The Subversion of the Apocalypses in the Book of Jubilees

Todd R. Hanneken

In spite of some scholars' inclination to include the book of Jubilees as another witness to "Enochic Judaism," the relationship of Jubilees to the apocalyptic writings and events surrounding the Maccabean revolt has never been adequately clarified. This book builds on scholarship on genre to establish a clear pattern among the ways Jubilees resembles and differs from other apocalypses. Jubilees matches the apocalypses of its day in overall structure and literary morphology. Jubilees also uses the literary genre to raise the issues typical of the apocalypses—including revelation, angels and demons, judgment, and eschatology—but rejects what the apocalypses typically say about those issues, subverting reader expectations with a corrected view. In addition to the main argument concerning Jubilees, this volume's survey of what is fundamentally apocalyptic about apocalyptic literature advances the understanding of early Jewish apocalyptic literature and, in turn, of later apocalypses and comparable perspectives, including those of Paul and the Qumran sectarians.

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PREFACE

The core idea of this book came together remarkably quickly as a seminar paper for James VanderKam's "Jubilees" seminar in the spring of 2005. Especially as I look back, I see how many people helped me leading up to that whirlwind of research and writing and in the years of development and revision since. My first course in biblical literature as an undergraduate, "The Song of Songs," with Michael Fishbane, started me in the direction of paying attention to nuance and reshaping in ancient literature. Meanwhile, a course on the sociology of Second Temple Judaism with John Collins laid the groundwork of my understanding of apocalyptic literature, thought, and movements. I wish I could remember more frequently where I learned something, but when a characterization of apocalyptic thought comes into my head with an Irish accent, I know where I first heard it.

My interest in early interpretation flourished with respect to Jubilees in several courses with my master's level adviser, James Kugel. His seminar on Pseudo-Philo provided my first entry into the diversity and rivalry of eschatological thought, particularly messianic biblical interpretation. This interest developed in a course on the Dead Sea Scrolls with Hanan Eshel, חנן אשל, who continued to guide me in the following years and whom I miss greatly.

I came to Notre Dame for doctoral work with interests in the diversity of eschatological thought and the reuse of scriptural authority. There seemed to be no end to courses related to eschatology in various periods, through twentieth-century systematic theology as taught by Mary Doak. Eugene Ulrich and Hindy Najman shaped my appreciation of pluriformity and development in scriptural authority. Two courses in particular laid the groundwork for the present project. First, in Gary Anderson's "Leviticus" seminar I paid special attention to the covenant curses in Leviticus (and their relationship to Deuteronomy), which prepared me to contrast covenant curses with the typically apocalyptic "final woes." Second, James

VanderKam's "Daniel" seminar pressed me to think about the relationship between the court tales and apocalypses in Daniel, particularly the ideas and literary genre of chapters 2 and 7, as well as the penitential prayer recontextualized in Dan 9. With an interest in eschatology, apocalypses, and interpretation I started exploring a paper topic for VanderKam's "Jubilees" seminar by reading through his bibliography on Jubilees. One entry jumped off the page, "Kugel, 'The Jubilees Apocalypse.'"

I had not been thinking of Jubilees as an apocalypse. I immediately turned to Jub. 23 with an eye to the ways in which the chapter is and is not like the apocalypses. From the beginning of the chapter I noticed that "snow, frost, stomach aches" sounded more like a typical day in March than final woes, although it may have helped that I was in South Bend rather than San Antonio. I would have been content to focus on one verse, but every verse in that chapter stood out as sounding like an apocalypse, with a change in meaning. The seminar paper focused on Jub. 23. I am indebted to VanderKam for suggesting that the paper could develop into a dissertation.

I started by learning Ethiopic and returning to the early apocalypses and the rest of Jubilees. I tested whether my view of Jub. 23 held for other chapters and found that the tension appeared in several structurally significant chapters and in smaller references throughout the book. I investigated scholarship on the genre of the apocalypses and found many useful tools, but never an adequate treatment of Jubilees. I worked on the historical context of Jubilees, particularly comparison with 1 Maccabees, 2 Maccabees, Josephus, and what we know about the high priesthood from 175 to 150 B.C.E. Over my remaining three years at Notre Dame the committee for my candidacy exams and dissertation was tremendously supportive and challenging in helpful ways. I am grateful to James VanderKam, Eugene Ulrich, Gary Anderson, and Gregory Sterling. I am also grateful for the intellectually stimulating environment of my peers, especially Rhodora Beaton, D. Andrew Teeter, Molly Zahn, and J. Wesley Foreman. I was fortunate enough to have the time and resources to focus on my work and complete the basic content of the dissertation in the summer 2007 and defend it in 2008. The dissertation, "The Book of Jubilees Among the Apocalypses," is freely available online from the University of Notre Dame library.

The present work is significantly reworked from the dissertation, based on much helpful feedback and additional research. The present first and last chapters are new, drawing from chapters 1, 2, 3, and 7 from the

dissertation. The present chapters 2–4 depend on the dissertation chapters 4–6 for the basic points, with changes more in the conclusions. Since the dissertation, I was aided by many readers who challenged me to refine my explanation of discord between Jubilees and the typical apocalypses of its day. Among these, I am especially grateful to several rounds of feedback from John Collins and Annette Reed and ongoing conversation with James VanderKam. In particular, I previously focused on a particular understanding of the term “irony” but have since decided that the term has too many imprecise connotations, many of which do not apply to Jubilees. Like the present work, the dissertation focused on the layers of literature and ideas as independent and logically prior to reconstructions of ideological movements. The dissertation used the term “apocalyptic worldview” to mean a cluster of ideas in which ideas of the apocalypses overlap in ways implicit in the literary genre. I have since decided that the term “worldview” too much connotes a complete system of ideology held by a person or movement and is not appropriate for the cluster of ideas typical of the apocalypses. I do not claim to have found the perfect word in “subversion” to describe the use of the apocalyptic genre in Jubilees. Simpler terms would not have conveyed the complexity of what Jubilees does with the genre. I have also tried to avoid jargon that relies too much on one theory of genre, although my thinking about genre has grown significantly since the dissertation. The present work is a study of Jubilees, first and foremost. I modestly hope that it also makes a contribution to the discussion of authorship and authority in antiquity and the use of genre in early Jewish literature, especially the apocalypses.

ABBREVIATIONS

ANTZ	Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Theologie und Zeitgeschichte
ArBib	The Aramaic Bible
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensium
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library</i>
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BO	Biblica et Orientalia
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CEJL	Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature
ConBNT	Coniectanea biblica New Testament Series
<i>CurBR</i>	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
<i>DSD</i>	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
<i>EDSS</i>	<i>Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls</i> . Edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam. 2 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<i>IDBSup</i>	<i>The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible: Supplementary Volume</i> . Edited by Keith R. Crim. Nashville: Abingdon, 1976.
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
<i>JSJSup</i>	Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplement Series
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>

JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JTC</i>	<i>Journal for Theology and the Church</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>Neot</i>	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
OTL	Old Testament Library
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SemeiaSt	Semeia Studies
<i>SJT</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StPB	Studia post-biblica
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
<i>TRu</i>	<i>Theologische Rundschau</i>
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

INTRODUCTION

The book of Jubilees was written at a crossroads in Jewish history. In the wake of the Maccabean revolt, the most fundamental issues of Jewish identity, practice, and authority were fiercely debated. Over time, multiple positions emerged, none of which matched the claims of Jubilees perfectly. Those who did accept the authority of Jubilees were at the margins of the Jewish, and later Christian, intellectual worlds. Thanks mostly to the church of Ethiopia and the caves at Qumran, the book was preserved remarkably well for modern scholars. Since the nineteenth century, and increasingly in recent years, Jubilees has been a rich resource for many areas of inquiry in early Judaism. The book is unrivaled for length and coherence in the period. For example, Jubilees is almost twice the length of Sirach¹ and seems to have undergone less revision since the original composition. Among those many pages, scholars consistently find something of interest to almost any inquiry.

Among the wealth of information, Jubilees sometimes sends mixed signals. Among the diversity of scholarly perspectives, confusion sometimes results. One area of confusion was identified early in the modern study of Jubilees and remains unresolved: the relationship of Jubilees to contemporary apocalypses such as 1 Enoch and Daniel. Although some scholars do not hesitate to put Jubilees and 1 Enoch in the same category, and others study Jubilees at length without observing anything apocalyptic about it, most scholars are aware of the tenuous connection. At times Jubilees sounds very much like an apocalypse, and at other times not at all. Points of similarity and difference are often noted, but without a criti-

1. The comparison is based on the word count of James C. VanderKam's translation of Jubilees (48,337 words; see *The Book of Jubilees* [2 vols.; CSCO 510–511; Leuven: Peeters, 1989], vol. 2) and the NRSV translation of Sirach (without the prologue, 25,701 words).

cal standard for prioritizing one feature over another. In order to move forward, unexamined assumptions need to be examined, definitions need to be clarified, and layers of abstraction distinguished. Fortunately, the essential tools have already been established. This study will apply those tools to Jubilees, with surprising results. Out of the confusion emerges a clear and consistent pattern.

The similarities between Jubilees and the apocalypses lie at the level of the literary genre. Jubilees meets every morphological requirement of the genre as defined by *Semeia* 14.² The differences lie at the level of ideas, the claims made about the elements of the morphology. Jubilees radically subverts the most basic claims made by the apocalypses. The use of the literary genre raises the issues, but Jubilees rejects the typical positions on those issues. This can be seen in the three major parts of the definition of the literary genre: transcendence on the spatial axis, transcendence on the temporal axis, and the revelatory framework.

Every apocalypse, by definition, deals with transcendence on the spatial axis, such as invisible agents, instruments, and places of judgment. Jubilees talks about demons, sinful watchers, angelic princes of nations, and a cosmic figure evocative of Satan. Typically, apocalypses raise these issues because they explain the experience of evil and suffering in the visible world.³ These agents temporarily interfere with the expected relationship between God and the righteous. In Jubilees they have no relevance for the righteous. Ancient sin has no enduring effects for Israel. Demons and angelic princes afflict other nations, but Israel has full immunity as long as it stays away from Gentiles.

Similarly, every apocalypse deals with transcendence on the temporal axis. They address themes such as protology, eschatology, or the structure and meaning of history. They often include particular motifs such as final woes, a day of judgment, and a new creation. Jubilees consistently deals with protology and the structure and meaning of history. Chapter 23 deals with eschatology most explicitly, and essential language and motifs of judgment and new creation pervade the book. Typically, the transcendent view of the temporal axis conveys the idea that the present moment

2. John J. Collins, "Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre," *Semeia* 14 (1979): 1–19. The present study follows the basic approach to morphological definition of the literary genre "apocalypse" laid out in *Semeia* 14. Clarifications, refinements, and challenges to the definition and the basic approach to genre are discussed below in §1.2.

3. See note 73 below for surveys of the ideas typical of the apocalypses.

is a surge of injustice unlike other moments in history (except, perhaps, the wickedness before the flood). The present will soon be resolved by radical divine intervention, cosmic judgment, and the beginning of a new world order that replaces structures of the status quo such as the temple, priesthood, social boundaries, and law. In Jubilees those structures of the status quo were intended from the beginning of creation and will not be revised in a new creation. Suffering is never the suspension of justice but only occurs as just punishment from God. Judgment is never delayed. The turning point is not divine intervention but human repentance. More radically, the turning point has already occurred.

Finally, every apocalypse, by definition, narrates the revelation of hidden things through otherworldly beings to a human recipient. Jubilees narrates precisely the time, place, divine orders, heavenly source, angelic dictation, and Mosaic transcription of the book. This occurs in detail in the first chapter, with frequent reminders throughout the book. Typically the revelatory framework conveys the idea that, to understand the present world, one needs revelation that is otherwise unknown (new) and esoteric or elite (requires wisdom to decipher). Jubilees fills the revelatory framework with the already-familiar, public information of Israel's received scriptures. Not only does Jubilees avoid recourse to cryptic codes and mantic revelation; it purges any such suggestion from its retelling of Genesis. The heavenly tablets were already made public and explained to all of Israel at Sinai.

Jubilees includes all the basic elements of the literary genre, more than enough to raise the inherent issues. On each issue Jubilees says the opposite of what the apocalypses typically say. Jubilees uses the literary genre of the apocalypses to subvert the typical claims of the apocalypses. The rest of this chapter will elaborate the preceding summary of the problem of Jubilees' relationship to the apocalypses, the method of the proposed solution, and a selection of summary examples. The second, third, and fourth chapters will compare Jubilees to early apocalypses in greater detail, following the three major parts of the morphological definition of the literary genre. Finally, the fifth chapter will venture to explain the subversion in literary, historical, and cultural context.

1.1. THE PROBLEM

The place of Jubilees among the apocalypses has been observed as complex but not explained. The best of what has been said thus far about Jubilees in relationship to the apocalypses is that it is a complex work with mixed

affinities. On a good day, similarities and differences are noted and kept separate. August Dillmann's assessment, in the first modern study of Jubilees, is virtually unsurpassed to this day.⁴

Both on account of its form, and also in as much as the book in several places refers to the distant, even messianic, future, it can indeed be placed with the numerous apocalyptic compositions of the last centuries before and the first after Christ; and the second name of the book, the Apocalypse of Moses, is explicable on account of this. On the other hand, however, it is, by its contents and whole nature, so different from the books which we now call apocalypses that we cannot easily give it that title.

The work of improving this assessment will be largely a matter of clarifying the contrast between "form" and "contents." The ambivalence is articulated more precisely by more recent scholars. For example, John Collins calls Jubilees a "borderline case for the apocalyptic genre," in that the generic framework is that of an apocalypse, but most of the contents differ in their "close reliance on the biblical narrative and halakic interests."⁵ Attempts to explain the pattern of similarities and differences, or claim one as essential and the other as superfluous, have fallen short. Two major patterns recur. First, studies that set out to trace social or intellectual history in terms of the groups that produced texts like 1 Enoch, Jubilees, and the sectarian literature from Qumran tend to find more similarities and ignore or deemphasize the differences. Second, studies that focus on the literary study of Jubilees tend to ignore the apocalyptic elements or demote them to a secondary status. It would be easy to pile up untenable statements from scholars, especially from works that attempt to trace the history of a motif over many centuries. The problem is not so much that a prior study is incorrect but rather that there simply has never been a thorough examination of the relationship of Jubilees to the apocalypses of its day in terms of literary genre. In the absence of a clear explanation, some scholars have over- or underestimated the extent to which Jubilees fits among the apocalypses. Others intuit vaguely that Jubilees resembles the apocalypses in some ways or in some parts but cannot really be counted as a prime example of an apocalypse.

4. August Dillmann, "Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die kleine Genesis," *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft* 2–3 (1850–1851): 74, my translation.

