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Oliver, I W; Bachmann, V (2009). The Book of Jubilees: An Annotated Bibliography from the First German Translation of 1850 to the Enoch Seminar of 2007. *Henoch*, 31(1):123-164.

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Originally published at:
Henoch 2009, 31(1):123-164.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY FROM THE FIRST GERMAN TRANSLATION OF 1850 TO THE ENOCH SEMINAR OF 2007

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The following annotated bibliography provides summaries of the most influential scholarly works dedicated to the Book of Jubilees written between 1850 and 2006.* The year 1850 opens the period of modern research on Jubilees thanks to Dillmann's translation of the Ethiopic text of Jubilees into German; the Enoch Seminar of 2007 represents the largest gathering of international scholars on the document in modern times. In between these two pivotal events, stands the watershed of the finding and publication of the Hebrew fragments at Qumran.

After Dillmann's translation, scholarly circles took gradual notice of this Second Temple Jewish writing. Jellinek (1855) and Beer (1856) were among the first to analyze its text and compare it with other Jewish and Samaritan writings. At the same time, prompted by the publication of the first critical edition of the Ethiopic text by Dillmann in 1859, important achievements were accomplished in terms of the textual base of Jubilees' early translations (Greek, Ethiopic, Latin and Syriac). The interest in this particular book spread to other linguistic circles, as witnessed by Charles' critical edition and English translation (1893) as well as Martin's treatment of the book in French (1911).

From 1850 until the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, scholarship on Jubilees was marked by a great diversity of theories regarding Jubilees' authorship, dating and original language of composition. With respect to the identity of the book's author, virtually every possibility was suggested: Essene (Jellinek 1855), Samaritan

* The creation of this project began in 1994, during a graduate seminar on Jubilees, held by professor Gabriele Boccaccini at the University of Michigan, where a first list of annotations was prepared by J. Harold Ellens, Mark Kinzer, Lynne Kogel and Janet McDanieland. The work was then carried on from 2006 to 2007 with the assistance of Erika J. Gonzalez and Rachel Moy, students of the Undergraduate Research Opportunity Program (UROP) at the University of Michigan, who updated the bibliography and photocopied a great number of the works that have been summarized below. During the winter semester of 2007, another seminar on Jubilees was led by Boccaccini in preparation for the fourth Enoch Seminar, at which time participating students (Veronika Bachmann, Joshua Blanchard, Stephanie Bolz, Monika Chaudhry, Anne Kreps, Michael Ohlrogge, Isaac W. Oliver, Brent Reitter and Kendal Sparks) also provided further annotations. We wish to especially thank Károly Dániel Dobos (Budapest, Hungary) for providing an English summary of Frenkel's dissertation, written in Hungarian (1930), as well as Henryk Drawnel (Catholic University of Lublin, Poland) for his English summary of Lach's Polish article (1963). Justin Winger also graciously read this document in its entirety and provided useful suggestions. Last but not least, we thank Gabriele Boccaccini for his summary of Fusella and Sacchi's Italian commentary (1981) and for providing us with much advice along the way toward the completion of this project.

(Beer 1856), Sadducee (Leszynsky 1912), Pharisee (Rönsch 1874, Charles 1902) and Jewish-Hellenist (Büchler 1926). Singer (1898) went as far as claiming that Jubilees was an anti-Pauline writing, espoused by Jewish-Christians who opposed Paul's views on the Law. Amidst all of these differing proposals, Frey (1928) cautiously refrained from assigning Jubilees to any specific group, emphasizing the diversity of Judaism in ancient times, while Albeck (1930), in his analysis of Jubilees' legal aspects, denied that Jubilees could have been written by a Pharisee or a Sadducee, assigning it instead to a sectarian group belonging to what he coined the "Enoch circle" (*Henoch-Kreis*).

Attempts to date Jubilees did not fare much better. Zeitlin (1939) pushed Jubilees' composition back to the early days of the Second Temple before the Hellenistic period. At the other end of the spectrum, were those scholars who placed Jubilees in the first century of the Common Era (Dillmann 1850, Rönsch 1874, Singer 1898), while others dated the book somewhere in the second or first centuries B.C.E. (e.g. Littmann 1900, Bohn 1900, Bousset 1900, and Charles 1902). As for the language of composition, scholars mainly argued between Hebrew (Charles 1902), Aramaic (Torrey 1945) and Greek (Büchler 1926).

The discovery and subsequent publications of the Hebrew fragments of Jubilees, beginning in 1949, allowed scholarship to narrow down the propositions on dating and language. Accordingly, de Vaux (1949) was able to dismiss a dating in the first century C.E. and posited Hebrew as the language of composition for Jubilees. Some (Torrey 1952) would still continue for a while to argue for an original Aramaic composition, but the overwhelming majority concluded that this work was written originally in Hebrew, and scholarship turned to investigate other aspects of Jubilees.

Jaubert (1953, 1957), picking up on Barthélemy's work (1952), provided a detailed analysis of Jubilees' calendar and made some conclusions, which proved to be highly influential, albeit not without much debate. (Recently, Ravid has attempted to refute most of Jaubert's arguments. See Ravid 2003.) Besides the numerous debates regarding Jubilees' calendar, other studies began to focus on the religious ideas contained within Jubilees. Thus, Testuz (1960) provided an extensive monograph commenting on the various beliefs expressed in Jubilees. Furthermore, he was one of the scholars of the post-Qumran era who initiated a tendency for favoring an Essene (or proto-Essene) authorship for Jubilees.

Debates also surfaced regarding Jubilees' literary genre. Vermes (1961), in his study on Jewish exegesis, introduced the concept of "rewritten Bible," a term used to denote a process in which haggadic material would be inserted into the biblical narrative in order to solve problems encountered within the biblical text. Many scholars have found this term useful and adopted it in their description of Jubilees' reworking of biblical material (e.g., Endres 1987), while others have signaled the weaknesses of this term, at least when adopted to determine the genre in a strict sense (cf. Oegema 2005).

Aside from the discussion on Jubilees' literary character, textual work on Jubilees continued to make progress thanks to VanderKam's analysis of Jubilees (1977), which demonstrated the close affinity of Jubilees' Ethiopic translation to its Hebrew grandparent, thus allowing scholars to work on Jubilees' text with greater confidence. The eighties witnessed an explosion of modern translations of Jubilees

into German (Berger 1981), Italian (Fusella/Sacchi 1981), Spanish (Corriente/Piñero 1983), English (Wintermute 1985) and French (Caquot 1987). VanderKam's own definitive critical edition and English translation of Jubilees (1989) marked the culmination of these translation efforts, testifying to the increasing scholarly interest not only in Jubilees but also in many of the other texts that make up the so-called Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. More than ever, specialists began to look at Jubilees in light of other Second Temple texts, such as 1 Enoch (VanderKam 1978, Fusella/Sacchi 1981, Nickelsburg 1981) and the Temple Scroll (Schiffman 1985, Charlesworth 1985, Wacholder 1985).

The last two decades of scholarship have witnessed important events encompassing not only the study of Jubilees, but the wider field of Second Temple Jewish studies itself. Greater recognition has been given to the Enochic tradition and its influence on Jubilees and Essene origins (VanderKam 1993, Boccaccini 1998, Nickelsburg 1999, Knibb 2003, Kvanvig 2004). With the final Hebrew fragments of Jubilees available for scholarly scrutiny, an international symposium, the first of its kind dedicated to the Book of Jubilees, convened in Leipzig, Germany in 1996 (Albani/Frey/Lange 1997). This event was followed by similar encounters bringing together specialists of Second Temple Judaism: the Enoch Seminars of 2003 and 2007, the latter dedicated entirely to the subject of Jubilees.

The great number of works directly or indirectly related to the Book of Jubilees is large enough to preclude us from producing an exhaustive annotated bibliography on the topic. Additional entries are provided in the bibliography published in the volume of the Proceedings of the 2007 Enoch Seminar (Veronika Bachmann and Isaac Oliver, "The Book of Jubilees: A Bibliography, 1850-Present," in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*, eds. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009). Previous bibliographies on Jubilees should also be consulted (Delling 1975, Charlesworth 1976 and 1981, Berger 1981, Rosso Ubigli 1990, Lehnardt 1999, and especially DiTommaso 2001). The studies here selected and annotated, however, are well representative of the major trends of modern history of research on Jubilees in the last 150 years, and as such are offered to the attention of international students and scholars.

1. *The Beginnings of Modern Research on Jubilees*

DILLMANN, AUGUST (1823-1894). "Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die kleine Genesis, aus dem Äthiopischen übersetzt," *Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft* 2 (1850), pp. 230-256; 3 (1851), pp. 1-96 – The beginning of modern research on Jubilees is marked by its first German translation. Dillmann, a distinguished German philologist reintroduced to the western world the almost forgotten book thanks to the acquisition of an Ethiopic text. In his opinion, Jubilees was written originally in Hebrew or Aramaic sometime in the first century C.E., after the composition of 1 Enoch and before the fall of Jerusalem.

JELLINEK, ADOLPH (1821-1893). *Über das Buch der Jubiläen und das Noah-Buch* (Leipzig: Vollrath, 1855) – Jellinek, a specialist in Talmudic and Kabbalistic studies, pointed out the relations between Jubilees and the Jewish works *Wayissau* and *Tadshe*. At this preliminary stage of research, the question of authorship would occupy the center of scholarly interest. Jellinek argued that Jubilees was an Essene work written at a time when the Jewish calendar was not yet fixed. He concluded that the rejection of the lunar calendar reflected an anti-Pharisaic tendency. His thesis for an Essene background failed to persuade most scholars of the pre-Qumran era.

BEER, BERNHARD (1801-1861). *Das Buch der Jubiläen und sein Verhältniss zu den Midraschim. Ein Beitrag zur orientalischen Sagen- und Alterthumskunde* (Leipzig: Gerhard, 1856); FRANKEL, ZACHARIAS (1801-1875). "Das Buch der Jubiläen," *MGWJ* 5 (1856), pp. 311-316, 380-400; BEER, BERNHARD (1801-1861). *Noch ein Wort über das Buch der Jubiläen* (Leipzig: Hunger, 1857) – One year after Jellinek, two other Jewish scholars, Beer and Frankel, also provided their analysis of Jubilees. Beer compared Jubilees with rabbinic literature but concluded that Jubilees' legal material differed significantly from rabbinic halakha. Arguing that the biblical portions of Jubilees were based on the Samaritan Pentateuch and the LXX, rather than on the Masoretic text, he concluded that Jubilees was composed by a member of a Samaritan sect in Egypt. He connected the peculiarity of the book with the later Falashas and called it a "Zwittergestalt, in Samaria empfangen, mit den üppigen Früchten Judäa's genährt, am Fusse der Pyramiden Aegyptens grossgezogen und nach dem heissen Boden Afrika's versetzt" (79). In contrast to Beer, Frankel, who was the director of the Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau, saw no Samaritan tendency in Jubilees but still supported an Egyptian origin. Noticing the strong emphasis in Jubilees on sacrifices, he linked its author with a Jewish Hellenist related to the temple of Onias in Leontopolis. He suggested that Jubilees was written in Greek during the reign of Caligula, a time of trouble for Egyptian Jews. In reply to Frankel's thesis, Beer questioned the connection between Jubilees and the temple of Leontopolis, preferring his own argument for a Samaritan sectarian (Dosithean) origin.

DILLMANN, AUGUST (1823-1894). "Das Buch der Jubiläen und sein Verhältniss zu den Midraschim," *ZDMG* 11 (1857), pp. 161-163 – In his review of Beer (1856), Dillmann welcomed the treatments not only of Beer but also those of Frankel and Jellinek. Nevertheless, Dillmann remained unconvinced by their scholarly propositions. Against Frankel, he still considered Hebrew to be the original language of Jubilees and thus preferred a Palestinian compositional origin.

KRÜGER, M. J. "Die Chronologie im Buch der Jubiläen, auf ihre biblische Grundlage zurückgeführt und berichtet," *ZDMG* 12 (1858), pp. 279-299 – Krüger turned to Jubilees to determine whether the Masoretic text of Ex 12:40 quoted the right amount of years for the stay of the Israelites in Egypt. Ignoring the debates about the origin of Jubilees, which had just gathered momentum, he proposed a dating for the writing in 322 B.C.E., interpreting Jubilees as "ein ziemlich roher Versuch bei den Juden ein Sonnenjahr einzuführen, den ein in nachexilisch-jüdischer Abgeschlossenheit verharrender, in den Zeitrechnungen fremder Völker durchaus unfahrener Jude gemacht hat" (280). His treatment had no serious impact and his conjectures emerged as untenable after the publication of the Latin fragments of Jubilees (Kuenen 1894, 113).

DILLMANN, AUGUST (1823-1894). *Mashafa Kufale sive Liber Jubilaeorum, qui idem a Graecis Ἡ Λεπτή Γένεσις inscribitur, aethiopice ad duorum librorum manuscriptorum fidem primum editit* (Kiel: van Maack; London: Williams & Norgate, 1859) – Dillmann continued his philological work, providing a critical edition of Jubilees based on two Ethiopic manuscripts with an introduction in Latin.

CERIANI, ANTONIO MARIA (1828-1907). "Parva Genesis," in *Monumenta sacra et prophana*, vol. 1.1 (Milan: Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, 1861), pp. 9-54, 63-64; —. "Nomina uxorum patriarcharum priorum iuxta librum Hebraeum Jobelia nuncupatum," in *Monumenta sacra et prophana*, vol. 2.1 (Milan: Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, 1863), pp. ix-x – Ceriani, the curator of the Ambrosian Library of Milan, discovered an old Latin version containing one fourth of Jubilees as well as Syriac fragments, which were published respectively in 1861 and 1863.

LANGEN, JOSEPH (1837-1901). *Das Judenthum in Palästina zur Zeit Christi. Ein Beitrag zur Offenbarungs- und Religions-Geschichte als Einleitung in die Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1866), pp. 84-102 – Langen, presenting Jubilees among other non-canonical writings, mostly followed Dillmann's assumptions concerning date, original language and place of origin of Jubilees. Because of his anti-Judaic mindset, Langen saw Judaism as valuable only for the study of the prehistory of Christianity. In his view, Jubilees did not represent the opinion of a specific group, but attested to a general effort to keep Judaism alive in its decades of decline.

RUBIN, SALOMON (1823-1910). *Sefer ha-Yovlim: ha-mekhuneh Midrash Bereshit Zutrata* (Vien: Holtsvarte, 1870) [Hebrew] – At the invitation of Jellinek, Rubin retranslated Jubilees back into Hebrew basing himself on Dillmann's German translation.

RÖNSCH, HERMANN (1821-1888). *Das Buch der Jubiläen oder Die kleine Genesis* (Leipzig: Fues, 1874; repr. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1970) – Rönsch edited and commented on Ceriani's Latin manuscript. Rönsch believed that Jubilees was written in order to unite all Jewish parties against the rise of Christianity c. 50-60 C.E. He selected the Pharisees as its most likely authors. This edition presented Ceriani's Latin text parallel to a Latin translation by Dillmann based on two Ethiopic manuscripts.

DILLMANN, AUGUST (1823-1894). "Beiträge aus dem Buch der Jubiläen zur Kritik des Pentateuch-Textes," *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich-Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 15 (1883), pp. 323-340 – In this textual critical study, Dillmann focused on questions raised by Beer and Frankel (1856) regarding the biblical text behind Jubilees. He viewed Jubilees as an important source for textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible since its Hebrew text differed from the Masoretic witness. In addition, he saw no conclusive evidence for assuming any usage of the LXX or the Samaritan Pentateuch by the author of Jubilees.

SCHODDE, GEORGE H. (1854-1917). "The Book of Jubilees Translated from the Ethiopic," in *Bibliotheca sacra* 42 (1885), pp. 629-645; 43 (1886), pp. 56-72, 356-371, 455-486; 44 (1887) 426-459, 602-611, 727-745 [= *The Book of Jubilees* (Oberlin, OH: Goodrich, 1988; repr. Columbus, OH: Lazarus Ministry, 1999)] – Schodde provided the first translation of Jubilees to the English speaking world. But one would have to wait for Charles' contribution before any major Anglo-Saxon impact in the field would be made.

EPSTEIN, ABRAHAM (1841-1918). *Beiträge zur jüdischen Althertumskunde* (Wien: Lippe, 1887) [Hebrew]; —, "Le livre des Jubilés, Philon et le Midrash Tadshe," *REJ* 21 (1890), pp. 80-97; 22 (1891), pp. 1-25 – Epstein showed how the Jewish medieval work *Midrash Tadshe* borrowed passages from Jubilees. Basing himself on Jub 1:27 and *Midrash Tadshe*, he concluded that a longer version of Jubilees existed in Hebrew that extended up to the building of the Temple in Jerusalem. In *Midrash Tadshe*, passages derived from Jubilees are attributed to a certain Pinhas b. Yair who also appears in early rabbinic literature. Epstein identified Pinhas b. Yair as an Essene who may have added further material to Jubilees. He agreed with Jellinek (1855) that Jubilees belonged to the Essene sect because of its fascination with the number seven and its dating of Shavuot on the first day of the week, fifty days after the first Sabbath following Passover. In a second article the following year, but this time writing in French, Epstein highlighted the connections between Jubilees and the medieval Jewish work *Midrash Tadshe*. According to Epstein, two calendars were used in Jubilees: a civil one containing twelve months (eight months of thirty days and four months of thirty one days) and a religious one composed of thirteen months of twenty eight days.

BACON, BENJAMIN WISNER (1860-1932). "The Calendar of Enoch and Jubilees," *Hebraica* 8 (1892), pp. 124-131 – Bacon became one of the first scholars to investigate calendrical issues in Jubilees and 1 Enoch. For Bacon, both Jubilees and 1 Enoch advocated a purely solar calendar of 364 days composed of an invariable month of 30 days with four intercalary days. Jubilees obtained its calendar from the astronomical data found in 1 Enoch 72-82, while 1 Enoch derived ultimate authority for its calendar from Genesis. Bacon also believed that the priestly legislator (P) of the Mosaic Torah adopted this 364-day calendar for theological purposes. For Bacon, the opposition in Jubilees to a Gentile calendar reflected a final failed attempt by conservative Pharisees to maintain the 364-day calendar.

CHARLES, ROBERT HENRY (1855-1931). "The Book of Jubilees Translated from a Text Based on Two Hitherto Uncollated Ethiopic MSS," *JQR* 5 (1893), pp. 703-708; 6 (1894), pp. 184-217, 710-745; 7 (1895), pp. 297-328; —, *The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1895) – Charles' English translation and critical edition of the Ethiopic text (based on four manuscripts) opened a new phase in research on Jubilees. His later critical translations, based on a more comprehensive list of Ethiopic manuscripts, as well as Latin, Greek and Syriac fragments, would be published in various editions (1902, 1913 and 1917) and become rapidly accepted by scholars everywhere. His work would also stimulate further interest and research on the topic in the English speaking world.

KOHLER, KAUFMANN (1843-1926). "The Pre-Talmudic Haggada I," *JQR* 5 (1893), pp. 399-419 – Kohler, originally from Bavaria and later an important figure in Reform Judaism of the United States, treated Jubilees as haggadah, which he thought was far older than Midrashic literature. In his view, both the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs and Jubilees were witnesses to

this ancient haggadah. Kohler argued that both writings must have been written in the time of John Hyrcanus, not by Sadducees, but by the Essenes and Hassidim respectively, who thus “shaped the destiny of the Jewish people and moulded the original *Haggada* and *Halacha*, before the schools of Hillel formulated the hermeneutic rules” (403). Connecting Jubilees with the time of John Hyrcanus, Kohler was one who anticipated the shift in dating Jubilees in the first century C.E. to the second century B.C.E., which gained wider consensus at the turn of the century.

SINGER, WILHELM. *Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die Leptogenesis 1: Tendenz und Ursprung zugleich ein Beitrag zur Religionsgeschichte* (Stuhlweissenburg: Singer, 1898) – Rönisch’s unique view on Jubilees as an anti-Christian writing (1874) was followed by Singer, who singularly interpreted Jubilees as a Jewish-Christian polemic written against Paul (particularly his views on the Law) sometime between 58-60 C.E.

LITTMANN, ENNO (1875-1958). “Das Buch der Jubiläen,” in *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, ed. Emil Kautzsch, vol. 2 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1900; repr. 1975), pp. 31-119 – Littmann offered an updated German translation of Jubilees based on a greater number of Ethiopic manuscripts than did Dillmann’s work. In his introduction, Littmann, in contrast to most scholars of his day, hinted toward an older dating for Jubilees, leaning toward sometime during the Maccabean period in the second century B.C.E.

BOHN, F. “Die Bedeutung des Buches der Jubiläen. Zum 50jährigen Jubiläum der ersten, deutschen Übersetzung,” *TSK* 73 (1900), pp. 167-184 – Bohn undergirded Littmann’s early dating of Jubilees in the second century B.C.E., placing it shortly after the Maccabean revolt. After noticing the neglect of a careful examination of Jubilees’ deeper theological questions, Bohn made several observations on Jubilees’ usage of traditional material as well as its conception of revelation and eschatology. Bohn stressed the importance of Jubilees for understanding Judaism before the rise of the Mishnah.

BOUSSET, WILHELM (1865-1920). “Neueste Forschungen auf dem Gebiet der religiösen Litteratur des Spätjudentums II: Zur Litteratur der Makkabäerzeit (Fortsetzung),” *Theologische Rundschau* 3 (1900), pp. 369-381 – Bousset offered an overview of the scholarly research on ancient Jewish writings of what was still commonly called “Spätjudentum” among German scholars of that time. Concerning Jubilees, he was aware not only of the work of Littmann and Bohn, but also of a few scholars before them, who proposed a dating in the Maccabean period (Kohler 1893). He described and supported this scholarly proposal and suggested that Jubilees was written during what he called the “golden age of Alexandra.”

CHARLES, ROBERT HENRY (1855-1931). *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis, Translated from the Editor’s Ethiopic Text, and Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Indices* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1902) – In this new English translation (based on Ethiopic, Greek, Latin and Syriac texts), Charles proposed that Jubilees was written in Hebrew during the “palmiest days of the Maccabean dominion” (xiv), sometime between 135 and 105 B.C.E. (during the reign of John Hyrcanus) by a Pharisee who was anticipating a Messiah from Judah (not Levi, i.e., the Maccabean family). Charles characterized Jubilees as the “most advanced pre-Christian representative of the Midrashic tendency,” written “to defend Judaism against the attacks of the hellenistic spirit” (xiii). Such notions on the dating and character of Jubilees would greatly influence the scholarly world for years to come.

KOHLER, KAUFMANN (1843-1926). “Jubilees, Book of,” in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, ed. Isidore Singer, vol. 7 (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1904), pp. 301-304 – In his introduction to Jubilees, Kohler maintained that Jubilees was written between 135 and 105 B.C.E. as a Midrashic commentary containing the most rigid views of the Pharisaic school of John Hyrcanus and that it was originally composed in Hebrew.

RAHMANI, IGNATIUS EPHRAEM. *Chronicon civile et ecclesiasticum anonymi auctoris* (Monte Libano: Typis Patriarchalibus Syrorum, 1904) – By editing an anonymous Syriac chronicle, Rahmani expanded the number of Syriac texts containing passages related to Jubilees.

