

## THE “KINGDOM OF PRIESTS” IN THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

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IN

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

By

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## **Abstract**

This thesis explores the concept of the “kingdom of priests,” as presented by the Second Century BCE text, *The Book of Jubilees*. It is argued that this phrase, drawn from Exod 19, has been interpreted by the author of *Jubilees* to mean that any male member of Israel may potentially serve as a priest. This priestly role, however, cannot be actualized due to the sinfulness of Israel, particularly in its association with and acceptance of gentiles and gentile practices. The model of a priestly Israel is presented in *Jubilees* through its portrayals of the major figures of biblical history as priests. This thesis will explore these priestly portrayals, with special attention given to Adam, in order to demonstrate that *Jubilees* believed all of Israel to have priestly potential.

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## Introduction

*The Book of Jubilees*, hereafter *Jubilees*, presents itself as God's revelation on Mt. Sinai as dictated by the angel of the presence and recorded by Moses. This revelation consists of the stories of biblical history, beginning with creation and leading up to Moses, covering Genesis 1 through Exodus 24. *Jubilees* begins with a conversation between God and Moses upon Mt. Sinai, in which God declares his fidelity to Israel, despite his prediction that Israel will stray from his covenant (*Jub.* 1:1-27). God then tells the angel of the presence to dictate, and the narrative turns to the creation of the world (*Jub.* 1:29-2).

Once the narrative begins, *Jubilees* reads much like the biblical text. The author<sup>1</sup> of *Jubilees* was faithful to his biblical source for the majority of the material that he presents. However, throughout *Jubilees*, the author chose to edit the biblical text in order to summarize repetitive material, remove unnecessary details or add information that the author felt belonged in the narrative. The author of *Jubilees* was also interested in providing explanations for incongruous details in the biblical narrative. One such example is found in Gen 4:17, where we are told that "Cain knew his wife." The reader is left to puzzle over who this woman is, as the narrative had indicated that there were only three human beings alive at this time. *Jubilees* remedies this situation by stating that Adam and

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<sup>1</sup> While a few scholars, most notably Gene Davenport, have argued that *Jubilees* had more than one author, most scholars agree that *Jubilees* was probably composed by a single author. James Vanderkam, in particular, notes that the inconsistencies that scholars have pointed to as evidence for more than one author may easily be explained by difficulties in the transmission of *Jubilees*. Gene Davenport, *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees* (Leiden: Brill, 1971); James Vanderkam, *The Book of Jubilees* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 17-8.

Eve had had a daughter, Awan, who became Cain's wife (*Jub.* 4:1, 9).

Gary Anderson and others have pointed out that a number of laws and legal details that are revealed at Sinai are presented in regards to biblical figures prior to the Sinai revelation in the Torah.<sup>2</sup> For example, how is Noah able to differentiate between clean and unclean animals in Gen 7:2-3 when this separation is not made explicit until the Sinai revelation? The author of *Jubilees* addresses this discontinuity by introducing a number of books that are recorded by Enoch (*Jub.* 4:21) and passed down to the other patriarchs. These books contain "the signs of the sky" (*Jub.* 4:17), all of human history (*Jub.* 4:19), everything that is on earth and in the heavens (*Jub.* 4:21) including the laws that are revealed at Sinai (*Jub.* 20:2-21:24). These books allow the patriarchs to adhere to laws that have not yet been revealed.<sup>3</sup>

### **The Date of *Jubilees***

Before the mid nineteenth century, *Jubilees* was available to Western scholars solely through quotes gleaned from the Greek and Latin works of early Christian writers.<sup>4</sup> These citations were collected by J. Fabricius, who published what was then only nineteen pages of text in his *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti*.<sup>5</sup> A complete copy of *Jubilees* was not discovered until the mid nineteenth century. This text, found by missionaries in

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<sup>2</sup> Gary Anderson, "The Status of the Torah Before Sinai: The Retelling of the Bible in the Damascus Covenant and the Book of Jubilees," *DSD* 1 (1994): 1-29.

<sup>3</sup> According to Hindy Najman, these books also act to confer authority to *Jubilees'* interpretations of Torah. The traditions recorded in these books are heavenly revelation; *Jubilees'* use of these traditions in its narrative are thus also revelation. Hindy Najman, "Interpretation as Primordial Writing: Jubilees and its Authority Conferring Strategies," *JSJ* 30 (1999): 379-410.

<sup>4</sup> Vanderkam, *The Book of Jubilees* (2001), 14.

<sup>5</sup> J.A Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti* (Hamburg: Liebezeit, 1713).



Ethiopia, was written in Ethiopic and was translated by August Dillmann in 1850-1.<sup>6</sup> This first translation, however, was based upon only one copy that was in rather poor condition. Dillmann published another translation based on two manuscripts in 1859.<sup>7</sup> Dillmann's work was continued by R.H. Charles' 1895 edition of *Jubilees*<sup>8</sup>, O.S. Wintermute's 1985 translation<sup>9</sup> and finally James Vanderkam's 1989 edition.<sup>10</sup>

Interest in *Jubilees* was reawakened with the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. In total, sixteen copies of *Jubilees* have been found in the caves of Qumran.<sup>11</sup> These copies cover less than fifteen percent of the text of *Jubilees*.<sup>12</sup> The discovery of *Jubilees* at Qumran confirmed the suspicions of scholars like Charles<sup>13</sup> who believed that *Jubilees* was originally composed in Hebrew. The discovery of these texts also assisted in the dating of the book.<sup>14</sup> Scholars had offered dates for *Jubilees*' composition that ranged from 400 BCE to 100 CE.<sup>15</sup> This vast range of dates was reduced somewhat thanks to palaeographic

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<sup>6</sup> August Dillmann, "Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die kleine Genesis," *JBW* 2 (1850): 230-56; 3 (1851): 1-96.

<sup>7</sup> August Dillman, መጽሐፈ ፡ ክፉሌ sive *Liber Jubilaeorum* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1859).

<sup>8</sup> R.H. Charles, "The Book of Jubilees, Translated from a Text Based on Two Hitherto Uncollated Ethiopic MSS," *JQR* 5 (1893): 703-8; 6 (1894): 184-217; 710-45; 7 (1895): 297-328.

<sup>9</sup> O.S. Wintermute, "Jubilees: A New Translation and Introduction," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, Volume 2* (ed. James Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1985), 35-142.

<sup>10</sup> James Vanderkam, *The Book of Jubilees* (Louvain: Peeters, 1989).

<sup>11</sup> Fragments of *Jubilees* found at Qumran include: 1Q17, 1Q18, 2Q19, 2Q20, 3Q5, 4Q176 (frags. 19-20), 4Q216, 4Q217, 4Q218, 4Q219, 4Q220, 4Q221, 4Q222, 4Q223, 4Q482, 11Q12.

<sup>12</sup> Approximately 215 of the 1307 verses of *Jubilees* have been identified. Some of these verses are complete, while others are represented by only a few letters. Vanderkam, *The Book of Jubilees* (2001), 16.

<sup>13</sup> Charles points to a number of Hebraisms that survived in both Ethiopic and Latin versions, as well as a number of examples that suggest misspellings and mistranslations of Hebrew words. R.H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis: Translated from the Ethiopic Text* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1917), xii.

<sup>14</sup> I would like to note that the complete history of arguments regarding the date of *Jubilees* is beyond the scope of this thesis. Therefore, I will be greatly simplifying the arguments of these scholars in order to demonstrate a range of opinions rather than a complete survey of evidence.

<sup>15</sup> James Vanderkam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (Missoula: Scholar's Press, 1977), 208.

evidence from the scrolls. The earliest copy of *Jubilees* found at Qumran, 4Q216, was copied between 125 and 100 BCE, thus limiting our dates to before 100 BCE.<sup>16</sup>

A number of scholars suggest that *Jubilees* should be dated to between 175 and 167 BCE.<sup>17</sup> Dates within this range have been supported by scholars such as L. Finkelstein, George Nickelsburg and James Charlesworth. Finkelstein and Charlesworth both use the example of the prohibition of nudity that appears in *Jub.* 3:31 to suggest pre-Maccabean dates.<sup>18</sup> The practice of nude performances within the gymnasia was introduced in Jerusalem by Jason, who became high priest in 175 BCE. The emphatic prohibition of nudity may be understood as a reaction to current changes under Jason. Finkelstein further notes that *Jubilees* could not have been written any later than 167 BCE, as there is no mention of Antiochus' persecution, which began in that year. Nickelsburg also supports a date prior to 167 BCE for *Jubilees*, noting, for example, that references to the defilement of the holy of holies (*Jub.* 23:21) match events in Jerusalem prior to Antiochus' decree of 167 BCE.<sup>19</sup> He suggests that the focus upon the separation of Israel from the gentile nations in *Jubilees* is related to the apostasy of the Hellenizers. He further supports his dates by

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<sup>16</sup> Vanderkam, *The Book of Jubilees* (2001), 16.

<sup>17</sup> A much earlier date is suggested by S. Zeitlin, who dates *Jubilees* to the fourth or fifth century BCE. Zeitlin supports this date on the basis of two arguments. First, he suggests that *Jubilees*' opposition to a change from a solar calendar to a lunar calendar indicates that it must have been written well before the Hasmonean period. By the time of the Hasmoneans, Zeitlin claims, this calendrical change was no longer an issue. Second, he notes a number of passages that counter Torah law, particularly in regards to the order of the festivals, and suggests that this is a sign that at the time of *Jubilees*' composition the Torah had not yet become normative in the community. S. Zeitlin, "The Book of Jubilees, its Character and its Significance," *JQR* 30 (1939-40): 8-16; Zeitlin, "The Book of Jubilees and the Pentateuch," *JQR* 48 (1957): 218-35.

<sup>18</sup> L. Finkelstein, "Pre-Maccabean Documents in the Passover Haggadah. Appendix: The Date of the Book of Jubilees," *HTR* 36 (1943): 19-24; James Charlesworth, "The Date of Jubilees and of the Temple Scroll," *SBLSP* 24 (1985): 193-204.

<sup>19</sup> George Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishna* (Fortress Press: London, 1981), 77.

noting that the various prohibitions regarding gentiles, for example adopting their practices or intermarrying, would suit this period.

These pre-Maccabean period dates are countered by some arguments for dating *Jubilees* to the Maccabean/Hasmonean period. Charles has suggested that *Jubilees* be dated to the late second century BCE.<sup>20</sup> Charles associates *Jubilees* with the reign of John Hyrcanus, in part, based upon the identification of Levi as "priest of the most high God" (*Jub.* 32:1) which was a title used by Hyrcanus (134-104 BCE). Vanderkam also strongly supports a later date for *Jubilees*, insisting that it must be written after 167 BCE due to numerous allusions to events during the Maccabean period.<sup>21</sup> Vanderkam claims that the wars described in *Jub.* 34:2-9 and 37-38:14 are re-tellings of Maccabean conflicts. Vanderkam further suggests that a number of city names given in *Jubilees* may be identified as cities involved in these conflicts.<sup>22</sup> Thus, *Jubilees* must have followed the Maccabean wars, and as such, may be placed between 161 and 140 BCE. However, Vanderkam notes that it does not seem likely that the priesthood would be praised as it is, had the author been aware of the illegitimate high priesthood of the Maccabeans. For this reason, Vanderkam believes that *Jubilees* was most likely composed between 161 and 152 BCE.<sup>23</sup>

While each of the positions mentioned above has merit, it is Vanderkam's dating that I find the most compelling. The ways in which gentiles are dealt with and described in *Jubilees* suggest a time when Israel was resisting the forces of Hellenization. The threat of

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<sup>20</sup> Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, xxxiii.

<sup>21</sup> Vanderkam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 217.

<sup>22</sup> For a complete discussion of Vanderkam's evidence see his *Textual and Historical Studies*, pages 214-46.

<sup>23</sup> Vanderkam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 284.

Hellenization leads the author to promote the isolation of Israel from the deleterious forces of the gentiles. This is reflected in the ways that the patriarchs in *Jubilees* zealously fight to protect their religion and unique status against the threats of outsiders, much as was occurring during the Maccabean revolts. Further, *Jubilees* expresses a sense of hopefulness in its call to resistance that would not likely have pervaded a text written during Antiochus' brutal reign and ultimate desecration of the Temple. The optimism expressed in *Jubilees* may reflect the optimism of the author after having witnessed the victories of Judas Maccabeus over Israel's enemies.

There is, however, one point on which I disagree with Vanderkam. In my view, his statements regarding *Jubilees*' praise of the priesthood are contestable. Indeed, *Jubilees* has kind words for the priesthood, but this praise ends with the ordination of Levi. While the text deals with priestly concerns and figures extensively before Levi's ordination, it does not so much as mention any priestly activity by Levi or his descendants. *Jubilees* praises Levi extensively, but does not follow up on that praise. In fact, proto-priestly<sup>24</sup> service continues after Levi's ordination with Jacob's sacrifice at *Jub.* 44:1. This may reflect, as we will discuss below, the author's desire to downplay the hereditary priesthood. While this may not necessarily reflect a distrust or dislike of the priesthood on the part of the author, we cannot simply assume that this downplaying was meaningless. Perhaps the author was

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<sup>24</sup> I use the terms "proto-priestly" and "proto-priesthood" to refer to the priesthood that *Jubilees* creates prior to the establishment of the official, hereditary priesthood that is started with the ordination of Levi at *Jub.* 32:9. The "proto-priesthood" is more of a concept than a structured system. Individual figures, like Adam, perform sacrifices or offerings and adhere to strict priestly purity laws, but are never referred to as priests, nor are they said to be part of a priesthood. *Jubilees* creates a priestly framework prior to Levi's ordination that, while not illegitimate, is not officially recognized. I will argue that this use of priestly roles and imagery is part of the author's interest in promoting the idea that Israel has priestly potential. The term "proto-priesthood" is further discussed on page 20-1.

aware of the Maccabean high priesthood, and tempers his praise accordingly. I suggest, based upon this information, that we need not limit *Jubilees'* date to 152 BCE, and prefer to extend the range of dates to include the establishment of the Maccabean high priesthood. Thus, we may limit *Jubilees'* range of dates to within the reign of the first Maccabean high priest, Jonathan (152-42 BCE).

### Recent Studies on *Jubilees*: The Priesthood

Recent study on *Jubilees* has concentrated upon its use of interpretive editing and the issues that this editing seeks to address.<sup>25</sup> A few of the issues that have inspired such interpretative editing are the calendar,<sup>26</sup> covenant,<sup>27</sup> intermarriage<sup>28</sup> and, of particular interest to the present work, the priesthood.<sup>29</sup> The priesthood and priestly concerns are

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<sup>25</sup> A few examples include: Najman, "Interpretation as Primordial Writing," 379-410; James Vanderkam, "Biblical Interpretation in 1 Enoch and Jubilees," in *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation* (ed. James Charlesworth and Craig Evans; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 96-125; James Vanderkam, "Genesis 1 in Jubilees 2," *DSD* 1 (1994): 300-21; J.T.A.G.M. Van Ruiten, "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 Luttikhuizen; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 63-94; J.T.A.G.M. Van Ruiten, *Primeval History Interpreted: The Rewriting of Genesis 1-11 in the Book of Jubilees* (Leiden: Brill, 2000); J.T.A.G.M. Van Ruiten, "The Garden of Eden and Jubilees 3:1-31," *Bijdr 57* (1996): 305-17.

<sup>26</sup> For example, Joseph Baumgarten, "The Calendars of the Book of Jubilees and the Temple Scroll," *VT* 37 (1987): 71-78; Joseph Baumgarten, "Some Problems of the Jubilees Calendar in Current Research," *VT* 32 (1982): 485-489; Julian Morgenstern, "Calendar of the Book of Jubilees, its Origin and its Character," *VT* 5 (1955): 34-76.

<sup>27</sup> For example, J.T.A.G.M. Van Ruiten, "The Covenant of Noah in Jubilees 6.1-38," in *The Concept of the Covenant in the Second Temple Period* (ed. Stanley Porter and Jacqueline De Roo; Boston: Brill, 2003), 167-190; James Vanderkam, "Covenant and Biblical Interpretation in Jubilees 6," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years* (ed. Lawrence Schiffman, Emanuel Tov and James Vanderkam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 92-104.

<sup>28</sup> For example, Christine Hayes, "Intermarriage and Impurity in Ancient Jewish Sources," *HTR* 92 (1999): 3-36; Martha Himmelfarb, "Levi, Phineas, and the Problem of Intermarriage at the Time of the Maccabean Revolt," *JSQ* 6 (1999): 1-24; Cana Werman, "Jubilees 30: Building a Paradigm for the Ban on Intermarriage," *HTR* 90 (1997): 1-22.

<sup>29</sup> For example, James Kugel, "Levi's Elevation to Priesthood in Second Temple Writings," *HTR* 86

given prominence by the author of *Jubilees*. Throughout the text, the author inserts priestly references and concerns into the narrative. Major figures of biblical history, such as Adam and Abraham, are granted priestly status. Priestly legal concerns, such as those that govern the marriages of priests, are expanded to apply to all of Israel. This interest in priestly concerns tells us a great deal about how the author of *Jubilees* perceived the priesthood and Israel's role in the priesthood.

Recent research on *Jubilees*' presentation of the priesthood has tended to focus on one aspect of this priestly puzzle. Of the various biblical figures serving priestly functions detailed in *Jubilees*, only Levi is ordained and officially recognized as a priest.<sup>30</sup> For this reason, it is not surprising that the majority of studies on *Jubilees*' understanding of the priesthood have focused upon Levi.<sup>31</sup> The portrayal of Levi in *Jubilees* departs significantly from his portrayal in the Torah. His violent reaction to the rape of his sister, Dinah, is condemned by Jacob in Genesis 30:34. These same actions are praised in *Jubilees*. According to the *Jubilees* account (*Jub.* 30:18), Levi's violence represents his zealous protection of Israel and ultimately warrants his elevation to the priesthood. The

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(1993): 1-64; Robert Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest: The Levi-Priestly Tradition from Aramaic Levi to Testament of Levi* (Atlanta: Scholar's Press, 1996); James Vanderkam, "Jubilees' Exegetical Creation of Levi the Priest," *RevQ* 17 (1996): 359-73.

<sup>30</sup> The official ordination of Levi is found at *Jub.* 32:9, but the process in which he is elevated to the priesthood begins at 30:18. See pages 71-6 for a discussion of Levi's priesthood.

