

Betsy Halpern-Amaru

The Perspective from Mt. Sinai: The Book of Jubilees and Exodus



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עטרת זקנים בני בנים

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

One of the fortunate aspects of an academic career is that one need not seek out new interests and ways of occupying oneself in retirement. Scholarly endeavors that once competed for time with teaching, administrative, and collegial duties stand uncontested in the years-long “sabbatical” awaiting the professor emerita/emeritus. Without the pressure of time, the unravelling of intellectual puzzles has endless potential. There is always another aspect to explore; additional background to acquire; and constantly the relevant new article or book to read. Only the sense of one’s own finiteness breaches that wondrous rhythm.

This book is the product of such a retirement. Stepping carefully into all that freedom, I began with a conference presentation that explored the narrative of Amram burying the fathers and remaining for forty years on Mt. Hebron (*Jub.* 46:9–10; 47:1). Subsequently I moved on to studying the *Jubilees* treatment of Pesah legislation, a venture that led to a long term engagement with midrash halakah which years later came to be focused on *Jubilees* Sabbath laws. At some point (precisely when is unclear), I determined that there was a book to be written about Exodus narrative and law in *Jubilees*. Quite gradually, the pleasurable task of studying a series of textual puzzles acquired a structure and grew into a book project.

A number of friends and colleagues, including my son Josh, assisted in bringing the project to completion. Generous with their time and expertise, they provided help with Ethiopic readings, good counsel, and most significantly, encouragement. I am very indebted to them. I particularly wish to thank Dena Ordan for her scrutiny of multiple revisions; Professor Michael Stone for reading many of the chapters as work-in-progress and for his unflagging support; and Professor James VanderKam for critiquing parts of the manuscript and, even more, for the great corpus of work that has stimulated my thinking and my own study of the *Book of Jubilees*. Lastly, I want to acknowledge my gratitude for the intellectual companionship and friendship of that amazing band of women scholars who comprise the “Library Group.”

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Betsy Halpern-Amaru

ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
AnBib	Analecta biblica
BDB	Brown, F., S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs. <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i>
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum Lovaniensium
BibOr	Biblica et orientalia
BIS	Biblical Interpretation Series
BN	<i>Biblishe Notizen</i>
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBR	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
CHB	<i>Cambridge History of the Bible</i>
CSCO	Corpus scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
DCLY	Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook
DJD	Discoveries in the Judean Desert
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JDS	Judean Desert Studies
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JPS	Jewish Publication Society
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JQRMS	Jewish Quarterly Review Monograph Series
JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Periods</i>
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Periods: Supplement Series
JSP	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
RB	<i>Review biblique</i>
RevQ	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions (Supplement to <i>Numen</i>)
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti pseudepigrapha
TBN	Themes in Biblical Narrative
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum

CHAPTER ONE

SETTING AND PERSPECTIVE

The epithet “the little Genesis” in ancient sources notwithstanding,¹ the *Book of Jubilees* is significantly engaged with Exodus. The engagement occurs at multiple levels. *Jubilees* reworks key Exodus narratives; develops modules of Exodus law; and highlights Exodus motifs. The most fundamental connection to Exodus is the grounding of *Jubilees* and its narrative in the Exodus-based scenario of Moses receiving a revelation on Mt. Sinai. That formative scenario is both the setting of *Jubilees* and the narrational perspective of its revelation of the past.

Structurally *Jubilees* comprises two narrations. In the frame an anonymous narrator, addressing the reader, introduces the work, identifies its setting, and defines its perimeters (Prologue, *Jubilees* 1, and the brief epilogue at the close of *Jubilees* 50). In the body, an angel, addressing Moses, reveals the past, issues directives, and discloses the future (*Jubilees* 2–50).² Each narration engages the Exodus portrait of Moses on Mt. Sinai. The anonymous narrator of the frame overtly develops the Mt. Sinai setting of the work; the angel narrator of the revelation employs that setting as the present-time pivot for a retrospect that moves backward and forward in time. This chapter focuses on the interpretive use of Exodus material in the construction of the setting and introduces the presentation and reworking of Exodus-based narrative and law in the angel narration.

The opening words of the introductory frame present *Jubilees* as a revelation related to Moses on Mt. Sinai “when he went up to receive the stone tablets—the law and the commandments,” specifically when the Lord told him to “come up to the summit of the mountain” (Prologue, 4Q216 I, 3–4).³ The description draws from the two accounts of Moses being called to the mountain and remaining there forty days and forty nights—the summoning to receive “the stone tablets

1 On the various forms of the epithet in Greek and the Hebrew title בראשית זוטא, see R. H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1902), xiv–xvi.

2 Both narrations include scenarios in which characters engage in direct speech. Indeed, the greater part of the frame is devoted to direct speech—God addressing Moses (*Jub.* 1:5–18, 22–26); Moses responding (*Jub.* 1:19–21); and God giving directions to the angel of the presence (*Jub.* 1:27–28). Similarly, there are numerous instances of direct speech in the angel’s narration, some involving created monologue or dialogue, others citing or reflecting scriptural material.

