAUSE HE WAS FOUND TO BE FAITHFUL
- d AND WAS RECORDED ON THE HEAVENLY TABLETS AS THE FRIEND OF THE LORD.

Because of the summarizing character, it is hard to say which biblical *Vorlage* functioned as the basis for *Jub.* 19:1–9. The use of the “double cave” (*Jub.* 19:5c, 6f), which is a rendering of the Hebrew מערת המכפלה (“the cave of Machpelah”; cf. Gen 23:9a, 19a) but which is translated in the Septuagint by τὸ σπήλαιον τὸ διπλοῦν (“the double cave”),⁹ points to the influence of a tradition comparable to the Septuagint.

The text of *Jubilees* presents some chronological data. In the first place, it is said, “During the first year of the first week in the forty-second jubilee, Abraham returned” (*Jub.* 19:1a). This is 2010 *a.m.*, which is seven years after the binding of Isaac (cf. *Jub.* 17:15). Abraham apparently returned from Beersheba where he had lived since he returned from the test involving Isaac (*Jub.* 18:17; Gen 22:19). In the biblical text, Abraham settled in Beersheba (Gen 22:19), whereas Sarah died at Kiriath Arba, that is, Hebron (Gen 23:1–2). This suggests that Abraham and Sarah were no longer living together and that Abraham had to come (Gen 23:2: ויבא אברהם) to mourn for her. However, no reasons are given for their separation. Such a situation does not seem to be fitting for the author of *Jubilees*, and therefore Abraham is said to have returned to Kiriath Arba after the Akedah.¹⁰ Abraham and Sarah share fourteen years together before her death (*Jub.* 19:1–2).

The second chronological notice concerns Sarah’s death. This is dated first in the absolute system of *Jubilees*, namely in the first year of the third week of the forty-second jubilee (*Jub.* 19:2a), which is *a.m.* 2024. This corresponds to the hundred and twenty-seven years mentioned in Gen 23:2, when one combines this with the mention of the fact that Sarah would give birth to a child at the age of ninety (Gen 17:17; *Jub.* 16:15). The mention of one hundred and twenty-seven years also occurs in *Jubilees*, where it is also rendered in jubilees, weeks, and years (cf. *Jub.* 19:7).¹¹

A most characteristic detail is that, in addition to the Akedah, the author of *Jubilees* also interprets the story about Sarah’s death and burial as one of Abraham’s trials (*Jub.* 19:3–5, 8–9). Abraham is characterized as a “friend of the Lord,” who stays loyal despite all difficulties (*Jub.*

⁹ Cf. VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*, II, 110.

¹⁰ Cf. Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment of Women*, 55. See also Josephus, *Ant.* 1.236, where Abraham returns “home to Sarra” to live “in bliss,” after the Akedah.

¹¹ See the comparable presentation of the age of Abraham when he died. His death is first presented in the absolute dating system (*Jub.* 22:1), whereas at the end his age is given in years (*Jub.* 23:8), as well as the equivalent in jubilees, weeks, and years.

19:9).¹² The author of *Jubilees* is not interested here in the promise of the land¹³ but in the character of Abraham and his faithfulness. According to *Jub.* 19:8, it is the tenth test. It is not completely clear how the author of *Jubilees* comes to this number. In *Jub.* 17:17, six trials are enumerated (Abraham's land; the famine; the wealth of kings; his wife when she was taken forcibly; circumcision; Ishmael and his servant girl Hagar, when he sent them away), although one can come to seven if Ishmael and Hagar are seen as two separate trials.¹⁴ If there are seven trials mentioned in *Jub.* 17:17, the binding of Isaac (*Jub.* 18:1–19) was the eighth and Sarah's death (*Jub.* 19:2) possibly the ninth, although these events are not noted in a context designated as trial. If this were the case, the plea for a place to bury her would be the tenth test.¹⁵

¹² Abraham was first called a friend of God in Isa 41:8 (“the descendants of Abraham, my friend”) and 2 Chr 20:7 (“the descendants of your friend Abraham”). It became a common description of Abraham. See, e.g., Dan 3:35; Jas 2:23; CD 3:2; 4Q176 1–2 1:10; 4Q252 2:8; Philo, *Abr.* 19:89; *Sobr.* 11:56; *Frg. Tg.* Gen 18:17; *t. Ber.* 7:13; *b. Menah.* 53a–b; *Sipre* Num 15:41 (par. 115); *Sipre* Deut par. 352; *Mek., Bo* 18:22; *Lam. Rab.* 24, 26; *Tanh.* (Buber) 1:70. See Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 125–26; García Martínez, “The Heavenly Tablets,” 243–60 (esp. 246–47); R.G. Kratz, “‘Abraham, mein Freund’: das Verhältnis von inner- und ausserbiblischer Schriftauslegung,” in *Erzväter in der biblischen Tradition: Festschrift Matthias Köckert* (ed. A.C. Hagedorn and H. Pfeiffer; BZAW 400; Berlin, 2009), 115–36. Beuken points to the function of the root בְּרֵא within the theme of the election. In the later parts of Deuteronomy; this word expresses the specific preference of Yhwh for the patriarchs, a preference on which the election of Israel is based (Deut 4:37; 7:7–8; 10:15). The word expresses the loyalty towards the partner of the treaty. To love Yhwh is a summary of the covenant (cf. Deut 5:10; 6:5), and this is used often in parallel with “to serve” (cf. Deut 10:12; 11:13). The title “my friend” does not indicate a relationship of equality and mutual affection. The parallel between the chosen and my friend in Isa 41:8 expresses the idea that because Yhwh had chosen, Abraham was able to be loyal. Cf. W.A.M. Beuken, *Jesaja IIIA* (POut; Nijkerk, 1979), 72.

¹³ This is the case in Genesis. According to B. Vawter (*On Genesis: A New Reading* [London, 1977], 263), “validating the patriarch's stake in the Land of Promise” is important here in Genesis. W. Zimmerli (*1 Mose 12–25 Abraham* [ZBKAT 1.2; Zürich, 1976], 252) relates Genesis 23 with Gen 17:8 in which God promises the eternal inheritance of the land of Canaan to Abraham and his seed. In Genesis 23 a beginning is made with respect to the fulfilment of the promise. See also Gispén, *Genesis 2*, 254–55; Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 19–20. According to Wenham, *Genesis 16–50*, 124, however, Genesis 23 is quite independent in the Abraham cycle, and it is not related to the promises or their fulfilment.

¹⁴ See chapter 6, note 2.

¹⁵ According to VanderKam (*ibidem*), one should realize that in the book of *Jubilees* the binding of Isaac is dated to the festival of unleavened bread. This festival took place during the seven days immediately after Passover. This might give an association with the Exodus story, in which ten plagues play an important part and which are sometimes called tests (cf. Deut 7:19; 29:2–3). VanderKam also points to Num 14:22, where it is said that the people “have tested me these ten times and have not obeyed my voice.” Abraham was also tested ten times in rabbinic literature, see, e.g., *m. 'Abot* 5:2; *'Abot R. Nat.* 33; *Pirqe R. El.* 26. The rabbinic sources do not agree as to what the trials were. See L. Ginzberg,

The promise of the land is a dominant theme in the Abraham story, both in Genesis and in *Jubilees*, and the realization of it seems to begin with the purchase of a piece of land in Canaan. However, it is to Abraham's credit that he says nothing to the Hittites about the fact that God has promised it. Rather than claim the plot, Abraham begged for a place.¹⁶

3. THE REPORT OF THE MARRIAGE OF ISAAC AND REBEKAH (GEN 25:20 AND *JUB.* 19:10; CF. GEN 22:20–24; 24:1–67)

Most exegetes consider *Jub.* 19:10 as a summarized rendering of Gen 24:1–67, often pointing to Gen 24:15 (“behold, Rebekah, who was born to Bethuel the son of Milcah, the wife of Nahor, Abraham’s brother”).¹⁷ Moreover, at the end of the story of the acquisition of Rebekah, it is said that Isaac “took Rebekah, and she became his wife” (Gen 24:67). However, although elements from Gen 24:1–67 (cf. vv. 15, 24, 29, 47) and Gen 22:22–24 have influenced *Jub.* 19:10, it is more obvious to consider *Jub.* 19:10 in the first place as a rewriting of Gen 25:20, as can be seen in the following synoptic overview:

Genesis 25:19b–20	<i>Jubilees</i> 19:10
19b ABRAHAM WAS THE FATHER OF ISAAC.	[]
20a <i>Isaac was forty years old</i>	10a <i>In its fourth year</i>
b <i>when he took to wife Rebekah,</i>	<i>he took a wife for his son Isaac.</i>
	b <i>Her name was Rebekah, the</i>
<i>the daughter of Bethuel the</i>	<i>daughter of Bethuel, the son of</i>
<i>Aramean of Paddanaram, the</i>	<i>Abraham’s brother Nahor, the sister</i>
<i>sister of Laban the Aramean.</i>	<i>of Laban—Bethuel was their</i>
	<i>father-</i>

Legends of the Jews, V (7th ed.; Philadelphia, 1955), 218; Sandmel, *Philo’s Place in Judaism*, 87, note 506. According to Kugel, “On the Interpolations,” 215–72 (263–64), the original author of *Jubilees* was acquainted with the tradition of the trials of Abraham, but these texts did not yet a fixed number. Only a later interpolator did know of these ten trials and so added it here. It might be that the number ten entered the book independently from the six (or seven) trials in *Jub.* 17:17, however, when one reckons with the other possible trials I just listed. If this is true there is no contradiction within the book of *Jubilees* with regard to the trials of Abraham.

¹⁶ Cf. Sandmel, *Philo’s Place in Judaism*, 45.

¹⁷ E.g., Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 126; Sandmel, *Philo’s Place in Judaism*, 46; Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 21; VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees* (Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha), 53.

[]

THE DAUGHTER OF BETHUEL, THE
SON OF MILCAH WHO WAS THE
WIFE OF ABRAHAM'S BROTHER
NAHOR.

The date of the marriage is put into the absolute chronological system of *Jubilees*, the fourth year of the third week of the forty-second jubilee, which is *a.m.* 2027. This is forty years after the pregnancy of Sarah (cf. *Jub.* 16:15). In the biblical text of Gen 25:20, the marriage of Isaac and Rebekah is narrated after the report of Abraham's death. However, the mention in Gen 24:67 is still before Abraham's death. Moreover, the dates in the biblical text make it clear that Abraham was still alive at the time of the marriage of Isaac and Rebekah. According to Gen 17:17 and Gen 25:20, Abraham must have been one hundred and forty years old at this time, while his age at death would have been one hundred and seventy-five (Gen 25:7).¹⁸

Moreover, in Gen 25:20b (cf. Gen 24:67) Isaac is the active party in the marriage ("he took to wife Rebekah"), whereas in *Jubilees* Abraham is the active party ("he took a wife for his son Isaac"). This difference between *Jub.* 16:10 and Gen 25:20 possibly reflects the extensive story of the search for an appropriate bride for Isaac (Gen 24:1–67), which is completely omitted in *Jubilees*. The story of the search for and discovery of Rebekah might have been problematic for the author of *Jubilees*, since Genesis presents it as a coincidence and the result of delegated authority. The author of *Jubilees* substitutes the meeting at the well and the subsequent negotiations with a brief statement that Abraham has the full responsibility for the future. He is the one who selected Rebekah for his son.¹⁹ Moreover, in the continuation of the story in *Jubilees* (cf. *Jub.* 19:15–23:8), a special

¹⁸ According to Endres (*Biblical Interpretation*, 21, note 10), another reason for the omission of Gen 24:1–67 might have been that according to the biblical story of Genesis 24 Abraham was already dead (cf. Gen 24:36; e.g., Vawter, *On Genesis*, 276). See also the phrase "after his mother's death" in Gen 24:67, which according to some exegetes is a revision of "after his father's death" (so, e.g., Gunkel, *Genesis*, 260; Vawter, *On Genesis*, 276; Westermann, *Genesis 12–36*, 468, 479). This suggestion seems unnecessary and complicated, since the notion of Abraham's death in Gen 24:36, 67 is not clear and we can infer from other data that Abraham must have still been alive at the time of the marriage of Isaac and Rebekah (cf. Gen 17:17; 25:7, 20), even though his death is narrated before the marriage, as suggested by e.g., Wenham, *Genesis 16–50*, 147, 152. Cf. Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment of Women*, 38, note 10.

¹⁹ Cf. Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment of Women*, 38. The search for Rebekah also seems to be somewhat problematic in rabbinic literature. Cf. *Gen. Rab.* 60:3; *b. Hul.* 85b.

relationship develops between Abraham and Rebekah. It is therefore fitting that he is the one who should choose her.

What attracts even more attention is the difference in the reported credentials of Isaac's bride. Firstly, both Genesis and *Jubilees* mention Rebekah as "the daughter of Bethuel." In Genesis, Bethuel is mentioned as "the Aramean of Paddanaram," and in *Jub.* 19:10 as "the son of Abraham's brother Nahor." It is not completely clear why the author of *Jubilees* made this substitution. Possibly, the identification of Bethuel in *Jubilees* is more adequate as far as the genealogical line is concerned, and it can also be found in Genesis, where it occurs for the first time in the genealogy of Nahor (Gen 22:20–24), which is as such omitted in *Jubilees*. This genealogy is presented immediately after the binding of Isaac and before Sarah's death. It presents a preview of the story of Isaac and Rebekah prior to Sarah's death and before their marriage. The report identifies the last of the eight sons of Milcah and Nahor as Bethuel, "the father of Rebekah," and Nahor is identified as "Abraham's brother" (Gen 22:23).

The report of the marriage in both texts secondly identifies Rebekah as "the sister of Laban" (Gen 25:20b; *Jub.* 19:10b). In Genesis, Laban is called "the Aramean," like their father Bethuel. It is not clear why the text emphasizes the ethnic identity of Bethuel and Laban.²⁰ Genesis 24 also mentions that "Rebekah had a brother whose name was Laban" (Gen 24:29). *Jubilees* 19:10 identifies Rebekah as "the sister of Laban," but here it is added that "Bethuel was their father." Although no new information is given in *Jubilees*, it is remarkable that it is formulated in this way.²¹

Thirdly, *Jub.* 19:10b offers yet another identification of Rebekah. She is "the daughter of Bethuel, the son of Milcah who was the wife of Abraham's brother Nahor." This statement seems to be a repetition of the first; however, on closer inspection, there is a difference between the two. In the first, Bethuel, the father of Rebekah, is identified with his paternal lineage: he is "the son of Abraham's brother Nahor." Moreover, this reveals the relationship between Rebekah and Abraham, who is the father of Isaac. In the third statement, Bethuel is identified with his maternal lineage. He is also "the son of Milcah." In Genesis 24, Bethuel is identified as the son of Milcah several times (Gen 24:15: "Rebekah, who was born to Bethuel the

²⁰ This aspect of Israel's origin is echoed later (Deut 26:5). Cf. Wenham, *Genesis 16–50*, 174.

²¹ According to Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment of Women*, 39, it is stated in this way as a response to Jacob's misidentification of Laban as the son of Nahor (Gen 29:5).

son of Milcah, the wife of Nahor, Abraham's brother"; Gen 24:24: "I am the daughter of Bethuel the son of Milcah, whom she bore to Nahor"; Gen 24:47: "The daughter of Bethuel, Nahor's son, whom Milcah bore to him"). Both Rebekah's paternal grandfather and grandmother are from within the chosen line of Shem. The maternal line of Rebekah is not identified in either Genesis or *Jubilees*. Moreover, Milcah is only identified in relation to her husband in both Genesis (Gen 22:20; 24:15, 24, 47) and *Jubilees* (*Jub.* 19:10). In Gen 11:29, however, she is identified as the daughter of Haran:

11:29a Abram and Nahor took wives;
 b the name of Abram's wife was Sarai,
 c and the name of Nahor's wife, Milcah, the daughter of Haran the father of Milcah and Iscah.

The extensive report of the marriage of Nahor in Gen 11:29, where the name of the wife and her origin are given, is very cursorily presented in *Jubilees*: "And his brother Nahor took a wife" (*Jub.* 12:11). The identification of Milcah as the daughter of Haran is not taken over in *Jubilees*. According to Halpern-Amaru, the reason for pushing her origin to the background is to avoid the impure uncle-niece relationship between Milcah and her husband.²² In the discussion of *Jub.* 12:9–14, we have pointed to the characterization of Haran as a prototype of the unfaithful in opposition to the faithful and righteous Abram. Therefore Haran is pushed into the background as much as possible.²³ In Gen 22:20 and Gen 24:15, 24, 47, there is no mention of Haran as the father of Milcah, so there is no need for *Jubilees* to mention this.

4. THE REPORT OF THE MARRIAGE OF ABRAHAM AND KETURAH AND THE BIRTH OF THEIR CHILDREN (GEN 25:1–4 AND *JUB.* 19:11–12)

Jubilees 19:11–12 is a rewriting of Gen 25:1–4. It follows the report of the marriage of Isaac and Rebekah but precedes the report of the birth of their children, Jacob and Esau. *Jubilees* 19:11–12 is a genealogy. It mentions the marriage of Abraham and Keturah and the birth of their six sons. *Jubilees* has some additions to the text of Gen 25:1–4 (part of *Jub.* 19:11b, 11c and elements in 19:12a), an omission (Gen 25:3–4), and a variation (19:11a; Gen 25:1a), as can be seen in the following synoptic overview:

²² Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment of Women*, 39–40.

²³ See section 2.5 of chapter 1.

Genesis 25:1–4

- 1a Abraham took *another* wife,
 b and her name was Keturah [].
- 2a She gave birth [] for him—
 Zimran, Jokshan, Medan, Midian,
 Ishbak, and Shuah [].
- 3a JOKSHAN WAS THE FATHER OF
 SHEBA AND DEDAN.
 b THE SONS OF DEDAN WERE ASSHURIM,
 LETUSHIM, AND LEUMMIM.
 4a THE SONS OF MIDIAN WERE
 EPHAH, EPHER, HANOCH, ABIDA, AND
 ELDAAH.
 b ALL THESE WERE THE CHILDREN OF
 KETURAH.

Jubilees 19:11–12

- 11a Abraham took a *third* wife,
 b and her name was Keturah—
 ONE OF THE CHILDREN OF HIS
 HOUSEHOLD SERVANTS—
 c WHEN HAGAR DIED PRIOR TO
 SARAH.
- 12a She gave birth TO SIX SONS for
 him—Zimran, Jokshan, Medai,
 Midian, Ishbak, and Shuah—
 DURING TWO WEEKS OF YEARS.
 [cf. *Jub.* 20:1, 12]

In Gen 25:1–4 Abraham’s marriage to Keturah is narrated after the report of Sarah’s death (Gen 23:1–20; *Jub.* 19:1–9) and the marriage of Isaac and Rebekah (Gen 24:1–64; *Jub.* 19:10). The author of Genesis speaks of “another wife,”²⁴ while the author of *Jubilees* speaks of “a third wife.” The biblical text does not report Hagar’s death, and thus one could wonder why Abraham did not take Hagar back after Sarah’s death. In later literature, many authors made an effort to make the notion that Keturah and Hagar were the same person acceptable.²⁵ The author of *Jubilees*, however, makes clear from the beginning that Keturah is somebody else, and not Hagar, with the latter having already died before Sarah.²⁶

In *Jubilees*, the origin of Keturah is provided. She is “one of the children of his household servants” (*Jub.* 19:11b). The author thus seems to emphasize that Keturah was born within Abraham’s household and that she was

²⁴ Gen 25:1a literally reads ויסיף אברהם ויקח אשה. The Septuagint reads προσθέμενος δὲ Ἀβραμ ἔλαβεν γυναῖκα.

²⁵ See, e.g., *Gen. Rab.* 61:4; *Tanh.* 1:123; *Tanh. Hayye* 8; *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gen 25:1; *Tg. Yer.* Gen 25:1; *Pirqe R. El.* 30. Cf. Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 126; Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 21–2, note 13; Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment of Women*, 105, note 4.

²⁶ Most Ethiopic manuscripts read “when (’amma) Hagar died prior to Sarah,” but the Latin text has “because” (*eo quod*). According to VanderKam ἔτι was misread as ἔτε by an Ethiopic translator or was miscopied by a Greek scribe. See VanderKam *Book of Jubilees*, II, 112.

not of Canaanite origin. In his blessing for Jacob, Abraham admonishes him not to take a wife from any of the seed of the daughters of Canaan (*Jub.* 22:20–21). Intermarriage with Canaanite women is forbidden in the book of *Jubilees*.²⁷

In *Jub.* 19:12, there are two small additions. The first explicitly mentions that there are six sons, the second that she gave birth “during two weeks of years.” The genealogical report is not given the usual notation with which the events are put into the chronological system of *Jubilees*. One can assume that Abraham married Keturah between 2027 *a.m.* and 2046 *a.m.* Their marriage took place after Sarah’s death and Isaac’s marriage: Sarah died in the first year of the third week of the forty-second jubilee (cf. *Jub.* 19:2), which is 2024 *a.m.*, and Isaac married in the fourth year of the same week of the same jubilee (cf. *Jub.* 19:10), which is 2027 *a.m.* Their marriage also took place before the birth of Jacob and Esau in the second year of the sixth week of the same jubilee (*Jub.* 19:13), which is 2046 *a.m.* The mention of fourteen years is possibly made to stress that all of Abraham’s children were born before Jacob and Esau. In any case, Abraham’s farewell speech to his children, including “Keturah’s six children and their sons” (*Jub.* 20:1) is dated to the first year of the seventh week of the forty-second jubilee (*Jub.* 20:1), which is 2052 *a.m.*, twenty-five years after the marriage of Isaac and Rebekah, by which time at least some of Keturah’s children could have had children of their own.

5. THE REPORT OF THE BIRTH OF JACOB AND ESAU (GEN 25:21–27 AND *JUB.* 19:13–14)

The report of the birth of Jacob and Esau (*Jub.* 19:13–14) is the continuation of the report of the marriage of Isaac and Rebekah (*Jub.* 19:10), which was interrupted by the report of the marriage of Abraham and Keturah and the birth of their six children (*Jub.* 19:11–12). The report of the birth of Jacob and Esau is a rewriting of Gen 25:21–27, mainly using elements from Gen 25:25–27, as one can see in the following synoptic overview:

²⁷ Cf. Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 21; Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment of Women*, 105. For the issue of intermarriage in the book of *Jubilees*, see C. Werman, “*Jubilees* 30: Building a Paradigm for the Ban on Intermarriage,” *HTR* 90 (1997): 1–20 and the critical remarks of C. Hayes, “Intermarriage and Impurity in Ancient Jewish Sources,” *HTR* 92 (1999): 3–36 (esp. 15–25).

Genesis 25:21–27

Jubilees 19:13–14

21a AND ISAAC PRAYED TO YHWH FOR
HIS WIFE,

b BECAUSE SHE WAS BARREN;

c AND YHWH GRANTED HIS PRAYER,

d AND REBEKAH HIS WIFE
CONCEIVED.

22a THE CHILDREN STRUGGLED
TOGETHER WITHIN HER;

b AND SHE SAID:

c “IF IT IS THUS, WHY DO I LIVE?”

d SO SHE WENT TO INQUIRE YHWH.

23a AND YHWH SAID TO HER:

b “TWO NATIONS ARE IN YOUR WOMB,
c AND TWO PEOPLES, BORN OF YOU,
SHALL BE DIVIDED;

d THE ONE SHALL BE STRONGER THAN
THE OTHER,

e THE ELDER SHALL SERVE THE
YOUNGER.”

24a WHEN HER DAYS TO BE DELIVERED
WERE FULFILLED,

b BEHOLD, THERE WERE TWINS IN HER
WOMB.

25a THE FIRST CAME FORTH RED, *all
of him was like a mantle of hair;*

b SO THEY CALLED HIS NAME Esau.

26a AFTERWARD HIS BROTHER CAME
FORTH,

b AND HIS HAND HAD TAKEN HOLD OF
ESAU’S HEEL;

c SO HIS NAME WAS CALLED **Jacob**.

d *Isaac was sixty years old when she
gave birth to them [].*

[cf. Gen 25:27c]

[cf. Gen 25:27d]

27a **When the boys grew up,**

[]

b *Esau was a man who knows hunting,
a man of the field,*

[]

*In the sixth week, during its
second year, Rebekah gave birth
to two sons for Isaac: **Jacob** and
Esau.*

b **Jacob was perfect and upright,**

c AND ESAU WAS A HARSH MAN,
ONE OF THE FIELD, and *hairy*.

d **Jacob dwelt in tents.**

14a **When the boys grew up,**

b JACOB LEARNED (THE ART OF)
WRITING,

c BUT ESAU DID NOT LEARN (IT)

d *because a man of the field was
he, and a hunter,*

- []
- e AND HE LEARNED (THE ART OF) WARFARE,
- f AND EVERYTHING HE DID WAS HARSH.
- c and Jacob was *a quiet man*,
- d *he dwelt in tents*.

With the transposition of the report on the birth of the twins to an earlier setting, Abraham's blessing of and the testimony for Jacob (*Jub.* 19:15–31; 22:10–30) are made possible. In the rewriting of Jacob and Esau's birth, there is an extensive omission in which the events that precede the delivery are narrated (Gen 25:21–24). It concerns the infertility of Rebekah (Gen 25:21b), the intercession of Isaac for her (Gen 25:21a), and God answering this prayer, after which Rebekah became pregnant (Gen 25:21cd).²⁸ Moreover, the struggle between the children in the womb (Gen 25:22–23) is not mentioned in *Jubilees*, nor is the image of each brother as a nation. Possibly Gen 25:23 influenced the sharper contrast between Jacob and Esau in *Jub.* 19:13–14 compared to Gen 25:25–27. In *Jubilees*, Esau becomes a man of war and Jacob a righteous man. The remark that “the elder shall serve the younger” (Gen 25:23e) is taken up later on in the story. According to the story of the lentil porridge, Esau renounced his right of the first-born (*Jub.* 24:2–7; Gen 25:29–34). The story concludes with the words “so Jacob became the older one, but Esau was lowered from his prominent position” (*Jub.* 24:7; cf. Gen 25:34). After the death of Rebekah and Isaac, the struggle between Jacob and Esau is reported (see *Jub.* 37–38). We have to keep in mind, however, that in *Jubilees* it is not a struggle of nations, as in Gen 25:22–23, but a struggle within the family.²⁹ It has also influenced the order of both brothers, which is reversed in *Jubilees* (*Jub.* 19:13a). Moreover, the details concerning the birth (Gen 25:25a–26b) are omitted in *Jubilees*, apart from the fact that both names are taken over and that Esau is characterized as a hairy man (*Jub.* 19:13c).

Jubilees 19:13a is a variation of Gen 25:26d. The report of the birth of Jacob and Esau is anchored in the absolute dating system of *Jubilees*. According to Genesis, the birth occurred when Isaac was sixty, which is twenty years after his marriage to Rebekah (cf. Gen 25:20). *Jubilees* has a difference of nineteen years between the marriage (cf. *Jub.* 19:10) and

²⁸ Compare the omission of the infertility of Sarah (Gen 11:30) in the book of *Jubilees*.

²⁹ Cf. Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment of Women*, 57.

the birth in the second year of the sixth week of the forty-second jubilee (cf. *Jub.* 19:13a), which is 2046 *a.m.*³⁰

Both in Genesis and *Jubilees* Jacob and Esau are first characterized at the moment of their birth (Gen 25:25–26; *Jub.* 19:13) and then after they had grown up (Gen 25:27; *Jub.* 19:14). The description of Jacob and Esau at the moment of their birth in Genesis does not play a role in *Jubilees*, except for the observation that Esau was hairy (Gen 25:25a; *Jub.* 19:13c). The description in *Jubilees*, both at the moment of their birth and when they were grown men is related to what is said about them as grown men in Genesis. The remark “Jacob was perfect and upright” (*Jub.* 19:13b) refers to Gen 25:27c (“Jacob was a quiet man [אִישׁ תָּם]”). The Hebrew תָּם (“complete, right, peaceful”) is thus rendered with two equivalents.³¹ The phrase “Jacob dwelt in tents” (*Jub.* 19:13d) is nearly identical with Gen 25:27d, whereas *Jub.* 19:13c is a variation of Gen 25:27b combined with the mention of Esau’s hairiness in Gen 25:25a (cf. Gen 27:11). Esau as “a man who knows hunting” (Gen 25:27b) is rendered with “Esau was a harsh man.” Since Gen 25:27b is taken up in *Jub.* 19:14d, *Jub.* 19:13c is considered an addition. The character of the grown man is further developed and described more sharply. Esau is not only “a man of the field” but also a “hunter” (*Jub.* 19:14d; cf. Gen 25:27b) and one who “learned (the art of) warfare” (*Jub.* 19:14e). The mention that he was “harsh” is repeated (*Jub.* 19:14f), and in contrast to Jacob it is said that Esau did not learn the art of writing (*Jub.* 19:14c). Jacob “learned (the art of) writing” (*Jub.* 19:14b), which might be an elaboration of the remark that “Jacob dwelt in tents” (*Jub.* 19:13d; Gen 25:27d).³² The contrast between both brothers, which is indeed evident in the text of Genesis, is taken over by the author of *Jubilees* and further developed. Any possibly negative element associated with Jacob (cf. Gen 25:26b, as well as the struggle between them in the womb in Gen 25:22–23), is avoided. The remark that “Jacob was a quiet man” becomes “perfect and upright,” and his dwelling in tents is associated with his art of writing. In contrast, the negative aspects associated

³⁰ For the difference of one year between Genesis and *Jubilees*, see VanderKam, “Studies in the Chronology,” 539.

³¹ See Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 126, where he also points to the possibility that *Jub.* 19:13 combines Gen 25:27 and Gen 27:11 (אִישׁ תָּלֵק). The Septuagint Gen 25:27 renders תָּם as ἀπλαστος.

³² Cf. *Gen. Rab.* 63:11: “And Jacob was a quiet man, dwelling in tents: in two tents, namely in the academy of Shem and the academy of Eber.” *Tg. Onq.* Gen 25:27: “But Jakob was a man peaceful in his works, a minister in the house of instruction.”

with Esau are taken over in relation to his birth and then subsequently elaborated.³³

The art of writing is an important issue in the book of *Jubilees*. Fathers teach their sons the art of writing (cf. *Jub.* 8:2; 11:16; 47:9; cf. 19:14). In addition, it was Enoch who was the first on earth to learn the art of writing, instruction, and wisdom (*Jub.* 4:17). Abraham learned to write from his father (*Jub.* 11:16), although it was the angel of the presence who taught him Hebrew (*Jub.* 12:25–27). When Jacob and his brother grew up, “Jacob learned the art of writing, but Esau did not learn it” (*Jub.* 19:14).

The art of writing and reading is often connected with halakic instruction of one type or another, which the fathers write down in a book (*Jub.* 4:17; 7:38–39; 10:13–14; 10:17; 12:27; 21:10; 39:6–7; 45:16) and handed down to their sons. In this way, the author of *Jubilees* creates a chain of tradition which is quite distinctive: Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech, Noah, Shem, Abram, Isaac, Jacob, (Joseph), and Levi. In *Jub.* 19:24, the chain of tradition is traced back to Adam: Adam, Seth, Enos, Malaleel, Enoch, Noah, and Shem (cf. also 19:27).³⁴

The halakic instructions that are written in the books of the fathers are about several subjects. Thus, Enoch wrote down “the signs of the sky in accord with the fixed pattern of their months so that mankind would know the seasons of the years according to the fixed patterns of each of their months” (*Jub.* 4:17). He also taught the law of the first fruits (*Jub.* 7:38–39; cf. *Jub.* 7:35–37). Noah wrote down all the kinds of medicines, which would prevent the evil spirits from pursuing his children (*Jub.* 10:12–14). When he was in the house of Potiphar, Joseph remembered Abraham’s words “that no one is to commit adultery with a woman who has a husband” (*Jub.* 39:6). The purpose of linking the halakic instructions to the chain of tradition was obviously to anchor the instructions that were important to the author of *Jubilees* in the time of the patriarchs.³⁵ In fact, the halakah of *Jubilees* is immanent to the creation.

As far as Jacob is concerned, in a vision during the night an angel showed him seven tablets, which he read (*Jub.* 32:20–22). They contained a report of what would happen to him and his children. Later Jacob

³³ P. van Boxel, “The God of Rebekah,” *SIDIC* 9 (1976): 14–8.

³⁴ See the next section.

³⁵ Berger, *Buch der Jubiläen*, 279; S. Rosenkranz, “Vom Paradies zum Tempel,” in *Tempelkult und Tempelzerstörung (70 n. Chr.): Festschrift für Clemens Thoma zum 60. Geburtstag* (ed. S. Lauer and H. Ernst; *Judaica et Christiana* 15; Bern, 1995), 27–131 (esp. 36); Ego, “Heilige Zeit,” 207–19 (esp. 207).

wrote down everything he had read and seen (*Jub.* 32:26). At the end of his life, he “gave all his books and the books of his father to his son Levi so that he could preserve them and renew them for his sons until today” (*Jub.* 45:16).

6. ABRAHAM’S BLESSING FOR JACOB (GEN 25:28 AND *JUB.* 19:15–31)

Most of *Jub.* 19:15–31 is an addition to the text of Genesis, although it is clearly based on Gen 25:28. The text runs as follows:

Jubilees 19:15–31 (no parallel in Genesis)

- 15a *Abraham loved Jacob*
 b *but Isaac (loved) Esau.*
- 16a AS ABRAHAM OBSERVED ESAU’S BEHAVIOUR,
 b HE REALIZED THAT THROUGH JACOB HE WOULD HAVE A NAME AND DESCENDANTS.
 c HE SUMMONED REBEKAH
 d AND GAVE HER ORDERS ABOUT JACOB
 e BECAUSE HE SAW THAT SHE LOVED JACOB MUCH MORE THAN ESAU.
- 17a HE SAID TO HER:
 b “MY DAUGHTER, TAKE CARE OF MY SON JACOB
 c BECAUSE HE WILL OCCUPY MY PLACE ON EARTH
 d AND (WILL PROVE) A BLESSING AMONG MANKIND AND THE GLORY OF ALL DESCENDANTS OF SHEM.
- 18a FOR I KNOW THAT THE LORD WILL CHOOSE HIM FOR HIMSELF AS A PEOPLE NOTEWORTHY³⁶ FROM ALL WHO ARE ON THE SURFACE ON THE EARTH.
- 19a MY SON ISAAC NOW LOVES ESAU MORE THAN JACOB,
 b BUT I SEE THAT YOU RIGHTLY LOVE JACOB.
- 20a INCREASE YOUR FAVOUR TO HIM STILL MORE;
 b MAY YOUR EYES LOOK AT HIM LOVINGLY
 c BECAUSE HE WILL PROVE TO BE A BLESSING FOR US ON THE EARTH FROM NOW AND THROUGHOUT ALL THE HISTORY OF THE EARTH.
- 21a MAY YOUR HANDS BE STRONG
 b AND YOUR HEART BE HAPPY WITH YOUR SON JACOB
 c BECAUSE I LOVE HIM MUCH MORE THAN ALL MY SONS;
 d FOR HE WILL BE BLESSED FOREVER
 e AND HIS DESCENDANTS WILL FILL THE ENTIRE EARTH.