SCHÜRER, EMIL (1844-1910). *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, vol. 3 (4th ed.; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909), pp. 371-384 – Schürer had already included a short treatment of Jubilees in three former editions of his influential work about the history of the Jewish People. In this fourth edition, he revised some of his views, dating Jubilees no longer in the first century BCE as he had done previously, but in the time between John Hyrcanus and Herod. Although he noticed some unique characteristics, he still attributed the work to a Pharisaic author.

In a time when the term “rewritten Bible” was not yet established, Schürer referred to Jubilees as “eine freie Reproduktion der biblischen Urgeschichte von Erschaffung der Welt bis zur Einsetzung des Passa (Exod. 12) nach der Auffassung und im Geiste des späteren Judentums[sic]” (372, Schürer’s emphasis) and subsumed it under what he called “die heilige Legende.”

MARTIN, FRANÇOIS (1867-1928). “Le Livre des Jubilés. But et procédés de l’auteur. Ses doctrines,” *RB* 8 (1911), pp. 321-344, 502-533 – Martin provided for the first time in the French language a translation of certain portions of Jubilees as well as a scholarly treatment on the whole book. Like Charles, he supposed Jubilees to have been written by a Pharisaic priest toward the end of the second century B.C.E. as an apology for the Law and the Levitic priesthood. He saw Jubilees as a precursor to rabbinic haggadah since it combined halakhah and homiletic-historical elements into one corpus.

LESZYNSKY, RUDOLF (b.1884). *Die Sadduzäer* (Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1912), pp. 179-236 – Leszynsky presented yet another authorial candidate for Jubilees, arguing against a Pharisaic composition and siding instead with a Sadducean authorship. He suggested that Jubilees was written at the time of the first Maccabees when Pharisees and Sadducees were not yet divided in a polemical sense. Like Jellinek (1855), he argued that Jubilees’ calendar features pointed to a non-Pharisaic background. Along with Charles, he emphasized the anti-Hellenistic character of Jubilees.

CHARLES, ROBERT HENRY (1855-1931). “The Book of Jubilees,” in *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), pp. 1-82 – Charles’ translation and comments on Jubilees (similar to those already made in 1902) appeared again, this time in his extensive work on apocryphal and pseudepigraphic writings in general.

FOX, GRESHAM GEORGE (1884-1960). “Ethical Elements in the First Book of Enoch, the Book of Jubilees, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs” (Diss.; University of Chicago, 1914) – Fox’s dissertation on the ethical nature of 1 Enoch, Jubilees and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs possessed very little analytical treatment, simply reiterating the moral statements contained in all three writings (in particular the Testaments), which he believed were written to encourage people to live according to ethical motivation.

MONTGOMERY, JAMES ALAN (1866-1949). “An Assyrian Illustration to the Book of Jubilees,” *JBL* 33 (1914), pp. 157 – In this brief article, Montgomery revealed how an Assyrian seal from the 14th century B.C.E., depicting a special type of plow, illustrated the type of implement mentioned in Jub 11, which according to this passage was invented by Abraham.

BOX, GEORGE HERBERT (1869-1933). “Introduction to the Book of Jubilees,” in *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis*, Robert H. Charles (London: SPCK; New York: Macmillan, 1917), pp. vii-xxxiii – Contrary to Charles, Box argued that the author of Jubilees was not a Pharisee, since the author of Jubilees advocated a solar calendar and did not mention the resurrection. Like Leszynsky (1912), he judged the author of Jubilees to be a pious priest, probably a Sadducee. Box also criticized the literary qualification of Jubilees as Midrashic since the author of Jubilees viewed his book as a revelation and not a mere exposition.

TISSERANT, EUGENE (1884-1972). “Fragments syriaques du Livre des Jubilés,” *RB* 30 (1921), pp. 55-86, 206-232. Repr. in *Recueil Cardinal Eugène Tisserant. “Ab Oriente et Occidente”* 1 (Louvain: Centre international de dialectologie générale, 1955), pp. 25-87 – Through his analysis of Syriac fragments, Tisserant proposed that a Syriac version of Jubilees was translated directly from Hebrew without a Greek intermediary. In his view, Jubilees belonged to the earliest stage of Syriac literature contemporaneous to that of the Peshitta.

FINKELSTEIN, LOUIS (1895-1991). “The Book of Jubilees and the Rabbinic Halaka,” *HTR* 16 (1923), pp. 39-61. Repr. in *Pharisaism in the Making: Selected Essays* (New York: Ktav, 1972), pp. 199-221 – The discussion about the ideological background of Jubilees continued with Finkelstein’s treatise comparing legal portions of Jubilees with rabbinic halakhah. He considered Jubilees to be neither Pharisaic nor Sadducean but a sectarian work seeking to make a compromise between Sadducees and Pharisees.

BORCHARDT, PAUL (1886-1957). “Das Erdbild der Juden nach dem Buche der Jubiläen – ein Handelsstrassenproblem,” in *PMPGA* 71 (1925), pp. 244-250 – Borchardt analyzed Jub 8-10 from a geographical point of view and modified some of the existing assumptions on the subject. He argued that the description of the regions appointed to Shem, Ham and Japheth mirrored the knowledge the author of Jubilees had about the most important trading routes of his time.

BÜCHLER, ADOLPH (1867-1939). "Studies in the Book of Jubilees," *REJ* 82 (1926), pp. 253-274 – In contrast to many scholars of his time, Büchler joined Frankel (1856) in assuming that Jubilees was originally composed in Greek. According to Büchler, Jubilees relied on a Greek biblical text which most often agrees with the LXX. He ascribed the work to a Jewish Hellenist, pointing to its many peculiar and long stories. In his view, such elaborations would have irritated an educated Hebrew reader and could only have been tolerated in a Hellenistic Jewish setting.

FREY, J.-B. "Apocryphes de l'Ancien Testament. 2. Le Livre des Jubilés," in *Dictionnaire de la Bible: Supplément*, ed. Louis Pirot, vol. 1 (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1928), pp. 371-380 – In a detailed introductory analysis of Jubilees, Frey dated the document to sometime in the middle of the second century BCE. During a period of diverging opinions on the authorship of Jubilees, Frey refrained with remarkable caution from assigning the text to a specifically known Jewish group: "A vouloir classer tout écrivain dans un parti déterminé, on court le risque de ne pas tenir compte de la complexité des faits réels et des nuances multiples que peut revêtir, dans un pays, la pensée politique et religieuse" (377).

RIESSLER, PAUL (1865-1935). "Jubiläenbuch oder Kleine Genesis," *Altjüdisches Schrifttum außerhalb der Bibel* (Augsburg: Filser, 1928; repr. 1966; 1988), pp. 539-666, 1304-1311 – A German translation of Jubilees was included in Riessler's collection of Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. According to Riessler, Jubilees was most likely written in the time of John Hyrcanus and reflected Essene ideas.

ALBECK, CHANOCH (1890-1972). *Das Buch der Jubiläen und die Halacha* (Berlin: Scholem, 1930) – Albeck, like many Jewish scholars of the pre-Qumran period, compared Jubilees with rabbinic halakhah. Contrary to many of his predecessors, he argued that Jubilees disagreed in every way with Pharisaic law and that its theology contradicted Sadducean thought. Excluding both Pharisaic and Sadducean authorship, he claimed a sectarian background for Jubilees. Due to the important role of Enoch in Jubilees as a revealer of laws and special knowledge, Albeck associated the author with what he called the "Enoch circle" (*Henoch-Kreis*).

BÜCHLER, ADOLPHE (1867-1939). "Traces des idées et des coutumes hellénistiques dans le Livre des Jubilés," *REJ* 89 (1930), pp. 321-348 – Büchler reaffirmed his earlier claims (1926), enumerating Hellenistic influences and beliefs in Jubilees. According to Büchler, the author of Jubilees lived either in Egypt or a Hellenistic city of Palestine.

FRENKEL, ÉLIÁS (Ernö). *A Jubileumok könyve, Adalékok az ókori zsidóság egyik kronológiai művéhez* (Bölcsészdoktori értekezés; Budapest: Sárkány nyomda, 1930) [*The Book of Jubilees, Additional materials to an ancient Jewish chronological writing* (PhD Dissertation; Budapest: Sárkány, 1930)] [Hungarian] – Frenkel's thesis dealt with historical and literary-critical problems of the Book of Jubilees. Regarding the original language (Hebrew), as well as the dating of the composition (109-105 B.C.E.), Frenkel endorsed the positions of Charles (1895). As for the intellectual background of the author, he argued for a composite ideology. In the second part of his work, Frenkel made an attempt to relate Jubilees to later Jewish tradition and also examined the chronological framework presented by Jubilees. He maintained that the dates of the chronological framework were an arbitrary creation of the author. He finally compared the halakhic regulations concerning the Sabbath and the Festivals with later (mainly Mishnaic) material. [Courtesy of Károly Dániel Dobos, Budapest, Hungary]

KLEIN, S. "Palästinisches im Jubiläenbuch," *ZDPV* 57 (1934), pp. 7-27 – Klein examined location names in Jubilees and compared them with the names used in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and *Midrash Wayissau*. In his view, this comparison confirmed that Jubilees was written during the reign of John Hyrcanus.

UHDEN, RICHARD (1900-1939). "Die Erdkreisgliederung der Hebräer nach dem Buche der Jubiläen," *ZS* 9 (1934), pp. 210-233 – In this analysis of geographical references in Jubilees, Uhden studied the document within a larger discussion about the origin of the notion of a tripartite structure of the inhabited world.

ZEITLIN, SOLOMON (1886-1976). "The Book of Jubilees: Its Character and its Significance," *JQR* 30 (1939-40), pp. 1-32. Repr. in *Studies in the Early History of Judaism 2* (New York: Ktav, 1974), pp. 116-146 – Zeitlin brought a fresh amount of unique ideas into the discussion about Jubilees. He endeavored to show that Jubilees was written during the pre-Hellenistic period and even predated 1 Enoch because of its primitive angelology. His early dating prompted him to compare the legal portions of Jubilees with Pentateuchal laws instead of with

rabbinic halakhah. He concluded that Jubilees was written in opposition to the Pentateuch and in reaction to the post-exilic change to a solar-lunar calendar, promoting instead a primitive solar calendar of 364 days. Although many of his ideas would be reiterated in several of his publications up until 1973, few scholars were persuaded by his arguments.

ALBRIGHT, WILLIAM FOXWELL (1891-1971). *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1940), pp. 266-269 – Albright was one of the few scholars whose views were shaped by Zeitlin's work. He qualified Jubilees as the oldest extra-biblical Jewish work, dating it to the early third century B.C.E. Likewise, Albright compared the angelology of Jubilees with that of Job, viewing the historical-geographical and theological ideas of Jubilees as preceding the advancement of Hellenism. On the question of life after death, Albright saw Jubilees as representing an intermediate position, neither espousing resurrection nor supporting the traditional view of a shadowy afterlife.

FINKELSTEIN, LOUIS (1895-1991). "The Date of the Book of Jubilees," *HTR* 36 (1943), pp. 19-24 – Finkelstein dealt with the dating of Jubilees, placing the work right before the Maccabean wars, in the time between the appointment of Jason as high priest (175 B.C.E.) and the desecration of the Temple (167 B.C.E.). In his view, the author of Jubilees did not appear to have witnessed the profanation of the Temple by Antiochus IV. He interpreted Jub 46 as portraying events from the end of the third century and first decades of the second century B.C.E.

ROWLEY, HAROLD HENRY (1890-1969). *The Relevance of the Apocalyptic* (London: Lutterworth, 1944), pp. 81-85. 2nd ed. (New York: Harper, 1946), pp. 84-90; 3rd ed. (New York: Association Press, 1964), pp. 99-105; —. "Criteria for the Dating of Jubilees," *JQR* 36 (1945-46), pp. 183-187; **ZEITLIN, SOLOMON (1886-1976).** "The Book of Jubilees," *JQR* 35 (1944-45), pp. 12-16; —. "Criteria for the Dating of Jubilees," *JQR* 36 (1945-46), pp. 187-189 – Rowley's objection to Zeitlin's pre-Hellenistic dating, published in his book *The Relevance of the Apocalyptic*, prompted a response in a book review written by Zeitlin. In Zeitlin's view, evidence for a pre-Hellenistic dating of Jubilees was still valid, given its numerical designation of months and connection of Shavuot with the covenants of Abraham and Noah. Zeitlin further argued that the primitive 364-day calendar could not have been used in the Hellenistic period when it was well known that the solar year contained 365¼ days. Rowley thereupon insisted on a later dating, believing that Jubilees promised civil-religious authority to the seed of Levi, which would support a post-Maccabean dating when both functions were in the hands of the Hasmoneans. Furthermore, Rowley indicated that other apocryphal writings designated months by name and number. In his final reply, Zeitlin still disagreed with Rowley, stating that Jubilees was not granting civil-religious powers to the Maccabean priesthood, but was supporting a theocracy. Moreover, Jubilees designated its months *only* with numbers, while all other apocryphal writings used both names and numbers.

TORREY, CHARLES CUTLER (1863-1956). "Jubilees," in *The Apocryphal Literature: A Brief Introduction* (New Haven: Yale University, 1945), pp. 126-129; **ZEITLIN, SOLOMON (1886-1976).** "The Apocrypha," *JQR* 37 (1947), pp. 219-248 – Torrey presented Jubilees as a work written originally in Aramaic, dated to the second half of the last century B.C.E., and chronologically situated between 1 Enoch and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. In his eyes, this late dating was justified by Jubilees' usage of the proper nouns Beliar and Mastema. Zeitlin responded by reiterating his position on the dating of Jubilees (1939, 1944).

HÖLSCHER, GUSTAV (1877-1955). "Die Karte des Jubiläenbuches," in *Drei Erdkarten. Ein Beitrag zur Erdkenntnis des hebräischen Altertums* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1949), pp. 57-73 – Once again, a German scholar focused on the study of geography especially in Jub 8-9. In Hölscher's view, Jubilees was influenced by Ionian geography. He argued that the author of Jub 8-9 expanded the geography of Gen 10 according to the geographical knowledge of his time.

PFEIFFER, ROBERT HENRY (1892-1958). "Jubilees," in *History of the New Testament Times, with an Introduction to the Apocrypha* (New York: Harper, 1949), pp. 68-70, 538 – In this short introduction, Pfeiffer declared that the author of Jubilees proposed a reform solar calendar of 364 days in place of the lunar calendar of 354 days. Pfeiffer qualified Jubilees as an early record of traditional Oral Law (halakhah) and haggadah consisting mainly of biblical legends and apocalyptic hopes. He supported the view that Jubilees was composed in Aramaic by a Pharisaic author.

2. The Discovery of the Hebrew Fragments at Qumran

VAUX, ROLAND DE (1903-1971). “La grotte des manuscrits hébreux,” *RB* 56 (1949), pp. 602-605 – The publication by de Vaux of the first Hebrew fragment of Jubilees from Qumran marks the beginning of a new phase in the study of Jubilees. Certain issues surrounding the dating and language of Jubilees could now be dismissed in light of the spectacular discoveries. De Vaux concluded that Jubilees was composed originally in Hebrew, before the time of Pompey.

BARTHÉLEMY, DOMINIQUE (1921-2002). “Notes en marge de publications récentes sur les manuscrits de Qumran,” *RB* 59 (1952), pp. 199-203 – Barthélemy made some important preliminary observations on the calendar of Jubilees. Like Bacon (1892), he described this calendar as containing 364 days with months of 30 days. In addition, he stated that Passover and the New Year always started on a Wednesday. Barthélemy believed that during the Hellenistic period the lunar calendar became popular, but that the Qumran sect kept using the calendar of Jubilees.

TORREY, CHARLES CUTLER (1863-1956). “A Hebrew Fragment of Jubilees,” *JBL* 71 (1952), pp. 39-41 – Upon the release of the first Hebrew fragment of Jubilees, Torrey still favored Aramaic as the original language of composition, maintaining that the Hebrew text could have been a translation of an Aramaic original.

BONSIRVEN, JOSEPH (1880-1958). “Le livre des Jubilés ou Petite Genèse,” in *La Bible Apocryphe en marge de l’Ancien Testament* (Paris: Fayard, 1953), pp. 78-115 – Bonsirven provided a French translation of selected passages from Jubilees, as well as a brief introduction. Bonsirven refrained from specifying the author’s background, seeing traits in Jubilees common to both the Pharisees and Essenes. He dated the book to the second century B.C.E., since he thought that the members of the new covenant of Damascus made reference to it.

JAUBERT, ANNIE (1912-1980). “Le calendrier des Jubilés et de la secte de Qumran. Ses origines bibliques,” *VT* 3 (1953), pp. 250-264 – In an influential article, Jaubert elaborated on Barthélemy’s calendrical comments (1952). For Jaubert, some of the main features of the Jubilean calendar were its length of 364 days with months of 30 days and its intercalation of a supplementary day at the end of each trimester. Each feast fell on a specific day of the week (Sunday, Wednesday and Friday) and the year began on Wednesday. Jaubert dated this calendar to the exilic period and thought that it was abandoned by the priesthood during the Maccabean revolt.

MILIK, JÓZEF TADEUSZ (1922-2006). “Livre des Jubilés,” in *Discoveries in the Judean Desert*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), pp. 82-84 – Milik provided the Hebrew text of Jubilees with a French translation and comments on fragments 1QJub^a and 1QJub^b.

MORGENSTERN, JULIAN (1881-1976). “The Calendar of the Jubilees, its Origin and its Character,” *VT* 5 (1955), pp. 34-76 – Morgenstern examined the history and character of the calendar of Jubilees. According to Morgenstern, when the Israelites settled in Canaan, they adopted an agricultural calendar that employed a unit of fifty days (a pentecontad calendar) to reckon time. The calendar of Jubilees was a modified version of the ancient pentecontad calendar, used among certain sectarians, many of whom were farmers. However, Morgenstern deemed the calendar of Jubilees to be highly unrealistic and impracticable, confined primarily to sectarian religious practice. Morgenstern saw traces of this calendar as surviving among the Therapeutae, Galileans, Nestorians and other groups.

VOGT, ERNEST (1903-1984). “Antiquum calendarium sacerdotale,” *Biblica* 36 (1955), pp. 403-408 [Latin] – Vogt became yet another scholar to devote himself to the study of calendars, one of the primary topics of interest after the discovery of Qumran. Providing a comparison of calendar issues in Jubilees, 1 Enoch, Qumran, the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament, Vogt argued for the existence of an ancient priestly calendar, witnessed and defended by Jubilees.

JAUBERT, ANNIE (1912-1980). “Le calendrier des Jubilés et les jours liturgiques de la semaine,” *VT* 7 (1957), pp. 35-61 ; —. *La date de la Cène. Calendrier biblique et liturgie chrétienne* (Paris, Gabalda, 1957) [trans. = *The Date of the Last Supper* (Staten Island, NY: Alba House, 1965)] – Jaubert proceeded with her work on the calendar of Jubilees. She concluded that Wednesdays, Fridays and Sundays were liturgical weekdays stemming from an ancient sacerdotal practice. She claimed that Christianity adopted this tradition, granting special importance to these days in commemoration of the passion and resurrection of Jesus. In her book *La date de la Cène*, she provided a solution for reconciling the differences between the Synoptics and the Gospel of John regarding the date of the Last Supper. According to her thesis, the Synoptics dated Passover

using the ancient priestly solar calendar (reflected in Jubilees), while John referred to the official lunar-solar calendar. Jaubert concluded that the Last Supper would have taken place at the beginning of the night between Tuesday and Wednesday in agreement with the ancient priestly calendar, while Jesus would have been crucified on Friday around the eve of the official Pasch in the Temple in accordance with the official lunar-solar calendar.

LEACH, EDMUND R. (1910-1989). “A Possible Method of Intercalation for the Calendar of the Book of Jubilees,” *VT* 7 (1957), pp. 392-397 – Leach investigated the possible calibration of the calendar in Jubilees with the seasonal cycle. According to Leach, the Sabbath year (Lev 25) lasted only seven days and functioned as an intercalary period. Unlike Morgenstern (1955), Leach believed that the calendar of Jubilees could have been a practical one, capable of application beyond the ritual realm.

NOACK, BENT (1915-2004). “Qumran and the Book of Jubilees,” *SEA* 22-23 (1957-58), pp. 191-207 – Noack compared Jubilees with other Qumran texts. He noted parallels between the two but also underlined differences. He strongly questioned the *appartenance* of Jubilees to Qumran sectarian compositions.

ZEITLIN, SOLOMON (1886-1976). “The Book of Jubilees and the Pentateuch,” *JQR* 48 (1957-58), pp. 218-235 – Reiterating some of his main points made over a decade earlier (1939, 1943-47), Zeitlin rejected the provenance of Jubilees from a Sadducean or a Pharisaic circle, since he maintained that the work was composed in the pre-Hellenistic period in opposition to the Pentateuch.

BAUMGARTEN, JOSEPH M. “The Beginning of the Day in the Calendar of Jubilees,” *JBL* 77 (1958), pp. 355-360 – Scholarly focus on the calendar of Jubilees continued to grow. In this article, Baumgarten asserted that the calendar of Jubilees, as in Qumran, counted the beginning of the day in the evening. He considered this reckoning as common practice during the Second Temple period.

NOACK, BENT (1915-2004). “Jubilæerbogen,” in *De Gammeltestamentlige Pseudepigrapher*, ed. Erling Hammershaimb, vol. 3 (Copenhagen: Gad, 1958), pp. 175-301 – At the same time, the general interest in Jubilees also increased, as witnessed by Noack’s Danish translation.

GOUDOEVER, JAN VAN (1925-1994). “The Book of Jubilees,” in *Biblical Calendars* (Leiden: Brill, 1959; 2nd ed. 1961), pp. 62-70 – Goudoever analyzed the calendar of Jubilees and qualified it as a “week-calendar” since it consisted of 364 days (with exactly 52 weeks) in which every year the days of the month fell on the same weekday. For Goudoever, this calendar was created in order to safeguard the Sabbath from overlapping with other holy days. He underlined other peculiarities of Jubilees, such as its author’s high esteem of the Feast of Weeks and the calendarization of major patriarchal events from Genesis into festivals.

ZEITLIN, SOLOMON (1886-1976). “The Beginning of the Day in the Calendar of Jubilees,” *JBL* 78 (1959), pp. 153-156 – Zeitlin also joined the calendar debate, questioning Baumgarten’s ideas (1958). According to Zeitlin, the solar calendar of Jubilees began its days at dawn rather than in the evening. Zeitlin refuted Baumgarten’s reliance on the Qumran table of *Mishmarot* by making the odd comment that the Qumran document was from the Middle Ages. At the end of the article, a short reply by Baumgarten was attached, where he continued to hold on to his original thesis.

TESTUZ, MICHEL. *Les idées religieuses du livre des Jubilés* (Genève: Droz, 1960) – Testuz made an extensive study on the religious ideas contained in Jubilees, including its angelology, eschatology, determinism and Jewish exclusiveness. He concluded that Jubilees was written by Essenes who differed from the classical Essenes described by Josephus in that they still engaged in married life and the political affairs of wider Israel. For Testuz, the Essene group behind Jubilees represented an earlier stage of Essene history, when they had not yet split from the Pharisees and Sadducees. He dated Jubilees to the last years of John Hyrcanus, c. 110 B.C.E. He emphasized the strong unity of the work, but thought that there were three interpolations in it (1:7-25, 28; 23:11-32 and 24:28b-30).