3 Unless otherwise indicated, all citations of *Jubilees* are from the translation of James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text* (2 vols.; CSCO 510–11; Scriptorum Aethiopicorum 87–88; Leuven: Peeters, 1989).

with the teachings and commandments” in Exod 24:12 (ויאמר ה' אל משה עלה אלי) (ההרה... ואתנה לך את לוח האבן והתורה והמצוה והיה נכון לבקר ועלית בבקר אל) and the summoning to “the summit of the mountain” with a second set of tablets in Exod 34:2 (הר סיני ונצבת לי שם על ראש ההר).⁴ Merged, the two accounts function as text and sub-text in the backdrop that introduces the *Book of Jubilees*.

The primary text is Exodus 24:12–13, 15–18.⁵ The Lord summons Moses to the mountain to receive the two⁶ stone tablets of the law and the commandments that he had written so that Moses may teach them (*Jub.* 1:1 reflecting Exod 24:12); Moses ascends the mountain (*Jub.* 1:2 reflecting Exod 24:13b, 15a); the glory of the Lord abides on the mountain and a cloud covers it for six days (*Jub.* 1:2 reflecting Exod 24:16a); on the seventh day Moses is summoned into the cloud (*Jub.* 1:3a reflecting Exod 24:16c, 18a) where he sees the glory of the Lord “like a fire blazing on the summit of the mountain” (*Jub.* 1:3b reworking Exod 24:17); Moses remains on the mountain for forty days and forty nights (*Jub.* 1:4 reflecting Exod 24:18c). Abbreviation and clarification notwithstanding,⁷ the *Jubilees* account substantively alters two facets of the borrowed material. A portrayal of Moses seeing “the glory of the Lord like a fire blazing on the summit of the mountain” when he enters the cloud on the seventh day (*Jub.* 1:3) replaces the description of the Presence of the Lord appearing to the Israelites as a consuming fire on the summit of the mountain (Exod 24:17) (ומראה כבוד ה' כאשר אכלת בראש ההר לעיני ישראל) (Exod 24:17), a scenario that suggests an allusion to the theophany scene portrayed in Exod 19:16–20.⁸ Secondly, the account of the summoning in *Jubilees* includes a date

Portions of the Prologue, *Jub.* 1:1–2, 4–15, 26–28, are extant in columns I, II, IV of 4Q216 (James C. VanderKam and J. T. Milik, “4QJubilees,” in *Qumran Cave 4—VIII Parabiblical Texts. Part 1* [ed. H. Attridge et al.; DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994], 1–12).

4 In Exod 19:20 God also summons Moses to the “summit of the mountain;” but that summons precedes the theophany and does not involve stone tablets. George Brooke has suggested that the author combines the three summoning occasions (Exod 19:20; 24:12; 34:2), perhaps as “a way of saying that there was only one authoritative trip up the mountain of which the *Book of Jubilees* is the fruit” (“Exegetical Strategies in Jubilees 1–2: New Light from 4QJubilees,” in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* [ed. M. Albani, J. Frey, A. Lange; TSAJ 65; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997], 47).

5 On the Exodus 24 setting in *Jubilees* 1, see Jacques van Ruiten, “The Rewriting of Exodus 24:12–18 in *Jubilees* 1:1–4,” *BN* 79 (1995): 25–29 and James C. VanderKam, “Studies on the Prologue and *Jubilees* 1,” in *For a Later Generation: The Transformation of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity* (ed. R. A. Argall, B. A. Bow, R. A. Werline; Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2000), 266–79.

6 Two tablets are specified in Exod 31:18; 34:1, 4, 29.

7 The command to “wait there” (והיה שם) in Exod 24:12 is omitted (*Jub.* 1:1). The ascent in Exod 24:13b (ויעל משה אל הר האלהים) and in Exod 24:15 (ויעל משה אל ההר) are combined (with 'ה replacing הר האלהים) and relating back to ויאמר ה' (*Jub.* 1:2); the accounts of the cloud in Exod 24:15 (ויכסהו הענן את ההר) and Exod 24:16 (ויכסהו הענן ששת ימים) are merged (*Jub.* 1:2); and the Lord calling to Moses from the cloud (מתוך הענן) (Exod 24:16c) and Moses entering into the cloud (בתוך הענן) (Exod 24:18a) are conjoined (*Jub.* 1:3). See 4Q216 I, 6–9 and the textual notes in DJD XIII, 7.

8 For such a reading, see *b. Yoma* 4ab (R. Akiva) and Rashi on Exod 24:16.

notice, specifically “during the first year of the Israelites’ exodus from Egypt, in the third month—on the sixteenth of the month” (*Jub.* 1:1).