³⁶ The Ethiopic *qāwm* (“sponsor, patron, defender, protector, leader, president, head, principal”) and other readings are, according to Charles (Mashafa Kufale [1895], 68, note 18), corrupt. They are attempts at rendering περιούσιος, for we have here a word for word reproduction of Deut 7:6 (14:2). The Ethiopic version of the Bible also mistranslates or omits this word. Charles suggests the reading *zāṭarit* (“who will be a possession”), as in *Jub.* 16:18. According to VanderKam (*Book of Jubilees, II*, 113–14), Charles’s hypothesis is convincing.

- 22a IF A MAN IS ABLE TO COUNT THE SANDS ON THE EARTH,
 b IN THE SAME WAY HIS DESCENDANTS, TOO, WILL BE COUNTED.
- 23a MAY ALL MY BLESSINGS WITH WHICH THE LORD BLESSED ME AND
 MY DESCENDANTS BELONG TO JACOB AND HIS DESCENDANTS FOR
 ALL TIME.
- 24a THROUGH HIS DESCENDANTS MAY MY NAME AND THE NAME OF
 MY ANCESTORS SHEM, NOAH, ENOCH, MALALEEL, ENOS, SETH, AND
 ADAM BE BLESSED.
- 25a MAY THEY SERVE (THE PURPOSE OF) LAYING HEAVEN'S FOUNDA-
 TIONS, MAKING THE EARTH FIRM, AND RENEWING ALL THE LUMINAR-
 IES WHICH ARE ABOVE THE FIRMAMENT."
- 26a THEN HE SUMMONED JACOB INTO THE PRESENCE OF HIS MOTHER REBEKAH,
 b KISSED HIM, BLESSED HIM,
 c AND SAID:
- 27a "MY DEAR SON JACOB WHOM I MYSELF LOVE, MAY GOD BLESS YOU
 FROM ABOVE THE FIRMAMENT.
 b MAY HE GIVE YOU ALL THE BLESSINGS WITH WHICH HE BLESSED
 ADAM, ENOCH, NOAH, AND SHEM.
 c EVERYTHING THAT HE SAID TO ME AND EVERYTHING THAT HE PROM-
 ISSED TO GIVE ME MAY HE ATTACH TO YOU AND YOUR DESCENDANTS
 UNTIL ETERNITY—LIKE THE DAYS OF HEAVEN ABOVE THE EARTH.
- 28a MAY THE SPIRITS OF MASTEMA NOT RULE OVER YOU AND YOUR
 DESCENDANTS TO REMOVE YOU FROM FOLLOWING THE LORD WHO
 IS YOUR GOD FROM NOW AND FOREVER.
- 29a MAY THE LORD GOD BECOME YOUR FATHER
 b AND YOU HIS FIRST-BORN SON AND PEOPLE FOR ALL TIME.
 c GO IN PEACE, MY SON."
- 30a THE TWO OF THEM DEPARTED TOGETHER FROM ABRAHAM.
- 31a Rebekah loved Jacob WITH HER ENTIRE HEART AND HER ENTIRE BEING
 VERY MUCH MORE THAN ESAU;
 b but Isaac loved Esau MUCH MORE THAN JACOB.

The passage follows the report of the birth of Jacob and Esau and precedes Abraham's farewell testament to all his children (*Jub.* 20:1–13; cf. *Gen* 25:6). It is demarcated by its subject (Abraham's love for Jacob and Isaac's love for Esau) and the similar beginning and end of the passage: *Jub.* 19:15 ("Abraham loved Jacob but Isaac [loved] Esau") forms an obvious inclusion with *Jub.* 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"). Similar utterances regarding Abraham's love for Jacob can also be found throughout the remainder of the passage (cf. *Jub.* 19:21c: "because I love him much more than all my sons"; *Jub.* 19:27a: "My dear son Jacob whom I myself love") as well as to Rebekah's love for Jacob (*Jub.* 19:16e: "because he saw that she loved Jacob much more than Esau"; *Jub.* 19:19b: "but I see that you rightly love Jacob") and

Isaac's love for Esau (*Jub.* 19:15b: "but Isaac [loved] Esau"; *Jub.* 19:19a: "My son Isaac now loves Esau more than Jacob").

Although the whole passage is an elaboration of Gen 25:28, this text is most clearly recognizable at the beginning and at the end. First, let us compare Gen 25:28 and *Jub.* 19:15 and then Gen 25:28 and *Jub.* 19:31.

Genesis 25:28	<i>Jubilees</i> 19:15
28a Isaac loved Esau, BECAUSE HE ATE OF HIS GAME;	15a Abraham loved Jacob
b but Rebekah loved Jacob.	b but Isaac (loved) Esau.

A comparison of the texts reveals some interesting aspects. Strictly speaking the similarity is restricted to the words "Isaac" and "Esau" and the construction "loved Jacob." Because of the parallelism between *Jub.* 19:15a and *Jub.* 19:15b, because of *Jub.* 19:19a, 31b, and because of Gen 25:28, one may assume that the verb "to love" in *Jub.* 19:15b is presupposed.³⁷ Moreover, it is clear that Abraham displaces Rebekah from the role of loving Jacob she has in Genesis (*Jub.* 19:15a; Gen 25:28b), and the order of Jacob and Esau is reversed. Thus, we have here, as in the report of the birth, an example of permutation. Finally, there is an omission; the reason why Isaac loved Esau, namely "because he ate of his game," is not mentioned.

Genesis 25:28	<i>Jubilees</i> 19:31
28a Isaac loved Esau, [] BECAUSE HE ATE OF HIS GAME;	31a Rebekah loved Jacob WITH HER ENTIRE HEART AND HER ENTIRE BEING VERY MUCH MORE THAN ESAU;
b but Rebekah loved Jacob.	b but Isaac loved Esau MUCH MORE THAN JACOB [].

Both texts have the phrases "Isaac loved Esau" and "Rebekah loved Jacob" in common, although the order is reversed again. As in *Jub.* 19:15b, the reason why Isaac loved Esau is also omitted in *Jub.* 19:31b ("because he ate of his game").³⁸ There are also some additions. Both sentences in *Jubilees*

³⁷ The Latin text of *Jub.* 19:15b does indeed read a form of the verb "to love" (*diligebat*).

³⁸ According to Endres (*Biblical Interpretation*, 25), the deletion of the traditional reason is part of a negative portrayal of Isaac. Also with regard to the omission of Genesis 24 Endres speaks about a portrayal of Isaac that is less favorable than in the biblical version (*Biblical Interpretation*, 21). However, the omission of the somewhat trivial reason for Isaac's preference for Esau elevates Isaac. Halpern-Amaru (*Empowerment of Women*, 59, note 29) rightly states that the absence of any explanation here suggests that

use the comparative. Rebekah loved Jacob “much more than Esau” and Isaac loved Esau “much more than Jacob.” This comparative also occurs earlier in the passage, when it is mentioned for the first time that Rebekah loved Jacob “much more than Esau” (*Jub.* 19:16e), whereas Abraham says to Rebekah: “My son Isaac now loves Esau more than Jacob” (*Jub.* 19:19a). It is also used with regard to Abraham himself, who says, “because I love him much more than all my sons” (*Jub.* 19:21c).

The other addition in *Jub.* 19:31a concerns the emphatic expression that Rebekah loved Jacob “with her entire *heart* and her entire *being*.” This addition fits with the remarks elsewhere in the passage: “may your eyes look at him lovingly” (*Jub.* 19:20b); “may your *hands* be strong and your *heart* be happy with your son Jacob” (*Jub.* 19:21ab).

Although the whole passage, which deals with the preference of Abraham for Jacob, is linked up with Gen 25:28, other elements also play a part, and the influence of other texts and traditions can also be detected. The passage is structured as an alternation of narrative (*Jub.* 19:15–17a, 26a–c, 30–31) and two direct speeches by Abraham (*Jub.* 19:17b–25, 27–29). The first speech is directed to Rebekah and the second to Jacob in the presence of Rebekah. Several elements that occur in the first speech also occur in the second speech, but in reversed order:

- | | | |
|-----|----|---|
| 18a | A | For I know that the Lord will choose him for himself as a people noteworthy from all who are on the surface on the earth. |
| 23 | B | May all my blessings with which the Lord blessed me and my descendants belong to Jacob and his descendants for all time. |
| 24 | C | Through his descendants may my name and the name of my ancestors Shem, Noah, Enoch, Malaleel, Enos, Seth, and Adam be blessed. |
| 25 | D | above the firmament |
| 27a | D' | above the firmament |
| 27b | C' | May he give you all the blessings with which he blessed Adam, Enoch, Noah, and Shem. |
| 27c | B' | Everything that he said to me and everything that he promised to give me may he attach to you and your descendants until eternity |
| 29a | A' | May the Lord God become your father |
| b | | and you his first-born son and people for all time. |

There is a balance between *Jub.* 19:18 and *Jub.* 19:29 (A and A') in that the subject in both is the election of Israel. *Jubilees* 19:18 says that God

Isaac's error is the consequence of his natural affinity with his first-born. See *Jub.* 35:13, where Isaac admits that he first loved Esau more than Jacob, “because he was born first.”

chooses Jacob as his people and that this people is called noteworthy, whereas in *Jub.* 19:29 a father-son relationship and Jacob's primogeniture are described. These elements also occur together in *Jub.* 2:20–21 (“*I have chosen the descendants of Jacob among all of those whom I have seen. I have recorded them as my first-born son . . . a noteworthy people out of all nations*”). In the rewriting of the story of creation, Jacob is elected to be God's special people and his first-born son. The election of Israel is also an important issue elsewhere in *Jubilees*, occurring in *Jub.* 15:30–32, 22:9–10 and 33:11. In all these texts the election of Israel is opposed to the world of the nations, while the name Jacob plays an important role. In *Jub.* 19:15–31, the purpose of the election of Jacob as God's own noteworthy people is in fact described in terms of the father-son relationship and Jacob's primogeniture.³⁹

The phrase in *Jub.* 19:18, “For I know that the Lord will choose him as his own people (who will be) noteworthy from all who are on the surface on the earth,” is mostly reminiscent of passages in the Old Testament where עַם סְגֻלָּה (“a noteworthy people”) is used.⁴⁰ I would point to Deut 7:6; 14:2; 26:18. Without עַם, the word סְגֻלָּה is also used in Exod 19:5, Ps 135:4 and Mal 3:17 in a comparative way.⁴¹ The term סְגֻלָּה indicates a special kind of private property, which has been acquired personally and which is carefully protected. In the Old Testament, it is used as a technical term characterizing the belonging of Israel to Yhwh.⁴² The wording of the phrase in *Jub.* 19:18 comes very close to Deut 7:6 (14:2), as can be seen in the following synopsis:

Deuteronomy 7:6 (14:2)	<i>Jubilees</i> 19:18

Yhwh (your God) <i>has chosen you</i> TO BE for himself	the Lord <i>will choose him</i> [] for himself
a noteworthy people from all THE PEOPLES that are on the surface of the earth	as a people, noteworthy from all [] that are on the surface on the earth

³⁹ See note 27 of chapter 5.

⁴⁰ VanderKam and Milik interpret and reconstruct the parallel phrase in *Jub.* 2:21b (“He sanctified them for himself as a noteworthy people out of all nations”) as follows: [וקדשם לו מכל עם סגולה] הגוים. Cf. J.C. VanderKam, and J.T. Milik, “*Jubilees*,” in *Qumran Cave 4—VIII: Parabiblical Texts. Part 1* (ed. H. Attridge et al.; DJD 13; Oxford, 1994), 1–185 (esp. 19–20).

⁴¹ A profane use of סְגֻלָּה occurs in 1 Chr 29:3; Eccl 2:8.

⁴² Cf. סְגֻלָּה, *THAT, II*, 142–44 (H. Wildberger).

In his blessing of Jacob, Abraham does not repeat his election as such, but he does mention the purpose of the election: "May the Lord God become your father and you his first-born son and people for all time" (*Jub.* 19:29). As far as the relationship of God and Israel is concerned, primogeniture rarely occurs in the Old Testament.⁴³ In the context of the exodus from Egypt, it occurs in Exod 4:22–23 ("Israel is my first-born son") and in relation to the return from exile that occurs in Jer 31:9 ("For I am a father to Israel, and Ephraim is my first-born").⁴⁴ The conception of Israel as a "first-born son" should be seen as an expression of the special relationship between God and Israel. God is as a father to his son Israel. He loves his son and demands obedience. In *Jubilees*, Israel is God's first-born son because Israel's existence as a separate people started during the first week of creation.⁴⁵ Israel was the first to come into existence. Israel's position as God's first-born son does not entail simply a special status; it also carries some obligations. Israel is to be brought up in a disciplined way, just as a father brings up his son. In *Jub.* 19:15–31 no specific obligations are described, while in *Jub.* 2:15–33 the obligations are restricted to the keeping of the Sabbath, which is also an expression of the special relationship between God and Israel.⁴⁶

The specific relationship between Yhwh and Israel is expressed most clearly and the treatment of Israel stands in contrast to the other nations. The election of Israel means that the Lord has adopted Israel for himself. While the other nations also belong to God, they do have not the same direct relationship with him as Israel. The Lord makes spirits rule over

⁴³ See J.T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, "La filiación en el libro de los *Jubileos*," in *Filiación: Cultura Pagana, Religión de Israel, Orígenes del Christianismo III* (ed. J.J. Ayan Calvo, P. Navascués Benloch and M. Aroztegui Esnaola; Madrid, 2011), 129–52.

⁴⁴ Cf. also Jer 2:13, which speaks of "the first fruits" of the harvest rather than the first-born son; cf. also Hos 11:1 ("When Israel was a child, I loved him, and out of Egypt I called my son").

⁴⁵ Cf. J.L. Kugel, "4Q369: 'Prayer of Enosh' and Ancient Biblical Interpretation," *DSD* 5 (1998): 119–48 (esp. 126).

⁴⁶ For the juxtaposition of Israel's first-born status and the issue of discipline, cf. 4Q504 ("Words of the Luminaries") 3:2–7 ("you have made us sons for yourself in the eyes of all the nations, for you have called [I]srael 'my firstborn son' and you have disciplined him as a man disciplines his son"); some Greek manuscripts of Sir 17:17–18 (Israel... "being his firstborn, he brought up with discipline, and allotting to him the light of his love, he did not abandon him"); *Pss. Sol.* 18:3–4 ("Your judgments [are] upon the whole land in mercy, and your love is upon the seed of Abraham, the sons of Israel. Your discipline is upon us as upon a firstborn, an only son"); *L.A.B.* 16:5 ("Our father [Korah] engendered us, but the Almighty created us. And now, if we walk in his ways, we will be his sons"). On these texts cf. Kugel, "4Q369," 128–31.

the nations, and they attempt to “lead them astray from following him” (see *Jub.* 15:31). In the prayers in the book of *Jubilees* (cf. *Jub.* 1:19–20; 10:1–3; 12:19–20), God is asked for protection against these evil spirits. He himself rules over Israel (*Jub.* 19:28). Abraham also refers to Mastema and the angels in his blessing of Jacob, which must protect him from this threat.

Both in *Jub.* 19:24 and in *Jub.* 19:27b (C and C') the blessing of Jacob is clearly a continuation of God's blessing of Israel in the first week of creation. In his speech to Rebekah, Abraham states that through Jacob's descendants his name and the names of his ancestors “Shem, Noah, Enoch, Malaleel, Enos, Seth, and Adam [are] blessed” (*Jub.* 19:24). In his blessing of Jacob, Abraham prays that God transposes the blessings “with which he blessed Adam, Enoch, Noah, and Shem” onto Jacob (*Jub.* 19:27). Jacob is blessed with the blessing of his ancestors, and with this blessing he will be a blessing for his ancestors. The list of ancestors is more elaborate the first time it is mentioned (Shem, Noah, Enoch, Malaleel, Enos, Seth, and Adam) than the second time (Adam, Enoch, Noah, and Shem). Moreover, the sequence is reversed.

7. CONCLUSIONS

The family events that are brought together in *Jub.* 19 point towards a transition from the Abraham narrative to that of Jacob. The chapter deals with Sarah's death, the marriage of Isaac and Rebekah, Abraham's marriage to Keturah, and the birth of Jacob and Esau. It roughly runs parallel with Gen 23:1–25:4 but also incorporates material from Gen 25:19–28. The most striking element in this regard is the transposition of the births of Jacob and Esau. As far as the dating is concerned, their birth took place before Abraham's death. However, in the Genesis narrative, their birth is narrated only after Abraham's death. The reordering of the biblical material in the book of *Jubilees* removes a chronological inconsistency. All of the important events are put into the chronological framework of the book according to their appropriate place in history. Moreover, the reordering allows Abraham to give his blessings and testimony to his grandson Jacob. In fact, a direct lineage between Abraham and Jacob is created, and Isaac is put aside somewhat.

As far as the choice of words is concerned, the text of *Jubilees* 19 deviates from Gen 23:1–25:4 extensively. *Jubilees* 19:1–9 abbreviates the story of Gen 23:1–20 to a great extent, while the extensive story about

the search for a wife for Isaac (Genesis 24) is summarized in only one verse. Moreover, there is an addition (*Jub.* 19:15–31) and an omission (Gen 25:3–4).

Jubilees differs from Genesis in that Abraham returns to Kiriath Arba after the *Akedah* and lives with Sarah for fourteen years. Moreover, Sarah's death and burial are called trials for Abraham, probably the last two in a series of ten tests of which seven were enumerated in *Jub.* 17:17. Concerning Abraham's marriage, Keturah was his third wife, whom he married after Hagar's death and who was a member of his household. *Jubilees* stresses Jacob's priority and privileged position. The account of the twins' birth mentions Jacob as the first-born. He is described as perfect and upright and as having learned the art of writing. With this, he is placed into a distinctive chain of tradition that started with Enoch, and this is further stressed by the blessings Abraham gives to him.

CHAPTER EIGHT

ABRAHAM'S TESTAMENT TO ALL HIS CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN (*JUB.* 20:1–13)

1. INTRODUCTION: THREE INTERRELATED FAREWELL SPEECHES (*JUB.* 20:1–23:8)

With regard to the last part of Abraham's life, his testaments to his children, and the description of his last day (*Jub.* 20–23), the text shows an enormous expansion in details that are not present in the story of Genesis. Nonetheless, there are passages in which the story almost verbally agrees in both texts. The text of Gen 25:5–10 is clearly recognizable in *Jubilees*. The distribution of Abraham's property (Gen 25:5–6) is adopted in *Jub.* 20:11, and his death (Gen 25:7–10) is taken over in *Jub.* 23:1, 7–8. The rest of *Jub.* 20–23 is built around these anchoring verses.

The elements of the narrative of the final part of Abraham's life in the book of Genesis that has been adopted in *Jub.* 20–23 are all part of the setting of a text that can best be characterized as a farewell or a testament speech. The narrative framework of a farewell speech is relatively simple.¹ In the beginning there are indications about the age of the one who delivers a speech, a notice of his immanent death, and a description of the situation in which the farewell speech is given: an old man orders his children, grandchildren, and friends to come to him in order to give his last advice for the future. He is able to give this advice at the moment of his dying because of his long life experiences. After the farewell speech is delivered, that narrative framework rounds off the speech with the mention of the death of the speaker, his funeral, and the mourning of the surviving relatives. As far as the form of the (long) farewell speech itself of

¹ For a study of the farewell speeches, see for example: K. Balzer, *Das Bundesformular* (2nd ed.; WMANT 4; Neukirchen, 1964), 142–70; E. Cortès, *Los discursos de adiós de Gn 49a Jn 13–17: Pistas para la historia de un género literario en la antigua literatura judía* (Barcelona, 1976); J.J. Collins, "Testaments," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (ed. M.E. Stone; CRINT 2.2; Assen, 1984), 325–56; E. von Nordheim, *Die Lehre der Alten: Das Testament als Literaturgattung im Judentum der Hellenistisch-römischen Zeit, I–II* (Leiden, 1980, 1985), I, 1–11, 229–42; M. Winter, *Das Vermächtnis Jesu und die Abschiedsworte der Väter: Gattungsgeschichtlich Untersuchung der Vermächtnisrede im Blick auf Joh. 13–17* (FRLANT 161; Göttingen, 1994).

the dying person to the gathered people is concerned, there are three elements that return time and again (in changing order): a look back on the past, instructions for a proper behavior, and indications for the future.

Jubilees 20–23 contains, in fact, three related farewell speeches (*Jub.* 20:1–13; 21:1–26; 22:1–23:8) in which the basic form elements of the farewell speech are present. An indication of Abraham’s age is given in the first speech indirectly “during the forty-second jubilee, in the first year of the seventh week” (*Jub.* 20:1a), which is five years before his second speech (cf. *Jub.* 21:1a: “In the sixth year of the seventh week of this jubilee”), where Abraham says to Isaac that he is one hundred and seventy-five years old (*Jub.* 21:2a), which is the same age explicitly given in the introduction of the third speech (*Jub.* 22:7) and repeated after he dies (*Jub.* 23:8). The immanent death is not mentioned in the first testament speech, because five years remain before his actual death. In the second speech Abraham’s approaching death is mentioned at the very beginning: “I am old but I do not know the day of my death because I am full of my days” (*Jub.* 21:1c–e). In the third speech, the immanent death is mentioned most emphatically: “it is the year that Abraham died” (*Jub.* 22:1a). Abraham blesses the creator of everything “before he died” (*Jub.* 22:4f), and he says, “I am old with my time completed” (*Jub.* 22:7c). This third farewell speech is delivered on Abraham’s very last day. On this last day, on the Festival of Weeks, Abraham delivers his last words to Jacob, and he performs his last deeds, after which he finally dies. The third formal element of the farewell speech (the description of the situation) occurs in all three speeches. In the first one, “Abraham summoned Ishmael and his twelve children, Isaac and his two children, and the six children of Keturah and their sons” (*Jub.* 20:1). After this speech, Abraham distributes his property among his children (*Jub.* 20:11). In the second speech, “Abraham summoned his son Isaac” (*Jub.* 21:1). A very extensive description of the situation is given as an introduction to the third speech. The first part of the text describes how Isaac and Ishmael visited their father Abraham to celebrate the Festival of Weeks (*Jub.* 22:1–9). Concerning the narrative framework after the actual speech, it may be clear that the first two speeches do not mention the speaker’s death or his funeral. After Abraham’s extensive final speech to Jacob, it is described elaborately (*Jub.* 23:1–8).

Within this narrative framework, Abraham delivers his speeches. All three formal elements are present. There is a look back on the past (cf. *Jub.* 21:2–3; 22:7d–8a). We also find indications with regard to the future, mostly given in the form of blessings for good behavior and curses for bad behavior (cf. *Jub.* 20:10; 21:21–24; 22:11). What stands out more than

the other two elements are the instructions about proper behavior. Abraham's instructions to all his children (*Jub.* 20) include the commandments to love one another, to circumcise, to avoid fornication and uncleanness, not to marry Canaanite women, to love the God of heaven, and to avoid idols. Abraham's testament to Isaac (*Jub.* 21) is dedicated for a large part to instructions about cultic matters. In Abraham's speech to Jacob (esp. *Jub.* 22:10–25), a clear anti-gentile bias is articulated in a number of prohibitions.

Despite the fact that *Jubilees* pays attention to Abraham's death, the emphasis on the instructions for proper behavior shows that death itself is not to be at the very center of the attention. The circumstances of the death are not the most important issue. It is not *Jubilees'* intention to instruct people with regard to their own death. As such it is not counseling for the dying, but counseling for life.² The immanent death of the dying person is not the focus but rather the future life of the listeners. It is not the dying person that matters but the gathered people and their future behavior. The immanent death of the dying person is the immediate cause for a last instruction, which is supposedly the best of all instructions, because all experiences, memories, and insights have come to a climax, at the moment of the end of life. He will not gain any new experience of life. This is the most appropriate moment to give to the next generation the collected memories and insights as assistance for their future life. Although Abraham is a patriarch with authority for later generations, his coming end seems to give his words even more authority. As a father, he summons his children and grandchildren to instruct them in proper behavior, for which he delivers the total of his life experiences to the next generation.

2. THE STRUCTURE OF *JUBILEES* 20:1–13

Jubilees 20 contains the first of the three farewell speeches. Whereas the second testament is directed exclusively to Isaac and the final one to Jacob, this first one is aimed at all of his descendants. According to *Jubilees*, the first speech took place in the forty-second jubilee, in the first year of the seventh week, which gives us a date of 2052 *a.m.*, eight years before Abraham's death. The text of *Jub.* 20:1–13 runs as follows:

² Von Nordheim, *Die Lehre des Alten*, I, 237–39.

Jubilees 20:1–13

- 1a DURING THE FORTY-SECOND JUBILEE, IN THE FIRST YEAR OF THE SEVENTH WEEK, ABRAHAM SUMMONED ISHMAEL AND HIS TWELVE CHILDREN, ISAAC AND HIS TWO CHILDREN, AND THE SIX CHILDREN OF KETURAH AND THEIR SONS.
- 2a HE COMMANDED THEM TO KEEP THE WAY OF THE LORD
 b SO THAT THEY WOULD DO WHAT IS RIGHT
 c AND THAT THEY SHOULD LOVE EACH ONE HIS NEIGHBOUR;
 d THAT THEY SHOULD BE LIKE THIS IN EVERY WAR
 e SO THAT THEY COULD GO AGAINST EACH ONE (WHO WAS) AGAINST THEM;
 f AND DO WHAT IS JUST AND RIGHT ON THE EARTH;
- 3a THAT THEY SHOULD CIRCUMCISE THEIR SONS IN THE COVENANT WHICH HE HAD MADE WITH THEM;
 b THAT THEY SHOULD NOT DEVIATE TO THE RIGHT OR LEFT FROM ALL THE WAYS WHICH THE LORD HAS COMMANDED US;
 c THAT WE SHOULD KEEP OURSELVES FROM ALL FORNICATION AND UNCLEANNESS;
 d AND THAT WE SHOULD DISMISS ALL UNCLEANNESS AND FORNICATION FROM AMONG US.
- 4a “IF ANY WOMAN OR GIRL AMONG YOU COMMITS A FORNICATION, BURN HER IN FIRE”;
 b THEY ARE NOT TO COMMIT FORNICATIONS (BY) FOLLOWING THEIR EYES AND THEIR HEART SO THAT THEY TAKE WIVES FOR THEMSELVES FROM THE CANAANITE WOMEN,
 c BECAUSE THE DESCENDANTS OF CANAAN WILL BE UPROOTED FROM THE EARTH.
- 5a HE TOLD THEM ABOUT THE PUNISHMENT OF THE GIANTS AND THE PUNISHMENT OF SODOM—
 b HOW THEY WERE CONDEMNED BECAUSE OF THEIR WICKEDNESS;
 c BECAUSE OF THE FORNICATION, UNCLEANNESS, AND CORRUPTION AMONG THEMSELVES THEY DIED IN (THEIR) FORNICATION.
- 6a “NOW YOU KEEP YOURSELVES FROM ALL FORNICATION AND UNCLEANNESS AND FROM ALL THE CONTAMINATION OF SIN
 b 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.
 c THEN YOU WILL BE ACCURSED LIKE SODOM,
 d AND ALL WHO REMAIN OF YOU LIKE THE PEOPLE OF GOMORRAH.
- 7a I TESTIFY TO YOU MY SONS:
 b LOVE THE GOD OF HEAVEN
 c AND HOLD FAST TO ALL HIS COMMANDMENTS.
 d DO NOT FOLLOW THEIR IDOLS AND THEIR UNCLEANNESS.
- 8a DO NOT MAKE FOR YOURSELVES GODS THAT ARE MOLTEN IMAGES OR STATUES
 b BECAUSE THEY ARE SOMETHING EMPTY
 c AND HAVE NO SPIRIT IN THEM.
 d FOR THEY ARE MADE BY HANDS,

- e AND ALL WHO TRUST IN THEM ALL TRUST IN NOTHING AT ALL.
 f DO NOT WORSHIP THEM OR BOW TO THEM.
 ga RATHER, WORSHIP THE MOST HIGH GOD
 b AND BOW TO HIM CONTINUALLY.
 c LOOK EXPECTANTLY FOR HIS PRESENCE AT ALL TIMES,
 d AND DO WHAT IS RIGHT AND JUST BEFORE HIM
 e SO THAT HE MAY BE DELIGHTED WITH YOU,
 f GIVE YOU HIS FAVOUR,
 g AND MAKE THE RAIN TO FALL FOR YOU MORNING AND EVENING;
 h BLESS EVERYTHING THAT YOU DO—ALL THAT YOU HAVE DONE ON
 EARTH;
 i BLESS YOUR FOOD AND WATER;
 j AND BLESS THE PRODUCTS OF YOUR LOINS, THE PRODUCTS OF YOUR LAND,
 THE HERDS OF YOUR CATTLE, AND THE FLOCKS OF YOUR SHEEP.
 10a YOU WILL BECOME A BLESSING ON THE EARTH,
 b AND ALL THE NATIONS OF THE EARTH WILL BE DELIGHTED WITH YOU.
 c THEY WILL BLESS YOUR SONS IN MY NAME
 d SO THAT THEY MAY BE BLESSED AS I AM.”
 11a HE GAVE GIFTS TO ISHMAEL, HIS SONS AND KETURAH'S SONS
 b AND HE SENT THEM AWAY FROM HIS SON ISAAC,
 c HE GAVE ALL HE HAD TO HIS SON ISAAC,
 12a ISHMAEL, HIS SONS, KETURAH'S SONS, AND THEIR SONS WENT TOGETHER
 b AND SETTLED FROM PARAN AS FAR AS THE ENTRANCE OF BABYLON—IN ALL
 THE LAND TOWARD THE EAST OPPOSITE THE DESERT,
 13 THEY MIXED WITH ONE ANOTHER AND WERE CALLED ARABS AND
 ISHMAELITES.

Jubilees 20:1–13 consists of three parts: a. introduction (*Jub.* 20:1); b. instruction (*Jub.* 20:2–10); and c. conclusion (*Jub.* 20:11–13). In the introduction and the conclusion, Abraham's children and grandchildren are mentioned by name. The instruction itself comprises two sections. The first (*Jub.* 20:2–5) is mainly a narrative text in which the reporting angel relates the content of Abraham's speech. The use of the third person plural (verbs; objects) is predominant here (cf. *Jub.* 20:2a–3b, 4–5). The second section (*Jub.* 20:6–10) takes the form of direct speech in which Abraham (“I”) addresses his children and grandchildren. The use of the second person is predominant in this part of the text (see also the use of the first person singular in *Jub.* 20:7a: “I testify to you my sons” and *Jub.* 20:10cd: “They will bless your sons in my name so that they may be blessed as I am”). The direct speech is embedded in the narrative text without explicit introduction, although in *Jub.* 20:5a a form of the verb “to tell” is used (“He told them about...”).

In the first section (*Jub.* 20:2–5) there is a syntactical irregularity. At the end of *Jub.* 20:3b, the first person plural is unexpectedly used in the narrative context (“that they should not deviate to the right or left from

all the ways which the Lord has commanded *us*"). The text continues in *Jub.* 20:3cd with two almost identical sentences using verbs in the first person plural ("that *we* should keep ourselves from all fornication and uncleanness and that *we* should dismiss all uncleanness and fornication from among *us*"). It is not clear who is meant by the first person plural. It can hardly be the relating angel.³ It could be Abraham speaking inclusively to his descendants, but that is irregular in a narrative context.⁴ It is also improbable that the author of the book of *Jubilees* would be referring here to himself and his contemporaries because the prohibition of fornication was of special relevance to the author at the time.⁵ There is no reason to suppose that the author would break away from the narrative context to address his readers. There are no other examples of this. Moreover, it is not clear why the prohibition of fornication would have been the only issue relevant at the time of composition of *Jubilees*. It is true that the transition from third person plural to first person plural coincides more or less with the change of subject, namely from the social laws (*Jub.* 20:2a–3b) to those of fornication and uncleanness, but in *Jub.* 20:4b–5c the text speaks about these laws again in the third person plural ("they are not to commit fornications" etc.). Moreover, the problem already begins in *Jub.* 20:3b at the end of the social laws. More or less in line with the use of the first person plural is the use of the second person plural in *Jub.* 20:4a ("If any woman or girl among *you* commits a fornication, *burn* her in fire"). One might consider it as direct speech embedded in a narrative context without explicit introduction. It is, however, ungrammatical. Therefore, we consider the use of the first and second person plural to be syntactical irregularities, which might have originated in the process of textual transmission. They are perhaps caused by the direct speech in

³ See elsewhere in *Jubilees*, where the first person plural is used for the angels: *Jub.* 2:3, 17, 30; 3:1, 9, 12, 15; 4:2, 6, 19, 23; 5:23; 10:10–13, 23; 14:20; 16:1–4, 7, 15–16, 19, 28; 18:14; 19:3; 48:10–11, 13, 16, 18–19; 50:2.

⁴ See, e.g., *Jub.* 12:2, 20; 18:4 where "we" in a direct speech of Abraham is used. In the direct speech of *Jub.* 20:6–10, the first person *singular* is used to refer to Abraham (*Jub.* 20:7a, 10d).

⁵ So, e.g., Winter, *Das Vermächtnis Jesu*, 151, who affirms that with the first person plural "zweifelloos die aktuellen Adressaten des Verfassers als Zielgruppe der Paränese gemeint sind." According to Milgrom, however, intermarriage is persistently attacked in *Jubilees*, whereas idolatry is barely an issue. He assumes that marriage with gentiles in particular becomes a threat in times of peace and stability. For Milgrom, this points to the composition of *Jubilees* during a period in which assimilation to Hellenism was rife and reaching a crisis point. See J. Milgrom, "The Concept of Impurity in *Jubilees* and the *Temple Scroll*," *RevQ* 16 (1993): 277–84 (esp. 281–84).

the continuation of the text (*Jub.* 20:6–10). This is especially apparent in the close resemblance between *Jub.* 20:3c (“that we should keep ourselves from all fornication and uncleanness”) and *Jub.* 20:6a (“Now you keep yourselves from all sexual impurity and uncleanness”).

Abraham’s instruction focuses on several commandments (*Jub.* 20:2–4, 6a, 7–9d), followed by the punishment for not executing them (*Jub.* 20:5, 6b–d) and blessings for their execution (*Jub.* 20:9e–10d). In a strict sense, the punishments are related to the laws of fornication and uncleanness (*Jub.* 20:3c–4, 6a). There is no sanction formulated for the social laws (*Jub.* 20:2–3b). The commandment to love God (*Jub.* 20:7–9d) is followed by a blessing (*Jub.* 20:9e–10f). We can therefore also map the structure as follows:

- I. *Jub.* 20:2–3b: *Social laws*
 - a. 20:2a–2e (“do what is right”: love of neighbour)
 - b. 20:2f–3b (“do what is just and right on earth”: circumcision)
- II. *Jub.* 20:3c–6: *Fornication and uncleanness*
 - a. 20:3c–5 (“keep from fornication,” followed by punishment)
 - b. 20:6 (“keep from fornication,” followed by punishment)
- III. *Jub.* 20:7–10: *Loving God*
 - a. 20:7–9d (commandment)
 - b. 20:9e–10f (blessings)

The first subsection (*Jub.* 20:2–3b) is framed by two similar phrases: *Jub.* 20:2a (“He commanded that they should keep the way of the Lord”) and *Jub.* 20:3b (“from all the ways which the Lord had commanded”). Within this subsection, one can distinguish two smaller units, each introduced in a comparable way—*Jub.* 20:2b (“that they would do what is right”) and *Jub.* 20:2f (“and do what is just and right on the earth”).