KUTSCH, ERNST. “Der Kalender des Jubiläenbuches und das Alte und das Neue Testament,” *VT* 11 (1961), pp. 39-47 – Although Jaubert’s work (1957) on ancient Jewish calendars was very influential, her assumptions did not remain undisputed. Kutsch argued against her thesis that the calendar of Jubilees represented a traditional calendar already documented in Old Testament texts. In his view, P and Chronicles witnessed to a calendar reckoning with lunar

months, which, as a consequence, also argued against Jaubert's particular explanation for the divergent datings of the Last Supper and crucifixion in the New Testament.

VERMES, GEZA. *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism; Haggadic Studies* (SPB 4; Leiden: Brill, 1961; repr. 1973, 1983) – In this collection of essays on Jewish interpretation, Vermes studied the development of exegetical traditions and introduced the term “rewritten Bible” in order to refer to a process used to “anticipate questions, and to solve problems in advance,” in which “the midrashist inserts haggadic development into the biblical narrative” (95). He claimed that Jubilees and other Jewish writings illustrated how the Bible was rewritten in different ways. Many scholars employed this literary coinage in their discussions on Jubilees' genre and relationship to the Mosaic Torah.

WIENBERG, ERNEST (1910-2000). “The Jubilee of Jubilees,” *RQ* 3 (1961), pp. 3-40 – A Rabbi, scholar and Genizah researcher, Wiesenberg approached Jubilees in hope of clarifying the ideology of the Qumran covenants. He analyzed the chronological system within Jubilees and compared it with *Assumptio Mosis* and rabbinic literature. In his opinion, the calendar issues of Jubilees were subsidiary to its chronological system, which was written to point to the significance of the “Jubilee of Jubilees,” a monumental moment marked by Israel's entry into Canaan. A rather unique characteristic of Wiesenberg's work was his supposition that Jubilees contained later strata written by a Zealot author.

BAILLET, MAURICE (1923-1998). “Livre des Jubilés,” in *Discoveries in the Judean Desert*, vol. 3 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), pp. 77-79 – This edition included the Hebrew text of fragments 2QJub^a, 2QJub^b and 3QJub.

CAZELLES, HENRI. “Sur les origines du calendrier des Jubilés,” *Biblica* 43 (1962), pp. 202-212 – Cazelles focused his study on the origins of the calendar of Jubilees. He thought the calendar was already employed during the Babylonian exile, providing the Jewish people with a religious liturgical structure that was independent from the Babylonian cult. Cazelles dismissed the calendar of Jubilees as being solar, since it was essentially centered on the Sabbath. He further claimed that the calendar was largely abandoned because of its inapplicable and unscientific nature, save in certain sectarian circles like Qumran.

DERRETT, J. DUNCAN M. “A Problem in the Book of Jubilees and an Indian Doctrine,” *ZRGG* 14 (1962), pp. 247-262 – Derrett took a closer look at the injunction in Jub 28:6-7 against giving into marriage a younger daughter before the elder one. Finding no parallel of such a law in other ancient Jewish sources, Derrett compared Jubilees with ancient Indian sources. He then speculated on possible contacts between the Indian and Mediterranean worlds after the conquests of Alexander, which may have influenced Jewish practices.

KUTSCH, ERNST. “Die Solstitien im Kalender des Jubiläenbuches und im äthiopischen Henoah 72,” *VT* 12 (1962), pp. 205-207 – Responding to an article by E. Ettisch, mainly on the Enochic calendar, Kutsch clarified his ideas about the matching of the beginning of quarters and solstices in the calendar of 1 Enoch and Jubilees.

NOACK, BENT (1915-2004). “The Day of Pentecost in Jubilees, Qumran, and Acts,” *ASTI* 1 (1962), pp. 73-95 – Noack brought Jubilees and Qumran writings into his discussion on the significance of Pentecost in the book of Acts of the Apostles. Noack argued that the Feast of Weeks was probably the most important festival for Jubilees, commemorating the renewal of the covenant. He intimated that the early Rabbis silently protested against the over-emphasis of Shavuot in Jubilees. He thought that a sudden growth of the Christian community did actually occur on the day of Pentecost, since the author of Acts did not try to thematically connect Pentecost with the renewal of the covenant or with the promulgation of the Law.

TEDESCHÉ, SIDNEY (1890-1962). “Jubilees, Book of,” in *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. George A. Buttrick, vol. 2 (New York: Abingdon, 1962), pp. 1002-1003 – The short encyclopedic entry by Tedesché was written apparently before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Tedesché still followed along Charles' lines of dating (between 153 and 105 B.C.E.), authorship (stringent Pharisee), language (most likely Hebrew) and genre (Midrashic Targum).

BAUMGARTEN, JOSEPH M. “The Calendar of the Book of Jubilees and the Bible,” *Tarbiz* 32 (1963), pp. 317-328 [Hebrew] – In his study on the calendar of Jubilees, Baumgarten disagreed with Jaubert's proposal that Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays formed part of the liturgical weekdays of an ancient Jewish priestly calendar. According to Baumgarten, festivals were appointed to specific days of the month. The fact that these events fell on particular weekdays was

only secondary and due to the nature of the calendar. Baumgarten believed that the lunar calendar served from ancient times as the basis for establishing religious life in Israel, while the Qumran sectarians adopted the calendar of Jubilees in order to distinguish themselves from the rest of Israel, claiming, like all sectarian schismatics, that their calendar represented the return to true ancient practice. He assumed there was a pragmatic reason for this adoption, since it prevented new moons and festivals from falling on the Sabbath.

DELCOR, MATHIAS (1919-1992). “*Jubileos, Libro de los,*” in *Enciclopedia de la Biblia*, vol. 4 (Barcelona: Garriga, 1963), pp. 711-712 – In this short entry, Delcor followed the growing tendency to identify Jubilees as a Palestinian Jewish document written by the Essenes in the Hebrew language.

HILGERT, EARLE. “*The Jubilees Calendar and the Origin of Sunday Observance,*” *AUSS* 1 (1963), pp. 44-51 – The only work on Jubilees published by a Seventh-Day Adventist institution, concerned itself, as expected, with the question of Sabbath vs. Sunday observance. Hilgert reexamined in particular Jaubert’s calendrical studies on Jubilees and her assertions about early Christian Sunday worship as constituting a continuation of ancient Jewish priestly liturgy. Although he admitted that Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays were important weekdays for early Christians, Hilgert maintained that Sunday observance could not be found in ancient Judaism, but nevertheless stated that “a psychological orientation toward Sunday derived from Qumran could have been a contributing factor toward Sunday observance in the early church” (50).

LACH, JAN. “*The Liturgical Calendar of the Book of Jubilees in the Light of the Latest Discussions,*” *Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny* 16 (1963), pp. 98-105 [Polish] – According to Lach, one should remain cautious concerning the date of the Last Supper and its purported connection with the Essene calendar. It is difficult if not impossible to fathom that within the Jerusalem temple the Passover lamb sacrifice took place twice, once on Tuesday, and then again on Friday. On the other hand, available evidence suggests that the Essene calendar was not limited to the Qumran group but was known elsewhere in Palestine of that time. [Courtesy of Henryk Drawnel, Catholic University of Lublin, Poland]

BAARS, W. / ZUURMOND, ROCHUS. “*The Project of a New Edition of the Ethiopic Book of Jubilees,*” *JSS* 9 (1964), pp. 67-74 – These authors described the manuscripts, editions and translations of Jubilees available up to their time and announced a project to create a new updated critical edition of Jubilees, which would include recent materials from Qumran and additional Ethiopic manuscripts. The project was eventually taken over and completed by VanderKam (1989).

PINKERTON, JAMES ISAAC. “*A Comparison of the Samaritan Pentateuch with the Hebrew Text of the Pentateuch behind the Apocrypha,*” (Diss.; Dallas Theological Seminary, 1964) – Pinkerton returned to the old question about the value of Jubilees for Old Testament textual critical studies. He found that Jubilees most often agreed with the LXX and therefore concluded that Jubilees had little importance for textual criticism. Following F.M. Cross’ geographical thesis on the development of biblical texts, the evidence of Jubilees demonstrated, in his view, that the Masoretic text did not exist in Palestine (c. 150 B.C.E.), but in Babylon.

WACHOLDER, BEN ZION. “*How Long did Abram Stay in Egypt?*” *HUCA* 35 (1964), pp. 43-56 – Wacholder made a comparative study of Hellenistic, Qumranic and rabbinic chronography on Genesis. He saw these three bodies of literature as representing three different schools of ancient biblical historiography. Accordingly, the Hellenistic-Jewish school expanded and contracted passages from Genesis in order to adapt them to their times. Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees, representatives of the sectarian school, reworked Genesis in a similar way but sought to harmonize contradictory passages. In contrast, the third school (early Rabbis) was not interested in history but solely preoccupied with reconciling scripture.

BAILLET, MAURICE (1923-1998). “*Remarques sur le manuscrit du livre des Jubilés de la grotte 3 de Qumran,*” *RQ* 5 (1965), pp. 423-433; **DEICHGRÄBER, REINHARD.** “*Fragmente einer Jubiläen-Handschrift aus Höhle 3 von Qumran,*” *RQ* 5 (1965), pp. 415-422; **ROFÉ, ALEXANDER.** “*Further Manuscript Fragments of Jubilees in Qumran Cave 3,*” *Tarbiz* 34 (1965), pp. 333-336 [Hebrew] – Deichgräber, Rofé and Baillet provided some textual comments on the Hebrew fragments from cave 3 (3QJub).

COTHENET, EDOUARD. “*Jubilés (Le livre des),*” in *Catholicisme, Hier, aujourd’hui, demain* 6 (1965), pp. 1123-1128 – Cothenet offered another general introduction of Jubilees in French in which he mainly referred to the research results made by other French scholars.

WIRGIN, WOLF (b.1902). *The Book of Jubilees and the Maccabean Era of Smittah Cycles* (LUOS.MS 7; Leeds: Leeds University Oriental Society, 1965) – In this monograph, Wirgin explored the use of the calendar of Jubilees during the Maccabean era. Based on a diachronic reading of 1 Maccabees and an analysis of numismatics from the Hasmonean period, Wirgin concluded that the calendar of Jubilees was promoted by Simon but was later abandoned under John Hyrcanus I.

MILIK, JOZEF TADEUSZ (1922-2006). “Fragment d’une source du psautier (4QPs89) et fragments des Jubilés, du Document de Damas et d’un phylactère dans la grotte 4 de Qumran,” *RB* 73 (1966), p. 104, pl. II – Milik published the Hebrew fragments of 4QJub¹.

ZEITLIN, SOLOMON (1886-1976). “The Judaean Calendar During the Second Commonwealth and the Scrolls,” *JQR* 57 (1966), pp. 28-45. Repr. in *Studies in the Early History of Judaism*, vol. 1 (New York: Ktav Pub. Housing, 1973), pp. 194-211 – Zeitlin endeavored to show again how the biblical year was solar and consisted of 365 days (counted as 364 because of its divisibility by seven). Zeitlin believed that every forty ninth year, forty nine days were intercalated. These days were called a “year,” and named the Jubilee Year. After the exile, the Judeans adopted a lunar-solar calendar, which aroused opposition as witnessed by Jubilees. Zeitlin also dismissed Jaubert’s reconciliation of the date of Jesus’ crucifixion. For Zeitlin, only the official lunar-solar calendar was in use during the Second Temple period. He again denied the antiquity of the Dead Sea Scrolls and stamped them unequivocally as “compositions of the Middle Ages” (45).

ARTOM, ELIA SAMUELE (1887-1965). “Sefer ha-yovelot,” in *Sipure agadah*, vol. 2 (Tel-Aviv: Yavneh Publishing House, 1969) – Artom provided a new translation of Jubilees in Modern Hebrew with a short introduction. Although Artom noticed the differences and similarities between the halakhah of Jubilees and other Second Temple Jewish groups, he refrained from assigning Jubilees to any specifically known Jewish sect. He dated the document somewhere between John Hyrcanus and the conquest of Palestine by Pompey.

HENGEL, MARTIN. *Judentum und Hellenismus. Studien zu ihrer Begegnung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Palästinas bis zur Mitte des 2.Jh. v. Chr.* (WUNT 10; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1969; 2nd ed. 1973; 3rd ed. 1988) [trans. = *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* (2 vols.; London: SCM; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974)] – Surprisingly, Jubilees was mentioned rather marginally in Hengel’s influential work about Second Temple Judaism. He referred to it as an Essene writing, interpreting Jub 23:21 as pointing to the failure of the Maccabees. In his view, the calendar of Jubilees reflected the Essene tendency toward a rational perception of the world (“rationale Welterfassung”), as is also expressed, for instance, by the angelology developed in different Essene writings. He emphasized the public character of Jubilees and referred to it as a “Volksbuch.”

CAQUOT, ANDRÉ (1923-2004). “Les enfants aux cheveux blancs (Remarques sur Jubilés 23,25),” *RHR* 177 (1970), pp. 131-132 – Caquot joined the increasing ranks of those specialists who identified Jubilees as an Essene writing. He refuted Charles’ claim that the author of Jubilees felt the arrival of the messianic days with the triumphs of John Hyrcanus and Alexander Jannaeus. Caquot instead pointed to the leitmotiv of senescence expressed in Jub 23:25 (“the heads of children will be white with gray hairs”) as proof that the author of Jubilees still expected sinister events to come in the future.

DENIS, ALBERT-MARIE. “Les fragments grecs du Livre des Jubilés,” in *Introduction aux pseudépigraphes grecs d’Ancient Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), pp. 150-162; —. “Liber Jubilaeorum,” in *Fragmenta pseudepigraphorum quae supersunt graeca* (PVTG 3; Leiden: Brill, 1970), pp. 70-102 – Denis assembled and provided various Greek fragments of Jubilees with Charles’ English translation of the corresponding portions.

DAVENPORT, GENE L. *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees* (SPB 20; Leiden: Brill, 1971) – Davenport focused on the eschatology of Jubilees, applying form and redaction criticism in his analysis. Contrary to the common assumption of a single authorship, Davenport thought Jubilees contained at least three strata: the original version (2:1-50:4), a first redaction (1:4b-26; 23:14-20, 21-31 and 50:5) and a last redaction (1:10b, 17a, 27-28, 29c; 4:26; 23:21 and 31:14). He thought that the first edition of Jubilees was written in the late third century or early second century B.C.E., seeking to teach a particular system of Torah by incorporating various traditions into an angelic discourse. He dated the first redaction during the Maccabean wars, c.166-160 B.C.E., and viewed it as an attempt to affirm God’s faithfulness in face of Seleucid oppression. Finally, he

suggested that the second redaction was undertaken in Qumran, during the rules of Simon and John Hyrcanus, in order to emphasize the centrality of the Temple.

GRINTZ, JEHOSSUA M. "Jubilees, Book of," in *Encyclopedia Judaica*, vol. 10 (New York: Macmillan, 1971), pp. 324-326 – The encyclopedic entries on Jubilees began to reflect the emerging scholarly shift favoring Essene authorship. Grintz classified Jubilees as an early Essene text that was probably written and used by the Qumran sect.

MILIK, JÓZEF TADEUSZ (1922-2006). "Recherches sur la version grecque du livre des Jubilés," *RB* 78 (1971), pp. 545-557 – Milik reviewed Denis' critical edition of the Greek fragments of Jubilees. He pointed to other Greek texts containing portions from Jubilees that were overlooked by Denis, notably those of Byzantine chroniclers who likely borrowed their citations of Jewish Apocrypha from the works of Julius Africanus (third century C.E.).

ROST, LEONHARD (1896-1979). "Das Jubiläenbuch," in *Einleitung in die alttestamentlichen Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen* (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1971), pp. 98-101 – In his introduction to the O.T. Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, Rost presented Jubilees as an Essene writing, while advocating that its calendar was used in the Qumran community.

WOUDE, ADAM S. VAN DER (1927-2000). "Fragmente des Buches Jubiläen aus Qumran Höhle XI," in *Tradition und Glaube. Festgabe für K.G. Kuhn*, eds. Gert Jeremias, et al. (Göttingen: Vandenberg & Ruprecht, 1971), pp. 140-146 – This article presented Hebrew fragments from cave 11 (11QJub) with a German translation and textual notations. The release of a significant number of Hebrew fragments from cave 4 was the only collection awaiting publication. Unfortunately, one would have to wait until the nineties to see that reality crystallize.

AGOURIDES, SAVAS. "ΙΩΒΗΑΙΑ," *Theologia* 43 (1972), pp. 550-583 and 44 (1973), pp. 34-118 [Modern Greek] – Agourides provided an introduction and translation of Jubilees into Modern Greek.

COTHENET, EDOUARD. "Pureté et impureté... Le livre des Jubilés," in *Dictionnaire de la Bible: Supplément*, ed. Louis Pirot, vol. 49 (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1973), pp. 509-511 – Cothenet argued that Jubilees was not an Essene writing, since it was sympathetic toward the Hasmonean priesthood and reflected religious ideas of fervent Jews living in the second half of the second century B.C.E., before sectarian oppositions had hardened. For Cothenet, the purity laws in Jubilees were formulated in order to safeguard the sanctity of Israel. He observed that Jubilees at times applied language of purity symbolically in order to attack idolatry, sexual and immoral conduct, and occasionally provided justification for certain purity laws. But overall he believed that Jubilees ascribed the greatest importance to the calendar, without elaborating on the intricacies of purification rites.

DENIS, ALBERT-MARIE. *Concordance latine du Liber Jubilaeorum sive parva Genesis (Informatique et étude de textes 4; Louvain: CETEDOC, 1973)* – Taking advantage of emerging computer technology, Denis provided a concordance of the Latin portions of Jubilees, based on Ceriani's Latin edition (1861).

MILIK, JÓZEF TADEUSZ (1922-2006). "A propos de 11QJub," *Biblica* 54 (1973), pp. 77-78 – In this short article, Milik provided some additional remarks on the Hebrew fragments of 11QJub that were published by van der Woude (1971).

DIMANT, DEVORAH. "The Fallen Angels" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic Books Related to Them* (Diss.; Hebrew University, 1974) [Hebrew] – In an important dissertation, Dimant detected a variety of earlier sources on the myth of the fallen angels within Jubilees. She showed how Jubilees employed this material (appearing mainly in Jub 5, 7 and 10) without attempting to reconcile their contradictions. According to Dimant, Jub 5 describes the offspring of the fallen angels as giants while ch. 10 relies on an independent version of the story in which the angels produce demons instead of giants. Dimant saw the positive reference on the angels' descent to earth (to teach humankind righteousness, Jub 4:15) as a polemic introduced by Jubilees that sought to weaken the gravity of angelic sin, in contradiction to earlier versions of the story. She thought that Jubilees was not dependant on the Book of the Watchers, but derived its knowledge of the angel story from a related haggadic source.

DELLING, GERHARD (1905-1986). *Bibliographie zur jüdisch-hellenistischen und intertestamentarischen Literatur, 1900-1970* (2nd. ed.; Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der althristlichen Literatur 106²; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1975), pp. 172-174 – Six years after publishing a bibliography of scholarly works on Second Temple Judaism written

from 1900 to 1965, Delling updated his bibliography up to 1970, including an expanded bibliography on Jubilees.

SCHULTZ, JOSEPH P. "Two Views of the Patriarchs: Noahides and Pre-Sinai Israelites," in *Text and Responses: Studies Presented to N.N. Glatzer*, ed. M.A. Fishbane (Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 41-59 – Schultz looked at the concept of Noahide Laws in Jubilees, Second Temple writings and rabbinic literature. He remarked that Jubilees was the first book to portray the patriarchs observing Sinaitic laws. According to Schultz, the emphasis in Jubilees on patriarchal observance of Mosaic Law later led to the crystallization of the concept of Noahide Laws in rabbinic literature.

SKEHAN, PATRICK W. "Jubilees and the Qumran Psalter," *CBQ* 37 (1975), pp. 343-347 – Skehan compared the language of the "Hymn of the Creator" from the Qumran Psalter (11QPs^a) with Jub 2:2-3. Skehan claimed that the writer of Jubilees borrowed a verse unit from this Hymn.

CHARLESWORTH, JAMES H. "Jubilees," in *The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research* (Missoula: Scholars, 1976), pp. 143-147 – Charlesworth provided a brief introduction and bibliography of Jubilees. He sided with the Essene hypothesis: "Parallels with some thoughts in the Dead Sea Scrolls indicate that Jubilees represents the type of Judaism out of which Essenism evolved" (143).

SANDERS, ED PARISH. *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), pp. 362-386 – In this book, where he spoke of a "covenantal nomism" uniting all Jewish groups, Sanders stressed the non-sectarian tone of Jubilees, indicating that Jubilees expected all of Israel to follow its message. Thus, Sanders refrained from associating Jubilees with the Essene sect, claiming that some of its peculiarities may have been widespread during its time. Focusing on the soteriology of Jubilees, Sanders emphasized that Jubilees, like other Second Temple writings, spoke of God's graciousness in making a covenant with Israel. He disagreed with Davenport (1971) and Testuz (1960) on the composite nature of Jubilees, seeing it instead as a very unified and harmonious book.

STECK, ODIL HANNES (1935-2001). "Die Aufnahme von Genesis 1 in Jubiläen 2 und 4 Esra 6," *JSJ* 8 (1977), pp. 154-182 – Steck debated whether the focus of Jub 2:1-16 on the creation of the world through words and the focus of 4 Ezra 6:38-54 on the creation of the world through deeds were witnesses of two creation accounts lying behind Gen 1 that were combined by P. After examining the differences and concurrences of Jubilees and Ezra with Genesis and exploring their particular agendas, he insisted that, in spite of the differing results, both passages represented particular modifications of the very same P account in its final form.

VANDERKAM, JAMES C. *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (Missoula: Scholars, 1977) – The extensive textual analysis by Vanderkam solidified the view favoring an original Hebrew composition for Jubilees. In addition, Vanderkam showed that the Ethiopic text of Jubilees was remarkably close to its Hebrew grandparent, a long textual history notwithstanding. For Vanderkam, the Latin translation was also an important textual witness, preserving many Hebraisms and Greek forms. In the field of textual biblical criticism, Vanderkam assigned Jubilees to an early Palestinian biblical tradition, distinct from the LXX and MT types. Finally, using paleographical data and internal evidence (mainly from Jub chs. 34 and 37-38), he dated Jubilees between 161 and 140 B.C.E., esteeming Jubilees to be an Essene or proto-Essene writing, written at a time when its author had not yet exiled himself from the rest of Israel, which is to say, sometime prior to Simon's accession as high priest.

BROCK, SEBASTIAN P. "Abraham and the Ravens: A Syriac Counterpart to Jubilees 11-12 and its Implications," *JSJ* 9 (1978), pp. 135-152 – Brock compared the stories on Abraham and the ravens in the Syriac traditions of *Catena Severi* and Jacob of Edessa. He concluded that these two Syriac accounts did not stem from Jubilees but from an earlier tradition, common to both Jubilees and the Syriac writings.