The year/month component of the date is drawn from Exod 19:1 (“in the third month⁹ after the Israelites had gone forth from the land of Egypt” [בחדש השלישי] (לִיצֵאת יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם (בַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה)), it marks the Israelite arrival to the wilderness of Sinai and introduces the encounter between Moses and God that occurs prior to the theophany at the mountain (Exod 19:3–6).¹⁰ The author of *Jubilees* detaches the clause from that context and employs it instead with the summoning of Moses to receive the stone tablets after the theophany (Exod 24:12). The impact of the rearrangement is clear. The summoning of Moses is not a sequel to an earlier encounter in which God presents the election of the Israelites as conditional on their adherence to His covenant (Exod 19:3–6). The association between the election of the Israelites and the covenant-making at Mt. Sinai has been deliberately suppressed,¹¹ for, as the angel will subsequently reveal, at the time of Creation God decreed the election and sanctification of the Israelites, denoted “the descendants of Jacob,” “throughout the ages of eternity” (*Jub.* 2:20).¹²

There is no basis in the Exodus narrative for the specification of the sixteenth as the date when Moses was summoned to receive the stone tablets.¹³ In fact, the dating creates a time frame that is not at all evident in the account of events in Exodus 24. Introduction of a calendar date into a narrative generally signifies the passage of time and differentiates the time of the dated event from that of the preceding event. In the Exodus 24 narrative there is no indication of time passing between the summoning and ascent of Moses (Exod 24:12, 15–18) and Moses engaging the Israelites in a covenant ratification ceremony (Exod 24:4b–8).¹⁴ The

9 Literal translation. Many English translations render בחדש השלישי “on the third new moon.” On חדש as “new moon,” see Num 29:6; 1 Sam 20:18, 24, 27; and elsewhere.

10 In Exod 19:2–3 there is no summoning; the Israelites encamped in front of the mountain and Moses “went up to God.” The summoning to the summit of the mountain occurs at a later point in the Exodus 19 narrative when the theophany has already begun (Exod 19:20).

11 In contrast to VanderKam who presents the combination of Exod 19:1 and Exod 24:12 as an innocuous blending of Exodus 19 and 24 somewhat comparable to other ancient treatments of the Sinai event (“Studies on the Prologue,” 273–77), I view the compression as a deliberate strategy to suppress the association between the Sinai covenant and the conditional election of the Israelites that is set forth in Exod 19:3–6.

12 On the rearrangement of the election motif in Exod 19:3–6, see Chapter 8.

13 Attempting to integrate the dating in *Jubilees* with the imprecise indicators of time in the Exodus narrative of events from the Israelite arrival to Sinai (Exodus 19) through the summoning of Moses (Exodus 24), VanderKam arrives at the 16th only through the unconvincing suggestion that the author of *Jubilees* employed *gematria* (“Studies on the Prologue,” 277–78).

14 The only indicator of the passage of time in Exodus 24 is a description of Moses getting up early in the morning (וישכח בבקר) at the beginning of the account of the covenant ratification ceremony (Exod 24:4b).

Jubilees identification of a specific calendar date creates that indicator and in effect separates what occurs on the mountain (in *Jubilees*) from the covenant ratification ceremony that precedes the summoning (in Exodus 24).¹⁵ Moreover, the specification of the sixteenth subtly reveals that the covenant ratification ceremony, albeit unmentioned, took place on the preceding day, i. e., the fifteenth of the third month.¹⁶

Depicting what happens after Moses enters the cloud, a *Jubilees*-created tableau has God repeatedly commanding Moses to write down everything that is revealed to him on the mountain. In two passages the command specifically relates to a revelation of “what (had happened) beforehand as well as what was to come;” “what is first and what is last and what is to come during all the divisions of times” which are in the *torah* and the *te’udah* (תורה ותעודה) (*Jub.* 1:4, 26; cf. Prologue);¹⁷ in a third it concerns a prophecy of Israel’s future apostasy that God relates to Moses (*Jub.* 1:7). The notion of such a command builds on several scriptural sources. The term תעודה ותורה, an allusion to the binding and sealing of the message and teachings of Isaiah (Isa 8:16, 20),¹⁸ clearly suggests preservation of a revelation in written form. Similarly, phraseology from Deuteronomy 31 associates the message that Moses is to write “today” (*Jub.* 1:7) with the song that God commands him to write on the plains of Moab (Deut 31:19).¹⁹ But the primary subtext for

15 On the interpretation of the covenant ceremony in the angel narration, see Chapter 8.

16 In the angel narration the fifteenth of the third month is associated with covenant making occasions and with the festival of oaths/weeks which is also the festival of first fruits of the wheat harvest (*Jub.* 6:10–11, 15–21). The date is explicitly stated in the account of the exchange of oaths between Jacob and Laban (*Jub.* 29:5, 7). When associated with the festival, it is generally expressed more vaguely as “during this [the third] month” (*Jub.* 6:11, 17; 14:20) and “in the third month, in the middle of the month” (*Jub.* 15:1; 16:13). The most explicit dating of the festival acknowledges the fifteenth only indirectly. Making his way to Egypt, Jacob sets out from Hebron “on the first of the third month;” arrives at the well of the oath “on the seventh of the month;” indecisive about descending to Egypt, he remains there “for seven days” in the hope of having a vision; he celebrates the harvest festival; and “on the sixteenth,” the Lord appears to him (*Jub.* 44:1, 3–5).

17 The phrase תורה ותעודה (or a variant thereof) is partially visible and/or reconstructed in 4Q216 I, 11 (= *Jub.* 1:4) and in 4Q216 IV, 4 (= *Jub.* 1:26). Cana Werman suggests that it also should be reconstructed in 4Q216 II, 4–5 (= *Jub.* 1:8) (“Te’udah: On the Meaning of the Term,” in *Fifty Years of Dead Sea Scrolls Research: Studies in Memory of Jacob Licht* [eds. G. Brin and B. Nitzan; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2001], 240–41) (Hebrew).