<sup>31</sup> A few examples include: Betsy Halpern-Amaru, "The Naming of Levi in the Book of Jubilees," in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Proceedings of the International Symposium of the Orion Centre for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12-14 January 1997* (ed. Esther Chazon and Michael Stone; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 59-70; Himmelfarb, "Levi, Phineas," 1-24; Kugel, "Levi's Elevation," 1-64; Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest*; James Vanderkam, "Isaac's Blessing of Levi and his Descendants in Jubilees 31," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (ed. Donald Parry and Eugene Ulrich; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 498-519; Vanderkam, "Jubilees' Exegetical Creation," 359-73; Cana Werman, "Levi and Levites in the Second Temple Period," *DSD* 4 (1997): 211-25; Werman, "Jubilees 30," 1-22.

interpretative changes that *Jubilees* makes to this biblical story have given scholars clues regarding its author's interests. For example, scholars like Cana Werman, Martha Himmelfarb and James Kugel have explored issues of intermarriage as they are presented through Levi's characterization in *Jubilees*.<sup>32</sup> Levi's elevation to the priesthood is based upon his rejection of intermarriage, and as such, tells us a great deal about the importance of this issue to the author. Studies on Levi have also been interested in exploring why he, instead of Aaron, was elevated to the priesthood and presented as the first priest.<sup>33</sup> The author of *Jubilees* chose to ignore Aaron, making no reference to him whatsoever. Scholars have offered a number of explanations for this. Werman argues that the emphasis upon Levi and the Levitical priesthood attempts to explain the absence of the Levites in the Second Temple Period.<sup>34</sup> Robert Kugler, on the other hand, has suggested that Levi's elevation reflects the author's dislike of the priesthood of his time. *Jubilees'* understanding of the proper priesthood is legitimized by being associated with the more ancient Levi.<sup>35</sup> Finally, another area of interest in studies on Levi's portrayal in *Jubilees* concerns the nature of Levi's priesthood itself. For example, Himmelfarb has argued that Levi's priestly role is downplayed in *Jubilees*.<sup>36</sup> Unlike his forefathers, Levi does not perform sacrifices.<sup>37</sup> Upon Levi's ordination, *Jubilees* seems to turn away from priestly practices, presenting only one

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<sup>32</sup> For example, Werman, "Jubilees 30," 1-22; Himmelfarb, "Levi, Phineas," 1-24; James Kugel, "The Holiness of Israel and the Land in Second Temple Times," in *Texts, Temples and Traditions: A Tribute to Menahem Haran* (ed. Michael Fox et al; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1996), 21-32.

<sup>33</sup> For example, Martha Himmelfarb, "A Kingdom of Priests," *JJTP* 6 (1997): 89-104; Kugel, "Levi's Elevation," 1-64; Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest*; Werman, "Levi and Levites," 211-25.

<sup>34</sup> Werman, "Levi and Levites," 211-15.

<sup>35</sup> Robert Kugler, *The Levi-Priestly Tradition: From Malachi to Testament of Levi* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1994), 9.

<sup>36</sup> Himmelfarb, "A Kingdom of Priests," 89-104.

<sup>37</sup> With the exception of one possible sacrifice, which we will discuss on pages 66-7.

more sacrifice, which is performed by Jacob, rather than Levi (*Jub.* 44:1).<sup>38</sup>

These studies on Levi and the details of his priesthood, however, tell only part of the story. While scholarship that focuses upon Levi tells us a great deal about some of the author's views, particularly regarding issues such as intermarriage, it tells us very little about *Jubilees'* treatment of priestly issues prior to Levi. Studies of individual biblical figures have been conducted,<sup>39</sup> detailing some of the ways in which these figures are described in priestly terms, but these studies fail to put these figures within a larger framework. It is this larger framework that I intend to work with in this thesis. *Jubilees'* manner of dealing with the priesthood raises a number of questions. Why is *Jubilees* interested in granting priestly status to the major figures of biblical history?<sup>40</sup> Can these individual priestly roles be understood in a synthetic fashion, as part of a broader purpose? Why is the author's attention drawn away from the priesthood upon the ordination of Levi? Most importantly, what does *Jubilees'* presentation of the priesthood tell us about Israel's

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<sup>38</sup> While there is some contention about whether it is Levi or Jacob that performs the sacrifice described at *Jub.* 32:4 (see pages 66-7), it is clear that Levi does not perform any other priestly duties following this verse. Significantly, it is Jacob that performs the sacrifice at *Jub.* 44:1, which does not appear in Genesis.

<sup>39</sup> A few examples include: Philip Alexander, "From the Son of Adam to Second God: Transformations of the Biblical Enoch," in *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible* (ed. Michael Stone and Theodore Bergren; Harrisburg: Trinity Press, 1998), 87-122; Gary Anderson, "Celibacy or Consummation in the Garden? Reflections on Early Jewish and Christian Interpretations of the Garden of Eden," *HTR* 82 (1989): 121-48; Betsy Halpern-Amaru, "The First Woman, Wives and Mothers in *Jubilees*," *JBL* 113 (1994): 609-26; John Levison, *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism: From Sirach to 2Baruch*. (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988); James Vanderkam, "The Righteousness of Noah" in *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profiles and Paradigms* (ed. John Collins and George Nickelsburg; Atlanta: Scholar's Press, 1980), 13-32.

<sup>40</sup> I will elsewhere be referring to these individuals as the "patriarchs." While traditionally the term patriarch refers only to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, I use the term broadly to refer to the line of major figures in biblical history. These figures include Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Levi. *Jubilees* grants these figures a type of patriarchal status as they are each considered a father of the line of Israel, and as such, form the backbone of biblical history.



role in the priesthood? Does *Jubilees* present what Himmelfarb calls a "democratized" priesthood?<sup>41</sup>

### Israel as a "Kingdom of Priests"

Martha Himmelfarb suggests that *Jubilees* presents the priesthood as available to all members of Israel.<sup>42</sup> According to her theory, the author of *Jubilees* invokes Exod 19:6, which states that Israel shall be a "kingdom of priests and a holy nation." In addition to directly quoting this line on two occasions (*Jub.* 16:18; 33:20), *Jubilees* suggests that all of Israel is priestly through the application of a number of priestly laws to lay members of Israel. Based on these observations, Himmelfarb concludes that *Jubilees* "democratizes" the priesthood. It is my contention that this "democratization" is also demonstrated in *Jubilees'* portrayal of the priestly patriarchs. However, before we explore this aspect of *Jubilees'* presentation of the priesthood, let us examine the issues that Himmelfarb has raised.

We should begin with a look at Exod 19:5-6, which states: "Now then, if you will obey me faithfully and keep my covenant, you shall be my treasured possession among all the peoples. Indeed, all the earth is mine, but you shall be to me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation."<sup>43</sup> This verse has inspired a considerable amount of research<sup>44</sup> in an attempt to

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<sup>41</sup> Himmelfarb, "A Kingdom of Priests," 89-104.

<sup>42</sup> Himmelfarb, "A Kingdom of Priests," 89-104.

<sup>43</sup> This translation is drawn from the JPS Torah Commentary on Exodus. Nahum Sarna, *Exodus* (JPSTC; Philadelphia: JPS, 1991), 103-4. Through the remainder of the thesis, unless otherwise stated, all biblical quotes are drawn from the Harper Collins NRSV Study Bible. The NRSV translation was not used in this instance, as it translates מַמְלַכְתָּ כֹהֲנִים as "priestly kingdom," rather than "kingdom of priests." While

uncover the meaning behind the phrase "a kingdom of priests" in Exod 19:6.<sup>45</sup> A common interpretation of this passage is that Israel will serve as priests to the rest of the world.<sup>46</sup> This interpretation has often been assumed by Christian scholars who see in this passage a precursor to the coming of Christianity. Heinz Kruse, for example, suggests that Israel's priestly role is related to the salvation of all mankind that becomes available with Christ.<sup>47</sup> While this interpretation has a number of adherents, the context of Exod 19 does not support this understanding. Exod 19:5-6 stands at the beginning of the Sinai encounter in which God makes his covenant with, and gives his laws to, Israel. Israel is the only nation identified; there is no suggestion that they are to be placed in a missionary role.

It has also been suggested that this "kingdom of priests" is meant metaphorically, conferring priestly status without the duties of a priest.<sup>48</sup> According to this interpretation, Israel's status is related to its close relationship with God. As God's chosen people, they are separated from the rest of humanity. This has further been interpreted as meaning that

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an accurate translation, I find that "priestly kingdom" suggests a decidedly metaphorical interpretation of this verse.

<sup>44</sup> For a more thorough survey of various interpretations, see William Moran, "A Kingdom of Priests," in *The Bible in Current Catholic Thought* (ed. John L. McKenzie; New York: Herder and Herder, 1962), 7-20.

<sup>45</sup> There is only one other verse that uses this language in the Hebrew Bible. Isa 61:6 reads: "but you shall be called priests of the LORD, you shall be named ministers of our God." Like Exod 19:6, this verse receives a great deal of attention from exegetes. Geoffery Grogan has argued that Isa 61:6 is the realization of the promise expressed in Exod 19:6. He suggests that Israel's realization of its priestly role places it in a missionary role in relation to the gentiles. Geoffrey Grogan, *The Expositor's Bible Commentary, Volume 6* (TEB 6; Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing, 1986), 334. Joseph Blenkinsopp, on the other hand, argues that Isa 61:6 implies a hierarchical relationship between Israel and the gentiles. As lay people must support the priests, so too must the gentiles support Israel. Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66: A New Translation and Commentary* (TAB; New York: Doubleday, 1993), 226.

<sup>46</sup> So J. Philip Hyatt, *Commentary on Exodus* (NCB; London: Oliphants, 1971); Walter C. Kaiser, Jr, *The Expositor's Bible Commentary, Volume 2* (EBC; Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1990); John I. Durham, *Exodus* (WBC 3; Waco: Word Books, 1987); Heinz Kruse, "Exodus 19:5 and the Mission of Israel," *NEAJT* 24/25 (1980): 129-135.

<sup>47</sup> Kruse, "Exodus 19:5," 131-2.

<sup>48</sup> Kruse, "Exodus 19:5," 131.

every member of Israel has devoted himself to God, thus creating the type of close relationship described in Exod 19:5-6.<sup>49</sup> In a similar vein, the "kingdom of priests" designation is often assumed to represent the special status of Israel as opposed to the gentile nations.<sup>50</sup> This interpretation is expanded somewhat by some who suggest that "kingdom of priests" implies certain obligations for Israel. As the priests must maintain a higher level of purity and are therefore separated from ordinary Israelites, so too the nation of Israel must separate from the rest of humanity due to its sanctity.<sup>51</sup> Conversely, there are some scholars who believe that "kingdom of priests" should be interpreted more literally. John Davies makes the argument that this designation means that Israel has been given a privileged position which is understood in terms of access to the heavenly court.<sup>52</sup> According to this theory, Exod 19:6 asserts that all of Israel is priestly and as such, may perform priestly service.

Whether Exod 19:6 should be interpreted as metaphorical, relating to Israel's relationship to God or the gentile nations, or literal, in the sense of having concrete ritual ramifications, there is, as Martha Himmelfarb notes, an inherent tension in the concept of the "kingdom of priests."<sup>53</sup> According to the Torah, the actual priesthood belonged to a very limited group of people within a single family line; the concept that all of Israel may be priestly is counterintuitive. This tension is not lost in *Jubilees'* interpretation of this

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<sup>49</sup> Kugel, "The Holiness of Israel," 22.

<sup>50</sup> Daniel R. Schwartz, "Kingdom of Priests' - A Pharisaic Slogan?" in *Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity* (ed. Daniel R. Schwartz; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1992), 58.

<sup>51</sup> Edward L. Greenstein, "Exodus," in *The Harper Collins Study Bible* (ed. Wayne Meeks; London: Harper Collins Publishers, 1989), 114.

<sup>52</sup> John Arthur Davies, "A Royal Priesthood: Literary and Intertextual Perspectives on an Image of Israel in Exodus 19:6," *TB* 53 (2002): 157.

<sup>53</sup> Himmelfarb, "A Kingdom of Priests," 90.

complex passage. The first instance in which Exod 19:5-6 is used in *Jubilees* is found in *Jub.* 16:18: "All [Jacob's] descendants had fallen into that (share) which God owns so that they would become a people whom he possesses out of all the nations; and they would be a kingdom [and] a priesthood and a holy people."<sup>54</sup> Here, the author has disregarded the construct state of the Hebrew, dividing 'kingdom' from 'priesthood.' This separation was common to ancient translations of Exod 19:6.<sup>55</sup> While the reason for the separation of the two clauses is unclear, we may assume that *Jub.* 16:18 is not suggesting that the kingdom is composed of priests.

This is not the case for *Jub.* 33:20:

No sin is greater than the sexual impurity which they commit on the earth because Israel is a holy people for the Lord its God. It is the nation which he possesses; it is a priestly nation; it is a priestly kingdom; it is what he owns. No such impurity will be seen among the holy people.

The impurity referred to in this passage is the sexual encounter between Reuben and Bilhah. As Bilhah is Reuben's father's wife, this incestuous encounter is one of the more severe impurities.

In this case, the declaration that Israel is a "priestly kingdom" is presented as an already established fact. The purity of Israel is of the utmost importance as they are a separate, sanctified people. The demonstration of the uniqueness of Israel and its relationship with the deity is a major theme in *Jubilees*,<sup>56</sup> and it seems that this passage may be considered as part of this agenda. On account of this, the passage may be understood as

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<sup>54</sup> Unless otherwise stated, all citations of *Jubilees* are drawn from Vanderkam's 1989 edition.

<sup>55</sup> The Aramaic, Syriac and Peshitta translations all separate kingdom and priests. Schwartz, "'Kingdom of Priests,'" 58-9.

<sup>56</sup> See, for example, *Jub.* 1:28; 2:20.

having a relational, metaphorical meaning, as it seeks to connote the unique nature of Israel among the nations rather than Israel's priestly role.

According to Christine Hayes, *Jubilees'* concept of the uniqueness of Israel is also informed by the notion of the "holy seed."<sup>57</sup> The "holy seed" concept is based upon Ezra 9:1-2:

The people of Israel, and the priests, and the Levites, have not separated themselves from the people of the lands, for they have taken of their daughters for themselves, and for their sons: so that the holy seed have mingled themselves with the people of [those] lands.

Not coincidentally, this passage from Ezra focuses upon the deleterious effects of intermarriage, another major concern for *Jubilees*. As Hayes has argued, this passage greatly influenced *Jubilees*, and likely motivated its use of Exod 19:5-6 in *Jub.* 33:20.<sup>58</sup> As a "holy seed," Israel is fundamentally different from the rest of humanity. Kugel suggests that this concept makes Israel "an order of being different from the order of being of other humans so that Israel is, in effect, wholly different, the earthly correspondent to God's heavenly hosts."<sup>59</sup> Indeed, as a "priestly nation," Israel's status is very similar to that of the angels. The angels are set to serve God in heaven, whereas the priests are set to serve God on earth.<sup>60</sup> This close relationship is further emphasized through familial imagery. Consider, for example, God's declaration that "all will know that I am the God of Israel, the

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<sup>57</sup> Hayes, "Intermarriage and Impurity," 3-36.

<sup>58</sup> For a detailed study of the relationship between *Jubilees'* use of the "holy seed" concept and its prohibition of intermarriage see Hayes, "Intermarriage and Impurity," 3-36.

<sup>59</sup> Kugel, "The Holiness of Israel," 27.

<sup>60</sup> In fact, the association between the roles of angels and priests is made explicit in reference to the priesthood of Levi and his descendants: "may he make you (Levi) and your descendants (alone) out of all humanity approach him to serve in his Temple like the angels of the presence and like the holy ones" (*Jub.* 31:14).

father of all Jacob's children." (*Jub.* 1:28), or God's assertion that Israel is his "first born son" (*Jub.* 2:20).

This concept has major implications for the ways in which we may understand the author's view of Israel. As we have discussed already, the author of *Jubilees* is interested in maintaining Israel's independence from the Hellenizers. By invoking this "holy seed" concept, particularly as it is expressed in *Ezra* 9:1-2, *Jubilees* is able to justify the complete separation of Israel from its neighbours, particularly through a prohibition of intermarriage. In *Jub.* 25:3, for example, Jacob is told to marry of his father's kin so that "[his] children shall be a righteous generation and a holy seed."<sup>61</sup> Another example of the use of "holy seed" in *Jubilees* is *Jub.* 16:17: "And all the seed of [Abraham's] sons should be gentiles, and be reckoned with gentiles; but from the sons of Isaac one should become a holy seed, and should not be reckoned among the gentiles."<sup>62</sup>

In these and other passages, *Jubilees* emphasizes the separation of the "holy seed" of Israel from the gentile nations. Intermarriage represents the ultimate degradation of the "holy seed" of Israel. Not only is there the risk of the infiltration of pagan religious beliefs or the acceptance of pagan practices, but the sanctity of the nation itself is compromised. The intermingling of the nations results in the pollution of the seed of Israel; its unique sanctity is watered down and thus, destroyed.

Intermarriage is criticized and prohibited through both implicit and explicit means.

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<sup>61</sup> I have chosen to use Wintermute's translation in this and the following example as Vanderkam has chosen to translate "holy seed" as "holy descendant." Vanderkam acknowledges that the literal translation would be "holy seed." Vanderkam, *The Book of Jubilees* (1989), 97 n.

<sup>62</sup> Wintermute's translation.

*Jub.* 30:13-15, for instance, stresses the magnitude of the impurity and sinfulness of intermarriage:

It is a disgraceful thing for the Israelites who give or take (in marriage) one of the foreign women because it is too impure and despicable for Israel. Israel will not become clean from this impurity while it has one of the foreign women or if anyone has given one of his daughters to any foreign man. For it is blow upon blow and curse upon curse. Every punishment, blow, and curse will come. If one does this or shuts his eyes to those who do impure things and who defile the Lord's sanctuary and to those who profane his holy name, then the entire nation will be condemned together because of all this impurity and this contamination.

In every instance in which a member of Israel marries a non-Israelite, all of Israel suffers. The Temple, and even the name of God, is defiled.

Intermarriage is further seen as the equivalent of idolatry in *Jubilees*. In this, *Jubilees* follows Lev 18:21 and 20:2, which prohibits giving one's seed over to Molech: "You shall not give any of your offspring to sacrifice them to Molech, and so profane the name of God." (Lev 18:21); "Any of the people of Israel, or of the aliens who reside in Israel, who give any of their offspring to Molech shall by put to death; the people of the land shall stone them to death." (Lev 20:2). *Jubilees* interprets this broadly to refer to children of exogamous marriages. The degradation of the holy seed of Israel, in addition to the fact that the child would potentially be raised in an idolatrous home, is the equivalent of sacrificing that child to Molech:

If there is a man in Israel who wishes to give his daughter or his sister to any foreigner, he is to die...This law has no temporal limit. There is no remission or any forgiveness; but rather the man who has defiled his daughter within all of Israel is to be eradicated because he has given one of his descendants to Molech and has sinned by defiling them (*Jub.* 30:7-10).

The association of the "priestly kingdom" with the "holy seed" in *Jub.* 33:20 suggests that its author understands Exod 19:5-6 as referring to Israel's unique relationship with God. However, the way in which Israel is presented as "priestly" throughout *Jubilees* suggests that its author also understood this "priestly kingdom" as having ritual responsibilities as well. This is reflected in the way in which laws that apply only to priests in the Torah are expanded to apply to all of Israel.

Himmelfarb provides us with two examples. The first is in regards to the legal prescriptions regarding intermarriage that were discussed above. According to the Torah, only the high priest was strictly forbidden from marrying outside of Israel. Lev 21:15 states that "he shall marry a virgin of *his own kin*, that he may not profane his offspring among his kin." As for ordinary Israelites, they are only prohibited from marrying from the seven Canaanite tribes, as outlined in Deut 7:3: "Do not intermarry with them"<sup>63</sup>, giving your daughters to their sons or taking their daughters for your sons." Other than these seven tribes, there is no prohibition on intermarriage. *Jubilees'* extended prohibition on intermarriage certainly reflects the fear of Hellenization's infiltration that was discussed above, but it also implies something about the nature of Israel. Every individual is included in this priestly law, confirming Himmelfarb's suggestion that Israel is indeed, a "kingdom of priests."