LIPSCOMB, W. LOWNDES. "A Tradition from the Book of Jubilees in Armenian," *JJS* 29 (1978), pp. 149-163 – Lipscomb published and translated an Armenian text containing a list of patriarchal names corresponding to Jub 3:34-11:4. He concluded that the Armenian document derived its genealogy from Jubilees and suggested that the Armenian tradition may have drawn its Jubilean material from Greek or Syriac sources.

VANDERKAM, JAMES C. "Enoch Traditions in Jubilees and Other Second-Century Sources," *SBLSP* 13 (1978), pp. 229-251 – Vanderkam searched for Enochic traditions in Jubilees

and other Second Temple sources, concluding that the author of Jubilees was familiar with the Book of the Watchers, the Astronomical Book, Dream Visions and the Epistle of Enoch. He showed that the writer of Jubilees made significant modifications to these sources in order to emphasize the earthly origins of sin, the watchers' good intentions and God's control over evil and human history.

HOENIG, SIDNEY B. "The Jubilees Calendar and the Days of Assembly," in *Essays on the Occasion of the 70th Anniversary of the Dropsie University*, eds. A.I. Katsh and L. Nemoy (Philadelphia: Dropsie University, 1979), pp. 189-207 – On a quest for the origins of the Tannaite observance of Monday, Thursday and Saturday as "days of assembly," Hoenig turned to the calendar of Jubilees. He suggested that the triad of Monday, Thursday and Saturday were important days for Jubilees, as well as for other ancient Jewish traditions. Hence, they were designated as days of assembly. He believed that Christianity, basing itself on events from the Passion, diverged from Jewish practice by attributing importance to Sunday, Wednesday and Friday.

PUMMER, REINHARD. "The Book of Jubilees and the Samaritans," *Eglise et Théologie* 10 (1979), pp. 147-178 – Pummer returned to the question of Jubilees and its relation to the Samaritan tradition, an issue that had already been raised in the early days of Jubilees research (Beer, 1856). Like many of his predecessors, Pummer refuted Beer's proposal of Samaritan origins for Jubilees. Likewise, he saw no anti-Samaritan polemic in Jubilees. Instead, he stressed the author's primary preoccupation with the effects of Hellenism.

VANDERKAM, JAMES C. "The Origin, Character, and Early History of the 364-Day Calendar: A Reassessment of Jaubert's Hypothesis," *CBQ* 41 (1979), pp. 390-411 – Vanderkam reassessed the influential work on calendars by Jaubert, twenty-five years after her initial publication (1953). He agreed with Jaubert's conclusion that the 364-day calendar was presupposed in the late priestly writings of the Hebrew Bible and that it was used during the early Second Temple period. However, he disagreed with Jaubert's proposal that Sunday, Wednesday and Friday functioned as liturgical weekdays within this calendar, since the 364-day calendar designated its dates in months, not weekdays, a point already made by Baumgarten (1963).

CAQUOT, ANDRE (1923-2004). "Les Anges inférieurs et les Anges supérieurs d'après le livre des Jubilés," *Bulletin de la Société Ernest Renan* 29 (1980) = *RHR* 198 (1981), pp. 114-115; —, "Deux notes sur la géographie des Jubilés," in *Hommage à Georges Vajda. Etudes d'histoire et de pensée juives*, eds. Gérard Nahon and Charles Touati (Louvain: Peeters, 1980), pp. 37-42 – In his analysis of angels in Jubilees, Caquot thought that, in comparison to 1 Enoch, the angelology of Jubilees was characterized by a greater discretion. Nevertheless, Jubilees also multiplied angelic functions and interventions. According to Caquot, the Sabbath cult in Jubilees revealed a particular angelic hierarchy, where certain angels could observe the Sabbath while others were prohibited (i.e., the angels of the nations). He assigned two classes of angels to the top of this hierarchy: the "angels of sanctification" (the Seraphim) and "the angels of the presence" (the cherubim and the four archangels). In another contribution, published the same year, Caquot analyzed the names of two geographical locations in Jubilees, "Elda" (Jub 3:32) and "Qater" (Jub 4:25). He proposed that Elda was a deformation of Dadouel, as witnessed by certain Greek texts of Jubilees, whereas Qater should be taken as a reference to a holy mountain producing incense located southeast of Zion in Arabia or India. For Caquot, Jubilees derived information on these sites from its surrounding culture, a testimony to the level of Hellenistic adoption even within Jewish sectarian circles.

PASCALE, RONALD A. *The Demonic Cosmic Powers of Destruction in 1 Enoch 15:3-6:1 and Jubilees 10:5 and the Demonizing of the Avenging Angels* (Diss.; Harvard, 1980) – In his dissertation on angelology and demonology, Pascale attempted to show how Jubilees sought to hebraize the tradition of demonic cosmic powers by relating it to biblical tradition. By introducing the powers of Mastema into the Old Testament, Jubilees marked an important theological development in Judaism, whereby the biblical subordination of these powers was transformed into a truly demonic power.

BERGER, KLAUS. "Das Buch der Jubiläen," in *JSHRZ* 2.3 (1981), pp. 275-575 – Berger, taking into consideration the Hebrew fragments of Jubilees edited up to his time, offered the latest German translation yet, with an introduction and critical notes. He argued for a dating of Jubilees

between 145 and 140 B.C.E., pointing to Jub 23:21 as referring to the failure of the Maccabees, an interpretation proposed by Hengel (1969).

CHARLESWORTH, JAMES H. "Jubilees," in *The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research, with a Supplement* (Chico: Scholars, 1981), pp. 143-147, 293-295 – Charlesworth updated his bibliography of 1976 by including some additional scholarly entries on the research of Jubilees.

FUSELLA, LUIGI / SACCHI, PAOLO. "Giubilei," in *Apocrifi dell'Antico Testamento*, ed. Paolo Sacchi, vol. 1 (Torino: UTET, 1981), pp. 179-411 – The first Italian translation by Fusella, with a commentary by Sacchi, exemplified the booming interest in Jubilees emerging during the eighties, as witnessed by the contemporaneous translations into German (1981), Spanish (1983), English (1984, 1985, 1989) and French (1987). According to Sacchi and Fussella, Jubilees was written at the end of the second century B.C.E. by an Essene. Sacchi deemed it more useful to classify books according to their ideology rather than their literary genre. Accordingly, the literary genre of Jubilees could be viewed as apocalyptic, but ideologically it was close to the Enochic tradition, since it combined Enochic traditions (e.g., concern with the origin of evil) with biblical material. In this way, the Torah became only part of the revelation contained within the heavenly tablets. [Courtesy of Gabriele Boccaccini, University of Michigan, USA]

GRELOT, PIERRE. "Le livre des Jubilés et le Testament de Levi," in *Mélanges Dominique Barthélemy*, eds. Pierre Casetti, et al. (OBO 38; Fribourg: Ed. Universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), pp. 109-133 – Grelot studied Jubilees in relation to the Testament of Levi, noticing how Jubilees adapted certain passages from the Testament of Levi on the death of Dinah, the battle with the Shechemites, Levi's priesthood and the blessing of Isaac. Grelot also compared the varying chronologies between Jubilees, the Testament of Levi and Genesis. He concluded that the author of Jubilees ignored certain chronological elements within the Pentateuch in order to construct his own symbolic system whereby Israel would enter Canaan within fifty jubilees of years.

NICKELSBURG, GEORGE W.E. "The Book of Jubilees," in *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981), pp. 73-80, 98-99 – Nickelsburg preferred to date Jubilees somewhere around 168 B.C.E. He assigned Jubilees to an unnamed reformist group related to those who composed 1 Enoch 72-82, 85-90, 93:1-10 and 91:11-17. For Nickelsburg, Jubilees marked the increasing significance of scripture and the importance of its interpretation within Judaism. He claimed that, in its interpretation, Jubilees stressed the importance of halakhah as well as instruction, encouragement and admonishment, mirroring in a certain way the later rabbinic counterparts of halakhic and haggadic exegesis.

ROOK, JOHN T. "A Twenty-Eight-Day Month Tradition in the Book of Jubilees," *VT* 31 (1981), pp. 83-87 – Rook affirmed Epstein's calendrical study (1890), stating that the creation account of Jubilees contained a calendar of 13 months of 28 days totaling 364 days in a year. His thesis was based on calculations of biographical data given by Jubilees for Adam in the creation account. He argued that in order to make sense of this chronological data, a 28-month calendar would have to be presupposed.

VANDERKAM, JAMES C. "The Putative Author of the Book of Jubilees," *JSS* 26 (1981), pp. 209-217 – Vanderkam set out to determine whether, for the author of Jubilees, Moses or the Angel of the Presence wrote Jubilees. He showed how Jubilees consistently presented Moses as the writer who received this revelation through angelic dictation. In his opinion, this observation, among other things, went against Davenport's claim that there were two successive modifications of an original "angelic discourse" (Davenport 1971).

ALEXANDER, PHILIP S. "Notes on the Imago Mundi of the Book of Jubilees," *JJS* 33 (1982), pp. 197-213 – Alexander tried to reconstruct into cartographic form the map of the world as described in Jub 8-9. From his analysis, he concluded that the author of Jubilees had no problems interpreting the Bible in light of non-Jewish science, and that he even knew Greek and had studied Greek geographical literature.

BAILLET, MAURICE (1923-1998). "Livre des Jubilés," in *Discoveries in the Judean Desert*, vol. 7 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), pp. 1-2 – Baillet published Hebrew fragments 4Q482 and 4Q483.

BAUMGARTEN, JOSEPH M. "Some Problems of the Jubilees Calendar in Current Research," *VT* 32 (1982), pp. 485-489; VANDERKAM, JAMES C. "A Twenty-Eight-Day Month Tradition in the Book of Jubilees?" *VT* 32 (1982), pp. 504-506 – Baumgarten held on to his

arguments made against Jaubert in 1963, maintaining that Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday did not function as liturgical days. He still characterized the calendar of Jubilees as sectarian, despite Vanderkam's support for Jaubert's theory that the writers of the priestly school employed the Jubilees calendar (1979). He also criticized Rook's revival (1981) of Epstein's calendar (1890), which proposed a calendar consisting of 13 months of 28 days. However, he agreed with Jaubert's on the following: (1) that the counting of the Omer began on Sunday I/26, while Shavuot fell on Sunday III/15 and (2) that the year consisted of four trimesters, each consisting of two months with 30 days and one of 31 days. Vanderkam also disagreed with Rook's theory of a 28-day calendar. He claimed that Adam's purification (Jub 3:17) did not necessarily have to end on II/17, as Rook claimed in favor of his theory, but could have ended *before* II/17. For him, this reading fitted well with the rest of the calendrical statements appearing in Jubilees and also supported Jaubert's reconstruction.

CAQUOT, ANDRE (1923-2004). "Explication du livre des Jubilés," *Annuaire du Collège de France* 82 (1981-82), pp. 541-550; —. "Le livre des Jubilés, Melkisedeq et les dîmes," *JJS* 33 (1982), pp. 257-262 – In his first article, Caquot perused a variety of passages from Jubilees, attempting to retrieve the perceptible Hebrew strata standing behind the Ethiopic and Latin witnesses, with the purpose of gaining a better understanding of the author's beliefs and customs. In his second study, Caquot turned to the omission of Melchizedek in Jub 13:25. Basing himself in part on the Ethiopic manuscript Gunda-Gundē and Tisserant's work on the Syriac fragments of Jubilees (1921), he concluded that the omission in Jub 13 was very ancient, testifying to a competition between the figures of Enoch and Melchizedek in which certain Essenes exalted Melchizedek (e.g., 11Q Melchizedek), while others preferred Enoch and removed the mention of Melchizedek in Jubilees.

RIVKIN, ELLIS. "The Book of Jubilees: An Anti-Pharisaic Pseudepigraph," *Eretz Israel* 16 (1982), pp. 193-198 – Rivkin supported the idea that the author of Jubilees followed the calendar from the P stratum of the Pentateuch. Since the solar priestly calendar was implied in the Mosaic Torah but not clearly delineated, Rivkin believed that this granted room for the Pharisees to introduce a lunar-solar calendar, warranting its authority with the Oral Law. In protest to this innovation and in opposition to the concept of Oral Law, the author of Jubilees introduced the concept of a second written law, the Heavenly Tablets, and made it clear the solar calendar was engraved in them.

SCHWARZ, EBERHARD. *Abgrenzungsprozesse in Israel im 2. vorchristlichen Jahrhundert und ihre traditionsgegeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Erforschung des Jubiläenbuches* (European University Studies, Series XXIII, Theology 162; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1982) – Schwarz, in his doctoral thesis, asked how Jubilees ensured the identity of a social group through the concept of separation, searching for the traditions lying behind this concept and the historical background in which such a writing could have been generated. He argued that Jubilees, following the formula of "identity through separation," drew on a long tradition based on the concept of the covenant, and that this formula had been a crucial means for strengthening the identity of "Israel" in times of crisis since the period of Canaan's conquest. Concerning the historical background of Jubilees, he supported a compositional dating under Antiochus IV, at which point the author would have considered the community as being threatened by Hellenistic influences and apostates. He related the calendar polemics to an attempt by Antiochus IV to introduce the Seleucid luni-solar calendar.

CORRIENTE, FEDERICO / PIÑERO, ANTONIO. "Jubileos," in *Los apócrifos del Antiguo Testamento*, ed. Alejandro Díez Macho, et al., vol. 2 (Madrid: Christianidad, 1983), pp. 65-193 – Corriente and Piñero provided a Spanish translation and introduction to Jubilees. Like Charles, they described Jubilees as Midrashic in genre, but disagreed with his Pharisaic ascription, favoring instead an Essene author. They were persuaded by Davenport's thesis on the composition of Jubilees, while still stressing the book's remarkable unity, which they ascribed to the final editor's remodeling of the entire work. Corriente and Piñero also briefly discussed the religious ideas in Jubilees and compared them with those of Qumran and the New Testament.

GOLDSTEIN, JONATHAN A. "The Date of the Book of Jubilees," *PAAJR* 50 (1983), pp. 63-86 – According to Goldstein, Jubilees was written sometime between the autumn of 169 and the spring of 167 B.C.E. He believed the author was aware of the sack of Jerusalem in 169, but not of the royal decrees of 167 B.C.E issued against the practice of Torah.

LICHTENBERGER, HERMANN. "Zu Vorkommen und Bedeutung von יצר im Jubiläenbuch," *JSJ* 14 (1983), pp. 1-10 – Lichtenberg, in this short examination of the use of יצר in Jubilees, concluded that Jubilees and the Qumran literature do not reflect the later rabbinic concept of the two "inclinations" (יצר הטוב and יצר הרע). In his view, this literature still concurs with the use of יצר in the Old Testament texts where it refers to a good or a bad reasoning as taking place within the human heart, but not to the notion of a good or a bad inclination controlling the individual.

GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, FLORENTINO. "Las Tablas Celestes en el Libro de los Jubileos," in *Palabra y Vida: Homenaje a José Alonso Díaz en su 70 cumpleaños*, eds. A. Vargas Machuca and G. Ruiz (Publicaciones de la Universidad Pontificia Comillas Madrid, Series I. Estudios 58; Madrid: Ediciones Universidad de Comillas, 1984), pp. 333-349 – García Martínez studied the concept and function of the Heavenly Tablets in Jubilees, a rather neglected topic at this time. His contribution became more noticeable once it was translated into English (1997).

NICKELSBURG, GEORGE W.E. "The Bible Rewritten and Expanded," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian writings, Philo, Josephus*, ed. Michael E. Stone (The Literature of the Jewish People in the Period of the Second Temple and the Talmud 2; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), pp. 97-104 – Nickelsburg reiterated some of the arguments on dating he had made in his earlier publication (1981). He called Jubilees a "rewritten version of Genesis 1-Exodus 14" (97) and claimed that the author of Jubilees reworked this biblical material focusing mostly on halakhic matters. In his opinion, the emphasis of Jubilees on specific laws differed from the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, which focused on abstract vices and virtues.

CAQUOT, ANDRE (1923-2004). "Éléments aggadiques dans le livre des Jubilés," in *Littérature intertestamentaire* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1985), pp. 57-68; —. "Loi' et 'Témoignage' dans le Livre des Jubilés" in *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à Maxime Rodinson*, ed. C. Robin (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1985), pp. 137-145 – Looking at the so-called Aggadic portions of Jubilees, Caquot contended with the literary qualification of Jubilees as an ancient Midrashic work. In his view, in contrast to rabbinic commentaries, Jubilees followed a different hermeneutic and did not expound the biblical text verse by verse, even though it did combine halakhic and Aggadic materials. He therefore assigned Jubilees to a different literary genre, which he characterized as a "complimentary paraphrase" ("paraphrase complémentaire," 57). According to Caquot, Jubilees particularly employed Aggadāh in order to affirm the Essene mastery of science and secret knowledge. In his work on the terms "Law" and "Testimony," Caquot claimed that both of these words were distinct and served to authenticate in different ways the legislative and doctrinal assertions contained in Jubilees. "Law," in his view, referred to the Sinaitic Law, while "Testimony," most likely stemming from the original Hebrew "Te'udah," represented a supplementary legal source used to justify all Essene innovations that had no biblical precedents, functioning in a similar fashion to the Pharisaic notion of Oral Law.

CHARLESWORTH, JAMES H. "The Date of Jubilees and the Temple Scroll"; WACHOLDER, BEN ZION. "The Relationship between 11QTorah (The Temple Scroll) and the Book of Jubilees: One Single or Two Independent Compositions"; and SCHIFFMAN, LAWRENCE H. "The Sacrificial System of the Temple Scroll and the Book of Jubilees," *SBLSP* 24 (1985), pp. 193-204, 205-216, and 217-233; – Charlesworth tried to date the compositions of Jubilees and the Temple Scroll. He thought that Jubilees influenced the final shaping of the latter even though some of the traditions in the Temple Scroll antedated Jubilees. He assigned a dating for Jubilees sometime between 168 and the late 150s B.C.E., while dating the final redaction of the Temple Scroll between 135 and 76 B.C.E. For Wacholder, Jubilees and the Temple Scroll resembled each other more than any other ancient Jewish works. He viewed both works as constituting a single composition of a sectarian *Sefer Torah* stretching from Genesis to Deuteronomy. According to his reasoning, the prologue and first chapter of Jubilees served also as an introduction to the Temple Scroll, while Jub 49:7 marked the proper beginning of the legal sections of this *Sefer Torah*, which were then enounced in the Temple Scroll. Schiffman compared the festival sacrificial laws in both documents. He observed that occasionally both sources agreed on certain issues, but for the most part witnessed to a substantial incongruity, which was due to the different emphases of both works: Jubilees was a rewritten Torah, retelling through narration the adherence by the patriarchs to specific laws, while the Temple Scroll formulated a code for a pre-Messianic Temple. The

commonalities between both documents and their existence in Qumran point to the world from which the Qumran sect emerged.

SCHWARZ, JOSHUA. “Jubilees, Bethel and the Temple of Jacob,” *HUCA* 56 (1985), pp. 63-85 – Schwarz compared the story on Jacob’s return to Bethel in Jub 31-32 and Gen 35:1-17. Accepting Vanderkam’s dating, Schwarz saw Jub 31-32 as reflecting the battle campaigns of Judas Maccabeus and the period immediately after the campaigns of Beth Zur and Beth Zechariah (162 B.C.E). He conjectured that without any access to Jerusalem, the inhabitants of Bethel would have sought to reclaim their ancient primacy, an attempt that was consistent with the cultic tension existing during the Second Temple vis-à-vis Jerusalem’s Temple.

VANDERKAM, JAMES C. “The Book of Jubilees,” in *Outside the Old Testament*, ed. Marvin de Jonge (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1985), pp. 111-144 – The short introduction by VanderKam discussed the title, dating, structure and major themes of Jubilees.

WACHOLDER, BEN ZION. “The Date of the Eschaton in the Book of Jubilees: A Commentary on Jub. 49:22-50:5, CD 1:1-10, and 16:2-3,” *HUCA* 56 (1985), pp. 87-101 – Wacholder dealt with the date of the eschaton in Jub 49:22-50:5. He believed that Jubilees counted 2450 years from the creation to the entry of Israel into Canaan, and another era of 2450 years from the entry into Canaan until the eschaton. This counting totaling 4900 years, in his view, was also presupposed by the author of the Damascus Document who linked the final years of this period to the appearance of the Teacher of Righteousness, who thereby chronologically paralleled Moses and would help Israel enter a new age.

WINTERMUTE, ORVAL S. “Jubilees,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, vol. 2 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1985), pp. 35-142 – Wintermute provided a new English translation along with an introduction discussing the genre, language, title, dating, authorship and theological ideas of Jubilees. Wintermute followed the trend of assigning Jubilees to a Hasidic or Essene circle and dating it to around 160-140 B.C.E. He claimed that Jubilees shared some affinities with apocalyptic writings, while in other ways it differed from the traditional Apocalypses of Daniel and 1 Enoch, sharing instead literary features with other writings such as rabbinic Midrash.

ADLER, WILLIAM. “Abraham and the Burning of the Temple of Idols: Jubilees’ Traditions in Christian Chronography,” *JQR* 77 (1986-87), pp. 95-117 – Adler attempted to reconstruct the development of the tradition of Jubilees on Abraham and the burning of idols in the writings of Byzantine and Syriac chronographers.

BAUMGARTEN, JOSEPH M. “4Q503 (Daily Prayers) and the Lunar Calendar,” *RQ* 12 (1986), pp. 399-407 – Baumgarten adduced passages from 4Q503 as evidence for the reckoning of the beginning of the day from evening in Qumran. In his opinion, these fragments also confirmed that, unlike Jubilees, the sect in its early history did not repudiate lunar calendrical calculations. He thought this fact made it hard to support Jaubert’s notion that the luni-solar calendar was a late import stemming from Babylonian or Greek influence.

KISTER, MENAHEM. “Towards the History of the Essene Sect: Studies in the Animal Apocalypse, the Book of Jubilees, and the Damascus Document,” *Tarbiz* 56 (1986-87), pp. 1-18 [Hebrew] – Kister thought that the Animal Apocalypse (1 Enoch 90) and Jub 23:16-30 spoke of the parting of the ways between the Essene sect and the rest of the Jewish people, rather than a disputation between Hasidim and Hellenizers (contra Charles and other scholars who followed him). Accordingly, instead of accusing the Hellenizers, the Animal Apocalypse and Jubilees reproached all of Israel for not properly observing the Torah according to their interpretation. Kister inferred that these texts described the origins of the Essenes, a sect formed with a reformist-fundamentalist halakhic purpose, which was opposed to the halakhic practice of its time.