The second subsection (*Jub.* 20:3c–6) shows the predominant use of the words “fornication” and “uncleanness.” Both appear four times as a pair (*Jub.* 20:3c, d, 5c, 6a). In the last two cases, a third expression is added: “corruption” (*Jub.* 20:5c) and “contamination of sin” (*Jub.* 20:6a) respectively. “Fornication” also occurs independently of “uncleanness” in *Jub.* 20:4a, b, 5c and “uncleanness” independently of “fornication” in *Jub.* 20:7d. The alternation of commandment and punishment gives rise to a division into two units (*Jub.* 20:3c–5 and 20:6), which also runs parallel with the alternation of narrative and direct speech. The first subdivision mentions the judgment of the giants and Sodom that has already been executed (*Jub.* 20:5), whereas the second subdivision points to future judgment that will be equivalent to the punishment of Sodom and Gomorrah (*Jub.* 20:6cd).

The third subsection (*Jub.* 20:7–10) deals with the love of God. As we have seen, one can distinguish two subunits here. First, there is the commandment to love the God of heaven and to withdraw from worshipping idols (*Jub.* 20:7a–9d), after which the reward is mentioned (*Jub.* 20:9e–10d). The first unit shows a kind of *inclusio*. The commandment begins (*Jub.* 20:7a–c) and ends (*Jub.* 20:9a–d) with a positive formulation, to love and worship (*Jub.* 20:7bc, 9ab). In between (*Jub.* 20:7d–8f), there is a negative formulation, namely the command not to worship idols. The observation of God’s commandment (*Jub.* 20:7c) and doing what is right and just (*Jub.* 20:9d) are both connected with the love of God.

3. *JUBILEES* 20:1–13 AND THE BOOK OF GENESIS

In *Jubilees*, Abraham’s instruction to his children and grandchildren (*Jub.* 20:1–10) is placed immediately before the account of his distribution of property (*Jub.* 20:11), which is an adoption of the biblical account (*Gen* 25:5–6). The formulation of the settling of Ishmael and his sons and of Keturah’s sons (*Jub.* 20:12–13) is directly influenced by the genealogy of Ishmael (*Gen* 25:12–18). The testament itself, which strictly speaking is an addition to the biblical text, is also influenced by biblical material. The arrangement might reflect *Gen* 18:18–19, while several details in the text correspond to other scriptural passages. In the following sections, we discuss the various passages. We begin with *Jub.* 20:11–13, because it has a direct connection with the Abraham narrative in Genesis.

3.1. *The Rewriting of Genesis 25:5–6 in Jubilees 20:11–13*

<p>Genesis 25:5–6 5 Abraham gave all he had to [] Isaac. 6a Abraham gave gifts to <i>the sons of his concubines</i>, b AND WHILE HE WAS STILL LIVING c he sent them away from his son Isaac, []</p>	<p><i>Jubilees</i> 20:11–13 11a <i>He</i> gave gifts to <i>Ishmael</i>, HIS SONS and to <i>Keturah’s sons</i> [] b and sent them away from his son Isaac [], c he gave all he had to his son Isaac, 12a ISHMAEL, HIS SONS, KETURAH’S SONS, AND THEIR SONS WENT TOGETHER</p>
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eastward to the land of east.

[]

- b AND SETTLED FROM PARAN AS FAR AS THE ENTRANCE OF BABYLON—IN ALL *the land toward the east* OPPOSITE THE DESERT,
 13a THEY MIXED WITH ONE ANOTHER AND WERE CALLED ARABS AND ISHMAELITES.

Genesis 25:5–6 is mainly rewritten in *Jub.* 20:11. There is a kind of rearrangement in that in Genesis the gifts are first handed over to Isaac (Gen 25:5) and then to the children of his concubines (Gen 25:6a), after which he sends these other children away from Isaac (Gen 25:6bc). The rearrangement in *Jubilees* may be based on the fact that in the biblical text it is first stated that Abraham “gave *all* he had to Isaac” (Gen 25:5), after which he is still able to give gifts to the sons of his concubines. It seems to be more logical that he first gave gifts to the children of his concubines (*Jub.* 20:11a) and thereafter all he had left to Isaac (*Jub.* 20:11c). Probably related to this rearrangement is the fact that in *Jubilees* the children are also sent away before Abraham gave all he had to Isaac (*Jub.* 20:11b). Is it conceivable that the author of *Jubilees* is somewhat more tactful than the biblical text with respect to Abraham’s other children? This sensibility might also be reflected in the more elaborate rendering of “the sons of the concubines” (Gen 25:6a: ולבני הפילגשים) as “Ishmael, his sons and . . . Keturah’s sons” (*Jub.* 20:11a; cf. 20:1).

It is possible that the last phrase of Gen 25:6c (“eastward to the land of east”) is reflected in *Jub.* 20:12b (“in all the land toward the east”). In this case, *Jub.* 20:12–13 is an elaboration of the last phrase of Gen 25:6c in which it is made clear that the dismissal of Ishmael and Keturah and their sons has actually taken place. Moreover, they are said to have settled elsewhere and mixed with one another.

It may be clear that apart from Gen 25:1–4 (cf. *Jub.* 19:11–12), where the six sons of Keturah and their children are mentioned, Gen 25:12–18 also plays a part in the formulation of *Jub.* 20:1, 12–13. In Gen 25:12–18, not only are Ishmael’s twelve sons indicated but also the places of their settlement, and thus in a certain way *Jub.* 20:12b–13 rewrites Gen 25:18:

Genesis 25:18

18a They []

settled from *Havilah to Shur*, b
 which is opposite Egypt in the
 direction of Assyria;

Jubilees 20:12–13

12a *Ishmael, his sons*, KETURAH’S SONS,
 AND THEIR SONS WENT TOGETHER
 AND settled from *Paran as far as*
 the entrance of Babylon—in all the
 land toward the east opposite the
 desert,

- b HE SETTLED OVER AGAINST ALL []
 HIS PEOPLE.
 []
- 13a THEY MIXED WITH ONE ANOTHER
 AND WERE CALLED ARABS AND
 ISHMAELITES.

3.2. *Genesis 18:18–19 and Jubilees 20:2–10*

As we have seen, the text of Gen 25:5–6 does not refer to any testamentary speech by Abraham. It only reports the distribution of gifts to all of his sons. One could interpret *Jub.* 20:2–10 as a kind of ethical will that precedes the financial will, namely the distribution of goods (*Jub.* 20:11–13; cf. Gen 25:5–6).⁶

In the book of Genesis, ethical wills are rare.⁷ Fathers seldom give their children specific commandments, and if they do, these usually concern the execution of a specific assignment. For example, Isaac commands Jacob to go to Paddan-Aram to choose a wife from Abraham's family, rather than a Canaanite woman (Gen 28:1–2); Jacob commands his children to bury him with his fathers (Gen 49:29–33); and, before his death, Jacob commands Joseph to forgive his brothers (Gen 50:16–17). More often, fathers bless their children and predict their future (e.g., Gen 9:24–27; 27:1–40; 49:1–28). The only exception is Gen 18:19, and it has been suggested that this is the clue for the addition of Abraham's testament.⁸ In this text, Abraham commands (יִצְוֶה) his children "to keep the way of Yhwh by doing what is right and just" (Gen 18:19b). It is for this reason that Yhwh chose Abraham (Gen 18:19a: "For I have known him"), and because of the fulfilment of this instruction, God will reward him (Gen 18:19c: "so that Yhwh may bring to Abraham what he has promised him"). For ancient interpreters, Gen 18:19 might have raised the question of how it was possible that Abraham was instructed to command his children (plural), when only Ishmael was born. It is possible that *Jubilees* attempts to answer this question in *Jub.* 20:2–10 by juxtaposing Abraham's command with his final actions.

It is tempting to consider Gen 18:18–19 as the basis for the composition of *Jub.* 20:2–10. There are several similarities between the texts. Firstly,

⁶ Compare *Jub.* 36:1–9 (Isaac's testament to Jacob and Esau) that precedes the distribution of property (*Jub.* 36:12–14).

⁷ For the following, cf. D. Lambert, "Last Testaments in the Book of *Jubilees*," *DSD* 11 (2004): 82–107 (esp. 84).

⁸ This was first suggested by M. Kister, "Commentary to 4Q298," *JQR* 85 (1994): 237–49 (esp. 245–46); cf. Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 147, note 7. The suggestion is worked out by Lambert, "Last Testaments," 85–7.

one can point to the resemblance of Gen 18:19b (“that he may command his children and his household after him to keep the way of Yhwh by doing what is right and just”) with *Jub.* 20:2ab (“He commanded them to keep the way of the Lord so that they would do what is right”), 20:2f (“and do what is just and right on the earth”), and 20:9d (“and do what is right and just before him”). Secondly, one can focus on the resemblance between Gen 18:18b (“and all the nations of the earth shall bless themselves by him”) and *Jub.* 20:10b–d (“and all the nations of the earth will be delighted with you. They will bless your sons in my name so that they may be blessed as I am”). Thirdly, the rewards in *Jub.* 20:9e–10d might be related to Gen 18:19d (“so that Yhwh may bring to Abraham what he has promised him”). Finally, one can also point to the fact that Gen 18:19 is placed in the context of the narrative of Sodom and Gomorrah (Genesis 18–19). Abraham refers to this narrative in *Jub.* 20:5a (“the punishment of Sodom”) and *Jub.* 20:6cd (“Then you will be accursed like Sodom, and all who remain of you like the people of Gomorrah”). One might conclude that *Jub.* 20:2–10 indeed forms a specific interpretation of Gen 18:18–19.

The general and somewhat abstract formulation of the commandment in Gen 18:19 (“to keep the way of Yhwh by doing what is right and just”) is made concrete in specific rules: to love one another; to circumcise; to keep from fornication and uncleanness; not to marry Canaanite women; to love the God of heaven; and to keep away from idols. Most of these rules are related to events in Abraham’s own life.⁹ Circumcision is the only commandment explicitly given to Abraham and his descendants (Gen 17:9–14; *Jub.* 15:11–14), fornication is related to the punishment of Sodom (Gen 19; *Jub.* 16:5–6), and the prohibition against intermarriage can be related to Abraham’s concern that Isaac not marry a Canaanite woman (Gen 24). Abraham’s love of God can be related to his designation as “friend of the Lord” (Isa 41:8; 2 Chr 20:7; cf. *Jub.* 19:9) and the opposition to idols can be related to Abraham’s early life (see Josh 24:2–3; cf. *Jub.* 11–12). Below, I will explore some of these commandments in more detail.

3.3. *The Love of One’s Neighbour in Relation to War (Jub. 20:2c–e)*

The commandment to love one’s neighbor (*Jub.* 20:2c: “and that they should love each one his neighbor”) is probably taken from Lev 19:18b (“You shall love your neighbour [who is] as yourself”).¹⁰ It also occurs

⁹ Cf. Lambert, “Last Testaments,” 92–3.

¹⁰ Cf. Lambert, “Last Testaments,” 89.

in the same formulation elsewhere in *Jubilees* in the testament of Noah (*Jub.* 7:20: “and that they should love each one his neighbor”) and in a more elaborate way in the testament of Isaac (*Jub.* 36:4: “Be, my sons, among yourselves loving your brothers, like a man who loves himself, with each one aiming at doing what is good for his brother and at doing things together on the earth. May they love one another as themselves”; *Jub.* 36:8: “. . . as each loves his brother kindly and properly. One is not to desire what is bad for his brother now and forever, throughout your entire lifetime, so that you may be prosperous in everything that you do and not be destroyed”).

Lev 19:18b is part of a textual subunit, 19:17–18, within Leviticus 19, which is built up as a parallelism:

- A 17a You shall not hate your brother in your heart,
 B b but you shall reprove your fellow,
 C c lest you bear sin because of him.
 A' 18a You shall not take vengeance or bear any grudge against the sons of
 your own people,
 B' b but you shall love your neighbor [who is] as yourself:
 C' c I am Yhwh.

The signs A and A' refer to prohibitions, B and B' to answers to the prohibitions, and C and C' to the rationale.¹¹ This structure is of some importance for the understanding of Lev 19:18b. The love of the neighbor is put in parallel with the reproofing of one's fellow (Lev 19:17b), but it stands in contrast to the taking of vengeance or bearing any grudge against the sons of one's own people (Lev 19:18a) and with hatred of the brother (Lev 19:17a). “Your neighbor” (רֵעֵךְ) can be put on a par with “your brother” (Lev 19:17a: אָחִיךָ), “your fellow” (Lev 19:17b: עִמִּיתֶךָ), and “the sons of your own people” (Lev 19:18a: בְּנֵי עַמֶּךָ).¹² There are places where רֵעַ can also refer to non-Israelites (e.g., Exod 11:2), but this is not the case in Lev 19:18b. An additional argument is the fact that love for the resident non-Israelite (גֵּר) is reserved for Lev 18:34, indicating that רֵעַ here means “fellow Israelite.”¹³ The loving activity (Lev 19:18b: אָהַב) not only points

¹¹ J. Milgrom, *Leviticus 17–22: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 3a; New York 2000), 1646.

¹² Cf. J. Kugel, “On Hidden Hatred and Open Reproach: Early Exegesis of Leviticus 19:17,” *HTR* 80 (1987): 43–61 (esp. 45).

¹³ Milgrom, *Leviticus 17–22*, 1654; Cf. W.H. Gispen, *Het boek Leviticus* (COut; Kampen, 1950), 280; J.E. Hartley, *Leviticus* (WBC 4; Dallas, Tex., 1992), 318; J.S. Kaminsky, “Loving One's (Israelite) Neighbor: Election and Commandment in Leviticus 19,” *Interpretation* 62 (2008): 123–32.

to emotions but also to deeds (e.g., Deut 11:1; 10:18–19), and it can even have legal connotations.¹⁴ In its immediate context, אהב is put in parallel with “reproving” (Lev 19:17b) and in contrast to “to take vengeance,” “to bear a grudge” (Lev 19:18a), and “to hate” (Lev 19:17a). The last element of Lev 19:18b, כּמוֹךְ is somewhat difficult to interpret. Most commentators interpret it adverbially. It modifies the verb (“to love”): “Love (the good) for your fellow as you (love the good for) yourself,” which is abbreviated to “love your fellow as yourself.”¹⁵ Others read it adjectivally, as modifying the noun (“your neighbour”). It is an equivalent of אִישׁ כּמוֹךְ (“who is a person like you”: Deut 5:14; 18:15).¹⁶

The relationship between *Jub.* 20:2c (“and that they should love each one his neighbor”) and Lev 19:17–18 is not completely obvious. If it refers to Lev 19:17–18 at all, it can be related only to Lev 19:18b (“but you shall love your neighbor [who is] as yourself”).

Leviticus 19:17–18

Jubilees 20:2c–e

17a YOU SHALL NOT HATE YOUR BROTHER IN YOUR HEART,

[]

b BUT YOU SHALL REPROVE YOUR FELLOW,

c LEST YOU BEAR SIN BECAUSE OF HIM.

18a YOU SHALL NOT TAKE VENGEANCE OR BEAR ANY GRUDGE AGAINST THE SONS OF YOUR OWN PEOPLE,

b *but you shall love [] your neighbor [WHO IS] AS YOURSELF: [ואהבת לרעך כמוך]*

c *and that they should love EACH ONE his neighbor []; [wayāfəqr 'ahadu 'ahadu bišo]*

d THAT THEY SHOULD BE LIKE THIS IN EVERY WAR

e SO THAT THEY COULD GO AGAINST EACH ONE (WHO WAS) AGAINST THEM;

c I AM YHWH.

¹⁴ Cf. Milgrom, *Leviticus 17–22*, 1654.

¹⁵ Milgrom, *Leviticus 17–22*, 1655.

¹⁶ A. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel* (Leipzig, 1909), II: 65: “the like of thee,” which signifies in this context “one who is like thyself, an Israelite.” According to Ehrlich the non-Israelites are exempt from this precept of neighborly love (cf. Lev 19:34). See also T. Muraoka, “A Syntactic Problem in Lev. xix. 18b,” *JSS* 23 (1978): 291–97; C.M. Carmichael, “Laws of Leviticus 19,” *HTR* 87 (1994): 239–56 (esp. 255). Muraoka (“Syntactic Problem,” 295) remarks that כּמוֹךְ is not “strictly speaking, an adjectival but a nominal in apposition, ‘the like of you,’ ‘a person who is like you.’” Hartley (*Leviticus*, 318) states that the “standard for loving or being beneficial to another person is that that person is like one’s very own self, thus being worthy of one’s love.”

The literary context of Lev 19:18b cannot be found in *Jub.* 20:2 nor in the rest of the testament. Moreover, *Jub.* 20:2c and Lev 19:18b are not identical. There is a difference in number: the second person singular appears in Lev 19:18b and the third person plural in *Jub.* 20:2c. Moreover, the third person plural form in *Jub.* 20:2c is elaborated with the addition “each one.” In addition to this, in Lev 19:18b the preferred reading of וְ seems to be a וְ-adversative. It is not possible to read the *wa* at the beginning of *Jub.* 20:2c as an adversative. Furthermore, the phrase “[who is] as yourself” (כַּמוֹךָ) is omitted in *Jub.* 20:2c. This text does not clarify how the author of *Jubilees* would have read the phrase from Lev 19:18b. *Jubilees* 20:2de (“that they should be like this in every war so that they could go against each one [who was] against them”) can be understood as an addition with regard to Lev 19:18b, and it probably contains an answer to the question concerning who is “your neighbor” and the meaning of “to love.” The reference to the commandment to love in a context of war is unexpected but not impossible.¹⁷ The commandment to love is interpreted as a commandment to prevent internal discord in order to be able to join together against an enemy (*Jub.* 20:2e: “against each one who was against them”). This implies that “your neighbor” is understood as a compatriot.

Do the two other places that refer to Lev 19:18b in the book of *Jubilees* (7:20g; 36:4, 8) assist us to understand the way the commandment to love is read? In both places, the fathers, Noah and Isaac, are concerned about the inability of their children to keep peace among themselves after their deaths. The formulation of *Jub.* 7:20g is the same as *Jub.* 20:2c. If it refers to Lev 19:17–18 at all, it can be related only to Lev 19:18b. In the broad context one can point to the commandment to honor father and mother (*Jub.* 7:20g; Lev 19:3a) and the prohibition against eating blood (*Jub.* 7:29, 31; Lev 19:26a). However, these can also be found at several other places in the Hebrew Bible. The commandment to love one’s neighbor is incorporated into Noah’s testament (*Jub.* 7:20–39) in which his grandsons receive

¹⁷ Charles emended *šb* (“war”) to *sb* (“men”). See Charles, *Mashafa kufale*, 71, note 17; idem, *Book of Jubilees*, 129, note. He is followed by Berger and others. Apart from the textual evidence, this universalistic interpretation of Lev 19:18b seems improbable to me. Cf. note 10 of this chapter. Dillmann (“Das Buch der Jubiläen,” 3:17) followed the extant text (“dass sie ebenso sich in jedem kriege verhalten, dass sie gegen jeden, der gegen sie sei, ziehen.” According to VanderKam, the reference to war is unexpected but can be retained, because the continuation of the text (*Jub.* 20:2e: “so that they could go against each one [who was] against them”) can be understood in a military way. See VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*, II, 115.

the ordinances and commandments and Noah testifies to his sons that they should do what is right, which is explained as follows: (1) covering the shame of their bodies; (2) blessing the one who had created them; (3) honoring father and mother; (4) loving one another; and (5) keeping themselves from fornication, uncleanness, and all injustice (7:20). Related to the prohibition against fornication is the punishment of the watchers and the description of the giants who began to murder each other and the people (*Jub.* 7:21–22). Although Noah advises his sons to do what is right, he knows that in fact they walk in the way of destruction (*Jub.* 7:26), which means that they: (1) are separate from one another; (2) are jealous of one another; and (3) not together with one another. After Noah's death, (4) the shedding of human blood on the earth (*Jub.* 7:27) is added to this. The shedding of blood is important in the rest of the text (*Jub.* 7:23–25, 28–33). It is first ascribed to the fornication of the watchers (*Jub.* 7:21–22) and later to the seduction by the demons (*Jub.* 7:27: "the demons have begun to lead you and your children astray"). It is clear that Noah's request "that they should love each one his neighbor" (*Jub.* 7:20g) is made to prevent fraternal discord. Despite this fact, Noah knew his sons were jealous of each other and had moved apart (see also *Jub.* 7:13–19, especially 7:15).¹⁸

In his testament (*Jub.* 36:1–16), Isaac orders his sons Esau and Jacob to do what is right and just on earth, which is explained as the love of one's brother (*Jub.* 36:4, 8) and the rejection of idols and the worship of God (*Jub.* 36:5–6). Negatively formulated, to love one another is equivalent to not desiring what is bad for your brother (*Jub.* 36:8b–9).

Leviticus 19:17–18	<i>Jubilees</i> 36:4, 8
17a YOU SHALL NOT HATE YOUR	[]
BROTHER IN YOUR HEART,	
b BUT YOU SHALL REPROVE YOUR	
FELLOW,	
c LEST YOU BEAR SIN BECAUSE OF	
HIM.	
18a YOU SHALL NOT TAKE VENGEANCE	
OR BEAR ANY GRUDGE AGAINST	
THE SONS OF YOUR OWN PEOPLE,	

¹⁸ Cf. Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 149.

b	<i>but you shall love</i> [] your <i>neighbour</i> [who is] as yourself: []	36:4a	<i>Be, MY SONS, among yourselves loving your brothers, like a man who loves himself,</i>
		b	WITH EACH ONE AIMING AT DOING WHAT IS GOOD FOR HIS BROTHER AND AT DOING THINGS TOGETHER ON THE EARTH.
		c	MAY THEY LOVE ONE ANOTHER as themselves.
			...
		36:8aas each loves his brother KINDLY AND PROPERLY.
		b	ONE IS NOT TO DESIRE WHAT IS BAD FOR HIS BROTHER NOW AND FOREVER, THROUGHOUT YOUR ENTIRE LIFETIME,
		c	SO THAT YOU MAY BE PROSPEROUS IN EVERYTHING THAT YOU DO AND NOT BE DESTROYED.

The relationship between *Jub.* 36:4 and *Lev* 19:18b is obvious despite the fact that there are several dissimilarities. The “neighbor” is taken straightforwardly as the “brother(s)” (*Jub.* 36:4a, b) and in this way interpreted as not referring to human beings in general but to brotherly love in particular.¹⁹ The phrase *babajənatikmu* (“among yourselves”) expresses the notion that love is to be mutual. The addition of *Jub.* 36:4b is an interpretation of the verb “to love”: doing what is good for one’s brother and doing things together.²⁰ Furthermore, the phrase “[who is] as yourself” (כמוך), which is omitted in *Jub.* 7:20g; 20:2c, is adopted and interpreted: “like a man who loves himself.” It is clear that we have an adverbial interpretation of this phrase here.²¹ In *Jub.* 36:8, each one should love “kindly and properly.” In *Jub.* 37:4 Esau reminds his sons of the oath that both

¹⁹ According to Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 211, this seems to be a gloss. According to VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees, II*, 237, the plural form is unexpected here, which might be caused by the fact that the consonantal Hebrew form of “your brother” and “your brothers” is identical (אחיך).

²⁰ It is possible that *Jubilees* interprets ל in לרעה here as “for, on behalf of, for the sake of.” See Milgrom, *Leviticus 17–22*, 1653. This can lead to the following translation of *Lev* 19:18b: “Love (the good) for your fellow as you (love the good for) yourself.” According to Milgrom, *Leviticus 17–22*, 1655, this is the understanding of most commentators.

²¹ See notes 12–13 of this chapter. Milgrom, *Leviticus 17–22*, 1655, considers this text the earliest attestation of the adverbial interpretation of this phrase (although he incorrectly refers to *Jub.* 30:24 rather than *Jub.* 36:4). See the use of the verb “love” and the use of *nafso*: “like a man who loves his own soul.”

he and Jacob had sworn to their father “that we will not aim at what is bad, the one against his brother, and that we will continue in (a state of) mutual love and peace, each with his brother so that we should not corrupt our behaviour.” However, Esau’s sons do not want to make peace, so Esau says once again, in vain: “Do not make war with him” (*Jub.* 37:7). Their behavior will lead to war (*Jub.* 36:8–9; cf. 37:1–38:24).

To conclude, the commandment to love one another is used in *Jubilees* to prevent fraternal discord. This is made clear especially in the testaments of Noah and Isaac. The commandment to love one another and to join together in war against an enemy (*Jub.* 20:2c–d) finds a parallel in the testament of Isaac.

3.4. *Jubilees* 20:4a

The commandment to avoid fornication and uncleanness remains quite general in Abraham’s speech (*Jub.* 20:3cd, 6a), as is also the case in the rest of the book. This also applies to the instruction in *Jub.* 20:4a (“If any woman or girl among you commits a fornication”). However, it is perhaps possible to relate this case to a specific biblical text because of the punishment that is mentioned (“burn her in fire”).

In the Pentateuch, burning occurs as a form of punishment three times. It occurs in the narrative of Judah and Tamar: “About three months later Judah was told: ‘Tamar your daughter-in-law has committed fornication (זנות); and moreover, she is pregnant by fornication (לזנונים).’ And Judah said: ‘Bring her out, and let her be burned (והשרף)’” (*Gen* 38:24). In addition, it appears twice in Leviticus, in *Lev* 21:9, concerning the law with respect to the daughter of a priest (“If the daughter of a priest profanes herself through fornication [לזנות], she profanes her father; she shall be burned in fire [באש תשרף]”) and in *Lev* 20:14, a prohibition against intercourse with a woman and her mother (“If a man takes a wife and her mother also, it is wickedness; they shall be burned with fire [באש תשרף], both he and they, that there may be no wickedness among you”).²² The story of Genesis 38 seems to stand in contrast with *Lev* 21:9, unless one assumes that Tamar is the daughter of a priest.²³

²² Cf. *m. Sanh.* 9:1: “These are the ones to be burned: he that lies with woman and her daughter, and the daughter of a priest that has committed fornication.” The normal form of punishment for fornication was stoning. See *Deut* 22:23–24; cf. *Lev* 20:10; *Ezek* 16:40. See Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 67.

²³ This view is put forward in *Gen. Rab.* 85:10; *Tg. Ps.-J.* 38:24.

Jubilees 20:4 is most closely related to Lev 21:9, although there are differences:

Leviticus 21:9	<i>Jubilees</i> 20:4
9a If the daughter of a priest profanes herself through fornication,	4a If any woman or girl among you commits a fornication,
b SHE PROFANES HER FATHER;	[]
c she shall be burned in fire.	b burn her in fire

Jubilees 20:4 extends the law of Lev 21:9 to all Israelite women. This accords with the general tendency in *Jubilees* to see all Israelites as priests²⁴ and is developed on the basis of Exod 19:6 (“You shall be for me a kingdom of priests and a holy people”). In *Jub.* 41:28, Judah determines the punishment of his daughter-in-law “on the basis of the law which Abraham had commanded his children,” which refers back to Abraham’s testament in *Jub.* 20:4. Unlike rabbinic literature in which Tamar is made the daughter of a priest,²⁵ in *Jubilees* the law is extended to all women, and, moreover, it is made known to Abraham and his offspring. Therefore, Judah knew what to do.²⁶

Jubilees 41:25–26 also deals with the penalty of death by burning and has as its subject the case in which a man has intercourse with his mother-in-law (“anyone who lies with his mother-in-law is to be burned in fire”). This refers to the above-mentioned law of Lev 20:14. In the subsequent verse (*Jub.* 41:26), the man who has intercourse with his daughter-in-law is condemned (“Anyone who lies with his daughter-in-law or his mother-in-law has done something that is impure. They are to burn the man who lay with her and the woman”). This refers to Lev 20:12, although the form of the capital punishment is not specified (“If a man lies with his daughter-in-law, both of them shall be put to death; they have committed incest, their blood is upon them”). *Jubilees* seems to draw an analogy between Lev 20:12 and Lev 20:14, because it claims in both cases that the punishment is death by fire. Segal shows that the logic behind this analogy is that both prohibitions (against intercourse with one’s mother-in-law and intercourse with one’s daughter-in-law) are in fact mirror images in which man and woman switch roles.²⁷

²⁴ Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment of Women*, 150–51; cf. Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 11, 64. See also Finkelstein, “The Book of *Jubilees*,” 39–61.

²⁵ See note 23.

²⁶ Cf. G. Anderson, “The Status of the Torah before Sinai,” *DSD* 1 (1994): 1–30 (esp. 23).

²⁷ Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 68, note 22. See also D. Rothstein, “Sexual Union and Sexual Offenses in *Jubilees*,” *JSJ* 35 (2004): 363–84 (esp. 380–81).

It is not completely clear what precise sexual offence (the fornication) the women commit in *Jub.* 20:4a. It may be prostitution,²⁸ but it may also be a kind of incest.²⁹ Loader suggests that it might refer to a marriage with a Canaanite man, because of the continuation of the text, which prohibits the Israelite man from taking wives from among the Canaanite women (*Jub.* 20:4b).³⁰ Moreover, the method of punishment of the women (*Jub.* 20:4a: death by burning) has a parallel with that of men (*Jub.* 20:5a, 6cd), because the judgment on Sodom took place with fire and brimstone (Gen 19:25; *Jub.* 16:5).

3.5. *Prohibition against Intermarriage (Jub. 20:4bc)*

The command to avoid fornication and uncleanness is made concrete in the prohibition against marrying a Canaanite woman. Abraham's sons should not allow themselves to be seduced "(by) following their eyes and their heart so that they take wives for themselves from the Canaanite women" (*Jub.* 20:4b).³¹

The prohibition against intermarriage is an important issue in the book of *Jubilees*, and it is raised in several other places. In Abraham's final speech, Jacob is prohibited from marrying a daughter of the Canaanites (*Jub.* 22:20–21). In *Jub.* 25:1–3, Rebekah advises Jacob not to marry any of the Canaanite women as did his brother Esau, who had two wives from the descendants of Canaan, who embittered Rebekah's life with their impurity. Jacob is advised to marry someone from Rebekah's father's house. In *Jub.* 30:11 the prohibition is formulated more broadly.³² The commandment is no longer restricted to one specific non-Jewish population, but it is universally applicable ("any foreign women"). At the same time, it not only concerns the marriage of a Jewish man to a non-Jewish woman but also of a Jewish woman to a non-Jewish man. Not only is the admission of

²⁸ See, e.g., the use of the root זנה in Gen 38:24 and Lev 21:9. Cf. *THAT*, 1:518–20 (s.v. זונה); *TWAT*, 2:612–19 (s.v. זונה); W. 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, Mi., 2007), 182.

²⁹ See Lev 20:14; *Jub.* 41:25–26. Cf. Loader, *Enoch, Levi and Jubilees*, 182–83. For laws with regard to incest in the Bible, see: Lev 18:6–25; cf. Num 5:13–14, 28–29; Deut 24:4; Ezek 18:6; 22:11.

³⁰ Loader, *Enoch, Levi, and Jubilees*, 157.

³¹ Visual enticement is a recurring motif in stories of seduction. Cf. Loader, *Enoch, Levi and Jubilees*, 196.

³² On *Jubilees* 30 and intermarriage, see Werman, "Jubilees 30," 1–22; Hayes, "Intermarriage," 3–38. See also C. Hayes, *Gentile Impurities and Jewish Identities: Intermarriage and Conversion from the Bible to the Talmud* (Oxford, 2002).

non-Jewish women to Israel's own people refused but also the admission of a Jewish woman to life among a foreign people.³³ The boundaries were to be maintained on either side.

The fixation on the daughters of Canaan in *Jub.* 20:4b coincides with the reason for the prohibition (*Jub.* 20:4c: "because the descendants of Canaan will be uprooted from the earth"). The motive does not deal with the dangers of intermarriage for Abraham's children and grandchildren in terms of a temptation to idolatry, but it grounds the prohibition in the idea that the seed of Canaan is threatened with extermination.³⁴

One can understand the background to this motive only if one includes *Jub.* 10:28–34 in the discussion. There Ham (one of Noah's three sons) and his sons entered the land that was allotted to them. However, Canaan, the youngest son of Ham, did not keep the division of the earth, which was sealed by an oath. Against the advice of his father and brothers he migrated to the land of Lebanon as far as the river of Egypt. Because of this sinful behavior, Canaan and his sons are cursed ("you will be uprooted for ever").³⁵ This curse is used as the motive behind the prohibition against intermarriage with the daughters of Canaan.

The prohibition against intermarriage is not an innovation of the author of the book of *Jubilees*. Mixed marriage is an important issue in Ezra and Nehemiah (cf. Ezra 9–10; Neh 10:31; 13:23–29). In Ezra 9–10, Ezra's struggle against mixed marriages is related to the topic of separation (cf. Ezra 9:1; 10:11).³⁶ According to Ezra and Nehemiah, Israelites and Gentiles are genealogically distinct. Israelites are a holy seed, whereas Gentiles are profane. The mixture with the profane sometimes defiles the holy seed of Israel. Ezra requires genealogical purity for all Israel.³⁷ He is informed by the leaders of the people that those who have returned from exile are not keeping the command to remain separate, because many of them had married women from the non-Israelite population. The blame for this faithlessness was mostly laid at the door of the officials and chiefs (Ezra

³³ See E. Schwarz, *Identität durch Abgrenzung: Abgrenzungsprozesse in Israel im 2. vorchristlichen Jahrhundert und ihre traditionsgeschichtliche Voraussetzungen. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Erforschung des Jubiläenbuches* (Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe XXIII, 162; Frankfurt a/M., 1982), 32–35.

³⁴ The interrelationship of mixed marriages and idolatry, however, can also be seen in *Jubilees* 20, since the abandonment of idols is the subject in *Jub.* 20:7–9.

³⁵ On *Jub.* 10:28–34, see Schwarz, *Identität durch Abgrenzung*, 33; Halpern-Amaru, *Rewriting*, 42–3; Van Ruiten, *Primaeval History*, 360–62.

³⁶ Cf. Schwarz, *Identität durch Abgrenzung*, 63–74.

³⁷ Hayes, *Gentile Impurities*, 26.

9:1–2). In Ezra 9:2, the consequence of mixed marriages is that “the holy seed” has mixed itself: “For they have taken some of their daughters to be wives for themselves and for their sons so that the holy seed has mixed itself with the peoples of the lands” (כי נשאו מבנותיהם להם ולבניהם) (והתערבו זרע הקדש בעמי הארצות). Israel alone is the “seed of holiness.” Therefore—and to maintain this characteristic—separation is inevitable. For Ezra, loss of the Israelites’ identity as the “holy seed” is more important than the danger of total isolation. The isolation from other nations becomes concrete in mixed marriages. Nehemiah 10:29–30 gives a positive slant to the separation from other nations, namely to uphold the law of God. In Neh 10:31–40, this is elaborated upon with several stipulations, the first of which is not to marry the inhabitants of the land (“We will not give our daughters to the peoples of the land or take their daughters for our sons”).³⁸

Apart from Ezra and Nehemiah, the issue of mixed marriages also appears in relation to the prohibition against entering into a political covenant with other people (cf. Exod 34:10–16; Deut 7:1–5; Josh 23:11–13; Judg 3:5–6). A warning or even prohibition against mixed marriages is also formulated in these texts (Exod 34:16; Deut 7:3; Judg 3:6). This involves the danger of turning away from Yhwh to the worship of the gods of other nations by their daughters (see also Num 25:1–5). As we have seen, in *Jub.* 20 the prohibition against mixed marriages (*Jub.* 20:4bc) is followed by the summons to worship the Most High God and not the idols (*Jub.* 20:7–9). This shows that for *Jubilees* the danger of idolatry is also an important motive behind the prohibition of intermarriage (cf. also *Jub.* 22:17–23).

4. CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, we studied Abraham’s first testament in *Jub.* 20, examining the structure of the passage and its relationship to the book of Genesis. The testament as such does not occur in the biblical text, but it is related

³⁸ Some scholars have pointed to the fact that the foreign women in Ezra and Nehemiah might have been an inner-Yehudite group that was considered strange due their otherness. See L.L. Grabbe, *A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period. I. Yehud: A History of the Persian Province of Judah* (LSTS 47; London, 2004), 285–88; 313–16; B. Becking, “On the Identity of the ‘Foreign’ Women in Ezra 9–10,” in *Exile and Restoration Revisited: Essays on the Babylonian and Persian Periods in Memory of Peter R. Ackroyd* (ed. G.N. Knoppers and L.L. Grabbe; LSTS 73; London, 2009), 31–49.

to Abraham's distribution of property (Gen 25:5–6). Although Abraham's immanent death is not mentioned, several of the basic form elements of a farewell speech are present. I pointed to the indication of Abraham's age and to the description of the situation. With regard to the delivered speech, the indications about the future are given in the form of blessings. The instructions about proper behavior include the commandments to love one another, to circumcise, to avoid fornication and uncleanness, not to marry Canaanite women, to love the God of heaven, and to avoid idols. It is interesting to see that most of these rules are related to events in Abraham's life that are mentioned in the book of Genesis (Gen 17; 19; 24) or elsewhere in the Bible (Josh 24:2–3; Isa 41:8; 2 Chr 20:7). Circumcision is the only commandment explicitly given to Abraham and his descendants, the avoidance of fornication is related to the punishment of Sodom, and the prohibition against intermarriage can be related to Abraham's concern that Isaac not marry a Canaanite woman. Abraham's love of God and the opposition to idols can be related to Abraham's early life. Moreover, the composition of the testimony was influenced by Gen 18:18–19, whereas the instructions are related to other biblical texts (especially the books of Leviticus and Ezra) although the verbal agreement is not always very strong.

CHAPTER NINE

ABRAHAM'S TESTAMENT FOR ISAAC (*JUB.* 21:1–26)

1. THE STRUCTURE OF THE PASSAGE

Abraham's second testament is directed to his son Isaac, and it is delivered some years later (2057 *a.m.*) than his first testament. It is dedicated in large part to instructions with regard to offering on the altar. In *Jubilees*, the patriarchs of the chosen line are priests, and they pass along the priestly traditions.¹ It is striking that attention is paid to these cultic matters in Abraham's testament to Isaac and not in the other two testaments. This is possibly related to the fact that in Genesis Abraham and Isaac are mentioned in relation to the building of an altar.² The text of *Jub.* 21:1–26 runs in translation as follows:

Jubilees 21:1–26

- 1a IN THE SIXTH YEAR OF THE SEVENTH WEEK OF THIS JUBILEE ABRAHAM
SUMMONED HIS SON ISAAC
- b AND GAVE HIM ORDERS AS FOLLOWS:
- c "I AM OLD
- d BUT I DO NOT KNOW THE DAY OF MY DEATH
- e BECAUSE I AM FULL OF MY DAYS.
- 2a NOW I AM ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS.
- b THROUGHOUT MY ENTIRE LIFETIME I HAVE CONTINUALLY REMEMBERED
THE LORD
- c AND TRIED TO DO HIS WILL WHOLEHEARTEDLY AND TO WALK A STRAIGHT
COURSE IN ALL HIS WAYS.
- 3a I HAVE PERSONALLY HATED IDOLS IN ORDER TO KEEP MYSELF FOR DOING
THE WILL OF THE ONE WHO CREATED ME.
- 4a FOR HE IS THE LIVING GOD.
- b HE IS MORE HOLY, FAITHFUL, AND JUST THAN ANYONE.
- c WITH HIM THERE IS NO FAVORITISM
- d NOR DOES HE ACCEPT BRIBES
- e BECAUSE HE IS A JUST GOD

¹ VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees* (Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha), 56, 107.

² In Genesis, both Abraham (Gen 12:7, 8; 13:4) and Isaac (Gen 26:25) built an altar. In *Jubilees*, it is said that they offered a sacrifice on this altar (*Jub.* 13:4, 9, 16; 24:23). Cf. Lambert, "Last Testaments," 82–107 (esp. 96). See also section 2.2 of this chapter.

- f AND ONE WHO EXERCISES JUDGMENT AGAINST ALL WHO TRANSGRESS HIS COMMANDS AND DESPISE HIS COVENANT.
- 5a NOW YOU, MY SON, KEEP HIS COMMANDS, ORDINANCES, AND VERDICTS.
- b DO NOT PURSUE UNCLEAN THINGS, STATUES, OR MOLTEN IMAGES.
- 6a DO NOT EAT ANY BLOOD OF AN ANIMAL, CATTLE, OR OF ANY BIRD THAT FLIES IN THE SKY.
- 7a IF YOU SLAUGHTER A VICTIM FOR A BURNTOFFERING OF PEACE THAT IS ACCEPTABLE,
- b SLAUGHTER IT
- c AND POUR THEIR BLOOD ONTO THE ALTAR.
- d ALL THE FAT OF THE BURNTOFFER YOU WILL OFFER ON THE ALTAR WITH THE FINEST FLOUR;
- e AND THE OFFERING KNEADED WITH OIL, WITH ITS LIBATION—YOU WILL OFFER IT ALL TOGETHER ON THE ALTAR AS A SACRIFICE.
- f (IT IS) A PLEASING ODOR BEFORE THE LORD.
- 8a AS YOU PLACE THE FAT OF THE PEACE OFFERING ON THE FIRE WHICH IS ON THE ALTAR,
- b SO THE FAT WHICH IS ON THE STOMACH AND ALL THE FAT WHICH IS ON THE INTERNAL ORGANS AND THE TWO KIDNEYS AND ALL THE FAT WHICH IS ON THEM AND WHICH IS ON THE UPPER THIGHS AND LIVER WITH THE KIDNEYS, REMOVE.
- 9a ALL OF THIS YOU WILL OFFER AS A PLEASING ODOR WHICH IS ACCEPTABLE BEFORE THE LORD, WITH ITS SACRIFICE AND ITS LIBATION AS A PLEASING ODOR—THE BREAD OF THE OFFERING TO THE LORD.
- 10a EAT ITS MEAT DURING THAT DAY AND ON THE NEXT DAY;
- b BUT THE SUN IS NOT TO SET ON IT ON THE NEXT DAY UNTIL IT IS EATEN.
- c IT IS NOT TO BE LEFT OVER FOR THE THIRD DAY
- d BECAUSE IT IS NOT ACCEPTABLE TO HIM.
- e FOR IT WAS NOT PLEASING
- f AND IS NOT THEREFORE COMMANDED.
- g ALL WHO EAT IT WILL BRING GUILT ON THEMSELVES
- h BECAUSE THIS IS THE WAY I FOUND (IT) WRITTEN IN THE BOOK OF MY ANCESTORS, IN THE WORDS OF ENOCH AND THE WORDS OF NOAH.
- 11a ON ALL YOUR SACRIFICES YOU ARE TO PLACE SALT;
- b LET THE COVENANT OF SALT NOT COME TO AN END OF YOUR SACRIFICES BEFORE THE LORD.
- 12a BE CAREFUL ABOUT THE (KINDS OF) WOODS (THAT ARE USED FOR) SACRIFICE
- b SO THAT YOU BRING NO (KINDS OF) WOODS ONTO THE ALTAR EXCEPT THESE ONLY: CYPRESS, SILVER-FIR, ALMOND, FIR, PINE, CEDAR, JUNIPER, DATE, OLIVE WOOD, MYRTLE, LAUREL WOOD, THE CEDAR WHOSE NAME IS THE JUNIPER BUSH, AND BALSAM.
- 13a OF THESE (KIND OF) WOODS PLACE BENEATH THE SACRIFICE ON THE ALTAR ONES THAT HAVE BEEN TESTED FOR THEIR APPEARANCE.
- b DO NOT PLACE (BENEATH IT) ANY SPLIT OR DARK WOOD;

- c (PLACE THERE) STRONG (KINDS OF) WOODS AND FIRM ONES WITHOUT
ANY DEFECT—A PERFECT AND NEW GROWTH.
- d DO NOT PLACE (THERE) OLD WOOD,
e FOR ITS AROMA HAS LEFT—
f BECAUSE THERE IS NO LONGER AN AROMA UPON IT AS AT FIRST.
- 14a APART FROM THESE (KINDS OF) WOODS THERE IS NO OTHER WHICH YOU
ARE TO PLACE (BENEATH THE SACRIFICE)
b BECAUSE THEIR AROMA IS DISTINCTIVE
c AND THE SMELL OF THEIR AROMA GOES UP TO HEAVEN.
- 15a PAY ATTENTION TO THIS COMMANDMENT AND DO IT, MY SON,
b SO THAT YOU MAY BEHAVE PROPERLY IN ALL YOUR ACTIONS.
- 16a AT ALL TIMES BE CLEAN WITH RESPECT TO YOUR BODY.
b WASH WITH WATER
c BEFORE YOU GO TO MAKE AN OFFERING ON THE ALTAR.
- d WASH WITH WATER
e BEFORE YOU APPROACH THE ALTAR.
f WHEN YOU HAVE FINISHED MAKING AN OFFERING,
g WASH YOUR HANDS AND FEET AGAIN.
- 17a NO BLOOD IS TO BE VISIBLE ON YOU OR ON YOUR CLOTHING.
b MY SON, BE CAREFUL WITH BLOOD;
c BE EXTREMELY CAREFUL; COVER IT WITH EARTH.
- 18a YOU ARE NOT, THEREFORE, TO EAT ANY BLOOD
b BECAUSE THE BLOOD IS THE LIFE.
c DO NOT EAT ANY BLOOD.
- 19a DO NOT TAKE A BRIBE FOR ANY HUMAN BLOOD
b SO THAT IT MAY NOT BE SHED CASUALLY—WITHOUT PUNISHMENT –
c BECAUSE IT IS THE BLOOD THAT IS SHED WHICH MAKES THE EARTH
SIN.
- d THE EARTH WILL NOT BE ABLE TO BECOME PURE FROM HUMAN BLOOD
EXCEPT THROUGH THE BLOOD OF THE ONE WHO SHED IT.
- 20a DO NOT TAKE A BRIBE OR GIFT FOR HUMAN BLOOD;
b BLOOD FOR BLOOD—THEN IT WILL BE ACCEPTABLE BEFORE THE MOST
HIGH GOD.
c HE WILL BE THE PROTECTION OF THE GOOD;
d AND (HE WILL BE THIS)
e SO THAT YOU MAY BE KEPT FROM EVERY EVIL ONE
f AND THAT HE MAY SAVE YOU FROM EVERY (KIND OF) DEATH.
- 21a I SEE, MY SON, THAT ALL THE ACTIONS OF MANKIND (CONSIST OF) SIN
AND WICKEDNESS AND ALL THEIR DEEDS OF IMPURITY, WORTHLESS-
NESS, AND CONTAMINATION.
b WITH THEM THERE IS NOTHING THAT IS RIGHT.
- 22a BE CAREFUL NOT TO WALK IN THEIR WAYS OR TO TREAD IN THEIR
PATHS
b SO THAT YOU MAY NOT COMMIT A MORTAL SIN BEFORE THE MOST HIGH
GOD.
c THEN HE WILL HIDE HIS FACE FROM YOU

- d AND WILL HAND YOU OVER TO THE POWER OF YOUR OFFENSES.
 e HE WILL UPROOT YOU FROM THE EARTH
 f AND YOUR DESCENDANTS FROM BENEATH HEAVEN.
 g YOUR NAME AND DESCENDANTS WILL BE DESTROYED FROM THE ENTIRE
 EARTH.
 23a DEPART FROM ALL THEIR ACTIONS AND FROM ALL THEIR IMPURITY.
 b KEEP THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE MOST HIGH GOD AND DO HIS WILL.
 c THEN YOU WILL ACT PROPERLY IN EVERY REGARD.
 24a HE WILL BLESS YOU IN ALL YOUR ACTIONS.
 b HE WILL RAISE FROM YOU A RIGHTEOUS PLANT IN ALL THE EARTH
 THROUGHOUT ALL THE HISTORY OF THE EARTH.
 c THEN MY NAME AND YOUR NAME WILL NOT BE PASSED OVER IN SILENCE
 BENEATH HEAVEN THROUGHOUT ALL TIME.
 25a GO IN PEACE, MY SON.
 b MAY THE MOST HIGH GOD—MY GOD AND YOUR GOD—STRENGTHEN
 YOU TO DO HIS WILL.
 c MAY HE BLESS ALL YOUR DESCENDANTS—THE REMNANT OF YOUR
 DESCENDANTS—THROUGHOUT THE HISTORY OF ETERNITY WITH EVERY
 PROPER BLESSING
 d SO THAT YOU MAY BECOME A BLESSING THROUGHOUT THE ENTIRE
 EARTH.”
 26a THEN HE LEFT HIM FEELING HAPPY.

The text starts (*Jub.* 21:1ab) and ends (*Jub.* 21:26) with a short narrative framework. Abraham’s speech (*Jub.* 21:1c–25) is directed to his son Isaac, as can be seen in the introduction (*Jub.* 21:1a) but also throughout the text, by the occurrences of the vocative “my son” (*Jub.* 21:5a, 15a, 17b, 21a, 25a). The speech starts with some remarks about Abraham’s own life (*Jub.* 21:1c–4f). He has reached the full number of his days, and he has followed the Lord God, because he was a righteous God. He therefore admonishes his son to follow God’s commandments (*Jub.* 21:5–24). The speech is closed with a farewell to Isaac (*Jub.* 21:25). Most of the speech contains cultic regulations (*Jub.* 21:7–17a), which are preceded (21:6) and followed by the prohibition of eating blood (*Jub.* 21:17b–18) and other rules regarding blood (*Jub.* 21:19–20). This is in its turn preceded by a general command, positively to keep God’s commands (*Jub.* 21:5a) and negatively not to pursue unclean things (*Jub.* 21:5b). It is followed by an admonition not to follow the impure ways of humankind, lest they will be destroyed (*Jub.* 21:21–22), but to keep God’s obligations so that he will bless Isaac and raise him as a righteous plant (*Jub.* 21:23–24). We can map the structure as follows:³

³ Compare Baltzer, *Bundesformular*, 142–46.

1ab	Narrative introduction
1c-4f	Introduction: reflection on Abraham's own life
	1c-2a He has grown old
	2b-4f Following God because he is righteous God
5	General admonitions
6	Prohibition of eating blood
7-17a	Prescriptions for the offerings
	7-11 The offering
	7a-c pouring out the blood on the altar
	7d-9 offering the fat of the sacrifice together with flour, oil and libation
	10 the time of eating the meat of the sacrifice
	11 place of the salt of the covenant on the offering
	12-15 The wood for the offerings
	16-17a Ablutions (before and after the offering)
17b-20	Prohibition of eating blood
21-24	Admonition not to follow the ways of mankind lest they will be destroyed (21-22), but keep the obligations of God and they will be blessed (23-24)
25	Farewell to Isaac
26	Narrative closure

2. THE BIBLICAL BACKGROUND OF ABRAHAM'S TESTAMENT TO ISAAC

2.1. *The Introduction* (Jub. 21:1-4)

Despite the fact that *Jub.* 21:1-26 is an addition with regard to the biblical text of Genesis, there are similarities with biblical books, especially with the book of Leviticus (see esp. *Jub.* 21:6-20), but also with Genesis and other books. In the introduction (*Jub.* 21:1-4), Abraham looks back on his life, and his dedication to the Lord refers back to the episodes in his youth (see esp. *Jub.* 11:16-17; 12:1-8). A few aspects of the introduction are related to the book of Genesis. The mention of Abraham's age (*Jub.* 21:2a) is taken from Gen 25:7. It occurs also in *Jub.* 22:7 and *Jub.* 23:8. *Jubilees* 21:1e ("because I am full of my days") seems to be a rendering of Gen 25:8c. This phrase (Gen 25:8c: זקן ושבֵּע) is also adopted in *Jub.* 23:8c. The Hebrew text of *Jub.* 23:8c (2Q19 5) reads זקן שבֵּע ימים. The Masoretic Text omits ימים ("days"), but most ancient versions have it.⁴

⁴ Cf. VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees, II*, 120, 138.

Genesis 25:7–8

Jubilees 21:1–2

- 7a *These are the days of the years of Abraham's life,*
 one hundred and seventy-five years.
 8a ABRAHAM BREATHED HIS LAST
 b AND DIED IN A GOOD OLD AGE,
 c AN OLD MAN and full (of days),
 d AND WAS GATHERED TO HIS PEOPLE.

1e BECAUSE I am full of MY days.
 2a Now I am one hundred and seventy-five years.

Jub. 21:1cd (“I am old, but I do not know the day of my death”) is close to Gen 25:8c where it is said that Abraham is an old man. It resembles mostly, however, Gen 27:2b, but there it is said by Isaac himself. The influence of Gen 27:2 in *Jub.* 21:1 can be compared with the influence of Gen 27 in *Jub.* 22:1–9.

Genesis 27:2

Jubilees 21:1

- 2b BEHOLD NOW, I am old,
 c [] I do not know the day of my death.
 1c [] I am old
 d BUT I do not know the day of my death.

In *Jub.* 21:4c, the impartiality of God is expressed with the words *našî' gašš* (“lift up face”) with a negation (*wa'albo*), and it is put in parallelism with not accepting bribes (*našî' ḥəlyān*). In the Old Testament, the expression **נָשָׂא פָּנִים** (“lift up face”), without negation, is mostly used in a positive sense for “to grant; to be kind; have consideration for” (see Gen 19:21; 32:21; Num 6:26; Deut 28:50; 1 Sam 25:35; 2 Kgs 3:14; Mal 1:8–9; Job 32:21; 42:8, 9; Lam 4:16). A few times, however, the expression has a negative sense, “unjust partiality” (Lev 19:15; Deut 10:17; Mal 2:9; Job 13:8, 10; Prov 18:5; 2 Chr 19:7). In those cases, a negation is used. As in *Jub.* 21:4, both in Deut 10:17 and in 2 Chr 19:7 the expression is not only used with a negation, but it is also placed in parallelism with accepting bribes (**לָקַח שָׂחָד**).⁵ Moreover, it is said in relation to the impartiality of God.

Deuteronomy 10:17–18

Jubilees 21:4

- 17a For Yhwh your God is God of gods
 and Lord of lords, the great, the
 mighty, and the terrible God,
 4a For he is the living God.
 b He is more holy, faithful, and just
 than anyone.

⁵ The expression **לָקַח שָׂחָד** does occur also in Exod 23:8; Deut 10:17; 16:19; 27:25; 1 Sam 8:3; Ezek 22:12; Ps 15:5; Prov 17:23; 2 Chr 19:7. Besides, **שָׂחָד** occurs also in 1 Kgs 15:19; 2 Kgs 16:8; Isa 1:23; 5:23; Ps 26:10; Prov 6:35; 21:14; Job 15:34.

	who shows <i>no favoritism</i> (אשר לא ישא פנים)	c	<i>With him there is no favoritism</i> (<i>wa'albo baḥabehu naši' gaṣṣ</i>)
	and takes <i>no bribes</i> ; (ולא יקח שחד)	d	or <i>accepting of bribes</i> (... <i>naši' ḥalyān</i>)
18a	<i>he exercises judgment</i> (עשה משפט)	e	because he is a just God
	for the fatherless and the widow	f	and <i>one who exercises judgment</i> (<i>wagabro k'ʿanane wə'ətu</i>)
b	and loves the sojourner, giving him food and clothing.		against all who transgress his commands and despise his covenant.

2 *Chronicles* 19:7

7a	Now then, let the fear of Yhwh be upon you;
b	take heed what you do,
c	for <i>with Yhwh</i> our God, <i>there is no</i> (כי אין עם יהוה אלהינו) unrighteousness (עולה), or <i>favoritism</i> (ומשא פנים) or <i>taking bribes</i> (ומקח שחד).

Jubilees 21

4a	For he is the living God.
b	He is more holy, faithful, and just than anyone.
c	<i>With him there is no</i> (<i>wa'albo baḥabehu</i>) <i>favoritism</i> (<i>naši' gaṣṣ</i>)
d	or <i>accepting of bribes</i> (... <i>naši' ḥalyān</i>)
e	because he is a just God
f	and one who exercises judgment against all who transgress his commands and despise his covenant.

It is difficult to say which of the two texts is most likely to be in the background of *Jub.* 21:4. It is interesting to see that *Jub.* 21:4f (“and one who exercises judgment”: *wagabro kwənanane wə'ətu*) contains a similar expression as in Deut 10:18 (“he exercises judgment”: עשה משפט). The continuation, however, is rather different. In Deuteronomy, God performs judgment for the fatherless and the widow, whereas in *Jubilees* judges those who transgress his commands.

In *Jubilees*, a comparable description of the just and impartial God can also be found at other places: *Jub.* 5:16 (“He is not one *who shows favoritism nor one who accepts a bribe*, if he says he will execute judgment against each person. If a person gave everything on earth *he would not show favoritism* nor would he accept (it) from him because he is the righteous judge”); 33:18 (“because the Lord our God, who *shows no favoritism and accepts no bribes*, is the judge”). For the same expression, see also *Jub.* 40:8 (“He [Joseph] was not arrogant, proud, or *partial, nor did he accept bribes* because he was ruling all the people of the land in a just way”). In the last part of *Jub.* 21, just and impartial behavior is demanded from Isaac (*Jub.* 21:19a: “Do not take a bribe for any human blood”; cf. *Jub.* 21:20a).

2.2. *The Cultic Regulations*

In Gen 12:7–8, Abraham built an altar and called on the name of Yhwh (“He built there an altar to Yhwh, who had appeared to him . . . and there he built an altar to Yhwh and called on the name of Yhwh”).⁶ In *Jubilees*, Abraham also offered a sacrifice on the altar (*Jub.* 13:4, 8; cf. 13:16). According to Genesis, Isaac also built an altar (Gen 26:25: “He built an altar there and called on the name of Yhwh”). In *Jubilees*, Isaac’s activity is related to that of Abraham (*Jub.* 24:23: “There he built the altar which his father Abraham had first built. He called on the Lord’s name and offered a sacrifice to the God of his father Abraham”). In Genesis, the building of an altar does not appear with Jacob. In *Jubilees*, the priesthood is passed to Levi (cf. *Jub.* 30:18).

Many regulations can be found in the mosaic legislation in the book of Leviticus, especially the rules with regard to the peace offering (Lev 3:1–17; 7:11–36; 19:5–8), although the author of *Jubilees* refers to the books of Enoch and Noah (*Jub.* 21:10h: “This is the way I found (it) written in the book of my ancestors, in the words of Enoch and the words of Noah”). *Jubilees* does not make use of Leviticus in a literal way. There are no verbal quotations from Leviticus in *Jubilees* 21. Much of the material from Leviticus is summarized, whereas the author of *Jubilees* also adds some new material.

Comparable compositions can be found in the *Aramaic Levi Document* 19–30 (= 7:1–8:6) and 51–61 (= 10:4–14) and the *Testament of Levi* 9:11–14.⁷ There is an especially close relationship between *Jub.* 21 and the *Aramaic Levi Document*, although there is no agreement on whether one used the other or both used a common source.⁸ The *Aramaic Levi Document* stresses

⁶ Cf. Gen 13:4 (“. . . to the place of the altar, which he had made in the beginning; and there Abram called on the Lord’s name”).

⁷ For the *Aramaic Levi Document*, see H. Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Levi Document* (JSJSup 86; Leiden, 2004); J.C. Greenfield, M.E. Stone, and E. Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary* (SVTP 19; Leiden, 2004). For the *Testament of Levi*, see H.W. Hollander and M. de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Commentary* (SVTP 8; Leiden, 1985), 155–58; M. de Jonge, “The Testament of Levi and ‘Aramaic Levi,’” *RevQ* 13 (1988): 367–85 (reprinted in *Jewish Eschatology, Early Christian Christology and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Collected Essays of Marius de Jonge* [NovTSup 63; Leiden, 1991], 244–62).

⁸ See also *Jub.* 30:1–32:9. The *Aramaic Levi Document* is also called *Aramaic Testament of Levi* or *Aramaic Levi*. Cf. Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi Document*, 1. It is reconstructed from fragmentary manuscripts and quotations in Aramaic, Greek, and Syriac. The earliest manuscript (4QLevi^far) dates from the second half of the second century B.C.E. According to Kugel, the *Aramaic Levi Document* is composed in the late third of the second

the transmission of the cultic commandments from Noah to Abraham to Levi. The authority of the Levitical priesthood is anchored in the actions of Noah and is related to the first sacrifice Noah offered after leaving the ark.⁹ Abraham's testament to Isaac in *Jub.* 21 is comparable to Isaac's ritual instruction for Levi in the *Aramaic Levi Document* 14–61 (= 6:1–10:14). One can compare especially *Jub.* 21:6–20 with *ALD* 19–30 (= 7:1–8:6) and 51–60 (= 10:4–13). These elements of the *Aramaic Levi Document* could have been the source, together with *Jub.* 21, for the *TLevi* 9:9–14. The account of *Jub.* 21, however, has no characteristics of a wisdom instruction. Also other elements from the *Aramaic Levi Document* are absent in *Jubilees*.¹⁰

In the following table, I present an overall comparison of *Jub.* 21:6–20 with *ALD* 19–30 (= 7:1–8:6), 51–60 (= 10:4–13) and *Test. Levi* 9:9–14.¹¹

<i>Jub.</i> 21:6–20 21:6: Blood	<i>ALD</i> 19–30 (= 7:1–8:6)	<i>ALD</i> 51–60 (= 10:4–13)	<i>Test. Levi</i> 9:9–14
	19–21 (= 7:1–3): Ablutions		9:11: Ablutions
	22–25a (= 7:4–7): Wood		9:12: Wood
21:7–10: Process of offering	25b–30 (= 8:1–6): Process of offering		9:13–14a: Process of offering
21:11: Salt			9:14b: Salt
21:12–15: Wood		52 (= 10:5): Wood, salt, fine flour, wine, incense	
21: 16–17a: Ablutions		53–54 (= 10:6–7): Ablutions	
21:17b–20: Blood		55–57 (= 10:8–10): Blood	

century B.C.E. The author of the *Aramaic Levi Document* made use of the book of *Jubilees* and two reconstructed sources. See J. Kugel, "Levi's Elevation to the Priesthood in Second Temple Writing," *HTR* 86 (1993): 1–63; idem, *The Ladder of Jacob: Ancient Interpretations of the Biblical Story of Jacob and His Children* (Princeton, 2006), 115–168. Greenfield, Stone and Eshel (*Aramaic Levi Document*, 19–22; 189–90) opt for a composition in the third or early second century B.C.E. According to them, the *Aramaic Levi Document* functioned as source for the book of *Jubilees*. According to Kugler, a third century dating for the *Aramaic Levi Document* is probable, although both *Jubilees* and the *Aramaic Levi Document* made use of a common source. Finally, Drawnel opts for a date in the late fourth century or early third century B.C.E. See Drawnel, *Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 63–75.

⁹ See M.E. Stone, "Levi, Aramaic," *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls, I* (ed. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; Oxford, 2000), 486–88 (esp. 486).

¹⁰ Drawnel, *Aramaic Levi Document*, 3.

¹¹ For a comparable overview see Becker, *Untersuchungen*, 89–90.

2.3. *The Offering* (Jub. 21:7–11)

In *Jubilees*, the description starts directly with the instruction for the offering. The instructions for the wood of the offerings (Jub. 21:12–15) and the ablutions (Jub. 21:16–17a) come after this.¹² *Jubilees* does not specify the sacrifice of the peace-offering. It generally states: “If you slaughter a victim” (Jub. 21:7a). Lev 3:1–17, in contrast, mentions “an animal from the herd, male or female” (Lev 3:1) and “an animal from the flock, male or female” (Lev 3:6). The latter is specified as a “lamb” (Lev 3:7) and a “goat” (Lev 3:12).¹³ Moreover, both the animal from the herd and from the flock should be “without blemish” (Lev 3:1, 6). Instead, *Jubilees* speaks about a victim “that is acceptable” (Jub. 21:7a).

Jubilees continues with the command “slaughter it” (Jub. 21:7b). The text does not mention any other activities nor the place where the victim is slaughtered. In Leviticus, the sacrifice is to be offered “before Yhwh,” and it will be slaughtered “at the door of the tent of meeting” (Lev 3:1–2; cf. Lev 3:7–8, 12–13). Subsequently, in Leviticus “Aaron’s sons the priests shall pour the blood against the altar *round about*” (Lev 3:2; cf. Lev 2:7, 13), whereas *Jubilees* reads: “and pour their blood *onto* the altar” (Jub. 21:7c).¹⁴

After this, both in *Jubilees* (Jub. 21:7d–8) and Leviticus (Lev 3:3–4, 9–10, 14–15) the fat is mentioned. In *Jubilees*, the fat is offered together with other additional offerings (Jub. 21:7de: “with the finest flour; and the offering kneaded with oil, with its libation”; 21:9: “with its sacrifice and its libation”), which are not mentioned in Leviticus 3. If the peace offering is a thank offering (Lev 7:12–15), additional offerings are mentioned (Lev 7:12–13: “unleavened cakes mixed with oil, unleavened wafers spread with oil, and cakes of fine flour well mixed with oil . . . with cakes of leavened

¹² The order in *ALD* 19–30 (= 7:1–8:6) seems to be more logical. First the ablutions are described (19–21 = 7:1–3), the wood (22–25a = 7:4–7), and finally the process of the offering (25b–30 = 8:1–6). This is also the order in *TLevi*. The ablutions are described in 9:1, the wood in 9:12, and the process of offering in 9:13–14.

¹³ *ALD* 25–30 (= 8:1–6) speaks about “the sacrifice of the bull” (27 = 8:3), whereas *TLevi* speaks about a sacrifice “from every clean living animal and bird” (9:13).

¹⁴ According to the Aramaic text of *ALD* 25b, the blood is to be sprinkled “on the walls of the altar.” The Greek text reads a singular “on the wall of the altar.” According to *m. Zeb.* 5:7; *Sipra, nedaba*, par. 4:9–10; *b. Zebah* 53b the blood is to be sprinkled around the northeast and southwest edge of the altar; Cf. Philo, *Spec.* 1.205: “And the blood is poured out in a circle all round the altar”; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.9:1–3 (“They also sprinkle the altar with their blood”). See also Ch. Albeck, *Das Buch der Jubiläen und die Halacha* (Sieben und vierzigster Bericht der Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums; Berlin, 1930), 22.

bread").¹⁵ *Jubilees* mentions that "all the fat" should be offered (*Jub.* 21:7d), whereafter the fat of different organs is listed (*Jub.* 21:8b).¹⁶ This list is close to Leviticus:

Leviticus 3:3–4 (cf. 3:9–10, 14–15)	<i>Jubilees</i> 21:8b
3a ...the fat <i>covering the internal organs</i> ¹⁷	...so the fat <i>which is on the stomach</i>
and all the fat which is on the internal organs,	and all the fat which is on the internal organs
4a and the two kidneys and [] the fat which is on them at the <i>loins</i> ,	and the two kidneys and ALL the fat which is on them and which is on the <i>upper thighs</i>
and THE APPENDAGE OF the liver with the kidneys	and [] liver with the kidneys
<i>he shall remove.</i>	<i>remove.</i> ¹⁸

This fat shall be offered on the altar (*Jub.* 21:7d, e; cf. Lev 3:5a, 11a, 16a). *Jubilees* speaks about offering the "fat of the burnt offering" (*Jub.* 21:7d), whereas Leviticus speaks about the burning of the fat "upon the burnt offering, which is upon the wood on the fire" (Lev 3:5a). The fat is a pleasing odor before the Lord (*Jub.* 21:7f, 9a; cf. Lev 3:5b, 16a).¹⁹ Finally, it is said that it is "the bread of the offering to the Lord" (*Jub.* 21:9a; cf. Lev 3:11, 16).

The appropriate time of eating the peace-offering is before the third day (*Jub.* 21:10a–g). This time is not mentioned in Lev 3:1–17, but Lev 7:16–17 and Lev 19:5–8 are probably in the background of *Jubilees*:²⁰

¹⁵ Also *ALD* 30 (= 8:5) mentions some additional offerings: "And after this the fine flour mixed with oil; and after everything pour wine."

¹⁶ The offering of the fat is emphasized in *Jub.* 21. In *ALD* 27–28 (= 8:3–4), the offering of the different parts of the bull are described, among which are also the thigh and the entrails. The fat gets much less attention. It is used to cover the head: "Burn its head first, and cover it with the fat so that the blood of the slaughtered bull will not be seen on it. After it its neck and after its neck its forequarters and after its forequarters the breast with the side and after the forequarters the haunches with the spine of the thigh and after the haunches the hindquarters washed, with the entrails."

¹⁷ Only Lev 3:9b mentions before this phrase: "the fat tail whole, taking it away close by the backbone."

¹⁸ The Latin text of *Jubilees* seems to be superior here. For the text-critical problems of the Ethiopic text, see VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees, II*, 122.

¹⁹ Cf. *ALD* 30 (= 8:5): "and burn upon them frankincense ... and all your sacrifices for delight for a pleasing smell before God the most high."

²⁰ Neither *ALD* 25b–30 (= 8:1–6), nor *ALD* 52, nor *TLevi* 9:13–14 refer to the eating of the sacrifice.

Leviticus 7:16–18	Leviticus 19:5–8	<i>Jubilees</i> 21:10
16a But if the sacrifice of his offering is a votive offering or a freewill offering,	5a When you offer a sacrifice of peace offerings to Yhwh, you shall offer it so that you may be accepted.	
it shall be eaten on the day that he offers his sacrifice,	6a It shall be eaten the same day you offer it,	10a Eat its meat during that day
b and on the next day what remains of it shall be eaten,	or on the next day;	b and on the next day; but the sun is not to set on it on the next day until it is eaten.
17a but what is left over of the flesh of the sacrifice on the third day shall be burned with fire.	b and what is left over until the third day shall be burned with fire.	c It is not to be left over for the third day
18a If any of the flesh of the sacrifice of his peace offering is eaten on the third day,	7a If it is eaten at all on the third day,	
b he who offers it shall not be accepted,	b it is an abomination;	d because it is not acceptable to him.
c neither shall it be credited to him;	c it will not be accepted,	e For it was not pleasing
d it shall be an abomination,		f and is not therefore commanded.
e and he who eats of it shall bear his iniquity.	8a and every one who eats it shall bear his iniquity,	g All who eat it shall bear guilt for themselves
	b because he has profaned a holy thing of Yhwh;	
	c and that person shall be cut off from his people.	