Himmelfarb gives us another example that suggests that *Jubilees* understands all of Israel as priestly. The priestly domain of sacrifice is intimately connected with the lay

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<sup>63</sup> "Them" refers to the Hittites, Girgashites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites and Jebusites, as outlined in Deut 7:1.



realm of proper behaviour through a clever interpretation of Noah's sacrifice upon leaving the ark.<sup>64</sup> Upon receiving the fragrance of Noah's sacrifice, God offers his covenant with two requirements:

But you are not to eat animate beings with their spirit - with the blood - (because the vital force of all animate beings is in the blood) so that your blood with your vital forces may not be required from the hand of any man. From the hand of each one I will require the blood of man. The person who sheds the blood of man will have his blood shed by man because he made mankind in the image of the Lord (*Jub.* 6:7-8).

These prohibitions are then carefully tied to the efficacy of blood sacrifice: "this law has no temporal limits because it is forever. They are to keep it throughout history so that they may continue supplicating for themselves with blood in front of the altar each and every day." (*Jub.* 6:14). Himmelfarb observes that "proper treatment of blood by ordinary Israelites is thus essential for priests to perform their duties."<sup>65</sup> Should an individual disregard the laws of the consumption or shedding of blood, then the sanctity and legitimacy of the priest's blood sacrifice is compromised. The maintenance of the priesthood is thus dependant upon the participation of all of Israel.

These legal expansions have provided us with a reasonable suspicion that the author of *Jubilees* took Exodus' reference to a priestly Israel seriously. Why, then, is the ritual element of Israel's priesthood not actualized? I will argue that the answer to this question may be found in *Jubilees*' eschatology. *Jubilees*' eschatological passages (*Jub.* 1:5-29; 23) suggest that Israel cannot yet be priestly, as it has not yet purified itself of sinfulness and the

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<sup>64</sup> According to Genesis, Noah offers a blood sacrifice (Gen 8:20) and is prohibited from shedding blood (Gen 9:6), but the two are in no way associated.

<sup>65</sup> Himmelfarb, "A Kingdom of Priests," 95.

polluting effects of association with gentiles. Just as the patriarchs must first prove their righteousness before they can perform priestly tasks, so too must the rest of Israel. Once Israel has become purified, it will return to its natural, priestly state. This natural state is represented by the Eden narrative. Adam, as the first human, may be understood as a model of what Israel was to become. Like the elite few after him, Adam serves as a priest before God. Unlike his descendants, however, Adam does not need to prove his righteousness, as he does not have access to those things that have led Israel astray, such as intermarriage with gentiles or idolatry. According to *Jub.* 23, the natural state of life described in the Eden narrative will once again become available to Israel upon its purification. Thus, Israel has not yet actualized its "priestly kingdom" status.

This concept raises yet another question about *Jubilees'* presentation of the priesthood. If the nation of Israel is indeed understood to have priestly potential, how is this reflected in *Jubilees'* presentation of the priesthood itself? First, we must define what is meant by the term "priesthood." *Jubilees* presents what are essentially two separate priesthoods. The first is a proto-priesthood, in which sacrifices and other priestly duties are performed by major figures of biblical history who are not usually thought of as priests. These figures are allowed to perform priestly duties as a result of their exceptional righteousness and devotion to the separation of Israel as required by the "holy seed" concept discussed above. As the hereditary priesthood has not yet been established, none of these figures are actually referred to as priests or ordained as such. The second form of the priesthood is the hereditary priesthood that comes into existence when Levi is ordained at

*Jub.* 32:2.<sup>66</sup>

In the following chapters, I will discuss both the proto-priestly figures and Levi at length, demonstrating both how they are depicted as priests and why they are granted these depictions. The proto and hereditary priesthoods that are comprised of these individual figures forms the backbone of this thesis, and will help answer the questions raised throughout this introduction. It is my contention that the portrayals of the patriarchs, particularly the first man, Adam, tells us a great deal about the way in which the author of *Jubilees* understands the priesthood and Israel's role in priestly service. As we shall see, the patriarchs are presented as imitable examples of what all Israelites should be. Their righteousness and devotion to Israel's separation, traits available to any member of Israel, are stepping stones on the path to becoming priestly. The only figure who does not need to prove himself worthy before performing priestly tasks is Adam. As the first human, Adam represents Israel's natural state. As such, it is significant to find that he, and to a lesser extent, his wife Eve, are expected to carry out priestly tasks that they learn from the angels (*Jub.* 3:15).

This thesis will demonstrate that *Jubilees* uses the proto-priesthood, in conjunction with the legal expansions discussed above, to promote the notion that Israel is indeed a priestly nation. The roles that the patriarchs fulfill are designed to emphasize Israel's unique, holy status. In the process, the patriarchal priesthood suggests that individual lay Israelites may potentially serve as priests. Further, Adam is presented as what Israel can

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<sup>66</sup> See pages 72-3 for a discussion of the ordination of Levi.

and will be. His status as priest reflects the potential priesthood of all of Israel, demonstrating that Israel was created to be a "priestly kingdom." In order to demonstrate this, I will begin by discussing the nature of *Jubilees'* presentation of the Eden narrative. The next chapter will then examine the priestly roles of the patriarchs. I will then conclude this thesis by summarizing the findings of these two chapters and incorporating this information with an examination of *Jubilees'* eschatological viewpoint.

## Chapter One: Adam, Eve and the Garden

We begin our study with *Jubilees'* presentation of the Eden narrative. The author of *Jubilees* applies a number of priestly elements to this story, emphasizing the holiness of Eden and its inhabitants, Adam and Eve. I will argue that, through this emphasis, *Jubilees* suggests that all of Israel is priestly, and has been so since creation. In order to demonstrate this, this chapter will begin with a discussion of the identification of Eden as the holy of holies (*Jub.* 8:19). This identification is part of the larger priestly framework that the author of *Jubilees* applies to the Eden narrative. As Eden is the holy of holies, it follows that its inhabitants must be priestly in order to have access to this exceedingly holy site. This concept is confirmed by *Jubilees'* presentations of Adam and Eve. Following the discussion of Eden, we will turn to Adam. Adam is presented as a priest, caring for the holy of holies and offering the morning incense offering. Following this discussion of Adam, our attention will turn to Eve. While not a priest, Eve does serve some pseudo-priestly functions. Eve is presented as serving a supportive role by representing a number of priestly ideals relating to purity and holiness, and as a partner to her husband Adam.<sup>67</sup> Together, Adam and Eve represent the ideal Israelite couple, strictly adhering to purity laws

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<sup>67</sup> This presentation is much more sympathetic to Eve than many other Second Temple and early Christian interpretations. For example, Ben Sira warns men about the dangers associated with "evil wives" by noting that "from a woman sin had its beginning, and because of her we all die." (*Sir* 25:24). Among the early Christian Church Fathers, the blame for human mortality was often placed solely on Eve. This blame was often used to support measures to control women. Consider Tertullian's rant: "And do you not know that you are (each) an Eve? The sentence of God on this sex of yours lives in this age: the guilt must of necessity live too. *You* are the devil's gateway: *you* are the unsealer of that (forbidden) tree: *you* are the first deserter of the divine law: *you* are she who persuaded him whom the devil was not valiant enough to attack. *You* destroyed so easily God's image, man. On account of *your* desert - that is, death - even the Son of God had to die." (*Cult. fem.* 1.1.1-2)

and completely avoiding practices that the gentile nations will come to accept. I will suggest that they represent what Israel is to become upon its perfection in the future, when Israel is purified and becomes once again a "priestly kingdom." Let us now begin this study with an examination of Eden's role in the creation of this priestly vision.

## Eden

*Jubilees* is very clear about its identification of Eden; it is the holy of holies, the sole residence of God. We encounter the designation of the holy lands in the inheritance speech of Noah. The narrator describes the reasoning behind Noah's choice of the central lands for Shem:

He knew that the Garden of Eden is the holy of holies and is the residence of The Lord; (that) Mt. Sinai is in the middle of the desert; and (that) Mt. Zion is in the middle of the navel of the earth. The three of them - the one facing the other - were created as holy (places) (*Jub.* 8:19).

While each of these sites is designated as a "holy place," *Jubilees* makes a distinction between them. *Jubilees* indicates that the Garden of Eden is holier than its counterparts, even as the other sites receive special attention due to their locations. According to Sara Japhet, the sanctity of a particular location in the Hebrew Bible is determined by the nature of the connection between the land and the deity.<sup>68</sup> She states that, from a biblical perspective, the land may be holy if it is either a place where God dwells or has revealed himself to humanity.<sup>69</sup> Following Japhet's theory, it is not difficult to determine how Eden

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<sup>68</sup> Sara Japhet, "Some Biblical Concepts of Sacred Space," in *Sacred Space: Shrine, City, Land* (ed. Benjamin Kedar and R.J. Zwi Werblowsky; New York: New York University Press, 1998), 57.

<sup>69</sup> Japhet, "Biblical Concepts," 59.

and Mt. Sinai can be considered holy. Eden is designated as the dwelling place of God; Mt. Sinai is the place of the revelation of the law to Moses. We may also recognize here the relative levels of sanctity of these two locations. As the sole home of God, Eden may be presented as the holiest site on earth, the holy of holies. This model leaves us with some difficulty, however, when we come to Mt. Zion. Regarding Zion, God is recorded as saying:

The Lord will appear in the sight of all, and all will know that I am the God of Israel, the father of Jacob's children, and the king of Mt. Zion for the ages of eternity. Then Zion and Jerusalem will become holy (*Jub.* 1:28).

As *Jubilees* situates itself at the time of the Sinaitic revelation, it is looking forward to the creation of the Temple at Zion. Zion is thus being presented as a future holy site. As Jacob Milgrom observes, Zion's holiness is not dependant on the existence of the Temple, and as such, it is holy from its very creation.<sup>70</sup> Thus, in *Jubilees*, it is the promise of God's future presence that makes Zion holy. The recognition of Zion's holy status associates it with the two other sites.

In particular, we may note that the author seeks to connect Zion with the Garden of Eden. This connection is first presented in temporal terms. Eden, the holy of holies, is a holy site no longer accessible to humanity. Mt. Sinai, where *Jubilees* is being revealed, is accessible to the imagined audience of Moses' revelation. Zion, as the site of the future Temple, will be accessible to humanity in the unspecified future. Past, present and future

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<sup>70</sup> Jacob Milgrom, "The Concept of Impurity in Jubilees and the Temple Scroll," *RevQ* 16 (1993): 278.

are imagined as facing one another in the centre of the earth.<sup>71</sup>

The geographical link between the future home of the Temple and Eden is part of a larger tradition in which the two sites are likened. A number of biblical sources, such as Ezekiel, as well as Second Temple period texts, such as *The Book of the Watchers*, associate the two sites through the use of imagery. In Ezekiel, the restored Jerusalem is described in Edenic terms. The comparison of the two locations begins with Ezek 20:40. Here, the holy mountain is associated with Jerusalem, whereas elsewhere in Ezekiel, the holy mountain designates Eden. In Ezek 28:11-19, we are presented with the lamentation of the king of Tyre. Here, this Adam-like figure is said to be "in Eden, the Garden of God" (Ezek 28:13) and "on the holy mountain of God" (Ezek 28:14). This association between Eden and Jerusalem points to an eschatological belief that the perfection lost by the misdeeds of those like the king of Tyre will be regained in the future. Michael Wise notes that, as there was no temple in Jerusalem at the time of Ezekiel's composition, references to the Temple should be read in terms of Ezek 40:48, which describes the eschatological Temple. Thus, associations between the Temple and Eden suggest that Eden will be the site of the eschatological Temple.<sup>72</sup>

The link between the eschatological Temple in Jerusalem and the Garden of Eden is further expressed through the descriptions of this Temple in Ezekiel 47. Ezekiel describes a tree-lined river flowing from the sanctuary. This river contains all sorts of life and is itself

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<sup>71</sup> Each of the holy sites is said to be contained within the territory that Shem inherits, which is said to be the central region (*Jub.* 8:12).

<sup>72</sup> M.O. Wise, "4QFlorilegium and the Temple of Adam," *RevQ* 15 (1991): 130.



able to bring life back to stagnant waters. The trees that surround this river are equally miraculous, as they do not wither and their leaves may be used for medicinal purposes (Ezek 47:1-12). This description reminds the reader of Eden for a number of reasons. The river is reminiscent of the description of Eden in Gen 2:10: "a river flows out of Eden to water the Garden." Further, the description of the trees reminds us of Gen 2:9: "out of the ground the LORD God made to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food."

This link between the glories of Eden and the eschatological Temple in Jerusalem is also found in a number of other pseudepigraphical and Qumranic texts. While discussing every instance in which Eden and the Temple are compared would be beyond the scope of this thesis, we may look at one example, the pseudepigraphical text, *1Enoch*.<sup>73</sup> *1Enoch* has been chosen here as it is very similar to *Jubilees*. Vanderkam notes that the two share a number of traditions, particularly about Enoch.<sup>74</sup> For instance, *Jubilees* borrows astronomical information that appears in the Astronomical Book (*1En.* 72-82), a book that *Jubilees* records as having been written by Enoch (*Jub.* 4:17).<sup>75</sup>

Himmelfarb notes that *The Book of the Watchers*, another subdocument of *1Enoch* used by *Jubilees*, follows the pattern that we have been discussing, associating the eschatological Jerusalem with Eden, and placing it at the "navel of the earth."<sup>76</sup> *1 En.* 25:3-

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<sup>73</sup> For some other examples, see *Testament of Levi* 18:6; *Testament of Dan* 5:12; *Apocalypse of Moses* 29:1-6 and the following texts from Qumran: 4Q174, 4Q265, 4Q421 and 4Q500.

<sup>74</sup> Vanderkam, *The Book of Jubilees* (2001), 33.

<sup>75</sup> Vanderkam, *The Book of Jubilees* (2001), 137.

<sup>76</sup> Martha Himmelfarb, "The Temple and the Garden of Eden in Ezekiel, the Book of the Watchers, and the Wisdom of ben Sira," in *Sacred Places and Profane Places: Essays in the Geographies of Judaism*,

5 states:

This tall mountain which you saw whose summit resembles the throne of God is (indeed) his throne, on which the Holy and Great Lord of Glory, the Eternal King, will sit when he descends to visit the earth with goodness. And as for this fragrant tree, not a single human being has the authority to touch it until the great judgement, when he shall take vengeance on all and conclude (everything) forever. This is for the righteous and the pious. And the elect will be presented with its fruit for life.

Himmelfarb has called this a "conflation of Zion and Eden traditions", in which the mountain throne of God, which represents Zion, is placed within Eden.<sup>77</sup> The reference to a tree to which humans are denied access is clearly a reference to either the tree of life (Gen 2:9; 3:22), or to the tree of knowledge of good and evil (Gen 2:17). This image is continued in *1 En.* 26:1-3:

And from there I went into the centre of the earth and saw a blessed place, shaded with branches which live and bloom from a tree that was cut. And there I saw a holy mountain, in the direction of the east, there was a stream which was flowing in the direction of the north.

Here, we are presented again with the stream issuing from Eden being placed in the context of the Temple in Jerusalem. Sandra Shimoff argues that we should understand this in purely eschatological terms.<sup>78</sup> This is evidenced by the way in which the author notes that this mountain is where God "will sit when he descends to visit the earth" (*1 En.* 25:3).

*Jubilees* follows this pattern of associating Eden with eschatological ideas, but in some ways it is more explicit than its predecessors. It first alludes to Jerusalem in *Jub.*

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*Christianity and Islam* (ed. Jamie Scott and Paul Simpson-Housley; New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 69.

<sup>77</sup> Himmelfarb, "The Temple and the Garden of Eden," 69.

<sup>78</sup> Sandra Shimoff, "Gardens: from Eden to Jerusalem," *JSJ* 26 (1995): 153.

1:10, where God refers to the Temple that he had sanctified "in the middle of the land." This Temple, however, has been defiled by the idolatry and lawlessness of the people. So, in *Jub.* 1:16-17, God promises that when the people of Israel mend their ways, "I will build my Temple among them and will live with them; I will become their God and they will become my true and righteous people." This perfection of the people and the land is reiterated at *Jub.* 1:28: "The Lord will appear in the sight of all, and all will know that I am the God of Israel, the father of all Jacob's children, and the king on Mt. Zion for the ages of eternity. Then Zion and Jerusalem will become holy." Following this reference to the coming sanctity of Jerusalem, we are told of heavenly tablets that span

from [the time of the creation until] the time of the new creation when the heavens, the earth and all their creatures will be renewed like the powers of the sky and like all the creatures of the earth, until the time when the Temple of the Lord will be created in Jerusalem on Mt. Zion (*Jub.* 1:29).<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> As the importance of this passage for our purposes lies in the phrase that Vanderkam has included in brackets above, I shall include here his reasoning for adding these words: "the Ethiopic text indicates that the account in Jubilees extends from the time of the new creation onward, while the context implies that it should cover the period until the new creation. Charles (1895, p.4, n. 23; 1902, p.9, n.) omitted "new" (or regarded it as a corruption of "until" (1895)) and added "until" after "creation". This relocation of "until" (እስከ follows ፍጥረት) is now found in mss. 21 35 38<sup>c</sup> 42<sup>c</sup> 58, but it appears to be a scribal attempt to solve the very problem that Charles was discussing. The bracketed words have been restored in line with Michael Stone's proposal (Michael Stone, "Apocryphal Notes and Readings," *IOS* 1 (1971): 125-6) that the phrase was omitted when a scribe's eye skipped from the first instance of ፊለስ to the second." James Vanderkam, *The Book of Jubilees* (1989), 6-7, n. Charles' translation: "and the angel of the presence who went before the camp of Israel took the tables of the divisions of the years - from the time of the creation - of the law and of the testimony of the weeks, of the jubilees, according to the individual years, according to all the number of the jubilees [according to the individual years], from the day of the [new] creation when the heavens and the earth shall be renewed and all their creation according to the powers of the heaven, and according to all the creation of the earth, until the sanctuary of the Lord shall be made in Jerusalem on Mount Zion." Wintermute's translation follows Stone's proposal: "and the angel of the presence, who went before the camp of Israel, took the tablets of the division of years from the time of the creation of the law and testimony according to their weeks (of years), according to the jubilees, year by year throughout the full number of jubilees, from [the day of creation until] the day of the new creation when the heaven and earth and all of their creatures shall be renewed according to the powers of heaven and according to the whole nature of earth, until the sanctuary of the Lord is created in Jerusalem upon Mount Zion."

This verse explicitly links Eden with the "new creation" of the coming Temple. This link is made even more explicit when we are presented with the first descriptions of Eden. The first point of interest occurs following the creation of Eve (*Jub.* 3: 5).