For the various scholarly understandings of the phrase, see Brooke, “Exegetical Strategies,” 50–53; VanderKam, “Studies on the Prologue,” 269–73; Cana Werman, “The תעודה and the תורה” Engraved on the Tablets,” *DSD* 9 (2002): 75–103; trans. repr. from *Tarbiz* 68 [1999]: 473–92 [Hebrew]; Menahem Kister, “Two Formulae in the *Book of Jubilees*,” *Tarbiz* 70 (2001): 294–300 (Hebrew); and the discussion in Michael Segal, *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology* (JSJSup 117; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2007), 282–316.

18 Cf. Isa 29:11–12; 30:8.

19 On Deuteronomy 31 and *Jub.* 1:7–8, see Brooke, “Exegetical Strategies,” 49–51 and VanderKam, “Studies on the Prologue,” 267.

the *Jubilees*-created scenario is the command to “write these words” (כתב לך את) (הדברים האלה) that God issues to Moses on Mt. Sinai in Exod 34:27.

The temporal context of the passage—at the beginning of Moses’s second stay of forty days and nights on Mt. Sinai—does not suit the *Jubilees* setting. Substantively, however, Exodus 34 offers both a Mt. Sinai scene in which God issues an explicit command that Moses write “these words,” a scenario that is absent from Exodus 24,²⁰ and also an exegetical invitation to recontextualize that command. The invitation arises from a lack of clarity relative to what is to be written and who does the writing. The second half of Exod 34:27—כי על פי הדברים האלה—כרתו אתך ברית ואת ישראל הנה אנכי כרת ברית (Exod 34:10–26). On the other hand, the account that follows in Exod 34:28 states that Moses (the unnamed, but implied subject) “wrote down on the tablets the terms of the covenant, the Ten Commandments” (ויכתב על הלוחות את דברי הברית עשרת הדברים).²¹ That presentation of events, however, is out of sync with God’s instructions to Moses at the beginning of the chapter—Moses is to carve a second set of tablets upon which God would write “the words” (i. e., commandments) that were on the first tablets that Moses had broken (ויאמר ה' אל משה פסל לך שני לוחות כראשונים וכתבתי על הלוחות את) (הדברים אשר היו על הלוחות הראשונים אשר שברת) (Exod 34:1).²²

Adopting the motif of God commanding Moses to write, the author of *Jubilees* places the command in an imagined scenario that continues the narrative of Exodus 24 once Moses has entered the cloud and begun his (first and only in *Jubilees*) stay of forty days and nights on Mt. Sinai. The new context allows neither of the reference points set forth for the command in Exodus 34. The substance of what Moses is to write cannot be the body of legislation that grounds the covenant (Exodus 21–23 paralleling Exod 34:10–26),²³ for Moses had already written down those rules and had read “the book of the covenant” at a cer-

20 In Exodus 24 there is no divine command to write. Moses repeats “all the words of the Lord and all the rules” (את כל דברי ה' ואת כל המשפטים) to the people (Exod 24:3) and writes down “all the words of the Lord” (את כל דברי ה') (Exod 24:4), presumably in the book of the covenant that he subsequently reads aloud in the covenant ratification ceremony (Exod 24:7).

21 That Moses is the subject is evident from the first half of the verse—ויהי עם ה' ארבעים יום—and in LXX Exod 34:28a Moses is identified by name. וארבעים לילה לחם לא אכל ומים לא שתה.

22 In the Exodus account of the Sinai revelation and in Moses’ recollection of events in Deuteronomy, God inscribes the first set of tablets (Exod 24:12; 31:18; Deut 9:10). In Deuteronomy God (as he indicates in Exod 34:1) also inscribes the second set of tablets (Deut 10:2, 4).

23 The accounts in Exodus 24 and 34 exhibit a certain structural parallel. In Exodus 24 Moses recites “all the words of the Lord and all the rules” (את כל דברי ה' ואת כל המשפטים) and writes all the words of the Lord (את כל דברי ה') (Exod 24:3–4), seemingly, a reference to the legislation in Exodus 21–23 that begins ואלה המשפטים. (See Ramban on Exod 24:1). In Exodus 34 God instructs Moses “to write these words” that constitute the basis for the covenant (כתב לך את הדברים) (האלה כי על פי הדברים האלה כרתו אתך ברית ואת ישראל הנה אנכי כרת ברית) (Exod 34:27) seemingly a reference to the legislation in Exod 34:10–26 that is introduced by ואתך ברית.

emony (Exod 24:3–4, 7) that took place, according to the *Jubilees* chronology, the day before Moses ascended the mountain. Similarly, the command would not refer to writing the Ten Commandments on the tablets, for God had summoned Moses to the mountain to get the tablets that God himself had already inscribed (*Jub.* 1:1 citing Exod 24:12).

Freed from the restrictions of scriptural context, the command is transformed into a broad directive to write “all the words” or “all these words” that God conveys to Moses on the mountain (*Jub.* 1:5, 7, 26).²⁴ Its spectrum broadened, the command references the prophecy of Israel’s future apostasy that God reveals at the beginning of Moses’s sojourn on the mountain (“that I am telling you today”) (*Jub.* 1:7), the writing of a book that demonstrates God’s faithfulness to future generations (*Jub.* 1:5–6), and the revelation of “what is first and what is last and what is to come during the divisions of time which are in the law and which are in the testimony...” (*Jub.* 1:26)—in essence, the *Book of Jubilees*.