KÜCHLER, MAX. *Schweigen, Schmuck und Schleier. Drei neutestamentliche Vorschriften zur Verdrängung der Frauen auf dem Hintergrund einer frauenfeindlichen Exegese des Alten Testaments im antiken Judentum* (Novum testamentum et orbis antiquus 1; Freiburg, Schweiz: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), pp. 400-438 – In this examination on the ideological background of misogynist statements in the New Testament (1 Tim 2:8-15, 1 Cor 11:3-16, 14:33b-36 and 1 Pet 3:1-6), Küchler highlighted Jubilees’ depiction of the relationship between angels and women. He argued that Jubilees originally conveyed a positive tradition about angels who went to earth and transmitted important cultural knowledge to women and humankind. In his view, this positive tradition was later modified, adopting the negative

Enochic view concerning the Watchers. For Küchler, Jubilees in this respect attests to a shift of the Watcher tradition, which, from the second century B.C.E. onward, opened ways for negative generalizing judgments about women to be made, as attested in later texts such as the mentioned New Testament passages.

SCHÜRER, EMILE (1844-1910) / VERMES, GEZA. "The Book of Jubilees," in *History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, vol. 3.1 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1986), pp. 308-318 – In the translated, revised and updated work of Schürer, Vermes included Jubilees under the section of biblical Midrash and defined it as a "rewritten Bible" (308). In contrast to the previous German edition (1909) and in light of the Qumran discoveries, a date soon after the death of Judas (160 B.C.E.) was favored, while the book's composition was assigned to pre-Essene Hasidim.

BAUMGARTEN, JOSEPH M. "The Calendars of the Book of Jubilees and the Temple Scroll," *VT* 37 (1987), pp. 71-78; —. "The Laws of Orlah and First Fruits in the Light of Jubilees, the Qumran Writings, and Targum Ps. Jonathan," *JJS* 38 (1987), pp. 195-202 – Examining the calendars of the Temple Scroll and Jubilees, Baumgarten thought the Temple Scroll embraced the solar calendar but was not obsessed with it to the same degree as Jubilees. He claimed that Qumran used the 364-day calendar without repudiating the lunar one. Additionally, a similar receptivity of the lunar calendar could also be seen in the Book of the Luminaries. These observations led Baumgarten to restate his previous claim that the Jubilees calendar was not a continuation of an ancient priestly tradition (1963, 1986 and 1986). In his other article, Baumgarten analyzed the interpretation of the laws of 'Orlah in Jubilees, Qumranic writings and Ps. Jonathan, comparing them with early rabbinic halakhah. His study showed how in certain instances Ps. Jonathan, Jubilees and Qumran were at variance with later Tannaitic halakhic interpretations.

CAQUOT, ANDRE (1923-2004). "Jubilés," in *La Bible: Ecrits Intertestamentaires*, ed. André Dupont-Sommer and Marc Philonenko (Paris: Gallimard, 1987), pp. 627-810 – Despite the numerous French scholars who had been engaged in the study of Jubilees, the first complete French translation of Jubilees appeared only in 1987.

ENDRES, JOHN C. *Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Jubilees* (CBQMS 18; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1987) – Endres investigated the manner in which Jubilees reworked its biblical material, focusing on those texts dealing with Jacob (Jub 19-30). Following Vermes (1961), He characterized Jubilees as "rewritten Bible," claiming that the author of Jubilees re-wrote the biblical narrative in order to convey its message to Palestinian Jewish contemporaries. He concluded that Jubilees was written to combat the syncretistic policies of Jason and Menelaus.

KISTER, MENAHEM. "Newly-Identified Fragments of the Book of Jubilees: Jub 23:21-23, 30-31," *RQ* 12 (1987), pp. 529-536 – In this note, Kister suggested that fragments 19, 20 and 21 of 4Q176 contained the text of Jub 23:21-23, 30-31. He maintained that these fragments confirmed the accuracy of the Latin and Ethiopic translations.

SCHMIDT, FRANCIS. "Chronologies et périodisations chez Flavius Josèphe et dans l'apocalyptique juive," in *Aspetti della storiografia ebraica: atti del IV Congresso internazionale dell'AISG, S. Miniato, 7-10 novembre 1983*, ed. Fausto Parente (Roma: Carucci editore, 1987), pp. 125-138 – Schmidt studied the periodization of history in Josephus, Jubilees and the Sibylline Oracles. He divided the timeline of Jubilees into three eras. He believed Jubilees placed its narrated history (from creation to Sinai) within forty nine jubilees, but thought that it was possible to extend its chronology to the fiftieth jubilee and beyond. Thus, the first era extended from creation to Moses, while the covenant at Sinai inaugurated the beginning of the second era, followed finally by a third era in which humankind would experience renovation.

ZUURMOND, ROCHUS. "De misdaad van Ruben volgens Jubileëen 33:1-9," *Amsterdamse Cahiers* 8 (1987), pp. 108-116 [Dutch] – In this short treatment containing a translation of Jub 33:1-9 and a verse by verse commentary, Zuurmond tried to illustrate how Jubilees uses haggadic material for halakhic purposes.

ALEXANDER, PHILIP S. "Retelling the Old Testament," in *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture: Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars*, eds. D.A. Carson and H.G.M. Williamson (New York: Cambridge University, 1988), pp. 99-121 – Alexander studied how the biblical text was used in Jubilees, Genesis Apocryphon, Pseudo-Philo and Josephus, with the aim of advancing a better definition for the literary genre of "rewritten Bible" that was formulated by Vermes (1961). From his analysis he deduced that there were certain characteristics that could be found in this

genre such as sequential, chronological order or free-standing composition. He maintained that these texts were not intended to supersede the Bible even if, as in the case of Jubilees, they may have viewed their non-biblical material as inspired.

BEGG, CHRISTOPHER T. “Rereading of the ‘Animal Rite’ of Genesis 15 in Early Jewish Narratives,” *CBQ* 50.1 (1988), pp. 36-46 – Begg examined how Gen 15:9-10, 17 was interpreted in Jubilees, Josephus, Pseudo-Philo and the Apocalypse of Abraham. He concluded that Jubilees reproduced the wording of Gen 15, located the event at a specific date because of calendrical preoccupations and added sacrificial details in order to portray Abraham as performing a sacrifice.

GRELOT, PIERRE. “Jean 8,56 et Jubilés 16,16-29,” *RQ* 13 (1988), pp. 621-628 – This article looked at the relationship between John 8:56 and Jub 16:16-29. Grelot pointed out that in Jubilees Abraham and Sarah did not laugh but *rejoiced* at the announcement of Isaac’s future birth. Likewise, the promise of a holy seed and the plant of righteousness through Isaac’s descendants was announced at the Feast of Tabernacles (Jub 16:19-29). In his opinion, this information could elucidate the meaning of John 8:56, where Jesus allegedly declared at the Feast of Tabernacles that “Abraham *rejoiced* that he would see my day.”

LIGNEE, HUBERT. “La place du livre des Jubilés et du Rouleau du Temple dans l’histoire du mouvement Essénien. Ces deux ouvrages ont-ils été écrits par le Maître de Justice?” *RQ* 13 (1988), pp. 331-345 – Lignée explored the possibility of whether Essenism existed before Qumran. He asserted that Essenism only truly began with Qumran, but Jubilees and the Temple Scroll were pre-Qumranian writings composed by the Teacher of Righteousness at the time of John Hyrcanus. He identified the Teacher of Righteousness with Judas the Essene (mentioned in Josephus) and the Man of Lies with John Hyrcanus.

SCHMIDT, FRANCIS. “Naissance d’une géographie juive,” in *Moïse géographe: Recherches sur les représentations juives et chrétiennes de l’espace*, eds. Alain Desreumaux and Francis Schmidt (*Études de psychologie et de philosophie* 24; Paris: J. Vrin, 1988), pp. 13-30 – Studying ancient Jewish geography, Schmidt compared Josephus’ paraphrase of the earth as described in Gen 10 with that of Jubilees. He noted how Jubilees ascribed all of Asia to the Semites, expressing thereby its opposition to Hellenism. Josephus, on the other hand, incorporated Japheth and Ham into Asia, while replacing names of ancient peoples and places with names given to them by the Greeks.

TYLOCH, WITOLD. “Quelques remarques sur la provenance essénienne du Livre des Jubilés,” *RQ* 13 (1988), pp. 347-352 – Analyzing the ideological elements within Jubilees, Tyloch concluded that the book was an Essene writing composed in the same milieu as other documents of Qumran.

VANDERKAM, JAMES C. “Jubilees and Hebrew Texts of Genesis-Exodus,” *Textus* 14 (1988), pp. 71-85; —. “Jubilees and the Priestly Messiah of Qumran,” *RQ* 13 (1988), pp. 353-365 – In the first article, VanderKam dealt again with textual issues (cf. VanderKam 1977), maintaining that the Pentateuchal text of Jubilees agreed more often with the Samaritan text and the LXX than the MT, while also differing considerably with all of these witnesses. Accordingly, Jubilees pointed to a larger and more complex corpus of manuscripts of the Pentateuch that existed during the second century B.C.E. In his second article, VanderKam looked at works written prior to Qumran in order to understand the development of the Qumranic expectation of a priestly messiah. He argued that Jubilees witnessed to an earlier process in which the status of the Levitic priesthood was exalted, using especially Num 25:1-13; Mal 2:4-6, 8; Deut 33:9-11 and Gen 14:18-20 in order to elevate Levi’s status. Relying on these key texts, Qumran subsequently developed this Levi tradition into a priestly messianism.

WELTNER, CHARLES LONGSTREET. *A Textual Analysis and Comparative Study of the Joseph Narrative in the Ethiopic Book of Jubilees* (Diss.; University of Dublin, 1988) – In his textual analysis, Weltner compared the Joseph narrative in Jubilees with texts from other important versions of the story such as MT, LXX and Targum Onkelos. He concluded that Jubilees influenced later depictions of Joseph in Midrash and synagogue liturgy related to Yom Kippur.

DORAN, ROBERT. “The Non-Dating of Jubilees: Jub 34-8; 23:14-32 in Narrative Context,” *JSJ* 20 (1989), pp. 1-11 – Doran performed a literary analysis of the accounts of the Amorite and Edomite wars (Jub 34-38) and of the apocalypse of Jubilees (23:14-32) within its wider narrative structure. He concluded that there was no support for a precise Maccabean dating of

Jubilees, since both Jub 34-38 and 23:14-32 stressed the importance of family solidarity, an emphasis that would have been particularly important before 167 B.C.E.

KNIBB, MICHAEL ANTHONY. *Jubilees and the Origins of the Qumran Community. An Inaugural Lecture* (London: King's College, 1989) – After studying the thought systems of Jubilees and Qumran, Knibb concluded that Jubilees belonged to the pre-history of Qumran and was written soon after 175 B.C.E. by a reform priestly circle concerned with the effects of Hellenism. He linked this reform movement with the "root of planting," which according to the Damascus Document came into existence 390 years after the exile. He further claimed that approximately twenty years later, the Teacher of Righteousness would have led part of this movement into the wilderness at Qumran.

NEBE, GERHARD WILHELM. "Ergänzende Bemerkung zu 4Q176, Jubiläen 23,21," *RQ* 14 (1989), pp. 129-130 – In order to support Kister's identification of fragments 19-21 of 4Q176 with Jub 23:21ff and Jub 23:30f (1987), Nebe offered a retranslation of the last sentence of Jub 23:21 from Ge'ez into Hebrew.

VANDERKAM, JAMES C. *The Book of Jubilees* (2 vols.; CSCO 510-511; Scriptores Aethiopici 87-88; Leuven: Peeters 1989); —. "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: JSOT, 1989), pp. 211-236 – VanderKam published a new critical edition and translation of Jubilees, incorporating a large number of new textual witnesses. Part of these new manuscripts were handed to him by Baars and Zuurmond who had collected them with the intention of producing their own edition of Jubilees, a project that was never completed (1964). VanderKam's translation became and remains the authoritative edition and translation of Jubilees. In his comparative study of Jubilees and the Temple Scroll, VanderKam stressed their close relationship, while disagreeing with Wacholder's claim that both works were parts of a single work (1985). VanderKam argued that both compositions stemmed from the same legal and exegetical tradition, but that they also disagreed on certain details, making it unlikely that they were written by the same priest.

ZUURMOND, ROCHUS. "Asshur in Jubilees 13.1?" *JSP* 4 (1989), pp. 87-89 – In this short philological note on Jub 13:1, Zuurmond tried to show that the proper noun Asshur was wrongly transcribed in the process of transmission from the Hebrew into Greek and Ge'ez manuscripts. The original Hebrew contained Hatsor, an ancient city north of Canaan.

ADLER, WILLIAM. "The Origins of the Proto-Heresies: Fragments from a Chronicle in the First Book of Epiphanius' 'Panarion,'" *JTS* 41.2 (1990), pp. 472-501 – In this philological study, Adler noted how early Christian writers adapted traditions from Jubilees in various ways. For example, in the Panarion, legends from Jubilees appear in a denatured and rationalized form. Adler also emphasized the importance of the Logothete chronographers as an important witness in understanding the early stages of the Christian transmission of Jubilees. He claimed that these chronographers even preserved some of the most literal Greek renderings of Jubilees, possibly reflecting more accurately the Hebrew *Vorlage*.

ROOK, JOHN. "The Names of the Wives from Adam to Abraham in the Book of Jubilees," *JSP* 7 (1990), pp. 105-117 – Rook noted that names of matriarchs in Genesis were carefully recorded in Jubilees. He examined the Ethiopic names of the wives of the patriarchs and attempted to work back to their Hebrew originals. He concluded that the matriarchal names held significance in the fact they were a microcosm of the narrative of the patriarch.

ROSSO UBIGLI, LILIANA. "Gli Apocrifi (o Pseudepigrifi) dell'Antico Testamento. Bibliografia 1979-1989," *Henoch* 12 (1990), pp. 259-321, esp. 295-299 – Rosso Ubigli offered an updated supplement to Charlesworth (1976; 1981) that covered the studies on the OT Apocrypha or Pseudepigrapha from 1979 to 1989. A chapter was dedicated to scholarly works on Jubilees.

SCHMIDT, FRANCIS. "Jewish Representations of the Inhabited Earth during the Hellenistic and Roman Periods," in *Greece and Rome in Eretz Israel: Collected Essays*, eds. Aryeh Kasher, Uriel Rappaport and Gideon Fuks (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1990), pp. 119-134 – In this study on ancient Jewish geography, Schmidt essentially reiterated the points made in his previous work (1988).

BERNSTEIN, MOSHE J. "Walking in the Festivals of the Gentiles: 4QpHosea^a 2.15-17 and Jubilees 6.34-38," *JSP* 9 (1991), pp. 21-34 – Bernstein suggested emendations for certain lacunae in 4QpHosea^a by comparing it with Jub 6:34-35.

CHESTNUTT, RANDALL D. "Revelatory Experiences Attributed to Biblical Women in Early Jewish Literature," in *"Women like This:" New Perspectives on Jewish Women in the Greco-Roman World*, ed. Amy-Jill Levine (SBLEJI 1; Atlanta: Scholars, 1991), pp. 107-125 – Chestnutt examined Jubilees, Joseph and Aseneth, and the Testament of Job as writings expanding the role of female figures known from biblical texts. Regarding Jubilees, he described how its author embellished the portrait of Rebecca, elevating her above all matriarchs. Thus, Jubilees mitigated Rebecca from her culpability of deceiving Isaac about the paternal blessing, presented her as a moral exemplar and even portrayed her as an agent of divine revelation, a trait also later ascribed to her by the Targums and rabbinic Midrashim. Commenting on the social reality for women lying behind Jubilees, he pointed to the fact that the elevated status of Rebekah was granted "within a context of respect for proper familial and social patterns" (124).

DELCOR, MATHIAS (1919-1992). "La fête des Huttes dans le Rouleau du Temple et dans le Livre des Jubilés," *RQ* 15.1-2 (1991), pp. 181-198 – Delcor analyzed the Feast of Tabernacles in the Temple Scroll and Jubilees. He concluded that the Temple Scroll did not differ greatly from the Torah with respect to the Feast of Tabernacles. However, the material on the Feast of Tabernacles in Jubilees frequently differed with the Temple Scroll and the Pentateuch. He supposed that these differences demonstrated that Jubilees and the Temple Scroll could not be referring to a common unique halakhah.

EVANS, CRAIG A. "Jubilees," in *Noncanonical Writings and New Testament Interpretation* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1992), pp. 31-32 – In this short introduction, Evans dated Jubilees between 135 and 105 B.C.E. and characterized it as a Pharisaic document written in order to promote obedience to the Law. He claimed that the author was interested in the question of evil, associating it with the demonic world, while acquitting Adam of its continuing effects. Evans asserted that while the author believed in God's gracious attitude toward Israel, the Gentiles were excluded from any hope of salvation.

GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, FLORENTINO. "4QMess Ar and the Book of Noah," in *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (STDJ 9; Leiden: Brill, 1992), pp. 1-44 – In this article, García Martínez asserted that the existence of the lost Book of Noah was attested by at least two explicit allusions in Jubilees. In light of this assumption, he tried to draw an approximate outline of the contents contained within this lost book.

NEWSOME, JAMES D. "Jubilees," in *Greeks, Romans, Jews: Current of Culture and Belief in the New Testament World* (Philadelphia: Trinity International, 1992), pp. 91-93, 244-245 – Newsome briefly discussed the religious ideas within Jubilees. He did not view the form of Jubilees as apocalyptic, even though he emphasized how it contained certain apocalyptic notions such as its theological dualism and angelology. He thought some of the ideas in Jubilees were theologically similar to Daniel, but also noted that it differed by displaying no sense of crisis.

VANDERKAM, JAMES C. / MILIK, JÓZEF TADEUSZ (1922-2006). "A Preliminary Publication of a Jubilees Manuscript from Qumran Cave 4: 4QJub (4Q219)," *Biblica* 73.1 (1992), pp. 62-83 – VanderKam and Milik provided a preliminary publication of the Hebrew fragments of 4QJub along with an English translation and textual commentary.

VANDERKAM, JAMES C. "The Book of Jubilees," *Missouri Review* 15 (1992). Repr. in an abridged form ("Jubilees: How it Rewrote the Bible") in *Bible Review* 8.6 (1992), pp. 32-39, 60-62 – In this short article, VanderKam included a general introduction to Jubilees and noted how it reworked its biblical material.

BRIN, GERSHON. "Regarding the Connection between the Temple Scroll and the Book of Jubilees," *JBL* 112 (1993), pp. 108-109 – Gershon noted that the phrase from the Temple Scroll "which I will tell you on *this* mountain," contains no antecedent in its text describing this mountain. He observed that the same phrase was attested in Jubilees, and concluded that this phrase connected both works.

KUGEL, JAMES. "Levi's Election to the Priesthood in Second Temple Writings," *HTR* 86 (1993), pp. 1-64 – Kugel asserted that during the Second Temple period, two accounts of Levi arose from a reading of Malachi 2:4-7: the "Apocalypse of Levi" and the "Levi's Priestly Initiation." He claimed that Jubilees used material from the latter source but not from the Apocalypse of Levi. In his view, the author of the Aramaic Levi Document combined Jubilees, the Apocalypse of Levi, and Levi's Priestly Initiation into his narrative, which in turn became the basis for the Testament of Levi.

MILGROM, JACOB. "The Concept of Impurity in 'Jubilees' and the 'Temple Scroll,'" *RQ* 16.2 (1993), pp. 277-284 – Milgrom compared the purity laws in Jubilees and the Temple Scroll. He dated Jubilees to the early reign of Antiochus IV, claiming that its purity concerns reflected a period when assimilation to Hellenism was reaching a crisis stage. He saw the Temple Scroll as a composite book and concluded that Jubilees could have been written *during* its composition.

MÜLLER, KARLHEINZ. "Die hebräische Sprache der Halacha als Textur der Schöpfung: Beobachtungen zum Verhältnis von Tora und Halacha im Buch der Jubiläen," in *Bibel in jüdischer und christlicher Tradition: Festschrift für Johann Maier zum 60. Geburtstag*, eds. Helmut Herklien, Karlheinz Müller, and Günter Stemberger (BBB 88; Frankfurt am Main: Anton Hain, 1993), pp. 157-176 – Müller focused on the relationship in Jubilees between the halakhah of the "fathers" and Moses, the promoter of the Torah. In his view, Moses was depicted by the author of Jubilees as an ensurer of halakhic traditions that differed from the Mosaic Torah. Müller interpreted Jubilees as a witness to a religious community that tried to reconcile its authoritative rules with those of the Mosaic Torah, while still attributing more weight to its own rules.

VANDERKAM, JAMES C. "Biblical Interpretation in 1 Enoch and Jubilees," in *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation*, eds. James H. Charlesworth and Craig A. Evans (JSPSup 14; Sheffield: JSOT, 1993) – VanderKam studied how 1 Enoch and Jubilees respectively interpreted scripture. He noticed how the rhetoric of both works was conditioned by biblical language. He characterized the author of Jubilees as a careful reader of the biblical text who tried to solve its problems and defend its characters.

AMARU, BETSY HALPERN. "The First Woman, Wives, and Mothers in Jubilees," *JBL* 113 (1994), pp. 609-626; —. "The Metahistorical Covenant of Jubilees," in *Rewriting the Bible: Land and Covenant in Post-Biblical Literature* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity International, 1994), pp. 25-54 – Amaru's first work focused on the portrayal of women in Jubilees, an aspect that scholars had paid rather little attention to up to this point. She observed a considerable amount of reworking by Jubilees in its portrayal of women in Genesis. She pointed out how Jubilees transformed Eve into a co-character with Adam, and further maintained that by including female names in the biblical genealogical lists, Jubilees in general enhanced the roles of women as wives and mothers. In her second work, Amaru studied the concept of land and its relationship to the notion of covenant in Jubilees. She concluded that Jubilees sought to reduce biblical covenantal themes linked with the possession of the land and emphasized instead the importance of God's relationship with Israel.

ANDERSON, GARY A. "The Status of the Torah before Sinai: The Retelling of the Bible in the Damascus Covenant and the Book of Jubilees," *DSD* 1.1 (1994), pp. 1-29 – Anderson analyzed the way in which Jubilees and CD dealt with the references of biblical punishments against patriarchs for the transgressions of Sinaitic laws. In the case of Jubilees, Anderson maintained that when a patriarch was punished for transgressing a Sinaitic law, the author of Jubilees either inserted foreknowledge of this law into the biblical text or stated that the transgressor broke one of the few biblical commandments issued prior to Sinai. On the other hand, in biblical cases where patriarchs sinned but escaped punishment, Anderson found that Jubilees rationalized this phenomenon by pointing to the unintentional nature of the transgression.

BAUMGARTEN, JOSEPH M. "Purification after Childbirth and the Sacred Garden in 4Q265 and Jubilees," in *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992*, eds. George J. Brook and Florentino García Martínez (STDJ 15; Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 3-10 – In this philological analysis of 4Q265, Baumgarten noted that this text, like Jubilees, patterned the purification of a parturient according to the preparatory periods of Adam and Eve before their entrance into Eden.

GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, FLORENTINO. "Book of Jubilees," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 238-245 – García Martínez provided an English translation of the Hebrew fragments of Jubilees.

HIMMELFARB, MARTHA. "Some Echoes of Jubilees in Medieval Hebrew Literature," in *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of the Jewish Pseudepigrapha*, ed. John Reeves (SBLEJL 6; Atlanta: Scholars, 1994), pp. 115-141 – Examining the transmission of traditions from Jubilees in medieval Hebrew works, Himmelfarb concluded that such documents generally derived their materials on Jubilees from an ancient collection of excerpts that was also used by

Byzantine chronographers. She suggested that a Jewish reader in Byzantium may have translated passages from these collections into Hebrew.