5. John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 83.

1.1.1. OVERESTIMATING THE SIMILARITY TO THE APOCALYPSES

A complete understanding of Jubilees requires understanding it in its cultural context. In the case of Jubilees, our knowledge of the book is purely literary, and our knowledge of the cultural context is primarily literary. Consequently, we must understand the literature first and build models for social and intellectual history on this foundation. Hasty recourse to social models leads either to circular reasoning, in which the social model explains the text on which the model was built in the first place, or to categories that are far too general to be useful. For example, we may indeed say the same circle produced 1 Enoch and Jubilees if we define the circle as religiously zealous intellectuals grounded in the traditions of Judaism and opposed to Hellenistic assimilation and Antiochus Epiphanes. Casual assertions that 1 Enoch and Jubilees promote the same calendar need to be reexamined,⁶ but one may still find some general common ground here as well. Such a circle, however, is too large to be adequate in explicating any one text. Many contradictory ideas could exist in such a circle. The task of defining more specific circles involves determining the importance of cultural symbols and distinguishing the ideas around which groups formed. In the case of Jubilees, the foundational layers of abstraction have not been properly understood. We must understand the literary genre and the ideas conveyed thereby. Once we understand *how* Jubilees uses the literary genre typical of Enochic literature, the proposal of a common circle of composition becomes unlikely.

In several otherwise helpful studies, haste to explain Jubilees with recourse to social models has led to overestimating or overvaluing the common elements between Jubilees and the apocalypses. Friedemann Schubert, for example, enjoyed the benefit of building on the foundations of Koch, Hanson, Collins, Stegemann, and others responsible for the essential tools used in this study, and he observed some important

6. Jonathan Ben-Dov, "Tradition and Innovation in the Calendar of Jubilees," in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees* (ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 276–93. For more ambitious theories that bring out problems and variations in the 364-day year calendars, see Leora Ravid, "The Book of Jubilees and Its Calendar—A Reexamination," *DSD* 10 (2003): 371–94; Gabriele Boccaccini, "The Solar Calendars of Daniel and Enoch," in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception* (ed. John J. Collins, Peter W. Flint, and Cameron VanEpps; VT Sup 83; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 311–28.

differences thereby. In the end, however, Schubert relied on Hengel to place Jubilees on a line of tradition that includes 1 Enoch and Qumran sectarian literature.⁷ Michel Testuz also notes some key differences but still concludes that Jubilees comes from the same stream associated with the Damascus Document, other sectarian literature, and Josephus's description of the Essenes.⁸ Testuz exemplifies a common problem in characterizing parallels. Jubilees may have gone on to influence sectarian groups, but that does not mean that Jubilees was originally sectarian. Indeed, the views in Jubilees about the unity of Israel, the temple, and the priesthood oppose sectarianism, even if other positions such as a 364-day festival calendar later became distinctively sectarian.⁹

Paolo Sacchi includes Jubilees without qualification as an example of Enochic Judaism, taking Jubilees' use of traditions about Enoch and associated with Enoch as an endorsement of a figure who defined a distinct form of Judaism.¹⁰ Gabriele Boccaccini continues to place a high value on Enoch as a cultural symbol and views Jubilees as theologically grounded in Enochic Judaism, but he also recognizes differences substantial enough to call Jubilees a "rapprochement" with Zadokite/Mosaic Judaism.¹¹ Since the figure of Enoch is not a defining element of the literary genre, the pres-

7. Friedemann Schubert, *Tradition und Erneuerung: Studien zum Jubiläenbuch und seinem Trägerkreis* (Europäische Hochschulschriften 3, Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften 771; Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1998), 78–80, 263. Based on a 1996 dissertation at the University of Leipzig.

8. Michel Testuz, *Les idées religieuses du Livre des Jubilés* (Genève: Droz, 1960), 165, 179–95.

9. Martha Himmelfarb, *A Kingdom of Priests: Ancestry and Merit in Ancient Judaism* (Jewish Culture and Contexts; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 81; idem, "Jubilees and Sectarianism," in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. Gabriele Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 129–31.

10. Paolo Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History* (trans. William J. Short; JSPSup 20; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990); idem, "The Theology of Early Enochism and Apocalyptic: The Problem of the Relation between Form and Content of the Apocalypses; The Worldview of Apocalypses," *Henoch* 24 (2002): 80.

11. Gabriele Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways Between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 87–89; idem, "Qumran and the Enoch Groups: Revisiting the Enochic-Essene Hypothesis," in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Second Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2006), 45–47; idem, "From a Movement of Dissent to a Distinct Form of Judaism: The Heav-

ent study will defer consideration of the figure of Enoch until the concluding chapter on the cultural context. By then it will be clear that whatever intellectual circle may be defined by the inclusion of the figure of Enoch must be very broad.

Others have overestimated the connection between Jubilees and other apocalypses by placing emphasis on a “movement” or “spirit” of “apocalyptic.”¹² This is especially true of studies that predate or reject the distinction between the literary genre “apocalypse,” the typical “apocalyptic” ideas conveyed, and the religio-social phenomenon of “apocalypticism.”¹³ For most of the twentieth century, the dominant assumption was that “apocalyptic” was a coherent entity in which literature, ideas, and social structures were inextricably linked.¹⁴ Literary genre is the most objective level of abstraction available to us, and this level is precisely where Jubilees overlaps with the apocalypses. Consequently,

only Tablets in Jubilees as the Foundation of a Competing Halakah,” in Boccaccini and Ibba, *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah*, 193–210.

12. D. S. Russell exemplifies the reified view of “apocalyptic” with a single coherent “method and message.” Russell generally treats Jubilees as a witness to that method and message but also notes important ways in which Jubilees is exceptional (*The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic, 200 BC–AD 100* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1964), 269 n. 4. Christopher Rowland rejects the stratification of literary genre, ideas, and religio-social phenomenon and continues to use “apocalyptic” as a noun to refer to a “spirit” that includes Jubilees (*The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* [New York: Crossroad, 1982], 51–52).

13. See the following section for the development of these distinctions in the 1970s.

14. This tendency is largely a consequence of the influence of Hermann Gunkel and Martin Dibelius in developing form criticism. Gunkel did assert that formal features, ideology, and social location were intertwined, but he only asserted this with respect to small oral compositions, not long and complex literary works. Gunkel’s concept of *Gattung* is very different from genre. See Hermann Gunkel, “Jesaia 33, eine prophetische Liturgie: Ein Vortrag,” *ZAW* 42 (1924): 183; Martin Dibelius, “Zur Formgeschichte der Evangelien,” *TRu NS* 1 (1929): 187; Klaus Koch, *The Growth of the Biblical Tradition: The Form-Critical Method* (trans. S. M. Cupitt; New York: Scribner, 1969); Martin J. Buss, *Biblical Form Criticism in Its Context* (JSOTSup 274; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999); Erhard Blum, “Formgeschichte—A Misleading Category? Some Critical Remarks,” in *The Changing Face of Form Criticism for the Twenty-First Century* (ed. Ehud Ben Zvi and Marvin A. Sweeney; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 32–45. For a more complete discussion, see Todd R. Hanneken, “The Book of Jubilees among the Apocalypses,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 2008), 45–57.

the reified view of “apocalyptic” naturally led to an overestimation of the extent to which Jubilees fits. Furthermore, at a fundamental level, the use of a literary genre functions to generate reader expectations that typical literary forms will express typical ideas.¹⁵ The present work will argue that Jubilees subverts those expectations. Jubilees uses the genre to raise a set of issues and address the expected, typical positions on those issues. Jubilees then rejects or corrects the typical positions. The differences in ideas are radical enough that the ancient audience could have been expected to catch the subversion. Nevertheless, generic reader expectation may help explain how some modern readers have missed the differences.

1.1.2. UNDERESTIMATING THE SIMILARITY TO THE APOCALYPSES

The opposite problem, underestimating the significance of the apocalyptic genre in Jubilees, occurs more frequently in studies focused on Jubilees. Usually this takes the form of neglect to mention anything apocalyptic about Jubilees.¹⁶ One notable exception is Armin Lange’s study of allegorical dreams in Jubilees, which concludes that Jubilees cannot be called apocalyptic.¹⁷ This important observation will figure prominently in chapter 4 below, on the view of revelation. More points should be considered, and, more importantly, a distinction should be drawn between the level of

15. For more on how the use of literary genre generates reader expectations, see §5.2 below.

16. For example, Michael Segal’s thorough study of Jubilees includes a section on the genre of Jubilees but makes no mention of the apocalyptic genre and says of chapters 1, 23, and 50 (the beginning, middle, and end of the book) that they are “formally anomalous” (*The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology* [JSJSup 117; Leiden: Brill, 2007], 3–5). VanderKam discusses many individual points shared or not shared between Jubilees and the apocalypses but makes no pronouncements about the genre and the book as a whole (*The Book of Jubilees* [Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001]; idem, “The Angel Story in the Book of Jubilees,” in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* [ed. Esther G. Chazon, Avital Pinnick, and Michael E. Stone; STDJ 31; Leiden: Brill, 1999], 151–70; idem, “The Demons in the Book of Jubilees,” in *Die Dämonen: Die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt* [ed. Armin Lange, Hermann Lichtenberger, and Diethard Römheld; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003], 339–64).

17. Armin Lange, “Divinatorische Träume und Apokalyptik im Jubiläenbuch,” in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (ed. Matthias Albani, Jörg Frey, and Armin Lange; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 35.

literary genre and the level of ideas. Although Jubilees does depart from apocalyptic ideas about coded or esoteric revelation, Jubilees nonetheless uses the revelatory framework of the literary genre.

The major reason studies of Jubilees tend to neglect consideration of the apocalyptic literary genre is that most of the book uses other genres. The genre appears most clearly at key locations in the book (the beginning, middle, and end), and characteristic phrases and structures appear throughout the book (day of judgment, demons, angels, heavenly tablets, heavenly liturgy, righteous plant). However, by volume, most verses do not depend on the genre. It is worth being clear that, in discussing the genre “apocalypse” in Jubilees, we are not speaking exhaustively about literary genre in the book. Prototype theory will aid the articulation that Jubilees is not completely apocalyptic or the classic case of the literary genre. Indeed, Jubilees is not prototypical in at least two ways: it uses other literary genres, and it subverts the ideas typical of apocalypses. Nevertheless, it is widely accepted that literature cannot be expected to be exclusive in the use of genres. The small proportion of the genre in Jubilees may explain, but not justify, the neglect of its study.

Another tendency in literary studies of Jubilees does not directly relate to apocalyptic genre but testifies to a deeper observation about Jubilees, namely, that it sends mixed signals. Jubilees is a complex work, and much of that complexity is not yet understood. One recurring response to the complexity is to identify multiple authors or sources behind the book as we have it. It may not be a coincidence that Gene Davenport’s study of the eschatology of Jubilees led to the most ambitious attempt to divide Jubilees into layers of redaction.¹⁸ Since then many scholars have postulated either additions to an otherwise coherent composition¹⁹ or multiple

18. Gene L. Davenport, *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees* (StPB 20; Leiden: Brill, 1971). Although that study differs from the present study in fundamental ways, both attempt to explain the mixed signals Jubilees sends about the particularly apocalyptic issue of eschatology.

19. James L. Kugel identifies twenty-nine interpolations characterized by reference to heavenly tablets and chronological determinism based on a solar calendar (“On the Interpolations in the *Book of Jubilees*,” *RevQ* 24 [2009]: 215–72). Christoph Berner identifies Jub. 1:5–28 and 23:14–31 as additions intended to extend the scope of the work past the days of Moses, but distinguished by lack of concern for heptadic chronology (*Jahre, Jahrwochen und Jubiläen: Heptadische Geschichtskonzeptionen im antiken Judentum* [BZAW 363; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006], 239–48). Leora Ravid considers Jub. 50:6–13 an addition (“6–13 בספר היובלים נ,” *Tarbiz*

sources used by a final redactor.²⁰ The present study treats Jubilees as a coherent composition by a single author, such as authorship was in antiquity. It is valuable to recognize the complexity of the manner in which the author used authoritative traditions and attempted to reconcile traditions already in tension. It is also helpful to recognize rhetorical or stylistic seams in the composition. Of course, we can never know exactly all the oral or written sources available to the author, and we cannot rule out the possibility that two or more like-minded authors worked on the composition as we have it. The present work deals with the composition as we have it, regardless of the processes by which it came into existence. It is not the case that multiple authorship could explain the tension between apocalyptic literary morphology and nonapocalyptic ideas. The same phrases raise the issues and subvert the meanings. It is also worth noting that none of the source- or redaction-critical proposals has gained traction, and many have been refuted by argument and new evidence.²¹ None of the theories

69 [2000]: 161–66). Menahem Kister modestly suggests that Jub. 23:12 may begin an interpolation and later supports a version of Ravid's argument with modification ("לתולדות כת האסיים: עיונים בחזון החיות, ספר היובלים וברית דמשק," *Tarbiz* 56 [1986]: 6 n. 21; idem, "על שני מטבעות לשון בספר היובלים," *Tarbiz* 70 [2001]: 297 n. 47). Before Davenport, Michel Testuz identified 23:11–32 as an interpolation (*Les idées religieuses*, 40).

20. Michael Segal (*The Book of Jubilees*) has identified seams and tensions between different types of material in Jubilees (narrative, legal, and chronological) and argued that contradictions indicate multiple authorship. Cana Werman considers 23:9–15, 17–18, 25–30a, 31–32 to be an older source interpolated by the author ("ספר היובלים," *Meghillot* 2 [2004]: 43). Devorah Dimant perceives a contradiction that would indicate borrowing from a different source without attempting to reconcile contradictions ("The Biography of Enoch and the Books of Enoch," *VT* 33 [1983]: 21 n. 17). Ernest Wiesenbergs attempted to identify a chronological contradiction ("The Jubilee of Jubilees," *RevQ* 9 [1961–1962]: 3–40).

21. James C. VanderKam has consistently defended the coherence of the composition, particularly refuting the arguments of Segal, Ravid, Wiesenbergs, Testuz, and Davenport. See his "Review of Michael Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*," *JSP* 20 (2010): 154–57; idem, "Recent Scholarship in the Book of Jubilees," *CurBR* 6 (2008): 410–16; idem, "The End of the Matter? Jub. 50:6–13 and the Unity of the Book," in *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism* (ed. Lynn LiDonnici and Andrea Lieber; JSJSup 119; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 267–84; idem, "Studies in the Chronology of the Book of Jubilees," in *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature* (JSJSup 62; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 522–44; idem, "The Putative Author of the Book of Jubilees," *JSS* 26 (1981): 209–17. Lutz Doering rejected Ravid's argument; see "Jub 50:6–13 als Schlussabschnitt des Jubiläenbu-

have been supported by the considerable manuscript evidence. However complex the process of composition may have been, the book as we have it is remarkably coherent, especially relative to its own day and especially for a composition that claims to reconstruct the unified source of all the revealed traditions of Israel (the heavenly tablets).