God does not convey the revelation that is *Jubilees* to Moses directly. Instead, He instructs the angel of the presence “who was going along in front of the Israelite camp” (*Jub.* 1:29 reflecting יהוה ישראל לפני מחנה ישראל in Exod 14:19)²⁵ to “dictate”²⁶ to Moses (starting) from the beginning of the creation until the time when my temple is built among them throughout the ages of eternity” (*Jub.* 1:27). The artifice of an angel dictation exploits another motif in the Exodus account of Moses on Mt. Sinai, specifically the conception of an angel embodying God’s authority (“my name is with him” [שמי בקרבן]) and epitomizing God’s voice (“listen to his voice and do everything that I say” [כי אם שמוע תשמע בקול ועשית כל אשר אדבר...])

24 The Hebrew of *Jub.* 1:5a, an adaptation of Moses’s words to the Israelites in Deut 32:46, is reconstructed in 4Q216 I, 12—לך לכל הדברים אשר אני מניח לך. The words כל הדברים האלה are partially visible in 4Q216 I, 17 (= *Jub.* 1:7) which VanderKam and Milik reconstruct as “a slightly altered” citation of Exod 34:27—[הדב] את [כל] הדברים האלה... [ואתה כתוב לך] את [כל] הדברים האלה. *Jub.* 1:26 is not preserved in the Hebrew; but the Ethiopic wording of the command is identical to that in *Jub.* 1:7, hence, a citation of Exod 34:27 modified by the addition of כל (“all”) perhaps reflecting the כל in Exod 24:4 (כל דברי ה’) and 24:8 (כתב משה את כל אשר אדבר... אשר כרת ה’ עמכם על).

25 The phrasing is drawn from Exod 14:19; but the Mt. Sinai context reflects the setting in Exod 23:20–23; cf. 32:34; 33:2.

In Exod 14:19 the narrator refers to “the angel of God” (מלאך האלהים); in Exod 23:23 and 32:34 God identifies him as “my angel” (מלאכי) and in Exod 23:20; 33:2 simply as “an angel” (מלאך). In *Jubilees* he is “the angel of the presence.” On the derivation of the title, see Saul M. Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands Served Him: Exegesis and the Naming of Angels in Ancient Judaism* (TSAJ 36; Tübingen: T. C. B. Mohr, 1993), 105–08; James VanderKam “The Angel of the Presence in the *Book of Jubilees*,” *DSD* 7 (2000): 382–84; but also note Brooke’s comments in “Exegetical Strategies,” 53.

26 The Ethiopic translator confuses the *kal* (“write”) and *hiph’il* (“dictate”) forms of the Hebrew כתב. On הכתיב in *Jub.* 1:27, see 4Q216 IV, 6 and Brooke, “Exegetical Strategies,” 42. On a similar confusion in the Ethiopic of *Jub.* 30:21; 50:6, 13, see James VanderKam, “The Putative Author of *Jubilees*,” *JSS* 26 (1981): 213–17.

(Exod 23:21–22). In Exodus God sends an angel empowered with those attributes to protect and guide the Israelites from Mt. Sinai to successful conquest of the land (Exod 23:20–23; cf. Exod 32:34; 33:2). In *Jubilees* the attributes are translated, indeed literally so, into a narrator role authorized by God.²⁷ God commands the angel of the presence to dictate to Moses “from the beginning of the creation...” and the angel takes the tablets “which told of the divisions of the years” (*Jub.* 1:27, 29)²⁸ and begins the narration that forms the body of the *Book of Jubilees*. Combined with the adoption of the Moses on Mt. Sinai scenario, the use of the angel as a divine “spokesperson” lends an authority to the narration that is achieved through the strategy of first person divine voicing of legal material in the Temple Scroll.²⁹ In the case of *Jubilees* that authority extends to narrative as well as to law.³⁰

The Moses-on-Mt. Sinai scenario developed in the introductory frame remains the constant present time throughout the angel narration. Speaking in that present time, the angel recalls a Genesis-Exodus past in which he participated as an actor and reveals what is written about that past on the tablets that tell of the divisions of time in the law and testimony.³¹ His account extends from Creation (Genesis 1) through the end of Moses’s first forty days and nights on Mt. Sinai (Exodus 31) and encompasses transmission of “the book of the first law” that the angel had transcribed for Moses (*Jub.* 6:22; cf. 30:12).³²

27 On angels as the mediator of the revelations on Sinai, see Hindy Najman, “Angels at Sinai: Exegesis, Theology, and Interpretive Authority,” *DSD* 7 (2000): 313–33.

28 God’s directive to the angel (*Jub.* 1:27–28) and the description of the angel taking up the tablets that told of “the divisions of the years” (*Jub.* 1:29) echo the language and motifs in God’s command to Moses to write “all these words...” in *Jub.* 1:26.