KUGEL, JAMES. “The Jubilees Apocalypse,” *DSD* 1 (1994), pp. 322-337 – In his analysis of Jub 23, Kugel demonstrated how the author of Jubilees weaved a variety of themes with references from Psalm 90 in order to provide legitimacy to its own text. In his opinion, Jubilees also fused these elements in order to affirm its conviction that Israel had failed to observe the commandments of God and was now paying for its sins through a loss of longevity.

SYRÉN, ROGER. “Ishmael and Esau in the Book of Jubilees and Targum Pseudo-Jonathan,” in *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in their Historical Context*, eds. D.R.G. Beattie and Martin J. McNamara (Sheffield: JSOT, 1994), pp. 310-315 – Syrén studied the portrayal of Ishmael and Esau in Jubilees and Targum Pseudo-Jonathan. He noticed certain commonalities in their depictions, but maintained that Pseudo-Jonathan carried a more condemnatory portrayal of these characters.

VANDERKAM, JAMES C. “Genesis 1 in Jubilees 2,” *DSD* 1 (1994), pp. 300-321; —. “Putting Them in Their Place: Geography as an Evaluative Tool,” in *Pursuing the Text: Studies in Honor of Ben Zion Wacholder on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, eds. John C. Reeves, John Kampen and Ben Zion Wacholder (Sheffield: Academic, 1994), pp. 46-69 – VanderKam compared the creation account of Jubilees with Gen 1 in order to understand better its character and purpose. He concluded that the author of Jubilees rewrote the Genesis creation account in order to prove how a detailed and separatist legislation existed since creation and was kept by the patriarchs. He suggested that the author of Jubilees may have made this particularistic assertion in reaction to other Jews who argued that a purer and more cosmopolitan law existed before Sinai. In his study on the geography of Jub 8-10, VanderKam showed how Jubilees reworked Gen 10 in order to justify Israel’s occupation of the land of Canaan.

VANDERKAM, JAMES C. / MILIK, JÓZEF TADEUSZ (1922-2006). “Jubilees,” in *Discoveries in the Judean Desert*, vol. 13 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), pp. 1-140 – The work included the official publication of the 4Q copies of Jubilees in Hebrew, considerably improving the textual basis for further studies.

CHRISTIANSEN, ELLEN JUHL. *The Covenant in Judaism and Paul: A Study of Ritual Boundaries as Identity Markers* (AGAJU 27; Leiden: Brill, 1995), pp. 67-103 – Christiansen explored the idea of covenant in the Hebrew Bible, Jubilees and other Second Temple Jewish sources in order to understand the meaning and function of baptism in Pauline writings. She concluded that in the Hebrew Bible and Jubilees the covenant was ethnocentric and national, while Paul did not view baptism as representing an entry into a covenantal relationship but as a symbol of incorporation into a community centered on Christ.

DAY, JOHN. “The Pharaoh of the Exodus, Josephus and Jubilees,” *VT* 45.3 (1995), pp. 377-378 – In this brief note, Day argued against the claim that Jubilees and Josephus dated the Exodus to the reign of Ramses II. He thought, however, that Josephus provided evidence for some people in antiquity in placing the Exodus at the time of Merneptah, Ramses II’s successor.

KNOWLES, MICHAEL P. “Abram and the Birds in Jubilees 11: A Subtext for the Parable of the Sower?” *NTS* 41.1 (1995), pp. 145-151 – Knowles highlighted some similarities between the story of the crows in Jub 11 and the Parable of the Sower in Mark 4:3-8, 14-20, finding at least three principal features shared by both sources: (1) the sowing of seed (2) the initial frustration of the task by birds (3) the final triumph of the seed over all such barriers. He thought that the Markan interpretation of the birds as representing Satan was also echoed in Jub 11 where the birds could represent the forces of Mastema. In his eyes, such a precedent suggested that the Markan understanding was the original interpretation of the parable.

RUITEN, JACQUES T.A.G.M. VAN. “The Rewriting of Exodus 24:12-18 in Jubilees 1:1-4,” *BibN* 79 (1995), pp. 25-29 – Van Ruiten, in this work and in many publications to come, would devote his attention to a literary analysis of Jubilees, focusing on its reworking of biblical material. In this study, he looked at the rewriting of Exod 24:12-18 by the author of Jubilees. He concluded that the writer of Jubilees followed the biblical text closely, omitting passages and avoiding repetitions in order to harmonize contradictory statements, while in other instances changing the text to suit his own purposes.

WERMAN, CANA. *Attitude towards Gentiles in the Book of Jubilees and Qumran Literature Compared with Early Tanaic Halakha and Contemporary Pseudepigrapha* (Diss.; Hebrew

University of Jerusalem, 1995) [Hebrew] – In this dissertation, Werman provided an extensive study on the attitude toward Gentiles in Jubilees and Qumran literature, as manifested in their literary and halakhic elements, comparing them with Tannaitic literature and contemporary Pseudepigrapha. She concluded that Jubilees established an extremely negative view toward Gentiles, claiming, for instance, that biblical non-Jewish figures such as Enoch and Noah were transformed by Jubilees into fathers of halakhah rather than fathers of humankind. On the other hand, Werman claimed that the Noahide laws of Jubilees contained a more detailed list of positive commandments than the Noahide laws of the rabbinic sages.

DOERING, LUTZ. “Jub 2,24 nach 4QJub(a) VII,17 und der Aufbau von Jub 2,17-33,” *BibN* 84 (1996), pp. 22-28 – Doering examined the structure of Jub 2:17-33 taking into consideration the Hebrew text of 4QJub^a VII,17. He discussed whether Jub 2:24b belonged to the conclusion of the preceding passage or opened the following one. He suggested that both Jub 2:24b and 2:33 framed the promulgation of the first commandment in Jubilees, the commandment to observe the Sabbath. He thus divided the text into two parts: Jub 2:17-24a depicting the seventh day of creation followed by the promulgation of the Sabbath law introduced in 2:24b.

MÜLLER, MOGENS. “Die Abraham-Gestalt im Jubiläenbuch: Versuch einer Interpretation,” *SJOT* 10.2 (1996), pp. 238-257 – Focusing on Jubilees’ depiction of Abraham, Müller proposed that its author presented Abraham as the prototype for the group of his addressees, a group that was also confronted with strong influences from a pagan environment. In Müller’s view, Moses was also remodeled in the process into an apocalyptic figure, serving as a mediator for those who understood themselves as the (re-)converted descendants of Abraham and Jacob, who had now truly achieved forgiveness and access to the covenant.

RUITEN, JACQUES T.A.G.M. VAN. “The Garden of Eden and Jubilees 3:1-31,” *Bijdragen*, 57.3 (1996), pp. 305-317; —, “The Relationship Between Exod 31,12-17 and Jubilees 2,1.17-33,” in *Studies in the Book of Exodus: Redaction, Reception, Interpretation*, ed. Marc Vervenne (BETL 126; Leuven: Leuven University, 1996), pp. 567-575 – Van Ruiten examined the rewriting of Gen 2:4-3:24 in Jub 3:1-31. He concluded that the author of Jubilees was challenged by some difficulties in the biblical text and sought to harmonize them. He claimed that occasionally Jubilees departed from a close reading of the text and adapted its meaning to current interpretations of the text (e.g., Eden as a sanctuary; Adam as a priest). In his other study, Van Ruiten sought to define the exact relationship between Jub 2 and the *text* of Exod 31:12–17. He concluded that only in one instance (Jub 2:27) was it possible to speak of a textual relation between both texts.

STECK, ODIL HANNES (1935-2001). “Die getöteten ‘Zeugen’ und die verfolgten ‘Tora-Sucher’ in Jub 1,12: Ein Beitrag zur Zeugnis-Terminologie des Jubiläenbuches,” *ZAW* 107.3 (1995), pp. 445-465; 108.1 (1996), pp. 70-86 – In this article, Steck returned to a question already raised in his dissertation *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten* (1967). Noticing that Jubilees never used the term “prophets,” but referred to them in a unique way as “witnesses” (Jub 1:12), Steck searched for an adequate understanding of the terms “witnesses” and “testimony” within Jubilees. In his view, Jubilees’ use of these terms reflected a condensation of the deuteronomistic concept of history: Jubilees not only spoke about laws, but using the term “testimony” further referred to the practices related to these laws. According to Steck, such a focus on the praxis of laws served to recall the legal requirements, while also justifying God’s judgment.

VANDERKAM, JAMES C. “Jubilees’ Exegetical Creation of Levi the Priest,” *RQ* 17.1-4 (1996), pp. 359-373 – VanderKam analyzed how Jubilees expanded materials on Levi from the book of Genesis. He concluded that the writer of Jubilees based himself on the text of Genesis but was also able to build lengthy additions, using related passages from wider scriptural teachings on tithes, Levi and the Levites. In his eyes, this process demonstrated the author’s extensive knowledge of scripture and the ancient ways of reading them.

3. Major Trends in Contemporary Research

ALBANI, MATTHIAS / FREY, JÖRG / LANGE, ARMIN (eds.). *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (TSAJ 65; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997) – The completion of the publication of the Hebrew fragments of Jubilees led to renewed efforts in the study of this text. This important publication included papers presented at a symposium on Jubilees held on March 1-3, 1996 in Leipzig,

Germany. The event testified to the increasing interest and importance of the book of Jubilees for researchers on both sides of the Atlantic, but also highlighted the need felt worldwide for a greater international exchange among scholars of Second Temple Judaism. The book itself was divided in three parts, the first section dealing with “Introductory Issues and Biblical Interpretation”, the second dedicated to questions about “Calendar, Cultic Festivals, and Other Concepts of Thought,” and the third focusing on the reception of the text. The first section opened with a contribution by **James C. VanderKam** (“The Origins and Purpose of the Book of Jubilees,” pp. 3-24). In the first half of this paper, VanderKam included his own treatment on the history of research of Jubilees. The second half of his paper was devoted to discussing the origins and purpose of Jubilees. He reiterated some points that he had made earlier, dating the book between 160 and 150 B.C.E., and suggested that Jubilees was written in reaction to Jewish people who desired to live more fully in the Hellenistic world. **Armin Lange** (“Divinatorische Träume und Apokalypstik im Jubiläenbuch,” pp. 25-38) tried to determine the apocalyptic nature of Jubilees by analyzing the dreams described in the text. He noticed that Jubilees tended to exclude allegorical dreams from the Genesis Vorlage, while retaining or even adding theorematized dreams. In his eyes, this fact showed that Jubilees sought to distance itself from the apocalyptic movement, which was sympathetic to incorporating allegorical dreams. Consequently, he argued that Jubilees should not be classified as an apocalyptic writing. **George J. Brooke** (“Exegetical Strategies in Jubilees 1-2: New Light from 4QJubilees^a,” pp. 39-58) examined the recently published Hebrew fragments 4QJubilees^a with the aim of better understanding its exegetical strategies. He found that the writer of Jubilees employed a variety of techniques when handling scripture. He noticed that Jubilees at times quoted scripture exactly, while in other instances it abbreviated or paraphrased passages in order to eliminate repetitions and contradictions within Genesis. **Jacques A.T.G.M. van Ruiten** (“The Interpretation of Genesis 6:1-12 in Jubilees 5:1-19,” pp. 59-78) looked at the way in which Jubilees rewrote and interpreted Gen 6:1-12. Similarly to Brooke, he concluded that the author of Jubilees exhibited a variety of techniques in reshaping his biblical material, which were dictated by a concern to harmonize and interpret scripture. The second section opened with a contribution by **Matthias Albani** (“Zur Rekonstruktion eines verdrängten Konzepts: Der 364-Tage-Kalender in der gegenwärtigen Forschung,” pp. 79-126). He summarized the scholarly discussions about the 364-day-calendar as described in Jubilees and other early Jewish writings and tried to expound the remaining key questions. He concluded that any apodictic statement regarding this calendar would be inadequate in light of the incomplete picture presented by the extant sources. Nevertheless, he argued that that the sources did not allow one to treat this calendar, manifested in its different forms, as a sectarian phenomenon. He encouraged greater reflection on the possible developments of this calendar, and proposed that scholars consider its origins in the Babylonian Diaspora as a link to the rise of a non-lunar conception of the Sabbath. **Uwe Glessmer** (“Explizite Aussagen über kalendrische Konflikte im Jubiläenbuch: Jub 6,22-32.33-38,” pp. 127-164) examined the concepts particular to Jubilees’ calendar. Borrowing Klaus Koch’s terminology, he interpreted Jubilees as a text “im Kampf um die gottgesetzten Zeitepochen” (p. 140), written in an era in which no authoritative chronology was yet established. In his view, Jubilees’ concept mainly differed from the older Enochic concept of the 364-day-calendar, attested in the Astronomical book, by polemizing against any consideration of the lunar cycle, probably in an effort to avoid what was viewed as a “Gentile” practice. While Albani and Glessmer focused on the 364-day-calendar, **Werner Eiss** (“Das Wochenfest im Jubiläenbuch und im antiken Judentum,” pp. 165-178) and **Lutz Doering** (“The Concept of the Sabbath in the Book of Jubilees,” pp. 179-206) examined single concepts related to the cultic cycle promoted by Jubilees. Eiss offered an analysis of the terminology, the dating and the function of the Feast of Weeks in Jubilees. He noticed that Jubilees emphasized the importance of the feast as both a festival of harvest and covenant, which was dissociated in two different ways during the subsequent centuries: the Qumranites would focus on the aspect of the covenant because of their dissociation from the Temple, while the loss of the Temple would transform this feast into a commemoration of the giving of the Torah in the second century C.E. Doering, on the other hand, provided a study on Jubilees’ concept of the Sabbath. He pointed out that Jubilees intimately tied the Sabbath to creation and exclusively linked it to Israel. He found that the Sabbath was clearly distinguished from other feasts and functioned as the basic chronological unit within the text. He argued that the halakhic lists of Jub 2:29 and 50:8,12 appeared to be older than Jubilees, since these listings bore no evidence of polemic attitudes. He claimed that at the time of Jubilees, polemics on

the Sabbath were included in the book in reaction to the inroads made by Hellenism during the time of Antiochus IV. **Beate Ego** ("Heilige Zeit – heiliger Raum – heiliger Mensch. Beobachtungen zur Struktur der Gesetzesbegründung in Schöpfungs- und Paradiesgeschichte des Jubiläensbuchs," pp. 207-220) argued that the first three laws in Jubilees (the law of the Sabbath, of the woman in childbed and the law of being dressed) enjoyed an outstanding status, since they were not founded on the authority of the patriarchs, but were established through the actions of God or the angels prior to the time of the patriarchs. In her view, these laws established the basic order for all existence by unfolding the dimensions of time and space, holy and profane, and allowed Israel to partake in the heavenly realm. After a short introduction on divine titles in early Jewish writings, Christfried Böttrich ("Gottesprädikationen im Jubiläenbuch," pp. 221-242) presented a statistic of the designations of God as used in Jubilees and translated into German. He concluded that the different designations mainly centered around two attributes ascribed to God: his universal dominion and his loving care. The contribution of **Florentino García Martínez** ("The Heavenly Tablets in the Book of Jubilees," pp. 243-260) was an English translation of a previous work done in Spanish (1984). He concluded that the term "Heavenly Tablets" did not refer to one single notion, but many. Thus, these Tablets were sometimes identified with the tablets of the Law or the Book of Destiny and contained future events as well as new halakhot. He argued that the Heavenly Tablets derived the notion of a Book of Destiny from the Enochic literature. He also thought that they functioned in similar ways to the rabbinic Oral Torah, since Jubilees considered the Heavenly Tablets to contain the correct authoritative interpretation of the Law and to have been delivered through a chain of transmission. **Jörg Frey** ("Zum Weltbild im Jubiläenbuch," pp. 261-294) closed the second section by examining the worldview represented in Jubilees' depiction of the axis of time and space. He concluded that the depiction of a fixed order on both of these levels undergirded the hortatory message of Jubilees: to strengthen its readers' identity as members of the unique people assigned to holiness. The third and final section consisted of a contribution by **James M. Scott** ("The Division of the Earth in Jubilees 8:11-9:15 and Early Christian Chronography," pp. 295-323). Scott asked whether Hippolytus used the Greek version of Jubilees 8-9 when writing his account of the "Division of the Earth." He concluded that Hippolytus did indeed base his work on the Greek version of Jub 8-9 and reworked it in order to dampen imminent expectations of the end of the Roman Empire.

AMARU, BETSY HALPERN. "Exile and Return in Jubilees," in *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Conceptions*, ed. James M. Scott (JSJSup 56; Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 127-144 – Amaru explored the topic of exile and return in Jubilees. She argued that Jubilees stressed the importance of Israel's election above the promise of the Land. Likewise, restoration of lost purity rather than exile and return to the Land became for the author of Jubilees the signature of the imminent eschaton.

VANDERKAM, JAMES C. "The Aqedah, Jubilees, and PseudoJubilees," in *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders*, eds. Craig A. Evans, Shemaryahu Talmon and James A. Sanders (BIS 38; Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 241-261 – VanderKam compared the Aqedah story of 4Q252, which had been labeled by Milik as "PseudoJubilees," with that of Jubilees. He concluded that 4Q252 represented an interpretation of Genesis that was independent of Jubilees, and therefore saw no conclusive evidence for classifying 4Q252 as "PseudoJubilees."

VERMES, GEZA. "Jubilees," in *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (New York: Penguin, 1997), pp. 507-510 – This edition included a translation of Hebrew fragments of Jubilees.

WACHOLDER, BEN ZION. "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*, eds. Moshe Bernstein, Florentino García Martínez, John Kampen (STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 195-211 – Wacholder examined the prologue and main ideas of Jub 1, focusing on the rhetorical techniques used by Jubilees to assert its authority over the Mosaic Torah. He concluded that Jubilees presented itself as a super-biblical work, superior to Genesis and Exodus. He argued that Qumran took Jubilees as their key authoritative text, and understood the term Torah as also referring to Jubilees. He suggested that this claim to super-canonicity prompted the church fathers to alter its original title to "Little Genesis," thereby emphasizing its subordination to Genesis.

WERMAN, CANA. “Jubilees 30: Building a Paradigm for the Ban on Inter-marriage,” *HTR* 90.1 (1997), pp. 1-22 – In this study on the topic of intermarriage, Werman argued that Jubilees was completely opposed to intermarriage and consequently attempted to remove all intermarriage accounts involving patriarchs. Thus, Jubilees granted the status of honorary Jewishness to Aramean women, and in turn portrayed Laban in a positive light. Werman claimed that the same accommodation was made for Joseph who married an Egyptian woman. Accordingly, Jubilees had Egypt removed from the curses of Canaan and depicted Egypt as objecting to the Canaanite settlement of the land of Shem.

AMARU, BETSY HALPERN. “The Portrait of Sarah in Jubilees,” in *Jewish Studies in a New Europe: Proceedings of the Fifth Congress of Jewish Studies in Copenhagen 1994 Under the Auspices of the European Association for Jewish Studies*, eds. U. Haxen, Hanne Trautner-Kromann and Karen L.G. Salamon (Copenhagen: C.A. Reitzel A/S International Publishers, 1998), pp. 336-348 – Commenting on the portrayal of Sarah in Jubilees, Amaru observed how unlike Rebecca, whose descriptions were substantially elaborated by Jubilees, no extensive extra-biblical materials were provided for Sarah. Nevertheless, Amaru showed how Genesis’ passages on Sarah were deleted and modified, and claimed that this process represented an exegetical effort on the part of the author to enhance the role of the first matriarch.

BERGER, KLAUS. “Jubiläenbuch,” in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, ed. Ernst Dassmann, vol. 19 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1998), pp. 31-38 – Going against scholarly consensus, Berger proposed to date Jubilees as early as the fifth century B.C.E. In his view, the writing could be related to the Persian diaspora. Unlike many other introductions, Berger dedicated a paragraph to the interpretation of Jubilees within the Ethiopian Church.

BOCCACCINI, GABRIELE. *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Partings of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), pp. 86-98 – In his book, Boccaccini, a historian dedicated to the study of the development of ideas in Second Temple Judaism, characterized Jubilees as a pre-sectarian writing related to the same sociological background as that of what he called Enochic Judaism. He dated Jubilees’ composition after the time of the Maccabean crisis and situated it within a chronological and ideological chain that linked early Enochic literature with the formation of the sectarian texts from Qumran. He argued that Jubilees accepted the authority of the Mosaic revelation, while subordinating it to the Enochic tradition.

GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, FLORENTINO / TIGCHELAAR, EIBERT J.C. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998) 1:22-25; 1:214-215; 1:226-227; 1:360-363; 1:458-483; 2:964-965; 2:1204-1207 – García Martínez and Tigchelaar prepared a useful edition containing the Dead Sea Scrolls with their Hebrew texts and an English Translation.

GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, FLORENTINO / TIGCHELAAR, EIBERT J.C. / WOUDE, ADAM S. VAN DER.. “Qumran Cave 11 II: 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31,” in *Discoveries in the Judean Desert*, vol. 23 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), pp. 207-221 – This publication included the Hebrew fragments of Jubilees from Qumran Cave 11.

NEBE, GERHARD WILHELM. “4Q174, 1-2, I, 6f im Lichte von ‘Sektenschrift’ und Jub 2,22,” *RQ* 18.4 (1998), pp. 581-587 – Nebe considered whether the author of 4Q174, 1-2, I, 6f thought that מעשי תורה or מעשי תורה were to be offered as a fragrant sacrifice. Nebe referred to Jub 2:22, where God’s commands are depicted as a rising fragrance. He concluded that the author of 4Q174 might have known this idea, but exchanged the term תורה for תורה in order to underscore the importance of the synagogue service.

PHILONENKO, MARC. “La sixième demande du ‘Notre Père’ et le livre des ‘Jubilés,’” *RHPR* 78.2 (1998), pp. 27-37 – Philonenko examined a Greek passage from Jubilees preserved by the Byzantine Chronicler George Syncellus. He showed how this text illuminates the background of the sixth request in the Lord’s Prayer.

RUITEN, JACQUES T.A.G.M. VAN. “Biblical interpretation in Jubilees 3:1-31,” in *Lasset uns Brücken bauen: Collected Communications to the XVth Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament, Cambridge 1995*, eds. Klaus-Dietrich Schunk and Matthias Augustin (BEATAJ 42; Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1998), pp. 315-319 – Van Ruiten examined the methods of interpretation used by Jubilees in reworking Gen 2:4b-3:34. He found that the author of Jubilees modified, omitted and added material in order to harmonize

contradictory biblical statements. He stated that the writer at times inserted his own views but also seemed to be influenced by current interpretations.

SCHUBERT, FRIEDEMANN. *Tradition und Erneuerung: Studien zum Jubiläenbuch und seinem Trägerkreis* (Europäische Hochschulschriften 771; Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1998) – Schubert's dissertation touched on different topics related to Jubilees. His primary concern, however, remained to further determine the partisan circle (Trägerkreis) behind Jubilees, paying particular attention to the figure of Levi as Jubilees depicted it especially in chapters 30-32. He proposed that a Levitic group related to the Hasidim stood behind Jubilees, and was opposed to pro-hellenistic priestly and aristocratic circles, an opposition culminating during the religious crisis under Antiochus IV.