1.2. THE SOLUTION

In order to explain the ways in which Jubilees is like and not like apocalypses of its day, it will be necessary to distinguish between three layers of abstraction: literary elements, ideas conveyed, and social context. A clear and established definition of the morphology of the genre (*Semeia* 14) will confirm that Jubilees uses apocalyptic literary elements and will also suggest categories for the issues inherently raised in the use of the genre. The distinction of layers is not an end in itself, and the identification of apocalyptic literary morphology in Jubilees does not resolve the larger question of genre. Genre is not only literary morphology but the complex relationship between the various layers at which communication can use and subvert expectations. Cognitive psychology will help explain the consequence of adopting one layer of what is typically apocalyptic while rejecting another. Jubilees uses apocalyptic literary elements to raise reader expectations about certain issues. Jubilees undermines superficial expectations with contrary claims. The subversion enhances the dramatic effect.

1.2.1. DISTINGUISH LAYERS OF ABSTRACTION: LITERARY MORPHOLOGY, TYPICAL IDEAS, AND SOCIAL CONTEXT

In the 1970s a whirlwind of scholarly effort attempted to bring order to the terminological and conceptual confusion in scholarship about “apocalyptic” (as a noun).²² Although there had been suggestions of stratifying literary

chs—Nachtrag aus Qumran oder ursprünglicher Bestandteil des Werks?” *RevQ* 20 79 (2002): 359–87. I offer a more elaborate discussion of the coherence of the composition and theories of multiplicity of authorship in Hanneken, “The Book of Jubilees among the Apocalypses,” 121–41.

22. Reviews of the history of scholarship can be found in Hanneken, “The Book of Jubilees among the Apocalypses,” 30–110. Scholarship up to 1947 is covered in Johann Michael Schmidt, *Die jüdische Apokalyptik* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1969).

features and ideas,²³ the reified view of “apocalyptic” as a monolith of literary form, ideas, social location, and social function remained dominant.²⁴ Klaus Koch is often credited with leading the push for systematic reevaluation of the study of “apocalyptic.”²⁵ Michael Stone²⁶ and Paul Hanson²⁷ established the need for distinguishing layers of abstraction, which led to Hellholm’s particularly thorough articulation of a hierarchy of layers of abstraction.²⁸ Hanson argued that distinct terms should be used for the type

Subsequent scholarship is reviewed in James Barr, “Jewish Apocalyptic in Recent Scholarly Study,” *BJRL* 58 (1975): 9–35; John J. Collins, “Genre, Ideology, and Social Movements in Jewish Apocalypticism,” in *Mysteries and Revelations: Apocalyptic Studies since the Uppsala Colloquium* (ed. John J. Collins and James H. Charlesworth; JSPSup 9; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 11–32; Lorenzo DiTommaso, “Apocalypses and Apocalypticism in Antiquity (Part I),” *CurBR* 5 (2007): 235–86; and idem, “Apocalypses and Apocalypticism in Antiquity (Part II),” *CurBR* 5 (2007): 367–432.

23. Attempts to stratify literary features and ideas were suggested as early as Schürer and Rowley (first published 1944) but did not take hold. See Emil Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1886); and H. H. Rowley, *The Relevance of Apocalyptic: A Study of Jewish and Christian Apocalypses from Daniel to the Revelation* (3rd ed.; Greenwood, N.C.: Attic, 1980), 51.

24. Exemplified by Russell, Vielhauer, and Schmithals: Russell, *Method and Message*; Philipp Vielhauer, “Apocalypses and Related Subjects,” in *New Testament Apocrypha* (ed. E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1965), 581–607; and Walter Schmithals, *The Apocalyptic Movement, Introduction and Interpretation* (trans. John E. Steely; Nashville: Abingdon, 1975).

25. Klaus Koch, *Ratlos vor der Apokalypik: Eine Streitschrift über ein vernachlässigtes Gebiet der Bibelwissenschaft und die schädlichen Auswirkungen auf Theologie und Philosophie* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1970); trans. as *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic: A Polemical Work on a Neglected Area of Biblical Studies and Its Damaging Effects on Theology and Philosophy* (trans. Margaret Kohl; Naperville, Ill.: Allenson, 1972).

26. Michael E. Stone, “Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature,” in *Magnalia Dei, the Mighty Acts of God: Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Memory of G. Ernest Wright* (ed. Werner E. Lemke, Patrick D. Miller, and Frank Moore Cross; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976), 414–52.

27. Paul D. Hanson, “Jewish Apocalyptic against Its Near Eastern Environment,” *RB* 78 (1971): 31–58; idem, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975); idem, “Apocalypse, Genre and Apocalypticism,” *IDBSup*, 27–34; idem, “Prolegomena to the Study of Jewish Apocalyptic,” in Lemke, Miller, and Cross, *Magnalia Dei*, 389–413.

28. David Hellholm, “The Problem of Apocalyptic Genre and the Apocalypse of John,” *Semeia* 36 (1986): 13–64. Collins has recently renewed the call for distinguishing a hierarchy of features at different levels of abstraction, taking the literary features as primary (“Epilogue: Genre Analysis and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 17 [2010]: 420, 428–30).

of literature (apocalypse), religious perspective (apocalyptic as an adjective), and religio-social phenomenon (apocalypticism).²⁹ Some scholars went as far as to call for a complete divorce between the three layers,³⁰ while others maintained, as does this study, that there is a relationship, though not a simple relationship,³¹ namely, that the type of literature expresses a cluster of typical ideas about the literary elements. The apocalypses can have variations within that cluster, they can have other ideas besides that cluster, and the ideas in that cluster can also be found in works that do not use the literary genre. Similarly, the literary morphology can suggest, but not determine, social function or social location, as discussed below.

As we shall see, additional controversy surrounds both privileging literary morphology for defining the genre and the morphological definition itself. First, there is also controversy about the very enterprise of using genres and distinguishing layers within them. The charge of anachronism builds on the fact that the term “apocalypse” is not widely used to identify a type of literature until the second century C.E., but there are many patterns in antiquity that were not named until later.³² Criticisms

29. Hanson, “Apocalypse, Genre and Apocalypticism,” 27–34. In effect, this was a claim that Herman Gunkel’s method of treating the three elements as inseparable in small oral units does not apply to large literary works, such as the apocalypses. See also Buss, *Biblical Form Criticism*; and Koch, *The Growth of the Biblical Tradition*.

30. Hartmut Stegemann reacts to attempts to define the genre in terms of ideas and goes further than *Semeia* 14 in restricting the genre to the formal feature of the revelatory framework. Stegemann does not deny, however, that the formal features imply certain ideas (“Die Bedeutung der Qumranfunde für die Erforschung der Apokalypstik,” in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12–17, 1979* [ed. David Hellholm; Tübingen: Mohr, 1983], 499–500). More radically, Jean Carmignac rejects an exclusive correspondence between a type of literature and a distinctive theology. He concludes that one cannot be defined in terms of the other (“Qu’est-ce que l’Apocalyptique: Son emploi à Qumrân,” *RevQ* 10 [1979]: 19; idem, “Description du phénomène de l’Apocalyptique dans l’Ancien Testament,” in Hellholm, *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World*, 164–65).

31. Lars Hartman, “Survey of the Problem of Apocalyptic Genre,” in Hellholm, *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World*, 334; Hellholm, “The Problem of Apocalyptic Genre,” 13–64; and Collins, “Genre, Ideology, and Social Movements,” 11–32.

32. Klaus Koch uses the example of “piel” as a grammatical concept known to speakers of ancient Hebrew long before it was named as such (*The Growth of the Biblical Tradition*, 12). Still, it is worth remembering that genre study is a tool, not an end in itself. Ultimately, the validity of the tool will be established by the extent to which it

are often made of Aristotelian approaches to genre for their binary analysis of a work as in a genre, or not, and certainly not in more than one genre.³³ However, this was never true of the *Semeia* 14 approach.³⁴ Carol Newsom has demonstrated ways in which *Semeia* 14 anticipated or is compatible with subsequent developments in genre theory.³⁵ In particular, the inductive approach of *Semeia* 14 anticipates prototype theory in beginning with easily recognized examples and measuring variation according to a schema that distinguishes required, default, and optional elements (distinguishing definition and description in the “master paradigm”).³⁶ Some have construed, often misconstrued, developments in genre theory to suggest that genre cannot be defined.³⁷ Genre theory has come to rec-

explains texts and relationships between texts. The present study should demonstrate that distinguishing genres and layers of genre leads to a more precise understanding of what is typical and atypical about Jubilees among the apocalypses.

33. George W. E. Nickelsburg has cautioned against isolating corpora and questioned the usefulness of categories in “Wisdom and Apocalypticism in Early Judaism: Some Points for Discussion,” in *Conflicted Boundaries in Wisdom and Apocalypticism* (ed. Benjamin G. Wright and Lawrence M. Wills; SBLSymS 35; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 36.

34. In prior and subsequent works, Collins demonstrated classification as a tool for considering (not a means of neglecting) borderline cases, related categories, and compatible genres; see “The Court-Tales in Daniel and the Development of Apocalyptic,” *JBL* 94 (1975): 218–34; idem, “Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre,” 18; idem, “Wisdom, Apocalypticism, and Generic Compatibility,” in *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John G. Gammie* (ed. Leo G. Perdue; Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox, 1993; repr. as pages 165–85 in *Seers, Sybils and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 1997)); idem, “Epilogue: Genre Analysis and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 419–21, 427–28.

35. Carol A. Newsom, “Spying Out the Land: A Report from Genology,” in *Seeking Out the Wisdom of the Ancients: Essays Offered to Honor Michael V. Fox on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. Ronald L. Troxel, Kelvin G. Friebel, and Dennis Robert Magary; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 437–50. Newsom’s work has recently served as the foundation for studies of wisdom and pesher as genres: Benjamin G. Wright III, “Joining the Club: A Suggestion about Genre in Early Jewish Texts,” *DSD* 17 (2010): 260–85; Robert Williamson Jr., “Pesher: A Cognitive Model of the Genre,” *DSD* 17 (2010): 307–31. Newsom has reviewed several approaches to genre with illustration of how they might aid analysis of the Hodayot in “Pairing Research Questions and Theories of Genre: A Case Study of the Hodayot,” *DSD* 17 (2010): 241–59.

36. Newsom, “Spying out the Land,” 445; Collins, “Epilogue: Genre Analysis and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 423–25.

37. Alastair Fowler, *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres*

ognize that all communication depends on the use of borrowed elements to convey meaning. A comprehensive theory of all genre is certainly elusive, and many genres are in fact very difficult to define. The family resemblance model has often been invoked to explain groups, the members of which are not all distinguished by a common element.³⁸ However, it hardly follows that no genre can be defined and distinguished using formal criteria.³⁹ The genre “sonnet” is a clear example that can be defined using morphological features alone, even as typical ideas and function may also be worthy of analysis.⁴⁰ If one does not expect a morphological definition of a literary genre to describe all that is typical about a text or body of texts, the genre “apocalypse” can and has been defined.⁴¹ Still, alternative approaches to genres and layers of abstraction remain. Fundamentally, some of the criticisms of *Semeia* 14 discussed below, particularly those of Rowland and Matlock, build on a reluctance to constrain a genre or distinguish layers of abstraction within it.⁴² Rowland, for example, speaks more broadly of a “spirit of apocalyptic” that observes no boundaries between literary features, theology, and social reality.⁴³

Before turning to the morphological definition of the literary genre, clarifications, and alternatives, a set of basic examples should illustrate the three major layers of abstraction accepted by most scholars and used in this study. Words and phrases related to demons, angelic princes, and

and Modes (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982); John Frow, *Genre* (ed. John Drakakis; The New Critical Idiom; London: Routledge, 2006).

38. Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 39–41.

39. See the criticisms of John Swales, *Genre Analysis: English in Academic and Research Settings* (Cambridge Applied Linguistics Series; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 51; David Fishelov, *Metaphors of Genre: The Role of Analogies in Genre Theory* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993), 54; and Collins, “Epilogue: Genre Analysis and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 422.

40. Fishelov, *Metaphors of Genre*, 8, 13–15.

41. This is strikingly so in comparison with the controversy over defining as genres “wisdom” and “rewritten scripture.” See most recently, Wright, “Joining the Club,” 260–85; Matthew J. Goff, “Qumran Wisdom Literature and the Problem of Genre,” *DSD* 17 (2010): 286–306; and George J. Brooke, “Genre Theory, Rewritten Bible and Pesher,” *DSD* 17 (2010): 332–57.

42. Rowland, *The Open Heaven*; and R. Barry Matlock, *Unveiling the Apocalyptic Paul: Paul’s Interpreters and the Rhetoric of Criticism* (JSNTSup 127; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), especially 198.

43. “A definition of apocalyptic should not be too restricted but attempt to do justice to all the various elements in the literature” (Rowland, *The Open Heaven*, 70).

angelic agency are typical of the apocalypses at the level of *literary morphology*. The *idea typically conveyed* through discussion of these agents is that they explain the unjust suffering of the righteous in the present and will execute justice in the future. At the level of apocalypticism we could ask if there was a *community or movement* for which belief in such cosmic agents determined their identity and practices.⁴⁴ Another distinctive phrase at the level of literary morphology is “great day of judgment.” The phrase inherently lends itself to the claim that there will be a great day of judgment in the future, but meanwhile justice is not fully realized, having been deferred until a collective judgment. Again, apocalypticism would describe a group or movement for which such a belief established identity and practices, such as the belief that group members would be vindicated on the great day of judgment. Language for an elite implied audience, such as “righteous plant,” lends itself to the idea that a group within Israel would have special status, which is separable from the question of whether such a group actually existed. One could go on with phrases such as “heavenly tablets” and “new creation” typically implying ideas, which may in turn have social significance. In each of these cases the level of literary morphology is objectively detectable and present in Jubilees. In each of these cases, the social context at the time of Jubilees is not known directly, and only with difficulty might be established through careful consideration of the ideas conveyed in Jubilees and other texts. Thus, the social reality is logically posterior to understanding the ideas. The present work will show that Jubilees rejects the ideas typically, almost inherently, implied in the use of the literary morphology of the genre.

1.2.2. DEFINE THE GENRE BASED ON LITERARY MORPHOLOGY

The Apocalypse Group of the Society of Biblical Literature Genres Project worked from 1975 to 1978 and in 1979 published in *Semeia* 14 a morphological definition of the literary genre “apocalypse.”⁴⁵ The definition does

44. Much later Josephus tells us that the Essenes hold the names of the angels among their prized secret wisdom (*B.J.* 2.142); the War Scroll cites angelic enlistment in the army as reason for purity practices (1QM vii, 6–7; cf. Deut. 23:15); and 1 Cor 11:10 cites angels as a reason for women to wear veils.