29 In the Temple Scroll, the divine voicing elevates the redaction over the scriptural text (Deuteronomy) that is voiced by Moses (Bernard Levinson and Molly Zahn, “Revelation Regained: The Hermeneutics of \aleph and \beth in the Temple Scroll,” in *A More Perfect Torah: At the Intersection of Philology and Hermeneutics in Deuteronomy and the Temple Scroll* [Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2013], 14–15; revised repr. from *DSD* 9 [2002]). In *Jubilees* the angel mediates both the book of the first law (the Torah) that he writes and the subsequent revelation that he narrates. At the same time, in the course of his narration he alludes to divinely voiced commands within the scriptural narrative. On the use of such allusions in the *Jubilees* Pesah statute (*Jub.* 49:11, 14, 15), see Chapter 6.

30 See Hindy Najman, “Interpretation as Primordial Writing: Jubilees and Its Authority Conferring Strategies,” *JSJ* 30 (1999): 379–410.

31 The mixture of recollection and revelation indicates that the angel is not simply reading from the tablet that he takes (presumably in his hands [*Jub.* 1:29] or from God’s hand [*Jub.* 50:13; see Chapter 8]) when he begins his revelation. I see no basis for Segal’s reading that the angel brings the tablets to Moses before he commences his narration (Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*, 316).

32 The angel’s presentation of himself as having written the Torah (“the law”) (*Jub.* 6:22; 30:12) seems to contradict *Jub.* 1:1 (=4Q216 I, 6–7 reflecting Exod 24:12) where God presents

Periodically the angel pauses to issue a directive to Moses and on occasion he discloses the future.³³ But in its basic structure the angel narration is a retrospect that portrays the past through the present-time lens of an address to Moses on Mt. Sinai. Its Exodus-based content includes narrative treatments of the Egypt epoch—from the descent of the patriarchal family to the redemption of the Israelite nation at the Reed Sea; recontextualized fragments extracted from the Exodus chronicle of the Israelite journey from the wilderness of Shur to the *Jubilees* present-time of Moses on the mountain—and full blown treatments of Pesah and Sabbath legislation as well as allusions to Exodus legal material set in created Genesis-based contexts.

In contrast to studies that have examined facets of the Exodus material in the context of *Jubilees* source criticism and from the perspective of comparative textual analysis,³⁴ this study of the treatments of Exodus narrative and law in *Jubilees* is a literary one that focuses on the intersection of structure and content. Examining the relationship between the retrospective design and the exegesis, the analysis draws attention to manipulations of temporal and textual perspective

himself as having written the Torah and the commandments. Apparently, the angel not only speaks (Exod 23:22), but also writes in God's name.

On *Jub.* 6:22 and 30:12 as allusions to the writing of the Torah, see VanderKam, "Putative," 210, 214.

33 The most developed forecast is a portrait of the end-time that follows the account of Abraham's death and is introduced by a reflection on the extent of his lifespan (*Jubilees* 23). Throughout the retrospect there are brief allusions to that end-time (e.g., *Jub.* 4:26, 25:21; 50:2–5) and to future worship at the sanctuary in the Land (e.g., *Jub.* 3:13; 32:10; 49:16–21; 50:10–11).

34 For the source critical approach to the Exodus material in the angel narration, see Li-ora Ravid, "The Relationship of the Sabbath Laws in *Jubilees* 50:6–13 to the Rest of the Book," *Tarbiz* 69 (2000): 161–66 (Hebrew); Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 189–228; James Kugel, "On the Interpolations in the *Book of Jubilees*," *RevQ* 24 (2009): 224–25; 254–57 and *A Walk Through Jubilees. Studies in the Book of Jubilees and the World of Its Creation* (SJSup 156; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2012), esp. 32–37; 190–205; 271–73. For comparative textual analysis of Exodus narratives, see Jacques van Ruiten's essays, "Between Jacob's Death and Moses' Birth: The Intertextual Relationship Between Genesis 50:15–Exodus 1:14 and *Jubilees* 46:1–16," in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino Garcia Martínez* (ed. A. Hilhorst, E. Puech, and E. Tigchelaar; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2007), 467–489; "The Birth of Moses in Egypt According to the *Book of Jubilees* (*Jub.* 47:1–9)," in *The Wisdom of Egypt: Jewish, Early Christian, and Gnostic Essays in Honour of Gerard P. Luttikhuisen* (ed. A. Hilhorst and G. van Kooten; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2005), 42–65 and "Moses and His Parents: The Intertextual Relationship between Exodus 1:22–2:10 and *Jubilees* 47:1–9," in *Rewritten Bible Reconsidered: Proceedings of the Conference in Karkku, Finland, August 24–26, 2006* (Studies in Rewritten Bible 1; ed. A. Laato and J. van Ruiten; Winona Lake and Turku: Eisenbrauns and Abo Akademi University, 2008), 43–78.

Unfortunately, Lutz Doering's essay on "The Reception of the Book of Exodus in *The Book of Jubilees*" in *The Book of Exodus: Composition, Reception, and Interpretation* (ed. Thomas B. Dozeman, Craig A. Evans, Joel N. Lohr; VTSup 164; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2014), 485–510, became available only after this book had gone to press.

and attendant compositional strategies that transform Exodus narratives, facilitate hermeneutical elaborations of Exodus law, and produce cohesion in the revelation that is the *Book of Jubilees*.