In Lev 7:16–17, the peace offering that is a votive offering or a freewill offering shall be eaten on the day of the offering or on the next day, and what is left over *on* the third day (ביום השלישי) shall be burned with fire. In the parallel command in Lev 19:5–6, it is said: “What is left over *until* the third day (עד יום השלישי) shall be burned with fire.” This implies that at the beginning of the third day what is left over of the sacrifice

has been burned. It is probably on the basis of this text that *Jub.* 21:10 mentions that the sacrifice may be eaten only during the daylight of the second day but not during the subsequent night: "but the sun is not to set on it on the next day until it is eaten." The same opinion can be found in rabbinic literature.²¹ This view is based on the assumption that the day starts at sunset.²² *Jubilees* does not state explicitly that what is left over of the flesh should be burned with fire (Lev 7:17; 19:5).²³ *Jubilees* only says that it should not be left over (*Jub.* 21:10c: "It is not to be left over for the third day"). Besides, *Jubilees* gives a motivation for the prohibition to eat on the third day: "because it is not acceptable to him. For it was not pleasing and is not therefore commanded" (*Jub.* 21:10def), which has a parallel in Lev 7:8bcd ("he who offers it shall not be accepted, neither shall it be credited to him; it shall be an abomination"). Also in Lev 19:8 a motivation is given: "because he has profaned a holy thing of Yhwh." Finally, a sanction is given: "All who eat it shall bear guilt for themselves" (*Jub.* 21:10g). A comparable sanction is given in Lev 7:18e; 19:8a. The consequence mentioned in Lev 19:8c ("and that person shall be cut off from his people") is not taken over in *Jubilees*.²⁴

Subsequently, salt has to be put on the offering: "On all your sacrifices you are to place salt; let the covenant of salt not come to an end of your sacrifices before the Lord" (*Jub.* 21:11).²⁵ The mention of salt is striking. Salt was a food preservative in antiquity. Its use was required for the incense offering (Exod 30:35), the cereal offering (Lev 2:13),²⁶ and the burnt offering (Ezek 43:24; Ezra 6:9). The word "salt" is also used with regard to the covenant. A collocation of the words מלח ("salt") and ברית ("covenant") occurs three times in the Old Testament: once in the construction מלח ברית ("salt of the covenant"), i.e., in Lev 2:13 in connection with the cereal offering ("You shall not let the salt of the covenant with your God be

²¹ Cf. *m. Zebah.* 5:7; *Sipra*, *šaw* 12:13; *b. Zeb.* 56b.

²² Also the story of the *Akedah* in *Jubilees* presupposes that the author considers the evening to be the beginning of the day. Cf. J.C. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time* (London, 1998), 33. Leviticus presupposes a situation that the day started with sunrise. Cf. J. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16* (AB 3; New York, 1991), 420; R. de Vaux, *Les Institutions de l'Ancien Testament, I* (Paris, 1958), 181–83.

²³ See also the offering by fire in Lev 3:5 (cf. 3:11, 16).

²⁴ *Jubilees* does not take over the part of the sacrifice that should be given to the priests (cf. Lev 7:28–34; 10:14–15).

²⁵ The salt is also mentioned in *ALD* 26b (= 8:2): and start offering the portions (that have been) salted. (Cf. also *ALD* 52); *TLevi* 9:14: "And salt with salt every sacrificial offering."

²⁶ Note the contrast of Lev 2:13 ("salt") with Lev 2:11, where the use of leaven and other fermentative produces are forbidden for sacrifices.

lacking from your cereal offering”); and twice in the construction ברית מלח (“covenant of salt”), i.e., in Num 18:19 in connection with the priestly perquisites (“a perpetual due; it is a *covenant of salt* for ever”); and in 2 Chr 13:5 in connection with the Davidic dynasty (“Yhwh God of Israel gave the kingship over Israel for ever to David and his sons by a *covenant of salt*”). Its preservative qualities make it a symbol of the durability of the covenant.²⁷ Although *Jub.* 21:11 seems to reflect Lev 2:13, the word order “covenant of salt” is the same as in Num 18:19; 2 Chr 13:5.²⁸

Salt is also mentioned in *Jub.* 6:3 (“He offered the fat on the altar. And he took a bull, a ram, a sheep, goats, *salt*, a turtledove, and a dove and offered [them as] a burnt offering on the altar”). Here “covenant of salt” is not mentioned. However, in the following verse the covenant is adduced: “The Lord smelled the pleasant fragrance, and he made a covenant with him that there would be no flood waters which would destroy the earth.” Therefore, salt in *Jub.* 6:3 might have a double function. On the one hand it is one of the requirements of all future offerings. On the other hand, it anticipates the covenant.

2.4. *The Wood for the Offerings* (*Jub.* 21:12–15)

The next section (*Jub.* 21:12–15) is about the wood for the offering. It is noticeable that author speaks about this wood only after the description and the offering itself.²⁹ The text gives an enumeration of thirteen kinds of wood that are allowed to be used and the conditions under which they may be used.³⁰ In the text of Leviticus, there is no such enumeration. With regard to the peace offering, the offering is on the wood on the fire: “Then Aaron’s sons shall burn it on the altar upon the burnt offering, which is upon the wood on the fire; it is an offering by fire, a pleasing odor to Yhwh” (Lev 3:5). This refers back to Lev 1:7 that deals with the putting of the wood on the altar: “And the sons of Aaron the priest shall put fire on the altar and lay wood in order upon the fire.” Nothing is said about the requirements of the wood. Also elsewhere in the Bible no conditions are mentioned. There are no specific laws with regard to the wood used for the sacrifice.

²⁷ Cf. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 191–92.

²⁸ Cf. also 11Q19 20:13b–14.

²⁹ See note 12.

³⁰ For the number thirteen, see VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees, II*, 124.

Jubilees lists the names of thirteen kinds of wood apt for the offering on the altar: cypress, silver-fir, almond, fir, pine, cedar, juniper, date, olive wood, myrtle, laurel wood, the cedar whose name is the juniper bush, and balsam (*Jub.* 21:12).³¹ The passage also specifies that they should be tested for their appearance (*Jub.* 21:13–14). They may not be split,³² nor dark, nor old, but strong and firm, without any defect: “Of these (kinds of) woods place beneath the sacrifice on the altar ones that have been tested for their appearance. Do not place (beneath it) any split or dark wood; (place there) strong (kinds of) woods and firm ones without any defect.— a perfect and new growth. Do not place (there) old wood” (*Jub.* 21:13a–d).³³ These trees are chosen “because their aroma is distinctive and the smell of their aroma goes up to heaven” (*Jub.* 21:14bc). Old wood should be avoided “for its aroma has left, because there is no longer an aroma upon it as at first” (*Jub.* 21:13ef).³⁴

2.5. *The Ablutions* (*Jub.* 21:16–17a)

After the description of the offering and the required wood, *Jubilees* speaks at the end about ablutions in relation to the offering (*Jub.* 21:16–17a). Two ablutions have to be done before approaching the altar (*Jub.* 21:16a–e) and one after it (*Jub.* 21:16fg). Leviticus does not speak about ablutions in relation to the peace offering. The biblical basis for the washing of the hands and feet occurs in Exod 30:17–21:

- 17a Yhwh said to Moses:
 18a “You shall also make a laver of bronze, with its base of bronze, for washing.
 b And you shall put it between the tent of meeting and the altar,
 c and you shall put water in it,
 19a with which Aaron and his sons shall wash their hands and their feet.

³¹ *ALD* 23–25 (= 7:5–7) mentions twelve kinds of wood (“Cedar and juniper, and almond and silver fir, and fir and ash, cypress and fig and oleaster, laurel and myrtle and asphaltos”). *Testament of Levi* 9:12 only mentions the number of the trees (twelve). For a comparative table, see Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi Document*, 165–66.

³² This is in contrast with *ALD* 22 (= 7:4) where Isaac instructs: “And offer split wood.”

³³ According to *ALD* 22 (= 7:4) it should be without worms (“And examine it for worms”).

³⁴ Cf. Drawnel, *Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 271–72; Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi Document*, 168–69.

- 20a When they go into the tent of meeting,
 b they shall wash with water,
 c lest they die.
 d or when they come near the altar to minister, to burn an offering by fire to Yhwh,
 21a they shall wash their hands and their feet,
 b lest they die:
 c it shall be a statute for ever to them, even to him and to his descendants throughout their generations.”

Like Exod 30:17–21, *Jub.* 21:16–17a speaks about two ablutions before the sacrifice is offered: “Wash with water before you go to make an offering on the altar” (*Jub.* 21:16bc). Exodus speaks with regard to the first ablution about the tent of meeting: “When they go into the tent of meeting, they shall wash with water” (Exod 30:20ab). The second washing is immediately before approaching of the altar: “Wash with water before you approach the altar” (*Jub.* 21:16de). Exodus reads: “or when they come near the altar to minister, to burn an offering by fire to Yhwh, they shall wash their hands and their feet” (Exod 30:20d–21a).

In distinction from Exodus, *Jubilees* has one additional ablution, namely after the offering has taken place: “When you have finished making an offering, wash your hands and feet again” (*Jub.* 21:16fg). In Leviticus 16 one ablution before the offering (Lev 16:4) is mentioned and one after (Lev 16:24).

2.6. *The Eating of the Blood* (*Jub.* 21:6, 17b–20)

The section about the offering (*Jub.* 21:7–17a) is preceded by the prohibition of eating blood (*Jub.* 21:6: “Do not eat any blood of an animal, cattle, or of any bird that flies in the sky”) and followed by it (*Jub.* 21:17b–18c: “My son, be careful with blood; be careful to cover it with dirt. You are not, therefore, to consume any blood because the blood is the vital force. Do not consume any blood”).³⁵

The prohibition on consuming blood occurs three times in *Jub.* 21: “Do not eat any blood of an animal, cattle, or of any bird that flies in the sky” (*Jub.* 21:6); “You are not, therefore, to eat any blood” (*Jub.* 21:18a); “Do not eat any blood” (*Jub.* 21:18c). This prohibition is an element common to Noah’s covenant (cf. Gen 9:4) and Moses’ covenant (Lev 3:17; 7:26–27;

³⁵ See the mention of the blood at the beginning of the section on offering (*Jub.* 21:7c) and at the end (*Jub.* 21:17a).

17:10–14; 19:26; Deut 12:16, 23–24; 15:23).³⁶ The prohibition appears within the framework of the offering legislation in Leviticus. In this legislation, the use of blood in the cult is dealt with in several places.³⁷ In this context, the apodictically formulated prohibition occurs for the first time in Lev 3:17 as an appendix to the peace offering: “You may not eat any fat nor any blood” (לֹא תֹאכְלוּ כָּל חֵלֶב וְכָל דָּם). This prohibition applies to “all your dwelling places” (בְּכָל מוֹשְׁבֹתֵיכֶם) and “for ever throughout your generations” (לְדֹרֹתֵיכֶם עֹלָם). In Lev 7:22–27, the prohibition occurs a second time, again as an appendix to a peace offering: “You may not eat any blood” (Lev. 7:26: לֹא תֹאכְלוּ וְכָל דָּם). Some qualifications on the prohibitions on consuming blood are given (Lev 7:26–27): “in any of your dwellings”; blood “of bird or of cattle,” and the sanction that the offender “shall be cut off from his people.” In Lev 17:10–14, the prohibition is formulated twice: “No person among you may eat blood” (Lev 17:12b); “you may not eat the blood of any animate being” (Lev 17:14c). Besides a sanction (Lev 17:10bc, 14e), a reason is also given. Lev 17:11 formulates both an anthropological (Lev 17:11a: “For the life of animate beings is in the blood”; cf. Lev 17:14a, d) as well as a theological reason (Lev 17:11c: “for it is the blood that makes atonement by reason of the life”).³⁸ The divine stipulation that sacrificial blood be used in offerings is based upon these two justifications (Lev 17:11b: “and I have given it for you upon the altar to make atonement for your souls”). Expiatory blood is a gift of God. Yhwh gave the Israelites the blood, because the blood is the carrier of life, with the aim to make atonement.³⁹ The anthropological and theological motivations are thus intrinsically linked. It is striking that the preceding passage speaks about “peace offering” (cf. Lev 17:5). The connection between the peace offering and the prohibition of consuming blood is somewhat peculiar, because this offering is not an offering for the atonement of sins, but it is a thanksgiving, a free-will offering.

³⁶ Besides these texts, the collocation of the words אָכַל and דָּם occurs also in 1 Sam 14:32, 33, 34; Ezek 33:25; cf. Ezek 39:17–19. Only a few biblical texts give a reason for the prohibition on eating blood: Lev 17:11, 14a, 14b; Deut 12:23. See also Van Ruiten, *Primaeval History*, 241–44, 300–2.

³⁷ See especially the “small ritual of blood” and the “large ritual of blood” with regard to several offerings; cf. H. Gese, “Die Sühne,” in idem, *Zur biblischen Theologie: Alttestamentliche Vorträge* (Munich, 1977), 85–106; B. Janowski, *Sühne als Heilsgeschehen: Studien zur Sühnetheologie der Priesterschaft und zur Wurzel KPR im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament* (WMANT 55; Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1982), 221–65.

³⁸ Cf. Janowski, *Sühne*, 245–46.

³⁹ This would suggest an instrumental interpretation of ב in בָּנַפֶּשׁ van Lev 17:11c. For other interpretations, cf. Janowski, *Sühne*, 244–45.

The author of *Jubilees* probably does not refer to any one of these texts specifically, but to the prohibition in general. Moreover, compare the prohibition on eating blood in Noah's covenant (*Jub.* 6:7; cf. Gen 9:4–5) and in Noah's testament (*Jub.* 7:26–33).⁴⁰ Nevertheless, sometimes the formulation in *Jubilees* can be related to specific phrases in Leviticus. The specification of the prohibition on consuming blood] “of an animal, cattle, or of any bird that flies in the sky” (*Jub.* 21:6) might refer to Lev 7:26a (“You may not eat any blood of bird or cattle”).⁴¹ It is interesting to note that in the same context Lev 17:13 mentions “animal (חיה) or bird.” Although it speaks about these animals in connection with hunting, the prohibition on consuming blood is at the heart of the matter. The covering of the blood (cf. *Jub.* 21:17c) is probably derived from Lev 17:13.⁴² A difference between *Jubilees* and Leviticus in this respect is that Lev 17:13 speaks about the covering of the blood of an animal that was taken in the hunt. A reason for the prohibition on eating blood is given in *Jub.* 21:18b (“Because the blood is the life”). Only a few biblical texts give a reason: Lev 17:11 (כי נפש בדם): “Because the life of animate beings is in the blood”; 17:14a (כי נפש כל בשר דמו בנפשו): “Because the life of all animate beings, their blood is with their life”; 17:14b (כי נפש כל בשר דמו הוא): “Because the life of all animate beings is it [the blood]”; Deut 12:23 (כי הדם הוא): “because the blood is the life”).

In the continuation of the text, the theme of the eating of the blood (*Jub.* 21:6, 18a, c) is combined with the theme of the shedding of the blood (*Jub.* 21:19). As far as this combination is concerned, one could refer especially to Gen 9:4–6 (cf. *Jub.* 6:7–8), and Ezek 33:25.⁴³ The meaning of Gen 9:4–6 is that everything is given to humans for food (Gen 9:3); however, humans should not consume the blood of animate beings (Gen 9:4), and he should certainly not shed the blood of humans (Gen 9:5–6). In this interpretation Gen 9:5–6 is understood as a sort of reinforcement of the first one. One could, however, also interpret Gen 9:5–6 as a consequence of Gen 9:4, in the sense that consuming the blood of animated beings is

⁴⁰ Cf. also *Jub.* 11:2 in relation to Noah's sons.

⁴¹ *Jub.* 6:12 first speaks about the blood of “animals” and “birds” but then adds “cattle” to these two categories. See also *Jub.* 7:30.

⁴² Cf. Deut 12:23, which speaks about the pouring out of the blood upon the earth like water. See also *Jub.* 7:30b, 31c.

⁴³ The combination is also found in *Jub.* 7:26–33 (Noah's testament) and in *Jub.* 11:2 (with regard to Noah's sons). In Lev 17:13 a collocation of the words דם and שפך is also used. The connotation is somewhat different. There it is used in the context of the pouring out of the blood of an animal taken in the hunt.

only a small step away from shedding human blood. This is also the interpretation of the rewriting of this passage in *Jub.* 6:7: the eating of the blood of animals would lead to the shedding of the blood of men.

In *Jub.* 21:19cd the earth becomes polluted because of the bloodshed. For the pollution of the earth in combination with bloodshed, one could refer to Num 35:33, Ezek 22:3, 36:8, and Ps 106:38.⁴⁴ Numbers 35:33 might be the background of the passage.⁴⁵ The text speaks about the inability of the land to tolerate pollution in the context of Levites and refuge cities. While Num 35:33 refers to the 'expiation' of the land by the blood of him who shed it,⁴⁶ *Jubilees* speaks about the purification of the earth.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ In the biblical texts the pollution refers to the land. The theme of the pollution of the earth by bloodshed also occurs in the Cain and Abel story (cf. Gen 4:8, 10–11; *Jub.* 4:3). See also Deut 21:1, 6–9.

⁴⁵ Cf. Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 64; Halpern-Amaru, *Rewriting the Bible*, 27–28; J.C. VanderKam, "The Angel Story in the Book of Jubilees," in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12–14 January, 1997* (ed. E.G. Chazon and M. Stone; STDJ 31; Leiden, 1999) 151–170 (esp. 167).

⁴⁶ Cf. *Jub.* 6:8 (= Gen 9:6), and *Jub.* 7:33, where it is stated that only "by the blood of the one who shed it the earth (land) will be purified."

⁴⁷ The topic of the expiation of the earth had already been brought up in *Jub.* 6:2. For the purification of the earth, see also *Jub.* 7:33.

CHAPTER TEN

ABRAHAM'S LAST DAY (GEN 25:7-10; *JUB.* 22:1-23:8)

1. INTRODUCTION

Jubilees 22:1-23:8 forms the concluding pericope of the Abraham cycle. It is the third and last farewell speech. Most of the elements of Gen 25:7-10 are incorporated in *Jub.* 22:1-23:8: the summary formula of Abraham's life; the death notice; and the burial report.¹ In *Jubilees*, the biblical text is greatly extended. On his last day, Abraham celebrates the festival of weeks together with his sons, Isaac and Ishmael (*Jub.* 22:1-9), delivers his last words to Jacob (*Jub.* 22:10c-f, 11d-24, 27-30), and performs his last deeds (*Jub.* 22:25-27; 23:1a-d) before he dies (*Jub.* 23:1ef). The following scheme contains an overall comparison between Gen 25:7-10 and *Jub.* 22:1-23:8.

Genesis 25:7-10	<i>Jubilees</i> 22:1-23:8
	22:1-9 FESTIVAL OF WEEKS
	22:10-25 ABRAHAM'S LAST SPEECH
	22:26-23:1d ABRAHAM'S LAST WORDS AND ACTS
25:7 <i>Summary formula of Abraham's life</i>	cf. <i>Jub.</i> 22:1, 7c; 23:8
25:8 <i>Death notice</i>	23:1ef <i>Death notice</i>
	23:2-6 BETWEEN DEATH AND BURIAL
25:9-10 <i>Burial report</i>	23:7 <i>Burial report</i>
	23:8 <i>Summary formula of Abraham's life</i>

2. THE DEMARCATION OF *JUBILEES* 22:1-23:8

Although most elements of Gen 25:7-10 occur in the last part of the text (cf. 23:1ef, 7a, 8), I consider *Jub.* 22:1-23:8 in its entirety as the concluding pericope of the Abraham cycle, because there is unity of time and space as well as a continuity of the actors.

¹ The patriarchal succession by God's blessing of Isaac (Gen 25:11) is transposed to the beginning of next major narrative section (*Jub.* 24:1).

As far as time is concerned, the events described in *Jub.* 22:1–23:8 all happen in the last year, and most probably on the very last day and night of Abraham's life. The text refers to Abraham's last year not only at the end (*Jub.* 23:1–8) but also at the beginning (*Jub.* 22:1: "And it came to pass in . . . that year in which Abraham died"; *Jub.* 22:7: "Behold, I am one hundred and seventy-five years old, and fulfilled in days").

The celebration of the festival of weeks is placed within the absolute dating system of *Jubilees*. According to the Ethiopic text of *Jub.* 22:1a, the events take place in the second year of the first week of the forty-fourth jubilee, which would give a date of 2109 *a.m.* This date, however, does not harmonize with other dates in the book, e.g., *Jub.* 24:1, in which the narrative is still in the forty-third jubilee. Dillmann, therefore, amended the text to the forty-third jubilee, and his suggestion is confirmed by the Hebrew version in 4Q219 2:35, where the text reads לְשִׁלּוּשֵׁה וְאַרְבַּעִים.² This problem still reflects the errors made in *Jub.* 15:1, which is dated to the year 1986 (one hundred and ten years after Abraham's birth), whereas the text of Genesis 17 implies that at that time Abraham was ninety-nine years old. A few further inconsistencies result in the fact that Abraham died, according to the absolute dating system, in 2060 *a.m.*, one hundred and eighty-four years after his birth in 1876 (cf. *Jub.* 11:15).³ It is clear, however, that the author of *Jubilees* considers one hundred and seventy-five years as the age of Abraham at his death. See *Jub.* 22:7c ("I am now one hundred and seventy-five years, old and with my time completed") and *Jub.* 23:8 ("He lived three jubilees and four weeks of years, one hundred and seventy-five years, when he completed the days of his life").⁴

There are no explicit indications in the text that there is a time difference between the celebration of the festival of weeks (*Jub.* 22:1–9) and the moment Abraham summons Jacob (*Jub.* 22:10), after which he dies (*Jub.* 23:1).⁵ References to the renewal of the covenant (*Jub.* 22:15, 30) in Abraham's speech also indicate that there is no time difference between *Jub.* 22:1–9 and *Jub.* 22:10–23:1, because the renewal of the covenant, dated to the middle of the third month, is connected to the celebration of the

² Cf. Dillmann, "Buch der Jubiläen," 71, note 14; VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees, II*, 127; VanderKam, and Milik, "Jubilees," 1–185 (esp. 53); Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 15.

³ Cf. VanderKam, "Studies in the Chronology," 522–44 (esp. 539).

⁴ VanderKam (*ibidem*) points to the fact that Abraham died 400 years before the entry into the land by the Israelites (*Jub.* 14:13; Gen 15:13). This implies a date of his death in 2051 *a.m.*

⁵ The only other indications of time in *Jub.* 22:1–23:8 are: "At that time" (22:3a); "before he died" (22:4f); "at night" (23:4d).

festival of the weeks.⁶ Moreover, the narrative of *Jub.* 23:1–6 presupposes the same situation as in *Jub.* 22:26–30—Jacob being in the bosom of his grandfather in one bed along with Abraham's speech to Jacob. So we may assume that Abraham died during the Festival of Weeks.

There is probably also a unity of space, although the indications of space are somewhat vague. On the one hand, Abraham celebrates the festival together with his sons Isaac and Ishmael, who come from elsewhere (*Jub.* 22:1–3). On the other hand, Isaac prepares a feast with Ishmael (*Jub.* 22:4ab) and Rebekah, and Isaac send gifts *through Jacob* to Abraham (*Jub.* 22:4c–5), which suggests a certain distance between Abraham and his sons. From *Jub.* 22:6 onwards, only Jacob seems to be in the direct company of his grandfather. At the end of the passage, the two of them (i.e., Jacob and Abraham) lay down together on one bed (cf. *Jub.* 22:26a). After Abraham has breathed his last, we read: "During all of this Jacob was lying in his bosom" (*Jub.* 23:2a). In *Jub.* 23:4, Jacob runs from the body of Abraham to tell his parents about his death. This notion also suggests a certain distance between Abraham and his sons. With regard to Ishmael, it is said that he came to see his father (*Jub.* 22:1, 3) but not that he left his father. After the report of Abraham's death was heard, he set out to go to his father (*Jub.* 23:6), which again suggests a certain distance.

Both at the beginning (*Jub.* 22:1–5) and at the end (*Jub.* 23:4–8), the persons referred to are Abraham, Isaac, Ishmael, Rebekah, and Jacob. At the end, all of Abraham's household and all of Keturah's sons are also mentioned (*Jub.* 23:6, 7). In between (*Jub.* 22:10–23:4a), the only persons involved are Jacob and Abraham.

It is striking that Abraham, after he has blessed Isaac (*Jub.* 21), also blesses his grandchild Jacob (cf. *Jub.* 22:10c, 11d, 13a, 14d, 19b, 27–30). The relationship between Abraham and Jacob is depicted as an intimate one in which Abraham seems to fill the role of Isaac. Jacob is mentioned by name fourteen times and is mostly referred to as "my son Jacob" (*Jub.* 22:10c, e, 11d, 16a, 19a, 20a), but also as "son of Abraham" (*Jub.* 22:23b) or simply "my son" (*Jub.* 22:28b). Abraham is referred to as "your father Abraham" (*Jub.* 22:16c). When Jacob awoke and realised Abraham was dead he said: "Father, Father" (*Jub.* 23:3d). Only twice is Abraham referred to as "his grandfather" (*Jub.* 22:26b; 23:2b). Moreover, Abraham does not give his final blessing to his son Isaac but to his grandchild Jacob.

⁶ Cf. *Jub.* 6:17–31; 14:17–20; 16:13; 29:7; 44:1–5.

In conclusion, one can say that on the basis of the data of time, space, and persons, the passage *Jub.* 22:1–23:8 is a clearly demarcated unity.

3. THE STRUCTURE OF *JUBILEES* 22:1–23:8

A close examination of this passage shows that the text alternates between narrative parts and direct speech:

22:1–6:	narrative
	22:7–9: direct speech
22:10ab:	narrative
	22:10c–f: direct speech
22:11a–c:	narrative
	22:11d–24: direct speech
22:25–27b:	narrative
	22:27c–f: direct speech
22:28a:	narrative
	22:28b–30: direct speech
23:1–8:	narrative

The narratives are predominant at the beginning (*Jub.* 22:1–6) and at the end (*Jub.* 23:1–8). The narrative transitions in *Jub.* 22:10ab and *Jub.* 22:11a–c are connected with *Jub.* 22:10c–f, whereas the short narrative elements in 22:25–27b, 28a are connected with the direct speeches (*Jub.* 22:27c–f, 28b–30) and with *Jub.* 23:1–8. When divided in this way, one can see a particular mirror-image construction of the chapter. The main direct speech (*Jub.* 22:11d–24) is the central part. It is preceded and followed by three narrative parts and two direct speeches. So, a tripartite structure may be found:

22:1–11c:	Events preceding the main speech
22:11d–24:	The main speech
22:25–23:8:	Events following the main speech

The direct speeches (*Jub.* 22:7–9, 10c–f, 11d–24, 27c–f, 28b–30) are, in fact, monologues uttered by Abraham. The addressee is not mentioned explicitly in the introduction of the direct speech but he is at the very beginning of the speech. In the first direct speech, God is addressed (*Jub.* 22:7a). In the second and third speech, it is “my son Jacob” (*Jub.* 22:10c, 10e, 16a, 19a, 20a, 23a). It should be noted, however, that at the beginning of the third speech (*Jub.* 22:11d) Jacob is referred to in the third person (“May my son Jacob and all his sons”). However, the text soon changes into the second person. In the fourth speech (*Jub.* 22:27c–f), the addressee

is not mentioned. There is no form of address, and God is spoken about in the third person singular.⁷ Possibly, the lack of a form of address in the fourth speech may be connected with the fact that Abraham blesses Jacob (*Jub.* 22:27a), who is sleeping and lying in the bosom of his grandfather (*Jub.* 22:26b; 23:2). In the fifth direct speech (*Jub.* 22:28b–30), God is the addressee, although in the introduction (*Jub.* 22:28b) Abraham blesses Jacob, since he begins with “my son.”⁸

Addressee in Direct Speeches

7–9:	God
10c–h:	Jacob
11d–24:	Jacob
27c–f:	–
28b–30:	God

The structure and modelling of the passage is not only determined by the influence of Abraham’s deathbed scene (*Gen* 25:7–10) but also by other passages, i.e., the blessing of Jacob by Isaac (cf. *Gen* 27:1–30), the deathbed scene of Isaac (*Gen* 35:27–29) and especially of Jacob (*Gen* 47:27–50:14), as we will see below.

4. AN ANALYSIS OF THE REWRITING OF GENESIS 25:7–10 AND
JUBILEES 22:1–23:8

4.1. *The Celebration of the Festival of Weeks* (*Jub.* 22:1–9)

The last day of Abraham’s life was the day of the celebration of the festival of weeks. The first section of the text (*Jub.* 22:1–9) mentions this festival explicitly, but the text also refers to it implicitly elsewhere in this chapter in that the text speaks about the renewal of the covenant (*Jub.* 22:15, 30). The text of *Jub.* 22:1–9 runs as follows:

- 1a IN THE FIRST WEEK IN THE FORTY-FOURTH JUBILEE, DURING THE SECOND YEAR—IT IS IN THE YEAR THAT ABRAHAM DIED—ISAAC AND ISHMAEL CAME FROM THE WELL OF THE OATH TO THEIR FATHER ABRAHAM TO CELEBRATE THE FESTIVAL OF WEEKS (THIS IS THE FESTIVAL OF THE FIRST FRUITS OF THE HARVEST).

⁷ For the text-critical problems in *Jub.* 22:27a, see VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees, II*, 133–34.

⁸ For the text-critical problems in *Jub.* 22:28, see VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees, II*, 134–35.

- b ABRAHAM WAS HAPPY THAT HIS TWO SONS HAD COME.
 2a FOR ISAAC'S POSSESSIONS IN BEERSHEBA WERE NUMEROUS.
 b ISAAC USED TO GO AND INSPECT HIS POSSESSIONS
 c AND THEN RETURN TO HIS FATHER.
 3a AT THAT TIME ISHMAEL CAME TO SEE HIS FATHER,
 b AND ALL OF THEM CAME TOGETHER.
 c ISAAC SLAUGHTERED A SACRIFICE FOR THE OFFERING;
 d HE OFFERED (IT) ON HIS FATHER'S ALTAR WHICH HE HAD MADE IN HEBRON.
 4a HE SACRIFICED A PEACE OFFERING
 b AND PREPARED A JOYFUL FEAST IN FRONT OF HIS BROTHER ISHMAEL.
 c REBEKAH MADE FRESH BREAD OUT OF NEW WHEAT.
 d SHE GAVE IT TO HER SON JACOB TO BRING TO HIS FATHER ABRAHAM SOME OF
 THE FIRST FRUITS OF THE LAND
 e SO THAT HE WOULD EAT (IT)
 f AND BLESS THE CREATOR OF EVERYTHING BEFORE HE DIED.
 5a ISAAC, TOO, SENT THROUGH JACOB [HIS] EXCELLENT PEACE OFFERING [AND
 WINE TO HIS FATHER] ABRAHAM FOR HIM TO EAT AND DRINK.
 6a HE ATE
 b AND DRANK.
 c THEN HE BLESSED THE MOST HIGH GOD WHO CREATED THE HEAVENS AND
 THE EARTH, WHO MADE ALL THE FAT THINGS OF THE EARTH, AND GAVE THEM
 TO MANKIND TO EAT, DRINK, AND BLESS THEIR CREATOR.
 7a "NOW I OFFER HUMBLE THANKS TO YOU, MY GOD,
 b BECAUSE YOU HAVE SHOWN ME THIS DAY.
 c I AM NOW HUNDRED SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS OF AGE, OLD AND WITH (MY)
 TIME COMPLETED.
 d All of my days have proved to be peace for me.
 8a THE ENEMY'S SWORD HAS NOT SUBDUED ME IN ANYTHING AT ALL WHICH
 YOU HAVE GIVEN ME AND MY SONS DURING ALL MY LIFETIME UNTIL
 TODAY.
 9a MAY YOUR KINDNESS AND PEACE REST ON YOUR SERVANT AND ON THE
 DESCENDANTS OF HIS SONS
 b SO THAT THEY, OF ALL THE NATIONS OF THE EARTH, MAY BECOME YOUR
 CHOSEN PEOPLE AND HERITAGE FROM NOW UNTIL ALL THE TIME OF THE
 EARTH'S HISTORY THROUGHOUT ALL AGES."

This section describes how Isaac and Ishmael came to Abraham to celebrate the festival of weeks (*Jub.* 22:1–3b) on Abraham's very last day. Isaac slaughtered a sacrifice for the offering and prepared a joyful feast in front of Ishmael (*Jub.* 22:3c–4b). After this, first Rebekah sent fresh bread made of new wheat through Jacob to Abraham (*Jub.* 22:4c–f) and then Isaac sent his peace offering to Abraham through Jacob (*Jub.* 22:5). Finally, Abraham ate and drank, blessed the Most High God and said grace (*Jub.* 22:6–9).

In this passage, the festival is not dated, but elsewhere the author is more clear about the date.⁹ In *Jub.* 6, it is “in the third month” (*Jub.* 6:17, 20; cf. 6:1, 11), and later he places it in the middle of this month (*Jub.* 15:1; 16:13). In *Jub.* 44:1–5, a date on the fifteenth of the third month is implied. The harvest character of the festival is stressed in this passage: “This is the festival of the first fruits of the harvest” (*Jub.* 22:1a).¹⁰ Rebekah made fresh bread from new wheat (*Jub.* 22:4c), and she sent some of the first fruits of the land to Abraham (*Jub.* 22:4d). On the festival of weeks, offerings were brought. So Isaac slaughtered a sacrifice for offering (*Jub.* 22:3c), and he sacrificed a peace offering (*Jub.* 22:4).¹¹ The festival of weeks is not only a harvest festival, but also a festival of the renewal of the covenant, which began with Noah’s covenant with God.¹² In *Jub.* 22:1–9 nothing is said about the covenant. But when Abraham blesses Jacob, he expresses the wish that God would renew his covenant with Jacob (*Jub.* 22:15, 30).¹³ An important point for the author of *Jubilees* is the human acceptance of the covenant.¹⁴ This commitment takes place by swearing an oath.¹⁵ Although nothing is said about swearing an oath in *Jub.* 22:1–9, the text does mention “the well of oath” in the beginning of the text (*Jub.* 22:1a) and refers also to “Beersheba” (*Jub.* 22:2a).¹⁶ Human commitment is stressed in the blessing of Jacob. After Abraham expresses his wish that God should renew the covenant with Jacob (*Jub.* 22:15), he orders Jacob to keep the commandments, to separate from the nations, not to eat with them, and not to act as they do (*Jub.* 22:16).

⁹ Eiss, “Wochenfest,” 165–78; Jaubert, *Notion*, 101–4; VanderKam, “Weeks, Festival of,” 895–97 (esp. 896); Van Ruiten, *Primaeval History*, 247–50.

¹⁰ Comp. *Jub.* 6:21; 15:1; 16:13; 44:4.

¹¹ In *Jub.* 15:2, Abraham’s sacrifice during this festival is described, which is not completely in agreement with the biblical prescriptions (Lev 23:15–22; Num 28:26–31).

¹² *Jub.* 6:17: “They should celebrate the festival of weeks during this month—once a year—to renew the covenant each and every year.” In *Jub.* 6:19 “Abraham alone kept (it), and his sons Isaac and Jacob kept it.”

¹³ All the festivals of the covenant in the book of *Jubilees* take place on the same day of the year, i.e., the festival of weeks (*Jub.* 14:1, 10, 18; 15:1–5, 19, 21; 16:13). See Jaubert, *Notion*, 104.