45. Collins, “Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre,” 1–19. In addition to John Collins, the SBL Genres Project Apocalypse Group included Harold W. Attridge, Francis T. Fallon, Anthony J. Saldarini, and Adela Yarbro Collins.

what a definition is supposed to do. Some critical evaluation can be taken as clarifications or warnings against treating the morphological definition as an end in itself. While it is worth noting that some scholars continue to call for a fundamentally different approach to the genre, most scholars today accept the definition.

“Apocalypse” is a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural world.⁴⁶

The definition draws on the most objective elements sufficient to distinguish the literary type.⁴⁷ The definition relies on elements that are always present, not subjective evaluations of a preponderance of optional characteristics.⁴⁸ The definition does not depend upon a complete study of the genre at all levels but can contribute to it.⁴⁹ The definition does not claim to describe everything generic about the apocalypses or any one apocalypse.⁵⁰ The definition grounds the terminology of apocalyptic ideas and

46. Ibid., 9.

47. Stegemann, Carmignac, and Sanders sought more minimal definitions focused on the manner of revelation but failed to distinguish the apocalypses from prophetic literature or Joseph's dreams in Genesis. See Stegemann, “Die Bedeutung der Qumranfunde,” 498–99; Carmignac, “Description du phénomène,” 169. E. P. Sanders, “The Genre of Palestinian Jewish Apocalypses,” in Hellholm, *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World*, 456–58; see also Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 9–10.

48. Earlier attempts at definition listed optional but indicative characteristics from multiple layers of abstraction. See Vielhauer, “Apocalypses and Related Subjects,” 583–94; Koch, *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic*, 24–33; and Russell, *Method and Message*, 105. Hanson (“Jewish Apocalyptic against Its Near Eastern Environment,” 33) and Stone (“Lists of Revealed Things,” 440) were particularly critical of this approach. This approach is similar to what is now called the “family resemblance model.” The *Semeia* 14 definition limited discussion to literary morphology and distinguished the “always true” definition from the optional descriptors in the master paradigm (Collins, “Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre,” 8–9). This distinction resembles the gestalt complex described by genre theorist Michael Sinding, “After Definitions: Genre, Categories, and Cognitive Science,” *Genre* 35 (2002): 200.

49. See below for controversy about privileging literary morphology.

50. The 1979 Uppsala conference in particular perceived definition and description as mutually exclusive. See David Hellholm, “Introduction,” in Hellholm, *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World*, 2. See also Eibert Tigchelaar, “More on Apoca-

apocalypticism in a set of texts but does not otherwise limit the study of what may be typical of the ideas and movements related to the apocalypses.⁵¹ The definition provides precise terminology for describing variation and mixed relationships but does not preclude study of borderline cases and related types.⁵² The definition accurately indicates a coherent pattern in ancient texts.⁵³ It facilitates study of the boundaries of that pattern without isolating categories of literature.⁵⁴

The *Semeia* 14 definition has gained wide acceptance, and certainly no alternative has gained greater acceptance. Nevertheless, the definition has been the frequent object of criticism along lines ranging from clarifications and cautions to substantially different ways of thinking about the genre "apocalypse." Two particular issues merit discussion: the debate about including eschatology in the definition and the debate about privileging literary morphology for the definition rather than ideology or social context.

lyptic and Apocalypses," *JSJ* 18 (1987): 144. Collins has often emphasized that the definition is not a complete study of the genre or all that is borrowed in a text or body of texts ("Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre," 1–2).

51. In particular, works of testamentary literature, Qumran sectarian literature, and Paul can still be pertinent for comparison in ideas and social setting, even if those works cannot be called apocalypses or apocalyptic ideas defined based on them. See Richard E. Sturm, "Defining the Word 'Apocalyptic': A Problem in Biblical Criticism," in *Apocalyptic and the New Testament: Essays in Honor of J. Louis Martyn* (ed. Joel Marcus and Marion L. Soards; JSNTSup 24; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 25; and John J. Collins, "Apocalypticism and Literary Genre in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 403–30.

52. Collins, "Genre, Ideology, and Social Movements," 19. Jubilees is an excellent example of a complex case. The aim of the definition is not simply to say that Jubilees is or is not an apocalypse but to allow precision in describing the levels at which it is or is not typical.

53. Collins describes this as "inner coherence." Although some specific features may happen to be true of several texts, *Semeia* 14 seeks to avoid the limitations of an inductive approach by providing an extensible standard; idem, "Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre," 10; idem, "Epilogue: Genre Analysis and the Dead Sea Scrolls," 420.

54. For more detailed discussion of the purpose of a definition of a literary genre see Hanneken, "The Book of Jubilees among the Apocalypses," 78–110.

The debate about the centrality of eschatology in the apocalypses started before *Semeia* 14.⁵⁵ Some scholars, at least superficially, had equated the theology of the apocalypses with the eschatology of the apocalypses.⁵⁶ Shortly after *Semeia* 14, Carmignac and Stegemann attempted definitions that avoided reference to eschatology, based on the lack of uniformity with which eschatology is found in the apocalypses. Carmignac in particular had trouble distinguishing the apocalypses from prophetic literature and even Joseph's dreams in Genesis.⁵⁷ Stegemann made a noble attempt to focus a definition primarily on the revelatory framework but ultimately found it necessary to go beyond the framework of revelation. *Semeia* 14 also found it necessary to go beyond the revelatory framework but appealed to relatively robust features of what is contained in the revelation, namely, transcendence on the spatial and temporal axes. Stegemann made appeal to the much more subjective features of authorial intent and original audience.⁵⁸ Stegemann's resistance to including eschatology was based on a definition of eschatology that excluded personal eschatology and realized eschatology, which Collins includes.⁵⁹ It is true that "eschatology" is a loaded term, and the kind of eschatology varies among the apocalypses. Nevertheless, a God's-eye view of the meaning or resolution of history is a distinctive element of the apocalypses. Other protests to the inclusion of "eschatology" do not so much deny that eschatology is found in the apocalypses as object that focus on eschatology distracts from what may be a more essential feature.⁶⁰ The morphological definition claims to

55. Graham I. Davies, "Apocalyptic and Historiography," *JSOT* 5 (1978): 15–28.

56. So, for example, Rowley, *The Relevance of Apocalyptic*, 51; Vielhauer, "Apocalypses and Related Subjects," 597–98; Hanson, "Jewish Apocalyptic against Its Near Eastern Environment," 35; idem, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 7; idem, "Apocalypse, Genre and Apocalypticism," 27–34.

57. Carmignac, "Qu'est-ce que l'Apocalyptique," 11, 13, 20–21, 33; idem, "Description du phénomène," 165, 169.

58. Hartmut Stegemann, "Die Bedeutung der Qumranfunde," 498–99. See Hanneken, "The Book of Jubilees among the Apocalypses," 95–97.

59. Stegemann, "Die Bedeutung der Qumranfunde," 500; Collins, "Genre, Ideology, and Social Movements," 16; idem, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 10–12, 16. See also David E. Aune, "The Apocalypse of John and the Problem of Genre," *Semeia* 36 (1986): 89.

60. Rowland does not so much deny the relevance of eschatology as subordinate it to the visionary/vertical dimension (*The Open Heaven*, 70–72; idem, "Review of: *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to the Jewish Matrix of Christianity*, by John

include the most robust features necessary for distinguishing the class, not to exhaust all that may be typical, even at the level of literary morphology. Although the definition does suggest features likely to be discussed at the level of ideas, this is only a starting point. Other ideas may also be typical, but are not always easily identified at the level of literary morphology. This brings us to another area of protest against the *Semeia* 14 definition: the controversy about starting from literary morphology.

A related and more fundamental protest against the *Semeia* 14 definition surrounds the decision to define the genre in terms of literary morphology, without reference to ideology, social location, or social function. The primary argument in favor of grounding terminology in literary morphology is simply that literary morphology is the most robust feature available to us, whereas ideology and social context are reconstructed based on the literature.⁶¹ One argument against this approach claims that focus on literary morphology misses the essence of apocalyptic thought or the putative apocalyptic movement.⁶² Another argument resists excluding corpora previously held as central to the reified “apocalyptic.” In particular, many scholars of “Paul and apocalyptic” suddenly felt excluded because Paul did not use the literary genre “apocalypse.”⁶³ Similarly, the Qumran sectarian literature did not meet the definition of “apocalypse.”⁶⁴ Of course, this

J. Collins; and *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, edited by Michael E. Stone,” *JTS* 37 [1986]: 489–90). Following Rowland, several scholars in England have rejected eschatology as a major concept of the apocalypses: Matlock, *Unveiling the Apocalyptic Paul*, 284; Lester L. Grabbe, “Prophetic and Apocalyptic: Time for New Definitions—and New Thinking,” in *Knowing the End from the Beginning: The Prophetic, the Apocalyptic and Their Relationships* (ed. Lester L. Grabbe and Robert D. Haak; London: T&T Clark, 2003), 114–15; Crispin Fletcher-Louis, “Jewish Apocalyptic and Apocalypticism,” in *Handbook for the Study of the Historical Jesus* (ed. Tom Holmén and Stanley E. Porter; 4 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 2:1569–1607.

61. Most recently, Collins, “Epilogue: Genre Analysis and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 425–30.

62. Rowland, *The Open Heaven*; Fletcher-Louis, “Jewish Apocalyptic and Apocalypticism.”

63. Richard Sturm, a scholar of Paul, prefers to approach apocalyptic as a theological concept (“Defining the Word ‘Apocalyptic,’” 17–48). See also Matlock, *Unveiling the Apocalyptic Paul*.

64. Marc Philonenko calls Qumran sectarian literature apocalyptic based on the level of ideas, whereas Jean Carmignac and Hartmut Stegemann would limit the extent to which the term applies. The texts cannot be called apocalypses if they do not use the literary morphology, but the ideas can still be called apocalyptic if they are the

never meant that one could not describe the ideas in Paul or the Qumran sectarian literature as apocalyptic if those ideas are demonstrably shared with apocalypses. It does mean, and was very much intended to mean, that the terminology would be constrained by what can be grounded in texts.⁶⁵ Precision in terminology is not a barrier to study; rather, it is the only way it becomes possible to make statements such as, “the sectarians at Qumran appear to have held an apocalyptic worldview but to have produced no apocalypses of their own.”⁶⁶ In addition to those who would have preferred terminology rooted in ideology, others claim an apocalyptic movement as the central point of departure.⁶⁷ Similarly, some find fault with the synchronic approach of *Semeia* 14.⁶⁸ There may indeed be a danger in letting any one approach become so dominant as to neglect other approaches.⁶⁹

ideas typically found in apocalypses. See Marc Philonenko, “L’apocalyptique qoum-rânienne,” in Hellholm, *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World*, 211–18; Carmignac, “Qu’est-ce que l’Apocalyptique,” 3–33; idem, “Description du phénomène,” 163–70; and Stegemann, “Die Bedeutung der Qumranfunde,” 496.

65. Koch (*The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic*) initiated the push for terminological clarity in response to the terminological chaos not only among scholars of Jewish literature but also historical Jesus scholarship and systematic theology. James Barr offered a quotation from Jürgen Moltmann as an example of the term being used in systematic theology in such a way that could hardly be verified or falsified on the basis of ancient texts, “while apocalyptic does conceive its eschatology in cosmological terms, yet that is not the end of eschatology, but the beginning of an eschatological cosmology or an eschatological ontology for which being becomes historic and the cosmos opens itself to the apocalyptic process” (“Jewish Apocalyptic in Recent Scholarly Study,” 31).

66. Collins, “Apocalypticism and Literary Genre,” 428. The present work relies on the same distinction, in reverse, ultimately arguing that Jubilees uses the literary morphology of the apocalypses to subvert the ideas they typically convey.

67. Paolo Sacchi focuses on apocalypticism as a social movement, even to the point of excluding the Apocalypse of John from the apocalyptic tradition as he understands it (“The Book of the Watchers as an Apocalyptic and Apocryphal Text,” *Henoch* 30 [2008]: 9–11); see also Gabriele Boccaccini, “Jewish Apocalyptic Tradition: The Contribution of Italian Scholarship,” in Collins and Charlesworth, *Mysteries and Revelations*, 38.

68. Florentino García Martínez (“Encore l’apocalyptique,” *JSJ* 17 [1986]: 224–32) and Eibert Tigchelaar (“More on Apocalyptic and Apocalypses,” 137–44) have questioned Collins’s claim that literary description and identification are logically prior to study of the history and social function of the genre. Of course, a synchronic definition does not prohibit diachronic analysis. In the following chapters, comparison will focus on apocalypses from the time of Jubilees.

69. James H. Charlesworth recently expressed reservations about focusing too

Certainly for other genres, and perhaps even for the apocalypses, other approaches hold promise without reducing the legitimacy of the approach focused on literary morphology.⁷⁰

1.2.3. OTHER LAYERS FOLLOW: IDEAS, SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, AND FUNCTION

The morphology of the literary genre does not depend upon or dictate exhaustively the layer of ideas, but it does suggest categories. The layer of ideas is related to the layer of morphology, with the possibility of exceptions. The transcendent agents and places on the spatial axis suggest ideas about their importance for understanding the visible world. The transcendent view of the temporal axis suggests ideas about the present world in terms of otherwise unknowable patterns and plans for history. The revelatory framework lends itself to conveying ideas about revelation. These three categories—the spatial axis, the temporal axis, and revelation—will provide the structure for chapters 2–4 of the present work. These three categories are convenient but not exhaustive. Other ideas have been suggested as important and typical of the apocalypses, including the permeation of boundaries⁷¹ and temple cosmology.⁷² None of these directions of inquiry should be excluded. Similarly, none should be elevated to exclusive importance as the definitive apocalyptic idea. A rigorous definition of the

much on elements in texts and isolating form from function or ideas from literary genre (“What Is an Apocalyptic Text, and How Do We Know That? Seeking the Provenience of the Book of the Watchers,” *Henoch* 30 [2008]: 37–39).

70. Recently Carol Newsom has discussed a variety of approaches to genre. The Hodayot, for example, may be appropriate for analysis in terms of social function if we can assume that, unlike the apocalypses, they all originate in the same social location (“Pairing Research Questions and Theories of Genre,” 241–59).

71. Frances Flannery-Dailey shows the interest of the apocalypses in overcoming ontological, spatial, and temporal boundaries; see *Dreamers, Scribes, and Priests: Jewish Dreams in the Hellenistic and Roman Eras* (JSJSup 90; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 113, 272; idem, “Lessons on Early Jewish Apocalypticism and Mysticism from Dream Literature,” in *Paradise Now: Essays on Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism* (ed. April D. DeConick; SBLSymS 11; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 241–47.