Unlike in Genesis, both Adam and Eve are created outside of Eden<sup>80</sup> and consummate their marriage before entering the Garden (*Jub.* 3: 6). This detail is significant because there is no more sexual activity between the two until after they leave the Garden (*Jub.* 3:35).<sup>81</sup> Gary Anderson argues that, rather than being a comment upon sexuality, the lack of sexual relations between the couple while in Eden is related to the holy status of Eden.<sup>82</sup> In his view, *Jubilees* was not interested in promoting celibacy or asceticism, but rather was following biblical purity laws relating to the Temple.<sup>83</sup> Indeed, *Jubilees* is not interested in promoting, nor denouncing, celibacy elsewhere.<sup>84</sup>

The requirement that there be no sexually related impurities in the Temple is drawn from Leviticus. For instance, Lev 15:18 states: "if a man lies with a woman and has an emission of semen, both of them shall bathe in water and be unclean until the evening." The consequences of approaching the sanctuary or sacrifices while in a state of impurity are severe: "if anyone among all your offspring throughout your generations comes near the sacred donations, which the people of Israel dedicate to the LORD, while he is in a state of uncleanness, that person shall be cut off from my presence" (Lev 22:3). Thus, sexual

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<sup>80</sup> According to Gen 2:15, Adam was brought into Eden before Eve was created.

<sup>81</sup> Anderson, "Celibacy or Consummation," 129.

<sup>82</sup> Anderson, "Celibacy or Consummation," 129.

<sup>83</sup> Anderson, "Celibacy or Consummation," 129.

<sup>84</sup> Rabbinic interpretations of Eden assume that Adam and Eve engaged in sexual relations in the Garden, as procreation was the first commandment of God. For example, *Genesis Rabbah* compares celibacy to murder. (Gen.Rab. 34:14) Anderson, "Celibacy or Consummation," 122.

relations do not occur in Eden, as it is more than a holy Garden; it is the sanctuary of God.<sup>85</sup>

*Jubilees* presents another significant addition to Genesis regarding the sanctity of Eden. *Jub.* 3:8-13 states:

In the first week Adam and his wife - the rib - were created, and in the second week he showed her to him. Therefore, a commandment was given to keep (women) in their defilement seven days for a male (child) and for a female two (units) of seven days. After forty days had come to an end for Adam in the land where he had been created, we brought him into the Garden of Eden to work and keep it. His wife was brought (there) on the eightieth day. After this she entered the Garden of Eden. For this reason a commandment was written in the heavenly tablets for the one who gives birth to a child: if she gives birth to a male, she is to remain in her impurity for seven days like the first seven days; then for thirty-three days she is to remain in the blood of purification. She is not to touch any sacred thing nor to enter the sanctuary until she completes these days for a male. As for a female she is to remain in her impurity for two weeks of days like the first two weeks and sixty-six days in the blood of purification. Their total is eighty days. After she had completed these eighty days, we brought her into the Garden of Eden because it is the holiest in the entire earth, and every tree which is planted in it is holy. For this reason the law of these days has been ordained for the one who gives birth to a male or female. She is not to touch any sacred thing nor to enter the sanctuary until the time when those days for a male or a female are completed.

This prohibition is related to Leviticus 12, which states:

If a woman conceives and bears a male child, she shall be ceremonially unclean seven days; as at the time of her menstruation, she shall be unclean. On the eighth day the flesh of his foreskin shall be circumcised. Her time of blood purification shall be thirty-three days; she shall not touch any holy thing, or come into the sanctuary, until the days of her purification are completed. If she bears a female child, she shall be unclean two weeks, as in her menstruation; her time of blood purification shall be sixty six days.

While this law is to apply to the new mother, *Jubilees* has transformed its meaning in

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<sup>85</sup> It is interesting to note that these purity laws are greatly increased in sectarian law. 11QTemple 45:11-2 states: "anyone who lies with his wife and has an ejaculation, for three days shall not enter anywhere in the city of the Temple in which I shall install my name." Similarly, CD 12:1-2 states: "no one should sleep with a woman in the city of the Temple, defiling it with their impurity."

relation to Eden, so that the impurity associated with birth is applied to the newly created Adam and Eve. The concept of applying impurity to Adam and Eve is not unique to *Jubilees*. Joseph Baumgarten has pointed out that a similar concept is presented in the Qumran text 4Q265.<sup>86</sup> This text has been entitled *Miscellaneous Rules*, as it is composed of diverse material, most pertaining to various regulations.<sup>87</sup> Included in this motley collection is a reference to Eden that reflects an understanding of Lev 12 that is similar to that of *Jubilees*:

In the fir[st] week [Adam was created, but he had nothing sacred (?) until] he was brought to the Garden of Eden. And a bone [ of his bones was taken for the woman, but nothing sacred (?)] did she have until she was brought to h[im in the Garden of Eden after eighty days,] [for] the Garden of Eden is sacred and every young shoot which is in its midst is a consecrated thing. [Therefore a woman who bears a male] shall be impure seven days, as in the days of her menstruation shall she be impure, and th[irty three days shall she remain in the blood] of her purity. *vac* And if she bears a female she shall be impure [two weeks as in her menstruation, and sixty-six days] [shall she remain] in the blood of her purity. [No] consecrated thing [shall she touch, nor shall she enter the sanctuary until the completion of] (4Q265 7 II,11-17)

In my view, the use of Lev 12 in *Jubilees* serves a simple purpose. Throughout *Jubilees*, the ultimate holy status of Eden is emphasized. It makes sense, then, that the author would want to continue with this emphasis by delaying the entrance of the first couple into the Garden of Eden, according to a purity law that restricts access to the Temple. As the law must apply to both a male and female being, who have not had time to make themselves

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<sup>86</sup> Joseph Baumgarten, "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* (ed. George Brooke and Florentino Garcia-Martinez; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 3-10

<sup>87</sup> Joseph Baumgarten et al, *Qumran Cave 4: XXV Halakhic Texts. DJD XXXV* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 58.

ritually impure in any substantial way, the author must use a law that may be applied at birth, or in this case, creation. However, as Lev 12 calls for the impurity of a mother, *Jubilees* must interpret the law loosely. As it stands, Lev 12 cannot apply to Eve, as she had not given birth. Nor can it apply to Adam, who cannot give birth and it certainly cannot apply to God, who has neither given birth in the sense presented in Lev 12, nor can God become impure. Thus, since none of the three may be impure as parents, *Jubilees* reverses Lev 12, making the newly created impure rather than the creator. The result is, as Baumgarten has suggested, an etiological explanation of Lev 12,<sup>88</sup> which also serves to emphasize the heightened level of sanctity required upon entering the Garden of Eden, as it is the holy of holies. The detail of Adam and Eve's impurity acts to once again emphasize the fact that Eden is the holy of holies. It should also be noted that the use of this ritual purity law especially emphasizes the sanctity of Eden, as it is one of the only references to ritual purity found in *Jubilees*.<sup>89</sup>

The examples discussed above serve to demonstrate the importance of the association of Eden and the coming Temple in Jerusalem. Eden's status as the holy of holies, before the Temple is built in Jerusalem, is designed to provide the reader with an image of what the Temple will be. As part of the mythological past, Eden is representative of Israel's future. In order to further demonstrate how life in Eden is presented as a

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<sup>88</sup> Baumgarten, "Purification," 3-10.

<sup>89</sup> The only other reference to ritual impurity is found at *Jub.* 32:13, which declares the impurity of the second tithe after one year. While these are the only two references to ritual purity, I do not believe, as scholars like Liora Ravid propose, that this implies that the author of *Jubilees* rejects purity laws out of opposition to the high priesthood. Rather, as Vanderkam argues, this neglect of ritual purity is far more likely to be due to the fact that *Jubilees* records a time when the ritual laws have not yet been handed down on Sinai. Liora Ravid, "Purity and Impurity in the Book of Jubilees," *JSP* 13 (2002): 61-86; James Vanderkam, "Viewed from Another Angle: Purity and Impurity in the Book of Jubilees," *JSP* 13 (2002): 209-15.

microcosm of the future Israel, we must now turn our attention to the inhabitants of Eden.

## Adam

*Jubilees* is very clear about Adam's role; he serves as the first priest and patriarch. In these capacities, Adam serves as a role model, becoming an example of priestly Israel. The consequences of his priesthood are far-reaching for *Jubilees*, but before we turn to these consequences, let us first discuss the manner of Adam's priestly status.

The first evidence for Adam's role as priest is his association with the holy of holies:

We gave him work and were teaching him (how) to do everything that was appropriate for working (it). While he was working (it) he was naked but did not realize (it) nor was he ashamed. He would guard the Garden against birds, animals and cattle (*Jub.* 3:15-6).

Here, Adam is being educated in the care of the Garden by the angels. This is an elaboration on Genesis, which states: "the LORD God took the man and put him in the Garden of Eden to till it and keep it" (Gen 2:15). In *Jubilees*, the angels are the main purveyors of priestly knowledge to the patriarchs. For example, the Watchers are angels who originally "descended to earth to teach mankind and to do what is just and upright upon the earth." (*Jub.* 4:15). The Watchers provided Noah with medical knowledge, which, as will be discussed in the next chapter, was generally the domain of the priest.<sup>90</sup> Further, the details of Genesis and Exodus that are retold in *Jubilees* are dictated to Moses by the angel of the presence (*Jub.* 1:27-2:1). The mediating role that the angels play between the priestly patriarchs and God emphasizes the sanctity of the information being shared. In

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<sup>90</sup> Vanderkam, "Righteousness of Noah," 22.



Adam's case, we may infer that the information being shared is specifically related to the proper performance of the cult. It is the angels' instruction on how to tend to the holy of holies.

The care with which Adam devotes himself to proper priestly behaviour is particularly emphasized following his ejection from Eden:

He made clothing out of skins for them, clothed them, and dismissed them from the Garden of Eden. On that day, as he was leaving the Garden of Eden, he burned incense as a pleasing fragrance - frankincense, galbanum, stacte, and aromatic spices - in the early morning when the sun rose at the time when he covered his shame. On that day the mouths of all the animals, the cattle, the birds, everything that walks and everything that moves about were made incapable of speaking because all of them used to converse with one another in one language and one tongue. He dismissed from the Garden of Eden all the animate beings that were in the Garden of Eden. All animate beings were dispersed - each by its kind and each by its nature - into the place(s) which had been created for them. But of all the animals and cattle he permitted Adam alone to cover his shame. For this reason it has been commanded in the tablets regarding all those who know the judgment of the law that they cover their shame and not uncover themselves as the nations uncover themselves (*Jub.* 3:26-31).

Adam's first action following eating the fruit is to "cover his shame," an action which is re-emphasized repeatedly in this short passage. Adam clothes himself out of modesty when he sews together a loin cloth of fig leaves (*Jub.* 3:22). Further, Adam is clothed a second time by God (*Jub.* 3:26). As the text emphasizes, the clothing of Adam is directly related to his incense offering; he does not perform this offering until after he is clothed. This detail is drawn from Exodus, which states that priests must wear clothing when approaching the altar: "Aaron and his sons shall wear them when they go into the tent of meeting, or when they come near the altar to minister in the holy place; or they will bring guilt on themselves and die" (Exod 28: 42). As a priest, Adam is subject to this law and therefore must not

make his incense offering until after he has been clothed.<sup>91</sup>

The clothing that God provides for Adam is of particular significance in relation to *Jubilees'* anti-Hellenistic leanings. *Jubilees* notes that "it has been commanded in the tablets regarding all those who know the judgment of the law that they cover their shame and not uncover themselves as the nations uncover themselves" (*Jub.* 3:31) Stephen Lambden notes that this refers to the Hellenistic practices within the gymnasia and in various rites that require participants to be nude.<sup>92</sup>

As we have seen, *Jubilees* understood the influences of the gentiles to be deleterious to Israel. As such, the perfection of Israel was dependent upon the rejection of all things foreign. By placing the first anti-Hellenistic image in the Eden narrative, the author is indicating that the people of Israel are inherently different from the gentiles, and should therefore not attempt to imitate their abominations.

*Jubilees* even goes so far as to suggest that the gentiles are no better than animals: "but of all the animals and cattle he permitted Adam alone to cover his shame." (*Jub.* 3:31). The gentiles, in their willingness to participate in the gymnasia uncovered, are like animals.

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<sup>91</sup> There is some difficulty here, as Exodus requires that the priest be dressed in linen, not animal skins. It is possible that the author of *Jubilees* interpreted "clothing of skins" as meaning something other than animal skins. The "clothing of skins" of Gen 3:21 has been interpreted broadly in both Jewish and Christian traditions. In a number of instances, Adam's glorious beauty, or elaborate clothing is associated with his priesthood (i.e. Ezek 28:11-12; *Gen. Rab.* 20:12). However, *Jubilees* does not give us any indication that this is the case. We may be certain that Adam's clothing was necessary for his sacrifice, but it is unclear as to how the issue of skins versus linen was dealt with. It may simply be that the author chose not to stray from Genesis, allowing the reader to interpret the passage as he would. On the various interpretations of Gen 3:21, see Stephen Lambden, "From Fig Leaves to Fingernails: Some Notes on the Garments of Adam and Eve in the Hebrew Bible and Select Early Post-Biblical Jewish Writings," in *A Walk in the Garden: Biblical, Iconographical and Literary Images of Eden* (ed. Paul Morris and Deborah Sawyer; Sheffield: JSOT, 1992), 74-90; Gary Anderson, "The Garments of Skin in Apocryphal Narrative and Biblical Commentary," in *Studies in Ancient Midrash* (ed. James L. Kugel; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 101-43.

<sup>92</sup> Lambden, "From Fig Leaves to Fingernails," 83.

Thus, Adam is used to demonstrate proper practice for Israelites, as distinct from the gentiles. By cavorting with the gentiles, the holy line of Israel would be degraded to the level of animals, and as such, would be showing disrespect to the elevated status that God had granted Israel.

Following being clothed, Adam prepares an incense offering. This is of particular interest as it demonstrates Adam's priesthood. The offering that is described is the morning *tamid* offering. According to Exodus, this offering was to be performed twice daily, in the morning and the evening, outside the holy of holies: "Aaron shall offer fragrant incense on it; every morning when he dresses the lamps he shall offer it, and when Aaron sets up the lamps in the evening, he shall offer it, a regular incense offering before the LORD throughout your generations" (Exod 30:7-8).<sup>93</sup> The description of the incense in *Jubilees* is also drawn from Exodus. In Exodus, the holy incense is comprised of "sweet spices, stacte, and onycha, and galbanum, sweet spices with pure frankincense (an equal part of each), and...seasoned with salt, pure and holy" (Exod 30:34-5). *Jubilees* states that Adam's incense is comprised of "frankincense, galbanum, stacte and aromatic spices" (*Jub.* 3:26). The list is not identical, but with the exception of onycha, the identified components are

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<sup>93</sup> There is some difficulty in determining who may perform the *tamid* offering. Exod 30:7-8 refers only to Aaron performing the offering, perhaps indicating that the *tamid* offering was restricted to the high priest. However, other biblical verses suggest that all priests may offer the morning and evening incense. Num 16:39 offers "a reminder to the Israelites that no outsider, who is not of the descendants of Aaron, shall approach to offer incense before the LORD," thus indicating that the offering could be performed by any priest. Further, Moses is described as having offered the incense: "he put the golden altar in the tent of meeting before the curtain, and offered fragrant incense." (Exod 40:26-7). Kjeld Nielson points out that outside the Torah, 1 Samuel suggests that the incense was burned by local priests at local shrines: "a man of God came to Eli and said to him, 'Thus the LORD has said, 'I revealed myself to the family of your ancestor in Egypt when they were slaves to the house of Pharaoh. I chose him out of all the tribes of Israel to be my priest, to go up to my altar, to offer incense...' (1 Sam 2:27-8). Kjeld Nielson, *Incense in Ancient Israel* (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 31. It is unclear whether the author of *Jubilees* thought of Adam as an ordinary priest or the high priest.

copied in *Jubilees*. The detail with which the incense offering is presented demonstrates Adam's priestly knowledge and capability.<sup>94</sup>

## Eve

We may now turn our focus to Eve, the other inhabitant of Eden. While there are few details given in *Jubilees* about Eve, there are some interesting additions and alterations of the Genesis account that suggest a particular understanding of this important figure.

As with the two creation accounts in Genesis, there are two stages to Eve's creation in *Jubilees*. The first, which reflects Genesis 1, states: "he made mankind - as one man and a woman he made them" (*Jub.* 2:14). The nature of this creature has been debated among scholars. Halpern-Amaru suggests that this original human was male with an "undeveloped female aspect."<sup>95</sup> This interpretation is based upon the combination of the reference to Adam and Eve's creation (*Jub.* 2:14) and the second reference to Eve's creation, which states: "then he took one of his bones for a woman. That rib was the origin of the woman - from among his bones. He built up the flesh in its place and built the woman." (*Jub.* 3:5). This image of the woman as rib is continued in 3:8: "in the first week Adam and his wife - the rib - were created." It is this continued emphasis upon Eve's existence as a physical part of Adam that has led scholars like Halpern-Amaru to suggest that the first creation was an androgyne. As the woman continues to be "the rib," it suggests that the female was in

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<sup>94</sup> As we shall see in the next chapter, only one other biblical figure presents the *tamid* offering. Enoch, upon being taken to Eden, offers the evening incense (*Jub.* 4:25).

<sup>95</sup> Betsy Halpern-Amaru, *The Empowerment of Women in the Book of Jubilees* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 9.

existence when the male was created, as a yet unrealized separate being.

Some scholars disagree, however, with this interpretation. Vanderkam believes that the use of the terms "man" and "woman," rather than "male" and "female," demonstrate that the author did not view Adam as an androgyne.<sup>96</sup> While there may be some truth to Vanderkam's analysis of this phrase, I would suggest that the concept of the androgyne would fit well with the author's intentions regarding the first couple.

As we have seen, proper endogamous marriages were of great concern for the author of *Jubilees*. By demonstrating the close relationship between Adam and Eve, as it had existed from the very beginning, the author is demonstrating the perfection of their marriage. This is the view of Halpern-Amaru:

The concern with genealogy that runs throughout *Jubilees* first appears in a harmonization of the two Genesis versions of the origins of the first woman. In Genesis 1:27 it would appear that woman was created when God formed the first human as "male and female." However, Genesis 2 clearly has woman created not only later than man, but subsequent to his having acquired a significant personal history as a single. Substituting "one man and a woman" for "male and female" in Genesis 1:27 (2:14) and relocating a paraphrase of Genesis 2:22 - "the rib was the origin of woman" (*Jub.* 3:5), *Jubilees* reconciles the two accounts with the addition of one line: "in the first week Adam and his wife - the rib - were created; and in the second week he showed her to him" (*Jub.* 3:8). What had appeared to be a second creation is thus shown to be a showing of the woman who, as the rib, had existed from the time of the creation of the man.<sup>97</sup>

If Halpern-Amaru is correct, as I believe she is, then we may understand Adam and Eve's relationship as paradigmatic of the ideal marriage.

The idea that the two were created together also supports the notion of the

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<sup>96</sup> Vanderkam, *The Book of Jubilees* (1989), 12 n.

<sup>97</sup> Halpern-Amaru, *The Empowerment of Women*, 138.

importance of the partnership of husband and wife. Halpern-Amaru has argued that the author of *Jubilees* placed a great deal of importance upon the partnership of marriage and the importance of the lineage of the wife in the holy line of Israel.<sup>98</sup> The concept that Eve existed as part of Adam before she was a separate being would seem to emphasize the unity of the couple. In fact, the unity of the two is emphasized by Adam's first reaction to Eve: "he knew her and said to her: 'This is now bone from my bone and flesh from my flesh. This one will be called my wife, for she was taken from her husband'" (*Jub.* 3:6).