¹⁴ Cf. Jaubert, *Notion*, 107–11. It seems evident that the correlation between the making of the covenant in connection with the acceptance through oath is due to paronomasia; in the original unvocalized Hebrew text, the consonants שבעות can be read either as *šabu’ot* (“weeks”) or as *šebu’ot* (“oaths”). The double nature of the festival (cf. *Jub.* 6:21c) means that it could be referred to as a festival of first fruits and of making oaths.

¹⁵ See *Jub.* 6:10, 11; 29:7.

¹⁶ A Hebrew name meaning “Seven Wells”, but *šeba’* (“seven”) can be related to *šebu’a* (“oath”). See also note 16.

Jubilees 22:1–9 is an addition to Gen 25:7–10. However, the text seems to have been influenced by Isaac’s blessing of Jacob in Genesis (cf. Gen 27:1–30). At the beginning of Abraham’s blessing of Isaac (*Jub.* 21), the author already uses a statement of Isaac’s blessing of Jacob. Some phrases from Gen 27:2 (“I am old; I do not know the day of my death”) occur verbatim in *Jub.* 21:1. The continuation of the speech in *Jubilees* 21 (Isaac to Jacob) is completely different from the continuation in Genesis 27. However, in *Jub.* 22:1–9 several elements of the narrative of Gen 27:1–30 can be found, namely, Isaac orders Esau to get savoury food so that he can bless him; Rebekah prepares the dish for Jacob, who brings it to his father, after which Isaac blesses him. In fact, the similarity between *Jubilees* 22 and Genesis 27 continues until the beginning of Abraham’s speech to Jacob. It looks as if this part of the text (*Jub.* 22:1–12) is at least partly modelled on the basis of Isaac’s blessing of Jacob in Gen 27:1–30.¹⁷

The interrelationship between *Jub.* 22:1–12 and Gen 27:1–30 is determined by several similarities. Both passages are placed within the context of the approaching end of the patriarch’s life, and the structure of the passages is comparable. The most obvious point of similarity is the quotation with some variations of Gen 27:29ab in *Jub.* 22:11gh.¹⁸ Moreover, one can point to *Jub.* 22:12ab as a variation of Gen 27:29cd.¹⁹ But there are more similarities that catch the eye. *Jubilees* 22:10a, 10e–11b corresponds very closely to Gen 27:26a–27b. Moreover, one can compare the transmission of Abraham’s food and wine by Jacob (*Jub.* 22:4–6) with the transmission of Isaac’s food and wine by Jacob in Gen 27:25. Finally, in both texts, Jacob’s mother, Rebekah, plays a part in the preparation of the meal.²⁰

¹⁷ Genesis 27:1–40 is adopted by the author of *Jubilees* quite literally in *Jub.* 26:1–35, although he reinterprets the biblical material in a subtle way, in that the biblical Jacob is rehabilitated. He has reservations about the possibility that Jacob could have deceived his father Isaac, and he portrays Jacob as devoted both to his mother and his father. The author omits Jacob’s first lie and softens his second. See Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 92.

¹⁸ In Gen 27:29ab, two different words are used to indicate the nations (עַמִּים and לְאֻמִּים), whereas *Jub.* 22:11gh uses one and the same word (ʿahzāb). Moreover, in Genesis the people serve “you,” whereas in *Jubilees* it is first “you” and then “your descendants.”

¹⁹ The parallelism “your brothers” and “your mother’s sons” in Gen 27:29cd is replaced by the parallelism “people” and “all of Seth’s descendants.” The meaning of the latter expression is “the whole of humanity.” See A.F.J. Klijn, *Seth in Jewish, Christian and Gnostic Literature* (NTS 46; Leiden, 1977), 14. For the expression “Seth’s descendants,” see Num 24:17, and the reception of this text in CD 7:21; 1QM 11:6. Gen 27:29 is quoted verbatim in *Jub.* 26:23d–24b.

²⁰ Unlike the other synoptic overviews, in this overview I use italics to show the similarities between Gen 27:25–29 and *Jub.* 22:4–6, 10–11. I underline those elements that show rearrangement of words.

Genesis 27:17-18, 25-29

17a ... and *she gave* the savory food and the bread, which she had prepared, into the hand of *her son Jacob*

18a So he went in **to his father**,

b and he said

25a Then he said:

b "*Bring* it to me,

c that I may *eat* of my son's game and *bless* you."

d (cf. also Gen 27:4)

e So he brought it to him,

f and *he ate*;

g and he brought him **wine**,

h and *he drank*.

26a His father Isaac *said to him*:

b "*Come close*

c and *kiss me, my son*."

27a *So he came close*

b and *kissed him*;

.....

29a *May peoples serve you,*

b and *may nations bow down to you*.

c Be lord over your brothers,

d and *may your mother's sons bow down to you*.

Jubilees 22:4-6, 10-11

4c Rebekah made fresh bread out of new wheat.

d *She gave* it to *her son Jacob*

to bring to his father Abraham some of the first fruits of the land

e so that he would *eat* (it)

f and *bless* the creator of everything before he died.

5a Isaac, too, sent through Jacob [his] excellent peace offering [and **wine** to his father] Abraham for him to eat and drink.

6a *He ate*

b and *he drank*.

10a He summoned Jacob

b and *said to him*:

.....

10e "...Now you, **my son** Jacob, *come close*

f and *kiss me*."

11a *So he came close*

b and *kissed him*.

.....

11g *May nations serve you,*

h and *may all the nations bow before your descendants*.

12a Be strong before people and continue to exercise power among all of Seth's descendants.

.....

Apart from the similarities, there are also many differences between both texts. There is a clear substitution of Isaac by Abraham. Moreover, Esau plays an important part in Isaac's blessing in Genesis 27, but he is completely absent in *Jub.* 22:1-23:8. An important plot line of Genesis 27, the deception of Isaac by Jacob, is omitted. The role of Rebekah in *Jubilees* is

limited: "She made fresh bread out of new wheat" (*Jub.* 22:4c). In Genesis, she persuades Jacob to deceive his father; she prepares not only bread (*Gen* 27:17) but also savoury food from two good kids (*Gen* 27:9). In *Jubilees*, it is Isaac who prepares the food as an offering (*Jub.* 22:3c–4b, 5). The setting of an approaching end of life is similar in both texts (*Gen* 27:1–2; *Jub.* 22:1, 7), but in *Jubilees* this is combined with the celebration of the festival of weeks.

4.2. *Abraham's Testimony for Jacob* (*Jub.* 22:10–24)

On the festival of weeks, which was celebrated on the last day of his life, Abraham addresses Jacob. Formally, his address is divided into two direct speeches, first a short one (*Jub.* 22:10) and then a longer one (*Jub.* 22:11–24). The text of the testimony runs as follows:

10a HE SUMMONED JACOB
 b AND SAID TO HIM:
 c "MY SON JACOB, MAY THE GOD OF ALL BLESS AND STRENGTHEN YOU TO
 DO BEFORE HIM WHAT IS RIGHT AND WHAT HE WANTS.
 d MAY HE CHOOSE YOU AND YOUR DESCENDANTS TO BE HIS PEOPLE FOR
 HIS HERITAGE IN ACCORD WITH HIS WILL THROUGHOUT ALL TIME.
 e NOW YOU, MY SON JACOB, COME CLOSE
 f AND KISS ME."
 11a SO HE CAME CLOSE
 b AND KISSED HIM.
 c THEN HE SAID:
 d "MAY MY SON JACOB AND ALL HIS SONS BE BLESSED TO THE MOST HIGH
 LORD THROUGHOUT ALL AGES.
 e MAY THE LORD GIVE YOU RIGHTEOUS DESCENDANTS,
 f AND MAY HE SANCTIFY SOME OF YOUR SONS WITHIN THE ENTIRE EARTH.
 g MAY THE NATIONS SERVE YOU,
 h AND MAY ALL THE NATIONS BOW BEFORE YOUR DESCENDANTS.
 12a BE STRONG BEFORE PEOPLE
 b AND CONTINUE TO EXERCISE POWER AMONG ALL OF SETH'S DESCENDANTS.
 c THEN YOUR WAYS AND THE WAYS OF YOUR SONS WILL BE PROPER
 d SO THAT THEY MAY BE A HOLY PEOPLE.
 13a MAY THE MOST HIGH GOD GIVE YOU ALL THE BLESSINGS WITH WHICH HE
 BLESSED ME
 b AND WITH WHICH HE BLESSED NOAH AND ADAM.
 c MAY THEY COME TO REST ON THE SACRED HEAD OF YOUR SEED
 d THROUGHOUT EACH AND EVERY GENERATION AND FOREVER.
 14a MAY HE PURIFY YOU FROM ALL FILTHY POLLUTION
 b SO THAT YOU MAY BE PARDONED FOR ALL THE GUILT OF YOUR SINS OF
 IGNORANCE.
 c MAY HE STRENGTHEN

d AND BLESS YOU;
e MAY YOU POSSESS THE ENTIRE EARTH.
15a MAY HE RENEW HIS COVENANT WITH YOU
b SO THAT YOU MAY BE FOR HIM THE PEOPLE OF HIS HERITAGE THROUGH-
OUT ALL AGES.
c MAY HE TRULY AND RIGHTLY BE GOD FOR YOU AND YOUR DESCENDANTS
THROUGHOUT ALL THE TIME OF THE EARTH.
16a NOW YOU, MY SON JACOB, REMEMBER WHAT I SAY
b AND KEEP THE COMMANDMENTS OF YOUR FATHER ABRAHAM.
c SEPARATE FROM THE NATIONS,
d AND DO NOT EAT WITH THEM.
e DO NOT ACT AS THEY DO,
f AND DO NOT BECOME THEIR COMPANION,
g FOR THEIR ACTIONS ARE SOMETHING THAT IS IMPURE,
h AND ALL THEIR WAYS ARE DEFILED AND SOMETHING ABOMINABLE AND
DETESTABLE.
17a THEY OFFER THEIR SACRIFICES TO THE DEAD,
b AND THEY WORSHIP DEMONS.
c THEY EAT IN TOMBS,
d AND EVERYTHING THEY DO IS EMPTY AND WORTHLESS.
18a THEY HAVE NO MIND TO THINK,
b AND THEIR EYES DO NOT SEE WHAT THEY DO
c AND HOW THEY ERR IN SAYING TO (A PIECE OF) WOOD:
d 'YOU ARE MY GOD';
e OR TO A STONE;
f 'YOU ARE MY LORD; YOU ARE MY DELIVERER.'
g (THEY HAVE) NO MIND.
19a AS FOR YOU, MY SON JACOB, MAY THE MOST HIGH GOD HELP YOU
b AND THE GOD OF HEAVEN BLESS YOU.
c MAY HE REMOVE YOU FROM THEIR IMPURITY
d AND FROM ALL THEIR ERROR.
20a BE CAREFUL, MY SON JACOB, NOT TO MARRY A WOMAN FROM ALL THE
DESCENDANTS OF CANAAN'S DAUGHTERS,
b BECAUSE ALL OF HIS DESCENDANTS ARE (MEANT) FOR BEING UPROOTED
FROM THE EARTH.
21a FOR THROUGH HAM'S SIN CANAAN ERRED.
b ALL OF HIS DESCENDANTS AND ALL OF HIS (PEOPLE) WHO REMAIN WILL
BE DESTROYED FROM THE EARTH;
c ON THE DAY OF JUDGEMENT THERE WILL BE NO ONE (DESCENDED) FROM
HIM WHO WILL BE SAVED.
22a FOR ALL WHO WORSHIP IDOLS
b AND FOR THOSE WHO ARE ODIUS,
c THERE IS NO HOPE IN THE LAND OF THE LIVING.
d FOR THEY WILL DESCEND TO SHEOL
e AND WILL GO TO THE PLACE OF JUDGEMENT.
f THERE WILL BE NO MEMORY OF THEM ON THE EARTH.
g AS THE PEOPLE OF SODOM WERE TAKEN FROM THE EARTH,

- h SO ALL WHO WORSHIP IDOLS WILL BE TAKEN.
 23a DO NOT BE AFRAID, MY SON JACOB,
 b AND DO NOT BE UPSET, SON OF ABRAHAM.
 c MAY THE MOST HIGH GOD KEEP YOU FROM CORRUPTION;
 d AND FROM EVERY ERRONEOUS WAY MAY HE RESCUE YOU.
 24a THIS HOUSE I HAVE BUILT FOR MYSELF TO PUT MY NAME ON IT UPON THE
 EARTH.
 b IT HAS BEEN GIVEN TO YOU AND YOUR DESCENDANTS FOREVER.
 c IT WILL BE CALLED ABRAHAM'S HOUSE.
 d IT HAS BEEN GIVEN TO YOU AND YOUR DESCENDANTS FOREVER
 e BECAUSE YOU WILL BUILD MY HOUSE
 f AND WILL ESTABLISH MY NAME BEFORE GOD UNTIL ETERNITY.
 g YOUR DESCENDANTS AND YOUR NAME WILL REMAIN THROUGHOUT ALL
 THE HISTORY OF THE EARTH."

[25 THEN HE FINISHED COMMANDING AND BLESSING HIM.]

This text is clearly demarcated in that, at the beginning, Jacob is summoned to be blessed (*Jub.* 22:10a, c), whereas, after the discourse, it is said that the blessings are finished (*Jub.* 22:25). The two aspects, commanding and blessing, mentioned in *Jub.* 22:25, are an integral part of the direct speeches. The alternation of these aspects discloses a subdivision of the two speeches into seven blocks: *Jub.* 22:10cd (blessing); *Jub.* 22:10ef (commandment); 22:11d–15c (blessing); *Jub.* 22:16–18 (commandment); *Jub.* 22:19 (blessing); *Jub.* 22:20–22 (commandment); *Jub.* 22:23–24 (blessing).²¹ Moreover, in the second speech, the commandments can be divided into the commandment proper (positive or negative: *Jub.* 22:16a–f; 22:20a) and their motivation (*Jub.* 22:16g–18; 22:20b–22). The commandment is put in the imperative, whereas the motivation is introduced with “for” (*’ěsmǎ*). Here is an outline of the structure of the passage:

Outline of Jubilees 22:10–25

10ab *Narrative introduction*

10c–f

A. 10cd Blessing (10c: “my son Jacob”)

B. 10ef Commandment (10e: “my son Jacob”).

11a–c *Narrative transition*

11d–24

A. 11d–15 Blessing (11d: “my son Jacob”)

B. 16–19

– 16a–f Commandment to separate from the nations (16a: “my son Jacob”)

²¹ In each block (seven times), the text refers explicitly to “my son Jacob” (*Jub.* 22:10c, 10e, 11d, 16a, 19a, 20a, 23a).

- 16g-18 Motivation
- 19 Blessing (19a: "my son Jacob")
- C. 20-24
- 20a Prohibition to marry a Canaanite woman (20a: "my son Jacob")
- 20b-22 Motivation
- 23-24 Blessing (23a: "my son Jacob")
- 25a *Narrative conclusion*

The commandments deal with the separation of Israel from the nations. In *Jub.* 22:16a-f, the commandments have a threefold motivation: other nations' actions are impure (*Jub.* 22:16gh); they offer their sacrifices to the dead (*Jub.* 22:17); and they make themselves idols (*Jub.* 22:18). In *Jub.* 22:20a, the commandment has a two-fold motivation: the first seems to be a judgement of Canaan (*Jub.* 22:20b); the second contains a reference to the sin of Ham (*Jub.* 22:21-22).

The blessings (*Jub.* 22:10c-e, 11d-15, 19, 23-24) contain several similarities. The theme of God's election of Israel is a central issue. It corresponds to the commandments in which Israel is demanded to separate from the nations. In fact, God's preference for Israel forms the basis for the summons. The passages stress the eternity of the blessing and election (*Jub.* 22:10d, 11d, 13b, 15c, 24b-g). God helps and strengthens Israel (*Jub.* 22:10c, 14c, 19a). He purifies them from all guilt (*Jub.* 22:14ab, 19c, 23c). In this way Israel can do what is right (*Jub.* 22:10c), exercise power among all of Seth's descendants (*Jub.* 22:12b), and build God's house (*Jub.* 22:24).

Comparison of the Two Speeches (Jub. 22:10c-f and 22:11d-24)

It is striking that the phrasing at the beginning of the first (*Jub.* 22:10cd) and second blessings (*Jub.* 22:11d-15) show several similarities, as can be seen in the following synopsis:

<i>Jubilees</i> 22:10c-e	<i>Jubilees</i> 22:11d-f
10c "My son Jacob, may the God of all bless you,	11d "May my son Jacob and all his sons be blessed to the most high Lord throughout all ages.
d and may he strengthen you to do righteousness and his will before him.	e May the Lord give you righteous seed,
e May he choose you and your seed to be his people for his heritage in accord with his will throughout all time.	f and may he sanctify some of your sons within the entire earth.

Both passages have several verbal agreements with or without syntactical variations ("my son Jacob"; "to bless"; "righteous"). In addition, several

words and phrases are variations of each other: “God of all” and “the most high Lord”; “throughout all time” and “throughout all ages”; “your seed” and “your sons;” “to choose” and “to sanctify.”

There are also some differences. In the first case, the blessing is pronounced over “Jacob” (*Jub.* 22:10c) and in the second case over “Jacob and all his sons” (*Jub.* 22:11d). When the election is mentioned, the author speaks, in the first case, of Jacob and his seed (*Jub.* 22:10e), and in the second case, of *some* of Jacob’s sons (*Jub.* 22:11f).

Some translations reproduce a difference in style between the first and second speech. Charles and Wintermute render the first passage (*Jub.* 22:10c–f) and *Jub.* 22:24 as prose, whereas they render most of the second passage as poetry.²² Davenport speaks of the prose of *Jub.* 22:10 and the poetry of *Jub.* 22:11, and because of this difference and because both the poem and the prose essentially express the same idea (blessing and command), he postulates two different pieces of tradition behind the text.²³

The presence of a piece of poetry in an otherwise prose text attracts attention. Moreover, there is some disagreement between translations as to what should be rendered as poetry and what should not. Consequently, I will briefly go into the question of the rendering of Abraham’s speech as poetry. Because it is difficult to reproduce correctly the original Hebrew text of the Ethiopic translation, I will not deal with the formal aspects of Hebrew poetry (such as length of the lines; rhythm; alliteration, etc.) but restrict myself to the balance structure as far as the content is concerned.²⁴

Balance between the parts of a line is the most fundamental characteristic of Hebrew poetry. Most lines of *Jub.* 22:11d–24 show balance between two parts of a line (bicola) as far as content is concerned: 11e forms a balance with 11f; 11g with 11h; 12a with 12b; 12c with 12d; 13a with 13b; 13c with 13d;²⁵ 14a with 14b; 14c with 14d; 14e with 15a; 15b with 15c; 16a with 16b;

²² Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 138–42; Wintermute, “Jubilees,” 97–9. VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees, II*, 129–33, renders only *Jub.* 22:16–18 as poetry. Berger, *Buch der Jubiläen*, 436–38, renders the whole text as prose.

²³ See Davenport, *Eschatology*, 53, note 2.

²⁴ For an introduction to Hebrew poetry, see, e.g., R. Alter, *The Art of Biblical Poetry* (New York, 1985); W. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to Its Techniques* (JSOTSS 26; Sheffield, 2005); A. Berlin, *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism: Revised and Expanded Edition*, Grand Rapids, Mi., 2008. See also H.W.M. van Grol, *De versbouw in het klassieke Hebreeuws: Fundamentele verkenningen. Deel een: Metriek* (Amsterdam, 1986).

²⁵ The arrangement of 13ab and 13cd by Charles (*Book of Jubilees*, 139) and Wintermute (“Jubilees,” 98) is far from clear. They seem to consider 13ab as three lines, and 13cd as one. In this way, the arrangement of the text becomes very irregular. Our arrangement makes

16c with 16d; 16e with 16f; 16g with 16h; 17a with 17b; 17c with 17d; 18a with 18b; 18cd with 18ef;²⁶ 19a with 19b; 19c with 19d. The balance structure of the lines in 20–22 is somewhat more complicated. As far as verses 20–21 are concerned, 20ab is a bicolon, and 21a-c a tricolon. There is a certain balance between the first part of these lines: both 20a and 21a contain the word “Canaan.” Moreover, the second parts of these lines also correspond with each other: 20b balances with 21b. In addition, also 21b and 21c are balanced lines. As far as verse 22 is concerned, the balance between 22d and 22e, and between 22g and 22h is obvious. There is also a balance between 22c (“there is no hope in the land of the living”) and 22f (“there is no memory of them on the earth”). Therefore, Charles rearranged the lines so that 22f follows immediately on 22d. Perhaps one can leave the sequence of the phrases as they are and consider 22c–f as an example of chiasmus. I arranged 22ab as a bicolon, with a very short second colon, although it is also possible to see it as an unbalanced monocolon. As far as verse 23 is concerned: 23a forms a balance with 23b and 23c with 23d.

I am not sure whether verses 10cd and 24 still fall within the limits of poetry. The parts of these verses are probably too long. However, one can point to a structure of balance between 10c and 10d. There is also a balance between 24ab, 24cd and 24ef in that 24a balances with 24c and 24e, whereas 24b balances with 24d and 24f.

The difference between poetry and prose, therefore, should not be exaggerated in these passages. Moreover, also on the basis of the content, I think it unnecessary to assume a merging of two different pieces of tradition, because the alternation of blessing and commandment is a characteristic of the whole chapter. The blessing also occurs in *Jub.* 22:13a, 14cd, 19, 23–24, 27–30.

Separate from the Nations (Jub. 22:16–19)

Throughout, Abraham's speech reflects an anti-gentile bias, especially in the call for separation (*Jub.* 22:16–19) and in the caution against intermarriage (*Jub.* 22:20–22).

clear that both 13a and 13b have one common element (“with which he blessed me” and “with which he blessed Noah and Adam”), as well as 13c and 13d (“your descendants” and “throughout each and every generation forever”). Moreover, 13a balances with 13c in that God gives the blessings *to you*, whereas these blessings come to rest on the head of *your descendants*, while 13b balances with 13d in that “Noah and Adam” parallels “each and every generation.”

²⁶ The very small phrase of *Jub.* 22:18g has no parallel phrase. However, it refers back to 18a.

The requirement to separate from the nations starts with a multiple call (*Jub.* 22:16a–f), followed by a motivation introduced with “for” (*Jub.* 22:16g–18) and a blessing (*Jub.* 22:19). As far as the call is concerned, first Jacob is summoned in broad terms to keep Abraham’s commandments. Subsequently, the content of these commandments is given in four lines, first generally “separate from the nations” (*Jub.* 22:16c) and then more specifically in the form of prohibitions “do not eat with them” (*Jub.* 22:16d), “do not act as they do” (*Jub.* 22:16e), and “do not become their companion” (*Jub.* 22:16f). Contact with idolatrous non-Israelites is a threat to the religious belief of Israel; therefore many Jews opted for a limitation of social interaction with gentiles.²⁷ The separation from the nations prevents Israel from imitating their “actions” and “ways” and “worship”.

The commandment of separation (*Jub.* 22:16c) can be related to the use of the verb “to separate” in other places in the book of *Jubilees* (*Jub.* 2:19; 11:16).²⁸ The commandment is formulated very closely with what is said in *Jub.* 2:19, which describes how God himself has taken Israel from the nations at the beginning of creation (“I will now separate a people for myself from among my nations”) and where He sets Israel in a special relationship with himself.²⁹ Other formulations are also used in *Jub.* 2:19–21: “I will sanctify the people for myself” (*Jub.* 2:19); “They will become my people and I will become their God” (*Jub.* 2:19); “I have chosen the descendants of Jacob among all of those whom I have seen; I have recorded him as my first-born son” (*Jub.* 2:20); “He sanctified him for Himself as a noteworthy people out of all the nations” (2:21). The use of the term “first-born” in *Jub.* 2:20 also reflects Israel’s position in relation to the other people: Israel has been chosen out of all the nations.³⁰ The election terminology of *Jub.* 2:19–21 is also present throughout Abraham’s speech to Jacob, especially in the blessings (see, e.g., *Jub.* 22:10cd, 11d–15). God’s separation of Israel is the background for the commandment in *Jub.* 22:16c. Because God has separated Israel, Israel must therefore separate from the nations.

The separation also refers back to Abraham’s childhood. When Abram as a child of fourteen “began to realize the straying of the land—that

²⁷ Hayes, *Gentile Impurities*, 47.

²⁸ The verb “to separate” is also used in *Jub.* 2:7; 4:17; 5:6; 37:20, but in different contexts.

²⁹ Cf. Schwarz, *Identität*, 19–21.

³⁰ Cf. B. Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment of Women*, 150, note 3; Van Ruiten, *Primaeval History*, 57–61; Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 178–79.

everyone was going astray after the statues and after impurity . . . he separated from his father in order not to prostrate himself before idols with him" (*Jub.* 11:6). Later, at the age of twenty-eight, Abraham tried to persuade his father to abolish idolatry (*Jub.* 12:1–8). Then, in his sixtieth year, Abram burned his father's house of idols (*Jub.* 12:12–14). The fight against idolatry has motivated Abram to separate from his father, and this again serves as an important motivation for the commandment to separate from the nations (*Jub.* 22:16–19). In *Jubilees*, impurity and uncleanness are associated with idols and idolatry,³¹ and according to Hayes, these terms are synonymous.³²

The background to the commandment of separation (*Jub.* 22:16c) is possibly the Hebrew verb בָּדַל ("divide from"; "separate between . . . and"; "separate from"),³³ which in the Old Testament 41 times (10 x *niph'al*; 31 x *hiph'il*). It is used in different contexts.³⁴ In the first place, בָּדַל is used in the priestly account of the creation (*Gen* 1:4, 6, 7, 14, 18). Creation is, in fact, the arranging of the elements. It is the making of distinctions between light and darkness, between waters above and waters under the firmament, between day and night.³⁵ In the second place, בָּדַל is used to express the special position of the priests and Levites compared to the rest of the people (see *Num* 8:14; 16:9; *Deut* 10:8).³⁶ In the third place, the verb is used in connection with being set apart from other people. Israel has separated itself from the pollution of the nations (*Ezra* 6:21; cf. *Neh* 9:2; 10:29). It is used in connection with the prohibition against foreign marriages (*Ezra* 9:1; 10:11) and the separation from Israel of those of foreign descent (*Isa* 56:3; *Neh* 13:3). בָּדַל expresses the election of Israel three times (*Lev* 20:24, 26; 1 *Kgs* 8:53). In these passages, God is the subject of the verb and Israel the object. Finally, it is used in the context of making a distinction between the clean and the unclean (see *Lev* 10:10; 11:47;

³¹ Cf. *Jub.* 20:7–8: "Do not follow their idols and their uncleanness. Do not make yourselves gods that are molten images or statues because they are something empty and have no spirit in them." See also *Jub.* 1:9; 35:14.

³² Hayes, *Gentile Impurities*, 53.

³³ See *Jub.* 2:19b (4Q216 7:9–10): עִמָּי בְּתוֹךְ עַמִּי לִי [הִנֵּה אֲנִי מְבַדֵּל לִי] "I will now separate for myself] a people among my nations." The verb is supplied by the editors of 4Q216, 7:9–10. Cf. VanderKam, and Milik, "Jubilees," 19–20.

³⁴ בָּדַל, *TWAT*, I:518–520; Schwarz, *Identität*, 82–4.

³⁵ Cf. W.H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift: Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte von Genesis 11–24a und 24b–324* (WMANT 17; 2nd ed.; Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1967), 97–103, 167–69.

³⁶ Elsewhere, the special position of the priests and Levites is also expressed by the verb בָּדַל: *Num* 16:21; *Ezra* 8:24; 1 *Chr* 23:13; cf. *Ezra* 10:16; 1 *Chr* 25:1.

20:25; Ezek 22:26; cf. Ezek 44:23). Israel has the task of making distinctions, especially with regard to food. The dietary system is a reflection and a reinforcement of Israel's differentiation from the nations.³⁷

The assumed use of *בדל* in *Jub* 22:16c ("separate from the nations") seems to reflect those passages where it is used in connection with being set apart from other people.³⁸ In these passages, Israel has separated itself from the pollution of the nations (Esr 6:21; cf. Neh 9:2; 10:29). It is used in connection with the prohibition against foreign marriages (Esr 9:1; 10:11) and the separation from Israel of those of foreign descent (Isa 56:3; Neh 13:3). It is striking that the texts that speak about the separation of Israel all date from the post-exilic period, especially in that they originate within the framework of the Chronistic History. The summons to separate occurs in connection with Ezra's struggle against mixed marriages. The situation seems to be that of Israelites who returned from exile (cf. Ezra 6:21: "The people of Israel who had returned from exile") had taken foreign daughters to be wives for themselves and their sons (cf. Ezra 9:1). Because of this, they neglected the command of separation from the nations. The command about those from whom Israel has to separate itself is formulated in several ways: Ezra 6:21: *וְכָל הַנְּבָדִיל מִטְּמֵאת גּוֹי הָאָרֶץ* ("and also by every one who had separated himself from the pollutions of the peoples"); Ezra 9:1–2: *לֹא נִבְדְּלוּ הָעַם יִשְׂרָאֵל וְהַכֹּהֲנִים וְהַלְוִיִּם מֵעַמֵּי הָאֲרָצוֹת כְּתוּעַבְתִּיהֶם* ("... have not separated themselves from the peoples of the lands with their abominations"); Ezra 10:11: *וְהִבְדְּלוּ מֵעַמֵּי הָאָרֶץ* ("Separate yourselves from the peoples of the land"); Neh 9:2: *וַיִּבְדְּלוּ זֶרַע יִשְׂרָאֵל מִכָּל בְּנֵי נֹכַר* ("And the descendants of Israel separated themselves from all foreigners"); Neh 10:29: *וְכָל הַנְּבָדִיל מֵעַמֵּי הָאֲרָצוֹת* ("and all who have separated themselves from the peoples of the lands").

The command to separate from the nations involves certain obligations. The goal of the separation is ultimately "to worship Yhwh, the God of Israel" (Ezra 6:21), "to walk in God's law . . . and to observe and do all the commandments of the Yhwh, our Lord and his ordinances and his statutes" (Neh 10:30). In Nehemiah 10, this is explained in individual stipulations that govern the separation of the congregations with regard to the

³⁷ J. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 3; New York, 1991), 615, 725.

³⁸ Cf. Schwarz, *Identität*, 63–74.

outside world (Neh 10:31–32) and stipulations that regulate the charges for the temple, cult, and priest (Neh 10:33–39).

In *Jub.* 22:16 the call to separate is elaborated on differently. The subsequent three prohibitions (*Jub.* 22:16d–f) put into practice that which is meant by the general commandment to separate from the nations. They express something about what separation meant for daily life. There are probably critical points of contact in everyday reality between the members of the inner group and the outer group.³⁹

One could probably read the first prohibition (*Jub.* 22:16d), namely not to eat with the nations, against the background of the dietary rules, in particular, Leviticus 11 and Deuteronomy 14.⁴⁰ Also, in their canonical context, these laws have the function of erecting boundaries. It is perhaps also possible to connect the prohibition against eating with the prohibition against consuming blood. This prohibition occurs more often in *Jubilees* (e.g., *Jub.* 6:6–7, 10–14; 7:28–32; 21:6, 18).⁴¹ Both the eating of the right animals and the preparation of the food in a proper way occur at every meal, and these requirements do not facilitate social contacts between Jews and non-Jews. Jews objected to gentile food on the grounds that it was not kosher.⁴²

Another possibility could be that the author of *Jubilees* warns specifically against the participation in cultic or religious meals. In Exod 34:14–17, the prohibition against common meals is put into a context of idolatry. The act of “eating together” is, in fact, the eating of sacrifices offered to

³⁹ Other texts in the Second Temple Period also warn against intimate contact with non-Israelites, e.g., in Sirach (“Receive a stranger into your home and he will upset you with commotion, and will estrange you from your family”; Sir 11:34); in the *Letter of Aristeas* (“Therefore lest we should be corrupted by any abomination, or our lives be perverted by evil communications, he hedged us round on all sides by rules of purity, affecting alike what we eat, or drink, or touch, or hear, or see”; *Let. Aris.* 142); and 3 Maccabees: “But the Jews continued to maintain their goodwill towards the kings and their unswerving fidelity. Yet worshipping God, and living according to his law, they held themselves apart in the matter of food . . . the foreigners . . . talked continually of the difference they had with regard to worship and food” (3 Macc 3:3–7). According to 3 Maccabees, the restrictions with regard to worship and food preclude the Jews from good contacts with the Gentiles (see 3 Macc 3:10). Examples from Hayes, *Gentile Impurities*, 47–8. The question of common meals was also an issue in Daniel (Dan 1:8–16), and in combination with idolatry, also in the first and second books of Maccabees (1 Macc 1:47, 62; 2 Macc 6:18–21).

⁴⁰ Cf. Schwarz, *Identität*, 23–5. See also Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 140.

⁴¹ For the biblical background to the prohibition against eating blood, see, e.g., Gen 9:4; Lev 17:10–14; Deut 12:16, 23–27; 15:23; 1 Sam 14:32–34.

⁴² Cf. Hayes, *Gentile Impurities*, 49. She stresses the fact that abstention from Gentile food is not on the grounds that it is ritually defiled by contacts with Gentiles. Other examples of the Jewish objections to Gentile food include Tob 1:10; Jdt 10:5; 12:19.

other gods. The combination of eating with idolatry and intermarriage (cf. Exod 34:16) also occurs in *Jub.* 22:16–22. Although the text of Exod 34:14–17 is not quoted explicitly in *Jub.* 22:16–20, one can say that both texts have several elements in common: the worship of the one God and not another God; the prohibition against eating with others; the prohibition against marrying a foreign woman; and the prohibition against making idols.

The phrase of the second prohibition (*Jub.* 22:16e: “Do not *act* as they do”) is quite general. Possibly we should connect this phrase with the text a few lines further: “for their *actions* are something that is impure” (*Jub.* 22:16g). This is elaborated on as follows: offering to the dead (*Jub.* 22:17a);⁴³ worship of demons (22:17b); eating in tombs;⁴⁴ and idolatry (*Jub.* 22:18). As we have already mentioned, in his indictment of the nations, the author of *Jubilees* is referring to idol worship.⁴⁵ The prohibition against idolatry corresponds to the requirement to worship God alone. Many texts deal with impurity in relation to the nations, and often this is related to idolatry. When Israel sins and thus acts as the nations do, it becomes morally impure. In the first chapter of the book (cf. *Jub.* 1:7–11), God predicts that the people of Israel will follow the nations, their impurities, and their shame. They will serve their gods. And therefore one must separate from the nations and from their acts and behavior in all thinkable ways. The theme of idolatry in relation to the nations is widespread in the Old Testament.⁴⁶

The third prohibition (*Jub.* 22:16f: “and do not become their companion”) is even more difficult to understand. The problem is connected with the fact that we do not know the original Hebrew text of *Jubilees* in this case.⁴⁷ Does the Hebrew here read as a form of the root רעה, (“have dealings with”; have companionship with)? In that case, this prohibition is also very general. One could also assume a form of the root חבר (“be united”; “be joined with”). In that case, one could think of a prohibition against entering into a pact with idol worshippers (cf. Hos 4:17: “Ephraim is joined to idols; let him alone”). Some have pointed to a prohibition as

⁴³ For the offering to the dead, see Deut 26:14; Ps 106:28; Sir 7:33; Tob 4:17; Ep. Jer. 27, 71; *Sib.* 3:84, 356, 588, 723. See also Wis 14:15.