72. Fletcher-Louis (“Jesus and Apocalypticism,” in Holmén and Porter, *Handbook for the Study of the Historical Jesus*, 3:2877–2909), building on the work of Margaret Barker (“Beyond the Veil of the Temple: The High Priestly Origins of the Apocalypses,” *SJT* 51 [1998]: 1–21), suggests that the ideas of the apocalypses are best understood from the perspective of temple cosmology.

literary genre frees us from need of an elaborate definition of apocalyptic ideas. An idea is “apocalyptic” if it is generic among all the apocalypses or an appropriately qualified subset of the apocalypses. Helpful, but not exhaustive, *descriptions* of the ideas typical of the apocalypses have been offered by Collins.⁷³

Paul Hanson, who best established the threefold distinction between the literary genre “apocalypse,” apocalyptic ideas, and apocalypticism, was most interested in apocalypticism. However, reconstructions of a religio-social movement that may have produced all (or at least a critical mass) of the apocalypses are particularly speculative. One might say that the social location of any one apocalypse is an instance of apocalypticism, but detailed study of a *typical* social setting of the apocalypses is a difficult matter unrelated to the present study. The three following chapters are concerned with establishing a pattern of shared literary forms expressing opposite ideas. Only the last chapter, in an effort to explain the pattern, will speculate on authorial intent and reader expectations based on historical and cultural context. Even that is not a study of apocalypticism. Similarly, the present work avoids the term “apocalyptic worldview” in as much as it may imply not just a set of ideas typically conveyed by the apocalypses but a complete and comprehensive ideological or theological system of a person or group. The latter pertains more to the layer of abstraction of apocalypticism as a religio-social phenomenon.⁷⁴

A complete study of the genre would ultimately also include function. *Semeia* 36 addressed the aspects of function and offered several proposals for statements of the function of apocalypses.⁷⁵ The exercise demonstrated that the *Semeia* 14 definition naturally implies some categories for function, as it did for the layer of ideas. For example, the literary contents of transcendence on the spatial axis imply a function of interpreting earthly

73. John J. Collins, “From Prophecy to Apocalypticism: The Expectation of the End,” in *The Origins of Apocalypticism in Judaism and Christianity* (vol. 1 of *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*; ed. John J. Collins; New York: Continuum, 1998), 157; idem, “The Legacy of Apocalypticism,” in *Encounters with Biblical Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 161–62.

74. Collins sometimes refers to apocalypticism as a worldview: “Wisdom, Apocalypticism, and Generic Compatibility,” 387; idem, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls; London: Routledge, 1997), 8.

75. Adela Yarbro Collins, “Introduction,” *Semeia* 36 (1986): 7; Hellholm, “The Problem of Apocalyptic Genre,” 27; Aune, “The Apocalypse of John and the Problem of Genre,” 87, 89–91.

circumstances in light of the supernatural world. *Semeia* 36 also demonstrated the difficulty of being more precise and still speaking for all the apocalypses. David Aune contrasted social function with literary function, but both are less objectively measurable than the morphological definition of the genre.⁷⁶ None of the statements of function aid identification or affect the classification of texts on the basis of the *Semeia* 14 definition. The most helpful insight for the present purposes was David Hellholm's description of a matrix in which form, content, and function fill one axis that intersects all three (or more) layers of abstraction (literary, conceptual, social).⁷⁷ Thus, one can speak of literary forms, literary contents, literary functions, social forms, social contents, and so on. One might add a more basic level at which any literary genre functions to create reader expectations. Further consideration of the function of the genre "apocalypse" in Jubilees is logically posterior to understanding the use of the literary morphology and the ideas conveyed but will be taken up when the final chapter seeks to explain the subversion of the genre.⁷⁸ In the meantime, Hellholm's observation of complexity in the larger structure of genre illustrates the need to put all these aspects and elements into a meaningful relationship. We need to move from distinguishing individual components back to the larger question of how genre communicated meaning to the audience.

1.2.4. JUBILEES USES THE TYPICAL LITERARY MORPHOLOGY TO EXPRESS ATYPICAL IDEAS

Cognitive psychology examines the process of determining meaning, particularly when there are mixed signals to be processed, as in the case of Jubilees.⁷⁹ The mind organizes new material through comparison with familiar models, not necessarily application of definitions. For the ideal

76. Aune, "The Apocalypse of John and the Problem of Genre," 89.

77. Hellholm, "The Problem of Apocalyptic Genre," 13–64.

78. Understanding literary morphology may lead to understanding social function, but we cannot expect a simple correlation between form and function. See Hanneken, "The Book of Jubilees among the Apocalypses," 104–7; Collins, "Epilogue: Genre Analysis and the Dead Sea Scrolls," 425–28.

79. Eleanor Rosch pioneered research in the cognition of categories, introducing "prototype theory" and overturning a view of taxonomy by which all members of a category are equal. See the survey in George Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 1–57. See also, Swales, *Genre Analysis*, 51–52. Michael Sinding ("After Definitions,"

model, or “prototype,”⁸⁰ all signals concord at all levels. For example, for a subject in North America, a robin is easily recognized as a bird. The signals of flying, laying eggs, having feathers, size, and sound all concord easily with the prototype of the category “bird.” A penguin or an ostrich is not as easily classified. There is a degree of discord and conflicting signals to be sorted through. One could defend the classification of a penguin as a bird using rigorous criteria, but from a perspective of human cognition, there is more to the story.⁸¹ *Jubilees* is like a penguin. *Jubilees* satisfies the definition of the literary genre “apocalypse” (among others),⁸² but that does not end the consideration of the apocalyptic genre in *Jubilees*. The purpose is not to classify *Jubilees* but to understand how it uses the genre to convey meaning. The fact that *Jubilees* uses the literary morphology but rejects the ideas typically conveyed thereby demands further explanation.

Jubilees subverts the apocalyptic genre. *Jubilees* uses the literary morphology to raise reader expectations that typical ideas will be expressed. Literary cues such as the revelatory framework and transcendent contents suggest a preliminary meaning. The preliminary meaning is not sustained, however, in what is actually said about the issues related to the literary elements. The preliminary meaning discords with the sustained meaning. The discord enhances the contrast between the meanings. The “discovery” of the “true” meaning, at least for a certain audience, causes dramatic effect. The final chapter will explore the helpfulness of terms such as “irony” or “satire” to explain the discord. The

184–86) explored the implications for literary genre. Carol Newsom (“Spying out the Land,” 442–45) brought these advances into conversation with the genre “apocalypse.”

80. The ideal model can be called a “prototype” in the sense of fitting expectations of a type, not in the sense of historical derivation. Cf. Collins, “Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre,” 1. Furthermore, prototypes, according to Rosch, are not fixed objects but “judgments of degree of prototypicality.” The point is *not* to reduce the apocalyptic genre in *Jubilees* to comparison with one particular text such as the Book of the Watchers or the Animal Apocalypse (Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things*, 44).

81. See also Lakoff’s discussion of idealized cognitive models in *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things*, 68–90.

82. See further discussion in the following section. *Jubilees* uses other genres, even more so by volume, but uses the genre “apocalypse” in all its major components at key parts of the book (the beginning, middle, and end). Others have identified *Jubilees* as a partial apocalypse, a borderline apocalypse, or an apocalypse with various qualifications (see above). This study aims for greater precision.

term “irony” may not be more specific than “subversion.” “Satire,” with the entailed intent to ridicule, is inherently more speculative. In order to approach an explanation, the final chapter will consider historical and cultural context. Meanwhile, the following three chapters will establish that apocalyptic literary morphology typically expresses certain ideas and that Jubilees uses the literary morphology while thoroughly rejecting the typical ideas. This will be accomplished through detailed analysis of Jubilees and contemporary apocalypses, with occasional reference to related material.⁸³ Before turning to detailed comparison, an introductory survey of three major issues will establish the broad outline of the subversion of the apocalypses in Jubilees.

1.3. INTRODUCTORY EXAMPLES OF SUBVERSION

The following chapters will explore in precise detail the issues implied in specific elements of apocalyptic literary morphology. A few introductory examples will illustrate the broader picture of the issues at stake. First we will utilize the “master paradigm” description of apocalypses to illustrate the use of the genre. We will then consider the problem of evil and injustice second and eschatology third.

1.3.1. SURVEY OF PERVASIVE AND STRUCTURALLY SIGNIFICANT USE OF THE LITERARY GENRE

Apocalyptic literary morphology does not account for all or even most of Jubilees, if one could measure genre by volume of words and verses. Jubilees does include all the defining features of the literary genre and more elements of the *Semeia* 14 “master paradigm” than some works that are easily recognized as apocalypses.⁸⁴ The genre of a work is not simply a matter of volume or counting literary elements but structure. Jubilees concentrates apocalyptic literary elements in the beginning, middle, and end

83. Detailed consideration of the date and historical context of Jubilees will be presented in the last chapter. There is broad consensus that the Book of the Watchers, the Animal Apocalypse, the Apocalypse of Weeks, and the Danielic apocalypses can be treated as representatives of apocalypses available at the time of Jubilees. Some of these were certainly known to the author, some may or may not have been known, and others not known to us may have been known to the author.

84. Collins, “Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre,” 6–8.

of the book (chs. 1, 23, and 50). Within that framework, Jubilees frequently reminds the audience of the revelatory framework and includes the requisite contents of language and issues of spatial and temporal transcendence. A brief review of the master paradigm will illustrate how Jubilees concentrates generic elements in the structural framework, while further development recurs through much of the rest of the book.

The master paradigm is not the definition of the genre, but a hierarchical description of typical morphological features in their more specific variants. Thus, while all apocalypses include a narrative framework of a revelation, the contents of which are spatially and temporally transcendent, there are a number of frequent but optional ways each can be realized in any one text. Jubilees makes at least superficial use of almost all and pervasive use of many elements of the master paradigm. The fact that Jubilees says atypical things about these elements is a different matter. In the following review, parenthetical numbers refer to the numbering in *Semeia* 14. The *medium* (1) of revelation is primarily *auditory* (1.2), with some *dialogue* (1.2.2) but mostly *discourse* (1.2.1). Jubilees 1 narrates the setting of the revelation on Mount Sinai on the sixteenth of the third month of the exodus from Egypt (Exod 24). After a conversation between God and Moses, God commands an angel of the presence to dictate the heavenly tablets to Moses and Moses to write down the dictation. Jubilees often reminds the audience of the revelatory framework with direct address of the angel (first person) to Moses (second person). In addition to the framework of auditory revelation, *visual* (1.1) revelation appears in Jub. 1:3 (Moses sees the glory of the Lord like a blazing fire); 4:19 (Enoch saw a vision); and 32:21 (Jacob reads the heavenly tablets in a vision, cf. 45:4), although in no case is the vision very graphic. The framework is not an *otherworldly journey* (1.3), other than Moses going up Sinai and God coming down. The medium of *writing* (1.4) is heavily emphasized, both in the outer framework (Jub. 1:1, 5, 7, 26; 2:1; 50:6, 12) and frequently throughout (the base “writ-” appears fifty-three times in VanderKam’s translation). The *otherworldly mediator* (2) is an angel of the presence. The *human recipient* (3) is Moses, a *venerable figure from the past* (3.1), whose *reaction* (3.3) is briefly conveyed in Jub. 1:19–21, but there is no elaboration on *disposition* (3.2). *Paraenesis* (11) and *instructions to the recipient* (12) appear in the first chapter and pervasive instructions to Moses to write down the dictation and teach the Israelites. There is a very short *narrative conclusion* (13), whether we assume Jub. 50:4–5 or 50:13 is the original ending.

The temporal axis underlies the entire book in *protology* (4) and *his-*

tory (5). The eschatological crisis, judgment, and salvation (7, 8, 9) appear most clearly in Jub. 23, along with shorter allusions in Jub. 1, 50, and elsewhere. More generally, the temporal aspect of judgment appears often, especially in Jub. 5 and with every mention of figures such as Cain receiving punishment within his lifetime. *Cosmogony* (4.1, and *theogony*, if one counts the creation of the angels) and *primordial events* (4.2) are no less temporally transcendent if they are based on received scriptures. *History* (5) is mostly *explicit recollection of the past* (5.1), although at least some of the heavenly tablets are claimed to have been written well in advance of the associated events, such as the election of Jacob. Unmistakable *ex eventu prophecy* (5.2) occurs in the description of the Maccabean revolt in Jub. 23 and to a lesser degree in discussions of the Idumeans “until today”⁸⁵ (Jub. 38:14) and “predictions” that Israelites will forget laws such as circumcision and festival calendar (Jub. 1:9; 6:34; 15:33). *Semeia* 14 mentions *present salvation through knowledge* (6) in the context of later gnostic texts, but technically Jub. 23:26–27 (realized eschatology through study of the law) could be read in this way. Jubilees 23 describes an *eschatological crisis* (7) that superficially resembles Seleucid *persecution* (7.1) and *other eschatological upheavals* (7.2) of the created order, although closer examination will show the crisis to be just punishment under the terms of the covenant. Likewise, *eschatological judgment* (8.1) is certainly present in phrases such as “the great day of judgment” and “there will be a great punishment from the Lord” (Jub. 23:11, 22), even though what is said about these elements is atypical. *Sinners* (8.1) are emphatically punished in chapter 23 and elsewhere, and *the world* (8.2) is superficially punished in 23:18, “the earth will indeed be destroyed.” *Otherworldly beings* (8.3) are judged in Jub. 5:6–11 (watchers) and arguably 48:18 (Mastema, probably not 10:8), although significantly there are no otherworldly agents in the eschatological scenario of Jub. 23 (other than mention of their absence). *Eschatological salvation* (9) is developed in Jub. 23:26–31 and 50:5, although we will leave to the layer of ideas whether it is brought about by supernatural intervention or, more fundamentally, human repentance. The *cosmic transformation* (9.1) is even more clear outside of Jub. 23, in statements that the properly functioning sanctuary will renew the cosmos: “All the luminaries will be renewed for (the purpose of) healing, health, and blessing for all the

85. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are from VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, vol. 2.

elect ones (Israel)⁸⁶ and so that it may remain this way from that time throughout all the days of the earth” (Jub. 1:29; likewise 4:26 and 19:25). Human salvation is more collective than *personal* (9.2), but the increase in longevity to a thousand years constitutes a clear transformation. The issue of *resurrection* (9.2.1) or *other forms of afterlife* (9.2.2) is more tricky, but at least the superficial cues of the issue can be found in statements such as “they will rise and see great peace” and “their bones will rest in the earth and their spirits will be very happy” (Jub. 23:30–31).