There are three major alterations in *Jub.* 3:6's retelling of Gen 2:23. Genesis states that: "then the man said, 'This at last is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; this one shall be called woman for out of man this one was taken'" (Gen 2:23). The first difference, as was discussed above, is that according to *Jubilees*, Adam and Eve consummated their marriage before entering the Garden. Second, rather than calling Eve "woman," Adam refers to her as "my wife." This alteration emphasizes the nature of the relationship between Adam and Eve. Unlike Genesis, it is not a generic woman that is created but the wife and partner of Adam.<sup>99</sup> While this use of the text would fit with *Jubilees*' overall agenda of promoting a particular marital ideal, we cannot assume that this was necessarily intentional. In the Samaritan Pentateuch, Septuagint, Old Latin and *Targum Onqelos* versions, the verse reads "this one will be called woman, for she was taken from her husband." By changing "woman" to "my wife," the author of *Jubilees* may have been

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<sup>98</sup> Halpern-Amaru, "The First Woman," 609-26.

<sup>99</sup> Halpern-Amaru notes this alteration as support for her theory of the partnership of men and women in *Jubilees*. Halpern-Amaru, *The Empowerment of Women*, 145.

merely attempting to correct the grammar of his biblical text.<sup>100</sup>

The third alteration is found in the way in which Eve is named. Rather than announcing the woman's name to all present, Adam addresses Eve directly in *Jubilees*: "he knew her and said to her." Again, the importance of the marital partnership is being emphasized here. This is unlike the Genesis version, in which Eve is not directly addressed until she is tempted by the serpent in Gen 3:1. Whereas Genesis introduces Eve's individuality in terms of her disobedience, *Jubilees* presents Eve as an individual from her very introduction. While perhaps individuality would be an inaccurate term in this context, as Eve is defined by her relationship with her husband, there is no doubt that *Jubilees'* interpretation presents a more actualized individual than Genesis.

The importance of the close familial and personal relationship of Adam and Eve is related to *Jubilees'* marital regulations. As we have seen, *Jubilees* expands high priestly marital law, prohibiting all exogamous marriages for all members of Israel. According to Lev 21:15, it is only high priests that must marry "a virgin of their own kin." In *Jubilees*, all must marry of their own kin. Thus, the suggestion that Eve existed since Adam's creation emphasizes an especially close relationship between the two. In fact, the marriage between the two is marked by both familial closeness and partnership. This relationship is perhaps best understood when compared with Philo's interpretation of Lev 21:7-8; 13-15. *Jubilees* apparently had a similar idea about the necessity and superiority of endogamous marriages, specifically for the high priest. Philo states that

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<sup>100</sup> Halpern-Amaru, *The Empowerment of Women*, 144-5.

The high priest must not propose marriage save to one who is not only a virgin, but a priestess descended from priests, so that bride and bridegroom may be of one house and in a sense of the same blood and so, harmoniously united, show a life-long blending of temperament firmly established. But the rest are permitted to marry the daughters of others than priests partly because the restrictions required to maintain their purity are slight, partly because the law did not wish that the nation should be denied altogether a share in the priestly clanship or be entirely excluded from it. This was the reason why he did not forbid the other priests to intermarry with the laity of the nation, for intermarriage is kinship in the second degree. Sons-in-law are sons to their fathers-in-law, and the latter are fathers to the former (*Spec. Leg.* 1.110-11)

According to Philo, the ideal marital situation for the high priest is the union with a woman born into a priest's family.<sup>101</sup> Adam and Eve's marriage is perfect according to this standard. Eve, as a part of Adam from creation, is both kin and descendant, and is therefore, the ideal priestly wife. While the perfection of the couple's blood ties cannot be copied by their descendants, they constitute an example of the Levitical ideal. They are the high priestly couple *par excellence*, the model that *Jubilees* wishes to see emulated.

Eve's role within the Garden, as well as her behaviour towards her husband, suggests that she plays an important supportive, almost priestly role. For example, Eve is said to participate in the care of the Garden of Eden: "during the first week of the first jubilee Adam and his wife spent seven years in the Garden of Eden working and guarding it" (*Jub.* 3:15). According to Genesis, Adam alone was given the task of caring for Eden: "the LORD God took the man and put him in the Garden of Eden to till it and keep it" (Gen

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<sup>101</sup> According to 4QMMT, marriages between priests and Israelite women were forbidden. This ban was based upon the special holiness of the priests. Israel is 'holy' while the priests are 'most holy.' Therefore, marriages between the two groups represent the mixing of unlike substances. The "holy seed" of the priests is defiled by unions with women from non-priestly families (4QMMT B 75-76). Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4: V Miqsat Ma'ase Ha-Torah. DJD X* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 171-5.



2:15).

Eden is the holy of holies (*Jub.* 8:19), and as such, it was the duty of the high priest alone to care for it. According to biblical law, access to the holy of holies was limited to the high priest, who was to enter only on the Day of Atonement (*Lev* 16). According to *Jubilees*, Eve is said to "work and guard" Eden alongside her husband Adam. This addition to Genesis suggests that we understand Eve as having a specific, designated duty within Eden. Unlike Genesis, in which we receive no details of Eve's life in the Garden before she is tempted by the serpent (*Gen* 3:1), Eve is playing a direct role in the care of the holy of holies.

The inclusion of this detail is a subtle nod to the role that Eve plays, as the text continues by focusing solely on Adam's role in the Garden (*Jub.* 3:15-6). *Jubilees* is careful not to overstate Eve's role in the Garden. She participates in caring for the Garden with Adam, but she does not perform sacrifices or offerings, as Adam does. In *Jubilees*, women are not presented as priestly figures in the way that the patriarchs are. Rather, wives are presented as supporting their husbands. Eve's role, while somewhat more active than those of most women in *Jubilees*, should still be considered as generally supportive.<sup>102</sup>

The author of *Jubilees* is interested in telling us how Eve is the ideal priest's wife. As we have discussed above, the priestly figures of *Jubilees* are recognized by their righteousness. We should expect that the ideal wives of these figures would share this characteristic. Indeed, we find elsewhere in *Jubilees* examples of wives who express the

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<sup>102</sup> As Halpern-Amaru proposes, "masculinity is the dominant principle of the natural order" but "without the full development of its female potential, the human creature, for all its male dominance, is inadequate." Halpern-Amaru, *The Empowerment of Women*, 11.

same convictions as their husbands. Consider, for example, Rebecca, who insists that her son marry within the tribe of Israel (*Jub.* 25:1-3), or Rachel, who steals her father's idols so that Jacob may destroy them at Bethel (*Jub.* 31:2).

Without major issues like intermarriage or idolatry yet facing the inhabitants of Eden, expressions of righteousness must be more subtle. Eve's character is primarily demonstrated through her actions during and following the temptation scene. In Genesis, the consumption of the fruit and its effects are described as follows:

So when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was a delight to the eyes, and that the tree was to be desired to make one wise, she took of its fruit and ate; and she also gave some to her husband, who was with her, and he ate. Then the eyes of both were opened, and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together and made loin-cloths for themselves (Gen 3:6-7).

Consider the *Jubilees* version:

The woman saw that the tree was delightful and pleasing to the eye and (that) its fruit was good to eat. So she took some of it and ate (it). She first covered her shame with fig leaves and then gave it to Adam. He ate (it), his eyes were opened, and he saw that he was naked. He took fig leaves and sewed (them); (thus) he made for himself an apron and covered his shame (*Jub.* 3:20-22)

There are two significant changes to be discussed. First, the intentions behind Eve's actions are altered by the author of *Jubilees*. Eve's recognition that the fruit will bring her wisdom like that of God is removed from the *Jubilees* version. The removal of this motivation is significant. The Eve of Genesis is motivated by the promise of God's wisdom, possibly reflecting a malicious form of disobedience, in which Eve believes that she may become like God.

The Eve of *Jubilees*, however, is not so maliciously motivated. While Eve indeed

errs by taking the fruit, she does not do so in order to seize the wisdom of God. Her motivation is based entirely upon sensual responses, rather than a calculated pursuit of a particular gain. This innocence in Eve's decision making creates a sense of sympathy in the reader. She is not possessed of a malicious character; she does not intend to overstep her position. While *Jubilees* does not suggest that Eve is justified in taking the fruit, neither does it suggest that she is attempting to become like God.

The second addition that we find in *Jubilees* is found in Eve's response to eating the fruit. Unlike in Genesis, Eve becomes aware of her nudity immediately upon eating the fruit, rather than after Adam had also indulged. This increased awareness on Eve's part acts to reinforce that she is a conscious individual, whose existence is not entirely wrapped up in Adam's. The point that Eve clothes herself before approaching Adam has also been interpreted as a demonstration of Eve's modesty and proper behaviour. Halpern-Amaru argues that this addition is a complementary one, emphasizing Eve's modesty before her husband.<sup>103</sup>

Once again, *Jubilees* constructs Eve's behaviour in such a way as to emphasize the fact that she is the ideal wife of a priest. Her modesty reflects that of a proper woman, worthy of being married to a priest. Indeed, her behaviour reflects the description given by Philo regarding the proper wife of the high priest; she acts to ensure that they are "harmoniously united, show[ing] a life-long blending of temperament" (*Spec. Leg.* 1:110).

Following the punishment and expulsion of the couple, *Jubilees* provides very little

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<sup>103</sup> Halpern-Amaru, "The First Woman," 612.

information about Eve. Her role in the rest of *Jubilees* is that of mother and matriarch. Her children, including daughters, are named and given birth dates. One example is the naming of her daughter Awan: "in the third week in the second jubilee, she gave birth to Cain; in the fourth she gave birth to Abel; and in the fifth she gave birth to his daughter Awan." (*Jub.* 4:1). There is no differentiation between the birth of a son or daughter; they are all included in the genealogical list. The inclusion of these details is representative of the concern with proper Israelite genealogy that was discussed above. Eve is part of the holy line of Israel, ensuring the pure Israelite status of her descendants.

The final relevant detail of Eve's presentation occurs following the birth of her son Seth. According to Genesis, when Seth is born, Eve declares: "God has appointed for *me* another child instead of Abel, because Cain killed him" (Gen 4:25). *Jubilees* alters this declaration by having Adam state: "the Lord has raised up for *us* another offspring on the earth in place of Abel" (*Jub.* 4:7). This alteration serves two purposes. The first is to once again demonstrate the bond between Adam and Eve. In *Jubilees'* version, it is both Adam and Eve who suffer following the death of their child, and it is both of them who rejoice at the birth of another. Adam's statement that God had granted *us* another son demonstrates the unity and the loving familial bond that he and his wife share.

Halpern-Amaru suggests another purpose for this departure from Genesis. She proposes that "the alteration vitiates the biblical association between Eve and Cain."<sup>104</sup> Halpern-Amaru points out that Eve's naming of Cain in Genesis, and the subsequent

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<sup>104</sup> Halpern-Amaru, "The First Woman," 615.

naming of Seth may reflect a connection between Eve and Cain. She expresses gratitude for the birth of her first son, "I have produced a man with the help of the LORD" (Gen 4:1), and a sense of personal consolation at the birth of her third son, "God has appointed for me another child instead of Abel, because Cain killed him" (Gen 4:25). By removing Cain's naming scene, and presenting Seth's birth as affecting both parents rather than Eve alone, *Jubilees* acts to cut any ties between Cain and Eve. According to *Jubilees*, we should not associate Eve with Cain's crimes.

When we examine the alterations to Genesis that are discussed above, we are presented with a sympathetic, if not positive, interpretation of Eve in *Jubilees*. Unlike her counterpart in Genesis, Eve is an individual, representing one half of the priestly couple. She is presented as fulfilling duties within the Garden, and behaving according to a personal awareness that is not entirely tied in with that of her husband. Her role within *Jubilees* is to provide an example of a priestly wife. She is clearly of the holy line of Israel, meeting all the Levitical requirements for the bride of the high priest. Further, her behaviour indicates that she is concerned with appropriate modesty and the maintenance of the partnership that is her marriage to Adam. Ultimately, Eve is presented as the model of what a priestly wife should be.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has argued that the author of *Jubilees* has altered the Eden narrative in order to present it as a microcosmic vision of a priestly Israel. Eden is associated with the Temple by being identified as the holy of holies and by requiring special purity of its

inhabitants. The first human, Adam, is presented as a priest. He cares for the holy of holies and offers the *tamid* incense offering upon his expulsion from Eden. His wife, Eve, is also given some priestly duties, as she too cares for the holy of holies with Adam. Both Adam and Eve are presented in positive terms by *Jubilees*. Their disobedience in eating from the forbidden tree is significantly downplayed. The pair is presented, rather, in terms of purity and modesty. They carefully adhere to Torah laws and promote the ideals of endogamous marriage and the rejection of gentile ways. Together, Adam and Eve symbolically represent Israel as it should be, and as it may become again. Let us now turn to *Jubilees*' other priestly figures.

## Chapter Two: The Patriarchal Priesthood

We now turn to *Jubilees*' portrayal of the other non-priestly figures of biblical history who have been elevated to the status of priest. This chapter will suggest that each of these figures fits into a paradigm of priestly behaviour. This paradigm consists of three elements which follow a consistent order. First, *Jubilees* emphasizes the individual's righteousness. This righteousness is presented in various ways, ranging from devotion to Torah laws to the rejection of intermarriage with gentiles. As we will see, the righteousness of each individual is emphasized well before that individual may perform priestly duties. The second element, which is often intimately tied with the first element, is a complete rejection of all things foreign. While there is no doubt that *Jubilees* presents this as an act of righteousness, this rejection of foreign practices is unique in that it is the most prevalent concern among the patriarchs. Whether or not other righteous elements are presented in the figure's behaviour or beliefs, each patriarchal figure zealously opposes idolatry, intermarriage with gentiles and the acceptance of gentile practices. In fact, it would not be an overstatement to suggest that these three elements are the most important in the presentations of the patriarchal priests. Finally, once the individual has demonstrated his righteousness and devotion to the separation of Israel from the nations, that individual performs either blood sacrifices, in the cases of Noah, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, or incense offerings, in the cases of Adam and Enoch. In this way, *Jubilees* depicts these biblical

figures as proto-priests.<sup>105</sup>

*Jubilees* uses these three elements to separate the patriarchs from others, who it has depicted as having gone astray. In order to demonstrate this, *Jubilees* uses abstract examples, such as the union of the Watchers and mortal women (*Jub.* 4:22), as well as more concrete examples, such as the idolatry of Abraham's parents and grandparents (*Jub.* 11: 3-18). Idolatry and improper unions have degraded the "holy seed." In comparison, the righteousness of the patriarchs is particularly impressive. This distinction of the patriarchs serves two important purposes. First, the patriarchs serve as role models. Their behaviour is meant to inspire others to behave righteously. Second, as righteousness is depicted as a precursor to their performance of priestly duties, it suggests that the priesthood is not

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<sup>105</sup> Again, I use the term "proto-priestly" because these figures are never called priests, nor are they ordained as such. None of these figures belong to the hereditary priesthood that is started with Levi's ordination at *Jub.* 32:9. It should be noted at this point that the first figure to be identified as a priest in Genesis, Melchizedek, does not appear in *Jubilees*. The mysterious figure of Melchizedek appears twice in the Hebrew Bible. The first instance, Gen 14:18-20, details the exchange that occurs between Melchizedek, the king/priest of Salem, and Abram following Abram's battles with the kings of Elam, Goyim, Shinar and Ellasar. Melchizedek is here referred to as a "priest to God Most High." The second instance, Ps 110: 4, acts to associate Melchizedek with the priesthood once again: "you are a priest forever according to the order of Melchizedek." (Ps 110:4). A number of scholars have attempted to explain why Melchizedek does not appear in *Jubilees*. Among these have been theories that the author simply did not know the Melchizedek portion of Genesis, or that the omission came from a scribal lapse at some point in *Jubilees'* history (Anders Aschim, "Melchizedek and Levi," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years* (ed. Lawrence Schiffman, Emanuel Tov and James Vanderkam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 777). Conversely, it may be argued that Melchizedek was removed from *Jubilees* at some point in its history for ideological reasons. Scholars generally agree that there is a lacuna in *Jub.* 13:25, where Melchizedek should appear. In fact, Vanderkam has chosen to supply his name in his translation. Thus, it seems more likely that Melchizedek was removed rather than omitted from the beginning. The removal of Melchizedek may be related to the role that Levi fulfills in *Jubilees*. Levi and Melchizedek have a number of similarities. Both are designated as priests "for the most high God" (*Jub.* 32:1; Gen 14:18). The statement that Levi is to be a priest "forever" (*Jub.* 32:1) echoes the description of Melchizedek that is found in Psalm 110. Finally, there is an association between the two figures due to the matter of tithing. Melchizedek is the first to receive tithes (Gen 14:20); Levi is the first to be himself tithed to the Lord for eternal service as a priest (*Jub.* 32:3). Considering these similarities, Melchizedek may have been removed in order to protect the uniqueness of Levi. The role of Melchizedek as the first explicitly identified priest to God (Gen 14:18) is taken over by Levi, who represents the ideal of the priesthood as a member of the patriarchal line who zealously protects the holiness of Israel. Melchizedek may have diminished the importance of Levi and the careful genealogical structure that has connected the patriarchal priesthood with the true people of Israel throughout *Jubilees*.



limited by familial relations, but rather proper behaviour. In this way, *Jubilees* depicts the priesthood as potentially available to any righteous member of Israel. Let us now begin our discussion of the priestly patriarchs with the first priestly figure, Enoch.

## **Enoch**

Enoch receives very little attention in Genesis. In fact, his life is detailed in just seven verses (Gen 5:18-24), most of which focus upon his genealogy. The most interesting element of his description is found in Gen 5:22-24: "Enoch walked with God after the birth of Methuselah three hundred years...Enoch walked with God; then he was no more, because God took him."

Following Enochic traditions, *Jubilees* uses the cryptic reference to Enoch "walking with God" as a springboard into extraordinary biographical details for this minor biblical character. Enoch is depicted as exceedingly righteous and is given a number of priestly duties and characteristics. *Jubilees* claims that Enoch was the only one to testify against the Watchers, who had sinned by mixing with earthly women. The sins of the Watchers were depicted as the start of the sinfulness that led to the flood (*Jub.* 5:1-3). Enoch's attempt to protect humankind from the sinfulness that was to grow from the Watcher's dalliances led to his removal from society and placement within the Garden of Eden: "he was taken from human society, and [the angels] led him into the Garden of Eden for (his) greatness and honour. Now he is there writing down the judgment and condemnation of the world and all the wickedness of mankind" (*Jub.* 4:23).

Enoch's righteousness, according to *Jubilees*, may first be associated with his

invention of writing:

He was the first of mankind who were born on the earth who learned (the art of) writing, instruction, and wisdom and who wrote down in a book of signs of the sky in accord with the fixed patterns of each of their months so that mankind would know the seasons of the years according to the fixed patterns of each of their months (*Jub.* 4:17).