I approach *Jubilees* as a unitary text that may reflect the work of a single author or the hand of a final editor. Such a stance does not reject other contemporary scholarship, but rather poses literary questions about the work as we find it in the corpus of Second Temple Jewish literature. Does the reworking of the Exodus narrative significantly alter the plain sense (*p'shat*) of the scriptural source text? How does the reworking relate to themes and motifs developed elsewhere in *Jubilees*? To what extent does the retrospective structure shape or inform the interpretation?

At certain points I deal with subjects involving *Jubilees* material that other scholars have highlighted as evidence of redaction and/or interpolation. Those subjects include the account of the exodus from Egypt (*Jubilees* 48); the Pesah legislation (*Jub.* 49:7–22) and the treatments of Sabbath law (*Jubilees* 2 and 50). In treating this material I engage the work of the other *Jubilees* scholars. The intent of the engagement is not to challenge the redaction approach per se, but to acknowledge the critical scholarship and offer an alternative perspective that suggests areas in which particular arguments for interpolation might be reconsidered or refined.

Each of the following chapters focuses on a particular facet of the treatment of Exodus in the angel narration. Chapters 2–5 examines a narrative block that reworks, recasts, and reconstructs the Egypt epoch set forth in Exodus 1–15:³⁵ (*Jubilees* 46–48; 49:1–6, 23). The retrospective stance of the narration establishes the literary grounds for presenting the Genesis-Exodus past as a single continuous story. Within that story the angel's account of the recent past (i. e., Exodus 1–15) is reconstructed to develop themes and motifs introduced in the narrative of the distant past (i. e., the reworked Genesis). Chapter 2 (“New Transitions and New Eras”) analyzes the *Jubilees* markers that chronicle the transitions from patriarchal family to nationhood, from freedom to enslavement, from enslaved to endangered nation as an example of such created continuity. Subsequent chapters explore other aspects of that continuity. Chapter 3 (“Moses: A Biography”) examines the omissions, additions, and manipulations of scriptural material that construct a portrait of the young Moses compatible with the ideal leader typology

35 Since the angel's account of the redemption at the Reed Sea draws from Exodus 15 (see Chapter 4), I include the poem within the narrative block.

Other modern scholars have presented *Jubilees* as a retelling or rewriting of the narratives in Genesis 1–Exodus 14 (George Nickelsburg, “The Bible Rewritten and Expanded,” in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* [ed. M. E. Stone; Essen: Van Gorcum, 1984], 97) or in Genesis 1 through Exodus 12:50 (Daniel J. Harrington, “The Bible Rewritten [Narratives],” in *Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters* [ed. R. A. Kraft and G. W. E. Nickelsburg; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986], 240).

developed in the personal histories of the antediluvian notables and the founding fathers of Israel. Chapter 4 (“Redemption Revealed”) analyzes the transformation of the expansive Exodus account of the liberation from Egypt into a revelation of what Moses does not know from his own experience—the collaboration of heavenly forces in the implementation of the redemption promised to Abraham at the Covenant Between the Pieces. The story of the past comes to a climax and the diachronic treatment of Exodus narrative ends with the redemption from Egypt. Intersecting that story, a created account of the Israelites celebrating the beginning of a festival prefaces the angel’s presentation of Pesah legislation. Chapter 5 (“Pesah and Maṣṣot”) examines that Pesah-Maṣṣot celebration as conjoined facets of an ancient festival initiated by Abraham after the Akedah.

In the course of his narrative of the past the angel relates to several facets of Exodus law. Oblique allusions to Exodus commands are placed in created expansions of Genesis-based narratives where they highlight the antiquity of a phenomenon and/or demonstrate the piety of an antediluvian or founding father who adheres to a particular practice. The sanctification of the descendants of Jacob is associated with the sanctification of the Sabbath at the time of creation (*Jub.* 2:19–21, 23–24 reflecting *Exod* 31:13–17). On the morning of day that he departs from the Garden of Eden, “the holiest (place) in the entire earth” (*Jub.* 3:12), Adam burns incense “as a pleasing fragrance—frankincense, galbanum, stacte, and aromatic spices” (*Jub.* 3:27 reflecting *Exod* 30:34; see also *Jub.* 16:24). In his account of the covenant with Noah, the angel instructs Moses to command the Israelites to commemorate “the festival of oaths³⁶ and...the festival of first fruits” whose double name reflects its two-fold nature (*Jub.* 6:20–21 alluding to *והג שבעת תעשה לך בכורי קציר חטים* in *Exod* 34:22). Each of the patriarchs celebrates a harvest festival described with terminology unique to Exodus. Abraham celebrates “the festival of the first fruits of the wheat harvest” (*Jub.* 15:1 reflecting *והג שבעת תעשה לך בכורי קציר חטים* in *Exod* 34:22); Isaac and Ishmael visit their father to celebrate “the festival of weeks [oaths] (this is the festival of the first fruits of the harvest)” (*Jub.* 22:1 reflecting *והג שבעת תעשה לך בכורי קציר חטים* in *Exod* 34:22); and Jacob, on the way to Egypt because of the famine, celebrates “the harvest festival—the first fruits of the grain—with old grain” (*Jub.* 44:4 reflecting *והג הקציר חטים* in *Exod* 23:16 and *בכורי חטים* in *Exod* 34:22).³⁷