VANDERKAM, JAMES C. *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time* (LDSS; London: Routledge, 1998) – VanderKam commented on ancient calendars found in biblical and post-biblical Jewish texts. He claimed that Jubilees differed from the Astronomical Book in emphatically forbidding any lunar calendar, in laying heavy emphasis upon weeks and in tying the calendar to festivals. In contradistinction to Epstein's theory of two calendars (one civil, the other religious, 1887), VanderKam affirmed only one calendar of 364 days, in which the waving of the Omer took place on 1/26, while Pentecost fell on 3/15.

AMARU, BETSY HALPERN. "Bilhah and Naphtali in Jubilees: A Note on 4QTNaphtali," in *DSD* 6.1 (1999), pp. 1-10; —. *The Empowerment of Women in the Book of Jubilees* (Boston: Brill, 1999); —. "The Naming of Levi in the Book of Jubilees," in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea scrolls*, eds. Esther G. Chazon, Michael E. Stone and Avital Pinnick (STDJ 31; Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 59-69 – Amaru examined how Bilhah and Naphtali were portrayed in Jubilees. She found that Jubilees, like 4QTNaph and the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, exalted the prestige of Naphtali. However, in the case of Bilhah, she pointed out how Jubilees, in contrast to 4QTNaph, did not include a genealogy for Bilhah. She proposed that the author of Jubilees was ambivalent about the status of Bilhah and may have deliberately excluded certain materials because of sexual purity concerns. In her book, *The Empowerment of Women in the Book of Jubilees*, Amaru provided the first comprehensive study on the portrayal of women in Jubilees. She highlighted how the author of Jubilees reworked his biblical material under a moral concern for matrilineal purity. By doing so, Amaru asserted that the author of Jubilees elevated the matriarchs from their reproductive function to active participants in covenantal history. In her article on the naming of Levi, Amaru explored the connection made in Jubilees between Levi's naming and his appointment as priest. She arrived to similar conclusions made in her other works, maintaining that in reworking the biblical material on Levi, the author of Jubilees elevated the status of Levi's mother, Leah, and made her an active participant in the workings of the covenant.

ARANDA PÉREZ, GONZALO. "Los mil años en el libro de los Jubileos y Ap 20,1-10," *Estudios Bíblicos* 57 (1999), pp. 39-60 – Pérez compared Jub 23:26-31 with Revelation 20:1-10. He claimed that Jubilees understood the "thousand years" as a time characterized by the devil's absence and the reign of the righteous over their enemies. He asserted that these characteristics were also present in Revelation's description of the millennium and should be understood in a literal sense as a period stretching from Christ's death and resurrection to the end of the world.

DOERING, LUTZ. *Sabbat: Sabbathalacha und praxis im antiken Judentum und Urchristentum* (TSAJ 78; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), esp. pp. 43-118 – In his dissertation, Doering examined the textual evidence for normative rules regarding the Sabbath in sources reaching from the fifth century Elephantine ostraca to texts attesting to early Tanaaitic traditions. Concerning Jubilees, he presented observations already made to some extent in 1997. Comparing Jubilees with texts from Qumran, he observed a similar priestly stance on both sides, but argued that the Sabbath halakhah from the Qumran writings was more sophisticated. Among the many different sources Doering examined, Jubilees, in his view, expressed the most apodictic halakhah, not yet providing certain clemencies that later sources allowed for.

HIMMELFARB, MARTHA. "Sexual relations and purity in the Temple Scroll and the Book of Jubilees," *DSD* 6.1 (1999), pp. 11-13; —. "Torah, Testimony, and Heavenly Tablets: The Claim to Authority of the Book of Jubilees," in *A Multifarious Heritage: Studies on Early Judaism and Christianity in Honor of Robert A. Kraft*, ed. Benjamin G. Wright (SPHS 24; Atlanta: Scholars, 1999), pp. 19-29 – Himmelfarb joined the discussion on the relationship

between Jubilees and the Temple Scroll, focusing on the laws governing sexual relations and purity. She found that they significantly differed on these topics and concluded that they did not share a close relationship with each other. Himmerlfarb's analysis of the relationship between Torah, Testimony and Heavenly Tablets reflected the recent interest among scholars on this topic (but see already García Martínez, 1984 and Caquot, 1985). She disagreed with Wacholder's qualification of Jubilees as "super-canonical" (1997), but still maintained that Jubilees claimed equal authority with the Torah and consequently demoted the uniqueness and completeness of the Pentateuch.

HOFFMANN, HEINRICH. *Das Gesetz in der frühjüdischen Apokalyptik* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), pp. 298-320 – In this dissertation, Hoffmann examined the notion of law in the books of Daniel, 1 Enoch, the Assumption of Moses, 4 Ezra and the Apocalypse of Baruch. An examination of Jubilees was included in an appendix, since, in Hoffmann's view, its legal notions came very close to the aforementioned writings. He pointed to the particular character of each of these texts, while summarizing certain shared traits, and then after a short treatment on the concept of law in Qumran, tried to relate his findings to Paul's understanding of law. According to Hoffmann, Jubilees – although reflecting a pessimistic view on the present time – clearly placed more weight on personal responsibility for one's actions than on the human beings' submission to sin. This emphasis, in his view, also became manifest in the idea of the covenant, since it was tied to the obedience to the law. In Jubilees, as well as in the other writings, he noticed a strong tendency to speak about law in a very broad sense, which even covered the cosmic order. He insisted that this general description should not be misunderstood as expressing a lack of interest for concrete commandments, but should be taken in all these writings as a declaration of the compulsory character of the law, which included compliance to specific commandments.

NAJMAN, HINDY. "Interpretation as Primordial Writing: Jubilees and its Authority Conferring Strategies," *JSJ* 30.4 (1999), pp. 379-410 – Najman described the ways in which Jubilees conferred authority to its own writing. She detected four distinct authority-conferring strategies that were combined by Jubilees: (1) the ascription of its material to the pre-Sinaitic Heavenly Tablets, (2) the claim of angelic dictation for its traditions, (3) the invocation of the authority of Moses and (4) the rewriting of biblical material.

NICKELSBURG, GEORGE W.E. "The Nature and Function of Revelation in 1 Enoch, Jubilees, and some Qumranic Documents," in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, eds. Esther G. Chazon, Michael E. Stone and Avital Pinnick (STDJ 31; Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 91-119 – Nickelsburg compared the content, form and function of revelation in 1 Enoch, Jubilees and Qumranic texts. He argued that although these texts varied in the forms in which revelation was presented, their content of revelation was very similar. 1 Enoch ignored the centrality of the Torah, while Jubilees was able to celebrate the importance of the Mosaic Torah along with the Enochic revelation.

RUITEN, JACQUES T.A.G.M. VAN. "Eden and the Temple: The Rewriting of Genesis 2:4-3:24 in 'The Book of Jubilees,'" in *Paradise Interpreted: Representations of Biblical Paradise in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. Gerard P. Luttikhuisen (TBN 2; Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 63-94; —, "The Interpretation of the Flood Story in the Book of Jubilees," in *Interpretations of the Flood*, eds. Florentino García Martínez and Gerard P. Luttikhuisen (TBN 1; Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 66-85; —, "Visions of the Temple in the Book of Jubilees," in *Gemeinde ohne Tempel: Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum*, eds. Beate Ego, Armin Lange, et al. (WUNT 118; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), pp. 215-227 – Van Ruiten continued his literary approach to Jubilees, examining how the author of Jubilees reworked the biblical materials of Gen 2:4-3:24. He concluded that the author of Jubilees could not accept the diversity of Yahwistic and priestly accounts of the primeval history and tried to harmonize these contradictions and repetitions wherever possible. In light of this reworking, Van Ruiten suggested that Jubilees either tried to replace Genesis or functioned in a way similar to the Oral Torah. In his second work, he analyzed the rewriting and interpretation of the Flood story and arrived at conclusions that he had made in previous works, stressing how the concern for harmonization and current issues dictated the way in which the author of Jubilees interpreted scripture. Van Ruiten also examined the way in which the Temple was depicted in Jubilees. He concluded that Jubilees spoke in a negative

way of the actual Temple, while portraying former sanctuaries and the future Temple in a positive light. He also tried to show how Jubilees rewrote the story of Eden in order to speak of a new creation in which Zion would be restored.

VANDERKAM, JAMES C. "Isaac's Blessing of Levi and his Descendants in Jubilees 31," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, eds. Donald W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich (Boston: Brill, 1999), pp. 497-519; —. "The Angel Story in the Book of Jubilees," in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, eds. Esther G. Chazon, Michael E. Stone and Avital Pinnick (STDJ 31; Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 151-70 – In the first paper, VanderKam examined a number of issues related to the Levi material in Jubilees and compared this tradition with other texts, primarily Aramaic Levi. He concluded that Jubilees may have known Aramaic Levi but thought it more likely that both texts drew from a larger common tradition. In his work on the angel story in Jubilees, VanderKam compared the account by Jubilees of Genesis 6 with 1 Enoch 6-16. In contrast to Dimant (1974), he believed that Jubilees was dependant for its angel story on the Book of the Watchers and reformulated this material to meet his own goals.

CARMICHAEL, CALUM M. "The Story of Joseph and the Book of Jubilees," and HEMPEL, CHARLOTTE. "The Place of the Book of Jubilees at Qumran and Beyond" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context*, ed. Timothy H. Lim (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), pp. 143-158, and 187-196 – As a result of an analysis of the story of Joseph in Jubilees and in the Pentateuch, Carmichael claimed that the relation between Jubilees' laws and narratives was remarkably similar to how the Pentateuch related legal and narrative materials to each other. In the same volume, Hempel reflected on the significance of Jubilees for Qumran. She affirmed the authority enjoyed by Jubilees among the Qumranites but saw no reason to classify it as a sectarian writing.

RUITEN, JACQUES T.A.G.M. VAN. *Primaeval History Interpreted: The Rewriting of Genesis 1-11 in the Book of Jubilees* (JSJSup 66; Leiden: Brill, 2000) – Van Ruiten continued his literary analysis of Jubilees, describing in detail the manner in which its author reworked Genesis 1:1-11:19.

VANDERKAM, JAMES C. "Covenant and Biblical Interpretation in Jubilees 6," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After Their Discovery*, eds. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov and James C. VanderKam. (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), pp. 92-104; —. "Studies in the Chronology of the Book of Jubilees," in *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature* (JSJSup 62; Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 522-544; —. "Studies on the Prologue and Jubilees 1," in *For a Later Generation: The Transformation of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*, eds. Randal A Argall, et al. (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity International, 2000), pp. 266-279 – VanderKam focused on the teaching of covenant, particularly in Jub 6, comparing it with parallel passages from Genesis and Qumran texts. He concluded that Jubilees and various works from Qumran stressed the importance of an oath in affirming the covenant, connected the covenant with the Feast of Weeks and taught that the covenant should be renewed annually. However, he thought that Jubilees differed from Qumran texts in tying the covenant directly to Noah and in applying it to a larger group, while the Qumranite writings did not assign such a role to Noah and envisaged a much smaller group as belonging to the covenant. In his book *From Revelation to Canon*, VanderKam presented in one volume a collection of previously published papers on the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple writings (including Jubilees). The volume included an English translation of his previously published article in German, "Das chronologische Konzept des Jubiläenbuchs," ZAW 107 (1995), pp. 80-100. In this paper, VanderKam examined the manner in which Jubilees framed its chronological system. He argued that the author of Jubilees formulated his chronology in order to express his special understanding of sacred history. Jubilees tried to show how all of history fitted the pattern established by God in order to convince its readers that future events were also divinely ordained. Finally, in his paper on the prologue of Jubilees, VanderKam examined the content and date of the revelation given to Moses according to Jub 1. He concluded that Jubilees presented itself as a covenantal testimony, a prophetic proclamation and an endorsement of the covenantal law.

DiTOMMASO, LORENZO. "Jubilees (or the Little Genesis)," in *A Bibliography of Pseudepigrapha Research, 1850-1999* (JSPSup 39; Sheffield: Academic, 2001), pp. 617-672 – DiTommasso provided a comprehensive bibliography on the Pseudepigrapha, including Jubilees.

RAPP, HANS A. *Jakob in Bet-El: Gen 35,1-15 und die jüdische Literatur des 3. und 2. Jahrhunderts* (HBS 29; Freiburg: Herder, 2001), esp. pp. 165-254; 293-296 – In his dissertation, Rapp focused on the various ways Jewish authors from the early Hellenistic period referred to the narrative of Jacob in Bethel. He observed that not only in Jubilees, but also in other writings that derived from a priestly background, God's revelation to Jacob was depicted as a pivotal event within the history of Israel. Rapp emphasized Jubilees' importance as an example of how biblical and non-biblical traditions about Jacob's stay in Bethel were merged together. In his view, both the story on Jacob' tithing (Jub 32:2.4-7) and the tradition concerning Levi's exaltation stemmed from a non-biblical written source.

SCOTT, JAMES M. *Geography in Early Judaism and Christianity: The Book of Jubilees* (SNTSMS 113; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2001) – Scott primarily examined the appropriation of Jubilees by early Christian sources, focusing on Jub 8-9 and its expansion of the Table of Nations. He argued that the *imago mundi* of Luke-Acts and the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions* was influenced by Jub 8-9. He claimed that the geography of Jubilees could be found in Theophilus' *Ad Autolyicum* and argued for the existence of a Greek text of Jubilees already by the second century.

VANDERKAM, JAMES C. *The Book of Jubilees* (GAP 9; Sheffield: Academic, 2001) – VanderKam's book provided a short description of Jubilees, a survey of its surviving textual evidence and a discussion of its historical setting.

WERMAN, CANA. "The Book of Jubilees in Hellenistic Context," *Zion* 66 (2001), pp. 275-296 [Hebrew] – Werman examined Jubilees in its Hellenistic context. In her opinion, the author of Jubilees tried to distance the Jewish world from Hellenistic culture while simultaneously using methodology that he had acquired from that culture. Like other scholars, she pointed out how the geography of Jubilees was dependant on Ionian cartography. She noted that a similar description of the world's division could be found in Genesis Apocryphon, but claimed that it lacked the geographical details known from Hellenistic science. She believed that, in drawing its own geography of the Table of the Nations, the author of Jubilees reworked Genesis Apocryphon and incorporated Hellenistic scientific details into his work.

DOERING, LUTZ. "Jub 50:6-13 als Schlussabschnitt des *Jubiläenbuchs* – Nachtrag aus Qumran oder ursprünglicher Bestandteil des Werks?" *RQ* 20.3 (2002), pp. 359-387 – Doering argued against the assumption that Jub 50 represented a later addition made in Qumran, and presented several arguments showing that Jub 50:6-13 was the original closing section of the writing.

HUIZENGA, LEROY ANDREW. "The Battle for Isaac: Exploring the Composition and Function of the 'Aqedah' in the Book of 'Jubilees,'" *JSP* 13.1 (2002), pp. 33-59 – This article examined the compositional rationale and paranetic function of the Aqedah in Jubilees. Huizenga claimed that the Aqedah's compositional shape in Jubilees was the result of its author's perception of textual and theological similarities common to Genesis 22, the biblical Passover account and portions of the book of Job. He also showed how the Aqedah functioned as a narrative paranesis, promising deliverance from temptation and physical harm caused by the demons if the Israelites were to rigorously follow the covenant stipulations.

MUÑOZ LEÓN, DOMINGO. "Derás en el Libro de los Jubileos," in *Plenitudo temporis: Miscelánea homenaje al Prof. Dr. Ramón Trevijano Etcheverría*, eds. Jorge Juan Fernández Sangrador and Santiago Guijarro Oporto (Bibliotheca Salmanticensis 249; Salamanca: Publicaciones Universidad Pontificia, 2002), pp. 67-79 – León looked at the way in which the Bible was used in Jubilees. He claimed that Jubilees performed Derashic work in order to make theological revisions (e.g., the idea of God and the representation of the angelic world) as well as geographical and historical updates, particularly in the accounts of the institution and the observance of festivals by patriarchs. He also examined the eschatology and messianic ideas of Jubilees, and noticed its emphasis on the fulfillment of Jewish legal prescriptions.

RAVID, LIOIRA. "Purity and Impurity in the Book of Jubilees," *JSP* 13.1 (2002), pp. 61-86 – In this article, Ravid dealt with the puzzling absence of purity laws in Jubilees. She proposed that this absence served as a polemic against the Temple leadership. She perceived a significant difference between the conception of purity in Jubilees and that of the Qumran sect and called for a reassessment of both the accepted view of the priestly identity of the author of Jubilees and the relationship between Jubilees and Qumran.

RUITEN, JACQUES T.A.G.M. VAN. "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*, eds. Edward Noort and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar (TBN 4; Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 58-85 – In this intertextual literary analysis, Van Ruiten investigated the relationship between the stories of Abraham and Job in Gen 22, Jub 17 and Job 1:1-2:13. He concluded that despite the commonalities between Job and Jubilees, the author of Jubilees was not directly influenced by the prologue of Job.

WERMAN, CANA. "'The תורה and the תעודה' Engraved on the Tablets," *DSD* 9 (2002), pp. 75-103 – Werman focused on the two revelations in Jubilees that were given to Moses: the "Torah and the commandments" and the "Torah and t'wdh." She claimed that for the author of Jubilees, "Torah and commandments" included the Torah of Moses, which was written on stone tablets. On the other hand, the "Torah and t'wdh" were written on heavenly tablets, contained the preordained historical sequence of events and included a more comprehensive explanation of laws and commandments. She posited that Jubilees rejected the rabbinic view of Oral Torah and sided instead with the priestly halakhah, which conferred its authority to written transmission.

GÖRTZ-WRISBERG, IRENE VON. "No Second Temple – No Shavuot? 'The Book of Jubilees' as a Case Study," in *The Ancient Synagogue from Its Origins until 200 C.E.*, eds. Birger Olsson and Magnus Zetterholm (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2003), pp. 376-403 – In her analysis of Shavuot in Jubilees, Görtz-Wrisberg claimed that Jubilees stressed the importance of Shavuot in response to the Hellenistic crisis.

KNIBB, MICHAEL ANTHONY. "Which Parts of 1 Enoch Were Known to Jubilees? A Note on the Interpretation of Jubilees 4.16-25," in *Reading from Right to Left: Essays on the Hebrew Bible in Honour of David J.A. Clines*, eds. J. Cherly Exum and H.G.M. Williamson (JSOTSS 373; Sheffield: Academic, 2003), pp. 254-262 – Looking closely at Jub 4:16-25, Knibb determined that the author of Jubilees was familiar with the Astronomical Book, the Animal Apocalypse and the Book of the Watchers. By contrast, he maintained that there was no clear evidence that the author of Jubilees knew the Apocalypse of Weeks or the Epistle of Enoch.

MÜLLER, KARLHEINZ. "Die Halacha der Väter und das Gesetz des Mose: Beobachtungen zur Autorisierung der Halacha im Buch der Jubiläen," in *BibN* 116 (2003), pp. 56-68 – Müller reiterated his thesis claiming that the redactors of Jubilees attributed more weight to their own halakhah than to the Mosaic Torah, while simultaneously attempting to reconcile both traditions (1993). In respect to several rules promoted by Jubilees, Müller demonstrated that Moses, in each case, became merely a propagandist of this other halakhah ascribed to the "fathers."

RAVID, LIOIRA. "The Book of Jubilees and its Calendar – a Reexamination," *DSD* 10.3 (2003), pp. 371-394 – Ravid returned to the calendrical debate, taking issue with Jaubert's central arguments on the calendar of Jubilees (Jaubert 1953, 1957, etc.). She argued that Jaubert's attempt to show that the Festival of Weeks fell on the first day of the week led her to make a series of assertions that made her entire system illogical. Ravid disagreed with the notion that the 364-day calendar was solar, stressing the ideological nature of the calendar, which she qualified as a "Sabbath-based" calendar. She assumed that the Egyptian schematic calendar was known in the Land of Israel since the third century B.C.E and influenced the author of Jubilees.

RUITEN, JACQUES T.A.G.M. VAN. "The Covenant of Noah in 'Jubilees' 6.1-38," in *The Concept of the Covenant in the Second Temple Period*, eds. Stanley E. Porter and Jacqueline C. R. De Roo (Boston: Brill, 2003), pp. 167-190 – Van Ruiten studied the idea of covenant in Jubilees, focusing on Jub 6:1-38. He tried to show that the covenant of Noah served as the prototype for all other covenants in Jubilees. In his eyes, Jub 6 demonstrated that the author of Jubilees desired to create a strong and clear relationship between the covenants of Moses and Noah.

SCHENKER, ADRIAN. "Isaïe 63:9, le Livre des Jubilés et l'Ange de la face : est-ce-que le 'Livre des Jubilés' peut contribuer à la solution du problème textuel d'Is 63:9?" in *Studien zu Propheten und Religionsgeschichte* (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2003), pp. 12-26 – In this philological study, Schenker discussed some of the philological difficulties behind the reading of Isaiah 63:9 in light of the text of Jubilees.

VANDERKAM, JAMES C. "The Demons in the 'Book of Jubilees,'" in *Die Dämonen: Die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt*, eds. Armin Lange, Hermann Lichtenberger and K.F. Diethard Römheld (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), pp. 339-364 – VanderKam surveyed the passages in Jubilees dealing with demons

in an attempt to clarify Jubilees' understanding of demonology and to uncover the sources for such a teaching. He claimed that the author used material from the Book of the Watchers, but reduced the influence of the demons by submitting them to God's control in the generations after the flood. He noted that the author of Jubilees confined demonic influence to the nations, but also warned Israel that they could be affected if they failed to submit to God's will.

CRAWFORD, CORY D. "On the Exegetical Function of the Abraham/Ravens Tradition in Jubilees," *HTR* 97.1 (2004), pp. 91-97 – In this study on the story of Abraham and the ravens, Crawford posited that the author of Jubilees provided a literal interpretation of God's promise in Genesis 15 regarding the inheritance of the land to Abraham's "seed": Jubilees interpreted the word "seed" agriculturally by reshaping the tradition of Abraham's scattering of the ravens with an etiology of the invention of the seed plow. He claimed that by reworking this tradition, Jubilees was able to affirm the literal fulfillment of God's promise to Abraham.

ESHEL, ESTHER. "Jubilees 32 and the Bethel Cult Traditions in Second Temple Literature," in *Things Revealed: Studies in Early Jewish and Christian Literature in Honor of Michael E. Stone*, eds. Esther G. Chazon, David Satran and Ruth A. Clements (JSJSup 89; Boston: Brill, 2004), pp. 21-36 – Eshel surveyed Second Temple texts mentioning Bethel and addressed the question of Jubilees' negative stance toward Jacob's desire to build a Temple at Bethel. She suggested the negative stance of Jubilees was made in order to emphasize the centrality of the Temple in Jerusalem. She also suggested that 4Q537 was an earlier version of Jacob's vision and was developed by Jubilees.