*Jubilees* records that Enoch was shown "everything on earth and in the heavens" and that he recorded everything (*Jub.* 4:21). Included in these books are the laws revealed at Sinai, as Abraham informs the reader at *Jub.* 21:10. The righteousness of Enoch and the other patriarchs is ensured by the records that Enoch made.

As Devorah Dimant notes, this is a significant alteration as there is no indication in Genesis of Enoch's association with writing.<sup>106</sup> This association is likely drawn from Enochic tradition, but as P.S. Alexander notes, *Jubilees* is unique in applying a polemic to this ability.<sup>107</sup> Enoch's first record details the "signs of the sky in accord with the fixed patterns of each of their months so that mankind would know the seasons of the years according to the fixed patterns of each of their months" (*Jub.* 4:17). Alexander suggests that Enoch's calendrical work is polemical in that Enoch's "true calendar" is placed in opposition to the false calendars of others: "instead of the academic calm of *1Enoch* we find in *Jubilees* the crusading spirit of religious reform. The divisive nature of *Jubilees*' claim can hardly be overestimated."<sup>108</sup> Enoch's concern with the correct calendar is an act of righteousness according to *Jubilees*. He is ensuring the proper performance of cultic rituals, and as such, is ensuring the legitimacy of the priesthood.

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<sup>106</sup> Devorah Dimant, "The Biography and the Books of Enoch," *VT* 3 (1983): 14-29.

<sup>107</sup> Alexander, "Son of Adam," 98-9.

<sup>108</sup> Alexander, "Son of Adam," 98-9.

In the description of Enoch's condemnation of the Watchers, his righteousness is stressed in another way as well. He recognizes the sinfulness and impurity associated with improper sexual relations and exogamous marriage, as represented by the Watchers, thus implying a symbolic rejection of intermarriage.<sup>109</sup> Throughout *Jubilees*, there is an emphasis on the devastating effects of intermarriage with gentiles. According to Halpern-Amaru, *Jubilees* insists that only endogamous marriages were to be accepted and that every Israelite must have two Israelite parents.<sup>110</sup>

Endogamous marriages are of particular importance to *Jubilees*, as intermarriage with the gentile nations is said to defile the holy seed of Israel.<sup>111</sup> *Jubilees* is careful to establish Enoch's link with the pure line of Israel in the recounting of his birth where, unlike in Genesis, the names of both his father and mother, and their respective genealogies, are made explicit: "Jared took a wife for himself, and her name was Berakah, the daughter of Rase'eyal, the daughter of his father's brother" (*Jub.* 4:16). *Jubilees* also names Enoch's wife, Edni, noting that she is the "daughter of his father's brother," indicating that their marriage is a proper endogamous marriage. Enoch is shown to practice what he preaches.

Following his presentation as a righteous individual, Enoch is presented as a priest. Upon being relocated to Eden, Enoch burns the evening *tamid* incense offering: "he burned the evening incense of the sanctuary which is acceptable before the Lord on the mountain of incense" (*Jub.* 4:25).<sup>112</sup> Enoch's status as priest is further emphasized by the fact that he is

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<sup>109</sup> Halpern-Amaru, *The Empowerment of Women*, 20-1.

<sup>110</sup> Halpern-Amaru, *The Empowerment of Women*, 149-50.

<sup>111</sup> See the introduction for more information on this issue.

<sup>112</sup> For a more thorough discussion of the *tamid* offering, see pages 37-8.

cited as an authority on legal matters:

Eat its meat during that day and on the next day; but the sun is not to set on it on the next day until it is eaten. It is not to be left over for the third day because it is not acceptable to him. For it was not pleasing and is not therefore commanded. All who eat it will bring guilt on themselves because this is the way I found (it) written in the book of my ancestors, in the words of Enoch and the words of Noah (*Jub.* 21:10).

As a legal authority, who is considered exceedingly righteous, Enoch is presented as a role model for Israel. His concern with the maintenance of the separation of Israel, as implied through his condemnation of the Watchers, is presented as endorsed by God. As a priest of the Lord and a man separated from the world because of his extraordinary righteousness, Enoch's beliefs regarding the separation of Israel are legitimized. The author of *Jubilees* uses Enoch, as well as the other proto-priests, to promote his agenda regarding the purification of the people of Israel.

## Noah

Genesis 6:9 describes Noah as "a righteous man, blameless in his generation; Noah walked with God." As Vanderkam rightly observes, Genesis calls Noah righteous before it details any deeds that might indicate this righteousness.<sup>113</sup> This omission was noted by a number of early Jewish authors who offered their own conclusions regarding Noah's righteous deeds. For example, Josephus in his *Jewish Antiquities*, claims that Noah preached to the Watchers: "but Noah, indignant at their conduct and viewing their counsels with displeasure, urged them to come to a better frame of mind and amend their ways"

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<sup>113</sup> Vanderkam, "Righteousness of Noah," 13-32.

(Ant. 1.3.1.74).<sup>114</sup> For Josephus, Noah's righteousness is found through his objection to the Watchers.

*Jubilees* demonstrates Noah's righteousness first through his complete obedience to God. As in Genesis, Noah unquestioningly accepts God's command to build the ark: "he ordered Noah to make himself an ark in order to save himself from the flood waters. Noah made an ark in every respect as he had ordered him" (*Jub.* 5:21-2). Prior to this brief allusion to Noah's obedience, *Jubilees* declares that "his mind was righteous in all his ways, as it had been commanded concerning him. He did not transgress from anything that had been ordained for him" (*Jub.* 5:19).

Noah's conformity to what "had been ordained for him" is further expressed in his conformity to *Jubilees'* position on exogamous marriages.<sup>115</sup> *Jubilees* alters Noah's story by granting us details of his family: "in the twenty-fifth jubilee Noah married a woman whose name was Emzara, the daughter of Rakiel, the daughter of his father's brother" (*Jub.* 4:33). As we have noted, the author is very careful to provide names and genealogies for both of a child's parents. By providing this information, the author is verifying that the individual is of pure, Israelite descent, and has not been tainted by the impurities of exogamous

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<sup>114</sup> Andrei Orlov notes that in *Jubilees* it is Enoch who serves as preacher to the Watchers; Noah has no contact with them whatsoever. He further notes that there are a number of Enochic traits given to Noah, perhaps due to a tradition that conflated the two figures. Andrei Orlov, "Overshadowed by Enoch's Greatness: 'Two Tablets' Traditions from the Book of Giants to Palaea Historica," *JSJ* 32 (2001): 137-58.

<sup>115</sup> Vanderkam states: "Such marriages within the clan the author attributes to all patriarchs of the Sethite line; thus he does not use this item to underscore Noah's proper behaviour or to distinguish him from all others." While Vanderkam is correct that this marriage does not make Noah unique in *Jubilees*, I think there can be no doubt that proper endogamous marriages are part of what distinguishes the righteousness and priestly nature of the Sethite line. Vanderkam, "Righteousness of Noah," 14.

marriages.<sup>116</sup> The small detail that Noah married "the daughter of his father's brother" is demonstrative of righteous behaviour in the eyes of the author.

Halpern-Amaru, for instance, points to the juxtaposition of the marital behaviour of Noah and that of the Watchers.<sup>117</sup> These creatures are first introduced as a positive force: "the angels of the Lord who were called Watchers descended to earth to teach mankind and to do what is just and upright upon the earth" (*Jub.* 4:15). The positive intentions of the Watchers quickly changes, however, when they cross established boundaries and marry mortal women:

When mankind began to multiply on the surface of the entire earth and daughters were born to them, the angels of the Lord - in a certain (year) of this jubilee - saw that they were beautiful to look at. So they married of them whomever they chose. They gave birth to children for them and they were giants. Wickedness increased on the earth. All animate beings corrupted their way - (everyone of them) from people to cattle, animals, birds, and everything that moves about on the ground. All of them corrupted their way and their prescribed course. They began to devour one another, and wickedness increased on the earth. Every thought of all mankind's knowledge was evil like this all the time (*Jub.* 5:1-2).

The effects of inappropriate sexual and marital unions are far reaching for the author of *Jubilees*. Not only does it lead to the creation of violent, immoral offspring, it taints the very earth itself and all of its inhabitants.<sup>118</sup> When we consider the significant consequences of exogamous marriage in the eyes of the author of *Jubilees*, it is evident that Noah's endogamous marriage is indicative of his righteousness. For the author, Noah's adherence to the principles of endogamous marriage played a major role in the salvation of

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<sup>116</sup> Halpern-Amaru, *The Empowerment of Women*, 149-50.

<sup>117</sup> Halpern-Amaru, *The Empowerment of Women*, 21.

<sup>118</sup> Halpern-Amaru notes that the effects of Watchers even goes so far as to corrupt Noah's sons, whose marriages are not properly recorded. Halpern-Amaru, *The Empowerment of Women*, 21.

Noah and his family.

Following the flood, Noah takes on the role of priest. This is first evidenced by the sacrifice that Noah offers up to the Lord upon his departure from the ark. Genesis presents this sacrifice very briefly: "then Noah built an altar to the LORD, and took every clean animal and of every clean bird, and offered burnt offerings on the altar" (Gen 8:20). Here, the sacrifice is presented as a simple whole pure animal offering. In *Jubilees'* version, however, this sacrifice is presented with a great deal more detail:

On the first of the third month he left the ark and built an altar on this mountain. He appeared on the earth, took a kid, and atoned with its blood for all the sins of the earth because everything that was on it had been obliterated except those who were in the ark with Noah. He placed the fat on the altar. Then he took a bull, a ram, a sheep, goats, salt, a turtledove, and a dove and offered (them as) a burnt offering on the altar. He poured on them an offering mixed with oil, sprinkled wine, and put frankincense on everything. He sent up a pleasant fragrance that was pleasing before the Lord (*Jub.* 6:1-3).

This complex sacrifice is based upon a combination of rules gleaned from Lev 2:1-3; 23:13; Num 15:1-10 and Exod 29:38-41.<sup>119</sup> These laws discuss the proper preparation of animal sacrifices. This sacrifice confirms Noah's identification as a priest. Further, the complexity of the sacrifice suggests that Noah has been well versed in priestly practice.

It is also important to note that this sacrifice was performed as part of Noah's celebration of the Feast of Weeks. This festival is associated with, and is observed, on the anniversary of Noah's covenant with God and his departure from the ark (*Jub.* 6:17).<sup>120</sup> The

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<sup>119</sup> Vanderkam, "Righteousness of Noah," 20.

<sup>120</sup> Vanderkam, "Biblical Interpretation," 96-125.

careful dating of this festival associates Noah with the use of the proper solar calendar,<sup>121</sup> an institution that our author vigorously promotes to the priesthood of his day.

*Jubilees* records a second sacrifice from Noah that is not attested in Genesis. This sacrifice is also described in a great deal of detail:

He made a burnt offering for the Lord - one young bull, one ram, seven sheep each a year old, and one kid - to make atonement through it for himself and for his sons. First he prepared the kid. He put some of its blood on the meat (that was on) the altar which he had made. He offered all the fat on the altar where he made the burnt offering along with the bull, the ram, and the sheep. He offered all their meat on the altar. Afterwards, he sprinkled wine in the fire that had been on the altar beforehand. He put frankincense on the altar and offered a pleasant fragrance that was pleasing before the Lord his God (*Jub.* 7:3-5).

Once again, we see Noah's knowledge of priestly service and careful attention to detail.

In addition to Noah's sacrifices, Vanderkam suggests that he may be associated with the priesthood by being granted medical knowledge: "we told Noah all the medicines for their diseases with their deceptions so that he could cure (them) by means of the earth's plants. Noah wrote down in a book everything (just) as we had taught him regarding all the kinds of medicine" (*Jub.* 10:12-13). According to Vanderkam, it was generally priests who performed medical functions, such as identifying disease and isolating contagious individuals.<sup>122</sup> These duties are specifically attributed to priests in various books of the Hebrew Bible.<sup>123</sup> Finally, Noah's status as a priest is emphasized when he, like Enoch, is

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<sup>121</sup> Vanderkam, "Righteousness of Noah," 21-2.

<sup>122</sup> Vanderkam, "Righteousness of Noah," 22.

<sup>123</sup> Consider, for example, the following references to the priest's duties regarding leprosy: Lev 13-14; Deut 24:8.



cited as an authority on priestly matters (*Jub.* 21:10).<sup>124</sup>

Thus, the author of *Jubilees* presents Noah as more than a moral paradigm for the people of Israel to emulate. Rather, he performs the duties of a priest and helps to maintain the holiness of what will become Israel.

### Abraham

Abraham is presented in similar terms as our first two patriarchs, but receives much more attention from our author. As the "grandfather"<sup>125</sup> of Israel, Abraham's righteousness and priestly stature are carefully and repeatedly emphasized. The beginning of Abraham's life is marked by independence in his faithful worship of the true God of Israel and denial of the idolatry of his family and neighbours. As with the patriarchs we have discussed so far, both of Abraham's parents are named in order to demonstrate his pure Israelite lineage.<sup>126</sup> Following his birth announcement, Abraham's righteousness is immediately brought to the reader's attention:

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<sup>124</sup> It has been suggested that Noah presents priestly knowledge in his planting of the vines at *Jub.* 7:1-2. In this passage, Noah saves the wine produced from his vines in the fourth year for consumption in the fifth. This treatment of the fruit of the vine follows Lev 19:23-5: "when you come into the land and plant all kinds of trees for food, then you shall regard their fruit as forbidden; three years it shall be forbidden to you, it must not be eaten. In the fourth year all their fruit shall be set apart for rejoicing in the LORD. But in the fifth year you may eat of their fruit, that their yield may be increased for you." However, Menahem Kister argues that we should not read this as demonstrative of Noah's priesthood. Rather, he believes that Noah and his sons eat the fruit because they own it, not because they are priests. Indeed, Noah's sons consume this wine, and *Jubilees* gives no indication that they should be regarded as priests. Menahem Kister, "Some Aspects of Qumranic Halakhah," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18-21 March, 1991* (ed. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 571-88.

<sup>125</sup> Abraham may be identified as the grandfather of Israel according to *Jubilees* as there is an emphasis placed upon the role of his grandson Jacob as the father of Israel: "I have chosen the descendants of Jacob among all of those whom I have seen. I have recorded them as my first born son and have sanctified them for myself throughout the ages of eternity" (*Jub.* 2:20).

<sup>126</sup> Halpern-Amaru, *The Empowerment of Women*, 150-1.

The child began to realize the errors of the earth - that everyone was going astray after the statues and after impurity...When he was two weeks of years [=14 years], he separated from his father in order not to worship idols with him. He began to pray to the creator of all that he would save him from the errors of mankind and that it might not fall to his share to go astray after impurity and wickedness (*Jub.* 11:16-7).

*Jubilees* presents Abraham's family as idolaters who attempt to teach Abraham their ways.

This is significantly different from the descriptions that appear in Genesis. In the few details that we receive regarding Terah (*Gen* 11:24-7), there is no indication of his participation in idol worship. The tradition of Abraham's family's involvement with idolatry is likely an elaboration on the Deuteronomistic retelling of the story in *Joshua* 24.<sup>127</sup>

In *Jubilees*, this elaboration serves a distinct purpose in demonstrating the righteous behaviour of Abraham. This early description of young Abraham leads to a number of other opportunities for him to defy the idolatry of his family. Chapter 12 details a number of Abraham's early righteous deeds. First, he preaches to Terah regarding the futility of his worship of lifeless idols. While Terah agrees with his son, he refuses to abandon his position as priest to the idolatrous Chaldeans. In response, Abraham burns the temple, prompting the family to move from Ur, thereby ending their idolatry.<sup>128</sup> It is at this time that Abraham marries Sarah, who is designated as his sister. This close relationship is a proper

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<sup>127</sup> "And Joshua said to all the people, 'Thus says the LORD, the God of Israel: Long ago your ancestors - Terah and his sons Abraham and Nahor - lived beyond the Euphrates and served other gods' (*Josh* 24:2). George Nickelsburg, "Abraham the Convert: A Jewish Tradition and Its Use By the Apostle Paul," in *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible* (ed. Michael Stone and Theodore Bergren; Harrisburg: Trinity Press, 1998): 151-75.

<sup>128</sup> It should be noted that Abraham's actions also lead to the death of his brother who runs into the temple to save the gods. Haran's death does not seem to diminish the praise that the author lavishes upon Abraham.

match according to the author's views on endogamous marriage.<sup>129</sup>

Abraham's intolerance of idolatry and resistance to mingling with the gentile nations is further emphasized by his harsh condemnation of intermarriage:

...we should keep ourselves from all sexual impurity and uncleanness; and that we should dismiss all uncleanness and sexual impurity from among us. If any woman or girl among you commits a sexual offence, burn her in fire<sup>130</sup>; they are not to commit sexual offences (by) following their eyes and hearts so that they take wives for themselves from the Canaanite women, because the descendants of Canaan will be uprooted from the earth. He told them about the punishment of the giants and the punishment of Sodom - how they were condemned because of their wickedness; because of their sexual impurity, uncleanness, and corruption among themselves they died in (their) sexual impurity. 'Now you keep yourselves from all sexual impurity and uncleanness and from all contamination of sin so that you do not make our name into a curse, your entire lives into a (reason for) hissing and all your children into something that is destroyed by the sword. Then you will be accursed like Sodom, and all who remain of you like the people of Gomorrah (*Jub.* 20:3-6).

In addition to his statement on intermarriage, Abraham also makes a point of instructing his sons on the behaviour of the gentiles and how they should be dealt with:

Now you, my son Jacob, remember what I say and keep the commandments of your father Abraham. Separate from the nations, and do not eat with them. Do not act as they do, and do not become their companion, for their actions are something that is impure, and all their ways are defiled and something abominable and detestable. They offer their sacrifices to the dead, and they worship demons. They eat in tombs, and everything they do is empty and worthless. They have no mind to think, and their eyes do not see what they do and how they err in saying to (a piece of) wood: 'You are my god'; or to a stone: 'You are my Lord; you are my deliverer'. (They have) no mind (*Jub.* 22:16-18).

This condemnation of intermarriage and the impurity of gentiles has led scholars like Hayes

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<sup>129</sup> Halpern-Amaru, *The Empowerment of Women*, 150-1.

<sup>130</sup> According to Lev 21:9, it is only a priest's daughter who is subject to death by fire on account of prostitution.

to suggest that the characterization of Abraham may be based upon Phineas.<sup>131</sup> She suggests that Abraham is being presented as the "first of all separatists, insisting on the need to separate Israel from the nations."<sup>132</sup> She notes that Abraham is identified as a "friend of God" (*Jub.* 19:9), a title also granted to Levi (*Jub.* 30:17, 20) and Simeon (*Jub.* 30:17). Further, Hayes suggests that the author of *Jubilees* may be playing on a biblical link between Abraham and Phineas.<sup>133</sup> The phrase "it was reckoned to him as righteousness" is used in reference to each (Gen 15:6; Ps 106:31). Levi, Simeon and Phineas each receive these designations due to their zealous opposition to intermarriage.<sup>134</sup> Considering the importance of this issue for the author of *Jubilees*, it would be surprising if he did not place a prohibition of intermarriage upon the lips of the grandfather of Israel.