⁴⁴ See, e.g., Isa 65:4.

⁴⁵ See also *Jub.* 7:20; 20:2, 7–9; 21:5, 23; 36:7. Cf. Schwarz, *Identität*, 25–9.

⁴⁶ See, e.g., Deut 7:5; Isa 40:19–20; 41:6–7; 44:9–20; 45:20–21; 46:6–7; Hab 2:18–19; Sir 30:18–19. See also the *Letter of Jeremiah*.

⁴⁷ For the following, see Schwarz, *Identität*, 29–30.

a political covenant with other people. There are several examples in the Old Testament. For example, the previously mentioned text of Exod 34:16 (“do not make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land”), although the word *חבר* is not used there.⁴⁸ In Dan 11:6, the word *חבר* is indeed used. One can also refer to the program of the Hellenistic Jews in Jerusalem (cf. 1 Macc 1:11: “In those days lawless men came forth from Israel, and misled many, saying: ‘Let us go and make a covenant with the Gentiles round about us, for since we separated from them many evils have come upon us.’”). There is evidence of warnings against alliances with other people, both in the Old Testament and in early Jewish literature. These possibly form the background to the third prohibition “do not become their companion.”

The concept of the covenant between God and Israel can be seen as being at the root of this issue. All commandments and all prohibitions should be understood as stipulations of the covenant, with the call for separation as an important one. As far as the author of *Jubilees* is concerned, the Israelites’ loyalty to their God goes hand in hand with the separation from other nations. The most important identity marker for Israel is service to its God.

Prohibition against Inter-marriage (Jub. 22:20–22)

This final speech of Abraham’s to Jacob contains still another prohibition, namely, not to marry a daughter of the Canaanites (Jub. 22:20–21). This prohibition against inter-marriage is also mentioned elsewhere in *Jubilees*. In Jub. 20:4, Abraham admonishes his children not to marry a Canaanite woman because of Canaan’s curse. In Jub. 25:1–3, Rebekah advises Jacob not to marry any of the Canaanite women as did his brother Esau, who had two wives from the descendants of Canaan. They had embittered Rebekah’s life with their impurity. Jacob is advised to marry someone from Rebekah’s father’s house. In Jub. 30:11, the prohibition is formulated more broadly.⁴⁹ The commandment is no longer restricted to one specific non-Jewish population, but it is universally applicable (“any foreign women”). At the same time, it not only concerns the marriage of a Jewish man to a non-Jewish woman but also of a Jewish woman to a non-Jewish man. Not only is the admission of non-Jewish women to its own people refused but

⁴⁸ See also Deut 7:2.

⁴⁹ On *Jubilees* 30 and inter-marriage, see Werman, “*Jubilees* 30,” 1–22; Hayes, “Inter-marriage,” 3–38. See also Hayes, *Gentile Impurities*.

also the admission of a Jewish woman living amongst a foreign people.⁵⁰ The boundaries were to be maintained on either side.

The fixation on the daughters of Canaan in *Jub.* 22:20–22 coincides with the first motivation (*Jub.* 22:20b: “because all of his descendants are [meant] for being uprooted from the earth”). The motivation does not deal with the dangers of intermarriage for the Jewish partner, for example, a temptation to idolatry. The prohibition is rooted in the idea that the seed of Canaan is threatened with extermination.

One can understand the background to this motivation only if one includes *Jub.* 10:28–34 in the discussion. There it is said that Ham (one of Noah’s three sons) and his sons enter the land that is allotted to them. However, Canaan, the youngest son of Ham, does not keep the division of the earth, which was sealed by an oath. Against the advice of his father and brothers he migrates to the land of Lebanon as far as the river of Egypt. Because of this sinful behavior, Canaan and his sons are cursed (“you will be uprooted for ever”).⁵¹ This curse is used as the motivation behind the prohibition against intermarriage with the daughters of Canaan in chapter 22.

The text of *Jub.* 22:20–22 provides us with a second motivation for the prohibition against intermarriage, namely Ham’s sin (*Jub.* 22:21a: “For through Ham’s sin Canaan erred”). Most probably, Ham’s sin should be interpreted differently. It is not directly related to the above-mentioned threat of the extermination of the seed of Canaan as a consequence of the transgression of Canaan. Ham does not seem to be held responsible for the illegal occupation of the land by his son. It seems more relevant to relate Ham’s sin to *Jubilees* 7, the parallel text of Genesis 9, which describes how Ham sees his father’s shame. This leads to his downfall and to the curse, not only of Ham, but also of his son Canaan. Although it is not completely clear which sin exactly the author has in mind here, in *Jub.* 7:20 there is an admonition related to Ham’s sin: “He testified to his sons that they should do what is right, cover the shame of their bodies, bless the one who had created them, honour father and mother, love one another, and keep themselves from fornication, uncleanness, and from all injustice.”

The reproach of fornication and impurity occurs several times in connection with the prohibition against intermarriage, and it is possible that

⁵⁰ See Schwarz, *Identität*, 32–5.

⁵¹ On *Jub.* 10:28–34, see Schwarz, *Identität durch Abgrenzung*, 33; Halpern-Amaru, *Rewriting the Bible*, 42–3; Van Ruiten, *Primaeval History*, 360–62.

the author in *Jub.* 22:21b recapitulates all these things under the phrase: “*Ham’s sins*.”⁵² One can also point to the continuation of *Jubilees* 22, where the text speaks about “the people of Sodom” (*Jub.* 22:22), who defiled themselves through sexual sins and became impure. So marriage with the Canaanites would introduce impurity.

The prohibition against intermarriage is not an innovation of the author of the book of *Jubilees*. Mixed marriage is an important issue in Ezra and Nehemiah (cf. Ezra 9–10; Neh 10:31; 13:23–29). The issue of mixed marriages also turns up in relation to the prohibition against entering into a political covenant with other people (cf. Exod 34:10–16; Deut 7:1–5; Josh 23:11–13; Judg 3:5–6). I dealt with this issue in chapter 8.⁵³

The principal commandment is worked into several stipulations that are very similar to those in *Jub.* 22:16–22. In the first place, these texts speak of the destruction of places with foreign cults (Exod 23:24b; 34:13; Deut 7:5; Judg 2:2). The destruction of these places is not present in *Jubilees* 22. However, one can point to *Jub.* 12:1–14, where the young Abram tries to convince his father to abandon foreign gods, after which Abram burns the house of the idols and everything in it. In the second place, there is a danger in participation in foreign sacrificial meals (Exod 34:15b; cf. Num 25:1–5). This resembles the prohibition against common (cultic?) meals in *Jub.* 22:16. In the third place, there is the warning or even prohibition against mixed marriages (Exod 34:16; Deut 7:3; Judg 3:6). This involves the danger of turning away from Yhwh to the worship of the gods of other nations by their daughters (see Num 25:1–5). As we have seen, as in *Jubilees*, the prohibition against mixed marriages plays an important part in the Israelites’ lives.

The passages mentioned in the Hebrew Bible also prohibit making treaties. The background to this is the renewal of the covenant. In *Jub.* 22:16–22, the command to separate replaces the prohibition against making treaties, as the stipulations are very similar. Similarly, the renewal of the covenant also plays an important role in *Jubilees*. The call to separate from other nations is focused on the isolation of Israel. The ultimate goal is the absolute loyalty of Israel towards its God. One was to keep away from anything that could endanger this claim to the exclusivity of Yhwh.

⁵² Schwarz, *Identität*, 34.

⁵³ I refer to section 3.5 of chapter 8.

In conclusion, Abraham's farewell speech to his grandson, Jacob, just before his death, reinforces the requirement to separate from the nations, which is realized by abstinence from common meals, by not concluding agreements with them, and by keeping from intermarriage. This separation is ultimately related to the prohibition against idolatry, which corresponds to the worship of the God of Israel alone. With the covenant, this unique God was considered to have made Israel His partner from creation onwards. In *Jubilees* there is one unique and eternal covenant between God and His chosen people, and this establishes Israel as different from all other peoples.

4.3. *Abraham's Death and Funeral* (Jub. 22:25–23:8)

After Abraham's extensive speech to Jacob, in which he blesses him and summons him to separate from the nations, Jacob falls asleep. In the beginning of this speech, Abraham summons Jacob to come close (cf. *Jub.* 22:10e–11b). Afterwards, he puts two of Jacob's fingers on his eyes and covers his face and stretches out his feet. Both lay down together on one bed (*Jub.* 22:26a). Abraham dies while Jacob is "lying in his bosom" (*Jub.* 22:26b; 23:2a, 4a). Immediately preceding his death, Abraham kisses Jacob seven times (*Jub.* 22:26c), and he blesses him once more (*Jub.* 22:27–30). After his grandfather's death, Jacob awakes and discovers Abraham's cold body (*Jub.* 23:3). He then goes to his parents to tell them the news (*Jub.* 23:4), and first sees his mother, who then tells Isaac. After this they all return to the dead body of Abraham and Isaac falls on his father's face and kisses him (*Jub.* 23:5). Then the mourning and burial is described (*Jub.* 23:6–8).

As already mentioned, most elements of Gen 25:7–10 are incorporated in this part of the text (*Jub.* 22:25–23:8), although most of the text of *Jubilees* is an addition to the biblical text. This can be seen in the following overview:⁵⁴

Jubilees 22:25–23:1d (no parallel in Genesis)

- 25 THEN HE FINISHED COMMANDING AND BLESSING HIM.
- 26a THE TWO OF THEM LAY DOWN TOGETHER ON ONE BED.
- b JACOB SLEPT IN THE BOSOM OF HIS GRANDFATHER ABRAHAM.
- c HE KISSED HIM SEVEN TIMES,
- d AND FEELINGS AND MIND WERE HAPPY ABOUT HIM.

⁵⁴ For the layout, see the introduction, on p. 17–18.

- 27a HE BLESSED HIM WHOLEHEARTEDLY
 b AND SAID:
 c "THE MOST HIGH GOD IS THE GOD OF ALL AND CREATOR OF EVERY-
 THING WHO BROUGHT ME FROM UR OF THE CHALDEANS TO GIVE ME
 THIS LAND
 d IN ORDER THAT I SHOULD POSSESS IT FOREVER
 e AND RAISE UP HOLY DESCENDANTS
 f SO THAT THEY MAY BE BLESSED FOREVER."
 28a THEN HE BLESSED JACOB:
 b "MY SON, WITH WHOM I AM EXCEEDINGLY HAPPY WITH ALL MY MIND
 AND FEELINGS—
 c MAY YOUR GRACE AND MERCY CONTINUE ON HIM AND HIS DESCENDANTS
 FOR ALL TIME.
 29a DO NOT LEAVE OR NEGLECT HIM FROM NOW UNTIL THE TIME OF ETER-
 NITY.
 b MAY YOUR EYES BE OPEN ON HIM AND HIS DESCENDANTS
 c SO THAT THEY MAY WATCH OVER THEM
 d AND SO THAT YOU MAY BLESS
 e AND SANCTIFY THEM AS THE PEOPLE OF YOUR HERITAGE.
 30a BLESS HIM WITH ALL YOUR BLESSINGS FROM NOW UNTIL ALL THE TIME
 OF ETERNITY.
 b WITH YOUR ENTIRE WILL RENEW YOUR COVENANT AND YOUR GRACE
 WITH HIM AND WITH HIS DESCENDANTS THROUGHOUT ALL THE HISTORY
 OF THE EARTH."
 23:1a HE PUT TWO OF JACOB'S FINGERS ON HIS EYES
 b AND BLESSED THE GOD OF GODS.
 c HE COVERED HIS FACE,
 d STRETCHED OUT HIS FEET,

Genesis 25:7–8

7a ***These are the days of the years
 of Abraham's life, one hundred
 and seventy-five years.***

8a *Abraham breathed his last*

b *and died in a good old age,*
 c **an old man and full (of days),**
 d *and was gathered to his people.*

Jubilees 23:1e–f[cf. *Jub. 22:1, 7c; 23:8*]

1e *and slept the sleep which is to
 eternity,*

f *and was gathered to his fathers.*
 [cf. *Jub. 23:8c*]

Jubilees 23:2–6 (No parallel in Genesis)

- 2a DURING ALL OF THIS JACOB WAS LYING IN HIS BOSOM
 b AND WAS UNAWARE THAT HIS GRANDFATHER ABRAHAM HAD DIED.
 3a WHEN JACOB AWAKENED FROM HIS SLEEP,
 b THERE WAS ABRAHAM COLD AS ICE.
 c HE SAID:
 d "FATHER, FATHER!"

- e BUT HE SAID NOTHING TO HIM.
 f THEN HE KNEW THAT HE WAS DEAD.
 4a HE GOT UP FROM HIS BOSOM
 b AND RAN
 c AND TOLD HIS MOTHER REBEKAH.
 d REBEKAH WENT TO ISAAC AT NIGHT
 e AND TOLD HIM.
 f THEY WENT TOGETHER—
 g AND JACOB WITH THEM (CARRYING) A LAMP IN HIS HANDS.
 h AND WHEN THEY CAME,
 i THEY FOUND ABRAHAM'S CORPSE LYING (THERE).
 5a ISAAC FELL ON HIS FATHER'S FACE
 b CRIED,
 c AND KISSED HIM.
 6a AFTER THE REPORT WAS HEARD IN THE HOUSEHOLD OF ABRAHAM,
 b HIS SON ISHMAEL SET OUT
 c AND CAME TO HIS FATHER ABRAHAM.
 d HE MOURNED FOR HIS FATHER ABRAHAM—HE AND ALL OF ABRAHAM'S
 HOUSEHOLD.
 e THEY MOURNED VERY MUCH.

Genesis 25:9–10

- 9a And his sons, Isaac and Ishmael,
 buried him in the cave of *Mach-
 pelah*,
 IN THE FIELD OF EPHRON, THE SON
 OF ZOHAR THE HITTITE, EAST OF
 MAMRE,
 10a THE FIELD WHICH ABRAHAM PUR-
 CHASED FROM THE HITTITES.
 b THERE ABRAHAM WAS BURIED,
 and Sarah, his wife.
 []

[cf. Gen 25:7]

[cf. Gen 25:8b]

Jubilees 23:7–8

- 7a They—his sons Isaac and
 Ishmael—buried him in the *dou-
 ble* cave []
 near his wife Sarah.
 b AND ALL OF THE PEOPLE OF HIS
 HOUSEHOLD AS WELL AS ISAAC,
 ISHMAEL, AND ALL THEIR SONS AND
 KETURAH'S SONS IN THEIR PLACES
 MOURNED FOR HIM FORTY DAYS.
 c AND THE TEARFUL MOURNING FOR
 ABRAHAM WAS COMPLETED.
 8a **He lived three jubilees and four
 weeks of years, one hundred and
 seventy-five years,**
 b WHEN HE COMPLETED THE DAYS
 OF HIS LIFE,
 c an old man and full of days.

The text of Gen 25:7–10 is clearly recognizable in *Jubilees*: Abraham's age (Gen 25:7) is rephrased in *Jub.* 23:8a by way of permutation and variation.⁵⁵ The phrase "he lived" (*Jub.* 23:8a) is a variation of "these are the days of the year of Abraham's life" (Gen 25:7). The death report (Gen 25:8) is taken over with variation in *Jub.* 23:1ef. The first phrase (Gen 25:8a: "Abraham breathed his last") is reworked in *Jub.* 23:1e ("He slept the sleep which is to eternity").⁵⁶ In Genesis, the verb גוע ("to breath the last; expire; die"), which occurs only in Gen 25:8, 17; 35:29. Gen 25:17, is not adopted by *Jubilees*, but Gen 35:29a ("Isaac breathed his last") is borrowed in the same way in *Jub.* 36:18 ("to sleep the sleep which is to eternity"). There are no other places in the book of *Jubilees* where the expression "to sleep the sleep which is to eternity" occurs. In the Hebrew Bible, the collocation of the words ישן ("to sleep") and עולם ("eternal") comes only in Jer 51:39, 57 (וישנו שנת עולם): "They sleep an eternal sleep") in the context of an oracle of judgment against Babylon. Sleep in relation to death also occurs in Ps 13:4 (אישן המות: "I sleep the sleep of death") and Dan 12:2 (מישני אדמת עפר: "those who sleep in the dust of the earth").⁵⁷ However, none of these places seem to have influenced the reworking in *Jub.* 23:1e.

The omission of the second phrase (Gen 25:8b: "[he] died in good old age") might be deliberate and related to *Jub.* 23:9–10, where it is said that although Abraham was perfect in all his actions, he did not even complete four jubilees. Moreover, he became old in the presence of evil.

The third phrase (Gen 25:8c: זקן ושבוע) is adopted in *Jub.* 23:8c by way of permutation. The Hebrew text of *Jub.* 23:8c (2Q19.5) reads זקן שבוע ימים. The Masoretic Text omits ימים ("days"), but most ancient versions have it.⁵⁸

The last phrase of the death report (Gen 25:8d: "and he was gathered to his people") is included in 23:1f ("and he was gathered to his fathers"). Although the Masoretic Text of Gen 25:8 reads ויאסף אל עמיו (cf. also Gen 35:29; 49:33), there are some septuagintal witnesses that presuppose

⁵⁵ See also *Jub.* 22:1, 7.

⁵⁶ According to Endres, the phrase "Abraham breathed his last and died in good old age" is omitted because it is a stock phrase. See Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 46, note 57. However, in my opinion the phrase is not omitted but reworked.

⁵⁷ In Dan 12:2 the word עולם occurs in the next phrase: "And many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to eternal (עולם) life." Cf. also Job 3:13 where sleep is used in the context of death.

⁵⁸ Cf. VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*, II 138.

אל אבותיו (“to his fathers”) instead of אל עמיו (“to his people”).⁵⁹ The author of *Jubilees* most probably read “to his fathers” in his biblical text instead of “to his people,” so that we have a verbal quotation here.

The burial report (Gen 25:9–10) is partly taken over in *Jub.* 23:7. In the Ethiopic text of *Jubilees*, the subjects of the verb “to bury” (“his sons Isaac and Ishmael”) are placed at the end of the sentence.⁶⁰ The Ethiopic text has an interpretation of “the cave of Machpelah” as “the double cave,” which can be found also in the Septuagint and the Old Latin.⁶¹ The Hebrew of *Jub.* 23:7a in 3Q5 (frg. 3) shows that the original text most probably contained the word “Machpelah.” See also 2Q19. The location of the cave of Machpelah in the field of Ephron is not mentioned.⁶² In *Jubilees*, nothing is said about the way the cave was purchased (Gen 25:10).⁶³ It is now the cave in which Abraham’s wife Sarah was buried. The two phrases in Gen 25:9–10 that contain the verb “to bury” (Gen 25:9a: “They buried him,” and Gen 25:10b: “Abraham was buried and Sarah, his wife”) are taken together in *Jubilees*. The active verb is taken over from the first phrase, and the mention of his wife from the second.

Most of the passage in *Jub.* 22:26–23:8 is an addition to the death and burial report in Gen 25:7–10. The dramatization of this simple death notice is peculiar.⁶⁴ The modelling of the passage in *Jubilees* seems to be influenced by the deathbed scene and burial report of Jacob in Genesis (Gen 47:28–50:14). After Joseph’s oath to bury his father Jacob in Canaan (Gen 47:28–33), Jacob blesses Joseph and especially his two sons, Ephraim and Manasseh (Gen 48:1–22). After this, he blesses all his sons (Gen 49:1–28), and he again asks to be buried in Canaan (Gen 49:29–32). Then, Jacob dies (Gen 49:33), and the lament of Joseph and all Egypt is described (50:1–4a), after which the burial instructions are executed (Gen 50:4b–14). In *Jubilees*, the deathbed scene of Jacob is abbreviated to a great extent. Both Jacob’s death and burial are described in just four verses (*Jub.* 45:13–

⁵⁹ Mss D n 527 319 509 read πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας αὐτοῦ. Compare the Masoretic Text of Judg 2:10: נִאֶסְפוּ אֶל אֲבוֹתָיו (“They were gathered to their fathers”).

⁶⁰ For a discussion of the displaced subjects, see VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 66; VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*, II, 137.

⁶¹ Cf. also *Jub.* 19:5–6.

⁶² According to Endres the identification of the cave is a doublet. See Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 46, note 57.

⁶³ VanderKam suggests that the continuation of the המכפלה in Gen 25:9, namely אל החתיה עפרן בן צחר possibly belongs to the original text of *Jub.* 23:7. See VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 66; VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*, II, 138.

⁶⁴ Endres speaks about an “ironic” dramatization, since the author of *Jubilees* left out much of the dramatic elements in other narratives. Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 46.

16). No speeches are reported, and no mention is made of Joseph's sons, Ephraim and Manasse.

The death and burial report of Abraham (Gen 25:7–10) has several similarities with the death and burial reports of the patriarchs Isaac (Gen 35:28–29) and, particularly, Jacob (Gen 47:28–50:14). Nearly all elements of Gen 25:7–10 can be identified in the other reports: a. the age of the patriarch (Gen 25:7a; 35:28; 47:29b); b. the patriarch breathed his last (Gen 25:8a; 35:29a; 49:33c); c. the gathering to his people (Gen 25:8d; 35:29c; 49:33d); d. the burial by his sons (Gen 25:9–10; 35:29e; 50:13). A few other elements occur only in two of the three reports. The formal mention of his death occurs only in the report of Abraham's (Gen 25:8a) and Isaac's deaths (Gen 35:29b). Also, the formula that the patriarch was old and full of days comes only in these reports (Gen 25:8c; 35:29d). The location of the burial place is mentioned only with respect to Abraham (Gen 25:9–10) and to Jacob (Gen 50:13; cf. 49:29–30).

The death and burial report of Isaac has no extra elements with regard to the report of Abraham in Genesis. However, the death and burial report of Jacob is much more elaborate. In the first place, one can point to Jacob's dying in Egypt and to his wish to be buried in Canaan: Gen 47:29–31; 48:21; 49:29–32; 50:2–14. In the second place, the death of Jacob is written in the context of a deathbed scene (Gen 47:31; 48:2; 49:33). In relation to this scene, the text also mentions the feet of Jacob (Gen 49:33). In the third place, the death of the patriarch is in a context of blessing and commanding. The blessing concerns Jacob's grandchildren, namely Joseph's sons (Gen 48:3–22), and all his twelve sons (Gen 49:1–28). The command is related to Jacob's wish to be buried in Canaan (Gen 47:29–32; 49:29–33a).

Most likely, the author of *Jubilees* used the extensive deathbed scene of Jacob in Genesis as a basic structure for his description of Abraham's deathbed scene. I point to the following similarities. To begin with, one can compare the arrival of Abraham's sons (*Jub.* 22:1–3) with the arrival of Jacob's son Joseph (Gen 47:29–48:2; see also Gen 35:27–29). Another important aspect is that both *Jubilees* and Genesis focus on the relationship of grandfather and grandson; not only is the grandson present at his grandfather's death, but both texts pay equal attention to their interaction (cf. Gen 48:1–22). Most importantly, the death of the patriarch is put into the context of a deathbed scene (cf. Gen 47:31; 48:2; 49:33; *Jub.* 22:26a; 23:2–4) in which mention is made of Jacob's feet (cf. Gen 49:33; *Jub.* 23:1d). Moreover, the death of the patriarch is put into a context of blessing (cf. Gen 48:9, 15; 49:28; *Jub.* 22:10cd, 11d–15, 23–24, 25, 27–30) and commanding

(cf. Gen 47:29–31; 49:29–33; *Jub.* 22:10ef, 16–18, 20–22, 25). Finally, a period of mourning is described after the death of the patriarch (Gen 50:1–4a; *Jub.* 23:7bc).

These generic similarities between Jacob's deathbed scene in Genesis and that of Abraham in *Jubilees* are supported by the similarity in the use of words when the persons involved pass away. This strengthens the idea that the deathbed scene of Jacob in Genesis functioned as a model for the deathbed scene of Abraham in *Jubilees*. See especially the resemblance between Gen 49:33–50:1 and *Jub.* 23:1, 5, 7:

<p>Genesis 49:33–50:4</p> <p>33a <i>Jacob</i> finished to command <i>his sons</i>,</p> <p>(cf. Gen 46:4)</p> <p>b and <i>he gathered</i> his feet <i>into the bed</i>,</p> <p>c <i>breathed his last</i>,</p> <p>d and was gathered to his <i>people</i>.</p> <p>1a <i>Joseph</i> fell on his father's face</p> <p>1b and cried over him</p> <p>1c and kissed him.</p> <p>2a JOSEPH COMMANDED THE PHYSICIANS IN HIS SERVICE TO EMBALM HIS FATHER.</p> <p>b SO THE PHYSICIANS EMBALMED ISRAEL;</p> <p>3a THEY SPENT forty days IN DOING THIS,</p> <p>b FOR THAT IS THE TIME REQUIRED FOR EMBALMING.</p> <p>c <i>And the Egyptians</i></p> <p>mourned for him seventy days.</p> <p>4a And the <i>days of mourning</i> for <i>him</i> were completed.</p>	<p><i>Jubilees</i> 22:25; 23:1, 5, 7</p> <p>25 <i>He</i> finished commanding AND BLESSING <i>him</i>.</p> <p>....</p> <p>1a HE PUT TWO OF JACOB'S FINGERS ON HIS EYES</p> <p>b AND BLESSED THE GOD OF GODS.</p> <p>c HE COVERED HIS FACE,</p> <p>d and <i>stretched out</i> his feet,</p> <p>e <i>fell asleep forever</i>,</p> <p>f and was gathered to his <i>fathers</i>.</p> <p>.....</p> <p>5a <i>Isaac</i> fell on his father's face</p> <p>b and cried [],</p> <p>c and kissed him.</p> <p>.....</p> <p>7b <i>And all of the people of his household as well as Isaac, Ishmael, and all their sons and Keturah's sons in their places</i> mourned for him forty days.</p> <p>c And the <i>tearful</i> mourning for <i>Abraham</i> was completed.</p>
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As one can see in the overview, Gen 50:1 seems to be quoted in *Jub.* 23:5, with a change of names to suit the characters involved. Moreover, also Gen 49:33a has close parallels in *Jubilees*. One can point to the ending of the

speech in *Jub.* 22:25, which is comparable to the ending of Jacob's speech to his sons (Gen 49:33a). The reference of the command is, of course, different in both texts. In Gen 49:33, it refers to Jacob's command to bury him in Canaan together with his fathers. In *Jub.* 22:25 it refers to the command to Jacob to separate from the nations. The blessing is strictly speaking not mentioned in Gen 49:33 as it is in *Jub.* 22:25. We have seen, however, that blessing plays an important role in Jacob's deathbed scene.

Another important aspect is that both texts speak about the feet. When Jacob passes away it is said: "He drew up his feet into the bed" (Gen 49:33b). The verb used is $\eta\sigma\alpha$ ("to draw up"). This drawing up of Jacob's feet is related to the beginning of the scene: "And it was told to Jacob: 'Your son Joseph has come to you'; then Israel summoned his strength, and sat up in bed" (Gen 48:2). After blessing his sons and grandsons and after his command, he drew up his feet and put them back into bed in this way. *Jub.* 23:1d also speaks about the patriarch's feet in relation to his death. The fact that Gen 49:33b is the only place in the Hebrew Bible where feet are mentioned in relation to a person's death strengthens the relationship between Gen 49:33b and *Jub.* 23:1d. Yet it is striking that *Jub.* 23:1d does not speak about the "drawing up" of the feet but about the "stretching out of the feet."⁶⁵ It might be relevant in this context to mention that also in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* the four patriarchs who are about to die "stretch out" their feet (*TLevi* 19:4; *TIss.* 7:9; *TJos.* 20:4; *TBenj.* 12:1). The Greek verb used is $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$. Of the patriarch Gad, however, it is said that he "drew up" his feet (*TGad* 8:4). Here the word is $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\phi\omega$. Robinson has suggested that at some stage in the history of transmission, the initial α of $\eta\sigma\alpha$ ("to gather up," "to draw up") was lost. For this reason, a translator might have read $\eta\sigma$ instead, which means "to increase," "to add to" but which might have the meaning of "to stretch out [a hand]" in Isa 11:1.⁶⁶ I have some hesitation about following this suggestion, since $\eta\sigma$ is not translated as $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ anywhere in the Septuagint, whereas the meaning

⁶⁵ Cf. P.A. Robinson, "To Stretch out the Feet: A Formula for Death in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," *JBL* 97 (1978): 369–74 (esp. 371). According to Robinson, some Greek mss of *Jub.* 23:1 would read $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\phi\omega$ ("to draw up") instead of $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ ("to stretch out"). However, there is no Greek equivalent expression in any of the Byzantine chronographers. Therefore, her statement that the reading "to draw up" is found in some of Greek mss rests on misunderstanding. So rightly also M. de Jonge, "Again: 'to Stretch out the Feet' in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," *JBL* 99 (1980): 120–21.

⁶⁶ Robinson, "To stretch out the Feet," 371–72.

“to stretch out” for **רָחַץ** in Isa 11:11 is quite exceptional.⁶⁷ I shall not discuss the phrases in Gen 49:33cd here, since they are identical to Gen 25:8a, d.

One can point to some further similarities between both deathbed scenes. In *Jub.* 23:1a, it is said: “He put two of Jacob’s fingers on his eyes.” This element also seems to originate in the tradition of Jacob’s death. In Gen 46:4 God says to Jacob: “And Joseph’s hand shall close your eyes.” In the context of Genesis, this utterance can be seen as a sort of assurance that Jacob will see Joseph before he dies (cf. Gen 45:28; 46:30).⁶⁸ The resemblance between Gen 46:4 and *Jub.* 23:1a as far as content is concerned is remarkable and strengthens the relationship between Jacob’s death in Genesis and Abraham’s death in *Jubilees*.

Moreover, there is a strong resemblance between Gen 50:4 (“And the days of mourning for him were completed”) and *Jub.* 23:7c (“And the tearful mourning for Abraham was completed”). Instead of “the days of,” *Jubilees* reads a synonymous noun for mourning.⁶⁹ The mourning (**אֲבֵל**) for the dead is described in several places in the Hebrew Bible.⁷⁰ It is primarily the outward behavior of the mourner that is described and not the inner feelings. Some passages show ancient mourning customs, e.g., putting on sackcloth, sprinkling dust and ashes on the head, lying on the ground, and shaving one’s beard and hair. Mourning is often connected with a period of time: seven days of mourning (Gen 50:10; cf. 1 Sam 31:13; 1 Chr 10:12), thirty days (Deut 34:8), many days (Gen 37:34; 2 Sam 13:37; 14:2; 1 Chr 7:22). The end of the period of mourning is clearly marked (Deut 34:8: “Then the days of weeping and mourning were ended”; Isa 60:20: “Your days of mourning shall be ended”). The author of *Jubilees* does not mention the customs of mourning in *Jub.* 23:7, but he does mention a period of time. The length of this period (“forty days”), however, is not in line with these biblical passages. The only explanation for these forty days of mourning can be the use of forty days in Gen 50:3a. However, in Genesis, the forty days are mentioned in relation to the embalming of Jacob’s body, whereas the period of mourning is seventy days for the Egyptians (Gen 50:3c) and seven days beyond the Jordan (Gen 50:10).

⁶⁷ Cf. De Jonge, “Again: ‘to Stretch out the Feet,’” 120.

⁶⁸ Cf. C. Westermann, *Genesis 37–50* (BKAT 1.3; 4th ed.; Neukirchen-Vluyn, 2004), 173.

⁶⁹ On the basis of Gen 50:4 and Deut 34:8, Charles amended this into “the days of.” Cf. Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 144. He is wrongly followed by Goldman, Hartom, Baillet. Cf. VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees* (1989), 138.

⁷⁰ For the following, see art. **אֲבֵל**, *TWAT*, 1:46–50.

The conclusion must be that the author either conflated or confused the days of mourning and the days of embalming.⁷¹

In his deathbed scene, Abraham has physical contact with his grandson Jacob while he is dying (*Jub.* 23:1–3). Moreover, Isaac also makes contact with the dead body when he “falls on his father’s face” (*Jub.* 23:5). According to Ravid, in the book of *Jubilees*, the patriarchs, portrayed as priests, intentionally made themselves impure by touching deceased persons. Moreover, nothing is said about procedures to overcome these cases of corpse contamination.⁷² In light of her attempt to read *Jubilees*’ approach to purity and impurity in the context of second-century B.C.E. concerns, Ravid is surprised by the fact that the legal work ignores the laws of purity and impurity. According to her, the text gives the impression that the author was not particularly concerned with impurity due to contact with a dead body. Impurity in relation to a dead body is treated very seriously in Jewish law, both in the Pentateuch (cf. Num 19:11–18) and in Qumran texts such as the *Temple Scroll* (cf. 11QT^a 49:5–21; 50:10–15). According to her, “the description of the prolonged contact between the dead Abraham and the sleeping Jacob on his bosom makes it quite clear that the dying Abraham *deliberately* defiled his grandson, upon his death, in the gravest manner.”⁷³

In his response to Ravid, VanderKam rightly brings forward the point that the author of *Jubilees* did not ignore issues of his time, but he was heavily influenced by the older scriptures he revised.⁷⁴ In the stories in Genesis and the first part of Exodus, there is also no concern with the world of ritual impurity. Genesis speaks only briefly about the deaths of the patriarchs and never deals with the issues of corpse contamination.⁷⁵ Moreover, I have already pointed to the close parallel with what happens at Jacob’s death in Genesis, since *Jub.* 23:5 (“Isaac fell on his father’s face and cried and kissed him”) seems to quote Gen 50:1 (“Joseph fell on his father’s face and cried over him and kissed him”), changing the names of the characters involved. There is no indictment of the ritual purity system in Genesis, and so there is not in *Jub.* 23:5. *Jubilees* is set in a time when

⁷¹ So Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 48.

⁷² Ravid, “Purity,” 61–86 (esp. 66–7).

⁷³ Ravid, “Purity,” 66 (my italics).

⁷⁴ J.C. VanderKam, “Viewed from Another Angle: Purity and Impurity in the Book of *Jubilees*,” *JSP* 13 (2002): 209–15. Cf. also L. Doering, “Purity and Impurity in the Book of *Jubilees*,” in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees* (ed. G. Boccaccini and G. Ibba; Grand Rapids, Mi., 2009), 261–75 (esp. 261, 267, 274).

⁷⁵ VanderKam, “Viewed from Another Angle,” 211.

there was no sanctuary, and therefore there were no purification rules.⁷⁶ The book deals more with concern for moral impurity than with ritual impurity,⁷⁷ although ritual purity is not completely absent.⁷⁸

5. CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, I have considered the passage *Jub.* 22:1–23:8, Abraham's third farewell speech in its entirety as a rewriting of Gen 25:7–10. However, the still recognizable elements of Gen 25:7–10 are integrated into a completely new narrative. Most elements of Gen 25:7–10 occur only in the last part of the text (cf. *Jub.* 23:1ef, 7a, 8).

Genesis does not have a farewell speech in connection to Abraham's death, though one could regard Abraham's activities as described in Gen 25:5–6 as a type of farewell procedure. Concerning Abraham's farewell speech for all his children and grandchildren in *Jubilees* 20, and Abraham's testimony for Isaac alone in *Jubilees* 21, the verses in question are elaborated extensively. What we see in *Jubilees* is that important elements of Isaac's farewell speech to Jacob (Gen 27:1–29) are taken over at the beginning of Abraham's deathbed scene (*Jub.* 22:1–12), whereas elements of Jacob's deathbed scene (Gen 47:27–49:33) can be found mainly in the final part the text (*Jub.* 22:25–23:8).