The most obvious and pervasive *otherworldly elements* (10) on the spatial axis are *otherworldly beings* (10.2), although one might also mention the place of judgment (7:29; 10:5, 9, 11; 22:22), heavenly tablets (frequent), the heavenly liturgy (30:18; 31:14, similarly 2:17–21, 28; 15:27), and the holy places (4:26; 8:19). The holy places are not technically otherworldly but are compared superficially to such places in contexts of Enoch being taken there and eschatological restoration originating there. Much more frequently and thoroughly discussed are otherworldly beings, particularly demons, angels who sinned, Belial, “satans,” and the heavenly accuser evocative of *ha-satan*, the Prince of Mastema. For the demons we learn their origin, *raison d'être*, and how to avoid them. Similarly, we learn about the Prince of Mastema in various places throughout the book. Following the distinction between literary morphology and the ideas, we must count use of these evocative terms even when an additional word such as “no” changes the meaning, “there was *no* satan or any evil one” (Jub. 23:29; 40:9; 46:2; 50:5).

Depending on how one counts superficial or fleeting mentions of elements typical of apocalyptic morphology, Jubilees includes almost everything mentioned in the master paradigm, even in the third-level sub-points. The question is how some of those superficial connections should be counted. For example, point 1.1 from the master paradigm applies to Jubilees in that Jubilees includes visionary revelation and makes distinctive claims about the legitimacy of visions, yet Jubilees is not itself a vision in its fundamental structure. Jubilees does not use the literary morphology any less if what it says about coded symbols is that they are absent from legitimate revelation. Once the apocalyptic framework is established, certain elements that would not be apocalyptic by themselves might fit into the “dialogism” between the ideas typically associated with

86. “All the elect ones (Israel),” literally, “all the elect ones of Israel.” See §2.2.1.4 for the case for understanding this verse as nonsectarian, like the rest of the book.

the apocalypses and the ideas sustained in Jubilees. For example, if we had only a fragment that said Cain was judged and received a fitting punishment within his lifetime, we could not treat it as a subversion of the apocalyptic idea of deferred, eschatological judgment. However, once the framework is established and a critical mass of issues and terms associated with the apocalypses is reached, more points can be treated as participating in the broader comparison of ideas. Furthermore, because Jubilees follows Genesis so carefully, a conspicuous silence can be more meaningful than the common argument from silence. Again, for example, a fragment mentioning only Joseph's cup would not be called a subversion of the apocalypses, yet if the audience recalls that in Genesis Joseph's cup was a divining cup, and if the audience notices the other ways in which Jubilees rejects esoteric coded revelation, then even a passage with no explicit use of apocalyptic literary morphology can represent a confrontation with apocalypses. At the very least, Jubilees explicitly draws on typical apocalyptic morphology in the framework and particular passages throughout the work. Jubilees meets all the requirements of the definition and enough of the points of the description in the master paradigm. Arguably, almost all of them come up at least indirectly. The audience is reminded throughout the work of the revelatory framework, cosmic agents such as Mastema, and the structure of history. If one accepts further that additional elements not *exclusively* associated with apocalypses can participate in a confrontation with the apocalypses in context (once a critical mass of framework and explicit elements is reached), then apocalyptic literary elements pervade the entire book.

This is not to say that the apocalyptic genre accounts exclusively for the genre of Jubilees or that it would be possible to rank primary and secondary genres in a complex work. Nor could we end the discussion by saying Jubilees counts as an apocalypse without accounting for the deep discord at the level of ideas. Furthermore, the above survey based on the definition and description (master paradigm) of the genre in *Semeia* 14 is only an introductory discussion, to be validated with close comparison with the known apocalypses that existed around the time of Jubilees. Especially if one focuses on the early apocalypses, other issues might be added to the master paradigm, such as a reveal-conceal dialectic,⁸⁷ an esoteric

87. Aune, "The Apocalypse of John and the Problem of Genre," 84; Stegemann, "Die Bedeutung der Qumranfunde," 488–99.

implied audience,⁸⁸ or temple cosmology.⁸⁹ The spatial axis might include ontological classification of humanity and their roles on the cosmic stage. Even with a hypothetical “complete” description it would be necessary to emphasize that evaluation of the genre relies on structures and issues more than checkboxes of distinctive phrases and elements. With that in mind, we move from a survey of affinities at the base layer of abstraction to the discord at the layer of ideas. The basic issues of the explanation of unjust suffering (evil) and eschatology will lay out the fundamental ways in which Jubilees clashes with the apocalypses. It is not that Jubilees resembles apocalypses in some places and differs in other places. It is precisely the passages that evoke the apocalypses in literary morphology that clash with the apocalypses in ideas. Sometimes it is a simple matter of the layers of terminology and syntax, sometimes it is more complex, but consistently there is a contrast between the superficial resemblances with the apocalypses and the sustained messages about the implicit issues.

1.3.2. EVIL, INJUSTICE, AND THE LACK THEREOF

One of the fundamental issues typically, even inherently, raised by the apocalyptic literary genre is the problem of evil. More specifically, the underlying problems are the suffering of the righteous and the prosperity of sinners, with the constraint that the explanation may not challenge God’s justice (theodicy). The history of philosophy and religion has complicated the issue, such that a preliminary clarification of the terms applicable in Jubilees is necessary. Jubilees uses the words “sin” and “evil” often, but they are not entities that exist outside of human choice. The nouns “sin” (חטא) and “evil” (רע) never govern a verb, even metaphorically.⁹⁰ The “problem of evil,” in terms appropriate to Jubilees, is the problem of injustice—unjust suffering or unpunished sin. If suffering comes from God as just punishment for bad choices, it is not evil. If individual sin is always resolved with prompt punishment, it is not a theological problem (as far as Jubilees is concerned). One might argue that Jubilees anticipates

88. William Adler, “Introduction,” in *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity* (ed. James C. VanderKam and William Adler; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), 13.

89. Fletcher-Louis, “Jewish Apocalyptic and Apocalypticism.”

90. The related term “injustice” (צדק) “increases” in Jub. 5:2, based on Gen 6:5, “human wickedness increased on the earth.”

an idea of ontological wickedness in its view of the nations, but not as a force in the cosmos in the dualistic sense. At least for Israel, sin is a reversible choice, not an independent entity imposed on humanity from without.

Simply put, the typical apocalypses seek to explain unjust suffering in the present, while Jubilees denies the existence of unjust suffering: "there is no injustice" (Jub. 5:13). In the typical apocalypses, injustice is larger than the visible realm. Injustice can be understood from a view outside the present (on the temporal axis) to its primordial origins and/or eschatological resolution. It can be understood from a view outside the visible world (on the spatial axis) to agents other than humans and God. Justice will eventually prevail, but not yet. In Jubilees, sin is always promptly punished. Justice is never deferred. The covenantal relationship between God and Israel is not impeded by any invisible agents. The foreign nations are in fact punished with demons and angelic bureaucracy, but only because of their sin. Israel is immune from "evil" as long as it separates from the nations and studies the law. The following chapter will compare Jubilees to the typical apocalypses through the component themes of the origin of evil, the ongoing explanation or *raison d'être* of evil, and the resolution of evil. By way of introduction, it will serve better to introduce some of the central passages in Jubilees with their distinctive claims.

Before coming to the passages in which Jubilees develops its claims about injustice and the lack thereof, a few conspicuous silences should be noted. Although evil in creation is not present in the contemporary apocalypses either, it has been suggested that the view of evil in Jubilees is "created dualism," comparable to the Instruction on Two Spirits at Qumran.⁹¹ If this were the case, one would expect some hint to that effect in Jubilees' lengthy account of creation. Other than an acknowledgement that most nations will not be chosen to keep the Sabbath, there is no suggestion of dualism, corruption, opposition, or fault in creation. Similarly, Jubilees retells Gen 3 without any hint toward explanation of ongoing sin and suffering,⁹² although again this point does not contrast with contem-

91. Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*, 323.

92. The retelling of Gen 3 in Jubilees is most remarkable for the lack of expansion along any lines, let alone the lines associated with etiology of sin. If anything, Jubilees reduces the lasting significance of the sin by emphasizing that Adam and Eve worked before the sin, "Adam and his wife spent the seven years in the Garden of Eden *working* and guarding it. We gave him *work* and were teaching him (how) to do everything

porary apocalypses. Jubilees omits the personification of sin in Gen 4:7, “sin crouches at the door craving to get you.”

Jubilees develops the theme of realized justice from the beginning. First, Jubilees counters the possibility that Adam escaped God’s threat of punishment by living far longer than the day on which he ate the fruit. Jubilees draws from Ps 90:4 to claim that the day meant a thousand years, reconciling Genesis with the idea of undelayed justice, “Therefore he [Adam] did not complete the years of this day because he died during it” (Jub. 4:30). Similarly, Jubilees infers that a just God must have killed Cain: “His house fell on him, and he died inside his house. He was killed by its stones for with a stone he had killed Abel and, by a just punishment, he was killed with a stone” (Jub. 4:31).

Jubilees 5 confronts the Book of the Watchers directly, although the underlying idea is no less true of the Danielic apocalypses. Jub. 5 retells the story of exogamous watchers with some glaring changes. First, Jubilees has the angels sent to earth with a good mission; only later do they sin.⁹³ This displaces a willful rebellion against God in heaven that imposes its consequences on earth. Jubilees also retells the story such that there are no innocent victims. The watchers sin and are punished with eternal imprisonment. The giants sin and are killed by war. Humans, except for Noah, sin and are drowned, “Every thought of all mankind’s knowledge was evil like this all the time” (Jub. 5:2; utilizing Gen 6:5). A related point is subtle in Jub. 5 but consistent with a larger pattern. In the Book of the Watchers angels hear the cry of the innocent and mediate the complaint before God. In Jub. 5:3 God sees directly.

Another conflict between superficial association and sustained ideas begins with Jub. 5:10,

Now their fathers [the fathers of the giants, the watchers] were watching, but afterwards they were tied up in the depths of the earth for the great day of judgment, so that there would be⁹⁴ condemnation on all who have corrupted their ways and their actions before the Lord. (Jub. 5:10)

that was appropriate for *working* (it). While he was *working*...” (Jub. 3:15–16, emphasis added). Gen 2–3 might seem to suggest that labor is a consequence of sin, not the original plan for creation.

93. It has been suggested that this change meets a chronological need. That may also be the case, but the implication for the view of evil stands nevertheless and is consistent with other details. See Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*, 132.

94. “For the great day of judgment, so that there would be,” **እስከ ፡ ዕለተ ፡**

In the Book of the Watchers, the watchers are detained pending a final judgment in the distant future. Charles expected such an idea and thus emended the text (arguing that Hebrew converted-perfect verbs were mistaken for perfects).⁹⁵ Verse 10 teases such as association, but the rest of the passage sustains a different claim, that the watchers have already been judged and punished once and for all. The “great day of judgment” was when the watchers, giants, and humans all received their just punishments.

5:11 He obliterated all from their places; there remained no one of them whom he did not judge for all their wickedness. 5:12 He made a new and righteous creation for all his works⁹⁶ so that they would not sin with their whole nature until eternity. Everyone will be righteous—each according to his kind—for all time. 5:13 The judgment of them all has been ordained and written on the heavenly tablets; there is no injustice. (As for) all who transgress from their way in which it was ordained for them to go—if they do not go in it, judgment has been written down for each creature and for each kind. 5:14 There is nothing which is in heaven or on the earth, in the light, the darkness, Sheol, the deep, or in the dark place—all their judgments have been ordained, written, and inscribed. 5:15 He judges⁹⁷ each person—the great one in accord with his greatness and the small one in accord with his smallness—each one in accord with his way. (Jub. 5:11–15)

Jubilees transforms the tradition from an etiology of evil to an example of perfect justice. The typical apocalypses presume and explain the existence of evil in the sense of unpunished sin, but Jub. 5:13 rejects not just the explanation but the preliminary assumption that evil exists: “there is no injustice.” Notice also that the “new and righteous creation” has already

קטן : טקס : אהרן (< εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως μεγάλην εἶναι < ליום המשפט הגדול להיות). VanderKam translates, “until the great day of judgment when there will be.” Cf. 2 Pet 2:9; 3:7; Jude 1:6. The preposition could come from טע, which could still fit the understanding of the day of judgment as the flood. The important point is that the angel’s address to Moses does *not* use any imperfect verbs for the judgment of the watchers.

95. R. H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees: Or The Little Genesis* (London: Black, 1902), 44–45.

96. “Creation for all his works,” אהרן : קטן : טע. VanderKam translates, “nature for all his creatures.” Both are possible.

97. “He judges,” קטן. VanderKam translates, “He will exercise judgment regarding.” Grammar permits either translation, but context suggests an ongoing habit rather than a future action.

been given. The world was purified through the flood and received a fresh start. There is no permanent contagion of sin that originated with the watchers and continued past the flood, at least according to this passage. Jubilees does appropriate the idea of demons and illicit teaching, but conspicuously not until two generations after Noah, with the division of nations. Demons, angelic princes, and false wisdom exist but only apply to Gentiles. This brings us to the next major passage.

Jubilees 10 finds a place for demons (the spirits of the giants) after the flood, but not as an explanation of suffering and injustice against the righteous. Demons are assigned to the punishment of Gentiles, and the revelation of demonic activity serves as a warning to Israel to stay away from Gentiles. Consequently, Jubilees does not address the demons until it can address the nations, which begins with Noah's grandchildren.

During the third week of this jubilee impure demons began to mislead Noah's grandchildren, to make them act foolishly, and to destroy them. (Jub. 10:1)

The striking part is how easily these demons are defeated by the righteous. Noah eliminates all of them simply by asking.

Then our God told us to tie up each one. (Jub. 10:7)

Here, for the first time, we meet the leader of these spirits, the Prince of Mastema, or simply Mastema, whom we will introduce more in the next paragraph. Mastema makes a counterintercession to restore 10 percent of the demons, but with the clear function of punishing wickedness, not afflicting or testing the righteous.

For they are meant for destroying and misleading before my authority because human wickedness is great. (Jub. 10:8)⁹⁸

God then allows Mastema to use 10 percent of the demons. Jubilees is the only ancient text to describe a diminishment of demons.⁹⁹ For those who

98. For this understanding of the verse, see ch. 2 n. 58. VanderKam translates, "For they are meant for (the purposes of) destroying and misleading before my punishment [ቅድመ : ኩነድ] because the evil of mankind is great."