36 My translation based on the context that suggests that the unpointed *שבעת* in *Exod* 34:22 be read *shebu’ot*.

37 Allusion to a legal passage in Exodus may also be intended in a number of other created narratives; but the point of reference is not certain. The instructions regarding washing that Abraham gives to Isaac—to wash his body before making an offering, and to wash his hands and feet before and again after making the offering on the altar (*Jub.* 21:16)—may involve a blending of the practices described in *Exod* 30:19 and *Lev* 16:4, 24 or simply indicate the practice in Second Temple times. The directive in Abraham’s final testament to all his children and grandchildren—“Do not make for yourselves gods...Do not worship them or bow to

The primary attention, however, is given to two major blocks of Exodus legislation—the law relative to future commemorations of Pesah (Chapter 6 “The Pesah Statute”)³⁸ and the laws of the Sabbath (Chapter 7 “The Sabbath and Its Law”). Each treatment is grounded in a manipulation of textual time that has the angel revealing “the book of the first law” before he begins the dictation that is *Jubilees*. The presumption of such a timeframe permits laws conveyed in the present-time (i. e., the time of the angel discourse in *Jubilees*) to interpret and expand the earlier revealed legislation.³⁹ In the case of Pesah, allusive exegesis fuels the development of a full blown Pesah statute that is revealed to Moses not in Egypt, but in the present-time of the angel addressing him on Mt. Sinai. With the Sabbath, the manipulation of textual time supports a hermeneutical expansion of the basic Sabbath commandment in Exod 20:8–10 that is split in the angelic presentation, with one part in a Genesis-based context and the other in an Exodus-based one. Chapter 8 (“Closures”) focuses on the treatments of post-Egypt material (Exod 15:22–19:1) that is contextually and/or temporally rearranged to contexts that reorient significance and alter meaning. As its title implies, the chapter is structured around the theme of endings and explores the meetings of endings and beginnings within the retrospect that constitutes the body of the *Book of Jubilees*.

them” (*Jub.* 20:8)—could be alluding to the proscription in Exod 20:4–5 or in Deut 5:8–9. Similarly, the motif of respecting parents developed in the contrasting portraits of Esau and Jacob (*Jub.* 28:18–20; 35:10–13) could reflect the Decalogue command in Exod 20:12 or in Deut 5:16.

38 Chapters 5 and 6 reconsider and revise arguments presented in articles published at an early point in my study of the Pesah/Maṣṣot material in *Jubilees*—“The Use of Bible in *Jubilees* 49: The Time and Date of the Pesah Celebration,” *Meghillot: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls* 5–6 (2007): 81–100 and “The Festivals of Pesah and Maṣṣot in the Book of Jubilees,” in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees* (ed. G. Boccaccini and G. Ibba; Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2009), 309–22.

39 The manipulation of textual time results in a hermeneutical construct that is analogous to the phenomenon that engages contemporary scholars who explore rewriting as an aspect of the compositional history of the Pentateuch. In the examination of *Jubilees* interpretation of Exodus law (particularly in its reworking of Pesah legislation), I take note of some similarities in strategy; but my primary focus is on the *Jubilees* reworking that acknowledges neither documents nor seams within the Pentateuch.

CHAPTER TWO

NEW TRANSITIONS AND NEW ERAS

One usually associates the issue of periodization with modern historiography. Historians disagree about the delineation of eras and the transitions that separate them, dispute the time-frames and markers that signify the end of one period and the beginning of another, and identify different figures as standing metaphorically with one foot in the past and the other in the future. Scriptural narratives and their interpretations can scarcely be considered historiography. But the concept of periodization and the kinds of questions it provokes provide a useful conceptual tool for examining the reworking of Exodus 1 in the *Jubilees* angel narration.¹ Exodus 1 encompasses three major transitions—from patriarchal family to nationhood, from national freedom to slavery, and from enslavement to an escalation of oppression that anticipates the birth of Moses. Describing those transitions to Moses, the angel narrator of *Jubilees* changes the markers that delineate the shifts between the eras, reorients perspective, and develops a chronology that supports a new periodization (*Jubilees* 46).²

From Patriarchal Family to Israelite Nation

Exodus 1 opens with a compact summary that tracks the transition from patriarchal to Israelite history.

(1) These are the names of the sons of Israel who came to Egypt with Jacob, each coming with his household: (2) Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah; (3) Issachar, Zebulun, and Benjamin; (4) Dan, and Naphtali, Gad and Asher. (5) The total number of persons that were of Jacob's issue came to seventy, Joseph being already in Egypt. (6) Joseph died, and all his brothers, and all that generation. (7) But the Israelites were fertile and prolific; they multiplied and increased very greatly, so that the land was filled with them (Exod 1:1–7).³

1 On periodization, see Lawrence Besserman, ed., *The Challenge of Periodization: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996) and William A. Green, "Periodizing World History," *History and Theory* 34.2 (May 1995): 99–111.

2 The analysis of *Jubilees* 46 that follows is a reworking and expansion of my argument in "Burying the Fathers: Exegetical Strategies and Source Traditions in *Jubilees* 46," in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran* (ed. E. G. Chazon, D. Dimant, R. Clements; STDJ 58; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2005), 135–52.

3 Unless otherwise indicated, all biblical quotations are from the JPS *Hebrew-English Tanakh* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1999).