Genesis does have a death (Gen 25:8) and burial report (Gen 25:9–10) for Abraham. Like the report about Isaac's death (Gen 35:29), it is very short. In the rephrasing of Abraham's death and burial, the author of *Jubilees* combines this with elements taken from the report of Jacob's death (Gen 49:33–50:14).

Jubilees reveals some important changes concerning the relationships between the people involved. Abraham blesses his grandchild, which strengthens the bond between Abraham and Jacob. Abraham calls Jacob his son, and Jacob calls Abraham his father (cf. also *Jub.* 39:6; 45:15). Because Jacob is blessed (by Abraham), elements of the blessing given by Isaac to Jacob nullify Jacob's later role as deceiver. The sequence is very close to the scene about Isaac's blessing in Genesis. Rebekah sends food to the patriarch through Jacob, and the patriarch blesses him. Because Jacob has already been blessed, his deceit at a later stage becomes irrelevant.

⁷⁶ VanderKam, "Viewed from Another Angle," 213.

⁷⁷ J. Klawan, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (New York, 2000), 46–8.

⁷⁸ Doering, "Purity and Impurity," 267.

Details of Jacob's deathbed scene seem to be transmitted through to Abraham's deathbed scene while the young Jacob is with him in his bed. Although Jacob is emphasized more in the book of *Jubilees* than in Genesis, Jacob's blessings for his children and grandchildren are not borrowed. The omission of the blessing of Joseph's sons (Gen 48:1–22) and his own sons (Gen 49:1–27) is possibly due to the new position of Levi in the book of *Jubilees*. In his death report (*Jub.* 45:13–16), it is said that Jacob “gave all his books and the books of his fathers to his son Levi so that he could preserve them and renew them for his sons until today” (*Jub.* 45:16). However, the fact that most of Jacob's deathbed scene is omitted is in itself no reason for *Jubilees* to have added so many elements from Jacob's deathbed scene to Abraham's deathbed scene. Perhaps one could conclude that *Jubilees* wanted to stress that Abraham and Jacob were united both in their lives and in their deaths. Jacob was not only with Abraham at the end of Abraham's life, but Abraham's end resembled that of Jacob's in Genesis.

CONCLUSIONS

In this study, I investigated the relationship between the Abraham story in Genesis and that in *Jubilees*. To achieve my goal, I divided the text into ten sections: the early Abram; Abram's travels; land and covenant; Abraham, Israel, and the nations; events surrounding Isaac's birth; Isaac's binding; events after Sarah's death until Abraham's blessing for Jacob; Abraham's testament to all his children and grandchildren; Abraham's testament to Isaac; Abraham's last day. Within each section, I mostly started with the overall comparison of the macrostructure of the section in Genesis and *Jubilees*. I then gave a synoptic overview and classified and discussed the similarities and dissimilarities between the two texts. At a microstructural level (verse by verse), I made use of the following categories: verbatim quotation; omission (minus); addition (plus); and variation other than omission and addition. The verbatim quotations and transformations usually occur in the same order of words and phrases in *Jubilees* as in Genesis. However, sometimes there is rearrangement, i.e., a variation in the sequence of words and phrases. In the course of the investigation I have shown that within a section, within pericopes in some sections, but also within verses, these different transformations have been simultaneously carried out.

In conclusion, I give here a summarising outline of the Abraham cycle as a whole.

I. *The Early Abram (Gen 11:26–12:3; Jub. 11:14–12:31)*

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|--|---|
| 1. Birth of Abram, Nahor and Haran (11:27b; cf. 11:26) | 1. Marriage of Terah and Edna, birth of Abram (11:14–15) |
| 2. Birth of Lot; death of Haran; marriages of Abram and Nahor (11:27c–29) | 2. Additions about Abram (11:16–12:8) |
| 3. Abram's life from the departure from Ur until the departure from Haran (11:30–12:3) | 3. Genealogy: marriage of Abram and Sarai; marriage of Haran and woman; birth of Lot; marriage of Nahor (12:9–11) |
| | 4. Abram's life from the departure from Ur until the departure from Haran with additions (12:12–31) |

II. *Abram's Travels* (*Gen 12:4–14:24*; *Jub. 13:7–29*)

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|--|--|
| 1. Departure from Haran until the sojourning in Hebron (12:4–13:4) | 1. Departure from Haran until the sojourning in Hebron (13:1–16) |
| 2. Separation of Abram and Lot (13:5–18) | 2. Separation of Abram and Lot (13:17–21) |
| 3. War of the kings (14:1–24) | 3. War of the kings (13:22–29) |

III. *Land and Covenant* (*Gen 15:7–16:16*; *Jub. 14:7–24*)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Promise dialogue I (15:1–6) | 1. Promise dialogue I (14:1–6) |
| 2. Promise dialogue II (15:7–21) | 2. Promise dialogue II (14:7–18) with Additions (14:19–20) |
| 3. Sarai gives Hagar to Abram (16:1–4b) | 3. Sarai gives Hagar to Abram (14:21–24b) |
| 4. Tension between Sarai and Hagar and Hagar's flight (16:4c–14) | |
| 5. Ishmael's birth and name-giving (16:15–16) | 4. Ishmael's birth and name-giving (14:24c–e) |

IV. *Abraham, Israel and the Nations* (*Gen 17:1–27*; *Jub. 15:7–34*)

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|---|---|
| | 1. Abram celebrates the festival of the firstfruits (15:1–2) |
| 1. God speaks with Abram (17:1–22) | 2. God speaks with Abram (15:3–22) |
| 2. Abraham executes divine commandment of circumcision (17:23–27) | 3. Abraham executes divine commandment of circumcision (15:23–24) |
| | 4. Halakic addition with regard to circumcision (15:25–34) |

V. *Events surrounding Isaac's Birth* (*Gen 18:1–21:34*; *Jub. 16:7–17:14*)

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|--|--|
| 1. Second announcement of Isaac's birth (18:1–15) | 1. Second announcement of the Isaac's birth (16:1–4) |
| 2. Judgment on Sodom and Gomorrah (18:16–19:29) | 2. Judgment on Sodom and Gomorrah (16:5–6) |
| 3. Lot and his daughters (19:30–38) | 3. Lot and his daughters (16:7–9) |
| 4. Abraham's journey to Gerar (20:1) | 4. Abraham's journey to Gerar (16:10) |
| 5. Sarah's abduction to Abimelech's house (20:2–18) | |
| | 5. Abraham in Beersheba (16:11) |
| 6. Birth of Isaac (21:1–7) | 6. Birth of Isaac (16:12–14) |
| | 7. Angels return to Abraham and Sarah (16:15–19) |
| | 8. Sikkot (16:20–31) |
| 7. Weaning of Isaac and expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael (21:8–21) | 9. Weaning of Isaac and expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael (17:1–14) |
| 8. Abraham's covenant with Abimelech in Beer Sheba (21:22–34) | |

VI. *Isaac's Binding* (Gen 22:1–19; Jub. 17:15–18:19)

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|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Isaac's Binding (22:1–19) | 1. Introduction (17:15–18) |
| | 2. Isaac's Binding (18:1–17) |
| | 3. Halakic Addition (18:18–19) |

VII. *The Events after Sarah's Death until Abraham's Blessing for Jacob* (Gen 22:20–25:4; Jub. 19:1–31)

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|--|---|
| 1. Genealogy of Nahor (22:20–24) | 1. Death and Burial of Sarah (19:1–9) |
| 2. Death and Burial of Sarah (23:1–20) | |
| 3. Marriage of Isaac and Rebekah (24:1–67; cf. 22:20–24; 25:19–20) | 2. Marriage of Isaac and Rebekah (19:10) |
| 4. Marriage of Abraham and Keturah and the birth of their children (25:1–4) (cf. Gen 25:21–27) (cf. Gen 25:28) | 3. Marriage of Abraham and Keturah and the birth of their children (19:11–12) |
| | 4. Birth of Jacob and Esau (19:13–14) |
| | 5. Abraham's blessings for Jacob (19:15–31) |

VIII. *Abraham's Testament to All His Children and Grand-Children* (Gen 25:5–6; Jub. 20:1–13)

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|--|--|
| 1. Abraham's heritage for Isaac (25:5) | |
| 2. Gifts for Abraham's children (25:6) | 1. Abraham's testament to all his children and grandchildren (20:1–13) |

IX. *Abram's Testament to Isaac* (Jub. 21:1–26)

1. Abraham's testimony for Isaac (21:1–26)

X. *Abram's Last Day* (Gen 25:7–10; Jub. 22:1–23:8)

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|---|--|
| | 1. Festival of Weeks (22:1–9) |
| | 2. Abraham's last speech (22:10–25) |
| | 3. Abraham's last words and acts (22:26–23:1d) |
| 1. Summary formula of Abraham's life (25:7) | |
| 2. Death notice and burial report (25:8–10) | 4. Death notice and burial report with additions (23:1e–7) |
| | 5. Summary formula of Abraham's life (23:8) |

This overall comparison makes clear that *Jubilees* incorporates most pericopes of Gen 11:26–25:10. Moreover, it includes by way of permutation in one way or another also Gen 25:12–28. As far as the pericopes are concerned in the general overview, there is no parallel in *Jubilees* for Gen 16:4c–14 (the tension between Sarai and Hagar and Hagar's subsequent flight);

<i>Jub.</i> 14:19–20	OFFERING AND RENEWING OF THE COVENANT
<i>Jub.</i> 15:1–2	OFFERING AND FESTIVAL OF FIRST FRUITS AS PREPARATION OF THE RENEWING OF THE COVENANT
<i>Jub.</i> 15:25–34	HALAKAH CONCERNING CIRCUMCISION
<i>Jub.</i> 16:3	ISAAC'S NAME ON HEAVENLY TABLETS
<i>Jub.</i> 16:15–19	ANGELS RETURN TO ABRAHAM AND SARAH
<i>Jub.</i> 16:20–31	HALAKAH CONCERNING SUKKOT
<i>Jub.</i> 17:2–3	JOY OF ABRAHAM
<i>Jub.</i> 17:14	FIRST CHILD OF ISHMAEL
<i>Jub.</i> 17:15–18; 18:9, 12a, 16d	PRINCE OF MASTEMA
<i>Jub.</i> 18:18–19	HALAKAH CONCERNING PASSOVER
<i>Jub.</i> 19:15–31	ABRAHAM'S BLESSING FOR JACOB
<i>Jub.</i> 20:1–10	ABRAHAM'S TESTAMENT TO ALL HIS CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN
<i>Jub.</i> 21:1–26	ABRAHAM'S TESTAMENT TO ISAAC
<i>Jub.</i> 22:1–23:1	ABRAHAM'S LAST DAY
<i>Jub.</i> 23:2–6	BETWEEN ABRAHAM'S DEATH AND BURIAL

With regard to the additions, one can observe an interesting phenomenon. In the midst of a textual addition in *Jubilees* that has mostly no verbal correspondences with Genesis, there are some verses that are very close to the text of Genesis. They seem to function, as it were, as textual anchors connecting *Jubilees* and Genesis. In these places, *Jubilees* zooms in on certain episodes, recounting much more details, where Genesis zooms out. One can speak of a centrifugal reading of the text. Most clearly we can see this tendency at the beginning (*Jub.* 11:14–12:31) and at the end (*Jub.* 20–23) of the Abraham cycle.

The first part of Abram's life ("The Early Abram") shows an enormous enlargement of details that are not present in the story of Genesis. Nonetheless, there are passages in which Genesis and *Jubilees* almost verbally agree with each other. One can point to *Jub.* 12:22–24 that adopts Gen 12:1–3 nearly verbatim. See also *Jub.* 12:9–15 in which Gen 11:28, 31 occur with variation and permutation at the end of the passage (*Jub.* 12:14–15). Possibly, one might also refer to *Jub.* 11:14–15, which is a variation of Gen 11:26–27b. This variation, however, is in conformity with the rewriting of the birth stories elsewhere in the book.

In the description of the last part of Abraham's life (*Jub.* 20–23), this characteristic of zooming in is clearly present. Abraham's testaments to all his children (*Jub.* 20:1–13), to Isaac (*Jub.* 21:1–26), and the events on his last day (*Jub.* 22:1–23:8) are a huge enlargement in comparison with Genesis. Nevertheless, Gen 25:5–10 is taken up quite literally. In the first place, Gen 25:5–6 is adopted in *Jub.* 20:11. Both the additions of *Jub.* 20:1–10

and *Jub.* 21:1–26 are related to this verbal correspondence. Also the addition in *Jub.* 20:12–13 is connected with Gen 25:6, but it is heavily influenced by Gen 25:8. In the second place, Gen 25:7–10 occurs quite literally in *Jub.* 23:1, 7–8. The description of the events of Abraham's last day, the celebration of the Festival of Weeks (*Jub.* 22:1–9), Abraham's last speech and deeds (*Jub.* 22:10–23:1), the events between his death and burial (*Jub.* 23:2–6), and possibly also the eschatological passage (*Jub.* 23:9–31) are related to these anchoring verses.

Comparable to this is *Jub.* 19:15–31 that can be considered as a zooming in of Gen 25:28. It is remarkable to see that Gen 25:28, with some variation, (e.g., the order of Jacob and Esau; Abraham replacing Rebekah) occurs both at the beginning of the text (*Jub.* 19:15) and at the end (*Jub.* 19:31).

Besides this phenomenon of a free rendering in combination with some (relatively small) textual anchors, one can observe also the phenomenon that larger passages that run parallel in Genesis and *Jubilees* are connected with clearly demarcated introductions, postscripts, or insertions. This occurs in *Jub.* 14:1–20. Genesis 15 is borrowed quite literally in *Jub.* 14:1–18, whereas the insertion in *Jub.* 14:11 and the addition in *Jub.* 14:19–20 make clear that an offering is being made in the context of a renewing of the covenant. Unlike *Jub.* 15 and *Jub.* 17:15–18:19, *Jubilees* 14 has no specific nor halakic postscript.

With regard to *Jubilees* 15, one can observe that Genesis 17 is taken over quite literally in *Jub.* 15:3–24. However, this text is preceded by a short introduction, which speaks about an offering and about the festival of first fruits as preparation of the renewing of the covenant (*Jub.* 15:1–2), while it is followed by a large halakic text concerning circumcision (*Jub.* 15:25–34).

The same can be observed with regard to the binding of Isaac (*Jub.* 17:15–18:19). Whereas Gen 22:1–19 is taken over quite literally in *Jub.* 18:1–8, 12b–16c, 16e–17), it is preceded by an introduction about the role of prince Mastema in relation to Isaac's offer. This introduction influences the insertions later in the text (*Jub.* 18:9, 12a, 16d). The text is completed with a short halakah concerning Passover (*Jub.* 18:18–19).

We might put *Jub.* 17:1–14 in the same category. Whereas Gen 21:8–21 is adopted quite literally in *Jub.* 17:1, 4–13, there is short addition at the beginning (*Jub.* 17:2–3) and at the end (*Jub.* 17:14).

The additions in *Jub.* 16:15–19 (return of the angels) and *Jub.* 16:20–31 (halakah concerning Sukkot) are more difficult to categorize. They can be considered as a centrifugal reading of the text, because they zoom in on a detail (or blank) in the story of Isaac's birth, namely the time between the conception and the actual birth. This story is not interrupted but related

afterwards. In a certain way this is comparable to what we have mentioned above. A small amount of text is taken over quite literally (Gen 21:1–4 in *Jub.* 16:12–14) and functions as a textual anchor for the additions. The halakic addition with regard to Sukkot (*Jub.* 16:20–31) is connected with the addition of *Jub.* 16:15–19. The events in both texts are dated in the seventh month, and the central theme in both texts is joy.

Finally, several shorter insertions can be found in the text. They are connected with the offering on the altar (*Jub.* 13:4b, 8b–9; cf. *Jub.* 14:11, 19), the beauty of the land (*Jub.* 13:2, 6–7), Abraham's joy (*Jub.* 14:21; cf. *Jub.* 17:2–3; see also the larger addition *Jub.* 16:15–31), and Abraham's sadness (*Jub.* 13:18).

From the above mentioned remarks, it is clear that most passages from Abraham's story in Genesis have a parallel in the book of *Jubilees*. Some narratives and narrative elements are nearly verbatim. We pointed to the long narrative sections with regard to the first (renewing of the) covenant (Gen 15:1–21; *Jub.* 14:1–18); the second (renewing of the) covenant (Gen 17:1–27; *Jub.* 15:3–24); Isaac's weaning and the dismissal of Ishmael and his mother (Gen 21:8–21; *Jub.* 17:1, 4–13); and the binding of Isaac (Gen 22:1–19; *Jub.* 18:1–17). With regard to the smaller narratives, one can point to God's call to Abram to leave his land (Gen 12:1–3; *Jub.* 12:22b–23); the separation of Abram and Lot (Gen 13:12b–18; *Jub.* 13:17b–21); the meeting of the king of Sodom and Abram (Gen 14:21–24; *Jub.* 13:28–29); the conception and birth of Ishmael (Gen 16:1–4b, 15–16; *Jub.* 14:21–24b); the conception and birth of Isaac (Gen 21:1–4; *Jub.* 16:12–14); the marriage of Abraham and Keturah (Gen 25:1–2; *Jub.* 19:11–12); Abraham's gift to Isaac and his other sons (Gen 25:5–6; *Jub.* 20:11).

Sometimes there are passages in *Jubilees* that run parallel with Genesis as far as the story line is concerned. The wording, however, is quite different. There are many additions and extensive omissions. I refer to Abram's birth (Gen 11:26–27b; *Jub.* 11:14–15); Abram's marriage until the arrival in Haran (Gen 11:27c–31; *Jub.* 12:9–15); Abram's travels (Gen 12:4–8; *Jub.* 13:1–9); Abram and Sarai's stay in Egypt (Gen 12:9–13:4; *Jub.* 13:10–16); the war of the kings (Gen 14:8–15; *Jub.* 13:22–25); the second announcement of Isaac's birth (Gen 18:1–15; *Jub.* 16:1–4); judgment on Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen 19:24–29; *Jub.* 16:5–6); Lot and his daughters (Gen 19:30–38; cf. *Jub.* 16:7–9); death and burial of Sarah (Gen 23:1–20; *Jub.* 19:1–9); death and burial of Abraham (Gen 25:7–10; *Jub.* 23:1–8); birth of Jacob and Esau (Gen 25:21–28; *Jub.* 19:13–14).

With regard to a few "parallel" passages, one can in fact hardly say that they run parallel, because entire episodes are summarized into one

phrase. From Sarah's abduction to Abimelech's house (Gen 20:1–18) *Jubilees* takes over only a notice about Abraham's travel (*Jub.* 16:10); from Abraham's covenant with Abimelech, *Jubilees* adopts only the setting at the well of the oath (*Jub.* 16:11); from the marriage of Isaac and Rebekah (Gen 24:1–67; cf. 22:20–24), *Jubilees* makes just a short notice (*Jub.* 19:10, which is mostly borrowed from Gen 25:19–20); the struggle between the herdsman of Abram's and of Lot's cattle is summarized in just one phrase (*Jub.* 13:17a). These are clear examples of a centripetal reading of the text, the author zooms out.

In addition, there is an important case of permutation. The text of the descendants of Ishmael (Gen 25:12–18, as far as relevant for the author of *Jubilees*) and the beginning of the story of Jacob and Esau (Gen 25:19–28) are all put before the story of Abraham's death. The mention of the birth of Ishmael's son (cf. Gen 25:13) is placed immediately after his dismissal and his marriage (*Jub.* 17:14). The marriage of Isaac and Rebekah (Gen 25:19–20) is mentioned in *Jub.* 19:10 and comes in the place of the long story of the search for Isaac's wife (Gen 24:1–67; cf. also the genealogy of Gen 22:20–24). The story of Jacob's and Esau's birth (Gen 25:21–27) occurs after the birth of the children of Abraham and Keturah (*Jub.* 19:13–14). Finally, Rebekah's preference for Jacob (Gen 25:28) forms the base for the passage about Abraham's blessing for Jacob (*Jub.* 19:15–31; esp. 19:15, 31).

For the transformations of the scriptural text in *Jubilees*, one can find sometimes textual clues (gaps, etymologies) in Genesis. With regard to Abram's early life, it is, for example, not clear to the reader of Genesis why Terah makes the decision to leave Ur of the Chaldeans and to set out for Canaan (Gen 11:31). The text does not make clear either why Haran dies during his father's life (Gen 11:28). Both gaps in the text are combined in the history of interpretation, as well as in the book of *Jubilees*. See the story of Haran's death in the burning house of idols (*Jub.* 12:12–14). Moreover, it is not clear in Genesis why Terah gives up his original intention to go to Canaan and why instead Abram puts it into practice (Gen 11:31; 12:1). Another blank in the text is the question of why God chooses Abram to be blessed. These questions prompted the long additions at the beginning of the text about Abram's early life in *Jubilees*. Many elements of these additions seem to be influenced by older traditions. The polemic against foreign gods is deeply rooted in the Hebrew Bible (Deuteronomy; Second Isaiah; Jeremiah). The anti-idol polemics in relation with Abram is also suggested in Josh 24:2–3, 14–15; Jdt 5:6–9. Abram's prayer is strongly

connected with the other prayers in the book of *Jubilees*. The prayers are caused by the threat of evil spirits. The teaching about the evil spirits seems to be part of the wider influence of material originating from the Enochic traditions (see esp. *1 Enoch*), although the author of *Jubilees* puts his own accents (e.g., the role of Mastema). The linkage of the story of the raven with the anti-idol polemic may also be a traditional one (see the *Epistle of Jeremiah*). Some tensions within the chronological system point to the fact that Abram's incendiary efforts might also be dependent on an older tradition.

As far as the transformations with regard to Abram's travels, especially the story about the couple's stay in Egypt, are concerned one can say that the rewriting tries to solve problems in the biblical text, e.g., the potential suspect character of Abram and the possibility of Sarai's having had intercourse with the Pharaoh. The existence of a parallel yet different rewriting of this part of the biblical text in the *Genesis Apocryphon* points to the existence of a tradition from which the author of *Jubilees* drew his material, although he might have put his own stamp on it. This also concerns the story of the war of the kings. For several other transformations in this part (e.g., the omission of the struggle between Abram's herdmen and those of Lot; the addition of Abram's sadness with regard to Lot; the elaboration on the description of the land) there are no evident clues in the scriptural text.

With regard to the binding of Isaac, we have pointed to a textual clue in the text of Gen 22:1 ("It happened after these things/words") which evoked the introduction of *Jub.* 17:15–18. Although there are similarities between this introduction and the prologue of the book of Job, it is unlikely that *Jubilees* was directly influenced by Job. First, there are also important differences. Secondly, Satan occurs more often in this period (e.g., *1 Chr* 21:1; *Zech* 3:1–2; *1 En.* 40:7; 65:6), and finally, Mastema also plays an important part elsewhere in the book (*Jub.* 10:1–14; 11:11; 48:1–19).

The story of the search for and discovery of Rebekah (Gen 24:1–67) might have been problematic for the author of *Jubilees*, since in Genesis it is presented as a coincidence and the result of delegated authority. The author of *Jubilees* substitutes the meeting at the well and the subsequent negotiations with a brief statement that Abraham has full responsibility for the future, since he selects Rebekah for his son. Moreover, in the continuation of the story in *Jubilees* (cf. *Jub.* 19:15–23:8), a special relationship is developed between Abraham and Rebekah. It is therefore fitting that he is the one who should choose Rebekah.

Some of the transformations do not have a clear clue in the biblical text. Sometimes they are in line with other passages in the book, and it does not seem necessary to suppose the influence of other traditions. According to *Jubilees*, there is only one single covenant. The Noachic union (*Jub.* 6) is the first conclusion and basis for all subsequent ones. The bonds with Abraham are seen as a renewal of the covenant of Noah. In *Jubilees* 14, this is stated explicitly (*Jub.* 14:20), whereas it is also implied in the dating of the covenant during the festival of weeks (*Jub.* 14:1a, 10a, 20a). The transformation of the ambiguous reference to an offering in Gen 15:9–11 into an explicit offering including the sprinkling of blood (*Jub.* 14:11–12, 19) stresses the similarity of Abram's covenant with that of Noah (cf. *Jub.* 6:1–3, 11). Also the second conclusion of the covenant between God and Abraham (*Jubilees* 15) shows these elements: a dating of the covenant and a mentioning of the festival (*Jub.* 15:1) together with an offering (*Jub.* 15:2). This results in a comparable structure of *Jubilees* 14 and 15. This similarity is strengthened by the fact that in the description of the land (*Jub.* 14:7) the author integrates Gen 17:7–8 (the land identified by name; the eternal possession of it; the personal relationship between God and Abram and his progeny) in his use of Gen 15:7. The omission of the first dismissal of Hagar (Gen 14:4c–14) strengthens the parallel structure of *Jubilees* 14 and 15, apart from the fact that it creates a more positive picture of Sarai. The parallel structure seems to point to the fact that Ishmael is of equal status as Isaac, but this is refuted powerfully. *Jubilees* 15 stresses more than Genesis 17 the superiority of Isaac.

With regard to the transformations that are in line with the rest of the book, I have pointed already to the role of Mastema, who plays not only an important part in *Jub.* 17:15–18:19 but also elsewhere (*Jub.* 10:1–14; 11:11; 48:1–19). Also the transformation of Abram's birth report into a marriage report (*Jub.* 11:14–15) can be compared to the way that birth reports are transformed elsewhere in the book. With regard to the art of writing (cf. *Jub.* 11:16; 19:14; cf. 12:25–27), it is clear that this is an important issue in the book. It was Enoch who was the first on earth to learn the art of writing. Fathers teach their sons the art of writing, and it is often connected with halakic instruction of one type or another, which is written down by the fathers in a book (*Jub.* 4:17; 7:38–39; 10:13–14, 17; 12:27; 21:10; 39:6–7; 45:16) and handed down to their sons. In this way, the author of *Jubilees* creates a chain of tradition that is quite distinctive: Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech, Noah, Shem, Abram, Isaac, Jacob, (Joseph), and Levi (cf. *Jub.* 19:24, 27; 45:16).

Some of the transformations with regard to the biblical text are connected with each other. I have discussed the halakic addition concerning

Sukkot (*Jub.* 16:20–31), which is linked up with the addition of the flashback to the angel's visit (*Jub.* 16:15–19). The events in both texts are dated in the seventh month, and the central theme in both texts is joy. It is interesting that also in the transformations in the next pericope joy is of central importance (cf. *Jub.* 17:1–4). The flashback is clearly related to the second announcement of Isaac's birth (*Jub.* 16:1–4), where the angels predicted that they would return. The mention of the name Isaac (*Jub.* 16:3) is probably related to the omission of the explicit name-giving after Isaac's birth (*Jub.* 16:13). The mention of Sarah's laughter (*Jub.* 16:1–4) might be the cause for the omission of her laughter after Isaac's birth (Gen 21:6–7).

The additions with regard to Abraham's death (*Jub.* 20:1–23:8) are connected with Abraham's giving of presents to his children, but they do not have a direct parallel in the biblical text, except if one considers Gen 18:18–19 as a clue that could have evoked the instructions for Abraham's children. Genesis does not have a farewell speech in connection with Abraham's death, in contrast to the farewell speech of Isaac for Jacob (Gen 27:1–29), although meant for Esau, somewhat before his death (see Gen 35:27–29). It has also an extensive farewell speech of Jacob for his children and grandchildren (Gen 47:27–49:33). In the rephrasing of Abraham's death and burial, the author of *Jubilees* combines this with elements taken from the report of Jacob's death (Gen 49:33–50:14). What we see in *Jubilees* is that important elements of Isaac's farewell speech to Jacob (Gen 27:1–29) can be found at the beginning of Abraham's deathbed scene in *Jubilees* (*Jub.* 22:1–12), whereas elements of Jacob's deathbed scene can be found mainly in the final part of the text (*Jub.* 22:25–23:8).

Abraham's instructions to all his children (*Jub.* 20) include the commandments to love one another, to circumcise, to keep from fornication and uncleanness, not to marry Canaanite women, to love the God of heaven, and to keep away from idols. Most of these rules are related to events in Abraham's life. Circumcision is the only commandment explicitly given to Abraham and his descendants, fornication is related to the punishment of Sodom, and the prohibition against intermarriage can be related to Abraham's concern that Isaac does not marry a Canaanite woman. Abraham's love of God can be related to his designation as "friend of the Lord," and the opposition to idols can be related to Abraham's early life. The instructions are related to biblical texts (e.g., Lev 19:18; 21:9; Ezra 9–10) although the verbal agreement is not always very high. There are also several agreements with the testaments of Noah and of Isaac in the book of *Jubilees*.

Abraham's second testament to Isaac (*Jub.* 21) is dedicated in large part to instructions with regard to cultic matters, which is possibly related to the fact that in Genesis Abraham and Isaac are mentioned in relation to the building of an altar. Also in this testament, one can see the influence of several biblical passages: the impartiality of God (Deut 10:17–19; 2 Chr 19:7); the peace offering (Lev 3:1–17; 7:11–36; 19:5–8); the ablutions (Exod 30:17–21); the prohibition of eating the blood (e.g., Gen 9:4; Lev 3:17; 7:26–27; 17:10–14; 19:26; Deut 12:16, 23–24; 15:23). Comparable compositions can be found in *ALD* 19–30 (= 7:1–8:6) and 51–61 (10:4–14), and the *TLevi* 9:11–14. There is especially a close relationship between *Jubilees* 21 and the *Aramaic Levi Document*, although it is difficult to decide whether one used the other or both used a common source.

Throughout, Abraham's last speech reflects an anti-gentile bias, especially in the call for separation (*Jub.* 22:16–19) and in the caution against intermarriage (*Jub.* 22:20–22). This is influenced by earlier traditions. In the Hebrew Bible, it is noted that God had chosen Israel out of all nations of the world to be a special people. The setting apart of Israel for Yhwh is constitutive for this belief (see, e.g., Deut 7:6–8). The prohibition of intermarriage can be found, e.g., in the book of Ezra and Nehemiah. However, it is also in line with other passages in the book of *Jubilees* (see, e.g., *Jub.* 2:19–21; 12:1–8, 12–14; 15:21–34; 30:7–17).

The theme of the nations in relation to Israel touches the very heart of the book of *Jubilees*. Not only in the farewell speeches of Abraham, but also in many other places, the author refers to the nations. In most cases he creates a dichotomy between the nations and the nation par excellence (Israel). The author is erecting sharp boundaries between Israel and the other nations, between insiders and outsiders. Israel is summoned to separate from the nations. The people of Israel should stay far away from them and from their customs and their practices.

The theme of the status of the nations for Israel is not only an important issue for the book of *Jubilees* but for the whole spectrum of Jewish movements in the Second Temple period. In his source-book *Judaism and the Gentiles* (2007), Donaldson points to the fact that questions with regard to the religious status of non-Jewish people were inevitable for the Jews in the Greco-Roman world, both because of intrinsic as well as extrinsic circumstances.¹ Jews could not tell their own self-defining story without

¹ T.L. Donaldson, *Judaism and the Gentiles: Jewish Patterns of Universalism (to 135 CE)* (Waco, Te, 2007). See recently also *Abraham, the Nations, and the Hagarites: Jewish,*

pointing in one way or another to other nations. Despite the differences in interpretation, one can say that in the biblical story the cosmic and the universal are interwoven with the national and particular. There is one universal God, who had created the whole world and who had continued to exercise power over the created order and all the nations within it. On the other hand, this God had chosen Israel *from out of all nations* of the world to be a special people. God's will had been revealed uniquely in Israel's Scriptures; despite the fact that God had created the whole cosmos, he was nevertheless uniquely present in the temple of Jerusalem. In spite of temporal misfortunes, Israel would be vindicated at the end and exalted to a position of pre-eminence *over all other nations*.

The question to what extent Jews could adopt Gentile ways or accommodate their life to the wider non-Jewish world was a very important and defining issue (see the Maccabean revolt and the wars against Rome), but the ways in which the Gentiles could participate in the Jewish way of life, on the other hand, were probably of less interest for the Jewish people.

In his work, Donaldson collected many early Jewish texts in which this second element (participation of non-Jews in Jewish life) plays an important part, and he managed to give a classification of four Jewish patterns of universalism up until the second century C.E.: sympathizers; converts; ethical monotheists; and participants in the eschatological redemption.

It comes as no surprise that the book of *Jubilees* plays no role in this universalistic spectrum. No page is devoted to this book in Donaldson's collection. *Jubilees* opts for a sharp exclusion of other nations. There are more early Jewish works that establish a culpability of the gentiles (and therefore a justification of divine punishment of the nations, as for example in *Biblical Antiquities*, the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, and the *Testament of Moses*), but the book of *Jubilees* occupies by far the most extreme position on the negative side of the spectrum. 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.

Anybody who reads the book of *Jubilees*, discovers right from the beginning that the theme of the nations is not restricted to the Abraham-cycle. It plays a role everywhere. However, most texts that speak about the

Christian, and Islamic Perspectives on Kinship with Abraham (ed. M. Goodman, G.H. van Kooten, and J.T.A.G.M. van Ruiten; Themes in Biblical Narrative 13; Leiden, 2010).

erection of the boundaries between Israel and its environment can be found in the so-called farewell speeches just before the patriarchs die. It concerns the testaments of Noah, of Abraham, of Rebekah, and of Isaac. In these speeches, the sons of the patriarch are addressed, and in this respect Jacob plays an especially important role. Besides, the separation from the nations is depicted in the addition to the creation story (in relation to the inauguration of the Sabbath) and in *Jubilees* 30, which deals with intermarriage. And, of course, separation plays a part in the covenant relationship between God and Israel: there is one eternal covenant with a growing set of stipulations, from Noah to Abraham and Israel, and this means exclusion from the nations.

The last question I would like to address is whether the author of *Jubilees* adopted already existing rewritings of the biblical story² or whether he transformed the scriptural stories by himself. Do we know the transformations of the scriptural text from other sources? We might suppose that passages in *Jubilees* that run parallel to a large extent with Genesis are adopted from the book of Genesis. The same question applies to longer passages that are omitted or heavily abbreviated. There is no reason to suppose that these stories were not available in the scriptural text. Moreover, several transformations are connected to each other. If we realize that the sequence of events follows the biblical story from the beginning until the end (with the exception of chronological inconsistencies), then there is little reason to accept the view that the book of Genesis as we know it now was not available for the author. Broadly speaking, I cannot accept Segal's claim that the redactor of *Jubilees* incorporated already existing rewritings of the scriptural stories. I do not deny the possibility that in the time of *Jubilees* other texts and traditions that rewrote the scriptural narratives might have been available from which the author might have drawn material. I have pointed to affinities between aspects of the book of *Jubilees* with *1 Enoch*, the *Genesis Apocryphon*, the *Aramaic Levi Document*, and the *Testament of Levi*. However, in many cases it is not possible to pinpoint the influence of these texts. As a matter of fact, the scriptural text shows an openness to a great degree. There are inconsistencies, gaps, blanks, and theological problems that produced accompanying traditions. In this situation, the author of *Jubilees* created his own rewriting, put it in a new framework, and presented it as a new revelation.

² Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 21–34.

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