Abraham's righteousness is further demonstrated by his unwavering faith, a theme drawn directly from Genesis. The example *par excellence* of Abraham's faith is his willingness to sacrifice his son Isaac (Gen 22). The description of the sacrifice scene remains relatively unchanged from the Genesis account; the circumstances leading to the command to sacrifice and the outcome of the request are, however, different. According to *Jubilees*, God is convinced to test Abraham's faith when Prince Mastema states:

Abraham does indeed love his son Isaac and finds him more pleasing than anyone else. Tell him to offer him as a sacrifice on an altar. Then you will see whether he performs this order and will know whether he is faithful in everything through which you test him (*Jub.* 17:16).

Before this sacrifice is demanded of Abraham, the text acknowledges the faithfulness of

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<sup>131</sup> Hayes, "Intermarriage," 3-36.

<sup>132</sup> Hayes, "Intermarriage," 23.

<sup>133</sup> Hayes, "Intermarriage," 24.

<sup>134</sup> Hayes, "Intermarriage," 24.

Abraham: "in everything through which (God) tested him he was found faithful. He himself did not grow impatient, nor was he slow to act; for he was faithful and one who loved the Lord" (*Jub.* 17:18). As in Genesis, his faith is demonstrated by his obedience to God's command, and Abraham proceeds to take Isaac to the altar to be sacrificed. With Abraham's faith once again proven, the Lord blesses him in similar terms to the Genesis account. However, *Jubilees* adds the following statement from God: "I have made known to everyone that you are faithful to me in everything that I have told you" (*Jub.* 18:16). As Leroy Huizenga notes, this addition is not insignificant: "thus the biblical account, which is on its face a bona fide test of Abraham's obedience, becomes in *Jubilees* a revelation of Abraham's character 'to all' of which God was aware in the first place."<sup>135</sup> By so presenting Abraham's righteousness, *Jubilees* is making him a role model for the rest of Israel. His devotion is to be imitated by all.

As Abraham has been presented as a model of righteousness and faithfulness, it comes as no surprise that he is also granted the status of priest. Abraham offers the most sacrifices of any of the patriarchs, seven in total<sup>136</sup> (*Jub.* 13:4, 9, 16; 14:11; 15:2; 16:23; 18:12). In addition to this, he is clearly presented as an expert in sacrificial and purity laws, as demonstrated by the lengthy instruction that he gives his son Isaac. Consider the following excerpt, dealing specifically with proper sacrifice:

If you slaughter a victim for a peace offering that is acceptable, slaughter it and pour their blood onto the altar. All the fat of the sacrifice you will offer on the altar with the finest flour; and the offering kneaded with oil, with its

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<sup>135</sup> Leroy Andrew Huizenga, "The Battle for Isaac: Exploring the Composition and Function of the Aqedah in the Book of Jubilees," *JSP* 13 (2002): 33-59.

<sup>136</sup> According to Genesis, Abraham offers only two sacrifices (Gen. 15:10; 22:13).

libation - you will offer it all together on the altar as a sacrifice. (It is) an aroma that is pleasing before the Lord... Be careful about the (kinds of) woods (that are used for) sacrifice so that you bring no (kinds of) woods onto the altar except these only: cypress, silver-fir, almond, fir, pine, cedar, juniper, date, olive wood, myrtle, laurel wood, the cedar whose name is the juniper bush and balsam... (*Jub.* 21:7-12).

The extraordinary detail with which Abraham educates Isaac on proper sacrifices clearly demonstrates his priestly knowledge. As the grandfather of the Israelites, Abraham's association with the priesthood has implications for all of Israel. His priestly stature and faithfulness is to be emulated by all of Israel.

## **Isaac**

*Jubilees* provides little detail about Isaac. Isaac performs his duties without much fanfare, living up to the priestly model that we have discussed through obedience to the Lord. For example, *Jubilees* follows Gen 26:3 by noting that when Isaac sets out to Egypt in order to obtain food for his family during a famine, the Lord stops him in Gerar and orders him to stay there (*Jub.* 24:8-11). Isaac obeys this command and remains in Gerar for “three weeks of years” (*Jub.* 24:12). Further, Isaac adheres to *Jubilees*’ prohibition on intermarriage, marrying Rebecca “the daughter of Bethuel (the son of Abraham’s brother Nahor), the sister of Laban - Bethuel was their father - the daughter of Bethuel, the son of Milcah who was the wife of Abraham’s brother Nahor” (*Jub.* 19:10).

As was discussed above, Isaac was educated in proper priestly behaviour by his father, Abraham. Isaac's first sacrifice, though not described in great detail, contains an interesting note regarding the notion of the priesthood and its proper ownership: "Isaac

slaughtered a sacrifice for the offering; he offered (it) on his *father's* altar which he had made in Hebron. He sacrificed a peace offering and prepared a joyful feast *in front of his brother Ishmael*" (*Jub.* 22:3-4, emphasis mine). The familial emphasis found in this passage is telling. As we have seen before, there is a definite focus upon the proper lineage of the patriarchs and the importance of avoiding exogamous marriages. This theme is embodied in this passage; Isaac carries on the priestly activities of his father, without the participation of his half-brother whose mother is not an Israelite.

The only other sacrifice attributed to Isaac is described as follows: "there he built the altar which his father Abraham had first built. He called on the Lord's name and offered a sacrifice to the God of his father Abraham" (*Jub.* 24:23). Prior to the sacrifice, God identifies himself as the "God of your father Abraham," and promises to make Isaac's descendants numerous "for the sake of my servant Abraham" (*Jub.* 24:22). The emphasis placed here upon Abraham, in conjunction with the interest in family lineage expressed by the previous example, suggests that the author of *Jubilees* understood Isaac as a link in the priestly chain. Isaac's contribution to the priesthood is not emphasized and he is not elevated as a model of piety or priestly service. This is not to say that Isaac does not serve a priestly function, but that the author of *Jubilees* was simply more interested in the great patriarch Abraham, and Isaac's descendants, through whom the priesthood will be officially established.

## Jacob

It has been argued by scholars like Endres, Kugel and Vanderkam that Jacob should not be considered a priest in *Jubilees*.<sup>137</sup> This argument is based primarily on the notion that Jacob does not offer sacrifices, nor serves any other priestly function. Indeed, there is evidence that the author of *Jubilees* has altered some of the Genesis material so that Jacob does not perform sacrifices. One such example, as Kugel observes,<sup>138</sup> is an alteration of Gen 31:54. According to Genesis, Jacob offers a sacrifice while in the presence of Laban (Gen 31:54); *Jubilees* alters this story, indicating that Jacob merely prepared a banquet (*Jub.* 29:7). There are, however, two instances in *Jubilees* in which Jacob offers sacrifices. The first instance details a complex series of sacrifices associated with those offered for the Festival of Tabernacles<sup>139</sup>:

On the fifteenth of this month he brought to the altar fourteen young bulls from the cattle, twenty eight rams, forty nine sheep, seven kids, and twenty one goats - as a burnt offering on the altar and as a pleasing offering for a pleasant aroma before God. This was his gift because of the vow which he had made that he would give a tithe along with their sacrifices and their libations. When the fire had consumed it, he would burn incense on the fire above it; and as a peace offering two young bulls, four rams, four sheep, four he-goats, two year-old sheep, and two goats. This is what he would do daily for the seven days (*Jub.* 32: 4-6).

The scholars that have rejected Jacob's identification as a priest have suggested that this sacrifice was performed by Levi rather than Jacob.<sup>140</sup> The sacrifice occurs immediately

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<sup>137</sup> See, for example, John C. Endres, *Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Jubilees* (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1987); Kugel, "Levi's Elevation," 1-64; Vanderkam, "Exegetical Creation," 359-73.

<sup>138</sup> Kugel, "Levi's Elevation," 21.

<sup>139</sup> Joshua Schwartz, "Jubilees, Bethel and the Temple of Jacob," *HUCA* 56 (1985): 63-85.

<sup>140</sup> Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 166; Kugel, "Levi's Elevation," 49; Vanderkam, "Exegetical



after Jacob tithes his son Levi and ordains him as a priest. Following the description of this sacrifice, *Jubilees* states: "Levi rather than his ten brothers served as priest in Bethel before his father Jacob" (*Jub.* 32:9). Further, Vanderkam has inferred from the use of the term "gift" that Jacob merely supplied the animals for the sacrifice, rather than having performed the sacrifice himself.<sup>141</sup> There is precedence for this argument, as the retelling of this incident in *Aramaic Levi* presents Levi offering the sacrifices for Jacob. The Greek *Testament of Levi* follows a similar vein; Jacob is not associated with sacrifices at all.<sup>142</sup>

Despite these arguments, the text itself suggests that it is Jacob who performs this sacrifice. The text reads that *he* brought the animals for the sacrifice to the altar because they were *his* gift because of *his* vow. *He* refers to Jacob, who had vowed to tithe to the Lord at Bethel (*Jub.* 27:27). Jacob refers to this vow again when he notes that he had prepared the altar and that "everything was ready for offering the sacrifice before the Lord as he had vowed" (*Jub.* 31:26). The emphasis placed in *Jub.* 32:4 on the fulfilling of Jacob's vow suggests that it is indeed Jacob who performs the sacrifice. Despite Vanderkam's argument, I do not believe that the term "gift" implies that Jacob did not perform the sacrifice. Jacob had vowed to sacrifice these animals, not merely provide him. Thus, the sacrifice itself is the gift.

In addition to this sacrifice, we have another example of Jacob performing a sacrifice: "Israel set out from Hebron, from his house, on the first of the third month. He

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Creation," 372.

<sup>141</sup> Vanderkam, "Exegetical Creation," 359-73.

<sup>142</sup> Schwartz, "Jubilees," 63-85.

went by way of the well of the oath and offered a sacrifice to the God of his father Isaac on the seventh of this month" (*Jub.* 44:1). While this sacrifice does not receive a great deal of attention, it affirms that the author of *Jubilees* imagined Jacob performing sacrifices. This passage is ignored by those who seek to deny Jacob's priestly status.<sup>143</sup>

Moreover, Jacob, like his fathers before him, fits the priestly model that *Jubilees* establishes. First, as with all the patriarchs, we are informed that both of Jacob's parents, as well as his wife, come from the pure line of Israel (*Jub.* 19:10; 25:4-7). Jacob is further associated with the zealous protection of Israelite lineage by his participation in the revenge upon Shechem after the rape of his daughter, Dinah. According to the Genesis account, Jacob is outraged by his sons' attack upon the Shechemites. However, *Jubilees* changes this objection and willingness to accept racial integration into an explicit approval of his sons' actions. This alteration, according to Kugler, transforms Jacob "from an insecure and indecisive patriarch into a hero of Israel."<sup>144</sup>

Jacob further serves as an example of the proper Israelite in his concern with proper marriage:

Then Jacob spoke with his mother Rebecca and said to her: 'Mother, I am now nine weeks of years [= 63 years] and have known no woman. I have neither touched (one) nor become engaged (to one), nor have I even considered marrying any women of all the descendants of Canaan's daughters. For I recall, mother, what our father Abraham ordered me - that I should not marry anyone from all the descendants of Canaan's house. For I will marry (someone) from the descendants of my father's house and from my family. Earlier I heard, mother, that daughters had been born to

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<sup>143</sup> Of particular interest is Kugel's argument against Jacob's identification as a priest. Despite the immense influence of his argument, Kugel fails to note this second sacrifice. Kugel, "Levi's Elevation," 19-27.

<sup>144</sup> Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest*, 205.

your brother Laban. I have set my mind on them for the purpose of marrying one of them. For this reason I have kept myself from sinning and from becoming corrupted in any way during my entire lifetime because father Abraham gave me many orders about lewdness and sexual impurity (*Jub. 25:4-7*).

Following this description of his commitment to endogamous marriages, Jacob receives an extended blessing from Rebecca, in which she refers to him as a "pure son and a holy offspring" (*Jub. 25:12*). This explicit support for the separation of Israel from the nations suggests that Jacob be associated with priestly piety.

More importantly, Jacob is presented as being in possession of the books of his fathers: "[Jacob] gave all his books and the books of his fathers to his son Levi so that he could preserve them and renew them for his sons until today" (*Jub. 45:16*). These books contain the teachings of all the patriarchs from Enoch onward. The teachings that are explicitly presented to Isaac regarding proper sacrifices are included in these books. We must then assume that Jacob possesses priestly knowledge.

Jacob also serves another important purpose for the author of *Jubilees*. As in Genesis, he is granted a central position in *Jubilees* as the father of the chosen line of Israel. In the discussion above, we have noted that the author is interested in protecting the unique identity of Israel by maintaining a separation from the nations. Kugler suggests that focusing upon Jacob serves to promote this separation as Jacob is the "quintessential 'all Israel' figure."<sup>145</sup>

Jacob's "all Israel" image is emphasized within *Jubilees*. This is accomplished in a

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<sup>145</sup> Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest*, 145.

number of ways, one of which is through associations that link Jacob and Adam. Adam, as the first human, is often thought to represent all of Israel. *Jubilees* associates the two by noting that "there were twenty two leaders of humanity from Adam until him (Jacob); and twenty two kinds of works were made until the seventh day" (Jub. 2:23).<sup>146</sup> That is, Adam is the twenty-second creation of God, thus linking the two.

Another prominent method of presenting Jacob as the "all Israel" figure is by naming him as the father of Israel. Consider the following references:

I have chosen the descendants of Jacob among all of those whom I have seen. I have recorded them as my first-born son and have sanctified them for myself throughout the ages of eternity (*Jub.* 2:20-21);  
The Lord will appear in the sight of all, and all will know that I am the God of Israel, the father of all Jacob's children, and the king on Mt. Zion for the ages of eternity (*Jub.* 1:28).

The fact that Jacob is both an "all Israel" figure and a priestly figure has significant implications for this study. Jacob's presentation in *Jubilees* may be seen as an example of the hypothesis that all of Israel is priestly. If Jacob, who represents Israel, may be associated with, and perform the duties of, the priesthood, then it may be inferred that the author believed that all of Israel may participate in the priesthood. The only barrier to this participation is the necessity of righteousness and faithfulness, which clearly the author does not believe exists in the majority of people in his Hellenizing age.

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<sup>146</sup> The text is problematic as it suggests that Jacob is actually the twenty-third leader while Adam was the twenty-second creation. It is likely that the author intended to note that both Adam and Jacob occupied the twenty-second position.

## Levi

In the Hebrew Bible, Levi is presented as a violent man, who acts contrary to his father's wishes and is consequently criticized (Gen 34). The presentation of Levi in *Jubilees*, as well as a number of other Second Temple period sources,<sup>147</sup> is much more positive, emphasizing his heroism and priestly stature. Levi is, in fact, the first and only individual identified as, and ordained as, a priest in *Jubilees*. In the Hebrew Bible, it is Aaron, the brother of Moses and fourth generation descendant of Levi who is ordained (Exod 28:1), yet *Jubilees* betrays no knowledge of this information.<sup>148</sup> From *Jubilees'* perspective, Levi is the ultimate example of and the starting point for the official priesthood. The reason for this remains somewhat unclear, though scholars have offered a number of suggestions. Werman proposes that the emphasis upon Levi and the Levitical priesthood is a reflection of the need to explain the absence of a group identified as Levites. In the Second Temple period, the descendants of Levi were priests; there is no mention of Levites in documents like 1-2 Maccabees that describe the Second Temple period.<sup>149</sup> Alternatively, Kugler suggests that the choice to emphasize Levi over Aaron reflects the author's opposition to the priesthood of his time. As the Hellenizing priests identified themselves as descendants of Aaron, it makes sense that the author would identify what he considered the proper priesthood with a more ancient founder.<sup>150</sup>

Whatever the reason for the election of Levi as the priestly figure *par excellence*, it

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<sup>147</sup> A few examples are *The Testament of Levi* and *Aramaic Levi*.

<sup>148</sup> Werman, "Levi and Levites," 211-15.

<sup>149</sup> Werman, "Levi and Levites," 211-15.

<sup>150</sup> Kugler, *The Levi-Priestly Tradition*, 9.

is clear that the author placed a great deal of importance on Levi. The establishment of Levi's priesthood is carefully supported by the author through calendrical details, repeated reference to his ordination and a reversal of the negative responses towards his attack on the Shechemites. First, Levi's birth is dated to the first day of the first month, which corresponds with Jacob's first visit to Bethel (*Jub.* 28:14). Vanderkam states: "it is clear that the author's efforts at connecting the two Bethel episodes in Jacob's career allowed him to fashion extra-biblical scenes in which Levi becomes a priest."<sup>151</sup>

Both human and divine support is expressed repeatedly for Levi's elevation to the priesthood. There are three passages that discuss Levi's ordination. The first statement regarding Levi becoming a priest is presented as a divine proclamation:

Levi's descendants were chosen for the priesthood and as levites to serve before the Lord as we (do) for all time. Levi and his sons will be blessed forever because he was eager to carry out justice, punishment, and revenge on all who rise against Israel. So blessing and justice before the God of all are entered for him as a testimony on the heavenly tablets. We ourselves remember the justice which the man performed during his lifetime at all times of the year. As far as a thousand generations will they enter (it). It will come to him and his family after him. He has been recorded on the heavenly tablets as a friend and a just man (*Jub.* 30:18-20).

The justice for which he is being so lavishly praised is that which Levi wrought upon the Shechemites in response to the rape of his sister, Dinah, which we will return to below.

The next reference to Levi's priesthood comes in the form of a blessing from his grandfather, Isaac: "may the Lord give you and your descendants extremely great honour; may he make you and your descendants (out) of all humanity approach him to serve in his

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<sup>151</sup> Vanderkam, "Exegetical Creation," 369.

Temple like the angels of the presence and like the holy ones" (*Jub.* 31:14).<sup>152</sup> The third and final reference is presented as two parts; a dream that Levi receives at Bethel, and Jacob's tithe and ordination of Levi:

That night he stayed at Bethel. Levi dreamed that he - he and his sons - had been appointed and made into the priesthood of the most high God forever. When he awakened, he blessed the Lord. Jacob got up early in the morning on the fourteenth day of this month and gave a tithe of everything which had come with him - from people to animals, from money to utensils and clothing. He gave a tithe of everything. At that time Rachel became pregnant with her son Benjamin. Jacob counted his sons from him. He went up (the list), and it came down on Levi in the Lord's share. His father put priestly clothes on him and ordained him (*Jub.* 32:1-3).

It is noteworthy that the ordination of Levi requires the blessing of both Isaac and Jacob, as well as direct approval from God.<sup>153</sup> The author has ensured that there can be no question about the legitimacy of Levi's priesthood. Another interesting aspect of his ordination is the complex manner in which Jacob chooses him as his tithe.<sup>154</sup> Rather than tithing his first-born son, as would be expected, Jacob counts upwards from his still in-utero child to his tenth son, Levi. Clearly, the author had to do some imaginative work in order to ensure that Levi was the official tithe to God.

*Jubilees'* choice of Levi as the ultimate priest, and its extensive effort to support this choice, is based upon the fact that Levi represents one of the key agendas of *Jubilees*, that is, the insistence on the separation of Israel from the nations. In fact, as was demonstrated

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<sup>152</sup> Vanderkam notes at this point that we should be careful not to connect Isaac's blessing with an actual ordination. Isaac's words represent "a strong statement about what will take place," but it is not an ordination. Vanderkam, "Isaac's Blessing of Levi," 498-519.