99. VanderKam, "The Demons in the *Book of Jubilees*," 344.

obey the books of Noah, later identified as the books preserved by the Levites for Israel “until today” (Jub. 45:16), the demons have no power.¹⁰⁰

Noah wrote down in a book everything (just) as we had taught him regarding all the kinds of medicine, and the evil spirits were precluded from pursuing Noah’s children. He gave all the books that he had written to his oldest son Shem because he loved him much more than all his sons. (Jub. 10:13–14)

The demons and the idolatry they inspire are reduced to impotence against the righteous, which soon equals Israel. Demons are utilized as an explanation of whatever power is perceived in foreign magic, but absolutely not an explanation of why the righteous suffer.¹⁰¹

Mastema is a good example of subversion of an idea typically associated with the apocalypses. Mastema superficially resembles a figure from an apocalypse but is denied any similar function. The name sounds like Satan but is not. Mastema evokes the role of a leader of evil forces in rebellion against God but remains in constant submission to God. Mastema explains some trouble that the righteous face but never claims any victory, only shame. As discussed at length in chapter 2, Mastema is a complex figure. Jubilees likes the idea of a figure who can proxy for the unbecoming deeds attributed to God in Exodus. There is also a complication in the extent to which “Satan” is relevant here as a particularly apocalyptic idea by the time of Jubilees. It may not be the case that portraying Mastema as a bungling variation on Satan ridicules any one apocalypse, but it does subvert the idea that God’s covenantal relationship with God’s people is successfully impeded by independent forces in the cosmos.

Discussion of the apocalyptic view of evil and the angelic world usually focuses on bad angels, but even good angels can account for some

100. What the author of Jubilees had in mind in speaking of Noah’s books is a matter of great debate. See especially Michael E. Stone, Aryey Amihay, and Vered Hillel, eds., *Noah and His Book(s)* (SBLEJL 28; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010). It is certainly possible that the author knew or imagined books that were physically separate from the books of Moses, but Jubilees emphasizes the conceptual and legal unity of all legitimate revelation. This is most striking in Jub. 21:10, which asserts that Enoch and Noah wrote books containing a law known to us only in Lev 19:5–8.

101. As discussed in chapter 2, the same basic point is true of the other enduring consequence of antediluvian sin, illicit teaching. The teaching of the watchers does not corrupt the chosen line (Jub. 12:16–18), but only one of Noah’s grandchildren (8:3).

delay, inefficiency, or imperfection of justice without impinging on God's ultimate perfection. Angelic mediation was disputed in several texts. Jubilees makes its position clear in chapter 15. God never outsources sovereignty over Israel to any intermediary.

15:30 For the Lord did not draw near to himself either Ishmael, his sons, his brothers, or Esau. He did not choose them (simply) because they were among Abraham's children, for he knew them. But he chose Israel to be his people. 15:31 He sanctified them and gathered (them) from all mankind. For there are many nations and many peoples and all belong to him. *He made spirits rule over all in order to lead them astray from following him.* 15:32 *But over Israel he made no angel or spirit rule because he alone is their ruler.* He will guard them and require them for himself from his angels, his spirits, and everyone, and all his powers so that he may guard them and bless them and so that they may be his and he theirs from now and forever. (Jub. 15:30–32, emphasis added)

The issue is not whether other nations have angelic princes; Jubilees agrees with the apocalypses that they do, although there is a twist in that the angels are there to lead them astray, not to help them. The issue is whether Israel has one or more angels who mediate God's sovereignty. The implication in the apocalypses seems to have been that the present time cannot be reconciled with the perfect justice expected from God, so there must be some other agents involved that both explain the inefficacy of justice in the present and ensure that God will soon retake the helm and intervene radically. Jubilees 15:32 makes clear that the unnamed angel of the presence is not comparable even to the good angels in the apocalypses who exercise some independent will. This is borne out by the rest of the book, since the angel of the presence appears often but only following the direct command of God. "Angelic instruction" is a concept, but the angel of the presence is often more a tutor than a revealer of hidden things, as when the angel tutors Abraham in Hebrew (Jub. 12:25–27). In other apocalypses angels interpret symbols in their own voice, but Jub. 1 establishes that the angel merely dictates. The point is emphasized elsewhere,

For I know and from now on will inform you—not from my own mind because this is the way the book is written in front of me, and the Divisions of Times¹⁰² are ordained on the heavenly tablets.... (Jub. 6:35)

102. Capitalization added, since the text itself and the Damascus Document sug-

These examples are typical of many ways in which Jubilees does not simply reject everything about apocalypses but adapts, interprets, and appropriates the literary elements while fundamentally subverting the ideas. Apocalypses typically describe invisible places and angelic agents in order to explain the suffering of the righteous and lack of punishment of the wicked in the present. The apocalypses portray earthly events as the by-product of a cosmic drama, with humans in minor roles. In Jubilees angels are the supporting cast in the story of God's exclusive relationship with Israel.

1.3.3. ESCHATOLOGY

By the time the audience comes to the middle of Jubilees,¹⁰³ many typical literary elements from the apocalypses have appeared and atypical things have been said about them. The revelation of hidden things turned out to be a revelation of the publicly received traditions of Israel. The cosmic drama turned out to have only two major characters, God and Israel. "Protology" established that the separation of Israel from the nations is God's eternal plan, as are the established structures of the temple and priesthood. Early history testifies to the timelessness of law and justice, not to the introduction of some corruption. Creation and justice do not require an eschatological resolution. The groundwork has been laid for a sustained, direct confrontation with the most significant remaining literary and conceptual feature of the apocalypses: eschatology.

Apocalyptic literary elements and issues pervade Jubilees, but chapter 23 is a sustained concentration. Jubilees 23 uses all the distinctive literary elements of apocalyptic eschatology, including phrases such as "great day of judgment" and "in those days" and the structure of decline of history, final woes, judgment, and restoration. The conflict of ideas can be summarized, in modern terms, as the conflict between apocalyptic and Deuteronomistic views of history.¹⁰⁴ Daniel 9 also reflects this confrontation, from the other

gest this was understood as the title of the book we call Jubilees. Devorah Dimant has challenged the prevailing view that the Damascus Document cites Jubilees. See below, ch. 5 n. 35.

103. Jub. 23 is central in the book of Jubilees in several ways. If modern versification may be used as an approximate measure of length, the middle verse of the book is Jub. 23:23. It has been recognized that Jacob is a central figure in Jubilees, and Jub. 23 makes the narrative transition from Jacob's ancestry to Jacob himself.

104. George W. E. Nickelsburg rightly reiterates this striking observation in his

perspective.¹⁰⁵ The apocalyptic view is that the “present” moment is the climax of the sovereignty of evil, the nadir of history, a crisis either unprecedented or with precedent only before the flood. Just when things cannot get worse, God will intervene to judge the wicked, reward the righteous, and restore creation to the original plan. The Deuteronomistic view is that history is “determined” only in the laws of cause and effect. Human sin causes divine punishment, which causes human repentance, which causes divine restoration. Suffering is chastisement, not a temporary suspension of justice or a test to be endured until an appointed time. Although Jubilees sets up the idea of calculated history elsewhere, a fixed date outside of human choice is conspicuously lacking in the most eschatological chapter.¹⁰⁶ Although Jubilees deals with angels and demons at length in other chapters, they are absent in chapter 23. The enemies of Israel are not God’s enemies but God’s servants sent to punish sin. The sinners are not foreign nations but self-righteous Jewish zealots.¹⁰⁷ The restoration begins with human repentance, not divine intervention. These subversions of general principles and specific issues can be seen in the following survey of the chapter in its entirety (other than the first seven verses, which describe the death of Abraham). Chapter 3 will focus on the individual themes of the temporal axis, with close comparison of Jubilees and contemporary apocalypses. Historical allusions will be discussed in chapter 5.

23:8 He had lived for three jubilees and four weeks of years—175 years—when he completed his lifetime. He had grown old and (his) time was completed. 23:9 For the times of the ancients were 19 jubilees [931 years] for their lifetimes. After the flood they started to decrease

discussions of Jubilees: *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction* (2nd ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 73 (1981, 78); idem, “The Nature and Function of Revelation in 1 Enoch, Jubilees, and Some Qumran Fragments,” in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Esther G. Chazon, Avital Pinnick, and Michael E. Stone; STDJ 31; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 104.

105. See §4.1.2.2 below, especially John J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 348–60.

106. See §3.1.3 below, especially Martha Himmelfarb, “Torah, Testimony, and Heavenly Tablets: The Claim to Authority of the *Book of Jubilees*,” in *A Multiform Heritage: Studies on Early Judaism and Christianity in Honor of Robert A. Kraft* (ed. Benjamin G. Wright; Scholars Press Homage Series 24; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 24.

107. See §3.2.3.1 below, especially Jub. 13:16–21.

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—with the exception of Abraham. 23:10 For Abraham was perfect with the Lord in everything that he did—being properly pleasing throughout all his lifetime. And yet (even) he had not completed four jubilees during his lifetime when he became old—in view of wickedness—and reached the end of his time.

Scholars who have attempted to explain the apocalypse-like elements in Jubilees as an insertion or redaction from a separate source have had trouble deciding where the apocalypse begins. Jubilees 23 starts slowly but in these three verses already picks up some elements from the apocalypses. The issue of longevity takes the form of an apocalyptic decline of history, with the variation that the decline is gradual and in no way implies a crisis in the present moment.

23:11 All the generations that will come into being from now until the great day of judgment will grow old quickly—before they complete two jubilees [98 years]. It will be their knowledge that will leave them because of their old age; all of their knowledge will depart.

This verse introduces the historical “prediction” and the particular temporal point called the “great day of judgment.” The point, however, is shown not to be an end of history, but a turning point. Most significant, the great day of judgment comes to be portrayed as a *past* event, relative to the time of composition. Another nuance may be at work here. As discussed in chapter 4, the term “wisdom” is largely avoided. “Knowledge” may be comparable, but the comparison brings with it an inversion. In several apocalypses, knowledge, wisdom, or enlightenment arises in a certain group. Jubilees does not single out a group here for lacking knowledge, but it is striking that knowledge/wisdom/enlightenment appears in the chapter only as being absent. The restoration involves repentance to the old laws, not some new gnosis or mystery.

23:12 At that time, if a man lives a jubilee and one-half of years [73.5 years], it will be said about him: “He has lived for a long time”. But the greater part of his time will be (characterized by) difficulties, toil, and distress without peace 23:13 because (there will be) blow upon blow, wound upon wound, distress upon distress, bad news upon bad news, disease upon disease, and every (kind of) bad punishment like this, one

with the other: disease and stomach pains; snow, hail, and frost; fever, cold, and numbness; famine, death, sword, captivity, and every (sort of) blow and difficulty. 23:14 All of this will happen to the evil generation which makes the earth commit sin through sexual impurity, contamination, and their detestable actions. 23:15 Then it will be said: “The days of the ancients were numerous—as many as 1000 years—and good. But now the days of our lives, if a man has lived for a long time, are 70 years, and, if he is strong, 80 years”. All are evil and there is no peace during the days of that evil generation.

These verses introduce the “final woes” that develop more specifically in 23:16–25. Jubilees includes the generic categories of “famine, death, sword and captivity.” One would not want to say that these categories are not woeful, but the twist is in the elaboration of the categories. Typically an apocalypse is both graphic and absolute, whereas Jub. 23 elaborates the categories with relatively quotidian woes. In particular, natural and quotidian problems such as stomach ache, snow, hail, frost, fever, cold, numbness, and mortality at the age of seventy or eighty years invert the idea of final woes. Not only are the woes “normal” and unwoeful relative to the apocalypses, which are evoked by the literary genre, but they are unwoeful relative to the covenant curses of Deut 28, which are evoked by language and theme. A reader expects graphic elaboration of unimaginable woes but basically learns that life as we know it is punishment relative to God’s plan. The final woes typically imply a crisis of history, an unraveling of nature from normal to far worse than normal. In Jubilees, normal life is the nadir of history and is woeful only relative to an imagined ideal of utopian blessing. We will come to some exceptions that have their own subversive twist, but basically Jub. 23 takes the crisis out of the apocalyptic crisis of history by making the decline, nadir, and restoration gradual and realized in the known world. The final chapter will return to this verse with the question of whether subversion of expectations with a radical demotion of significance, in this case replacing unimaginable horrors with stomach aches and frost, constitutes humor.

23:16 During that generation the children will find fault with their fathers and elders because of sin and injustice, because of what they say and the great evils that they commit, and because of their abandoning the covenant which the Lord had made between them and himself so that they should observe and perform all his commands, ordinances, and all his laws without deviating to the left or right. 23:17 For all have

acted wickedly; every mouth speaks what is sinful. Everything that they do is impure and something detestable; all their ways are (characterized by) contamination, and corruption.

It is easy for a modern reader to project expectations of typical apocalyptic contents after the introduction, “During that generation the children will...” One expects the “children” to be praised and free of sin, as in the comparable passage in the Animal Apocalypse:

And look, lambs were born of those white sheep, and they began to open their eyes and to see and to cry out to the sheep. But they did not listen to them nor attend to their words, but they were extremely deaf, and their eyes were extremely and excessively blinded. (1 En. 90:6–7, Nickelsburg)

Jubilees 23:16 is relatively ambiguous, but verse 17 is the first to suggest that “all” are at fault, confirmed later by the fact that each group commits the sin of bloodshed and God punishes all without vindicating any group. Assuming a savvy reader would have picked up on the subversion by now, verse 16 begins to turn on the apocalypses even while remaining ambiguous. After all, is it really so praiseworthy by itself for children to find fault with elders? An apocalypse such as the Animal Apocalypse praises the new movement of “the children” with a clear claim that youth were right and the elders wrong. Verse 16 evokes such an association, but one is soon caused to question, if one has not questioned already, whether “because of sin and injustice” refers to the sin and injustice of the elders or the accusers. Indeed, accusing elders could itself be a form of abandoning the covenant. Deuteronomy 21 calls on the elders to judge and kill the child who defies a parent, not to mention the Decalogue command to honor parents. Even if verse 16 is ambiguous enough to permit an assumption that the children are sinless and the elders are sinful, the subsequent verses overturn such an assumption.

“The children” is not a technical term for a particular group, but it is the case that apocalypses sometimes use such language to describe the origin of a new and separate group outside established structures.¹⁰⁸ The children in verse 16 are contrasted with the children in verse 26, showing that the proper action is repentance and study of the traditional laws, not accusations and bloodshed. Even if they were a particular group and the

108. See §§2.2.1.4 and 3.2.3.3, especially Kister, “לְתוֹלְדוֹת כֵּת הָאִשִּׁיִּים,” 8–9.

same particular group in both verses (radically reformed), the course of action in verse 16 is rejected. Others had used the genre “apocalypse” to claim pretension. The author of Jubilees seems to use it to call the pretension false.

23:18 The earth will indeed be destroyed because of all that they do. There will be no produce from the vine and no oil because what they do (constitutes) complete disobedience. All will be destroyed together—animals, cattle, birds, and all fish of the sea—because of mankind.