KVANVIG, HELGE S. "Jubilees – Between Enoch and Moses: A Narrative Reading," *JSJ* 35.3 (2004), pp. 243-261 – Kvanvig paid attention to the narrative design of Jubilees in order to evaluate the status given by its author to the Mosaic and Enochic traditions. He argued that Jubilees mediated between the Mosaic and Enochic traditions, but used Moses to emphasize the importance of Enoch.

LAMBERT, DAVID. "Last Testaments in the Book of Jubilees," *DSD* 11.1 (2004), pp. 82-107 – Lambert examined last testament speeches in Jubilees, disagreeing with other scholars (e.g., Nickelsburg 1984) who viewed these speeches as free ideological compositions. He claimed that the author of Jubilees held a dynamic view of revelation and transmission and was prompted to compose these speeches out of an exegetical concern.

NAJM, S. / GUILLAUME, PHILIPPE. "Jubilee Calendar Rescued from the Flood Narrative," *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 5 (2004-2005) – This article dealt with the origins of the 364-day calendar. Najm and Guillaume believed that this calendar was reflected in the final Torah redaction of the flood narrative and may have been as old as the priestly narrative, which opens with the cosmogony of Genesis 1. They claimed that this calendar politically celebrated the end of Babylonian hegemony, marking the transition into Persian rule.

PARRY, DONALD W. / TOV, EMANUEL (eds.). *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader III: Parabiblical Texts* (6 vols; Leiden: Brill, 2004-2005) – This edition presented all of the non-biblical Hebrew and Aramaic Qumran texts classified according to their literary genres, together with translations. Jubilees was subsumed under the category of "rewritten Bible."

ROTHSTEIN, DAVID. "Sexual Union and Sexual Offences in Jubilees," *JSJ* 35.4 (2004), pp. 363-384 – Rothstein attempted to demonstrate that the author of Jubilees, much like the Qumran community, viewed intercourse itself as creating the bond of marriage.

RUITEN, JACQUES T.A.G.M. VAN. "A Literary Dependency of 'Jubilees' on '1 Enoch'? A Reassessment of a Thesis of J.C. VanderKam," *Henoch*, 26.2 (2004), pp. 205-209; —. "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*, eds. Ed Noort and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar (TBN 7; Boston: Brill, 2004), pp. 29-46 – Van Ruiten challenged some of the points made by VanderKam (1978) on the relationship between 1 Enoch and Jubilees. He questioned the literary dependency of Jubilees on the text of 1 Enoch, and particularly Dream Visions. Although Jubilees contained some parallels with Dream Visions, he thought that these similarities stemmed from a common tradition and dismissed the dating of Dream Visions as a valid criterion for dating Jubilees. In his other study, van Ruiten concentrated on the story of Sodom and Gomorrah comparing the biblical account with that of Jubilees. He found that Lot was vilified by Jubilees as an exemplar of sin, while Abraham was epitomized as a prototype of a pious man.

WERMAN, CANA. “The Book of Jubilees and the Qumran Community,” *Meghillot* 2 (2004), pp. 37-55 [Hebrew] – Werman treated the question of the relationship between Jubilees and Qumran, discussing the date of the composition of Jubilees. She maintained that Jubilees was composed during the late second century B.C.E., when the Qumran community was already established. Focusing on Jubilees 23, she argued that it also contained a Qumranic layer since she thought that verses 16 and 19-20 described a clash over calendrical and halakhic issues that were disputed between the Qumranites and the Pharisees, while verses 21-23 used terms known from Qumranic anti-Hasmonean polemic writings.

BOCCACCINI, GABRIELE (ed.). *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005) – The Enoch Seminar of 2003, bringing together scholars from North America, Europe and Israel, marks another important moment for the study on Jubilees. Focusing on Enoch and Qumran origins, the Seminar devoted some important discussions related to Jubilees. **Helge Kvanvig** (“Jubilees – Read as a Narrative,” pp. 75-83) repeated similar arguments that he had previously made (2004). Through a narrative reading, he stressed how Jubilees tried to reconcile the Mosaic and Enochic traditions, but drew more closely to Enoch and subordinated the importance of Moses. **Jacques van Ruiten** (“A Literary Dependency of Jubilees on 1 Enoch?,” pp. 90-93) reiterated his claims about the literary relationship between Jubilees and 1 Enoch (Ruiten 2004). He acknowledged that there were some parallels between the two writings, but claimed that these similarities stemmed from a common tradition. **Annette Yoshiko Reed** (“‘Revealed Literature’ in the Second Century B.C.E.: Jubilees, 1 Enoch, Qumran, and the Prehistory of the Biblical Canon,” pp. 94-98) discussed the significance of Jubilees and early Enochic writings for the understanding of the prehistory of the biblical canon. She argued that no closed canon existed in the second century B.C.E. and that no dichotomy stood between the practice of biblical interpretation and biblical pseudepigraphy. **Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar** (“Jubilees and 1 Enoch and the Issue of Transmission of Knowledge,” pp. 99-101) included a short comparative study on the modes of revelation and transmission of knowledge in 1 Enoch and Jubilees. He also touched briefly on the topic of Jubilees’ treatment of Enochic material. He argued that both works mentioned the same modes of revelation and carriers of knowledge, but that the methods of transmission in both texts differed: Jubilees emphasized the transmission of books through a priestly line from generation to generation, while 1 Enoch envisaged the sudden appearance of ancient books specifically meant for one’s own time. Finally, he deemed Jubilees less harsh than 1 Enoch in its evaluation of sciences such as medicine and astrology. **Henry W. Morisada Rietz** (“Synchronizing Worship: Jubilees as a Tradition for the Qumran Community,” pp. 111-118) explained one of the ways in which the Qumran community appropriated the ideology of Jubilees and its devotion to the 364-day calendar. He claimed that, like Jubilees, the Qumran community believed that terrestrial worship was to be synchronized with celestial worship. He added that the Qumranites viewed the calendar followed in Jerusalem as a violation of this synchrony, thus contributing to the Qumranic belief that they were living in the latter days. **Martha Himmelfarb** (“Jubilees and Sectarianism,” pp. 129-131) examined Jubilees’ attitude toward other Jews and Gentiles. She claimed that the crucial difference between Jubilees and the sectarian Qumran literature lay in its affirmation that all of Israel was part of God’s people. However, like the Qumranites, she believed that Jubilees denied the possibility of Gentiles becoming Jewish. She suggested that a dating of Jubilees around the time of John Hyrcanus (134-104 B.C.E.) would best account for this phenomenon, since at this time neighboring nations were assimilating into Judaism. **Jeff S. Anderson** (“Denouncement Speech in Jubilees and Other Enochic Literature,” pp. 132-136) tried to identify the various groups standing behind the denouncement speeches in Jubilees and Enochic literature. He thought that Jubilees’ negative rhetoric uttered against the surrounding nations served only secondarily to marginalize Gentiles and was primarily directed at garnering resistance among Jews against Hellenism. In the Qumranic sectarian literature, he saw an explicitly pejorative attitude toward fellow Jews that could not be found in Jubilees and early Enochic literature. In her brief paper, **Liliana Rosso Ubigli** (“The Historical-Cultural Background of the Book of Jubilees,” pp. 137-140) claimed that the author of Jubilees belonged to the priesthood and asserted that Jubilees should be placed against the backdrop of the Antiochean crisis. **Ida Fröhlich** (“Enoch and Jubilees,” pp. 141-147) surveyed the basic concepts in both Enoch and Jubilees in order to understand the relationship between the groups represented by these texts. She concluded that the halakhic system of both works was based on the Temple Scroll and suggested on this basis

that both the Enochic collection and Jubilees belonged to the same religious group. Finally, **James C. VanderKam** ("Response: Jubilees and Enoch," pp. 162-170) provided a response to these papers. Regarding van Ruiten's thesis on the literary relationship between Jubilees and Enochic literature, VanderKam still argued for Jubilees' dependence on Enochic booklets such as the Book of Dream Visions. In the case of Kvanig's analysis, VanderKam stated that Moses' role could actually have been enhanced by Jubilees at the narrative level instead of being subordinated. With respect to Tigchelaar's work, VanderKam thought that both Jubilees and 1 Enoch held similar notions on the transmission of ancient books. He also viewed Jubilees as being equally as harsh as 1 Enoch toward astrology and medicine. On Himmelfarb's work, VanderKam agreed with her understanding of the doctrinal differences between Jubilees and the Qumran sectarians, but argued that Jubilees was written before Qumran and could have reacted to other sectarian writings that have not survived. In response to Fröhlich's paper, VanderKam highlighted the difficulties in determining the halakhic tradition behind 1 Enoch and Jubilees.

AMARU, BETSY HALPERN. "Burying the Fathers: Exegetical Strategies and Source Traditions in Jubilees," in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran*, eds. Esther G. Chazon, Devorah Dimant and Ruth Clements (STDJ 58; Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 135-152; —. "Joy as Piety in the Book of Jubilees," *JJS* 56.2 (2005), pp. 185-205; —. "Midrash in Jubilees," in *Encyclopedia of Midrash*, eds. Jacob Neusner and Alan J. Avery-Peck, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 333-350 – In her first article, Amaru examined burial narratives within Jubilees and how the final chapters of Genesis and first chapter of Exodus were reworked by the author of Jubilees. She believed that the author of Jubilees rewrote this material in order to diminish Joseph's significance and elevate Levi. She claimed that the exegetical strategies visible in Jubilees show that its author was strongly familiar with 4QVisions of Amram. In her study on the meaning of the word "joy" in Jubilees, Amaru observed how joy often appeared in patriarchal celebrations of festivals, offerings and tithing. She claimed that the extra-biblical descriptions of joy in Jubilees expressed different notions such as faith or gratitude. She felt that Jubilees expanded the biblical performances of joy in order to create a heightened sense of piety. Finally, in her article on Midrash in Jubilees, Amaru focused on the dynamic operating within the interweaving of Bible and Midrash in the book of Jubilees. Amaru detected a dual-functioning Midrash behind Jubilees' exegesis. One she coined "text-weighted Midrash," referring to exegesis in which the "primary orientation is toward resolution of textual irregularities within the biblical narrative" (p. 335). The other Midrash function she named "polemic-informed Midrash," which denoted the insertion of material conveying the author of Jubilees' own ideas rather than an exegetical response to a textual difficulty within a biblical passage. She found the combination of these two Midrashic functions to be "one of the striking aspects of biblical interpretation in Jubilees" (p. 335).

CORINALDI, MICHAEL. "The Relationship between the 'Beta Israel' Tradition and the Book of Jubilees," in *Jews of Ethiopia: the Birth of an Elite*, eds. Tudor Parfitt and Emanuela Trevisan Semi (New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 193-204 – Corinaldi compared the Ethiopian halakhah of Beta Israel with that of Jubilees. He concluded that Jubilees enjoyed canonical status among Beta Israel and influenced their halakhah.

GILDERS, WILLIAM K. "Where did Noah Place the Blood? A Textual Note on Jubilees," *JBL* 124.4 (2005), pp. 745-749 – Gilders observed that Jub 7:4 has traditionally been translated as "he [Noah] placed some of its blood on the *flesh* which was on the altar." He argued that such a translation was impossible, since no other ancient Jewish text speaks of placing the blood of a sin offering on the flesh, and that Jubilees would certainly have elaborated on such a deviation. He suggested that the original Hebrew text probably read על קרנית המזבח ("upon the horns of the altar"), and that the Ethiopic scribe confused or received an erroneous Greek text, which misread κρέατα ("horns") for κρέατα ("flesh").

LANDAU, DAVID. "The Montanists and the Jubilees Calendar," *OrChr* 89 (2005), pp. 103-112 – Landau claimed that the Montanist movement adopted the calendar of Jubilees and by this act caused a serious schism in the early church.

NICKELSBURG, GEORGE W.E. "The Book of Jubilees," in *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah* (2nd ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), pp. 69-74 – Nickelsburg reiterated similar points made in the first edition (1981).

OEGEMA, GERBERN S. “*Das Buch der Jubiläen*,” in *JSHRZ* 6.1 (2005), pp. 78-96 – In this introduction, Oegema essentially reiterated the prevailing opinions about Jubilees’ date, provenance and textual unity. Concerning the genre of Jubilees, however, he refrained from assigning it to a specific group of texts and considered the commonly used label “rewritten Bible” as inadequately encompassing the profile of Jubilees.

ROTHSTEIN, DAVID. “Jubilees’ Formulation of Gen 2:23: A Literary Motif Viewed Against the Legal Matrices of the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East,” and “Same-Day Testimony and Same-Day punishment in the Damascus Document and Jubilees,” *Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte* 11 (2005), pp. 4-11, and 12-26; —. “Why was Shelah not Given to Tamar? Jubilees 41:20,” *Henoch* 27.1-2 (2005) pp. 115-126 – Rothstein looked at Jubilees’ formulation of Gen 2:23b in light of other biblical and Near Eastern texts. He showed that Jubilees’ reformulation of Genesis 2:23 echoed an ancient marriage formula and was used as a paradigm by the author to teach proper spousal relationships. In his second paper, he examined the issues of same-day testimony and same-day punishment in Jubilees with the writings from Qumran, comparing these legislations with the Hebrew Bible and rabbinic sources. He claimed that the rabbinic sources, like Jubilees and Qumran recognized the principle of immediate punishment. However, he saw the Qumran community as holding an ontological approach to law, while the Rabbis were more nominalistic in their approach to legal determination of guilt. Finally, in his work on Jub 41:20, Rothstein analyzed Jubilees’ reformulation of Judah’s interaction with Tamar. He concluded that the author of Jubilees sought to sanitize this event by portraying Judah as a victim of deception and as a patriarch scrupulously concerned with laws related to marital union.

RUITEN, JACQUES T.A.G.M. VAN. “The Birth of Moses in Egypt According to the Book of Jubilees (Jub 47.1-9),” in *The Wisdom of Egypt: Jewish, Early Christian, and Gnostic Essays in Honour of Gerard P. Luttikhuisen*, eds. Anthony Hilhorst and George H. van Kooten (AGJU 59; Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 43-65 – Van Ruiten performed another literary analysis, this time looking at how Jubilees reworked the biblical portions of Exodus 1:22-2:10 (Jub 47:1-9). He described how the author of Jubilees was careful to follow the biblical text, but often modified passages to fit his own bias.

SCHLUND, CHRISTINE. “*Kein Knochen soll gebrochen werden*”: Studien zu Bedeutung und Funktion des Pesachfests in Texten des frühen Judentums und im Johannesevangelium (WMANT 107; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2005), pp. 98-111 – In her dissertation, Schlund examined the meaning and function of Passover in the Hebrew Bible, LXX, early Jewish writings and the New Testament, particularly the Gospel of John. A section on further developments within Christian and Jewish literature was included at the end of her examination. Regarding Jubilees, Schlund noted several of its particularities, including the absence of any link between Passover and a specific patriarch, even though its author dedicated a whole chapter to Passover (Jub 49). Schlund rejected the postulation of some scholars who interpreted the request made to Abraham to sacrifice Isaac (Jubilees 17-18) as an allusion to Passover. Since Mastema plays an important role in chapter 49, she concluded that in Jubilees Passover signified Israel’s confrontation with a deathly power in which the temporary overcoming of this power was crucial. The unbroken bones of the paschal sacrifice, in her view, pointed to the integrity of the community gathered around the sacrifice.

SCOTT, JAMES M. *On Earth as in Heaven: The Restoration of Sacred Time and Sacred Space in the Book of Jubilees* (Leiden: Brill, 2005) – Scott investigated the interrelationship between sacred time and sacred space in Jubilees. He described how the author of Jubilees created temporal and spatial symmetry in the hope that the cult in the land of Israel would correspond with that of heaven. He thought that his findings on Jubilees fitted best within the context of the Maccabean revolt. He also compared Jubilees’ conception of time and space with other Second Temple writings and early Christian literature.

SEGAL, MICHAEL. “The Relationship between the Legal and Narrative Passages in Jubilees,” in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran*, eds. Esther G. Chazon, Devorah Dimant and Ruth A. Clemens (STDJ 58; Boston: Brill, 2005), pp. 203-228 – Aside from a small number of dissident voices (e.g., Davenport, 1971), most scholars had not questioned the compositional unity of Jubilees. In this study, Segal attempted to resuscitate the

debate by claiming that the legal and narrative sections of Jubilees were products of different writers.

SULZBACH, CARLA. "The Function of the Sacred Geography in the Book of Jubilees," *Journal for Semitics* 14.2 (2005), pp. 283-305 – Sulzbach discussed the significance of geographical elements in Jubilees, claiming that it contained very strong theological and apocalyptic overtones, which revealed a strongly Temple-oriented focus and allowed the author of Jubilees to make sense of the order of the world.

WISE, MICHAEL OWEN / ABEGG JR., MARTIN G. / COOK, EDWARD M. "The Book of Jubilees," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (rev. ed.; San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2005), pp. 316-335 – This edition included a translation of 1Q17-18, 2Q19-20, 3Q5, 4Q176b, 4Q216-224 and 11Q12.

AMARU, BETSY HALPERN. "A Note on Isaac as First-born in 'Jubilees' and Only Son in 4Q225," *DSD* 13.2 (2006), pp. 127-133 – In this paper, Amaru examined the exegetical significance of designating Isaac as "first born" in Jubilees and as "only son" in Pseudo-Jubilees (4Q225). She concluded that Jubilees intertextually linked the deliverance of Isaac as firstborn with the salvation of the firstborn Israelites in the Exodus story, while 4Q225 interlinearly linked Isaac-the-only-son and the Aqedah to the Exodus as proof of the fulfillment of God's covenantal promises to Abraham.

BERNER, CHRISTOPH. *Jahre, Jahrwochen, und Jubiläen: Heptadische Geschichtskonzeptionen im Antiken Judentum* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), pp. 234-324, 509-512 – In this study on heptadic concepts of history in ancient Jewish texts, Berner examined Dan 9, 1 Enoch, Jubilees, Qumran texts and the Testament of Levi. By analyzing these different texts, Berner demonstrated that each writing shaped its own heptadic concepts to fit within its theological framework and did not draw from a commonly shared chronology. Concerning Jubilees, Berner, referring to Davenport 1971, distinguished mainly between a *Grundschrift of Jubilees*, written between 159 and 152 B.C.E, and a reworking of the writing some years later in the context of the formation of the Qumran movement. The first version, in Berner's view, expressed an optimistic priestly program interconnecting halakhah with a heptadic chronology, depicting the entrance into the promised land as the arrival point of Israel's *Heilsgeschichte*. The reworked text, by contrast, mirrored the disappointment over the failure of the program. Berner concluded that this disenchantment prompted the authors to shift their chronological focus towards the forty year stay of Israel in the desert, a focus which remained meaningful for the Qumran community as attested in several of its writings.

DIMANT, DEVORAH. "Two 'Scientific' Fictions: The So-called Book of Noah and the Alleged Quotation of Jubilees in CD 16:3-4," in *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran and the Septuagint Presented to Eugene Ulrich*, eds. Peter W. Flinn, Emanuel Tov and James C. Vanderkam (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 230-249 – Dimant argued against the existence of the Book of Noah, denying that any proof for its existence could be found in 1 Enoch and Jubilees. She also disagreed with the scholarly assumption that CD 16:3-4 cited Jubilees 1:1, claiming that it may have been referring to another book covering the entire history up to developments contemporaneous with Qumran.

GILDERS, WILLIAM K. "Blood and Covenant: Interpretive Elaboration on Genesis 9:4-6 in the Book of Jubilees," *JSP* 15.2 (2006), pp. 83-118 – Gilders examined the relevant passages dealing with blood and covenant, highlighting the manner in which Jubilees' teachings unfolded and its biblical themes were recontextualized. He claimed that Jubilees interpreted Gen 9:4-6 as a foundation text for the proper treatment of all blood. He argued that Jubilees viewed blood as the focus of life and advocated its handling with extreme care. In line with this belief, Jubilees forbade the shedding of human blood, except in cases of expiation for human bloodshed. Likewise, consumption of blood was viewed by Jubilees as a fundamental violation of the covenant.

HANNEKEN, TODD RUSSELL. "Angels and Demons in the Book of Jubilees and Contemporary Apocalypses," *Heno* 28.2 (2006), pp. 11-25 – Hanneken compared Jubilees with other apocalypses, arguing that although the Book of Jubilees used the apocalyptic genre, it expressed a worldview significantly different from the apocalyptic one by denying the significance of angels and demons for Israel's welfare.

HIMMELFARB, MARTHA. "Jubilees' Kingdom of Priests," in *A Kingdom of Priests: Ancestry and Merit in Ancient Judaism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2006), pp.

53-84 – In her book, Himmelfarb argued that Jubilees was an anti-sectarian writing instead of a proto-sectarian text, written during the last third of the second century B.C.E. In contrast to Qumran's exclusivist tone, which considered most Jews as children of darkness, Jubilees, in her view, addressed all of Israel and portrayed it as a nation of priests. At the same time, Jubilees opposed any possibility of conversion for Gentiles, making ancestry a necessary criterion for membership in the Israelite priestly nation.

RUITEN, JACQUES T.A.G.M. VAN. "A Miraculous Birth of Isaac in the Book of Jubilees?" in *Wonders Never Cease: The Purpose of Narrating Miracle Stories in the New Testament and Its Religious Environment*, eds. Michael Labahn and B. J. Lietaert Peerbolte (LNTS 288; New York: T&T Clark, 2006), pp. 1-19 – In this study, van Ruiten examined the reworking of the biblical account of Isaac's miraculous birth in Jubilees. He pointed out how the author of Jubilees omitted the reference to Sarah's barrenness and traced her origins back to creation. In van Ruiten's opinion, Jubilees changed the biblical account into a lesson about pure lineage instead of a story on the promise of numerous offspring.

SOLLAMO, RAIJA. "The Creation of Angels and Natural Phenomena Intertwined in the Book of Jubilees (4QJub)," in *Biblical Traditions in Transmission: Essays in Honour of Michael A. Knibb*, eds. Charlotte Hempel and Judith M. Lieu (JSJSup 111; Boston: Brill, 2006), pp. 273-290 – Sollamo compared the creation story of 4QJub^a with other creation stories and hymns from the late Second Temple period. Sollamo claimed that these accounts were characterized by a combination of angels and natural phenomena, both of which were divinely created and intertwined with one another. Sollamo counted three categories of angels in Jubilees: the angels of presence, the angels of holiness and the angels in charge of natural phenomena.

STÖKL, JONATHAN. "A List of the Extant Hebrew Text of the Book of Jubilees: Their Relation to the Hebrew Bible and Some Preliminary Comments," *Henoch* 28.1 (2006), pp. 97-124 – In this article, all extant Hebrew fragments of Jubilees were assembled and published together. Stökl also analyzed the wording of this assembled material and concluded that Jubilees reflects a free and creative retelling of Genesis and Exodus rather than a faithful recounting of this biblical material.

VANDERKAM, JAMES C. "The Scriptural Setting of the Book of Jubilees," *DSD* 13.1 (2006), pp. 61-72 – VanderKam analyzed the scriptural setting within which the author of Jubilees placed his book. He claimed that Exodus 19 and 24 along with 23:10-33 led the author of Jubilees to stage the setting of his book during Moses' 40-day stay on Mt Sinai, the day after the Feast of Weeks, when the covenant was renewed with Israel.