<sup>153</sup> Kugel, "Levi's Elevation," 5-7.

<sup>154</sup> Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 165.

in the passage above, God grants Levi the priesthood because of the zealousness with which he dealt with the Shechemites who defiled his sister, Dinah.<sup>155</sup>

The author of *Jubilees* significantly alters the Genesis version of Dinah's rape in order to demonstrate the cruelty and blameworthiness of the Shechemites. Whereas the story of Dinah's rape is told very briefly in Genesis, and leaves a number of gaps where one may reasonably suspect Dinah's compliance in the situation, *Jubilees* is clear in its portrayal of Dinah's innocence. Consider the two versions of this story:

Now Dinah the daughter of Leah, whom she had borne to Jacob, went out to visit the women of the region. When Shechem son of Hamor the Hivite, prince of the region, saw her, he seized and lay with her by force (Gen 34:12).

There (in Salem) Jacob's daughter Dinah was taken by force to the house of Shechem, the son of Hamor the Hivite, the ruler of the land. He lay with her and defiled her. Now she was a small girl, twelve years of age (*Jub.* 30:2).

The differences between these two versions of the story are stark. First, according to *Jubilees*, Dinah was taken by force, whereas Genesis is somewhat more vague about the situation. Second, as noted by Holly Pearse, the Genesis version indicates that the rape occurred outdoors, whereas *Jubilees* notes that Dinah was taken into Shechem's house. According to Deut 22:23, a rape victim may be held responsible if the rape occurs outdoors, as she should have called for a help. A woman raped indoors is pardoned as her calls for help could not have been heard. *Jubilees* has noted the location of the attack in order to demonstrate Dinah's lack of responsibility.<sup>156</sup> Third, *Jubilees* adds the detail that Dinah was twelve years old. Kugler suggests that this is an addition that was drawn from

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<sup>155</sup> Werman, "Jubilees 30," 1-22.

<sup>156</sup> Holly A. Pearse, Personal Conversation, August 23, 2004.



another source.<sup>157</sup> However, it seems more likely that, as Endres suggests, it has been added to demonstrate the "heinous nature of the crime."<sup>158</sup> *Jubilees* seems to suggest that it is not Shechem himself who abducts the girl, but rather all of the Shechemites. The combination of the participation of the entire city and the atrocity of the crime acts to further demonize the gentile nations. The patriarchs have been correct in their insistence that the Israelites avoid these wicked people.

The next alteration that the author of *Jubilees* makes to the story of Dinah's rape is in the immediate response of Dinah's family. In Genesis, Jacob is willing to give Dinah in marriage to Shechem and accept the intermingling of their respective people on the condition that the Shechemites be circumcised. There is no such compromise to be found in *Jubilees*. Not only does the text include Jacob in the anger of his sons,<sup>159</sup> but it omits any reference to the proposal or performance of the circumcision of the Shechemites. Where Genesis states that the men of Shechem were killed while still in pain from their circumcision, *Jubilees* changes the text to state that Levi and Simeon "killed everyone in a painful way" (*Jub.* 30: 4).

Further to this, the revenge that received such harsh condemnation from Jacob in Genesis is in *Jubilees* presented as having been assisted by God:

The Lord handed them over to Jacob's sons for them to uproot them with the sword and to effect punishment against them and so that there should not again be something like this within Israel - defiling an Israelite virgin (*Jub.* 30:6).

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<sup>157</sup> Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest*, 156.

<sup>158</sup> Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 127.

<sup>159</sup> Werman notes that Jacob's connection with Levi's actions, and the omission of his rebuke of these actions, presents a unified view among the patriarchs against intermarriage. Werman, "Jubilees 30," 1-22.

Ultimately, as Werman has argued, *Jubilees* transforms the entire Dinah episode into a prohibition on intermarriage.<sup>160</sup> As such, Levi's revenge upon the Shechemites is to be read as a zealous attempt to protect the sanctity of the holy seed of Israel. It is this zealousness that ensures Levi's elevation to the priesthood and aligns him with the other priestly patriarchs.

Despite the emphasis placed upon Levi's rightful claim to the priesthood, Levi performs no priestly functions in *Jubilees*. In fact, he is not recorded as having performed a single sacrifice, with the possible exception of the sacrifice that occurs immediately after his ordination, which we have designated as having been performed by Jacob.<sup>161</sup> Himmelfarb offers an explanation of this odd omission:

To some extent, then, *Jubilees* plays down Levi's performance of priestly tasks. For it is only with Levi that the priesthood comes to be restricted to a single family within Israel. Until Levi, from *Jubilees'* point of view, all Jews, admittedly a small category, might see themselves as priests.<sup>162</sup>

By both denying Levi priestly functions, and allowing Jacob to continue in his priestly role after Levi's ordination, the author of *Jubilees* may be demonstrating that Levi's official status has no real meaning. The official priests are no more priestly than the patriarchs who perform priestly functions without official priestly designation.

## Conclusion

This chapter has discussed several significant themes in *Jubilees'* representation of

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<sup>160</sup> Werman, "Jubilees 30," 1-22.

<sup>161</sup> See pages 66-7 above.

<sup>162</sup> Himmelfarb, "A Kingdom of Priests," 93.

the patriarchs. The most important feature that each patriarch is endowed with is the role of priest. While the details of that role change slightly from one patriarch to another, they are all presented as offering priestly sacrifices to the Lord and observing the, as of yet unrevealed, Sinaitic laws. The application of priestly status to the patriarchs is justified by the author through the characterizations of these figures. They are all presented as exceedingly righteous. In fact, this righteousness must be demonstrated before these figures may perform priestly functions. In addition, each of these figures is presented as being concerned with the protection of Israel against the detrimental effects of gentile influences. They zealously oppose intermarriage with gentiles and the adoption of gentile practices. Each of the patriarchs serves as a role model in this regard, by refraining from exogamous marriages and idolatry and punishing those who do not refrain from such things.

The patriarchs, thus, as models of righteousness, present an image of a purified and faithful Israel. As their priestly status is justified solely by their righteousness and their rejection of all things foreign, then attaining this level of righteousness may lead to participation in the priesthood. Through the patriarchs, the author may be implying that all of Israel, once purified of the defiling influences of the gentiles, may aspire to the priesthood as well.

## Conclusion

At the beginning of this thesis, a number of questions were raised regarding *Jubilees'* presentation of the priesthood. These questions focused upon attempting to uncover why the author of *Jubilees* chose to present non-priestly figures of biblical history as priests and why he chose to downplay the hereditary priesthood, which he presented as inaugurated with Levi. It has been my contention that these choices were made in order to emphasize the priestly potential of Israel. In so doing, the author has suggested that the priesthood was open to any male member of Israel who had met a certain list of conditions. These conditions consisted of righteousness on the part of the individual, as well as his rejection of gentile practices and associations. However, as *Jubilees* notes, these conditions are generally not being met by the members of Israel. Consider, for example, the idolatry of Abraham's family (*Jub.* 11:7-17) or Esau's marriage to two Canaanite women, whose behaviour is described as "evil" (*Jub.* 25:1). In fact, *Jubilees* opens with God's declaration that even after Israel receives the law they will "turn to foreign gods - to ones which will not save them from any of their afflictions" (*Jub.* 1:8). Thus, Israel's status as priestly cannot yet be actualized. It must first purify itself of gentile influences before it can properly be called "priestly." At this point, it would be helpful to summarize the evidence for this argument.

In the second chapter it was noted that each of the patriarchs conforms to a certain model of priestly behaviour. First, each of the patriarchs is considered a righteous figure. Second, this righteousness is often identified as, or accompanied by, a complete rejection of

gentile influences. As we have seen, this is especially expressed through zealous opposition to intermarriage.<sup>163</sup> Finally, the patriarchs are able to perform priestly duties, such as blood sacrifices or incense offerings. The significance of this three-step approach to the priesthood is in its availability to all of Israel. *Jubilees* does not rely upon a hereditary system or class structure in order to choose its priests. Rather, the only requirement for priestly service is that the individual behave righteously and defend Israel against the polluting influences of the gentiles. While the majority of people cannot claim the level of righteousness required, nor have they separated themselves from the gentiles, *Jubilees* suggests that priestly service is open to those who can correct their ways.

This three-step model is true for all but two of the figures we have discussed. Levi, while adhering to the first two aspects of the priestly model, is not presented as having performed any priestly duties. While Levi proves his righteousness and desire to protect the sanctity of Israel through his revenge upon the Shechemites (*Jub.* 30), and is ordained as a priest, he does not perform priestly duties like blood sacrifices. As the first and only ordained figure in *Jubilees*, Levi is the start of the hereditary priesthood. This priesthood, unlike the proto-priesthood associated with the other patriarchs, is the exclusive property of a single family line within Israel. Isaac notes this exclusivity when he blesses Levi: "you and your descendants (alone) out of all humanity approach him to serve in his Temple like the angels of the presence and like the holy ones" (*Jub.* 31:14). The exclusivity of the hereditary priesthood is in tension with *Jubilees'* message that the priesthood is available to

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<sup>163</sup> For example, Levi's revenge on the Shechemites (*Jub.* 30).

any righteous member of Israel. For this reason, Levi's priesthood is downplayed. Levi does not perform the sacrifices that his ancestors perform. His descendants, who are to carry on the priesthood, are never shown as doing so. In this way, the hereditary priesthood is stalled; it cannot develop significantly, nor can it draw attention away from *Jubilees'* vision of an open priesthood. In fact, *Jubilees* gets around the limitations of the hereditary priesthood by allowing Jacob to offer a sacrifice after Levi had been ordained (*Jub.* 44:1).

The other figure that does not fit our three stage model of the priesthood is Adam. Unlike Levi, Adam performs priestly tasks (*Jub.* 3:27), but does not need to prove his righteousness first. As the first human, he has no need to prove himself free of gentile influences, as the gentiles do not yet exist. Further, until he disobeys God, there is no reason to assume that he will. Adam is a clean slate; he is Israel as it was meant to be. The original order of life, as represented in Eden, includes the priestly service of Adam, and to a lesser extent, Eve as well.

The Eden narrative in its entirety serves an important function in *Jubilees* as it has been transformed into a model of the Temple and its inhabitants. Eden, as the holy of holies, houses the first couple, who perform priestly functions. Adam, a priest, serves with his wife Eve, a pseudo-priestly figure,<sup>164</sup> as the priests in the Temple would serve. They carefully observe laws regarding purity, proper sacrificial service and propriety.

The Eden narrative serves as a symbolic vision of Israel as a whole. The first

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<sup>164</sup> Again, I refer to Eve as a "pseudo-priestly figure" as identifying her as a priest, or proto-priest, would be misleading. While she performs tasks generally reserved for priests, like caring for the holy of holies, she does not offer any sacrifices, nor does she otherwise fit the model of priesthood that we have discussed in this thesis. The term "pseudo-priest" is here intended to demonstrate that she serves a similar function to the priestly figures of *Jubilees*, without being part of the proto-priesthood.

created people represent all of Israel; they are the models of what Israelites were to be. In fact, *Jubilees* emphasizes the fact that Adam is to be seen as an "all-Israel" figure by associating him with another such figure, Jacob.<sup>165</sup> As Adam is the twenty-second creation of God, Jacob is the twenty-second head of humanity (*Jub.* 2:23). Further, as Adam is the father of humanity, Jacob is the father of the chosen line of Israel: "I have chosen the descendants of Jacob among all of those whom I have seen. I have recorded them as my first-born son and have sanctified them for myself through the ages of eternity" (*Jub.* 2:20).

It is my opinion that *Jubilees* models the eschatological future upon its presentation of the Eden narrative. The perfection of Eden as a Temple and its priestly inhabitants is to be available to Israel upon its purification. This concept is not unique to *Jubilees*. In fact, the use of the Eden narrative as a vision of the future is found in a number of documents from Qumran. For example, the *Damascus Document* states: "he gave to them to understand 'a sure house in Israel,' whose like has never existed from ancient times until now. Those who hold to it will possess long life and all the glory of Adam" (CD 3:19-20).

Wise argues that

this passage of CD explicitly connects the Temple of the End of Days with the name Adam. It says that the 'glory of Adam' in part at least consists of the practice of the cultus - never before administered - in that Temple. It would not be unexpected for the community of CD to refer to that eschatological period in Edenic terms and to the Temple of Adam.<sup>166</sup>

According to Wise, the restoration of the joys of Edenic life is further applied to the eschatological Temple in *4QFlorilegium*, which discusses "the house which no [...] will

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<sup>165</sup> For a discussion of Jacob's status as an "all-Israel" figure, see pages 69-70.

<sup>166</sup> Wise, "4QFlorilegium," 126-7.

enter forever, nor Ammonite, nor Moabite, nor bastard, nor foreigner, nor alien forever" (4Q174: 3-4) which is called the "Temple of Adam."<sup>167</sup> Here, the Temple of Adam is described in terms of the perfected Israel of *Jubilees*. Once Israel has completely separated itself from the nations, they will have the eschatological Temple, in which they will live as Adam had.

*Jubilees*, as these Qumranic texts, uses Eden as the vision of the future. God had created Israel as a perfect, priestly nation, one that lived and worked in the holy of holies apart from the pollution of the outside world. When Israel strays, and adopts the ways of the gentiles, it loses this perfection. Therefore, the excellence of the future is described in terms of the mythological perfection of creation. The return to Edenic modes of living, i.e. the practice of the proper cult, the maintenance of purity and separation from the gentile nations, will allow Israel to regain its priestly status.

This emphasis upon the return to Edenic living is found in *Jub.* 23, which describes the evils that will lead to Israel's destruction and ultimate redemption. *Jubilees* describes the coming of wars, famines, hardship and, of the most interest to our current study, the reduction of the human lifespan:

For the times of the ancients were 19 jubilees for their lifetimes. After the flood they started to decrease from 19 jubilees, to be fewer with respect to jubilees, to age quickly, and to have their times be completed in view of the numerous difficulties and through the wickedness of their ways...All the generations will grow old quickly, before they complete two jubilees. It will be knowledge that will leave them because of their old age; all of their knowledge will depart (*Jub.* 23:9-11).

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<sup>167</sup> Wise, "4QFlorilegium," 105-7.



Part of the punishment that is laid upon Israel is its current shortened lifespan and troubles. However, upon its purification, Israel can expect this punishment to be reversed, with life spans approaching 1000 years (*Jub.* 23:26). *Jubilees* notes that this is like the lifespan of the “ancients” (*Jub.* 23:15). 1000 years was set as the limit to the human lifespan based upon *Jubilees*’ interpretation of Genesis’ declaration that Adam and Eve would die on the day that they ate the fruit in Eden (*Gen* 2:17). According to *Jubilees*, Adam died at 930 years old: “he lacked 70 years from 1000 years because 1000 years are one day in the testimony of heaven. For this reason it was written regarding the tree of knowledge: ‘On the day that you eat from it you will die’” (*Jub.* 4:30). Thus, upon Israel’s purification, individuals will once again live as Adam and Eve had.

The return to Edenic living is firmly placed in the eschatological future. *Jubilees* indicates that the improvements that will come after the purification of Israel will bring about the building of the Temple in Jerusalem (*Jub.* 1:17). *Jubilees* makes it clear that we should not interpret this as referring to the Temple of the author’s time.<sup>168</sup> As we saw above, the future of Israel will be marked by extended life spans, an experience not yet available at the time of *Jubilees*’ author. Also, *Jubilees* makes reference to the defilement of the Temple, likely referring to events in its author’s time. *Jub.* 23:21 states that wicked members of Israel will “defile the holy of holies with the impure corruption of their contamination.”<sup>169</sup> This Temple that will be built upon the purification of Israel must then

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<sup>168</sup> This could represent, on the one hand, the defilement of the Temple at the hands of Antiochus. Or, on the other, it may refer to the illegitimate priesthood of the Maccabeans.

<sup>169</sup> It could be argued that this is in reference to the Garden of Eden, rather than the later Temple, as Eden is referred to as the holy of holies. However, this cannot be so for two reasons. First, the disobedience

be an eschatological Temple. It cannot refer to the Temple of the author's time, nor can it refer to an historical Temple. *Jubilees* refers to the time when the Temple will be built as "the time of the new creation" (*Jub.* 1:29). This concept is emphasized by the way that *Jubilees* seeks to parallel this future Temple with the first creation. In the first chapter, I noted that past and future are connected geographically as Eden and Zion faced one another at the centre of the Earth (*Jub.* 8:19). Eden is described as the holy of holies and is the site of two separate incense offerings (*Jub.* 3:27; 4:25). Adam, who is presented as something of an "all-Israel" figure, is also presented as a priest. Finally, as we saw above, the restoration of the human lifespan will match that of Adam's life. Thus, *Jubilees* is suggesting that, upon its purification, Israel will return to life as it was in Eden. Every member of Israel may serve as a priest as Adam had.

This eschatological notion is emphasized repeatedly in *Jubilees*. In fact, *Jubilees* opens with God predicting Israel's apostasy and eventual return to the laws. God states that upon their return he

will transform them into a righteous plant with all my mind and all my soul. They will become a blessing, not a curse; they will become the head, not the tail. I will build my Temple among them and will live with them; I will become their God and they will become my true and righteous people (*Jub.* 1:16-17).

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of Adam and Eve is greatly downplayed and is not portrayed as a turning point for Israel. Second, Enoch is brought into Eden and is allowed to offer the evening incense, suggesting that Eden was not polluted in the way that *Jub.* 23:21 suggests.

As we discussed in the introduction, Israel's priestly status is wrapped up in its unique relationship with God. As we see above, this relationship is weakened by Israel's faithlessness. However, God declares that he "will become their God and they will become [his] people." The changes that will cause Israel's relationship with God to be restored are those that are vigorously promoted by the patriarchs: adherence to Torah and rejection of all things foreign (*Jub.* 1:8-14). When Israel is able to do this, its status is restored and it can claim its title as a "priestly kingdom." Thus, we see that Israel's priestly status exists as a potential, rather than a real designation. As we saw with the patriarchs, once Israel devotes itself to righteousness, it too can aspire to the priesthood.

For this reason, when we encounter passages like *Jub.* 33:20, in which Israel is described as a "priestly nation," we should not understand the text as suggesting that Israel has already actualized this role. It is, rather, like a parent scolding a child, telling him to live up to the family name. The child can lay claim only to the potential of the family's reputation; it is not until he has proven himself worthy of his name that he is said to have inherited that reputation. Similarly, it is not until Israel has abandoned association with the gentiles and has returned to the Torah that it can claim its rightful title as a "priestly kingdom."

In conclusion, *Jubilees* presents the priesthood as it does in order to demonstrate that Israel has the potential of becoming a "priestly kingdom." Through the examples of the proto-priestly patriarchs, the author of *Jubilees* instructs Israel on what it must do in order to claim its priestly status. Further, *Jubilees* presents the Eden narrative as a model of what life will be like once Israel has purified itself of the deleterious influences of the gentiles.

This life, in which any member of Israel may serve as a priest, will be available upon the purification of Israel, which *Jubilees* places in the eschatological future. At this time, provided that Israel has returned to God through Torah observance and the rejection of gentile idolatry and sin, it will return to the priestly state that God had intended for it. Israel may then claim its rightful title as a "priestly kingdom."

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