This verse plays between the apocalyptic language of final catastrophic destruction of the world as we know it and the Deuteronomistic function of divine chastisement through famine. Especially in the context of the other literary elements from apocalypses, the translation “the earth will be destroyed” is appropriately suggestive of the total ecological destruction found especially in the Book of the Watchers, Enoch’s First Dream Vision, or the Epistle of Enoch. The twist, however, is that life goes on in the next verse unobliterated. Especially if the audience would have understood this as the famine of 162 or 160 B.C.E., as discussed in chapter 5, the sense is more that “the bounty of the earth will be diminished.” The difference between cosmic catastrophe in other apocalypses and the famine here is not just a matter of degree and finality, it is a matter of timing. The imagery evokes a final, future destruction but is applied to a *past* event. The event *sounds like* a flood of complete destruction but functions more like famine in Deuteronomy or Hosea, where similar language lacks eschatological finality.

Thus the land dries up [תִּאָבֵל].
Everything that dwells on it languishes [אֶמָּוֵל].
Everything among the beasts of the field and the birds of the sky,
Even the fish of the sea are withheld. (Hos 4:3)

Along similar lines, the agency involved here is not a cosmic conflict and purgation but human sin and divine chastisement. Famine has theological significance in the Deuteronomistic perspective, but the proposed response is to repent, not to panic and imagine that the sky is falling and the whole world is coming apart. Jubilees subverts apocalyptic imagery of cosmic catastrophe.

23:19 One group will struggle with another—the young with the old, the old with the young; the poor with the rich, the lowly with the great; and

the needy with the ruler—regarding the law and the covenant. For they have forgotten commandment, covenant, festival, month, sabbath, jubilee, and every verdict. 23:20 They will stand up with swords and warfare in order to bring them back to the way; but they will not be brought back until much blood is shed on the earth by each group. 23:21 Those who escape will not turn from their wickedness to the right way because all of them will elevate themselves for (the purpose of) cheating and through wealth so that one takes everything that belongs to another. They will mention the great name but neither truly nor rightly. They will defile the holy of holies with the impure corruption of their contamination.

If verse 19 evokes the suggestion of a great struggle of good against evil, the persecuted breaking the bonds of persecution and establishing lasting justice,¹⁰⁹ the suggestion is quickly subverted. Especially in Jubilees, there is nothing glorious about “shedding much blood on the earth,” and Jubilees’ harsh condemnation of all forms of fratricide should likewise be considered as part of the condemnation of the civil war. The generic associations make it easy to expect that Jubilees is praising one side in the war, but on closer examination there are no militant groups here or later that escape condemnation. Chapter 5 will explore specific historical references in these verses in greater depth. The point here is that Jubilees uses literary elements that evoke the portrayals of the civil war in the Animal Apocalypse and Dan 11 but subverts the pretension of acting on behalf of God in the slaughter of other Jews.

23:22 There will be a great punishment from the Lord for the actions of that generation. He will deliver them to the sword, judgment, captivity, plundering, and devouring. 23:23 He will arouse against them the sinful nations who will have no mercy or kindness for them and who will show partiality to no one, whether old or young, or anyone at all, because they are evil and strong so that they are more evil than all mankind. They will cause chaos in Israel and sin against Jacob. Much blood will be shed on the earth, and there will be no one who gathers up (corpses) or who buries (them).

109. For a thorough treatment of the sociopolitical features typical of the apocalypses around the time of Jubilees, see Anthea Portier-Young, *Apocalypse against Empire: Theologies of Resistance in Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011).

Jubilees here takes a break from subtlety to make clear its evaluation of the civil war and the explanation of suffering typically associated with the apocalypses. The lesser point is that the whole generation (old and young, perhaps referring to the description of the two groups in 23:19) is punished; no side is vindicated. The greater point is that the foreign occupation is viewed as punishment *from God* for the sin of the civil war. Suffering is not the result of forces of evil in the cosmos rebelling against God, persecuting the righteous, and perverting justice. Justice is fully intact, and suffering comes from God as punishment for sin.

23:24 At that time they will cry out and call and pray to be rescued from the power of the sinful nations, but there will be no one who rescues (them). 23:25 The children's heads will turn white with gray hair. A child who is three weeks of age will look old like one whose years are 100, and their condition will be destroyed through distress and pain.

For the most part, the present work is concerned with the abstract layers of literary genre and typically implied ideas and is less dependent on comparison of specific passages. The main argument does not argue or assume that the author of Jubilees knew the same specific apocalypses that we know. Here, however, at the hyperbolic description of the nadir of history typical of the apocalypses, it is possible to identify some specific antiparallels in imagery. First, we should consider Isa 65:20. Even though Third Isaiah does not use the apocalyptic literary genre, a conceptual relationship has long been recognized.¹¹⁰ The image of an infant who looks like an old man seems to derive from distorting the syntax of Isa 65:20.

לֹא־יְהִי־לָהּ מִשָּׁם עוֹד יָמִים וְזָקֵן אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יִמְלֹא אֶת־יָמָיו כִּי הַנֶּעַר בֶּן־מֵאָה
שָׁנָה יָמוּת וְהַחוּטָא בֶּן־מֵאָה שָׁנָה יִקְלָל:

No more shall there be in it an infant that lives but a few days, or an old person who does not live out a lifetime; for one who dies at a hundred years will be considered a youth, and one who falls short of a hundred will be considered accursed. (Isa 65:20, NRSV)

Whereas modern translations rightly grasp the disjunction, rendering something to the effect of, “There will be neither an infant nor an old man

110. See especially, Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*.

who dies prematurely,” Jubilees presupposes a conjunction, “one who is both an infant and an old man.” The terminology is recognizable from Third Isaiah, but Jubilees rearranges the climax of restoration into a ridiculous image of a gnome. As discussed in chapter 3, the hope of restoration in Jubilees is at odds with that imagined in Third Isaiah. It is possible that Jubilees not only asserts a differing viewpoint but slips in some spoof imagery to illustrate how ridiculous the author thinks such an agenda really is (particularly in expecting a new people with a new name, new priesthood, new heaven, and new earth).

These two verses also intersect in language with Dan 11:34–35 and contradict in meaning. The Animal Apocalypse intersects here as well. The two intersecting issues are white children and crying for help.

When they fall they will receive a little help, but many will join them insincerely. Some of the enlightened [מְשֻׁבְּלִים] will fall so as to be refined [לְצֻרָה], purified [לְכָרֶרֶךְ], and whitened [לְלָבָן] until the time of the end, for it is not yet the appointed time. (Dan 11:34–35)

The basic issue is whether being white is a good thing or a bad thing. In Leviticus or Numbers, a white head is a skin disease and a threat to purity (Lev 13; Num 12:10). In fact, the European association of whiteness with purity is mostly absent from the Hebrew scriptures. Daniel 11 is one of the few cases where being made white and being made pure are in parallel (likewise Dan 7:9). The Animal Apocalypse is another clear case where whiteness is a good thing (consider also the birth of Noah tradition preserved in 1 En. 106:2 and the Genesis Apocryphon). Especially if “the children” connoted reformist groups around the time of the civil war, it becomes no neutral issue whether “white children” are glorified or despised. In Jubilees, the white children are the lowest of the low, the worst of all punishments. It is not important for the present point whether this image referred to a specific group, but it is clear enough that the image subverts the imagery that the authors of contemporary apocalypses found fit for self-glorification.

We should also consider the implication of the different images of calling for help in the same passages. In the Animal Apocalypse, Judah Maccabee brings about the eschatological victory not by winning the war himself but by crying out for help while engaged in a just struggle. The angel and God hear the cry and intercede (90:11–15). Daniel differs on whether the help received in battle marks the true resolution but still seems at least

vaguely comparable in language. If we are to imagine that the author or audience of Jubilees knew Dan 11 or the Animal Apocalypse well enough to make an association, it is noteworthy that no help at all comes in Jub. 23:24. Since Jubilees already identified the civil war as the sin that brought on the punishment from God, the idea that they would receive any help at all is out of the question. Jubilees relies on Deut 28:29, 31 for the idea that there will be no help against divine chastisement (אֵין מוֹשִׁיעַ), while borrowing literary elements from the apocalypses to illustrate the contradiction in specific application.

23:26 In those days the children will begin to study the laws, to seek out the commands, and to return to the right way.

After condemning the militant “children,” we finally come to the normative response of repentance and nonviolent study. Any image of an elite group is not sustained in the immediate context and the rest of the book. The point seems to be that Israel as a whole repents. The idea that Israel’s suffering can be resolved by repentance conflicts with apocalyptic ideas, particularly as contrasted in Dan 9.

23:27 The days will begin to become numerous and increase, and mankind as well—generation by generation and day by day until their lifetimes approach 1000 years and to more years than the number of days (had been).

Whereas the apocalyptic view of the temporal axis is characterized by radical reversal, Jubilees proposes a gradual, natural return to the original plan of creation. More important, the modest claims of restoration allow the claim that the “crisis” is already past and the restoration underway.¹¹¹

23:28 There will be no old man, nor anyone who has lived out his lifetime, because all of them will be infants and children.

Although the sentiment appears to be close to that of Isa 65:20, discussed above, perhaps only for subversion’s sake the syntax is negated. In Isaiah there will not be one who has *failed* to live out one’s life, but in Jubi-

111. See §3.4.4.1 below. Charles noted the unusual feature of gradual restoration (*The Book of Jubilees*, 149).

lees there will not be one who *has* lived out one's life. In Isaiah there will be *no* infant (implicitly infant mortality), but in Jubilees *all* will be infants.

23:29 They will complete and live their entire lifetimes peacefully and joyfully. There will be neither a satan nor any evil one who will destroy. For their entire lifetimes will be times of blessing and healing.

The immediate context does not strictly require that "satans and evil ones" be nonhuman entities, but the generic framework warrants comparison with the key eschatological agents of the apocalypses. By alluding to such agents now, Jubilees points out the lack of mention in the just told eschatological scenario. Even when they do appear here, they are mentioned only as being absent. Whereas Jubilees plays with the idea of angels and demons elsewhere in the book, in the eschatological moment on the temporal axis, where such agents typically figure most prominently, Jubilees excludes them entirely. It is not the case that Jubilees simply forgot about the spatial axis when composing this subversive little historical apocalypse, and the argument is not merely from silence. Jubilees subverts an expectation of cosmic agents consummating a catastrophic conflict by describing a past eschatology devoid of angelic or demonic influence.

23:30 Then the Lord will heal his servants. They will rise and see great peace. He will expel his enemies. The righteous will see (this), offer praise, and be very happy forever and ever. They will see all their punishments and curses on their enemies. 23:31 Their bones will rest in the earth and their spirits will be very happy. They will know that the Lord is one who executes judgment but shows kindness to hundreds and thousands and to all who love him.

If not for the rest of the book, one might imagine that God's servants refer only to a specific group within Israel, comparable to those who receive a new name in Isa 65:15. Even if it is implied that some were righteous and some were not, the overall emphasis in the book is on the unity of Israel, and the context here is not concerned with the vindication of a particular group or validation of a new priesthood.¹¹² If "they will rise" connotes resurrection or exaltation of the dead, then the connotation is

112. For the lack of sectarianism in Jubilees, see §2.2.1.4 below. For the lack of a new or reformed priesthood, see §3.4.4.4.

quickly subverted. The nation rises in peace and prosperity. The resolution is along the lines of “rest in peace” or a “good death.” Dualism of body and soul should not be projected here.

Relatively speaking, vindictiveness against foreign invaders is also fairly mild. The main punishment is being sent home—the restoration of separation between Israel and the nations. Curses are mentioned but not elaborated, requiring the reader to recall from earlier in the chapter that the curses are the curses of life as we know it. It seems that the nations, in their own lands, continue to experience mortality at the age of seventy or eighty, shovel snow, and get stomach aches, while Israel alone comes to its intended blessings. Whereas a historical apocalypse typically imagines a radical reversal, with graphic vindication and vengeance, Jubilees imagines a gradual fulfillment of the original plan of creation. Notice also that God does the expelling—it is never the case that a sword is given to the righteous to kill anyone. Jubilees imagines an ideal restoration in its own terms, but the contrast with other imagined ideals is stark. Jubilees expresses very different eschatological ideals, and the contrast is sharpened by literary evocation of the apocalypses.

23:32 Now you, Moses, write down these words because this is how it is written and entered in the testimony of the heavenly tablets for the history of eternity.

Last but not least, Jubilees reminds the reader of the narrative framework of revelation that ties all the apocalyptic literary elements into true use of the literary genre “apocalypse.” The definition of the genre is fully present, while the ideas separate this chapter and the rest of the book from the typical apocalypses.

1.3.4. CONCLUSION

This cursory tour leaves many questions unanswered but should give a general sense of the level at which subversion occurs. Jubilees does not single out a particular text or a particular group. The subversion is not limited to a few passages or a few issues. Jubilees uses all the core literary elements and discusses the implicit issues but says about those issues the opposite of what apocalypses typically say. After considering the details of the subversion through close comparison of individual issues in chapters 2–4, chapter 5 will venture to explain why an author would use the genre

in such a way. It is normal for texts to express different ideas, and not every articulation of different ideas constitutes subversion. Yet the literary genre forces a comparison. It raises reader expectations and introduces a dialogue with previous knowledge of apocalypses. Jubilees does not merely disagree with the apocalypses; it subverts them through the use of their literary morphology.

Even within a literary genre, it is normal for any one text to introduce innovation and adapt borrowed literary elements and ideas in new ways to fit new circumstances and to express the author's own ideas. At a certain level, there is remarkable diversity among the apocalypses that existed by the time of Jubilees. Not every apocalypse that introduces new ideas can be called subversive. Jubilees, however, goes beyond innovation. First, on a purely literary level one can observe that Jubilees *radically* changes *every* idea inherent in the literary genre. Second, one can look to cultural and historical context to gauge which issues would have been significant sources of confrontation, beyond what we could imagine as friendly or incidental differences in emphasis. To be sure, the rift in ideas between Jubilees and other apocalypses is not comparable to the rift over issues of Hellenistic assimilation, the gymnasium, foreign objects and persons in the temple, and foregoing circumcision entirely. Wars may not have been fought over the explanation of suffering, and groups may not have defined their orthodoxy around eschatological judgment. Nevertheless, it is clear that the subversions in Jubilees are more than minor innovations. With all their diversity in details, the early apocalypses agree at a certain layer of abstraction, a cluster of ideas about the issues inherent in the literary genre. Only Jubilees expresses nonapocalyptic ideas in apocalyptic literary morphology. The author's intent can never be fully recovered. It will become clear, however, that an intent to harmonize or reconcile would have been unrealistic. Jubilees adopts only superficial elements, and says subversive things about them.